

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 (ā) and falling (à), and a reduced tone which appears on unstressed syllables (ǎ). 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 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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Contents	
Abbreviations	2
How to Make Wine	3
How to Make Brewer's Yeast	8
How to Make a Trap	13
How to Make a Crossbow	16
Why Monkeys Steal Human Food	19
The Story of Why Dogs Have Long Tongues and Can't Talk	21
The Story of Nisham, the Flood, and the Creation of the Different Peoples	28
References	36

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 (mā?)
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 $\epsilon?w\bar{a}$ and $\bar{\epsilon}w\bar{a}$ 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 $b\bar{\epsilon}$ and $b\bar{\imath}$ 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').

How to Make Wine

told by Tsēng Yùlán (dū nd?)

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

ǎjà tǎŋbōŋ tǎ cǔ ò:,
 that corn INST also do+1pl
 we do it with corn,

dzāi tǎ cǔ ò:,
 millet INST also do+1pl
 we do it with millet

pǎkā tǎ cǔ ò:,
 buckwheat INST also do+1pl
 we do it with buckwheat

bāndā tǎ cǔ 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 sǎ̀à cǔ tǎmǎi mǎ-dǎp 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 ǎcu? mǎ-dǎp gū ò: cǎn,
 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,

tǎmǎi mǎ-dǎp.
 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,

çəptɑ? pɔ̃n dɔ̃ ɔː,
 cooking.pot big LOC make+1pl
 we make it in a big pot,

cē wàŋlū tɕə̃ŋ gũ.²
 one wine.container fill NOM
 one that can hold a whole wine-container's worth.

ē-bě tɕu?tɕu? ɔː bə̃i nə̃,
 DEM-LNK a.little make+1pl LNK TOP
 If we only make a little,

χɪɔ̃l sə̃ŋdū-ɪɔ̃³ ɔː.
 proper pot-pl make+1pl
 (then) we use the proper pots.

ə̃jɑ̃ tāŋbɔ̃ŋ ə̃ŋçɛt tɛ̃ cǔ ɔː,
 that corn grounds INST also make+1pl
 (for the material used for the wine) we (can) use (roughly) ground corn,

ə̃ŋtsì tɛ̃ cǔ ɔː.
 flour INST also make+1pl
 or we can use flour.

ē-wā ɔː-ɔ̃ nə̃ gu? bə̃i,
 DEM-ADV⁴ make+1pl-REDUP LNK say LNK
 After we have done this,

ə̃jɑ̃ cǔ ē-wā ē.
 that also DEM-ADV be
 that is also this way.

ə̃jɑ̃ tɕə̃ŋdāl ɔː-ɔ̃, pɪɑ̃ tɛ̃ çā: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
 If the weather becomes cold,

²tɕə̃ŋ is an alternate form of ə̃tɕə̃ŋ:

ɟɑ? jūŋ dɔ̃ ə̃ŋdzā ə̃ŋɪ cɪ ə̃tɕə̃ŋ.
 this bag LOC rice two catty hold/contain

This bag can hold two catties.

³ɪɔ̃ used as plural. Normally the LOC dɔ̃ 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'.

tɕu? lūm pāi,⁵
 a.little warm time
 when the (rice) is still a little warm,

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

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

ɕùl bě 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 bě nǎ,
 warm-weather become LNK TOP
 If the weather becomes warm,

tɕu? glōŋ 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.

ǎjà xǎmǎi lě,
 that upper.part.of.fire.area DAT
 on/towards the upper part of the fire area,

ē-wā tǎŋmǎi ɕup ò:-ǎ nǔ.
 DEM-ADV what grass do+1pl-REDUP LNK
 in this way we put grass on top,

lūm mǎnǎŋ,

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

⁶While somewhat similar in form, the emphatic particle ɕǐn is not the same particle as the simultaneous action marker zǐn; e.g.

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

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

⁷First Township dialect bǎlā 'only then' is equivalent to Third Township dialect bǎilǎŋ, mǎn⁻ǎŋ lā. Compare the First Township clause above with the following Third Township clause of the same meaning:

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

warm follow
after it is warm (has fermented),

ʒò nūtcī ǎtɔʔ mǎnǎŋ guʔ bǎi,
this dregs drip follow say LNK
when the dregs drip down,

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

zūŋ-nəm ǎsùm ʒaʔ tǎ⁸
cold-weather three night ADV
in the winter only after three nights

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

nǎmlūmnəm nǎ,
summertime TOP
(in the) summertime,

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

ǎʒà wǎŋlū lě zā:ŋ tūm,
that wine.container DAT put.in+1pl after
After we put it into the wine container,

cē cīntciʔ tǎ jīgōjè,
one week ADV one.month
one week, one month,

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

cē cīntciʔ tǎ jīgōjè tǎ
one week ADV one.month ADV
in a week or a month,

cēnəm ŋək cǎn.
already drink+1pl EMPH
we can drink it.

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

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),

kārwā	lā	ò:	tçì?
how	only.then	do+1pl	HS

how would we make it?

Making Brewer's Yeast

told by Tsēng Yùlán (dū nɑʔ)

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

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

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

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

tǎtǎi dzuop xɿɛʔ kō:ɿ cǐn.
 extremely fine EXT grind+1pl EMPH
 (and) grind it until it is very fine.

tǎtǎi dzuop xɿɛʔ kō:ɿ-kō:ɿ nǔ.
 extremely fine EXT grind+1pl-REDUP LNK
 We grind it until it is very fine.

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

pɿà sǎnaʔ tsǎŋmā ò:.
 winnowing.tray all clean do+1pl
 we clean the winnowing tray(s).

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

dzāi ǎŋsǎŋ ǎjaʔ ē nǔ,
 millet grain that be LNK
 that is millet grain,

ɿaktaʔ dǎ kō:ɿ tūm nǔ,
 stone.mortar LOC grind+1pl after LNK
 after we grind it in a stone mortar,

⁹lā:m = sǎ-kām [CAUS-dry].

nəŋdǎgəm cəppəŋ dǎ ǎglū:ŋ-glū:ŋ nǚ.
 well(adv.) mortar LOC pound+1pl-REDUP LNK
 we pound it well in a wooden mortar,

ǎglū:ŋ, ŋāŋ tǎ ǎ:-ǎ nǚ ǎglū:ŋ,
 pound+1pl water INST do+1pl-REDUP LNK pound+1pl
 we pound it (mixed) with water,

ǎglū:ŋ-glū:ŋ nǚ,
 pound+1pl-REDUP LNK
 (having) pounded (it),

ǎjǎ ē nǚ ǎtsǎŋ kǎi sǎ pǎle? wǎ tǎŋdūŋ na:i cǎn.
 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.

ǎjǎ cɯkkǎ pǎi mǎi nǚ,
 that brewer's.yeast NS CL TOP
 That brewer's yeast,

ǎjǎ ē-lǎ nǚ,
 that DEM-DAT LNK
 that (brewer's yeast),

tɕǎ pǎi tsǎwǎlǎŋ "tǎcǎi" lǎ:n gǚ.
 long.ago time Tsawalong(Tibet) Tashi called+1pl NOM
 long ago we called Tibet "Tashi".

tsǎwǎlǎŋ cɯkkǎ,
 Tsawalong(Tibet) brewer's.yeast
 Tibetan brewer's yeast,

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

cē tɕu? cē tɕu? ε?-wǎ cɯkkǎ lǎ zǎ: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,

ǎŋtsǎ lǎ cē tɕu? zǎ:ŋ-zǎ: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),

ǎŋka? lǎ ε?-wǎ ε?-wǎ kǎlǎ:ŋ.
 chunk DAT DEM-ADV DEM-ADV spread(paste)+1pl
 we spread it on the ones made into cakes.

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

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

ǎjù pǎle? wε? wā ð: tūm,
 that cake pieces ADV do+1pl after
 After we make it into cakes,

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

ε?-wā ŋð nù wā .ɪð:
 DEM-ADV top wine ADV place/put+1pl
 like this put it on top, like with wine.

nù wā .ɪð:-.ɪǎ nǔ,
 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),

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

.ɪktǎŋnəm ǎjī 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.

ě-bē mǎ-pɔk bě mǎ-gǎm 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.

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

ǎjù tɕəm kəm mǎnǎŋ nǔ,
 that even.more dry follow TOP

when it is more dry,

nəŋgəm təŋ-məi jūŋ dǒ ɔː-ǒ nǚ,
well(adv.) what-CL bag LOC do+1pl-REDUP LNK
we put it into a bag,

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

ǎjà ɕǚ tsəŋmā ɔː gē.
that also clean do+1pl NOM+be
That we also have to make clean.

əŋtsì məŋəŋ ɔː gǚ nǚ,
bran(flour) COM place/put+1pl NOM LNK
We put (hang) the flour and (the yeast cakes) together,

cī ɕīntɕi? wā ɔː,
one week ADV place/put+1pl
(we place it) for about one week,

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

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

"tǎx.ɔːŋ" gǚ lā:n.
(name) NOM call+1pl
we call it "tǎx.ɔːŋ".

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

ē-bě, ǎjà ɕtukkā,
DEM-LNK that brewer's.yeast
After that, that brewer's yeast,

tcəm cà məŋəŋ ǎjà,
even.more become follow that
after another stretch of time,

ǎjà pɔp dzǐn ɔː ɕǐn, nù.
that sprinkle LNK do+1pl EMPH wine
we sprinkle (the brewer's yeast) (into grain) to make it, wine.

tɔ̃.pā lě gwē:ɿ,
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,

tɔ̃.pā mǎtɕùŋ ɔŋ, ʃəl ɲə:ŋ-ɲəŋ,
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 tě ǎŋmām 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 tě blət gū,
that be bamboo-slice INST weave NOM
After that, we place a thing woven out of bamboo strips,

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

ǎjà ē, nītɕīn tě maʔ-ǎ-ʃəŋ ¹² gū kɔp.
that be moss/greens INST NEG-PREF-see NOM cover
after that, cover it with moss/greens so it is not visible.

kɔp tōn mǎnəŋ,
cover finish afterward
After covering it,

¹²Here the verb ʃəŋ '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.

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

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

wà tǎn mǎnǎŋ,
 do finish after
 After doing that,

jū kùŋ kǎ lǎi jǎ lǎi jì tǎp mǎl nǎǎm 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.

tānā ǎkplǎŋ zū tōn mǎnǎŋ,
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,

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

pu? tōn mǎnǎŋ, 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.rū tǎ tǎdǎn ŋī tǎkrǎl zū.
that be bone INST string.holder and trigger make
Then use bone to make the string holder and trigger.

tǎlǎt nū ì tǎ
bow.string TOP hemp INST

nǎŋdǎgǎm ŋāŋ (tǎ) çæk-çæk (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 mǎnǎŋ, ǎjà ē, ǎjà tǎlǎt ǎlì sǎrà tǎ
rub finish follow that be that bow.string heavy thing INST
After rubbing it, we use something heavy

kǎtǎl-tǎl nǎmǎŋ dǎ lā:m.
hang-REDUP sunshine LOC dry(vt.)+1pl
to hang it to dry in the sun.

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

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

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

¹³ dǎ could be used here instead of ǎŋ.

tǎlət ǎdūŋ-dūŋ dɔ̄ tɕitɕhùŋ tsǎī 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 mǎnǎŋ, nəŋdǎgəm ǎtù ā jà:ŋ ¹⁴.
 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 nǔ tǎi tɕīzəŋ gǔ 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 kap-ka? zū:
 half-REDUP bamboo-CL(strip) make+1pl
 we make strips by cutting the bamboo in half.

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

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

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

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

nəŋdǎgəm sǎ-tū:, ǎjà ē, ǎkɕūkām 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,

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

¹⁴ ap 'shoot' would also be possible here.

Why monkeys steal human food

told by Li Yaohua (nəwāŋzàr b.ɿāzì)

tcā pā. ʔtsəŋ nāŋɔ? ɕɔla? blakpaì tě ɔ:15 tcìwǎ.
 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-gōl gū ǎmā wà lē jì tcìwǎ.
 mind-many NEG-need ADV field work DAT go HS
 could go to work the field without having to worry (about the child).

ǎŋzā ku? tǎi gəm wǎ,
 food also very(big) good HS
 The crop grew very well,

blakpaì tě nāŋɔ? nəŋdǎgəm ɔ: wa.
 monkey AGT baby well(adv.) work HS
 the monkey took good care of the baby.

"ǎ-pè ǎ-mè" gu? sō xrɛ? ɔ: tcìwǎ.
 1-father 1-mother say know.how until do HS
 It did this up to the time (the baby) could say "Mommy and Daddy".

nāŋɔ? tǎi mǎnǎŋ, blakpaì sǎ-lɔ? tsət cǎ mǎnǎŋ,
 baby big follow monkey CAUS-return time become follow
 When the child was big, when it was time to send the monkey back,

ɕɔla? kū.ɿtā ʔtsəŋ tě tǎɿl sǎkēm cē mē
 caregiver fee human AGT quiver(arrow.case) lid one CL
 The person only gave a quiver lid full of payment (not money).

tcē zī tcìwǎ. ǎjà mǎnǎŋ blakpəì sǎnā səì wǎ.
 only give HS that follow monkey nose spicy HS
 Because of this, the monkey became very angry.

ǎjà tǎɿl sǎkēm nǎkrɛ? dǎ pɛ?-pɛ? nɛ? sǎlɔ? zīn,
 that quiver lid buttock LOC stick(v.)-REDUP eye stare LNK
 The monkey stuck the lid to his rear end,

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.

cē kɪɔ̃m cē kɪɔ̃m ətcat zɪn lɔʔ jì tɕìwǎ.
 one jump one jump(jump.and.skip) jump LNK return go HS
 and staring (at them) jumped back (home).

blakpə̀ì nǎkreʔ ətjà mǎnə̃ŋ nū ət̃mūl 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.

blakpə̀ì ē-wā sǎnā sə̀ì mǎnə̃ŋ,
 monkey DEM-ADV nose spicy(angry) follow
 When the monkey got angry,

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

ət̃jà mǎnə̃ŋ blakpə̀ì lě ē-wā gɪu:ŋ wǎ,
 that follow monkey DAT DEM-ADV say HS
 So the man said to the monkey,

"dēlā buktɕit bŋŋām pē pā-sǎŋām ɪā" gɪu: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)."

ət̃jà tūm,
 that after
 After that,

blakpə̀ì ɛ̀jà mǎnə̃ŋ nū ət̃sə̃ŋ tǎbɔ̃ŋ kū gē wǎ.
 monkey that follow TOP human grain steal NOM+be HS
 monkeys steal grain from humans.

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

Why Dogs Have Long Tongues and Can't Talk

dǎgī təkà pǎlài m.àŋ kā gu? təp mǎl gǔ lǎjit
 dog why tongue long words say ability NEG+have NOM story

told by Li Yaohua (nəwāŋzàr b.āzì)

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

bǎnībǎnā (ǎdūŋ) dǎ, kā gu? sō gū¹⁷
 livestock middle LOC words say know.how NOM

dǎgī ē tēiwǎ.
 dog be HS

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

tē pǎ tē pǎ nū
 long.ago time long.ago time TOP

dǎgī ŋī wǎ? ǎtsəŋ tǎ sū: gū ē tēiwǎ.
 dog and pig person AGT raise NOM be HS

It is said long ago (a) dog and (a) pig were raised by (a) person.

ǎk-kàŋ tǎ dǎgī, wǎ? lǎ (nū)
 3-master AGT dog pig DAT TOP

təŋ cǔ gu? dǎm mǎl tēiwǎ,
 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.ɿwī sǎ.āŋ nəŋdǎgəm ǎŋzā zī tēiwǎ.
 evening morning well food give HS
 gave them food (fed them well) morning and night.

ǎk-kàŋ tǎ nəmɿāŋ-nəmɿāŋ
 3-master AGT daytime-REDUP

dǎgī ŋī wǎ? ǎm.ā wà lǎ sǎlǎ:ŋ tēiwǎ.
 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.ā wà lē sǎlǎŋ bē,
 field do DAT send.out LNK

¹⁷It would be possible to use nū instead of gū here.

wa? cē jī cē jī 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 nū wa? ǎmā wà pāi,
 dog TOP pig field do time

ǎmā tɕēm dǎ jip tɕìwǎ.
 field edge LOC sleep HS

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

ǎxuuì lɔ? tsɔt¹⁹ dū mǎnǎŋ nū,
 night return time arrive follow TOP

dǎgī tǎ wa? tǎ ò ǎmā dǎ
 dog AGT pig AGT do field LOC

dǎgī māl tɕē ǎblǎn gū²⁰ ǎzət tɕìwǎ.
 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.

wa? ǎmā wà tɕ:n mǎnǎŋ nū, jɔŋ mǎnǎŋ rǎnà pāi,
 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 lɔ? tɕìwǎ, ǎxuuī dū mǎnǎŋ 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 tɕìwǎ,
 dog AGT 3-master DAT deceive HS

would deceive the master (saying):

"ǎ-kàŋ! lāmbrɔ? wa?, àŋ nū cē jī cē jī
 1-master friend pig 3sg TOP one day one day

ǎmā tɕēm dǎ jip,
 field edge LOC sleep

ǎgɔ nū ǎmā wǎŋ 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")

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

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 tɕiwǎ.
 dog DEM-ADV 3-master DAT deceive HS
 The dog deceived his master in this way.

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

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

cē ɟɔ? gu? (gũ) kā tě
 one CL(person) say NOM word INST

ǎnī²¹ zū ma?-zū gu? 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 jǎŋ 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 gu? bē čũ, 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 ɟɔ? ne? tǎi wā mǎ-jà:ŋ tɕiwǎ.
 which CL(person) eye big ADV NEG-see HS
 won't be biased towards either of them.²²

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

kāpē ɟɔ? lě čũ sǎmāŋ 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 sǎlàn-làn,
 field do DAT send.out-REDUP
 sent them out to the fields to work,

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

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

²² ne? tǎi jəŋ, literally "eye big see" is a metaphor for 'have a bias'.

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

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

wa? nǚ nəm-ǎxruɿ xɾɛ? nitɕho? gūl-(lɛ)-gūl
 pig TOP heaven-evening EXT tail move-RP²³-REDUP

ǎm.ɿ wà wǎ, wa? nū lɛçù 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 ǎm.ɿ dǒ 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 çǔ kǎ mā-gu? -gu?
 DEM-ADV DEM-LNK also word NEG-say-REDUP
 He didn't say anything about this.

dǎgī ɲī wa? mǎ-lɔ? tsàr,
 dog and pig NEG-arrive time
 Before the dog and pig arrived,

ǎb.à-b.à cùm lě lɔ?-lɔ? nǚ,
 quickly-REDUP house DAT return-REDUP TOP
 he quickly returned to the house,

ǎŋzā zū:-zū:, dǎgī ɲī wa? lě cɛtɕī wā zī tɕìwǎ.
 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).

ǎxruɿ dū mǎnǎŋ, dǎgī ǎk-kàŋ lɛ
 evening arrive follow dog 3-master DAT

ɔlɔ? ūzù wā gu? tɕìwǎ,
 again before ADV say HS
 In the evening the dog, as before, said to the master,

"nà wa? lɛ ǎŋzā tǔŋmɛ? dǒ ɲi-zī:, lɛkǎ çǔ 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.

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

nà nit nǎ-gəm, àŋ tĕ 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 tǎŋ cǔ mǎ-gu? wǎ,
DEM-ADV DEM-LNK also 3-master what also NEG-say HS

The master still didn't say anything about this,

cē kǎɪ dǒ tɕē jà:ŋ mā-pǎsā: wà.
one time LOC only look NEG-know(clearly) HS

he only looked one time, (so) he wasn't sure.

ǎjǎ tūm ǎk-kǎɪ-kǎɪ sēm bē,
that after PREF-time-REDUP peep LNK

After spying on them several times,

dǎgī ǎlǎzē gē mū wǎ.
dog lie NOM+be EMP HS

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

tāmā lēkā wà gū wǎ? tɕē ē mū wǎ.
really work do NOM pig only be EMP HS

It was only the pig who was really working.

dǎgī nəmjàŋ lēçù wà,
dog daytime slack.off do

In the daytime the dog slacked off,

ǎxrui-ǎxrui ūzù lǒ? zīn, ǎk-kàŋ lē klup wǎ.
night-REDUP before return LNK 3-master DAT deceive HS

and every night returned first and lied to the master.

wǎ? nū kā gu? mǎ-sǎ,
pig TOP word say NEG-know

The pig didn't know how to talk,

ē-bē dǎgī nū kā gu? sǎ.
DEM-LNK dog TOP word say know

but the dog knew how to talk.

ǎjǎ mǎnǎŋ nū, ǎk-kàŋ ǎŋŋī lĕ
that follow TOP 3-master 3dual DAT

cētɕì ǎŋzā zī tɕìwǎ.
the.same food give HS

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

dēlā cà mǎnǎŋ nū, ǎk-kàŋ dǎgī lĕ ē-wā gu? wǎ,
later become follow TOP 3-master dog DAT DEM-ADV say HS

Later, the master said to the dog:

"tān nà tāŋ cū mē-gu? əl,
 now 2sg what also NEG+NF-say IMP
 "Now don't you say anything,

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

tān nà pā cū jaʔ-ǎg.à:, dèn cū ni-dèn,
 now 2sg belly also NF-full(of.food) tired also NF-tired
 Now your stomach is full and you are tired,

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

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

dǎgī nīgòŋ ga:ì-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 cà:l-cà:l,
 3-master AGT tongue pull-REDUP
 The master pulled it,

dǎgī lǎ ē-wā giu:ŋ wǎ, "ni-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 ǎlǎzē 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 pǎlaì tǎ ni-klup,
 2sg this tongue INST NF-deceive
 you use this tongue to lie (to me),

jà pǎlaì nà lǎ tāŋ cū zīgū mǎl mū.
 this tongue 2sg DAT what also use NEG+have EMP
 this tongue is of no use to you.

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

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

ǎjà tūm nū, dǎgī pǎlǎi m.ɿəŋ tɕìwǎ,
 that after TOP dog tongue long HS
 After that, the dog's tongue was long,

kā gu? təp mǎl tɕìwǎ.
 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 (nəwāŋzàr b.ĩzì)

tɕā pāɪ tɕā pāɪ ǎtsəŋ k.ɪ̀əŋ d̄ɔ
long.ago time long.ago time human village LOC
Long ago, in a human village

niçàm lā:n əl tɕiʷǎ,
(name) named have/exist HS
there lived a person named "Nisham".²⁴

ǎjà niçàm nū zēɪ kuʔ s̄ɔ, n̄itɕəʔ kuʔ k̄ɔ tɕiʷǎ.
that (name) TOP fly also know.how tail also grow HS
That Nisham could fly and had a tail.

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

ǎtsəŋ ǎŋzā kə̀i-kə̀i pəwā mǎnəŋ,
human food eat-REDUP just.about.to follow
just as they were about to eat their food,

ǎŋzā laktā ŋə lě cūŋzūŋ lě
food pot above DAT tree DAT
he would take the pot up a tree

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

pǎmā kǎ.ā-kǎ.ā dǎg.àŋ cūŋzūŋ lě rup zīn ̀: (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.

ǎjà mǎnəŋ nū, ǎtsəŋ sǎ-dū-dū-cū²⁶
that follow TOP human CAUS-get.together-REDUP- R/M
Therefore, the people got together

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

²⁴Also called nimuçəm.

²⁵kə̀i would also be possible here.

²⁶təx.ūum-təx.ūum-cū would also be possible here.

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-kù 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 ɹɔʔ kɹāpũ tě tǎkwk-kwuk,
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 mǎnǎŋ, 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 tɕǎŋ dū bē, sət tǎi
one (unit of measure of distance) reach LNK the.more big
with each "tɕeŋ" that it moved down the water,

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

dēlā ɹò ŋāŋ tūm (gũ) mǎlì,
finally below water without NOM place
finally, it got to the place where there was no more water (where the water goes down),

niçàm cì gũ tě ŋāŋ sù tɕìwǎ.
(name) dead body INST water stop.up HS
and the body stopped up the water,

ǎjà mǎnǎŋ ŋāŋ tǎi tɕìwǎ,
that follow water big HS
therefore the water got bigger.

ǎjà pāɹ, ǎŋɹī nām
that time 3dl brother.and.sister
At that time, a brother and sister

²⁷ rət (or rà) 'come' also has the sense of making the imperative more polite.

mǎzɛʔ kɔʔ lě jì tɕìwǎ.
mushroom pick DAT go HS
went mushroom picking,

mǎzɛʔ ē-bē-nǔ,
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.

xɿā kǎrwā ɕǔ mǎ-dəm wǎ.
basket how also NEG-full HS
No matter what the basket wouldn't fill up.

pǎtɕhuʔ kuʔ "cì-zùɿ-zǔɿ cì-zùɿ-zǔɿ" guʔ 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 zēɿ wǎ.
above DAT above DAT fly HS
and flew higher and higher.

dēlā, kǎwākārpū mǎlì lě ǎplaʔ tɕìwǎ.
later (place name) place DAT arrive HS
Finally, the people arrived at "kǎwa kǎrpū".

cìzìn ηāη tě ɕǔ ē-lē dū:²⁸ wǎ.
flood.water water AGT also DEM-DAT reach HS
The flood water also reached there.

əŋjī nām lǔŋbuʔ dō ɿòŋ wǎ.
3dl brother.and.sister cliff.side LOC sit HS
The brother and sister sat at the bottom of a cliff.

cìzìn ηāη tě əŋjī nām ɿòŋ lě
flood.water water AGT 3dl brother.and.sister sit DAT

tsēnmà cē təp tě 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.

ətsəŋ mǎnəŋ ǎxɿap gǔ bū kuʔ 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.

²⁸ xɿap 'arrive' would be possible here instead of dū.

²⁹ Board for packing threads on a loom.

ǎjà bũ ȳāȳ lē tɕat lē ð bě,
 that snake water DAT throw DAT do LNK
 When the people were going to throw the snakes into the river,

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

nǎjũȳ ku? la?-mɛ-əl jũȳ." ē-wā gu? tɕiwǎ.
 2pl also let-NEG+NF-exist pl DEM-ADV say HS
 you won't live either." the snakes said.

bũ ǎjà mǎnǎȳ əl gē tɕiwǎ.
 snake that follow exist NOM+be HS
 Therefore snakes still exist.

ǎjà cizìn cì dǎgũ jī dǎgũ ja? cā mǎnǎȳ bət tɕiwǎ.
 that flood.water water nine day nine night become follow recede HS
 The water receded after nine days and nights.

ǎjà mǎnǎȳ, ənjī nəm
 that follow 3dl brother.and.sister
 Then the brother and sister

jə kɪȳ lě ǎtsəȳ lā lē lo? tɕiwǎ.
 below village DAT human look.for PURP return(vi.) HS
 returned to the village to look for people.

kā-dō kā-dō lō³⁰ bē cǔ, ǎtsəȳ ma-dǎgiǎ tɕiwǎ.
 WH-LOC WH-LOC look.for LNK also human NEG-have HS
 Wherever they looked, there were no people.

tālōȳ³¹ tālōȳ nū³² lā lě jì bē cǔ,
 that.way that.way TOP look.for PURP go LNK also
 They each went their own way to look,

ǎxruī-ǎxruī ɔlo? ǎdũ-jī tǎxũm ma? wà.
 night-REDUP again self-dl get.together RECIP HS
 and then came back together each night.

tǎnī cǔ māl wā cā kəi bē,
 fire also NEG+have ADV meat eat LNK
 They had no fire, so when they ate meat,

³⁰ lā would also be possible here.

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 idiomatic phrases, such as this one. As lōȳ can mean 'river valley', this expression might mean 'that valley and that valley'. Cf. also the Rawang phrase tāsəȳ tālē, a phrase meaning 'to each other' used in reciprocals, where səȳ and lē are dative markers (LaPolla 2000).

³² lē would also be possible here.

pǎmā pǎmā nəmġāŋ lě dǎġāŋ zīn kəi tɕiwǎ,
 woman woman sunlight DAT roast LNK eat HS
 the woman cooked (her meat) in the sun and ate it,

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

ǎxɪɪ³³ ɲup-ɲup mǎnǎŋ,
 night sleep-REDUP follow
 Every night, when it was time to sleep,

(ǎŋŋɪ) ǎlǎŋ dō dōŋ sǎkǎm 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)

ŋāŋ ɪā zīn ɲip wǎ.
 water put LNK sleep HS
 of water and sleep.

sǎɪāŋ dū-dū wā mǎnǎŋ,
 morning reach-REDUP ADV follow
 In the morning,

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

tāl lāi ǎŋ, tāl lāi ǎŋ dō lā sǎ-ɪāŋ-ɕǔ³⁴ wǎ.
 back side LOC back side LOC LOC naturally CAUS-sit-R/M HS
 but it ended up behind them (moved itself).

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

ǎxruɪ ɲip³⁵ mǎtɕə, ē-wā sǎmət tɕiwǎ,
 night sleep prepare DEM-ADV swear(hope) HS
 At night when they were preparing to sleep,

"ǎjūŋ ǎtsǎŋ ǎŋɲù ɪō bē,
 1pl human seed put/leave LNK
 they swore "If we are the seeds of human-kind,

ŋāŋ dǎġù wàŋ laʔ-ǎjù ǎmmū."

³³ Both ǎxɪɪ and ǎxruɪ are acceptable.

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

³⁵ Both ɲup and ɲip are acceptable.

water nine CL let-flow EMPH
let nine rivers flow."

sǎiāη dū mǎnāη,
morning reach follow
When the morning came,

ǰēsǎη ³⁶ dǎgù wàη ηāη ǎjù tɕìwǎ. ³⁷
really nine CL water flow HS
nine rivers really did flow.

ǎjà mǎnāη nǔ ē-wā gu? wǎ,
that follow TOP DEM-ADV say HS
Therefore they said,

"ǎjùη lā gǎmū nəm lā tǎ
1pl god (name) heaven god AGT

ǎtsǎη ǎjù ɿō gē mū."
human seeds put/leave NOM+be EMPH
"We are the human seeds left by the god of heaven Gǎmū."

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

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

ǎktɕəl lǎηlǎ dǎgù jɔ? pǎmā dǎgù jɔ? ò: tɕìwǎ.
child boy nine CL girl nine CL do HS
they gave birth to nine boys and girls.

ǎjà ǎktɕəl pūη jī nāη,
that children eldest.boy and eldest.girl
Those children (paired off) with the oldest boy marrying the oldest girl,

cīn jī jēn,
second.eldest.boy and second.eldest.girl

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

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

³⁶ tāmā could be used here instead of ǰēsǎη.

³⁷ rì could be used in place of tɕì here, to show that the action happened at night.

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

ǎjà mǎnǎŋ nū, tǎlī ap dǎdǎm ma? zū:l 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,

pūŋ jī nǎŋ (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 mǎnǎŋ, pūŋ jī nǎŋ
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 jī jēn
second.eldest.boy and second.eldest.girl
The second oldest,

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

tǎlùŋ mǎlì,
Dulong place
The Dulong area,

kwēn jī cǎŋ ē tɕìwǎ.
third.eldest.boy and third.eldest.girl be HS
was (given to) the third oldest.

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

jà jī mǎkpǎi tǎ jūŋ (tǎ) tǎk tɕìwǎ.
Chinese and Tibetan AGT bag INST collect HS
the Chinese and the Tibetans used bags to get their share.

tǎlùŋ tǎ tǎlǎŋ (tǎ) tǎk tɕìwǎ.
Dulong AGT type.of.basket INST collect HS

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

tǎ̀.ùŋ	tè	ǎ̀jà	nū ³⁸	mǎ̀nzū	mǎ̀-ſō:	wǎ.
Dulong	AGT	that	TOP	song	NEG-know.how	HS

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

mǎ̀gù	ǎ̀-tòn	ma?	bē,
horse	PREF-divide	RECIP	LNK

When (they) divided up the horses (among themselves),

tǎ̀.ùŋ	tě	tǎ̀ŋɔ̄l	zū:-zū,
Dulong	AGT	walking.stick	make-REDUP

the Dulong made a walking stick (and said),

"ǎ̀gò	mǎ̀gù	jà	la?-ē"	(gu?	zīn)	gū:ŋ	wǎ.
1sg	horse	this	let-be	say	LNK	say	HS

"Let this be my horse." he said.

tǎ̀.ùŋ	mǎ̀lì	ǎ̀jà	nū, ³⁹	mǎ̀gù	màl	gē	tɛ̀iwǎ.
Dulong	place	that	TOP	horse	NEG+have	NOM+be	HS

Therefore the Dulong place is one without horses.

tǎ̀.ùŋ	dō	.ɔ̄ŋ	gū
Dulong	LOC	exist/sit	NOM

Since the Dulong place is lived in

kwēn	ŋī	cōŋ	ē	mǎ̀nǎ̀ŋ,
third.eldest.boy	and	third.eldest.girl	be	follow

by the third oldest,

"cəkk.ɔ̄i	lōŋ"	lā:n	tɛ̀iwǎ.
third.eldest	river.valley	called	HS

it is called "cəkk.ɔ̄i lōŋ" ("third eldest river valley").

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

³⁹ tē could be used here instead of nū to more clearly show the causation ('because of this').

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