

# 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 *dzɤ<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>* and Luóguōdǐ varieties and a 207-item Swadesh list of English words with their *dzɤ<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>* Namuyi equivalents. Finally, it discusses Namuyi religion and provides a transcription of the *ka<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>11</sup> bu<sup>44</sup>* ritual.

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

THE Namuyi<sup>1</sup> (in English also Namyi; in Namuyi—*na*<sup>53</sup> *mzi*<sup>53</sup>,<sup>2</sup> 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 Sichuān 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 *dzə*<sup>11</sup> *qu*<sup>11</sup> and *dza*<sup>53</sup> *qa*<sup>53</sup> *tu*<sup>11</sup> in Xichāng City 西昌市, and *sa*<sup>44</sup> *pa*<sup>53</sup> and *ca*<sup>11</sup> *ma*<sup>11</sup> *k<sup>h</sup>u*<sup>53</sup> in Miǎnníng County 冕宁县. These communities also have significant Hà 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. |
|---|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>dzə</i> <sup>11</sup> <i>qu</i> <sup>11</sup>                                    | Dàshuǐ Village<br>大水村    | Mínshèng Township<br>民胜乡  | Xichāng City    | 80          | 600        |
| <i>dza</i> <sup>53</sup> <i>qa</i> <sup>53</sup> <i>tu</i> <sup>11</sup>            | Xiǎngshuǐ Village<br>响水村 | Xiǎngshuǐ Township<br>响水乡 | Xichāng City    | 800         | 9,000      |
| <i>ca</i> <sup>11</sup> <i>ma</i> <sup>11</sup> <i>k<sup>h</sup>u</i> <sup>53</sup> | Dōngfēng Village<br>东风村  | Zéyuǎn Township<br>泽远乡    | Miǎnníng County | 560         | 1,100      |
| <i>sa</i> <sup>44</sup> <i>pa</i> <sup>53</sup>                                     | Lǎoyā Village<br>老鸦村     | Shābà Town<br>沙坝镇         | Miǎnníng County | 290         | 1,600      |
| Totals  |                          |                           |                 | 1,740       | 22,200     |

Libu Lhaki’s<sup>3</sup> father (Namuyi: *li*<sup>44</sup> *bu*<sup>55</sup> *ʂə*<sup>11</sup> *pə*<sup>53</sup>, Chinese: Lǐ Cáifù 李财富, born 1945) states that family relatives live in Jiànměi Township 健美乡 (Namuyi: *dza*<sup>11</sup> *mi*<sup>44</sup>) and Xīnxīng Township 新兴乡 (Namuyi: *ci*<sup>44</sup> *ci*<sup>44</sup>) in Miǎnníng County.

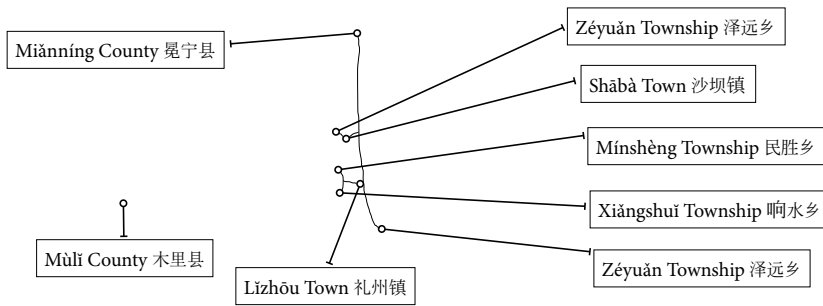


ILLUSTRATION 1. Location of selected Namuyi communities (1: 1,400,000)

These villages are situated in valleys between small mountains. Travel from  $dza^{53} qa^{53} tu^{11}$  to  $dzɔ^{11} qu^{11}$  takes about one day on foot,  $dzɔ^{11} qu^{11}$  to  $sa^{44} pa^{53}$  takes about a half-day on foot, and  $dzɔ^{11} qu^{11}$  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 Guǎngdōng 广东. In 2005 the average annual cash income per family was 500 to 800 CNY (approximately \$60 to \$100 US)<sup>4</sup> ( $li^{44} bu^{55} sa^{11} pa^{53}$ , 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  $na^{53} mzi^{53}$  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 RÉNZÈNG 1991, 153). Namuyi refer to Nuosu people as  $qu^{11} cy^{44}$  and Hàn Chinese people as  $va^{53}$ .

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 Lǐjiāng 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 /mu<sup>55</sup>/, 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 /zi/ to /zə/ in different varieties of Namuyi (HUÁNG 1992, 212; LIÚ 1996, 185) and HUÁNG and SŪN have used “Nàmùzǐ” 纳木兹 /na<sup>51</sup> mu<sup>51</sup> tsə<sup>55</sup>/ 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 na<sup>53</sup> mzi<sup>53</sup> for the ethnonym as it is pronounced in the dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup> variety.

#### CLOTHING

People born before 1965 often wear a knee-length white robe (*hũ<sup>53</sup> ndzə<sup>53</sup> ba<sup>11</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>44</sup>*) made from the skin of thin hemp plants (*sa<sup>11</sup> q<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>*) 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 (*hũ<sup>53</sup> dzə<sup>53</sup>*) from which they make the robes. Old people wrap a long strip of black cloth around their heads to make a turban (*γu<sup>53</sup> ju<sup>44</sup>*). 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 *li<sup>44</sup> Bu<sup>55</sup> sɛ<sup>11</sup> pə<sup>53</sup>* provided this version:

Long ago, grasslands and thick forests abounded in what is now Xichāng 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 *ɔ<sup>53</sup> ndzə<sup>53</sup>*—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 *a<sup>44</sup> zə<sup>55</sup> do<sup>11</sup> bi<sup>44</sup>*. In Namuyi, *a<sup>44</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>* means “grandmother” and *do<sup>11</sup> bi<sup>44</sup>* 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 embarrassed to hear this sound. Finally, all the Namuyi decided to leave this hateful bird and find a new place to live. They left *ɔ<sup>53</sup> ndzə<sup>53</sup>* 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 *dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>* 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 *dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>*.



FIGURE 3. Autumn wheat field in *dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>*.



FIGURE 4. Summer rice field in *dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>*.



FIGURE 5. Summer rice field in *dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>*.



FIGURE 6. A Namuyi family in *dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>*.



FIGURE 7. Mr. li<sup>44</sup>bu<sup>55</sup> (Namuyi, b. 1965) in *dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>* wearing the traditional *kwa<sup>44</sup> ta<sup>44</sup>* made from yak hair.



FIGURE 8. Ms.  $ta^{11} ja^{11} mi^{53}$  (Namuyi, b. 1945) in  $dza^{53} qa^{53} tu^{11}$  wearing the traditional  $ts^h a^{44} q^h a^{53}$  made from hemp.



FIGURE 9. Old scripture owned by a family in  $dzə^{11} qu^{11}$ .



FIGURE 10. Mr.  $p^h a^{53} tsə^{53} ta^{11} ja^{11}$  (b. 1940) in  $dzə^{11} qu^{11}$ .

## THE NAMUYI LANGUAGE

In Namuyi,  $k^h a^{11} t^h o^{11}$  means “language,” and the Namuyi call their language  $na^{53} mzi^{53} k^h a^{11} t^h o^{11}$ . 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  $dz\varnothing^{11} qu^{11}$  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  $dz\varnothing^{11} qu^{11}$  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  $dz\varnothing^{11} qu^{11}$ , 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 than 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  $dz\varnothing^{11} qu^{11}$  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  $dz\varnothing^{11} qu^{11}$  Namuyi equivalents, as pronounced by the first author, in the appendix attached.

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

|                         | $dz\varnothing^{11} qu^{11}$             | Luóguōdǐ                  | Gloss             |
|-------------------------|--|---------------------------|-------------------|
| Homonymous cognates     | $fu^{53}$                                | $fu^{53}$                 | to blow (as wind) |
|                         | $dza^{53}$ (apical vowel)                | $dzi^{53}$ (apical vowel) | to eat            |
| Non-homonymous cognates | $nda^{11}$                               | $dza^{31}$                | thin              |
|                         | $qa^{11}$                                | $ga^{13}$                 | to dig            |
| Non-cognates            | $\varnothing^{11} ts^h \varnothing^{44}$ | $p^h s \eta$              | leaf              |
|                         | $do^{44} bu^{53} ly^{53}$                | $ku^{53}$                 | mountain          |

Namuyi possesses no orthography, and in *dzɔ<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>* 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 *dza<sup>53</sup> qa<sup>53</sup> tu<sup>11</sup>*, *dzɔ<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>*, and *ʂa<sup>44</sup> pa<sup>53</sup>*—particularly so in *dza<sup>53</sup> qa<sup>53</sup> tu<sup>11</sup>*, where only residents under the age of twenty who have attended primary school can speak Chinese. In *dzɔ<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>* and *ʂa<sup>44</sup> pa<sup>53</sup>*, 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 *ca<sup>11</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>53</sup>*, 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 Hân 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 *ca<sup>11</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>53</sup>* to visit the family home in *dzɔ<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>*. 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 *dzɔ<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>*. 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:

|             |  |                                    |                        |                        |  |  |                         |
|-------------|--|------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--|--|-------------------------|
|             | <i>no<sup>53</sup></i>                     | <i>t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>44</sup></i> | <i>pæ<sup>44</sup></i> | <i>yo<sup>53</sup></i> | <i>pi<sup>11</sup> zi<sup>11</sup></i> | <i>q<sup>h</sup>a<sup>44</sup> ni<sup>11</sup> gv<sup>u</sup><sup>11</sup></i> | <i>dzo<sup>44</sup></i> |
| Language    | Namuyi                                     |                                    |                        |                        |  |  |                         |
| Gloss       | you  | DET                                | class                  | LOC                    | student                                | how many   | there is/are            |
| Translation | How many students are there in your class? |                                    |                        |                        |  |  |                         |

B. Niece:

|             |                                 |                                   |           |              |
|-------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------|--------------|
|             | $\zeta\sigma^{31} si^{33}$      | $san^{33} \xi\sigma^{31} vu^{45}$ | $k\sigma$ | $dzo^{44}$   |
| Characters  | 学生                              | 三十五                               | 个         |              |
| Languages   | Xichāng 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 Xichāng Chinese noun phrase with a Namuyi existential verb.<sup>5</sup> 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  $p\alpha^{44}$ , which appears to be a loanword from Chinese,  $pan^{55}$  班.

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

A. Libu Lakhi:

|             |                               |           |                         |            |
|-------------|-------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|------------|
|             | $ha^{11} le^{44}$             | $nu^{53}$ | $ba^{11} ts^h\eta^{44}$ | $dzo^{11}$ |
| Language    | Namuyi                        |           |                         |            |
| Gloss       | cat                           | your      | clothes                 | pull       |
| Translation | The cat is pulling your stuff |           |                         |            |

B. Niece:

|             |  |                  |            |                |           |
|-------------|--|------------------|------------|----------------|-----------|
|             | $ji^{55} a^{11} dzu^{55}$                    | $t^h\sigma^{53}$ | $dzo^{11}$ | $\zeta y^{53}$ | $hi^{11}$ |
| 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,  $ji^{55} a^{11} dzu^{55}$  "it doesn't matter," then finishes her utterance in Namuyi.<sup>6</sup>

#### NAMUYI RELIGION

Namuyi elders teach that Namuyi people are descended from gods, known as  $\zeta i^{44} vi^{44}$ . On special days such as the New Year and during weddings,  $\zeta i^{44} vi^{44}$

must be respected and offered the freshest and tastiest food, such as rice and animal blood. Trance mediums known as *p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>53</sup> tsə<sup>53</sup>* can hear what the *ci<sup>44</sup> vi<sup>44</sup>* have to tell family members what to do during rituals. The one *p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>53</sup> tsə<sup>53</sup>* in *dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>* in 2007 was born around 1945. Villagers frequently invite the *p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>53</sup> tsə<sup>53</sup>* 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<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>11</sup> bu<sup>44</sup>* ritual for me many times during my childhood. The last time I remember him performing 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<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>11</sup>* [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<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>11</sup> bu<sup>44</sup>* 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<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>11</sup> bu<sup>44</sup>* ritual exorcises these ghosts. Both men and women who know the chant frequently perform the *ka<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>11</sup> bu<sup>44</sup>* ritual because it is informal and does not require the services of a *p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>53</sup> tsə<sup>53</sup>*. 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<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>11</sup> bu<sup>44</sup>* ritual chant performed by the first author’s father, *li<sup>44</sup> bu<sup>55</sup> sɔ<sup>11</sup> pə<sup>53</sup>*, described in the account above. The author recorded the chant on video at his home in *dzɔ<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>* during the New Year festival held in January to February 2005.

#### THE RITUAL CHANT

1. *ho<sup>11</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>iŋ<sup>44</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>iŋ<sup>44</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>iŋ<sup>44</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>iŋ<sup>44</sup>*  
[Untranslated material here and below consists of incantatory syllables without identifiable lexical meaning.]
2. *ti<sup>11</sup> dzo<sup>44</sup> ŋa<sup>11</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup> q<sup>h</sup>vu<sup>11</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup> sɔ<sup>11</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup> NGV<sup>11</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup>*  
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<sup>11</sup> dzo<sup>44</sup> ŋa<sup>11</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup> q<sup>h</sup>vu<sup>11</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup> sɔ<sup>11</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup> NGV<sup>11</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup>*  
first circle, fifth circle, sixth circle, seventh circle, ninth circle
4. *ho<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup> dze<sup>11</sup> bu<sup>44</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup>*  
*ho<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup> for dze<sup>11</sup> bu<sup>44</sup>*  
[Refers to the first author’s younger brother, *li<sup>44</sup> bu<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup> bu<sup>44</sup>*, born 1985. He is identified in line 30 below as *pa<sup>44</sup> NGi<sup>44</sup>*.]
5. *ɿ<sup>11</sup> ze<sup>53</sup> ma<sup>53</sup> qV<sup>11</sup> tBU<sup>11</sup> pe<sup>11</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup> le<sup>11</sup>*  
because he doesn’t know how to act
6. *va<sup>53</sup> rə<sup>53</sup> dzɑ<sup>44</sup> lo<sup>11</sup> yu<sup>44</sup> bBU<sup>11</sup> su<sup>44</sup>*  
met Hà 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<sup>53</sup> rə<sup>53</sup> dzɑ<sup>44</sup> lo<sup>11</sup> yu<sup>44</sup> bBU<sup>11</sup> su<sup>44</sup>*

met Namuyi ghosts

8.  $h\tilde{u}^{53} \text{ʂ}^{44} r\ae^{53} dz\grave{a}^{44} da^{44} lo^{11} \gamma u^{44} bBu^{11} su^{44}$   
met  $h\tilde{u}^{53} \text{ʂ}^{44}$  ghosts
9.  $ho^{11} da^{11} te^{11}$
10.  $h\tilde{u}^{11} mbzi^{11} r\ae^{53} dz\grave{a}^{44} da^{44} lo^{11} \gamma u^{44} bBu^{11} su^{44}$  met  $h\tilde{u}^{11} mbzi^{11}$  ghosts,
11.  $t^he^{53} je^{11} da^{11} te^{11}$
12.  $a^{11} mi^{44} gu^{11} nu^{11}$
13.  $s\omega\eta^{11} ndza^{44} \text{ce}^{44} r\ae^{53} dz\grave{a}^{44} da^{44} lo^{11} \gamma u^{44} bBu^{11} su^{44}$   
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.  $xua^{11} ndza^{44} \text{ce}^{44} r\ae^{53} dz\grave{a}^{44}$   
the Huáng 黃 family's ghosts
17.  $ho^{11} da^{11} te^{11}$
18.  $g\ae^{11} p^h\ae^{11} \text{ce}^{44} r\ae^{53} dz\grave{a}^{44} da^{44} lo^{11} \gamma u^{44} bBu^{11} su^{44}$   
met the  $g\ae^{11} p^h\ae^{11}$  family's ghosts
19.  $t^he^{53} je^{11} da^{11} te^{11}$
20.  $li^{44} Bu^{55} \text{ce}^{44} r\ae^{53} dz\grave{a}^{44} da^{44} lo^{11} \gamma u^{44} bBu^{11} su^{44}$   
met the  $li^{44} Bu^{55}$  family's ghosts
21.  $ho^{11} da^{11} te^{11}$
22.  $h\tilde{u}^{53} \text{ʂ}^{44} r\ae^{53} dz\grave{a}^{11} h\tilde{u}^{11} mbzi^{11} r\ae^{53} dz\grave{a}^{11}$   
 $h\tilde{u}^{53} \text{ʂ}^{44}$  ghosts and  $h\tilde{u}^{11} mbzi^{11}$  ghosts
23.  $ho^{11} da^{11} te^{11}$
24.  $mi^{11} ma^{11} t^hBu^{11} su^{11} r\ae^{53} dz\grave{a}^{11}$   
ghosts without given names
25.  $lu^{53} ma^{44} t^hBu^{11} su^{44} r\ae^{53} dz\grave{a}^{11}$   
ghosts without animal year names
26.  $t^he^{53} je^{11} da^{11} te^{11}$
27.  $dz\wp^{11} r\ae^{53} dz\grave{a}^{11} \gamma i^{11} r\ae^{53} dz\grave{a}^{11}$   
 $dz\wp^{11}$  ghosts and livestock ghosts
28.  $ho^{11} da^{11} te^{11}$
29.  $a^{11} mi^{44} gu^{11} nu^{11}$
30.  $pa^{44} NGi^{44} da^{44} lo^{11} mi^{11} do^{44} su^{44} da^{44} te^{53}$   
ghosts who asked  $pa^{44} NGi^{44}$
31.  $ni^{44} t\text{c}^h\text{ɔ}^{44} li^{44} dz\wp^{11} su^{44} ji^{11} ly^{11}$   
ghosts from the west
32.  $\text{ʂa}^{44} t\text{c}^h\text{ɔ}^{44} li^{44} dz\wp^{11} su^{44} ji^{11} ly^{11}$   
ghosts from the east
33.  $a^{11} mi^{44} gu^{11} nu^{11}$
34.  $ndz\ae^{44} \gamma\text{ɔ}^{53} ndz\ae^{44} m\ae^{11} li^{44} dz\wp^{11} su^{44} r\ae^{53} dz\grave{a}^{11}$   
ghosts who come from north and south

35. *hũ<sup>53</sup> ʂ<sup>44</sup> ræ<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>11</sup> te<sup>44</sup> hũ<sup>11</sup> mbzi<sup>11</sup> ræ<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>11</sup> te<sup>44</sup>*  
*hũ<sup>53</sup> ʂ<sup>44</sup>* ghosts and *hũ<sup>11</sup> mbzi<sup>11</sup>* ghosts
36. *t<sup>h</sup>e<sup>53</sup> je<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup>*
37. *mi<sup>11</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> t<sup>h</sup>Bu<sup>11</sup> su<sup>11</sup> ræ<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>*  
ghosts without given names
38. *lu<sup>53</sup> ma<sup>44</sup> t<sup>h</sup>Bu<sup>11</sup> su<sup>44</sup> ræ<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>*  
ghosts without animal year names
39. *t<sup>h</sup>e<sup>53</sup> je<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup>*
40. *pa<sup>44</sup> NGI<sup>44</sup> da<sup>44</sup> te<sup>44</sup> t<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>53</sup> ma<sup>53</sup> qɣ<sup>11</sup> tBu<sup>11</sup> pe<sup>11</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup> le<sup>11</sup>*  
because *pa<sup>44</sup> NGI<sup>44</sup>* doesn't know how to act
41. *a<sup>11</sup> mi<sup>44</sup> gu<sup>11</sup> nu<sup>11</sup>*
42. *hũ<sup>53</sup> ʂ<sup>44</sup> ræ<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>*  
*hũ<sup>53</sup> ʂ<sup>44</sup>* ghosts
43. *ka<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> va<sup>53</sup> ka<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> lo<sup>11</sup> yu<sup>44</sup> bBu<sup>11</sup> su<sup>44</sup>*  
met Chinese ghosts
44. *na<sup>53</sup> ka<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> lo<sup>11</sup> yu<sup>44</sup> bBu<sup>11</sup> su<sup>44</sup>*  
met Namuyi ghosts
45. *t<sup>h</sup>e<sup>53</sup> je<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup>*
46. *a<sup>11</sup> mi<sup>44</sup> gu<sup>11</sup> nu<sup>11</sup>*
47. *ho<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup>*
48. *ti<sup>11</sup> dzo<sup>44</sup> ŋa<sup>11</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup> q<sup>h</sup>vu<sup>11</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup> ʂ<sup>11</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup> NGɣ<sup>11</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup>*  
first circle, fifth circle, sixth circle, seventh circle, ninth circle
49. *ho<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup>*
50. *hũ<sup>53</sup> ʂ<sup>44</sup> ræ<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>*  
*hũ<sup>53</sup> ʂ<sup>44</sup>* ghosts
51. *ŋi<sup>44</sup> a<sup>44</sup> te<sup>44</sup> zo<sup>11</sup> mi<sup>11</sup> dzi<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup> zo<sup>11</sup> gu<sup>11</sup> li<sup>11</sup> hũ<sup>11</sup>*  
If you are hungry, return after I offer food
52. *fa<sup>44</sup> a<sup>44</sup> te<sup>44</sup> zo<sup>11</sup> mi<sup>11</sup> dzi<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup> zo<sup>11</sup> gu<sup>11</sup> li<sup>11</sup> hũ<sup>11</sup>*  
If you are thirsty, return after I offer food
53. *t<sup>h</sup>e<sup>53</sup> je<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup>*
54. *ha<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup>*
55. *ka<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> lo<sup>11</sup> yu<sup>44</sup> bBu<sup>11</sup> su<sup>44</sup>*  
met ghosts
56. *va<sup>53</sup> ka<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> lo<sup>11</sup> yu<sup>44</sup> bBu<sup>11</sup> su<sup>44</sup>*  
met Chinese ghosts
57. *na<sup>53</sup> ka<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> lo<sup>11</sup> yu<sup>44</sup> bBu<sup>11</sup> su<sup>44</sup>*  
met Namuyi ghosts
58. *gæ<sup>11</sup> p<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>11</sup> cæ<sup>44</sup> ka<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>11</sup> da<sup>44</sup> lo<sup>11</sup> yu<sup>44</sup> bBu<sup>11</sup> su<sup>44</sup>*  
met the *gæ<sup>11</sup> p<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>11</sup>* family's ghosts
59. *t<sup>h</sup>e<sup>53</sup> je<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup>*

60. *li<sup>44</sup> Bu<sup>55</sup> ɕe<sup>44</sup> ka<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>11</sup>*  
the *li<sup>44</sup> Bu<sup>55</sup>* family's ghosts
61. *sɔŋ<sup>11</sup> ndza<sup>44</sup> ɕe<sup>44</sup> ka<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>11</sup>*  
the Sòng 宋 family's ghosts,
62. *ho<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup>*
63. *va<sup>53</sup> tʂa<sup>44</sup> va<sup>53</sup> bæ<sup>44</sup>*  
*va<sup>53</sup> tʂa<sup>44</sup> va<sup>53</sup> bæ<sup>44</sup>* ghosts
64. *gu<sup>11</sup> ly<sup>44</sup> gu<sup>11</sup> ɕy<sup>44</sup>*  
Nuosu ghosts
65. *va<sup>53</sup> la<sup>44</sup> he<sup>44</sup> le<sup>44</sup>*  
Hàn Chinese ghosts
66. *he<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup>*
67. *ka<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup> lo<sup>11</sup> yu<sup>44</sup> bBU<sup>11</sup> su<sup>44</sup>*  
Met ghosts
68. *gu<sup>11</sup> ly<sup>44</sup> gu<sup>11</sup> ɕy<sup>44</sup> zi<sup>55</sup>*  
Nuosu people's ghosts
69. *t<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>53</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup> pæ<sup>44</sup> dzæ<sup>11</sup> ʂa<sup>44</sup> ræ<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>44</sup> da<sup>44</sup> lo<sup>11</sup> yu<sup>44</sup> bBU<sup>11</sup> su<sup>44</sup>*  
met *t<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>53</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup> pæ<sup>44</sup> dzæ<sup>11</sup> ʂa<sup>44</sup>* ghosts
70. *t<sup>h</sup>e<sup>53</sup> je<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup>*
71. *ni<sup>44</sup> a<sup>44</sup> te<sup>44</sup> zɔ<sup>11</sup> mi<sup>11</sup> dʒi<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup> zɔ<sup>11</sup> gu<sup>11</sup> li<sup>11</sup> hū<sup>11</sup>*  
If you are hungry, return after I offer food
72. *fa<sup>44</sup> a<sup>44</sup> te<sup>44</sup> zɔ<sup>11</sup> mi<sup>11</sup> dʒi<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup> zɔ<sup>11</sup> gu<sup>11</sup> li<sup>11</sup> hū<sup>11</sup>*  
If you are thirsty, return after I offer food
73. *ho<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup>*
74. *hū<sup>53</sup> ʂø<sup>44</sup> ræ<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>11</sup> te<sup>44</sup> hū<sup>11</sup> mbzi<sup>11</sup> ræ<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>11</sup> te<sup>44</sup>*  
*hū<sup>53</sup> ʂø<sup>44</sup>* ghosts and *hū<sup>11</sup> mbzi<sup>11</sup>* ghosts
75. *NGV<sup>11</sup> ni<sup>11</sup> ɾ<sup>11</sup> gV<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup> ti<sup>11</sup> ni<sup>11</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> nu<sup>11</sup> li<sup>44</sup> BU<sup>11</sup>*  
I command you back in one day if you came here in nine days
76. *NGV<sup>11</sup> ha<sup>44</sup> ɾ<sup>11</sup> gV<sup>44</sup> te<sup>11</sup> ti<sup>11</sup> ha<sup>11</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> nu<sup>11</sup> li<sup>44</sup> BU<sup>11</sup>*  
I command you back in one night if you came here in nine nights
77. *ho<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup>*
78. *V<sup>11</sup> tV<sup>11</sup> li<sup>44</sup> dzɔ<sup>11</sup> su<sup>44</sup> te<sup>44</sup> V<sup>11</sup> tV<sup>11</sup> li<sup>44</sup> BU<sup>11</sup>*  
I command ghosts from the maternal side to return to the maternal side
79. *zi<sup>44</sup> tV<sup>11</sup> li<sup>44</sup> dzɔ<sup>11</sup> su<sup>44</sup> da<sup>44</sup> te<sup>44</sup> zi<sup>44</sup> tV<sup>11</sup> li<sup>44</sup> BU<sup>11</sup>*  
I command ghosts from the paternal side to return to the paternal side
80. *ni<sup>44</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>ɔ<sup>44</sup> li<sup>44</sup> dzɔ<sup>11</sup> su<sup>44</sup> ræ<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>11</sup> da<sup>44</sup> te<sup>44</sup> ni<sup>44</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>ɔ<sup>44</sup> nu<sup>44</sup> li<sup>44</sup> BU<sup>11</sup>*  
I command ghosts from the west to return to the west
81. *ʂa<sup>44</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>ɔ<sup>44</sup> li<sup>44</sup> dzɔ<sup>11</sup> su<sup>44</sup> ræ<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>11</sup> da<sup>44</sup> te<sup>44</sup> ʂa<sup>44</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>ɔ<sup>44</sup> nu<sup>44</sup> li<sup>44</sup> BU<sup>11</sup>*  
I command ghosts from the east to return to the east
82. *ho<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup> te<sup>11</sup>*

83. *ndzə<sup>44</sup> ɣ<sup>53</sup> ndzə<sup>44</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> li<sup>44</sup> dzə<sup>11</sup> su<sup>44</sup> rə<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>*  
ghosts who come from north and south
84. *tBu<sup>11</sup> rə<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>11</sup> ɣi<sup>11</sup> rə<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>*  
Wild animal ghosts and livestock ghosts
85. *ɣ<sup>11</sup> rə<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>11</sup> ʒi<sup>44</sup> rə<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>*  
Maternal ghosts and paternal ghosts
86. *dza<sup>53</sup> ndza<sup>44</sup> li<sup>44</sup> dzə<sup>11</sup> su<sup>44</sup> rə<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>*  
The Zhāng 张 family's ghosts
87. *ho:<sup>11</sup> jy<sup>11</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> sa<sup>11</sup> su<sup>11</sup> ɾ<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>44</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>44</sup> su<sup>44</sup> rə<sup>53</sup> dza<sup>11</sup> da<sup>44</sup> te<sup>44</sup>*  
ghosts who wander at night
88. *ho:<sup>11</sup> ʃa<sup>53</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup>, sa<sup>53</sup> ho<sup>11</sup> ho<sup>11</sup>, sa<sup>53</sup> ho<sup>11</sup> ho<sup>11</sup>.*

## NOTES

1. The form Namuyi is a transliteration of a Chinese-character rendering of the word *na<sup>53</sup> mzi<sup>53</sup>*. 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 *dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>* 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 [ɿ] (cf. Standard Chinese *shì* + “ten”). In *dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>* Namuyi, like in Standard Chinese, the non-retroflex apical pronunciation occurs following alveolar fricatives /s, z/ and affricates /ts, ts<sup>h</sup>, dz/, while the retroflex pronunciation occurs after retroflex fricatives /ʃ, ʒ/ and affricates /tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, dz/. Other notable articulatory phenomena include the following: CONSONANTS: (1) A voiced bilabial trill [B] appears to be in complementary distribution with the high back unrounded vowel [u] after many alveolar /t, t<sup>h</sup>, d/, and some bilabial /p, p<sup>h</sup>, b/, plosives in some words and not in others. The occurrence of the trill appears to be variable: sometimes [B] is the syllable nucleus, and sometimes it is followed by [u]. HUÁNG and RÉNZĒNG (1991) and LIÚ (1996) both identify [B] as an allophone of /u/. However, the trill also appears as an initial in the word *Bɿ<sup>53</sup>* “snake,” and in the first author’s family name, *li<sup>44</sup> Bu<sup>55</sup>*. We transcribe occurrences of [B] phonetically; (2) A voiced labiodental fricative [v] appears to be in complementary distribution with [u] after most uvular /q, q<sup>h</sup>, ɣ/, and some velar /k, k<sup>h</sup>, ɡ/, plosives in some words and not in others; like [B], 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 [ɭ]. 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 [u]. 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 *dzɤ<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>* 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 *dzɤ<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>* 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<sup>44</sup> bu<sup>55</sup> la<sup>11</sup> k<sup>h1</sup>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 *dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup>* Namuyi

| English | <i>dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup></i><br>Namuyi | English   | <i>dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup></i><br>Namuyi |                         |  |
|---------|---|---|---|-------------------------|--|
| 1       | I   | <i>ŋa<sup>44</sup></i>  | 35  | thin                    | <i>ndza<sup>11</sup></i>   |
| 2       | you (singular)                                    | <i>nu<sup>44</sup></i>  | 36  | woman                   | <i>nu<sup>53</sup> nu<sup>53</sup> hɔ<sup>53</sup></i>             |
| 3       | he  | <i>t<sup>h</sup>ɛ<sup>44</sup></i>                                | 37  | man<br>(adult male)     | <i>p<sup>h</sup>i<sup>1</sup> dzə<sup>11</sup> zi<sup>53</sup></i> |
| 4       | we  | <i>ŋo<sup>53</sup></i>  | 38  | man (human<br>being)    | <i>ts<sup>h</sup>ɔ<sup>11</sup></i>                                |
| 5       | you (plural)                                      | <i>no<sup>53</sup></i>  | 39  | child (a youth)         | <i>la<sup>11</sup> k<sup>h</sup>i<sup>44</sup></i>                 |
| 6       | they  | <i>t<sup>h</sup>jo<sup>53</sup></i>                               | 40  | wife                    | <i>mbzə<sup>11</sup></i>   |
| 7       | this  | <i>ti<sup>44</sup> ly<sup>44</sup></i>                            | 41  | husband                 | <i>p<sup>h</sup>i<sup>1</sup> dzə<sup>11</sup></i>                 |
| 8       | that  | <i>o<sup>44</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>53</sup> ly<sup>53</sup></i> | 42  | mother                  | <i>ma<sup>44</sup> ja<sup>11</sup></i>                             |
| 9       | here  | <i>ha<sup>44</sup> da<sup>55</sup></i>                            | 43  | father                  | <i>a<sup>53</sup> da<sup>44</sup></i>                              |
| 10      | there   | <i>o<sup>44</sup> da<sup>55</sup></i>                             | 44  | animal                  | <i>hi<sup>44</sup> na<sup>55</sup></i>                             |
| 11      | who   | <i>q<sup>h</sup>a<sup>53</sup> gu<sup>11</sup></i>                | 45  | fish                    | <i>zə<sup>44</sup></i>   |
| 12      | what  | <i>gɔ<sup>53</sup></i>  | 46  | bird                    | <i>gi<sup>44</sup> zi<sup>55</sup></i>                             |
| 13      | where   | <i>q<sup>h</sup>a<sup>44</sup> γɔ<sup>44</sup></i>                | 47  | dog                     | <i>tɔ<sup>53</sup> i<sup>1</sup></i>                               |
| 14      | when  | <i>q<sup>h</sup>a<sup>53</sup> ta<sup>44</sup></i>                | 48  | louse                   | <i>su<sup>44</sup></i>   |
| 15      | how   | <i>q<sup>h</sup>a<sup>44</sup> m<sup>44</sup></i>                 | 49  | snake                   | <i>βi<sup>53</sup></i>   |
| 16      | not   | <i>ma<sup>44</sup></i>  | 50  | worm                    | <i>tɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>44</sup> qə<sup>44</sup></i>                |
| 17      | all   | <i>o<sup>11</sup> ba<sup>11</sup></i>                             | 51  | tree                    | <i>ɛə<sup>11</sup></i>   |
| 18      | many  | <i>do<sup>44</sup> bzə<sup>11</sup></i>                           | 52  | forest                  | <i>ɛə<sup>11</sup> və<sup>53</sup></i>                             |
| 19      | some  | <i>ti<sup>11</sup> ki<sup>44</sup></i>                            | 53  | stick (of wood)         | <i>gɔ<sup>11</sup> t<sup>h</sup>bu<sup>44</sup></i>                |
| 20      | few   | <i>a<sup>11</sup> ni<sup>44</sup> ni<sup>11</sup></i>             | 54  | fruit                   | <i>ɛə<sup>11</sup> ly<sup>44</sup> ly<sup>53</sup></i>             |
| 21      | other   | <i>və<sup>44</sup> qə<sup>53</sup></i>                            | 55  | seed                    | <i>zə<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>11</sup></i>                             |
| 22      | one   | <i>ti<sup>11</sup></i>  | 56  | leaf                    | <i>ɛə<sup>11</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>44</sup></i>                |
| 23      | two   | <i>ni<sup>44</sup></i>  | 57  | root                    | <i>ɛə<sup>11</sup> pə<sup>11</sup></i>                             |
| 24      | three   | <i>sɔ<sup>44</sup></i>  | 58  | bark (of trees)         | <i>ɛə<sup>11</sup> i<sup>1</sup> qa<sup>44</sup></i>               |
| 25      | four  | <i>zə<sup>11</sup></i>  | 59  | flower                  | <i>və<sup>53</sup></i>   |
| 26      | five  | <i>ŋa<sup>11</sup></i>  | 60  | grass                   | <i>nɔ<sup>11</sup></i>   |
| 27      | big   | <i>do<sup>44</sup> dzə<sup>44</sup></i>                           | 61  | rope                    | <i>i<sup>44</sup></i>  |
| 28      | long  | <i>do<sup>44</sup> hɛ<sup>44</sup></i>                            | 62  | skin (of a per-<br>son) | <i>i<sup>11</sup> qa<sup>44</sup></i>                              |
| 29      | wide  | <i>do<sup>44</sup> fe<sup>44</sup></i>                            | 63  | meat (as in<br>flesh)   | <i>sə<sup>11</sup></i>   |
| 30      | thick   | <i>do<sup>53</sup> la<sup>53</sup></i>                            | 64  | blood                   | <i>ɛə<sup>11</sup></i>   |
| 31      | heavy   | <i>zə<sup>11</sup></i>  | 65  | bone                    | <i>sə<sup>44</sup> i<sup>44</sup> qa<sup>55</sup></i>              |
| 32      | small   | <i>a<sup>11</sup> dzə<sup>44</sup></i>                            |   |                         |  |
| 33      | short   | <i>a<sup>11</sup> ndi<sup>44</sup></i>                            |   |                         |  |
| 34      | narrow  | <i>a<sup>11</sup> qə<sup>44</sup></i>                             |   |                         |  |

|     | English           | <i>dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup></i><br>Namuyi                     |
|-----|-------------------|---|
| 66  | fat (noun)        | <i>ts<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>53</sup> ngu<sup>11</sup></i>                  |
| 67  | egg               | <i>ɾ<sup>44</sup> ku<sup>55</sup></i>                                 |
| 68  | horn              | <i>q<sup>h</sup>ɿ<sup>53</sup> pæ<sup>53</sup></i>                    |
| 69  | tail              | <i>mæ<sup>11</sup> rə<sup>11</sup> qvu<sup>11</sup></i>               |
| 70  | feather           | <i>tɕə<sup>53</sup> mo<sup>53</sup> mo<sup>53</sup></i>               |
| 71  | hair              | <i>ku<sup>53</sup> hu<sup>53</sup></i>                                |
| 72  | head              | <i>ku<sup>53</sup> ru<sup>53</sup></i>                                |
| 73  | ear               | <i>hi<sup>11</sup> pæ<sup>11</sup></i>                                |
| 74  | eye               | <i>mæ<sup>44</sup> ljo<sup>44</sup></i>                               |
| 75  | nose              | <i>na<sup>11</sup> ŋga<sup>44</sup></i>                               |
| 76  | mouth             | <i>q<sup>h</sup>a<sup>44</sup> tsa<sup>55</sup></i>                   |
| 77  | tooth             | <i>hi<sup>11</sup> mi<sup>44</sup></i>                                |
| 78  | tongue            | <i>ɿ<sup>11</sup></i>   |
| 79  | finger nail       | <i>mi<sup>53</sup> ʂ<sup>11</sup> qɔ<sup>44</sup></i>                 |
| 80  | foot              | <i>ʂ<sup>11</sup> ka<sup>11</sup></i>                                 |
| 81  | leg               | <i>k<sup>h</sup>ɿ<sup>53</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ɿ<sup>53</sup></i>        |
| 82  | knee              | <i>ɔ<sup>11</sup> lo<sup>11</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>53</sup></i>    |
| 83  | hand              | <i>la<sup>11</sup> ka<sup>11</sup></i>                                |
| 84  | wing              | <i>ɖbu<sup>53</sup> ka<sup>11</sup></i>                               |
| 85  | belly             | <i>he<sup>11</sup> mbe<sup>11</sup></i>                               |
| 86  | guts              | <i>vu<sup>44</sup> ni<sup>53</sup> vu<sup>53</sup> ɔ<sup>11</sup></i> |
| 87  | neck              | <i>ta<sup>11</sup> ræ<sup>11</sup></i>                                |
| 88  | back              | <i>ji<sup>11</sup> gu<sup>11</sup></i>                                |
| 89  | breast            | <i>nu<sup>11</sup> nu<sup>11</sup></i>                                |
| 90  | heart             | <i>ni<sup>11</sup> mi<sup>44</sup></i>                                |
| 91  | liver             | <i>ɕə<sup>44</sup> və<sup>11</sup></i>                                |
| 92  | to drink          | <i>ndzə<sup>11</sup></i>  |
| 93  | to eat            | <i>dzə<sup>53</sup></i>   |
| 94  | to bite           | <i>q<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>11</sup></i>                                    |
| 95  | to suck           | <i>tɕ<sup>h</sup>y<sup>11</sup></i>                                   |
| 96  | to spit           | <i>pɕə<sup>44</sup></i>   |
| 97  | to vomit          | <i>li<sup>53</sup> pei<sup>53</sup></i>                               |
| 98  | to blow (as wind) | <i>fu<sup>53</sup></i>  |
| 99  | to breathe        | <i>sa<sup>11</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>53</sup></i>                    |
| 100 | to laugh          | <i>ɾ<sup>11</sup> q<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>11</sup></i>                     |
| 101 | to see            | <i>ly<sup>11</sup></i>  |
| 102 | to hear           | <i>gi<sup>53</sup></i>  |

|     | English                    | <i>dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup></i><br>Namuyi              |
|-----|----------------------------|--|
| 103 | to know (a fact)           | <i>sə<sup>11</sup></i>   |
| 104 | to think                   | <i>ʂə<sup>44</sup> dzə<sup>44</sup></i>                        |
| 105 | to smell (sense odor)      | <i>bzi<sup>53</sup> nu<sup>53</sup></i>                        |
| 106 | to fear                    | <i>qɿ<sup>53</sup></i>   |
| 107 | to sleep                   | <i>ji<sup>11</sup></i>   |
| 108 | to live                    | <i>dzo<sup>44</sup></i>  |
| 109 | to die                     | <i>ʂ<sup>11</sup> qɔ<sup>44</sup></i>                          |
| 110 | to kill                    | <i>tɕu<sup>11</sup></i>  |
| 111 | to fight                   | <i>ŋga<sup>53</sup></i>  |
| 112 | to hunt                    | <i>tʂə<sup>11</sup> dze<sup>11</sup></i>                       |
| 113 | to hit                     | <i>mbo<sup>11</sup></i>  |
| 114 | to cut                     | <i>nda<sup>11</sup></i>  |
| 115 | to split                   | <i>q<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup></i>                             |
| 116 | to stab (or stick)         | <i>ngɔ<sup>11</sup></i>  |
| 117 | to scratch (an itch)       | <i>k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup></i> |
| 118 | to dig                     | <i>qæ<sup>11</sup></i>   |
| 119 | to swim                    | <i>ndzə<sup>53</sup> fu<sup>11</sup></i>                       |
| 120 | to fly                     | <i>bzi<sup>44</sup></i>  |
| 121 | to walk                    | <i>zə<sup>11</sup> da<sup>11</sup></i>                         |
| 122 | to come                    | <i>da<sup>11</sup></i>   |
| 123 | to lie                     | <i>ka<sup>44</sup></i>   |
| 124 | to sit                     | <i>ndzu<sup>53</sup></i>                                       |
| 125 | to stand                   | <i>he<sup>11</sup></i>   |
| 126 | to turn (change direction) | <i>qɔ<sup>11</sup> ndzə<sup>11</sup></i>                       |
| 127 | to fall (as in drop)       | <i>ɔ<sup>44</sup> pa<sup>53</sup></i>                          |
| 128 | to give                    | <i>kɔ<sup>11</sup></i>   |
| 129 | to hold (in one's hand)    | <i>mæ<sup>44</sup></i>   |
| 130 | to squeeze                 | <i>ndzə<sup>53</sup> k<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>11</sup></i>           |
| 131 | to rub                     | <i>zə<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>11</sup></i>                         |
| 132 | to wash                    | <i>ts<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup></i>                            |
| 133 | to wipe                    | <i>ʂə<sup>11</sup> ɕa<sup>44</sup></i>                         |
| 134 | to pull                    | <i>dzə<sup>11</sup></i>  |
| 135 | to push                    | <i>ts<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup></i>                            |
| 136 | to throw                   | <i>qɿ<sup>11</sup> ŋga<sup>53</sup></i>                        |
| 137 | to tie                     | <i>ngɿ<sup>11</sup> ta<sup>11</sup></i>                        |

|     | English             | <i>dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup></i><br>Namuyi    |
|-----|---------------------|--|
| 138 | to sew              | ha <sup>11</sup> ha <sup>44</sup>                    |
| 139 | to count            | sa <sup>11</sup>                                     |
| 140 | to say              | ʒa <sup>11</sup>                                     |
| 141 | to sing             | ga <sup>11</sup>                                     |
| 142 | to play             | ka <sup>11</sup> ɿ <sup>44</sup>                     |
| 143 | to float            | lɔ <sup>11</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> a <sup>53</sup>     |
| 144 | to flow             | ga <sup>44</sup>                                     |
| 145 | to freeze           | dzu <sup>44</sup> dzu <sup>53</sup> tɔ <sup>11</sup> |
| 146 | to swell            | ru <sup>44</sup> pa <sup>44</sup> la <sup>53</sup>   |
| 147 | sun                 | hi <sup>44</sup> mi <sup>55</sup>                    |
| 148 | moon                | hū <sup>11</sup> mi <sup>11</sup>                    |
| 149 | star                | mə <sup>53</sup> dzə <sup>11</sup>                   |
| 150 | water               | ndzə <sup>53</sup> bo <sup>44</sup>                  |
| 151 | to rain             | hi <sup>53</sup> dzy <sup>11</sup>                   |
| 152 | river               | ndzə <sup>53</sup> q <sup>h</sup> æ <sup>44</sup>    |
| 153 | lake                | mbɛ <sup>11</sup> t <sup>h</sup> o <sup>53</sup>     |
| 154 | sea (as in ocean)   | ha <sup>11</sup> ndzə <sup>11</sup>                  |
| 155 | salt                | tɕə <sup>11</sup> q <sup>h</sup> æ <sup>11</sup>     |
| 156 | stone               | ɿ <sup>11</sup> qa <sup>44</sup>                     |
| 157 | sand                | mə <sup>44</sup> ʒə <sup>44</sup>                    |
| 158 | dust                | p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>53</sup> dzə <sup>53</sup>     |
| 159 | earth (as in soil)  | dBy <sup>44</sup>                                    |
| 160 | cloud               | dzɿ <sup>11</sup> va <sup>11</sup>                   |
| 161 | fog                 | dzɿ <sup>11</sup> hi <sup>44</sup>                   |
| 162 | sky                 | mə <sup>53</sup>                                     |
| 163 | wind (as in breeze) | mə <sup>53</sup> sɔ <sup>53</sup>                    |
| 164 | snow                | vi <sup>11</sup>                                     |
| 165 | ice                 | dzu <sup>44</sup> dzu <sup>55</sup>                  |
| 166 | smoke               | mi <sup>53</sup> k <sup>h</sup> vu <sup>53</sup>     |
| 167 | fire                | mi <sup>53</sup>                                     |
| 168 | ashes               | la <sup>11</sup> mæ <sup>44</sup>                    |
| 169 | to burn             | mi <sup>53</sup> ta <sup>44</sup>                    |
| 170 | road                | ɿ <sup>44</sup> gu <sup>53</sup>                     |
| 171 | mountain            | do <sup>44</sup> bu <sup>53</sup> ly <sup>53</sup>   |
| 172 | red                 | li <sup>53</sup> xu <sup>11</sup>                    |
| 173 | green               | hū <sup>53</sup> ru <sup>11</sup>                    |

|     | English                 | <i>dzə<sup>11</sup> qu<sup>11</sup></i><br>Namuyi                  |
|-----|-------------------------|--|
| 174 | yellow                  | ʒə <sup>53</sup> xa <sup>11</sup>                                  |
| 175 | white                   | p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>53</sup> lu <sup>11</sup>                    |
| 176 | black                   | na <sup>44</sup> q <sup>h</sup> ə <sup>53</sup>                    |
| 177 | night                   | hū <sup>11</sup> nɕu <sup>11</sup>                                 |
| 178 | day (daytime)           | nɿ <sup>44</sup> mi <sup>53</sup> gu <sup>44</sup>                 |
| 179 | year                    | k <sup>h</sup> vu <sup>53</sup> ru <sup>11</sup>                   |
| 180 | warm<br>(as in weather) | tɕ <sup>h</sup> ə <sup>44</sup> q <sup>h</sup> æ <sup>44</sup>     |
| 181 | cold<br>(as in weather) | ga <sup>53</sup>   |
| 182 | full                    | bzə <sup>44</sup>  |
| 183 | new                     | ʒə <sup>53</sup> tsa <sup>11</sup>                                 |
| 184 | old                     | mbo <sup>11</sup> k <sup>h</sup> u <sup>44</sup> dza <sup>11</sup> |
| 185 | good                    | k <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>44</sup>                                     |
| 186 | bad                     | q <sup>h</sup> a <sup>53</sup> q <sup>h</sup> a <sup>53</sup>      |
| 187 | rotten (as a log)       | mbo <sup>11</sup> tʒə <sup>11</sup>                                |
| 188 | dirty                   | tʒ <sup>h</sup> a <sup>11</sup> ræ <sup>11</sup>                   |
| 189 | straight                | dzə <sup>44</sup>  |
| 190 | round                   | tɔ <sup>11</sup> ly <sup>44</sup> ly <sup>11</sup>                 |
| 191 | sharp<br>(as a knife)   | t <sup>h</sup> a <sup>11</sup>                                     |
| 192 | dull (as a knife)       | ɕɔ <sup>44</sup> ly <sup>53</sup> ly <sup>53</sup>                 |
| 193 | smooth                  | he <sup>11</sup> le <sup>11</sup> bzi <sup>44</sup>                |
| 194 | wet                     | tsɔ <sup>53</sup> tsɔ <sup>53</sup>                                |
| 195 | dry (adjective)         | fu <sup>11</sup> dzə <sup>11</sup> ka <sup>44</sup>                |
| 196 | right (correct)         | dja <sup>44</sup>  |
| 197 | near                    | a <sup>11</sup> nɔ <sup>44</sup>                                   |
| 198 | far                     | do <sup>44</sup> q <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>44</sup>                    |
| 199 | right (side)            | ji <sup>44</sup> (ɿ <sup>53</sup> ka <sup>53</sup> )               |
| 200 | left (side)             | ka <sup>11</sup> (ɿ <sup>11</sup> ka <sup>11</sup> )               |
| 201 | at                      | ɿɔ <sup>53</sup>   |
| 202 | in                      | qɔ <sup>11</sup> lɔ <sup>44</sup>                                  |
| 203 | with<br>(accompanying)  | jo <sup>11</sup> jo <sup>44</sup>                                  |
| 204 | and                     | na <sup>53</sup>   |
| 205 | if                      | ɕy <sup>53</sup>   |
| 206 | because                 | ka <sup>44</sup>   |
| 207 | name                    | mi <sup>11</sup>   |