RESEARCH MATERIAL

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The Namuyi

Linguistic and Cultural Features

Abstract

The Namuyi live in southern Sichuan Province, the People's Republic of China, and form part of the officially recognized Tibetan ethnic group. This paper first introduces the Namuyi in terms of location, population, and ethnonym. It then provides brief background on the Namuyi language, including a comparison of the $dz\varrho^{11} qu^{11}$ and Luóguōdǐ varieties and a 207-item Swadesh list of English words with their $dz\varrho^{11} qu^{11}$ Namuyi equivalents. Finally, it discusses Namuyi religion and provides a transcription of the $ka^{11} ju^{11} bu^{44}$ ritual.

Keywords: Namuyi—Namyi—Namuzi—Tibetan—China minorities—Sichuan—folk ritual—exorcism

THE Namuyi[1] (in English also Namyi; in Namuyi—na^{53} $m\mathfrak{z}i^{53}$,[2] in Chinese—Nàmùyī 纳木依, Nàmùyì 纳木义, and Nàmùzī 纳木兹) are a little-studied group of people who reside in Liángshān Yí Autonomous Prefecture 凉山彝族自治州 in the southern part of Sìchuān Province 四川省, People's Republic of China. The Namuyi have a reported population of five thousand (GORDON 2005). Linguists have generally classified the Namuyi language within the Qiangic branch of the the Tibeto-Burman language family (SŪN 2001, 160). This paper focuses on Namuyi people who live in the communities of $dz\mathfrak{q}^{11}$ qu^{11} and $dz a^{53}$ qa^{53} tu^{11} in Xīchāng City 西昌市, and $ʂa^{44}$ pa^{53} and $ɕa^{11}$ ma^{11} k^hu^{53} in Miǎnníng County 冕宁县. These communities also have significant Hàn 汉 Chinese and Nuosu (Yí 彝) populations. Table 1 provides geographic and approximate population information for each community:

TABLE 1. Namuyi population in selected communities

Community	Jurisdiction	Township or Town	City or County	Namuyi Pop.	Total Pop.
$dz\mathfrak{q}^{11}$ qu^{11}	Dàshuǐ Village 大水村	Mínshèng Township 民胜乡	Xīchāng City	80	600
$dz a^{53}$ qa^{53} tu^{11}	Xiǎngshuǐ Village 响水村	Xiǎngshuǐ Township 响水乡	Xīchāng City	800	9,000
$ɕa^{11}$ ma^{11} k^hu^{53}	Dōngfēng Village 东风村	Zéyuǎn Township 泽远乡	Miǎnníng County	560	1,100
$ʂa^{44}$ pa^{53}	Lǎoyā Village 老鸦村	Shābà Town 沙坝镇	Miǎnníng County	290	1,600
Totals				1,740	22,200

Libu Lhaki's[3] father (Namuyi: li^{44} $ʙu^{55}$ $ʂə^{11}$ $pə^{53}$, Chinese: Lǐ Cáifù 李财富, born 1945) states that family relatives live in Jiànměi Township 健美乡 (Namuyi: $dz a^{11}$ mi^{44}) and Xīnxīng Township 新兴乡 (Namuyi: $ɕi^{44}$ $ɕi^{44}$) in Miǎnníng County.
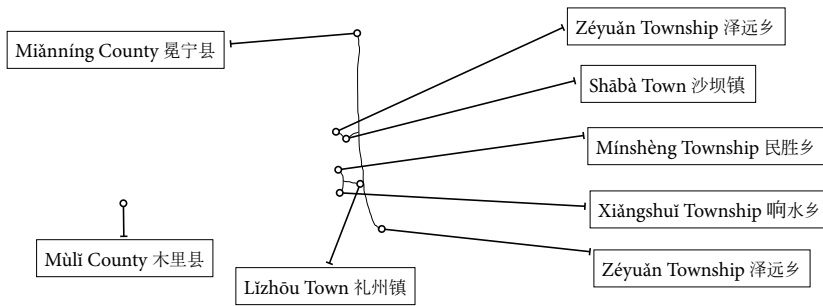
[234]

ILLUSTRATION 1. Location of selected Namuyi communities (1: 1,400,000)

These villages are situated in valleys between small mountains. Travel from *dʑa⁵³ qa⁵³ tu¹¹* to *dʐʅ¹¹ qu¹¹* takes about one day on foot, *dʐʅ¹¹ qu¹¹* to *ʂa⁴⁴ pa⁵³* takes about a half-day on foot, and *dʐʅ¹¹ qu¹¹* to Lǐzhōu takes about forty minutes by motorcycle. The weather is warm, the growing season is long, and it snows only once or twice a year. The Namuyi raise goats, water buffalo, horses, pigs, chickens, ducks, geese, mules, and donkeys, and they cultivate rice, wheat, maize, barley, tobacco, and beans. They derive cash income by selling livestock, small amounts of grain and tobacco, and wild mushrooms they collect in nearby forests in June through August. Increasing numbers of Namuyi leave the area to earn cash by working on construction crews organized by Hàn Chinese. They travel mostly to Xīchāng City, but some Namuyi also find work in Běijīng 北京 and Guaˇngdōng 广东. In 2005 the average annual cash income per family was 500 to 800 CNY (approximately $60 to $100 US)[4] (*li⁴⁴ ʙu⁵⁵ ʂə¹¹ pa⁵³*, interview data).

NAMES

Although the Namuyi speak what is probably a Qiangic language, they form part of China's officially-recognized Tibetan ethnic group. The ethnonym *na⁵³ mʐi⁵³* denotes not only speakers of Namuyi, but all Tibetans. Similarly, Nuosu people refer to the Namuyi as *ozzu* "Tibetan" or "Prmi"—a term which may have originally meant "aborigine" (HUÁNG 2004, 16). However, local Hàn Chinese use the term *xīfān* 西番 "western barbarian," a traditional Chinese designation for many of the Qiangic-speaking peoples of western Sichuan (SŪN 2001). This was reportedly the term the Namuyi used for themselves when speaking Chinese until their classification as part of the Tibetan ethnic group in 1984 (HUÁNG and RÉNZĒNG 1991, 153). Namuyi refer to Nuosu people as *gu¹¹ ɕy⁴⁴* and Hàn Chinese people as *va⁵³*.

In the Chinese literature on Namuyi, the Chinese-character rendering of the first syllable of Namuyi as *nà* 纳 has prompted suggestions that the group is related to the Nàxī 纳西 ethnic group of Lìjiāng Nàxī Autonomous Prefecture 丽江纳西族自治州 in Yúnnán Province 云南省 (YÁNG 2006). In linguistic works

that use the IPA, authors have rendered the second syllable as /mu⁵⁵/, with a full vowel (Huáng and Rénzēng 1991, 153; Huáng 1992, 212; Liú 1996, 185). However, as Liú notes, /m/ can appear both syllabically and as the first element of initial consonant clusters (1996, 185; 187). The practice of writing the final syllable as *yī* 依 or *yì* 义 has apparently contributed to a misimpression among certain speakers of Chinese that the Namuyi are a subgroup of the Yí ethnic group. However, as Huáng and Liú indicate, the value of this syllable ranges from /*ji*/ to /*ʑi*/ to /*zə*/ in different varieties of Namuyi (Huáng 1992, 212; Liú 1996, 185) and Huáng and Sūn have used "Nàmùzī" 纳木兹 /*na⁵¹ mu⁵¹ tsə⁵⁵*/ to represent the ethnonym as pronounced by speakers in Mùlǐ County (Huáng and Rénzēng 1991, 153; Sūn 2001, 159). The first author prefers the IPA rendering *na⁵³ mʑi⁵³* for the ethnonym as it is pronounced in the *dzə¹¹ qu¹¹* variety.

CLOTHING

People born before 1965 often wear a knee-length white robe (*hũ⁵³ ndzə⁵³ ba¹¹ tsʰə⁴⁴*) made from the skin of thin hemp plants (*sa¹¹ qʰæ¹¹*) that grow as tall as a person. When the plant turns yellow in summer, people cut the plant, remove the skin, and roll it on their thigh until it forms a string about one meter long. They then weave the strings into a fabric (*hũ⁵³ dzə⁵³*) from which they make the robes. Old people wrap a long strip of black cloth around their heads to make a turban (*ɣu⁵³ ju⁴⁴*). Today, most young people wear traditional clothing only during festivals. The first author intends to describe the elaborate dress of women in future work.

ORIGIN OF THE NAMUYI

Namuyi people tell many variations of the following origin story. The first author's father *li⁴⁴ ʙu⁵⁵ ʂə¹¹ pɚ⁵³* provided this version:

> Long ago, grasslands and thick forests abounded in what is now Xīchāng City. The livestock and wild animals lived together peacefully. The melodious sound of birdsong filled the air. In the Namuyi language, that place was called *ɔ⁵³ ndʐo̞⁵³*—a word people cannot explain today, other than to say it is the name of that place. One day a bird appeared and started calling *a⁴⁴ zə⁵⁵ do¹¹ bi⁴⁴*. In Namuyi, *a⁴⁴ zə⁵⁵* means "grandmother" and *do¹¹ bi⁴⁴* means "buttocks." The bird continued to call this day after day. When Namuyi parents, sisters, brothers, the older generations, and young people were working and chatting together, they were very embarassed to hear this sound. Finally, all the Namuyi decided to leave this hateful bird and find a new place to live. They left *ɔ⁵³ ndʐo̞⁵³* with their livestock and their tools for farming and herding. Finally, they reached the place where they now live and settled down.

FIGURE 1. Tiles are made in $dz\gamma^{11}$ qu^{11} by a Namuyi family. After drying, these canisters are broken into four parts, stacked in a wood-fired kiln and baked. They are sold to local people.

FIGURE 2. Children herd water buffalo in $dz\gamma^{11}\,qu^{11}$.

FIGURE 3. Autumn wheat field in $dz\gamma^{11}$ qu^{11}.

FIGURE 4. Summer rice field in $dz\gamma^{11}$ qu^{11}.

FIGURE 5. Summer rice field in *dʐ̩ə¹¹ qu¹¹*.

FIGURE 6. A Namuyi family in *dʐ̩ə¹¹ qu¹¹*.

FIGURE 7. Mr. li⁴⁴ʙu⁵⁵ (Namuyi, b. 1965) in *dʐ̩ə¹¹ qu¹¹* wearing the traditional *kwa⁴⁴ ta⁴⁴* made from yak hair.

FIGURE 8. Ms. *ta¹¹ ja¹¹ mi⁵³* (Namuyi, b. 1945) in *dʑa⁵³ qa⁵³ tu¹¹* wearing the traditional *tʂʰa⁴⁴qʰa⁵³* made from hemp.

FIGURE 9. Old scripture owned by a family in *dʐə¹¹ qu¹¹*.

FIGURE 10. Mr. *pʰa⁵³tsə⁵³ ta¹¹ ja¹¹* (b. 1940) in *dʐə¹¹ qu¹¹*.

THE NAMUYI LANGUAGE

In Namuyi, k^ha^{11} t^ho^{11} means "language," and the Namuyi call their language na^{53} $mʑi^{53}$ k^ha^{11} t^ho^{11}. To date, there have appeared only preliminary linguistic analyses of Namuyi. There is still some disagreement among linguists over the genetic affiliation of Namuyi within the Tibeto-Burman family. SŪN argues that Namuyi is a Qiangic language that has been strongly influenced by the Yí languages with which it is in contact (2001, 178). This influence may be primarily structural rather than lexical: of the nine hundred words of $dzʐ̩^{11}$ qu^{11} Namuyi that the first author has collected, only three percent appear to be loanwords from the local variety of Nuosu.

HUÁNG and RÉNZĒNG (1991) and LIÚ (1996) provide preliminary linguistic analyses of varieties of Namuyi spoken in Mùlǐ County and Luóguōdǐ 锣锅底, respectively. There are strong grammatical similarities between Luóguōdǐ variety and the first author's $dzʐ̩^{11}$ qu^{11} variety. However, there are also phonological and lexical differences, as demonstrated in Table 2 (LIÚ 1996):

As the table suggests, some non-homonymous cognates differ in the occurrence of prenasalized stops (present in $dzʐ̩^{11}qu^{11}$, absent in Luóguōdǐ) and voicing (relative voice onset time). There is a more systematic difference in tonal categories. LIÚ describes four categories: 55, 53, 31, and 13 for the Luóguōdǐ variety. However, the first author produces lexical items cognate to those LIÚ describes as 55 slightly lower that the top of his voice range, a tone we represent as 44. Furthermore, he produces items cognate to those in 31 and 13 as a single low-level tone, which we represent as 11. Due to this merger (or non-split), we describe only three tonal categories for the $dzʐ̩^{11}$ qu^{11} variety: high (44), high-falling (53), and low (11). For purposes of comparison, we provide a complete Swadesh list of 207 English words with their $dzʐ̩^{11}$ qu^{11} Namuyi equivalents, as pronounced by the first author, in the appendix attached.

TABLE 2. A comparison of selected lexical items in $dzʐ̩^{11}$ qu^{11} and Luóguōdǐ Namuyi

	$dzʐ̩^{11}$ qu^{11}	Luóguōdǐ	Gloss
Homonymous cognates	fu^{53}	fu^{53}	to blow (as wind)
	$dzə^{53}$ (apical vowel)	$dzʅ^{53}$ (apical vowel)	to eat
Non-homonymous cognates	$ndza^{11}$	dza^{31}	thin
	$qæ^{11}$	$ɢæ^{13}$	to dig
Non-cognates	$çə^{11}$ $ts^hə^{44}$	$p^hsʅ$	leaf
	do^{44} bu^{53} ly^{53}	$ʁu^{53}$	mountain

Namuyi possesses no orthography, and in *dzə¹¹ qu¹¹* only about ten percent of the population reads Chinese, two percent reads Nuosu, and only the first author reads Tibetan. However, the language is well preserved in the communities of *dʑa⁵³ qa⁵³ tu¹¹*, *dzə¹¹ qu¹¹*, and *ʂa⁴⁴ pa⁵³*—particularly so in *dʑa⁵³ qa⁵³ tu¹¹*, where only residents under the age of twenty who have attended primary school can speak Chinese. In *dzə¹¹ qu¹¹* and *ʂa⁴⁴ pa⁵³*, Namuyi residents speak Namuyi among themselves and fluent Nuosu and passable Chinese to people who prefer to speak those languages. Namuyi is less well preserved in *ça¹¹ ma¹¹ kʰu⁵³*, where almost all Namuyi people also speak Nuosu and Chinese: residents born before 1955 speak Namuyi to each other, but while younger people understand a great deal of Namuyi, they prefer to converse in Nuosu or Chinese. Very few Nuosu or Hàn Chinese residents of these communities speak or understand Namuyi.

The sociolinguistic situation is changing rapidly. During the New Year Festival in January to February 2005, the first author's elder sister and sister-in-law came from *ça¹¹ ma¹¹ kʰu⁵³* to visit the family home in *dzə¹¹ qu¹¹*. Asked why they insisted on speaking Nuosu to family members, they replied, "It is stupid to speak such a useless language as Namuyi these days. We have to communicate with our Nuosu friends in Nuosu. There are only a very few people who speak Namuyi. It's just like walking off a cliff with your eyes closed if you only speak Namuyi and refuse to speak Nuosu." When the author asked why their two seven-year-old children only spoke and understood Chinese, they replied, "Who doesn't want their kids to find a good job, settle down, and have a comfortable family life? We should have our kids learn Chinese to help them find a job, shouldn't we?"

The first author has also noticed that code-switching among Namuyi, Nuosu, and Chinese is on the rise among the youngest generation in *dzə¹¹ qu¹¹*. When the first author visited his home in January to February 2005, he noted the following exchange with his niece (born 1994), who attended the village primary school where Nuosu children make up majority of the student body:

A. Libu Lakhi:

	no⁵³	*tʰi⁴⁴*	*pæ⁴⁴*	*ɣo⁵³*	*pi¹¹ ʐi¹¹*	*qʰa⁴⁴ ɲi¹¹ ɡvu¹¹*	*dʑɔ⁴⁴*
Language	Namuyi						
Gloss	you	DET	class	LOC	student	how many	there is/are
Translation	How many students are there in your class?						

B. Niece:

	çɔ³¹ si³³	*san³³ ʂə³¹ vu⁴⁵*	*kɔ*	*dʐɔ⁴⁴*
Characters	学生	三十五	个	
Languages	Xīchāng Chinese			Namuyi
Gloss	students	thirty-five	CL	there is/are
Translation	There are thirty-five students.			

In her response, the first author's niece combines a Xīchāng Chinese noun phrase with a Namuyi existential verb.[5] Interestingly, however, she uses Namuyi noun-phrase constituent order, in which numeral-classifier constructions follow their noun heads, instead of the usual Chinese word order. In his question, the first author uses the lexical item *pæ⁴⁴*, which appears to be a loanword from Chinese, *pan⁵⁵* 班.

Noticing a cat dragging away his niece's handkerchief, the first author initiated the following exchange:

A. Libu Lakhi:

	ha¹¹ le⁴⁴	*nu⁵³*	*ba¹¹ tsʰɔ⁴⁴*	*dʐə¹¹*
Language	Namuyi			
Gloss	cat	your	clothes	pull
Translation	The cat is pulling your stuff			

B. Niece:

	ji⁵⁵ a¹¹ dʑu⁵⁵	*tʰo⁵³*	*dʐə¹¹*	*çy⁵³*	*hĩ¹¹*
Languages	Nuosu	Namuyi			
Gloss	it doesn't matter	let	pull	go away	let
Translation	It doesn't matter, let the cat drag it away.				

In this exchange, the first author's niece begins with a phrase in Nuosu, *ji⁵⁵ a¹¹ dʑu⁵⁵* "it doesn't matter," then finishes her utterance in Namuyi.[6]

NAMUYI RELIGION

Namuyi elders teach that Namuyi people are descended from gods, known as *çi⁴⁴ vi⁴⁴*. On special days such as the New Year and during weddings, *çi⁴⁴ vi⁴⁴*

must be respected and offered the freshest and tastiest food, such as rice and animal blood. Trance mediums known as p^ha^{53} $ts\vartheta^{53}$ can hear what the φi^{44} vi^{44} have to tell family members what to do during rituals. The one p^ha^{53} $ts\vartheta^{53}$ in $dz\vartheta^{11}$ qu^{11} in 2007 was born around 1945. Villagers frequently invite the p^ha^{53} $ts\vartheta^{53}$ into their homes to perform religious activities when family members are sick or when they encounter trouble.

THE EXORCISM RITUAL

The first author provides this account:

> My father performed the ka^{11} ju^{11} bu^{44} ritual for me many times during my childhood. The last time I remember him peforming it was in the summer of 2002. One afternoon, I felt like vomiting. I lay on the sofa by the fireplace. After returning from working in the rice field, we were about to have supper.
>
> "Come eat supper," Mother called from the kitchen. I could smell the food cooking and I knew that supper was nearly ready without her telling me, but I didn't seem to have much appetite.
>
> After I failed to reply to my mother, my father came to me, saying ''Didn't you hear? Come eat."
>
> "I don't want to eat anything. I feel like vomiting," I replied in a low voice.
>
> "When did you start to feel unwell?" he asked.
>
> "Just a couple of minutes ago," I said.
>
> "It must be those hateful ka^{11} ju^{11} [ghosts]. Quickly go get a bowl, put a little water inside along with a few grains of cooked rice, and bring it here," he ordered my mother.
>
> I didn't have supper that night. Father beat the bowl with a pair of chopsticks above my head and chanted loudly as I lay on the sofa. After he finished chanting, he walked to the courtyard door and threw the water and rice grains outside. Next, my younger sister cleaned the floor with a broom, closed the door, and threw what she had swept up out through the courtyard door. This was meant to further discourage the ghost from returning. Then I went to sleep, and when I woke up the next day morning, I felt as well as usual.

He also provides this second account:

> During the New Year festival in January to February 2005, I was sitting on the sofa and reading a book when I suddenly heard chanting. I rushed out, and when I saw that my father was doing the ka^{11} ju^{11} bu^{44} ritual, I realized that my younger brother must be ill. My younger brother was sitting on a

bag of grain; my father beat a bowl half-full of water and a few cooked rice grains with chopsticks above his head. My father chanted things like, "Please return to where you are from, there is nothing here to eat and drink…"

People believe that the ghosts of people who have died from starvation or poisoning are prone to approach people and cause sudden illness, causing dizziness, nausea, and lack of appetite. The ka^{11} ju^{11} bu^{44} ritual exorcises these ghosts. Both men and women who know the chant frequently perform the ka^{11} ju^{11} bu^{44} ritual because it is informal and does not require the services of a $p^{h}a^{53}$ $ts\partial^{53}$. In most cases, elder brothers and sisters perform it for whomever is ill. The only implements practitioners need are a bowl and a pair of chopsticks. They add water and a few grains of cooked rice to the bowl. It is considered best if all the family members are present at the time of the ritual and say things that will please the ghosts; after the ritual's completion, they clean the room and throw out garbage.

Below, we provide a transcription of the ka^{11} ju^{11} bu^{44} ritual chant performed by the first author's father, li^{44} $вu^{55}$ $\c{s}\partial^{11}$ $p\partial^{53}$, described in the account above. The author recorded the chant on video at his home in $d\dz\dotbelow{\partial}^{11}$ qu^{11} during the New Year festival held in January to February 2005.

THE RITUAL CHANT

1. $ho\ldotp^{11}$ $t\c{c}^{h}i\eta^{44}$ $t\c{c}^{h}i\eta^{44}$ $t\c{c}^{h}i\eta^{44}$ $t\c{c}^{h}i\eta^{44}$
   [Untranslated material here and below consists of incantatory syllables without identifiable lexical meaning.]

2. ti^{11} $d\dz o^{44}$ ηa^{11} $d\dz o^{11}$ $q^{h}vu^{11}$ $d\dz o^{11}$ $\c{s}\partial^{11}$ $d\dz o^{11}$ $NG\dotbelow{v}^{11}$ $d\dz o^{11}$
   first circle, fifth circle, sixth circle, seventh circle, ninth circle
   [Refers to circles made around the patient's head with bowl and chopsticks.]

3. ti^{11} $d\dz o^{44}$ ηa^{11} $d\dz o^{11}$ $q^{h}vu^{11}$ $d\dz o^{11}$ $\c{s}\partial^{11}$ $d\dz o^{11}$ $NG\dotbelow{v}^{11}$ $d\dz o^{11}$
   first circle, fifth circle, sixth circle, seventh circle, ninth circle

4. $ho\ldotp^{11}$ da^{11} te^{11} $d\dz e^{11}$ bu^{44} da^{11} $t\varepsilon^{11}$
   $ho\ldotp^{11}$ da^{11} $t\varepsilon^{11}$ for $d\dz e^{11}$ bu^{44}
   [Refers to the first author's younger brother, li^{44} $вu^{55}$ $d\dz e^{11}$ bu^{44}, born 1985. He is identified in line 30 below as pa^{44} NGi^{44}.]

5. $\dotbelow{t}^{11}$ ze^{53} ma^{53} $q\dotbelow{v}^{11}$ $tвu^{11}$ pe^{11} ma^{11} qu^{11} le^{11}
   because he doesn't know how to act

6. va^{53} $ræ^{53}$ $dz\dotbelow{a}^{44}$ lo^{11} γu^{44} $bвu^{11}$ su^{44}
   met Hàn Chinese ghosts
   ["Ghosts" are the spirits of people who have died violently—for example, by drowning, poisoning, murder, or falling from a cliff.]

7. na^{53} $ræ^{53}$ $dz\dotbelow{a}^{44}$ lo^{11} γu^{44} $bвu^{11}$ su^{44}

met Namuyi ghosts

8. $hũ^{53}$ $ʂ\partial^{44}$ $ræ^{53}$ $dʐa^{44}$ da^{44} lo^{11} $ɣu^{44}$ $bʙu^{11}$ su^{44}
   met $hũ^{53}$ $ʂ\partial^{44}$ ghosts

9. $hoˑ^{11}$ da^{11} te^{11}

10. $hũ^{11}$ $mbzi̠^{11}$ $ræ^{53}$ $dʐa^{44}$ da^{44} lo^{11} $ɣu^{44}$ $bʙu^{11}$ su^{44} met $hũ^{11}$ $mbʑi^{11}$ ghosts,

11. t^he^{53} je^{11} da^{11} te^{11}

12. a^{11} mi^{44} gu^{11} nu^{11}

13. $sɔŋ^{11}$ $ndʐa^{44}$ $ɕe^{44}$ $ræ^{53}$ $dʐa^{44}$ $da{:}^{44}$ lo^{11} $ɣu^{44}$ $bʙu^{11}$ su^{44}
    met the Sòng 宋 family's ghosts

14. t^he^{53} je^{11} da^{11} te^{11}

15. a^{11} mi^{44} gu^{11} nu^{11}

16. xua^{11} $ndʐa^{44}$ $ɕe^{44}$ $ræ^{53}$ $dʐa^{44}$
    the Huáng 黄 family's ghosts

17. $hoˑ^{11}$ da^{11} te^{11}

18. $gæ^{11}$ $p^hæ^{11}$ $ɕe^{44}$ $ræ^{53}$ $dʐa^{44}$ $da{:}^{44}$ lo^{11} $ɣu^{44}$ $bʙu^{11}$ su^{44}
    met the $gæ^{11}$ $p^hæ^{11}$ family's ghosts

19. t^he^{53} je^{11} da^{11} te^{11}

20. li^{44} $ʙu^{55}$ $ɕe^{44}$ $ræ^{53}$ $dʐa^{44}$ $da{:}^{44}$ lo^{11} $ɣu^{44}$ $bʙu^{11}$ su^{44}
    met the li^{44} $ʙu^{55}$ family's ghosts

21. $hoˑ^{11}$ da^{11} te^{11}

22. $hũ^{53}$ $ʂ\partial^{44}$ $ræ^{53}$ $dʐa^{11}$ $hũ^{11}$ $mbzi̠^{11}$ $ræ^{53}$ $dʐa^{11}$
    $hũ^{53}$ $ʂ\partial^{44}$ ghosts and $hũ^{11}$ $mbʑi^{11}$ ghosts

23. $hoˑ^{11}$ da^{11} te^{11}

24. mi^{11} ma^{11} $t^hʙu^{11}$ su^{11} $ræ^{53}$ $dʐa^{11}$
    ghosts without given names

25. lu^{53} ma^{44} $t^hʙu^{11}$ su^{44} $ræ^{53}$ $dʐa^{11}$
    ghosts without animal year names

26. t^he^{53} je^{11} da^{11} te^{11}

27. $dzɔ̠^{11}$ $ræ^{53}$ $dʐa^{11}$ $ɣi^{11}$ $ræ^{53}$ $dʐa^{11}$
    $dzɔ̠^{11}$ ghosts and livestock ghosts

28. $hoˑ^{11}$ da^{11} te^{11}

29. a^{11} mi^{44} gu^{11} nu^{11}

30. pa^{44} $ɴɢi^{44}$ da^{44} lo^{11} mi^{11} do^{44} su^{44} da^{44} te^{53}
    ghosts who asked pa^{44} $ɴɢi^{44}$

31. $n̠i^{44}$ $tɕ^hɔ^{44}$ li^{44} $dʐ\partial^{11}$ su^{44} ji^{11} ly^{11}
    ghosts from the west

32. $ʂa^{44}$ $tɕ^hɔ^{44}$ li^{44} $dʐ\partial^{11}$ su^{44} ji^{11} ly^{11}
    ghosts from the east

33. a^{11} mi^{44} gu^{11} nu^{11}

34. $ndz\partial^{44}$ $ɣɔ^{53}$ $ndz\partial^{44}$ $mæ^{11}$ li^{44} $dʐ\partial^{11}$ su^{44} $ræ^{53}$ $dʐa^{11}$
    ghosts who come from north and south

35. *hũ⁵³ ʂə⁴⁴ ræ⁵³ dzạ¹¹ te⁴⁴ hũ¹¹ mbʐị¹¹ ræ⁵³ dzạ¹¹ te⁴⁴*
    hũ⁵³ ʂə⁴⁴ ghosts and *hũ¹¹ mbʑi¹¹* ghosts
36. *tʰe⁵³ je¹¹ da¹¹ te¹¹*
37. *mi¹¹ ma¹¹ tʰʙu¹¹ su¹¹ ræ⁵³ dzạ¹¹*
    ghosts without given names
38. *lu⁵³ ma⁴⁴ tʰʙu¹¹ su⁴⁴ ræ⁵³ dzạ¹¹*
    ghosts without animal year names
39. *tʰe⁵³ je¹¹ da¹¹ te¹¹*
40. *pa⁴⁴ ɴɢi⁴⁴ da⁴⁴ te⁴⁴ r̩¹¹ zə⁵³ ma⁵³ q ɣ¹¹ tʙu¹¹ pe¹¹ ma¹¹ qu¹¹ le¹¹*
    because *pa⁴⁴ ɴɢi⁴⁴* doesn't know how to act
41. *a¹¹ mi⁴⁴ gu¹¹ nu¹¹*
42. *hũ⁵³ ʂə⁴⁴ ræ⁵³ dzạ¹¹*
    hũ⁵³ ʂə⁴⁴ ghosts
43. *ka¹¹ ju¹¹ da¹¹ va⁵³ ka¹¹ ju¹¹ da¹¹ lo¹¹ ɣu⁴⁴ bʙu¹¹ su⁴⁴*
    met Chinese ghosts
44. *na⁵³ ka¹¹ ju¹¹ da¹¹ lo¹¹ ɣu⁴⁴ bʙu¹¹ su⁴⁴*
    met Namuyi ghosts
45. *tʰe⁵³ je¹¹ da¹¹ te¹¹*
46. *a¹¹ mi⁴⁴ gu¹¹ nu¹¹*
47. *hoː¹¹ da¹¹ te¹¹*
48. *ti¹¹ dʑo⁴⁴ ŋa¹¹ dʑo¹¹ qʰvu¹¹ dʑo¹¹ ʂə¹¹ dʑo¹¹ ɴɢ ɣ¹¹ dʑo¹¹*
    first circle, fifth circle, sixth circle, seventh circle, ninth circle
49. *hoː¹¹ da¹¹ te¹¹*
50. *hũ⁵³ ʂə⁴⁴ ræ⁵³ dzạ¹¹*
    hũ⁵³ ʂə⁴⁴ ghosts
51. *ɲi⁴⁴ a⁴⁴ te⁴⁴ zọ¹¹ mi¹¹ dʑi¹¹ te¹¹ zọ¹¹ gu¹¹ li¹¹ hũ¹¹*
    If you are hungry, return after I offer food
52. *fa⁴⁴ a⁴⁴ te⁴⁴ zọ¹¹ mi¹¹ dʑi¹¹ te¹¹ zọ¹¹ gu¹¹ li¹¹ hũ¹¹*
    If you are thirsty, return after I offer food
53. *tʰe⁵³ je¹¹ da¹¹ te¹¹*
54. *haː¹¹ da¹¹ te¹¹*
55. *ka¹¹ ju¹¹ da¹¹ lo¹¹ ɣu⁴⁴ bʙu¹¹ su⁴⁴*
    met ghosts
56. *va⁵³ ka¹¹ ju¹¹ da¹¹ lo¹¹ ɣu⁴⁴ bʙu¹¹ su⁴⁴*
    met Chinese ghosts
57. *na⁵³ ka¹¹ ju¹¹ da¹¹ lo¹¹ ɣu⁴⁴ bʙu¹¹ su⁴⁴*
    met Namuyi ghosts
58. *gæ¹¹ pʰæ¹¹ ɕe⁴⁴ ka¹¹ ju¹¹ daː⁴⁴ lo¹¹ ɣu⁴⁴ bʙu¹¹ su⁴⁴*
    met the *gæ¹¹ pʰæ¹¹* family's ghosts
59. *tʰe⁵³ je¹¹ da¹¹ te¹¹*

60. *li⁴⁴ ʙu⁵⁵ ɕe⁴⁴ ka¹¹ ju¹¹*
   the *li⁴⁴ ʙu⁵⁵* family's ghosts

61. *sɔŋ¹¹ ndʑa⁴⁴ ɕe⁴⁴ ka¹¹ ju¹¹*
   the Sòng 宋 family's ghosts,

62. *ho:¹¹ da¹¹ te¹¹*

63. *va⁵³ tʂa⁴⁴ va⁵³ bæ⁴⁴*
   va⁵³ tʂa⁴⁴ va⁵³ bæ⁴⁴ ghosts

64. *gu¹¹ ly⁴⁴ gu¹¹ ɕy⁴⁴*
   Nuosu ghosts

65. *va⁵³ la⁴⁴ he⁴⁴ le⁴⁴*
   Hàn Chinese ghosts

66. *he:¹¹ da¹¹ te¹¹*

67. *ka¹¹ ju¹¹ da¹¹ te¹¹ lo¹¹ ɣu⁴⁴ bʙu¹¹ su⁴⁴*
   Met ghosts

68. *gu¹¹ ly⁴⁴ gu¹¹ ɕy⁴⁴ ʐi⁵⁵*
   Nuosu people's ghosts

69. *tʰæ:⁵³ tʰa¹¹ pæ⁴⁴ dʑæ¹¹ ʂa⁴⁴ ræ⁵³ dʑa⁴⁴ da⁴⁴ lo¹¹ ɣu⁴⁴ bʙu¹¹ su⁴⁴*
   met *tʰæ:⁵³ tʰa¹¹ pæ⁴⁴ dʑæ¹¹ ʂa⁴⁴* ghosts

70. *tʰe⁵³ je¹¹ da¹¹ te¹¹*

71. *ɲi⁴⁴ a⁴⁴ te⁴⁴ zo̞¹¹ mi¹¹ dʑi¹¹ te¹¹ zo̞¹¹ gu¹¹ li¹¹ hũ¹¹*
   If you are hungry, return after I offer food

72. *fa⁴⁴ a⁴⁴ te⁴⁴ zo̞¹¹ mi¹¹ dʑi¹¹ te¹¹ zo̞¹¹ gu¹¹ li¹¹ hũ¹¹*
   If you are thirsty, return after I offer food

73. *ho:¹¹ da¹¹ te¹¹*

74. *hũ⁵³ ʂo̞⁴⁴ ræ⁵³ dʑa̞¹¹ te⁴⁴ hũ¹¹ mbʑi̞¹¹ ræ⁵³ dʑa¹¹ te⁴⁴*
   hũ⁵³ ʂo̞⁴⁴ ghosts and *hũ¹¹ mbʑi¹¹* ghosts

75. *ɴɢʁ¹¹ ɲi¹¹ r̩¹¹ gʁ¹¹ te¹¹ ti¹¹ ɲi¹¹ mə¹¹ nu¹¹ li⁴⁴ ʙu¹¹*
   I command you back in one day if you came here in nine days

76. *ɴɢʁ¹¹ ha⁴⁴ r̩¹¹ gʁ⁴⁴ te¹¹ ti¹¹ ha¹¹ mə¹¹ nu¹¹ li⁴⁴ ʙu¹¹*
   I command you back in one night if you came here in nine nights

77. *ho:¹¹ da¹¹ te¹¹*

78. *ʁ¹¹ tʁ¹¹ li⁴⁴ dʑa̞¹¹ su⁴⁴ te⁴⁴ ʁ¹¹ tʁ¹¹ li⁴⁴ ʙu¹¹*
   I command ghosts from the maternal side to return to the maternal side

79. *ʐi⁴⁴ tʁ¹¹ li⁴⁴ dʑa̞¹¹ su⁴⁴ da⁴⁴ te⁴⁴ ʐi⁴⁴ tʁ¹¹ li⁴⁴ ʙu¹¹*
   I command ghosts from the paternal side to return to the paternal side

80. *ɲi⁴⁴ tɕʰɔ⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dʑa̞¹¹ su⁴⁴ ræ⁵³ dʑa¹¹ da⁴⁴ te⁴⁴ ɲi⁴⁴ tɕʰɔ⁴⁴ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ʙu¹¹*
   I command ghosts from the west to return to the west

81. *ʂa⁴⁴ tɕʰɔ⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dʑa̞¹¹ su⁴⁴ ræ⁵³ dʑa¹¹ da⁴⁴ te⁴⁴ ʂa⁴⁴ tɕʰɔ⁴⁴ nu⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ ʙu¹¹*
   I command ghosts from the east to return to the east

82. *ho:¹¹ da¹¹ te¹¹*

83. *ndzə⁴⁴ ɣɔ⁵³ ndzə⁴⁴ mæ¹¹ li⁴⁴ dzʐ̩¹¹ su⁴⁴ ræ⁵³ dzạ¹¹*
     ghosts who come from north and south
84. *tʙu¹¹ ræ⁵³ dzạ¹¹ ɣi¹¹ ræ⁵³ dzạ¹¹*
     Wild animal ghosts and livestock ghosts
85. *ɣ¹¹ ræ⁵³ dzạ¹¹ ʑi⁴⁴ ræ⁵³ dzạ¹¹*
     Maternal ghosts and paternal ghosts
86. *dzạ⁵³ ndzạ⁴⁴ li⁴⁴ dzʐ̩¹¹ su⁴⁴ ræ⁵³ dzạ¹¹*
     The Zhāng 张 family's ghosts
87. *hoː¹¹ jy¹¹ ma¹¹ sa¹¹ su¹¹ ɹ̩¹¹ zə⁴⁴ ma¹¹ zə⁴⁴ su⁴⁴ ræ⁵³ dzạ¹¹ da⁴⁴ te⁴⁴*
     ghosts who wander at night
88. *hoː¹¹ ʂa⁵³ dʑo¹¹ dʑo¹¹, sa⁵³ ho¹¹ ho¹¹, sa⁵³ ho¹¹ ho¹¹.*

NOTES

1. The form Namuyi is a transliteration of a Chinese-character rendering of the word *na⁵³ mʑi⁵³*. It captures the phonological details of the ethnonym rather poorly, and the authors use it with reluctance. However, because this form is established in the cosmopolitan literature (cf. MATISOFF 1991; GORDON 2005), the authors use it in order to ensure that their work remains accessible to the widest possible audience.

2. TRANSCRIPTION NOTES. There is no orthography for Namuyi, and to date there has been no phonological analysis of the *dzʐ̩¹¹ qu¹¹* variety. Therefore, we present all Namuyi-language material by means of broad phonetic transcription in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). IPA symbols have their standard values (PULLUM and LADUSAW 1996). Following IPA recommendations (INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ASSOCIATION 1949, 42, cited in PULLUM and LADUSAW 1996, 89), we use /ə/ to represent both the non-retroflex "apical" vowel which Chinese linguists transcribe as [ɿ] (cf. Standard Chinese *sì* 四 "four"), as well as its retroflex equivalent, which Chinese linguists transcribe as [ʅ] (cf. Standard Chinese *shì* 十 "ten"). In *dzʐ̩¹¹ qu¹¹* Namuyi, like in Standard Chinese, the non-retroflex apical pronunciation occurs following alveolar fricatives /s, z/ and affricates /ts, tsʰ, dz/, while the retroflex pronunciation occurs after retroflex fricatives /ʂ, z̩/ and affricates /tʂ, tʂʰ, dz̩/. Other notable articulatory phenomena include the following: CONSONANTS: (1) A voiced bilabial trill [ʙ] appears to be in complementary distribution with the high back unrounded vowel [u] after many alveolar /t, tʰ, d/, and some biliabial /p, pʰ, b/, plosives in some words and not in others. The occurrence of the trill appears to be variable: sometimes [ʙ] is the syllable nucleus, and sometimes it is followed by [u]. HUÁNG and RÉNZĒNG (1991) and LIÚ (1996) both identify [ʙ] as an allophone of /u/. However, the trill also appears as an initial in the word *ʙɹ⁵³* "snake," and in the first author's family name, *li⁴⁴ ʙu⁵⁵*. We transcribe occurrences of [ʙ] phonetically; (2) A voiced labiodental fricative [v] appears to be in complementary distribution with [u] after most uvular /q, qʰ, ɢ/, and some velar /k, kʰ, g/, plosives in some words and not in others; like [ʙ], sometimes [v] is the syllable nucleus, and sometimes it is followed by [u]. We transcribe occurrences of [v] phonetically; (3) When the lateral approximant /l/ precedes the high front rounded vowel /y/, the consonant is palatized, approaching [ʎ]. We transcribe this sound phonemically as /l/. VOWELS: (1) It is not yet clear whether there is a phonemic distinction between mid-high vowels /e/ and /o/ and mid-low vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/. We transcribe these vowels phonetically as they occur; (2) Following voiceless fricatives and aspirated voiceless affricates, some vowels are voiced

in some words and not in others. We mark devoicing where it occurs. (3) When the voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ precedes the high back rounded vowel /u/, the vowel becomes unrounded, approaching [ɯ]. We transcribe these occurrences phonemically as /u/. (4) Vowels that precede or follow /m/ are generally nasalized; however, they are not as nasal as the categorically nasal vowels /ĩ/ and /ũ/ described in Liú (1996). We do not mark nasalization on these vowels. Tone: (1) Because of typographic restrictions, we represent tone using a number system designed by Chao, common in descriptions of languages in China (Chao 1930). This system employs a scale of one to five, where one represents the bottom of the vocal range and five represents the top. In $dz\varrho^{11}$ qu^{11} Namuyi each tone is symbolized as a sequence of two numbers, written as a superscript following the syllable: the first number represents the initial pitch of the tone, and the second number represents the final pitch; (2) We identify three tonal categories in the $dz\varrho^{11}$ qu^{11} variety: high (44), high-falling (53), and low (11). In some series of two or more high tones, the last tone is slightly higher than the others. We transcribe this last tone phonetically as (55).

3. The first author has chosen to render his Namuyi name /li^{44} $ʙu^{55}$ la^{11} $k^{h}i^{44}$/ in a conventional English spelling.

4. In 2005, 1 US dollar was worth approximately 8.23 Chinese yuán 元.

5. The IPA transcription of the Xīchāng Chinese phrase reproduces the first author's pronunciation.

6. The IPA transcription of the Nuosu phrase reproduces the first author's pronunciation.

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APPENDIX

207 English words and their equivalents in $dz\underset{.}{\textipa{\textrtailz}}\textschwa^{11}\ qu^{11}$ Namuyi

	English	$dz\underset{.}{\textrtailz}\textschwa^{11}\ qu^{11}$ Namuyi		English	$dz\underset{.}{\textrtailz}\textschwa^{11}\ qu^{11}$ Namuyi
1	I	ηa^{44}	35	thin	$ndza^{11}$
2	you (singular)	nu^{44}	36	woman	$\textltailn u^{53}\ \textltailn u^{53}\ h\textopeno^{53}$
3	he	$t^h e^{44}$	37	man (adult male)	$p^{h11}\ dz\underset{.}{\textrtailz}\textschwa^{11}\ \underset{.}{z}i^{53}$
4	we	ηo^{53}	38	man (human being)	$ts^h\textopeno^{11}$
5	you (plural)	no^{53}	39	child (a youth)	$la^{11}\ k^h\underset{.}{i}^{44}$
6	they	$t^h jo^{53}$	40	wife	$mb\underset{.}{z}\underset{.}{\textrtailz}\textschwa^{11}$
7	this	$ti^{44}\ ly^{44}$	41	husband	$p^{h11}\ dz\underset{.}{\textrtailz}\textschwa^{11}$
8	that	$o^{44}\ t^h\underset{.}{i}^{53}\ ly^{53}$	42	mother	$ma^{44}\ ja^{11}$
9	here	$ha^{44}\ da^{55}$	43	father	$a^{53}\ da^{44}$
10	there	$o^{44}\ da^{55}$	44	animal	$h\bar{i}^{44}\ na^{55}$
11	who	$q^h a^{53}\ gu^{11}$	45	fish	$z\textschwa^{44}$
12	what	$g\textopeno^{53}$	46	bird	$gi^{44}\ \underset{.}{z}i^{55}$
13	where	$q^h a^{44}\ \textgamma\textopeno^{44}$	47	dog	$t\underset{.}{s}\textschwa^{11}$
14	when	$q^h a^{53}\ ta^{44}$	48	louse	$\underset{.}{s}u^{44}$
15	how	$q^h a^{44}\ m^{44}$	49	snake	$\textglotstop\underset{.}{\textrtailr}^{53}$
16	not	ma^{44}	50	worm	$t\textctc^h\textschwa^{44}\ q\ae^{44}$
17	all	$o^{11}\ ba^{11}$	51	tree	$\textctc\textschwa^{11}$
18	many	$do^{44}\ b\underset{.}{z}\underset{.}{\textrtailz}\textschwa^{11}$	52	forest	$\textctc\textschwa^{11}\ v\ae^{53}$
19	some	$ti^{11}\ ki^{44}$	53	stick (of wood)	$G\textopeno^{11}\ t^h\textbeta u^{44}$
20	few	$a^{11}\ \textltailn i^{44}\ \textltailn i^{11}$	54	fruit	$\textctc\textschwa^{11}\ ly^{44}\ ly^{53}$
21	other	$v\ae^{44}\ q\ae^{53}$	55	seed	$z\textopeno^{11}\ z\textschwa^{11}$
22	one	ti^{11}	56	leaf	$\textctc\textschwa^{11}\ ts^h\textschwa^{44}$
23	two	$\textltailn i^{44}$	57	root	$\textctc\textschwa^{11}\ p\ae^{11}$
24	three	$s\textopeno^{44}$	58	bark (of trees)	$\textctc\textschwa^{11}\ \underset{.}{\textrtailr}^{11}\ qa^{44}$
25	four	$z\textschwa^{11}$	59	flower	$v\ae^{53}$
26	five	ηa^{11}	60	grass	$n\textopeno^{11}$
27	big	$do^{44}\ dz\underset{.}{\textrtailz}\textschwa^{44}$	61	rope	$\underset{.}{\textrtailr}^{44}$
28	long	$do^{44}\ h\ae^{\vee 44}$	62	skin (of a person)	$\underset{.}{\textrtailr}^{11}\ qa^{44}$
29	wide	$do^{44}\ fe^{44}$	63	meat (as in flesh)	$\underset{.}{s}\textschwa^{11}$
30	thick	$do^{53}\ la^{53}$	64	blood	$\textctc e^{11}$
31	heavy	$z\textschwa^{11}$	65	bone	$\underset{.}{s}\textschwa^{44}\ \underset{.}{\textrtailr}^{44}\ qa^{55}$
32	small	$a^{11}\ dz\underset{.}{\textrtailz}\textschwa^{44}$			
33	short	$a^{11}\ ndi^{44}$			
34	narrow	$a^{11}\ q\textschwa^{\vee 44}$			

	English	$dz\partial^{11} qu^{11}$ Namuyi		English	$dz\partial^{11} qu^{11}$ Namuyi
66	fat (noun)	$ts^h\partial^{53} \; NGu^{11}$	103	to know (a fact)	$s\partial^{11}$
67	egg	$\underline{r}^{44} \; \textipa{K}u^{55}$	104	to think	$\textcommabelow{s}\partial^{44} dz\partial^{44}$
68	horn	$q^h\gamma^{53} \; p\ae^{53}$	105	to smell (sense odor)	$b\textcommabelow{z}i^{53} \; \textltailn u^{53}$
69	tail	$m\ae^{11} \; r\partial^{11} \; qvu^{11}$	106	to fear	$q\gamma^{53}$
70	feather	$t\textctc \textcloseepsilon^{53} \; mo^{53} \; mo^{53}$	107	to sleep	jy^{11}
71	hair	$\textipa{K}u^{53} \; h\tilde{u}^{53}$	108	to live	$dz o^{44}$
72	head	$\textipa{K}u^{53} \; ru^{53}$	109	to die	$\textcommabelow{s}\partial^{11} q\textcloseepsilon^{44}$
73	ear	$h\tilde{\imath}^{11} \; p\ae^{11}$	110	to kill	$t\textipa{B}u^{11}$
74	eye	$me^{44} \; ljo^{44}$	111	to fight	ηga^{53}
75	nose	$\textltailn a^{11} \; \eta ga^{44}$	112	to hunt	$t\textrtails\partial^{11} dze^{11}$
76	mouth	$q^h a^{44} \; tsa^{55}$	113	to hit	mbo^{11}
77	tooth	$h\tilde{\imath}^{11} \; mi^{44}$	114	to cut	nda^{11}
78	tongue	γi^{11}	115	to split	$q^h a^{11}$
79	fingernail	$mi^{53} \; \textcommabelow{s}\partial^{11} \; q\textcloseepsilon^{44}$	116	to stab (or stick)	$NG\textcloseepsilon^{11}$
80	foot	$\textcommabelow{s}\partial^{11} \; ka^{11}$	117	to scratch (an itch)	$k^h a^{11} \; k^h a^{11}$
81	leg	$k^h\ddot{\imath}^{53} \; k^h\ddot{\imath}^{53}$	118	to dig	$q\ae^{11}$
82	knee	$G\textcloseepsilon^{11} \; l\textcloseepsilon^{11} \; t\textctc\textschwa^{53}$	119	to swim	$ndz\partial^{53} \; fu^{11}$
83	hand	$la^{11} \; ka^{11}$	120	to fly	$b\textcommabelow{z}i^{44}$
84	wing	$d\textipa{B}u^{53} \; ka^{11}$	121	to walk	$z\partial^{11} \; da^{11}$
85	belly	$h\varepsilon^{11} \; mbe^{11}$	122	to come	da^{11}
86	guts	$vu^{44} \; \textltailn\ddot{\imath}^{53} \; vu^{53} \; g\textcloseepsilon^{11}$	123	to lie	$\textipa{K}a^{44}$
87	neck	$ta^{11} \; r\ae^{11}$	124	to sit	$ndzu^{53}$
88	back	$ji^{11} \; gu^{11}$	125	to stand	$h\varepsilon^{11}$
89	breast	$\textltailn u^{11} \; \textltailn u^{11}$	126	to turn (change direction)	$q\textcloseepsilon^{11} \; ndz\textcloseepsilon^{11}$
90	heart	$\textltailn i^{11} \; mi^{44}$	127	to fall (as in drop)	$g\textcloseepsilon^{44} \; pa^{53}$
91	liver	$\textccurl\partial^{44} \; v\partial^{11}$	128	to give	$k\textcloseepsilon^{11}$
92	to drink	$ndz\partial^{11}$	129	to hold (in one's hand)	$m\ae^{44}$
93	to eat	$dz\partial^{53}$	130	to squeeze	$ndz\partial^{53} \; k^h\ae^{11}$
94	to bite	$q^h\ae^{11}$	131	to rub	$z\textcloseepsilon^{11} \; z\textcloseepsilon^{11}$
95	to suck	$t\textctc^h y^{11}$	132	to wash	$ts^h\partial^{11}$
96	to spit	$p\textccurl\partial^{44}$	133	to wipe	$s\partial^{11} \; \textccurl a^{44}$
97	to vomit	$li^{53} \; p\textccurl i^{53}$	134	to pull	$dz\partial^{11}$
98	to blow (as wind)	fu^{53}	135	to push	$ts^h\textcloseepsilon^{11}$
99	to breathe	$sa^{11} \; p^h u^{53}$	136	to throw	$q\gamma^{11} \; \eta ga^{53}$
100	to laugh	$\underline{r}^{11} \; q^h\ae^{11}$	137	to tie	$NG\gamma^{11} \; ta^{11}$
101	to see	ly^{11}			
102	to hear	gi^{53}			

	English	*dzʐə¹¹ qu¹¹* Namuyi		English	*dzʐə¹¹ qu¹¹* Namuyi
138	to sew	*ha¹¹ ha⁴⁴*	174	yellow	*ʂə⁵³ xa¹¹*
139	to count	*sa¹¹*	175	white	*pʰu⁵³ lu¹¹*
140	to say	*ʂa¹¹*	176	black	*na⁴⁴ qʰə⁵³*
141	to sing	*ga¹¹*	177	night	*hū¹¹ ɴɢu¹¹*
142	to play	*ʁa¹¹ ɽ⁴⁴*	178	day (daytime)	*ɲi⁴⁴ mi⁵³ gu⁴⁴*
143	to float	*lɔ¹¹ tsʰa⁵³*	179	year	*kʰvu⁵³ ru¹¹*
144	to flow	*ga⁴⁴*	180	warm (as in weather)	*tɕʰə⁴⁴ qʰæ⁴⁴*
145	to freeze	*dzu⁴⁴ dzu⁵³ tɔ¹¹*	181	cold (as in weather)	*ga⁵³*
146	to swell	*ru⁴⁴ pa⁴⁴ la⁵³*	182	full	*bzʐə⁴⁴*
147	sun	*hī⁴⁴ mi⁵⁵*	183	new	*ʂə⁵³ tsa¹¹*
148	moon	*hū¹¹ mi¹¹*	184	old	*mbo¹¹ kʰu⁴⁴ dʑa¹¹*
149	star	*mə⁵³ dzʐə¹¹*	185	good	*kʰi⁴⁴*
150	water	*ndzə⁵³ bo⁴⁴*	186	bad	*qʰa⁵³ qʰa⁵³*
151	to rain	*hī⁵³ dzy¹¹*	187	rotten (as a log)	*mbo¹¹ tʂə¹¹*
152	river	*ndzə⁵³ qʰæ⁴⁴*	188	dirty	*tʂʰa¹¹ ræ¹¹*
153	lake	*mbɛ¹¹ tʰo⁵³*	189	straight	*dzʐo⁴⁴*
154	sea (as in ocean)	*ha¹¹ ndzə¹¹*	190	round	*tɔ¹¹ ly⁴⁴ ly¹¹*
155	salt	*tɕə¹¹ qʰæ¹¹*	191	sharp (as a knife)	*tʰa¹¹*
156	stone	*ɽ¹¹ qa⁴⁴*	192	dull (as a knife)	*ʁɔ⁴⁴ ly⁵³ ly⁵³*
157	sand	*mə⁴⁴ ʂə⁴⁴*	193	smooth	*he¹¹ lɛ¹¹ bʑɨ⁴⁴*
158	dust	*pʰu⁵³ dzə⁵³*	194	wet	*tsɔ⁵³ tsɔ⁵³*
159	earth (as in soil)	*dʙy⁴⁴*	195	dry (adjective)	*fu⁴⁴ dzə¹¹ ka⁴⁴*
160	cloud	*dzu¹¹ va¹¹*	196	right (correct)	*dja⁴⁴*
161	fog	*dzu¹¹ hī⁴⁴*	197	near	*a¹¹ ɳɔ⁴⁴*
162	sky	*mə⁵³*	198	far	*do⁴⁴ qʰɣ⁴⁴*
163	wind (as in breeze)	*mə⁵³ sə⁵³*	199	right (side)	*ji⁴⁴ (ɽ⁵³ ka⁵³)*
164	snow	*vi¹¹*	200	left (side)	*ʁæ¹¹ (ɽ¹¹ ka¹¹)*
165	ice	*dzu⁴⁴ dzu⁵⁵*	201	at	*ɣɔ⁵³*
166	smoke	*mi⁵³ kʰvu⁵³*	202	in	*qɔ¹¹ lɔ⁴⁴*
167	fire	*mi⁵³*	203	with (accompanying)	*jo¹¹ jo⁴⁴*
168	ashes	*la¹¹ mæ⁴⁴*	204	and	*na⁵³*
169	to burn	*mi⁵³ ta⁴⁴*	205	if	*çy⁵³*
170	road	*ɽ⁴⁴ gu⁵³*	206	because	*ka⁴⁴*
171	mountain	*do⁴⁴ bu⁵³ ly⁵³*	207	name	*mi¹¹*
172	red	*li⁵³ xu¹¹*			
173	green	*hū⁵³ ru¹¹*			