Some Grammatical Features of Luzu*

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Summary

Luzu 呂蘇 is a Tibeto-Burman language belonging to the Qiangic branch spoken in Sichuan, southwest China. This report describes some grammatical features of the Luzu dialect of Naigu 乃渠 Township in Jiulong 九龍 County, Ganzi 甘孜 Prefecture, using the descriptive method of Huang and Renzeng (1991). The phonological system, vocabulary, and grammar of the Naiqu dialect have obvious correspondences with the Mili 木里 dialect described by Huang and Renzeng, indicating that Naiqu and Mili are two quite close subdialects of the same language. According to our language consultant's observation, the local dialects of Luzu are as follows: [ngu³³Je⁵⁵xõ³³] 九龍県縣城話, spoken in Jiulong 九龍 Town; [ce³³k^he⁵⁵xũ³³] 斜卡話, spoken in Xieka 斜卡 County; and [dzi³³we⁵⁵xõ³³] 雅礱江對岸話 ([dzi³³we⁵⁵] 'waterfront') spoken on the opposite bank of the Yalong 雅礱 River. The Mili dialect described by Huang and Renzeng is considered to belong to this "waterfront" dialect. In this report, we describe the basic syntax of the Naiqu subdialect, which belongs to the above-mentioned Xieka area, mainly focusing on case markers to express the grammatical relationship among arguments, aspect markers to appear at the end of verb phrase, and auxiliary verbs to describe the semantic distinction between "inner/outer." Even though the Naiqu and Mili dialects share a common grammatical framework, the Naiqu dialect has its own features, that have not previously been well described. We clarify the characteristics and analytical problems of the above three grammatical points and note differences between the dialects.

Key words: Luzu, Naiqu dialect, Ersu, Qiangic, Tibeto-Burman

關鍵詞:呂蘇語 乃渠方言 爾蘇語 羌語支 藏緬語

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1. Introduction

Luzu (Lyuzu/Lizu in English, Lǐrǔ 里汝, Lǚsū 呂蘇, or Lìsū 傈蘇 in Chinese) is a Tibeto-Burman language in the Qiangic branch that is spoken in the Tibetan-Qiang-Lolo ethnic corridor. Some have argued that Luzu is the westernmost dialect of Ersu 爾蘇. If we focus only on their vocabulary, there are indeed many words that are close in sound and meaning between Luzu and Ersu; however, many aspects of grammar seem to have developed differently, and it is difficult for their speakers to communicate with each other when using their respective language variety. Therefore, we should provisionally consider Luzu an independent language, and only after further detailed analysis of its linguistic structure can we continue to explore issues such as its relationship with surrounding languages and its historical development. While there is as yet no detailed reference grammar on the Luzu language, we have two brief descriptions: Huang and Renzeng (1991), an earlier paper published in Chinese describing the grammar of the Mili 木里 dialect, is still of great reference value today; this study was revised by Huang (2009). Further, Chirkova (2017) provided another brief introduction to the Mili dialect in English. Yu (2012) describes the phonological system of the Mianning 冕寧 dialect of Luzu, compares it with other Tibeto-Burman languages, reconstructs the proto-Ersu language, and provides an interpretive study of the historical development of the Mianning Luzu language.

This report describes some grammatical features of the Luzu dialect of Naiqu 乃渠 Township in Jiulong 九龍 County, Ganzi 甘孜 Prefecture. According to our language consultant's observation,¹ the local dialects of Luzu are as follows: [ŋgu³³Je⁵⁵xõ³³] 九龍県縣 城話, spoken in Jiulong 九龍 Town; [çe³³k^he⁵⁵xũ³³] 斜卡話, spoken in Xieka 斜卡 County; and [dzi³³we⁵⁵xõ³³] 雅礱江對岸話 ([dzi³³we⁵⁵] 'waterfront'), spoken on the opposite bank of the Yalong 雅礱 liver. The Mili dialect described by Huang and Renzeng is considered to belong to this "waterfront" dialect. The phonological system of Naiqu is slightly simpler than that of Mili, while the vocabulary and grammar show obvious correspondences. At the same time, the Naiqu dialect has distinct features from the Mili dialect and the Mianning dialect, whose grammatical features were reported in Lin/Yin/Wang (2014). This means that Naiqu, Mili, and Mianning are three subdialects of the same language that are very close to each other. Compared with this relationship, Luzu, Ersu, and Doxu are more distantly related, and their interrelationship cannot be concluded immediately.

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Mr. Rig 'dzin dbang rgyal in my memory

2. Phonology

2.1 Initial Consonants

The phonological system of the Naiqu dialect of the Luzu language and its phonetic features are as follows:

	labials	dentals	alveolars	retroflexes	palatals	velars	uvulars
pre-aspirated	***	***	hts-	htş-	ht¢-	hk-	
non-aspirated	p-	t-	ts-	tş-	tç-	k-	
voiceless-aspirated	ph-	th-	tsh-	tşh-	t¢h-	kh-	[qh-]
voiced	b-	d-	dz-	dz-	dz-	g-	
nasal-voiced	mb-	nd-	ndz-	ndz-	ndz-	ŋg-	
nasal-aspirated	mph-	nth-	ntsh-	ntşh-	nt¢h-	ŋkh-	
nasal	m-	n-		η-	n-	ŋ-	
fricative		4-	S-	ş-	Ç-	х-	[χ-]
voiced fricative	v-		Z-		Z -	***	
liquid	1-		-t-				
semi-vowel	w-				j-		

*** is a gap in the system that is expected to exist. To date, no examples of such words have been found. [] is a sound that is heard phonetically, but there are few word examples that include it, for which there is insufficient empirical evidence, such as occurrence conditions or contrastive examples, to qualify it as a phoneme. The pre-aspirated series is realized as aspiration before the stricture of onset, not as consonant clusters with fricatives as in the Tibetan Amdo dialect. No consonant clusters are found in onsets of the Naiqu dialect.

2.2 Features of Initial Consonants

(a) Although there are not many examples, the initial consonants [mph-], [nth-], [ŋkh-], [ntsh-], and [ŋtsh-] are present, indicating a series of pre-nasal aspirated phonemes.

(b) The initial consonants in the Naiqu dialect include a series of pre-aspirated sounds such as /hts-/, /htg-/, and /htc-/. All of them show variation in the presence or absence of aspiration after closed release, such as $[^{h}ts^{h}- \sim ^{h}ts-]$, $[^{h}ts^{h}- \sim ^{h}ts-]$, $[^{h}tc^{h}- \sim ^{h}tc-]$ in the affricates, respectively. At this point, it is not clear whether these pre-aspirated series have contrastive examples with /tsh-/, /tsh-/, and /tch-/, but since they appear in certain words fixedly and are not in free variation with the aspirated series, I recognize them as independent phonemes. In connection with this series, we have not yet been able to find other pre-aspirated stop phonemes such as */hp-/ and */ht-/.

(c) Phonetically, [4-] is heard before high vowels, which we systemically interpret as a phoneme occupying the position of the voiceless /lh/ corresponding to the voiced /l-/:

$$/\text{lh-}/ \rightarrow [4-] ___/i, e/$$

No examples of this phoneme cooccurring with low vowels have been found.

(d) The bilabial fricative $[\Phi]$ appears only before the vowel /u/ and has a complementary distribution with [x-], and $[\Phi u]$ is sometimes also pronounced [xu]. Thus, the bilabial fricative $[\Phi]$ is considered an allophone of the phoneme /x-/:

$$/x-/ \rightarrow [\phi-] ___/u/$$

(e) There are examples of words where the uvular sound $[q^{h}-]$ is heard, such as:

 $q^{h}e^{33}c^{i55}me^{33}te^{33}$ 'stutter' $q^{h}o^{33}pa^{55}$ 'body = internal organs'

No records have been found of uvular sounds in other series of phonemes, such as non-aspirated and voiced sounds. Therefore, we hesitate to consider uvular sounds as being independent phoneme series in the phonological system. On the other hand, even if we consider the uvular $[q^{h}-]$ a variant of the velar /kh-/, we cannot specify a conditioning environment for it. It is noteworthy that Huang (1991 [2003: 194–198]) considers the presence of a uvular sound in initial consonants as being an important typological feature of Qiangic languages. Based on her argument, it is possible that this sound is not only a trace of an archaic sound remaining in individual words, but also a new variant that arose in the process of language change or was borrowed from a surrounding language. However, the available data are currently too limited to fully examine these possibilities.

2.3 Vowels

The phonological system of the Naiqu dialect includes single vowels, nasal vowels, and a small number of diphthongs, and the vowels /uu/ and /e/ can take a retroflex [-I] to alveolar [-I] approximant sound at the end of the syllable.

/i/ /y/		/ɯ/ /u/		
/e/		/0/		
/a/	/y/			
/ĩ/	/ur/	/ũ/		
/ẽ/		/õ/	/ue/	/ei/
	/er/			

(a) The single vowel /y/ is often pronounced $[y] \sim [\emptyset]$, which are in free variation. The vowel /u/ is often pronounced as a narrower, more frontal tongue-tip vowel $[\eta]$ after affricative and fricative consonants.

(b) Phonemic nasal vowels are often heard, but the nasalization is unstable. For example, $/h\tilde{1}^{53}/$ 'borrow', $/n\tilde{0}^{35}/$ 'you'/ $x\tilde{u}^{53}/$ 'hatch', etc., are often pronounced as plain vowels, such as $[hi^{53}]$, $[n0^{35}]$, and $[xu^{53}]$. In diphthongs, nasal vowels appearing in the first syllable of $/n\tilde{e}^{33}nts^{h}0^{55}/$ 'family' and $/\tilde{0}^{33}me\eta^{53}/$ 'goose' are assimilated by the initial nasal consonant of the second syllable. No examples of $*/\tilde{y}/$, $*/\tilde{u}/$, $*/\tilde{a}/$, or $*/\tilde{e}/$ have been found among the nasal vowels.

(c) Excluding words borrowed from Han Chinese, there are only two types of diphthongs in the native vocabulary of Naiqu dialect:

There are diphthongs that appear only in words borrowed from Han Chinese, but as they are considered foreign, they lie outside the vowel system of the Naiqu dialect and should not be incorporated into the system. No final consonants are found as coda; all morphemes are open syllables.

(d) There are two kinds of vowels with a retroflex [-I] to alveolar [-I] approximant sound at the end of the syllable. It is noteworthy that $[IP] \sim [PI]$ and $[II] \sim [III] \sim [PI]$, which differ in the order of appearance of consonants and vowels within a syllable, appear as free variants. For the latter, we recognize the vowel as /III because of its parallelism with single vowels, and for the variation in phonetic realization, resulting from the tendency for the vowel to be pronounced slightly wider, to allow space for the tongue to vibrate.

/e1/
$$mb_{12}^{33}ke^{55} \sim mbe_{1}^{33}ke^{55}$$
 'horse'
/u1/ $11^{33} \sim 100^{55} \sim 31^{35}$ 'laugh'
 $t^{h}u^{33}du_{1}^{55} \sim t^{h}\partial^{33}u^{55}$ 'they'

2.4 Tones

In Naiqu dialects, four different tones are observed in a five-degree system, which can be described as 55, 53, 35, and 33. In monosyllabic words or morphemes, three "tones" are distinguished: 53, 35, and 33, which are fixed to a syllable. Tone 55 is a free variant of tone 53 or one of the tones is fixed to the word. Similarly, tone 33 is a free variant of 35, or one of the tones is fixed to the word. In practice, the prosody of the Naiqu dialect involves a height accent system for each word, which can be described by only marking the syllables that are pronounced high. In this study, we attempted to follow and faithfully record the pitch in actual speech using the five-degree system.

3. Word Order

The basic word order in Luzu is SOV, and case particles indicating grammatical relations are realized as postpositions of their arguments. Modifiers are prefixed to the headword, whereas simple adjectives and quantity modifiers are postpositions of the head noun. Specific examples are provided below.

3.1 Subject and Predicate

{Subje	ect} {Predicate	e} {Pr	redicate} \rightarrow	• [Noun] (AUX)	
$\ast \parallel$ indicates the boundary between S an				[Adjective] (AUX)	
				(Object) [Verb] (AUX)	
(1)	e⁵⁵ ge 1sg. stud	³³ tş ^h u ⁵⁵ z dent A	i³³. UX: inner: assertive			
	I am a student.					
(2)	$no^{55} = ji^{35}$ $2sg. = GEN$	mbo ³³ tş ^h u	1 ⁵⁵ ni ³³ tst red [bril	u ⁵⁵ tsw ^{3:} liant]	3.	
	Your hat is [bri	lliant] red.				
(3)	ju ³³ zu Rain fall	⁵⁵ ge³³. I AUX: prog	gress			
	The rain is falling.					
(4)	t ^h w ⁵⁵ 3sg.	pe ³³ ndze ⁵⁵ lunch	fia ³³ - dzɯ ⁵⁵ DIR-eat	se³³. AUX: ou	ter: pft	
	S/he ate lunch.					

3.2 Modifier: Attributive

{Attri	butive} {He	adword}		$[Noun] = PCL \rightarrow [Noun]$
	ne ³³ ne ⁵⁵ baby	=ji ³³ =GEN	ge ³³ mw ⁵⁵ cloth	'infant's cloth'
	t ^h w ⁵⁵ 1sg.	=ji ³³ =GEN	mbo ³³ tş ^h i ⁵⁵ _{hat}	'his/her hat'

When personal pronouns are genitive, their vowels are often assimilated to those of the genitive particle $/=ji^{33}/$ and pronounced as $[t^hi^{55} = ji^{33}]$.

{Headword} {Attributive}	[Noun] ← [Adjective] [Noun] ← [Numeral][Classifier]
mbe ³³ ke ⁵⁵ de ³³ -lui ⁵⁵ horse white	'white horse'
$k^{h}o^{33}le^{55}$ $te^{33} = pu^{55}$ bowl one =CLS	ʻa bowl'

3.3 Modifier: Adverbial

$\{Adverbial\} \{Headword\}$	$[Adjective] = PCL \rightarrow [Verb]$
	$[Adverb] \rightarrow [Verb]$

 $li^{33}li^{55} = mu^{33} \qquad k^{h}e^{33} \text{- so}^{55}so^{55} \text{ `learn carefully'} \\ well = PCL \qquad DIR \text{- learn}$

Time words are treated as adverbs but may be placed at the beginning of a sentence.

(5) a^{55} $ja^{33}nu^{55}$ de^{33} - ne^{55} de^{33} . 1sg. yesterday DIR- sick AUX: assertive: inner

I was sick yesterday.

4. Case Marker

The Naiqu dialect has five kinds of basic postpositional case markers to express the grammatical relationships among arguments as follows:

4.1 Genitive $/=ji^{33}/$

After a nominative phrase, this particle indicates the possessor of a thing. Alternatively, it can modify a succeeding noun.

t ^h w ³³	=ji ⁵⁵	a ³³ mi ⁵⁵		'his/her mother'
3sg.	=GEN	mother: address		
ne ³³ k ^h e ⁵ sky	⁵ mɯ ³³	=ji ³³ =GEN	tçi ⁵⁵ cloud	'cloud in the sky'

Huang (2009) cites [di⁵⁵] as another genitive marker, which expresses a collective unit like "home" and simultaneously has a genitive function after the personal pronoun singular.

 $a^{35} = di^{55}$ n. i^{35} 'my =[family's] house' ne³³ = di⁵⁵ se³³pu⁵³ 'your =[family's] tree'

In the Naiqu dialect, however, the weakened form of the plural morpheme $*{du(r)}$ of the personal pronoun is accompanied by a genitive particle, and the two do not merge.

$a^{33}di^{55} = ji^{33}$	ni ³³ ts ^h w ⁵⁵	'our house'
$n\tilde{o}^{55}do^{55} = ji^{33}$	se ³³ pu ⁵⁵	'your =[family's] tree'

4.2 Ergative/Instrumental /=1w³³/

After a noun or nominative phrase, this particle indicates the agent or instrument used for an action.

(6)	16 ₂₂	kw ⁵⁵	=lw ³³	htse55	dɐ ³³ .
	chicken	hawk	=ERG	snatch	AUX: witness

The chicken was snatched in the mouth by a hawk.

(7)	kw ⁵⁵	=lw ³³	18 ₂₂	htse55	de ³³ .
	hawk	=ERG	chicken	snatch	AUX: witness

A hawk snatched a chicken in its mouth.

S/he cut the bush with an axe.

In contrast, the subject of an intransitive sentence is absolutive and is not marked. At the same time, the object of the transitive sentences is also unmarked as an absolutive case, indicating that Luzu is an ergative language.

I was sick yesterday.

4.3 Dative /= (j)e³³ ~ V: /

After a noun or pronoun, this particle indicates the recipient or object of the action, or the place where the action is performed. When the dative marker follows a personal pronoun, the particle often merges with it.

S/he hit me.

(11) a^{55} $n\tilde{o}^{55} = je^{33}$ $t^{h}e^{33}$ - di^{55} m-j e^{33} . 1sg. 2sg. =DAT DIR- tell AUX: experience I have told you.

(My) father and mother are at home.

In dual-object constructions, that is, trivalent verb (ditransitive verb) sentences, the direct object is unmarked and the indirect object is marked by the dative marker. (13) $t^{h}w^{55} a^{33}dor^{55} = je^{33} ze^{33}x\tilde{o}^{55}/ze^{33}ndz\tilde{\iota}^{55}ndi^{33}$ 3sg. 1pl. =DAT Han speech / Han script (= \emptyset) ${}^{h}m\tilde{\iota}^{33h}m\tilde{\iota}^{55}$ zi^{33} . teach AUX: inner: definite

S/he teaches us Chinese language.

To express "do sth. for sb." in a transitive verb with a single-object sentence, the genitive particle is used instead of the dative particle.

Grandfather bought a packet of candy for his grandson.

4.4 Ablative $/=nu^{33}/$

After a noun or pronoun, this particle indicates a spatial starting point or the beginning of time.

 $\begin{array}{lll} mu^{33}li^{55} &= nut^{33} & ci^{55}ts^{h}e\eta^{53} \\ \text{P. N.} &= \text{ABL} & \text{P. N.} \end{array}$ nw³³ ji³³hũ⁵⁵. (15)te³³ dav one take It takes one day from Mili to Xichang. a³³ duu⁵⁵ dze³³ne⁵³ le³³ gm³³. (16)=nш³³ 1pl. China =ABL AUX: inner: impft come We are from China. a⁵⁵ ja³³hĩ⁵³ $= n m_{33}$ mm³³zm²⁵ $a^{33}k^{h}a^{55}$ dzu³³. (17)=ABL 1sg. last year now here live/stay

I've been living here since last year.

4.5 Comparative $/=ts^{h}a^{33}/$

This particle is used after a noun to indicate the object being compared.

I am smaller (younger) than him.

(19) tce^{55} $mu^{33}tsu^{55} = ts^{h}a^{33}$ $je^{33}ke^{55}$. dog cat = CMP large

Dogs are larger than cats.

4.6 Accusative (= Absolutive) = \emptyset

The verb object in a transitive sentence corresponding to accusative is unmarked in Luzu.

(20) $t^h w^{55}$ ja³³nw⁵⁵ ndz \tilde{e}^{33} ndi⁵⁵ re³³ $t^h e^{33}ts^h e^{55}$. 3sg. yesterday letter = \emptyset write finish

S/he finished writing a letter yesterday.

(21) $e^{33}be^{55} = lue^{33} gue^{35} = lue^{33} ge^{33}mo^{55}$ Mom =ERG needle = INST cloth = \emptyset de^{33} - ηge^{55} se^{33}. DIR- sew. AUX: outer: pft

(My) mother sewed clothes with a needle.

Of the objects of transitive sentences, direct objects are absolutive and not marked, whereas indirect objects are marked with dative particles.

(22) $t^{h}u^{55} \parallel a^{55} < [< a^{35} = (j)e^{33}] \mid swe^{33} = gu^{33}$. 3sg. 1sg. DAT scall AUX: inner(recognition): impft

S/he scolded me.

(23) $a^{55} \parallel but^{33}ut^{55} = je^{33} me^{33} ts^{h}u^{55}$. 1sg. snake. = DAT fear

I am scared of snakes.

In Luzu, the subject of an intransitive sentence and the direct object in a transitive sentence, which is accusative, are both unmarked as absolutive. Thus, we can recognize that Luzu is typologically of the Ergative type.

5. Noun Predicate

The basic construction of a noun predicate sentence is as follows:

[Noun A] || [Noun B]AUX AUX $\rightarrow zi^{33}$ [$\sim zi^{33}$] / t-j z^{33}]

There are two types of AUX in nominal predicate sentences: / zi^{33} / and /t-j e^{33} / in the Naiqu dialect. In Huang (2009), only [zi^{31}] is recorded at the end of the example sentence, and the Chinese counterpart of 是 *shì* is given as a gloss, but there is no explanation for this AUX.

(24) $\mathfrak{e}^{33}\mathfrak{t}^{h}\mathfrak{u}^{55} \parallel \mathfrak{e}^{33} = \mathfrak{j}\mathfrak{i}^{55} \operatorname{ndz} \tilde{\mathfrak{e}}^{33}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{i}^{55} \mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{i}^{33}/\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{e}^{33}.$ DEM: proximal lsg. =GEN book AUX This is my book.

At first glance, the AUX at the end of a noun predicate sentence appears to be a copula. In fact, its main function is to indicate the relationship between two nouns, A and B, but it also carries the meaning of a subjective declaration based on the speaker's confirmation. In many declarative sentences, it does not matter which AUX is used. However, depending on the statement, only one of these can be used. See sentences (24) and (25):

(25) $e^{55} \parallel t_{s}e^{33}c_{i}^{55} z_{i}^{33}$. 1sg. P. N. AUX*

I am Trashi.

The AUX is not replaceable with $/tje^{33}/$ in this sentence.

This child is in (of) Losang family's.

*The AUX is not replaceable with $^{/zi^{33}}$ in this sentence.

The AUXs cannot be changed in sentences (24) and (25). In our observation, $/zi^{33}/$ is used when the speaker speaks definitively based on observation about matters within their range of perception, while $/tje^{33}/$ is used when the speaker speaks based on hearsay knowledge about matters outside their range of perception. In this paper, we will refer to this concept of "inside" and "outside" as "inner" and "outer," respectively.

6. Adjective Predicate

The basic construction of an adjective predicate is as follows:

Adjective AUX AUX \rightarrow mu³³se³³ [\sim mu³³se³³ \sim m³³se³³]

The basic form of adjectives in Luzu is a reduplicated form of the same stem syllable. Luzu adjectives have comparative and superlative forms; the comparative form has $/10^{33}$ -/ '-er' preceded by a single stem, while the superlative form has $/ne^{33}tci^{55}$ / 'most' preceded by the reduplicated form of the stem.

primitive	comparative	superlative	
şe ₃₃ (şe ₂₂)	10 ₃₃ - §б ₂₂	ne ³³ tçi ⁵⁵ şe ³³ şe ⁵⁵	'long'
kɯ ³³ (kɯ ⁵⁵)	40 ³³ - kш ⁵⁵	ne ³³ tçi ⁵⁵ kw ³³ kw ⁵⁵	'large'
je ³³ (je ⁵⁵)	до ³³ - је ⁵⁵	nɐ ³³ t¢i ⁵⁵ je ³³ je ⁵⁵	'small'

Even in comparative constructions, adjectives need not always take the comparative class form. When an adjective is a predicate, it is followed by the AUX $/mu^{33}se^{55}/$. However, this AUX is not essential for adjectival predicate sentences.

(27) $v^{33}t^{h}w^{55}$ $pu^{33}tso^{55}$ $je^{33}je^{55} = t^{h}w^{33}$ $t^{h}\tilde{v}^{33} nt^{h}\tilde{v}^{55}$ $mu^{33}se^{33}$. DEM: proximal knife small = NMLRs harp AUX

This pocket knife is sharp.

AUX /mu³³se⁵⁵/ may be /mu³³/ plus /se³³/ in origin. The /se³³/ is similar in form to the verb predicate AUX, which is discussed below but has a different function and does not connect directly to an adjective by itself, while /mu³³/ may stand alone and directly connect to an adjective to form an adverbial phrase modifying the verb.

(28)	ge ³³ tşi ⁵⁵	mbe ⁵⁵	=je ³³	a ³³ za ⁵⁵	$= mo^{33}$	ji ³³	gw ⁵⁵ .
	Car	hill	=DAT	slow	= SFX	go	AUX: progressive

The car is slowly climbing up the mountain.

7. Verb Predicate

The basic construction of a verb predicate is as follows:

DIR- Vstem AUX
$$AUX \rightarrow gu^{33}[\sim gv^{33}] / se^{33} / m - je^{33}$$

Lin/Yin/Wang (2014: 49) pointed out that the "complete aspect form" of a verb predicate is "DIR- Vstem (-a)" in the Mianning dialect of Luzu. The (-a) is a suffix expressing the perfective. The Mianning dialect has an imperfective AUX [`bo], which is restricted to volitional activities with self-person subjects (i.e., "inner" recognition in our paper), and [`gə], which is used for activities with other-person subjects (i.e., "outer" recognition). Contrariwise, in the Naiqu dialect, there is no such suffix *[-a], and [bo³³] is not an AUX but a verb of existence. The AUX verbs of verb predicates significantly differ from each other. Besides, in the Naiqu dialect, there is no morphological alternation between intransitive and transitive verbs.

7.1 Directional prefix

The Naiqu dialect has five different directional prefixes: (a) $d\mathfrak{e}^{33}$ - 'upward', (b) $n\mathfrak{e}^{33}$ - 'downward', (c) $k^h\mathfrak{e}^{33}$ - 'inward (/concentration)', (d) $t^h\mathfrak{e}^{33}$ - 'outward (/diffusion)', and (e) $f\mathfrak{e}^{33}$ - '(no specific direction)'. The combinations with verbs are as follows:

(a)	dɐ ³³ - Vstem	'upward'		
	de ³³ - gwe ⁵⁵	'get up'	de ³³ - bo ⁵³	'expand'
	(de ₃₃ -) [‡] gu ³³ 1m	⁵⁵ 'sweep'	[†] The directional pref	fix (de^{33} -) is not always required.
(b)	nɐ ³³ - Vstem nɐ ³³ - mje ⁵⁵	'downward' 'swallow'	ne ³³ - ko ⁵⁵	'fall'
(c)	k ^h ɐ ³³ - Vstem k ^h ɐ ³³ - lu ⁵⁵	'inward (/con 'mix'	centration)' k ^h ɐ ³³ - dze ⁵⁵	'gather'
(d)	t ^h e ³³ - Vstem t ^h e ³³ - lu ⁵³	'outward (/dif 'steal'	fusion)' t ^h e ³³ - ge ⁵⁵	'release'
(e)	fiɐ ³³ - Vstem fia ³³ - dzɯ ⁵⁵	(no specific d 'eat'	irection) fia ³³ - pa ³³ ke ⁵³	'spread (grain)'

In the Naiqu dialect of Luzu, the directional affix is not an essential element of the verb. Some verbs, especially existential verbs, do not have directional affixes. In addition, a significant proportion of the verbs have a fixed combination with a specific directional affix.² As a rule, a directional affix is added when expressing the aspect of completion; however, this does not mean that the directional affix itself has the function of indicating the aspect of completion. On the other hand, a bare verb without a directional affix is said to feel unstable, or in an unfinished state.

7.2 Aspect

In the Naiqu dialect, five main aspects, such as prospective, progressive, perfective, and experiential, are expressed by AUX. The prospective and progressive are imperfect aspects, and the perfective and experiential are perfect aspects.

(a) The prospective aspect is indicated by a verb followed by an adjunct verb $/h\tilde{u}^{33}ndze^{53}/$ intend' and AUX $/guu^{33}/[\sim gr^{33}]$.

(29)	n,i ³³ ma ⁵³	hã ³³ - nts ^h u ⁵⁵	= hũ ³³ ndze ⁵³	dze ⁵³ gw ³³ .		
	Sun	DIR- rise	= intend to	AUX: impft		
	The sun is coming up					

The sun is coming up.

(30)	ju ³³	zu ⁵⁵	= hũ ³³ ndze ⁵³	gш ³³ .
	Rain	fall	= intend to	AUX: impft

It is about to rain.

cf. (3) ju^{33} zu^{55} gu^{33} rain fall AUX: impft: progressive

The rain is falling.

² The Mili dialect described in Huang (2009: 224) also has five kinds of directional prefixes: de³⁵- upward'; ne³⁵- 'downward'; khe³⁵- 'inward (/to upstream)'; ne³⁵- 'outward (/to downstream)'; the³⁵- 'to the other side'. Some of them have similar shapes but do not directly correspond to the Naiqu dialect prefixes except for 'upward' and 'downward'. In the Mianning dialect described in Lin/Yin/Wang (2014: 48), these directional prefixes are simplified as de- 'upward (/into house)'; ne- 'downward (/out of house)'; and the- 'outward (/centrifugal)', and [khe-] is rarely used as a fixed element of the perfective form of a verb that has lost directional meaning. [de-] is often used as a prefix element without a directional meaning.

- (b) AUX /gut³³/ indicates an imperfective aspect, which includes durative stative and durative progressive.
 - $\begin{array}{ccccccc} (31) & t^{h} u ^{55} & dz u ^{33} t \varsigma^{h} i ^{55} & k^{h} e ^{33}, & n dz \tilde{e} ^{33} n d i ^{55} \\ & & & & \\ & & & \\ &$

S/he is reading a book while eating.

(c) The perfective aspect is indicated by adding AUX $/se^{33}/directly$ after the verb.

 $\begin{array}{cccccc} (32) & t^h u^{55} & p e^{33} n dz e^{55} & f a^{33} - dz u^{55} & s e^{33} . \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & & \\$

 $\begin{array}{cccc} (33) & ni^{33}ma^{53} & fi \widetilde{a}^{33} \text{-} nts^h u^{55} & se^{33} \text{.} \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ \end{array}$

The sun has risen.

(d) The experiential aspect is indicated by adding AUX /m-je³³/ directly after the verb.

(34) a^{55} $a^{33}ma^{55} a^{55}$ $ba^{33} - dz u^{55}$ $m - je^{33}$. 1sg. red deer meat DIR- eat AUX: pft: experiential

I have eaten red deer meat.

 $\begin{array}{cccccc} (35) & t^h w^{55} & ma^{33}mi^{53} & ji^{33}\text{-}mu^{53} & m\text{-}je^{33}\text{.} \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ \end{array} \right) \text{ $\mathbf{T}_{\mathbf{r}}$ erve $$ AUX: pft: experiential $$ army $$ DIR-serve $$ AUX: pft: experiential $$ army $$ army$

He was a soldier. (He has military experience.)

7.3 Evidentiality

Depending on the speaker's perception of the action, there are "general speech" and "perceptive speech". Here we follow the analysis of Prof. Huang Bufan. The use of "perceptive speech" indicates that the speaker personally sees the action or hears the sound; it is also used in narratives about oneself and the "inner" world with which the speaker is familiar. This evidential category is expressed by the AUX in the verb predicate. In the perfect aspect, the AUX / zi^{33} / (see Section 5) is added at the end of the sentence expressing perceptive recognition as "inner"; the AUX / se^{33} / for "outer" without such recognition is often used with a nuance of lack of confirmation or uncertainty.

(36)	t ^h w ⁵⁵	mbe ³³	=je ⁵³	ne33- pko22	zi ³³ .
	3sg.	mountain	$= DAT^3$	DIR- arrive	AUX: pft: inner
	S/he cam (The spea	e down from aker witnesso	the mour ed him/her	ntain. <percep coming dow</percep 	tive speech> n from the mountains.)
(37)	t ^h w ⁵⁵	mbe ³³	=je ⁵³	ne ³³ - li ⁵⁵	se ³³ .
	3sg.	mountain	= DAT	DIR- come	AUX: pft: outer
	S/he came down from the mountain. <general speech=""></general>				

Contrastively, in the imperfect aspect, the AUX /gut³³/ is added at the end of the sentence to express volition for "inner" (mainly the 1st/2nd person subject sentence) or perceptive recognition for "outer" (mainly the 3rd person subject sentence).

t^hm⁵⁵ k^he³³ fia³³- dzui⁵⁵. (38) DIR- eat 3sg. meal S/he eats/ate the meal. <general speech> (Usually understood as an event that has already occurred.) $t^{h}m^{55}$ fia³³- dzw⁵⁵ (39) k^he³³ gm³³. meal DIR- eat AUX: impft 3sg. S/he eats the meal. <perceptive speech> (The speaker witnessed the scene when s/he was preparing to eat.)⁴

If this AUX $/gut^{33}/$ is changed to $/se^{33}/$, the sentence becomes an example of general speech with "outer" recognition, with an unconfirmed or uncertain nuance in perfect aspect.

³ The Luzu dative covers a wider range of grammatical functions. The dative marker used in example (36), even translated as 'from' in English, is different from the ablative $/=nut^{33}/$ indicating a space-time starting point. In addition to this, the object of some verbs, such as that for "prefer," is also marked with the dative as follows:

a ⁵⁵	$=10^{53}$	le ³³ mu ⁵⁵	=je ³³	ge ³⁵	zi ⁵⁵ .
1sg.	= also	P. N.	=DAT	love	AUX
r 1.1	T 1				

I like Lhamo, too.

⁴ This /guu³³/ indicates that the narrative is based on the speaker's observation and does not always correspond to the subject's person. It is just like the difference between the Japanese expression *Kare=wa sake=ga nomi-tai*. 彼は酒が飲みたい。 [He wants to drink saké.] as opposed to *Kare=wa sake=ga nomi-tai <u>n(o)da</u>*. 彼は酒が飲みたい <u>んだ。</u> [(It is sure that) he wants to drink saké. (Because I saw the scene that he took an empty wine glass in his hand.)]

S/he ate the meal. <general speech>

In sentence (39), the speaker did not witness the scene and is reciting unconfirmed information. Contrariwise, sometimes another $/de^{33}/$ is used for AUX when emphasizing that it occurred to oneself or is an eyewitness account of an event that has occurred.

(41)	a ⁵⁵	tş ^h e ⁵⁵	thã ³³ - ndo ⁵⁵	de ³³ .
	1sg.	ghost	DIR- see	AUX: pft: inner

I saw a ghost. <perceptive speech>

8. Concluding Remarks

In this study, the syntactic frame of the Naiqu dialect of the Luzu language has been organized and described in as consistent a manner as possible. This report mainly analyzed the basic features of the case markers expressing the grammatical relationships among arguments, aspect markers that appear at the end of predicates, and auxiliaries that describe the semantic distinction between "inner/outer." Simultaneously, we attempted to clarify the common features and differences between the dialects reported in previous studies.

This paper aims to present the basic structure of syntax clearly. Therefore, all examples are limited to declarative sentences, leaving us unable to cover syntactic issues such as imperative, negative, interrogative, and causative. We will prepare a separate paper to discuss such issues and present complex expression forms, such as verb predicates with stative verbs, verb predicates with modals, and verb predicates in the combinations of tense and aspect.

Abbreviations

ABL	Ablative	impft	imperfect
ABS	Absolutive	PCL	Particle
ACC	Accusative	pft	perfect
AUX	Auxiliary	P. N.	Personal Name or Place Name
CLS	Classifier	1pl.	1st person plural
CMP	Comparative	1sg.	1st person singular
DAT	Dative	2pl.	2nd person plural
DIR-	Directional prefix	2sg.	2nd person singular
ERG	Ergative	3pl.	3rd person plural
GEN	Genitive	3sg.	3rd person singular

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