

DULONG TEXTS: SEVEN FULLY ANALYZED NARRATIVE AND PROCEDURAL TEXTS¹

Randy J. LaPolla

City University of Hong Kong

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 that 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.² There are two phonemic tones, level (\bar{a}) and falling (\grave{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

¹ This work was supported by a grant from City University of Hong Kong (#7000716, Project for Fieldwork on and Analysis of the Dulong and Anong Languages). I would like to express my gratitude for this support.

² See the Abbreviations for the glosses used for the different grammatical markers.

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.

Contents

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

HOW TO MAKE WINE

told by Tsēng Yùlán (dū naʔ)

nù	ɔ:	bəi	nə,
wine	do+1pl	LNK	TOP

When we make wine,

əjə	təŋbɔŋ	tɛ	ɕu	ɔ:
that	corn	INST	also	do+1pl

we do it with corn,

dzɿ	tɛ	ɕu	ɔ:
millet	INST	also	do+1pl

we do it with millet

pəkā	tɛ	ɕu	ɔ:
buckwheat	INST	also	do +1pl

we do it with buckwheat

bāndā	tɛ	ɕu	ɔ:
barnyard.millet	INST	also	do+1pl

we do it with barnyard millet.

ē-bē *ǎ̀jə̀* *ǎ̀:* *bē* *nǎ* *ǎ̀jə̀,*
DEM-LNK that do+1pl LNK TOP that

When we make wine,

nū *wā* *sā* *sǎ̀u* *ǎ̀u* *tǎmǎu* *mǎ-dap* *gū.*
wine make NOM thing also oil NEG-stick NOM

the wine-making things, they can't have any oil on them.

kə *lē* *təŋmā* *ǎ̀cu?* *mǎ-dap* *gū* *ǎ̀:* *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,

tǎmǎu *mǎ-dap.*
oil NEG-stick

(and) no oil on them.

tsəŋmā *ǎ̀-ǎ̀* *nǎ.*
clean make+1pl-REDUP LNK

We make (them) clean.

nū *bə-bə* *ǎ̀:* *bāi* *nǎ,*
wine much-REDUP make+1pl LNK TOP

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

cəpta? *pən* *dǎ* *ǎ̀:*
cooking.pot big LOC make+1pl

we make it in a big pot,

cē *wəŋlū* *tcəŋ³* *gū.*
one wine.container fill NOM

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

ē-bē *tcu?tcu?* *ǎ̀:* *bāi* *nǎ,*
DEM-LNK a.little make+1pl LNK TOP

If we only make a little,

xəl *səŋdū-xl⁴* *ǎ̀:*
proper pot-pl make+1pl

(then) we use the proper pots.

³ *tcəŋ* is an alternate form of *ǎ̀tcəŋ*:

<i>ja?</i>	<i>jūŋ</i>	<i>dǎ</i>	<i>əŋdǎi</i>	<i>əŋi</i>	<i>cī</i>	<i>ǎ̀tcəŋ.</i>
this	bag	LOC	rice	two	catty	
hold/contain						

This bag can hold two catties.

⁴ *xl* used as plural. Normally the LOC *dǎ* would be used here, but it was not used by the speaker.

ǎjà tɪŋbɔŋ ɔŋcɛt tɛ̃ ɕɯ̃ ɔː,
that corn grounds INST also make+1pl

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

ɔŋtsɪ tɛ̃ ɕɯ̃ ɔː.
flour INST also make+1pl

or we can use flour.

ɛ-wā ɔː-ɔ̃ nǎ guʔ bǎi,
DEM-ADV⁵ make+1pl-REDUP LNK say LNK

After we have done this,

ǎjà ɕɯ̃ ɛ-wā ɛ.
that also DEM-ADV be

that is also this way.

ǎjà tɕɔŋdāl ɔː-ɔ̃ pɯ̃ tɛ̃ ɕā:l.
that cooked.meal make+1pl-REDUP winnowing.pan INST sprinkle+1p

after we cook the rice, we sprinkle it with a winnowing pan.

zūŋ-nəm ɕā bɛ̃,
cold-weather become LNK

If the weather becomes cold,

tɕuʔ lūm pāɿ,⁶
a.little warm time

when the (rice) is still a little warm,

ǎjà pǎkǎ zā:ŋ ɕɪn,⁷ ɕəʔ
that brewer's.yeast put.in+1pl EMPH RQ

we put in the brewer's yeast, no?

⁵ *ɛwā* seems to consist of the copula, *ɛ*, plus the adverbial marker, *wā*, but it means 'this way'; there is also an expression *ɛlɛ* 'there', all of which is *ɛ* plus the dative marker, and an expression *ɛ-bɛ̃* 'after that', all of which seem to point to *ɛ* also having a demonstrative (deictic) function (although it is not one of the usual demonstrative pronouns) so I am glossing it as 'DEM'.

⁶ A zero pronoun is used here, even though the referent is not the immediate topic.

⁷ While somewhat similar in form, the emphatic particle *ɕɪn* is not the same particle as the simultaneous action marker *ʒɪn*; e.g.

a	nà	ɛ-wā	nǎ-guʔ	ɕɪn!
	2sg	DEM-ADV	NF-say	EMPH
	You said it this way!			
b.	nəi	pǎ-ɔː	ɕɪn!	
	2sg+AGT	IMP-do	EMPH	
	(Why don't you) do it!			

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

cūl **bě** **kʰ** **zī: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? **gləŋ** **tūm** **kī** **zī:ŋ.**
 a.little cool after only.then put.in+1pl
 we put the brewer's yeast in only after it is cool.

ǎjə **xəməi** **lē,**
 that upper.part.of.fire.area DAT
 on/towards the upper part of the fire area,

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

lūm **mǎnǎŋ,**
 warm follow
 after it is warm (has fermented),

ɰ **nūtɕī** **ǎɕ?** **mǎnǎŋ** **gwi?** **bǎi,**
 this dregs drip follow say LNK
 when the dregs drip down,

wāŋlū **lē** **ǎ:**
 wine.container DAT do+1pl
 (then) we put it in the wine container.

⁸ First Township dialect **běla** 'only then' is equivalent to Third Township dialect **běiləŋ**, **mǎnǎŋ lā**. Compare the First Township clause above with the following Third Township clause of the same meaning:

cūl **mǎnǎŋ** **lā** **zī:ŋ.**
 cool follow only.then put.in+1pl

We put it in only after it is cool.

zūŋ-nəm **ǎsūm** **ja?** **tě**⁹
cold-weather three night ADV

in the winter only after three nights

lǎŋ **wāŋlū** **lē** **zā:ŋ.**
only.then wine.container DAT put.in+1pl

will we put it into the wine container.

nəmliūmnəm **nǎ,**
summertime TOP

(in the) summertime,

ǎŋī **ja?** **cē** **ja?** **tě** **zā:ŋ.**
two night one night ADV put.in+1pl

after one or two nights we put it in (the wine container).

ǎjū **wāŋlū** **lē** **zā:ŋ** **tūm,**
that wine.container DAT put.in+1pl after

After we put it into the wine container,

cē **ɕĩntɕi?** **tě** **jīgɕjè**,¹⁰
one week ADV one.month

one week, one month,

tɕm **ǎ:** **bě** **jīgɕjè** **ɬ:**
even.more make LNK one.month place/put+1pl

if the time is longer we place it for a month.

cē **ɕĩntɕi?** **tě** **jīgɕjè** **tě**
one week ADV one.month ADV

in a week or a month,

cēnəm **ŋak** **ɕĩn.**
already drink+1pl EMPH

we can drink it.

ǎjū **nū** **ē-wā** **zā:** **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),

⁹ This is an example of the INST marker used for a temporal adverbial phrase.

¹⁰ **ɕĩntɕi?** 'week' and **jīgɕjè** 'one month' are loans from Chinese (Mand. *xīngqī* and *yíge yuè*, respectively).

kārwā *kā* *ḁ:* *tɕiʔ*
 how only.then do+1pl HS
 how would we make it?

MAKING BREWER'S YEAST

told by Tsēng Yùlán (dū naʔ)

nū *nǎ* *ǎ̀jə* *čūmkā* *nū,*
 wine TOP that brewer's.yeast TOP

(For) wine, (the making of) that brewer's.yeast,

bāndā *kā:m-kā:m*¹¹ *nū,*
 barnyard.millet dry.in.sun+1pl-REDUP LNK
 we dry the barnyard millet in the sun,

ě̌ě̌ *kām* *gǎ* *ḁ:-ḁ* *nū.*
 extremely dry NOM do+1pl-REDUP LNK
 we make it very dry.

xaktaʔ *dǎ* *kɔː* *bəi* *čū,*
 stone.mortar LOC grind+1pl LNK also
 We use a stone mortar to grind it,

ě̌ě̌ *dzuɸ* *xɛʔ* *kɔː* *čín.*
 extremely fine EXT grind+1pl EMPH
 (and) grind it until it is very fine.

ě̌ě̌ *dzuɸ* *xɛʔ* *kɔː-kɔː* *nū.*
 extremely fine EXT grind+1pl-REDUP LNK
 We grind it until it is very fine.

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

pà *sǎnaʔ* *tsəŋmā* *ḁ:*
 winnowing.tray all clean do+1pl
 we clean the winnowing tray(s).

¹¹ *kā:m* = *sə-kām* [CAUS-dry].

<i>nū</i>	<i>wā</i>	<i>sā</i>	<i>čūṃkā</i>	<i>zī:</i>
wine	do/make	NOM	brewer's.yeast	make+1pl

We make brewer's yeast for making wine,

<i>dzāi</i>	<i>āṇsāṇ</i>	<i>āja?</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>nū,</i>
millet	grain	that	be	LNK

that is millet grain,

<i>ṃakta?</i>	<i>dš</i>	<i>kṣ:</i>	<i>tūm</i>	<i>nū,</i>
stone.mortar	LOC	grind+1pl	after	LNK

after we grind it in a stone mortar,

<i>nāṇdāgəm</i>	<i>čəppəṇ</i>	<i>dš</i>	<i>āglū:ṇ-glū:ṇ</i>	<i>nū.</i>
well(adv.)	mortar	LOC	pound+1pl-REDUP	LNK

we pound it well in a wooden mortar,

<i>āglū:ṇ,</i>	<i>ṇāṇ</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ā:-ā</i>	<i>nū</i>	<i>āglū:ṇ,</i>
pound+1pl	water	INST	do+1pl-REDUP	LNK	
	pound+1pl				

we pound it (mixed) with water,

<i>āglū:ṇ-glū:ṇ</i>	<i>nū,</i>
pound+1pl-REDUP	LNK

(having) pounded (it),

<i>āṇ</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>nū</i>	<i>ātsəṇ</i>	<i>kāi</i>	<i>sā</i>	<i>pāle?</i>	<i>wā</i>	<i>tāṇdūṇ</i>	<i>na:i</i>	<i>čīn.</i>
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.

<i>āṇ</i>	<i>čūkkā</i>	<i>pāi</i>	<i>māi</i>	<i>nū,</i>
that	brewer's.yeast	NS	CL	TOP

That brewer's yeast,

<i>āṇ</i>	<i>ē-lē</i>	<i>nū,</i>
that	DEM-DAT	LNK

that (brewer's yeast),

<i>tā</i>	<i>pā</i>	<i>tsāwālṇ</i>	<i>“tāčī”</i>	<i>kā:n</i>	<i>gū.</i>
long.ago	time	Tsawalong(Tibet)	Tashi	called+1pl	NOM

long ago we called Tibet “Tashi”.

<i>tsāwālṇ</i>	<i>čūkkā,</i>
Tsawalong(Tibet)	brewer's.yeast

Tibetan brewer's yeast,

ɛ *tɕũŋ-tɕũŋ* *ɕuɤkkā*,
DEM small-REDUP brewer's.yeast

this little bit of brewer's yeast,

ɕɛ *tɕu?* *ɕɛ* *tɕu?* *ɛʔ-wā* *ɕuɤkkā* *lɛ̃* *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,

əŋtsi *lɛ̃* *ɕɛ* *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? *lɛ̃* *ɛʔ-wā* *ɛʔ-wā* *kālɔ:ŋ*.
chunk DAT DEM-ADV DEM-ADV spread(paste)+1pl

we spread it on the ones made into cakes.

na:i *tũm*,
mold+1pl after

After we have molded it,

pālɛ? *wɛ?* *wā* *ɔ:*.
cake piece ADV do+1pl

we make it into pieces.

əjə *pālɛ?* *wɛ?* *wā* *ɔ:* *tũm*,
that cake pieces ADV do+1pl after

After we make it into cakes,

kātsi *bəbə* *ədũŋ* *dɔ̃*,
bran much middle LOC

we (put it) in the middle of a lot of bran (chaff).

ɛʔ-wā *ŋə* *nũ* *wā* *ɔ:*,
DEM-ADV top wine ADV place/put+1pl

like this put it on top, like with wine.

nũ *wā* *ɔ:-ɔ̃* *nũ*,
wine ADV put/place+1pl-REDUP LNK

After putting it on like wine,

si? *məŋnəŋ*, *kɔ* *lɛ̃* *jā* *lɛ̃* *pək*.
flavorful(fermented) follow that DAT this DAT turn.over+1pl

when it has flavor (when it has fermented), turn it over and over.

si? *məŋnəŋ*,
flavorful(fermented) follow

When it has flavor (when it has fermented),

ǎŋɪ ja? ǎŋɪ ja? tɛ̃ pɔk.
two night two night ADV turn.over+1pl

after two nights we turn it over.

ɤktɔŋnəm ǎŋɪ ja?,
winter two night

(Normally) in winter (we turn it) after two nights,

ǎzɪməm cɛ̃ ja? tɛ̃ pɔk.
hot.weather one night ADV turn.over+1pl

In the hot weather we turn it after one night.

ɛ̃-bɛ̃ mɔ̃-pɔk bɛ̃ mɔ̃-gɔ̃m wā guɪ?
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.

ǎjə ɛ̃ ɔɔ?,
that be again

After that, again,

ǎjə tɔ̃m kɔ̃m mɔ̃nɔ̃ŋ nɪ̃,
that even.more dry follow TOP

when it is more dry,

nəŋgəm tɔ̃ŋ-mɔ̃i jɪ̃ŋ dɔ̃ ɔ̃:-ɔ̃ nɪ̃,
well(adv.) what-CL bag LOC do+1pl-REDUP LNK

we put it into a bag,

ŋə dɔ̃ sɔ̃zɔ̃:ŋ.
top LOC hang+1pl

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

ǎjə cɔ̃ tsɔ̃ŋmɔ̃i ɔ̃:-ɔ̃ gɛ̃.
that also clean do+1pl NOM+be

That we also have to make clean.

ɔ̃ŋtsɪ mɔ̃nɔ̃ŋ ɔ̃:-ɔ̃ gɪ̃ nɪ̃,
bran(fLOUR) COM place/put+1pl NOM LNK

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

cɪ̃ cɪ̃ntɔ̃i? wā ɔ̃:-ɔ̃,
one week ADV place/put+1pl

(we place it) for about one week,

<i>dzɿi</i>	<i>tsì</i>	<i>dʒ</i>	<i>ɬ:</i>
millet	flour(bran)	LOC	put/place+1pl

we put it in the millet bran/chaff.

<i>ǎjə</i>	<i>cà</i>	<i>mǎnǎŋ</i>	<i>nũ,</i>
that	become	follow	TOP

(One week later) when it is done,

<i>“tǎxɿ:ŋ”</i>	<i>gũ</i>	<i>kɿ:n.</i>
(name)	NOM	call+1pl

we call it “tǎxɿ:ŋ”.

<i>jũŋ</i>	<i>dʒ</i>	<i>ɬ:</i>
bag	LOC	put/place+1pl

(Again) we put it in a bag.

<i>ɛ-bě,</i>	<i>ǎjə</i>	<i>ɕwkkā,</i>
DEM-LNK	that	brewer's.yeast

After that, that brewer's yeast,

<i>təim</i>	<i>cà</i>	<i>mǎnǎŋ</i>	<i>ǎjə,</i>
even.more	become	follow	that

after another stretch of time,

<i>ǎjə</i>	<i>pup</i>	<i>dzɿn</i>	<i>ə:</i>	<i>ɕɿn,</i>	<i>nũ.</i>
that	sprinkle	LNK	do+1pl	EMPH	wine

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

HOW TO MAKE A TRAP

<i>jũ</i>	<i>kārwā</i>	<i>zū</i>	<i>sā</i>
(tree-spring)trap	how	make	NOM

told by Li Yaohua (nəwāŋzàr bɿāzì)

<i>jũ</i>	<i>zū</i>	<i>bě,</i>	<i>tǎsā</i>	<i>tsit</i>	<i>zū</i>	<i>sā.</i>
trap	make	LNK	start	trap.string	make	NOM

When making a trap, first the string is made.

<i>tsit</i>	<i>nũ</i>	<i>ì</i>	<i>tě</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>tsaɿ</i>	<i>tě</i>	<i>zū:</i>
trap.string	TOP	hemp	INST	make	string	INST	make+1pl

To make the trap-string, we use a string made of hemp,

tsɿi *muktəi* *əkkəʔ* *cə* *ɲuk-ɲuk*,
 string thick(round) piece(CL.for.rope) become twist+1pl-REDUP
 (and) make it into a thick rope,

(*tsit*) *cɛ* *lai* *ɲŋ* *kām* *tɕ* *zū* (*gū*) *tsit-kəlaʔ* *səpək*,
 string one side LOC bamboo INST make NOM string-holder attach+
 on one end of the string, we tie a string holder made of bamboo,

cɛ *kai* *ɲŋ* *nərtɕū* *zū*,
 one side LOC loop make
 on the other end make a loop,

tsit *zū* *tɕŋ* *mənəŋ*, *tɕpā* *ɬ* *əjə* *tɕpā*,
 string make finish follow spring(bamboo) cut+1pl that spring
 when the string is done, we cut a bamboo spring,

ɲu *kùŋ* *dʒ* *tsən* *gū* *tɕɕək-tɕək*.
 trap area LOC strong NOM stick(in.the.ground)+1pl-REDU
 (and) stick the spring into the ground (of the trap area).

tsit *tɕpā* *mətɕùŋ* *ɲŋ* *gwɛːɿ*,
 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* *gwɛːɿ* *sā* *kai*]¹² *ɲŋ* *mənəŋ-mənəŋ* *əzū*,
 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,

[*tɕŋ* *sā* *kai*]¹³ *ɲŋ*, *cɛ* *tɕuʔ* *əzū* *gū* *səpək*
 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,

tɕpā *tɕ* *gwɛːɿ*,
 spring DAT tie+1pl
 (and) tie (it) to the spring,

əjə *ɛ*, *piʔ-piʔ* *kām* (*tɕ*),
 that be soft(not.hard)-REDUP bamboo INST
 after that, we take a soft piece of bamboo,

¹² *cə gwɛːɿ sā lai* is the side with the loop (*nərtɕū*). Later in this line the reduplication changes the tone on the second token of *mənəŋ* 'long'.

¹³ *tɕŋ sā lai* is the side with the *tsit kəlaʔ* 'string holder'.

kɔ̌ *lāi* *jā* *lāi* *ǎsā* *lě*
that side that side ground DAT

ǎŋdǎgūŋ *cà* *tɕɕak-tɕɕak*,
bow(shaped.object) become stick(in.ground)+1pl-REDUP

(and) stick both ends of it into the ground to make a bow,

tɕpā *mǎtɕùŋ* *ɔŋ* *ɣl* *ɣɔːŋ-ɣɔːŋ*,
spring end(edge) LOC below pull(down)+1pl-REDUP

(and) pull down one end of the spring,

tsit-kəlaʔ *ǎjà* *ǎŋdǎgūŋ* *lě* *tɕːŋ*.
string-holder that bow(shaped.object) DAT trap+1pl

(and) trap the holder in the bow.

ǎjà *ē* *kaptɕɕ* *lě* *ǎŋxām* *lāi* *tsit-kəlaʔ*
that be crossbar INST horizontal side string-holder

mā-ǎpət *gū* *tɕːŋ*.
NEG-let.go NOM trap+1pl

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

ǎjà *ē* *kap-klup* *lě* *blat* *gū*,
that be bamboo-slice INST weave NOM

After that, we place a thing woven out of bamboo strips,

“*gə̌m*” *lāːn* *gū* *sǎ̀tɕ* *ǎjà* *kaptɕɕ* *mǎdəm* *dʒ* *ɕː*,
called NOM thing that crossbar above LOC put/place+1pl

a thing called “*gə̌m*”, on top of the crossbar,

ǎjà *ē* *nɪtɕin* *lě* *maʔ-ǎ-ɣə̌ŋ*¹⁴ *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 *tɕn* *mǎnǎŋ*,
cover finish afterward

After covering it,

tsit *ǎŋmukwàŋ* *tɕ-xrup-ɕū* *sā* *ɔː-ɔː*,
string loop CAUS-meet-R/M NOM do+1pl-REDUP

we make the string into a loop that can be pulled closed,

¹⁴ Here the verb *ɣə̌ŋ* ‘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.

<i>nīṭcīn</i>	<i>mǎdǎm</i>	<i>dǎ</i>	<i>nātsē</i>	<i>ḍ:</i>
moss/greens	above	LOC	gently	put/place+1pl

and gently put moss/greens on top.

<i>wà</i>	<i>tǎn</i>	<i>mǎnǎŋ,</i>
do	finish	after

After doing that,

<i>jū</i>	<i>kùŋ</i>	<i>kǎ</i>	<i>kāi</i>	<i>jā</i>	<i>kāi</i>	<i>jì</i>	<i>təp</i>	<i>màl</i>	<i>nǎm</i>	<i>zū:</i>
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

<i>tānǎ</i>	<i>kǎrwǎ</i>	<i>zū</i>	<i>sǎ</i>
crossbow	how	make	NOM

told by Li Yaohua (nəwāŋzàr bǔzī)

<i>tānǎ</i>	<i>zū</i>	<i>sǎ,</i>
crossbow	make	NOM

The making of the crossbow,

<i>tǎl,</i>	<i>tānǎ</i>	<i>ǎkplǎŋ,</i>	<i>tǎkrǎl,</i>
bow(part.of.crossbow)	crossbow	body.of.bow	trigger

is composed of (making) the bow, the body, the trigger,

<i>tǎdǎn,</i>	<i>ǎlǎt</i>	<i>tě</i>	<i>zū</i>	<i>gě.</i>
string holder	string	INST	make	NOM+be

the string, and the string holder.

<i>tǎl</i>	<i>nū</i>	<i>sǎcūŋ</i>	<i>rǎt-rǎt,</i>
bow	TOP	tree.used.to.make.bow	cut-REDUP

Having cut down the tree(wood) especially used to make crossbows,

<i>nəŋdǎgəm</i>	<i>tɕitɕūŋ</i>	<i>tɕē</i>	<i>ǎktse?</i>	<i>cà</i>	<i>ʒəʔ-ʒəʔ.</i>
well(adv.)	small	only	strip	become	shave-REDUP

use a knife to cut the tree trunk into a smaller strip.

<i>nəŋdǎgəm</i>	<i>cǎn</i>	<i>gū</i>	<i>cuk-kəʔ</i>	<i>lɕ-lɕ,</i>
well(adv.)	straight	NOM	tree-CL(straight.piece)	find/look.for-REDUP

Find a straight piece of wood,

t̚lɪ *dūŋ* *d̥ʑ* *ɕuək-tsheʔ* *t̚ʃ* *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,

kɔ *kɪ* *jə* *kɪ* *əjə* *ɕuək-koʔ* *l̚ʃ* *əxrək*.
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.

əjə *ɛ*, *ləkpa* *l̚ʃ* *ʑ*.
that be steam DAT cook+1pl

After that, we use steam to cook it.

ɕ *t̚ʃ* *m̚ʃn̚ʃ* *xr̥uməi* *d̥ʑ* *kɪ: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.

t̚lɪnə *əkp̚l̚ʃ* *n̥u*, *l̥um̚ɕ̚uŋ* *ɕək-ɕək* *zɪ*.
crossbow body TOP firewood cut.into.small.strips+1pl-REDUP make+1

(For) the body of the crossbow, cut the firewood into small strips.

t̚lɪnə *əkp̚l̚ʃ* *zɪ* *t̚ʃ* *m̚ʃn̚ʃ*,
crossbow body make finish follow

After finishing the body part of the crossbow,

ɕ *kɪ* *ʒŋ*¹⁵ *t̚lɪ* *wā* *r̥əm̥-m̥*
one side LOC bow ADV draw-REDUP

On one side, having drawn the shape of a bow,

dəkɕi *t̚ʃ* *puk*.
small.knife INST bore.small.hole+1pl

we use a small knife to bore a small hole.

puʔ *t̚ʃ* *m̚ʃn̚ʃ* *n̚ʃts̥e-n̚ʃts̥e* *t̚lɪ* *zɪ: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.

əjə *ɛ*, *ɕāu* *t̚ʃ* *t̚id̚ʃn* *ŋɪ* *t̚ikr̚ʃɪ* *zɪ*.
that be bone INST string.holder and trigger make

Then use bone to make the string holder and trigger.

ɕl̚ət *n̥u* *i* *t̚ʃ*
bow.string TOP hemp INST

¹⁵ *d̥ʑ* could be used here instead of *ʒŋ*.

<i>nəŋdʒə̀m</i>	<i>ŋɑ̃ŋ</i>	(tɛ̃)	<i>ɬək-ɬək</i>	(nɿ̃)	<i>ɲuk.</i>
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).

<i>ɲuʔ</i>	<i>tɕɪn</i>	<i>mə̃nə̃ŋ.</i>	<i>ə̃jə̀</i>	<i>ɛ̃,</i>	<i>ə̃jə̀</i>	<i>tɕiət</i>	<i>ə̃li</i>	<i>sə̃mò</i>	<i>tɛ̃</i>
rub	finish	follow	that	be	that	bow.string	heavy	thing	INST

After rubbing it, we use something heavy

<i>kə̃təl-təl</i>	<i>nə̃mɣɑ̃ŋ</i>	<i>dʒ</i>	<i>kɿ:m.</i>
hang-REDUP	sunshine	LOC	dry(vt.)+1pl

to hang it to dry in the sun.

<i>kəm</i>	<i>mə̃nə̃ŋ,</i>	<i>tɕiɪ</i>	<i>lɛ̃</i>	<i>pə̃dɑ̃:m-dɑ̃:m,</i>
dry	follow	bow	DAT	compare+1pl-REDUP

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

<i>kɔ̃</i>	<i>kɿi</i>	<i>jə̀</i>	<i>kɿi</i>	<i>tɕ-tsək.</i>
that	side	that	side(=both sides)	CAUS-be.around+1pl

(then) make a noose at each end.

<i>tɕiət</i>	<i>zɿ</i>	<i>tɕɪn</i>	<i>mə̃nə̃ŋ,</i>	<i>tɕiɪ</i>	<i>lɛ̃</i>	<i>ɣwɛ̃:ɿ.</i>
string	make	finish	follow	bow	DAT	fasten+1pl

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

<i>tɕiət</i>	<i>ə̃dɿŋ-dɿŋ</i>	<i>dʒ</i>	<i>tɕiɪtɕhɿŋ</i>	<i>tɕɿɪ</i>	<i>tɛ̃</i>	<i>tɕ-tsək.</i>
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.

<i>tɕɪnɿ</i>	<i>zɿ</i>	<i>tɕɪn</i>	<i>mə̃nə̃ŋ,</i>	<i>nə̃ŋdʒə̀m</i>	<i>ə̃w</i>	<i>ɑ̃</i>	<i>ɲ:ŋ¹⁶.</i>
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.

<i>də̃mɑ̃</i>	<i>nɿ̃</i>	<i>tɕi</i>	<i>tɕiɪzə̃ŋ</i>	<i>ɣɿ̃</i>	<i>kɑ̃m</i>	<i>rət-rət,</i>
arrow	TOP	very(big)	hard	NOM	bamboo	cut.down+1pl-REI

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

<i>ə̃ŋŋɑ̃i-ə̃ŋŋɑ̃i</i>	<i>kap-kaʔ</i>	<i>zɿ:.</i>
half-REDUP	bamboo-CL(strip)	make+1pl

we make strips by cutting the bamboo in half.

¹⁶ *ap* 'shoot' would also be possible here.

ǎjə ě, xruməi dʒ dʒjek,
that be rack.over.the.cooking.stove LOC smoke+1pl

After that, we smoke it on the fireplace rack.

mənū-nū ǎ mənəŋ,
long.period.of.time-REDUP pass(become) follow

After a long time,

kap-ka? tɕitɕuŋ-tɕitɕuŋ ŋa:i-ŋa:i,
bamboo-CL(strip) small-REDUP cut.into.small.pieces+1pl-REDUP

we cut the bamboo strips into smaller strips,

dəkɕi tɕ kut kut tɕn mənəŋ,
small.knife INST shave shave finish follow

then shave them with a small knife. After shaving them,

nəŋdʒəŋm sɕ-tɕi:, ǎjə ě, ǎkɕuŋkəm tɕ,
well(adv.) CAUS-straight+1pl that be fresh.bamboo INST

we make them straight, and then use fresh bamboo to make something like wings,

kəcɕi zɕi-zɕi sɕpək.
wing make-REDUP attach+1pl

(and) attach the wings to the arrow.

WHY MONKEYS STEAL HUMAN FOOD

told by Li Yaohua (nəwāŋzər brāzi)

tɕi pɕi ǎtsəŋ nɔŋa? ɕɔla? blakpaɪ tɕ ʒ: 17 tɕiwǎ.
long.ago time human baby caregiver monkey AGT do/make HS

Long ago monkeys took care of babies for people.

ǎk-pɕi ǎk-mɕi nəmɕəŋ-nəmpəŋ,
3-father 3-mother daytime-REDUP

During the day, the child's parents

¹⁷ Although normally there is no lengthening of the vowel of the verb to mark second or third person, in clauses where a third person actor referent is being contrasted with some other referent (in this case, the monkey rather than someone else; a sort of narrow focus), and in most imperatives, again where the actor involved is contrasted with some other possible actor, the verb often has a long vowel, just as with first person plural marking. See Yang 2000 for discussion.

nit-būm *mǎ-gǎi* *gū* *ǎmǎi* *wà* *lě* *jì* *tɕiwǎ.*
 mind-many NEG-need ADV field work DAT go HS

could go to work the field without having to worry (about the child).

ǎŋzǎi *kui?* *tai* *gəm* *wǎ,*
 food also very(big) good HS

The crop grew very well,

blakpai *tě* *nǎŋgǎ?* *nəŋdǎgəm* *ǎ:* *wa.*
 monkey AGT baby well(adv.) work HS

the monkey took good care of the baby.

“ǎ-pě *ǎ-mě”* *gu?* *sǎ* *xrě?* *ǎ:* *tɕiwǎ.*
 1-father 1-mother say know.how until do HS

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

nǎŋgǎ? *tai* *mǎnǎŋ,* *blakpai* *sǎ-lo?* *tsot* *cà* *mǎnǎŋ,*
 baby big follow monkey CAUS-return time become follow

When the child was big, when it was time to send the monkey back,

ɕila? *kūntǎi* *ǎtsəŋ* *tě* *tǎl* *sǎkəm* *ɕě* *mě*
 caregiver fee human AGT quiver(arrow.case) lid one CL

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

tɕě *zǐ* *tɕhiwǎ.* *ǎjǎ* *mǎnǎŋ* *blakpǎi* *sǎnǎ* *səi* *wǎ.*
 only give HS that follow monkey nose spicy HS

Because of this, the monkey became very angry.

ǎjǎ *tǎl* *sǎkəm* *nǎkre?* *dǎ* *pě?-pě?* *ně?* *sǎlo?* *zǐn,*
 that quiver lid buttock LOC stick(v.)-REDUP eye stare LNK

The monkey stuck the lid to his rear end,

ɕě *kǎm* *ɕě* *kǎm* *ǎtɕat* *zǐn* *lo?* *jì* *tɕiwǎ*
 one jump one Jump (jump.and.skip) jump LNK return go HS

and staring (at them) jumped back (home).

blakpai *nǎkre?* *ǎjǎ* *mǎnǎŋ* *nū* *ǎŋmǎl* *mǎ-ko?* *ě* *tɕiwǎ*
 monkey buttock that follow TOP fur/hair NEG-grow be HS

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

blakpǎi *ě-wǎ* *sǎnǎ* *səi* *mǎnǎŋ,*
 monkey DEM-ADV nose spicy(angry) follow

When the monkey got angry,

ʔtsəŋ pəɕin dʒ mə-gəm¹⁸ wā ɬà tɕiɰ
 human heart/liver LOC NEG-good COMP become(suffer) HS
 the person felt bad.

ʔjə məŋəŋ blakpəi lɛ̃ ē-wā gũ:ŋ wǎ,
 that follow monkey DAT DEM-ADV say HS
 So the man said to the monkey,

“dɛ̃lɔ buktɕit bũŋɰm pɛ̃ pā-sǎŋɰm ɰ” gũ: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).”

ʔjə tũm,
 that after
 After that,

blakpəi ɛjə məŋəŋ nũ ʔtsəŋ tũbɔŋ kũ gɛ̃ 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

dʒgɪ təkəi pəlaɪs mənəŋ kə guɪ? tɔp məl gũ lɛ̃ɲit
 dog why tongue long words say ability NEG+I NOM story
 told by Li Yaohua (nəwŋjəzàr bɔzɛi)

tɔɪ pɔɪ tɔɪ pɔɪ nũ, dʒgɪ kə guɪ? sɔ tɕiɰ
 long.ago time long.ago time TOP dog words say know.how HS
 It is said long ago dogs knew how to talk.

bənɪbənɔ (ʔdũŋ) dʒ, kə guɪ? sɔ gũ¹⁹
 livestock middle LOC words say know.how NOM

dʒgɪ ɛ̃ tɕiɰwə.
 dog be HS

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

tɔɪ pɔɪ tɔɪ pɔɪ nũ
 long.ago time long.ago time TOP

¹⁸ ɬɕi 'spirit of a dead person' would also be possible instead of mə-gəm.

¹⁹ It would be possible to use nũ instead of gũ here.

dəgɪ *ni* *wa?* *ətsəŋ* *tɛ* *sū:* *gū* *ɛ* *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.

ə́k-kàŋ *tɛ* *dəgɪ*, *wa?* *lɛ* (*nū*)
 3-master AGT dog pig DAT TOP

tɕŋ *ɕū* *gwi?* *dəm* *màl* *tɕiwǎ,*
 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)

ə́xwǎi *sǎmŋ* *nəŋdəgəm* *əŋzǎ* *zɪ* *tɕiwǎ.*
 evening morning well food give HS

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

ə́k-kàŋ *tɛ* *nəmɰŋ-nəmɰŋ*
 3-master AGT daytime-REDUP

dəgɪ *ni* *wa?* *ə́mɰ* *wà* *lɛ* *sǎl:ŋ* *tɕiwǎ.*
 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.

ə́mɰ *wà* *lɛ* *sǎlŋ* *bɛ,*
 field do DAT send.out LNK

wa? *ɕɛ* *ni* *ɕɛ* *ni* *mǎ-rǎn*²⁰ (*wǎ*) *wà* *tɕiwǎ.*
 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.

dəgɪ *nū* *wa?* *ə́mɰ* *wà* *pǎi,*
 dog TOP pig field do time

ə́mɰ *tɕɛm* *dʒ* *jip* *tɕiwǎ.*
 field edge LOC sleep HS

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

ə́xwǎi *lɔ?* *tsɔt*²¹ *dū* *mǎnəŋ* *nū,*
 night return time arrive follow TOP

dəgɪ *tɛ* *wa?* *tɛ* *ə* *ə́mɰ* *dʒ*
 dog AGT pig AGT do field LOC

²⁰ Here there is a tone change (< *rǎnə*) because of the addition of the negative prefix.

²¹ The expression *tsɔt əŋzɪ* 'time' or the nominalizer *sǎ* could be used here instead of *tsɔt*.

dǎgī *māl* *tɕɛ* *ǎblən* *gū*²² *ǎzət* *tɕiwǎ.*
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? *ǎmɔ̄* *wà* *tɕ:n* *mǎnǎŋ* *nū,* *ɣŋ* *mǎnǎŋ* *rǎnà* *pɔ̄,*
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* *lɛ* *lɔ?* *tɕiwǎ,* *ǎxɔ̄wī* *dū* *mǎnǎŋ* *nū,*
dog first house DAT return HS night arrive follow TOP

the dog would first go home and at night

dǎgī *(tɕ)* *ǎk-kàŋ* *lɛ* *klɔp* *tɕiwǎ,*
dog AGT 3-master DAT deceive HS

would deceive the master (saying):

“ǎ-kàŋ! *kɔ̄mbrɔ?* *wa?* *àŋ* *nū* *cɛ* *ɣī* *cɛ* *ɣī*
1-master friend pig 3sg TOP one day one day

ǎmɔ̄ *tɕɛm* *dɕ* *ɣip,*
field edge LOC sleep

ǎgò *nū* *ǎmɔ̄* *wǎŋ* *dɛn* *mǎ-dɛn* *àŋ* *tɕ* *mǎ-sɔ̄.”*
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”)

dǎgī *ɛ-wǎ* *ǎk-kàŋ* *lɛ* *klɔp* *tɕiwǎ.*
dog DEM-ADV 3-master DAT deceive HS

The dog deceived his master in this way.

ǎk-kàŋ *nəŋdǎgə̀m* *nit-cǔ* *tɕiwǎ,*
3-master well think-R/M HS

The master thought about this for a while/well,

“ǎgò *ǎmɔ̄* *lɛ* *cǔ* *mǎ-ɣūŋ,*
1sg field DAT also NEG-go+1sg

(and said to himself,) “I haven’t gone to the field,

²² It would be possible to use the topic marker *nū* instead of *gū* here.

œ *ʒəʔ* *ɡuʔ* (*ɡũ*) *kā* *tě*
one CL(person) say NOM word INST

*ənĩ*²³ *zĩ* *maʔ-zĩ* *ɡuʔ* *təp* *màl*,
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,

dēkā *əɡə* *əmũ* *lē* *ʒəŋ* *lē* *ʒũŋ* *ʒũŋ.*"
later 1sg field DAT see PURP go+1sg want+1sg

later I want to go to the field myself to see."

ē-bē *nũ* *dəɡĩ* *ē-wā* *ɡuʔ* *bē* *ɕũ*, *ək-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 *ʒəʔ* *neʔ* *təi* *wā* *mə-ʒə:ŋ* *tɕiwǎ*.
which CL(person) eye big ADV NEG-see HS

won't be biased towards either of them.²⁴

əʒə *tũm* *nũ*, *ək-kàŋ* *tshaʔ* *wā* *nānĩ* *wà* *lē* *ʒi* *tɕiwǎ*
that after TOP 3-master secretly ADV peep do PURP go HS

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

kāpē *ʒəʔ* *lē* *ɕũ* *sǎmŋ* *nəŋdəɡəm* *əŋzǎ* *zĩ* *zĩn*
which CL(person) DAT also morning well food give LNK

In the morning after he fed each of them well and

əmũ *wà* *lē* *sǎlàn-łàn*,
field do DAT send.out-REDUP

sent them out to the fields to work,

pālĩ *tũm* *pē*, *sēm* *lē* *ʒi* *tɕiwǎ*.
behind after ABL peep PURP go HS

He went behind them to spy on them.

ək-kàŋ *əmũ* *lē* *ʒi* *tɕiwǎ*.
3-master field DAT go HS

The master went to the field.

²³ *kāpē ʒəʔ* 'which-CL(for people)' could be used instead of *ənĩ* here.

²⁴ *neʔ təi ʒəŋ*, literally "eye big see" is a metaphor for 'have a bias'.

ts̥s̥
begin
cē
one
ɲī
day
nũ,
TOP

The first day,

wa? nũ nəm-əxrwī xre? nit̥t̥ho? gũl-(lē)-gũl
pig TOP heaven-evening EXT tail move-RP²⁵-REDUP

əmxī wà wǎ, wa? nũ lēçu mə-wà mũ wǎ.
field do HS pig TOP slack.off NEG-do MP HS

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

ē-bē, dǎgī nũ əmxī d̥ mə-dǎgũ wà.
DEM-LNK dog TOP field LOC NEG-see HS

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

ē-wā ē-bē çũ kā mā-guʔ-guʔ.
DEM-ADV DEM-LNK also word NEG-say-REDUP

He didn't say anything about this.

dǎgī ɲī wa? mə-lo? tsàr,
dog and pig NEG-arrive time

Before the dog and pig arrived,

əbx̣i-bx̣i çũm lē loʔ-loʔ nũ,
quickly-REDUP house DAT return-REDUP TOP

he quickly returned to the house,

əŋzā zū:-zū:, dǎgī ɲī wa? lē cētcī wā zī t̥i wǎ
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).

əxrwī dũ mənəŋ, dǎgī ək-kàŋ lē
evening arrive follow dog 3-master DAT

ɬloʔ ūzù wā guʔ t̥i wǎ,
again before ADV say HS

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

“nì wa? lē əŋzā t̥ŋme? d̥ ɲi-zī, lēkā çũ mə-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.

²⁵ lē (~ l̥) is an optional reduplication particle (RP). In this clause the verb wət ‘wag’ could also have been used, i.e. wət-lē-wət.

nà *nít* *nǎ-gəm*, *àŋ* *tě* *mǎ-sǎ*.
2sg mind NF-good 3sg AGT NEG-know

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

ē-wā *ē-bē* *ǎu* *ǎk-kàŋ* *tǎŋ* *ǎu* *mǎ-guǎ?* *wǎ*,
DEM-ADV DEM-LNK also 3-master what also NEG-say HS

The master still didn't say anything about this,

ǎē *kǎu* *dǎ* *tǎē* *jǎ:ŋ* *mā-pǎsǎ:* *wǎ*.
one time LOC only look NEG-know(clearly) HS

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

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

After spying on them several times,

dǎgǐ *ǎlǎē* *gē* *mū* *wǎ*.
dog lie NOM+be EMP HS

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

tūmā *lēkǎ* *wǎ gūu* *wa?* *tǎēē* *mū* *wǎ*.
really work do NOM pig only be EMP HS

It was only the pig who was really working.

dǎgǐ *nəmǎŋ* *lēǎu* *wǎ*,
dog daytime slack.off do

In the daytime the dog slacked off,

ǎxrwǐ-ǎxrwǐ *ūzù* *lǎ?* *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.

wa? *nū* *kǎ* *guǎ?* *mǎ-sǎ*,
pig TOP word say NEG-know

The pig didn't know how to talk,

ē-bē *dǎgǐ* *nū* *kǎ* *guǎ?* *sǎ*.
DEM-LNK dog TOP word say know

but the dog knew how to talk.

ǎjǎ *mǎnǎŋ* *nū*, *ǎk-kàŋ* *ǎŋŋǐ* *lē*
that follow TOP 3-master 3dual DAT

cētc̣i *ǎŋzā* *zī* *tc̣i wǎ.*
the.same food give HS

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

dēkā *cà* *mǎŋŋ* *nū,* *ǎk-kàŋ* *dǎgī* *lē* *ē-wā* *guʔ* *wǎ,*
later become follow TOP 3-master dog DAT DEM-ADV say HS

Later, the master said to the dog:

“*ēn* *nà* *tc̣i* *cū* *mē-guʔ* *àl,*
now 2sg what also NEG+NF-say IMP

“Now don’t you say anything,

nǎ-kàŋ *kā* *guʔ* *pǎwŋ,*
2-master word say will+1sg

your master (I) want to talk.

ēn *nà* *pā* *cū* *naʔ-ǎgà:* *dēn* *cū* *ni-dēn,*
now 2sg belly also NF-full(of.food) tired also NF-tired

Now your stomach is full and you are tired,

jì *dǎ* *pā-rǎnà* *əm,* *nīgǎŋ* *pǎ-ga:i,*
this LOC IMP-rest POL mouth IMP-open

come here and rest, and open your mouth.

nà *pǎlai* *jəŋ* *jūŋ,”* *ē-wā* *gū:ŋ* *mǎŋŋ,*
2sg tongue see want+1sg DEM-ADV say follow

I want to see your tongue.” He said like this.

dǎgī *nīgǎŋ* *ga:i-gai* *(zīn)* *pǎlai* *zū:* *pā,*
dog mouth open-open LNK tongue stick.out time

When the dog opened his mouth and stuck out his tongue,

ǎk-kàŋ *tě* *pǎlai* *cà:l-cà:l,*
3-master AGT tongue pull-REDUP

The master pulled it,

dǎgī *lē* *ē-wā* *gū:ŋ* *wǎ,* “*ni-jì:ŋ* *bě,*
dog DAT like.this say HS NF-see LNK

He said to the dog like this: “If you look at it,

nà *ǎlǎē* *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** **pǎlai** **tě** **ni-klwɔp,**
2sg this tongue INST NF-deceive

you use this tongue to lie (to me),

jà **pǎlai** **nà** **lě** **təŋ** **ɕu** **zɪgū** **màl** **mí**
this tongue 2sg DAT what also use NEG+have EN

this tongue is of no use to you.

jà **pǎlai** **màl** **bě,**
this tongue NEG+have LNK

If you didn't have this tongue,

nà **nəŋdǎgəm** **lěkǎ** **ni-wà** **tū** **ē.**
2sg well work NF-do perhaps be

you might work well."

ǎjà **tūm** **nū,** **dǎgɪ** **pǎlai** **məŋ** **tɕiwǎ,**
that after TOP dog tongue long HS

After that, the dog's tongue was long,

kǎ **gu?** **təp** **màl** **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 (nəwāŋzār bɪzì)

tɕǎ **pǎu** **tɕǎ** **pǎu** **ətsəŋ** **kəŋ** **dɔ**
long.ago time long.ago time human village LOC

Long ago, in a human village

niɕəm **kɛ:n** **əl** **tɕiwǎ,**
(name) named have/exist HS

there lived a person named "Nisham".²⁶

ǎjà **niɕəm** **nū** **zɛɪ** **ku?** **sɔ,** **nitɕɔ?** **ku?** **kɔ** **tɕiwǎ**
that (name) TOP fly also know.how tail also grow HS

That Nisham could fly and had a tail.

²⁶ Also called *nimuɕəm*.

<i>niɕəm</i>	<i>tɛ</i>	<i>ətsəŋ</i>	<i>əŋzə</i>	<i>kəi</i>	<i>mə-zuː</i>	<i>wà,</i>
(name)	AGT	human	food	eat	NEG-allow	HS

Nisham didn't allow the people to eat their food,

<i>ətsəŋ</i>	<i>əŋzə</i>	<i>kəi-kəi</i>	<i>pəwə</i>	<i>mənəŋ,</i>
human	food	eat-REDUP	just.about.to	follow

just as they were about to eat their food,

<i>əŋzə</i>	<i>lakti</i>	<i>ŋə</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>cūŋzūŋ</i>	<i>lɛ</i>
food	pot	above	DAT	tree	DAT

he would take the pot up a tree

<i>ɛcūː</i>	<i>zɪn</i>	<i>kāːi²⁷</i>	<i>wǎ,</i>
snatch	LNK	eat	HS

and eat it,

<i>pəmə</i>	<i>kəu-kəu</i>	<i>dəgəŋ</i>	<i>cūŋzi lɛ</i>	<i>rup</i>	<i>zɪn</i>	<i>əː</i>	<i>(tɕi)w</i>
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.

<i>əjə</i>	<i>mənəŋ</i>	<i>nū,</i>	<i>ətsəŋ</i>	<i>sə-dū-dū-cū²⁸</i>
that	follow	TOP	human	CAUS-get.together-REDUP- R/M

Therefore, the people got together

<i>niɕəm</i>	<i>sət</i>	<i>sā</i>	<i>blu</i>	<i>wà</i>	<i>wǎ.</i>
(name)	kill	NOM	discuss	do/make	HS

and discussed killing Nisham.

<i>əjə</i>	<i>niɕəm</i>	<i>cūm</i>	<i>(lɛ)</i>	<i>cəl-cəl,</i>
that	(name)	house	DAT	invite-REDUP

They invited Nisham into the house,

<i>təlūŋ</i>	<i>pɛ</i>	<i>ɛ-wā</i>	<i>gūŋ</i>	<i>wǎ,</i>
below.the.house	ABL	DEM-ADV	say	HS

and said from below the house,

<i>“ə-kū niɕəm,</i>	<i>niɕə?</i>	<i>pə-cəːm</i>	<i>ɾət.”</i>
1-uncle (name)	tail	IMP-hang.down	come ²⁹

“Uncle Nisham, please hang your tail down.”

²⁷ *kəi* would also be possible here.

²⁸ *təxūm-təxūm-cū* would also be possible here.

²⁹ *ɾət* (or *rà*) ‘come’ also has the sense of making the imperative more polite.

nitɕəʔ *ɬà:m* *pāi* *dəŋgū* *ɟəʔ* *kāpū* *tɛ* *təkuuk-kuuk*,
 tail hang.down time nine CL strong(man) AGT pull-REDUP

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

nəptɕūŋkàn *pɛ̃* *məŋgūŋ* *tɛ* *əzə:ɿ* *wǎ*.
 doorway ABL pike INST spear(v.) HS

and from the doorway speared him with a pike.

sət *tɕŋ* *məŋŋ* *niɕəm* *ɕi* *gū* *ŋāŋ* *lɛ̃* *tɕat* *wǎ*.
 kill finish follow (name) dead body water DAT throw HS

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

ɕɛ̃ *tɕəŋ* *dū* *bɛ̃* *sət* *təi*
 one (unit of measure of distance) reach LNK the.more big

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

ɕɛ̃ *tɕəŋ* *dū* *bɛ̃* *sət* *təi*,
 one (unit of measure of distance) reach LNK the.more big

it got bigger and bigger,

dɛ̃kɛ̃ *ɟə* *ŋāŋ* *tūm* *(gū)* *mǎli*,
 finally below water without NOM place

finally, it got to the place where there was no more water (where the water goes down)

niɕəm *ɕi* *gū* *tɛ̃* *ŋāŋ* *sù* *tɕiwǎ*.
 (name) dead body INST water stop.up HS

and the body stopped up the water,

əjə *məŋŋ* *ŋāŋ* *təi* *tɕiwǎ*,
 that follow water big HS

therefore the water got bigger.

əjə *pāi* *əŋŋi* *nəm*
 that time 3dl brother.and.sister

At that time, a brother and sister

mǎzeʔ *kəʔ* *lɛ̃* *ɟi* *tɕiwǎ*.
 mushroom pick DAT go HS

went mushroom picking,

mǎzeʔ *ɛ̃-bɛ̃-nū*,
 mushroom DEM-LNK-TOPIC

as for the mushrooms,

sot *ŋə* *lē* *dū* *bě*, *sot* *əl* *wǎ*,
the.more above DAT reach LNK the.more have HS
there were more and more the higher they went.

xu *kārwa* *ǎu* *mǎ-dəm* *wǎ*.
basket how also NEG-full HS

No matter what the basket wouldn't fill up.

pətchu? *ku?* *“ci-ɬu-ɬu”* *ci-ɬu-ɬu”* *gu?* *zɪn*,
bird also water-flood-REDUP water-flood-REDUP say LNK

The birds said “there's a flood, there's a flood!”,

ŋə *lē* *ŋə* *lē* *zɛɪ* *wǎ*.
above DAT above DAT fly HS

and flew higher and higher.

dɛkɛ, *kəwākəpū* *məli* *lē* *əpla?* *tɕiwǎ*.
later (place name) place DAT arrive HS

Finally, the people arrived at “*kəwa* karpu”.

cizɪn *ŋəŋ* *tɛ* *ǎu* *ɛ-lɛ* *dū*:³⁰ *wǎ*.
flood.water water AGT also DEM-DAT reach HS

The flood water also reached there.

əŋɲɪ *nəm* *lŋbu?* *dʒ* *ɬəŋ* *wǎ*.
3dl brother.and.sister cliff.side LOC sit HS

The brother and sister sat at the bottom of a cliff.

cizɪn *ŋəŋ* *tɛ* *əŋɲɪ* *nəm* *ɬəŋ* *lē*
flood.water water AGT 3dl brother.and.sister sit DAT

tsɛnmə *ɕɛ* *təp* *tɛ* *tɕɛ* *mǎ-dū:* *wǎ*.
batten³¹ 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* *əxap* *gŋ* *bū* *ku?* *ɕɛ* *zɪm* *ɛ* *tɕiw*
human COM(follow) arrive NOM snake also one pair be HS

There was a pair of snakes that went with the humans.

³⁰ *xap* 'arrive' would be possible here instead of *dū*.

³¹ Board for packing threads on a loom.

ǎ̀jə́ bāu ŋāŋ lē tɕat lē ɔ̌ bē,
that snake water DAT throw DAT do LNK

When the people were going to throw the snakes into the river,

“ǎ̀jə́ŋ nī-tɕat bē,
1pl NF-throw+1pl LNK

(The snakes said) “If you throw us into the river,

nǎ̀jə́ŋ kuə? laʔ-mə-əl jūŋ.” ē-wā guə? tɕiwǎ.
2pl also let-NEG+NF-exist pl DEM-ADV say HS

you won’t live either,” the snakes said.

bāu ǎ̀jə́ mǎ́nǎ́ŋ ə́l gē tɕiwǎ.
snake that follow exist NOM+be HS

Therefore snakes still exist.

ǎ̀jə́ cizín cì dǎ́gù nī dǎ́gù jə? cə mǎ́nǎ́ŋ bət tɕiwǎ.
that flood.water water nine day nine night become follow recede HS

The water receded after nine days and nights.

ǎ̀jə́ mǎ́nǎ́ŋ, ə́ŋnī nə́m
that follow 3dl brother.and.sister

Then the brother and sister

jə́ kə́ŋ lē ət̚sə́ŋ kī lē lə? tɕiwǎ.
below village DAT human look.for PURP return(vi.) HS

returned to the village to look for people.

kā-d5 kā-d5 lʰ32 bē cū, ət̚sə́ŋ ma-dǎ́gù tɕiwǎ.
WH-LOC WH-LOC look.for LNK also human NEG-have HS

Wherever they looked, there were no people.

t̚lɕŋ³³ t̚lɕŋ nū³⁴ kī lē jì bē cū,
that.way that.way TOP look.for PURP go LNK also

They each went their own way to look,

³² *lā* would also be possible here.

³³ *t̚lɕŋ* 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 *lɕŋ* can mean ‘river valley’, this expression might mean ‘that valley and that valley’. Cf. also the Rawang phrase *t̚lɕŋ t̚lɕŋ*, a phrase meaning ‘to each other’ used in reciprocals, where *səŋ* and *lē* are dative markers (LaPolla 2000).

³⁴ *lē* would also be possible here.

əxrui-əxrui	ʒɔʔ	ədu-ŋi	əxuəm	maʔ	wà.
night-REDUP	again	self-dl	get.together	RECIP	HS

and then came back together each night.

ʈni	ɕu	màl	wā	ɕā	kəi	bē,
fire	also	NEG+have	ADV	meat	eat	LNK

They had no fire, so when they ate meat,

pəmə	pəmə	nəmɡəŋ	lɛ	dəɡəŋ	ʒin	kəi	ɕəiwǎ,
woman	woman	sunlight	DAT	roast	LNK	eat	HS

the woman cooked (her meat) in the sun and ate it,

ləŋlə	ləŋlə	ək-tuŋ	kəi	ɕəiwǎ.
man	man	PREF-raw	eat	HS

but the man ate it raw (lit: 'ate raw ones').

əxi³⁵	ʒup-ʒup	mənəŋ,
night	sleep-REDUP	follow

Every night, when it was time to sleep,

(əŋŋi)	ələŋ	dɔ	dəŋ	səkəm	dɔ
(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)

ŋəŋ	ɔ	ʒin	ʒip	wǎ.
water	put	LNK	sleep	HS

of water and sleep.

səɕəŋ	dū-dū	wā	mənəŋ,
morning	reach-REDUP	ADV	follow

In the morning,

ŋəŋ	səkəm	ma-dəɡūl	bē	ɕu,
water	lid.of.tube	NEG-move	LNK	still

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

ɕil	lɕi	ɔŋ,	ɕil	lɕi	ɔŋ	dɔ	lɕi	sə-ɔŋ-ɕu³⁶	wǎ.
back	side	LOC	back	side	LOC	LOC	naturally	CAUS-sit-R/M	HS

but it ended up behind them (moved itself).

³⁵ Both *əxi* and *əxrui* are acceptable.

³⁶ Here there is a tone change on *ɔŋ* 'sit' because of the addition of the reflexive/middle marker.

3dl one time one time naturally PREF-sleep-R/M wǎ.
 3dl one time one time naturally PREF-sleep-R/M HS

The brother and sister ended up sleeping together unintentionally.

37 sleep prepare DEM-ADV swear(hope) HS
 night sleep prepare DEM-ADV swear(hope) HS

At night when they were preparing to sleep,

1pl human seed put/leave LNK
 1pl human seed put/leave LNK

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

water nine CL let-flow EMPH
 water nine CL let-flow EMPH

let nine rivers flow.”

morning reach follow
 morning reach follow

When the morning came,

38 nine CL water flow HS
 really nine CL water flow HS

nine rivers really did flow.

that follow TOP DEM-ADV say HS
 that follow TOP DEM-ADV say HS

Therefore they said,

1pl god (name) heaven god AGT
 1pl god (name) heaven god AGT

human seeds put/leave NOM+be EMPH
 human seeds put/leave NOM+be EMPH

“We are the human seeds left by the god of heaven Gǎmū.”

DEM-ADV say LNK husband.and.wife do HS
 DEM-ADV say LNK husband.and.wife do HS

Saying like this they then became husband and wife.

³⁷ Both *jup* and *jip* are acceptable.

³⁸ *tāmā* could be used here instead of *jēsǎŋ*.

³⁹ *rì* could be used in place of *tçì* here, to show that the action happened at night.

əŋŋi	mɔwa?	wà	tūm,
3dl	husband.and.wife	do	after

After the two became husband and wife,

əktɕəl	lən̄lə	dəgù	ɟɔ?	pəmā	dəgù	ɟɔ?	ɔ:	tɕiwǎ.
child	boy	nine	CL	girl	nine	CL	do	HS

they gave birth to nine boys and girls.

əjə	əktɕəl	pūŋ	ŋi	nəŋ,
that	children	eldest.boy	and	eldest.girl

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

cīn	ŋi	ŋēn,
second.eldest.boy	and	second.eldest.girl

cūlcūl	mɔwa?	wà	wǎ.
one.after.another	husband.and.wife	do	HS

the second boy marrying the second girl, etc.

mǎli	ǎ-tən	ma?	bē,
place	PREF-divide	RECIP	LNK

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

pəcīn	ǎ-səi	ma?	wǎ.
heart/liver	PREF-spicy	RECIP	HS

they were jealous of each other.

əjə	mənəŋ	nū,	tsli	ap	dədəm	ma?	ɣu:	tɕiwǎ.
That	follow	TOP	bow	shoot	compete	RECIP	CAUSE	HS

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

tsli	ap	bē,
bow	shoot	LNK

When they shot the bows,

pūŋ	ŋi	nəŋ	(tē)	tɕē	təi	ətu	tɕiwǎ.
eldest.boy	and	eldest.girl	AGT	only	very(big)	accurate	HS

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

əjə	mənəŋ,	pūŋ	ŋi	nəŋ
that	follow	eldest.boy	and	eldest.girl

Therefore the oldest

ʝà	mǎli	wà:l	wǎ.
Chinese	place	allocate/divide	HS

were given (sent to) the Chinese area.

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

The second oldest,

mǎkpəi	mǎli	(lē)	wà:l	wǎ.
Tibetan	place	DAT	allocate/divide	HS

were given (sent to) the Tibetan area.

ɬum̩ŋ	mǎli,
Dulong	place

The Dulong area,

kwēn	ɲī	cəŋ	ē	tɕi wǎ.
third.eldest.boy	and	third.eldest.girl	be	HS

was (given to) the third oldest.

mǎnzū	ǎ-tən	maʔ	bē,
song	PREF-divide	RECIP	LNK

When they divided up the songs,

ʝà	ɲī	mǎkpəi	tě	ɲum̩ŋ	(tě)	tək	tɕi wǎ.
Chinese	and	Tibetan	AGT	bag	INST	collect	HS

the Chinese and the Tibetans used bags to get their share.

ɬum̩ŋ	tě	ɬum̩ŋ	(tě)	tək	tɕi wǎ.
Dulong	AGT	type.of.basket	INST	collect	HS

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

ɬum̩ŋ	tě	ǎjə	nū⁴⁰	mǎnzū	mǎ-sɔ:	wǎ.
Dulong	AGT	that	TOP	song	NEG-know.how	HS

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

mǎgūu	ǎ-tən	maʔ	bē,
horse	PREF-divide	RECIP	LNK

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

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

ᑭᑦᑭᑦ	ᑭᑦ	ᑭᑦᑭᑦ	ᑭᑦ:-ᑭᑦ,
Dulong	AGT	walking.stick	make-REDUP

the Dulong made a walking stick (and said),

“*ḡḡḡ mǎḡḡḡ jà laʔ-ē*” (*ḡḡḡ zīn*) *ḡḡḡ:ŋ wǎ.*
1sg horse this let-be say LNK say HS

“Let this be my horse,” he said.

<i>ḏuḥuŋ</i>	<i>məli</i>	<i>əjə</i>	<i>nũ</i> , ⁴¹	<i>məgũ</i>	<i>məl</i>	<i>gẽ</i>	<i>tɕiwǎ</i> .
Dulong	place	that	TOP	horse	NEG+have	NOM+be	HS

Therefore the Dulong place is one without horses.

<i>ṭṣ̀m̀ŋ</i>	<i>ḏ</i>	<i>ḁŋ</i>	<i>gũ</i>
Dulong	LOC	exist/sit	NOM

Since the Dulong place is lived in

kwēn **ŋī** **cəŋ** **ē** **mənəŋ,**
third.eldest.boy and third.eldest.girl be follow

by the third oldest,

"cakkrai	Ḫṇ	kā:n	tɕiwa.
third.eldest	river.valley	called	HS

it is called “**cəkkhrai lən**” (“third eldest river valley”).

⁴¹ See previous note.

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 is 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

I have kept some of the phonetic variation found in the original transcription, such as having both *ɛʔwā* and *ɛwā* for ‘(in) this way’, *nə* and *nū* for the topic marker (which is also used at the end of clauses, and so sometimes glossed as “LNK”), and *bɛ* and *bəi* 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-kaʔ* ‘bamboo strip’).

REFERENCES

- BARNARD, J. T. O. 1934. *A Handbook of the Rawang Dialect of the Nung Language*. Rangoon: Superintendent of Govt. Printing and Stationery.
- DAI Qingxia, Huang Bufan, Fu Ailan, Renzengwangmu and Liu Juhuang. 1991. *Zàng-Miǎnyǔ shíwǔ zhǒng (Fifteen Tibeto-Burman Languages)*. Beijing: Yanshan Chubanshe. (includes a chapter on 4th Township Dulong)
- LAPOLLA, Randy J. 1995a. "On the utility of the concepts of markedness and prototypes in understanding the development of morphological systems." *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 66.4:1149-1185.
- . 1995b. "Reflexive and middle marking in Dulong/Rawang." Paper presented to the 28th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Charlottesville, VA, October 6-9. To appear in *Himalayan Linguistics*, ed. by George van Driem. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- . 1996. "Middle voice marking in Tibeto-Burman languages." *Pan-Asian Linguistics: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium on Languages and Linguistics*, Vol. V, 1940-1954. Bangkok: Mahidol University.
- . 2000a. "Valency-changing derivations in Dulong/Rawang." *Changing Valency: Case Studies in Transitivity*, ed. by R. M. W. Dixon and A. Y. Aikhenvald, 282-311. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2000b. "Subgrouping in Tibeto-Burman: Can an individual-identifying standard be developed? How do we factor in the history of migrations and language contact?" Paper presented at the 33rd International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Bangkok and Trang, Thailand, Oct. 2-6, 2000.
- . to appear. "Dulong." *The Sino-Tibetan Languages*, ed. by G. Thurgood and R. J. LaPolla. London: Curzon Press.

- LIU Juhuang. 1988. "Dúlóngyǔ dòngcí yánjiū (Studies on the Dulong verb)." *Yǔyán yánjiū* 1988.1:176-191.
- LO Chang-peí. 1945. "A preliminary study of the Trung language of Kung Shan." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8:343-348.
- MORSE, Robert H. 1963. "Phonology of Rawang." *Anthropological Linguistics* 5.5:17-41.
- . 1965. "Syntactic frames for the Rvwang (Rawang) verb." *Lingua* 15:338-369.
- SUN Hongkai. 1982. *Dúlóngyǔ jiǎnzhì (A Sketch of the Dulong Language)*. Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe.
- YANG Jiangling (2000) "Dúlóngyǔ de cháng yuányīn (The long vowels of the Dulong language)." *Mínzú Yǔwén* 2000.2:38-44.