DULONG TEXTS: SEVEN FULLY ANALYZED NARRATIVE AND PROCEDURAL TEXTS[1]

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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

[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?)

mɑ̀ɪ	**ɔ̀:**	**bɔ̌i**	**nɔ̌,**		
wine	do+1pl	LNK	TOP		

When we make wine,

ɔ̌jɑ̀	**tɑ̄ŋbɔ̌ŋ**	**tɛ̌**	**ɕɑ̌ɪ**	**ɔ̀:,**	
that	corn	INST	also	do+1pl	

we do it with corn,

dzɑ̌ɪ	**tɛ̌**	**ɕɑ̌ɪ**	**ɔ̀:,**	
millet	INST	also	do+1pl	

we do it with millet

pɔ̌kɑ̄	**tɛ̌**	**ɕɑ̌ɪ**	**ɔ̀:,**	
buckwheat	INST	also	do +1pl	

we do it with buckwheat

bɑ̄ndɑ̄	**tɛ̌**	**ɕɑ̌ɪ**	**ɔ̀:.**	
barnyard.millet	INST	also	do+1pl	

we do it with barnyard millet.

ɛ̄-bɛ̃	ɔ̌jɑ̀	ɔ̀:	bɛ̌	nɔ̌	ɔ̌jɑ̀,
DEM-LNK	that	do+1pl	LNK	TOP	that

When we make wine,

nùɪ	wɑ̄	sɑ̄	sɑ̌ɪɑ̀	cɑ̌ɪ	tɕ̌mɑ̌ɪ	mɔ̌-dəp	gɯ̄.
wine	make	NOM	thing	also	oil	NEG-stick	NOM

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

kɔ̌	lɛ̌	tòŋmɑ̄	ɔ̌cɑɪʔ	mɔ̌-dəp	gɯ̄	ɔ̀:	çǐn,
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,

tɕ̌mɑ̀ɪ	mɔ̌-dəp.
oil	NEG-stick

(and) no oil on them.

tsɔ̌ŋmɑ̄	ɔ̀:-ɔ̌	nɔ̌.
clean	make+1pl-REDUP	LNK

We make (them) clean.

nùɪ	bɔ̌-bɔ̌	ɔ̀:	bɔ̃i	nɔ̌,
wine	much-REDUP	make+1pl	LNK	TOP

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

cəptɑʔ	pɔ̃n	dɔ̌	ɔ̀:,
cooking.pot	big	LOC	make+1pl

we make it in a big pot,

cɛ̄	wàŋlū	tɕɔ̌ŋ[3]	gǔɪ.
one	wine.container	fill	NOM

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

ɛ̄-bɛ̌	tɕuʔtɕuʔ	ɔ̀:	bɔ̃i	nɔ̌,
DEM-LNK	a.little	make+1pl	LNK	TOP

If we only make a little,

xɔ̌l	sɔ̃ndɪ̄-xɑ̄[4]	ɔ̀:.
proper	pot-pl	make+1pl

(then) we use the proper pots.

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[3] *tɕɔ̌ŋ* is an alternate form of *ɔ̌tɕɔ̌ŋ*:

xɑʔ	jūɪŋ	dɔ̌	ɔ̌ndzɑ̄	ɔ̌nī	cī	ɔ̌tɕɔ̌ŋ.
this	bag	LOC	rice	two	catty	hold/contain

This bag can hold two catties.

[4] *ɪɑ̄* used as plural. Normally the LOC *dɔ̌* would be used here, but it was not used by the speaker.

ɔ̌jà	*tāŋbɔ̌ŋ*	*ɔ̌ŋcɛt*	*tɛ̌*	*cǔɯ*	*ɔ̀:,*
that	corn	grounds	INST	also	make+1pl

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

ɔ̌ŋtsì	*tɛ̌*	*cǔɯ*	*ɔ̀:.*
flour	INST	also	make+1pl

or we can use flour.

ɛ̌-wɑ̄	*ɔ̀:-ɔ̌*	*nɔ̌*	*gɑɯʔ*	*bɔ̌i,*
DEM-ADV[5]	make+1pl-REDUP	LNK	say	LNK

After we have done this,

ɔ̌jà	*cǔɯ*	*ɛ̌-wɑ̄*	*ɛ̌.*
that	also	DEM-ADV	be

that is also this way.

ɔ̌jà	*tɕɔ̌ŋdɑ̄l*	*ɔ̀:-ɔ̌,*	*pɯà*	*tɛ̌*	*cɑ̄:l.*
that	cooked.meal	make+1pl-REDUP	winnowing.pan	INST	sprinkle+1p

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

zūɯŋ-nɔ̀ɯn	*cà*	*bɛ̌,*
cold-weather	become	LNK

If the weather becomes cold,

tɕuʔ	*lɯ̄ɯn*	*pɑ̄ɯ,*[6]
a.little	warm	time

when the (rice) is still a little warm,

ɔ̌jà	*pɔ̌lɑ̄*	*zɑ̄:ŋ*	*cǐn,*[7]	*cɛ̀?*
that	brewer's.yeast	put.in+1pl	EMPH	RQ

we put in the brewer's yeast, no?

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[5] *ɛwɑ̄* seems to consist of the copula, *ɛ̌,* plus the adverbial marker, *wɑ̄,* but it means 'this way'; there is also an expression *ɛlɛ̌* 'there', all of which is *ɛ̌* plus the dative marker, and an expression *ɛ̌-bɛ̌* 'after that', all of which seem to point to *ɛ̌* 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 *cǐn* is not the same particle as the simultaneous action marker *zǐn*; e.g.

a.	*nà*	*ɛ̌-wɑ̄*	*nɔ̌-gɑɯʔ*	*cǐn!*
	2sg	DEM-ADV	NF-say	EMPH

You said it this way!

b.	*nɔ̀i*	*pɔ̌-ɔ̀:*	*cǐn!*
	2sg+AGT	IMP-do	EMPH

(Why don't you) do it!

cēnə̄m	*zū̄:*	*pə̌kū̄*	*zū̄:ŋ.*
already	make+1pl	brewer's.yeast	put.in+1pl

put in the brewer's yeast we just made.

çùul	*bě̌*	*lū̄*[8]	*zū̄:ŋ.*
cool	LNK	only.then	put.in+1pl

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

lūūm-nə̀m	*cà*	*bě̌*	*nǒ,*
warm-weather	become	LNK	TOP

If the weather becomes warm,

tçuʔ	*glə̌ŋ*	*tūūm*	*lū̄*	*zū̄:ŋ.*
a.little	cool	after	only.then	put.in+1pl

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

ǒjà	*xə̌məì*		*lě̌,*
that	upper.part.of.fire.area		DAT

on/towards the upper part of the fire area,

ɛ̄-wū̄	*tǒŋməì*	*çɯɯp*	*ɔ̀:-ǒ*	*nǔɯ.*
DEM-ADV	what	grass	do+1pl-REDUP	LNK

in this way we put grass on top,

lūūm	*mǒnǒŋ,*
warm	follow

after it is warm (has fermented),

jò	*nūūtçī*	*ǒtɔʔ*	*mǒnǒŋ*	*guuʔ*	*bǒi,*
this	dregs	drip	follow	say	LNK

when the dregs drip down,

wāŋlū̄	*lě̌*	*ɔ̀:.*
wine.container	DAT	do+1pl

(then) we put it in the wine container.

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[8] First Township dialect *bě̌lū̄* 'only then' is equivalent to Third Township dialect *bě̌ilǒŋ*, *mǒnǒŋ lū̄*. Compare the First Township clause above with the following Third Township clause of the same meaning:

çùul	*mǒnǒŋ*	*lū̄*	*zū̄:ŋ.*
cool	follow	only.then	put.in+1pl

We put it in only after it is cool.

zɑ̄ɯŋ-nə̀m	*ə̌sɯ̀m*	*jɑʔ*	*tɛ̌* [9]
cold-weather	three	night	ADV

in the winter only after three nights

ɓŋ	*wɑ̄ŋlɑ̄*	*lɛ̌*	*zɑ̄:ŋ.*
only.then	wine.container	DAT	put.in+1pl

will we put it into the wine container.

nə̄mlɯ̄mnə̀m	*nə̌,*
summertime	TOP

(in the) summertime,

ə̌ɲī	*jɑʔ*	*cɛ̄*	*jɑʔ*	*tɛ̌*	*zɑ̄:ŋ.*
two	night	one	night	ADV	put.in+1pl

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

ə̌jɑ̀	*wɑ̄ŋlɑ̄*	*lɛ̌*	*zɑ̄:ŋ*	*tɯ̄m,*
that	wine.container	DAT	put.in+1pl	after

After we put it into the wine container,

cɛ̄	*çīntçiʔ*	*tɛ̌*	*jīgɔ̌jɛ̀,* [10]
one	week	ADV	one.month

one week, one month,

tçə̌m	*ɔ̀:*	*bɛ̌*	*jīgɔ̌jɛ̀*	*ɔ̀:.*
even.more	make	LNK	one.month	place/put+1pl

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

cɛ̄	*çīntçiʔ*	*tɛ̌*	*jīgɔ̌jɛ̀*	*tɛ̌*
one	week	ADV	one.month	ADV

in a week or a month,

cɛ̄nɔ̌m	*ŋə̀k*	*çĭn.*
already	drink+1pl	EMPH

we can drink it.

ə̌jɑ̀	*mù*	*ɛ̄-wɑ̄*	*zɑ̄:*	*gɛ̄.*
that	wine	DEM-ADV	make+1pl	NOM+be

Wine is made (by us) like this.

ɛ̄-wɑ̄	*mɛ̄,*
DEM-ADV	NEG+be

If it is not (done this way),

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kāɹwā	*lā*	*ɔ̀:*	*tɕì?*
how	only.then	do+1pl	HS

how would we make it?

MAKING BREWER'S YEAST
told by Tsēng Yùlán (dū nɑ?)

nùɹ	*nɔ̌*	*ɔ̌jɑ̀*	*ɕūᵑkā*	*nǔɹ,*
wine	TOP	that	brewer's.yeast	TOP

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

bāndā	*lɑ̄:m-lɑ̄:m*[11]	*nǔɹ,*
barnyard.millet	dry.in.sun+1pl-REDUP	LNK

we dry the barnyard millet in the sun,

tɕ̌tɔ̌i	*kɔ̄m*	*gɔ̌*	*ɔ̀:-ɔ̌*	*nǔɹ.*
extremely	dry	NOM	do+1pl-REDUP	LNK

we make it very dry.

ɹɑktɑ?	*dɔ̌*	*kɔ̄:ɹ*	*bɔ̌i*	*ɕǔɹ,*
stone.mortar	LOC	grind+1pl	LNK	also

We use a stone mortar to grind it,

tɕ̌tɔ̌i	*dʑɯp*	*ɹɪɛ?*	*kɔ̄:ɹ*	*ɕǐn.*
extremely	fine	EXT	grind+1pl	EMPH

(and) grind it until it is very fine.

tɕ̌tɔ̌i	*dʑɯp*	*ɹɪɛ?*	*kɔ̄:ɹ-kɔ̄:ɹ*	*nǔɹ.*
extremely	fine	EXT	grind+1pl-REDUP	LNK

We grind it until it is very fine.

ɔ̌jɑ̀	*wà*	*pɔ̌wɑ?*	*mɔ̌nɔ̄ŋ,*
that	do/make	about.to	follow

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

pɹɑ̀	*sɔ̌nɑ?*	*tsɔ̄ŋmɑ̀*	*ɔ̀:.*
winnowing.tray	all	clean	do+1pl

we clean the winnowing tray(s).

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[11] *lɑ̄:m* = *sɔ-kɑ̄m* [CAUS-dry].

nùɯ	*wā*	*sā*	*çūɯŋkā*		*zū:,*
wine	do/make	NOM	brewer's.yeast		make+1pl

We make brewer's yeast for making wine,

dzāi	*ōŋsɔ̀ŋ*	*ɔ̌jaʔ*	*ē*	*nǔɯ,*
millet	grain	that	be	LNK

that is millet grain,

ɹɑktaʔ	*dɔ̌*	*kɔ̄:ɹ*	*tūɯm*	*nǔɯ,*
stone.mortar	LOC	grind+1pl	after	LNK

after we grind it in a stone mortar,

nɔ̀ŋdɔ̌gɔ̀ɯ	*çɔppɔ̀ŋ*	*dɔ̌*	*ɔ̌glū:ŋ-glū:ŋ*		*nǔɯ.*
well(adv.)	mortar	LOC	pound+1pl-REDUP		LNK

we pound it well in a wooden mortar,

ɔ̌glū:ŋ,	*ŋāŋ*	*tɛ̌*	*ɔ̀:-ɔ̌*		*nǔɯ*	*ɔ̌glū:ŋ,*
pound+1pl	water	INST	do+1pl-REDUP		LNK	
		pound+1pl				

we pound it (mixed) with water,

ɔ̌glū:ŋ-glū:ŋ		*nǔɯ,*
pound+1pl-REDUP		LNK

(having) pounded (it),

ɔ̌jɑ̀	*ē*	*nǔɯ*	*ɔ̌tsɔ̀ŋ*	*kɔ̌i*	*sā*	*pɔ̌lɛʔ*	*wā*	*tɔ̄ŋdūŋ*	*na:ì*	*çĩn.*
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.

ɔ̌jɑ̀	*çɯɯkkā*	*pɔ̄i*	*mɔ̄i*	*nǔɯ,*
that	brewer's.yeast	NS	CL	TOP

That brewer's yeast,

ɔ̌jɑ̀	*ē-lɛ̌*	*nǔɯ,*
that	DEM-DAT	LNK

that (brewer's yeast),

tçā	*pāɹ*	*tsɔ̌wālɔ̌ŋ*	*"tɔ̌çī"*	*lā:n*	*gǔ.*
long.ago	time	Tsawalong(Tibet)	Tashi	called+1pl	NOM

long ago we called Tibet "Tashi".

tsɔ̌wālɔ̌ŋ	*çɯɯkkā,*
Tsawalong(Tibet)	brewer's.yeast

Tibetan brewer's yeast,

ɛ̄	tɕūɯŋ-tɕùɯŋ	ҫɯɯkkā,
DEM	small-REDUP	brewer's.yeast

this little bit of brewer's yeast,

cɛ̄	tɕu?	cɛ̄	tɕu?	ɛ?-wā	ҫɯɯkkā	lɛ̆	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,

ɔ̄ŋtsì	lɛ̆	cɛ̄	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),

ɔ̄ŋka?	lɛ̆	ɛ?-wā	ɛ?-wā	kɔ̆lɔ̄:ŋ.
chunk	DAT	DEM-ADV	DEM-ADV	spread(paste)+1pl

we spread it on the ones made into cakes.

na:ì	tūɯɯ,
mold+1pl	after

After we have molded it,

pɔ̆lɛ?	wɛ?	wā	ɔ̀:.
cake	piece	ADV	do+1pl

we make it into pieces.

ɔ̆jā	pɔ̆lɛ?	wɛ?	wā	ɔ̀:	tūɯɯ,
that	cake	pieces	ADV	do+1pl	after

After we make it into cakes,

kātsì	bɔ̄bɔ̄	ɔ̆dūŋ	dɔ̆,
bran	much	middle	LOC

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

ɛ?-wā	ŋɔ̀	nùɯ	wā	ɔ̀:,
DEM-ADV	top	wine	ADV	place/put+1pl

like this put it on top, like with wine.

nùɯ	wā	ɔ̀:-ɔ̄		nŭɯ,
wine	ADV	put/place+1pl-REDUP		LNK

After putting it on like wine,

si?	mɔ̆nɔ̄ŋ,	kɔ̄	lɛ̆	jā	lɛ̆	pɔk.
flavorful(fermented)	follow	that	DAT	this	DAT	turn.over+1pl

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

si?	mɔ̆nɔ̄ŋ,
flavorful(fermented)	follow

When it has flavor (when it has fermented),

ə̌ɲī	ja?	ə̌ɲī	ja?	tɛ̌	pɔk.
two	night	two	night	ADV	turn.over+1pl

after two nights we turn it over.

rəktǒŋnə̀m	ə̌ɲī	ja?,
winter	two	night

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

ə̌zɑ̃mə̀m	cɛ	ja?	tɛ̌	pɔk.
hot.weather	one	night	ADV	turn.over+1pl

In the hot weather we turn it after one night.

ɛ̌-bɛ̌	mə̌-pɔk	bɛ̌	mə̌-gə̌m	wā	guɑ?.
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.

ə̌jà	ɛ	ɔ̌lɔ?,
that	be	again

After that, again,

ə̌jà	tɕə̌m	kə̌m	mə̌nə̌ŋ	nǔɯ,
that	even.more	dry	follow	TOP

when it is more dry,

nə̀ŋgə̀m	tǒŋ-mə̌i	jɯ̄ŋ	dǒ	ɔ̌:-ə̌	nǔɯ,
well(adv.)	what-CL	bag	LOC	do+1pl-REDUP	LNK

we put it into a bag,

ŋɔ̀	dǒ	sǒzɑ̀:ŋ.
top	LOC	hang+1pl

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

ə̌jà	cǔɯ	tsə̌ŋmɑ̄	ɔ̀:	gɛ̌.
that	also	clean	do+1pl	NOM+be

That we also have to make clean.

ə̌ŋtsì	mə̌nə̌ŋ	ɔ̌:	gǔɯ	nǔɯ,
bran(flour)	COM	place/put+1pl	NOM	LNK

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

cī	çīntɕi?	wā	ɔ̌:,
one	week	ADV	place/put+1pl

(we place it) for about one week,

dzɑ̄i	*tsì*	*dɔ̌*	*ɹɔ̀:.*
millet	flour(bran)	LOC	put/place+1pl

we put it in the millet bran/chaff.

ɔ̌jɑ̀	*cà*	*mɔ̌nɔ̄ŋ*	*nɑ̌,*
that	become	follow	TOP

(One week later) when it is done,

"tɔ̌xɹɔ̀:ŋ" gɑ̌		*lɑ̄:n.*
(name) NOM		call+1pl

we call it "**tɔ̌xɹɔ̀:ŋ**".

jɑ̄ŋ	*dɔ̌*	*ɹɔ̀:.*
bag	LOC	put/place+1pl

(Again) we put it in a bag.

ɛ̄-bɛ̌,	*ɔ̌jɑ̀*	*çɯɹkkɑ̄,*
DEM-LNK	that	brewer's.yeast

After that, that brewer's yeast,

tɕɔ̄m	*cà*	*mɔ̌nɔ̄ŋ*	*ɔ̌jɑ̀,*
even.more	become	follow	that

after another stretch of time,

ɔ̌jɑ̀	*pɯɹp*	*dʑɪ̌n*	*ɔ̀:*	*çɪ̌n,*	*nɑ̀.*
that	sprinkle	LNK	do+1pl	EMPH	wine

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

HOW TO MAKE A TRAP

jɑ̄ɹ	*kɑ̄ɹwɑ̄*	*zɩ̄*	*sɑ̄*
(tree-spring)trap	how	make	NOM

told by Li Yaohua (nəwɑ̄ŋzɑ̀r bɹɑ̄zì)

jɑ̄ɹ	*zɩ̄*	*bɛ̌,*	*tɔ̌sɑ̄*	*tsit*	*zɩ̄*	*sɑ̄.*
trap	make	LNK	start	trap.string	make	NOM

When making a trap, first the string is made.

tsit	*nɑ̄ɹ*	*ì*	*tɛ̌*	*ɔ̀*	*tsɔɹɩ̄*	*tɛ̌*	*zɩ̄:,*
trap.string	TOP	hemp	INST	make	string	INST	make+1pl

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

tsə̌ɹī   muktəì   ə̌kkɔʔ   cà   ɟɯk-ɟɯk,
string   thick(round) piece(CL.for.rope)   become   twist+1pl-REDUP

(and) make it into a thick rope,

(tsit) cɛ̄ laì ɔ̃ŋ kām   tɛ̌ zū (gɯ̌ɯ) tsit-kɔ̌laʔ   sə̌pək,
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,

cɛ̄   kāi   ɔ̃ŋ   nɑ̄ɹtɕū   zū,
one   side LOC   loop   make

on the other end make a loop,

tsit   zū   tə̃n   mə̌nə̃ŋ,   tə̃ɹpɑ̄   ɹɛt   ɔ̌jà   tə̃ɹpɑ̄,
string make   finish   follow   spring(bamboo)   cut+1pl that   spring

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

ɟɯ̄   kùŋ   dɔ̌   tsə̃n   gɯ̌ɯ   tə̌tɕək-tɕək.
trap   area   LOC   strong   NOM   stick(in.the.ground)+1pl-REDU

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

tsit   tə̃ɹpɑ̄   mə̌tɕùŋ   ɔ̃ŋ   gwɛ̄ːɹ,
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   [cɑ̄   gwɛ̄ɹ   sɑ̄   kāi] 12   ɔ̃ŋ   mɹə̌ŋ-mɹə̌ŋ   ɔ̌zū,
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,

[tə̃ŋ   sɑ̄   kāi] 13   ɔ̃ŋ,   cɛ̄   tɕuʔ   ɔ̌zū   gɯ̌ɯ   sə̌pək
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,

tə̃ɹpɑ̄   kɛ̌   gwɛ̄ːɹ,
spring   DAT   tie+1pl

(and) tie (it) to the spring,

ɔ̌jà   ɛ,   piʔ-piʔ   kām   (kɛ̌),
that   be   soft(not.hard)-REDUP   bamboo   INST

after that, we take a soft piece of bamboo,

---

12 *cɑ̄ gwɛ̄ɹ sɑ̄ kāi* is the side with the loop (*nɑ̄ɹtɕū*). Later in this line the reduplication changes the tone on the second token of *mɹə̌ŋ* 'long'.

13 *tə̃ŋ sɑ̄ kāi* is the side with the *tsit kɔlaʔ* 'string holder'.

kɔ́	lɑ̄i	jɑ̆	lɑ̄i	ɔ̆sɑ̄	lɛ̆
that	side	that	side	ground	DAT

ɔ̆ŋdɔ̆gɑ̄ŋ	cɑ̀	tɔ̆tɕək-tɕək,
bow(shaped.object)	become	stick(in.ground)+1pl-REDUP

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

tɔ̄upɑ̄	mɔ̆tɕɑ̀ŋ	ɔ̆ŋ,	jɔ̀l	jɔ̀:ŋ-jɔ̀ŋ,
spring	end(edge)	LOC	below	pull(down)+1pl-REDUP

(and) pull down one end of the spring,

tsit-kɔ̆la?	ɔ̆jɑ̀	ɔ̆ŋdɔ̆gɑ̄ŋ	lɛ̆	tɑ̄:ŋ.
string-holder	that	bow(shaped.object)	DAT	trap+1pl

(and) trap the holder in the bow.

ɔ̆jɑ̀	ɛ,	kaptɕɛ̄	tɛ̆	ɔ̆ŋɹɑ̄m	lɑ̄i	tsit-kɔla?
that	be	crossbar	INST	horizontal	side	string-holder

mɑ̄-ɔ̆pət	gɑ̄u	tɑ̄:ŋ.
NEG-let.go	NOM	trap+1pl

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

ɔ̆jɑ̀	ɛ,	kap-klɯp	tɛ̆	blət	gɑ̄u,
that	be	bamboo-slice	INST	weave	NOM

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

"gɹɔ̄m"	lɑ̄:n	gɑ̆u	sɑ̆ɹɑ̀,	ɔ̆jɑ̀	kaptɕɛ̄	mɔ̆dɔ̀m	dɔ̆	ɹɔ̆:,
called	NOM	thing	that	crossbar	above	LOC	put/place+1pl

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

ɔ̆jɑ̀	ɛ,	nɑ̄tɕɑ̄n	tɛ̆	ma?-ɔ̆-jɔ̄ŋ[14]	gɑ̄u	kɔp.
that	be	moss/greens	INST	NEG-PREF-see	NOM	cover

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

kɔp	tɔ̄n	mɔ̆nɔ̄ŋ,
cover	finish	afterward

After covering it,

tsit	ɔ̆ŋmukwɑ̀ŋ	tɔ̆-xɹɯp-ɕɑ̆u	sɑ̄	ɔ̀:-ɔ̆:,
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 *jɔ̀ŋ* '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.

nĭtɕĭn	**mǎdə̀m**	**dɔ̌**	**nātsḗ**	**ɔ̃:.**
moss/greens	above	LOC	gently	put/place+1pl

and gently put moss/greens on top.

wà	**tɔ̃n**	**mɔ̌nɔ̃ŋ,**
do	finish	after

After doing that,

jūu	**kùŋ**	**kɔ̃**	**lāi**	**jā**	**lāi**	**ɹì**	**tɔp**	**màl**	**nǎɹàm**	**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

tānā	**kɔ̃ɹwā**	**zū**	**sā**
crossbow	how	make	NOM

told by Li Yaohua (nəwāŋzàr bɹāzì)

tānā	**zū**	**sā,**
crossbow	make	NOM

The making of the crossbow,

tɔ̌lĭ,	**tānā**	**ɔ̌kplɔ̃ŋ,**	**tĭkɹɔ̃l,**
bow(part.of.crossbow)	crossbow	body.of.bow	trigger

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

tĭdɔ̃n,	**tɔ̌lət**	**tɛ̌**	**zū**	**gḗ.**
string holder	string	INST	make	NOM+be

the string, and the string holder.

tɔ̌lĭ	**nūu**	**sāɕū̃ŋ**	**rət-rət,**
bow	TOP	tree.used.to.make.bow	cut-REDUP

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

nə̀ŋdɔ̌gə̀m	**tɕìtɕùŋ**	**tɕɛ̌**	**ɔ̌ktsɛʔ**	**cà**	**ʑɔʔ-ʑɔʔ.**
well(adv.)	small	only	strip	become	shave-REDUP

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

nə̀ŋdɔ̌gə̀m	**ɕɔ̃n**	**gūu**	**ɕuuk-kɔʔ**	**lɔ̃-lɔ̌,**
well(adv.)	straight	NOM	tree-CL(straight.piece)	find/look.for-REDUP

Find a straight piece of wood,

tɕlī dūŋ dɔ̌ çɯɯk-tshɛʔ tɛ̌ sǎn-sǎn,
bow middle LOC tree-CL(flat.piece) INST support.the.bottom-REDUP

using a flat piece of wood to support the bottom of the middle part of the bow,

kɔ lɯ̄i jɯ̀ lɯ̄i ɔ̌jɯ̀ çɯɯk-kɔʔ lɛ̌ ɔ̌xrək.
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.

ɔ̌jɯ̀ ē, ləkpɑ̄ lɛ̌ ɔ̄:.
that be steam DAT cook+1pl

After that, we use steam to cook it.

x tɔ̌n mǎnɔ̌ŋ, xrǔɯməì dɔ̌ lɯ̄: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.

tɑ̄nɑ̄ ɔ̌kplɔ̌ŋ nɯ̄ɯ, lùɯmçɯ̄ɯŋ ʐɔk-ʐɔk zɑ̄:.
crossbow body TOP firewood cut.into.small.strips+1pl-REDUP make+1

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

tɑ̄nɑ̄ ɔ̌kplɔ̌ŋ zɯ̄ tɔ̌n mǎnɔ̌ŋ,
crossbow body make finish follow

After finishing the body part of the crossbow,

çɛ̌ lɯ̄i ɔ̌ŋ[15] tɕlī wɑ̄ rɔ̌mɯ̄-mɯ̄
one side LOC bow ADV draw-REDUP

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

dəkçī tɛ̌ puk.
small.knife INST bore.small.hole+1pl

we use a small knife to bore a small hole.

puʔ tɔ̌n mǎnɔ̌ŋ, nɑ̄tsɛ̄-nɑ̄tsɛ̄ tɕlī zɑ̄: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.

ɔ̌jɯ̀ ē, çɑ̌ɯɯ tɛ̌ tǐdɔ̌n ɲī tǐkrɔ̌ zɯ̄.
that be bone INST string.holder and trigger make

Then use bone to make the string holder and trigger.

tɕlət nɯ̄ɯ ì tɛ̌
bow.string TOP hemp INST

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[15] *dɔ̌* could be used here instead of *ɔ̌ŋ*.

nə̀ndə̌gə̀m   *ŋɑ̄ŋ*   *(tɛ̌)*   *ɕək-ɕək*   *(nŭu)*   *ɹuuk.*
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).

ɹuuʔ   *tɔ̄n*   *mə̌nɔ̌ŋ,*   *ɔ̌jà*   *ɛ,*   *ɔ̌jà*   *tə̌lət*   *ɔ̌lì*   *sə̌ɹò*   *tɛ̌*
rub   finish   follow   that   be   that   bow.string   heavy   thing   INST

After rubbing it, we use something heavy

kɔ̌tàl-tàl   *nə̀mgɑ̄ŋ*   *dɔ̌*   *lā:m.*
hang-REDUP   sunshine   LOC   dry(vt.)+1pl

to hang it to dry in the sun.

kɔ̌m   *mə̌nɔ̌ŋ,*   *tə̌lī*   *lɛ̌*   *pə̌dā:m-dā:m,*
dry   follow   bow   DAT   compare+1pl-REDUP

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

kɔ̌   *lāi*   *jà*   *lāi*   *tə̌-tsək.*
that   side   that   side(=both sides)   CAUS-be.around+1pl

(then) make a noose at each end.

tə̌lət   *zū*   *tɔ̄n*   *mə̌nɔ̌ŋ,*   *tə̌lī*   *lɛ̌*   *gwē:ɹ.*
string   make   finish   follow   bow   DAT   fasten+1pl

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

tə̌lət   *ɔ̌dūŋ-dūŋ*   *dɔ̌*   *tɕìtɕhùŋ*   *tsə̌ɹī*   *tɛ̌*   *tə̌-tsək.*
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.

tānā   *zū*   *tɔ̄n*   *mə̌nɔ̌ŋ,*   *nə̀ndə̌gə̀m*   *ɔ̌tù*   *ā*   *ɹà:ŋ*[16].
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.

dɔ̌mā   *nŭu*   *tòi*   *tɕīzə̀ŋ*   *gŭu*   *kām*   *rət-rət,*
arrow   TOP   very(big)   hard   NOM   bamboo   cut.down+1pl-RED

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

ɔ̀ŋŋāi-ɔ̀ŋŋāi   *kap-kaʔ*   *zū:.*
half-REDUP   bamboo-CL(strip)   make+1pl

we make strips by cutting the bamboo in half.

ǯjà	ɛ̄,	xrŭuməì		dǒ	dǒɟɛk,
that	be	rack.over.the.cooking.stove		LOC	smoke+1pl

After that, we smoke it on the fireplace rack.

mǒnū̃-nŭu	cà	mǒnǒŋ,
long.period.of.time-REDUP	pass(become)	follow

After a long time,

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

we cut the bamboo strips into smaller strips,

dəkɕī	tɛ̌	kut.	kut	tǒn	mǒnǒŋ,
small.knife	INST	shave	shave	finish	follow

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

nə̀ŋdǒgə̀m	sǒ-tū:,		ǯjà	ɛ̄,	ǒkɕūkɑ̃m	tɛ̌,
well(adv.)	CAUS-straight+1pl		that	be	fresh.bamboo	INST

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

kɑ̃cɛ̄ɹ	zū-zū	sǒpək.
wing	make-REDUP	attach+1pl

(and) attach the wings to the arrow.

WHY MONKEYS STEAL HUMAN FOOD
told by Li Yaohua (nəwɑ̄ŋzàr bɹɑ̄zì)

tɕɑ̄	pɑ̄ɹ	ǒtsə̀ŋ	nɑ̄gə?	ɕǒla?	blakpaì	tɛ̌	ɟ̌: 17	tɕìwǎ.
long.ago	time	human	baby	caregiver	monkey	AGT	do/make	HS

Long ago monkeys took care of babies for people.

ǒk-pɛ̀	ǒk-mɛ̀	nǒmɟɑ̀ŋ-nǒmɟɑ̀ŋ,
3-father	3-mother	daytime-REDUP

During the day, the child's parents

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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-būɯn	*mɔ̌-gɔ́l*	*gū*	*ɔ̌mɹɑ̄*	*wà*	*lɛ̄*	*ɟì*	*tɕìwǎ.*
mind-many	NEG-need	ADV	field	work	DAT	go	HS

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

ɔ̌ŋzɑ̄	*kɯɹ̄*	*ʨì*	*gɔ̀m*	*wǎ,*
food	also	very(big)	good	HS

The crop grew very well,

blakpaì	*tɛ̌*	*nɑ̄gɔ́*	*nɔ̀ŋdɔ̌gɔ̀m*	*ɔ̀:*	*wa.*
monkey	AGT	baby	well(adv.)	work	HS

the monkey took good care of the baby.

"*ɔ̌-pɛ̀*	*ɔ̌-mɛ̀*"	*gɯɹ̄*	*sɔ̌*	*xrɛ́*	*ɔ̀:*	*tɕìwǎ.*
1-father	1-mother	say	know.how	until	do	HS

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

nɑ̄gɔ́	*tɔ̀ì*	*mɔ̌nɔ̌ŋ,*	*blakpaì*	*sɔ̌-lɔ́*	*tsɔt*	*cà*	*mɔ̌nɔ̌ŋ,*
baby	big	follow	monkey	CAUS-return	time	become	follow

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

ç̌ɔ̌laʔ	*kīɯtɑ̄*	*ɔ̌tsɔ̀ŋ*	*tɛ̌*	*tɑ̌ɔ̀l*	*sɔ̌kɔ̌m*	*cɛ̌*	*mɛ̄*
caregiver	fee	human	AGT	quiver(arrow.case)	lid	one	CL

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

tɕɛ̌	*zI*	*tɕhìwǎ.*	*ɔ̌jɑ̀*	*mɔ̌nɔ̌ŋ*	*blakpɔ̀ì*	*sɔ̌nɑ̄*	*sɔ̀ì*	*wà.*
only	give	HS	that	follow	monkey	nose	spicy	HS

Because of this, the monkey became very angry.

ɔ̌jɑ̀	*tɑ̌ɔ̀l*	*sɔ̌kɔ̌m*	*nɔ̌krɛ́*	*dɔ̌*	*pɛ́-pɛ́*	*nɛ́*	*sɔ̌lɔ́*	*zīn,*
that	quiver	lid	buttock	LOC	stick(v.)-REDUP	eye	stare	LNK

The monkey stuck the lid to his rear end,

cɛ̌	*krɔ̌m*	*cɛ̌*	*krɔ̌m*		*ɔ̌tɕat*	*zīn*	*lɔ́*	*ɟì*	*tɕìwà*
one	jump	one	Jump	(jump.and.skip)	jump	LNK	return	go	HS

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

blakpaì	*nɔ̌krɛ́*	*ɔ̌jɑ̀*	*mɔ̌nɔ̌ŋ*	*nūɯ*	*ɔ̌ŋmūɯl*	*mɔ̌-kɔ́*	*ɛ̄*	*tɕìv*
monkey	buttock	that	follow	TOP	fur/hair	NEG-grow	be	HS

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

blakpɔ̀ì	*ɛ̄-wɑ̄*	*sɔ̌nɑ̄*	*sɔ̀ì*	*mɔ̌nɔ̌ŋ,*
monkey	DEM-ADV	nose	spicy(angry)	follow

When the monkey got angry,

ɔ̌tsɔ̀ŋ	pɔ̌çīn	dɔ̌	mɔ̌-gɔ̀m[18]	wā	cà	tçìʍ
human	heart/liver	LOC	NEG-good	COMP	become(suffer)	HS

the person felt bad.

ɔ̌jà	mɔ̌nɔ̌ŋ	blakpəì	lě	ɛ̄-wā	gɹɯ̄:ŋ	wǎ,
that	follow	monkey	DAT	DEM-ADV	say	HS

So the man said to the monkey,

"dɛ̄lā	buktçit būŋɹɑ̄m	pɛ̄	pā-sɔ̌ŋɑ̄m ɹī"	gɹɯ̄: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)."

ɔ̌jà	tūɯn,
that	after

After that,

blakpəì	ejà	mɔ̌nɔ̌ŋ	nɯ̄ɹ	ɔ̌tsɔ̀ŋ	tābɔ̄ŋ	kɯ̄ɹ	gɛ̄	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

dɔ̌gī	təkɔ̀	pɔ̌laìs	mɹɛ̀ŋ	kā	guɹ̄	təp	màl	gɯ̄ɹ	lɔ̌ɹit
dog	why	tongue	long	words	say	ability	NEG+l	NOM	story

told by Li Yaohua (nəwāŋzàr bɹāzì)

tɐ̄	pɐ̄ɹ	tɐ̄	pɐ̄ɹ	nɯ̄,	dɔ̌gī kā	guɹ̄	sɔ̌	tçìʍ
long.ago	time	long.ago	time	TOP	dog words	say	know.how	HS

It is said long ago dogs knew how to talk.

bɔ̀nībɔ̌nā	(ɔ̌dīŋ)	dɔ̌,	kā	guɹ̄	sɔ̌	gū:ɹ[19]
livestock	middle	LOC	words	say	know.how	NOM

dɔ̌gī	ɛ̄	tçìwà.
dog	be	HS

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

tɐ̄	pɐ̄ɹ	tɐ̄	pɐ̄ɹ	nɯ̄ɹ
long.ago	time	long.ago	time	TOP

---

[18] əçì 'spirit of a dead person' would also be possible instead of **mɔ̌-gɔ̀m**.

[19] It would be possible to use **nɯ̄ɹ** instead of **gɯ̄ɹ** here.

dɔ̌gī	ɲī	waʔ	ɔ̌tsɔ̀ŋ	tɛ̌	sū:	gū̄	ɛ̄	tɕìwǎ.
dog	and	pig	person	AGT	raise	NOM	be	HS

It is said long ago (a) dog and (a) pig were raised by (a) person.

ɔ̌k-kàŋ	tɛ̌	dɔ̌gī,	waʔ	lɛ̌	(nɯ̌ɯ)		
3-master	AGT	dog	pig	DAT	TOP		

tɔ̌ŋ	ɕǎɯ	guɑʔ	dɔ̄m	màl		tɕìwǎ,
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)

ɔ̌xɹɯ̄ɯī	sǎxɯ̄ŋ	nɔ̀ŋdɔ̌gɔ̀m	ɔ̌ŋzɑ̄	zī	tɕìwǎ.
evening	morning	well	food	give	HS

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

ɔ̌k-kàŋ	tɛ̌	nɔ̀mɹɑ̄ŋ-nɔ̀mɹɑ̄ŋ		
3-master	AGT	daytime-REDUP		

dɔ̌gī	ɲī	waʔ	ɔ̌mɹɑ̄	wà	lɛ̌	sɔ̌là:ŋ	tɕìwǎ.
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.

ɔ̌mɹɑ̄	wà	lɛ̌	sɔ̌làŋ	bɛ̌,
field	do	DAT	send.out	LNK

waʔ	ɕɛ̄	ɲī	ɕɛ̄	ɲī	mɑ̄-rɔ̌nɑ̄[20]	(wɑ̄)	wà	tɕìwǎ.
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 restin

dɔ̌gī	nɯ̄ɯ	waʔ	ɔ̌mɹɑ̄	wà	pɑ̄ɹ,
dog	TOP	pig	field	do	time

ɔ̌mɹɑ̄	tɕɛ̄m	dɔ̌	ɲip	tɕìwǎ.
field	edge	LOC	sleep	HS

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

ɔ̌xɹɯ̄ì	lɔʔ	tsɔt[21]	dìl	mǎnɔ̄ŋ	nɯ̄ɯ,
night	return	time	arrive	follow	TOP

dɔ̌gī	tɛ̌	waʔ	tɛ̌	ɔ̀	ɔ̌mɹɑ̄	dɔ̌
dog	AGT	pig	AGT	do	field	LOC

---

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

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

dǒgī	mūl	tɕɛ̌	ŏblə̀n	gūi[22]	ăzət	tɕìwǎ.
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.

waʔ	ŏmɹū̄	wà	tɔ̌:n	mə̌nə̄ŋ	nū̄,	jɔ̌ŋ	mə̌nə̄ŋ	rə̌nà	pāɹ,
pig	field	do	finish	follow	TOP	tired	follow	rest	time

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

dǒgī	ūzù	cùɯn	lɛ̌	lɔʔ	tɕìwǎ,	ŏxɹɯī	dɯ	mə̌nə̄ŋ	nū̄,
dog	first	house	DAT	return	HS	night	arrive	follow	TOP

the dog would first go home and at night

dǒgī	(tɛ̌)	ŏk-kàŋ	lɛ̌	klɯɯp	tɕìwǎ,
dog	AGT	3-master	DAT	deceive	HS

would deceive the master (saying):

"ə̌-kàŋ!	lə̄mbrɔʔ	waʔ,	àŋ	nū̄	cɛ̌	ɲī	cɛ̌	ɲī
1-master	friend	pig	3sg	TOP	one	day	one	day

ŏmɹū̄	tɕɛ̌m	dɔ̌	jip,
field	edge	LOC	sleep

ə̌gɔ̀	nū̄	ŏmɹū̄	wɔ̌ŋ	dèn	mə̌-dèn	àŋ	tɛ̌	mə̌-sɔ̌:."
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")

dǒgī	ɛ̌-wā	ŏk-kàŋ	lɛ̌	klɯɯp	tɕìwǎ.
dog	DEM-ADV	3-master	DAT	deceive	HS

The dog deceived his master in this way.

ŏk-kàŋ	nə̀ŋdə̌gə̀m	nit-cǎɯ	tɕìwǎ,
3-master	well	think-R/M	HS

The master thought about this for a while/well,

"ə̌gɔ̀	ŏmɹū̄	lɛ̌	cǎɯ	mə̌-jūɯŋ,
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 *nū̄ɹ* instead of *gū̄ɹ* here.

cɛ̄	ɉɔʔ	guɑʔ	(gŭ)	kā		tɛ̌
one	CL(person)	say	NOM	word		INST

ɔ̌nī[23]	zɑ̄	mɑʔ-zɑ̄		guɑʔ	təp	mɑ̀l,
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,

dɛ̄kɑ̄	ɔ̌gɔ̀	ɔ̌mɹɑ̄	lɛ̌	ɉɔ̌ŋ	lɛ̌	ɉɯ̄ŋ	jɯ̀ŋ."
later	1sg	field	DAT	see	PURP	go+1sg	want+1sg

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

ɛ̄-bɛ̄		nɯ̄ū	dɔ̌gī	ɛ̄-wā	guɑʔ	bɛ̄	çŭ,	ɔ̌k-kɑ̀ŋ	tɛ̌
DEM-LNK		TOP	dog	DEM-ADV	say	LNK	also	3-master	AGT

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

kāpɛ̄	ɉɔʔ		neʔ	təì	wā	mɔ̀-jɑ̀:ŋ	tɕìwǎ.
which	CL(person)		eye	big	ADV	NEG-see	HS

won't be biased towards either of them.[24]

ɔ̌jɑ̀	tɯ̄um	nɯ̄ū,	ɔ̌k-kɑ̀ŋ	tshɑʔ	wā	nɑ̄nī	wà	lɛ̌	ɉì	tɕìwɑ̌
that	after	TOP	3-master	secretly	ADV	peep	do	PURP	go	HS

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

kāpɛ̄	ɉɔʔ		lɛ̌	çŭ	sɔ̌ɹɑ̄ŋ	nɔ̀ŋdɔ̌gɔ̀m	ɔ̌ŋzɑ̄	zī	ʑīn
which	CL(person)		DAT	also	morning	well	food	give	LN

In the morning after he fed each of them well and

ɔ̌mɹɑ̄	wà	lɛ̌	sɔ̌lɑ̀ŋ-lɑ̀ŋ,
field	do	DAT	send.out-REDUP

sent them out to the fields to work,

pālī	tɯ̄um	pɛ̄,	sɛ̄m	lɛ̌	ɉì	tɕìwǎ.
behind	after	ABL	peep	PURP	go	HS

He went behind them to spy on them.

ɔ̌k-kɑ̀ŋ	ɔ̌mɹɑ̄	lɛ̌	ɉì	tɕìwǎ.
3-master	field	DAT	go	HS

The master went to the field.

---

23 *kāpɛ̄ ɉɔʔ* 'which-CL(for people)' could be used instead of *ɔ̌nī* here.

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

tə̌sɑ̄	*cɛ̃*	*ɲɪ̄*	*nǔ̄ɑ,*		
begin	one	day	TOP		

The first day,

wɑʔ	*nǔ̄ɑ*	*nə̀m-ə̌xrɯɪ̄*	*xrɛʔ*	*nitchɔʔ*	*gɑ̄l-(lɛ̃)-gɑ̄l*
pig	TOP	heaven-evening	EXT	tail	move-RP[25]-REDUP

ə̌mɯ̄ɪ	*wà*	*wǎ,*	*wɑʔ*	*nǔ̄ɑ*	*lɛ̃cù̄ɑ*	*mə̌-wà*	*mɑ̄ɯ*	*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

ɛ̃-bɛ̃,	*də̌gɪ̄*	*nǔ̄ɑ*	*ə̌mɯ̄ɪ*	*də̌*	*mɑ̄-də̌gxà*	*wà.*
DEM-LNK	dog	TOP	field	LOC	NEG-see	HS

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

ɛ̃-wɑ̄	*ɛ̃-bɛ̃*	*cǔ̄ɑ*	*kɑ̄*	*mɑ̄-gɯɪʔ-gɯɪʔ.*
DEM-ADV	DEM-LNK	also	word	NEG-say-REDUP

He didn't say anything about this.

də̌gɪ̄	*ɲɪ̄*	*wɑʔ*	*mə̌-lɔʔ*	*tsàr,*
dog	and	pig	NEG-arrive	time

Before the dog and pig arrived,

ə̌bxà-bxà	*cù̄m*	*lɛ̃*	*lɔʔ-lɔʔ*	*nǔ̄ɑ,*
quickly-REDUP	house	DAT	return-REDUP	TOP

he quickly returned to the house,

ə̌ŋzɑ̄	*zɑ̄:-zɑ̄:,*	*də̌gɪ̄*	*ɲɪ̄*	*wɑʔ*	*lɛ̃*	*cɛ̃tcɪ̄*	*wɑ̄*	*zɪ̄*	*tcìwǎ*
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).

ə̌xrɯɪ̄	*dɑ̄*	*mə̌nə̌ŋ,*	*də̌gɪ̄*	*ə̌k-kàŋ*	*lɛ̃*		
evening	arrive	follow	dog	3-master	DAT		

ɟlɔʔ	*ɑ̄zù*	*wɑ̄*	*gɯɪʔ*	*tcìwǎ,*		
again	before	ADV	say	HS		

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

"nà	*wɑʔ*	*lɛ̃*	*ə̌ŋzɑ̄*	*tə̌ŋmɛʔ*	*də̌*	*ɲi-zɪ̄:,*	*lɛ̄kɑ̄*	*cǔ̄ɑ*	*mə̌-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] *lɛ̃* (~ *lə̌*) is an optional reduplication particle (RP). In this clause the verb *wət* 'wag' could also have been used, i.e. *wət-lɛ̃-wət.*

nà	*nit*	*nɔ̌-gə̀m,*	*àŋ*	*tɛ̌*	*mɔ̌-sɔ̌.''*
2sg	mind	NF-good	3sg	AGT	NEG-know

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

ɛ́-wā	*ɛ̄-bɛ̄*	*çǔɪ*	*ɔ̌k-kàŋ*	*tɔ̄ŋ*	*çǔɪ*	*mɔ̄-gɯʔ*	*wǎ,*
DEM-ADV	DEM-LNK	also	3-master	what	also	NEG-say	HS

The master still didn't say anything about this,

cɛ̄	*kɔ̌ɪ*	*dɔ̌*	*tçɛ̄*	*jà:ŋ*	*mā-pɔ̌sā:*	*wà.*
one	time	LOC	only	look	NEG-know(clearly)	HS

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

ɔ̌jà	*tūɯn*	*ɔ̌k-kɔ̌ɪ-kɔ̌ɪ*	*sɛ̄m*	*bɛ̄,*
that	after	PREF-time-REDUP	peep	LNK

After spying on them several times,

dɔ̌gī	*ɔ̌lɔ̌ʑɛ̄*	*gɛ̄*	*mūɪ*	*wǎ.*
dog	lie	NOM+be	EMP	HS

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

tūmā	*lɛ̄kā*	*wà gūɪ*	*waʔ*	*tçɛ̄ɛ̄*	*mūɪ*	*wǎ.*
really	work	do NOM	pig	only	be	EMP HS

It was only the pig who was really working.

dɔ̌gī	*nə̀mɲàŋ*	*lɛ̄çùɪ*	*wà,*
dog	daytime	slack.off	do

In the daytime the dog slacked off,

ɔ̌xɯɪ̄-ɔ̌xɯɪ̄	*ūzù*	*lɔʔ*	*ʑīn,*	*ɔ̌k-kàŋ*	*lɛ̄*	*klɯp*	*wǎ*
night-REDUP	before	return	LNK	3-master	DAT	deceive	HS

and every night returned first and lied to the master.

waʔ	*nūɪ*	*kā*	*gɯʔ*	*mɔ̌-sɔ̌,*
pig	TOP	word	say	NEG-know

The pig didn't know how to talk,

ɛ̄-bɛ̄	*dɔ̌gī*	*nūɪ*	*kā*	*gɯʔ*	*sɔ̌.*
DEM-LNK	dog	TOP	word	say	know

but the dog knew how to talk.

ɔ̌jà	*mɔ̌nɔ̄ŋ*	*nūɪ,*	*ɔ̌k-kàŋ*	*ə̀ŋɲī*	*lɛ̄*
that	follow	TOP	3-master	3dual	DAT

cɛ̄tɕì	*ɔ̌ŋzɑ̄*	*zī*	*tɕìwɑ̆.*
the.same	food	give	HS

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

dɛ̄lɑ̄	*cɑ̀*	*mɔ̌nɔ̄ŋ*	*nū̄,*	*ɔ̌k-kàŋ*	*dɔ̌gī*	*lɛ̆*	*ɛ̄-wɑ̄*	*guʔ*	*wɑ̆,*
later	become	follow	TOP	3-master	dog	DAT	DEM-ADV	say	HS

Later, the master said to the dog:

"*tɔ̄n*	*nɑ̀*	*tɔ̄ŋ*	*cɯ̆*	*mɛ̆-guʔ*	*ɔ̀l,*
now	2sg	what	also	NEG+NF-say	IMP

"Now don't you say anything,

nɔ̌-kàŋ	*kɑ̄*	*guʔ*	*pɔ̌wɔ̄ŋ,*
2-master	word	say	will+1sg

your master (I) want to talk.

tɔ̄n	*nɑ̀*	*pɑ̄*	*cɯ̆*	*naʔ-ɔ̌gɹɑ̀:,*	*dɛ̀n*	*cū̄*	*ɲi-dɛ̀n,*
now	2sg	belly	also	NF-full(of.food)	tired	also	NF-tired

Now your stomach is full and you are tired,

jɑ̀	*dɔ̌*	*pɑ̄-rɔ̌nɑ̀*	*ɔ̀m,*	*nīgɔ̀ŋ*	*pɔ̌-ga:ì,*
this	LOC	IMP-rest	POL	mouth	IMP-open

come here and rest, and open your mouth.

nɑ̀	*pɔ̌laì*	*jɔ̀ŋ*	*jɯ̆ŋ",*	*ɛ̄-wɑ̄*	*gɹɑ̄:ŋ*	*mɔ̌nɔ̄ŋ,*
2sg	tongue	see	want+1sg	DEM-ADV	say	follow

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

dɔ̌gī	*nīgɔ̀ŋ*	*ga:ì-gaì*	*(zīn)*	*pɔ̌laì*	*zɑ̄:*	*pɑ̄ɹ,*
dog	mouth	open-open	LNK	tongue	stick.out	time

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

ɔ̌k-kàŋ	*tɛ̆*	*pɔ̌laì*	*cɑ̀:l-cɑ̀:l,*
3-master	AGT	tongue	pull-REDUP

The master pulled it,

dɔ̌gī	*lɛ̆*	*ɛ̄-wɑ̄*	*gɹɑ̄:ŋ*	*wɑ̆,*	"*ɲi-jɑ̀:ŋ*	*bɛ̆,*
dog	DAT	like.this	say	HS	NF-see	LNK

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

nɑ̀	*ɔ̌lɔ̌ʑɛ̄*	*sɑ̄-sɑ̄*	*wɑ̄*	*mɔ̌-cɑ̀*	*jɑ̀ɯm,*
2sg	lie	know.how-REDUP	COMP	NEG-become	seem

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

nà	jà	pə̌laì	tĕ̌	ɲi-kluɯp,
2sg	this	tongue	INST	NF-deceive

you use this tongue to lie (to me),

jà	pə̌laì	nà	lĕ̌	tɔ̄ŋ	cǔɯ	zīgū	màl
this	tongue	2sg	DAT	what	also	use	NEG+have

this tongue is of no use to you.

jà	pə̌laì	màl	bĕ̃,
this	tongue	NEG+have	LNK

If you didn't have this tongue,

nà	nə̀ŋdə̌gə̀m	lĕ̃kā	ɲi-wà	tūɯ	ĕ̃.
2sg	well	work	NF-do	perhaps	be

you might work well."

ə̌jà	tūɯm	nūɯ,	də̌gī	pə̌laì	mɹə̀ŋ	tɕìwǎ,
that	after	TOP	dog	tongue	long	HS

After that, the dog's tongue was long,

kā	gɯɯʔ	tɔp	màl	tɕìwǎ.
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 (nəwāŋzàr bɹāzì)

tɕā̃	pāɹ	tɕā̃	pāɹ	ə̌tsə̀ŋ	kɹɔ̀ŋ	də̌
long.ago	time	long.ago	time	human	village	LOC

Long ago, in a human village

niɕə̀m	lā:n	ə̀l	tɕìwǎ,
(name)	named	have/exist	HS

there lived a person named "Nisham".[26]

ə̌jà	niɕə̀m	nūɯ	zɛ̄ɹ	kɯɯʔ	sɔ̃,	nìtɕɔʔ	kɯɯʔ	kɔ̃	tɕìwǎ
that	(name)	TOP	fly	also	know.how	tail	also	grow	HS

That Nisham could fly and had a tail.

---

[26] Also called *nimuɕə̀m*.

niçàm	tɛ̄	ɔ̌tsɔ̀ŋ	ɔ̌ŋzā	kɔ̀i	mɔ̌-ʑū:ɹ	wà,
(name)	AGT	human	food	eat	NEG-allow	HS

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

ɔ̌tsɔ̀ŋ	ɔ̌ŋzā	kɔ̌i-kɔ̌i	pɔwā	mɔ̌nɔ̄ŋ,
human	food	eat-REDUP	just.about.to	follow

just as they were about to eat their food,

ɔ̌ŋzā	laktā	ŋɔ̀	lɛ̌	çūŋzūŋ	lɛ̌
food	pot	above	DAT	tree	DAT

he would take the pot up a tree

t̆čū:ɹ	ʑīn	kū:i̠[27]	wǎ,
snatch	LNK	eat	HS

and eat it,

pɔ̀mā	kǎɹī-kǎɹī	dɔ̌gɹàŋ	çūŋzī	lɛ̌	ɹɯp	ʑīn	ɔ̀:	(tçì)ʋ
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.

ɔ̌jà	mɔ̌nɔ̄ŋ	nū,	ɔ̌tsɔ̀ŋ	sɔ̌-dùɹ-dùɹ-çɯ̌[28]
that	follow	TOP	human	CAUS-get.together-REDUP- R/M

Therefore, the people got together

niçàm	sɔt	sā	blū	wà	wǎ.
(name)	kill	NOM	discuss	do/make	HS

and discussed killing Nisham.

ɔ̌jà	niçàm	cùm	(lɛ̌)	çùl-çùl,
that	(name)	house	DAT	invite-REDUP

They invited Nisham into the house,

tçǎlūŋ	pɛ̄	ɛ̄-wā	gɹūŋ	wǎ,
below.the.house	ABL	DEM-ADV	say	HS

and said from below the house,

"ɔ̌-kùɹ niçàm,	nitçɔʔ	pɔ̌-çà:m	ɹɔt."
1-uncle (name)	tail	IMP-hang.down	come[29]

"Uncle Nisham, please hang your tail down."

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[27] *kɔ̀i* would also be possible here.

[28] *tɔxɹūm-tɔxɹūm-çɯ̌* would also be possible here.

[29] *ɹɔt* (or *ɹà)* 'come' also has the sense of making the imperative more polite.

nitꞓɔʔ   *ɕàːm*   *pāɹ,*   *dɔ̌gū*   *ɟɔʔ*   *kɹɑ̄pū*   *tɛ̌*   *tɔ̌kuuk-kuuk,*
tail   hang.down   time   nine   CL   strong(man)   AGT   pull-REDUP

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

nɘptꞓūɰkàn   *pɛ̄,*   *mɔ̌gɹūɰ*   *tɛ̌*   *ɔ̌zɔ̀ɹ*   *wǎ.*
doorway   ABL   pike   INST   spear(v.)   HS

and from the doorway speared him with a pike.

sɔt   *tɔ̄n*   *mɔ̌nɔ̌ɰ,*   *niɕàm*   *ɕì*   *gū*   *ɰāɰ*   *lɛ̌*   *tɕɑt*   *wǎ.*
kill   finish   follow   (name)   dead   body   water   DAT   throw   HS

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

ɕɛ̄   *tꞓɔ̌ɰ*   *dū*   *bɛ̄,*   *sɔt*   *tɘì*
one   (unit of measure of distance)   reach   LNK   the.more   big

with each "**tꞓeɰ**" that it moved down the water,

ɕɛ̄   *tꞓɔ̌ɰ*   *dū*   *bɛ̄*   *sɔt*   *tɘì,*
one   (unit of measure of distance)   reach   LNK   the.more   big

it got bigger and bigger,

dɛ̄lā   *ɟɔ̀*   *ɰāɰ*   *tūm*   *(gǔ)*   *mɛ̌li,*
finally   below   water   without   NOM   place

finally, it got to the place where there was no more water (where the water goes do[...]

niɕàm   *ɕì*   *gū*   *tɛ̌*   *ɰāɰ*   *sù*   *tɕìwǎ.*
(name)   dead   body   INST   water   stop.up   HS

and the body stopped up the water,

ɔ̌jà   *mɔ̌nɔ̌ɰ*   *ɰāɰ*   *tɘì*   *tɕìwǎ,*
that   follow   water   big   HS

therefore the water got bigger.

ɔ̌jà   *pāɹ,*   *ɘɰɲī*   *nɔ̌m*
that   time   3dl   brother.and.sister

At that time, a brother and sister

mɔ̌ʑɛʔ   *kɔʔ*   *lɛ̌*   *ɟì*   *tɕìwǎ.*
mushroom   pick   DAT   go   HS

went mushroom picking,

mɔ̌ʑɛʔ   *ɛ̄-bɛ̄-nǔ,*
mushroom   DEM-LNK-TOPIC

as for the mushrooms,

sɔt	ŋɔ̀	lɛ̌	dū	bɛ̌,	sɔt	àl	wǎ,
the.more	above	DAT	reach	LNK	the.more	have	HS

there were more and more the higher they went.

xɔ̄	kāɪwā	cǚ	mɔ̌-dɔ̀m	wǎ.
basket	how	also	NEG-full	HS

No matter what the basket wouldn't fill up.

pɔ̌tchɯʔ	kɯʔ	"cì-ʑɨɯ-ʑɨɯ	cì-ʑɨɯ-ʑɨɯ"	gɯʔ	ʑīn,
bird	also	water-flood-REDUP	water-flood-REDUP	say	LNK

The birds said "there's a flood, there's a flood!",

ŋɔ̀	lɛ̌	ŋɔ̀	lɛ̌	ʑɛ̄ɪ	wǎ.
above	DAT	above	DAT	fly	HS

and flew higher and higher.

dɛ̄lā,	kɔ̌wākāɪpū	mɔ̀lì	lɛ̌	ɔ̌plaʔ	tɕìwǎ.
later	(place name)	place	DAT	arrive	HS

Finally, the people arrived at "**kɔ̌wa** karpu".

cìzīn	ŋāŋ	tɛ̌	cǚ	ɛ-lɛ̌	dū:[30]	wǎ.
flood.water	water	AGT	also	DEM-DAT	reach	HS

The flood water also reached there.

àŋɲī	nɔ̌m		lĭŋbɯʔ	dɔ̌	ɹɔ̀ŋ	wǎ.
3dl	brother.and.sister		cliff.side	LOC	sit	HS

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

cìzīn	ŋāŋ	tɛ̌	àŋɲī	nɔ̌m		ɹɔ̀ŋ	lɛ̌
flood.water	water	AGT	3dl	brother.and.sister		sit	DAT

tsɛ̄nmà	cɛ̄	tɔp	tɛ̌	tɕɛ̄	mɔ̌-dū:	wǎ.
batten[31]	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.

ɔ̌tsɔ̀ŋ	mɔ̌nɔ̄ŋ	ɔ̌xɹap	gǚ	bɯ̄	kɯʔ	cɛ̄	ʑūm	ɛ̄	tɕìw
human	COM(follow)	arrive	NOM	snake	also	one	pair	be	HS

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

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[30] **xɹap** 'arrive' would be possible here instead of **dū**.

[31] Board for packing threads on a loom.

ə̌jà	bū̄	ŋǎŋ	lɛ̄	tɕət	lɛ̄	ə̀	bě,
that	snake	water	DAT	throw	DAT	do	LNK

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

"ə̌jə̀ɯŋ	ni-tɕət	bɛ̌,
1pl	NF-throw+1pl	LNK

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

nə̌jə̀ɯŋ	kɯ̄ʔ	lɑʔ-mɛ-ə̀l	jɯ̌ɯŋ."	ɛ̄-wǎ	gɯ̄ʔ	tɕìwǎ.
2pl	also	let-NEG+NF-exist	pl	DEM-ADV	say	HS

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

bū̄	ə̌jà	mə̌nə̌ŋ	ə̀l	gɛ̌	tɕìwǎ.
snake	that	follow	exist	NOM+be	HS

Therefore snakes still exist.

ə̌jà	cìzìn	cì	dǒgɯ̀	ɲɪ̄	dǒgɯ̀	jɑʔ	cà	mə̌nə̌ŋ	bət	tɕìwǎ.
that	flood.water	water	nine	day	nine	night	become	follow	recede	HS

The water receded after nine days and nights.

ə̌jà	mə̌nə̌ŋ,	ə̀ŋɲɪ̄	nə̀m
that	follow	3dl	brother.and.sister

Then the brother and sister

jɔ̀	kɯ̌ŋ	lɛ̌	ə̌tsə̀ŋ	lɑ̄	lɛ̌	lɔʔ	tɕìwǎ.
below	village	DAT	human	look.for	PURP	return(vi.)	HS

returned to the village to look for people.

kə̄-dɔ̌	kə̄-dɔ̌	lɔ̌[32]	bɛ̌	cǔɯ,	ə̌tsə̀ŋ	ma-dǒgɯ̀	tɕìwǎ.
WH-LOC	WH-LOC	look.for	LNK	also	human	NEG-have	HS

Wherever they looked, there were no people.

tə̀lɔ̌ŋ[33]	tə̀lɔ̌ŋ	nɯ̄r[34]	lɑ̄	lɛ̌	jì	bɛ̌	cǔɯ,
that.way	that.way	TOP	look.for	PURP	go	LNK	also

They each went their own way to look,

---

[32] lɑ̄ would also be possible here.

[33] tə̀ 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 lɔ̌ŋ can mean 'river valley', this expression might mean 'that valley and that valley'. Cf. also the Rawang phrase tǎsə̀ŋ tǎlɛ̌, a phrase meaning 'to each other' used in reciprocals, where sə̀ŋ and lɛ̌ are dative markers (LaPolla 2000).

[34] lɛ̌ would also be possible here.

ɔ̆xɾɯ̄ī-ɔ̆xɾɯ̄ī	ɔ̄ɔ̄	ɔ̆dɯ̄-ɲī	tɔ̆xɹɯ̄ɯm	maʔ	wà.
night-REDUP	again	self-dl	get.together	RECIP	HS

and then came back together each night.

tɔ̆nī	çɯ̆	màl	wā	çā̄	kəì	bɛ̆,
fire	also	NEG+have	ADV	meat	eat	LNK

They had no fire, so when they ate meat,

pɔ̆mā	pɔ̆mā	nɔ̀mgɑ̄ŋ	lɛ̆	dɔ̆gɑ̄ŋ	zīn	kəì	tç̌ìwɔ̆,
woman	woman	sunlight	DAT	roast	LNK	eat	HS

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

lɔ̄ŋlà	lɔ̄ŋlà	ɔ̆k-tɯ̄ɯŋ	kəì	tç̌ìwɔ̆.
man	man	PREF-raw	eat	HS

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

ɔ̆xɹī[35]	ɹɯɯp-ɹɯɯp	mɔ̆nɔ̆ŋ,
night	sleep-REDUP	follow

Every night, when it was time to sleep,

(ɔ̀ŋɲī)	ɔ̆làŋ	dɔ̆	dɔ̄ŋ	sɔ̆kɔ̆m	dɔ̆
(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)

ŋɑ̄ŋ	ɹɔ̆	zīn	ɹip	wɔ̆.
water	put	LNK	sleep	HS

of water and sleep.

sɔ̆xɑ̄ŋ	dɯ̄-dɯ̄	wā	mɔ̆nɔ̆ŋ,
morning	reach-REDUP	ADV	follow

In the morning,

ŋɑ̄ŋ	sɔ̆kɔ̆m	ma-dɔ̆gɯ̄l	bɛ̆	çɯ̆,
water	lid.of.tube	NEG-move	LNK	still

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

tɯ̄l	lɑ̄i	ɔ̆ŋ,	tɯ̄l	lɑ̄i	ɔ̆ŋ	dɔ̆	lɯ̄	sɔ̆-ɹɔ̆ŋ-çɯ̆[36]	wɔ̆.
back	side	LOC	back	side	LOC	LOC	naturally	CAUS-sit-R/M	HS

but it ended up behind them (moved itself).

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[35] Both ɔxɾī and ɔxɾɯ̄ī are acceptable.

[36] Here there is a tone change on rɔ̆ŋ 'sit' because of the addition of the reflexive/middle marker.

ə̀ŋɲī	cɛ̄	kət	cɛ̄	kət	lā	ə̌-ɟip-çŭu	wǎ.
3dl	one	time	one	time	naturally	PREF-sleep-R/M	HS

The brother and sister ended up sleeping together unintentionally.

ə̌xrɯī	ɟip[37]	mə̌tcɔ̀,	ɛ̄-wā	sə̌mɔt	tɕ ì wǎ,
night	sleep	prepare	DEM-ADV	swear(hope)	HS

At night when they were preparing to sleep,

"ə̌jɨɯŋ	ə̌tsə̀ŋ	ə̀ŋɲɨ̀u	rɔ̄	bɛ̄,
1pl	human	seed	put/leave	LNK

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

ŋāŋ	də̌gɨ̀u	wàŋ	laʔ-ə̌ɲɨ̀u	ə̀mmūu."
water	nine	CL	let-flow	EMPH

let nine rivers flow."

sə̌ɯāŋ	dū	mə̌nə̌ŋ,
morning	reach	follow

When the morning came,

ɟɛ̄sə̌ŋ[38]	də̌gɨ̀u	wàŋ	ŋāŋ	ə̌ɲɨ̀u	tɕ ì wǎ.[39]
really	nine	CL	water	flow	HS

nine rivers really did flow.

ə̌jɨ̀u	mə̌nə̌ŋ	nɨ̀u	ɛ̄-wā	gɯɯʔ	wǎ,
that	follow	TOP	DEM-ADV	say	HS

Therefore they said,

"ə̌jɨɯŋ	lā	gə̌mūu	nə̀m	lā	tɛ̌
1pl	god	(name)	heaven	god	AGT

ə̌tsə̀ŋ	ə̀ŋɲɨ̀u	rɔ̄	gɛ̄	mūu."
human	seeds	put/leave	NOM+be	EMPH

"We are the human seeds left by the god of heaven **Gə̌mūu**."

ɛ̄-wā	gɯɯʔ	zīn	mɔ̌waʔ	wà	tɕ ì wǎ.
DEM-ADV	say	LNK	husband.and.wife	do	HS

Saying like this they then became husband and wife.

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[37] Both *ɟɯɯp* and *ɟip* are acceptable.

[38] *tɑ̄mɑ̄* could be used here instead of *ɟɛ̄sə̌ŋ*.

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

ə̀ŋɲī   *mɔ́waʔ*   *wà*   *tɯ̄m,*
3dl   husband.and.wife   do   after

After the two became husband and wife,

ə̌ktɕə̀l   *lə́ŋlà*   *də̌gùɪ*   *pʔ*   *pə̌mā*   *də̌gùɪ*   *pʔ*   *ə̀:*   *tɕìwǎ.*
child   boy   nine   CL   girl   nine   CL   do   HS

they gave birth to nine boys and girls.

ə̌jà   *ə̌ktɕə̀l*   *pūɪŋ*   *ɲī*   *nə́ŋ,*
that   children   eldest.boy   and   eldest.girl

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

cīn   *ɲī*   *ɲɛ̄n,*
second.eldest.boy   and   second.eldest.girl

cùɪlcùɪl   *mɔ́waʔ*   *wà*   *wǎ.*
one.after.another   husband.and.wife   do   HS

the second boy marrying the second girl, etc.

mə̌lì   *ə̌-tə̀n*   *maʔ*   *bɛ̄,*
place   PREF-divide   RECIP   LNK

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

pə̌cīn   *ə̌-sɔ́i*   *maʔ*   *wǎ.*
heart/liver   PREF-spicy   RECIP   HS

they were jealous of each other.

ə̌jà   *mə̌nə́ŋ*   *nū,*   *tə̌lī*   *ap*   *də̌də̀m*   *maʔ*   *zū:ɪ*   *tɕìwǎ.*
That   follow   TOP   bow   shoot   compete   RECIP   CAUSE   HS

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

tə̌lī   *ap*   *bɛ̄,*
bow   shoot   LNK

When they shot the bows,

pūɪŋ   *ɲī*   *nə́ŋ*   *(tɛ̌)*   *tɕɛ̄*   *tə̀ɪ*   *ə̌tùɪ*   *tɕìwǎ.*
eldest.boy   and   eldest.girl   AGT   only   very(big)   accurate   HS

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

ə̌jà   *mə̌nə́ŋ,*   *pūɪŋ*   *ɲī*   *nə́ŋ*
that   follow   eldest.boy   and   eldest.girl

Therefore the oldest

jà   *mɔ̌lì*   *wà:l*   *wǎ.*
Chinese   place   allocate/divide   HS

were given (sent to) the Chinese area.

cĩn   *jĩ*   *jɛ̃n*
second.eldest.boy   and   second.eldest.girl

The second oldest,

məkpəi   *mɔ̌lì*   *(lɛ̌)*   *wà:l*   *wǎ.*
Tibetan   place   DAT   allocate/divide   HS

were given (sent to) the Tibetan area.

tɔ̌nlŋ   *mɔ̌lì,*
Dulong   place

The Dulong area,

kwɛ̃n   *jĩ*   *cɔ̌ŋ*   *ɛ̃*   *tɕìwǎ.*
third.eldest.boy   and   third.eldest.girl   be   HS

was (given to) the third oldest.

mɔ̃nʐū   *ɔ̌-tɔ̀n*   *mɑʔ*   *bɛ̃,*
song   PREF-divide   RECIP   LNK

When they divided up the songs,

jà   *jĩ*   *məkpəi*   *tɛ̌*   *jũūŋ*   *(tɛ̌)*   *tək*   *tɕìwǎ.*
Chinese   and   Tibetan   AGT   bag   INST   collect   HS

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

tɔ̌nlŋ   *tɛ̌*   *tɔ̌rɔ̀ŋ*   *(tɛ̌)*   *tək*   *tɕìwǎ.*
Dulong   AGT   type.of.basket   INST   collect   HS

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

tɔ̌nlŋ   *tɛ̌*   *ɔ̌jà*   *nɔ̄ū*[40]   *mɔ̃nʐū*   *mɔ̌-sɔ̌:*   *wǎ.*
Dulong   AGT   that   TOP   song   NEG-know.how   HS

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

mɔ̌gù   *ɔ̌-tɔ̀n*   *mɑʔ*   *bɛ̃,*
horse   PREF-divide   RECIP   LNK

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

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

tɑ̀ɯ̀lɯ̀ŋ	*tɛ̆*	*tɔ̀ŋɔ̀l*	*zɑl:-zɑl,*
Dulong	AGT	walking.stick	make-REDUP

the Dulong made a walking stick (and said),

"*ʒ̀gɔ̀*	*mɔ̀gɯ̀*	*jɑ̀*	*lɑʔ-ɛ̆"*	(*gɯɑʔ*	*ʒɪn*)	*gɯɑ:ŋ*	*wɑ̆.*
1sg	horse	this	let-be	say	LNK	say	HS

"Let this be my horse." he said.

tɑ̀ɯ̀lɯ̀ŋ	*mɔ̀lì*	*ʒ̀jɑ̀*	*nɑ̀ɯ̀,*[41]	*mɔ̀gɯ̀*	*mɑ̀l*	*gɛ̆*	*tɕ̀ìwɑ̆.*
Dulong	place	that	TOP	horse	NEG+have	NOM+be	HS

Therefore the Dulong place is one without horses.

tɑ̀ɯ̀lɯ̀ŋ	*dɔ̆*	*ɔ̀ŋ*	*gɯ̀*
Dulong	LOC	exist/sit	NOM

Since the Dulong place is lived in

kwɛ̆n	*ɲɪ̆*	*cɔ̆ŋ*	*ɛ̆*	*mɔ̆nɔ̆ŋ,*
third.eldest.boy	and	third.eldest.girl	be	follow

by the third oldest,

"*cɔkkɯɑì*	*lɔ̆ŋ"*	*lɑ̆:n*	*tɕ̀ìwɑ̆.*
third.eldest	river.valley	called	HS

it is called "**cɔkkhɯɑi lɔŋ**" ("third eldest river valley").

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[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 *(ma?)*
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 *ɛʔwɑ̄* and *ɛ̄wɑ̄* for '(in) this way', *nɔ̌* and *nɑ̄ɯ* for the topic marker (which is also used at the end of clauses, and so sometimes glossed as "LNK"), and *bɛ̄* and *bɔ̌i* 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; /kɑ̄m/ 'bamboo' > [kɑp] in *kɑp-kɑʔ* 'bamboo strip').

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