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 (á). For a more thorough discussion of Dulong phonology and grammar, see LaPolla to appear. For other works which discuss Dulong and the closely related Rawang language, see the References. The following texts were recorded from two different informants.

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1 This work was supported by a grant from City University of Hong Kong (#7000716, Project for Fieldwork on and Analysis of the Dulong and Anong Languages). I would like to express my gratitude for this support.

2 See the Abbreviations for the glosses used for the different grammatical markers.
in January of 1998. The first four are procedural texts, and the last three are traditional Dulong folk stories. In the procedural texts, a pattern of discourse segmentation can be seen where several clauses will end in a reduplicated verb, then will be followed by an unreduplicated verb. This has the sense of ‘Do this, this, this, and then this’, or ‘Having done this, and this, then do this.’ The next segment then generally begins ‘Having finished …’, repeating the last verb, and then goes on to start another series like the one before.

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HOW TO MAKE WINE

told by Tsêng Yûlân (dû nu?)

mût 3: bôi nõ,
wine do+1pl LNK TOP

When we make wine,

ǒjì  tânbôn  tô  cû  3:,
that corn INST also do+1pl

we do it with corn,

dûxî  tô  cû  3:;
millet INST also do+1pl

we do it with millet

pôkô  tô  cû  3:;
buckwheat INST also do+1pl

we do it with buckwheat

bânô  tô  cû  3:;
barnyard millet INST also do+1pl

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

wine make NOM thing also oil NEG-stick NOM

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

We make it that they don’t have any dried rice on them either,

oil NEG-stick

(and) no oil on them.

We make (them) clean.

wine much-REDUP make+1pl LNK TOP

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

cooking.pot big LOC make+1pl

we make it in a big pot,

one wine.container fill NOM

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

If we only make a little,

proper pot-pl make+1pl (then) we use the proper pots.

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3 tcọη is an alternate form of ọtcọη:

this bag hold/contain two catty

This bag can hold two catties.

4 a is used as plural. Normally the LOC dọ would be used here, but it was not used by the speaker.
that corn grounds INST also make+1pl
(for the material used for the wine) we (can) use (roughly) ground corn,

flour INST also make+1pl
or we can use flour.

DEM-ADV make+1pl-REDUP LNK say LNK

After we have done this,

that also DEM-ADV be

that is also this way.

that cooked.meal make+1pl-REDUP winnowing.pan INST sprinkle+1pl
after we cook the rice, we sprinkle it with a winnowing pan.

If the weather becomes cold,

a.little warm time

when the (rice) is still a little warm,

that brewer’s.yeast put.in+1pl EMPH RQ
we put in the brewer’s yeast, no?

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5 _ewa_ seems to consist of the copula, _e_, plus the adverbial marker, _wa_, but it means ‘this way’; there is also an expression _e-le_ ‘there’, all of which is _e_ plus the dative marker, and an expression _e-be_ ‘after that’, all of which seem to point to _e_ also having a demonstrative (deictic) function (although it is not one of the usual demonstrative pronouns) so I am glossing it as ‘DEM’.

6 A zero pronoun is used here, even though the referent is not the immediate topic.

7 While somewhat similar in form, the emphatic particle _cin_ is not the same particle as the simultaneous action marker _cin_, e.g.

a. nā _wa_ nā-gui? _cin_!
   2sg DEM-ADV NF-say EMPH
   You said it this way!

b. nāi pā-ē _cin_!
   2sg+AGT IMP-do EMPH
   (Why don’t you) do it!
already make+1pl brewer’s yeast put.in+1pl

put in the brewer’s yeast we just made.

cu? bê kô zô:.
cool LNK only.then put in+1pl

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

lùm-nàm cà bê nà,

warm-weather become LNK TOP

If the weather becomes warm,

tcu? gôn tûm ki zô:.
a.little cool after only.then put in+1pl

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

kô xâmôi lê,

that upper.part.of.fire.area DAT

on/towards the upper part of the fire area,

è-wô tûnmoi cu? s: s.

DEM-ADV what grass do+1pl-REDUP LNK

in this way we put grass on top,

lûm mûnû,

warm follow

after it is warm (has fermented),

p? nîttî èt? mûnû gû? bôi,

this dregs drip follow say LNK

when the dregs drip down,

wànlû lê 3:.

wine.container DAT do+1pl

(then) we put it in the wine container.

---

8 First Township dialect bêlô ‘only then’ is equivalent to Third Township dialect bêlô: mûnû lû. Compare the First Township clause above with the following Third Township clause of the same meaning:

cûl mûnû lû zô:.
cool follow only.then put.in+1pl

We put it in only after it is cool.
in the winter only after three nights
will we put it into the wine container.

(summer time, (in the) summertime,

After we put it into the wine container,

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

we can drink it.

Wine is made (by us) like this.

If it is not (done this way),

9 This is an example of the INST marker used for a temporal adverbial phrase.
10 cin'tci? 'week' and jìgùjì 'one month' are loans from Chinese (Mand. xìngqì and yíge yuè, respectively).
kārwā lō ə: tə? how only..then do+1pl HS
how would we make it?

**MAKING BREWER’S YEAST**
told by Tsēng Yūlān (dū no?)

mù nō ʃjá ɔŋkā mù, wine TOP that brewer’s.yeast TOP
(For) wine, (the making of) that brewer’s.yeast,

bāndō kā:m-kā:m nù, barnyard.millet dry.in.sun+1pl-REDUP LNK
we dry the barnyard millet in the sun,

ʃtši kōm gō ə:-ʃ nù, extremely dry NOM do+1pl-REDUP LNK
we make it very dry.

ʃukto? dō kō l bō ʃu, stone.mortar LOC grind+1pl LNK also
We use a stone mortar to grind it,

ʃtši da:wp xe? kō l ʃin extremely fine EXT grind+1pl EMPH
(and) grind it until it is very fine.

ʃtši da:wp xe? kō kō l nù, extremely fine EXT grind+1pl-REDUP LNK
We grind it until it is very fine.

ʃjá wə pōwə? mōnə, that do/make about.to follow
When we are about to make the brewer’s yeast,

pu: sōmə tšqmd ə: winnowing.tray all clean do+1pl
we clean the winnowing tray(s).

—

11 la:m = sa-kām [CAUS-dry].
We make brewer’s yeast for making wine, that is millet grain, after we grind it in a stone mortar, we pound it well in a wooden mortar, we pound it (mixed) with water, (having) pounded (it), when that is done, we mold it into chunks the size of the cakes people eat. That brewer’s yeast, that (brewer’s yeast), long ago we called Tibet “Tashi”. Tibetan brewer’s yeast,
นมข้าว

This little bit of brewer’s yeast,

one a little bit at a time, (we Dulong) mix in the brewer’s yeast,

mix a little into the (brewer’s yeast) flour (before it has been make into a cake),

we spread it on the ones made into cakes.

After we have molded it,

we make it into pieces.

After we make it into cakes,

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

like this put it on top, like with wine.

After putting it on like wine,

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

When it has flavor (when it has fermented),
two night two night ADV turn.over+1pl after two nights we turn it over.

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

hot. weather one night ADV turn.over+1pl In the hot weather we turn it after one night.

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.

that be again After that, again,

that even more dry follow TOP when it is more dry,

well(adv.) what-CL bag LOC do+1pl-REDUP LNK we put it into a bag,

 Loc hang+1pl (and) hang it on top (on the top part of the fireplace).

that also clean do+1pl NOM+be That we also have to make clean.

bran(flour) COM place/put+1pl NOM LNK We put (hang) the flour and (the yeast cakes) together,

one week ADV place/put+1pl (we place it) for about one week,
millet flour(bran) LOC put/place+1pl
we put it in the millet bran/chaff.

that become follow TOP
(One week later) when it is done,

"těxìn" ŋū kǐn.
(name) NOM call+1pl
we call it “těxìn”.

bag LOC put/place+1pl
(Again) we put it in a bag.

e-bē, ŋā ñuikkā,
DEM-LNK that brewer’s yeast

After that, that brewer’s yeast,

even.more become follow that
after another stretch of time,

that sprinkle LNK do+1pl EMPH wine
we sprinkle (the brewer’s yeast) (into grain) to make it, wine.

**HOW TO MAKE A TRAP**

(jū kārwā zī sā)
(tree-spring)trap how make NOM
told by Li Yaohua (nawānjār bāzī)

trap make LNK start trap.string make NOM

When making a trap, first the string is made.

trap.string TOP hemp INST make string INST make+1pl
To make the trap-string, we use a string made of hemp,
tsāl muktaí ąkka? cā juuk-juuk,
string thick(round) piece(CL.for.rope) become twist+1pl-REDUP
(and) make it into a thick rope,

(tsit) cē lāi ąnā kām tē zū (gu) tsit-kāla? sāpok,
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,

cē kāi ąnā nārtaū zū,
one side LOC loop make
on the other end make a loop,

(tsit) zū tān mēnā, tāpā tē tājā tāpā,
string make finish follow spring(bamboo) cut+1pl that spring
when the string is done, we cut a bamboo spring,

jū kūn dē tān gu tāsak-tāsak.
trap area LOC strong NOM stick(in.the.ground)+1pl-REDUP
(and) stick the spring into the ground (of the trap area).

(tsit) tāpā mēkān ąnā gwēj,
string spring end(edge) LOC attach/tie+1pl
We tie the string onto the end of the spring (the one not in the ground),

(tsit) [cā gwēj sā kāi]12 ąnā mēn-mēn ązū,
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,

[tān sā kāi]13 ąnā, cē tājū ązū gu sāpok
be.blocked NOM side LOC one a.little expose NOM attach+1pl
on the other end (where the string holder is) we leave (only) a little string,

tāpā kē gwēj,
spring DAT tie+1pl
(and) tie (it) to the spring,

ājā ē, pī1-pī1?
that be soft(not.hard)-REDUP

kām (tē),
bamboo INST
after that, we take a soft piece of bamboo,

12 cā gwēj sā lāi is the side with the loop (nārtaū). Later in this line the reduplication changes the tone on the second token of mēn 'long'.
13 tān sā lāi is the side with the tsit kāla? 'string holder'.
that side that side ground DAT

bow(shaped.object) become stick(in.ground)+1pl-REDUP
(and) stick both ends of it into the ground to make a bow,

spring end(edge) LOC below pull(down)+1pl-REDUP
(and) pull down one end of the spring,

that bow(shaped.object) DAT trap+1pl
(and) trap the holder in the bow.

that be crossbar INST horizontal side string-holder

NEG-let.go NOM trap+1pl

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

that be bamboo-slice INST weave NOM

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

a thing called “gràm”, on top of the crossbar,

that be moss/greens INST NEG-PREF-see NOM cover after that, cover it with moss/greens so it is not visible.

cover finish afterward

After covering it,

string loop CAUS-meet-R/M NOM do+1pl-REDUP
we make the string into a loop that can be pulled closed,

14 Here the verb jàŋ ‘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.
After doing that,

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

HOW TO MAKE A CROSSBOW
tānā kānwd zū sā
crossbow how make NOM
told by Li Yaohua (nawāñzər būzì)

tānā zū sā,
crossbow make NOM

The making of the crossbow,
tūl, tānā ąkplāŋ, tīkōl,
bow(part.of.crossbow) crossbow body.of.bow trigger
is composed of (making) the bow, the body, the trigger,
tīdūn, tīst tē zū gē.
string holder string INST make NOM+be

the string, and the string holder.

tūl nū saqūn rot-rot,
bow TOP tree.used.to.make.bow cut-REDUP

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

nāndāgōm tćečāŋ tće šktse? cō zōʔ-zoʔ.
well(adv.) small only strip become shave-REDUP

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

nāndāgōm cōn gūr čuq-kō? l5-l5,
well(adv.) straight NOM tree-CL(straight.piece) find/look.for-REDUP
Find a straight piece of wood,
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,

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.

After that, we use steam to cook it.

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.

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

After finishing the body part of the crossbow,

one side LOC bow ADV draw-REDUP
On one side, having drawn the shape of a bow,

we use a small knife to bore a small hole.

After having bored a small hole, we slowly fit the bow into the hole.

Then use bone to make the string holder and trigger.

bow.string TOP hemp INST

15 $d$ could be used here instead of $z\eta$. 

To make the bow string, we soak hemp well in water and then rub it (roll it into string).

rub finish follow that be that bow.string heavy thing INST

After rubbing it, we use something heavy

to hang it to dry in the sun.

to hang it to dry in the sun.

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

(then) make a noose at each end.

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

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

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

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

we make strips by cutting the bamboo in half.
that be rack.over.the.cooking.stove
After that, we smoke it on the fireplace rack.

After a long time,

we cut the bamboo strips into smaller strips,

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

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

(and) attach the wings to the arrow.

WHY MONKEYS STEAL HUMAN FOOD
told by Li Yaohua (nəwɔŋɔr buːzi)

Long ago monkeys took care of babies for people.

During the day, the child’s parents

17 Although normally there is no lengthening of the vowel of the verb to mark second or third person, in clauses where a third person actor referent is being contrasted with some other referent (in this case, the monkey rather than someone else; a sort of narrow focus), and in most imperatives, again where the actor involved is contrasted with some other possible actor, the verb often has a long vowel, just as with first person plural marking. See Yang 2000 for discussion.
The crop grew very well,

monkey AGT baby well(adv.) work HS

the monkey took good care of the baby.

I did this up to the time (the baby) could say “Mommy and Daddy”.

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

Because of this, the monkey became very angry.

The monkey stuck the lid to his rear end,

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

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

When the monkey got angry,
the person felt bad.

So the man said to the monkey,

"Déki buktit bûñám pe pâ-sôñám xi" gûññ wâ.

"Later you can come to the edge of the field and see (eat a bit)."

After that,

monkey that follow TOP human grain steal NOM+be HS

monkeys steal grain from humans.

WHY DOGS HAVE LONG TONGUES AND CAN'T TALK

dôgî takâ pâlaîs mûñ kô guî? tîp mâl gû lëjît
dog why tongue long words say ability NEG+! NOM story told by Li Yaohua (nëwûñzûr bräzi)

long ago time top dog words say know how HS

It is said long ago dogs knew how to talk.

bûñibûñâ (3dûñ) dô, kô guî? sî tçuw
livestock middle LOC words say know how NOM

dôgî è tçuwâ.
dog be HS

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

long ago time long ago time

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18 aći ‘spirit of a dead person’ would also be possible instead of mâ-gôm.

19 It would be possible to use nûr instead of gûr here.
It is said long ago (a) dog and (a) pig were raised by (a) person.

The master did not say anything to the dog or the pig (i.e., he was satisfied with their work, and)

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

The master would send the dog and the pig out to work the field every day.

When they were sent out to work the field, the pig would work all day without rest.

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

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

21 The expression tsot ʒəɾ 'time' or the nominalizer ʂə could be used here instead of tsot.
At night, when it was time to return, the dog would leave his footprints in the field where the pig had worked.

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

The dog would first go home and at night

would deceive the master (saying):

“3-kāŋ! kimbro? wa?, ḏn mū cē nī cē nī
1-master friend pig 3sg TOP one day one day

šmu- tjem dō jip,
field edge LOC sleep

šg mū šmu wōn dēn mō-dēn ḏn tē mō-sō:.”
1sg TOP field do+1sg tired NEG-tired 3sg AGT NEG-know

“Master! Friend Pig, he sleeps all day at the edge of the field, not knowing whether or not I am tired working in the field.” (i.e.: “not caring whether I am tired or not from doing all the work”)

The dog deceived his master in this way.

The master thought about this for a while/well,

(and said to himself,) “I haven’t gone to the field,

---

22 It would be possible to use the topic marker nū instead of gū here.
I can't say on the basis of one person's word who is right and who is wrong, so later I want to go to the field myself to see.

This way, when the dog talks like this, the master won't be biased towards either of them. After that, the master went to secretly spy on them. In the morning after he fed each of them well and sent them out to the fields to work, he went behind them to spy on them.

23 kāpē jo? ‘which-CL(for people)’ could be used instead of anTHere.
24 ne? tāi jāŋ, literally “eye big see” is a metaphor for ‘have a bias’.
The first day,

The pig worked from morning until night in the field, wagging his tail, and didn’t slack off.

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

He didn’t say anything about this.

Before the dog and pig arrived,

he quickly returned to the house,

made the food and gave it to the dog and pig equally (the same to each).

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

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

25 ₁ₑ (₁₋₁₃) is an optional reduplication particle (RP). In this clause the verb ᵃʷᵃᵗ  ‘wag’ could also have been used, i.e. ᵃʷᵃᵗ-₁ₑ-ᵲᵃᵗ.
You have a good heart but he doesn’t know it (doesn’t appreciate it)."

The master still didn’t say anything about this,

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

After spying on them several times,

It was only the pig who was really working.

In the daytime the dog slacked off,

and every night returned first and lied to the master.

The pig didn’t know how to talk,

but the dog knew how to talk.
the same food give HS

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

Later, the master said to the dog:

"Now don't you say anything,

your master (I) want to talk.

Now your stomach is full and you are tired,

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

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

The master pulled it,

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

It seems like you don’t know how to lie,
you use this tongue to lie (to me),

this tongue 2sg DAT what also use NEG+have

this tongue is of no use to you.

If you didn’t have this tongue,

2sg well work NF-do perhaps be

you might work well.”

After that, the dog’s tongue was long,

word say ability NEG+have HS

and he did not have the ability to speak.

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by Li Yaohua (nëwàŋzàr bräzi)

Long ago, in a human village

there lived a person named “Nisham”.26

That Nisham could fly and had a tail.

26 Also called nimucàm.
Nisham didn’t allow the people to eat their food,

just as they were about to eat their food,

he would take the pot up a tree

and eat it,

and would grab whichever girls were beautiful up to the tree and do (rape) them.

Therefore, the people got together

and discussed killing Nisham.

They invited Nisham into the house,

and said from below the house,

"Uncle Nisham, please hang your tail down.”

---

27 koi would also be possible here.
28 toxtum-toxtum-čů would also be possible here.
29 rat (or rů) ‘come’ also has the sense of making the imperative more polite.
When he hung his tail down, nine strong men pulled on it, and from the doorway speared him with a pike.

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

Finally, it got to the place where there was no more water (where the water goes down) and the body stopped up the water,

Therefore the water got bigger.

At that time, a brother and sister went mushroom picking,

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

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

bird also water-flood-REDUP water-flood-REDUP say LNK
The birds said "there's a flood, there's a flood!",

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

later (place name) place DAT arrive HS
Finally, the people arrived at "kōwa karpu".

The flood water reached there.

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

The flood water stopped just one batten's width away from where the brother and sister were sitting.

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

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

"sjâ nj-tzat bê,\n1pl NF-throw+1pl LNK
(The snakes said) "If you throw us into the river,

nââ sjâ kî? ka-me-dî jûn." e-wâ gu? tciwâ.\n2pl also let-NEG+NF-exist pl DEM-ADV say HS

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

bû sjâ mônî ãl gë tciwâ.\nsnake that follow exist NOM+be HS

Therefore snakes still exist.

sjâ cizin ci dûgû pl dûgû ya? cà mônî bot tciwâ.\nthat flood.water water nine day nine night become follow recede HS

The water receded after nine days and nights.

sjâ mônî, ñnî mêm\nthat follow 3dl brother.and.sister

Then the brother and sister

pô kîn ëk sôn kî le bû tciwâ.\nbelow village DAT human look.for PURP return(vi.) HS

returned to the village to look for people.

kâ-dî kâ-dî LE2 bê cû, sôn ma-dûgû tciwâ.\nWH-LOC WH-LOC look.for LNK also human NEG-have HS

Wherever they looked, there were no people.

têlē33 têlê ñnî LE34 kî le jî bê cû,\nthat.way that.way TOP look.for PURP go LNK also

They each went their own way to look,

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32 LE would also be possible here.
33 1a 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 L5n can mean 'river valley', this expression might mean 'that valley and that valley'. Cf. also the Rawang phrase l5n l5n le, a phrase meaning 'to each other' used in reciprocals, where sôn and LE are dative markers (LaPolla 2000).
34 LE would also be possible here.
and then came back together each night.

They had no fire, so when they ate meat,

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

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

Every night, when it was time to sleep,

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

of water and sleep.

In the morning,

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

but it ended up behind them (moved itself).

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35 Both əxə and əxənu are acceptable.

36 Here there is a tone change on ən ‘sit’ because of the addition of the reflexive/middle marker.
The brother and sister ended up sleeping together unintentionally.

At night when they were preparing to sleep,

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

let nine rivers flow.”

When the morning came,

nine rivers really did flow.

Therefore they said,

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

Saying like this they then became husband and wife.
After the two became husband and wife,

they gave birth to nine boys and girls.

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

the second boy marrying the second girl, etc.

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

they were jealous of each other.

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

When they shot the bows,

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

Therefore the oldest
户 māli wā:l wā.
Chinese place allocate/divide HS
were given (sent to) the Chinese area.

cīn pī pèn
second.eldest.boy and second.eldest.girl
The second oldest,

makpai māli (lē) wā:l wā.
Tibetan place DAT allocate/divide HS
were given (sent to) the Tibetan area.

tānyn māli,
Dulong place
The Dulong area,

kwēn pī cēn ē tciwā.
third.eldest.boy and third.eldest.girl be HS
was (given to) the third oldest.

mānzi sī-ton mo? bē,
song PREF-divide RECIP LNK
When they divided up the songs,

jī pī makpai tē jīn (lē) tak tciwā.
Chinese and Tibetan AGT bag INST collect HS
the Chinese and the Tibetans used bags to get their share.

tānyn tē sīn (lē) tak tciwā.
Dulong AGT type.of.basket INST collect HS
The Dulong used a basket with holes to get the songs (and they came out).

tānyn tē sū mā40 mānzi mō-sə: wā.
Dulong AGT that TOP song NEG-know.how HS
So the Dulong don't know how to sing (don't know any songs).

māgu sī-ton mo? bē,
horse PREF-divide RECIP LNK
When (they) divided up the horses (among themselves),

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

“Let this be my horse.” he said.

Therefore the Dulong place is one without horses.

Since the Dulong place is lived in

by the third oldest,

it is called "cakkwai lny" ("third eldest river valley").
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
I have kept some of the phonetic variation found in the original transcription, such as having both \( e?w\ddot{a} \) and \( \acute{e}w\ddot{a} \) for ‘(in) this way’, \( n\ddot{s} \) and \( n\ddot{\mu} \) for the topic marker (which is also used at the end of clauses, and so sometimes glossed as “LNK”), and \( b\ddot{e} \) and \( b\ddot{\jmath}i \) 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 /\( \eta \)-/ \( > [\acute{\eta}k-] \) when followed by a voiceless stop; /\( k\ddot{a}m \)/ ‘bamboo’ \( > [kap] \) in \( kap-ka? \) ‘bamboo strip’).
REFERENCES


