CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

DULONG

Randy J. LaPolla

1 INTRODUCTION

Dulong [tʰə̃m] is a Tibeto-Burman variety considered a language in China, but it is actually part of a larger language that includes what is called the Rawang language of Myanmar (Burma) and the Anong variety spoken in Fugong county on the Nu river in China.¹ The Dulong speakers mainly live in Gongshan Dulong and Nu Autonomous County in Yunnan, China, and belong to either what is known as the Dulong nationality (pop. 5816 according to the 1990 census, the newest figures available in 2014), or to one part (roughly 6000 people) of the Nu nationality (those who live along the upper reaches of the Nu River). The exonym ‘Dulong’ (or ‘Taron’, or ‘Trung’) was given to this nationality because they mostly live in the valley of the Dulong (Taron/Trung) River (the easternmost source of the Irrawaddy). In the past, the Dulong River was known as the Kiu (Qiu) river, and the Dulong people were known as the Kiu (Qiu), Kiutze (Qiuzi), Kiupa, or Kiao. Dulong is usually talked about as having four dialects, based on areas where it is spoken: First Township (northern Dulongjiang), Third Township (middle Dulongjiang), Fourth Township (southern Dulongjiang), and (northern) Nujiang. In this chapter, we will be using data of the First Township dialect spoken in Dizhengdang, Gongshan county. Other sources on Dulong, Rawang, and Anong are listed at the end of this chapter. See especially Yang Jiangling’s (a native speaker linguist) work on the Third Township Dulong variety. See also the Rawang-Dulong-Anong Language and Culture Website: http://tibeto-burman.net/rda/. The Dulong-Rawang-Anong language forms part of the Rung branch of Tibeto-Burman, established on the basis of morphological innovations in LaPolla 2013 (see also LaPolla, this volume—“Overview of Sino-Tibetan morphosyntax”).

2 PHONOLOGY

Dulong has twenty-four initial consonants at six points of articulation (Table 32.1), plus the consonant clusters /pr, br, mr, kr, xr, gr, pl, ml, kl, gl/ in initial position; only the consonants /p, t, ?, k, n, m, ŋ, r, l/ occur in final position. As /-w-/ only appears after velar initials, I am treating these combinations as a labio-velar series. When followed in close juncture by a voiceless segment, the final nasals often are pronounced as voiceless stops, e.g. wə̃n ‘buy’ > wə̃t-ɕu ‘to buy for oneself’. The initial /k-/ is pronounced rather back; the palatal stops are often pronounced with slight affrication, and the voiceless affricates are often aspirated.

¹ The dialect split is not clearly Dulong vs. Rawang, but north-south, ignoring the national border. That is, the northern Dulong varieties are closer to the northern Rawang varieties and less close to the southern Dulong varieties and Anong, which are closer to the southern Rawang varieties.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Alveopalatal</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Labio-velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c-</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kw-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b-</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>gw-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts-</td>
<td>e-</td>
<td>x-</td>
<td>xw-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>ηw-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Dulong vowels are /i, e, α, o, u, u/, and there are three diphthongs, /ei, ai, uu/, which only appear in open syllables. The syllable can be CV (bà ‘thin’), CVC (ɕɛm ‘iron’), CVV (where ‘VV’ represents a diphthong; pài ‘large bamboo basket’), CCV (where CC represents one of the consonant clusters listed above; blā ‘picture’, ‘drawing’), or CVCV (mlān ‘dream’).

The structure of syllables such as these also includes one of two tones, level (usually pronounced as high level or mid level, the latter especially on grammatical particles and less-stressed syllables; e.g. dā ‘scarecrow’) or falling (usually pronounced as high falling, e.g. dā ‘gaze fixedly’), but the structure of many words is sesquisyllabic, where the first part of the word is an unstressed, toneless, CV syllable (‘half-syllable’), e.g. dāzə ‘a kind of pheasant’. This in effect makes for something like a three-tone contrast (and it was discussed as such in Sun 1982). This reduced tone also appears on grammatical particles such as the postpositions and verbal suffixes. It is written here as a breve mark (ə̌). Stopped syllables only appear in one tone, generally a high short tone, and so tone marks are not given on stopped syllables. There is no regular tone sandhi, but there is a change of falling tone to level tone on verbs as a marker of first person and also when preceded by certain prefixes or followed by certain suffixes.

3 MORPHOSYNTAX

Words can be formed by prefixation, suffixation, or compounding. Word classes include nouns, defined by the ability to appear with a numeral classifier; verbs, defined by the ability to appear with negation and the person and tense marking; postpositions, which are enclitic to NPs; numerals; and classifiers. Adjectives are a subset of stative verbs for which reduplication means intensification or adverbialization rather than perfective aspect (reduplication with nouns has a distributive meaning, ‘every’). Adjectives can be used as predicates or can appear nominalized in a copula clause, e.g. dém gə [full NOM + COP] ‘(It) is full’. Noun types include plain nouns, personal pronouns (Table 32.2), demonstrative pronouns (já ‘this’, ɕjá ‘that’, ɨk ‘that (remote)’; used as free pronouns and demonstrative adjectives), and interrogative pronouns (təŋ (mə) ‘what’; ʃnì ‘who’, kərwá ‘how’, kə (d3) ‘where’, tokcə ‘why’, kəpə ‘which’). The latter can also be used as indefinite pronouns, as can ʃtsɔng ‘person’, as in ʃtsɔng mɔ-ʃnɛ-cu [person NEG-enter-R/M] ‘Nobody came in’. There is an emphatic, but not reflexive, pronoun, ədu, that can be used to emphasize the agency of the actor (He did it HIMSELF). Many nouns are formed using the prefix əŋ- ~ ək-, e.g. ək-səd ‘breath’, ‘steam’, əŋ-jo ‘seed(s)’.
Within the noun phrase, in addition to the head noun, there can be a demonstrative, genitive, or verbal/phrasal modifier, a classifier or a numeral plus classifier, and a plural (ri inanimate) or group (maʔ human; rà animate or inanimate) marker. A numeral plus classifier can occur either before or after the head, but a classifier used without a numeral must follow the head, and be used in conjunction with the demonstrative, which precedes the head. Unlike in Rawang, where a noun plus classifier construction without a demonstrative can be used when the referent is specific, in Dulong the demonstrative must be used. To use a classifier before the noun without a numeral, a special form I have called a ‘numeral substitute’ (pe) is used in place of the numeral. A genitive noun or pronoun simply precedes the head noun, and does not take any genitive marking, though there is a set of pronominal prefixes (¬-/n¬-/-ŋ¬-) for kinship and relational terms (e.g. ñk¬‘ my master’) derived from the free pronouns. A demonstrative can modify a noun alone, or a noun plus classifier combination. Adjectives can precede or follow the noun head, but when they precede, if there is no other modifier (e.g. a demonstrative), the adjective is generally nominalized by the prefix ñ¬~ 3k¬. If the adjective follows the head, the prefix is optional. Compare ñy¬(3k¬)-s¬ʔr and 3k¬-s¬ʔr ñy¬ ‘new book’. In many cases the adjective can be reduplicated as well, e.g. mr¬=mr¬=l¬=¬ ‘long stone’. Adjectives also frequently appear as pre-modifiers in the form of the relative clause construction, e.g. t¬i=t¬iz¬=ŋ¬ g¬=n¬ k¬=m¬ [very hard N¬=O¬=M bamboo] ‘very hard bamboo’. Following are some more noun phrase examples:

(1) a. ñy¬=i=¬ p¬=ŋ
   book two   CL
   ‘two books’

b. ñy¬=i=¬ r¬=i
   lsg book pl
   ‘my books’

c. ñy¬=i=¬ c¬=ʔ p¬=ŋ
   lsg book one   CL
   ‘one of my books’

d. ñs¬=ŋ¬ t¬i=¬ c¬=ʔ 3¬=ʔ
   person big one   CL
   ‘a big person’

e. k¬=3 t¬=i=¬ ñy¬=i=¬ s¬=s¬=m¬ p¬=ŋ
   that big book three   CL
   ‘those three big books’

f. j¬=a=¬ p¬=ŋ=¬ ñy¬=i=¬
   that NS   CL   book
   ‘that book’

The noun phrase can be followed by a semantic-relation marking postposition to mark the referent as agentive, instrumental, or adverbial (ti); anti-ergative (animate patient, recipient, benefactive) or allative (li); locative or temporal (di); terminative (x¬=i¬); or comitative (m¬=n¬=ŋ¬). There is also a topic marker (n¬a) and a noun conjunction particle (µ¬i). The agentive marking is not obligatory on transitives or ditransitives, but is often used when there is a specific identifiable patient referent, particularly if the direction of action is inverse (e.g. 3 > 1) and/or the action is completed. It is never used on intransitives. There is no evidence for the grammaticalization of grammatical relations such as ‘subject’ and ‘direct object’ or grammatical-relation-changing constructions such as passive and antipassive. Aside from the topic marker, all relational marking is semantic in nature.

Morphological marking that appears within the verb complex includes direction marking, person marking, inverse-marking, reflexive/middle marking, tense/aspect marking, valency-changing affixes, and negation.

Transitive verbs can be intransitivized by use of the intransitivizing prefix ñ¬-, or by use of the reflexive/middle marking suffix -c¬u¬. The main function of the prefix ñ¬- is intransitivization (e.g. t¬=l¬ ‘roll’, v.; ñt¬=l¬ ‘roll’, vi.), but
if the single direct argument of the derived intransitive is a plural animate argument, then the meaning is reciprocal, as in (2a). There is also an optional reciprocal particle (maʔ; possibly the same morpheme as the human group-marking noun suffix maʔ) that can be used after the verb in conjunction with the prefix. Reciprocals can be formed on causativized intransitives as well, and in this case will usually take the reciprocal particle and often an adverbial phrase meaning ‘to each other’ as well, as in (2b).

(2)  a.  nəŋi  ma-ŋ-sat  maʔ  cud
2dl  N.1-RECIPE-hit  RECIPE  dl
‘You two are arguing/ (with each other).’

b.  k3lɛ  jàlɛ  sə- إطار
that.way  that.way  CAUS-hurt  RECIPE
‘(They) are hurting each other.’

The reflexive/middle marker patterns something like the French reflexive pronouns, covering the semantics of both true reflexives (3a) and the middle voice (3b), but the marking is an invariant verbal suffix. The reflexive verb can take a patient noun if the noun is a body part, as in (3b), or something related to the actor, such as something the actor is buying for him/herself. There are a number of deponent forms, roots that take the reflexive/middle suffix for the ‘unmarked’ form, such as jət-cuʔ ‘laugh’. Removing the suffix would make the verb transitive ‘laugh at someone’. There is a contrast in meaning between the two intransitivizers: the prefix gives a simple intransitive, such as jət-cuʔ ‘roll’, with no specification of agentivity, whereas the suffix implies agentivity, as in jəj-cuʔ ‘roll oneself’ (with change of tone). It is also possible to use both affixes together, giving a stative sense, as in jə-jəʔ-cuʔ [PREF-look-R/M] ‘be visible’. (See LaPolla & Yang 1996, 2004 for more detailed discussion.)

(3)  a.  əŋ  gəθuʔ-cuʔ
3sg  hit.with.fist-R/M
‘He is hitting himself with his fist.’

b.  əŋ  məɾ  tcuʔ-cstdlib
3sg  face  wash-R/M
‘He is washing his face.’

Intransitive verbs can be made transitive or causative by the addition of the causative prefix sə- ~ tə-, e.g. dat ‘broken (of string)’, sədat ‘to break (string)’; stecup ‘pinched’, ‘closed up’, təstecup ‘to pinch’, ‘close up’ (see also (2b) and (4)). If the tone of the root is a falling tone, it becomes a level tone with the addition of the prefix, as in (4) (< jə).

(4)  əŋ  tə  əŋ  lɛ  sə-ʃi
3sg  AGT  3sg  DAT  CAUS-go
‘He made him go.’

Some verbs can also be made causative by simply lengthening the vowel (and changing to a level tone, if it was originally falling), e.g. ləm ‘warm’ (vi.), ləl:əm ‘warm’ (vt.) (= sə-ləm).

An analytical causative/permissive construction is formed using the verb (sə)-zəur, as in jə səzəur ‘let/make (him) go’, and in (5). Again a falling tone changes to a level tone when followed by the causative verb. This form of causation involves less direct causation than the causative prefix. There is also at least one form that shows a remnant of the PTB *-t transitivizing suffix: ɲuʔ ‘cry’ > ɲut ‘mourn (cry for) a dead person’.

(5)  əŋ  tə  pəŋ  lɛ  wə  sə-zəur
3sg  AGT  Pung  DAT  do  CAUS-allow/make
‘He made/allowed Pung do (it).’
There is only one marker of negation, the verbal prefix \textit{mə-}, pronounced \textit{mā-} when the root already has a suffix, e.g. \textit{mā-rənə} ‘not rest’ (with tone change).

A benefactive construction is formed using the verb \textit{sənə}\textsubscript{ŋ} ‘help’ or the benefactive auxiliary \textit{ə} after the main verb (again with changed tone on main verb):

\begin{align*}
\text{6) a. } & \quad \text{əŋ kənə əŋə tə rī sənəŋ} \\
& \quad 3\text{sg wood 1sg AGT carry help + 1sg} \\
& \quad ‘I carry wood for him.’ (lit. ‘I help carry his wood.’) \\
\text{b. } & \quad əŋə tə əŋ kənə rī əŋ \\
& \quad 1\text{sg agt 3\text{sg wood carry BEN + 1sg} \\
& \quad ‘I carry wood for him.’ \\
\text{c. } & \quad əŋ gwə sənə sə-\text{təŋ} əŋ \\
& \quad 3\text{sg wear NOM CAUS-big BEN} \\
& \quad ‘(S/he) makes it bigger for him/her to wear.’ (lit. ‘makes it big for his/her wearing’) \\
\end{align*}

In terms of the marking of illocutionary force, the declarative is unmarked. The imperative is marked by the prefix \textit{pə-} (pronounced \textit{pə-} when the verb already has a prefix); \textit{pə-kəi} ‘Eat!’ The prohibitive takes the normal negative, but the main verb is followed by \textit{əl} ‘have’: \textit{mə-kəi əl [NEG + N.1-eat have]} ‘Don’t eat (it)!’ An indirect directive is marked by the prefix \textit{laʔ-}, which is followed by the negative particle for indirect prohibitives: \textit{laʔ-mə-wə} ‘Don’t let him do (it).’ For the hortative the verb \textit{gəl} ‘want’ is used: \textit{kəi gəl ‘Let’s eat!’} (with tone change).

Polarity questions are generally formed using the postverbal question particles (\textit{pə̆} b (7a). Wh-questions have the interrogative pronoun \textit{in situ}, and do not require a final particle (7b). Another type of polarity question is formed by juxtaposing positive and negative choices (i.e. an A-not-A question), as in (7c).

\begin{align*}
\text{7) a. } & \quad nəjən jı-nə kəi jənə (gə) guə \, ə \, ə \\
& \quad 2\text{pl N.1-eat plural NOM taro be Q} \\
& \quad ‘Is what you(pl) eat taros?’ \\
\text{b. } & \quad jə sərə sənə ənə guə \, ə \\
& \quad \text{this thing who NOM be} \\
& \quad ‘Whose is this thing?’ \\
\text{c. } & \quad jı-nə kəi mə-kəi \\
& \quad \text{N.1-eat NEG + N.1-eat} \\
& \quad ‘Do you want to eat or not?’ \\
\end{align*}

The verb in Dulong inflects for person, but only speech–act participants are marked, with first person marked for person and number, while second person is marked only for number. The form of the first person singular marking depends on the final consonant of the root: if there is no final consonant, then -ŋ is added; if the final consonant is - ĭ then -k is added; if there is some other final with falling tone, then there is a change to level tone. First person dual takes the dual marker -cu; first person plural involves a change from short vowel to long vowel. Second person dual also takes the dual marker -cu, while second person plural takes the plural marker -jən. In either person, when the root takes a suffix or is changed to a long vowel, the root, if it has a falling tone, changes to level tone. Where the root vowel is -ə- and there is a -p or -t final, the vowel changes to -ə- for all but first person singular. Aside from this, a prefix I call the N.1 (non-first person actor) prefix (nu- ~ nu- ~ nu-) marks situations where a speech–act participant is mentioned, but the speaker is not the actor (contrast (8a–b)).

\footnote{See LaPolla & Yang 2007 for a discussion of the origin of the vowel length distinctions and also of the benefactive marking. See LaPolla 2010b on the hierarchical person marking system.}
When the root takes the intransitivizing prefix, the N.1 prefix is pronounced *na- and either appears before the other prefix or incorporates the other prefix, e.g. *na-š-sat and *na-sat ‘hit yourself’ are both possible. When it appears with consonant-initial prefixes, the N.1 prefix is simply marked by a change of the vowel of the other prefix to *-e, as in (7c), above. The variant *ni- appears as a sandhi form when followed by a syllable with a front vowel.

(8) a. ɗgɔ tɛ ɗŋ lɛ rʊŋ (<ri)  
1sg AGT 3sg DAT carry + 1sg  
‘I carried him.’  
b. ɗŋ tɛ ɗgɔ lɛ nɔ-rʊŋ  
1sg AGT 1sg DAT N.1-carry + 1sg  
‘He carried me.’

In the case of two human interactants, particularly first and second person, person marking can be of either one, but usually when the agentive marking is used, the person marking is of the higher ranking participant (1 > 2 > 3).

The verbs for ‘come’ and ‘go’ have grammaticalized into direction markers, as in *lɔɣ-jì [return-go] ‘go back’ and *lɔɣ-rà [return-come] ‘come back’. These and other direction-related verbs have grammaticalized into tense markers, jì (< jì ‘to go’) and lìŋ (< lìŋ ‘to ascend’), both used for recent past actions. The difference between the two forms is an evidential distinction: the use of lìŋ after the verb implies the speaker did not see the action (9a–a’), whereas the use of jì implies the speaker did see the action (9b–b’). A guess is marked by adding mìə after lìŋ. For a strong assertion, mìu is added after jì. For an action completed some time ago, possibly years ago, buu is used in place of jì or lìŋ. Inchoatives take the particle pàŋ after the verb or the adverb tiksà before the verb.

(9) a. ɗŋ tɛ kà:i lìŋ a’ ɗŋ jì lìŋ  
3sg AGT eat PAST/EVID 3sg go PAST/EVID  
‘He has just eaten.’ (I didn’t see him eat.)  
‘He just left.’ (We didn’t see him leave.)  
b. ɗŋ tɛ kà:i jì b’ ɗŋ jì əm jì  
3sg AGT eat PAST/EVID 3sg go DIR PAST/EVID  
‘He ate.’ (I saw him eat.)  
‘He just left.’ (possibly still can see him)

The particles jì and lìŋ are not used with first person actors; instead the adverb zûr ‘already’ can be used to mark a completed action, as in (10a). In asking someone about their past actions, lìŋ is used (10b).

(10) a. ɗgɔ jùŋ zûr  
1sg go + 1sg already  
‘I went (and came back) already.’  
b. nà ɲɔ-ji lìŋ à  
2sg N.1-go ASP Q  
‘Did you go?’

Another evidential distinction is made with the hearsay particle tɛɪwà. This appears most frequently in traditional narrative texts.

(11) tɛ̀pà:u tɛ̀pà:u m̃u dɔɡi kà gù? s5 tɛɪwà  
long.ago long.ago TOP dog words say know.HOW HEARSAY  
‘(It is said) long ago dogs knew how to talk.’

The word order in the clause is verb final, while the NPs are ordered with the more topical elements being earlier in the clause; the immediate preverbal position is the unmarked focus position (the unmarked position for
introducing ‘new’ referents/information). Adverbial elements usually appear in preverbal position (12a–b), but they can follow the verb (12c), with some difference in meaning. Some adverbs always follow the verb, such as məә̌̌tɔ̄l in (13), below, while others always precede the verb, e.g. lɛ̌látə̌lə̌ ‘very long/tall’. Preverbal adverbial phrases that are not reduplicated adjectives or adverbs usually take the adverb marker wā (12a) (derived from wā ‘say) or sometimes gɯ̌ (12e) (which means ‘also’ in Rawang). A resultative complement also comes before the main verb, marked by the terminative postposition xreʔ ‘until’, as in (12e).

The comparative construction has the word order Topic-Standard-Marker-Verb, where the marker is the word for ‘above’ plus the locative marker. The verb (adjective) can be in the plain form or reduplicated and followed by an adverb used only in the comparative construction.

There is only one verb of possession/existence, and the possessive construction patterns as a simple transitive clause; the possessor does not take any relational marking:

A cleft construction can be used for narrow focus on a particular NP, either in questions (15a) or statements (15b):

Clefts are also used for achieving the sense of a root modal:

(12) a. àŋ blakpɔï wā àŋzā kɔi
   3sg monkey ADV food eat
   ‘He eats like a monkey.’

b. mbɔdɔ̌ mbɔ̌r̄a-bɔ̌ jì
car/truck fast-REDUP go
   ‘The car is going quickly.’

c. mbɔdɔ̌ jì mbɔ̌r̄a
car/truck go fast
   ‘The car goes (can go) quickly.’

d. nɔt-ɓuːm mɔ̌-ɡɔ̌l gɔ̌ mbɔ̌r̄a wà lɛ̌ jì teiwa
mind-many NEG-need ADV field work DAT go HEARSAY
   ‘(The parents) could go to work the field without having to worry (about the child).’

e. ‘ɔpɔ̌ əm̄em’ gu? sɔ̌ xreʔ i: jì teiwa
daddy mummy say able.to ADV do go HEARSAY
   ‘(It) did this until (the baby) could say “mummy and daddy”’.  

(13) ðgɔ̌ nà mbɔ̌dɔ̌ mɔ̌ ɱ̣ɔ̌ (mr̄ɔ̌ mbɔ̌l)
1sg 2sg above LOC long/tall REDUP very much
   ‘I am (much) taller than you.’

(14) ðjiuŋ cɛ̌ tsuul jɔʔ lɔmɔrɔʔ ɔl
1pl one ten CL friend have
   ‘We have ten friends.’

(15) a. àŋ jì gu ɛ
   3sg go NOM be + Q
   ‘Did he go?’

b. pũŋ cin tɛ sat gɛ (<gʊ-ɛ)
Pung Cin AGT hit NOM + be
   ‘It was Cin who hit Pung.’

(16) ðgɔ̌ sɬaːp-cuút sà gɛ
1sg teach-R/M NOM NOM + be
   ‘I ought to study.’
Subordinators include clause-final bē ‘if’, ‘when’, mōnāŋ ‘because’, ‘when’ (<‘follow’), sōnnōŋ ‘because of (in order to)’. Some of the nominal postpositions are used as clausal subordinators as well, e.g. lē (allative/dative) is used for purpose clauses, e.g. kōi lē ji ‘go to eat’. Non-quote complement clauses do not require a nominalizer or complementizer (17a–b), but quoted complements take the complementizer wā (< wā ‘say’) (17c).

(17) a. əŋ əŋ bā di nit əŋ 3sg return go remember
   ‘I remember that he went back.’
   b. àŋ ji bē əŋ bā kuŋ nūŋ di à əŋ 3sg go if 1sg also go 1sg might COP
   ‘If he comes, I might go.’
   c. àŋ əŋ mōzi mōli? lā-jī wā gū? 3sg 1sg must have-to-go COMP say
   ‘He says I must go.’

Predication of actions or attributes that occur at the same time is represented in a serial verb construction with zūn optionally appearing between the two verbs:

(18) a. mōnū wā zūn zūn-ɕű song do LNK enter-R/M
   ‘He entered singing.’
   b. mōnū zūn pēɕën gū jō? long LNK blue/green NOM cloth
   ‘long blue cloth’

Nominalization to mark a location where an action occurs or a thing that is involved in an action is by the particle sā, e.g. jip sā ‘sleeping place’, gwā sā ‘clothing’, kōi sā ‘the thing which can be eaten/food’. Relative clauses, which appear before the head noun, are generally nominalized by the particle gū. In some lexicalized expressions involving relative clauses, no nominalizer is used, e.g. mōnū wā șisōŋ [song do person]
   ‘professional singer’. Relativization can be of the patient (19a), the agent (19b), the recipient (19c), or just about any role. In some cases, the noun head can be omitted (19d). There are no relative pronouns in Dulong.

(19) a. àŋ té lāŋ gū cūŋwət 3sg AGT bring NOM flower
   ‘the flower(s) he brought’
   b. cūŋwət lāŋ gū șisōŋ flower bring NOM person
   ‘the person who brought the flower(s)’
   c. àŋ lē cūŋwət lāŋ gū șisōŋ 3sg DAT flower bring NOM person
   ‘the person I brought flower(s) for’
   d. zōhē brī sā ș gū (sɔrə) book write NOM do NOM thing
   ‘the thing I use to write books’
   e. i tī ș ɔtərī hemp INST make string
   ‘a string made of hemp’

Reduplication of the verb has something of a perfective sense, and is used to mark the doing (completion) of an action in preparation for another in non-final clauses of a clause chain. In procedural texts, this form is used in a pattern with V-tōn mōnāŋ [V finish follow] ‘having finished Ving’ or ‘after Ving’ where one or more clauses with reduplicated verbs will lead up to the completion of some act or stage of a process, and then V-tōn mōnāŋ
will lead into the next series of actions, as in the following segment of an explanation of how to make a crossbow (see LaPolla 2001 for more examples):

\[
\begin{align*}
(20) & \quad tānā \ ądpləŋ\ zū \ t₃n \ mənŋ, \\
& \text{crossbow body make finish afterwards}
\end{align*}
\]

‘After finishing the body part of the crossbow’,

\[
\begin{align*}
cələi\ 5ŋ \ təli \ wā \ rəmû-mû \\
on one side LOC bow ADV draw-REDUP
\end{align*}
\]

on one side, (I) draw the shape of a bow,

\[
\begin{align*}
dəkə \ tē \ puk. \\
small.knife INST bore.small.hole + 1sg
\end{align*}
\]

and then) use a small knife to bore a small hole.

\[
\begin{align*}
puŋ \ t₃n \ mənŋ, \ nātsënatsë \ təli \ zān. \\
bore.small.hole finish after slowly bow fit.into + 1sg
\end{align*}
\]

‘After having bored a small hole, (I) slowly fit the bow into the hole.’

REFERENCES


Dai, Qingxia, Huang, Bufan, Fu, Ailan, Renzengwangmu and Liu, Juhuang (1991) Zāng-Miānyǔ shǐwūzhōng (Fifteen Tibeto-Burman languages), Beijing: Yanshan Chubanshe (includes chapter on 4th Township Dulong).


LaPolla, Randy J. & Yang Jiangling (1996) Dulong/Rawangyú dòngci de fānshēn hé zhōngjiāntái biāozhì (Reflexive and Middle Marking in Dulong/Rawang), in Dai Qingxia et al. (eds.), Zhōngguó Mínzú Yǔyán Líncōng (1) (Collected Essays on Chinese Minority Languages, 1), Central University of Nationalities Press, 13-34.


Sun Hongkai & Liu Guangkun (2009) A grammar of Anong: Language Death under Intense Contact (Languages of the Greater Himalayan Region 9) [edited translation and annotation, with the translation, editing, annotation and expansion by Graham Thurgood, Fengxiang Li, and Ela Thurgood], Leiden: Brill.


