

CALLING BACK THE LOST
na⁵³ mzi⁵³ TIBETAN SOUL

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ABSTRACT

A na⁵³ mzi⁵³ person falls accidentally and is panicked. The rə⁵³ hr̃⁵³ '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 na⁵³ mzi⁵³ 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 na⁵³ mzi⁵³ cosmology and beliefs concerning the soul.

KEY WORDS

soul, soul calling, na⁵³ mzi⁵³, Namyi, Namuyi, Namzi, Tibetans, Liangshan, China

INTRODUCTION: dzə¹¹ 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 p^ha⁵³ tsə⁵³, and wear distinctive clothing.

dzə¹¹ qu¹¹ and Mu'er villages are the focus of this study. dzə¹¹ 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 dzə¹¹ 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.

na⁵³ mzi⁵³ COSMOLOGY

Personal Account (Libu Lakhi)

I asked Mother¹ 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 m⁵³ q^ho¹¹ bo¹¹ '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 (dby⁴⁴), an underworld (a¹¹ hī⁴⁴), and the sky (m⁵³). Earth is inhabited by people, who go to m⁵³ after they die. The underworld is inhabited by hī¹¹ sa¹¹ ŋæ⁴⁴, beings who can shake the poles of the earth and cause earthquakes.

m⁵³ is like the earth; people farm, work, and herd there, but they do not marry.² People live eternally in m⁵³

¹ mbzø⁴⁴ m⁴⁴ 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 na⁵³

with their ancestors and wear long white traditional *hũ⁵³ ndzə⁵³* robes that are also worn by the deceased at their funeral. Local *na⁵³ mzi⁵³* believe that the deceased person takes those clothes, and animals slaughtered at the funeral with them to *m̄⁵³*.

m̄⁵³ has two doors: *ʃu⁵³ ɤa⁵³ k^hu¹¹* 'East Metal Door' and *ɤə¹¹ ɤa⁵³ k^hu¹¹* 'West Metal Door' through which the soul of the deceased must pass.

THE SOUL

A person is endowed with a *rə⁵³ hũ⁵³* 'soul' at birth.

rə⁵³ hũ⁵³ go to *m̄⁵³* to live after people die naturally, for example, from old age and not from violent deaths, terrible illnesses, or poison.³ In the case of a person who has died naturally, the family invites a *p^ha⁵³ tsə⁵³* to do the *pi¹¹* ritual to lead the soul to *m̄⁵³* through the *ts^ho¹¹ bo¹¹ rə¹¹ gɣ¹¹*—the path that connects the places where the ancestors have lived.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 *m̄⁵³*. 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

mzi⁵³ 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.

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

⁴ Libu Lakhi and Stuart (2007) describe the *pi¹¹* 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

*rə*⁵³ *hr*⁵³ *má*⁴⁴ *jo*¹¹ *jo*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.

na⁵³ mzi⁵³ in dzə¹¹ 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

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 *p^ha⁵³ tsə⁵³* 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 appetite, 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 $rə^{53}$ $hĩ^{53}$ li^{44} $q^h y^{44}$ and is done by a $p^h a^{53}$ $tsə^{53}$. $q^h y^{44}$ suggests a sound employed to call chickens, pigs, horses, goats, and cats. The $p^h a^{53}$ $tsə^{53}$ 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 $dzə^{11}$ qu^{11} Village, the ritual is commonly done by the mother of the person with the lost soul, rather than by the $p^h a^{53}$ $tsə^{53}$. This ritual is called $rə^{53}$ $hĩ^{53}$ li^{44} $ndzə^{44}$. $ndzə^{44}$ 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

$rə^{53}$ $hĩ^{53}$ li^{44} $q^h y^{44}$

The mother wraps her ku^{53} $pə^{53}$ $sə^{53}$ $sə^{53}$ '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,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 *a*⁴⁴ *mr*⁵⁵ 'mother of the hearth stones' is the innermost and largest one. The *qa*¹¹ *lu*⁴⁴ *a*⁴⁴ *zi*⁵³ '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.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 *dzə*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 *dzə*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 *qa¹¹ lu⁴⁴ a⁴⁴ mi⁵⁵*.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.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 *ku⁵³ pæ⁵³ sɔ⁵³ sɔ⁵³* 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.

Nusu in *dzə¹¹ qu¹¹* and Mu'er also practice the *rə⁵³ hi⁵³ li⁴⁴ q^hɣ⁴⁴* ritual by inviting the *p^ha⁵³ tsə⁵³*; the mother plays no role when this is done.

used to roast potatoes and meat. The family sat at the hearth (see Figure One) when eating, and also the family usually chatted near the hearth when time allowed. During winter, a fire in the hearth provided warmth, which was an added incentive to sit near it.

¹³ It is also known as *qa¹¹ lu⁴⁴ va¹¹ mi¹¹*.

¹⁴ Liu (1995) mentions the use of egg divination among the Yi but provides no details.

Personal Account (*ge¹¹ dzu⁴⁴ zɿ⁵³¹⁵*)

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 *mo⁴⁴ ts^hə⁴⁴* '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."

¹⁵ Male, b. ~1988.

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. Father¹⁶ 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 li⁴⁴ bu⁴⁴ 2ə¹¹ pə⁵³, 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.¹⁷ 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

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*⁵³ *ha*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.¹⁸ 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
lu¹¹tɕi⁵³ S back come

[2]

ma⁵³ ja¹¹ pæ⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
mother LOC back come

[3]

a⁵³ da⁵³ pæ⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
father LOC back come

[4]

rə⁵³ hɪ⁵³ t^ha⁵³ pBU¹¹ lɛ⁴⁴ hi¹¹ ɤa¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ bzi⁵³
soul NEG separate body NEG wander

¹⁸ There is a local clinic at the township town where a Han doctor sells western medicines.

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[5]

ʂə¹¹ su⁵³ bzi⁵³ su⁵³ da⁵³ t^ha⁵³ jo¹¹ jo¹¹
dead GEN crazy GEN DAT NEG with

[6]

ræ⁵³ tʂa⁵³ ræ⁵³ bzi⁵³ la¹¹ ɤo¹¹ t^ha⁵³ zə⁵³
baby's soul hand NEG EXT

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[7]

gɤ¹¹ ɲi¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɤ⁵³ te¹¹ ti¹¹ ɲi¹¹
nine day road/way CONJ one day

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[8]

gɤ¹¹ ha¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɤ⁵³ te¹¹ ti¹¹ ha¹¹
nine night road/way CONJ one night

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[9]

kæ⁴⁴ ndzə⁴⁴ tʂo⁵³ ɤo⁵³ t^ha⁵³ dzo⁴⁴
Ganzi prefecture LOC NEG EXT

[10]

rə⁵³ hi⁵³ t^ha⁵³ pɸu¹¹ le¹¹ hi¹¹ ɤa¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ bzi⁵³
soul NEG separate body NEG wander

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[11]
tɕ^hiŋ⁵³ xe⁵³ siŋ⁵³ ɤo⁵³ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
Qinghai province LOC NEG EXT

[12]
rə⁵³ hĩ⁵³ t^ha⁵³ pɸu¹¹ lɛ⁴⁴ hi¹¹ ɤa¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ bzi⁵³
soul NEG separate body NEG wander

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[13]
ma⁵³ ja¹¹ pæ⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
mother LOC back come

[14]
a⁵³ da⁵³ pæ⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
father LOC back come

[15]
gɸ¹¹ ŋi¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɸ⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ŋi¹¹
nine day road CONJ one day

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[16]
gɸ¹¹ ha¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɸ⁵³ te¹¹ ti¹¹ ha¹¹
nine night road/way CONJ one night

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[17]

so⁵³ ɲi⁵³ rə⁴⁴ gɣ⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ɲi¹¹
three day road CONJ one day

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

¹ lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ o¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

² ma⁵³ ja¹¹ pæ⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

³ a⁵³ da⁵³ pæ⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

⁴ rə⁵³ hĩ⁵³ tʰa⁵³ pɸu¹¹ lɛ⁴⁴ hi¹¹ ɤa¹¹ tʰa⁴⁴ bzi⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

⁵ ʂə¹¹ su⁵³ bzi⁵³ su⁵³ da⁵³ tʰa⁵³ jo¹¹ jo¹¹

⁶ ræ⁵³ tʂa⁵³ ræ⁵³ bzi⁵³ la¹¹ ɤo¹¹ tʰa⁵³ zə⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

⁷ gɣ¹¹ ɲi¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɣ⁵³ te¹¹ ti¹¹ ɲi¹¹ m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

⁸ gɣ¹¹ ha¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɣ⁵³ te¹¹ ti¹¹ ha¹¹ m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

⁹ kæ⁴⁴ ndzə⁴⁴ tʂo⁵³ ɤo⁵³ tʰa⁵³ dzo⁴⁴

¹⁰ rə⁵³ hĩ⁵³ tʰa⁵³ pɸu¹¹ lɛ¹¹ hi¹¹ ɤa¹¹ tʰa⁴⁴ bzi⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

¹¹ tɕ^hiɲ⁵³ xɛ⁵³ siɲ⁵³ ɤo⁵³ tʰa⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴

¹² rə⁵³ hĩ⁵³ tʰa⁵³ pɸu¹¹ lɛ⁴⁴ hi¹¹ ɤa¹¹ tʰa⁴⁴ bzi⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

¹³ ma⁵³ ja¹¹ pæ⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

¹⁴ a⁵³ da⁵³ pæ⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

¹⁵ gɣ¹¹ ɲi¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɣ⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ɲi¹¹ m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

¹⁶ gɣ¹¹ ha¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɣ⁵³ te¹¹ ti¹¹ ha¹¹ m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

¹⁷ so⁵³ ɲi⁵³ rə⁴⁴ gɣ⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ɲi¹¹ m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

¹ lu tɕi,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

¹⁹ lu tɕi = Liujin 六斤, Libu Lakhi.

⁹ Don't stay in Ganzi Prefecture²⁰

¹⁰ Return, don't separate from the soul and let your body
wander

¹¹ Don't stay in Qinghai Province

¹² Return, don't separate from your soul and let your body
wander

¹³ Return to Mother's place

¹⁴ Return to Father's place

¹⁵ Return in one day if you are nine days away

¹⁶ Return in one night if you are nine nights away

¹⁷ Return in one day if you are three days away

2

[1]

lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ o¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ VOC back come

[2]

n̩i⁵³ tɕ^ho⁵³ te⁵³ ʂu⁵³ ɕa⁵³ ko¹¹ ɕo⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
East CONJ metal door LOC NEG EXT

[3]

ʂa¹¹ tɕ^ho¹¹ te¹¹ ɕə¹¹ ɕa⁴⁴ ko¹¹ ɕo⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
West CONJ tree door LOC NEG EXT

m̩⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AMV back come

²⁰ Libu Lakhi majored in Tibetan-Chinese Translation at the Sichuan Tibetan Language School (四川省藏文学校) in Kangding 康定 from 1998-2002.

[4]

bi¹¹ jy⁵³ ɬa¹¹ jy¹¹ ɤo¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
temple monastery LOC NEG EXT

[5]

ni⁵³ tɕ^ho⁵³ ʂa¹¹ tɕ^ho¹¹ ɤo¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
East West LOC NEG EXT

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[6]

kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵³ la¹¹ ɤo¹¹
male S CONJ male ghost hand

ɤo¹¹ t^ha⁵³ zə⁵³
LOC NEG EXT

[7]

mbzə¹¹ je te¹¹ dzu⁵³ ma⁵³ la¹¹ ɤo¹¹
female S CONJ female ghost hand

ɤo¹¹ t^ha⁵³ zə⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
LOC NEG EXT AVM back come

[8]

ma⁵³ ja¹¹ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzo⁴⁴ te⁵³
mother you back call CONJ

[9]

gɥ¹¹ ni¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɥ⁵³ te⁵³
nine day road/way CONJ

ti¹¹ ni¹¹ m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
one day AVM back come

[10]

gɣ¹¹ ha¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɣ⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ha¹¹
nine night road CONJ one night

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[11]

kæ⁴⁴ ndzə⁵³ tʂo⁵³ ɤo⁵³ tʰa⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
Ganzi prefecture LOC NEG EXT

[12]

a⁵³ pa¹¹ tʂo⁵³ ɤo⁵³ tʰa⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
Aba prefecture LOC NEG EXT

[13]

kʰa⁵³ tɿŋ¹¹ tʂʰeŋ¹¹ ɤo¹¹ tʰa⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
Kangding city LOC NEG EXT

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[14]

rə⁵³ hĩ⁵³ tʰa⁵³ pɸu¹¹ lɛ⁴⁴ hi¹¹ ɤa¹¹ tʰa⁴⁴ bzi⁵³
soul NEG separate body NEG wander

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[15]

jo¹¹ rə⁵³ te⁵³ jo¹¹ zə¹¹ jo¹¹ ɤa⁵³ te⁵³
self soul CONJ self EXT self body CONJ

jo¹¹ zə¹¹ m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
self EXT AVM back come

[16]

ma⁵³ ja¹¹ m̄⁴⁴ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴
mother AVM you back call

[17]

a⁵³ da⁵³ m̄⁵³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴
father AVM you back call

[18]

a⁵³ po⁵³ ɕy⁵³ ndy¹¹ a⁴⁴ ja⁵⁵
elder brother younger brother elder sister

mə¹¹ mə⁴⁴ m̄⁵³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴
younger sister AVM you back call

[19]

tʂa⁴⁴ la⁴⁴ tʂ^hu¹¹ v̄¹¹ la¹¹ tʂə¹¹ xi¹¹
relative in-law

m̄¹¹ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴
AVM you back call

[20]

kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵⁵ la¹¹ ɤo¹¹
male S CONJ male ghost hand

ɤo¹¹ t^ha⁵³ zə⁵³
LOC NEG EXT

[21]

mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzu⁵³ ma⁵³ la¹¹ ɤo¹¹ ɤo¹¹
female S CONJ female ghost hand LOC

t^ha⁵³ zə⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
NEG EXT AVM back come

[22]

kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵⁵ do¹¹ ma⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴ ba⁴⁴ he⁵³
male S CONJ ghost language NEG listen

[23]

mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzu⁵³ ma⁵³ do¹¹ ma⁴⁴
female S CONJ female ghost language

t^ha⁴⁴ ba⁴⁴ he⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
NEG listen AVM back come

[24]

ʂə¹¹ su⁵³ te⁵³ lo¹¹ li¹¹ k^ho¹¹
dead GEN CONJ DAT back separate

[25]

dzo⁴⁴ su⁵³ te⁵³ mi¹¹ li¹¹ k^ho¹¹
EXT GEN CONJ down back separate

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[26]

p^ho⁵³ ho⁴⁴ te⁵³ li¹¹ xi⁴⁴ ndzu¹¹ ho⁴⁴
escape S CONJ release through S

te⁵³ ha¹¹ qv¹¹ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
CONJ mouse hole AVM back come

¹ lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ o¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

² n̄i⁵³ tɕ^ho⁵³ te⁵³ ʂu⁵³ ɕa⁵³ ko¹¹ ɕo⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴

³ ʂa¹¹ tɕ^ho¹¹ te¹¹ ɕə¹¹ ɕa⁴⁴ ko¹¹ ɕo⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

⁴ bi¹¹ jy⁵³ ɬa¹¹ jy¹¹ ɕo¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴

⁵ n̄i⁵³ tɕ^ho⁵³ ʂa¹¹ tɕ^ho¹¹ ɕo¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

⁶ kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵³ la¹¹ ɕo¹¹ ɕo¹¹ t^ha⁵³ zə⁵³

⁷ mbzə¹¹ te¹¹ dzu⁵³ ma⁵³ la¹¹ ɕo¹¹ ɕo¹¹ t^ha⁵³ zə⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

- 8 ma⁵³ ja¹¹ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴ te⁵³
9 GY¹¹ ɲi¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɣ⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ɲi¹¹ m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
10 GY¹¹ ha¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɣ⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ha¹¹ m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
11 kæ⁴⁴ ndzə⁵³ tʂo⁵³ ɤo⁵³ tʰa⁴⁴ dzɔ⁴⁴
12 a⁵³ pa¹¹ tʂo⁵³ ɤo⁵³ tʰa⁴⁴ dzɔ⁴⁴
13 kʰa⁵³ tin¹¹ tʂʰeŋ¹¹ ɤo¹¹ tʰa⁴⁴ dzɔ⁴⁴ m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
14 rə⁵³ hi⁵³ tʰa⁵³ pɸu¹¹ lɛ⁴⁴ hi¹¹ ɤa¹¹ tʰa⁴⁴ bzi⁵³ m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
15 jo¹¹ rə⁵³ te⁵³ jo¹¹ zə¹¹ jo¹¹ ɤa⁵³ te⁵³ jo¹¹ zə¹¹ m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
16 ma⁵³ ja¹¹ m⁴⁴ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴
17 a⁵³ da⁵³ m⁵³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴
18 a⁵³ po⁵³ ɕy⁵³ ndy¹¹ a⁴⁴ ja⁵⁵ mə¹¹ mə⁴⁴ m⁵³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴
19 tʂa⁴⁴ la⁴⁴ tʂʰu¹¹ ɣ¹¹ la¹¹ tʂə¹¹ xi¹¹ m¹¹ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴
20 kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ pʰu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵⁵ la¹¹ ɤo¹¹ ɤo¹¹ tʰa⁵³ zə⁵³
21 mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzu⁵³ ma⁵³ la¹¹ ɤo¹¹ ɤo¹¹ tʰa⁵³ zə⁵³ m⁵³ li⁴⁴
da⁵³
22 kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ pʰu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵⁵ do¹¹ ma⁴⁴ tʰa⁴⁴ ba⁴⁴ hɛ⁵³
23 mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzu⁵³ ma⁵³ do¹¹ ma⁴⁴ tʰa⁴⁴ ba⁴⁴ hɛ⁵³ m⁵³ li⁴⁴
da⁵³
24 ʂə¹¹ su⁵³ te⁵³ lo¹¹ li¹¹ kʰo¹¹
25 dzɔ⁴⁴ su⁵³ te⁵³ mi¹¹ li¹¹ kʰo¹¹ m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
26 pʰo⁵³ ho⁴⁴ te⁵³ li¹¹ xi⁴⁴ ndzu¹¹ ho⁴⁴ te⁵³ ha¹¹ qɣ¹¹ m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

¹ lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³, return

² Don't stay at East Metal Door²¹

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

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

3

[1]

lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ o¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ S back come

[2]

ma⁵³ ja¹¹ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴ te⁵³
mother you back call CONJ

[3]

gɤ¹¹ ɲi¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɤ⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ɲi¹¹
nine day road/way CONJ one day

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[4]
a⁵³ da⁵³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴ te⁵³
father you back call CONJ

[5]
ɣɣ¹¹ ha¹¹ rə⁴⁴ ɣɣ⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ha¹¹
nine night road/way CONJ one night

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[6]
tʂa⁴⁴ la⁵³ tʂ^hu¹¹ ɣ¹¹ la¹¹ tʂə¹¹ xi¹¹
relative in-law

m̄¹¹ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴ te⁵³
AVM you back call CONJ

[7]
kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵⁵ do¹¹ ma⁴⁴
male S CONJ male ghost language

t^ha⁴⁴ ba⁴⁴ hɛ⁵³
NEG listen

[8]
mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzɯ⁵³ ma⁵³ do¹¹ ma⁴⁴
male S CONJ female ghost language

t^ha⁴⁴ ba⁴⁴ hɛ⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
NEG listen AVM back come

[9]

ŋi ⁵³	tɕ ^h o ⁵³	te ⁵³	ʃu ⁵³	ka ⁴⁴ ko ¹¹	ko ⁵³	t ^h a ⁴⁴	dzo ⁴⁴
West		CONJ	metal	door	LOC	NEG	EXT

[10]

ʃa ¹¹	tɕ ^h o ¹¹	te ¹¹	ɕə ¹¹	ka ⁴⁴ ko ¹¹	ko ⁴⁴	t ^h a ⁴⁴	dzo ⁴⁴
East		CONJ	tree	door	LOC	NEG	EXT

m̄ ⁵³	li ⁴⁴	da ⁵³
AVM	back	come

¹ lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ o¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

² ma⁵³ ja¹¹ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴ te⁵³

³ GY¹¹ ŋi¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gY⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ŋi¹¹ m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

⁴ a⁵³ da⁵³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴ te⁵³

⁵ GY¹¹ ha¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gY⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ha¹¹ m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

⁶ tʃa⁴⁴ la⁵³ tʃ^hu¹¹ Y¹¹ la¹¹ tʃə¹¹ xi¹¹ m̄¹¹ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴ te⁵³

⁷ kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ ʃə⁵⁵ do¹¹ ma⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴ ba⁴⁴ he⁵³

⁸ mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzɯ⁵³ ma⁵³ do¹¹ ma⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴ ba⁴⁴ he⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴
da⁵³

⁹ ŋi⁵³ tɕ^ho⁵³ te⁵³ ʃu⁵³ ka⁴⁴ ko¹¹ ko⁵³ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴

¹⁰ ʃa¹¹ tɕ^ho¹¹ te¹¹ ɕə¹¹ ka⁴⁴ ko¹¹ ko⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

¹ lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³, return

² When Mother is calling you back

³ Return in one day if you are nine days away

⁴ When Father is calling you back

⁵ Return in one night if you are nine nights away

⁶ When relatives and in-laws are calling you back

⁷ Ignore what the male ghosts say

⁸ Ignore what the female ghosts say and return

⁹ Don't stay at East Metal Door

¹⁰ Don't stay at West Wood Door and return

[1]

lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ o¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ S back come

[2]

ɕə¹¹ su⁵³ te⁵³ lo¹¹ li¹¹ k^ho¹¹
dead GEN CONJ DAT back separate

[3]

dzo⁴⁴ su⁵³ te⁵³ mi¹¹ li¹¹ k^ho¹¹
EXT GEN CONJ down back separate

m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[4]

ɕə¹¹ su⁵³ da⁵³ te⁵³ t^ha⁵³ jo¹¹ jo⁴⁴
dead GEN come CONJ NEG with

[5]

mbzi⁵³ su⁵³ da⁵³ te⁵³ t^ha⁵³ jo¹¹ jo¹¹
female GEN DAT CONJ NEG with

m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[6]

jo¹¹ rə⁵³ te⁵³ jo¹¹ zə¹¹ jo¹¹ ka⁵³
self soul CONJ self EXT self authority

te⁵³ jo¹¹ zə¹¹ m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
CONJ self EXT AVM back come

[7]

ma⁴⁴ sə¹¹ sə¹¹ ma⁴⁴ ndo⁵³ ndo⁵³ su⁵³
NEG know NEG see GEN

[8]

ke⁵³ tɕ^ha¹¹ ke⁵³ xo¹¹ ɤo⁴⁴
market LOC

[9]

xo¹¹ pa¹¹ xo¹¹ lo⁴⁴ ɤo⁵³ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
river LOC NEG EXT

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[10]

t^ha¹¹ ræ¹¹ so¹¹ ro⁴⁴ ɤo⁵³
paper study LOC LOC

[11]

rə⁵³ hĩ⁵³ t^ha⁵³ pɸu¹¹ le⁴⁴ hĩ¹¹ ɤa¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ bzi⁵³
soul NEG separate body NEG wander

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[12]

gɸ¹¹ n̄i¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɸ⁵³ te¹¹ ti¹¹ n̄i¹¹
nine day road/way CONJ one day

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[13]

gɸ¹¹ ha¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɸ⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ha¹¹
nine night road/way CONJ one night

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[14]

so⁵³ ɲi⁵³ rə⁴⁴ gɥ⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ɲi¹¹
three day road/way CONJ one day

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[15]

so⁵² ha⁵³ rə⁴⁴ gɥ⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ha¹¹
three night road/way CONJ one night

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[16]

kwi¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵⁵ la¹¹ ɤo¹¹ ɤo¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ zə⁵³
male CONJ male ghost hand LOC NEG EXT

[17]

mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzu⁵³ ma⁵³ la¹¹ ɤo¹¹ ɤo¹¹
female S CONJ male ghost hand LOC

t^ha⁴⁴ zə¹¹ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
NEG EXT AVM back come

[18]

ɲi⁵³ tɕ^ho⁵³ te⁵³ ʂu⁵³ ɤa⁵³ ko¹¹ ɤo⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
East CONJ metal door LOC NEG EXT

[19]

ʂa¹¹ tɕ^ho¹¹ te¹¹ ɕə¹¹ ɤa⁴⁴ ko¹¹ ɤo⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
West CONJ tree door LOC NEG EXT

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[20]

jo¹¹ rə⁵³ te⁵³ jo¹¹ zə¹¹ jo¹¹ ɤa⁵³ te⁵³
self soul CONJ self EXT SELF authority CONJ

jo¹¹ zə¹¹ m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
self EXT AVM back come

[21]

va⁵³ te⁵³ bzi¹¹ jy⁵³ ɤo⁵³ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
Han CONJ temple LOC NEG EXT

[22]

na⁵³ te⁴⁴ ɬa¹¹ jy¹¹ ɤo¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ zə⁵³
na⁵³ mzi⁵³ CONJ monastery LOC NEG EXT

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[23]

ʃu⁵³ rə⁵³ ɣy¹¹ te¹¹ ʃu⁵³ rə⁵³ p^hə⁴⁴ le⁵³
chain tie CONJ chain untie

[24]

zə¹¹ rə⁴⁴ ɣy¹¹ te¹¹ zə¹¹ rə⁴⁴ p^hə⁴⁴ le⁵⁵
grass rope tie CONJ grass rope untie

le⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
CONJ back come

[25]

k^hi⁵³ t^ho⁵³ tɕ^hə¹¹ te⁴⁴ k^hi⁵³ t^ho⁵³ p^hə⁴⁴ le⁵⁵
feet shackle tie CONJ feet shackle separate

[26]

la¹¹ t^ho⁵³ tɕ^hə¹¹ te⁴⁴ la¹¹ t^ho⁵³
hand shackle tie CONJ hand shackle

p^hə⁴⁴ le⁵⁵ le⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
untie CONJ back come

[27]

ma⁵³ ja¹¹ a⁵³ da⁵³ m̩⁵³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴
mother father AVM you back call

[28]

a⁵³ po⁵³ ɕy⁵³ ndjy¹¹ a⁴⁴ ja⁴⁴
elder brother younger brother elder sister

mə¹¹ mə⁴⁴ m̩⁵³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴
younger sister AVM you back call

[29]

tɕa⁴⁴ la⁵³ tɕ^hu¹¹ ɣ¹¹ la¹¹ tɕə¹¹ xi¹¹ m̩¹¹ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴
relative in-law AVM you back call

[30]

kwi¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵⁵ la¹¹ ɤo¹¹ ɤo¹¹ t^ha⁵³ zə⁵³
male CONJ male ghost hand LOC NEG EXT

[31]

mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzu⁵³ ma⁵³ la¹¹ ɤo¹¹ ɤo¹¹
female S CONJ female ghost hand LOC

t^ha⁵³ zə⁵³ m̩⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
NEG EXT AVM back come

[32]

kwi¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵⁵ do¹¹ ma⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴ ba⁴⁴ he⁵³
male CONJ male ghost language NEG listen

[33]

mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzu⁵³ ma⁵³ do¹¹ ma⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴
female S CONJ female ghost language NEG

ba⁴⁴ he⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
listen AVM back come

[34]

ʂə¹¹ su⁵³ da⁵³ te⁵³ t^ha⁵³ jo¹¹ jo⁴⁴
dead GEN DAT CONJ NEG with

[35]

mbz̄i⁵³ su⁵³ da⁵³ te⁵³ t^ha⁵³ jo¹¹ jo⁴⁴
crazy GEN DAT CONJ NEG with

[36]

ʂə¹¹ su⁵³ te⁵³ lo¹¹ li¹¹ k^ho¹¹
dead GEN CONJ DAT back separate

[37]

dzo⁴⁴ su⁵³ te⁵³ mi¹¹ li¹¹ k^ho¹¹
alive GEN CONJ down back separate

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[38]

ma⁵³ ja¹¹ m̄⁵³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzə⁵⁵
mother AVM you back call

[39]

a⁵³ da⁵³ m̄⁵³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzə⁴⁴
father AVM you back call

[40]

a⁵³ po⁵³ ɕy⁵³ ndjy¹¹ a⁴⁴ ja⁵⁵
elder brother younger brother elder sister

mə¹¹ mə⁴⁴ m̄⁵³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴
younger sister AVM you back call

[41]

tʂa⁴⁴ la⁵³ tʂ^hu¹¹ v̄¹¹ la¹¹ tʂə¹¹ xi¹¹ m̄¹¹ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴
relative in-law AVM you back call

[42]

rə⁵³ hī⁵³ t^ha⁵³ p̄bu¹¹ le⁴⁴ hī¹¹ ɤa¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ bzi⁵³
soul NEG separate body NEG wander

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[43]

ʂu⁵³ rə⁵³ ɣv̄¹¹ te¹¹ ʂu⁵³ rə⁵³ p^hʂə⁴⁴ le⁵³
chain tie CONJ chain untie

[44]

zə¹¹ rə⁴⁴ ɣv̄¹¹ te¹¹ zə¹¹ rə⁴⁴ p^hə⁴⁴ le⁵³
grass rope tie CONJ grass rope untie

le⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
CONJ back come

[45]

p^ho⁵³ ho⁵³ te⁵³ li¹¹ xi⁴⁴ ndzu¹¹ ho⁵³ te⁵³
escape S CONJ release through S CONJ

ha¹¹ qv̄⁴⁴ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
mouse hole AVM back come

- 1 lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ o¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
2 ʂə¹¹ su⁵³ te⁵³ lo¹¹ li¹¹ k^ho¹¹
3 dzo⁴⁴ su⁵³ te⁵³ mi¹¹ li¹¹ k^ho¹¹ m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
4 ʂə¹¹ su⁵³ da⁵³ te⁵³ t^ha⁵³ jo¹¹ jo⁴⁴
5 mbzɿ⁵³ su⁵³ da⁵³ te⁵³ t^ha⁵³ jo¹¹ jo¹¹ m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
6 jo¹¹ rə⁵³ te⁵³ jo¹¹ zə¹¹ jo¹¹ ɕa⁵³ te⁵³ jo¹¹ zə¹¹ m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
7 ma⁴⁴ sə¹¹ sə¹¹ ma⁴⁴ ndo⁵³ ndo⁵³ su⁵³
8 ke⁵³ tɕ^ha¹¹ ke⁵³ xo¹¹ ɕo⁴⁴
9 xo¹¹ pa¹¹ xo¹¹ lo⁴⁴ ɕo⁵³ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴ m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
10 t^ha¹¹ ræ¹¹ so¹¹ ro⁴⁴ ɕo⁵³
11 rə⁵³ hĩ⁵³ t^ha⁵³ pɕu¹¹ le⁴⁴ hĩ¹¹ ɕa¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ bzi⁵³ m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
12 ɕy¹¹ nɿ¹¹ rə⁴⁴ ɕy⁵³ te¹¹ ti¹¹ nɿ¹¹ m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
13 ɕy¹¹ ha¹¹ rə⁴⁴ ɕy⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ha¹¹ m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
14 so⁵³ nɿ⁵³ rə⁴⁴ ɕy⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ nɿ¹¹ m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
15 so⁵² ha⁵³ rə⁴⁴ ɕy⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ha¹¹ m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
16 kwi¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵⁵ la¹¹ ɕo¹¹ ɕo¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ zə⁵³
17 mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzu⁵³ ma⁵³ la¹¹ ɕo¹¹ ɕo¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ zə¹¹ m⁵³ li⁴⁴
da⁵³
18 nɿ⁵³ tɕ^ho⁵³ te⁵³ ʂu⁵³ ɕa⁵³ ko¹¹ ɕo⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
19 ʂa¹¹ tɕ^ho¹¹ te¹¹ ɕə¹¹ ɕa⁴⁴ ko¹¹ ɕo⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴ m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
20 jo¹¹ rə⁵³ te⁵³ jo¹¹ zə¹¹ jo¹¹ ɕa⁵³ te⁵³ jo¹¹ zə¹¹ m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
21 va⁵³ te⁵³ bzi¹¹ jy⁵³ ɕo⁵³ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
22 na⁵³ te⁴⁴ ɬa¹¹ jy¹¹ ɕo¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ zə⁵³ m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
23 ʂu⁵³ rə⁵³ ɕy¹¹ te¹¹ ʂu⁵³ rə⁵³ p^hə⁴⁴ le⁵³
24 zə¹¹ rə⁴⁴ ɕy¹¹ te¹¹ zə¹¹ rə⁴⁴ p^hə⁴⁴ le⁵⁵ le⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
25 k^hi⁵³ t^ho⁵³ tɕ^hə¹¹ te⁴⁴ k^hi⁵³ t^ho⁵³ p^hə⁴⁴ le⁵⁵
26 la¹¹ t^ho⁵³ tɕ^hə¹¹ te⁴⁴ la¹¹ t^ho⁵³ p^hə⁴⁴ le⁵⁵ le⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
27 ma⁵³ ja¹¹ a⁵³ da⁵³ m⁵³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzo⁴⁴
28 a⁵³ po⁵³ ɕy⁵³ dɕy¹¹ a⁴⁴ ja⁴⁴ mə¹¹ mə⁴⁴ m⁵³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzo⁴⁴
29 tɕa⁴⁴ la⁵³ tɕ^hu¹¹ ɿ¹¹ la¹¹ tɕə¹¹ xi¹¹ m¹¹ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzo⁴⁴
30 kwi¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵⁵ la¹¹ ɕo¹¹ ɕo¹¹ t^ha⁵³ zə⁵³
31 mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzu⁵³ ma⁵³ la¹¹ ɕo¹¹ ɕo¹¹ t^ha⁵³ zə⁵³ m⁵³ li⁴⁴
da⁵³
32 kwi¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵⁵ do¹¹ ma⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴ ba⁴⁴ hɛ⁵³
33 mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzu⁵³ ma⁵³ do¹¹ ma⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴ ba⁴⁴ hɛ⁵³ m⁵³ li⁴⁴
da⁵³

34 sə¹¹ su⁵³ da⁵³ te⁵³ t^ha⁵³ jo¹¹ jo⁴⁴
35 mbzi⁵³ su⁵³ da⁵³ te⁵³ t^ha⁵³ jo¹¹ jo⁴⁴
36 sə¹¹ su⁵³ te⁵³ lo¹¹ li¹¹ k^ho¹¹
37 dzo⁴⁴ su⁵³ te⁵³ mi¹¹ li¹¹ k^ho¹¹ m¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
38 ma⁵³ ja¹¹ m⁵³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzo⁵⁵
39 a⁵³ da⁵³ m⁵³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzo⁴⁴
40 a⁵³ po⁵³ ɕy⁵³ dɟy¹¹ a⁴⁴ ja⁵⁵ mə¹¹ mə⁴⁴ m⁵³ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzo⁴⁴
41 tɕa⁴⁴ la⁵³ tɕ^hu¹¹ ɣ¹¹ la¹¹ tɕə¹¹ xi¹¹ m¹¹ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ndzo⁴⁴
42 rə⁵³ hi⁵³ t^ha⁵³ pɸu¹¹ le⁴⁴ hi¹¹ ɛa¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ bzi⁵³ m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
43 ɕu⁵³ rə⁵³ ɣɸ¹¹ te¹¹ ɕu⁵³ rə⁵³ p^hɕə⁴⁴ le⁵³
44 zə¹¹ rə⁴⁴ ɣɸ¹¹ te¹¹ zə¹¹ rə⁴⁴ p^hə⁴⁴ le⁵³ le⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
45 p^ho⁵³ ho⁵³ te⁵³ li¹¹ xi⁴⁴ ndzu¹¹ ho⁵³ te⁵³ ha¹¹ qɸ⁴⁴ m⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³

¹ lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³, 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 na⁵³ mzi⁵³ monasteries

²³ Untie the chain if you are tied with chains

- ²⁴ Untie the grass ropes if you are tied with grass ropes and
return
- ²⁵ Untie the shackles if your feet are fettered
- ²⁶ Untie the shackles if your hands are fettered and return
- ²⁷ Parents are calling you back
- ²⁸ Brothers and sisters are calling you back
- ²⁹ Relatives and in-laws are calling you back
- ³⁰ Don't be in male ghosts' hands
- ³¹ Don't be in male ghosts' hands and return
- ³² Don't listen to what the male ghosts are saying
- ³³ Don't listen to what the female ghosts are saying and
return
- ³⁴ Don't be with the dead ones
- ³⁵ Don't be with the crazy ones
- ³⁶ Separate the dead ones back
- ³⁷ Separate the living ones down and return
- ³⁸ Mother is calling you back
- ³⁹ Father is calling you back
- ⁴⁰ Brothers and sisters are calling you back
- ⁴¹ Relatives and in-laws are calling you back
- ⁴² Don't separate your soul from your body, and return
- ⁴³ Untie the grass ropes if you are tied with grass ropes
- ⁴⁴ Untie the metal ropes if you are tied with metal ropes, and
return
- ⁴⁵ Be released while escaping through mouse holes and
return

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

[2]

jo¹¹ rə⁵³ jo¹¹ zə¹¹ jo¹¹ ɤa⁵³ jo¹¹ zə¹¹
self soul self EXT self authority self EXT

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[3]

ma⁵³ sə¹¹ sə⁴⁴ ma⁴⁴ ndo⁵³ ndo⁵³ su⁵³
NEG know NEG see GEN

[4]

ke⁵³ tʂ^ha¹¹ ke⁵³ xo¹¹ ɤo⁵³
market LOC

[5]

xo¹¹ pa¹¹ xo¹¹ lo⁴⁴ ɤo⁵³
river LOC

[6]

rə⁵³ hī⁵³ t^ha⁵³ pɸu¹¹ le⁴⁴ hī¹¹ ɤa¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ bzi⁵³
soul NEG separate body NEG wander

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[7]

kæ⁵³ ndzə⁵³ tʂo⁵³ ɤo⁵³ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
Ganzi prefecture LOC NEG EXT

[8]

a⁵³ pa¹¹ tʂo⁵³ ɤo⁵³ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
Aba prefecture LOC NEG EXT

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[9]

rə⁵³ hĩ⁵³ t^ha⁵³ pBU¹¹ lɛ⁴⁴ hĩ⁴⁴ ɤa⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴ bzi⁵³
soul NEG separate body NEG wander

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[10]

k^ha⁵³ tiŋ¹¹ tɕ^heŋ¹¹ ɤo¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
Kangding city LOC NEG EXT

[11]

tɕ^hi⁵³ xɛ⁵³ siŋ⁵³ ɤo⁵³
Qinghai province LOC

[12]

rə⁵³ hĩ⁵³ t^ha⁵³ pBU¹¹ lɛ⁴⁴ hĩ¹¹ ɤa¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ bzi⁵³
soul NEG separate body NEG wander

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[13]

gV¹¹ ŋi¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gV⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ŋi¹¹
nine day road/way CONJ one day

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[14]

gV¹¹ ha¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gV⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ha¹¹
nine night road/way CONJ one night

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
AVM back come

[15]

lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ li⁴⁴ a⁵³ dzy¹¹ o⁴⁴
lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ back Q come VOC

- 1 lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ o¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
- 2 jo¹¹ rə⁵³ jo¹¹ zə¹¹ jo¹¹ ɤa⁵³ jo¹¹ zə¹¹ m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
- 3 ma⁵³ sə¹¹ sə⁴⁴ ma⁴⁴ ndo⁵³ ndo⁵³ su⁵³
- 4 ke⁵³ tʂ^ha¹¹ ke⁵³ xo¹¹ ɤo⁵³
- 5 xo¹¹ pa¹¹ xo¹¹ lo⁴⁴ ɤo⁵³
- 6 rə⁵³ hī⁵³ t^ha⁵³ pɸu¹¹ le⁴⁴ hī¹¹ ɤa¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ bzi⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
- 7 kæ⁵³ ndzə⁵³ tʂo⁵³ ɤo⁵³ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
- 8 a⁵³ pa¹¹ tʂo⁵³ ɤo⁵³ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
- 9 rə⁵³ hī⁵³ t^ha⁵³ pɸu¹¹ le⁴⁴ hī⁴⁴ ɤa⁴⁴ t^ha⁴⁴ bzi⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
- 10 k^ha⁵³ tiŋ¹¹ tʂ^heŋ¹¹ ɤo¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
- 11 tɕ^hi⁵³ xe⁵³ siŋ⁵³ ɤo⁵³
- 12 rə⁵³ hī⁵³ t^ha⁵³ pɸu¹¹ le⁴⁴ hī¹¹ ɤa¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ bzi⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
- 13 ɣy¹¹ n̄i¹¹ rə⁴⁴ ɣy⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ n̄i¹¹ m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
- 14 ɣy¹¹ ha¹¹ rə⁴⁴ ɣy⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ha¹¹ m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ da⁵³
- 15 lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ li⁴⁴ a⁵³ dzy¹¹ o⁴⁴

- 1 lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³, 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

¹⁵ Has lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ come back yet?²²

6

[1]

lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ o¹¹ li⁵³ dʒy¹¹ o⁴⁴
lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ S back come VOC

[2]

ma⁵³ ja¹¹ a⁵³ da⁵³ ɲi⁵³ ndzɔ⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dʒy¹¹ o⁴⁴
mother father ERG call back come VOC

[3]

a⁵³ po⁵³ ɕy⁵³ ndjy¹¹ a⁴⁴ ja⁵⁵
elder brother younger brother elder sister

mə¹¹ mə⁴⁴ ɲi⁵³ ndzɔ⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dʒy¹¹
younger sister ERG call back come

[4]

tʂa⁴⁴ la⁵³ tʂ^hu¹¹ ɣ¹¹ la¹¹ tʂə¹¹ xi¹¹ ɲi¹¹
relative in-law ERG

ndzɔ⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dʒy¹¹ o⁴⁴
call back come VOC

[5]

kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵⁵ la¹¹ ɲo¹¹ ma⁵³ zə⁵³
male S CONJ male ghost hand NEG EXT

m⁵³ li⁴⁴ dʒy¹¹
AVM back come

²² The mother asks and the family members answer, "Yes, he has come back."

[6]

mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzu⁵³ ma⁵³ la¹¹ ɤo¹¹ ma⁵³ zə⁵³
female S CONJ female ghost hand NEG EXT

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹ o⁴⁴
AVM back come VOC

[7]

ɲi⁵³ tɕ^ho⁵³ te⁵³ ɕu⁵³ ɤa⁵³ ko¹¹ ɤo⁴⁴ ma⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
east CONJ metal door LOC NEG EXT

[8]

ɕa¹¹ tɕ^ho¹¹ te¹¹ ɕə¹¹ ɤa⁴⁴ ko¹¹ ɤo⁴⁴ ma⁴⁴ dzo⁴⁴
west CONJ tree door LOC NEG EXT

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹
AVM back come

[9]

rə⁵³ hĩ⁵³ ma⁴⁴ pɸu¹¹ le⁴⁴ hĩ¹¹ ɤa¹¹ ma⁴⁴ bzi⁵³
soul NEG separate body NEG wander

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹ o⁴⁴
AVM back come VOC

[10]

gɸ¹¹ ɲi¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɸ⁵³ te¹¹ ti¹¹ ɲi¹¹
nine day road/way CONJ one day

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹
AVM back come

[11]

gɸ¹¹ ha¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɸ⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ha¹¹
nine night road/way CONJ one night

m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ dz̄y¹¹ o⁴⁴
AVM back come VOC

[12]

kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ s̄ə⁵⁵ la¹¹ ɤo¹¹ ma⁵³ zə⁵³
male S CONJ male ghost hand NEG EXT

m̄⁵³ ndz̄o⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dz̄y¹¹
AVM call back come

[13]

mbz̄ə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dz̄u⁵³ ma⁵³ la¹¹ ɤo¹¹ ma⁵³
female S CONJ female ghost hand NEG

zə⁵³ m̄⁵³ ndz̄o⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dz̄y¹¹ o⁴⁴
EXT AVM call back come VOC

[14]

ma⁵³ ja¹¹ a⁵³ da⁵³ ɲi⁵³ ndz̄o⁵³ li⁴⁴ dz̄y¹¹
mother father ERG call back come

[15]

a⁵³ po⁵³ ɕy⁵³ ndjy¹¹ a⁴⁴ ja⁵⁵
elder brother younger brother elder sister

m̄ə¹¹ m̄ə⁴⁴ ɲi⁴⁴ ndz̄o⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dz̄y¹¹
younger sister ERG call back come

[16]

t̄sa⁴⁴ la⁵³ t̄s̄^hu¹¹ ɣ¹¹ la¹¹ t̄s̄ə¹¹ xi¹¹ ɲi¹¹
relative in-law ERG

ndz̄o⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dz̄y¹¹ o⁴⁴
call back come VOC

[17]

rə⁵³ hĩ⁵³ ma⁵³ pBU¹¹ le⁴⁴ hĩ¹¹ ɤa¹¹ ma⁴⁴ bzi⁵³
soul NEG separate body NEG wander

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹ o⁴⁴
AVM back come VOC

[18]

lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹ o¹¹ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹ o⁴⁴
lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ back come VOC back come VOC

[19]

kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵⁵ la¹¹ ɤo¹¹ ma⁵³ zə⁵³
male VOC CONJ male ghost hand NEG EXT

m̄⁵³ ndzo⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹
AVM call back come

[20]

mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzu⁵³ ma⁵³ la¹¹ ɤo¹¹ ma⁵³
female VOC CONJ female ghost hand NEG

zə⁵³ m̄⁵³ ndzo⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹ o⁴⁴
EXT AVM call back come VOC

[21]

rə⁵³ hĩ⁵³ t^ha⁴⁴ pBU¹¹ le⁴⁴ hĩ¹¹ ɤa¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ bzi⁵³
soul NEG separate body NEG wander

m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹ o⁴⁴
AVM back come VOC

[22]

so⁴⁴ me⁵³ Bu⁵³ pæ⁵³ ndzu¹¹ li⁵³ dzy¹¹
three fire LOC sit back come

[23]

so⁵³ qa¹¹ lu⁴⁴ pæ⁴⁴ dzu⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹
three hearth stone LOC sit back come

[24]

ŋa¹¹ tɕu¹¹ jy⁵³ k^hu¹¹ tɕ^hə¹¹ ʒi¹¹ pæ¹¹ ndzu⁵³
five CL home pole LOC sit

li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹ o⁴⁴
back come VOC

[25]

jy¹¹ la¹¹ jy¹¹ te¹¹ ɕə¹¹ qæ⁵³
sleep CONJ sleep CONJ tree bed

jy¹¹ li¹¹ dzy¹¹
sleep back come

[26]

ma¹¹ ɕə¹¹ qa¹¹ lu⁴⁴ pæ¹¹ ndzu⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹
hearth hearth stone LOC sit back come

[27]

lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹ o¹¹ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹ o⁴⁴
lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ back come VOC back come VOC

[28]

qa¹¹ lu⁴⁴ a⁴⁴ mi⁵⁵ ma⁵³ q^ho¹¹ to⁴⁴
hearth stone mother NEG lose

[29]

ŋa⁵³ lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ ma⁵³ q^ho¹¹ to⁴⁴ m̩⁵³ ma⁵³ ja¹¹
I/my lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ NEG lose AVM mother

ŋi⁵³ ndzo⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dzy¹¹ o⁴⁴
ERG call back come VOC

- 1 lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ o¹¹ li⁵³ dzɣy¹¹ o⁴⁴
2 ma⁵³ ja¹¹ a⁵³ da⁵³ nɛi⁵³ ndzɔ⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹ o⁴⁴
3 a⁵³ po⁵³ ɕy⁵³ dɣy¹¹ a⁴⁴ ja⁵⁵ mə¹¹ mə⁴⁴ nɛi⁵³ ndzɔ⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹
4 tʂa⁴⁴ la⁵³ tʂ^hu¹¹ ɣ¹¹ la¹¹ tʂə¹¹ xi¹¹ nɛi¹¹ ndzɔ⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹ o⁴⁴
5 kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵⁵ la¹¹ ɛo¹¹ ma⁵³ zə⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹
6 mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzu⁵³ ma⁵³ la¹¹ ɛo¹¹ ma⁵³ zə⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹
o⁴⁴
7 nɛi⁵³ tɕ^ho⁵³ te⁵³ ʂu⁵³ ɛa⁵³ ko¹¹ ɛo⁴⁴ ma⁴⁴ dzɔ⁴⁴
8 ʂa¹¹ tɕ^ho¹¹ te¹¹ ɕə¹¹ ɛa⁴⁴ ko¹¹ ɛo⁴⁴ ma⁴⁴ dzɔ⁴⁴ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹
9 rə⁵³ hɪ⁵³ ma⁴⁴ pɸu¹¹ le⁴⁴ hɪ¹¹ ɛa¹¹ ma⁴⁴ bzi⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹ o⁴⁴
10 Gɣ¹¹ nɛi¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɣ⁵³ te¹¹ ti¹¹ nɛi¹¹ m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹
11 Gɣ¹¹ ha¹¹ rə⁴⁴ gɣ⁵³ te⁵³ ti¹¹ ha¹¹ m̄¹¹ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹ o⁴⁴
12 kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵⁵ la¹¹ ɛo¹¹ ma⁵³ zə⁵³ m̄⁵³ ndzɔ⁴⁴ li⁴⁴
dzɣy¹¹
13 mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzu⁵³ ma⁵³ la¹¹ ɛo¹¹ ma⁵³ zə⁵³ m̄⁵³ ndzɔ⁴⁴ li⁴⁴
dzɣy¹¹ o⁴⁴
14 ma⁵³ ja¹¹ a⁵³ da⁵³ nɛi⁵³ ndzɔ⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹
15 a⁵³ po⁵³ ɕy⁵³ ndjy¹¹ a⁴⁴ ja⁵⁵ mə¹¹ mə⁴⁴ nɛi⁴⁴ ndzɔ⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹
16 tʂa⁴⁴ la⁵³ tʂ^hu¹¹ ɣ¹¹ la¹¹ tʂə¹¹ xi¹¹ nɛi¹¹ ndzɔ⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹ o⁴⁴
17 rə⁵³ hɪ⁵³ ma⁵³ pɸu¹¹ le⁴⁴ hɪ¹¹ ɛa¹¹ ma⁴⁴ bzi⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹ o⁴⁴
18 lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹ o¹¹ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹ o⁴⁴
19 kwi¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ p^hu⁴⁴ ʂə⁵⁵ la¹¹ ɛo¹¹ ma⁵³ zə⁵³ m̄⁵³ ndzɔ⁴⁴ li⁴⁴
dzɣy¹¹
20 mbzə¹¹ je¹¹ te¹¹ dzu⁵³ ma⁵³ la¹¹ ɛo¹¹ ma⁵³ zə⁵³ m̄⁵³ ndzɔ⁴⁴ li⁴⁴
dzɣy¹¹ o⁴⁴
21 rə⁵³ hɪ⁵³ t^ha⁴⁴ pɸu¹¹ le⁴⁴ hɪ¹¹ ɛa¹¹ t^ha⁴⁴ bzi⁵³ m̄⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹ o⁴⁴
22 so⁴⁴ me⁵³ bu⁵³ pæ⁵³ ndzu¹¹ li⁵³ dzɣy¹¹
23 so⁵³ qa¹¹ lu⁴⁴ pæ⁴⁴ dzu⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹
24 ŋa¹¹ tɸu¹¹ jy⁵³ k^hu¹¹ tʂ^hə¹¹ zɪ¹¹ pæ¹¹ ndzu⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹ o⁴⁴
25 jy¹¹ la¹¹ jy¹¹ te¹¹ ɕə¹¹ qæ⁵³ jy¹¹ li¹¹ dzɣy¹¹
26 ma¹¹ ɕə¹¹ qa¹¹ lu⁴⁴ pæ¹¹ ndzu⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹
27 lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹ o¹¹ li⁴⁴ dzɣy¹¹ o⁴⁴
28 qa¹¹ lu⁴⁴ a⁴⁴ mi⁵⁵ ma⁵³ q^ho¹¹ to⁴⁴
29 ŋa⁵³ lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ ma⁵³ q^ho¹¹ to⁴⁴ m̄⁵³ ma⁵³ ja¹¹ nɛi⁵³ ndzɔ⁴⁴ li⁴⁴
dzɣy¹¹ o⁴⁴

- ¹ lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ has returned
- ² [His] parents called and he returned
- ³ [His] brothers and sisters called and he returned
- ⁴ [His] relatives and in-laws called and he returned
- ⁵ Returned without being in male ghosts' hands
- ⁶ Returned without being in female ghosts' hands
- ⁷ Returned without staying at East Metal Door
- ⁸ Returned without staying at West Wood Door
- ⁹ Returned without the soul wandering separate from the
body
- ¹⁰ Returned in one day from a distance of nine days
- ¹¹ Returned in one night from a distance of nine nights
- ¹² Returned without being in male ghosts' hands
- ¹³ Returned without being in female ghosts' hands
- ¹⁴ Returned when parents called
- ¹⁵ [His] brothers and sisters called and he returned
- ¹⁶ [His] relatives and in-laws called and he returned
- ¹⁷ Returned without the soul wandering separate from the
body
- ¹⁸ lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ already returned, already returned
- ¹⁹ Returned without being in male ghosts' hands
- ²⁰ Returned without being in female ghosts' hands
- ²¹ Returned without the soul wandering separate from the
body
- ²² Returned and sat beside the three fires' flames²³
- ²³ Returned and sat beside the three hearth stones
- ²⁴ Returned and sat under the home of five poles²⁴
- ²⁵ Returned and slept on the wood bed
- ²⁶ Returned and sat beside the hearth stones of the house

²³ The fire is divided into three parts by the three hearthstones.

²⁴ In the na⁵³ mzi⁵³ 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.

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²⁷ lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ already returned, already returned

²⁸ The mother of the hearth stone didn't lose

²⁹ My lu¹¹ tɕi⁵³ was not lost and returned when Mother called

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Figure One: The hearth and hearth stones.

- A the *ga*⁵³ *ha*⁵³ 'sacrificial place'
- B the *qa*¹¹ 'hearth'
- C the *qa*¹¹ *lu*⁴⁴ *a*⁴⁴ *mi*⁵⁵ 'mother hearth stone'
- D and E the *qa*¹¹ *lu*⁴⁴ *a*⁴⁴ *zi*⁵³ 'sons of the hearth stone'
- F the *dzə*⁴⁴ *pə*⁵³ *ndzu*⁵³ *ro*⁴⁴ 'host seating'
- G the *væ*⁴⁴ *ndzu*⁵³ *ro*⁴⁴ 'guest seating'
- H the *mi*¹¹ *qa*¹¹ 'lower hearth area' where the family eats and dances when guests come
- I the *q*^h *o*¹¹ *bo*¹¹ 'door'

