CALLING BACK THE LOST
na\textsuperscript{53} m\textsuperscript{zi}\textsuperscript{53} TIBETAN SOUL

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ABSTRACT
A na\textsuperscript{53} m\textsuperscript{zi}\textsuperscript{53} person falls accidentally and is panicked. The r\textsuperscript{53} h\textsuperscript{53} 'soul' leaves the body and the person becomes lethargic. It is nearly always the patient's mother who calls the soul back, if she knows the correct chant. Five thousand na\textsuperscript{53} m\textsuperscript{zi}\textsuperscript{53} Tibetans live mostly in Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, PR China with Han and Nuosu (Yi). The ritual is commonly done for children less than ten years of age, though anyone may lose their soul. The chant is presented along with a brief discussion of na\textsuperscript{53} m\textsuperscript{zi}\textsuperscript{53} cosmology and beliefs concerning the soul.

KEY WORDS
soul, soul calling, na\textsuperscript{53} m\textsuperscript{zi}\textsuperscript{53}, Namyi, Namuyi, Namzi, Tibetans, Liangshan, China
INTRODUCTION: dzɔ₁¹ qu¹¹ AND MU'ER 木耳 VILLAGES

We have introduced the na₅³ mzi₅³ people in some detail in a previous publication (Libu Lakhi, Hefright, and Stuart 2007) and will only provide a brief introduction here. The na₅³ mzi₅³ number 5,000 (Gordon 2005) and, while classified as Tibetan, speak a language within the Qiangic Branch of the Tibeto-Burman Language Family (Sun 2001:160). na₅³ mzi₅³ communities have been reported in Mianning 冕宁, Muli 木里, and Yanyuan 盐源 counties and Xichang 西昌 City of Liangshan 凉山 Yi彝 Autonomous Prefecture, as well as Jiulong County 九龙县, Ganzi 甘孜 Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan 四川 Province (Gordon 2005). Older, more traditional na₅³ mzi₅³ believe in a pantheon of local deities, have great faith in a local religious practitioner known as pʰa₅³ tʂɔ₅³, and wear distinctive clothing.

dzɔ₁¹ qu¹¹ and Mu'er villages are the focus of this study. dzɔ₁¹ qu¹¹ Village is situated in Xichang City, Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture. About eighty of the village's 600 inhabitants are na₅³ mzi₅³. Before 1998, females and older villagers went to Lizhou 礼州 Town on foot to shop while young men went by bicycle. In 2008, a motorcycle taxi could be hired in dzɔ₁¹ qu¹¹ Village for ten to fifteen RMB 人民币 for the forty minute trip to Lizhou Town where it was then possible to transfer to a bus (three to four RMB) for a thirty minute trip to the center of Xichang City. There were several mini-buses in 2008 that went directly from the village to Lizhou Town (two to three RMB). The bus travel took approximately one hour.

Mu'er Village is located in Lianhe 联合 Township, Mianning County. In 2008, there were eighty households of which twenty were Nuosu (Yi) and sixty were na₅³ mzi₅³. Villagers cultivated corn, wheat, and beans that do not require irrigation. Horses, cows, donkeys, swine, water
buffalo, and goats were raised. Certain families herded yaks in mountains relatively near the village.

In 2008, the village was experiencing steady depopulation as residents moved to the administrative centers of Lianhe Township and Mianning County, to do such businesses as operating restaurants and shops.

**na**\(^{53}\) mzi\(^{53}\) COSMOLOGY

*Personal Account (Libu Lakhi)*

I asked Mother\(^{1}\) where our ancestors went after they died. She explained, "They live like us in the sky above. We can see the place where they live on auspicious days. At that time, through m\(^{53}\) q\(^{10}\) bo\(^{11}\) 'the sky door', we can see rape blooming and busy bees collecting pollen from the flowers. The ancestors can see everything we do down here. Every New Year they return and spend time with us. That's why we offer fresh food and liquor to them. Then they protect us from bad luck and illness.

Traditional cosmology divides the universe into three main parts: the earth (dby\(^{44}\)), an underworld (a\(^{11}\) hĩ\(^{44}\)), and the sky (m\(^{53}\)). Earth is inhabited by people, who go to m\(^{53}\) after they die. The underworld is inhabited by hi\(^{11}\) sa\(^{11}\) ngæ\(^{44}\), beings who can shake the poles of the earth and cause earthquakes.

m\(^{53}\) is like the earth; people farm, work, and herd there, but they do not marry.\(^2\) People live eternally in m\(^{53}\)

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\(^{1}\) mbz\(^{44}\) m\(^{44}\) b. 1943.

\(^{2}\) Von Furer-Haimendorf (1952) divided Indian tribal concepts of the afterlife into two types: Hindic and hill-tribe. The latter vision of the afterlife is similar to the na\(^{53}\)
with their ancestors and wear long white traditional \textit{hū}^{53} \textit{ndzə}^{53} robes that are also worn by the deceased at their funeral. Local na^{53} mzi^{53} believe that the deceased person takes those clothes, and animals slaughtered at the funeral with them to m^{53}.

\textit{m}^{53} has two doors: šu^{53} \textit{ka}^{53} k'\text{u}^{11} 'East Metal Door' and \textit{cə}^{11} \textit{ka}^{53} k'\text{u}^{11} 'West Metal Door' through which the soul of the deceased must pass.

\textbf{THE SOUL}

A person is endowed with a \textit{rə}^{53} \textit{hr}^{53} 'soul' at birth. \textit{rə}^{53} \textit{hr}^{53} go to \textit{m}^{53} to live after people die naturally, for example, from old age and not from violent deaths, terrible illnesses, or poison.\textsuperscript{3} In the case of a person who has died naturally, the family invites a \textit{pʰə}^{53} \textit{tsə}^{53} to do the \textit{pi}^{11} ritual to lead the soul to \textit{m}^{53} through the \textit{tsʰo}^{11} \textit{bo}^{11} \textit{rə}^{11} \textit{gy}^{11}—the path that connects the places where the ancestors have lived.\textsuperscript{4}

The souls of people who have died unnaturally wander the earth. There is no hope for the wandering soul; they are doomed to wander eternally, with no hope of ever going to \textit{m}^{53}. Staying near where their corpse was burned or buried, they often unwittingly harm the living by causing illness and bad luck. The wandering souls move about in mzi^{53} concept in that after death, people continue an existence identical to their life on earth. However, often involved in the hilltribe concept of the afterlife is a succession of such worlds in which a person repeatedly dies and is born into.

\textsuperscript{3} For example, one might commit suicide by drinking poison after quarreling with a lover.

\textsuperscript{4} Libu Lakhi and Stuart (2007) describe the \textit{pi}^{11} ritual and related place names.
the wind, and are invisible in the daytime. At night, people may see them from a distance as dark shapes that vanish when people get closer.

It is believed that natural objects such as stones, plants, and animals can communicate with each other and with people, but it is unclear if this means they have a soul. In the past, the situation was reversed: people were stupid and the rest of nature was intelligent, as shown by this account:

Long ago, trees could talk to people. When people went to collect fuel, they didn't need to carry the wood back home, instead the trees walked back home, following the person's instructions.

One day, a person went to collect wood. The tree walked very slowly on the way back so the person said, "You are such a slow and useless burden, walk quickly."

The tree replied, "You walk quickly if you can, I cannot walk faster than this." The person was angry, cut the tree into pieces, and carried it back home. Since then, trees were no longer able to talk and walk, and people have to carry fuel home to make fires.

**SOUL LOSS**

\[ r\partial^{53} \ h\tilde{r}^{53} \ m\tilde{a}^{44} \ j\tilde{o}^{11} \ j\tilde{o}^{44} \ 'not with the soul' \] is a common expression used to refer to a living person being without their soul. Souls that leave the body have lost their willpower and are easily controlled by ghosts. Because of this, wandering souls are unable to return to their bodies unassisted; they require special rituals done at a certain
time. In contrast, souls residing in the body are energetic and self-controlled.⁵

**Causes**

This soul might be lost any time when a person is frightened, shocked, or falls down.⁶ The soul will then wander and, if it encounters a ghost, it will follow the ghost and play with it. Encounters with the souls of those who died violently are most common at crossroads and in places where the corpses of wandering souls have been buried or cremated.

₅₃ na₅₃ mzi₅₃ in dzæⁿ¹¹ qu¹¹ and Mu'er villages believe that if a person is mature (over the age of about eighteen) then the soul is less affected by such frightening experiences and is less likely to leave the body.

**Symptoms**

Perhaps an hour after losing the soul, a person feels dizzy and nauseous. They might also feel sleepy during the daytime; at night, they may feel someone pressing on their

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⁵ A dislocatable soul is also a common belief among Tibetans (see Yu 1949, Lessing 1951) and other Tibeto-Burman peoples. Von Furer-Haimendorf (1952) states that such beliefs are also common among the (predominantly Tibeto-Burman) hill-tribe peoples of Himalayan India and eastern Assam.

⁶ Desjarlais (1992) reported that soul loss for the Yolmo Sherpa of Nepal occurred when they were by themselves and frightened.
chest, making it hard to breathe. They talk in their sleep and generally appear to lack both physical and mental vitality.7

_Treatment_

The soul of the ill person wanders with ghosts and the ritual of calling the soul back must be performed so that the soul will leave the ghosts it is with. Most commonly, the mother performs this ritual. Losing the soul, if not addressed, may lead to serious illness and eventually death. If the initial treatment is unsuccessful, the mother may perform the ritual repeatedly, or the _ph₅₃₆₅₃₅₃-ts₅₃₃_ might be invited to do the ritual.8

7 Durrenberger (1975, 35) states that for the Lisu of northern Thailand (a Tibeto-Burman people), "If the soul should depart from the body, the person exhibits characteristic symptoms of anorexia, insomnia, bad dreams and general malaise." Liu (1995, 188-89) describe a case of soul loss among the Yi as follows: "She was dizzy, had a headache, and she felt pain all over her body but could not point out a specific place. She had no appetite… She could not bear alcohol when she was well, but she could drink liquor like water without being drunk when she was ill." Desjarlais (1992, 1111) described a case of soul loss thus: "He lacked an appetite, lost sleep, suffered pains" and in another paper (1989b) describes the symptoms of soul loss as insomnia, loss of apetite, and troubling dreams.

8 Chao (1999, 516) states that: "Prior to 1949, the Naxi, Chinese, Bai, Lisu and Tibetan ethnic groups [in Lijiang] each had healers who may be glossed as shamans. These practitioners were called on to cure illness, retrieve souls, perform divinations, and exorcise intractable spirits, usually ghosts or demons." See Rock (1959) for a description of several such practitioners and their roles.
THE SOUL-CALLING RITUAL

Two terms are used to refer to this ritual. The first is \( r\text{\textsuperscript{53}} \ h\text{\textsuperscript{53}} \ l\text{\textsuperscript{44}} \ q\text{\textsuperscript{44}} \ v\text{\textsuperscript{44}} \) and is done by a \( p\text{\textsuperscript{53}} a\text{\textsuperscript{53}} \ ts\text{\textsuperscript{53}} \). \( q\text{\textsuperscript{44}} \ v\text{\textsuperscript{44}} \) suggests a sound employed to call chickens, pigs, horses, goats, and cats. The \( p\text{\textsuperscript{53}} a\text{\textsuperscript{53}} \ ts\text{\textsuperscript{53}} \) calls the lost soul by chanting, which is considered formal and serious. The specialist occupies a higher position than the person with the lost soul; their religious authority is invoked to order the soul to return.

In dz\text{\textsuperscript{11}} qu\text{\textsuperscript{11}} Village, the ritual is commonly done by the mother of the person with the lost soul, rather than by the \( p\text{\textsuperscript{53}} a\text{\textsuperscript{53}} \ ts\text{\textsuperscript{53}} \). This ritual is called \( r\text{\textsuperscript{53}} \ h\text{\textsuperscript{53}} \ li\text{\textsuperscript{44}} \ nd\text{\textsuperscript{44}} \) Village. \( nd\text{\textsuperscript{44}} \) suggests intimacy and kindness; the soul is being urged to return by the child's chief caregiver, the mother, who uses kind and gentle entreaties.\(^9\)

\[ r\text{\textsuperscript{53}} \ h\text{\textsuperscript{53}} \ l\text{\textsuperscript{44}} \ q\text{\textsuperscript{44}} \ v\text{\textsuperscript{44}} \]

The mother wraps her \( ku\text{\textsuperscript{53}} \ pa\text{\textsuperscript{53}} \ sh\text{\textsuperscript{53}} \ s\text{\textsuperscript{53}} \) "hair braid string"\(^10\) around a bowl that contains uncooked rice and a raw egg in the shell that is vertically erect, supported in its upright position by the rice grains around it. The mother goes outside the house. It is considered best to walk to a place where two roads intersect or separate. When she arrives, she

\(^9\) Liu (1995) states that the Yi soul calling ritual is called \( yilapo \).

\(^10\) The hair braid string is used for tying the ends of the hair together. Older women usually braid string with hair in two braids (an unmarried woman has one braid) and thus the strings are about a meter long. The older and more soiled the hair string is, the better it is for the purpose of calling the soul back because such a string is believed to have more of the mother's odor and thus be more attractive to the wandering soul.
sings in a high, soft voice, and continues to sing, summoning the soul, walking slowly back to the house, holding the bowl. Every time the mother passes a door,\(^\text{11}\) the members inside call, "Already returned, already returned." Then the mother steps on the threshold and enters, all the while continuing to sing. She puts the rice bowl back on the \(ga^{53}\) \(ha^{53}\) 'the place where sacrifices to ancestors are made'.

As Figure One shows, \(qa^{11}\) 'the hearth', is located in the inner middle part of the sitting room, and divides the room into two sections. The right side is for guests, while the hosts sit on the left. The hearth is dug ten inches deep into the floor and three \(qa^{11}\) \(lu^{44}\) 'hearth stones' are planted vertically around the hearth. The \(qa^{11}\) \(lu^{44}\) \(m^{55}\) 'mother of the hearth stones' is the innermost and largest one. The \(qa^{11}\) \(lu^{44}\) \(a^{44}\) \(zi^{3}\) 'the sons of the hearth stones' are the other two. The household mother's soul is believed to reside in the base of the mother's stones.\(^\text{12}\) Thus, it is unacceptable for anyone to jump over the hearth or spit in it.

\(^{11}\) The \(na^{53}\) \(mzi^{53}\) house has a large courtyard door, an inner courtyard door, and there are doors to the individual rooms that comprise the home.

\(^{12}\) A local creation account describes a flood that drowned everyone except for a boy and his sister. The boy then goes to the sky, marries a sky maiden, and returns to earth but he and his wife do not know how to farm, build houses, or even cook. One day, a bat comes and after learning of their difficulty, returns to the sky to ask the sky maiden's parents how to do these things. The bat returns with the information, including the necessity of having three stones in the hearth for cooking. Nearly all \(na^{53}\) \(mzi^{53}\) in \(dz\)\(^{11}\) \(qu^{11}\) Village cooked on the hearth fire until about 1990, when most families began building a spacious room for cooking on adobe stoves and also for storing firewood that fueled the cooking fires. No families in \(dz\)\(^{11}\) \(qu^{11}\) Village used the hearth fire for serious cooking in 2008, although it was still
In order to make both the mother and the patient conscious of one another and of the ritual being performed, the mother pats the patient's shoulder after patting the qa\textsuperscript{11} lu\textsuperscript{44} a\textsuperscript{44} mi\textsuperscript{55}.\textsuperscript{13}

Early every morning before most villagers have risen, and at dusk for a week, the mother does the same thing asking, 'Has X returned yet?', where X is the name of the patient.

On the night of the seventh day, the father digs hot ash out from the hearth and buries the egg inside, while all the family members gather around the hearth and wait, anxiously hoping for the egg to explode.\textsuperscript{14} When the egg does explode, all the family members burst into a high-pitched calling back of the soul in unison, while the father wraps pieces of the mother's hair-braid string around the patient's neck, wrist (boy's left, girl's right), and then the ankle (boy's left, girl's right). The ku\textsuperscript{53} pæ\textsuperscript{53} sə\textsuperscript{53} sə\textsuperscript{53} is wrapped around five or seven times; the number of times cannot be even. The hair-braid string is left on and must not be removed; it should fall off on its own accord.

Next, the ill person eats the cooked egg. The rice in the bowl held by the mother is also cooked and then eaten by the patient.

Nuosu in dzə\textsuperscript{11} qu\textsuperscript{11} and Mu'er also practice the rə\textsuperscript{53} hĩ\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} q'v\textsuperscript{44} ritual by inviting the pə\textsuperscript{53} tə\textsuperscript{53}, the mother plays no role when this is done.

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\textsuperscript{13} It is also known as qa\textsuperscript{11} lu\textsuperscript{44} va\textsuperscript{11} mi\textsuperscript{11}.

\textsuperscript{14} Liu (1995) mentions the use of egg divination among the Yi but provides no details.
Personal Account (ge٠١ dzu٤٤ z٣٣٥)

When I was a primary school student (and at the age of six), Mother and I were walking home along a path above a deep irrigation ditch after having visited a relative in our village. I suddenly fell into the ditch and was terrified. Witnessing me falling and crying badly, Mother worriedly examined my body for injury. I was uncomfortable with this because I was fine, only frightened. Then she put me on her back and carried me home.

I felt tired and uncomfortable that night. I neither wanted to eat nor do anything except sleep. When Mother saw this, she again asked if I was injured and tried to find some point of injury on my body. I didn't feel any pain and explained that I just felt tired and wanted to sleep. Her expression then suddenly changed. She ordered me to get up and told me to sit on a chair in the living room and wait for her. Next, she went outside and returned with a bowl that held some rice. A raw egg in the shell was in the middle of the rice. She then found and brought a mo٤٤ ts٣٣٥ 'bamboo rice container', and covered it with a piece of my clothes.

Mother explained, "Your soul is lost and I am going to call it back with these things here. A mother usually calls her child's soul back because a mother is kind and when the soul hears the mother's voice, it will soon return. A mother finds the child's favorite things, such as food and clothes. For example, an egg is important for this ritual, because in past times when people were very poor, they lacked enough food; eggs were the best food. Gradually people thought eggs were everyone's favorite food."

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When she finished explaining, she began calling my name and ordered me to not fight with other children nor do other violent things for one week. She did the same thing every day for seven days. On the night of the seventh day, she cooked the rice and egg for my dinner. I fell asleep after I finished eating and felt better in the morning.

_Personal Account (Libu Lakhi)_

Mother, with my family members, has done the ritual many times for me. The most recent time was in 2003 when I had nightmares while at home. I also found it hard to breathe when I was dreaming. I felt like somebody was pressing hard on my chest. My parents discovered this, asked me what had happened, and I told them all the details. Father then asked me to sleep with him.

The next morning when I got up, I heard Father saying anxiously to Mother, "Om, there must be something wrong with the child."

"What's wrong?" Mother asked.

"Both his feet were as cold as metal all last night. A young man's feet shouldn't be like that. They are warm if he is healthy. I think his soul is not with him these days," Father said.

"Oh, yes. He also cannot fall asleep easily these days. There must be something wrong with him," Mother agreed.

"Please call his soul back in the early morning and again in the evening for seven days. I also think his soul is not with him," Father said.

\(^{16}\) li\textsuperscript{44} bu\textsuperscript{44} ɔ\textsuperscript{11} pɔ\textsuperscript{53}, b. 1939.
Mother got up very early the next morning, before most other villagers, and called my name while holding a bowl half full of rice with an uncooked egg in the shell standing up in the rice. She called my name in a high, gentle voice, asking me to return. She mentioned all the places that I had been: Ganzi Prefecture, Xichang City, and Qinghai Province, where I had gone to study. She did the same thing at dusk after the village had become quiet.

All my family members gathered around the hearth on the night of the seventh day. There were

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17 Oral texts describing such pathways and journeys are found among many other Tibeto-Burman peoples. Durrenberger (1975, 36) states that during the Lisu soul calling ritual "... male elders sang a song which describes the torment of the individual whose soul has departed and the means by which it had been returned... This song ... tells the story of the journey of a soul which has departed and has now returned ... the general theme of the song is set, the details are not." Mueggler (1999, 458) states that for the Lolop'o (Yi), "poetic speech is used to drive the ghosts of those who died of hunger, suicide, or other violence out of the bodies of their descendants and into the surrounding landscape. The ghosts are driven along a specific route through surrounding mountain villages. Their path eventually takes them down the nearby Jinsha river to the Changjiang (Yangtze). They make these rivers their steeds, riding them across the empire's breadth to the richly-imagined cities of Chongqing, Wuhan, Nanjing, Shanghai, and Beijing." Morse and Morse (1966) describe a Rawang chant from northern Burma. Desjarlais (1989a) reports on journey-based chants used in healing rituals among numerous Tibeto-Burman peoples of Nepal. Ellingson-Waugh (1974) describes 'musical flight' and journey-based oral texts in the Tibetan context.
around twenty-five people: my parents, brothers, sisters, sisters-in-laws, nephews, and nieces. Mother sat closest to the ga\textsuperscript{53} ha\textsuperscript{53}, while Father dug out hot ash from the hearth with a metal spatula and scattered it by the hearth. He then buried the egg inside it. Father told me to sit on a wood stool near where the egg was cooking. We all waited for the egg to explode. It usually takes four or five minutes to explode, however, after about ten minutes nothing had happened and we all started to worry.

"It shouldn't take this long. What's wrong?" Father said.

"It should be OK. Let's wait a bit longer and see," Mother suggested.

It was so quiet that we could clearly hear the sound of the fire crackling. I started to worry when I saw everyone's red faces in the light of the fire burning in the hearth. If the egg does not explode, it is a bad omen indicating that the ritual will not have the desired effect.

Then, suddenly, the egg exploded. Everyone began calling my name at the same time. My niece Guomin 国敏, who was sixteen, said, "Uncle, return. Don't stay in valleys in the village."

Mother said, "Return. Everyone is calling you back. Return to your home and be with your parents, brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces."

Father then wrapped the hair-braiding string that Mother had wrapped around the egg earlier seven times around my neck, and also put a piece around my left wrist and left ankle.

I ate the egg after Father finished and Mother cooked the rice in a small pot for me to eat next morning.
THE RITUAL CHANT

Libu Lakhi explains:

I described above why and how Mother called back my soul in the summer of 2005. I felt concerned that this chant will soon be forgotten, since not many people any longer believe in the efficacy of ritual. They prefer to visit a doctor in the local township town clinic. I felt it is important to record this chant before it disappears and therefore I filmed my mother performing the ritual and then made the following transcription from the video.

1

[1] lu₁¹ tɕi₅³ o¹¹ li⁴⁴ da₅³
lu₁¹ tɕi₅³ S back come

[2] ma₅³ ja¹¹ pæ₅³ li⁴⁴ da₅³
mother LOC back come

[3] a₅³ da₃⁵ pæ₅³ li⁴⁴ da₅³
father LOC back come

[4] sə₅³ hi₅³ tʰa₅³ pʰu¹¹ lə⁴⁴ hi¹¹ ɾa¹¹ tʰa⁴⁴ bzi₅³
soul NEG separate body NEG wander

There is a local clinic at the township town where a Han doctor sells western medicines.
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\[5\]
šo\(^{11}\) su\(^{53}\) bzi\(^{53}\) su\(^{53}\) da\(^{53}\) t\(^{h}\)a\(^{53}\) jo\(^{11}\) jo\(^{11}\)
dead GEN crazy GEN DAT NEG with

\[6\]
ræ\(^{53}\) tša\(^{53}\) ræ\(^{53}\) bzi\(^{53}\) la\(^{11}\) kə\(^{11}\) t\(^{h}\)a\(^{53}\) zə\(^{53}\)
baby's soul hand NEG EXT

\[7\]
gy\(^{11}\) ni\(^{11}\) rə\(^{44}\) gy\(^{53}\) te\(^{11}\) ti\(^{11}\) ni\(^{11}\)
nine day road/way CONJ one day

\[8\]
gy\(^{11}\) ha\(^{11}\) rə\(^{44}\) gy\(^{53}\) te\(^{11}\) ti\(^{11}\) ha\(^{11}\)
nine night road/way CONJ one night

\[9\]
kæ\(^{44}\) ndzə\(^{44}\) tšo\(^{53}\) kə\(^{53}\) t\(^{h}\)a\(^{53}\) dzo\(^{44}\)
Ganzi prefecture LOC NEG EXT

\[10\]
rə\(^{53}\) hɨ\(^{53}\) t\(^{h}\)a\(^{53}\) pBU\(^{11}\) le\(^{11}\) hi\(^{11}\) kə\(^{11}\) t\(^{h}\)a\(^{44}\) bzi\(^{53}\)
soul NEG separate body NEG wander
m\(^{53}\) li\(^{44}\) da\(^{53}\)
AVM back come

[11]
t\(^{h}i\)n\(^{53}\) xe\(^{53}\) sin\(^{53}\) xo\(^{53}\) t\(^{a}\)\(^{44}\) dz\(^{a}\)\(^{44}\)
Qinghai province LOC NEG EXT

[12]
r\(^{o}\)\(^{53}\) hi\(^{53}\) t\(^{a}\)\(^{53}\) pb\(^{u}\)\(^{11}\) le\(^{44}\) hi\(^{11}\) ba\(^{11}\) t\(^{a}\)\(^{44}\) bzi\(^{53}\)
soul NEG separate body NEG wander

m\(^{53}\) li\(^{44}\) da\(^{53}\)
AVM back come

[13]
ma\(^{53}\)ja\(^{11}\) pæ\(^{53}\) li\(^{44}\) da\(^{53}\)
mother LOC back come

[14]
a\(^{53}\)\(^{53}\) da\(^{53}\) pæ\(^{53}\) li\(^{44}\) da\(^{53}\)
father LOC back come

[15]
g\(^{v}\)\(^{11}\) ni\(^{11}\) r\(^{o}\)\(^{44}\) g\(^{v}\)\(^{53}\) te\(^{53}\) ti\(^{11}\) ni\(^{11}\)
nine day road CONJ one day

m\(^{11}\) li\(^{44}\) da\(^{53}\)
AVM back come

[16]
g\(^{v}\)\(^{11}\) ha\(^{11}\) r\(^{o}\)\(^{44}\) g\(^{v}\)\(^{53}\) te\(^{11}\) ti\(^{11}\) ha\(^{11}\)
nine night road/way CONJ one night

m\(^{11}\) li\(^{44}\) da\(^{53}\)
AVM back come
[17]  
so\textsuperscript{53} ni\textsuperscript{53} ro\textsuperscript{44} gy\textsuperscript{53} te\textsuperscript{53} ti\textsuperscript{11} ni\textsuperscript{11} 
three day road CONJ one day 

m\textsuperscript{11} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53} 
AVM back come 

1 lu\textsuperscript{11} tci\textsuperscript{53} o\textsuperscript{11} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}  
2 ma\textsuperscript{53} ja\textsuperscript{11} p\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}  
3 a\textsuperscript{53} da\textsuperscript{53} p\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}  
4 ra\textsuperscript{53} hi\textsuperscript{53} ta\textsuperscript{53} pu\textsuperscript{11} le\textsuperscript{44} hi\textsuperscript{11} ka\textsuperscript{11} ta\textsuperscript{44} bzi\textsuperscript{53} m\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}  
5 so\textsuperscript{11} su\textsuperscript{53} bzi\textsuperscript{53} su\textsuperscript{53} da\textsuperscript{53} ta\textsuperscript{53} jo\textsuperscript{11} jo\textsuperscript{11}  
6 ra\textsuperscript{53} ta\textsuperscript{53} bzi\textsuperscript{53} la\textsuperscript{11} ko\textsuperscript{11} ta\textsuperscript{53} zo\textsuperscript{53} m\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}  
7 gy\textsuperscript{11} ni\textsuperscript{11} ra\textsuperscript{44} gy\textsuperscript{53} te\textsuperscript{11} ti\textsuperscript{11} ni\textsuperscript{11} m\textsuperscript{11} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}  
8 gy\textsuperscript{11} ha\textsuperscript{11} ro\textsuperscript{44} gy\textsuperscript{53} te\textsuperscript{11} ti\textsuperscript{11} ha\textsuperscript{11} m\textsuperscript{11} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}  
9 ka\textsuperscript{44} ndzo\textsuperscript{44} ts\textsuperscript{53} ko\textsuperscript{53} ta\textsuperscript{53} dzo\textsuperscript{44}  
10 ro\textsuperscript{53} hi\textsuperscript{53} ta\textsuperscript{53} pu\textsuperscript{11} le\textsuperscript{11} hi\textsuperscript{11} ka\textsuperscript{11} ta\textsuperscript{44} bzi\textsuperscript{53} m\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}  
11 te\textsuperscript{44} in\textsuperscript{53} xe\textsuperscript{53} sin\textsuperscript{53} ko\textsuperscript{53} ta\textsuperscript{44} dzo\textsuperscript{44}  
12 ro\textsuperscript{53} hi\textsuperscript{53} ta\textsuperscript{53} pu\textsuperscript{11} le\textsuperscript{44} hi\textsuperscript{11} ka\textsuperscript{11} ta\textsuperscript{44} bzi\textsuperscript{53} m\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}  
13 ma\textsuperscript{53} ja\textsuperscript{11} p\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}  
14 a\textsuperscript{53} da\textsuperscript{53} p\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}  
15 gy\textsuperscript{11} ni\textsuperscript{11} ro\textsuperscript{44} gy\textsuperscript{53} te\textsuperscript{53} ti\textsuperscript{11} ni\textsuperscript{11} m\textsuperscript{11} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}  
16 gy\textsuperscript{11} ha\textsuperscript{11} ro\textsuperscript{44} gy\textsuperscript{53} te\textsuperscript{11} ti\textsuperscript{11} ha\textsuperscript{11} m\textsuperscript{11} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}  
17 so\textsuperscript{53} ni\textsuperscript{53} ro\textsuperscript{44} gy\textsuperscript{53} te\textsuperscript{53} ti\textsuperscript{11} ni\textsuperscript{11} m\textsuperscript{11} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}  

1 lu tci,\textsuperscript{19} return  
2 Return to Mother's place  
3 Return to Father's place  
4 Return, don't separate from your soul and let your body wander  
5 Don't stay with dead, mad souls  
6 Don't be in baby souls' hands; return  
7 Return in one day if you are nine days away  
8 Return in one night if you are nine nights away  

\textsuperscript{19} lu tci = Liujin 六斤, Libu Lakhi.
Don't stay in Ganzi Prefecture
Return, don't separate from the soul and let your body wander
Don't stay in Qinghai Province
Return, don't separate from your soul and let your body wander
Return to Mother's place
Return to Father's place
Return in one day if you are nine days away
Return in one night if you are nine nights away
Return in one day if you are three days away

[1]
lu₁¹ tɕi⁵³ o¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
lu₁¹ tɕi⁵³ VOC back come

[2]
ŋi⁵³ tɕʰo⁵³ te⁵³ ſu⁵³ kʰa⁵³ ko¹¹ ko⁴⁴ tʰa⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
East CONJ metal door LOC NEG EXT

[3]
šə¹¹ tɕʰo¹¹ te¹¹ cə¹¹ kʰa⁴⁴ ko¹¹ ko⁴⁴ tʰa⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
West CONJ tree door LOC NEG EXT

m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AMV back come

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Asian Highlands Perspectives. 1 (2009), 65-115.

[4]  

bi\textsuperscript{11} jy\textsuperscript{53} ṭa\textsuperscript{11} jy\textsuperscript{11} ṭa\textsuperscript{11} dzø\textsuperscript{44} 

temple monstery LOC NEG EXT

[5]  

ni\textsuperscript{53} tč\textsuperscript{h} o\textsuperscript{53} ša\textsuperscript{11} tč\textsuperscript{h} o\textsuperscript{11} ṭa\textsuperscript{44} dzø\textsuperscript{44} 

East West LOC NEG EXT

m\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53} 

AVM back come

[6]  

kwï\textsuperscript{11} je\textsuperscript{11} te\textsuperscript{11} pʰu\textsuperscript{44} šə\textsuperscript{53} la\textsuperscript{11} ṭa\textsuperscript{11} 

male S CONJ male ghost hand

ṭa\textsuperscript{44} zə\textsuperscript{53} 

LOC NEG EXT

[7]  

mbzə\textsuperscript{11} je te\textsuperscript{11} dzũ\textsuperscript{53} ma\textsuperscript{53} la\textsuperscript{11} ṭa\textsuperscript{11} 

female S CONJ female ghost hand

ṭa\textsuperscript{44} zə\textsuperscript{53} m\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53} 

LOC NEG EXT AVM back come

[8]  

ma\textsuperscript{53} ja\textsuperscript{11} nu\textsuperscript{44} li\textsuperscript{44} ndzø\textsuperscript{44} te\textsuperscript{53} 

mother you back call CONJ

[9]  

gy\textsuperscript{11} ni\textsuperscript{11} rə\textsuperscript{44} gy\textsuperscript{53} te\textsuperscript{53} 

nine day road/way CONJ

ti\textsuperscript{11} ni\textsuperscript{11} m\textsuperscript{11} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53} 

one day AVM back come

84
[10] gû^11 ha^11 ro^44 gû^53 te^53 ti^11 ha^11
nine night road CONJ one night
m^11 li^44 da^53
AVM back come

Ganzi prefecture LOC NEG EXT

[12] a^53 pa^11 tðø^53 bø^53 th^a^44 dzo^44
Aba prefecture LOC NEG EXT

[13] ká^53 tìŋ^11 tðhêŋ^11 bø^11 th^a^44 dzo^44
Kangding city LOC NEG EXT
m^53 li^44 da^53
AVM back come

[14] rø^53 hì^53 th^a^53 pbu^11 le^44 hi^11 ka^11 th^a^44 bzi^53
soul NEG separate body NEG wander
m^53 li^44 da^53
AVM back come

self soul CONJ self EXT self body CONJ
jò^11 za^11 m^11 li^44 da^53
self EXT AVM back come
[16] ma\(^{53}\) ja\(^{11}\) m\(^{44}\) nu\(^{44}\) li\(^{44}\) ndzø\(^{44}\) mother AVM you back call

[17] a\(^{53}\) da\(^{53}\) m\(^{53}\) nu\(^{44}\) li\(^{44}\) ndzø\(^{44}\) father AVM you back call

[18] a\(^{53}\) po\(^{53}\) çy\(^{53}\) ndy\(^{11}\) a\(^{44}\) ja\(^{55}\) elder brother younger brother elder sister mø\(^{11}\) mø\(^{44}\) m\(^{53}\) nu\(^{44}\) li\(^{44}\) ndzø\(^{44}\) younger sister AVM you back call

[19] tsa\(^{44}\) la\(^{44}\) tș\(^{u11}\) y\(^{11}\) la\(^{11}\) tșø\(^{11}\) xi\(^{11}\) relative in-law m\(^{11}\) nu\(^{44}\) li\(^{44}\) ndzø\(^{44}\) AVM you back call

[20] kwí\(^{11}\) je\(^{11}\) te\(^{11}\) p'h\(^{u44}\) ñø\(^{55}\) la\(^{11}\) kò\(^{11}\) male S CONJ male ghost hand kò\(^{11}\) t'h\(^{a53}\) zø\(^{53}\) LOC NEG EXT

[21] mbzø\(^{11}\) je\(^{11}\) te\(^{11}\) dzu\(^{53}\) ma\(^{53}\) la\(^{11}\) kò\(^{11}\) kò\(^{11}\) female S CONJ female ghost hand LOC t'h\(^{a53}\) zø\(^{53}\) m\(^{53}\) li\(^{44}\) da\(^{53}\) NEG EXT AVM back come
[22]  kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ pʰu⁴⁴ šö⁵⁵ do¹¹ ma⁴⁴ tʰa⁴⁴ ba⁴⁴ he⁵³
male S CONJ ghost language NEG listen

[23]  mbζə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzù⁵³ ma⁵³ do¹¹ ma⁴⁴
female S CONJ female ghost language
tʰa⁴⁴ ba⁴⁴ he⁵³ m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
NEG listen AVM back come

[24]  šọ¹¹ su⁵³ te⁵³ lo¹¹ li¹¹ kʰo¹¹
dead GEN CONJ DAT back separate

[25]  dzọ⁴⁴ su⁵³ te⁵³ mi¹¹ li¹¹ kʰo¹¹
EXT GEN CONJ down back separate
m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[26]  pʰo⁵³ ho⁴⁴ te⁵³ li¹¹ xi⁴⁴ ndzù¹¹ ho⁴⁴
escape S CONJ release through S
tᵉ⁵³ ha¹¹ qy¹¹ m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
CONJ mouse hole AVM back come

¹ lu¹¹ təi⁵³ o¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
² ni⁵³ tʰo⁵³ te⁵³ šu⁵³ ra⁵³ ko¹¹ ko⁴⁴ tʰa⁴⁴ dzọ⁴⁴
³ ša¹¹ tʰo⁴⁴ te¹¹ čə¹¹ ra⁴⁴ ko¹¹ ko⁴⁴ tʰa⁴⁴ dzọ⁴⁴ m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
⁴ bi¹¹ jy⁵³ la¹¹ jy¹¹ ko¹¹ tʰa⁴⁴ dzọ⁴⁴
⁵ ni⁵³ tʰo⁵³ ša¹¹ tʰo¹¹ ko¹¹ tʰa⁴⁴ dzọ⁴⁴ m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
⁶ kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ pʰu⁴⁴ šö⁵⁵ la¹¹ ko¹¹ ko¹¹ tʰa⁵³ šo⁵³
⁷ mbζə¹¹ te¹¹ dzù⁵³ ma⁵³ la¹¹ ko¹¹ ko¹¹ tʰa⁵³ šo⁵³ m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
Asian Highlands Perspectives. 1 (2009), 65-115.

8 ma53 ja11 nu44 li44 ndzö44 te53
9 gy11 ni11 ro44 gy53 te53 ti11 ni11 m11 li44 da53
10 gy11 ha11 ro44 gy53 te53 ti11 ha11 m11 li44 da53
11 ka44 ndzö53 tso53 ko53 ta44 dzö44
12 a53 pa11 tsö53 ko53 ta44 dzö44
13 ka53 ti11 ts'ên11 ko11 ta44 dzö44 m53 li44 da53
14 ro53 hi53 ta53 p'ü11 le44 hi11 ka11 ta44 bzi53 m53 li44 da53
15 jo11 ro53 te53 jo11 zo53 jo11 ka53 te53 jo11 zo53 m53 li44 da53
16 ma53 ja11 m53 nu44 li44 ndzö44
17 a53 da53 m53 nu44 li44 ndzö44
18 a53 po53 cy53 ndy11 a44 ja53 ma11 ma44 m53 nu44 li44 ndzö44
19 tsa44 la44 ts'ü11 y11 la11 tsa11 xi11 m11 nu44 li44 ndzö44
20 kw'i11 je11 te11 p'ü44 sö55 la11 ko11 ko11 ta53 zo53
21 mbzö11 je11 te11 dzü53 ma53 la11 ko11 ko11 ta53 zo53 m53 li44 da53
22 kw'i11 je11 te11 p'ü44 sö55 do11 ma44 ta44 ba44 he53
23 mbzö11 je11 te11 dzü53 ma53 do11 ma44 ta44 ba44 he53 m53 li44 da53
24 so11 su53 te53 lo11 li11 ko11
25 dzö44 su53 te53 mi11 li11 ko11 m11 li44 da53
26 p'o53 ho44 te53 li11 xi44 ndzü11 ho44 te53 ha11 gy11 m53 li44 da53

1 lu11 te53, return
2 Don't stay at East Metal Door
3 Don't stay at West Wood Door
4 Don't stay at temples
5 Don't wander in eastern and western areas; return
6 Don't let male ghosts control you
7 Don't let female ghosts control you; return
8 Mother is calling you back

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21 When souls are enroute to the sky, they must pass through East Metal Door and West Wood Door. The Lisu soul calling chant recorded by Durrenberger (1975, 39) contains the following line, "The door of the land of the dead has opened and the soul is coming back."
9 Return in one day if you are nine days away
10 Return in one night if you are nine nights away
11 Don't stay in Ganzi Prefecture
12 Don't stay in Aba Prefecture
13 Don't stay in Kangding City; return
14 Return, don't separate from your soul and let your body wander
15 Return with your soul and your body
16 Mother is calling you back
17 Father is calling you back
18 Brothers and sisters are calling you back
19 Relatives and in-laws are calling you back
20 Don't stay in male ghosts' hands
21 Don't stay in female ghosts' hands and return
22 Ignore what the male ghosts say
23 Ignore what the female ghosts say and return
24 Separate from the dead souls
25 Separate from the souls of living people, come down, and return
26 Be released while escaping through mouse holes and return

[1] lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ o¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ S back come

[2] ma⁵³ ja¹¹ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzø⁴⁴ te⁵³
mother you back call CONJ

[3] gɤ⁵¹ ni¹¹ rɔ⁴⁴ gɤ⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ni¹¹
nine day road/way CONJ one day
\[ m^{11} \quad li^{44} \quad da^{53} \]
AVM back come

[4]
\[ a^{53} \quad da^{53} \quad nu^{44} \quad li^{44} \quad ndz\theta^{44} \quad te^{53} \]
father you back call CONJ

[5]
\[ gy^{11} \quad ha^{11} \quad r\theta^{44} \quad gy^{53} \quad te^{53} \quad ti^{11} \quad ha^{11} \]
nine night road/way CONJ one night

\[ m^{11} \quad li^{44} \quad da^{53} \]
AVM back come

[6]
\[ ts\alpha^{44} \quad la^{53} \quad ts\beta u^{11} \quad y^{11} \quad la^{11} \quad ts\omicron^{11} \quad xi^{11} \]
relative in-law

\[ m^{11} \quad nu^{44} \quad li^{44} \quad ndz\theta^{44} \quad te^{53} \]
AVM you back call CONJ

[7]
\[ kw\iota^{11} \quad je^{11} \quad te^{11} \quad p\acute{\iota}^{44} \quad \phi^{55} \quad do^{11} \quad ma^{44} \]
male S CONJ male ghost language

\[ t^{\beta} a^{44} \quad ba^{44} \quad he^{53} \]
NEG listen

[8]
\[ mbz\phi^{11} \quad je^{11} \quad te^{11} \quad dzu^{53} \quad ma^{53} \quad do^{11} \quad ma^{44} \]
male S CONJ female ghost language

\[ t^{\beta} a^{44} \quad ba^{44} \quad he^{53} \quad m^{53} \quad li^{44} \quad da^{53} \]
NEG listen AVM back come
When Mother is calling you back
Return in one day if you are nine days away
When Father is calling you back
Return in one night if you are nine nights away
When relatives and in-laws are calling you back
Ignore what the male ghosts say
Ignore what the female ghosts say and return
Don't stay at East Metal Door
Don't stay at West Wood Door and return
[1]
l[u]-tci S back come

[2]
su te lo li k'o back separate

[3]
dz su te mi li k'o back separate

[4]
su da te t'h a jo jo come CONJ NEG with

[5]
bz su da te t'h a jo jo female GEN DAT CONJ NEG with

[6]
jo rl te jo zo jo ka self soul CONJ self EXT self authority

[7]
te jo zo m li da CONJ self EXT AVM back come
[7]
ma⁴⁴ sə₁¹ sə₁¹ ma⁴⁴ ndo³⁵ ndo³⁵ su⁵³
NEG know NEG see GEN

[8]
ke⁵³ tʰᵃ₁¹ ke⁵³ xo¹¹ xo⁴⁴
market LOC

[9]
xo¹¹ pa¹¹ xo¹¹ lo⁴⁴ xo⁵³ tʰᵃ⁴⁴ dzə⁴⁴
the river LOC NEG EXT

m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[10]
tʰᵃ¹¹ rʰᵉ¹¹ sə¹¹ ro⁴⁴ xo⁵³
paper study LOC LOC

[11]
rə⁵³ hᵢ⁵³ tʰᵃ⁵³ pʰu¹¹ le⁴⁴ hᵢ¹¹ rᵃ¹¹ tʰᵃ⁴⁴ bʒi⁵³
soul NEG separate body NEG wander

m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[12]
ɡ volver ni¹¹ rə⁴⁴ ɡ volver te¹¹ ti¹¹ ni¹¹
nine day road/way CONJ one day

m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[13]
ɡ volver ha¹¹ rə⁴⁴ ɡ volver te⁵³ ti¹¹ ha¹¹
nine night road/way CONJ one night

m\(^{11}\) li\(^{44}\) da\(^{53}\)
AVM back come

[14]
sō\(^{53}\) ni\(^{53}\) rō\(^{44}\) gy\(^{53}\) te\(^{53}\) ti\(^{11}\) ni\(^{11}\)
three day road/way CONJ one day
m\(^{11}\) li\(^{44}\) da\(^{53}\)
AVM back come

[15]
sō\(^{52}\) ha\(^{53}\) rō\(^{44}\) gy\(^{53}\) te\(^{53}\) ti\(^{11}\) ha\(^{11}\)
three night road/way CONJ one night
m\(^{11}\) li\(^{44}\) da\(^{53}\)
AVM back come

[16]
kwi\(^{11}\) te\(^{11}\) pʰu\(^{44}\) šo\(^{55}\) la\(^{11}\) ko\(^{11}\) vo\(^{11}\) tʰa\(^{44}\) zo\(^{53}\)
male CONJ male ghost hand LOC NEG EXT

[17]
mbzo\(^{11}\) je\(^{11}\) te\(^{11}\) dzu\(^{53}\) ma\(^{53}\) la\(^{11}\) ko\(^{11}\) vo\(^{11}\)
female S CONJ male ghost hand LOC

tʰa\(^{44}\) zo\(^{11}\) m\(^{53}\) li\(^{44}\) da\(^{53}\)
NEG EXT AVM back come

[18]
ni\(^{53}\) tɛʰo\(^{53}\) te\(^{53}\) ū\(^{53}\) ka\(^{53}\) ko\(^{11}\) vo\(^{44}\) tʰa\(^{44}\) dzo\(^{44}\)
East CONJ metal door LOC NEG EXT

[19]
ša\(^{11}\) tɛʰo\(^{11}\) te\(^{11}\) ō\(^{53}\) ka\(^{44}\) ko\(^{11}\) vo\(^{44}\) tʰa\(^{44}\) dzo\(^{44}\)
West CONJ tree door LOC NEG EXT
m₅³  li₄⁴  da₅³
AVM  back  come

[20]
jo¹¹  ra₅³  te₅³  jo¹¹  zo¹¹  jo¹¹  ʁa₅³  te₅³
self  soul  CONJ  self  EXT  SELF  authority  CONJ

jo¹¹  zo¹¹  m₁¹  li₄⁴  da₅³
self  EXT  AVM  back  come

[21]
vᵃ₅³  te₅³  bzi¹¹  jy₅³  ʁo₅³  tʰ₄⁴⁴  dzɔ⁴⁴
Han  CONJ  temple  LOC  NEG  EXT

[22]
na₅³  te⁴⁴  ʰa¹¹  jy¹¹  ʁo¹¹  tʰ₄⁴⁴  zo₅³
na₅³  mzi₅³  CONJ  monastery  LOC  NEG  EXT

m₅³  li₄⁴  da₅³
AVM  back  come

[23]
šu₅³  ra₅³  gŷ¹¹  te¹¹  šu₅³  ra₅³  pʰɔ⁴⁴  le₅³
chain  tie  CONJ  chain  untie

[24]
zœ¹¹  rɔ⁴⁴  gŷ¹¹  te¹¹  zœ¹¹  rɔ⁴⁴  pʰɔ⁴⁴  le₅⁵
grass  rope  tie  CONJ  grass  rope  untie

le₅³  li₄⁴  da₅³
CONJ  back  come

[25]
kʰ¹³⁵  tʰ₂³³  tɛʰ₁¹¹  te⁴⁴  kʰ¹³⁵  tʰ₂³³  pʰɔ⁴⁴  le₅⁵
feet  shackle  tie  CONJ  feet  shackle  separate
[26]
la\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ t\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{ho}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}}\ te\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{ho}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}}\ te\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\ la\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ t\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{ho}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}}\hand\ shackle\ tie\ CONJ\ hand\ shackle
p\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{ho}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}}\ le\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{55}}}\ le\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\ li\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\ da\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\untie\ CONJ\ back\ come

[27]
ma\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\ ja\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ a\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\ da\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\ m\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\ nu\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\ li\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\ ndz\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{ho}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}}\mother\ father\ AVM\ you\ back\ call

[28]
a\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\ po\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\ \text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{cy}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\ ndj\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{y}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}}\ a\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\ ja\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\elder\ brother\ younger\ brother\ elder\ sister
m\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ m\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\ m\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\ nu\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\ li\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\ ndz\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{ho}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}}\younger\ sister\ AVM\ you\ back\ call

[29]
t\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{s}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{a}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\ la\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\ t\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{s}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{h}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{u}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ y\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ la\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ t\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{s}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{y}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{x}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{i}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ m\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ nu\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\ li\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\ ndz\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{ho}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}}\relative\ in-law\ AVM\ you\ back\ call

[30]
kwi\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ te\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ p\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{hu}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\ \text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{so}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{55}}}\ la\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ k\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{o}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ k\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{o}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ t\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{a}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\ z\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{o}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\male\ CONJ\ male\ ghost\ hand\ LOC\ NEG\ EXT

[31]
mb\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{z}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{o}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ je\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ te\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ dz\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{u}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\ ma\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\ la\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ k\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{o}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ k\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{o}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\female\ S\ CONJ\ female\ ghost\ hand\ LOC
t\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{ha}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\ zo\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\ m\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\ li\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\ da\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\NEG\ EXT\ AVM\ back\ come

[32]
kwi\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ te\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ p\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{hu}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\ \text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{so}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{55}}}\ do\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{11}}}\ ma\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\ t\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{a}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\ ba\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{44}}}\ he\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{53}}}\male\ CONJ\ male\ ghost\ language\ NEG\ listen
[33] mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzu³³ ma³³ do¹¹ ma⁴⁴ ta⁴⁴ female S CONJ female ghost language NEG ba⁴⁴ he³³ m³³ li⁴⁴ da³³ listen AVM back come

[34] šo¹¹ su³³ da³³ te³³ ta³³ jo¹¹ jo⁴⁴ dead GEN DAT CONJ NEG with

[35] mbzi³³ su³³ da³³ te³³ ta³³ jo¹¹ jo⁴⁴ crazy GEN DAT CONJ NEG with

[36] šo¹¹ su³³ te³³ lo¹¹ li¹¹ kʰo¹¹ dead GEN CONJ DAT back separate

[37] dzə⁴⁴ su³³ te³³ mi¹¹ li¹¹ kʰo¹¹ alive GEN CONJ down back separate m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da³³ AVM back come

[38] ma³³ ja¹¹ m³³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzə⁵⁵ mother AVM you back call

[39] a³³ da³³ m³³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzə⁴⁴ father AVM you back call
[40]  
a^53 po^53  c^y^53 ndjy^11  a^44 ja^55  
elder brother  younger brother  elder sister  
m^11 m^44  m^53 nu^44  li^44  ndz^44  
younger sister  AVM  you  back  call  

[41]  
t^a^44 la^53 t^3^u^11  v^11 la^11 t^3^v^11 xi^11  m^11  nu^44  li^44  ndz^44  
relative  in-law  AVM  you  back  call  

[42]  
ru^53 hi^53  t^5^a^53  pbu^11  le^44  h^11  ka^11  t^5^a^44  bzi^53  
soul  NEG  separate  body  NEG  wander  
m^53  li^44  da^53  
AVM  back  come  

[43]  
^su^53 ru^53  gv^11  te^11  ^su^43 ru^53  p^h^v^44  le^53  
chain  tie  CONJ  chain  untie  

[44]  
z^11  ru^44  gv^11  te^11  z^11  ru^44  p^h^v^44  le^53  
grass  rope  tie  CONJ  grass  rope  untie  
le^53  li^44  da^53  
CONJ  back  come  

[45]  
p^h^o^53  ho^53  te^53  li^11  xi^44  ndzu^11  ho^53  te^53  
escape  S  CONJ  release  through  S  CONJ  
ha^11  qu^44  m^53  li^44  da^53  
mouse  hole  AVM  back  come
Asian Highlands Perspectives. 1 (2009), 65-115.

1 lu11 tći53 o11 li44 da53
2 şo11 su53 te53 lo11 li11 kho11
3 dzö44 su53 te53 mi11 li11 kho11 m11 li44 da53
4 şa11 su53 da53 te53 ta53 jo11 jo44
5 mbzi53 su53 da53 te53 ta53 jo11 jo11 m53 li44 da53
6 jo11 ra53 te53 jo11 şa11 jo11 ka53 te53 jo11 şa11 m11 li44 da53
7 ma44 şa11 şa11 ma44 ndo53 ndo53 su53
8 ke53 tšh51 ke53 xo11 xo44
9 xo11 pa11 xo11 lo44 xo53 täh44 dzö44 m53 li44 da53
10 täh44 ra53 so11 ro44 xo53
11 ra53 hi53 tći53 pü11 le44 hi11 ka11 täh44 bzi53 m53 li44 da53
12 gy11 ni11 ra44 gy53 te11 ti11 ni11 m11 li44 da53
13 gy11 ha11 ro44 gy53 te53 ti11 ha11 m11 li44 da53
14 so53 ni53 ro44 gy53 te53 ti11 ni11 m11 li44 da53
15 so52 ha53 ra44 gy53 te53 ti11 ha11 m11 li44 da53
16 kwi11 te11 püh44 şo55 la11 xo11 xo11 täh44 şo53
17 mbzö11 je11 te11 dzui53 ma53 la11 xo11 xo11 täh44 şo11 m53 li44 da53
18 ni53 tći53 te53 su53 ka53 xo11 xo44 täh44 dzö44
19 ša11 tći53 te11 ča11 ka44 ko11 xo44 täh44 dzö44 m53 li44 da53
20 jo11 ro53 te53 jo11 şa11 jo11 ka53 te53 jo11 şa11 m11 li44 da53
21 va53 te53 bzi11 ju53 xo53 täh44 dzö44
22 na53 te44 la11 ju11 xo11 täh44 şo53 m53 li44 da53
23 su53 ro53 gy11 te11 su53 ro53 ph54 le53
24 şa11 ro53 gy11 te11 xo53 ro44 ph54 le55 le53 li44 da53
25 ki53 tük53 te53 te44 ki53 tɨ53 ph54 le55
26 la11 tık53 te xo11 te44 la11 tık53 ph54 le55 le53 li44 da53
27 ma53 ja11 a53 da53 m53 nu44 li44 ndżo54
28 a53 po53 gy53 djy11 a44 ja11 ma44 m53 nu44 li44 ndżo44
29 tsą11 la53 tšu11 y11 la11 tsą11 xi11 m11 nu44 li44 ndżo44
30 kwi11 te11 püh44 şo55 la11 xo11 xo11 täh53 şo53
31 mbzö11 je11 te11 dzui53 ma53 la11 xo11 xo11 täh53 şo53 m53 li44 da53
32 kwi11 te11 püh44 şo55 do11 ma44 täh44 ba44 he53
33 mbzö11 je11 te11 dzui53 ma53 do11 ma44 täh44 ba44 he53 m53 li44 da53

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34 su³⁵ da³⁵ te³⁵ t'a³⁵ jo¹¹ jo⁴⁴
35 mbzi³⁵ su³⁵ da³⁵ te³⁵ t'a³⁵ jo¹¹ jo⁴⁴
36 t'o³³ su³⁵ lo¹¹ li¹¹ k'h'o¹¹
37 dz'o³⁴ su³⁵ te³⁵ mi¹¹ li¹¹ k'h'o¹¹ m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da³⁵
38 ma³³ ja¹¹ m³³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndz'o³⁵
39 a³³ da³⁵ m³³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndz'o³⁴
40 a³³ po³⁵ cy³³ dyj¹¹ a⁴⁴ ja⁵⁵ mo¹¹ mo³⁴ m³³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndz'o⁴⁴
41 tsa⁴⁴ la³³ t's'u¹¹ y¹¹ la¹¹ t'so¹¹ xi¹¹ m¹¹ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndz'o⁴⁴
42 ro³³ hi³³ t'a³³ pbu¹¹ le⁴⁴ hi¹¹ ra¹¹ t'a⁴⁴ bzi³³ m³³ li⁴⁴ da³³
43 su³⁵ ro³³ gy¹¹ te¹¹ su³³ ro³³ p'h'o³⁴ le³³
44 z'o¹¹ ra³³ gy¹¹ te¹¹ z'o¹¹ ra³³ p'h'o³⁴ le³³ le³³ li⁴⁴ da³³
45 p'h'o³³ ho³³ te³³ li¹¹ xi⁴⁴ ndzu¹¹ ho³³ te³³ ha¹¹ qy³⁴ m³³ li⁴⁴ da³³

1 lu¹¹ tci³³, return
2 Separate the dead ones back
3 Separate the living ones down and return
4 Don't be with the dead ones
5 Don't be with the crazy ones and return
6 Return with your soul and your body
7 Don't be with those who are unfamiliar to you
8 Don't wander around markets
9 Don't wander in valleys and ditches and return
10 Don't stay in the places where you were a student
11 Don't separate your soul from your body, and return
12 Return in one day if you are nine days away
13 Return in one night if you are nine nights away
14 Return in one day if you are three days away
15 Return in one night if you are three nights away
16 Don't be in male ghosts' hands
17 Don't be in those female ghosts' hands and return
18 Don't stay at East Metal Door
19 Don't stay at West Wood Door and return
20 Return with your soul and your body
21 Don't be in Han temples
22 Don't be in na³³ mzi³³ monasteries
23 Untie the chain if you are tied with chains
Untie the grass ropes if you are tied with grass ropes and return
Untie the shackles if your feet are fettered
Untie the shackles if your hands are fettered and return
Parents are calling you back
Brothers and sisters are calling you back
Relatives and in-laws are calling you back
Don't be in male ghosts' hands
Don't be in male ghosts' hands and return
Don't listen to what the male ghosts are saying
Don't listen to what the female ghosts are saying and return
Don't be with the dead ones
Don't be with the crazy ones
Separate the dead ones back
Separate the living ones down and return
Mother is calling you back
Father is calling you back
Brothers and sisters are calling you back
Relatives and in-laws are calling you back
Don't separate your soul from your body, and return
Untie the grass ropes if you are tied with grass ropes
Untie the metal ropes if you are tied with metal ropes, and return
Be released while escaping through mouse holes and return

[1]
lú¹¹ tɕî³⁵³ o¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
lú¹¹ tɕî³⁵³ VOC back come
Asian Highlands Perspectives. 1 (2009), 65-115.

[2]  
jo11  ṭa53  jo11  zo11  jo11  ṭa53  jo11  zo11  
self soul self EXT self authority self EXT  

m11  li44  da53  
AVM back come  

[3]  
ma53  so11  so44  ma44  ndo53  ndo53  su53  
NEG know NEG see GEN  

[4]  
ke53  tša11  ke53  xo11  xo53  
market LOC  

[5]  
xo11  pa11  xo11  lo44  xo53  
river LOC  

[6]  
ro53  hi53  ta53  pbu11  le44  hi11  sa11  ha44  bzi53  
soul NEG separate body NEG wander  

m53  li44  da53  
AVM back come  

[7]  
kae53  ndzo53  tšo53  xo53  ha44  dzo44  
Ganzi prefecture LOC NEG EXT  

[8]  
a53  pa11  tšo53  xo53  ha44  dzo44  
Aba prefecture LOC NEG EXT  

m53  li44  da53  
AVM back come  

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soul NEG separate body NEG wander

m^53 \text{ li}^{44} \text{ da}^53
AVM back come

Kangding city LOC NEG EXT

Qinghai province LOC

soul NEG separate body NEG wander

m^53 \text{ li}^{44} \text{ da}^53
AVM back come

nine day road/way CONJ one day

m^11 \text{ li}^{44} \text{ da}^53
AVM back come

nine night road/way CONJ one night

m^11 \text{ li}^{44} \text{ da}^53
AVM back come
lu\textsuperscript{11} tci\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} a\textsuperscript{53} dzy\textsuperscript{11} o\textsuperscript{44} \\
lu\textsuperscript{11} tci\textsuperscript{53} back Q come VOC

1 lu\textsuperscript{11} tci\textsuperscript{53} o\textsuperscript{11} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}
2 jo\textsuperscript{11} r\textsuperscript{\circ} jo\textsuperscript{11} z\textsuperscript{\circ} jo\textsuperscript{11} ka\textsuperscript{53} jo\textsuperscript{11} z\textsuperscript{\circ} m\textsuperscript{11} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}
3 ma\textsuperscript{53} sa\textsuperscript{11} so\textsuperscript{44} ma\textsuperscript{44} ndo\textsuperscript{53} ndo\textsuperscript{53} su\textsuperscript{53}
4 ke\textsuperscript{53} t\textsuperscript{a} a\textsuperscript{11} ke\textsuperscript{53} xo\textsuperscript{11} ko\textsuperscript{53}
5 xo\textsuperscript{11} pa\textsuperscript{11} xo\textsuperscript{11} lo\textsuperscript{44} ko\textsuperscript{53}
6 r\textsuperscript{\circ} hi\textsuperscript{53} t\textsuperscript{a} pbu\textsuperscript{11} le\textsuperscript{44} hi\textsuperscript{11} ka\textsuperscript{11} t\textsuperscript{a} bzi\textsuperscript{53} m\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}
7 k\textsuperscript{a} ndzo\textsuperscript{53} t\textsuperscript{a} t\textsuperscript{a} dz\textsuperscript{44}
8 a\textsuperscript{53} pa\textsuperscript{11} t\textsuperscript{a} ko\textsuperscript{53} t\textsuperscript{a} dz\textsuperscript{44} m\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}
9 r\textsuperscript{\circ} hi\textsuperscript{53} t\textsuperscript{a} pbu\textsuperscript{11} le\textsuperscript{44} hi\textsuperscript{11} ka\textsuperscript{11} t\textsuperscript{a} bzi\textsuperscript{53} m\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}
10 k\textsuperscript{a} t\textsuperscript{a} ti\textsuperscript{11} t\textsuperscript{\circ} ko\textsuperscript{11} t\textsuperscript{a} dz\textsuperscript{44}
11 t\textsuperscript{\circ} ti\textsuperscript{53} xe\textsuperscript{53} si\textsuperscript{53} ko\textsuperscript{53}
12 r\textsuperscript{\circ} hi\textsuperscript{53} t\textsuperscript{a} pbu\textsuperscript{11} le\textsuperscript{44} hi\textsuperscript{11} ka\textsuperscript{11} t\textsuperscript{a} bzi\textsuperscript{53} m\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}
13 sy\textsuperscript{11} ni\textsuperscript{11} r\textsuperscript{\circ} sy\textsuperscript{53} te\textsuperscript{53} ti\textsuperscript{11} ni\textsuperscript{11} m\textsuperscript{11} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}
14 sy\textsuperscript{11} ha\textsuperscript{11} r\textsuperscript{\circ} sy\textsuperscript{53} te\textsuperscript{53} ti\textsuperscript{11} ha\textsuperscript{11} m\textsuperscript{11} li\textsuperscript{44} da\textsuperscript{53}
15 lu\textsuperscript{11} tci\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} a\textsuperscript{53} dzy\textsuperscript{11} o\textsuperscript{44}

1 lu\textsuperscript{11} tci\textsuperscript{53}, return
2 Return with your soul and your body
3 Don't be with those who are unfamiliar to you
4 Don't wander around in markets
5 Don't wander around in valleys and ditches
6 Don't separate your soul from your body, and return
7 Don't stay in Ganzi Prefecture
8 Don't stay in Aba Prefecture
9 Don't separate your soul from your body, and return
10 Don't stay in Kangding City
11 Don't stay in Qinghai Province
12 Don't separate your soul from your body, and return
13 Return in one day if you are nine days away
14 Return in one night if you are nine nights away
Has lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ come back yet?²²

[1]  
lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ o¹¹ li⁵³ dzy¹¹ o⁴⁴  
lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ S back come VOC

[2]  
ma⁵³ ja¹¹ a⁵³ da⁵³ ni⁵³ ndzò⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹ o⁴⁴  
mother father ERG call back come VOC

[3]  
a⁵³ po⁵³ çy⁵³ ndjy¹¹ a⁴⁴ ja⁵⁵  
elder brother younger brother elder sister

mɔ¹¹ mɔ⁴⁴ ni⁵³ ndzò⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹  
younger sister ERG call back come

[4]  
tʂa⁴⁴ la⁵³ tʂʰu¹¹ y¹¹ la¹¹ tʂo¹¹ xi¹¹ ni¹¹  
relative in-law ERG

ndzò⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹ o⁴⁴  
call back come VOC

[5]  
kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ pʰu⁴⁴ sɔ⁵⁵ la¹¹ ko¹¹ ma⁵³ zɔ⁵³  
male S CONJ male ghost hand NEG EXT

mɔ⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹  
AVM back come

²² The mother asks and the family members answer, "Yes, he has come back."
mbzọ je te dzụ ma la ko ma zọ female S CONJ female ghost hand NEG EXT

m li dzy o AVM back come VOC

east CONJ metal door LOC NEG EXT

west CONJ tree door LOC NEG EXT

m li dzy o AVM back come

soul NEG separate body NEG wander

m li dzy o AVM back come VOC

nine day road/way CONJ one day

m li dzy AVM back come

nine night road/way CONJ one night
m³¹¹ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹ o⁴⁴
AVM back come VOC

[12]
kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ pʰu⁴⁴ s̥⁵⁵ la¹¹ ko¹¹ ma⁵³ z̥³⁵
male S CONJ male ghost hand NEG EXT

m⁵³ ndz̥⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹
AVM call back come

[13]
mbz̥¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzy⁵³ ma⁵³ la¹¹ ko¹¹ ma⁵³
female S CONJ female ghost hand NEG

z̥⁵³ m³⁵ ndz̥⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹ o⁴⁴
EXT AVM call back come VOC

[14]
ma⁵³ ja¹¹ a⁵³ da⁵³ ni⁵³ ndz̥⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹
mother father ERG call back come

[15]
a⁵³ po⁵³ ñ̥y³⁵ ndjy¹¹ a⁴⁴ ja⁵⁵
elder brother younger brother elder sister

m̥¹¹ ma⁴⁴ ni⁴⁴ ndz̥⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹
younger sister ERG call back come

[16]
t̥a⁴⁴ la⁵³ t̥ʰu¹¹ y¹¹ la¹¹ t̥a¹¹ xi¹¹ ni¹¹
relative in-law ERG

ndz̥⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹ o⁴⁴
call back come VOC
[17]  
ro$^{53}$ hi$^{53}$ ma$^{53}$ pbu$^{11}$ le$^{44}$ hĩ$^{t1}$ ka$^{11}$ ma$^{44}$ bzi$^{53}$  
soul NEG separate body NEG wander  

m$^{53}$ li$^{44}$ dzy$^{11}$ o$^{44}$  
AVM back come VOC  

[18]  
lu$^{11}$ te$^{i53}$ li$^{44}$ dzy$^{11}$ o$^{11}$ li$^{44}$ dzy$^{11}$ o$^{44}$  
lu$^{11}$ te$^{i53}$ back come VOC back come VOC  

[19]  
kwi$^{11}$ je$^{11}$ te$^{11}$ p$^{h44}$ ŋ$^{55}$ la$^{11}$ ko$^{11}$ ma$^{53}$ zo$^{53}$  
male VOC CONJ male ghost hand NEG EXT  
m$^{53}$ ndz$^{44}$ li$^{44}$ dzy$^{11}$  
AVM call back come  

[20]  
mbz$^{53}$ je$^{11}$ te$^{11}$ dzu$^{53}$ ma$^{53}$ la$^{11}$ ko$^{11}$ ma$^{53}$  
female VOC CONJ female ghost hand NEG  
z$^{53}$ m$^{53}$ ndz$^{44}$ li$^{44}$ dzy$^{11}$ o$^{44}$  
EXT AVM call back come VOC  

[21]  
ro$^{53}$ hĩ$^{53}$ tʰa$^{44}$ pbu$^{11}$ le$^{44}$ hĩ$^{t1}$ ka$^{11}$ tʰa$^{44}$ bzi$^{53}$  
soul NEG separate body NEG wander  
m$^{53}$ li$^{44}$ dzy$^{11}$ o$^{44}$  
AVM back come VOC  

[22]  
so$^{44}$ me$^{53}$ bu$^{53}$ pǣ$^{53}$ ndzu$^{11}$ li$^{53}$ dzy$^{11}$  
three fire LOC sit back come
[23] so\textsuperscript{53} qa\textsuperscript{11} lu\textsuperscript{44} pæ\textsuperscript{44} dzu\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} dzy\textsuperscript{11}
three hearth stone LOC sit back come

[24] η\textsuperscript{11} tbu\textsuperscript{11} jy\textsuperscript{53} k\textsuperscript{h}u\textsuperscript{11} t\textsuperscript{h}ɔ\textsuperscript{11} zi\textsuperscript{11} pæ\textsuperscript{11} ndzu\textsuperscript{53}
five CL home pole LOC sit
li\textsuperscript{44} dzy\textsuperscript{11} o\textsuperscript{44}
back come VOC

[25] jy\textsuperscript{11} la\textsuperscript{11} jy\textsuperscript{11} te\textsuperscript{11} çɔ\textsuperscript{11} qæ\textsuperscript{53}
sleep CONJ sleep CONJ tree bed
jy\textsuperscript{11} li\textsuperscript{11} dzy\textsuperscript{11}
sleep back come

[26] ma\textsuperscript{11} çɔ\textsuperscript{11} qa\textsuperscript{11} lu\textsuperscript{44} pæ\textsuperscript{11} ndzu\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} dzy\textsuperscript{11}
hearth hearth stone LOC sit back come

[27] lu\textsuperscript{11} tçi\textsuperscript{53} li\textsuperscript{44} dzy\textsuperscript{11} o\textsuperscript{11} li\textsuperscript{44} dzy\textsuperscript{11} o\textsuperscript{44}
lu\textsuperscript{11} tçi\textsuperscript{53} back come VOC back come VOC

[28] qa\textsuperscript{11} lu\textsuperscript{44} a\textsuperscript{44} mi\textsuperscript{55} ma\textsuperscript{53} q\textsuperscript{h}o\textsuperscript{11} to\textsuperscript{44}
hearth stone mother NEG lose

[29] ηa\textsuperscript{53} lu\textsuperscript{11} tçi\textsuperscript{53} ma\textsuperscript{53} q\textsuperscript{h}o\textsuperscript{11} to\textsuperscript{44} m\textsuperscript{53} ma\textsuperscript{53} ja\textsuperscript{11}
I/my lu\textsuperscript{11} tçi\textsuperscript{53} NEG lose AVM mother
ni\textsuperscript{53} ndzo\textsuperscript{44} li\textsuperscript{44} dzy\textsuperscript{11} o\textsuperscript{44}
ERG call back come VOC
Lu\textsuperscript{11} tci\textsuperscript{53} has returned

[His] parents called and he returned

[His] brothers and sisters called and he returned

[His] relatives and in-laws called and he returned

Returned without being in male ghosts' hands

Returned without being in female ghosts' hands

Returned without staying at East Metal Door

Returned without staying at West Wood Door

Returned without the soul wandering separate from the body

Returned in one day from a distance of nine days

Returned in one night from a distance of nine nights

Returned without being in male ghosts' hands

Returned without being in female ghosts' hands

Returned when parents called

[His] brothers and sisters called and he returned

[His] relatives and in-laws called and he returned

Returned without the soul wandering separate from the body

Lu\textsuperscript{11} tci\textsuperscript{53} already returned, already returned

Returned without being in male ghosts' hands

Returned without being in female ghosts' hands

Returned without the soul wandering separate from the body

Returned and sat beside the three fires' flames\textsuperscript{23}

Returned and sat beside the three hearth stones

Returned and sat under the home of five poles\textsuperscript{24}

Returned and slept on the wood bed

Returned and sat beside the hearth stones of the house

\textsuperscript{23} The fire is divided into three parts by the three hearthstones.

\textsuperscript{24} In the na\textsuperscript{53} mzi\textsuperscript{53} creation myth described above, humans did not know how to build houses and lived in huts built from tree branches. The bat explained to humans how to build houses using five pillars.
The mother of the hearth stone didn't lose
My lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ was not lost and returned when Mother called
REFERENCES


Figure One: The hearth and hearth stones.

A the ga⁵³ ha⁵³ 'sacrificial place'
B the qa¹¹ 'hearth'
C the qa¹¹ lu⁴⁴ a⁴⁴ mi⁵⁵ 'mother hearth stone'
D and E the qa¹¹ lu⁴⁴ a⁴⁴ zî⁵³ 'sons of the hearth stone'
F the dzô⁴⁴ pB⁵₃ ndzu⁵³ ro⁴⁴ 'host seating'
G the væ⁴⁴ ndzu⁵³ ro⁴⁴ 'guest seating'
H the mi¹¹ qa¹¹ 'lower hearth area' where the family eats and dances when guests come
I the qʰo¹¹ bo¹¹ 'door'