

DULONG TEXTS: SEVEN FULLY ANALYZED NARRATIVE AND PROCEDURAL TEXTS¹

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INTRODUCTION

Dulong is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Gongshan Dulong and Nu Autonomous county in Yunnan, China, by members of the Dulong nationality (pop.: 6,000), and part of the Nu nationality (roughly 6,000 people). The First Township dialect, represented by the texts below, is spoken in Dízhèngdāng village, in a relatively inaccessible area of the Dulong River valley, just south of the border of the Tibetan Autonomous Region not far from the border of Myanmar (Burma). The affiliations of the language are still unclear. Most scholars put it together with the Jinghpaw language, but there is suspicion 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 (ā) and falling (à), and a reduced tone which appears on unstressed syllables (ǎ). For a more thorough discussion of Dulong phonology and grammar, see LaPolla to appear. For other works which discuss Dulong and the closely related Rawang language, see the References. The following texts were recorded from two different informants

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.

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HOW TO MAKE WINE

told by Tsēng Yùlán (dū nɑ?)

<i>nù</i>	ɔ:	<i>bəi</i>	<i>nə,</i>
wine	do+1pl	LNK	TOP

When we make wine,

<i>əjə</i>	<i>təŋbɔŋ</i>	<i>tɛ</i>	<i>ɕu</i>	ɔ:,
that	corn	INST	also	do+1pl

we do it with corn,

<i>dzi</i>	<i>tɛ</i>	<i>ɕu</i>	ɔ:,
millet	INST	also	do+1pl

we do it with millet

<i>pəkə</i>	<i>tɛ</i>	<i>ɕu</i>	ɔ:,
buckwheat	INST	also	do +1pl

we do it with buckwheat

<i>bəndə</i>	<i>tɛ</i>	<i>ɕu</i>	ɔ:.
barnyard.millet	INST	also	do+1pl

we do it with barnyard millet.

ē-bē *əjə* *ə:* *bě* *ně* *əjə,*
DEM-LNK that do+1pl LNK TOP that

When we make wine,

mù *wā* *sā* *sə̀u* *cū* *təmāi* *mě-dəp* *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* *əcu?* *mě-dəp* *gū* *ə:* *cīn,*
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,

təmāi *mě-dəp.*
oil NEG-stick

(and) no oil on them.

tsəŋmā *ə:ə* *ně.*
clean make+1pl-REDUP LNK

We make (them) clean.

mù *bə-bə* *ə:* *bəi* *ně,*
wine much-REDUP make+1pl LNK TOP

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

cəpta? *pən* *də* *ə:*
cooking.pot big LOC make+1pl

we make it in a big pot,

cē *wəŋlū* *təŋ³* *gū.*
one wine.container fill NOM

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

ē-bě *təu/təu?* *ə:* *bəi* *ně,*
DEM-LNK a.little make+1pl LNK TOP

If we only make a little,

xəi *səŋdū-xə⁴* *ə:*
proper pot-pl make+1pl

(then) we use the proper pots.

³ *təŋ* is an alternate form of *ətcəŋ*.

<i>ya</i>	<i>yūŋ</i>	<i>də</i>	<i>əŋdə</i>	<i>əŋi</i>	<i>cī</i>	<i>ətcəŋ.</i>
this	bag	LOC	rice	two	catty	
hold/contain						

This bag can hold two catties.

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

ǎjà tǎŋbǎŋ ǎŋcɛt tɛ̃ ǎũ ǎː,
that corn grounds INST also make+1pl

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

ǎŋtsì tɛ̃ ǎũ ǎː.
flour INST also make+1pl

or we can use flour.

ɛ-wǎ ǎː-ǎ nǎ guʔ bǎi,
DEM-ADV⁵ make+1pl-REDUP LNK say LNK

After we have done this,

ǎjà ǎũ ɛ-wǎ ɛ.
that also DEM-ADV be

that is also this way.

ǎjà tɛ̃ǎŋdǎi ǎː-ǎ, pǎi tɛ̃ ǎiːl.
that cooked.meal make+1pl-REDUP winnowing.pan INST sprinkle+1pl

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

zǎuŋ-nəm ǎ bɛ̃,
cold-weather become LNK

If the weather becomes cold,

tɛuʔ lǎm pǎi,⁶
a.little warm time

when the (rice) is still a little warm,

ǎjà pǎkǎ zǎːŋ ɕǎn,⁷ ɕèʔ
that brewer's.yeast put.in+1pl EMPH RQ

we put in the brewer's yeast, no?

⁵ *ɛwǎ* seems to consist of the copula, *ɛ*, plus the adverbial marker, *wǎ*, 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-bɛ* '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 *ɕǎn* is not the same particle as the simultaneous action marker *zǎn*; e.g.

- a. nǎ ɛ-wǎ nǎ-guʔ ɕǎn!
2sg DEM-ADV NF-say EMPH
You said it this way!
- b. nǎi pǎ-ǎː ɕǎn!
2sg+AGT IMP-do EMPH
(Why don't you) do it!

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

cūl *bě* *kʰ*⁸ *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? *gǎŋ* *tūm* *kǐ* *zī:ŋ.*
 a.little cool after only.then put.in+1pl
 we put the brewer's yeast in only after it is cool.

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

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

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

ɰ *nūtɕī* *ǎw?* *mǎŋŋ* *gwl* *bǎi,*
 this dregs drip follow say LNK
 when the dregs drip down,

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

⁸ First Township dialect *běiǎ* 'only then' is equivalent to Third Township dialect *běiǎŋ, mǎŋŋ lǎ*. Compare the First Township clause above with the following Third Township clause of the same meaning:

cūl *mǎŋŋ* *lǎ* *zī:ŋ.*
 cool follow only.then put.in+1pl

We put it in only after it is cool.

zūŋ-nəm *ǎsəm* *jaʔ* *tě*⁹
 cold-weather three night ADV

in the winter only after three nights

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

will we put it into the wine container.

nəmliūmnəm *ně,*
 summertime TOP

(in the) summertime,

ǎŋɪ *jaʔ* *ce* *jaʔ* *tě* *zā:ŋ.*
 two night one night ADV put.in+1pl

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

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

After we put it into the wine container,

ce *ɕɪntɕiʔ* *tě* *jɪgɕjè*,¹⁰
 one week ADV one.month

one week, one month,

tɕəm *ɔ:* *bě* *jɪgɕjè* *ɔ:*.
 even.more make LNK one.month place/put+1pl

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

ce *ɕɪntɕiʔ* *tě* *jɪgɕjè* *tě*
 one week ADV one.month ADV

in a week or a month,

ceŋəm *ŋək* *ɕɪn.*
 already drink+1pl EMPH

we can drink it.

ǎjə *mù* *ē-wā* *zɪ:* *gē.*
 that wine DEM-ADV make+1pl NOM+be

Wine is made (by us) like this.

ē-wā *mě,*
 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 *ɕɪntɕiʔ* 'week' and *jɪgɕjè* 'one month' are loans from Chinese (Mand. *xīngqī* and *yíge yuè*, respectively).

kārwā *kā* *ḍ:* *tcī?*
 how only.then do+1pl HS

how would we make it?

MAKING BREWER'S YEAST

told by Tsēng Yùlán (dū na?)

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

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

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

we dry the barnyard millet in the sun,

ě̀təi *kəm* *gǎ* *ḍ:-ḍ* *nū.*
 extremely dry NOM do+1pl-REDUP LNK

we make it very dry.

xakta? *dš* *kʂ:* *bəi* *čū,*
 stone.mortar LOC grind+1pl LNK also

We use a stone mortar to grind it,

ě̀təi *dzu:p* *xie?* *kʂ:* *čín.*
 extremely fine EXT grind+1pl EMPH

(and) grind it until it is very fine.

ě̀təi *dzu:p* *xie?* *kʂ:-kʂ:* *nū.*
 extremely fine EXT grind+1pl-REDUP LNK

We grind it until it is very fine.

ǎ̀jə *wà* *pəwa?* *mənəŋ,*
 that do/make about.to follow

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

pà *səna?* *tsəŋmə* *ḍ:*
 winnowing.tray all clean do+1pl

we clean the winnowing tray(s).

¹¹ *kī:m* = *sə-kām* [CAUS-dry].

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

We make brewer's yeast for making wine,

<i>dzī</i>	<i>āŋsəŋ</i>	<i>āja?</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>nū,</i>
millet	grain	that	be	LNK

that is millet grain,

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

after we grind it in a stone mortar,

<i>nəŋdʒgəm</i>	<i>ɕəppəŋ</i>	<i>dš</i>	<i>əŋlū:ŋ-ŋlū:ŋ</i>	<i>nū.</i>
well(adv.)	mortar	LOC	pound+1pl-REDUP	LNK

we pound it well in a wooden mortar,

<i>əŋlū:ŋ,</i>	<i>ŋāŋ</i>	<i>ɛ̃</i>	<i>ə:ɔ̃</i>	<i>nū</i>	<i>əŋlū:ŋ,</i>
pound+1pl	water	INST	do+1pl-REDUP	LNK	
	pound+1pl				

we pound it (mixed) with water,

<i>əŋlū:ŋ-ŋlū:ŋ</i>	<i>nū,</i>
pound+1pl-REDUP	LNK

(having) pounded (it),

<i>əjə</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>nū</i>	<i>ətsəŋ</i>	<i>kəi</i>	<i>sā</i>	<i>pəle?</i>	<i>wā</i>	<i>təŋdūŋ</i>	<i>na:i</i>	<i>ɕin.</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>əjə</i>	<i>ɕukkā</i>	<i>pəi</i>	<i>məi</i>	<i>nū,</i>
that	brewer's.yeast	NS	CL	TOP

That brewer's yeast,

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

that (brewer's yeast),

<i>tɕā</i>	<i>pāi</i>	<i>tsəwālŋ</i>	<i>“təɕi”</i>	<i>kā:n</i>	<i>gū.</i>
long.ago	time	Tsawalong(Tibet)	Tashi	called+1pl	NOM

long ago we called Tibet “Tashi”.

<i>tsəwālŋ</i>	<i>ɕukkā,</i>
Tsawalong(Tibet)	brewer's.yeast

Tibetan brewer's yeast,

ɛ *tɕūŋ-tɕūŋ* *ɕuukkā*,
DEM small-REDUP brewer's.yeast

this little bit of brewer's yeast,

ɕɛ *tɕu?* *ɕɛ* *tɕu?* *ɛʔ-wā* *ɕuukkā* *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* *kəʃ:ŋ*.
chunk DAT DEM-ADV DEM-ADV spread(paste)+1pl

we spread it on the ones made into cakes.

na:i *tūm*,
mold+1pl after

After we have molded it,

pə̃le? *wɛ?* *wā* *ɖ:*.
cake piece ADV do+1pl

we make it into pieces.

ʒjə *pə̃le?* *wɛ?* *wā* *ɖ:* *tūm*,
that cake pieces ADV do+1pl after

After we make it into cakes,

kātsi *bə̃bə̃* *ʒdūŋ* *dʒ*,
bran much middle LOC

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

ɛʔ-wā *ŋɖ* *nū* *wā* *ɖ:*,
DEM-ADV top wine ADV place/put+1pl

like this put it on top, like with wine.

nū *wā* *ɖ:-ɖ* *nū*,
wine ADV put/place+1pl-REDUP LNK

After putting it on like wine,

si? *mə̃nə̃ŋ*, *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? *mə̃nə̃ŋ*,
flavorful(fermented) follow

When it has flavor (when it has fermented),

ǎŋī ja? ǎŋī ja? tē pok.
 two night two night ADV turn.over+1pl
 after two nights we turn it over.

raktŋnəm ǎŋī ja?
 winter two night
 (Normally) in winter (we turn it) after two nights,

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

ǎ-bē mǎ-pok bē mǎ-gǎm wā gu?
 DEM-LNK NEG-turn.over+1pl LNK NEG-good COMP say
 They say if we don't turn it over, the yeast will not be good.

ǎjə ɛ ʒə?
 that be again
 After that, again,

ǎjə tǎm kǎm mǎnǎŋ nǚ,
 that even.more dry follow TOP
 when it is more dry,

nǎŋgǎm tǎŋ-mǎi jūŋ dǎ ǎ:-ǎ nǚ,
 well(adv.) what-CL bag LOC do+1pl-REDUP LNK
 we put it into a bag,

ŋǎ dǎ sǎzǎ:ŋ.
 top LOC hang+1pl
 (and) hang it on top (on the top part of the fireplace).

ǎjə cǔ tǎŋŋmǎ ǎ: gē.
 that also clean do+1pl NOM+be
 That we also have to make clean.

ǎŋtsī mǎnǎŋ ǎ: gǔ nǚ,
 bran(fLOUR) COM place/put+1pl NOM LNK
 We put (hang) the flour and (the yeast cakes) together,

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

dzāi *tsi* *dʒ* *ɣ:*
millet flour(bran) LOC put/place+1pl

we put it in the millet bran/chaff.

ʒjə *cà* *mǎnǎŋ* *nǚ*,
that become follow TOP

(One week later) when it is done,

“*ǎxɣ:*” *gǚ* *kɪ:n*.
(name) NOM call+1pl

we call it “*ǎxɣ:*”.

ʒmŋ *dʒ* *ɣ:*
bag LOC put/place+1pl

(Again) we put it in a bag.

ɛ-bɛ, *ʒjə* *ɕuukkā*,
DEM-LNK that brewer's.yeast

After that, that brewer's yeast,

tcəm *cà* *mǎnǎŋ* *ʒjə*,
even.more become follow that

after another stretch of time,

ʒjə *puw* *dʒɪn* *ɔ:* *ɕɪn*, *nù*.
that sprinkle LNK do+1pl EMPH wine

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

HOW TO MAKE A TRAP

ʒm *kārɔ* *zɪ* *sā*
(tree-spring)trap how make NOM
told by Li Yaohua (nəwəŋzâr bɪzɪ)

ʒm *zɪ* *bɛ*, *tʂsā* *tsit* *zɪ* *sā*.
trap make LNK start trap.string make NOM

When making a trap, first the string is made.

tsit *nū* *ɪ* *tɕ* *ɔ* *tsaɪ* *tɕ* *zɪ*,
trap.string TOP hemp INST make string INST make+1pl

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

tsɿɿ *muktəi* *əkkəʔ* *cə* *juŋk-juŋk*,
string thick(round) piece(CL.for.rop) become twist+1pl-REDUP

(and) make it into a thick rope,

(*tsit*) *cɛ* *lai* *ɲŋ* *kām* *tɛ* *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 *kūi* *ɲŋ* *nārtɕū* *zū*,
one side LOC loop make

on the other end make a loop,

tsit *zū* *tɲŋ* *mənəŋ*, *tɕpā* *ɬət* *əjə* *tɕpā*,
string make finish follow spring(bamboo) cut+1pl that spring

when the string is done, we cut a bamboo spring,

ju *kūŋ* *dʒ* *tsən* *gū* *tɕtək-tək*.
trap area LOC strong NOM stick(in.the.ground)+1pl-REDUP

(and) stick the spring into the ground (of the trap area).

tsit *tɕpā* *mətɕūŋ* *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 [*ɔ̄*] *gwɛːɿ* *sā* *kūi*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,

[*tɲŋ* *sā* *kūi*]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 *tɛ* *gwɛːɿ*,
spring DAT tie+1pl

(and) tie (it) to the spring,

əjə *ɛ*, *piʔ-piʔ* *kām* (*tɛ*),
that be soft(not.hard)-REDUP bamboo INST

after that, we take a soft piece of bamboo,

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

13 *tɲŋ sā lāi* is the side with the *tsit kəlaʔ* 'string holder'.

k5 *k̄i* *jā* *k̄i* *ǎsā* *l̄*
that side that side ground DAT

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

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

t̄t̄pā *m̄t̄cūŋ* *ǎŋ* *ɣ̄l* *ɣ̄:ŋ-ɣ̄:ŋ*,
spring end(edge) LOC below pull(down)+1pl-REDUP

(and) pull down one end of the spring,

tsit-k̄əla? *ǎjà* *ǎŋdǎgūŋ* *l̄* *t̄:ŋ*.
string-holder that bow(shaped.object) DAT trap+1pl

(and) trap the holder in the bow.

ǎjà *ɛ* *kapt̄c̄* *t̄* *ǎŋāŋm* *k̄i* *tsit-k̄əla?*
that be crossbar INST horizontal side string-holder

m̄-ǎpət *gū* *t̄:ŋ*.
NEG-let.go NOM trap+1pl

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

ǎjà *ɛ* *kəp-klwəp* *t̄* *blət* *gū*,
that be bamboo-slice INST weave NOM

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

"*ḡəŋm*" *k̄i:n* *gū* *s̄ə̀à*, *ǎjà* *kapt̄c̄* *m̄d̄ə̀m* *d̄* *ɣ̄:*,
called NOM thing that crossbar above LOC put/place+1pl

a thing called "*ḡəŋm*", on top of the crossbar,

ǎjà *ɛ* *n̄it̄c̄iŋ* *t̄* *ma?-ǎ-j̄əŋ*¹⁴ *gū* *kəp*.
that be moss/greens INST NEG-PREF-see NOM cover

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

kəp t̄ŋ m̄ə̀n̄əŋ,
cover finish afterward

After covering it,

tsit *ǎŋmukwàŋ* *t̄-xrwəp-c̄ū* *sā* *ǎ:ǎ:*,
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 *ɣ̄əŋ* '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.

nītcīn *mǎdǎm* *dǎ* *nātsē* *ɿ:*
moss/greens above LOC gently put/place+1pl

and gently put moss/greens on top.

wà *tǎn* *mǎnǎŋ,*
do finish after

After doing that,

jū *kùŋ* *kǎ* *kī* *jī* *kī* *jì* *tǎp* *mài* *nǎxím* *zū:*
trap area that side that side go ability NEG+have fence make+1pl

we make a fence on both sides so (animals) can't go (around) the trap.

HOW TO MAKE A CROSSBOW

tǎnǎ *kǎrwǎ* *zū* *sǎ*
crossbow how make NOM

told by Li Yaohua (nəwāŋzàr bǎzì)

tǎnǎ *zū* *sǎ,*
crossbow make NOM

The making of the crossbow,

tǎi, *tǎnǎ* *ǎkplǎŋ,* *tǎkrǎi,*
bow(part.of.crossbow) crossbow body.of.bow trigger

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

tǎdǎn, *tǎlǎt* *tǎ* *zū* *gǎ.*
string holder string INST make NOM+be

the string, and the string holder.

tǎi *nū* *sǎcǎŋ* *rǎt-rǎt,*
bow TOP tree.used.to.make.bow cut-REDUP

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

nǎŋdǎgǎm *tǎitǎŋ* *tǎ* *ǎktse?* *cà* *zǎl-zǎl?*
well(adv.) small only strip become shave-REDUP

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

nǎŋdǎgǎm *cǎn* *gū* *cǎuk-kǎ?* *lǎ-lǎ,*
well(adv.) straight NOM tree-CL(straight.piece) find/look.for-REDUP

Find a straight piece of wood,

t̂lɪ *d̄uŋ* *d̄ʒ* *ɕʷək-tʂeʔ* *t̂* *s̄ān-s̄ān*,
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,

k̄ʂ *k̄i* *ʒ̄ə* *k̄i* *ʒ̄ə* *ɕʷək-kʷəʔ* *l̄* *əx̄rək*.
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.

ʒ̄ə *ɛ*, *l̄ək̄p̄ə* *l̄* *ʒ̄*.
that be steam DAT cook+1pl
After that, we use steam to cook it.

x̄ *t̂ŋ* *m̄əŋŋ*, *x̄r̄uməi* *d̄ʒ* *k̄i: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.

t̄ānə *əkp̄l̄əŋ* *n̄u*, *l̄um̄ɕ̄uŋ* *zək-zək* *z̄i:*.
crossbow body TOP firewood cut.into.small.strips+1pl-REDUP make+1
(For) the body of the crossbow, cut the firewood into small strips.

t̄ānə *əkp̄l̄əŋ* *z̄i* *t̂ŋ* *m̄əŋŋ*,
crossbow body make finish follow
After finishing the body part of the crossbow,

ɕ̄ *k̄i* *ʒ̄ŋ*¹⁵ *t̂lɪ* *w̄ə* *r̄əmə-m̄u*
one side LOC bow ADV draw-REDUP
On one side, having drawn the shape of a bow,

d̄ək̄ɪ *t̂* *puk*.
small.knife INST bore.small.hole+1pl
we use a small knife to bore a small hole.

puʔ *t̂ŋ* *m̄əŋŋ*, *n̄əts̄ə-n̄əts̄ə* *t̂lɪ* *z̄i: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.

ʒ̄ə *ɛ*, *ɕ̄əu* *t̂* *t̄id̄əŋ* *ŋi* *t̄ik̄r̄ɪ* *z̄i*.
that be bone INST string.holder and trigger make
Then use bone to make the string holder and trigger.

t̄lət *n̄u* *i* *t̂*
bow.string TOP hemp INST

¹⁵ *d̄ʒ* could be used here instead of *ʒ̄ŋ*.

nəŋdʒə̀m *ŋɑ̃ŋ* (t̃) *ɬək-ɬək* (ñu) *ɟuək.*
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).

ɟu? t̃n m̃əŋəŋ, ə̀jə̀ ɛ, ə̀jə̀ t̃lɔt ə̀li s̃ə̀x̃ə̀ t̃
rub finish follow that be that bow.string heavy thing INST

After rubbing it, we use something heavy

k̃ə̀t̃əl-t̃əl *ñə̀mɟəŋ* *d̃* *k̃i:m.*
hang-REDUP sunshine LOC dry(vt.)+1pl

to hang it to dry in the sun.

k̃əm m̃əŋəŋ, t̃lɪ l̃ p̃ə̀d̃ɑ̃:m-d̃ɑ̃:m,
dry follow bow DAT compare+1pl-REDUP

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

k̃ k̃i j̃ə̀ k̃i t̃-t̃sək.
that side that side(=both sides) CAUS-be.around+1pl

(then) make a noose at each end.

t̃lɔt z̃l t̃n m̃əŋəŋ, t̃lɪ l̃ ɟw̃ɛ̃:ɪ.
string make finish follow bow DAT fasten+1pl

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

t̃lɔt ə̀d̃m̃ŋ-d̃m̃ŋ d̃ t̃ɕit̃ɕh̃m̃ŋ t̃s̃ɪɪ t̃ t̃-t̃sək.
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.

t̃ɑ̃ñ z̃l t̃n m̃əŋəŋ, nəŋdʒə̀m ə̀w̃ ā ɟu:ŋ¹⁶.
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.

d̃ə̀m̃ ñu t̃i t̃ɕɪz̃əŋ ɟu k̃ɑ̃m r̃ət-r̃ət,
arrow TOP very(big) hard NOM bamboo cut.down+1pl-REI

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

ə̀ŋŋd̃i-ə̀ŋŋd̃i kap-ka? z̃l:.
half-REDUP bamboo-CL(strip) make+1pl

we make strips by cutting the bamboo in half.

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

ǎjə̀ ɛ̃, xru̯mə̀i dʒ dʒɛk,
that be rack.over.the.cooking.stove LOC smoke+1pl

After that, we smoke it on the fireplace rack.

mən̄u-n̄u ɔ̀ mən̄əŋ,
long.period.of.time-REDUP pass(become) follow

After a long time,

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

we cut the bamboo strips into smaller strips,

dəkɕi tɕ̥ kut. kut tɕn mən̄əŋ,
small.knife INST shave shave finish follow

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

nəŋdəŋəm s̥-tɕi:, ǎjə̀ ɛ̃, ʒkɕtɕkəm tɕ̥,
well(adv.) CAUS-straight+1pl that be fresh.bamboo INST

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

kə̃ɕɛi zɕi-zɕi s̥pək.
wing make-REDUP attach+1pl

(and) attach the wings to the arrow.

WHY MONKEYS STEAL HUMAN FOOD

told by Li Yaohua (nəwəŋzər bə̃zì)

tɕi pɕi ʒtsəŋ nəŋoʔ ɕlaʔ blakpai tɕ̥ ʒ:17 tɕi wə̃.
long.ago time human baby caregiver monkey AGT do/make HS

Long ago monkeys took care of babies for people.

ʒk-pɛ̃ ʒk-mɛ̃ nəmɕəŋ-nəmɕəŋ,
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-būan mǎ-gǎl gūu ǎmǎi wà lē 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 kuw? tǎi gǎm wǎ,
 food also very(big) good HS

The crop grew very well,

blakpǎi tǎ nǎigǎ? nǎŋdǎgǎm ǎ: wa.
 monkey AGT baby well(adv.) work HS

the monkey took good care of the baby.

“ǎ-pe ǎ-mǎ” guw? sǎ xre? 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”.

nǎigǎ? tǎi mǎnǎŋ, blakpǎi sǎ-lo? tsot cǎ mǎnǎŋ,
 baby big follow monkey CAUS-return time become follow

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

ɕla? kǎutǎi ǎtsǎŋ tǎ tǎwǎi sǎkǎm cǎ mǎ
 caregiver fee human AGT quiver(arrow.case) lid one CL

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

tcǎ zǐ tɕhiwǎ. ǎjǎ mǎnǎŋ blakpǎi sǎnǎ sǎi wǎ.
 only give HS that follow monkey nose spicy HS

Because of this, the monkey became very angry.

ǎjǎ tǎwǎi sǎkǎm nǎkre? dǎ pe?-pe? ne? sǎlo? zǐn,
 that quiver lid buttock LOC stick(v.)-REDUP eye stare LNK

The monkey stuck the lid to his rear end,

cǎ kǎm cǎ 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).

blakpǎi nǎkre? ǎjǎ mǎnǎŋ nǎu ǎŋmǎul mǎ-ko? ǎ tɕiwǎ
 monkey buttock that follow TOP fur/hair NEG-grow be HS

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

blakpǎi ǎ-wǎ sǎnǎ sǎi mǎnǎŋ,
 monkey DEM-ADV nose spicy(angry) follow

When the monkey got angry,

ʔtsəŋ pəçɪn dɔ mə-gəm¹⁸ wā cə tɕi w
 human heart/liver LOC NEG-good COMP become(suffer) HS
 the person felt bad.

ʔjə mənəŋ blakpəi ɛ ɛ-wā gɪu:ŋ wǎ, HS
 that follow monkey DAT DEM-ADV say HS
 So the man said to the monkey,

“dɛkɪ buktɕit bŋɪɬim pɛ pə-səŋɬim ɬ” gɪu:ŋ wǎ.
 later edge.of.the.field ABL IMP-see come say HS
 “Later you can come to the edge of the field and see (eat a bit).”

ʔjə tūm,
 that after
 After that,

blakpəi eja mənəŋ nŋ ʔtsəŋ tɕbɔŋ kŋ gɛ 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

dɔgɪ təkəi pəlaɪs məŋ kə gwɪ tɔp məl gŋ ɬjɪt
 dog why tongue long words say ability NEG+I NOM story
 told by Li Yaohua (nəwŋzər bŋzɪ)

tɔɪ pɔ tɔɪ pɔ nŋ, dɔgɪ kə gwɪ sɔ tɕi w
 long.ago time long.ago time TOP dog words say know.how HS
 It is said long ago dogs knew how to talk.

bəŋɪbəŋə (ɬdŋ) dɔ kə gwɪ sɔ gŋ¹⁹
 livestock middle LOC words say know.how NOM

dɔgɪ ɛ tɕi wə.
 dog be HS

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

tɔɪ pɔ tɔɪ pɔ nŋ
 long.ago time long.ago time TOP

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

¹⁹ It would be possible to use nŋ instead of gŋ here.

dəgɪ *ɲɪ* *waʔ* *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.

ə̌k-kàŋ *tɛ* *dəgɪ,* *waʔ* *lə* (*nū*)
 3-master AGT dog pig DAT TOP

təŋ *ɕū* *gwaʔ* *dəm* *məl* *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)

ə̌xwɪ *sə̌xŋ* *nəŋdəgəm* *ə̌ŋzǎ* *zɪ* *tɕiwǎ.*
 evening morning well food give HS

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

ə̌k-kàŋ *tɛ* *nəmɲɪŋ-nəmɲɪŋ*
 3-master AGT daytime-REDUP

dəgɪ *ɲɪ* *waʔ* *ə̌mɪ* *wà* *lə* *sə̌kə: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.

ə̌mɪ *wà* *lə* *sə̌ləŋ* *bɛ,*
 field do DAT send.out LNK

waʔ *ɕɛ* *ɲɪ* *ɕɛ* *ɲɪ* *mǎ-rə̌nɔ̌*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 rest.

dəgɪ *nū* *waʔ* *ə̌mɪ* *wà* *pǎ,*
 dog TOP pig field do time

ə̌mɪ *tɕɛm* *dɔ̌* *ɲip* *tɕiwǎ.*
 field edge LOC sleep HS

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

ə̌xwɪ *lɔ̌* *tsɔ̌*²¹ *dū* *mǎnəŋ* *nū,*
 night return time arrive follow TOP

dəgɪ *tɛ* *waʔ* *tɛ* *ə̌* *ə̌mɪ* *dɔ̌*
 dog AGT pig AGT do field LOC

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

²¹ The expression *tsɔ̌ ə̌ŋzɪ* 'time' or the nominalizer *sə̌* could be used here instead of *tsɔ̌*.

<i>dəgī</i>	<i>māi</i>	<i>tɕɛ</i>	<i>əblən</i>	<i>gū²²</i>	<i>ʒət</i>	<i>tɕiwǎ.</i>
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.

<i>wa?</i>	<i>əməi</i>	<i>wà</i>	<i>tɕ:n</i>	<i>mənəŋ</i>	<i>nū,</i>	<i>ɣŋ</i>	<i>mənəŋ</i>	<i>rənà</i>	<i>pā,</i>
pig	field	do	finish	follow	TOP	tired	follow	rest	time

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

<i>dəgī</i>	<i>ūzù</i>	<i>cəm</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>lɔ?</i>	<i>tɕiwǎ,</i>	<i>əxwāi</i>	<i>dū</i>	<i>mənəŋ</i>	<i>nū,</i>
dog	first	house	DAT	return	HS	night	arrive	follow	TOP

the dog would first go home and at night

<i>dəgī</i>	<i>(tɛ)</i>	<i>ək-kàŋ</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>klup</i>	<i>tɕiwǎ,</i>
dog	AGT	3-master	DAT	deceive	HS

would deceive the master (saying):

<i>“ək-kàŋ!</i>	<i>kəmbrɔ?</i>	<i>wa?</i>	<i>àŋ</i>	<i>nū</i>	<i>ɕɛ</i>	<i>ɣī</i>	<i>ɕɛ</i>	<i>ɣī</i>
1-master	friend	pig	3sg	TOP	one	day	one	day

<i>əməi</i>	<i>tɕɛm</i>	<i>dɕ</i>	<i>ɣip,</i>
field	edge	LOC	sleep

<i>əgɔ</i>	<i>nū</i>	<i>əməi</i>	<i>wəŋ</i>	<i>dən</i>	<i>mə-dən</i>	<i>àŋ</i>	<i>tɛ</i>	<i>mə-sɔ:.”</i>
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”)

<i>dəgī</i>	<i>ɛ-wā</i>	<i>ək-kàŋ</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>klup</i>	<i>tɕiwǎ.</i>
dog	DEM-ADV	3-master	DAT	deceive	HS

The dog deceived his master in this way.

<i>ək-kàŋ</i>	<i>nəŋdəgəm</i>	<i>nit-ɕū</i>	<i>tɕiwǎ,</i>
3-master	well	think-R/M	HS

The master thought about this for a while/well,

<i>“əgɔ</i>	<i>əməi</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>ɕū</i>	<i>mə-ɣūŋ,</i>
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.

ce *ɟɔ?* *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,

dɛkĩ *əɡò* *əmuĩ* *lě* *ɟəŋ* *lɛ* *ɟũŋ* *ɟũŋ.*"
 later 1sg field DAT see PURP go+1sg want+1sg

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

ɛ-bɛ *nũ* *dəɡĩ* *ɛ-wā* *ɡuʔ* *bɛ* *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

kāpɛ *ɟɔ?* *ne?* *tài* *wā* *mə-ɟà:ŋ* *tɕiwǎ.*
 which CL(person) eye big ADV NEG-see HS

won't be biased towards either of them.²⁴

əɟà *tũm* *nũ,* *ək-kàŋ* *tsha?* *wā* *nānĩ* *wà* *lě* *ɟì* *tɕiwǎ.*
 that after TOP 3-master secretly ADV peep do PURP go HS

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

kāpɛ *ɟɔ?* *lě* *ɕũ* *sǎŋ* *nəŋdəɡòm* *əŋzĩ* *zĩ* *zĩn*
 which CL(person) DAT also morning well food give LNK

In the morning after he fed each of them well and

əmuĩ *wà* *lě* *sǎlǎŋ-lǎŋ,*
 field do DAT send.out-REDUP

sent them out to the fields to work,

pālĩ *tũm* *pɛ,* *sɛm* *lɛ* *ɟì* *tɕiwǎ.*
 behind after ABL peep PURP go HS

He went behind them to spy on them.

ək-kàŋ *əmuĩ* *lě* *ɟì* *tɕiwǎ.*
 3-master field DAT go HS

The master went to the field.

²³ *kāpɛ ɟɔ?* 'which-CL(for people)' could be used instead of *ənĩ* here.

²⁴ *ne? tài ɟəŋ*, literally "eye big see" is a metaphor for 'have a bias'.

tšsā *ce* *ɲi* *nũ,*
begin one day TOP

The first day,

wa? *nũ* *nəm-əxwāi* *xre?* *nitcho?* *gūl-(lɛ)-gūl*
pig TOP heaven-evening EXT tail move-RP²⁵-REDUP

əmūi *wà* *wǎ,* *wa?* *nũ* *lɛçau* *mǎ-wà* *nũ* *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

ɛ-bɛ, *dəgɪ* *nũ* *əmūi* *dɔ* *mā-dəgɪ* *wà.*
DEM-LNK dog TOP field LOC NEG-see HS

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

ɛ-wā *ɛ-bɛ* *çu* *kā* *mā-guɪ-guɪ?*
DEM-ADV DEM-LNK also word NEG-say-REDUP

He didn't say anything about this.

dəgɪ *ɲi* *wa?* *mǎ-lɔ?* *tsàr,*
dog and pig NEG-arrive time

Before the dog and pig arrived,

əbɔ̀-ɔ̀ *çum* *lɛ* *lɔ-lɔ?* *nũ,*
quickly-REDUP house DAT return-REDUP TOP

he quickly returned to the house,

əŋzā *zū:-zū:,* *dəgɪ* *ɲi* *wa?* *lɛ* *cɛtɕi* *wā* *zi* *tɕiwǎ*
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).

əxwāi *dū* *mǎnəŋ,* *dəgɪ* *ək-kàŋ* *lɛ*
evening arrive follow dog 3-master DAT

ɔ-lɔ? *ūzù* *wā* *guɪ?* *tɕiwǎ,*
again before ADV say HS

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

“nì *wa?* *lɛ* *əŋzā* *təŋme?* *dɔ* *ɲi-zī:,* *lɛkā* *çu* *mǎ-wà.*
2sg pig DAT food wastefully LOC NF-give work also NEG-do

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

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

nà nit nǎ-gòm, àŋ tě mǎ-sǎ.
 2sg mind NF-good 3sg AGT NEG-know

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

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

The master still didn't say anything about this,

cē kǎi dǎ tǎē jǎ:ŋ mǎ-pǎsǎ: wǎ.
 one time LOC only look NEG-know(clearly) HS

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

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

After spying on them several times,

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

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

tūmā lēkǎ wǎ gǔ wǎ? tǎēē mǔ wǎ.
 really work do NOM pig only be EMP HS

It was only the pig who was really working.

dǎgǐ nǎmǎŋ lēcǔ wǎ,
 dog daytime slack.off do

In the daytime the dog slacked off,

ǎxwǎi-ǎxwǎi ūzǎ lǎ? zǎn, ǎk-kàŋ lē klup wǎ
 night-REDUP before return LNK 3-master DAT deceive HS

and every night returned first and lied to the master.

wǎ? nǔ kǎ guǎ? mǎ-sǎ,
 pig TOP word say NEG-know

The pig didn't know how to talk,

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

but the dog knew how to talk.

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

cētɕi *ǎŋzī* *zī* *ɕi wǎ.*
 the.same food give HS

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

dēkǎ *cà* *mǎnǎŋ* *nū,* *ǎk-kàŋ* *dǎgī* *lě* *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* *ɕŋ* *ɕū* *mē-guʔ* *àl,*
 now 2sg what also NEG+NF-say IMP

“Now don’t you say anything,

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

your master (I) want to talk.

ēn *nà* *pǎ* *ɕū* *ŋaʔ-ǎgǎ:* *dèn* *ɕū* *ŋi-dèn,*
 now 2sg belly also NF-full(of.food) tired also NF-tired

Now your stomach is full and you are tired,

jà *dǎ* *pǎ-rǎnà* *ám,* *nīgǎŋ* *pǎ-ga:i,*
 this LOC IMP-rest POL mouth IMP-open

come here and rest, and open your mouth.

nà *pǎlai* *jàŋ* *ǰŋŋ”,* *ē-wā* *gū:ŋ* *mǎnǎŋ,*
 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* *zī:* *pā,*
 dog mouth open-open LNK tongue stick.out time

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

ǎk-kàŋ *lě* *pǎlai* *ǎ:l-ǎ:l,*
 3-master AGT tongue pull-REDUP

The master pulled it,

dǎgī *lě* *ē-wā* *gū:ŋ* *wǎ,* “*ŋi-jà:ŋ* *bě,*
 dog DAT like.this say HS NF-see LNK

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

nà *ǎlǎŋ* *sǎ-sǎ* *wā* *mǎ-cà* *ŋum,*
 2sg lie know.how-REDUP COMP NEG-become seem

It seems like you don’t know how to lie,

nà *jà* *pǎlai* *tě* *ni-klup,*
2sg this tongue INST NF-deceive

you use this tongue to lie (to me),

jà *pǎlai* *nà* *lé* *təŋ* *ǎu* *zīgū* *màl*
this tongue 2sg DAT what also use NEG+have

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* *lĕkǎ* *ni-wà* *tū* *ē.*
2sg well work NF-do perhaps be

you might work well."

ǎjà *tūm* *nū,* *dǎgī* *pǎlai* *məŋ* *tçiwǎ,*
that after TOP dog tongue long HS

After that, the dog's tongue was long,

kǎ *gu?* *təp* *màl* *tçiwǎ.*
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 (nəwəŋzàr brǎzi)

tǎ *pǎi* *tǎ* *pǎi* *ǎtsəŋ* *kəŋ* *dě*
long.ago time long.ago time human village LOC

Long ago, in a human village

niçàm *kī:n* *ǎl* *tçiwǎ,*
(name) named have/exist HS

there lived a person named "Nisham".²⁶

ǎjà *niçàm* *nū* *zĕi* *ku?* *sǎ,* *nìtçə?* *ku?* *kǎ* *tçiwǎ*
that (name) TOP fly also know.how tail also grow HS

That Nisham could fly and had a tail.

²⁶ Also called *nimuçəm*.

<i>niçàm</i>	<i>tɛ</i>	<i>ətsəŋ</i>	<i>əŋzǎ</i>	<i>kəi</i>	<i>mə-zu:ɿ</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>əŋzǎ</i>	<i>kəi-kəi</i>	<i>pəwǎ</i>	<i>mənəŋ,</i>
human	food	eat-REDUP	just.about.to	follow

just as they were about to eat their food,

<i>əŋzǎ</i>	<i>laktǎ</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>əçu:ɿ</i>	<i>zɿŋ</i>	<i>kəi:ɿ²⁷</i>	<i>wǎ,</i>
snatch	LNK	eat	HS

and eat it,

<i>pəmǎ</i>	<i>kəi-kəi</i>	<i>dəgəŋ</i>	<i>cūŋzi</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>rup</i>	<i>zɿŋ</i>	<i>ə:</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-dù-dù-cū²⁸</i>
that	follow	TOP	human	CAUS-get.together-REDUP- R/M

Therefore, the people got together

<i>niçàm</i>	<i>sət</i>	<i>sǎ</i>	<i>blɿ</i>	<i>wà</i>	<i>wǎ.</i>
(name)	kill	NOM	discuss	do/make	HS

and discussed killing Nisham.

<i>əjə</i>	<i>niçàm</i>	<i>cùm</i>	<i>(lɛ)</i>	<i>cùl-cùl,</i>
that	(name)	house	DAT	invite-REDUP

They invited Nisham into the house,

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

and said from below the house,

<i>ə-kù niçàm,</i>	<i>niçə?</i>	<i>pə-cà:m</i>	<i>ət.</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 *təxŋm-təxŋm-cū* would also be possible here.

²⁹ *ət* (or *rà*) 'come' also has the sense of making the imperative more polite.

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

xi *kərwə* *ɕi* *mə-dəm* *wǎ*.
 basket how also NEG-full HS
 No matter what the basket wouldn't fill up.

pətcu? *ku?* "*cì-zu-zu* *cì-zu-zu*" *gu?* *zín*,
 bird also water-flood-REDUP water-flood-REDUP say LNK
 The birds said "there's a flood, there's a flood!",

ŋə *lɛ̃* *ŋə* *lɛ̃* *zɛɪ* *wǎ*.
 above DAT above DAT fly HS
 and flew higher and higher.

dɛ̃kɪ, *kəwəkəpu* *məli* *lɛ̃* *əpla?* *tcɪwǎ*.
 later (place name) place DAT arrive HS
 Finally, the people arrived at "kəwa karpu".

cizin *ŋəŋ* *lɛ̃* *ɕi* *ɛ-lɛ̃* *dū*:³⁰ *wǎ*.
 flood.water water AGT also DEM-DAT reach HS
 The flood water also reached there.

əŋŋɪ *nəm* *hŋbu?* *dɔ* *ɬəŋ* *wǎ*.
 3dl brother.and.sister cliff.side LOC sit HS
 The brother and sister sat at the bottom of a cliff.

cizin *ŋəŋ* *lɛ̃* *əŋŋɪ* *nəm* *ɬəŋ* *lɛ̃*
 flood.water water AGT 3dl brother.and.sister sit DAT

tsɛnmə *ɕɛ̃* *ɬəp* *lɛ̃* *ɬɛ̃* *mə-dɪ:* *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 *məndəŋ* *əxap* *gǔ* *bū* *ku?* *ɕɛ̃* *zɪm* *ɛ̃* *tcɪw*
 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 bā́ ɲā́ŋ lɛ́ tɕat lɛ́ ə́ bɛ́,
that snake water DAT throw DAT do LNK

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

“ǎ̀jə́ŋ ni-tɕat bɛ́,
1pl NF-throw+1pl LNK

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

nǎ̀jə́ŋ kua? ka?-mɛ-ə́l jū́ŋ.” ē-wā́ guá? tɕiwǎ́.
2pl also let-NEG+NF-exist pl DEM-ADV say HS

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

bā́ ǎ̀jə́ mǎ́nǎ́ŋ ə́l gɛ́ tɕiwǎ́.
snake that follow exist NOM+be HS

Therefore snakes still exist.

ǎ̀jə́ cizín cì dǎ́gù ɲí dǎ́gù ɲa? cə́ mǎ́nǎ́ŋ bət tɕiwǎ́.
that flood.water water nine day nine night become follow recede HS

The water receded after nine days and nights.

ǎ̀jə́ mǎ́nǎ́ŋ, ə́ŋɲí nǎ́m
that follow 3dl brother.and.sister

Then the brother and sister

ɲə́ kɔ́ŋ lɛ́ ʔtsə́ŋ ká lɛ́ lo? tɕiwǎ́.
below village DAT human look.for PURP return(vi.) HS

returned to the village to look for people.

ká-dɔ́ ká-dɔ́ lɔ́³² bɛ́ cǎ́, ʔtsə́ŋ ma-dǎ́gù tɕiwǎ́.
WH-LOC WH-LOC look.for LNK also human NEG-have HS

Wherever they looked, there were no people.

ɬáɬŋ³³ ɬáɬŋ nɔ́³⁴ ká lɛ́ ɲì bɛ́ cǎ́,
that.way that.way TOP look.for PURP go LNK also

They each went their own way to look,

32 *lɔ́* would also be possible here.

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

34 *lɛ́* would also be possible here.

əxɿwɿ-əxɿwɿ *ʒɿʋʌʌ* *ʒdɿu-ŋɿ* *təxɿuəm* *maʔ* *wà.*
 night-REDUP again self-dl get.together RECIP HS

and then came back together each night.

təŋɿ *ɕũ* *məl* *wā* *ɕā* *kəi* *bɛ,*
 fire also NEG+have ADV meat eat LNK

They had no fire, so when they ate meat,

pəmə *pəmə* *nəmŋəŋ* *ɛ* *dəŋəŋ* *zɿn* *kəi* *tɕiwǎ,*
 woman woman sunlight DAT roast LNK eat HS

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

ləŋlə *ləŋlə* *ʒk-tiŋ* *kəi* *tɕiwǎ.*
 man man PREF-raw eat HS

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

*əxɿ*³⁵ *ʒuɿp-ʒuɿp* *məŋəŋ,*
 night sleep-REDUP follow

Every night, when it was time to sleep,

(əŋŋɿ) *ʒləŋ* *dɕ* *dəŋ* *səkəm* *dɕ*
 (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 *ɿ* *zɿn* *ʒip* *wǎ.*
 water put LNK sleep HS

of water and sleep.

səxəŋ *dũ-dũ* *wā* *məŋəŋ,*
 morning reach-REDUP ADV follow

In the morning,

ŋəŋ *səkəm* *ma-dəŋgũl* *bɛ* *ɕũ,*
 water lid.of.tube NEG-move LNK still

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

tɿl *kəi* *ʒŋ,* *tɿl* *kəi* *ʒŋ* *dɕ* *kə* *sə-ɿəŋ-ɕũ*³⁶ *wǎ.*
 back side LOC back side LOC LOC naturally CAUS-sit-R/M HS

but it ended up behind them (moved itself).

³⁵ Both *əxɿ* and *əxɿwɿ* are acceptable.

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

əŋɲī	cē	kət	cē	kət	kā	ə-jip-cū	wǎ.
3dl	one	time	one	time	naturally	PREF-sleep-R/M	HS

The brother and sister ended up sleeping together unintentionally.

əxruī	jip ³⁷	mətɕə,	ē-wā	səmət	tɕiwǎ,
night	sleep	prepare	DEM-ADV	swear(hope)	HS

At night when they were preparing to sleep,

“əjūŋ	ətɕəŋ	əŋjū	ɕ	bē,
1pl	human	seed	put/leave	LNK

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

ŋāŋ	dəgū	wàŋ	laʔ-əjū	əm̩mū.”
water	nine	CL	let-flow	EMPH

let nine rivers flow.”

səjūŋ	dū	mətɕəŋ,
morning	reach	follow

When the morning came,

jɛsəŋ ³⁸	dəgū	wàŋ	ŋāŋ	əjū	tɕiwǎ. ³⁹
really	nine	CL	water	flow	HS

nine rivers really did flow.

əjə	mətɕəŋ	nū	ē-wā	guʔ	wǎ,
that	follow	TOP	DEM-ADV	say	HS

Therefore they said,

“əjūŋ	kā	gəmə	nəm	kā	tɕ
1pl	god	(name)	heaven	god	AGT

ətɕəŋ	əŋjū	ɕ	gē	mū.”
human	seeds	put/leave	NOM+be	EMPH

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

ē-wā	guʔ	zīn	məwəʔ	wà	tɕiwǎ.
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 *təmə* could be used here instead of *jɛsəŋ*.

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

<i>əŋŋi</i>	<i>mɔwaʔ</i>	<i>wà</i>	<i>tūm,</i>
3dl	husband.and.wife	do	after

After the two became husband and wife,

<i>əktɕəl</i>	<i>ləŋkà</i>	<i>dəgù</i>	<i>ɟəʔ</i>	<i>pəmə</i>	<i>dəgù</i>	<i>ɟəʔ</i>	<i>ɔ:</i>	<i>tɕiwǎ.</i>
child	boy	nine	CL	girl	nine	CL	do	HS

they gave birth to nine boys and girls.

<i>əjə</i>	<i>əktɕəl</i>	<i>pūŋ</i>	<i>ŋi</i>	<i>nəŋ,</i>
that	children	eldest.boy	and	eldest.girl

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

<i>cīn</i>	<i>ŋi</i>	<i>ɲən,</i>
second.eldest.boy	and	second.eldest.girl

<i>cūlcūl</i>	<i>mɔwaʔ</i>	<i>wà</i>	<i>wǎ.</i>
one.after.another	husband.and.wife	do	HS

the second boy marrying the second girl, etc.

<i>məli</i>	<i>ɔ-tən</i>	<i>maʔ</i>	<i>bɛ,</i>
place	PREF-divide	RECIP	LNK

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

<i>pəcīn</i>	<i>ɔ-səi</i>	<i>maʔ</i>	<i>wǎ.</i>
heart/liver	PREF-spicy	RECIP	HS

they were jealous of each other.

<i>əjə</i>	<i>mənəŋ</i>	<i>nū,</i>	<i>təli</i>	<i>ap</i>	<i>dədəm</i>	<i>maʔ</i>	<i>ɲu:</i>	<i>tɕiwǎ.</i>
That	follow	TOP	bow	shoot	compete	RECIP	CAUSE	HS

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

<i>təli</i>	<i>ap</i>	<i>bɛ,</i>
bow	shoot	LNK

When they shot the bows,

<i>pūŋ</i>	<i>ŋi</i>	<i>nəŋ</i>	<i>(tɛ)</i>	<i>tɕɛ</i>	<i>təi</i>	<i>ətù</i>	<i>tɕiwǎ.</i>
eldest.boy	and	eldest.girl	AGT	only	very(big)	accurate	HS

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

<i>əjə</i>	<i>mənəŋ,</i>	<i>pūŋ</i>	<i>ŋi</i>	<i>nəŋ</i>
that	follow	eldest.boy	and	eldest.girl

Therefore the oldest

<i>ʃə</i>	<i>məli</i>	<i>wə:l</i>	<i>wǎ.</i>
Chinese	place	allocate/divide	HS

were given (sent to) the Chinese area.

<i>cɪn</i>	<i>ɲi</i>	<i>ɲɛn</i>
second.eldest.boy	and	second.eldest.girl

The second oldest,

<i>məkpaɪ</i>	<i>məli</i>	<i>(lɛ)</i>	<i>wə:l</i>	<i>wǎ.</i>
Tibetan	place	DAT	allocate/divide	HS

were given (sent to) the Tibetan area.

<i>ɬɯŋ</i>	<i>məli,</i>
Dulong	place

The Dulong area,

<i>kwɛn</i>	<i>ɲi</i>	<i>cɯŋ</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>tɕiwǎ.</i>
third.eldest.boy	and	third.eldest.girl	be	HS

was (given to) the third oldest.

<i>mənɲi</i>	<i>ʒ-tən</i>	<i>ma?</i>	<i>bɛ,</i>
song	PREF-divide	RECIP	LNK

When they divided up the songs,

<i>ʃə</i>	<i>ɲi</i>	<i>məkpaɪ</i>	<i>tɛ</i>	<i>ɲuŋ</i>	<i>(tɛ)</i>	<i>tək</i>	<i>tɕiwǎ.</i>
Chinese	and	Tibetan	AGT	bag	INST	collect	HS

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

<i>ɬɯŋ</i>	<i>tɛ</i>	<i>ɬɯŋ</i>	<i>(tɛ)</i>	<i>tək</i>	<i>tɕiwǎ.</i>
Dulong	AGT	type.of.basket	INST	collect	HS

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

<i>ɬɯŋ</i>	<i>tɛ</i>	<i>ʒɲə</i>	<i>nɯ⁴⁰</i>	<i>mənɲi</i>	<i>mə-sɔ:</i>	<i>wǎ.</i>
Dulong	AGT	that	TOP	song	NEG-know.how	HS

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

<i>məɣu</i>	<i>ʒ-tən</i>	<i>ma?</i>	<i>bɛ,</i>
horse	PREF-divide	RECIP	LNK

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

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

ᄃᄂᄂᄂ	ᄂᄂ	ᄃᄂᄂᄂ	zɪ:-zɪ,
Dulong	AGT	walking.stick	make-REDUP

the Dulong made a walking stick (and said),

ᄃᄂᄂ	ᄂᄂᄂᄂ	ᄂᄂ	laʔ-ᄂ	(ᄂᄂᄂ	ᄂᄂᄂ)	ᄂᄂᄂᄂᄂ	ᄂᄂ.
1sg	horse	this	let-be	say	LNK	say	HS

“Let this be my horse.” he said.

ᄃᄂᄂᄂ	ᄂᄂᄂᄂ	ᄃᄂᄂ	ᄂᄂᄂ, ⁴¹	ᄂᄂᄂᄂ	ᄂᄂᄂ	ᄂᄂᄂ	ᄃᄂᄂᄂᄂ.
Dulong	place	that	TOP	horse	NEG+have	NOM+be	HS

Therefore the Dulong place is one without horses.

ᄃᄂᄂᄂ	ᄂᄂ	ᄂᄂᄂ	ᄂᄂᄂ
Dulong	LOC	exist/sit	NOM

Since the Dulong place is lived in

ᄂᄂᄂᄂ	ᄂᄂᄂ	ᄃᄂᄂᄂ	ᄂᄂ	ᄂᄂᄂᄂᄂ,
third.eldest.boy	and	third.eldest.girl	be	follow

by the third oldest,

ᄃᄂᄂᄂᄂᄂ	ᄂᄂᄂ	ᄂᄂᄂᄂ	ᄃᄂᄂᄂᄂ.
third.eldest	river.valley	called	HS

it is called “**ᄃᄂᄂᄂᄂᄂ ᄂᄂᄂ**” (“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', *nǎ* and *nū* for the topic marker (which is also used at the end of clauses, and so sometimes glossed as "LNK"), and *bɛ* and *bɔi* 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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