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 (ã) and falling (à), and a reduced tone which appears on unstressed syllables (ã). 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 unrepeated 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 Tsëng Yûlân (dû nà?)

nùu ò: bāì nà,
wine do+1pl LNK TOP
When we make wine,

ŋjà tāŋbōŋ tể cũu ò:,
that corn INST also do+1pl
we do it with corn,

dźài tể cũu ò:,
millet INST also do+1pl
we do it with millet

pōkā tể cũu ò:,
buckwheat INST also do+1pl
we do it with buckwheat

bōndū tể cũu ò:
barnyard.millet INST also do+1pl
we do it with barnyard millet.
When we make wine,

wine make NOM thing also oil NEG-stick NOM
the wine-making things, they can't have any oil on them.

We make it that they don't have any dried rice on them either,

oil NEG-stick
(and) no oil on them.

clean make+1pl-REDUP LNK
We make (them) clean.

If (we) want to make a lot of wine,

we make it in a big pot,

one that can hold a whole wine-container's worth.

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\(^2\)teŋŋ is an alternate form of ŋteŋŋ:

This bag can hold two catties.
If we only make a little,

(proper pot-pl make+1pl (then) we use the proper pots.

(for the material used for the wine) we (can) use (roughly) ground corn,
or we can use flour.

After we have done this,

that also DEM-ADV be that is also this way.

that cooked.meal make+1pl-REDUP winnowing.pan INST sprinkle+1pl
after we cook the rice, we sprinkle it with a winnowing pan.

cold-weather become LNK

---

3xā used as plural. Normally the LOC dō 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 ēlē '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,

tou? lūm pū,\(^5\)
a.little warm time
when the (rice) is still a little warm,

şi jà pōlā zā:ŋ cǐn,\(^6\) cē? that brewer's.yeast put.in+1pl EMPH RQ
we put in the brewer's yeast, no?

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

cūl bē lá\(^7\) 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 cū bē nə,

\(^5\)A zero pronoun is used here, even though the referent is not the immediate topic.
\(^6\)While somewhat similar in form, the emphatic particle cǐn is not the same particle as the simultaneous action marker zǐn; e.g.

\(^7\)First Township dialect bēlā 'only then' is equivalent to Third Township dialect bēlāŋ, mǎnlāŋ lá. Compare the First Township clause above with the following Third Township clause of the same meaning:

\[\text{cūl mǎnlāŋ lā zū:ŋ.}\]
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,

tceu? glāŋ tūm lā zāːŋ.
a.little cool after only.then put.in+1pl
we put the brewer's yeast in only after it is cool.

ējā xiōmәi lē,
that upper.part.of.fire.area DAT
on/towards the upper part of the fire area,

ē-wā tōŋmәi cuŋ ʔː-ʔ nũŋ.
DEM-ADV what grass do+1pl-REDUP LNK
in this way we put grass on top,

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

jö nūteŋ ʔoː? mōnŋŋ guʔ bāi,
this dregs drip follow say LNK
when the dregs drip down,

wūŋlū lē ʔː.
wine.container DAT do+1pl
(then) we put it in the wine container.

zūŋ-mōm ʔsūm ʔaʔ tē⁸
cold-weather three night ADV
in the winter only after three nights

lōŋ wūŋlū lē zāːŋ.
only.then wine.container DAT put.in+1pl
will we put it into the wine container.

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⁸This is an example of the INST marker used for a temporal adverbial phrase.
In the summertime, after one or two nights we put it in (the wine container).

After we put it into the wine container, one week, one month,
in a week or a month,

we can drink it.

Wine is made (by us) like this.

If it is not (done this way),
how only.then do+1pl HS
how would we make it?

**Making Brewer's Yeast**

told by Tsēng Yûlán (dû na?)

nùu nò ʂjù cûŋkà nùu, wine TOP that brewer's.yeast TOP
(For) wine, (the making of) that brewer's.yeast,

bàndô lâ:m-lâ:m⁹ nùu, barnyard.millet dry.in.sun+1pl-REDUP LNK
we dry the barnyard millet in the sun,

tɔtôi kâm gõ õ:-ŋ nûu. extremely dry NOM do+1pl-REDUP LNK
we make it very dry.

xaktaʔ dɔ kã:k bɔi cûu, stone.mortar LOC grind+1pl LNK also
We use a stone mortar to grind it,

tɔtôi dzùp xìŋ kã:k cûn. extremely fine EXT grind+1pl EMPH
(and) grind it until it is very fine.

tɔtôi dzùp xìŋ kã:k-kã:k nûu. extremely fine EXT grind+1pl-REDUP LNK
We grind it until it is very fine.

ʂjù wà pɔwaʔ mænŋ, that do/make about.to follow
When we are about to make the brewer's yeast,

⁹lâ:m = sɔ-kãm [CAUS-dry].
We clean the winnowing tray(s).

We make brewer's yeast for making wine,

That brewer's yeast, when that is done, we mold it into chunks the size of the cakes people eat.
that DEM-DAT LNK
that (brewer's yeast),

tcā püi tsŏwāl5η "tōcī" lā:n ēui.
long ago time Tsawal(Tibet) Tashi called+1pl NOM
long ago we called Tibet "Tashi".

tsŏwāl5η cukkā,
Tshawal(Tibet) brewer's yeast
Tibetan brewer's yeast,

cē tcū? cē tcū? ć-wā cukkā lē zā:η,
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,

ŋutši lē cē tcū? zā:η-zā:η,
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),

ŋka? lē ē?-wā ē?-wā kāl5η.
chunk DAT DEM-ADV DEM-ADV spread(paste)+1pl
we spread it on the ones made into cakes.

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

pōle? we? wā ə:.
cake piece ADV do+1pl
we make it into pieces.

šjā pōle? we? wā ə: tūm,
that cake pieces ADV do+1pl after
After we make it into cakes,

kātsī bēbō ʔdūŋ dō,
bran much middle LOC
we (put it) in the middle of a lot of bran (chaff).

εʔ-wā ʔō nū wā jō:,
DEM-ADV top wine ADV place/put+1pl
like this put it on top, like with wine.

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

sī? mānōŋ, kō lē jā lē pōk.
flavorful(fermented) follow that DAT this DAT turn.over+1pl
when it has flavor (when it has fermented), turn it over and over.

sī? mānōŋ,
flavorful(fermented) follow
When it has flavor (when it has fermented),

two night two night ADV turn.over+1pl
after two nights we turn it over.

jāktōŋnōm ʔjūi ja?,
winter two night
(Normally) in winter (we turn it) after two nights,

ʔzūnnōm cē ja? tē pōk.
hot.weather one night ADV turn.over+1pl
In the hot weather we turn it after one night.

ē-bē mō-pōk bē mō-gām wā gui?.
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.

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

After that, again,

After that, again,

When it is more dry,

When it is more dry,

We put it into a bag.

We put it into a bag.

(top) hang it on top (on the top part of the fireplace).

(top) hang it on top (on the top part of the fireplace).

That we also have to make clean.

That we also have to make clean.

We put (hang) the flour and (the yeast cakes) together,

We put (hang) the flour and (the yeast cakes) together,

(One week later) when it is done,
we call it "tɔxɔn:ŋ".

bag put/place

(Again) we put it in a bag.

DEM LNK that brewer's yeast

After that, that brewer's yeast,

even more become follow that

after another stretch of time,

that sprinkle EMPH wine

we sprinkle (the brewer's yeast) (into grain) to make it, wine.

How to Make a Trap

(treespring) trap how make NOM
told by Li Yaohua (nəwəŋzər bɔzì)

When making a trap, first the string is made.

To make the trap-string, we use a string made of hemp,
tsōi muktəi ṭkkə? cə juk-juk, string thick(round) piece(CL.for.rope) become twist+1pl-REDUP (and) make it into a thick rope,

(tsit) cə lai ɔŋ kəm tə zū (gū) tsit-kəla? sāpək, 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,

cə lai ɔŋ nātcū zū, one side LOC loop make on the other end make a loop,

tsit zū tōn mənəŋ, tāpā jət ɔjə tāpā, string make finish follow spring(bamboo) cut+1pl that spring when the string is done, we cut a bamboo spring,

jū kūn dō tsōn gū tōtcək-təcək. trap area LOC strong NOM stick(in.the.ground)+1pl-REDUP (and) stick the spring into the ground (of the trap area).

tsit tāpā mōtcūŋ ɔŋ gwē:i, 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 [cə gwē:i sā lai][10] ɔŋ mənə-mənə ɔzū, 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,

[təŋ sā lai][11] ɔŋ, cə tʃu? ɔzū gū sōpək 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,

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[10]cə gwē:r sā lai is the side with the loop (nātcū). Later in this line the reduplication changes the tone on the second token of mənə 'long'.
[11]təŋ sā lai is the side with the tsit kəla? 'string holder'.
that be soft(not.hard)-REDUP bamboo INST

that side that side ground DAT

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

spring end(edge) LOC below pull(down)+1pl-REDUP (and) pull down one end of the spring,

string-holder that bow(shaped.object) DAT trap+1pl (and) trap the holder in the bow.

that be crossbar INST horizontal side string-holder

After that, we use the crossbar to trap the string holder into position.

After that, we place a thing woven out of bamboo strips,
"How to make a crossbow"

tānā  kāiwā  zū  sā

crossbow  how  make  NOM

told by Li Yaohua (nəwāنزər ɪəzì)

tānā  zū  sā,

crossbow  make  NOM

The making of the crossbow,

\(^{12}\)Here the verb ḟəŋ '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.
tidlí, tānā ŝkplāŋ, ĭkräšl,
bow(part.of.crossbow) crossbow body.of.bow trigger
is composed of (making) the bow, the body, the trigger,

tidān, tōlē tē zū gē.
string holder string INST make NOM+be
the string, and the string holder.

tidlí nū sācūŋ rēt-rēt,
bow TOP tree.used.to.make.bow cut-REDUP
Having cut down the tree(wood) especially used to make crossbows,

nāndgām tējčūŋ tē īktse? cā zo?-zo?.
well(adv.) small only strip become shave-REDUP
use a knife to cut the tree trunk into a smaller strip.

nāndgām cān gū ĩuk-kō? lā-lā,
well(adv.) straight NOM tree-CL(straight.piece) find/look.for-REDUP
Find a straight piece of wood,

tidlí dūŋ dō ĩuk-tsē? tē 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 jā lāi ījā ĩuk-kō? lē īxrak.
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.

įjā ē, lēk̄ā lē 5:
that be steam DAT cook+1pl
After that, we use steam to cook it.

5: tān mānāŋ, xūmāi dū 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.
After finishing the body part of the crossbow, 

On one side, having drawn the shape of a bow, we use a small knife to bore a small hole.

After having bored a small hole, we slowly fit the bow into the hole.

Then use bone to make the string holder and trigger.

To make the bow string, we soak hemp well in water and then rub it (roll it into string).

After rubbing it, we use something heavy.
to hang it to dry in the sun.

When it is dry, we make it the same (length) as the bow.

(then) make a noose at each end.

When the string is done, we fasten it to the bow.

In the (exact) middle of the string, we wrap another little string around it to protect it.

When the crossbow is done, we test it to see if it is accurate.

For the arrow, having cut down a very hard bamboo,

we make strips by cutting the bamboo in half.

After that, we smoke it on the fireplace rack.

14 *ap* 'shoot' would also be possible here.
mǎnū-nū cā mǎnḗŋ, long.period.of.time-REDUP pass(become) follow
After a long time,

kāp-kā́ tḛtɕúŋ-tḛtɕúŋ ŋā́i-ŋā́i, bamboo-CL(strip) small-REDUP cut.into.small.pieces+1pl-REDUP
we cut the bamboo strips into smaller strips,

dokcī tē kut. kut tōn māně́ŋ, small.knife INST shave shave finish follow
then shave them with a small knife. After shaving them,

nāndōg̊m sō-tū:, ōjā ē, ŋkčūkām tē, well(adv.) CAUS-straight+1pl that be fresh.bamboo INST
we make them straight, and then use fresh bamboo to make something like wings,

kācē zū-zū sōpāk. wing make-REDUP attach+1pl
(and) attach the wings to the arrow.
Why monkeys steal human food

told by Li Yaohua (นəwənʒər bəjəzì)

Long ago monkeys took care of babies for people.

During the day, the child's parents could go to work the field without having to worry (about the child).

The crop grew very well,

The monkey took good care of the baby.

It did this up to the time (the baby) could say "Mommy and Daddy".

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.
The person only gave a quiver lid full of payment (not money).

Because of this, the monkey became very angry.

Therefore, the monkey's rear end doesn't grow hair.

So the man said to the monkey,

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16 əçì 'spirit of a dead person' would also be possible instead of mō-göm.
"dēlā buktcit būmjūm pē pū-sënhūm rā" gū:ŋ wū.  
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)."

ijkl tūm,  
that after  
After that,

blākprā ejā mānūŋ nū ūtsōŋ tābōŋ kū gū wū.  
monkey that follow TOP human grain steal NOM+be HS  
monkeys steal grain from humans.

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

dōgī tākū pōlai mūŋ kā gu? tōp mōl gū lājīt  
dog why tongue long words say ability NEG+have NOM story

told by Li Yaohua (nōwānʒər bāzì)

tō pū tō pū nū, dōgī kā gu? sō tɕiwā.  
long.ago time long.ago time TOP dog words say know.how HS  
It is said long ago dogs knew how to talk.

bōnībōnā (sōduŋ) dō, kā gu? sō gū¹⁷  
livestock middle LOC words say know.how NOM

dōgī e tɕiwà.  
dog be HS  
It is said among the livestock the one that knew how to talk was the dog.

tō pū tō pū nū  
long.ago time long.ago time TOP

dōgī nī wā? ūtsōŋ tē sū: gū ĕ tɕiwā.  
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 gū here.
The master did not say anything to the dog or the pig (i.e., he was satisfied with their work, and)

gave them food (fed them well) morning and night.

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

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

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

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18Here there is a tone change (< rənà) because of the addition of the negative prefix.
At night, when it was time to return, the dog would leave his footprints in the field where the pig had worked.

When the pig finished working the field and was tired and resting, the dog would first go home and at night would deceive the master (saying):

"3-kàŋ! lâmbrɔ? wa?, àŋ nüu cɛ mì cɛ mì
1-master friend pig 3sg TOP one day one day

šmà tɛm dɔ mìp.
field edge LOC sleep

šgà nüu šmà wɔŋ ðɛn mɔ-ðɛn àŋ tɛ mɔ-sì:."
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")

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19 The expression *tɔt* ṣŋzi 'time' or the nominalizer *sà* could be used here instead of *tɔt*.

20 It would be possible to use the topic marker *nùu* instead of *gù* here.
The dog deceived his master in this way.

The master thought about this for a while/well,

"I haven't gone to the field,

I can't say on the basis of one person's word who is right and who is wrong,

This way, when the dog talks like this, the master

won't be biased towards either of them.

After that, the master went to secretly spy on them.

\[21 \text{ which CL(person) eye big ADV NEG-see HS} \]

\[22 \text{ ne? tài jàn, literally "eye big see" is a metaphor for 'have a bias'.} \]
In the morning after he fed each of them well and gave food, the master went to the field.

He went behind them to spy on them.

The master went to the field.

The first day, the pig worked from morning until night in the field, wagging his tail, and didn't slack off.

(The master) did not see the dog in the field.

He didn't say anything about this.

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23  lê (~ lê) is an optional reduplication particle (RP). In this clause the verb wət 'wag' could also have been used, i.e. wət-lê-wət.
Before the dog and pig arrived,

he quickly returned to the house,

he made the food and gave it to the dog and pig equally (the same to each).

In the evening the dog, as before, said to the master,

"You are giving the pig food for nothing, as he doesn't work."

You have a good heart but he doesn't know it (doesn't appreciate it)."

The master still didn't say anything about this,

he only looked one time, (so) he wasn't sure.
After spying on them several times,

(he found) it was the dog who was lying.

It was only the pig who was really working.

In the daytime the dog slackened off,

and every night returned first and lied to the master.

The pig didn't know how to talk,

but the dog knew how to talk.

This way, the master first gave them the same food.

Later, the master said to the dog:
"tôn nà tông cù mē-gui? ̀l,
now 2sg what also NEG+NF-say IMP
"Now don't you say anything.

n乙肝 kông kà gui? pǒwōη,
2-master word say will+1sg
your master (I) want to talk.

tôn nà pă cù pâ?-ôgà:, dèn cù ǹi-dèn,
now 2sg belly also NF-full(of.food) tired also NF-tired
Now your stomach is full and you are tired,

jà dơ pă-ránhà ǹm, nǐgən̄ pǒ-ga:î,
this LOC IMP-rest POL mouth IMP-open
come here and rest, and open your mouth.

nà pǒlai jèn jūn̄", ǹ-wâ gũu:i môn̄n̄j,
2sg tongue see want+1sg DEM-ADV say follow
I want to see your tongue." He said like this.

dăgī nĩgən̄ ga:i-gaî (zĩn) pǒlai zú: pău,
dog mouth open-open LNK tongue stick.out time
When the dog opened his mouth and stuck out his tongue,

ĕk-kông tể pǒlai cà:l-cà:l,
3-master AGT tongue pull-REDUP
The master pulled it,

dăgī lê ǹ-wâ gũu:i wă, "nį-jù:n̄ bĕ,
dog DAT like.this say HS NF-see LNK
He said to the dog like this: "If you look at it,

nà ǹlăzā să-să wă mă-cà jùm,
2sg lie know-how-REDUP COMP NEG-become seem
It seems like you don't know how to lie,
this tongue you use this tongue to lie (to me),
this tongue this tongue is of no use to you.
If you didn't have this tongue,
you might work well."
the dog's tongue was long,
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 (ɲəwāŋzù bèŋzì)

Long ago, in a human village
There lived a person named "Nisham".  

That Nisham could fly and had a tail.

Nisham didn't allow the people to eat their food, just as they were about to eat their food, he would take the pot up a tree and eat it.

Therefore, the people got together.

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24 Also called *nimucöm*.
25 *kāi* would also be possible here.
26 *tɔxjüm-tɔxjüm-cīu* would also be possible here.
They invited Nisham into the house,

and said from below the house,

"3-kúu nicàm, nitcə? pū-cà:m əət."  
1-uncle (name) tail IMP-hang.down come27  
"Uncle Nisham, please hang your tail down."

When he hung his tail down, nine strong men pulled on it,

and from the doorway speared him with a pike.

After killing him, they threw Nisham's body into the water,

with each "teŋ" that it moved down the water,

it got bigger and bigger,

27 rət (or rə) 'come' also has the sense of making the imperative more polite.
Finally, it got to the place where there was no more water (where the water goes down),

finally below water without NOM place

and the body stopped up the water,

that follow water big HS

therefore the water got bigger.

At that time, a brother and sister

At that time, a brother and sister

mushroom picking,

as for the mushrooms,

the. more above DAT reach LNK the. more have HS

there were more and more the higher they went.

No matter what the basket wouldn't fill up.

The birds said "there's a flood, there's a flood!",

bird also water-flood-REDUP water-flood-REDUP say LNK

The birds said "there's a flood, there's a flood!",

mushroom DEM-LNK-TOPIC

as for the mushrooms,

No matter what the basket wouldn't fill up.
above DAT above DAT fly HS
and flew higher and higher.

dēlū, kōwākāpū mōli lē ṭpla? tćiwa.
later (place name) place DAT arrive HS
Finally, the people arrived at "kōwa kāpu".

c'izin nāŋ tē cū ē-lē dü:28 wā.
flood.water water AGT also DEM-DAT reach HS
The flood water also reached there.

òŋiĩ nōm lũŋbu? dē ḡōŋ wā.
l3dl brother.and.sister cliff.side LOC sit HS
The brother and sister sat at the bottom of a cliff.

c'izin nāŋ tē òŋiĩ nōm ḡōŋ lē
flood.water water AGT 3dl brother.and.sister sit DAT

tšēnmá cē tēp tē tće mō-dū: wā.
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.

òtsōŋ mōnŋ ɔx̂ap gū bū ku? cē zūm ē tćiwa.
human COM(follow) arrive NOM snake also one pair be HS
There was a pair of snakes that went with the humans.

ōjā būŋ ḡōŋ lē tcät lē ḅ bē,
that snake water DAT throw DAT do LNK
When the people were going to throw the snakes into the river,

28 x̂ap 'arrive' would be possible here instead of dü.
29 Board for packing threads on a loom.
"ʒiùŋ ni-tɕət bē,  
1pl NF-throw+1pl LNK
(The snakes said) "If you throw us into the river,

2pl also let-NEG+NF-exist pl DEM-ADV say HS
you won't live either." the snakes said.

bū  ʒjù mōnŋŋ øl gē tɕiwód.  
snake that follow exist NOM+be HS
Therefore snakes still exist.

ʒjù cizzìn cî dāgù mī dāgù jā? câ mōnŋŋ bət tɕiwód.  
that flood.water water nine day nine night become follow recede HS
The water receded after nine days and nights.

ʒjù mōnŋŋ,  əŋji n̥̄m  
that follow 3dl brother.and.sister
Then the brother and sister

jò  kĩŋŋ lē ətsəŋ lā lē lō? tɕiwód.  
below village DAT human look.for PURP return(vi.) HS
returned to the village to look for people.

kā-d5 kā-d5 lâ 30 bē cū, ətsəŋ mā-dāgù tɕiwód.  
WH-LOC WH-LOC look.for LNK also human NEG-have HS
Wherever they looked, there were no people.

30 lâ would also be possible here.
They each went their own way to look,

夜晚再次夜晚 again 自己 self-<情况下> get.together RECIP HS
and then came back together each night.

They had no fire, so when they ate meat,

木棒 木棒 妇女 woman 妇女 woman 阳光 sunlight DAT 烤 roast LNK 吃 eat HS
the woman cooked (her meat) in the sun and ate it,

但男子吃了 (它) raw (lit: 'ate raw ones').

Every night, when it was time to sleep,

在 between 水水容器水容器 water.carring.tube 筒 cap.of.carring.tube LOC
in between them they would put water in a cup (the lid of a carrying tube)

31 人大 is not one of the usual demonstrative pronouns, but seems to have originally had such a meaning, and is now limited to certain idiomatic phrases, such as this one. As 大哥 can mean 'river valley', this expression might mean 'that valley and that valley'. Cf. also the Rawang phrase 大哥 大哥, a phrase meaning 'to each other' used in reciprocals, where 大哥 and 大哥 are dative markers (LaPolla 2000).

32 大哥 would also be possible here.

33 Both 大哥 and 大哥 are acceptable.
water put LNK sleep HS of water and sleep.

morning reach-REDUP ADV follow
In the morning,

that cup of water wasn't moved (no one moved the cup),

but it ended up behind them (moved itself).

The brother and sister ended up sleeping together unintentionally.

At night when they were preparing to sleep,

they swore "If we are the seeds of human-kind,

let nine rivers flow."

34 Here there is a tone change on rəŋ 'sit' because of the addition of the reflexive/middle marker.
35 Both juup and jip are acceptable.
morning reach follow
When the morning came,

really nine CL water flow HS
nine rivers really did flow.

that follow TOP DEM-ADV say HS
Therefore they said,

"We are the human seeds left by the god of heaven Gãmû."

Saying like this they then became husband and wife.

After the two became husband and wife,

they gave birth to nine boys and girls.

Those children (paired off) with the oldest boy marrying the oldest girl,

36 tamâ could be used here instead of jësõŋ.
37 rì could be used in place of tcì here, to show that the action happened at night.
cūlcūl  mōwa?  wà  wǔ.

one.after.another  husband.and.wife  do  HS

the second boy marrying the second girl, etc.

dōn  mā?  bē,

place  PREF-divide  RECIP  LNK

When it was time to divide up (go to) different places,

pōcūn  ò-sōi  mā?  wǔ.

heart/liver  PREF-spicy  RECIP  HS

they were jealous of each other.

šjà  mānān  nū,  tōlī  ap  dādèm  mā?  zū:ĩ  tɕìwā.

that  follow  TOP  bow  shoot  compete  RECIP  CAUSE  HS

Therefore (the parents) had them compete in shooting the bow.

tōlī  ap  bē,

bow  shoot  LNK

When they shot the bows,

pūŋ  nī  nāŋ  (tě)  tɕē  tɕī  ūtū  tɕìwā.

eldest.boy  and  eldest.girl  AGT  only  very(big)  accurate  HS

only Pung(eldest boy) and Nang(eldest girl) shot accurately.

šjà  mānān,  pūŋ  nī  nāŋ

that  follow  eldest.boy  and  eldest.girl

Therefore the oldest

jù  mālī  wà:1  wǔ.

Chinese  place  allocate/divide  HS

were given (sent to) the Chinese area.
The second oldest, second.eldest.boy and second.eldest.girl were given (sent to) the Tibetan area.

The Dulong area, Dulong place were given (sent to) the Tibetan area.

The third oldest, third.eldest.boy and third.eldest.girl was (given to) the third oldest.

When they divided up the songs, Chinese and Tibetan AGT bag INST collect HS

The Dulongs used a basket with holes to get the songs (and they came out).

So the Dulongs don't know how to sing (don't know any songs).

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').
The Dulong made a walking stick (and said),

"Ωgò mògùò jà laʔ-ē" (guʔ! zìn) guùŋŋ wǎ.
1sg horse this let-be say LNK say HS
"Let this be my horse." he said.

Therefore the Dulong place is one without horses.

Since the Dulong place is lived in

"cəkkwaì ləŋ" lāːŋ tcìwǎ.
third.eldest river.valley called HS
it is called "cəkkʷaì ləŋ" ("third eldest river valley").

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[^39]: tē could be used here instead of nū 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 (ma?)
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 ēʔwā and ēwā for '(in) this way', nō and niū for the topic marker (which is also used at the end of clauses, and so sometimes glossed as "LNK", and bē and bōi 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 /ŋ/- > [k-] when followed by a voiceless stop; /kām/ 'bamboo' > [kap] in kap-ka? 'bamboo strip').

References


