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Dulong Texts: Seven Fully Analyzed Narrative and Procedural Texts¹

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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.

Contents

How to Make Wine.....	2
How to Make Brewer's Yeast.....	8
How to Make a Trap	13
How to Make a Crossbow	16
Why Monkeys Steal Human Food	21
The Story of Why Dogs Have Long Tongues and Can't Talk.....	23
The Story of Nisham, the Flood, and the Creation of the Different Peoples	31
Abbreviations.....	43
References	44

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: bǎ 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 lǎ tǎŋmā 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.

tsǎŋmā 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 tɕǎŋ gū.²
 one wine.container fill NOM
 one that can hold a whole wine-container's worth.

²tɕǎŋ is an alternate form of ǎtɕǎŋ:

ɟa?	ɟūŋ	dǎ	ǎŋdzā	ǎŋī	cī	ǎtɕǎŋ.
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,

χɪɔ̃l səŋdū-ɪɔ̃³ 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 ɣuʔ bəi,
 DEM-ADV⁴ 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

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

⁴ēwā 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,⁵
 a.little warm time
 when the (rice) is still a little warm,

ǎjà pǎlā zā:ŋ ɕǎn,⁶ 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 lā⁷ 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,

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

⁶While 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!

⁷First 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 x.ɪǎməi lě,
 that upper.part.of.fire.area DAT
 on/towards the upper part of the fire area,

ē-wā təŋməi ɕwɪp ɔ:-ǎ nǔ.
 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? tǎ⁸
 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.

⁸This 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 j̄ɪḡɔ̄j̄ɛ̄,
 one week ADV one.month
 one week, one month,

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

cē ɕ̄ɪntɕiʔ tǎ j̄ɪḡɔ̄j̄ɛ̄ 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?)

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

bāndā lā:m-lā:m⁹ nũ,
 barnyard.millet dry.in.sun+1pl-REDUP LNK
 we dry the barnyard millet in the sun,

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

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

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

tǎtǎi dzup χɿɛ? kǎ:ɿ-kǎ:ɿ nũ.
 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,

⁹*lā:m* = *sə-kām* [CAUS-dry].

ɣà 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 ǎja? ē nũ,
 millet grain that be LNK
 that is millet grain,

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

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

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

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

ǎjà ē nũ ǎtsǎŋ kǎi sā pǎlɛ? wā tǎŋdũŋ na:ì 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.

ǎjà 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).

εʔ-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 guʔ.
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 k̄m mǎnēŋ nǔ,
that even.more dry follow TOP
when it is more dry,

nəŋgəm t̄ŋ-m̄i j̄uŋ dǎ ð:-ǎ nǔ,
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 ɕǔ ts̄ŋm̄a ð: ḡē.
that also clean do+1pl NOM+be
That we also have to make clean.

əŋtsì mǎnēŋ ɪ̄: gǔ nǔ,
bran(flour) COM place/put+1pl NOM LNK
We put (hang) the flour and (the yeast cakes) together,

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

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

ǎjà cà mǎnēŋ nǔ,
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 mǎnə̃ŋ ǎjǎ,
 even.more become follow that
 after another stretch of time,

ǎjǎ pɿp dzǎn ̀:
 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 kə̃.rwā 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 ̀ tsə̃i 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 ǎkko? cə̀ juuk-juuk,
 string thick(round) piece(CL.for.rope) become twist+1pl-REDUP
 (and) make it into a thick rope,

(tsit) cē lāi ɔ̄ŋ kām tǎ zū (gǔ) tsit-kǎla? 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 lāi ɔ̄ŋ nārtcū zū,
 one side LOC loop make
 on the other end make a loop,

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

jū kùŋ dǎ tsən 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 tōpā 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 lāi]¹⁰ ɔ̄ŋ mɾə̄ŋ-mɾə̄ŋ 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 lāi]¹¹ ɔ̄ŋ, cē tçu? 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,

¹⁰çā gwē:ɿ sā lāi is the side with the loop (*nārtcū*). Later in this line the reduplication changes the tone on the second token of *mɾə̄ŋ* 'long'.

¹¹tə̄ŋ sā lāi is the side with the *tsit kə̄la?* 'string holder'.

tōɪpā lě gwē:i,
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, jəl 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 ǎŋiām 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.iām" lā:n gū sǎ.à, ǎjà kaptɕē mǎdəm dǎ iō:,
called NOM thing that crossbar above LOC put/place+1pl
a thing called "g.iām", on top of the crossbar,

ǎjà ē, nītcīn tǎ maʔ-ǎ-jǎŋ¹² 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 mǎnǎŋ,
 cover finish afterward
 After covering it,

tsit ǎŋmukwǎŋ tǎ-xruop-čǔ sǎ ǎ:-ǎ:.,
 string loop CAUS-meet-R/M NOM do+1pl-REDUP
 we make the string into a loop that can be pulled closed,

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

wǎ tōn mǎnǎŋ,
 do finish after
 After doing that,

jū kùŋ kō lǎi jā lǎi jì təp mǎl nǎ.ǎm 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

tānǎ kǎiwǎ zū sǎ
 crossbow how make NOM

told by Li Yaohua (nəwǎŋzǎr bǎzǐ)

tānǎ zū sǎ,
 crossbow make NOM
 The making of the crossbow,

¹²Here the verb *jǎŋ* '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.

tǎlī, tānā ǎkplāη, tǎkrōl,
 bow(part.of.crossbow) crossbow body.of.bow trigger
 is composed of (making) the bow, the body, the trigger,

tǐdān, tǎlət tǎ zū gē.
 string holder string INST make NOM+be
 the string, and the string holder.

tǎlī nū sācūη rət-rət,
 bow TOP tree.used.to.make.bow cut-REDUP
 Having cut down the tree(wood) especially used to make crossbows,

nəηdǎgəm tɛ̀tɛ̀uη tɛ̀ ǎktsɛ? cā zɔ?-zɔ?.
 well(adv.) small only strip become shave-REDUP
 use a knife to cut the tree trunk into a smaller strip.

nəηdǎgəm cān gū cɔuk-kɔ? lō-lō,
 well(adv.) straight NOM tree-CL(straight.piece) find/look.for-REDUP
 Find a straight piece of wood,

tǎlī dūη dǔ cɔuk-tshɛ? tǎ sān-sān,
 bow middle LOC tree-CL(flat.piece) INST support.the.bottom-REDUP
 using a flat piece of wood to support the bottom of the middle part of the bow,

kō lāi jà lāi ǎjà cɔuk-kɔ? lǎ ǎxrək.
 that side that side that tree-CL(straight.piece) DAT fasten+1pl
 we fasten the straight piece of wood to the two sides of the bow.

ǎjà ē, ləkpā lǎ ɔ:
 that be steam DAT cook+1pl
 After that, we use steam to cook it.

ɔ: tōn mǎnāη, xrūmə̀ì dō lā:m.
 cook finish follow fireplace.rack LOC dry(vt.)+1pl
 After we have finished cooking it, we dry it on the rack over the cooking stove.

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 ǎŋ¹³ 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

¹³ *dǎ* could be used here instead of *ǎŋ*.

kǎ̀təl-təl nəm̃gāŋ dō lā:m.
hang-REDUP sunshine LOC dry(vt.)+1pl
to hang it to dry in the sun.

kām mǎnāŋ, tǎlī lě pǎdā:m-dā:m,
dry follow bow DAT compare+1pl-REDUP
When it is dry, we make it the same (length) as the bow,

kō lāi jà lāi tǎ-tsək.
that side that side(=both sides) CAUS-be.around+1pl
(then) make a noose at each end.

tǎlət zū tōn mǎnāŋ, tǎlī lē gwē:i.
string make finish follow bow DAT fasten+1pl
When the string is done, we fasten it to the bow.

tǎlət ǎdūŋ-dūŋ dō tɕi:tchūŋ tsǎi tǎ tǎ-tsək.
string middle-REDUP LOC small thread INST CAUS-be.around+1pl
In the (exact) middle of the string, we wrap another little string around it to protect it.

tānā zū tōn mǎnāŋ, nəŋdǎgəm ǎtù ā jà:ŋ¹⁴.
crossbow make finish follow well(adv.) accurate Q look(try)+1pl
When the crossbow is done, we test it to see if it is accurate.

dǎmā nǚ tǎi tɕi:zəŋ gǚ kām rət-rət,
arrow TOP very(big) hard NOM bamboo cut.down+1pl-REDUP
For the arrow, having cut down a very hard bamboo,

ǎŋŋāi-ǎŋŋāi kəp-kə?zū:.
half-REDUPbamboo-CL(strip) make+1pl
we make strips by cutting the bamboo in half.

ǎjà ē, xǚmǎi dǎ dǎjək,
that be rack.over.the.cooking.stove LOC smoke+1pl
After that, we smoke it on the fireplace rack.

¹⁴ *ap* 'shoot' would also be possible here.

mǎnū-nǔ cǎ mǎnēη,
 long.period.of.time-REDUP pass(become) follow
 After a long time,

kap-ka? tɛ̀ɪtɛ̄uη-tɛ̀ɪtɛ̄uη ηā:i-ηā:i,
 bamboo-CL(strip) small-REDUP cut.into.small.pieces+1pl-REDUP
 we cut the bamboo strips into smaller strips,

dəkɛ̄i tǎ kut. kut tōn mǎnēη,
 small.knife INST shave shave finish follow
 then shave them with a small knife. After shaving them,

nəηdǎgəm sǎ-tū:, ǎjǎ ē, ǎkɛ̄ukām tǎ,
 well(adv.) CAUS-straight+1pl that be fresh.bamboo INST
 we make them straight, and then use fresh bamboo to make something like
 wings,

kācēɪ zū-zū sǎpək.
 wing make-REDUP attach+1pl
 (and) attach the wings to the arrow.

Why monkeys steal human food

told by Li Yaohua (nəwāŋzàr bīāzì)

tɕā pāɪ ʔtsəŋ nāgɔʔ ɕɔlaʔ blakpaì tɕ ɔː¹⁵ 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 tɕ nāgɔʔ nəŋdǎgəm ɔː wa.
 monkey AGT baby well(adv.) work HS
 the monkey took good care of the baby.

"ǎ-pè ǎ-mè" gwʔ sɔ 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,

¹⁵Although 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.

ɕɔ̃lɑʔ kũr̩tā ʔtsə̀ŋ tɛ̃ tɔ̃r̩l 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 mǎnə̀ŋ blakpə̀i sǎnā sə̀i wà.
 only give HS that follow monkey nose spicy HS
 Because of this, the monkey became very angry.

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

blakpə̀i nǎkrɛʔ ʔjà mǎnə̀ŋ 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.

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

ʔtsə̀ŋ pǎɕīn dǔ mǎ-gəm¹⁶ wā cǎ tɕìwǎ.
 human heart/liver LOC NEG-good COMP become(suffer) HS
 the person felt bad.

ʔjà mǎnə̀ŋ blakpə̀i lɛ̃ ē-wā g.ɪũ:ŋ wǎ,
 that follow monkey DAT DEM-ADV say HS
 So the man said to the monkey,

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

"dēlā buktɕit bũŋɪām pē pā-səŋām ɪā" ɡɪu: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 mǎnəŋ nū ǎtsəŋ tībōŋ kū ɡē 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

dǎɡɪ təkca pǎlaɪ mǎŋ kā ɡu? təp məl ɡũ lǎjit
 dog why tongue long words say ability NEG+have NOM story

told by Li Yaohua (nəwāŋzà̀r bɪāzì)

tɕā pāɪ tɕā pāɪ nū, dǎɡɪ kā ɡu? sō tɕiwǎ.
 long.ago time long.ago time TOP dog words say know.how HS
 It is said long ago dogs knew how to talk.

bǎnɪbǎnā (ǎdūŋ) dǎ, kā ɡu? sō ɡũ¹⁷
 livestock middle LOC words say know.how NOM

dǎɡɪ ē tɕiwà.
 dog be HS

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

tɕā pǎɪ tɕā pǎɪ nū
 long.ago time long.ago time TOP

dǎɡɪ ɲɪ wa? ǎtsəŋ tǎ sū: ɡũ ē tɕiwǎ.
 dog and pig person AGT raise NOM be HS
 It is said long ago (a) dog and (a) pig were raised by (a) person.

¹⁷It would be possible to use *nū* instead of *ɡũ* 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 nəmɰāŋ-nəmɰāŋ
 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-rǎnā¹⁸ (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.

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

ǎxɿɿ̀ lɔʔ tsɔt¹⁹ dū mǎnəŋ nū,
 night return time arrive follow TOP

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

dǎgī māl tɛē ǎblən gū²⁰ 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 dǎ 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")

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

²⁰It 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

ǎnī²¹ 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.²²

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.

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

²² *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 sə̃làn-làn,
 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-kàn 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,

wɑ? nǔ nəm-ǎxruī xre? nitɕhɔ? gūl-(lē)-gūl
 pig TOP heaven-evening EXT tail move-RP²³-REDUP

ǎmā wà wǎ, wɑ? 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 mā-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 mā-guʌ?-guʌ?
 DEM-ADV DEM-LNK also word NEG-say-REDUP
 He didn't say anything about this.

²³ 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-gèŋ, 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 tɛ̀iwǎ,
 (name) named have/exist HS
 there lived a person named "Nisham".²⁴

əj̀à niçàm nū zē.ɪ kuʔ sō, nìtɕoʔ kuʔ kō tɛ̀iwǎ.
 that (name) TOP fly also know.how tail also grow HS
 That Nisham could fly and had a tail.

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

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

əŋzā laktā ŋə̀ lě cūŋzūŋ lě
 food pot above DAT tree DAT
 he would take the pot up a tree

tə̀cū:ɪ zīn kā:i²⁵ wǎ,
 snatch LNK eat HS
 and eat it,

pəmā kǎiā-kǎiā də̀g.àŋ cūŋzūŋ lě ruɸ zīn ̀: (tɛ̀i)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.

əj̀à mə̀nəŋ nū, ətsəŋ sə̀-dū-dū-cū²⁶
 that follow TOP human CAUS-get.together-REDUP- R/M
 Therefore, the people got together

²⁴Also called *nimuçəm*.

²⁵ *kə̀i* would also be possible here.

²⁶ *tə̀x.iūm-tə̀x.iūm-cū* 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 come²⁷
 "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 dũ 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 dũ bē sət təi,
 one (unit of measure of distance) reach LNK the.more big
 it got bigger and bigger,

²⁷ *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.

pǎtçhu? 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!",

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

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

cìzìn ὴāη tǎ ɕũ ē-lē dū:²⁸ wǎ.
 flood.water water AGT also DEM-DAT reach HS
 The flood water also reached there.

ə̀ηɲī nām lǔηbu? dō ɪ̀ə̀η wǎ.
 3dl brother.and.sister cliff.side LOC sit HS
 The brother and sister sat at the bottom of a cliff.

cìzìn ὴāη tǎ ə̀ηɲī nām ɪ̀ə̀η lǎ
 flood.water water AGT 3dl brother.and.sister sit DAT

tsēnmà cē təp tǎ tɕē mǎ-dū: wǎ.
 batten²⁹ 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.

ǎtsə̀η mǎnə̀η ǎxɪap ɡũ bũ ku? cē zūm ē tɕìwǎ.
 human COM(follow) arrive NOM snake also one pair be HS
 There was a pair of snakes that went with the humans.

ǎjà bũ ὴāη 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,

²⁸ xɪap 'arrive' would be possible here instead of *dū*.

²⁹ 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 lō³⁰ 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.

³⁰ *lā* would also be possible here.

tālōŋ³¹ tālōŋ nū³² lā lě jì bē ɕū,
 that.way that.way TOP look.for PURP go LNK also
 They each went their own way to look,

əxrūī-əxrūī ɔlɔ? ədū-jī təx.rum ma? wà.
 night-REDUP again self-dl get.together RECIP HS
 and then came back together each night.

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

pəmā pəmā nəmgāŋ lě dǎgāŋ zīn kəi tɕiwǎ,
 woman woman sunlight DAT roast LNK eat HS
 the woman cooked (her meat) in the sun and ate it,

ləŋlā ləŋlā ək-tūŋ kəi tɕiwǎ.
 man man PREF-raw eat HS
 but the man ate it raw (lit: 'ate raw ones').

əxī³³ juɔp-juɔp mənəŋ,
 night sleep-REDUP follow
 Every night, when it was time to sleep,

(əŋjī) ələn dō dōŋ səkəm dō
 (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)

³¹ *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).

³² *lē* would also be possible here.

³³ Both *əxī* and *əxrūī* 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-ɕǔ³⁴ wǎ.
 back side LOC back side LOC LOC naturally CAUS-sit-R/M HS
 but it ended up behind them (moved itself).

əηɲī 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.

ǎxɪwī jip³⁵ mǎtɕò, ē-wā sǎmɔt tɕi wǎ,
 night sleep prepare DEM-ADV swear(hope) HS
 At night when they were preparing to sleep,

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

η̄āη dǎgù wàη laʔ-ǎjù èmmū."
 water nine CL let-flow EMPH
 let nine rivers flow."

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

³⁵Both *jup* and *jip* are acceptable.

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

ḡēsēṁ³⁶ dǎḡù wàṅ ṅāṅ ǎḡù tɛ̀ìwǎ.³⁷
 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 ṁṁ 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.

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

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

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

³⁶ *tāmā* could be used here instead of *ḡēsēṅ*.

³⁷ *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.

cīn nī nēn
 second.eldest.boy and second.eldest.girl
 The second oldest,

məkpə̀i mə̀li (lē) wā:l wǎ.
 Tibetan place DAT allocate/divide HS
 were given (sent to) the Tibetan area.

tǎ̀r̀uŋ mə̀li,
 Dulong place
 The Dulong area,

kwēn nī cāŋ ē tɕiwǎ.
 third.eldest.boy and third.eldest.girl be HS
 was (given to) the third oldest.

mānzū ǎ-tòŋ ma? bē,
 song PREF-divide RECIP LNK
 When they divided up the songs,

jà nī məkpə̀i tǎ jūŋ (tǎ) tək tɕiwǎ.
 Chinese and Tibetan AGT bag INST collect HS
 the Chinese and the Tibetans used bags to get their share.

tǎ̀r̀uŋ tǎ tǎ̀r̀uŋ (tǎ) tək tɕiwǎ.
 Dulong AGT type.of.basket INST collect HS
 The Dulong used a basket with holes to get the songs (and they came out).

tǎ̀r̀uŋ tē ǎjà nū³⁸ mānzū mǎ-sō: wǎ.
 Dulong AGT that TOP song NEG-know.how HS
 So the Dulong don't know how to sing (don't know any songs).

mǎgù ǎ-tòŋ ma? bē,
 horse PREF-divide RECIP LNK
 When (they) divided up the horses (among themselves),

³⁸ *tē* could be used here instead of *nū* to more clearly show the causation ('because of this').

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 mǎ̀lì ǎ̀jà n̄u,³⁹ mǎ̀g̀ù m̀l̄ ḡē tɕìwǎ.
 Dulong place that TOP horse NEG+have NOM+be HS
 Therefore the Dulong place is one without horses.

tǎ̀r̀ùŋ d̄ɔ̄ r̀ŋ 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,

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

³⁹tē 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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