

## **Dulong Texts: Seven Fully Analyzed Narrative and Procedural Texts<sup>1</sup>**

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### **Introduction**

Dulong is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Gongshan Dulong and Nu Autonomous county in Yunnan, China, by members of the Dulong nationality (pop.: 6,000), and part of the Nu nationality (roughly 6,000 people). The First Township dialect, represented by the texts below, is spoken in Dízhèngdāng village, in a relatively inaccessible area of the Dulong River valley, just south of the border of the Tibetan Autonomous Region not far from the border of Myanmar (Burma). The affiliations of the language are still unclear. Most scholars put it together with the Jinghpaw language, but there is suspicion the resemblances are simply due to contact at an earlier period. Certain key types of morphology, such as the reflexive/middle marking, are not shared by Jinghpaw, and are instead shared by the Kiranti languages of Nepal (see LaPolla 1996, 2000b).

Dulong is a verb-final language with both head and dependent marking morphology. It has semantic case marking on the NPs, the order of which is decided by pragmatic principles, verbal prefixes for intransitivization and causativization, and verbal suffixes for reflexive/middle marking and person marking. Person marking is hierarchical, generally of a first person argument, regardless of its role. Second person is marked only for number, and third person is generally unmarked. There is also a verbal prefix (glossed 'NF-') which acts something like an inverse marker, marking a situation where a first or second person referent is involved, but the actor is not a first person referent. See the Abbreviations for the glosses used for the different grammatical markers. There are two phonemic tones, level ( $\bar{a}$ ) and falling ( $\hat{a}$ ), and a reduced tone which appears on unstressed syllables ( $\check{a}$ ). For a more thorough discussion of Dulong phonology and grammar, see LaPolla to appear. For other works which discuss Dulong and the closely related Rawang language, see the References. The following texts were recorded from two different informants in January of 1998. The first four are procedural texts, and the last three are traditional Dulong folk stories. In the procedural texts, a pattern of discourse segmentation can be seen where several clauses will end in a reduplicated verb, then will be followed by an unreduplicated verb. This has the sense of 'Do this, this, this, and then this', or 'Having done this, and this, then do this.' The next

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segment then generally begins 'Having finished ...', repeating the last verb, and then goes on to start another series like the one before.

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## How to Make Wine

told by Tsēng Yùlán (dū nɑ?)

nù      ò:      bāi    nǎ,  
 wine   do+1pl   LNK   TOP  
 When we make wine,

ǎjà      tāŋbōŋ      tě      ɕǔ      ò:,  
 that    corn      INST    also    do+1pl  
 we do it with corn,

dzāi      tě      ɕǔ      ò:,  
 millet   INST    also    do+1pl  
 we do it with millet

pǎkā      tě      ɕǔ      ò:,  
 buckwheat   INST    also    do +1pl  
 we do it with buckwheat

bāndā                      tě      ɕǔ      ò:.  
 barnyard.millet      INST    also    do+1pl  
 we do it with barnyard millet.

ē-bē      ǎjà      ò:      bě      nǎ      ǎjà,  
 DEM-LNK    that    do+1pl LNK    TOP    that  
 When we make wine,

nù    wā    sā    sǎ̀xà    ɕũ    tǎmāɪ    mǎ-dəp    gū.  
 wine make NOM thing    also    oil    NEG-stick NOM  
 the wine-making things, they can't have any oil on them.

kō    lě    təŋmā    ǎɕw?    mǎ-dəp    gū    ò:      ɕĩn,  
 that DAT what    dried.rice NEG-stick    NOM make+1pl    EMPH  
 We make it that they don't have any dried rice on them either,

tǎmàɪ    mǎ-dəp.  
 oil      NEG-stick  
 (and) no oil on them.

tsəŋmā    ò:-ǎ      nǎ.  
 clean      make+1pl-REDUP    LNK  
 We make (them) clean.

nù    bā-bā      ò:      bāi    nǎ,  
 wine much-REDUP make+1pl LNK    TOP  
 If (we) want to make a lot of wine,

ɕəpta?      pōn    dǎ    ò:,  
 cooking.pot    big    LOC    make+1pl  
 we make it in a big pot,

cē    wàŋlū      tɕəŋ      gū.<sup>2</sup>  
 one wine.container fill      NOM  
 one that can hold a whole wine-container's worth.

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<sup>2</sup>tɕəŋ is an alternate form of ǎtɕəŋ:

ɶa?	ɶūŋ	dǎ	əŋdzā	ǎpī	cī	ǎtɕəŋ.
this	bag	LOC	rice	two	catty	hold/contain

This bag can hold two catties.

ē-bě      tɕuʔtɕuʔ      ð:      bəi      nə,  
 DEM-LNK a.little      make+1pl      LNK      TOP  
 If we only make a little,

xɪɔ̃l      səŋdū-ɪɔ̃<sup>3</sup>      ð:  
 proper pot-pl      make+1pl  
 (then) we use the proper pots.

əjɑ̃      tɑ̃ŋbōŋ      əŋɕet      tɛ̃      ɕũ      ð:  
 that      corn      grounds      INST      also      make+1pl  
 (for the material used for the wine) we (can) use (roughly) ground corn,

əŋtsì      tɛ̃      ɕũ      ð:  
 flour      INST      also      make+1pl  
 or we can use flour.

ē-wā      ð:-ǎ      nə      ɠuʔ      bəi,  
 DEM-ADV<sup>4</sup>      make+1pl-REDUP      LNK      say      LNK  
 After we have done this,

əjɑ̃      ɕũ      ē-wā      ē.  
 that      also      DEM-ADV      be  
 that is also this way.

əjɑ̃      tɕəŋdāl      ð:-ǎ,      pɪɑ̃      tɛ̃      ɕɑ:l.  
 that      cooked.meal      make+1pl-REDUP      winnowing.pan      INST      sprinkle+1pl  
 after we cook the rice, we sprinkle it with a winnowing pan.

zūŋ-nəm      cɑ̃      bɛ̃,  
 cold-weather      become      LNK

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<sup>3</sup>ɪɔ̃ used as plural. Normally the LOC *dǎ* would be used here, but it was not used by the speaker.

<sup>4</sup>ēwā seems to be the copula, ē, and the adverbial marker, wā, but it means 'this way'; there is also an expression ē/ē 'there', which is ē plus the dative marker, and an expression ē-bē 'after that', which seem to point to ē also having a demonstrative (deictic) function (although it is not one of the usual demonstrative pronouns) so I am glossing it as 'DEM'.

If the weather becomes cold,

tɕu? lūm pāɪ,<sup>5</sup>  
 a.little warm time  
 when the (rice) is still a little warm,

ǎjà pǎlā zā:ŋ ɕǎn,<sup>6</sup> ɕè?  
 that brewer's.yeast put.in+1pl EMPH RQ  
 we put in the brewer's yeast, no?

cēnēm zū: pǎlā zā:ŋ.  
 already make+1pl brewer's.yeast put.in+1pl  
 put in the brewer's yeast we just made.

ɕùl bǎ lā<sup>7</sup> zā:ŋ.  
 cool LNK only.then put.in+1pl  
 only after (the rice) is cool do we put in (the brewer's yeast).

lūm-nəm cà bǎ nǎ,

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<sup>5</sup>A zero pronoun is used here, even though the referent is not the immediate topic.

<sup>6</sup>While somewhat similar in form, the emphatic particle *ɕǎn* is not the same particle as the simultaneous action marker *zǎn*; e.g.

a nà ē-wā nǎ-gu? ɕǎn!  
 2sg DEM-ADV NF-say EMPH  
 You said it this way!

b. nài pǎ-ð: ɕǎn!  
 2sg+AGT IMP-do EMPH  
 (Why don't you) do it!

<sup>7</sup>First Township dialect *bǎlā* 'only then' is equivalent to Third Township dialect *bǎilāŋ*, *mǎnāŋ lā*. Compare the First Township clause above with the following Third Township clause of the same meaning:

ɕùl mǎnāŋ lā zā:ŋ.  
 cool follow only.then put.in+1pl  
 We put it in only after it is cool.

warm-weather become LNK TOP  
 If the weather becomes warm,

tɕu? gləŋ tūm lā zā:ŋ.  
 a.little cool after only.then put.in+1pl  
 we put the brewer's yeast in only after it is cool.

ǎjə xɪǎməi lě,  
 that upper.part.of.fire.area DAT  
 on/towards the upper part of the fire area,

ē-wā təŋməi ɕwɒ ɔ:-ǎ nǎ.  
 DEM-ADV what grass do+1pl-REDUP LNK  
 in this way we put grass on top,

lūm mǎnəŋ,  
 warm follow  
 after it is warm (has fermented),

jə nūtcəi ǎtɔ? mǎnəŋ gw? bəi,  
 this dregs drip follow say LNK  
 when the dregs drip down,

wāŋlū lě ɔ:.  
 wine.container DAT do+1pl  
 (then) we put it in the wine container.

zūŋ-nəm ǎsūm ja? tǎ<sup>8</sup>  
 cold-weather three night ADV  
 in the winter only after three nights

ləŋ wāŋlū lě zā:ŋ.  
 only.then wine.container DAT put.in+1pl  
 will we put it into the wine container.

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<sup>8</sup>This is an example of the INST marker used for a temporal adverbial phrase.

nēm̄lūmnəm      nǎ,  
 summertime      TOP  
 (in the) summertime,

ǎnī    jaʔ    cē    jaʔ    tǎ    zā:ŋ.  
 two    night    one    night    ADV    put.in+1pl  
 after one or two nights we put it in (the wine container).

ǎjà      wāŋlū              lǎ      zā:ŋ              tūm,  
 that      wine.container    DAT    put.in+1pl    after  
 After we put it into the wine container,

cē    ɕ̄ɪntɕiʔ    tǎ      j̄ɪgɔ̄jɛ̄,  
 one week    ADV    one.month  
 one week, one month,

tɕəm      ð:      bǎ      j̄ɪgɔ̄jɛ̄      ɪ̀ð:.  
 even.more    make    LNK    one.month    place/put+1pl  
 if the time is longer we place it for a month.

cē    ɕ̄ɪntɕiʔ    tǎ              j̄ɪgɔ̄jɛ̄              tǎ  
 one week    ADV    one.month    ADV  
 in a week or a month,

cēnēm    ŋək              ɕ̄ɪn.  
 already    drink+1pl    EMPH  
 we can drink it.

ǎjà      nù      ē-wā              zū:              gē.  
 that      wine    DEM-ADV    make+1pl    NOM+be  
 Wine is made (by us) like this.

ē-wā      mē,  
 DEM-ADV    NEG+be  
 If it is not (done this way),

kā.rwā    lā              ð:              tɕiʔ

how only.then do+1pl HS  
 how would we make it?

## Making Brewer's Yeast

told by Tsēng Yùlán (dū na?)

nù nǎ ǎjà ɕũŋkā nǚ,  
 wine TOP that brewer's.yeast TOP  
 (For) wine, (the making of) that brewer's.yeast,

bāndā lā:m-lā:m<sup>9</sup> nǚ,  
 barnyard.millet dry.in.sun+1pl-REDUP LNK  
 we dry the barnyard millet in the sun,

tǎtǎi kām gǎ ò:-ǎ nǚ.  
 extremely dry NOM do+1pl-REDUP LNK  
 we make it very dry.

ɿaktǎ? dǎ kō:ɿ bǎi ɕǚ,  
 stone.mortar LOC grind+1pl LNK also  
 We use a stone mortar to grind it,

tǎtǎi dzup χɿɛ? kō:ɿ ɕǐn.  
 extremely fine EXT grind+1pl EMPH  
 (and) grind it until it is very fine.

tǎtǎi dzup χɿɛ? kō:ɿ-kō:ɿ nǚ.  
 extremely fine EXT grind+1pl-REDUP LNK  
 We grind it until it is very fine.

ǎjà wà pǎwǎ? mǎnǎŋ,  
 that do/make about.to follow  
 When we are about to make the brewer's yeast,

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<sup>9</sup>*lā:m* = *sə-kām* [CAUS-dry].

ɾà                      sǎnǎ?              tsǎŋmā              ð:.  
 winnowing.tray    all                      clean              do+1pl  
 we clean the winnowing tray(s).

nũ    wā              sā              ɕũŋkā                      zū:.,  
 wine   do/make    NOM   brewer's.yeast              make+1pl  
 We make brewer's yeast for making wine,

dzāi    ǎŋsǎŋ              ǎǰǎ?              ē              nũ,  
 millet   grain              that              be              LNK  
 that is millet grain,

ɾaktǎ?              dǎ              kǎ:ɿ              tũm              nũ,  
 stone.mortar    LOC    grind+1pl    after              LNK  
 after we grind it in a stone mortar,

nǎŋdǎǰǎm              ɕǎppǎŋ              dǎ              ǎǰlũ:ŋ-glũ:ŋ              nũ.  
 well(adv.)              mortar              LOC              pound+1pl-REDUP              LNK  
 we pound it well in a wooden mortar,

ǎǰlũ:ŋ,              ŋǎŋ              tǎ              ð:-ǎ                      nũ              ǎǰlũ:ŋ,  
 pound+1pl    water    INST    do+1pl-REDUP              LNK              pound+1pl  
 we pound it (mixed) with water,

ǎǰlũ:ŋ-glũ:ŋ              nũ,  
 pound+1pl-REDUP    LNK  
 (having) pounded (it),

ǎǰǎ    ē    nũ    ǎtsǎŋ    kǎi    sā    pǎlɛ?    wā    tǎŋdũŋ    nǎ:lì              ɕǎn.  
 that    be    LNK    person    eat    NOM    cake    ADV    piece    mold+1pl    EMPH  
 when that is done, we mold it into chunks the size of the cakes people eat.

ǎǰǎ    ɕuukkā              pǎi              mǎi              nũ,  
 that    brewer's.yeast    NS              CL              TOP  
 That brewer's yeast,

ǎjà ē-lě nǔ,  
 that DEM-DAT LNK  
 that (brewer's yeast),

tɕā pāɪ tsǎwālōŋ "tǎɕī" lā:n gǔ.  
 long.ago time Tsawalong(Tibet) Tashi called+1pl NOM  
 long ago we called Tibet "Tashi".

tsǎwālōŋ ɕuɕkā,  
 Tsawalong(Tibet) brewer's.yeast  
 Tibetan brewer's yeast,

ē tɕūŋ-tɕūŋ ɕuɕkā,  
 DEM small-REDUP brewer's.yeast  
 this little bit of brewer's yeast,

cē tɕu? cē tɕu? ε?-wā ɕuɕkā lě zā:ŋ,  
 one a.little one a.little DEM-ADV brewer's.yeast DAT put.in+1pl  
 a little bit at a time, (we Dulong) mix in the brewer's yeast,

əŋtsì lě cē tɕu? zā:ŋ-zā:ŋ,  
 flour DAT one a.little put.in+1pl-REDUP  
 mix a little into the (brewer's yeast) flour (before it has been make into a cake),

əŋka? lě ε?-wā ε?-wā kǎlō:ŋ.  
 chunk DAT DEM-ADV DEM-ADV spread(paste)+1pl  
 we spread it on the ones made into cakes.

na:ì tūm,  
 mold+1pl after  
 After we have molded it,

pǎle? wε? wā ò:  
 cake piece ADV do+1pl  
 we make it into pieces.

ǎjà pǎle? wε? wā ò: tūm,

that cake pieces ADV do+1pl after  
After we make it into cakes,

kātsī bēbē ǎdūŋ dǎ,  
bran much middle LOC  
we (put it) in the middle of a lot of bran (chaff).

ε?-wā ŋò nū wā .ɪ:,  
DEM-ADV top wine ADV place/put+1pl  
like this put it on top, like with wine.

nū wā .ɪ:-ɪǎ nū,  
wine ADV put/place+1pl-REDUP LNK  
After putting it on like wine,

si? mǎnǎŋ, kō lě jā lě pɔk.  
flavorful(fermented) follow that DAT this DAT turn.over+1pl  
when it has flavor (when it has fermented), turn it over and over.

si? mǎnǎŋ,  
flavorful(fermented) follow  
When it has flavor (when it has fermented),

ǎŋī ja? ǎŋī ja? tǎ pɔk.  
two night two night ADV turn.over+1pl  
after two nights we turn it over.

.ɪktɔŋnəm ǎŋī ja?,  
winter two night  
(Normally) in winter (we turn it) after two nights,

ǎzā.məm cē ja? tǎ pɔk.  
hot.weather one night ADV turn.over+1pl  
In the hot weather we turn it after one night.

ǎ-bē mǎ-pɔk bǎ mǎ-gēm wā gu?  
DEM-LNK NEG-turn.over+1pl LNK NEG-good COMP say

They say if we don't turn it over, the yeast will not be good.

ǎjà        ē    ɔlɔ?,  
that        be    again  
After that, again,

ǎjà        tɛ̄m                kām        mǎnēŋ        nǚ,  
that    even.more        dry        follow        TOP  
when it is more dry,

nəŋgəm    tēŋ-māi    jūŋ        dǎ        ð:-ǎ                nǚ,  
well(adv.) what-CL    bag        LOC        do+1pl-REDUP        LNK  
we put it into a bag,

ŋð        dǎ        sǎzà:ŋ.  
top    LOC        hang+1pl  
(and) hang it on top (on the top part of the fireplace).

ǎjà        ɕǚ        tsēŋmā        ð:                gē.  
that    also        clean        do+1pl        NOM+be  
That we also have to make clean.

ēŋtsì        mǎnēŋ        ɿɔ:                gǚ        nǚ,  
bran(flour) COM        place/put+1pl    NOM        LNK  
We put (hang) the flour and (the yeast cakes) together,

cī        ɕ ɿntɕi?    wā        ɿɔ:.,  
one    week        ADV        place/put+1pl  
(we place it) for about one week,

dzāi    tsì                dǎ        ɿɔ:.  
millet flour(bran)        LOC        put/place+1pl  
we put it in the millet bran/chaff.

ǎjà        cà                mǎnēŋ        nǚ,  
that        become        follow        TOP  
(One week later) when it is done,

"tǎxɿ̀:ŋ"      gǔ      lā:n.  
 (name)      NOM      call+1pl  
 we call it "tǎxɿ̀:ŋ".

jūŋ      dǒ      ɿ̀:  
 bag      LOC      put/place+1pl  
 (Again) we put it in a bag.

ē-bě,      ǎjǎ      ɕuɿkkā,  
 DEM-LNK      that      brewer's.yeast  
 After that, that brewer's yeast,

tɕə̃m      cǎ      mǎnəŋ      ǎjǎ,  
 even.more      become      follow      that  
 after another stretch of time,

ǎjǎ      pɿp      dzǐn      ̀:  
 that      sprinkle      LNK      do+1pl      EMPH      wine  
 we sprinkle (the brewer's yeast) (into grain) to make it, wine.

### How to Make a Trap

jū      kə̃rwā      zū      sā  
 (tree-spring)trap      how      make      NOM

told by Li Yaohua (nəwāŋzàr b.āzì)

jū      zū      bē,      tǎsā      tsit      zū      sā.  
 trap      make      LNK      start      trap.string      make      NOM  
 When making a trap, first the string is made.

tsit      nū      ì      tǎ      ̀      tsə̃ī      tǎ      zū:,  
 trap.string      TOP      hemp      INST      make      string      INST      make+1pl  
 To make the trap-string, we use a string made of hemp,

tsǎī muktə̀i ǎkkoʔ cə̀ juuk-juuk,  
 string thick(round) piece(CL.for.rope) become twist+1pl-REDUP  
 (and) make it into a thick rope,

(tsit) cē lāī ɔ̄ŋ kām tǎ zū (gǔ) tsit-kǎlaʔ sǎpək,  
 string one side LOC bamboo INST make NOM string-holder attach+1pl  
 on one end of the string, we tie a string holder made of bamboo,

cē lāī ɔ̄ŋ nārtcū zū,  
 one side LOC loop make  
 on the other end make a loop,

tsit zū tōn mǎnə̄ŋ, tōrpā ɾət ǎjə̀ tōrpā,  
 string make finish follow spring(bamboo) cut+1pl that spring  
 when the string is done, we cut a bamboo spring,

jū kùŋ dǎ tsən̄ gǔ tǎtçək-tçək.  
 trap area LOC strong NOM stick(in.the.ground)+1pl-REDUP  
 (and) stick the spring into the ground (of the trap area).

tsit tōrpā mǎtçùŋ ɔ̄ŋ gwē:ɿ,  
 string spring end(edge) LOC attach/tie+1pl  
 We tie the string onto the end of the spring (the one not in the ground),

tsit [çā gwē:ɿ sā lāī]<sup>10</sup> ɔ̄ŋ mɿə̄ŋ-mɿə̄ŋ ǎzū,  
 string meat tie NOM side LOC long-REDUP expose  
 on the end of the string where the loop is, leave a long length of string,

[tə̄ŋ sā lāī]<sup>11</sup> ɔ̄ŋ, cē tçuʔ ǎzū gū sǎpək  
 be.blocked NOM side LOC one a.little expose NOM attach+1pl  
 on the other end (where the string holder is) we leave (only) a little string,

<sup>10</sup>çā gwē:ɿ sā lāī is the side with the loop (*nārtcū*). Later in this line the reduplication changes the tone on the second token of *mɿə̄ŋ* 'long'.

<sup>11</sup>tə̄ŋ sā lāī is the side with the *tsit kə̄laʔ* 'string holder'.

tōɪpā lě gwē:ɪ,  
spring DAT tie+1pl  
(and) tie (it) to the spring,

ǎjà ē, piʔ-piʔ kām (tě),  
that be soft(not.hard)-REDUP bamboo INST  
after that, we take a soft piece of bamboo,

kō lāi jā lāi ǎsā lě  
that side that side ground DAT

ǎŋdǎgūŋ cā tǎtɕək-tɕək,  
bow(shaped.object) become stick(in.ground)+1pl-REDUP  
(and) stick both ends of it into the ground to make a bow,

tōɪpā mǎtɕəŋ ōŋ, ɟəl ɲò:ŋ-ɲò:ŋ,  
spring end(edge) LOC below pull(down)+1pl-REDUP  
(and) pull down one end of the spring,

tsit-kǎlaʔ ǎjà ǎŋdǎgūŋ lě tā:ŋ.  
string-holder that bow(shaped.object) DAT trap+1pl  
(and) trap the holder in the bow.

ǎjà ē, kaptɕē tǎ ǎŋɪām lāi tsit-kǎlaʔ  
that be crossbar INST horizontal side string-holder

mā-ǎpət gū tā:ŋ.  
NEG-let.go NOM trap+1pl  
After that, we use the crossbar to trap the string holder into position.

ǎjà ē, kap-klup tǎ blət gū,  
that be bamboo-slice INST weave NOM  
After that, we place a thing woven out of bamboo strips,

"g.ɪəm" lā:n gū sǎ.ɪà, ǎjà kaptɕē mǎdəm dǎ ɪō:  
called NOM thing that crossbar above LOC put/place+1pl  
a thing called "g.ɪəm", on top of the crossbar,

ǎjà ē, nītcīn tǎ maʔ-ǎ-jēŋ<sup>12</sup> gū kəp.  
 that be moss/greens INST NEG-PREF-see NOM cover  
 after that, cover it with moss/greens so it is not visible.

kəp tōn mǎnēŋ,  
 cover finish afterward  
 After covering it,

tsit ǎŋmukwàŋ tǎ-xruup-çǔ sā ò:-ò:.,  
 string loop CAUS-meet-R/M NOM do+1pl-REDUP  
 we make the string into a loop that can be pulled closed,

nītcīn mǎdəm dǎ nātsē .iō:.  
 moss/greens above LOC gently put/place+1pl  
 and gently put moss/greens on top.

wà tōn mǎnēŋ,  
 do finish after  
 After doing that,

jū kùŋ kō lāi jā lāi jì təp mǎl nǎ.ɹəm zū:.  
 trap area that side that side go ability NEG+have fence make+1pl  
 we make a fence on both sides so (animals) can't go (around) the trap.

### How to make a crossbow

tānā kǎɹwā zū sā  
 crossbow how make NOM

told by Li Yaohua (nəwāŋzàɹ bɹāzì)

tānā zū sā,  
 crossbow make NOM  
 The making of the crossbow,

<sup>12</sup>Here the verb *jəŋ* 'to see' takes the intransitivizing prefix, and so has the sense of 'be visible'. There is also a tone change because of the two prefixes.



tānā      ǎkplāŋ   nū,   lūmçūŋ   zək-zək                      zū:  
 crossbow body   TOP   firewood   cut.into.small.strips+1pl-REDUP   make+1pl  
 (For) the body of the crossbow, cut the firewood into small strips.

tānā      ǎkplāŋ      zū      tōn      mǎnāŋ,  
 crossbow body      make   finish   follow  
 After finishing the body part of the crossbow,

cē   lāi   ǎŋ<sup>13</sup>   tǎlī   wā   rǎmū-mū  
 one side   LOC   bow   ADV   draw-REDUP  
 On one side, having drawn the shape of a bow,

dəkçī      tǎ      puk.  
 small.knife   INST   bore.small.hole+1pl  
 we use a small knife to bore a small hole.

pu?                      tōn      mǎnāŋ,   nātsē-nātsē      tǎlī      zā:ŋ.  
 bore.small.hole   finish   follow   slowly-REDUP   bow   put.in+1pl  
 After having bored a small hole, we slowly fit the bow into the hole.

ǎjà   ē,   çā.ū   tǎ      tǐdān      ŋī      tǐkrōl      zū.  
 that   be   bone   INST   string.holder   and   trigger   make  
 Then use bone to make the string holder and trigger.

tǎlət      nū   ì      tǎ  
 bow.string   TOP   hemp   INST

nəŋdǎgəm      ŋāŋ      (tǎ)      çək-çək                      (nū)      juuk.  
 well(adv.)      water   INST   soak-REDUP+1pl   LNK   rub+1pl  
 To make the bow string, we soak hemp well in water and then rub it (roll it into string).

ju?      tōn      mǎnāŋ,      ǎjà      ē,      ǎjà      tǎlət      ǎlì      sǎjà      tǎ  
 rub   finish   follow   that   be   that   bow.string   heavy   thing   INST  
 After rubbing it, we use something heavy

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<sup>13</sup> *dǎ* could be used here instead of *ǎŋ*.





## Why monkeys steal human food

told by Li Yaohua (nəwāŋzàr bīāzì)

tɕā pāɪ ʔtsəŋ nāgɔʔ ɕɔlaʔ blakpaì tɛ̃ ɔː<sup>15</sup> tɕìwǎ.  
 long.ago time human baby caregiver monkey AGT do/make HS  
 Long ago monkeys took care of babies for people.

ǎk-pè ǎk-mè nǎmjàŋ-nǎmjàŋ,  
 3-father 3-mother daytime-REDUP  
 During the day, the child's parents

nit-būm mǎ-gɔl gū ǎmā wà lē jì tɕìwǎ.  
 mind-many NEG-need ADV field work DAT go HS  
 could go to work the field without having to worry (about the child).

ǎŋzā kwʔ tòi gəm wǎ,  
 food also very(big) good HS  
 The crop grew very well,

blakpaì tɛ̃ nāgɔʔ nəŋdǎgəm ɔː wa.  
 monkey AGT baby well(adv.) work HS  
 the monkey took good care of the baby.

"ǎ-pè ǎ-mè" gwʔ sɔ̃ xreʔ ɔː tɕìwǎ.  
 1-father 1-mother say know.how until do HS  
 It did this up to the time (the baby) could say "Mommy and Daddy".

nāgɔʔ tòi mǎnəŋ, blakpaì sǎ-lɔʔ tsɔt cà mǎnəŋ,  
 baby big follow monkey CAUS-return time become follow  
 When the child was big, when it was time to send the monkey back,

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<sup>15</sup>Although normally there is no lengthening of the vowel of the verb to mark second or third person, in clauses where a third person actor referent is being contrasted with some other referent (in this case, the monkey rather than someone else; a sort of narrow focus), and in most imperatives, again where the actor involved is contrasted with some other possible actor, the verb often has a long vowel, just as with first person plural marking. See Yang 2000 for discussion.

ɕɔlaʔ kũɾtā ʔtsəŋ tɛ tǎɾl sǎkām cē mē  
 caregiver fee human AGT quiver(arrow.case) lid one CL  
 The person only gave a quiver lid full of payment (not money).

tɕē zī tɕhìwǎ. ʔjà mǎnəŋ blaɕpə̀i sǎnā sə̀i wà.  
 only give HS that follow monkey nose spicy HS  
 Because of this, the monkey became very angry.

ʔjà tǎɾl sǎkām nǎkrɛʔ dǔ pɛʔ-pɛʔ nɛʔ sə̀lɔʔ zīn,  
 that quiver lid buttock LOC stick(v.)-REDUP eye stare LNK  
 The monkey stuck the lid to his rear end,

cē kɾɔm cē kɾɔm ʔtɕat zīn lɔʔ jì tɕìwà.  
 one jump one jump(jump.and.skip) jump LNK return go HS  
 and staring (at them) jumped back (home).

blaɕpə̀i nǎkrɛʔ ʔjà mǎnəŋ nũ ʔŋmũl mǎ-kɔʔ ē tɕìwǎ.  
 monkey buttock that follow TOP fur/hair NEG-grow be HS  
 Therefore, the monkey's rear end doesn't grow hair.

blaɕpə̀i ē-wā sǎnā sə̀i mǎnəŋ,  
 monkey DEM-ADV nose spicy(angry) follow  
 When the monkey got angry,

ʔtsəŋ pǎɕīn dō mǎ-gəm<sup>16</sup> wā cǎ tɕìwǎ.  
 human heart/liver LOC NEG-good COMP become(suffer) HS  
 the person felt bad.

ʔjà mǎnəŋ blaɕpə̀i lɛ ē-wā g.ɾũ:ŋ wǎ,  
 that follow monkey DAT DEM-ADV say HS  
 So the man said to the monkey,

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<sup>16</sup> ɛ̀i 'spirit of a dead person' would also be possible instead of *mǎ-gəm*.

"dēlā        buktɕit bŭŋɿām        pē        pā-səŋām        ɿā"        gɿu:ŋ        wǎ.  
 later        edge.of.the.field        ABL        IMP-see        come        say        HS  
 "Later you can come to the edge of the field and see (eat a bit)."

ǎjà        tūm,  
 that        after  
 After that,

blakpə̀i    ejà    mǎnēŋ    nū        ǎtsə̀ŋ    tībōŋ    kū    gē        wǎ.  
 monkey    that    follow    TOP    human    grain    steal    NOM+be    HS  
 monkeys steal grain from humans.

### Why Dogs Have Long Tongues and Can't Talk

dǎgī    təkçà    pǎlɿ    mǎŋ    kā    gu?    təp    mǎl        gū    lǎjit  
 dog    why    tongue    long    words    say    ability    NEG+have    NOM    story

told by Li Yaohua (nəwāŋzà̀r bɿāzì)

tçā        pāɿ    tçā        pāɿ    nū,    dǎgī    kā        gu?    sō        tçiwǎ.  
 long.ago    time    long.ago    time    TOP    dog    words    say    know.how    HS  
 It is said long ago dogs knew how to talk.

bǎnɿbǎnā    (ǎdūŋ)    dǎ,    kā        gu?    sō        gū<sup>17</sup>  
 livestock    middle    LOC    words    say    know.how    NOM

dǎgī    ē        tçiwǎ.  
 dog    be        HS

It is said among the livestock the one that knew how to talk was the dog.

tçā        pǎɿ    tçā        pǎɿ    nū  
 long.ago    time    long.ago    time    TOP

dǎgī    ɲī    wa?    ǎtsə̀ŋ    tǎ    sū:    gū    ē        tçiwǎ.  
 dog    and    pig    person    AGT    raise    NOM    be        HS  
 It is said long ago (a) dog and (a) pig were raised by (a) person.

<sup>17</sup>It would be possible to use *nū* instead of *gū* here.

ǎk-kàŋ tě dǎgī, waʔ lě (nũ)  
 3-master AGT dog pig DAT TOP

tāŋ cǔ guʔ dām māl tɕìwǎ,  
 what also say anything NEG+have HS

The master did not say anything to the dog or the pig (i.e., he was satisfied with their work, and)

ǎx.ɰī sǎ.ɰŋ nəŋdǎgəm ǎŋzā zī tɕìwǎ.  
 evening morning well food give HS  
 gave them food (fed them well) morning and night.

ǎk-kàŋ tě nəmɰŋ-nəmɰŋ  
 3-master AGT daytime-REDUP

dǎgī ɲī waʔ ǎm.ɰ wà lě sǎlǎ:ŋ tɕìwǎ.  
 dog and pig field do PURP send.out HS

The master would send the dog and the pig out to work the field every day.

ǎm.ɰ wà lē sǎlǎŋ bē,  
 field do DAT send.out LNK

waʔ cē ɲī cē ɲī mā-rǎnā<sup>18</sup> (wā) wà tɕìwǎ.  
 pig one day one day NEG-rest ADV do HS

When they were sent out to work the field, the pig would work all day without resting.

dǎgī nũ waʔ ǎm.ɰ wà pāɪ,  
 dog TOP pig field do time

ǎm.ɰ tɕēm dǎ ɲip tɕìwǎ.  
 field edge LOC sleep HS

When the pig was working the field, the dog would sleep by the edge of the field.

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<sup>18</sup>Here there is a tone change (< rǎnà) because of the addition of the negative prefix.

ǎxɿɿ̀ lɔʔ tsɔt<sup>19</sup> dū mǎnəŋ nū,  
 night return time arrive follow TOP

dǎgī tǎ waʔ tǎ ð ǎmɿ̄ dǔ  
 dog AGT pig AGT do field LOC

dǎgī māl tɛē ǎblən gū<sup>20</sup> ǎzət tɛ̀wǎ.  
 dog footprint only/just make.mark NOM step.on HS

At night, when it was time to return, the dog would leave his footprints in the field where the pig had worked.

waʔ ǎmɿ̄ wà tɔ:n mǎnəŋ nū, ɿ̄ŋ mǎnəŋ rǎnà pā,  
 pig field do finish follow TOP tired follow rest time  
 When the pig finished working the field and was tired and resting,

dǎgī ūzù cùm lǎ lɔʔ tɛ̀wǎ, ǎxɿɿ̄ dū mǎnəŋ nū,  
 dog first house DAT return HS night arrive follow TOP  
 the dog would first go home and at night

dǎgī (tǎ) ǎk-kàŋ lǎ klup tɛ̀wǎ,  
 dog AGT 3-master DAT deceive HS  
 would deceive the master (saying):

"ǎ-kàŋ! lāmbɔʔ waʔ, àŋ nū cē ɿ̄ cē ɿ̄  
 1-master friend pig 3sg TOP one day one day

ǎmɿ̄ tɛēm dǔ ɿ̄p,  
 field edge LOC sleep

ǎgð nū ǎmɿ̄ wəŋ dèn mǎ-dèn àŋ tǎ mǎ-sɔ:."  
 1sg TOP field do+1sg tired NEG-tired 3sg AGT NEG-know

"Master! Friend Pig, he sleeps all day at the edge of the field, not knowing whether or not I am tired working in the field." (i.e.: "not caring whether I am tired or not from doing all the work")

<sup>19</sup>The expression *tsɔt ǎŋzī* 'time' or the nominalizer *sā* could be used here instead of *tsɔt*.

<sup>20</sup>It would be possible to use the topic marker *nū* instead of *gū* here.

dǎgī ē-wā ǎk-kàŋ lě klup tɕìwǎ.  
 dog DEM-ADV 3-master DAT deceive HS  
 The dog deceived his master in this way.

ǎk-kàŋ nəŋdǎgəm nit-ɕũ tɕìwǎ,  
 3-master well think-R/M HS  
 The master thought about this for a while/well,

"ǎgò ǎmā lě ɕũ mǎ-jũŋ,  
 1sg field DAT also NEG-go+1sg  
 (and said to himself,) "I haven't gone to the field,

cē jɔʔ guʔ (gũ) kā tě  
 one CL(person) say NOM word INST

ǎnī<sup>21</sup> zū maʔ-zū guʔ təp mǎl,  
 who right NEG-right say ability NEG+have  
 (so) I can't say on the basis of one person's word who is right and who is  
 wrong,

dēlā ǎgò ǎmā lě jəŋ lē jũŋ jũŋ."  
 later 1sg field DAT see PURP go+1sg want+1sg  
 later I want to go to the field myself to see."

ē-bē nū dǎgī ē-wā guʔ bē ɕũ, ǎk-kàŋ tě  
 DEM-LNK TOP dog DEM-ADV say LNK also 3-master AGT  
 This way, when the dog talks like this, the master

kāpē jɔʔ neʔ tətì wā mǎ-jà:ŋ tɕìwǎ.  
 which CL(person) eye big ADV NEG-see HS  
 won't be biased towards either of them.<sup>22</sup>

ǎjà tūm nū, ǎk-kàŋ tshaʔ wā nānī wà lě jì tɕìwǎ.  
 that after TOP 3-master secretly ADV peep do PURP go HS  
 After that, the master went to secretly spy on them.

<sup>21</sup> *kāpē jɔʔ* 'which-CL(for people)' could be used instead of *ǎnī* here.

<sup>22</sup> *neʔ tətì jəŋ*, literally "eye big see" is a metaphor for 'have a bias'.

kāpē ɟʌ? lě ɕū sə̃āŋ nəŋdǎgəm ǎŋzā zī zīn  
 which CL(person) DAT also morning well food give LNK  
 In the morning after he fed each of them well and

ǎmā wà lě sə̃làŋ-làŋ,  
 field do DAT send.out-REDUP  
 sent them out to the fields to work,

pālī tūm pē, sēm lē jì tɕìwǎ.  
 behind after ABL peep PURP go HS  
 He went behind them to spy on them.

ǎk-kàŋ ǎmā lě jì tɕìwǎ.  
 3-master field DAT go HS  
 The master went to the field.

tǎsā cē ɲī nǔ,  
 begin one day TOP  
 The first day,

wǎ? nǔ nəm-ǎxruī xrɛ? nitɕhɔ? gūl-(lē)-gūl  
 pig TOP heaven-evening EXT tail move-RP<sup>23</sup>-REDUP

ǎmā wà wǎ, wǎ? nū lēɕù mǎ-wà mū wǎ.  
 field do HS pig TOP slack.off NEG-do EMP HS  
 the pig worked from morning until night in the field, wagging his tail, and didn't  
 slack off.

ē-bē, dǎgī nū ǎmā dǎ mǎ-dǎg.à wà.  
 DEM-LNK dog TOP field LOC NEG-see HS  
 (The master) did not see the dog in the field.

ē-wā ē-bē ɕū kā mǎ-guʌ?-guʌ?  
 DEM-ADV DEM-LNK also word NEG-say-REDUP  
 He didn't say anything about this.

<sup>23</sup> lē (~ lǎ) is an optional reduplication particle (RP). In this clause the verb *wət* 'wag' could also have been used, i.e. *wət-lē-wət*.

dǎgī nī waʔ mǎ-loʔ tsàr,  
 dog and pig NEG-arrive time  
 Before the dog and pig arrived,

ǎb.rà-b.rà cùm lě loʔ-loʔ nǔ,  
 quickly-REDUP house DAT return-REDUP TOP  
 he quickly returned to the house,

ǎŋzā zū:-zū:, dǎgī nī waʔ lě cētēī wā zī tēiwǎ.  
 food make-REDUP dog and pig DAT the.same ADV give HS  
 made the food and gave it to the dog and pig equally (the same to each).

ǎxrūī dū mǎnǎŋ, dǎgī ǎk-kàŋ lē  
 evening arrive follow dog 3-master DAT

ōloʔ ūzù wā guʔ tēiwǎ,  
 again before ADV say HS  
 In the evening the dog, as before, said to the master,

"nà waʔ lē ǎŋzā tōŋmēʔ dǎ ŋi-zī:, lēkā cǔ mǎ-wà.  
 2sg pig DAT food wastefully LOC NF-give work also NEG-do  
 "You are giving the pig food for nothing, as he doesn't work.

nà nit nǎ-gəm, àŋ tě mǎ-sǎ."  
 2sg mind NF-good 3sg AGT NEG-know  
 You have a good heart but he doesn't know it (doesn't appreciate it)."

ē-wā ē-bē cǔ ǎk-kàŋ tōŋ cǔ mǎ-guʔ wǎ,  
 DEM-ADV DEM-LNK also 3-master what also NEG-say HS  
 The master still didn't say anything about this,

cē kōɪ dǎ tē jà:ŋ mā-pěsā: wà.  
 one time LOC only look NEG-know(clearly) HS  
 he only looked one time, (so) he wasn't sure.

ǎjà tūm ǎk-kōr-kōr sēm bē,  
 that after PREF-time-REDUP peep LNK  
 After spying on them several times,

dǎgī ǎlōzē gē mū wǎ.  
 dog lie NOM+be EMP HS  
 (he found) it was the dog who was lying.

tāmā lēkā wà gū wa? tçē ē mū wǎ.  
 really work do NOM pig only be EMP HS  
 It was only the pig who was really working.

dǎgī nəmjàŋ lēcù wà,  
 dog daytime slack.off do  
 In the daytime the dog slacked off,

ǎxrwī-ǎxrwī ūzù lo? zīn, ǎk-kàŋ lē klwɔp wǎ.  
 night-REDUP before return LNK 3-master DAT deceive HS  
 and every night returned first and lied to the master.

wa? nū kā gu? mǎ-sō,  
 pig TOP word say NEG-know  
 The pig didn't know how to talk,

ē-bē dǎgī nū kā gu? sō.  
 DEM-LNK dog TOP word say know  
 but the dog knew how to talk.

ǎjà mǎnəŋ nū, ǎk-kàŋ əŋɲī lě  
 that follow TOP 3-master 3dual DAT

cētçè ǎŋzā zī tçiwǎ.  
 the.same food give HS  
 This way, the master first gave them the same food.

dēlā cà mǎnəŋ nū, ǎk-kàŋ dǎgī lě ē-wā gu? wǎ,  
 later become follow TOP 3-master dog DAT DEM-ADV say HS  
 Later, the master said to the dog:

"tēn nà tēŋ ɕũ mē-guʔ əl,  
 now 2sg what also NEG+NF-say IMP  
 "Now don't you say anything,

nǎ-kàŋ kā guʔ pǎwəŋ,  
 2-master word say will+1sg  
 your master (I) want to talk.

tēn nà pā ɕũ ɲaʔ-əŋɹà:, dèn cū ɲi-dèn,  
 now 2sg belly also NF-full(of.food) tired also NF-tired  
 Now your stomach is full and you are tired,

jà dǒ pā-rǎnà əm, nīgòŋ pǎ-ga:i,  
 this LOC IMP-rest POL mouth IMP-open  
 come here and rest, and open your mouth.

nà pǎlaì jəŋ jũŋ", ē-wā gũ:ŋ mǎnəŋ,  
 2sg tongue see want+1sg DEM-ADV say follow  
 I want to see your tongue." He said like this.

dǎgī nīgòŋ ga:i-gaì (zīn) pǎlaì zū: pāi,  
 dog mouth open-open LNK tongue stick.out time  
 When the dog opened his mouth and stuck out his tongue,

ǎk-kàŋ tǎ pǎlaì ɕà:l-ɕà:l,  
 3-master AGT tongue pull-REDUP  
 The master pulled it,

dǎgī lǎ ē-wā gũ:ŋ wǎ, "ɲi-jà:ŋ bǎ,  
 dog DAT like.this say HS NF-see LNK  
 He said to the dog like this: "If you look at it,

nà ǎlɔzē sā-sā wā mǎ-cà jùm,  
 2sg lie know.how-REDUP COMP NEG-become seem  
 It seems like you don't know how to lie,

nà jà pǎlǎi tǎ ji-klwɔp,  
 2sg this tongue INST NF-deceive  
 you use this tongue to lie (to me),

jà pǎlǎi nà lě tǎŋ ɕǔ zīgū mǎl mǔ.  
 this tongue 2sg DAT what also use NEG+have EMP  
 this tongue is of no use to you.

jà pǎlǎi mǎl bē,  
 this tongue NEG+have LNK  
 If you didn't have this tongue,

nà nǎŋdǎgəm lēkā ji-wà tū ē.  
 2sg well work NF-do perhaps be  
 you might work well."

ǎjà tūm nū, dǎgī pǎlǎi mǎŋ tɕiwǎ,  
 that after TOP dog tongue long HS  
 After that, the dog's tongue was long,

kā gwʔ tǎp mǎl tɕiwǎ.  
 word say ability NEG+have HS  
 and he did not have the ability to speak.

## **The Story of Nisham, the Flood, and the Creation of the Different Peoples**

by Li Yaohua (nəwǎŋzàr bǎzì)

tɕā pāi tɕā pāi ǎtsəŋ kǎŋ dō  
 long.ago time long.ago time human village LOC  
 Long ago, in a human village

niçàm lā:n əl tɕi:wǎ,  
 (name) named have/exist HS  
 there lived a person named "Nisham".<sup>24</sup>

əjə niçàm nū zēɪ kuʔ sō, nìtɕoʔ kuʔ kō tɕi:wǎ.  
 that (name) TOP fly also know.how tail also grow HS  
 That Nisham could fly and had a tail.

niçàm tē ətsəŋ əŋzā kəi mə-zū:ɪ wà,  
 (name) AGT human food eat NEG-allow HS  
 Nisham didn't allow the people to eat their food,

ətsəŋ əŋzā kəi-kəi pəwā mənəŋ,  
 human food eat-REDUP just.about.to follow  
 just as they were about to eat their food,

əŋzā laktā ŋə lě ɕūŋzūŋ lě  
 food pot above DAT tree DAT  
 he would take the pot up a tree

tɕcū:ɪ zīn kā:i<sup>25</sup> wǎ,  
 snatch LNK eat HS  
 and eat it,

pəmā kǎɪā-kǎɪā dəŋrəŋ ɕūŋzūŋ lě ruɸ zīn ɔ: (tɕi)wǎ.  
 girl which-REDUP beautiful tree DAT grab LNK do HS  
 and would grab whichever girls were beautiful up to the tree and do (rape)  
 them.

əjə mənəŋ nū, ətsəŋ sə-dū-dū-ɕū<sup>26</sup>  
 that follow TOP human CAUS-get.together-REDUP- R/M  
 Therefore, the people got together

<sup>24</sup>Also called *nimuçəm*.

<sup>25</sup> *kəi* would also be possible here.

<sup>26</sup> *təx.iūm-təx.iūm-ɕū* would also be possible here.

niçàm sət sā blū wà wǎ.  
 (name) kill NOM discuss do/make HS  
 and discussed killing Nisham.

ǎjà niçàm cùm (lě) cùl-cùl,  
 that (name) house DAT invite-REDUP  
 They invited Nisham into the house,

tɕǎlũŋ pē ē-wā gũũŋ wǎ,  
 below.the.house ABL DEM-ADV say HS  
 and said from below the house,

"ǎ-kũ niçàm, nitɕɔʔ pǎ-cà:m ɹət."  
 1-uncle (name) tail IMP-hang.down come<sup>27</sup>  
 "Uncle Nisham, please hang your tail down."

nitɕɔʔ cà:m pāɹ, dǎgũ ɲɔʔ kɹāpũ tǎ tǎkwk-kwk,  
 tail hang.down time nine CL strong(man) AGT pull-REDUP  
 When he hung his tail down, nine strong men pulled on it,

nəptɕũŋkàn pē, mǎgũũŋ tē ǎzɔ:ɹ wǎ.  
 doorway ABL pike INST spear(v.) HS  
 and from the doorway speared him with a pike.

sət tōn mǎnēŋ, niçàm cì gũ ŋāŋ lě tɕat wǎ.  
 kill finish follow (name) dead body water DAT throw HS  
 After killing him, they threw Nisham's body into the water,

cē tɕēŋ dū bē, sət təi  
 one (unit of measure of distance) reach LNK the.more big  
 with each "tɕeŋ" that it moved down the water,

cē tɕēŋ dū bē sət təi,  
 one (unit of measure of distance) reach LNK the.more big  
 it got bigger and bigger,

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<sup>27</sup> *rət* (or *rà*) 'come' also has the sense of making the imperative more polite.

dēlā jò ηāη tūm (gǔ) mǎli,  
 finally below water without NOM place  
 finally, it got to the place where there was no more water (where the water goes  
 down),

niçàm çì gū tě ηāη sù tçiwǎ.  
 (name) dead body INST water stop.up HS  
 and the body stopped up the water,

ǎjà mǎnēη ηāη tǎi tçiwǎ,  
 that follow water big HS  
 therefore the water got bigger.

ǎjà pāı, əηŋī nām  
 that time 3dl brother.and.sister  
 At that time, a brother and sister

mǎzε? kɔ? lě jì tçiwǎ.  
 mushroom pick DAT go HS  
 went mushroom picking,

mǎzε? ē-bē-nū,  
 mushroom DEM-LNK-TOPIC  
 as for the mushrooms,

sɔt ηò lě dū bě, sɔt əl wǎ,  
 the.more above DAT reach LNK the.more have HS  
 there were more and more the higher they went.

xıā kāıwā çū mǎ-dəm wǎ.  
 basket how also NEG-full HS  
 No matter what the basket wouldn't fill up.

pětçhu? ku? "çì-zūı-zūı çì-zūı-zūı" gu? zīn,  
 bird also water-flood-REDUP water-flood-REDUP say LNK  
 The birds said "there's a flood, there's a flood!",

ηò lē ηò lē zēɪ wǎ.  
 above DAT above DAT fly HS  
 and flew higher and higher.

dēlā, kǎwākēɪpū mǎlì lǎ ǎpla? tɛiwǎ.  
 later (place name) place DAT arrive HS  
 Finally, the people arrived at "kǎwā kəɪpu".

cìzìn ηāη tǎ ɕū ē-lē dū:<sup>28</sup> wǎ.  
 flood.water water AGT also DEM-DAT reach HS  
 The flood water also reached there.

əηɲī nām lǔŋbu? dō ɪəη wǎ.  
 3dl brother.and.sister cliff.side LOC sit HS  
 The brother and sister sat at the bottom of a cliff.

cìzìn ηāη tǎ əηɲī nām ɪəη lǎ  
 flood.water water AGT 3dl brother.and.sister sit DAT

tsēnmà cē təp tǎ tɕē mǎ-dū: wǎ.  
 batten<sup>29</sup> one CL INST only NEG-reach HS  
 The flood water stopped just one batten's width away from where the brother and sister were sitting.

ǎtsəŋ mǎnəŋ ǎxɪap ɡū bū ku? cē zūm ē tɛiwǎ.  
 human COM(follow) arrive NOM snake also one pair be HS  
 There was a pair of snakes that went with the humans.

ǎjà bū ηāη lē tɕat lē ò bǎ,  
 that snake water DAT throw DAT do LNK  
 When the people were going to throw the snakes into the river,

<sup>28</sup> xɪap 'arrive' would be possible here instead of *dū*.

<sup>29</sup> Board for packing threads on a loom.

"ǎjùŋ ni-tɕət bē,  
 1pl NF-throw+1pl LNK  
 (The snakes said) "If you throw us into the river,

nǎjùŋ kuʔ laʔ-mɛ-əl jǔŋ." ē-wā guʔ tɕìwǎ.  
 2pl also let-NEG+NF-exist pl DEM-ADV say HS  
 you won't live either." the snakes said.

bū ǎjà mǎnēŋ əl gē tɕìwǎ.  
 snake that follow exist NOM+be HS  
 Therefore snakes still exist.

ǎjà cìzìn cì dǎgù nī dǎgù jaʔ cà mǎnēŋ bət tɕìwǎ.  
 that flood.water water nine day nine night become follow recede HS  
 The water receded after nine days and nights.

ǎjà mǎnēŋ, əŋnī nəm  
 that follow 3dl brother.and.sister  
 Then the brother and sister

jò kɔŋ lě ǎtsəŋ lā lē loʔ tɕìwǎ.  
 below village DAT human look.for PURP return(vi.) HS  
 returned to the village to look for people.

kā-dō kā-dō lō<sup>30</sup> bē ɕǔ, ǎtsəŋ ma-dǎgɔ̀ tɕìwǎ.  
 WH-LOC WH-LOC look.for LNK also human NEG-have HS  
 Wherever they looked, there were no people.

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<sup>30</sup> *lā* would also be possible here.

tālōŋ<sup>31</sup>    tālōŋ    nū<sup>32</sup>    lā    lě    jì    bē    ɕū,  
 that.way    that.way    TOP    look.for    PURP    go    LNK    also  
 They each went their own way to look,

əxruī-əxruī    ɔlɔ?    ədù-jī    təx.rùm    ma?    wà.  
 night-REDUP    again    self-dl    get.together    RECIP    HS  
 and then came back together each night.

tənī    ɕū    m̀l    wā    ɕā    kə̀ì    bē,  
 fire    also    NEG+have    ADV    meat    eat    LNK  
 They had no fire, so when they ate meat,

pəmā    pəmā    nəm̄gāŋ    lě    dǎgāŋ    zīn    kə̀ì    tɕìwǎ,  
 woman    woman    sunlight    DAT    roast    LNK    eat    HS  
 the woman cooked (her meat) in the sun and ate it,

ləŋl̀à    ləŋl̀à    ək-tūŋ    kə̀ì    tɕìwǎ.  
 man    man    PREF-raw    eat    HS  
 but the man ate it raw (lit: 'ate raw ones').

əxī<sup>33</sup>    jup-jup    mənəŋ,  
 night    sleep-REDUP    follow  
 Every night, when it was time to sleep,

(əŋjī)    əl̀əŋ    d̄ɔ    d̄ɔŋ    sə̀kəm    d̄ɔ  
 (3dl)    between    LOC    water.carrying.tube    lid.of.tube    LOC  
 in between them they would put water in a cup (the lid of a carrying tube)

<sup>31</sup> *tā* is not one of the usual demonstrative pronouns, but seems to have originally had such a meaning, and is now limited to certain idomatic phrases, such as this one. As *lōŋ* can mean 'river valley', this expression might mean 'that valley and that valley'. Cf. also the Rawang phrase *tāsəŋ tālē*, a phrase meaning 'to each other' used in reciprocals, where *səŋ* and *lē* are dative markers (LaPolla 2000).

<sup>32</sup> *lē* would also be possible here.

<sup>33</sup> Both *əxī* and *əxruī* are acceptable.

η̄āη ɪ̄ā z̄īn jip wǎ.  
 water put LNK sleep HS  
 of water and sleep.

sǎɪ̄āη dū-dū wā mǎnāη,  
 morning reach-REDUP ADV follow  
 In the morning,

η̄āη sǎkām ma-dǎgūl bē ɕǔ,  
 water lid.of.tube NEG-move LNK still  
 that cup of water wasn't moved (no one moved the cup),

tāl lāi āη, tāl lāi āη dō lā sǎ-ɪ̄āη-ɕǔ<sup>34</sup> wǎ.  
 back side LOC back side LOC LOC naturally CAUS-sit-R/M HS  
 but it ended up behind them (moved itself).

əŋŋī cē kət cē kət lā ǎ-jip-ɕǔ wǎ.  
 3dl one time one time naturally PEF-sleep-R/M HS  
 The brother and sister ended up sleeping together unintentionally.

ǎxruī jip<sup>35</sup> mǎtɕò, ē-wā sǎmɔt tɕi wǎ,  
 night sleep prepare DEM-ADV swear(hope) HS  
 At night when they were preparing to sleep,

"ǎjūη ǎtsəη ǎŋjū ɪ̄ō bē,  
 1pl human seed put/leave LNK  
 they swore "If we are the seeds of human-kind,

η̄āη dǎgū wàη laʔ-ǎjū èmmū."  
 water nine CL let-flow EMPH  
 let nine rivers flow."

<sup>34</sup>Here there is a tone change on *ràη* 'sit' because of the addition of the reflexive/middle marker.

<sup>35</sup>Both *jup* and *jip* are acceptable.

sǎiṁṁ dū mǎnēṁ,  
 morning reach follow  
 When the morning came,

ḡēsēṁ<sup>36</sup> dǎḡù wàṅ ṅāṅ ǎḡù tɛ̀ìwǎ.<sup>37</sup>  
 really nine CL water flow HS  
 nine rivers really did flow.

ǎḡà mǎnēṁ nǔ ē-wā ḡwǎ? wǎ,  
 that follow TOP DEM-ADV say HS  
 Therefore they said,

"ǎḡùṅ lā ḡǎmū nəm lā tǎ  
 1pl god (name) heaven god AGT

ǎtsəṅ ǎḡù ṁ ḡē mū."  
 human seeds put/leave NOM+be EMPH  
 "We are the human seeds left by the god of heaven ḡǎmū."

ē-wā ḡwǎ? zīn mōwǎ? wà tɛ̀ìwǎ.  
 DEM-ADV say LNK husband.and.wife do HS  
 Saying like this they then became husband and wife.

əḡṅī mōwǎ? wà tūm,  
 3dl husband.and.wife do after  
 After the two became husband and wife,

ǎktɛ̀əl ləḡlà dǎḡù ɲǎ? pǎmā dǎḡù ɲǎ? ð: tɛ̀ìwǎ.  
 child boy nine CL girl nine CL do HS  
 they gave birth to nine boys and girls.

ǎḡà ǎktɛ̀əl pūṅ ṅī nēṅ,  
 that children eldest.boy and eldest.girl  
 Those children (paired off) with the oldest boy marrying the oldest girl,

<sup>36</sup> *tāmā* could be used here instead of *ḡēsēṅ*.

<sup>37</sup> *rì* could be used in place of *tɛ̀ì* here, to show that the action happened at night.

cīn                      ɲī    ɲēn,  
 second.eldest.boy    and    second.eldest.girl

cùlcùl                  mōwa?                  wà                  wǎ.  
 one.after.another    husband.and.wife    do                  HS  
 the second boy marrying the second girl, etc.

mǎlì    ǎ-tòn                  ma?    bē,  
 place    PREF-divide                  RECIP    LNK  
 When it was time to divide up (go to) different places,

pǎcīn                  ǎ-sāi                  ma?    wǎ.  
 heart/liver    PREF-spicy                  RECIP    HS  
 they were jealous of each other.

ǎjà    mǎnēη    nū,    tǎlī    ap    dǎdǎm    ma?    zū:ɿ    tɕìwǎ.  
 that    follow    TOP    bow    shoot    compete    RECIP    CAUSE    HS  
 Therefore (the parents) had them compete in shooting the bow.

tǎlī    ap    bē,  
 bow    shoot    LNK  
 When they shot the bows,

pūη                  ɲī    nēη                  (tǎ)    tɕē    tǎi                  ǎtù                  tɕìwǎ.  
 eldest.boy    and    eldest.girl    AGT    only    very(big)    accurate    HS  
 only Pung(eldest boy) and Nang(eldest girl) shot accurately.

ǎjà    mǎnēη,    pūη                  ɲī    nēη  
 that    follow    eldest.boy    and    eldest.girl  
 Therefore the oldest

jà                  mǎlì                  wà:l                  wǎ.  
 Chinese    place    allocate/divide    HS  
 were given (sent to) the Chinese area.



tǎ̀r̀ùŋ tǎ tǎŋɔ̄l zū:-zū,  
 Dulong AGT walking.stick make-REDUP  
 the Dulong made a walking stick (and said),

"ǎ̀g̀d̀ mǎ̀g̀ù jà lɑʔ-ē" (gʷʔ z̄ɪn) ḡr̄u:ŋ wǎ.  
 1sg horse this let-be say LNK say HS  
 "Let this be my horse." he said.

tǎ̀r̀ùŋ mǎ̀l̀i ǎ̀jà n̄u,<sup>39</sup> mǎ̀g̀ù m̀àl ḡē tɕìwǎ.  
 Dulong place that TOP horse NEG+have NOM+be HS  
 Therefore the Dulong place is one without horses.

tǎ̀r̀ùŋ d̄ɔ̄ ɹ̀ŋ ḡu  
 Dulong LOC exist/sit NOM  
 Since the Dulong place is lived in

kwēn n̄ɪ cǎŋ ē mǎ̀nǎŋ,  
 third.eldest.boy and third.eldest.girl be follow  
 by the third oldest,

"cǎ̀kk̄ɹ̀i l̄ŋ" l̄ɑ:n tɕìwǎ.  
 third.eldest river.valley called HS  
 it is called "cǎ̀kk̄ɹ̀i l̄ŋ" ("third eldest river valley").

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<sup>39</sup>tē could be used here instead of n̄u to more clearly show the causation ('because of this').

## Abbreviations

1-, 2-, 3-	1st, 2nd, and 3rd person possessive prefixes
ABL	ablative marker
ADV	adverbial marker
AGT	agentive marker
CAUS	causative prefix
CAUSE	causative auxiliary verb
CL	numeral classifier
DAT	dative/allative marker; used for 'anti-agentive' marking, i.e. to mark animate monotransitive patient arguments and dative arguments.
EMPH	emphatic tone of voice marker
EXT	verbal action extent marker (the element before the marker is the extent reached by the verbal action)
HS	hearsay marker; in the traditional stories it is used on almost every complete clause, and could be translated as "It is said that ...", but I have left it untranslated
INST	instrumental marker (same form as agentive)
LNK	linker (links two clauses or discourse segments)
LOC	locative and temporal marker
NEG	negative prefix
NF	non-first-person actor marker; marks a situation where a speech act participant is mentioned in the clause, but the speaker is not the actor
NOM	nominalizer
NS	numeral substitute (used with classifier when no numeral present)
PREF	intransitivizing prefix; with a non-singular actor it gives the verb a reciprocal sense
PURP	purposive marker (marks purpose of action — same form as dative)
RECIP	optional postverbal reciprocal marker ( <i>ma?</i> )
REDUP	reduplication of verb to show completed action (if dynamic verb) or intensification or adverbialization (if stative verb); with nouns and interrogative pronouns reduplication has a distributive sense
R/M	reflexive/middle marker; often used for intransitivizing transitive verbs
RP	optional reduplication particle
RQ	rhetorical question marker
TOP	topic marker
WH	interrogative pronoun

Chinese code-mixing/loan words are in bold. I have kept some of the phonetic variation found in the original transcription, such as having both  $\varepsilon?w\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{\varepsilon}w\bar{a}$  for '(in) this way',  $n\check{a}$  and  $n\bar{u}$  for the topic marker (which is also used at the end of clauses, and so sometimes glossed as "LNK", and  $b\bar{\varepsilon}$  and  $b\bar{\varepsilon}i$  for the ubiquitous linking particle. There are also a few cases of morphophonemic

sandhi variation, such as the change from nasal to voiceless stop (e.g. the prefix /əŋ-/ > [ək-] when followed by a voiceless stop; /kām/ 'bamboo' > [kap] in *kap-ka?* 'bamboo strip').

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