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 Dīzhèngdāng 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 (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 Tsēŋ Yùlán (dū na?)

mù ₃:  bōi  nǎ,
wine  do+1pl  LNK  TOP

When we make wine,

ǒjà  tānβoŋ  tê  cű  ₃;
that  corn  INST  also  do+1pl

we do it with corn,

dəñi  tê  cű  ₃;
millet  INST  also  do+1pl

we do it with millet

pǒkâ  tê  cű  ₃;
buckwheat  INST  also  do +1pl

we do it with buckwheat

bǒndâ  tê  cű  ₃:
barnyard.millet  INST  also  do+1pl

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

wine 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.

If we want to make a lot of wine,

we make it in a big pot,

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

If we only make a little,

(proper pot-pl) make+1pl

(then) we use the proper pots.

---

3 *tcāŋ* is an alternate form of *scāŋ*:

This bag can hold two catties.

4 *xə* used as plural. Normally the LOC *dɔ* 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-ADV 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+1pl
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?

---

5  *ewá* seems to consist of the copula, *e*, plus the adverbial marker, *wá*, but it means 'this way'; there is also an expression *élé* 'there', all of which is *e* plus the dative marker, and an expression *e-bé* 'after that', all of which seem to point to *e* 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 *cín* is not the same particle as the simultaneous action marker *zin*, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a</th>
<th><em>ná</em></th>
<th><em>e-wá</em></th>
<th><em>ná-guí</em></th>
<th><em>cín</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>DEM-ADV</td>
<td>NF-say</td>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You said it this way!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b</th>
<th><em>nó</em></th>
<th><em>pó-á</em></th>
<th><em>cín</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sg+AGT</td>
<td>IMP-do</td>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Why don't you) do it!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
already make+1pl brewer’s yeast put.in+1pl
put in the brewer’s yeast we just made.

cūl bē kē zā:ŋ.
cool LNK only.then put.in+1pl
only after (the rice) is cool do we put in (the brewer’s yeast).

lām-nām cā bē nō,
warm-weather become LNK TOP
If the weather becomes warm,

tū? gūŋ tūm kī zā:ŋ.
a.little cool after only.then put.in+1pl
we put the brewer’s yeast in only after it is cool.

štì xēmōi lē,
that upper.part.of.fire.area DAT
on/towards the upper part of the fire area,

ē-wā tēmōi cuŋ ū-ū mū.
DEM-ADV what grass do+1pl-REDUP LNK
in this way we put grass on top,

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

this nūtcī stō mūnāŋ gu̱l bāi.
when the dregs drip down,

wānū̱ lē ū.
wine.container DAT do+1pl
(which) we put it in the wine container.

---

8 First Township dialect bēlā ‘only then’ is equivalent to Third Township dialect bēlāŋ, mūnāŋ lā. Compare the First Township clause above with the following Third Township clause of the same meaning:
cūl mūnāŋ lā zā:ŋ.
cool follow only.then put.in+1pl
We put it in only after it is cool.
cold-weather three night ADV
in the winter only after three nights
only.then wine.container DAT put.in+1pl
will we put it into the wine container.
(summertime,)
two night one night ADV put.in+1pl
after one or two nights we put it in (the wine container).
that wine.container DAT put.in+1pl after
After we put it into the wine container,
one week ADV one.month
one week, one month,
even.more make LNK one.month place/put+1pl
if the time is longer we place it for a month.
one week ADV one.month ADV
in a week or a month,
already drink+1pl EMPH
we can drink it.
that wine DEM-ADV make+1pl NOM+be
Wine is made (by us) like this.
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 cíntci? ‘week’ and jìgòjè ‘one month’ are loans from Chinese (Mand. xíngqì and yīge yuè, respectively).
kārwā kī ḍ: tcī?
how only.then do+1pl HS
how would we make it?

**MAKING BREWER’S YEAST**  
told by Tsēŋ Yūlān (dū na?)

nū nō ūjā cūŋkā nū,  
wine TOP that brewer’s.yeast TOP

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

bāndā kā:m-kā:m11 nū,  
barnyard.millet dry.in.sun+1pl-REDUP LNK
we dry the barnyard millet in the sun,

tējī kōm gō ḍ:-ḍ nū.  
extremely dry NOM do+1pl-REDUP LNK
we make it very dry.

nokta? dō kē:j bōi cū,  
stone.mortar LOC grind+1pl LNK also
We use a stone mortar to grind it,

tējī dzup xē? kē:j cīn.  
extremely fine EXT grind+1pl EMPH
(and) grind it until it is very fine.

extremely fine EXT grind+1pl-REDUP LNK
We grind it until it is very fine.

ūjā wā pōwa? mōŋōy,  
that do/make about.to follow

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

p̄rā sōna? tsōŋmā ḍ:  
winnowing.tray all clean do+1pl
we clean the winnowing tray(s).

---

11 lā:m = sō-kām [CAUS-dry].
wine do/make NOM brewer's.yeast make+1pl

We make brewer's yeast for making wine,

dzía ęngson ḫa? ę nū,
millet grain that be LNK

that is millet grain,

mukta? dō kō tum nū,
stone.mortar LOC grind+1pl after LNK

after we grind it in a stone mortar,

nagyagram cempôn dō ogluŋ-glūŋ nū.
well(adv.) mortar LOC pound+1pl-REDUP LNK

we pound it well in a wooden mortar,

ogluŋ, ęng e ḫe ḫ-e-ŋ nū ogluŋ,
pound+1pl water INST do+1pl-REDUP LNK

we pound it (mixed) with water,

ogluŋ-glūŋ nū,
pound+1pl-REDUP LNK

(having) pounded (it),

ṇjā ę nū ętsaŋ kōi sā pēle? wā tōŋdūŋ na:i ćin.
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.

ṇjā cukkā pāi noī nū,
that brewer's.yeast NS CL TOP

That brewer's yeast,

ṇjā ę-lē nū,
that DEM-DAT LNK

that (brewer's yeast),

tōa pāi tsawālāŋ "ɕiŋ" kūn gu." long.ago time Tsawalong(Tibet) Tashi called+1pl NOM

long ago we called Tibet “Tashi”.

tsawālāŋ cukkā,
Tsawalong(Tibet) brewer's.yeast

Tibetan brewer's yeast,
ε tcūn-tcūn čukkā,
DEM small-REDUP brewer’s yeast

this little bit of brewer’s yeast,

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,

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),

chunk DAT DEM-ADV DEM-ADV spread(paste)+1pl
we spread it on the ones made into cakes.

After we have molded it,

cake piece ADV do+1pl
we make it into pieces.

After we make it into cakes,

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

DEM-ADV top wine ADV place/put+1pl
like this put it on top, like with wine.

wine ADV put/place+1pl-REDUP LNK

After putting it on like wine,

flavorful(fermented) follow that DAT this DAT turn.over+1pl
when it has flavor (when it has fermented), turn it over and over.

flavorful(fermented) follow

When it has flavor (when it has fermented),
after two nights we turn it over.

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

In the hot weather we turn it after one night.

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

After that, again,

 when it is more dry,

 we put it into a bag,

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

That we also have to make clean.

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

 (we place it) for about one week,
**Dulong Texts**

**džöi**  
**tsi**  
**dɔ**  
**rɔ.**  
Millet flour(bran) LOC put/place+1pl  
We put it in the millet bran/chaff.

**šjà**  
**cà**  
**mönŋŋ**  
**nù.**  
That become follow TOP  
(One week later) when it is done,

“töxdaŋ”  
**gùu**  
**kiŋ.**  
(Name) NOM call+1pl  
We call it “töxdaŋ”.

**pùŋ**  
**dɔ**  
**rɔ.**  
Bag LOC put/place+1pl  
(Again) we put it in a bag.

**tö-bè,**  
**šjà**  
**cünkka,**  
DEM-LNK that brewer’s yeast  
After that, that brewer’s yeast,

**töm**  
**cà**  
**mönŋŋ**  
**šjà,**  
Even more become follow that  
After another stretch of time,

**šjà**  
**pwp**  
**džìn**  
**ž.**  
**ćiŋ,**  
**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

**jù**  
**kàrwà**  
**žì**  
**sà.**  
(Tree-spring)trap how make NOM  
Told by Li Yaohua (nòwàŋźàr bùozì)

**jù**  
**žì**  
**bè,**  
**tösà**  
**tsit**  
**žì**  
**sà.**  
Trap make LNK start trap.string make NOM  
When making a trap, first the string is made.

**tsit**  
**nùu**  
**i**  
**tè**  
**ʒ.**  
**tsoon**  
**tè**  
**zìl.**  
Trap.string TOP hemp INST make string INST make+1pl  
To make the trap-string, we use a string made of hemp,
tsa'i  muktoi  (TimeSpan)  piece(CL.for.rope)  become  twist+1pl-REDUP
(and) make it into a thick rope,

(tsit)  cē  lai  5η  kām  tē  5ī  (gū)  tsit-kāla?  sāpāk,
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  5η  nārča  5ī,  one  side  LOC  loop  make
on the other end make a loop,

(tsit)  5ī  tān  mānān,  tāpā  xē  5jō  tāpā,  string  make  finish  follow  spring(bamboo)  cut+1pl  that  spring
when the string is done, we cut a bamboo spring,

jū  kūn  5ō  tsān  gū  tśtčak-tčak.
trap  area  LOC  strong  NOM  stick(in.the.ground)+1pl-REDUP
(and) stick the spring into the ground (of the trap area).

(tsit)  tāpā  mānān  5η  gwē:a,  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)  [cā  gwē:a  sā  kī]12  5η  mān-5mān  5zō,  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,

[tōn  sā  kī]13  5η,  cē  tāu?  5zō  gū  sāpāk
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,

(tāpā)  lē  gwē:a,  spring  DAT  tie+1pl
(and) tie (it) to the spring,

əjō  ə,  pūl-pūl?  that  be  soft(not.hard)-REDUP  kām  (tē),
bamboo  INST
after that, we take a soft piece of bamboo,

---

12 cā gwē:a sā lai is the side with the loop (nārča). Later in this line the reduplication changes the tone on the second token of mān ‘long’.
13 tōn sā lai is the side with the tsit kāla? ‘string holder’.
that side that side ground DAT

bow(shaped.object) become stick(in.ground)+1pl-REDUP

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

spring end(edge) LOC below pull(down)+1pl-REDUP

(and) pull down one end of the spring,

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

(and) trap the holder in the bow.

that be crossbar INST horizontal side string-holder

NEG-let.go NOM trap+1pl

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

that be bamboo-slice INST weave NOM

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

"gām" called NOM thing that crossbar above LOC put/place+1pl

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

that be moss/greens INST NEG-PREF-see NOM cover

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

cover finish afterward

After covering it,

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 jāŋ '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 tɔm mɔnŋŋ, do finish after

After doing that,

jù kùŋ kɔ kí jà kí jì jì top mɔl nɔróm zùː.
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
tàndì kɔrwà zù sà
crossbow how make NOM
told by Li Yaohua (newâŋzàr bûzì)

tàndì zù sà,
crossbow make NOM

The making of the crossbow,

tèsì, tàndì ɔkplŋ, tìkrɔl,
bow(part.of.crossbow) crossbow body.of.bow trigger
is composed of (making) the bow, the body, the trigger,

tìdēn, tɔlə tȅ zù gè.
string holder string INST make NOM+be
the string, and the string holder.

tèsì mài sɔctùŋ rət-ət, bow TOP tree.used.to.make.bow cut-REDUP
Having cut down the tree(wood) especially used to make crossbows,

nɔndâŋɔm tcîcùŋ tcè šktsè? cɔ ʒoʔ-ʃoʔ.
well(adv.) small only strip become shave-REDUP
use a knife to cut the tree trunk into a smaller strip.

nɔndâŋɔm cɔn ɡûr cûk-ko? lɔ-ɔʃ, well(adv.) straight NOM tree-CL(straight.piece) find/look.for-REDUP
Find a straight piece of wood,
têi düŋ dō čuak-tshe? tê 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,

kṣ kī jā kī ǭjā čuak-ko? lē ǭxrok.
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.

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

x tōn mānān, xrumai dō ki: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.

tānā ēkplōŋ nūn, hūmčāng zok-zok zō:
crossbow body TOP firewood cut.into.small.strip+1pl-REDUP make+1
(For) the body of the crossbow, cut the firewood into small strips.

tānā ēkplōŋ zō tōn mānān,
crossbow body make finish follow
After finishing the body part of the crossbow,

ce kī ṭū 15 tōli wā rāmū-mū
one side LOC bow ADV draw-REDUP
On one side, having drawn the shape of a bow,

dakci tē puk.
small.knife INST bore.small.hole+1pl
we use a small knife to bore a small hole.

pu? tōn mānān, nātsē-nātsē tōli zān.
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.

ǭjā ē, cōnā tē tidān pū tikr=jl zō.
that be bone INST string.holder and trigger make
Then use bone to make the string holder and trigger.

ṭlāt mū ū tē
bow.string TOP hemp INST

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

\[ \text{rub} \quad \text{finish} \quad \text{follow} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{bow.string} \quad \text{heavy} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{INST} \]

After rubbing it, we use something heavy

\[ \text{hang-REDUP} \quad \text{sunshine} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{dry(vt.)}+1\text{pl} \]

to hang it to dry in the sun.

\[ \text{dry} \quad \text{follow} \quad \text{bow} \quad \text{DAT} \quad \text{compare}+1\text{pl} \text{-REDUP} \]

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

\[ \text{that} \quad \text{side} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{side} (=\text{both sides}) \quad \text{CAUS-be.around}+1\text{pl} \]

(then) make a noose at each end.

\[ \text{string} \quad \text{make} \quad \text{finish} \quad \text{follow} \quad \text{bow} \quad \text{DAT} \quad \text{fasten}+1\text{pl} \]

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

\[ \text{string} \quad \text{middle-REDUP} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{small} \quad \text{thread} \quad \text{INST} \quad \text{CAUS-be.around}+1\text{pl} \]

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

\[ \text{crossbow} \quad \text{make} \quad \text{finish} \quad \text{follow} \quad \text{well(adv.)} \quad \text{accurate} \quad \text{Q} \quad \text{look(try)}+1\text{pl} \]

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

\[ \text{arrow} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{very(big)} \quad \text{hard} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{bamboo} \quad \text{cut.down}+1\text{pl} \text{-REL} \]

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

\[ \text{half-REDUP} \quad \text{bamboo-CL(strip)} \quad \text{make}+1\text{pl} \]

we make strips by cutting the bamboo in half.

\[ \text{16} \quad \text{ap} \text{'shoot'} \text{ would also be possible here.} \]
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 (nswëñzèr brüzi)

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.
Nit-buun m-go gur sjma wà le ji tsíwa.

mind-many NEG-need ADV field work DAT go HS

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

ŋnaŋ kwa ti ji gêm wà,

food also very(big) good HS

The crop grew very well,

blakpái té nágọ? n'ndógâm ñ: wa.

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”.

nágọ? töi mënŋi, blakpái sô-lo? tsot ca mënŋi,

baby big follow monkey CAUS-return time become follow

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

cliga? k'nutó stsn ñ: tsâl sâkôm ce mé

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

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

tâ zâ tsíwa. sjá mënŋi blakpái sônâ sei wà.

only give HS that follow monkey nose spicy HS

Because of this, the monkey became very angry.

sjâ tsâl sâm môkë? dô pe-pe? ne? sôlo? zín,

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

The monkey stuck the lid to his rear end,

cê kôm cê kôm ñstot zín lo? ji tsíwa

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

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

blakpái môkë? sjá mënŋi nu shmül m-kô? ñ: tsíwá

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

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

blakpái ñ-wâ sônâ sei mënŋi,

monkey DEM-ADV nose spicy(angry) follow

When the monkey got angry,
Čtsñœŋ pœcœn dœ mœ-gœm\(^{18}\) wœ ca tœiw
human heart/liver LOC NEG-good COMP become(suffer) HS
the person felt bad.

\(\ddot{\text{sj}}\o\) mœnœŋ blakpœi lœ e-wœ gœnlœœ wa,
that follow monkey DAT DEM-ADV say HS
So the man said to the monkey,

"\(\ddot{\text{dœk}}\o\) buktœit bœnœm pe pœ-sœmœm xi\" gœnlœœ wa.
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)."

\(\ddot{\text{sj}}\o\) tœm, that after
After that,

blakpœi eœ mœnœŋ nœn œtsñœŋ tœbœn kœn gœ wœ.
monkey that follow TOP human grain steal NOM+be HS
monkeys steal grain from humans.

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

dœgœ tœkœœ pœlœœsœ mœŋ kœœ gœlœœ tœp mœl gœlœœ lœjœ
dog why tongue long words say ability NEG+l NOM story
told by Li Yaohua (nœnlœœœœ dœr bœœzi)

tœ œ pœœ tœ œ pœœ nœn, dœgœ kœœ gœlœœ sœ tœiw
long.ago time long.ago time TOP dog words say know.how HS
It is said long ago dogs knew how to talk.

bœnœnœœ (œœœœœ) dœœ kœœ gœlœœ sœ gœlœœ
livestock middle LOC words say know.how NOM
dœgœœ eœ tœiwœ.
dog be HS
It is said among the livestock the one that knew how to talk was the dog.

tœ œ pœœ tœ œ pœœ nœn
long.ago time long.ago time TOP

\(^{18}\) ocœ ‘spirit of a dead person’ would also be possible instead of mœ-gœm.

\(^{19}\) It would be possible to use nœn instead of gœl 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 (< rōnd) because of the addition of the negative prefix.
21 The expression tsot ṭeŋt 'time' or the nominalizer sa could be used here instead of ṭeŋt.
At night, when it was time to return, the dog would leave his footprints in the field where the pig had worked.

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

the dog would first go home and at night

would deceive the master (saying):

“3-kāŋ! kimbra? wa?, āŋ nū nū cē pī cē pī
1-master friend pig 3sg TOP one day one day

šmuŋ tcêm dū jīp,
field edge LOC sleep

āŋ nū šmuŋ wōŋ dēn mō-dēn āŋ tc mijō-sō.”
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”)

The dog deceived his master in this way.

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 nū instead of ġū here.
cē jo? guì (gū) kā tē
one CL(person) say NOM word INST

sōnī zū maʔō-zū guì top māl,
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 ódigo álido lē jīn lē jūn jūn.
later 1sg field DAT see PURP go+1sg want+1sg

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

ē-bē nū dōgi ē-wā guī bē ɕū, ɻk-kān tē
DEM-LNK TOP dog DEM-ADV say LNK also 3-master AGT

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

kōpē jo? ne? tai wā mā-yōŋ tɕiʔwā.
which CL(person) eye big ADV NEG-see HS

won’t be biased towards either of them.24

ʔjā tūm nū, ɻk-kān tshaʔ wā nānī wà lē ji tɕiʔwā
that after TOP 3-master secretly ADV peep do PURP go HS

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

kōpē jo? lē ɕū sākāŋ nūʔōŋkōm ɕjū za zī zīn
which CL(person) DAT also morning well food give LNI

In the morning after he fed each of them well and

smaŋ wà lē sākāŋ-lāŋ,
field do DAT send.out-REDUP

sent them out to the fields to work,

pālī tūm pē, sēm lē ji tɕiʔwā.
behind after ABL peep PURP go HS

He went behind them to spy on them.

ɻk-kān smāŋ lē ji tɕiʔwā.
3-master field DAT go HS

The master went to the field.

---

23 kōpē jo? 'which-CL(for people)' could be used instead of an t here.
24 ne? tāi jōŋ, literally "eye big see" is a metaphor for 'have a bias'.
The first day,

pig
heaven-evening
tail
move-RP REDUP

field
do
pig
slack-off
NEG-do
MP
HS

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

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 *lë* (∼ *lê*) is an optional reduplication particle (RP). In this clause the verb *wat* ‘wag’ could also have been used, i.e. *wat-lë-wat*. 
LaPolla

nà níti ṇ-gɔṃ, ànj tɛ ṃ-sɔ."
2sg mind NF-good 3sg AGT NEG-know

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

ɛ-wà ɛ-bë cù ɔk-kàŋ təŋ cù mɔ-gù? wà,
DEM-ADV DEM-LNK also 3-master what also NEG-say HS

The master still didn’t say anything about this,

ce kàr dɔ tɔɛ jà:ŋ mə-pɔsä: wà.
one time LOC only look NEG-know(clearly) HS

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

ɔjà tɔm ɔk-kɔr-kɔr sɛm bë,
that after PREF-time-REDUP peep LNK

After spying on them several times,

dogi ɔbɛqë gë mù wà.
dog lie NOM+be EMP HS

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

ɔmì lèkà wà gù wa? tɔɛ mù wà.
really work do NOM pig only be EMP HS

It was only the pig who was really working.

dogi nɔmyɔŋ lɛdu wà,
dog daytime slack.off do

In the daytime the dog slacked off,

ɔxu̯i-ɔxu̯i ɔzù kɔ̀ sìn, ɔk-kəŋ ƚè klup wà
night-REDUP before return LNK 3-master DAT deceive HS

and every night returned first and lied to the master.

wà? nù kà gù? mɔ-sɔ, pig TOP word say NEG-know

The pig didn’t know how to talk,

ɛ-bë dogi nù kà gù? sɔ.
DEM-LNK dog TOP word say know

but the dog knew how to talk.

ɔjà mɔnɔŋ nù, ɔk-kəŋ ñŋi lɛ
that follow TOP 3-master 3dual DAT
cētɔj ʂɛnʐɔ ʐi tɕiːwɔ ʔa.
the same food give HS

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

dɛkɔ cɔ mənɔŋ nu, ʂk-ɔŋ tɔɡi lɛ e-wɔ guʔ ʔa,
later become follow TOP 3-master dog DAT DEM-ADV say HS

Later, the master said to the dog:

“ɛn nɔ tɔŋ cʃu mɛ-guʔ ʔa,
now 2sg what also NEG+NF-say IMP

“Now don’t you say anything,

nɔŋ kɔŋ kɔ guʔ pɔwɔŋ,
2-master word say will+1sg

your master (I) want to talk.

ɛn nɔ pə cʃu puʔ-ɔŋːə, dɛn cʃu ni-dən,
now 2sg belly also NF-full(of.food) tired also NF-tired

Now your stomach is full and you are tired,

jə dɔ pɔ-ɾɔŋə ʔəm, nɪɡən pɔ-gaːj,
this LOC IMP-rest POL mouth IMP-open

come here and rest, and open your mouth.

nɔ pɔlai jəŋ jiːm”, e-wɔ guːŋ ʔa mənɔŋ,
2sg tongue see want+1sg DEM-ADV say follow

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

tɔɡi nɪɡən gaːi-gaː (ʔən) pɔlai zəː pɔːə,
dog mouth open-open LNK tongue stick.out time

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

ʈʂk-ɔŋ tə pɔlai ɕːːl-ɕːːl,
3-master AGT tongue pull-REDUP

The master pulled it,

tɔɡi lɛ e-wɔ guːŋ ʔa, “ni-ʃuːŋ bɛ,
dog DAT like.this say HS NF-see LNK

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

nɔ ʂɛlсы̂ tɔː-sɔ wɔʊ mɔ-ɕːːl jiːm,
2sg lie know.how-REDUP COMP NEG-become seem

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

jà  pòlai  nà  lè  tèn  çú  zìgú  mòl
this  tongue  2sg  DAT  what  also  use  NEG+have
this tongue is of no use to you.

jà  pòlai  mòl  bë,
this  tongue  NEG+have  LNK
If you didn’t have this tongue,

nà  nànìdògòm  lèkò  ni-wà  tùr  ë.
2sg  well  work  NF-do  perhaps  be
you might work well.”

ándose  tòm  nù,  dógì  pòlai  mèn  tòìwà,
that  after  TOP  dog  tongue  long  HS
After that, the dog’s tongue was long,

kà  gui?  top  mòl  tòìwà.
word  say  ability  NEG+have  HS
and he did not have the ability to speak.

by Li Yaohua (nəwùŋər bràzi)

tòài  pòì  tòài  pòì  ñtsòì  kàñ  dë
long.ago  time  long.ago  time  human  village  LOC
Long ago, in a human village

nìpòm  kà:n  ñl  tòìwà,
(name)  named  have/exist  HS
there lived a person named “Nisham”.26

jà  nìpòm  nù  nèr  kùê?  sò,  nìtò?  kùê?  kò  tòìwà
that  (name)  TOP  fly  also  know,how  tail  also  grow  HS
That Nisham could fly and had a tail.

26 Also called nimucòm.
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 kəi would also be possible here.
28 təxəm-təxəm-čə would also be possible here.
29 rot (or rə) ‘come’ also has the sense of making the imperative more polite.
When he hung his tail down, nine strong men pulled on it,

and from the doorway he spearred him with a pike.

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

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

it got bigger and bigger,

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

and the body stopped up the water,

therefore the water got bigger.

At that time, a brother and sister

went mushroom picking,

as for the mushrooms,
the more above DAT reach LNK the more have HS
there were more and more the higher they went.

basket how also NEG-full HS
No matter what the basket wouldn’t fill up.

bird also water-flood-REDUP water-flood-REDUP say LNK
The birds said “there’s a flood, there’s a flood!”,

above DAT above DAT fly HS
and flew higher and higher.

later (place name) place DAT arrive HS
Finally, the people arrived at “kòwa karpū”.

flood.water water AGT also DEM-DAT reach HS
The flood water also reached there.

brother.and.sister cliff.side LOC sit HS
The brother and sister sat at the bottom of a cliff.

flood.water water AGT 3dl brother.and.sister sit DAT
The flood water stopped just one batten’s width away from where the brother and sister were sitting.

human COM(follow) arrive NOM snake also one pair be HS
There was a pair of snakes that went with the humans.

---

30 karpū ‘arrive’ would be possible here instead of dū.
31 Board for packing threads on a loom.
When the people were going to throw the snakes into the river,

"şimə nu-təcə bə, 1pl NF-throw+1pl LNK

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

nəşimə ku? laʔ-mə-əl jən.” ə-wə gu? tɕiəwə. 2pl also let-NEG+NF-exist pl DEM-ADV say HS

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

bən səjə mənəŋ əl gə tɕiəwə. snake that follow exist NOM+be HS

Therefore snakes still exist.

şimə cizən ci dəɡiə pə ədəɡiə ja? cə mənəŋ bət tɕiəwə. that flood.water water nine day nine night become follow recede HS

The water receded after nine days and nights.

şimə mənəŋ, ənəl nəm that follow 3dl brother.and.sister

Then the brother and sister

pi kəŋə ətəŋə kə lə ətəŋə kə lə loʔ tɕiəwə. below village DAT human look.for PURP return(vi.) HS

returned to the village to look for people.

kə-d5 kə-d5 lə bə çən, ətəŋə ma-dəɡiə tɕiəwə. WH-LOC WH-LOC look.for LNK also human NEG-have HS

Wherever they looked, there were no people.

tələŋ 33 tələŋ nən 34 kə lə jə bə çən, that.way that.way TOP look.for PURP go LNK also

They each went their own way to look,

---

32 la would also be possible here.
33 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 ʦəŋ can mean ‘river valley’, this expression might mean ‘that valley and that valley’. Cf. also the Rawang phrase ʦəŋə tələ, a phrase meaning ‘to each other’ used in reciprocals, where ʦəŋ and ətə are dative markers (LaPolla 2000).
34 le would also be possible here.
and then came back together each night.

They had no fire, so when they ate meat,

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

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

Every night, when it was time to sleep,

in between them they would put water in a cup (the lid of a carrying tube)

of water and sleep.

In the morning,

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

but it ended up behind them (moved itself).

---

35 Both oxri and oxrui are acceptable.
36 Here there is a tone change on bê ‘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 Gõmũ."

Saying like this they then became husband and wife.
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.

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

heart/liver  PREF-spicy  RECIP  HS

they were jealous of each other.

That follow TOP bow shoot compete RECIP CAUSE HS

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 area,

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),

---

40  tē could be used here instead of nū to more clearly show the causation (‘because of this’).
the Dulong made a walking stick (and said),

"1sg horse this let-be say say HS"

"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 "cəkkhurai ləŋ" ("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>
</tr>
<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 (ma?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDUP</td>
<td>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</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>
Dulong Texts

TOP topic marker
WH interrogative pronoun

I have kept some of the phonetic variation found in the original transcription, such as having both $\text{e}\\text{w}\text{d}$ and $\text{e}\\text{w}\\text{d}$ for ‘(in) this way’, $\text{n}\\text{o}$ and $\text{n}\\text{u}$ for the topic marker (which is also used at the end of clauses, and so sometimes glossed as “LNK”), and $\text{b}\\text{e}$ and $\text{b}\\text{si}$ 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 $\text{en}$- > $\text{sk}$- when followed by a voiceless stop; $\text{kam}$ ‘bamboo’ > $\text{kap}$ in $\text{kap-kam}$ ‘bamboo strip’).
REFERENCES


