CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

DULONG

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1 INTRODUCTION

Dulong [tɤ̌ rùŋ] 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, bl, ml, kl, gl/ in initial position; only the consonants /p, t, ʔ, 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. *wɤ̀n* 'buy' > *wɤt-ɕɯ̆*'to buy for oneself'. The initial /k-/ is pronounced rather back; the palatal stops are often pronounced with slight affrication, and the voiceless affticates are often aspirated.

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[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 32.1 THE DULONG CONSONANTS

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar	Glottal
voiceless stop	p	t			c-	k	kw-	ʔ
voiced stop	b-	d-			ɟ-	g-	gw-	
voiceless affricate		ts-		tɕ-				
voiceless fricative		s-		ɕ-		x-	xw-	
voiced fricative		z-		ʐ-				
nasal	m	n			ɲ-	ŋ	ŋw-	
liquids		l	r					
approximants	w-				j-			

The Dulong vowels are /i, ɛ, ə, ɑ, ɔ, ɯ, u/, and there are three diphthongs, /əi, ɑi, ɯi/, which only appear in open syllables. The syllable can be CV (*bà* 'thin'), CVC (*ɕə̀m* '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 CCVC (*mlāŋ* '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. *dà* '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. *dᵛzī* '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 (ᵛ). 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. *dèm gē* [full NOM + COP] '(It) is full'. Noun types include plain nouns, personal pronouns (Table 32.2), demonstrative pronouns (*ɟà* 'this', *ᵛjà* 'that', *kɔ̄* 'that (remote)'; used as free pronouns and demonstrative adjectives), and interrogative pronouns (*tɔ̄ŋ (mā)* 'what'; *ᵛnī* 'who', *kɔ̄rwā* 'how', *kā (dɔ̄)* 'where', *təkcà* 'why', *kāpē* 'which'). The latter can also be used as indefinite pronouns, as can *ᵛtsɔ̀ŋ* 'person', as in *ᵛtsɔ̀ŋ mᵛ-zɔ̄ŋ-ɛŭ* [person NEG-enter-R/M] 'Nobody came in'. There is an emphatic, but not reflexive, pronoun, *ədù*, that can be used to emphasize the agency of the actor (He did it HIMSELF). Many nouns are formed using the prefix *ᵛŋ- ~ ᵛk-*, e.g. *ᵛk-saʔ* 'breath', 'steam', *ᵛŋ-ɟəù* 'seed(s)'.

TABLE 32.2 THE DULONG PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	̆əgɔ̀	ə̆jŭŋnī	ə̆jŭŋ
2	nà	nūŋnī/nə̆jūmŋ/nə̆ŋī	nə̆jŭŋ
3	àŋ	ə̀ŋnī	ə̀ŋjŭŋ

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 (*rì* 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' (*pē̄*) 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 (*ə̆-/nə̆-/ə̆ŋ-*) for kinship and relational terms (e.g. *ə̆kàŋ* '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 *ə̆ŋ-* ~ *ə̆k-*. If the adjective follows the head, the prefix is optional. Compare *zə̆ɟɛ̀ (ə̆k)-sār* and *ə̆k-sār zə̆ɟɛ̀* 'new book'. In many cases the adjective can be reduplicated as well, e.g. *mrə̀ŋ mrə̄ŋ lūŋ* 'long stone'. Adjectives also frequently appear as pre-modifiers in the form of the relative clause construction, e.g. *təī tɕīzə̀ŋ gŭ kām* [very hard NOM bamboo] 'very hard bamboo'. Following are some more noun phrase examples:

(1) a. *zə̆ɟɛ̀   ə̆nī   pə̆ŋ*
          book   two   CL
          'two books'

     b. *ə̆gɔ̀   zə̆ɟɛ̀   rì*
          1sg   book   pl
          'my books'

     c. *ə̆gɔ̀ zə̆ɟɛ̀   cɛʔ   pə̄ŋ*
          1sg book   one   CL
          'one of my books'

     d. *ə̆tsə̀ŋ   tə̀i   cē̄   ɟɔʔ*
          person   big   one   CL
          'a big person'

     e. *kɔ̄   tə̀i   zə̆ɟɛ̀   ə̆sūm   pə̄ŋ*
          that   big   book   three   CL
          'those three big books'

     f. *ɟā   pē̄   pə̄ŋ   zə̆ɟɛ̀*
          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 (*tē̄*); anti-ergative (animate patient, recipient, benefactive) or allative (*lē̄*); locative or temporal (*dɔ̄*); terminative (*xrɛʔ*); or comitative (*mə̆nə̀ŋ*). There is also a topic marker (*nū*) and a noun conjunction particle (*nī*). 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 *ə̆-*, or by use of the reflexive/middle marking suffix *-ɛ̆ŭ*. The main function of the prefix *ə̆-* is intransitivization (e.g. *tə̀l* 'roll', vt.; *ə̆tə̀l* '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. *nɔ̌ɲī*   *ɲa-ɔ̌-sət*   *maʔ*   *ɕŭ*
          2dl   N.1-RECIP-hit   RECIP dl
          'You two are arguing/fighting (with each other)'.

        b. *kɔ̄lɛ̌*   *jàlɛ̌*   *sɔ̌-zà*   *maʔ*
          that.way   that.way   CAUS-hurt RECIP
          '(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 *ɟɛt-ɕŭ* '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 *ɔ̌tɔ̀l* 'roll', with no specification of agentivity, whereas the suffix implies agentivity, as in *tɔ̄l-ɕŭ* 'roll oneself' (with change of tone). It is also possible to use both affixes together, giving a stative sense, as in *ɔ̌-ɟɔ̄ŋ-ɕŭ* [PREF-look-R/M] 'be visible'. (See LaPolla & Yang 1996, 2004 for more detailed discussion.)

(3)   a. *àŋ*   *gɔ̌ɟūm-ɕŭ*
          3sg   hit.with.fist-R/M
          'He is hitting himself with his fist.'

        b. *àŋ*   *mɔ̄r*   *tɕɯʔ-ɕŭ*
          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 *sɔ̌-* ~ *tɔ̌-*, e.g. *dət* 'broken (of string)', *sɔ̌dət* 'to break (string)'; *ɔ̌tɕɯp* 'pinched', 'closed up', *tɔ̌tɕɯp* '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) (< *ɟì*).

(4)   *àŋ*   *tɛ̌*   *àŋ*   *lɛ̌*   *sɔ̌-ɟī*
      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. *lūm* 'warm' (vi.), *lū:m* 'warm' (vt.) (= *sɔ̌-lūm*).

An analytical causative/permissive construction is formed using the verb *(sɔ̌)-zūr*, as in *ɟī sɔ̌zūr* '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: *ŋŭ* 'cry' > *ŋut* 'mourn (cry for) a dead person'.

(5)   *àŋ*   *tɛ̌*   *pūŋ*   *lɛ̌*   *wà*   *sɔ̌-zūr*
      3sg AGT Pung DAT do CAUS-allow/make
      'He made/allowed Pung do (it).'

There is only one marker of negation, the verbal prefix *mə-*, pronounced *mā-* when the root already has a suffix, e.g. *mā-rə̆nā* 'not rest' (with tone change).

A benefactive construction is formed using the verb *sə̆nə̀ŋ* 'help' or the benefactive auxiliary *ɔ̆* after the main verb (again with changed tone on main verb):

(6) a. *àŋ   ɕūŋ   ɔ̆gɔ̀   tɛ̆   rī   sə̆nə̄ŋ*
        3sg   wood   1sg   AGT   carry   help + 1sg
        'I carry wood for him.' (*lit.* 'I help carry his wood.')

    b. *ɔ̆gɔ̀   tɛ̆   àŋ   ɕūŋ   rī   ɔ̆ŋ*
        1sg   agt   3sg   wood   carry   BEN + 1sg
        'I carry wood for him.'

    c. *àŋ   gwā   sā   sə̆-tə̄ī   ɔ̆*
        3sg   wear   NOM   CAUS-big   BEN
        '(S/he) makes it bigger for him/her to wear.' (*lit.* 'makes it big for his/her wearing')

In terms of the marking of illocutionary force, the declarative is unmarked. The imperative is marked by the prefix *pə̆-* (pronounced *pā-* when the verb already has a prefix): *pə̆-kə̀i* 'Eat!' The prohibitive takes the normal negative, but the main verb is followed by *ə̀l* 'have': *mɛ-kə̀i ə̀l* [NEG + N.1-eat have] 'Don't eat (it)!' An indirect directive is marked by the prefix *laʔ-*, which is followed by the negative particle for indirect prohibitives: *laʔ-mə̆-wá* 'Don't let him do (it).' For the hortative the verb *gɔ̄l* 'want' is used: *kə̄ī gɔ̄l* 'Let's eat!' (with tone change).

Polarity questions are generally formed using the postverbal question particles *(pū) à* (7a). Wh-questions have the interrogative pronoun *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).

(7) a. *nɔ̆jùŋ   ɲi-kə̀i   jŭŋ   (gŭ)   guī   ɛ̄   ă*
        2pl   N.1-eat   plural   NOM   taro   be   Q
        'Is what you(pl) eat taros?'

    b. *ɟà   sə̆rā   ɔ̆nī   gŭ   ɛ̄*
        this   thing   who   NOM   be
        'Whose is this thing?'

    c. *ɲi-kə̀i   mɛ-kə̀i*
        N.1-eat   NEG + N.1-eat
        'Do you want to eat or not?'

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 *-ʔ* 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 *-ɕŭ;* first person plural involves a change from short vowel to long vowel.[2] Second person dual also takes the dual marker *-ɕŭ*, while second person plural takes the plural marker *-jŭŋ*. 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 *-a-* for all but first person singular. Aside from this, a prefix I call the N.1 (non-first person actor) prefix (*ɲə- ~ ɲa- ~ ɲi-*) marks situations where a speech–act participant is mentioned, but the speaker is not the actor (contrast (8a–b)).

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[2] 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 *ɲa-* and either appears before the other prefix or incorporates the other prefix, e.g. *ɲa-ǎ-sət* and *ɲa-sət* '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 *-ɛ*, as in (7c), above. The variant *ɲi-* appears as a sandhi form when followed by a syllable with a front vowel.

(8)   a.   *ǎgɔ̀*   *tɛ̌*   *àŋ*   *lɛ̌*   *rūŋ*   *(<rì)*
          1sg   AGT   3sg   DAT   carry + 1sg
          'I carried him.'

      b.   *àŋ*   *tɛ̌*   *ǎgɔ̀*   *lɛ̌*   *ɲǎ-rūŋ*
          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 *lɔʔ-ɟì* [return-go] 'go back' and *lɔʔ-rà* [return-come] 'come back'. These and other direction-related verbs have grammaticalized into tense markers, *ɟǐ* (< *ɟì* 'to go') and *lŭŋ* (< *lùŋ* 'to ascend'), both used for recent past actions. The difference between the two forms is an evidential distinction: the use of *lŭŋ* after the verb implies the speaker did not see the action (9a–a′), whereas the use of *ɟǐ* implies the speaker did see the action (9b–b′). A guess is marked by adding *mɛ̀l* after *lŭŋ*. For a strong assertion, *mū* is added after *ɟǐ*. For an action completed some time ago, possibly years ago, *buī* is used in place of *ɟǐ* or *lŭŋ*. Inchoatives take the particle *pɔ̀ŋ* after the verb or the adverb *tǎsā* before the verb.

(9)   a.   *àŋ*   *tɛ̌*   *kà:i*   *lŭŋ*   a′   *àŋ*   *ɟì*   *lŭŋ*
          3sg   AGT   eat   PAST/EVID   3sg   go   PAST/EVID
          'He has just eaten.' (I didn't see   'He just left.' (We didn't see him leave.)
          him eat.)

      b.   *àŋ*   *tɛ̌*   *kà:i*   *ɟǐ*   b′   *àŋ*   *ɟì*   *àm*   *ɟǐ*
          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 *ɟǐ* and *lŭŋ* are not used with first person actors; instead the adverb *zɯ̄r* 'already' can be used to mark a completed action, as in (10a). In asking someone about their past actions, *lŭŋ* is used (10b).

(10)   a.   *ǎgɔ̀*   *ɟɯ̄ŋ*   *zɯ̄r*
           1sg   go + 1sg   already
           'I went (and came back) already.'

       b.   *nà*   *ɲǎ-ɟì*   *lŭŋ*   *ǎ*
           2sg   N.1-go   ASP   Q
           'Did you go?'

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

(11)   *tɛāpǎɹ tɛāpǎɹ*   *nū*   *dǎgī*   *kā*   *guʔ*   *sɔ̄*   *tɛìwǎ*
       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 *mǎtɔ̄l* in (13), below, while others always precede the verb, e.g. *lēlǎ* in *lēlǎ mrɔ̀ŋ* '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 *gū* (12e) (which means 'also' in Rawang). A resultative complement also comes before the main verb, marked by the terminative postposition *xrɛʔ* 'until', as in (12e).

(12) a. *àŋ   blakpɔ̀i   wā   àŋzā   kɔ̀i*
3sg   monkey   ADV   food   eat
'He eats like a monkey.'

b. *mǎdɔ̄   ɔ̆brà-brà   ɟì*
car/truck   fast-REDUP   go
'The car is going quickly.'

c. *mǎdɔ̄   ɟī   ɔ̆brà*
car/truck   go   fast
'The car goes (can go) quickly.'

d. *nit-būm   mɔ̆-gɔ̄l   gū   ɔ̆mrā   wà   lɛ̆   ɟì   tɕìwǎ*
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. *'əpɛ̀   əmɛ̀'   guʔ   sɔ̄   xrɛʔ   ɔ̀:   ɟì   tɕìwǎ*
daddy   mummy   say   able.to   ADV   do   go   HEARSAY
'(It) did this until (the baby) could say "mummy and daddy"'.

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.

(13) *ɔ̆gɔ̀   nà   mǎdɔ̆m   dɔ̆   mrɔ̀ŋ   (mrɔ̀ŋ   mǎtɔ̄l)*
1sg   2sg   above   LOC   long/tall   REDUP   very much
'I am (much) taller than you.'

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:

(14) *ɔ̆jùŋ   cē   tsūl   ɟɔʔ   lǎmbrɔʔ   ɔ̀l*
1pl   one   ten   CL   friend   have
'We have ten friends.'

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

(15) a. *àŋ   ɟì   gǔ   ɛ̄*
3sg   go   NOM   be + Q
'Did he go?'

b. *pūŋ   cīn   tē̄   sət   gɛ̄   (<gǔ-ɛ̄)*
Pung   Cin   AGT   hit   NOM + be
'It was Cin who hit Pung.'

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

(16) *ɔ̆gɔ̀   sɔ̆ləp-ɛù̆   sā   gɛ̄*
1sg   teach-R/M   NOM   NOM + be
'I ought to study.'

Subordinators include clause-final *bɛ̄* 'if', 'when', *mɐ̌nɔ̀ŋ* 'because', 'when' (<'follow'), *sɔ̄nnɔ̀ŋ* 'because of (in order to)'. Some of the nominal postpositions are used as clausal subordinators as well, e.g. *lɛ̄* (allative/dative) is used for purpose clauses, e.g. *kɔ̀i lɛ̄ ɟì* 'go to eat'. Non-quote complement clauses do not require a nominalizer or complementizer (17a–b), but quoted complements take the complemtizer *wā* (< *wā* 'say') (17c).

(17) a. ǎgɔ̀   àŋ   lɔʔ   ɟì   nit
      1sg   3sg   return   go   remember
      'I remember that he went back.'

    b. àŋ   ɟì   bɛ̄   ɔgɔ̀   kɯʔ   ɟūŋ   dù   ɛ̄
      3sg   go   if   1sg   also   go + 1sg   might   COP
      'If he comes, I might go.'

    c. àŋ   ǎgɔ̀   mɐ̌ziʔmɐ̌liʔ   la-ɟì   wā   gɯʔ
      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 *zīn* optionally appearing between the two verbs:

(18) a. mɐ̌nzū   wà   zīn   zɔ̄ŋ-ɕɯ̌
      song   do   LNK   enter-R/M
      'He entered singing.'

    b. mrɔ̄ŋ   zīn   pɔ̌ɕɯ̄ŋ   gɯ̌   ɟɔʔ
      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. *ɟip sā* 'sleeping place', *gwā sā* 'clothing', *kɔ̀i 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. *mɐ̌nzū wà ǎtsɔ̀ŋ* [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   tɐ̌   làŋ   gɯ̌   ɕūŋwɔt
      3sg   AGT   bring   NOM   flower
      'the flower(s) he brought'

    b. ɕūŋwɔt   làŋ   gɯ̌   ǎtsɔ̀ŋ
      flower   bring   NOM   person
      'the person who brought the flower(s)'

    c. àŋ   lɐ̌   ɕūŋwɔt   làŋ   gɯ̌   ǎtsɔ̀ŋ
      3sg   DAT   flower   bring   NOM   person
      'the person I brought flower(s) for'

    d. zɐ̌ɟɛ̀   brī   sā   ɔ̀   gɯ̌   (sɐ̌rà)
      book   write   NOM   do   NOM   thing
      'the thing I use to write books'

    e. ì   tɐ̌   ɔ̄   tsɐ̌rī
      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-*tɔ̄n mɐ̌nɔ̄ŋ* '[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-*tɔ̄n mɐ̌nɔ̄ŋ*

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):

(20) *tānā*   *ākplə̄ŋ*   *zū*   *tɔ̄n*   *mə̌nə̄ŋ,*
     crossbow   body   make   finish   afterwards
     'After finishing the body part of the crossbow',

     cēlaī   *ɔ̄ŋ*   *tə̌lī*   *wā*   *rə̌mū-mū*
     one side   LOC   bow   ADV   draw-REDUP
     on one side, (I) draw the shape of a bow,

     dəkɛ̄ī   *tě*   *puk.*
     small.knife   INST   bore.small.hole + 1sg
     (and then) use a small knife to bore a small hole.

     puʔ   *tɔ̄n*   *mə̌nēŋ,*   *nātsēnātsē*   *tə̌lī*   *zāŋ.*
     bore.small.hole   finish   after   slowly   bow   fit.into + 1sg
     'After having bored a small hole, (I) slowly fit the bow into the hole.'

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