DULONG TEXTS: SEVEN FULLY ANALYZED NARRATIVE AND PROCEDURAL TEXTS

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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 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. There are two phonemic tones, level (ä) and falling (ã), and a reduced tone which appears on unstressed syllables (ã). For a more thorough discussion of Dulong phonology and grammar, see LaPolla to appear. For other works which discuss Dulong and the closely related Rawang language, see the References. The following texts were recorded from two different informants.

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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.

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HOW TO MAKE WINE
told by Tsëng Yùlán (dù no?)

\[\text{nù} \quad \dot{s} \quad \text{bôi} \quad nenguin,\]
wine \quad do+1pl \quad LNK \quad TOP

When we make wine,

\[\text{sjà} \quad \text{tænhæŋ} \quad \text{tæ} \quad \text{čù} \quad \dot{s};,\]
that \quad corn \quad INST \quad also \quad do+1pl

we do it with corn,

\[\text{dži} \quad \text{tæ} \quad \text{čù} \quad \dot{s};,\]
millet \quad INST \quad also \quad do+1pl

we do it with millet

\[\text{pōkä} \quad \text{tæ} \quad \text{čù} \quad \dot{s};,\]
buckwheat \quad INST \quad also \quad do +1pl

we do it with buckwheat

\[\text{bändâ} \quad \text{tæ} \quad \text{čù} \quad \dot{s};.\]
barnyard.millet \quad INST \quad also \quad do+1pl

we do it with barnyard millet.
When we make wine,

wine make NOM thing also oil NEG-stick NOM

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

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

oil NEG-stick

(and) no oil on them.

We make (them) clean.

wine much-REDUP make+1pl LNK TOP

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

cooking.pot big LOC make+1pl

we make it in a big pot,

one wine.container fill NOM

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

If we only make a little,

proper pot-pl make+1pl

(then) we use the proper pots.

---

3 tceŋ is an alternate form of ṭtcēŋ:

yil jirīŋ dős ściŋ dős
this bag LOC rice two catty

hold/contain

This bag can hold two catties.

4 ṭa used as plural. Normally the LOC dős would be used here, but it was not used by the speaker.
that corn grounds INST also make+1pl
(for the material used for the wine) we (can) use (roughly) ground corn,
flour INST also make+1pl
or we can use flour.
DEM-ADV⁵ make+1pl-REDUP LNK say LNK
After we have done this,
that also DEM-ADV be
that is also this way.
that cooked.meal make+1pl-REDUP winnowing.pan INST sprinkle+1f
after we cook the rice, we sprinkle it with a winnowing pan.
cold-weather become LNK
If the weather becomes cold,
a.little warm time
when the (rice) is still a little warm,
that brewer’s.yeast put.in+1pl EMPH RQ
we put in the brewer’s yeast, no?

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⁵ ɗwā seems to consist of the copula, ɗ, plus the adverbial marker, wā, but it means ‘this way’; there is also an expression ɗle ‘there’, all of which is ɗ plus the dative marker, and an expression ɗ-be ‘after that’, all of which seem to point to ɗ 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 çīn is not the same particle as the simultaneous action marker zīn; e.g.

a. nā ɗ-wā nā-guṇī çīn!
   2sg DEM-ADV NF-say EMPH
   You said it this way!

b. nāi pā-āt: çīn!
   2sg+AGT IMP-do EMPH
   (Why don’t you) do it!
already make+1pl brewer’s yeast put.in+1pl

put in the brewer’s yeast we just made.

cühl bē kā zō:ŋ.
cool LNK only.then put.in+1pl

only after (the rice) is cool do we put in (the brewer’s yeast).

lūm-nām ca bē nō, warm-weather become LNK TOP
If the weather becomes warm,

tcū? gūŋ tūm lī zō:ŋ.
a.little cool after only.then put.in+1pl

we put the brewer’s yeast in only after it is cool.

xūm xōmoi ļē, that upper.part.of.fire.area DAT

on/towards the upper part of the fire area,

ē-wō ēnmoi cwp ē-ː īnūr.
DEM-ADV what grass do+1pl-REDUP LNK

in this way we put grass on top,

lūm mōn̄ŋ, warm follow

after it is warm (has fermented),

pō nūtci ētc? mōn̄ŋ gūl? bōi, this dregs drip follow say LNK

when the dregs drip down,

wūnlū ļē ē:. wine.container DAT do+1pl

(then) we put it in the wine container.
zung-nəm əsəm əa? tə 9
cold-weather three night ADV
in the winter only after three nights
kən wəŋlə lə zəŋə.
only.then wine.container DAT put.in+1pl
will we put it into the wine container.

nəmlümənəm əŋ,
summertime TOP
(in the) summertime,
šiŋ əa? ce əa? tə zəŋə.
two night one night ADV put.in+1pl
after one or two nights we put it in (the wine container).
šəŋ wəŋlə lə zəŋə tuım,
that wine.container DAT put.in+1pl after
After we put it into the wine container,
ce əintə? tə jəŋə,10
one week ADV one.month
one week, one month,
təəm ə: bə jəŋə əə:
even.more make LNK one.month place/put+1pl
if the time is longer we place it for a month.

ce əintə? tə jəŋə tə
one week ADV one.month ADV
in a week or a month,

čənəm ək əin.
already drink+1pl EMPH
we can drink it.
šəŋ nə ə-wə zə: gə.
that wine DEM-ADV make+1pl NOM+be
Wine is made (by us) like this.

ə-wə əə,
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 əintə? ‘week’ and jəŋə ‘one month’ are loans from Chinese (Mand. xīngqī and yīge yuè, respectively).


kārwā lā ḍː tɕiʔ?
how only.then do+1pl HS

how would we make it?

**MAKING BREWER’S YEAST**

told by Tsēng Yūlān (dū na?)

nū nŏ ʂjā cūŋkā nū,
wine TOP that brewer’s.yeast TOP

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

bāndā k.:m-śi:m
barnyard.millet dry.in.sun+1pl-REDUP LNK

we dry the barnyard millet in the sun,

tōtśi kōm g᷃ ḍː-᷃ nū.
extremely dry NOM do+1pl-REDUP LNK

we make it very dry.

saktaʔ dō k̥j:r bōi ʂu,
stone.mortar LOC grind+1pl LNK also

We use a stone mortar to grind it,

tōtśi dzup xieʔ k̥j:r ɕin.
extremely fine EXT grind+1pl EMPH

(and) grind it until it is very fine.

We grind it until it is very fine.

ʃjā wā pōwaʔ mōnśŋ,
that do/make about.to follow

When we are about to make the brewer’s yeast,

p:xā sōnaʔ tśŋmā ḍː.
winnowing.tray all clean do+1pl

we clean the winnowing tray(s).

---

11 lāːm = sō-ḵām [CAUS-dry].
nār wā sā cūmkā zuː;
wine do/make NOM brewer’s yeast make+1pl

We make brewer’s yeast for making wine,
dzāi indsay ʃja? e nū,
millet grain that be LNK

that is millet grain,

rakta? dō kā: tām nū,
stone.mortar LOC grind+1pl after LNK

after we grind it in a stone mortar,
nondogam coppaŋ dō ʃglurŋ-glurŋ nū.
well(adv.) mortar LOC pound+1pl-REDUP LNK

we pound it well in a wooden mortar,

ʃglurŋ, nāŋ tė ʃi sā põː? wā tānduŋ naːi cīn.
pound+1pl water INST do+1pl-REDUP LNK

we pound it (mixed) with water,

ʃglurŋ-glurŋ nū,
pound+1pl-REDUP LNK

(having) pounded (it),

ʃja e nū ʃtsaŋ kāi sā põː?
that be LNK person eat NOM cake ADV piece
tānduŋ naːi cīn.
mold+1pl EMPH

when that is done, we mold it into chunks the size of the cakes people eat.

ʃja cūkkā pōi nōi nū,
that brewer’s yeast NS CL TOP

That brewer’s yeast,

ʃja e-łē nū,
that DEM-DAT LNK

that (brewer’s yeast),

tād pār tsāwālɔŋ “tāçi” kīːn gū.
long.ago time Tsawalong(Tibet) Tashi called+1pl NOM

long ago we called Tibet “Tashi”.

tsāwālɔŋ cūkkā,
Tsawalong(Tibet) brewer’s.yeast

Tibetan brewer’s yeast,
this little bit of brewer’s yeast,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cé tču} & \quad \text{cé tču} & \quad \text{e?-wā} & \quad \text{čukkā} & \quad \text{le} & \quad \text{zāːŋ} & , \\
\text{one} & \quad \text{a.little} & \quad \text{one} & \quad \text{a.little} & \quad \text{DEM-ADV} & \quad \text{brewer’s.yeast} & \quad \text{DAT put.in+1pl} \\
a \text{little bit at a time, (we Dulong) mix in the} & \quad \text{the brewer’s yeast}, \\
\text{žŋtsi} & \quad \text{le} & \quad \text{cé tču} & \quad \text{zāːŋ-zāːŋ}, \\
\text{flour} & \quad \text{DAT} & \quad \text{one} & \quad \text{a.little} & \quad \text{put.in+1pl-REDUP} & \\
mix \text{a little into the (brewer’s yeast) flour (before it has} & \quad \text{been make into a cake),} \\
\text{žŋka} & \quad \text{le} & \quad \text{e?-wā} & \quad \text{e?-wā} & \quad \text{kālːŋ}, \\
\text{chunk} & \quad \text{DAT} & \quad \text{DEM-ADV} & \quad \text{DEM-ADV} & \quad \text{spread(paste)+1pl} & \\
\text{we spread it on the ones made into cakes.} \\
\text{naːi} & \quad \text{tūm}, \\
mold+1pl & \quad \text{after} \\
\text{After we have molded it,} \\
\text{pōle} & \quad \text{we} & \quad \text{wā ɔː}. \\
\text{cake} & \quad \text{piece} & \quad \text{ADV do+1pl} \\
\text{we make it into pieces.} \\
\text{žjà pōle} & \quad \text{we} & \quad \text{wā ɔː} & \quad \text{tūm}, \\
\text{that cake} & \quad \text{pieces} & \quad \text{ADV do+1pl} & \quad \text{after} & \\
\text{After we make it into cakes,} \\
\text{kātsi} & \quad \text{bōbō} & \quad \text{čdīn} & \quad \text{dɔ}, \\
\text{bran} & \quad \text{much} & \quad \text{middle} & \quad \text{LOC} & \\
\text{we (put it) in the middle of a lot of bran (chaff).} \\
\text{e?-wā} & \quad \text{ŋɔ} & \quad \text{mʉ} & \quad \text{wā ɔː}, \\
\text{DEM-ADV top} & \quad \text{wine} & \quad \text{ADV place/put+1pl} & \\
\text{like this put it on top, like with wine.} \\
\text{mʉ} & \quad \text{wā} & \quad \text{ɔ:-tʃ} & \quad \text{nù}, \\
\text{wine} & \quad \text{ADV put/place+1pl-REDUP LNK} & \\
\text{After putting it on like wine,} \\
\text{sī} & \quad \text{mōnːŋ}, & \quad \text{k5 le} & \quad \text{ʒà} & \quad \text{le} & \quad \text{pǒk}. \\
\text{flavorful(fermented) follow that DAT this DAT turn.over+1pl} & \\
\text{when it has flavor (when it has fermented), turn it over and over.} \\
\text{sī} & \quad \text{mōnːŋ}, \\
\text{flavorful(fermented) follow} & \\
\text{When it has flavor (when it has fermented),}
two night two night ADV turn.over+1pl

after two nights we turn it over.

winter two night

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

hot.weather one night ADV turn.over+1pl

In the hot weather we turn it after one night.

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.

that be again

After that, again,

that even.more dry follow TOP

when it is more dry,

well(adv.) what-CL bag LOC do+1pl-REDUP LNK

we put it into a bag,

top LOC hang+1pl

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

that also clean do+1pl NOM+be

That we also have to make clean.

bran(flour) COM place/put+1pl NOM LNK

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

one week ADV place/put+1pl

(we place it) for about one week,
dzāi  tsì  dō  sā  
we put it in the millet bran/chaff.

ʃà  cà  mənəŋ  nū,  
that become follow TOP

(One week later) when it is done,

"tɔxəŋ"  gǔ  kī:n.  
(name) NOM call+1pl

we call it “tɔxəŋ”.

pûŋ  dō  sā  
bag LOC put/place+1pl

(Again) we put it in a bag.

ẽ-bē,  ʃà  cukkā,  
DEM-LNK that Brewer’s yeast

After that, that brewer’s yeast,

tsəm  cà  mənəŋ  ʃà,  
even more become follow that

after another stretch of time,

ʃà  puwp  dzìn  ʃə:  cĩn,  nū.  
that sprinkle LNK do+1pl EMPH wine

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

HOW TO MAKE A TRAP

ʃū  kārwā  zū  sā
(tree-spring)trap how make NOM

told by Li Yaohua (nəwəŋɔːr bəzə)

ʃū  zū  bē,  təsā  tsit  zū  sā.  
trap make LNK start trap.string make NOM

When making a trap, first the string is made.

tsit  nū  ʃə  tē  ʃə  tsərī  tē  zū;
trap.string TOP hemp INST make string INST make+1pl

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

tsāi muktaï ñkkoe ca juk-juk,
string thick(round) piece(CL.for.rope) become twist+1pl-REDUP
(and) make it into a thick rope,

(tsit) cę lai ñn kām tē zū (gū) tsit-kāla sōpak,
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,

ce kī ñn nārtcū zū,
one side LOC loop make
on the other end make a loop,

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

jū kūn cō tsōn gū tōtōk-tōk.
trap area LOC strong NOM stick(in.the.ground)+1pl-REDU
(and) stick the spring into the ground (of the trap area).

(tsit) tōpā mōnē ŋn gwej,
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) [cō gwej sō kī]12 ŋn mōn-mōn ŋzhū,
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,

[tē nārtcū]13 ŋn, cę tu? ŋzhū gū sōpak
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,

(tōpā) le gwej,
spring DAT tie+1pl
(and) tie (it) to the spring,

ŋjō ĕ, pīl-pīl kām (tē),
that be soft(not.hard)-REDUP bamboo INST
after that, we take a soft piece of bamboo,

---

12 cō gwej sō lai is the side with the loop (nārtcū). Later in this line the reduplication changes the tone on the second token of mōn ‘long’.
13 tēn sō lai is the side with the tsit kāla? ‘string holder’.
kɔ jɔi jə kəi ɔsə lə
that side that side ground DAT

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

tupə mətcùn ɔŋ, ʃl jəŋə-ŋən,
spring end(edge) LOC below pull(down)+1pl-REDUP
(and) pull down one end of the spring,

tsit-kələ? ɔŋə ʃnədgən lə təŋ.
string-holder that bow(shaped.object) DAT trap+1pl
(and) trap the holder in the bow.

ɔŋə ə, kaptəe ə ɔŋxim əŋə tsit-kələ?
that be crossbar INST horizontal side string-holder

mə-ʃpot gən əŋə
NEG-let.go NOM trap+1pl

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

ɔŋə ə, kəp-klup ə bət gən,
that be bamboo-slice INST weave NOM

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

"gəm" kə:n gən səxə, ɔŋə kaptəe mədəm də rə;
called NOM thing that crossbar above LOC put/place+1pl

a thing called "gəm", on top of the crossbar,

ɔŋə ə, nɪtən ə məʔ-ʒəŋ14 gən kəp.
that be moss/greens INST NEG-PREF-see NOM cover

after that, cover it with moss/greens so it is not visible.

kəp tən mənən,
cover finish afterward

After covering it,

tsit əŋmukwən tə-xrəp-ənə sə əx-əx;
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 jəŋ 'to see' takes the intransitivizing prefix, and so has the sense of 'be visible'. There is also a tone change because of the two prefixes.
moss/greens above gently put/place+1pl

and gently put moss/greens on top.

wà tòn mônôŋ, do finish after

After doing that,

jū kûŋ kō lî jō kî ji tɔp mûl nàrkûm zû. 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**

tănô kârwâ zû sâ
crossbow how make NOM

told by Li Yaohua (nēwâŋzûr brâzî)

**The making of the crossbow,**

tûlî, tănô têkplân, tîkaŏl,
bow(part.of.crossbow) crossbow body.of.bow trigger

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

tîdên, têlêt tē zû gê.
string holder string INST make NOM+be

the string, and the string holder.

tûlî nû sâciôn rat-rot,
bow TOP tree.used.to.make.bow cut-REDUP

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

nàndâgûm teîtçûm tçe âktse? câ zû’l-zû’l.
well(adv.) small only strip become shave-REDUP

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

nàndâgûm cən gûr çuk-kô? lî-lî
well(adv.) straight NOM tree-CL(straight.piece) find/look.for-REDUP

Find a straight piece of wood,
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,
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.
that be steam DAT cook+1pl
After that, we use steam to cook it.

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.
crossbow body TOP firewood cut.into.small.strip+1pl-REDUP make+1
(For) the body of the crossbow, cut the firewood into small strips.
crossbow body make finish follow
After finishing the body part of the crossbow,
one side LOC bow ADV draw-REDUP
On one side, having drawn the shape of a bow,
small.knife INST bore.small.hole+1pl
we use a small knife to bore a small hole.
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.
that be bone INST string.holder and trigger make
Then use bone to make the string holder and trigger.
bow.string TOP hemp INST

---

15 dɔ could be used here instead of ṣη.
To make the bow string, we soak hemp well in water and then rub it (roll it into string).

rub finish follow that be that bow string heavy thing

After rubbing it, we use something heavy

to hang it to dry in the sun.

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

(then) make a noose at each end.

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

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

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

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

we make strips by cutting the bamboo in half.

---

16 *ap* 'shoot’ would also be possible here.
After that, we smoke it on the fireplace rack.

After a long time,

we cut the bamboo strips into smaller strips,

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

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

(and) attach the wings to the arrow.

WHY MONKEYS STEAL HUMAN FOOD
told by Li Yaohua (nowāŋzâr brāzì)

Long ago monkeys took care of babies for people.

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.
mind-many NEG-need ADV field work DAT go HS
could go to work the field without having to worry (about the child).

food also very(big) good HS

The crop grew very well,

monkey AGT baby well(adv.) work HS
the monkey took good care of the baby.

1-father 1-mother say know/how until do HS

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

baby big follow monkey CAUS-return time become follow

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

caregiver fee human AGT quiver(arrow.case) lid one CL

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

only give HS that follow monkey nose spicy HS

Because of this, the monkey became very angry.

that quiver lid buttock LOC stick(v.)-REDUP eye stare LNK

The monkey stuck the lid to his rear end,

one jump one Jump (jump.and.skip) jump LNK return go HS

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

monkey buttock that follow TOP fur/hair NEG-grow be HS

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

monkey DEM-ADV nose spicy(angry) follow

When the monkey got angry,
The person felt bad.

So the man said to the monkey,

"Later you can come to the edge of the field and see (eat a bit)."

After that,

monkeys steal grain from humans.

**WHY DOGS HAVE LONG TONGUES AND CAN’T TALK**

dog why tongue long words say ability NEG+1 story
told by Li Yaohua (newāŋzär bräzi)

It is said long ago dogs knew how to talk.

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

---

18 aci ‘spirit of a dead person’ would also be possible instead of mō-gām.

19 It would be possible to use nūr instead of gūr here.
It is said long ago (a) dog and (a) pig were raised by (a) person.

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

21 The expression tsot ɖt[(t) ‘time’ or the nominalizer ʂd could be used here instead of tsot.
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.

pig field do finish follow TOP tired follow rest time

When the pig finished working the field and was tired and resting,

dog first house DAT return HS night arrive follow TOP
the dog would first go home and at night
would deceive the master (saying):

"3-k∧n! kimbrə? wa? 3sg TOP one day one day
1-master friend pig 3sg TOP one day one day

field edge LOC sleep

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”)

dog DEM-ADV 3-master DAT deceive HS

The dog deceived his master in this way.

3-master well think-R/M HS

The master thought about this for a while/well,

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

---

22 It would be possible to use the topic marker ṇr instead of g̣r here.
one CL(person) say NOM word INST

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,

later 1sg field DAT see PURP go+1sg want+1sg

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

DEM-LNK TOP dog DEM-ADV say LNK also 3-master AGT

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

which CL(person) eye big ADV NEG-see HS

won't be biased towards either of them.²⁴

that after TOP 3-master secretly ADV peep do PURP go HS

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

which CL(person) DAT also morning well food give LN

In the morning after he fed each of them well and

field do DAT send.out-REDUP

sent them out to the fields to work,

behind after ABL peep PURP go HS

He went behind them to spy on them.

3-master field DAT go HS

The master went to the field.

²³ kāpē jo? 'which-CL(for people)' could be used instead of anī here.

²⁴ ne? tài jān, literally "eye big see" is a metaphor for 'have a bias'.
The first day,

pig TOP heaven-evening EXT tail move-RP25-REDUP

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

DEM-LNK dog TOP field LOC NEG-see HS
(The master) did not see the dog in the field.

DEM-ADV DEM-LNK also word NEG-say-REDUP
He didn’t say anything about this.

dog and pig NEG-arrive time
Before the dog and pig arrived,

quickly-REDUP house DAT return-REDUP TOP
he quickly returned to the house,

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).

evening arrive follow dog 3-master DAT

again before ADV say HS

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

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

---

25 le (~ lê) is an optional reduplication particle (RP). In this clause the verb wot ‘wag’ could also have been used, i.e. wot-le-wot.
nà  nit  nɔ-gəm,  åŋ  tē  mɔ-sõ."
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  cū  ɔk-kəŋ  tōŋ  cū  mɔ-gui?  wā,
DEM-ADV  DEM-LNK  also  3-master  what  also  NEG-say  HS

The master still didn’t say anything about this,

ce  kā  dō  tē  jà:n  mā-pəsā:
one  time  LOC  only  look  NEG-know(clearly)  HS

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

ōjā  tūm  ɔk-kər-kər  sēm  bē,
that  after  PREF-time-REDUP  peep  LNK

After spying on them several times,

dōgī  ṣlázē  gē  mū  wā.
dog  lie  NOM+be  EMP  HS

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

tūmā  lēkā  wā  gū  wa?
tūm  really  work  do  NOM  pig  only  be  EMP  HS

It was only the pig who was really working.

In the daytime the dog slacked off,

şxruĩ-şxruĩ  ūzū  lu?  zīn,  ɔk-kəŋ  lē  klup  wā
night-REDUP  before  return  LNK  3-master  DAT  deceive  HS

and every night returned first and lied to the master.

wā?  mū  kā  gui?  mā-sõ,
pig  TOP  word  say  NEG-know

The pig didn’t know how to talk,

ē-bē  dōgī  mū  kā  gui?  sō.
DEM-LNK  dog  TOP  word  say  know

but the dog knew how to talk.

ōjā  mənən  mū,  ɔk-kəŋ  ḍnənĩ  lē
that  follow  TOP  3-master  3dual  DAT
the same food give HS

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

Later, the master said to the dog:

"Now don’t you say anything,

your master (I) want to talk.

Now your stomach is full and you are tired,

come here and rest, and open your mouth.

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

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

The master pulled it,

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

It seems like you don’t know how to lie,
nà  jà  pəlai  tê  ni-klu̍p,
2sg  this  tongue  INST  NF-deceive
you use this tongue to lie (to me),

jà  pəlai  nà  lê  təŋ  cû  zi-gû  māl  mì,  
this  tongue  2sg  DAT  what  also  use  NEG+have  EN
this tongue is of no use to you.

jà  pəlai  māl  bē,  
this  tongue  NEG+have  LNK
If you didn’t have this tongue,

nà  nāндəgəm  lēkā  ni-wā  tūr  ê.  
2sg  well  work  NF-do  perhaps  be
you might work well.”

djà  tūm  nū,  dəgī  pəlai  mən  tɕi-wâ,  
that  after  TOP  dog  tongue  long  HS
After that, the dog’s tongue was long,

kā  guī?  tāp  māl  tɕi-wâ.  
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 (nəwəŋzər bəzî)

tɕa  pāt  tɕa  pāt  ɐtsən  kən  də  
long.ago  time  long.ago  time  human  village  LOC
Long ago, in a human village

nɨcəm  kə:n  səl  tɕi-wâ,  
(name)  named  have/exist  HS
there lived a person named “Nisham”.26

djà  nɨcəm  nū  zɛr  kəl?  sô,  nɨtəcə?  kəl  kâ  tɕi-wâ  
that  (name)  TOP  fly  also  know.how  tail  also  grow  HS
That Nisham could fly and had a tail.

26  Also called nimucəm.
Nisham didn’t allow the people to eat their food,

just as they were about to eat their food,

he would take the pot up a tree

and eat it,

and would grab whichever girls were beautiful up to the tree and do (rape) them.

Therefore, the people got together

and discussed killing Nisham.

They invited Nisham into the house,

and said from below the house,

“Uncle Nisham, please hang your tail down.”

\[27\] kôi would also be possible here.

\[28\] toxrum-toxrum-cû would also be possible here.

\[29\] rom (or rê) ‘come’ also has the sense of making the imperative more polite.
nit'wo? cā:m pāi, dōgū jō? kūtū tē tūkuw-kūk,
tail hang.down time nine CL strong(man) AGT pull-REDUP

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

nōptūm-kōn pē, mōgūn tē ązō'r wā.
doorway ABL pike INST spear(v.) HS

and from the doorway spearred him with a pike.

sōt tōn mōnšn̄, nićūm cī gū nān lē tōat wā.
kill finish follow (name) dead body water DAT throw HS

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

cē tōn j jō dū bē, sōt tōi
one (unit of measure of distance) reach LNK the.more big

with each “tōn” that it moved down the water,

cē tōn j jō dū bē sōt tōi,
one (unit of measure of distance) reach LNK the.more big

it got bigger and bigger,

dēlō jō nān tūm (gū) mōlī,
finally below water without NOM place

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

nićūm cī gū tē nān sū tūcuwā.
(name) dead body INST water stop.up HS

and the body stopped up the water,

šōn mōnšn̄ nān tōi tūcuwā,
that follow water big HS

therefore the water got bigger.

šōn pāi, nōnī nām
that time 3dl brother.and.sister

At that time, a brother and sister

mōze? kō lē jī tūcuwā.
mushroom pick DAT go HS

went mushroom picking,

mōze? ē-bē-nū,
mushroom DEM-LNK-TOPIC

as for the mushrooms,
There were more and more the higher they went.

No matter what the basket wouldn’t fill up.

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

and flew higher and higher.

Finally, the people arrived at “kōwa karpū”.

The flood water also reached there.

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

The flood water stopped just one batten’s width away from where the brother and sister were sitting.

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

---

30 xuap ‘arrive’ would be possible here instead of dū.
31 Board for packing threads on a loom.
LaPolla

that snake water DAT throw DAT do LNK

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

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

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

snake that follow exist NOM+be HS

Therefore snakes still exist.

that flood.water water nine day nine night become follow recede HS

The water receded after nine days and nights.

that follow 3dl brother.and.sister

Then the brother and sister

below village DAT human look.for PURP return(vi.) HS

returned to the village to look for people.

WH-LOC WH-LOC look.for LNK also human NEG-have HS

Wherever they looked, there were no people.

that.way that.way TOP look.for PURP go LNK also

They each went their own way to look,

\[^{32} \text{la would also be possible here.}\]

\[^{33} \text{ta is not one of the usual demonstrative pronouns, but seems to have originally had such a meaning, and is now limited to certain idiomatic phrases, such as this one. As la can mean 'river valley', this expression might mean 'that valley and that valley'. Cf. also the Rawang phrase tstu \text{ ma-dogu}, a phrase meaning 'to each other' used in reciprocals, where s\text{a} and le are dative markers (LaPolla 2000).}\]

\[^{34} \text{le would also be possible here.}\]
and then came back together each night.

tə̤n  cău  məl  wā  că  koi  bē,
fire also NEG+have ADV meat eat LNK

They had no fire, so when they ate meat,

pəmə  pəmə  nəmgən  lē  dəgən  zīn  koi  tsiwə,
woman woman sunlight DAT roast LNK eat HS

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

ləngə  ləngə  šk-tiŋ  koi  tsiwə,
man man PREF-raw eat HS

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

šxurl roku  mənən,  night  sleep-REDUP  follow

Every night, when it was time to sleep,

(əŋŋəl)  šlən  dō  dən  səkəm  do
(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)

nəŋ  xō  zīn  jiŋ  wā.
water put LNK sleep HS

do water and sleep.

səŋən  dəl-dəl  wā  mənən,  morning  reach-REDUP  ADV follow

In the morning,

nəŋ  səkəm  ma-dəgəl  bē  çən,
water lid.of.tube NEG-move LNK still

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

tōl  kii  əŋ,  tōl  kii  əŋ  dō  kii  sə-əŋ-ən36  wā.
back side LOC back side LOC LOC naturally CAUS-sit-R/M HS

but it ended up behind them (moved itself).

35 Both šxurl and šxurl are acceptable.
36 Here there is a tone change on əŋ 'sit' because of the addition of the reflexive/middle marker.
The brother and sister ended up sleeping together unintentionally.

At night when they were preparing to sleep,

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

let nine rivers flow.”

When the morning came,

nine rivers really did flow.

Therefore they said,

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

Saying like this they then became husband and wife.

---

37 Both jup and jip are acceptable.
38 tůmů could be used here instead of jesšaŋ.
39 ri could be used in place of tći here, to show that the action happened at night.
After the two became husband and wife,

child boy nine CL girl nine CL do HS
they gave birth to nine boys and girls.

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

second.eldest.boy and second.eldest.girl
the second boy marrying the second girl, etc.

place PREF-divide RECIP LNK
When it was time to divide up (go to) different places,

heart/liver PREF-spicy RECIP HS
they were jealous of each other.

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

When they shot the bows,

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

Therefore the oldest
were given (sent to) the Chinese area.

The second oldest,

were given (sent to) the Tibetan area.

The Dulong place

The Dulong area,

was (given to) the third oldest.

When they divided up the songs,

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

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

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

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

\[tè\] could be used here instead of \[nù\] to more clearly show the causation (‘because of this’).
Dulong made a walking stick (and said),

"Let this be my horse." he said.

Therefore the Dulong place is one without horses.

Since the Dulong place is lived in

by the third oldest,

it is called "cakkrai lun" ("third eldest river valley").

---

41 See previous note.
### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-, 2-, 3-</td>
<td>1st, 2nd, and 3rd person possessive prefixes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>adverbial marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>AGT</td>
<td>agentive marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUSE</td>
<td>causative auxiliary verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>numeral classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative/allative marker; used for ‘anti-agentive’ marking, i.e. to mark animate monotransitive patient arguments and dative arguments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic tone of voice marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXT</td>
<td>verbal action extent marker (the element before the marker is the extent reached by the verbal action)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>instrumental marker (same form as agentive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LNK</td>
<td>linker (links two clauses or discourse segments)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative and temporal marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NF</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS</td>
<td>numeral substitute (used with classifier when no numeral is present)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREF</td>
<td>intransitivizing prefix; with a non-singular actor it gives the verb a reciprocal sense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>purposive marker (marks purpose of action — same form as dative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECIP</td>
<td>optional postverbal reciprocal marker (<em>ma?</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDUP</td>
<td>reduplication of verb to show completed action (if dynamic verb) or intensification or adverbiaлизation (if stative verb); with nouns and interrogative pronouns reduplication has a distributive sense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R/M</td>
<td>reflexive/middle marker; often used for intransitivizing transitive verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RP</td>
<td>optional reduplication particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RQ</td>
<td>rhetorical question marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TOP  topic marker
WH  interrogative pronoun

I have kept some of the phonetic variation found in the original transcription, such as having both εʔwā and ēwā for ‘(in) this way’, nō and nū for the topic marker (which is also used at the end of clauses, and so sometimes glossed as “LNK”), and bē and bōi for the ubiquitous linking particle. There are also a few cases of morphophonemic sandhi variation, such as the change from nasal to voiceless stop (e.g. the prefix /əŋ/- > [ək]- when followed by a voiceless stop; /kām/ ‘bamboo’ > [kap] in kap-kaʔ ‘bamboo strip’).
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