WORD ORDER IN LEMEI NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

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Wilson Yeung
ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the basic word order in Lemei (ISO 639-3: bfc) spoken in northeast Myanmar by conducting a discourse analysis of a corpus of Lemei narratives. Previous linguistic studies have neither documented Lemei spoken outside China, nor provided sufficient evidence to prove the basic word order of this variety of the language. In addition, no previous studies of Lemei word order have been conducted by means of discourse analysis.

The main research questions are: (1) What is the basic word order of the narrative discourse in Lemei? (2) What is(are) the other, non-default, word order(s), if any?, and (3) What are some of the factors that tend to affect the use of non-default word order(s)? The method applied in this thesis for the first two research questions is a frequency count of the word orders identified in the corpus. For the third research question, this thesis adopts a functional approach (versus a structural one) of text-linguistics which is “an attempt to discover and describe what linguistic structures are used for: the functions they serve, the factors that condition their use” (Dooley, 1989, p. 1).

This thesis argues for the following hypotheses. First of all, the default basic word order of Lemei narratives should be considered as SVO (this includes the SV and SVO orders). Secondly, other, non-default, word orders include the VS, SOV and OSV orders. Thirdly, concerning the occurrence of the non-default word orders, it is
hypothesized that the factors are related to the notions of the articulation of the sentence (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 55) (for VS), topicalization (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) (for O_{EST}SV) and prominence (Callow, 1974, p. 50) (for O_{NON-EST}SV and SOV).

Concerning the first research question, it is concluded that the SVO order tends to be the most basic word order in Lemei narratives. The conclusion agrees with the general description that Bai (including Central, Southern and Northern Bai to which the Lemei variety belongs) has a SVO basic word order. As for the non-default word orders, it is concluded that they include the VS, OSV and SOV. This conclusion agrees with most literature that the OSV and SOV word orders are found in Bai. However, the VS word order is not mentioned in previous literature.

Concerning the third research question about the factors of using non-default word orders, it is concluded that the VS order is used in thetic clauses (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 144) in which the subject is postposed after the verb to become the focal constituent (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 55). Secondly, the O_{EST}SV order results from topicalization (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) of the object which carries established information, whereas the O_{NON-EST}SV order results from preposing the focal constituent with prominence (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 56). Thirdly, the SOV order functions to give prominence to the verbal focal constituent by preposing the non-focal constituents (i.e. the object with established information) before the verb (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60).
ชื่อเรื่อง: การเรียงลำดับคำในสัมพันธ์เรื่องเล่าในภาษาแลเมิ
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คำสำคัญ: Basic word order, narrative discourse, Lemei, Tibeto-Burman

บทคัดย่อ

งานวิจัยนี้ศึกษาระดับคำสำคัญของภาษาแลเมิ (ISO 639-3: bfc) ที่พูดทางตอนตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือของประเทศพม่า โดยทำการวิเคราะห์สัมพันธ์คำของคลังข้อมูลเรื่องเล่าภาษาแลเมิ การศึกษาเรื่องภาษาศาสตร์ก่อนหน้านี้ไม่เคยมีการเก็บข้อมูลภาษาแลเมิที่พูดนอกประเทศจีนมาก่อน หรือมีข้อมูลอันเพียงพอเพื่อพิสูจน์การเรียงลำดับคำสำคัญของภาษาแล เมิ นอกจากนี้งานวิจัยที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการเรียงลำดับคำสำคัญของภาษาแลเมิไม่พบการวิเคราะห์สัมพันธ์คำ

คำถามในงานวิจัยนี้ประกอบไปด้วย (1) การเรียงลำดับคำสำคัญของเรื่องเล่าภาษาแลเมิคืออะไร? (2) การเรียงลำดับคำสำคัญอื่นๆ คืออะไร? (3) ปัจจัยที่อาจส่งผลผลกระทบต่อการเรียงลำดับคำสำคัญอื่นๆ คืออะไร? วิธีที่ใช้ในการวิจัยสำคัญคือการเก็บข้อมูลการเรียงลำดับคำสำคัญอื่นๆ และการวิเคราะห์ค่าสัมพันธ์ที่เกี่ยวข้อง (Dooley, 1989, น. 1) งานวิจัยนี้ตั้งประเด็นศึกษาดังต่อไปนี้ ประกอบใน การเรียงลำดับคำสำคัญของภาษาแลเมิ นับว่าเป็น SVO (ประธาน กริยา กรรม) (ซึ่งประกอบไปด้วยการเรียงลำดับคำสำคัญแบบ SV และ SVO) ประกอบการที่สอง การเรียงลำดับคำสำคัญอื่นๆ ที่อาจเป็นไปได้ประกอบไปด้วย VS, SOV และ OSV ประกอบการที่สาม การเรียงลำดับคำสำคัญอื่นๆ เป็นค่าสัมพันธ์ (Levinsohn, 2015, น. 55) (สำหรับโครงสร้าง VS) การบรรยากาศของประโยค (Callow, 1974, น. 50) (สำหรับโครงสร้าง O_NON-ESTSV และ SOV)
สำหรับคำถามวิจัยข้อแรกสำหรับการเรียงลำดับคำแบบ SVO มักจะเป็นโครงสร้างพื้นฐานที่สุดในเรื่องลำาภาษาไม่ ข้อสรุปนี้สอดคล้องกับการอภิปรายทั่วไปที่ว่า ภาษาใน (ประกอบด้วยภาษาไทยในกล่าง ได้ และเหนือ ซึ่งภาษาไทยนั่นว่าเป็นภาษาอย่างในตะวันธุ์) มีการเรียงลำาคำพื้นฐานแบบ SVO สำหรับการเรียงลำาคำอื่นๆ สามารถสรุปได้ว่า มีการเรียงลำาคำแบบ VS, OSV และ SOV ข้อสรุปนี้สอดคล้องกับงานวรรณกรรมส่วนมากที่กล่าวว่า พบการเรียงลำาคำแบบ OSV กับ SOV ในภาษาไทย อย่างไรก็ตาม การเรียงลำาคำแบบ VS ไม่ได้มีการกล่าวไว้ในวรรณกรรมที่เกี่ยวข้อง

สำหรับคำถามวิจัยข้อที่สาม เกี่ยวกับปัญญาที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการใช้การเรียงลำาคำต่อมูรูปแบบอื่นๆ สามารถสรุปได้ว่า การเรียงลำาคำแบบ VS ถูกใช้ในอนุประโยคแบบ thetic (Lambrecht, 1994, น. 144) ที่ซึ่งประธานถูกนำมาไว้หลังกริยาเพื่อกลายเป็นหน่วยศูนย์กลาง (Levinsohn, 2015, น. 55) ประการที่สอง การเรียงลำาคำแบบ OESTSV เป็นผลมาจากกระบวนการนั่นควรข้อของกรณีที่มีข้อมูลหลัก (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], น. 499) ในขณะที่การเรียงลำาคำแบบ O_NONESTSV เป็นผลมาจากการเปลี่ยนหน่วยศูนย์กลางมาไว้เบื้องหน้าเพื่อให้ความสำคัญ (Levinsohn, 2015, น. 56) ประการที่สาม การเรียงลำาคำแบบ SOV มีหน้าที่เพื่อให้ความสำคัญกับหน่วยศูนย์กลางคำศิลป์ โดยการนำคำแห่งคำที่ไม่เป็นจุดศูนย์กลาง (ได้แก่ กรรมที่มีข้อมูลหลัก) มาไว้เบื้องหน้าคำศิลป์ (Levinsohn, 2015, น. 60).
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements .................................................................................................................. i
Abstract..................................................................................................................................... ii
บทคัดย่อ.................................................................................................................................. iv

List of Tables ................................................................................................................................. ix
List of Figures ................................................................................................................................ x
List of Abbreviations and Symbols ............................................................................................ xi

Chapter 1 Introduction .................................................................................................................. 1

1.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................................. 1
1.2 Overview of the thesis .............................................................................................................. 3
1.3 The people and their language ............................................................................................... 3
  1.3.1 Terminology about the people and their language ......................................................... 4
  1.3.2 The Bai people in China .................................................................................................. 6
  1.3.3 The Bani people: A branch of the Bai people ............................................................... 6
  1.3.4 The language background ............................................................................................... 7
1.4 Research methodology .......................................................................................................... 10
  1.4.1 Objectives and research questions ................................................................................ 10
  1.4.2 The hypothesis ................................................................................................................ 11
  1.4.3 The text corpus and data collection .............................................................................. 15
  1.4.4 Analysis procedure ....................................................................................................... 16
1.5 Contribution of the research .............................................................................................. 20
1.6 Summary ............................................................................................................................... 20

Chapter 2 Literature Review ...................................................................................................... 21

2.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................................. 21
2.2 Previous studies on the Bai people and their language ...................................................... 21
  2.2.1 Reviews of the current literature ................................................................................ 21
  2.2.2 Descriptive works ........................................................................................................ 22
  2.2.3 Dialect studies .............................................................................................................. 23
2.3 Previous studies on the Bani people and their language ..................................................... 25
  2.3.1 Period of recognition of the Bani people (1950s to 1980s) ........................................... 26
  2.3.2 Period of comprehensive research on the Bani people (1980s to 1990s) ................. 26
2.3.3 Period of restudying the Bani people (from 1990s until today) ............... 27
2.4 Previous studies on typology and word order in Bai ............................................. 27
2.5 Previous discourse studies related to word order in Bai or other languages.... 29
2.6 Summary .................................................................................................................. 31

Chapter 3 Basic phonological and grammatical description of Lemei ............ 32
3.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................. 32
3.2 Phonology ............................................................................................................... 32
3.3 Orthography ........................................................................................................... 34
3.4 Morphosyntax ....................................................................................................... 35
  3.4.1 The noun phrases ............................................................................................... 37
  3.4.2 The prepositional phrases .................................................................................... 39
  3.4.3 The verb phrases .................................................................................................. 42
  3.4.4 Clause-final particles ......................................................................................... 49
  3.4.5 Topic prominence .............................................................................................. 51
  3.4.6 Clause types with verbal and non-verbal predicates ........................................ 55
  3.4.7 Main clauses and subordinate clauses .............................................................. 63
3.5 Summary .................................................................................................................. 69

Chapter 4 Analysis and discussion ................................................................. 71
4.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................. 71
4.2 Analysis of the frequency count of various word orders ......................... 71
  4.2.1 Reconsideration of special word orders identified ............................................ 74
  4.2.2 The basic word order ....................................................................................... 76
  4.2.3 The non-default word orders ............................................................................ 77
  4.2.4 Summary of findings ....................................................................................... 78
4.3 Discussion of the occurrence of non-default word orders in Story 17 ........ 79
  4.3.1 Discussion of the VS order ................................................................................ 81
  4.3.2 Discussion of the OSV order .............................................................................. 81
  4.3.3 Discussion of the SOV order ............................................................................. 82
  4.3.4 Summary of discussion ..................................................................................... 85
4.4 Discussion of the occurrence of non-default word orders in each story ...... 86
  4.4.1 Story 1 .............................................................................................................. 86
  4.4.2 Story 2 .............................................................................................................. 86
  4.4.3 Story 3 .............................................................................................................. 87
  4.4.4 Story 4 .............................................................................................................. 87
  4.4.5 Story 5 .............................................................................................................. 88
  4.4.6 Story 6 .............................................................................................................. 88
4.4.7 Story 7 ........................................................................................................ 89
4.4.8 Story 8 ........................................................................................................ 89
4.4.9 Story 9 ......................................................................................................... 91
4.4.10 Story 10 ..................................................................................................... 92
4.4.11 Story 11 ..................................................................................................... 93
4.4.12 Story 12 ..................................................................................................... 94
4.4.13 Story 13 ..................................................................................................... 94
4.4.14 Story 14 ..................................................................................................... 96
4.4.15 Story 15 ..................................................................................................... 96
4.4.16 Story 16 ..................................................................................................... 98
4.4.17 Story 17 .................................................................................................... 100
4.4.18 Story 18 .................................................................................................... 100
4.4.19 Story 19 .................................................................................................... 101
4.4.20 Story 20 .................................................................................................... 103
4.4.21 Story 21 .................................................................................................... 103
4.4.22 Summary of discussion ............................................................................ 103

4.5 Discussion of findings related to the literature review ................................. 104
4.5.1 The first research question: the basic word order ...................................... 104
4.5.2 The second research question: the non-default word orders .................... 104
4.5.3 The third research question: reasons for using the non-default orders .... 105

4.6 Summary ..................................................................................................... 106

Chapter 5 Conclusion .......................................................................................... 108
5.1 Introduction .................................................................................................. 108
5.2 Summary of findings from previous chapters ............................................. 108
5.3 Evaluation of methodology .......................................................................... 110
5.4 Significance of findings ................................................................................ 112
5.5 Suggestions for further research .................................................................. 113

Bibliography ........................................................................................................ 115

Appendix A : Detailed result of frequency count of word order ....................... 131
Appendix B : Non-default orders chart (VS) ..................................................... 136
Appendix C : Non-default orders chart (OSV) .................................................. 139
Appendix D : Non-default orders chart (SOV) .................................................. 141
Appendix E : Story 17 ‘The good mother and the bad mother’ ....................... 145
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Statistic of number of Bai speakers (Xu and Zhao, 1984, pp. 116-117)............. 24
Table 2 Panyi consonant phonemes ............................................................................. 33
Table 3 Panyi vowel phonemes..................................................................................... 33
Table 4 Panyi tonal system ............................................................................................ 33
Table 5 Panyi orthography (consonants) ...................................................................... 34
Table 6 Panyi orthography (vowels) ............................................................................. 35
Table 7 Panyi tone marks ............................................................................................... 35
Table 8 A comparison of word order typology of Lemei and nearby languages........... 36
Table 9 Summary of frequency count of the corpus ..................................................... 72
Table 10 Summary of frequency count after reconsideration of special word orders. 75
Table 11 Word orders ranking according to the most frequent order count................. 76
Table 12 Word orders ranking according to the least-marked order count ................. 77
Table 13 Summary of non-default orders ...................................................................... 78
Table 14 Analysis of Story 17 ‘The good mother and the bad mother’ ....................... 80
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Location of Myitkyina in Kachin State of Myanmar ........................................... 2
Figure 2 Language map of Southwestern China ................................................................. 2
Figure 3 Bai language dialects and sub-dialects ................................................................. 8
Figure 4 Panyi Bai (in China) in the Language Cloud ......................................................... 9
# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

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<th>Description</th>
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<td>ADV</td>
<td>adverb</td>
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<td>ASP</td>
<td>aspect marker</td>
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<td>basic word order</td>
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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Introduction
This thesis explores the basic word order in Lemei١ (ISO 639-3: bfc) spoken in Myitkyina district of Kachin state in northeast Myanmar (see Figure 1) by conducting a discourse analysis of a corpus of Lemei narratives. According to the Ethnologue (20th edition), Lemei is an alternate name of Panyi Bai (ISO 639-3: bfc) spoken by 12,000٢ people mainly in the Nujiang prefecture of Yunnan province in southwest China (Figure 2). Previous linguistic studies have neither documented any Lemei language outside China, nor provided sufficient evidence to establish the basic word order of the language. In addition, no previous studies of word order has been conducted by discourse analysis on Lemei.

In this thesis the main research questions are: (1) What is the basic word order of the narrative discourse in Lemei? (2) What is(are) the other, non-default, word order(s), if any?, and (3) What are some of the factors that tend to effect the use of non-default word order(s)?

In answering the first and the second research questions, the key method applied in this thesis is frequency count of word order of the corpus. In addition to this, in answering the third research question, this thesis adopts a functional approach of text-linguistics which is “an attempt to discover and describe what linguistic structures are used for: the functions they serve, the factors that condition their use” (Dooley, 1989, p. 1). It presupposes a structural analysis of the Lemei language and “concentrates on identifying the factors that determine the selection of one order over against another” (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 1). One significant part involves the study of information structure which concerns “the interaction of sentences and their contexts” (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 9).

١ The term “Lemei” refers to the language analyzed in this thesis and also to the people that speak the language who lives in Myanmar. The Lemei people is believed to be related to the Bani people living in China. For details, please see Section 1.3 in this thesis.
٢ According to the Ethnologue (20th edition) this figure is dated 2005. The same population is also mentioned in Zhang and Zhang (2010. p. 70).
Figure 1 Location of Myitkyina in Kachin State of Myanmar

This map is retrieved from http://rayburkholder.com/?p=1465 on 8 Dec 2017. The green area represents Kachin state and the black arrow points to Myitkyina district.

Figure 2 Language map of Southwestern China

3 This map is retrieved from http://rayburkholder.com/?p=1465 on 8 Dec 2017. The green area represents Kachin state and the black arrow points to Myitkyina district.
1.2 Overview of the thesis

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1, this chapter, states the overall objective of the thesis and provide an introduction to the Lemei people and their language. Methodology and the contribution of the thesis will also be covered.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature which refers to the Bai people and the Bani people living in China as well as their language varieties. Topics include previous current literature, descriptive works, dialects studies, typology studies, word order studies as well as discourse studies.

Chapter 3 gives a basic description of the Lemei language focusing on its phonology, orthography and morphosyntax.

Chapter 4 analyzes the results of the frequency count related to the default basic word order and the non-default word orders identified in the corpus. After that, the occurrences of the non-default word orders are discussed. The findings are also compared with the results of previous research.

The thesis concludes with Chapter 5, where the findings of each chapter are restated and summarized. The methodology and the significance of the findings are evaluated and suggestions for future research are also suggested.

1.3 The people and their language

The Lemei people living in Myanmar are believed to be related with the Bani people\(^5\) in China who called themselves \(\text{p}a^{33}\text{j}i^{21}\) (autonym: Bani 巴尼 or Baini 白尼) while they are called \(\text{l}\text{e}^{21}\text{m}e^{21}\) (exonym: Lemo 勒墨) by the Lisu people. According to the language resource person consulted in this study, the first group of Lemei speakers are believed to have migrated from China to Myanmar at least a hundred years ago. The people themselves often claim that they are related to the Lemo people living in the Nujiang region in China. Today a population of around 500 speakers are reported to be found in the Myitkyina district, Myanmar. One feature of this group is that many of them have retained the title \(\text{l}^{e21}\text{m}^{e21}\) before their names as a way to remember their origin and ancestry.

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\(^4\) This map is retrieved from the Ethnologue website on 23 March 2017.
https://www.ethnologue.com/map/CN_sw

\(^5\) The term Bani will be used in this thesis as a cover term to include all alternate terms that appear in the literatures like Lemo people, Panyi people or Baini people (Zhang and Zhang, 2010, p. 70). See Zhang and Zhang (2010, p. 70) for the autonym and exonym of the Bani people in China.
The label *Lemei* has been adopted to represent the language investigated in this study. This label has been chosen due to the following reasons: (1) The term “Lemei” appears in the *Ethnologue* (20th ed.) as an alternate name of *Panyi Bai* (ISO 639-3: bfc)\(^6\) which is regarded as a language of China. This term agrees with the information that the language variety they speak is related to *Panyi Bai* spoken in China. (2) The label *Lemei* more or less matches with the pronunciation of \(le^{21}mae^{21}\) provided by the language resource person. Instead of describing the people as “Bani living in Myanmar” or representing their language variety as “Panyi variety spoken in Myanmar”, this study respects and acknowledges the special identity of \(le^{21}mae^{21}\) as described by the language resource person.\(^7\)

In the literature, Panyi speakers living in Myanmar are rarely documented in detail. A few of those are described here. For examples, Zhang and Zhang (2010. p. 70) state that some Bani people have migrated to Myanmar but details are not given. Duan and Zhang (2008, p. 2902) mention that a few Lemo “lived across the border” which implied the border between China and Kachin state in eastern Myanmar. Zhan, Liu and Xiu (2009, p. 3) mention that some Lemo have migrated to Miaoping in Myanmar.

Since no research has been conducted on *Lemei* people living in Myanmar or on the *Lemei* variety as spoken in Myanmar, it is necessary for this study to refer to the previous studies on *Bani* people who live in China and the *Panyi Bai* variety spoken in China. Sections 1.3.2 and 1.3.3 give a general sketch of the historical background of the Bai people and Bani branch in China. Section 1.3.4 presents the language background of the Bai in China.

### 1.3.1 Terminology about the people and their language

Throughout the previous studies many different terms\(^8\) have been used to refer to the group and the language. Therefore it will be helpful to state here the

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\(^6\) In the *Ethnologue* (20th edition), the language is identified as “Bai, Panyi”. Other alternate names include Bijiang Bai, Lan-Bi Bai, Leme, Lemei, Lemo, Northern Bai and Panyi. However, the source of the term “Lemei” is not known.

\(^7\) One interesting point is that the title “Leme” is usually regarded as an exonym used by the Lisu people towards this group. However, this group uses an exonym to describe themselves. It looks like part of their identities is built upon their recognition by the Lisu people in Myanmar.

\(^8\) One of the reasons is that most of the literature is originally written in Chinese whereas the autonym and the exonym of the people has been represented by Chinese characters but not the IPA. Again the attempts of transliteration of such terms into Mandarin or English in turn creates more variation.
terminology referring to the language and the people involved in this thesis. A glossary of some terms will also be attached below for reference.

First of all, as mentioned in Section 1.3., the term Lemei will be used by the author of this thesis to refer to the variety (and their speakers) investigated in this study. This term refers specifically to the Bai variety spoken in Myanmar. Secondly, the term Panyi or Panyi Bai (Ethnologue, 20th ed.) will be used as a cover term to include all alternate terms that appear in the literature like Lemo language, Leme language, Luobenzhuo Bai and Bijiang Bai spoken in China. Thirdly, the term Bani people\(^9\) (Zhang & Zhang, 2010, p. 70) will be used as a cover term to include all alternate terms that appear in the literatures like Lemo people, Panyi people or Baini people.

**Lemei**: This term represents the language being studied in this thesis. It refers to the name of the people as well as the language spoken by the language resource person living in Myitkyina, Myanmar. The term is stated as an alternate name of Panyi Bai in the Ethnologue (20th ed.).

**Panyi (or Panyi Bai)**: This term appears in the Ethnologue (20th ed.) to refer to the Bai dialect spoken mainly in Nujiang, China. The two sub-dialects of Panyi include Yu-Teu and Da-E dialect (see Figure 3).

**Bani**: Bani is the transliteration of the Chinese term 巴尼 according to the pinyin\(^{10}\) in Mandarin. Bani is the autonym of the branch of Bai people who are called “Lemo” by the Lisu.\(^{11}\)

**Baini**: Baini is the transliteration of the Chinese term 白尼 according to the pinyin in Mandarin. The meaning of “bai” in the term Baini refers to “white” in Mandarin Chinese. This term is rather confusing. For example, Zhang and Zhang (2010, p. 70) refers it to an autonym of the Bani people. However, the term also seems to refer to the autonym of Lama people and the Dali Bai people (Zhang, 2013, p. 68).

**Lemo**: Lemo is the transliteration of the Chinese term 勒墨 according to the pinyin in Mandarin. This term is commonly used in Chinese research to denote the exonym le\(^{31}\)me\(^{31}\) (Li, 2008, p. 3193) used by the Lisu people to refer to the branch of Bai people who lived in Nujiang. This term has also been used officially by the People’s

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\(^9\) According to Zhang and Zhang (2010, p. 70), the term “Lemo” has a negative connotation since they are used to be called by the Lisu people as “Lemo Haipu” which means “Lemo the big belly.” This thesis follows Zhang and Zhang’s suggestion to use “Bani” to refer to this branch of the Bai people.

\(^{10}\) Pinyin refers to the sound representation system.

\(^{11}\) The term Bani appears in the English abstract of Zhang and Zhang (2010, p. 73)

Leme: It is likely to be the transliteration of \( lɛ²¹mɛ²¹ \), the exonym used by Lisu people to call the Bai people in China in general. This term has also been used by, for example, Fu and Xu (2008, p. 134) to refer to the language of Northern Bai (formerly Bijiang Bai).

Bijiang Bai: This is the old term used in the literature to denote the Northern Bai.

1.3.2 The Bai people in China
Among the fifty-six nationalities in China, the Bai are the fourteenth largest minority group with a population of 1,858,063 in 2000 (Allen, 2007, p. 3)\(^\text{12}\). According to Wang (2004, pp. 4-9) and Hefright (2011, pp. 16-17), the ancestors of today’s Bai people are believed to be the Baiman (white barbarians) described in the ancient Yunnan almanac Manshu (published in 863 A.D., Tang dynasty). Later Baiman put an end to the Nanzhao kingdom (752-902 A.D.) and established the Dali kingdom (937-1253 A.D.). After northwest Yunnan was conquered by the Mongols in 1253 A.D., the Dali region had been eventually incorporated into the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368 A.D.). During the Ming dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.) a policy was adopted to transfer Han people massively into Yunnan resulting in the original population pattern of different ethnic group being disrupted. In the late Ming dynasty, a new title Minjia (common or local people) was used to represent the Bai people in contrast with Junjia (military people) who were the soldiers transferred from inner China. Since then, the Minjia title remained in use until the people were identified officially as the Bai nationality in 1956 by the People’s Republic of China (PRC).

1.3.3 The Bani people: A branch of the Bai people
Given the above background, one should be reminded of the long history of movement among the Bai people. Wang (2004, p. 9) concludes that the Erhai area (i.e. today’s Dali Autonomous Prefecture) has been the homeland of the Bai people in China since 746 A.D., whereas the Bai people living in other areas are the migrants who has left this initial cradle during different periods of migration.

\(^{12}\) According to Allen (2007, p. 3) the figures is taken from the 2000 national census.
Among those the “Lemo” (i.e. the Bani people) is one of the groups who migrated from the Lancanjiang river to the Nujiang area more than 400 years ago (Wang, 2004, pp. 8-9). In 1954 the Lemo was recognized and distinguished by the PRC as one of the two branches of the Minjia people (renamed to Bai in 1956) (Luo, 2008, p. 1). Having a population of around 12,000 in 2005, today most of the Bani people live in Luishui city in Nujiang prefecture of Yunnan, while some of them have migrated to Baoshan city and Simao. Their language is considered as Panyi Bai.

1.3.4 The language background

In the context of Chinese language studies, Panyi Bai belongs to one of the dialects of “Northern Bai” which makes up the Bai language family (Figure 3) in China together with “Central Bai” and “Southern Bai”. Under the northern Bai there are the Panyi

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13 According to Zhan et al. (2009 [1988], p. 2), the Lemo people living in Nujiang area called themselves Bani 白尼. For the exonyms, they are called Lemo 勒墨 by Lisu people, Miwa 弥瓦 by Nu people, Nuji 怒吉 (which means Nujiang people) by Han Chinese and Bairen 白人 (Bai people) by both Dali Bai and Lanping Nama Bai people.

14 Evidences from early migration stories and the folksongs recited during funeral rites contributes to the claim of the origin of their ancestors (Zhan et al, 2009 [1988], p. 2).

15 According to Zhan et al. (2009 [1988], pp. 2-3), the earlier residents of Nujiang area were the Tai, Nu and Dulong people. After a massive migration of Lemo and Lisu people to the area, the Tai people were forced to move southward and the Nu people westward. Today some places in Lemo’s territory still retained their old Nu names, for examples, Ege and Ximudang are Nu people’s names, and Tuotuo means “side of teak tree” in Nu. Since Lemo and Lisu people have a long history of mutual interaction in the Lancangjiang and Nujiang river region, the two groups share many similar customs and intermarriage is also common. Today many villages are co-inhabited by both groups. According to Li (2008, p. 3195), during 1384 A.D. (the 17th year of the Hongwu period) the ancestors of Lemo staged in the Eryuan province fought against the Ming soldiers. Later they fled from Dali, Eryuan and Jianchuan and escaped northward to Lijiang river, Weixi and Zhongdian, then turned westward to Lanping of the Lancangjiang river region. From there they crossed the Nujiang river valley of the Suebangshan mountain and Biluosueshan mountain and settled in the deep mountain valleys and forest.

16 The other group is Lama 拉马 (or Lama 那玛) which refers to the Bai people living in the region of Lancangjiang river in Lanping today. They are said to have migrated from the Dali region, though the dates and the routes remained unclear (Wang, 2004, p. 9). Their language is Lama Bai (ISO 639-3: lay) with a population of around 60,000 (Ethnologue, 20th ed.). According to Zhang and Zhang (2010, p. 70), the “Summary of recognizing and distinguishing the ‘Lemo’ people (with ‘Nama’ people)” (1954) concludes that Lemo cannot be regarded as an independent nationality but a branch of the Minjia people group.

17 Figures according to the Ethnologue (20th ed.).

18 Most of the people lived in Luobenzhuo Bai township while the others were dispersed among the towns of Liuku, Luzhang, Pianma and the townships of Shangjiang, Daxingdi, Chenggang and Gudeng (Zhang & Zhang, 2010, p. 70). It is not clear whether Simao means Simao city or Simao district. Luishui city was called Lushui county before June 2016, and Simao city has been renamed as Puer city after October 2007.
Bai (i.e. Lemei) (ISO 639-3: bfc) and the Lama Bai (ISO 639-3: lay). According to the Ethnologue (20th ed.), the language status of Panyi Bai in China is considered as EGIDS level 6a (vigorous) (Figure 4). Two sub-dialects, Da-E ($dɔ^5i^5$) and Yu-Teu ($ji^2ti^4$) have been identified. So far there is no information concerning the language status of Lemei in Myanmar.

![Figure 3 Bai language dialects and sub-dialects](image)

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19 One source claims that Northern Bai can be divided into Bijiang dialect and Lanwei dialect (Lanwei refers to Lanpin and Weixi). See Zhongguo kexueyuan shaoshu minzu yuyan yanjiusuo Baizu diaochazu [The Bai Language working group of the Chinese Academy of Science] (2008 [1958], p. 26).

20 In Duan and Zhang (2008, pp. 2902-2903), two different names are used to represent the two dialects: (1) Labiluo dialect which is spoken in Tuotuo, Jinman and Laideng villages; and (2) Ega dialect which is spoken in Ega and Baodeng villages. From the description of the locations where the varieties are spoken, Labiluo dialect seems to be corresponding to Da-E ($dɔ^5i^5$) whereas Ega dialect seems to be corresponding to Yu-Teu ($ji^2ti^4$).

21 Alternate names are: Lama, Lan-Bi Bai, Namen, Northern Bai. See the Ethnologue (20th ed.)

22 Alternate names are: Bijiang Bai, Lan-Bi Bai, Lemei, Lemei, Lemo, Northern Bai. See the Ethnologue (20th ed.)


25 In this figure language names are listed according to the Ethnologue (20th ed.).
The classification of Bai has always been a controversial issue. Zhao (2008 [2006])\(^\text{27}\) has collated eight different viewpoints proposed by different researchers and then Hefright (2011, pp. 55-56) has re-grouped these into three larger groups\(^\text{28}\):

**Group 1 - Sino-Tibetan stock, Tibeto-Burman family**

1. Tibeto-Burman family, Loloish branch\(^\text{29}\) (Hefright comments that this is by far the most common position).
2. Tibeto-Burman family, forms a separate Baic branch under a Southern group.\(^\text{30}\)
3. Tibeto-Burman family, forms an unaffiliated Baic branch.\(^\text{31}\)
4. Tibeto-Burman family, further affiliation remains unproven.\(^\text{32}\)
5. An independent language of Tibeto-Burman family, or even an independent language of the Sino-Tibetan stock.\(^\text{33}\)

\(^{26}\) This figure is retrieved from the Ethnologue website on 23 March 2017. https://www.ethnologue.com/cloud/bfc

\(^{27}\) Later Zhao and Yang (2013 [2009], pp. 328-329) added a new opinion of classification: Bai should be an ancient dialect of Han Chinese. Since approximately 1,000 B.C., Bai has then been separated from the “mainstream” Han Chinese. However, the separation of Bai from Han Chinese happened earlier than the separation of some other dialects (for example the Min dialect) from Han Chinese. This opinion is supported by Starostin (1995) and Wang (2004).

\(^{28}\) Among the eight positions of the classification of Bai, Hefright (2011, p. 78) evaluated that “none is particularly well supported.”

\(^{29}\) This position is supported by Luo and Fu (2000 [1954]), Xu and Zhao (1984, p. 8) and Zhao (2008 [1982]). Bradley concluded that the standard and widespread classification in China of grouping Bai, Naxi and Tuja with the Loloish languages is “clearly incorrect” (Bradley, 1997, p. 35). Bradley (1997, p. 37) suggests that the syntax of Bai is sinicised and shows SVO order.

\(^{30}\) This position is supported by Dai, Liu and Fu (1990).

\(^{31}\) This position is supported by Zhou (2008 [1978]).

\(^{32}\) This position is supported by Matisoff (2001), Bradley (1997), Sagart and Lee (1998) and Lee and Sagart (2008).
Group 2 - Sino-Tibetan stock, Sinitic

6. Chinese and Bai form a Sino-Baic family.³⁴

Group 3 - “Mixed language” positions

7. Bai is the outcome of contact between Chinese and an aboriginal language.³⁵
8. Bai is the outcome of contact between Chinese and Bai. It should form an independent Baic branch under the Tibeto-Burman family.³⁶

1.4 Research methodology

This section introduces the methodology by setting out the objective and research questions, the hypothesis, the text corpus and data collection, the analysis procedures and the scope and limitations.

1.4.1 Objectives and research questions

This research aims at exploring the basic word order of Lemei through the discourse analysis of a corpus. Discourse analysis (text-linguistics) is a way of analyzing a text³⁷ which draws explanations from the linguistic and wider context of the utterance (i.e. extra-sentential) rather than within the sentence or word (i.e. syntactic or morphological) (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 1). A significant part of discourse analysis involves the study of information structure which concerns “the interaction of sentences and their contexts” (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 9). This thesis adopts a functional approach (versus a structural one) of text-linguistics which is “an attempt to discover and describe what linguistic structures are used for: the functions they serve, the factors that condition their use.” (Dooley, 1989, p. 1). In other words, it presupposes a structural analysis of the Lemei language and “concentrates on identifying the factors that determine the selection of one order over against another.” (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 1)

³³ This position is supported by Matisoff (2001).
³⁵ This position is supported by Luo (2000 [1943]).
³⁶ This position is supported by Li (1992) and Li (2002, p. 779).
³⁷ Levinsohn (2015, p. 1) cited the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) to define “discourse (text)” as a connected series of utterances and “narrative” as a spoken or written account of connected events in order of happening.
As stated in the introduction, the main research questions in this research are: (1) What is the basic word order of the narrative discourse in Lemei? (2) What is(are) the other, non-default, word order(s), if any? (3) What are some of the factors that tend to affect the use of non-default word order(s)?

1.4.2 The hypothesis

This thesis argues for the following hypotheses: (1) the default basic word order of Lemei narratives should be considered as SVO (this includes SV and SVO orders). (2) Other non-default word orders include VS, SOV and OSV. The above two hypotheses are based on the findings of Central Bai data proposed by Xu and Zhao (1984, pp. 76-77). (3) Concerning the occurrence of the non-default word orders, it is hypothesized that the factors are related to the notions of the articulation of the sentence (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 55) (for VS), topicalization (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) (for O_{est,SV}) and prominence\(^{38}\) (Callow, 1974, p. 50) (for O_{non-est,SV} and SOV).

1.4.2.1 Default word order: the SVO order

Example (1) demonstrates an intransitive clause in which the NP\(_{\text{SBJ}}\) \(ma^{42}\ ci^{21}\) ‘the horse’ is followed by an intransitive verb. Example (2) demonstrates a transitive clause in which the definite NP\(_{\text{SBJ}}\) \(d\bar{\text{o}}^{42}\ h\bar{\text{o}}^{42}\ po^{35}\ d\bar{\text{o}}^{42}\ h\bar{\text{o}}^{42}\ mo^{33}\ ku^{33}\ ji^{21}\) ‘The old man and the old woman two of them’ precedes the verb while the indefinite NP\(_{\text{OBJ}}\) \(s\bar{\text{e}}^{35}\) ‘firewood’ follows the verb.

(1) SS1-02  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
S & V \\
\text{[}ma^{42}\ ci^{21}\text{]} & ja^{55}k^{h}u^{42} \\
\text{horse CLF return}
\end{array}
\]

the horse returned

(2) S18-3a  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
S & V & O \\
\text{[}d\bar{\text{o}}^{42}\ h\bar{\text{o}}^{42}\ po^{35}\ d\bar{\text{o}}^{42}\ h\bar{\text{o}}^{42}\ mo^{33}\ ku^{33}\ ji^{21}\text{]} & q^{h}e^{55} & s\bar{\text{e}}^{35} \\
\text{old.person man old.person woman two CLF pick firewood}
\end{array}
\]

The old man and the old woman two of them picked firewood

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\(^{38}\) Prominence refers to “any device whatever which gives certain events, participants, or objects more significance than others in the same context” (Callow, 1974, p. 50)
1.4.2.2 Non-default order: the VS order
This thesis argues that the VS order is used when information is presented in presentation articulation\(^{39}\) (Lambrecht, 1994, 144). According to Levinsohn (2015, p. 27), thetic clauses have sentence focus and typically the focus is the “element being presented”. In the VS order, the subject is postponed after the verb to become the focal constituent which occurs towards the end of a clause (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 55).

A thetic sentence is a sentence which introduces a new element (be it an entity or an event) into a text without linking its introduction to an established topical subject or to some presupposed proposition (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 144). It is common for thetic propositions with presentational articulation to place the entity being presented (i.e. the focal constituent) towards the end of a clause (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 55). In example (3), the subject is postponed after the presentation verb \(ji^{33}\) ‘EXIS’ so that the NP\(_{sbj}\) \(ba^{42}jjo^{42}qa^{21} \ nj^{21} a^{42} \ nj^{21}\) ‘a lazy person’ (non-established information) becomes the focus.

(3) S8-1  \(ca^{2}ma^{55} \ ji^{33}\) [\(ba^{42}jjo^{42}qa^{21} \ nj^{21} a^{42} \ nj^{21}\)]
in.the.past  EXIS  lazy  person  one CLF
Once upon a time there was a lazy person.

1.4.2.3 Non-default orders: the OSV and SOV orders
According to Zhao and Li (2008 [2005], pp. 499-500), the OSV and SOV structures in Bai represent the surface structures of “patient-argument topicalization” (i.e. object topicalization\(^{40}\)). Patient-argument topicalization refers to the preposing of patient-argument to become the topic.\(^{41}\) The preposed positions include: (1) the clause-initial position, or (2) the position following the subject but preceding the verbal predicate. When the patient-argument is topicalized and preposed to the clause-initial position, it becomes the main topic (Tm) of the clause so that the

\(^{39}\) A “presentational sentence” and “event-reporting sentence” are the two categories of “thetetic sentence” which introduces a new element (be it an entity or an event) into a text without linking its introduction to an established topical subject or to some presupposed proposition (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 144). The difference between the two is that the new element in presentational sentences is an entity, whereas the new element in event-reporting sentence is an event, which necessarily involves an entity (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 144).

\(^{40}\) Hefright (2011, p. 84) uses the term “object topicalization” to describe “patient argument topicalization”.

\(^{41}\) The topic generally refers to the established information of the comment (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 488)
deeper structure shows the Tm-S-V pattern. This deeper structure thus represents the OSV surface structure. On the other hand, when the patient-argument is topicalized and preposed to the position following the subject but preceding the verbal predicate, it becomes the sub-topic (Ts) of the clause so that the deeper structure demonstrates the S-Ts-V pattern. This deeper structure thus represents the SOV surface structure. The variations of “patient-argument topicalization” in Bai include six sub-categories of “main topic structure” and seven sub-categories of “sub-topic structure” (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499).\(^{42}\) In this thesis it is expected that some of the sub-categories may be identified in the corpus, however, they will be considered as sub-categories of OSV or SOV structures and will not be considered as an independent non-default word orders.

1.4.2.3.1 Non-default orders: the OSV order

There are two types of preposed objects in Lemei, namely the one with established information \((O_{EST})\) and the one with non-established information \((O_{NON-EST})\).\(^{43}\) This thesis argues for two hypotheses about the occurrence of the OSV order. First of all, the \(O_{EST}\)SV order results from topicalization (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) of the object which carries established information. Secondly, the \(O_{NON-EST}\)SV order results from preposing the focal constituent with prominence (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 56).

An \(O_{EST}\)SV clause is demonstrated in (4). The \(O_{EST}\) \(bo^{35}\) \(wu^{35}\) \(ba^{2}\) ‘what he shouted’ has been topicalized to become the main topic (Tm) and therefore it occupies the clause-initial position. According to Zhao and Li (2008 [2005], p. 499), this OSV surface structure reflects the Tm-S-V deeper structure.

(4) S11- 5a \(O_{EST}\) \(S\) \(V\) (surface structure)
\(Tm\) \(S\) \(V\) (deeper structure)
\[\text{[bo}^{35}\text{ wu}^{35}\text{ ba}^{2}\text{]} \quad \text{[ci}^{35} \text{ pi}^{42} \text{ na}^{42} \text{ ji}^{21}\text{]} \quad c^{h}\text{a}^{35}u^{55}\]

3 shout NML row boat one person hear able

It was what he shouted that a man who rowed a boat heard\(^{44}\)

---

\(^{42}\) The six sub-categories of “main topic structure” include Tm-S-V, Tm-S-Ts-V, Tm-S-V-O, Tm-S-V-sT, Tm-S-V-sT-O and Tm-S-Ts-V-To. The seven sub-categories of “sub-topic structure” include S-Ts-V, S-Ts-V-O, S-Ts-V-sT, S-Ts-V-sT-O, S-Ts-To-V, S-To-V-O and S-Ts-To-V-sT. For the abbreviations, ‘S’ refers to the subject, ‘V’ the verb, ‘O’ the object, ‘T’ the topic, ‘Tm’ the main topic, ‘Ts’ the sub-topic, ‘To’ the original topic (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499).

\(^{43}\) \(O_{EST}\) refers to the object which carries established (old) information whereas \(O_{NON-EST}\) refers to the object which carries non-established (new) information.

\(^{44}\) The auxiliary verb \(ni^{35}\) does not represent perfectivity but it signals an achievement. In the free translation it does not need to be translated as “able to”. For details please see Section 3.4.3.3.
An example of the $O_{\text{NON-EST}} SV$ order is demonstrated in (5). The preposed $NP_{\text{OBJ}}$ $bo^{35} \, jnu^{33} \, tso^{42} \, ba^{21}$ ‘what the daughters said’ is non-established information which has not been mentioned in the text before. According to Levinsohn (2015, p. 56), preposing a focal constituent often violates the Principle of Natural Information Flow\(^{45}\) so that it is given prominence.

(5) S17-6b $O_{\text{NON-EST}}$ $S$ $V$
\[
\begin{array}{c}
[bo^{35} \, jnu^{33} \, tso^{42} \, ba^{21}] & [bo^{35} \, mo^{33}] & c^{b}a^{35} \\
3 \text{ daughter say NML} & 3 \text{ mother listen.obey}
\end{array}
\]

It was what the daughters said that the mother listened

1.4.2.3.2 Non-default orders: the SOV order

This thesis argues that the $SO_{\text{EST}} V$ order gives prominence to the verbal focal constituent by preposing the object with established information ($O_{\text{EST}}$) before the verb. According to Levinsohn (2015, p. 60), prominence can be given to the focal constituent by preposing the non-focal constituents (i.e. established).

In example (6), the non-focal constituent $NP_{\text{OBJ}}$ $bo^{35} \, jnu^{33} \, tsi^{33} \, ho^{33}$ ‘the daughters’ (established information) has been pre-posed before the verb so that the verb $q^{21}ji^{35}$ ‘sell’ is given prominence. According to Zhao and Li (2008 [2005], p. 499), the preposed object become the sub-topic (Ts)\(^{46}\) and the SOV surface structure reflects the S-Ts-V deeper structure.

(6) S17-10 $S$ $O_{\text{EST}}$ $V$ (surface structure)
\[
\begin{array}{c}
S & Ts & V \text{ (deeper structure)} \\
[bo^{35} \, mo^{33} \, dz^{35}] & [bo^{35} \, jnu^{33} \, tsi^{33} \, ho^{33} \, no^{33}] & q^{21}ji^{35} \\
3 \text{ mother TOP} & 3 \text{ daughter PL PAT sell}
\end{array}
\]

The mother sold the daughters

\(^{45}\) This principle states that non-verbal constituents which convey established information precede those which convey new or non-established information (Comrie, 1989, p. 127).

\(^{46}\) According to Dryer (2008, p. 22), this alternative SOV order is at least vaguely reminiscent of the $ba$ construction (the “disposal form”) in Mandarin.
1.4.3 The text corpus and data collection

The corpus in this research includes twenty-one narrative texts.

1. \textit{wa}^{42}\textit{ci}^{21} ‘The eagle’
2. \textit{jo}^{55} ‘Medicine’
3. \textit{bo}^{35} \textit{tsi}^{33} \textit{bo}^{35} \textit{k}\textit{wa}^{35} \textit{ji}^{42}\textit{ne}^{21} ‘The son and the father picked fruit’
4. \textit{qe}^{35} \textit{mo}^{33} \textit{pa}^{21}\textit{j}^{35} \textit{qe}^{35}\textit{tsi}^{33} \textit{be}^{33} ‘The hen feed the chicken with rice’
5. \textit{ji}^{21}\textit{qa}^{35} \textit{ts}^{35}\textit{pu}^{35} \textit{gi}^{42}\textit{to}^{21} ‘The story of a man and a bear’
6. \textit{d}^{43}\textit{ho}^{33}\textit{po}^{35} \textit{d}^{42}\textit{ho}^{33}\textit{mo}^{33} \textit{gi}^{42}\textit{to}^{21} ‘The story of an old man and an old woman’
7. \textit{wu}^{35} \textit{hi}^{35} \textit{na}^{42}\textit{p}^{a}\textit{t}^{35} \textit{ji}^{21} ‘A person who prays’
8. \textit{ba}^{42}\textit{jo}^{42}\textit{qa}^{21} \textit{ji}^{21} \textit{gi}^{42}\textit{to}^{21} ‘The story of a lazy person’
9. \textit{t}^{2}\textit{ti}^{21} \textit{ji}^{21}\textit{qa}^{35} \textit{gi}^{42}\textit{to}^{21} ‘The story of the cicada and the man’
10. \textit{sa}^{42} \textit{ci}^{35} \textit{sa}^{42} \textit{n}^{33} \textit{a}^{42}\textit{ci}^{21} ‘The duck that laid golden egg’
11. \textit{k}^{35} \textit{se}^{35} \textit{ci}^{33} \textit{na}^{42}\textit{a}^{42}\textit{ji}^{21} ‘The hard-hearted man’
12. \textit{tsi}^{35} \textit{ja}^{42}\textit{c}^{3}\textit{wi}^{55} \textit{po}^{35} \textit{ku}^{33} \textit{ji}^{21} ‘The two opium smokers’
13. \textit{tsu}^{35} \textit{a}^{35}\textit{ha}^{42} \textit{li}^{35} \textit{t}^{42}\textit{tsu}^{35} \textit{no}^{35} ‘Do whatever till the end’
14. \textit{a}^{42}\textit{st}^{55} \textit{da}^{35} \textit{st}^{33} \textit{hi}^{33} ‘Not knowing is like being dead’
15. \textit{bi}^{42} \textit{ci}^{35} \textit{bi}^{42}\textit{ji}^{21} \textit{n}^{33} \textit{st}^{42} ‘Die for gold and silver’
16. \textit{bo}^{35} \textit{xo}^{42} \textit{ci}^{21} \textit{da}^{35}\textit{a}^{35}\textit{ha}^{42} ‘What is the benefit?’
17. \textit{hi}^{33} \textit{a}^{42}\textit{t}^{35}\textit{mo}^{33} \textit{pi}^{35} \textit{a}^{42}\textit{hi}^{33} \textit{n}^{33} \textit{a}^{45}\textit{mo}^{33} ‘The good mother and the bad mother’
18. \textit{d}^{43}\textit{ho}^{35} \textit{ju}^{42}\textit{ni}^{42} \textit{ku}^{33} \textit{ji}^{21} ‘The husband and his wife’
19. \textit{tsu}^{35} \textit{ts}^{35}\textit{tsi}^{33} \textit{na}^{42}\textit{ji}^{21} \textit{gi}^{42}\textit{to}^{21} ‘A story of a soldier’
20. \textit{ma}^{35}\textit{ci}^{21} ‘The horse’
21. \textit{ja}^{42}\textit{u}^{42}\textit{ci}^{21} ‘The frog’

Most of the texts in this research (except story 1, 2, 20 and 21)\textsuperscript{47} were chosen following Levinsohn’s (2015, p. 22) suggestion, i.e. only third person narrative with two or more major participants interacting. All texts were elicited from one language resource person in the Northern Training Centre of Payap University in Chiang Rai, Thailand. The majority of the texts were collected in hand-written form from manuscripts which had been written by the language resource person. Story 19 was originally recorded by digital recorder and then transcribed with the help of the language resource person. All hand-written text were transcribed back to IPA for analysis and were glossed both in Chinese and English. Other elicited data which are

\textsuperscript{47} In these few stories there is only one participant.
referred to where appropriate, includes a 500-word wordlist, three sets of grammar sentences (about 250 lines) and power tools\(^{48}\) (about 70 lines).

The language resource person (LRP) is a 50-year-old male Lemei speaker living in Myitkyina, Myanmar. He was born in the Oga village in Lushui city, China. Both of his parents (deceased) were Lemei speakers. He has lived in Myitkyina for more than 30 years. His mother tongue is the Yu-Teu \((ji²tu⁴⁵)\) dialect but he also speaks Da-E \((db⁵⁵i⁵⁵)\) dialect, Chinese (Mandarin), Lisu and Burmese. Oral consent has been given by the LRP to use his data for this research on the condition that his name or his personal information is not disclosed.

### 1.4.4 Analysis procedure

The key methods applied in this thesis are, first of all, to define the basic word order (BWO). Secondly, to chart the text with the modified Levinsohn (2015, p. 16) chart (see Appendix E). Thirdly, to conduct two frequency counts of various word orders according to the definitions of BWO and the scope of analysis (main clauses and declarative clauses). Finally, to identify the factors that determine the choice of any non-default word order(s) by considering the notions of the articulation of sentence (Levinsohn, 2015, pp. 23-25), topicalization (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) and prominence (Callow, 1974, p. 50).

#### 1.4.4.1 Definition of the basic word order

In this research, the identification of the basic word order (BWO) is limited to two definitions outlined by Dryer (2007a), namely (1) the most frequent word order and (2) the least marked word order. First of all, Dryer (2007a, p. 73) observes that where languages allow more than one order, “one order is often overwhelmingly more frequent.” He asserts that frequency should be a clear operational test if “one order is often overwhelmingly more frequent.” He recommends frequency as the “primary criterion in word order typology” in practice (Dryer, 2007a, p. 74). For the second definition, the basic order appears to have a “less restricted distribution” (Dryer, 2007a, p. 75). After all, Brody (1984) makes it even clearer that the type of least marked sentence has the least restrictions on

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\(^{48}\) Power tools are elicited sentences (mostly interrogative) which are commonly used by the language learners to ask the language resource persons as a way to learn a new language. For examples: What does XXX mean? What is the opposite of XXX?
where they may be used and do not indicate topicalization, emphasis, or a change in focus.

1.4.4.2 Charting

This sub-section will explain how the corpus is charted with the help of the modified Levinsohn (2015, p. 16) chart (see Appendix C). The chart has been divided into three main columns, namely (1) the pre-nuclear constituents, (2) the nuclear predication and (3) the post-nuclear adjuncts. The column of the nuclear predication has been further divided into several slots in order to show the positions of the basic elements of the corresponding main clause, namely: (1) the subject (SBJ), (2) the verb (V)\(^{49}\), (3) the primary object (OBJ\(_1\)) and (4) the secondary object (OBJ\(_2\)). Upon this foundation, the chart has been modified to show two more slots to chart any fronted element: one slot occurs before the subject and one before the verb. With the help of this modified Levinsohn chart, all texts from the corpus have been charted.

First of all, independent clauses have been put under the column of “nuclear predication” and it is this part of the “nuclear predication” that reveals the word orders of the corresponding main clauses. Secondly, subordinate clauses like adverbial clauses, locative clauses, prepositional clauses, direct speech and reported speech were treated as adjuncts and have been put under the column of either the “pre-nuclear constituents” or the “post-nuclear adjuncts” where appropriate. Thirdly, main clauses joined by the coordinating conjunctions such as \(\text{ni}^{35}\) ‘and’ or \(\text{ba}^{21}\text{li}^{35}\) ‘but’ have generally been counted as separate clauses (see Appendix E, line 3b). Another frequently used connective \(\text{bo}^{35}\text{ya}^{42}\) ‘and.then’ functions either as a coordinate conjunction like ‘and’ connecting two main clauses (line 7b), or as a subordinating conjunction ‘after’ if it comes in the clause-final position (line 13a).

Serial verb constructions representing separate events will be considered as separate clauses with zero anaphora in the subject positions (line 3a to 3d). Last but not least, the syntactic patterns considered in this research include attributive clauses, equative clauses and existential clauses. In attributive clauses and equative clauses of the Lemei language, no copula is used. In an attributive clause, the whole verb phrase (VP) was charted under the column of the verb. For example, in story 17 line 16b the verb phrase \(\text{kɔ}^{35}\text{hɔ}^{35}\text{tɔ}^{35}\) ‘very shock’ has been charted as the verb and the whole clause will be interpreted as a SV order. In an equative clause, a topic marker

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\(^{49}\) In practice, the column of verb often include the whole verb phrase (VP) rather than a single verb. An attributive clause is an example.
dzɨ³⁵ ‘TOP’ is used to mark the topic argument following it. In this case, equative clauses will be charted as a SVO order in which the topic marker will be interpreted as a copula verb. An existential clause in Lemei includes an existential verb ħɨ³³ ‘EXIS’.

Story 17 (see Appendix E) will be used to give more examples of charting in practice. The sentence in line 9a starts with a topicalized existential clause ħɨ³³ a⁴² jɨ³³ dzɨ³⁵ ‘There was a day (TOP)’ which serves as a point of departure to relate an event to the context on the basis of time (Levinsohn, 2015, p.46). This clause has been charted under the “the pre-nuclear constituents”. In line 1b, the subordinate temporal clause bo³⁵ jɨ³³ sɔ³³ jɨ³³ a⁴² sɪ⁵⁵ bo⁴² dzo⁴² dɔ³⁵kʰɨ³³ ‘When her three daughters were ignorant’ was put under “the pre-nuclear constituents” while the following main clause bo³⁵ bo³³ sɨ³³ ‘their father died’ was put under the “nuclear predication”. Sentence line 10 contains two clauses connected by a connective bo⁴²ɣa⁴² ‘and.then’. Since this connective was understood as a subordinating conjunction, the first clause in line 10 chwa⁵⁵ bi³³ kwe²¹ hi³³ bo⁴²ya⁴² ‘After (they) arrived the other country’ has been charted as “the pre-nuclear constituents” while the following clause will be interpreted as a main clause which were put under “the nuclear predication”.

### 1.4.4.3 Frequency counts

Following Dryer’s (2007a, pp. 73-74) definitions on the BWO, this study will conduct two frequency counts. The first count is a general frequency count of the “the most frequent word order” which includes all of the clauses within the scope of research. The second count is limited to the frequency count of the least-marked clauses. Several particles in Lemei are known to affect the word order within a clause. Following the least marked definition, only clauses without topic marker dzɨ³⁵ ‘TOP’ or ba²¹ ‘TOP’, patient marker nɔ³³ ‘PAT’ and negative marker a⁴²jɔ³³ ‘not’ will be considered in the second count.

This study will be limited to a frequency count of the word orders of the main clauses and declarative clauses. In other words, only active clauses (i.e. intransitive clauses and transitive clauses) and stative clauses (i.e. attributive clauses and equative clauses) will be considered (see Section 1.4.4.4 for details).
1.4.4.4 Scope of research

For the scope of research, first of all, this thesis is limited to the main clauses and declarative clauses collected from narrative discourses. Levinsohn (2015, p. 17) views a sentence as “a main clause together with those clauses that are subordinate to it”. Brody (1984, p. 713) comments that the “general criterion of simplicity for BWO sentences appears, for most writers, to have two components: that the BWO sentence be (1) in a main clause, and (2) declarative.” Following these suggestions, imperative clauses, interrogative clauses, subordinate clauses or negative clauses\(^{50}\) will not be included in the frequency count of word order.

Secondly, concerning the types of clause related to transitivity, only intransitive and transitive clauses are included in the scope of research with the following reasons: (1) Discussion of ditransitive clauses is not included in the methodology related to word order typology proposed by Dryer (1995, 1997, 2007a). (2) Most literature which discusses the basic word orders of Bai, for example Wang (2008 [2004]) and Fu and Xu (2009), does not include discussion of ditransitive clauses. In Xu and Zhao (1984, p. 78-79) examples of ditransitive clauses are given but the default word order of the ditransitive clauses is not discussed. In other words, there is not enough basis for discussion of ditransitive clause in this research. (3) It is expected that the number of ditransitive clauses collected in the corpus would be too few. Concerning the scope of research, secondly, there is no intention for this work to contribute to the classification of the language. Li (2013 [2009]), for example, aims at providing evidence for the classification of Bai by describing word order typology of the language data. However, this research has no such intention.

1.4.4.5 Limitations

The first limitation in this study is that the data is collected from only one language resource person. The reason of having only one LRP is to try to keep stylistic variation between storytellers to the minimum, with the assumption that the LRP is relatively consistent in his use of any textual feature (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 3). However, this approach might become a limitation of the research. Secondly, it is possible that word order is affected by languages other than Lemei since the LRP can speak not only Lemei but also Lisu, Mandarin Chinese and Burmese. To compensate, according to Wang (2008 [2004], p. 476), negative words are a special type of word in Bai which interact with the word order. Different negative words can be put before a verb or after a verb. According to Zhang (2013, pp. 287-288), the word order of a negative clause using a negative prefix \(\alpha^{31}\) is usually in SOV, except that the order of SVVO is eligible for an object after serial verbs.

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a table of comparison of word order typology of Lemei and nearby languages (Table 11) will be used as a reference for any unusual findings. Finally, the language of elicitation being Mandarin Chinese might create a bias showing that the grammar structure is closer to Chinese. Besides this, since Mandarin is not the first language of either of the researchers and the LRP, second language interference may have had minor effect on the glosses and free translation.

1.5 Contribution of the research
This research aims at contributing to the studies of Lemei and Northern Bai through the approach of discourse analysis. Most previous research related to Bai focuses on Central and Southern Bai. For some researches which include discussion of Northern Bai (include Lemei), sufficient evidence or analysis are not provided to prove the basic word order of the language, and no previous study has been conducted by discourse analysis of a corpus. Secondly, this research contributes to the documentation of Lemei narrative data outside China. Finally, this research contributes to language learning as well as translation technique of the language. The research might offer hints to the language learners to recognize when to use the proper word order in the proper context.

1.6 Summary
This chapter gives a general introduction of this research. Section 1.2 outlined the overview of this thesis. Section 1.3 presented a sketch of the Lemei people and their language. Section 1.4 presented the methodology of the research, including the objective, the research questions, the hypotheses, the text corpus and data collection as well as the analysis procedure. Section 1.5 presented the contribution of the research.
Chapter 2
Literature Review

2.1 Introduction
This chapter will give a literature review covering some of the major previous studies related to the objective in this thesis. Since there is no literature related to the Lemei in Myanmar, this chapter will visit previous studies on the Bai people, the Bani people and their languages. Sections 2.2 reviews previous studies on the Bai people and their language. Section 2.3 reviews previous studies on the Bani people and their language. Section 2.4 reviews previous studies on typology and word order in Bai. Section 2.5 reviews discourse studies related to word order in Bai or other languages.

2.2 Previous studies on the Bai people and their language
Section 2.2 provides a broad overview of the studies on Bai, which also the Bani people and their language belong to. The following subsections include reviews of the current literature, descriptive works and dialect studies.

2.2.1 Reviews of the current literature
Yang (2008 [2005]) provides a glimpse of both Chinese and English studies on Bai from late 19th century. Yang (2008 [2005], p. 262) observes that surveys about “mutual contact and impact among different Bai dialects remains blank.” He also comments that previous research has put emphasis on the chronological approach rather than the synchronic approach (Yang, 2008 [2005], p. 265).

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51 Documentation about Panyi speakers living outside China has already been mentioned in Section 1.3 in this thesis.
52 One example is that the phonology, lexicons and syntax of some sub-dialects of the Yunlong dialect shows that the dialects obviously carried characteristics resulting from the impact of the three main dialects (Central, Southern and Northern Bai) overlapping with one another. In some regions the language is even reported to “differ every mile” (Yang, 2008 [2005], p. 262.)
Zhao (2008 [2006]) has compiled an exhaustive literature review (with excerpts) of the most essential researches on Bai published in Chinese after 1950s. The section on classification has summarized seven major opinions of classification of Bai claimed from the viewpoints of Chinese scholars. Later Zhao and Yang (2013 [2009]) presents a revised version of summary on the different opinions concerning the classification of the Bai language.

Hefright’s (2011, pp. 45-89) doctoral dissertation provides an extensive literature review of previous research on Bai. Since a certain amount of the previous research on Bai has been written in Chinese, Hefright’s (2011) work which includes literature review of both Chinese and English material is an exceptionally useful resource for reference on Bai.

Zhang (2012), appears to be the latest review of the literature on Bai, and provides a brief account of Bai studies published in China during the recent decade.

2.2.2 Descriptive works

Xu and Zhao's (1984) “The brief description of the Bai language” is a comprehensive classics reader on Bai written by Chinese scholars. Back in 1957, a Bai language survey team was formed under the Chinese Academy of Sciences. During the period between 1957 to 1960 the team collected Bai language data from 43 different locations in Dali, Diqing and Nujiang. The findings were firstly published in 1964, and eventually developed into a fuller description by Xu and Zhao (1984). The work was published as one of the volumes of the series of the officially recognized minority languages in China. Hefright (2011, p. 80) comments that the volume has remained the standard reference book on Bai until today.

“A Bai-Chinese Dictionary” compiled by Zhao and Xu (1996) is the first Bai-Chinese dictionary. It contained mainly Central Bai data collected from some more field surveys conducted by the authors of “the brief description of the Bai language”. The appendix (Zhao & Xu, 1996, pp. 446-479) provides a description of word formation in Bai.

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53 The literature review on the “rhyming rules in folksong” deserves special attention.
54 This is the revised version of an earlier essay read in the first International Seminar for Bai Language in Dali (2009). The authors have combined the 9 views of classification of Bai into 7 categories.
55 Topics includes (1) a chronological review of studies of Bai from the late nineteenth century through the beginning of the Cultural Revolution; (2) language classification studies; (3) descriptive, typological, and formal studies (i.e. phonetics and phonology, morphosyntax and discourse, and lexicon) and (4) socially oriented studies.
“The Phonology and lexicon of Tibeto-Burman languages” edited by the Zangmianyu Yuyin he Cihui editorial committee (1991) is a 1,420-page volume which discussed the phonology of 34 different Tibeto-Burman languages. The collection includes 1,004 lexicons from these languages, including Central Bai, Southern Bai and Northern Bai (i.e. Bijiang Bai in China).

Wiersma’s (2007) 22-paged work is a “much-reduced version of a longer work which remains in manuscript” (Wiersma, 2007, p. 651). Published in Thurgood and LaPolla’s (2003) handbook of Sino-Tibetan languages, it has been described by Hefright (2011, p. 80) as the “most accessible English language description of the Bai language”. The writing offers a window opening to a concise background especially on the genetic affiliation and language history of Bai (see Wiersma, 2007, pp. 652-654). The section on syntax closely follows Xu and Zhao’s (1984) descriptions of Jinhua variety (i.e. Central Bai) but she also supplies insights from her own fieldwork (Hefright, 2011, p. 80).

### 2.2.3 Dialect studies

Wiersma (2007, p. 652) outlines the historical background of Bai dialect studies. The first comprehensive statement about the Bai dialect situation in Yunnan locales are believed to have been published in a report to the Chinese Academy of Sciences in 1958. By then only two varieties, Jianchuan (i.e. Central Bai) and Dali (i.e. Southern Bai), were recognized by the Chinese linguists. Later in the same year sporadic differences assigned to the Bijiang dialect (i.e. Northern Bai) were also reported\(^\text{56}\). Wiersma (2007, p. 652) comments that “it cannot be said that the issue of subgrouping for Bai dialects has been publicly addressed to date.”

Xu and Zhao (1984, pp. 116-117) has subdivided the three dialects and provided a rough statistic of their number of speakers as in Table 1 below. According to Xu and Zhao (1984, p. 116), apart from these figures there are 40,000 more Bai people living in different places throughout Yunnan province but it is difficult to conduct a survey to confirm which dialect they are speaking.

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56 For example, Northern Bai was further divided into Bijiang dialect and Lanwei dialect (Lanwei refers to Lanpin and Weixi) in the report of Zhongguo kexueyuan shaoshu minzu yuyan yanjiusuo Baizu diaochazu (The Bai Language working group of the Chinese Academy of Science) (2008 [1958], p. 26).
### Table 1 Statistic of number of Bai speakers (Xu and Zhao, 1984, pp. 116-117)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jianchuan dialect</th>
<th>Dali dialect</th>
<th>Bijiang dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jianchuan (259,600)</td>
<td>Dali (485,100)</td>
<td>Bijiang (21,400)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heqing (164,100)</td>
<td>Xiangyun (46,800)</td>
<td>Lanping (19,600)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total speakers:</strong></td>
<td><strong>423,700</strong></td>
<td><strong>531,900</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>41,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Duan and Zhang’s (2008, pp. 2920-2925) survey report covers seven Bai language locations in Yunnan, Guizhou and Hunan provinces. Among those the “Luobenzhuo language” (also called “Lemo” in the report), the representing language of the Northern dialect, is included (Duan and Zhang, 2008, pp. 2902-2903). The report gives a brief introduction to the background of the Luobenzhuo Bai speakers and the phonology of the two sub-dialects: (1) *Labiluo dialect* which is spoken in Tuotuo, Jinman and Laideng villages; and (2) *Ega dialect* which is spoken in Ega and Baodeng villages. It also includes language data collected between 2003 and 2005.

Published bilingually in English and Chinese, Allen’s (2007) mutual intelligibility survey among Bai speakers in seven population centres in China has been quoted frequently. Using wordlists and a recorded-text-test (RTT) methodology, the result affirms that Bai can be divided into at least three dialects: the Central, the Southern and the Northern dialect (Allen, 2007, p. 27). However, the result also reveals that the mutual intelligibility between various Central & Southern dialects ranges from 93% to 25% (Allen, 2007, p. 26). From this Allen confirms that lexical similarity “is not a good predictor of intelligibility” (Allen, 2007, p. 26). Concerning Northern Bai,

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57 According to Xu and Zhao (1984, p. 116), Bijiang Bai speakers are distributed among Bijiang, Fugong, Gongshan, Weixi, Zhongdian, Yunlong and Eryuan, while the language can be further divided into Bijiang dialect (includes sub-dialects of Lemo, Laibu, Nama, etc.) and Lanping dialect (includes Laimo sub-dialect).

58 Luobenzhuo language was also known as the “Bijiang dialect” in the past since Luobenzhuo used to belong to the Bijiang county before 1986. In 1986 Luobenzhuo has been re-assigned to the Lushui county together with the Lisu community. Later in June 2016, Luishui county has been cancelled and Lushui city has been established. Luishui county is situated in the southern region of the Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan.

59 The authors identify the speakers as Lemo people. In 2004 their population in Luobenzhuo township is about 7,423, representing 66.6% of the population of Lushui county (Duan & Zhang, 2008, p. 2902).

60 Data includes discourse data of idioms, riddles, folksongs, narratives (Duan and Zhang, 2008, pp. 2905-2925) and a 1,937 words wordlist (Duan & Zhang, 2008, pp. 2960-3038) comparing the Luobenzhuo dialect with three other Bai dialects (Xiayangcen dialect in Jianchuan province, Yinyuan dialect in Yuanjiang province and Mazhelong dialect in Qiubei province). The narratives include the traditional folklores of Laxiong (in Labiluo dialect) and the female hunting god (in Oge dialect). All data are represented in IPA and glossed in Chinese with a free-translation.

61 According to Allen (2007, p. 27), The Central dialect is spoken in Jianchuan, Heqing, Lanping, Yunlong, Eryuan and Lijiang. The Southern dialect is spoken in the Erhai valley including Zhoucheng and Dali. The Northern dialect is spoken in Nuijiang area including Luobenzhuo and some parts of Lanping.
the survey shows that Luobenzhuo Bai is lexically the most divergent which shares at most only 61% of its vocabulary with another dialect (Allen, 2007, p. 10). Allen reports that “some listeners could not even recognize it as Bai” (Allen, 2007, p. 28). The result shows, in Hefright’s (2011, p. 81) opinion, that “mutual intelligibility between the Northern and Central/Southern dialects is nonexistent”, and in Bradley’s opinion, that Northern Bai “form a distinct language from the rest of Bai” (Bradley, 2012).

2.3 Previous studies on the Bani people and their language
Mainstream studies on Bai tend to focus on the Central and Southern dialect. As Zhang (2012, p. 38) points out, one limitation in the study of the Bai dialects is that there is more research on the Dali dialect (i.e. Southern Bai) and the Jianchuan dialect (i.e. Central Bai) than there is on the Nujiang dialect (i.e. Northern Bai which includes Bani). Zhang and Zhang’s (2010, p. 73) comments that very few researchers are willing to conduct research on Bani people since they dwell in remote location where the natural environment is harsh, difficult and inconvenient for researchers.

Zhang and Zhang’s (2010, p. 73) “Reviews of Researches on the Bani People in Nujiang Valley in Northwest Yunnan since 1950s” is by far the most comprehensive and original review of the Chinese publications about the people group. The review has classified previous research of the Bani people into three periods and thus provides a framework for the literature review in this section. Overall Zhang and Zhang comments that the origin and the meaning of the title “Bani” and “Lemo” as well as the relationship between the people of the two branches has not been discussed sufficiently in previous literature (Zhang & Zhang, 2010, p. 71). Besides this, one of the limitations is that research of the Bani people were attached under the scope of the Bai nationality, so that the “discourse right” of the Bani people has been undermined and deprived (Zhang & Zhang, 2010, p. 73).

62 An alternate name of the Northern Bai is Nujiang Bai.
63 “Bani” is spelt according to the Mandarin pinyin of 巴尼.
64 Description of the three periods has been slightly modified according to Zhang’s later work (see Zhang, 2013, pp. 24-43). See Zhang (2013, pp. 24-43) for a revised version of this review.
2.3.1 Period of recognition of the Bani people (1950s to 1980s)

The first period is the recognition and identification of the Bani people (1950s to 1980s). The most obvious research result in this period is the identification of the Bani people as a branch of the Bai ethnicity according to Stalin’s definition of ethnicity, and the confirmation of the close relationship between the Bani, Nama (那马人) and Dali Bai people groups (Zhang & Zhang, 2010, p. 70).

In this period description of the Bani language (which belongs to Northern Bai) often appears as a “side-dish” under the studies of the wider Bai language family. For example, Xu and Zhao’s (1984) classics work on Bai kept a focus on Central Bai though, a section has been devoted to outline some lexical specifications (Xu & Zhao, 1984, pp. 125-127) and grammatical specifications (Xu & Zhao, 1984, pp. 123-125) of Northern Bai. Yang (2008 [2005]) comments that one of the obvious shortcomings of previous Bai studies conducted by Chinese scholars is that the analysis of Bai syntax has followed the framework of analyzing Han Chinese between 1957 and 1984.

2.3.2 Period of comprehensive research on the Bani people (1980s to 1990s)

The second period is the comprehensive research of the Bani people (1980s to 1990s). The research in this period focuses on the living condition and social-economic development (e.g. marriage, religions, culture and customs) of the Bani people before and after the establishment of the People of Republic of China. Among the research in this period, the 122-page socio-historical survey report compiled by Zhan et al. (2009 [1988]) for the Chinese Academy of Sciences is regarded as one of the representing work on Lemo people (i.e. Bani people) published in 1980s (Zhang & Zhang, 2010, p. 71). The report represents the findings of a three-month survey in 1982 among the Lemo people in Luobenzhuo district of Nujiang province. Ten areas of their socio-cultural situation are described.65 Zhang and Zhang (2010, p. 71) comments that the report differs from the previous ones since it is written from the perspective of the Bani people as the principal subject.

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65 The ten areas include: the productivity, social structure, daily life, marriage and family, funeral custom, religions, festivals, customary law as well as science and culture. The report concludes that the level of development of Lemo people should not be ignored simply because they belong to one branch of the Bai nationality, but they should earn the same treatment and care from the government as the Lisu, Nu and Dulong people did.
2.3.3 Period of restudying the Bani people (from 1990s until today)

The third period is the period of “restudy” on the Bani people (from 1990s). After a blank period of research gap in late 1990s, during the recent 20 years there are a few individual research works which focus on the marriage customs and religions of the Bani people.

“A brief history of the Nama people and Lemo people” edited by Luo (2008) is one of the important works in this period devoted to the general history of the Lemo people (i.e. the Bani people) and the Nama people. The book begins by introducing the people’s myths and origin, and then goes on to discuss the geography, natural environment, socio-economic development, mining business, science, culture, arts, customs and religions, etc. Though the source of material is not given, the book has provided a comprehensive review and description on the people groups. Twelve pages of colourful pictures are also included.

Zhang (2013) is the latest work contributed to the study of the Bani People in Nujiang Valley in Northwest Yunnan. Based on his doctoral dissertation, the book unfolds the cultural and identity changes experienced by the Bani people and compares the “non-Bai” ethnic identity of some Bani people and the “Han Chinese origin” identity of some Dali Bai people. It concludes that the main goal of either perspectives is to fight for more benefits or political rights (Zhang, 2013, p. 14). The work has raised many new arguments. Contributions include a discussion of the origin of the Bani people as well as the developing process of the autonym “Bani” and the exonym “Lemo” and its underlying meaning (Zhang, 2013, p. 22-23).

2.4 Previous studies on typology and word order in Bai

Previous studies in Bai language in China have tended to focus on the Central and Southern dialects. Little research has been conducted on proving the basic word order of the Northern dialect which includes the language of Bani. For example, Zhongguo kexueyuan shaoshu minzu yuyan yanjiusuo Baizu diaochazu [The Bai Language working group of the Chinese Academy of Science] (2008 [1958], p. 26) characterizes the phonetic differences among various Bai dialects as “relatively large”, lexical differences as “relatively small”, and grammatical features as “basically identical”. From this perspective, the traditional statement is that all Bai

66 The translated terms in quotations are quoted from Hefright (2011, p. 52).
dialects (no matter whether they are Northern Bai, Central Bai or Southern Bai) are considered to have the similar word orders.

Chinese scholars such as Xu and Zhao (1984, p. 79) claim that Bai has two word orders: One is the SVO structure which is identical to that of Han-Chinese; the other is the SOV or OSV structures which are identical to that of the Yi language branch (i.e. Loloish branch). They conclude that the two orders “co-exist and can both be used” (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 79). Among the two orders, they observe that the officials and students prefer to use the Han-Chinese order while the Yi language word orders are widely used by old people and in Bai folksongs (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 79). Above all, they maintain that the subject is “generally” followed by the verb in the intransitive clauses and transitive clauses in Bai (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 76).67

Hefright (2011, p. 84) observed that a number of scholars discuss word order typology in order to justify classification. He comments that some descriptive studies by Fu (2008 [1987]), Xi (2008 [1988]), Wang (2008 [2004]), Li (2013 [2009]), and Chen (2013) also “suffer from a similar reliance on Greenberg’s (1963) syntactic categories and a narrow conception of what is typically ‘Chinese.’”

Wang (2008 [2004], pp. 472-477) describes the SVO, SOV and OSV orders as the “three basic word orders” in Bai. First of all, the SVO order is a “relatively dominant word order” (Wang, 2008 [2004], p. 472). Secondly, the SOV order is mostly used in negative sentences68 and sentences which show the completion of an action (Wang, 2008 [2004], p. 473). Thirdly, the OSV order puts emphasis on the object and an auxiliary particle is usually added after the fronting object (Wang, 2008 [2004], p. 474). Wang (2008 [2004], p. 475) proposes that sentences with a perfective aspect69 usually prefer SOV or OSV. In conclusion, he asserts that the Bai word orders proves that while Bai has been significantly influenced by Han-Chinese, it has retained some features of Tibeto-Burman languages (Wang, 2008 [2004], p. 477).

Li (2013 [2009]) compares Bai with more than ten Tibeto-Burman languages to prove that the SOV word-order has been highly retained in Bai. He claims that the

67 According to Xu and Zhao (1984, p. 78), the word orders of ditransitive clauses are SVO₁O₂, SO₁VO₂ and O₁SVO₂. In the interrogative clause and negative clause, the object generally occurs before the verb (i.e. the SOV order) (Xu & Zhao, 1984, pp. 77-78).
68 According to Wang (2008 [2004]), p. 474), one of the important characteristics of Bai word order is that negative sentences are usually represented by the SOV order.
69 Wang (2008 [2004], p. 475) claims that this kind of sentence is usually formed by adding a perfective particle after the verb; while the structure of “a predicative verb + aspect particle + object” is probably developed under the influence of Han Chinese.
common features are not the result of Bai being affected by Tibeto-Burman languages, but rather show that Bai being a member of the Tibeto-Burman family has historically retained such a common sentence pattern (Li, 2013 [2009], p. 107).^{70}

Western scholars such as Bradley (1997, p. 37) suggest that the syntax of Bai is “sinicised” and therefore has SVO order. Dryer (2008, pp. 22-23) notes that apart from the SVO order, the SOV order is also allowed in Bai. Dryer asserts that among all Tibeto-Burman languages the VO order is only found in Karen and Bai (Dryer, 2008, p. 11), and that the Bai word order is in many ways atypical for an SVO language (Dryer, 2008, p. 22). Dryer comments that “in some respects it is atypical in ways that are reminiscent of the Chinese languages and it is plausible that much of the word order of Bai reflects the influence of Chinese” (Dryer, 2008, p. 22). He argues that the use of prenominal relative clauses in Bai is perhaps a more convincing example that Bai is reminiscent of Chinese (Dryer, 2008, p. 22).

The only converse opinion has once been reported by the *Ethnologue* (20th ed.). According to its original statement, Lemei is a SOV language. Later the statement has changed to SVO.^{72}

### 2.5 Previous discourse studies related to word order in Bai or other languages

This section will discuss some of the work on Bai and also some previous studies related to non-tense languages as Bai.

Zhao and Li (2008 [2005], pp. 499-500) argue by means of the theory of topic that SVO should be considered as the only basic word order in Bai. Using Xiaguan Bai variety (a Southern Bai in Dali) as data, they have outlined the deeper structures of six sub-categories of the “main-topic structure” and seven sub-categories of the “sub-topic structure” for comparison.^{73} In brief, they argue that the SOV word order is the

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^{70} According to Li (2013 [2009], p. 105), “the fact that Bai being a SVO language uses postpositions rather than prepositions illustrates that although the basic word order of Bai has changed, the language still retains the typological trait of the earlier SOV Tibeto-Burman language in which postpositions are used.”

^{71} Dryer has examined the OV-order versus VO-order among Tibeto-Burman languages. His primary source for Bai is Xu and Zhao (1984) which is mainly from Central Bai (Dryer, 2008, p. 21).

^{72} The order of SOV has been reported on its website, for example, on 23 March 2017. Later the statement has changed to SVO order (viewed on 10 March 2018).

^{73} The six sub-categories of the “main topic structure” and the seven sub-categories of the “sub-topic structure” (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], pp. 499-500) have been described in Section 1.4.2.3.
surface structure which reflects the S-Ts-V deeper main-topic structure, whereas the OSV word order is the surface structure which reflects the Tm-S-V deeper main-topic structure.\textsuperscript{74} They conclude that SOV and OSV structures in Bai are surface structures (or expressions) which result from “patient argument topicalization” (i.e. object topicalization\textsuperscript{75}).

On the basis of Zhao and Li (2008 [2005]), Zhao (2013, p. 333) claims that Bai is a “topic-prioritizing language” and analyzes the pragmatic and discourse functions of four topic markers $nu^{55}$, $ts\dot{\gamma}^{55}$, $lu^{55}$ and $na^{55}$ in Xiaguan Bai variety (a Southern Bai variety spoken in Dali).

Fu and Xu (2008) argue that locative contrast between ‘on X’ vs ‘near X’ is the basis for the distinction between ‘direct object’ and ‘indirect object’. The authors claim that the locatives ($no^{33}$ “on”, $gy^{55}$ “near”) have developed into object markers via a dative stage in Bai. A comparison of data from Jianchuan (i.e. Central Bai), Dali (i.e. Southern Bai) and Leme\textsuperscript{76} (Fu & Xu, 2008, p.135) are included in this research.

Fu and Xu (2009, p. 15) argue that in Bai the object preposing involves old information fronting only. The paper examines object preposing (SOV) in SVO languages by analyzing old Chinese and Bai. The authors argue that the two criteria for object proposing are (1) focus and (2) old information fronting. Nevertheless, they conclude that object proposing in Bai involves old information fronting only, and not focus (while in Old Chinese both are involved). Only in this way, old information fronting can collocate with the structures of negation and yes-no questions in Bai.

As mentioned above that Bai is believed to be influenced by Mandarin Chinese, some previous discourse analysis related to Mandarin Chinese is worth mentioning here. Gorton’s (2012) discourse analysis on Mandarin Chinese children’s narratives aims at identifying of discourse features which include stages (in the surface and notional structures), salience bands and the construction of a macrostructure for each text. Although the work is not directly related to word order, the section on literature review and grammar sketch provides insight into the research on Bai.

\textsuperscript{74} However, they also claim that the sub-categories of the deeper structures do not correspond to the surface structure. For examples, the Tm-S-V-O deeper structure does not correspond to the OSVO order, whereas the S-Ts-V-O deeper structure does not correspond to the SOVO order (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 500).

\textsuperscript{75} Hefright (2011, p. 84) uses the term “object topicalization” to describe “patient argument topicalization”.

\textsuperscript{76} Data are collected from 2004 fieldwork.
On pursuing the relationship of discourse and lexicogrammar in Mandarin Chinese, one of the research questions that Halliday (2001, p. 347) asks is how grammatical units are organized internally such that they form “parts” of a textual “whole”. One of his answers to this question is related to the change of word order. He proposes that the ba construction being a device for “getting the verb to the end of the clause” causes the verb to carry prominence as new information (Halliday, 2001, p. 348).

Burusphat’s (2002) work on Bouyei (which belongs to a northern group of Tai) is not directly related to Bai, but her research discusses how the word order of a nontense language of Bouyei (like Bai) is determined by discourse pragmatics. She concludes that Bouyei being an SVO and topic-prominent language, the SOV, OSV and VS order patterns have been motivated by the semantic and pragmatic relations rather than grammatical relations (Burusphat, 2002, pp. 367-368; 373). According to Burusphat (2002, pp. 377; 382), the order variation can be explained by the factor of “focal attention” (Tomlin, 1995, p. 518) of which whatever items being the speaker’s focus of attention is placed at the front of the clause (Payne, 1992, p.5).

2.6 Summary
This chapter is devoted to literature review. Topics include: (1) previous studies on the Bai people and their language (Section 2.2), (2) previous studies on the Bani people and their language (Section 2.3), (3) previous studies on typology and word order in Bai (Section 2.4) and (4) discourse studies related to word order in Bai or other languages (Section 2.5).
Chapter 3
Basic phonological and grammatical description of Lemei

3.1 Introduction
This chapter introduces the phonology, orthography and morphosyntax of the language of Lemei. It does not intend to give an exhaustive phonological and morphosyntactic description, but a basic description which will form a foundation for understanding the discourse features found in the chosen texts.

3.2 Phonology
The phonological description presented in this and the following section is based on the findings of Ikeda (2015b). Generally, the syllable structure in Panyi Bai (which includes both Yu-Teu and Da-E dialects) is considered to be (C)VT in which T represents a suprasegmental tone. CCVT syllables occur with medial /w/ (Ikeda, 2015b, p. 21). Panyi has a phonological system including 34 consonant phonemes (Ikeda, 2015b, p. 4) (Table 2) and 8 distinctive vowels (Ikeda, 2015b, p. 10) (Table 3). Diphthongs are not found in native Panyi words. In addition, little evidence is found to prove that nasalization is a contrastive feature in vowels (Ikeda, 2015b, p. 13). Concerning the tonal system (Ikeda, 2015b, pp. 14-15), Panyi has five tones (Table 4) including three level tones (55, 33), two falling tones (42, 21) and one rising tone (35). The data for this thesis was provided by a speaker of the Yu-

78 Medial /w/ co-occurs with stops, fricatives, nasals, and allophonically with liquids. It can cluster with dentals, palatais, and velars, but not bilabials (Ikeda, 2015b, p. 21).
79 The retroflex fricatives of Da-E dialect correspond to dental fricatives in Yu-Teu dialect. Due to their limited distribution among Da-E speakers, they are treated in Ikeda (2015b, p. 5) as synchronically as nearly extinct phonemes which are enclosed in parentheses in the consonant chart. In addition, they do not appear in the minimal set of Panyi consonant phonemes (Ikeda, 2015b, p. 5).
80 Though a number of diphthongs appear in previous descriptions, all of them beginning with [u] can be re-analyzed as a medial /w/. Phonetically they sound more like a [w] on-glise (Ikeda, 2015b, p. 12).
Teu dialect. This dialect does not have the apico-alveolar consonant phonemes and the rhotacized vowel phoneme /əʳ/ found in the Da-E dialect of Panyi.

Table 2 Panyi consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner/Place of Articulation</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental Laminal</th>
<th>Apico-alveolar (Da-E only)</th>
<th>Laminal Post-alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Post-velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nasal Stop</td>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>/z/ /s/</td>
<td>(ʃ/)</td>
<td>/ʒ/</td>
<td>/ʒ/</td>
<td>/ʒ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>/ts/ /tsʰ/ /dz/</td>
<td>(tʃ/ /tʃʰ/ /dʒ/ )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>(/ʎ/)</td>
<td>/j/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 Panyi vowel phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front spread</th>
<th>Centralized</th>
<th>Back rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>(/ə/)</td>
<td>/o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Panyi tonal system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Level tones</th>
<th>Falling tones</th>
<th>Rising tone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

81 The rhotacized vowel /ʃ/ only occurs in the Da-E dialect in conjunction with the retroflexe fricatives (Ikeda, 2015b, p. 10).
82 The entire column of apico-alveolar only occurs in the Da-E dialect (Ikeda, 2015b, p. 4). This footnote also applies to Table 5.
83 The 5 unstable consonants /ʃ/, /tʃ/, /tʃʰ/, /dʒ/ and /ʌ/ (in parentheses) in the Da-E are included in Ikeda (2015b, p. 4). This footnote also applies to Table 5.
84 The rhotacized vowel /əʳ/ (in parentheses) only occurs in the Da-E dialect. This footnote also applies to Table 6.
3.3 Orthography

The Lemei orthography is represented by Roman-based script (Ikeda, 2015a, pp. 5-6). It consists of 35 consonants (Table 5)\(^{85}\), 9 vowels (Table 6) and 5 tone marks (Table 7). The orthography is compatible for both Yu-Teu dialect and Da-E dialect. In Table 5 and Table 6, the first line represents the upper case letters while the second lines represent the lower case. Tone marks are represented by syllable-final tone letters so that the structure of a syllable looks like (C)VT. The mid-tone is unmarked.

For writing convention, syllables are symbolized by the use of spacing. Punctuations include commas, period, question mark and quotation markers. Commas (\(<, >\)) are used at clause boundaries and boundaries marked by phrasal intonation. Period (\(<. >\)) is used at the end of utterance. Question mark (\(<? >\)) is used at the end of the utterance for a question. Quotation marks (\(<“ ” >\)) are used before and after a quoted speech (Ikeda, 2015a, pp. 5-6).

Table 5 Panyi orthography (consonants)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner/Place of Articulation</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Apico-alveolar(^{86})</th>
<th>Laminal Post-alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Post-velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oral Stop</td>
<td>P Ph B</td>
<td>T Th D</td>
<td>Cy Chy Jy</td>
<td>C Ch c ch j</td>
<td>K Kh G</td>
<td>Q Qh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p ph b</td>
<td>t th d</td>
<td>cy chy jy</td>
<td>/c/ /cʰ/ /y/</td>
<td>k kh g</td>
<td>/q/ /qʰ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal Stop</td>
<td>M n</td>
<td>N n</td>
<td>S s</td>
<td>Sh sh</td>
<td>Hh Gh</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>(ɝ/)</td>
<td>/ɿ/ /ɿ/</td>
<td>/x/ /y/</td>
<td>/ho/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>F S</td>
<td>Rh S</td>
<td>S s</td>
<td>Sh sh</td>
<td>Hh Gh</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f rh s</td>
<td>/ɿ/ s</td>
<td>(ɝ/)</td>
<td>/ɿ/ /ɿ/</td>
<td>/x/ /y/</td>
<td>/ho/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>Ts Tsh Z</td>
<td>Ts Tsh Z</td>
<td>Ts tsh z</td>
<td>/ts/ /tsʰ/ /dz/</td>
<td>/tˢ/ /tˢʰ/ /dz/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>W L</td>
<td>R Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>/ɿ/ /ɿ/</td>
<td>/j/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>w l</td>
<td>r y</td>
<td>/ɿ/ /ɿ/</td>
<td>/j/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{85}\) Nasalization (/nasalized v/) is represented by \(<-n>\).

\(^{86}\) Since the data in this thesis was provided by a speaker of the Yu-Teu dialect, the apico-alveolar consonants which are used for the Da-E dialect are not used in the transcription of data in this thesis.
Table 6 Panyi orthography (vowels)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front spread</th>
<th>Centralized</th>
<th>Back rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Close</strong></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Er</td>
<td>U</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>er</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ɪ/</td>
<td>/ɨ/</td>
<td>/u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mid</strong></td>
<td>Ai</td>
<td>Ir</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ir</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>(/ə'/)</td>
<td>/o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Open</strong></td>
<td>E</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>/ə/</td>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 Panyi tone marks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone mark</th>
<th>Tone value</th>
<th>description</th>
<th>features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-l</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>high tone</td>
<td>extra-high, short, often glottalized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-f</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>rising tone</td>
<td>rising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-q (unmarked)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>high falling glottalized</td>
<td>tense “falling”, often glottalized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-v</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>low falling</td>
<td>low (sometimes laryngealized)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4 Morphosyntax

This section lays the foundation for charting the Lemei corpus and analysis in Chapter 4. The topics include the description of the noun phrases, the prepositional phrases, the verb phrases, the linguistics feature of topic prominence and the clauses types (which include verbal and non-verbal predicates, main clauses and subordinate clauses).

Referring primarily to Xu and Zhao’s (1984) work and other literatures that discuss the morphosyntax of Bai, this section outlines the essential grammatical features of Lemei using the data collected from the language resource person. Literatures related to the morphosyntax of Panyi is limited and many aspects of grammatical features in Bai are not explained in detail or covered by Xu and Zhao (1984). In such areas, this thesis attempts to borrow insight from the analysis of Mandarin to analyze Lemei, by assuming a corresponding relationship of certain features between Mandarin Chinese and Bai. This attempt and assumption is based on the claim that Bai is significantly influenced by Mandarin Chinese. For example, in the study of
Table 8 A comparison of word order typology of Lemei and nearby languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical Category</th>
<th>Northern Bai (Lemei)</th>
<th>Central Bai</th>
<th>Southern Bai</th>
<th>Chinese Mandarin</th>
<th>Lisu</th>
<th>Burmese</th>
<th>Loloish (Yi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic word order</td>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adposition</td>
<td>Prep (Post)(^{87})</td>
<td>Prep (Post)(^{88})</td>
<td>Prep (Post)(^{89})</td>
<td>Prep</td>
<td>Post</td>
<td>Post</td>
<td>Post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective &amp; Noun</td>
<td>AdjN</td>
<td>AdjN</td>
<td>AdjN</td>
<td>AdjN</td>
<td>NAdj</td>
<td>NAdj</td>
<td>NAdj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative clause &amp; Noun</td>
<td>RelN</td>
<td>RelN</td>
<td>RelN</td>
<td>RelN</td>
<td>RelN</td>
<td>RelN</td>
<td>RelN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative &amp; Noun</td>
<td>NDem</td>
<td>NDem</td>
<td>NDem</td>
<td>NDem</td>
<td>DemN</td>
<td>DemN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numeral &amp; Noun</td>
<td>NNum</td>
<td>NNum</td>
<td>NNum</td>
<td>NNum</td>
<td>NNum</td>
<td>NNum</td>
<td>NNum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree word &amp; Adjective</td>
<td>DegAdj</td>
<td>DegAdj</td>
<td>DegAdj</td>
<td>DegAdj</td>
<td>DegAdj</td>
<td>AdjDegAdj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative &amp; Verb</td>
<td>NegV</td>
<td>NegV</td>
<td>NegV</td>
<td>NegV</td>
<td>NegV</td>
<td>NegV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“the correspondence relations between Bai, Chinese and Tibeto-Burman language”, Yuan (2004 [2088], p. 790) argues that the semantic system of Bai is closer to Chinese rather than the Tibeto-Burman languages. Wang (2005 [2008], p. 1147)

\(^{87}\) This thesis interprets the postposition in Lemei as localizer but not a postposition. For the sake of comparison with other languages, the postposition (Post) is in parenthesis.

\(^{88}\) According to Dryer (2008, p. 23) there is a benefactive postposition ŋɤ\(^{55}\) in Central Bai. Since it is described as an object marker by Xu and Zhao (1984, p. 54), the postposition is in parenthesis.

\(^{89}\) The postpositions are identified in the Dali variety (Southern Bai) (Li, 2013 [2009], p.77). However, the postpositions will be described as object markers (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 54) in this thesis.
points out that the academic circle generally admits that the language structure of Bai has experienced great changes because of its intimate contact with Chinese. On this basis, Li and Thompson’s (1981) work on Mandarin Chinese serves as an important reference.

Since Lemei is closely related with both Central and Southern Bai and has probably been influenced to varying degrees by nearby languages such as Chinese Mandarin, Lisu, Burmese and Loloish language (Yi), a table of word order typology comparing these languages (Table 8) is given for comparison.

### 3.4.1 The noun phrases

The noun phrases (NPs) in Lemei, like that in Central Bai (Xu & Zhao, 1984, pp. 13-14), are head-initial. The most basic form of a NP is composed of either a pronoun (PRO) or a noun (N) functioning as a head which may be preceded by modifier(s) (i.e. ADJ + N) and may be followed by a quantifier (QUANT) and/or a classifier (CLF) (i.e. N + CLF) (Wiersma, 2007, p. 669). Three types of noun phrases including dependents such as classifier phrases, associative phrases and modifying phrases will be discussed below.

First of all, a Lemei noun phrase (NP) which contains a classifier phrase is demonstrated in (7). The noun (N) sæ⁴² ‘egg’ is preceded by an adjective (ADJ) and is followed by a number (NUM) and a classifier (CLF). The schema of a classifier NP can be described as: \([\text{ADJ} \ N \ (\text{NUM} \ CLF)]_\text{NP}\). The variations of a Lemei NP in both definite and generic form (also with demonstrative) are demonstrated in (8).

(7) S10-2   bo³⁵ a⁵⁵ bo⁴² ci²¹ da³⁵ a⁴²⁷ ni²¹ sæ⁴² ci⁴² sæ⁴² a⁴²⁷ qʰɔ³³  3   duck DEM CLF TOP one day lay  golden egg one CLF
his duck laid one golden egg each day

---

90 Some scholars even argue that Bai is Sinitic (1972; 1982), and Chinese and Bai form a Sino-Baic family (Zhengzhang, 2008 [1999], p. 732). This thesis does not mean to support these claims, but only attempt to borrow insights from the analysis of Mandarin to understand Lemei.

91 Wiersma describes the schema for a fully realized NP in Central Bai based on a single substantive as follows: \([\text{REL/ADJ/ADV}+(\text{LINK})]+\text{(ADJ)}+\text{N}+(\text{CLF})+\text{(DET)}+(\text{NUM})+(\text{CLF})]\). Wiersma uses SUB (substantive) to represent the linker (LINK) no³. REL refers to relative clause here. The parentheses were modified here.

92 This section follows Li and Thompson’s outline (1981, pp. 103-123) on the three types of complex noun phrases observed in Mandarin.

93 The structure of definite NP and generic NP in Lemei is the same as that in Central Bai (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 14).
The associative phrase indicates that two noun phrases are associated or connected in some way (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 113), for example through possession (POSS) or general association (ASSO). The schema of a NP which contains an associative phrase can be depicted as [NP<sub>POSS/ASSO</sub> NP<sub>HEAD</sub>]. The associative phrase appears before the head noun. Example (9) demonstrates a case of possession (POSS) in which the pronoun ɲɔ⁴³⁵ ‘I’ (possessor) is followed by the NP ɕi³³ pʰo⁵⁵ ‘hand’. An example of general association (ASSO) is demonstrated in (10) in which cɔ⁴² hɔ³³ ‘the partners’ are related or associated with the antagonist.

(9) S17-8 qʰɔ⁵⁵ cʰwa⁵⁵ ɲɔ³⁵ ci³³ pʰo⁵⁵ nɔ³³ la³⁵ take come 1 hand CLF PAT IMPER “Come (to) take my hand!”

94 Definiteness is marked by the classifier.
The modifying phrase functions to modify a noun. It has the same structure as a relative clause as shown in example (11) and (12). The relativizer ˲nɔ˲³³ is used in the nominalized clause which modifies the definite noun.

(11) S17-17 ˲nɔ˲⁵⁵si˲³⁵ nɪ˲²¹ nɔ˲³³ a˲³⁵mo˲³³
like money REL mother
the mother who like money

(12) S17-7c ˲xɔ˲³³ nɔ˲³³ hɪ˲³³ nɔ˲³³ a˲²⁴mo˲³³
pretty REL good REL mother
the mother who is pretty and good (or: the pretty and good mother)

3.4.2 The prepositional phrases

This section outlines several types of phrases that take the form of the prepositional phrase (PP) in which the noun phrase is introduced by the coverb.95 The prepositional phrase in Mandarin, according to Li and Thompson (1981, p. 356), has a characteristic that the phrase formed by the coverb plus the noun phrase generally precedes the main verb and follows the subject or topic. In Central Bai (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 45) and Lemei, this feature is likewise. The types of phrases discussed in this section include: the prepositional phrase (PP), the locative phrase (LOCP) and the directional phrase (DIRP).96 Another type of phrase which describe the temporal relation, the temporal phrase (TP), will also be discussed.

The prepositional phrases (PP) found in the corpus occur preverbally.97 It is composed of a coverb (COV) followed by a NP and an optional localizer (LOCZ).98

95 Coverbs in Mandarin, according to Li and Thompson (1981, p. 360), function as prepositions in a way that a coverb and its noun form a coverb phrase which modifies the verb of the sentence. This class of coverbs contains words that are partly like verbs and partly like prepositions. Some coverbs become more like prepositions than others while some can still be used as verbs. The criterion of distinguishing coverbs and verbs is that a coverb must occur in some contexts where it cannot be interpreted as verbs (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 367).

96 This section follows Li and Thompson’s outline on the three types of prepositional phrase in Mandarin. (1) the prepositional phrase (Li & Thompson, 1981, pp. 356-369), (2) the locative phrase (Li & Thompson, 1981, pp. 391-409) and (3) the directional phrase (Li & Thompson, 1981, pp. 409-413).

97 According to Dryer (2008, p. 23), adpositional phrases sometimes precede the verb but sometimes follow the verb. Dryer mentions a postpositional benefactive phrase in Central Bai with the coverb
The schema can be represented as: \([\text{COV NP (LOCZ)}]_{PP}\). In example (13), the PP is composed of the coverb \(tɛ^{21}\) ‘from’ (in bold type), the NP \(ɕo^{55}ŋa^{55} qʰɔ^{42}\) ‘the box’ and the localizer \(sɨ^{39}hi^{33}\) ‘inside’ (underlined). The PP is followed by the verb \(mɑ^{55}tsʰɛ^{55} cʰwɑ^{55}\) ‘came out’. In example (14), the localizer is not needed.

(13) S13-29

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{PP} & \text{V} \\
bo^{42}ya^{42} & \left[tɛ^{21} \, ɕo^{55}ŋa^{55} qʰɔ^{42} \, sɨ^{39}hi^{33}\right] & mɑ^{55}tsʰɛ^{55} cʰwɑ^{55} \\
\text{afterward} & \text{from} & \text{box} \quad \text{CLF} \quad \text{inside} \quad \text{go.out} \quad \text{come} \\
\end{array}
\]

\(ŋi^{21}qa^{35} a^{427} ni^{21}\)

person \quad one \quad \text{CLF}

Then from the box came out a person

(14) S19-02

\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{PP} & \text{V} \\
\left[tɛ^{21} \, wa^{42} ci^{35} \, cʰu^{42}\right] & ja^{55}kʰu^{42} cʰwɑ^{55} \\
\text{from} & \text{dig} \quad \text{gold} \quad \text{NML} & \text{return} \quad \text{come} \\
\end{array}
\]

One day the elder brother and the younger brother two of them returned from the goldmine

In Mandarin there are two features concerning the usage of the localizers. Firstly, localizers are usually omitted with place names and with nouns referring to familiar places and institutions. Secondly, localizers in Mandarin fall into two categories, namely the monosyllabic localizers and the disyllabic localizers. The difference between the two is that the disyllabic localizers can be used alone as place words to serve as subjects, objects, or it can be combined with nouns to express position. The localizers in Bai (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 15) and Lemei seems to demonstrate the above two features. In example (15), the disyllabic

\(ŋi^{55}\) which follows the verb. However, this postposition is described as an object marker by Xu and Zhao (1984, p. 54).

98 The term “localizer” is borrowed from Chapell & Peyraube’s (2008, p. 16) discussion about localizers in Mandarin Chinese. The localizers are underlined in the examples.

99 These nouns usually refer to familiar places, including rooms, buildings, organizations, and institution such as school, restaurant, home, kitchen, dining room, study, church, post office, hospital, police station, station, airport (Li & Thompson, 1980, p. 394).

100 The category of “place words” comes from Chao (1968) who defined place words as “substantives which can be objects of verbs or prepositions of place or movement”.
localizer $di^{21}hi^{33}$ ‘behind’ serves as the object. Some common monosyllabic localizers in Lemei are $nɔ^{33}$ ‘on’ (example [16]), $hi^{33}$ ‘in’ and $mi^{35}$ ‘around’. Some examples of the disyllabic localizers include $si^{35}hi^{33}$ ‘inside’, $ci^{21}mi^{35}$ ‘front.outside’, $di^{21}hi^{33}$ ‘back.behind’, $ci^{21}nɔ^{33}$ ‘above’, $ti^{42}nɔ^{33}$ ‘under’ (example [17]) and $dzɛ^{42}nɔ^{33}$ ‘side’.

(15) PM12-5 $a^{35}mo^{33}$ [ku$^{42}$ $di^{21}hi^{42}$]

mother be.at behind

Mother was at the back

The locative phrase (LOCP) specifies the general location at which an event or state occurs (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 398). The locative phrase in Lemei either precedes the verb or follows the verb in a clause. The schema of the preverbal locative phrase can be described as: [ku$^{42}$ NP (LOCZ)]$_{LOCP}$. In example (16), the preverbal locative phrase is composed of the locative copula ku$^{42}$ ‘be.at’, the definite NP $jɪ^{42}jɪ^{42}$ ‘the tree’ and the localizer (LOCZ) $nɔ^{33}$ ‘on’. In this example, the preverbal LOCP is followed by a connective $ɲɪ^{35}$ ‘then’ and the verb $kʰwɑ^{55}$ ‘pick’. On the other hand, the schema of the postverbal locative phrase can be described as: [NP (LOCZ)]$_{LOCP}$. In example (17), the postverbal locative phrase follows the verb $ɲu^{33}ti^{42}$ ‘sleep’.

(16) S3-3

3 father TOP be.at tree CLF on then pick

The father picked (fruit) on the tree

(17) S8-8

3 afterward 3 son CLF truly mouth CLF open DUR

folk$^{42}$ $ɜɑ^{42}$ bo$^{35}$ $tsi^{33}$ $jɪ^{21}$ $tse^{35}$ $tsɛ^{35}$ co$^{42}$ $qwa^{25}$ $qʰ^{42}$ $xwa^{55}$ $hi^{33}$

Then his son really kept his mouth opened and slept under the tree

---

101 Fu and Xu (2008, pp. 136-137) describes $mɯ^{55}$ in Leme as a general location marker which means ‘around’ or further from the action.

102 The locative phrase in Mandarin either precedes or follows the verbs in a sentence (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 397). However, relatively fewer types of verb allow a postverbal locative phrase. These verbs include (1) verbs of displacement, (2) verbs of posture, (3) verbs of appearing and (4) verbs of placement (i.e. include $ba$-construction) (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 398-406).

103 It seems that the connective $ɲɪ^{15}$ ‘then’ is needed only if the verb is a monosyllabic one. This needs further investigation.
The directional phrase (DIRP) is defined as the phrase which parallels the locative phrase in certain respects but consists of the coverb cʰwa⁵ ‘to’ (which means ‘come’ or ‘arrive’ when used as an active verb). The directional phrases found in the corpus occur postverbally. The schema can be described as: [cʰwa⁵⁵ NP (LOCZ)]DIRP. It is also tightly constrained with the usage of the verb that involve a destination (Li & Thompson, 1981, pp. 409-410). In example (18), the postverbal directional phrase is composed of the coverb cʰwɑ⁵ ‘to’ and the definite NP qo³⁵ ŋwɑ⁵⁵ ‘river bank’.

(18) SS13-4.1 (S)  V  DIRP  Ø  cʰwɪ³⁵  [cʰwa⁵⁵ qo³⁵ ŋwɑ⁵⁵]  bo⁴² yɑ⁴²
    swim  to  river bank  afterward
    When (the tiger) swam to the river bank

The temporal phrase (TP) in Lemei, as shown in (19), can be represented by the structure of a prepositional phrase in which the localizer nɔ³³ ‘on’ is used after the NP as in the schema: [COV NP LOCZ]TP. From the corpus it is observed that the temporal phrase has a tendency to occur preverbally, preferrably in the beginning of a clause. Common Lemei localizers used in temporal phrases include nɔ³³ ‘on’ and dɨ²¹hɨ³³ ‘onward’.

(19) S8-8  TP  [tɛ²¹ bo⁴² jɪ³³ nɔ³³]  bo³⁵ tʃi³³ jɪ²¹  tʃu³⁵ jɪ³³ kʰɪ³³
    from  that day  on  3  son  CLF  work  up
    From that day his son worked

3.4.3 The verb phrases

The basic structure of a VP in Lemei, like that in Central Bai (Xu & Zhao, 1984, pp. 32-39; 41-43), has a head verb (V) or a head adjectival verb (ADJV) as its nucleus to which the optional preverbal element (PREV) and the postverbal element (POSTV) is attached. The schema of the VP in Lemei can be described as:

---

104 Directional phrases in Mandarin, like locative phrases, can occur both preverbally and postverbally (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 410). See Xu and Zhao (1984, p. 45) for examples of the directional phrase in Central Bai.

105 From the corpus it seems that the localizer used in temporal phrase is not optional.

106 Adjectives denote qualities or properties that were ascribed to entities (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 141). Li and Thompson (1981, p. 170) uses the term “adjectival verbs” to emphasize the ways in which these forms, in contrast to English adjectives, resemble forms that are uncontroversially verbs in Mandarin.
This section discusses the preverbal element and the postverbal element of the verb phrase respectively. In addition to these two broad categories, a special type of verb head which is a two-element verb compound ($V_{v1,v2}$) has also been identified in Lemei and will be discussed in Section 3.4.3.3.

### 3.4.3.1 Preverbal elements

The preverbal elements (PREV) consist of the intensifier (INTENS), the adverb (ADV), and the (preverbal) negator (NEG). In Central Bai, for example, the intensifier $tsa^{35}s_2^{55}$ ‘very’ modify the adjectival verb which follow it (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 47) whereas the adverb $s_2^{52}$ ‘mutually’ precedes the verb (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 33). In Lemei the corresponding adverb $s_3^{35}$ ‘mutually’ precedes the verb as in example (20), and the intensifier $k_3^{35}$ ‘very’ precedes both the adverb and the head verb as in example (21).

(20) S15-5  
$bi^{35}s_3^{35}j_2^{21}s_2^{35}tso^{42}$  
3 three person mutually speak
The three persons spoke to one another

(21) S15-1  
$k_3^{35}s_3^{35}t_3^{55}q^h_u^{42}\ldots n_2^{33}s_2^{35}j_2^{21}$  
very mutually join able REL three CLF
the three persons who ... were able to keep unity

In the analysis of adverbs (ADVs)\textsuperscript{108} in Mandarin, Li and Thompson (1981, p. 320) observe that there is a type of adverbs, the nonmovable adverbs, which occur only after the topic or subject. In Central Bai, some examples include $lc^{21}$ ‘again’, $tse^{44}$

\textsuperscript{107} Wiersma (2007, p. 664) interprets $s_2^{55}$ as a coverb.  
\textsuperscript{108} Li and Thompson (1981, p. 320) classify several types of adverbs in Mandarin as: (1) movable adverbs, which occur either at the beginning of the sentence or after the topic or subject, and modify the entire sentence (i.e. time adverbs and attitude adverbs). (2) nonmovable adverbs, which occur only after the topic or subject (i.e. manner adverbs and nonmanner adverbs). (3) Postverbal adverbials, which occur only after the verb and signal frequency or duration. This classification might provide insights for further studies on adverbs in Lemei.
‘again’ and li⁵⁵ ‘also’ (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 48). In Lemei, some common examples of adverbs includes li⁵⁵ ‘also’ and ti⁴² ‘again’¹⁰⁹ as in example (22) and (23).

(22) PPM11-14  
\[ dɔ⁴²ho^{35} \ \text{husband} \quad \text{wife} \quad \text{also} \quad \text{mutually} \quad \text{separate} \]

The husband and the wife also divorces

(23) S18-11  
\[ bo^{35} \ dɔ^{42}ho^{35} \ n u^{42}ni^{42} \ li^{35} \ sɔ^{35} \ sæ^{55} \]

husband  wife  also  mutually  separate

The husband and the wife also divorces

Simple negation in Central Bai (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 37) and Lemei demonstrate a similar structure. The preverbal negator a⁴²ˀ ‘NEG’ precedes the adverb (ADV) and the verb (V) as in (24), and the negator (NEG) also precedes the intensifier (INTENS) and the adjectival verb (ADJV) as in (25).

(24) DL17-11  
\[ a^{42} \ sɔ^{35} \ tswæ^{55} \ tsʰa^{35} \]

NEG  mutually  negotiate  CRS

(I) do not negotiate (the price) anymore

(25) PT28  
\[ a^{42} \ kɔ^{35} \ ta^{42} \ \ \ nɔ^{42} \ \ \ bo^{25}ci^{21} \ \ \ kɔ^{35} \ ta^{42} \]

NEG  very  competent 2  on.the.contrary  very  competent

‘(I’m) not quite wonderful, but you are indeed wonderful!’

Two types of adverbial phrase should also be discussed here. One type of the adverbial phrase in Central Bai is typically composed by reduplicating an adjective (ADJ) and combining it with the subordinating particle (i.e. linker) no³³ (Wiersma, 2007, p. 663) before the verb (V). Example (26) gives an example in Lemei in which the corresponding linker is nɔ³³.

(26) PM5-5  
\[ co^{33} \ d z i^{35} \ x o^{33} \ xo^{33} \ nɔ^{33} \ tɔ^{55}cɔ^{55} \]

seed  TOP  good  good  LINK  preserve

Seed should be preserved well

¹⁰⁹ In Mandarin, you 又 ‘again’ applies either to past or to present events, whereas zai 再 ‘again’ refers to events that have not yet happened (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 329). It seems that ti⁴² ‘again’ in Lemei applies to both situations.
Another type of adverbial phrase is the quantity adverbial phrases. In Mandarin these phrases specify “the extent or duration of an activity and must occur after the verb” (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 352). In Lemei, the quantity adverbial phrases is composed of a noun, a number and a classifier (if required) as in example (27).

(27) S17-12 \( bo^{35} \) mo\(^{33} \) \( nɔ^{33} \) ji\(^{22} \) \( do^{35}kʰ^{33} \) dzi\(^{35} \)
3 mother this CLF so.then TOP
\( bo^{35} \) ju\(^{33} \) hɔ\(^{33} \) nɔ\(^{33} \) a\(^{42} \) ji\(^{21} \) nɔ\(^{33} \) dzi\(^{35} \)
3 daughter PL PAT one CLF PAT TOP
\( qʰ^{21}ji^{35} \) nɔ\(^{35} \)wa\(^{55} \) s\(^{35} \) qʰ\(^{33} \)
sell month three CLF

This mother thus sold each of her daughters (for) three months\(^{110} \)

### 3.4.3.2 Postverbal elements

Postverbal elements include modality markers and aspect markers. Modality in Central Bai and Lemei is marked by auxiliary verb\(^{111} \) (AUX) (or auxiliaries in short). Auxiliary verbs reflect some verbal properties but they are not full-fledged verbs (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 170).\(^{112} \) Auxiliary verbs in Central Bai do not function alone as predicate and they follow the main verb (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 40). Some common Lemei auxiliary verbs include si\(^{35} \) ‘want’ (as in example [28]), qʰu\(^{33} \) ‘know’, \( nwt^{42} \) ‘dare’ and co\(^{35} \) ‘should’. An auxiliary verb can be negated by a preceding negator a\(^{42} \) ‘NEG’ (underlined) as shown in example (29).

(28) S16-32 \( bo^{35} \) ja\(^{55} \) si\(^{35} \) hi\(^{35} \) nɔ\(^{33} \) bi\(^{42} \)
3 go want sky on PRT
It (the dragon) wants to go to the sky!

---

\(^{110} \) In the free translation the adverbial phrase looks like a postverbal prepositional phrase.

\(^{111} \) The term auxiliary verb is usually used in Chinese grammars (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 172) as well as in Bai grammars (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 40).

\(^{112} \) According to Li and Thompson (1981, pp. 171-174), the auxiliary verb in Mandarin shares two properties with verb: (1) It may occur as the A element in A-not-A questions. (2) It may be negated. On the other hand, the auxiliary verb differs from verb with respect to six properties: (1) It must co-occur with a verb. (2) It does not take aspect markers. (3) It cannot be modified by intensifiers. (4) It cannot be nominalized. (5) It cannot occur before the subject. (6) It cannot take a direct object. Whether these properties corresponds to that in Bai or Lemei needs further investigation.
Aspect, according to Li and Thompson (1981, p. 184), is different from tense in a way that aspect refers to “how the situation itself is being viewed with respect to its own internal makeup”, but tense refers to the time relation between the occurrence of a situation and the moment that the situation is being mentioned in speech.113 Being a non-tense language like Mandarin, Central Bai and Lemei possess aspects which are marked by the particles that follow the verbs immediately. The three types of aspects in Central Bai are: the perfective aspect, the durative aspect (i.e. the imperfective aspect) and the experiential aspect (Xu & Zhao, 1984, pp. 35-36).114 The corresponding aspect markers (ASP) in Lemei and their functions will be summarized below.

The perfective marker (PFV) generally describes the completion of an action (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 35). In Lemei some perfective markers include tsʰɑ³⁵ ‘PFV’ as shown in example (30) and li³³ ‘PFV’ as shown in example (31).

(30) PM2-6  i³³ tsʰɑ³⁵ cwɪ³³ boʰɣɑ⁴² ja³⁵kʰu⁴² bo³⁵ hɔ⁴² qʰɔ⁵⁵ hi³³  
Encountering drinking water afterward return 3 house CLF in 
After finishing drinking water (the horse) returned (to) his house

(31) S16-41  boʰɣɑ⁴² lu²¹ ci³³ fe³⁵ li³³ hɪf³⁵ nɔ³³  
Encountering afterward dragon CLF fly PFV sky PAT 
Then the dragon had flew to the sky

In addition to this, Xu and Zhao (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 35) claims that the perfective marker in Bai also signals a situation that “an action continues after it has been started”. This observation might refer to Li and Thompson’s (1984, pp. 215-216) argument that the perfective particle in Mandarin does not necessarily mean completion. Rather, it can convey a message that “the end point of the action is left open” and only the “total context” in which the event occurs “can determine what is

---

113 Li and Thompson’s discussion of aspect is adapted from Comrie (1976, p. 7).
114 Li and Thompson (1981, p. 232) describe one more aspect in Mandarin as the “delimitative aspect”. It means doing an action “a little bit” or for a short period of time. This aspect may be corresponding with the aspect in Bai which signals “an action is undergoing but then it is stopped” (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 34). This aspect in Lemei seems to be realized by the reduplication of the verb.
the precise end point of the action in time”. A Lemei example in (32) demonstrates this phenomenon. The action of running occurs before the time of speech, but the action might have ended before or during the time of utterance, or it might end at some time after the utterance (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 216). So the perfective marker $ts^b a^{35}$ ‘PFV’ could not signal a completed action in (32).

\[(32)\] GC-93.4 $\eta^3 a^{35} ts^b a^{35} b^2 t a^{42} d^{42} k w a^{55}$

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
1 & \text{run} & \text{PFV} & \text{mile} \\
& \text{I have run for one mile} \\
\end{array}
\]

The durative marker (DUR) describes an ongoing state of an action or an event which has started (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 36). In Lemei the durative markers seem to include $hi^{33}$ ‘DUR’ and $ku^{42}$ ‘DUR’. In example (33), the durative marker $hi^{33}$ ‘DUR’ follows the verb $x w a^{55}$ ‘open’. In the intransitive clause in example (34), the durative marker $ku^{42}$ ‘DUR’ follows the verb $q^b o^{55}$ ‘cry’. However, in the transitive clause in example (35), the direct object $p o^{31} p a^{42} c w i^{33}$ ‘milk’ occurs between the main verb $i^{33}$ ‘drink’ and the durative marker $ku^{42}$ ‘DUR’. The position of the durative marker seems to be an abnormal case which needs further research.

\[(33)\] S8-8 $b o^{42} y a^{42}$ $b o^{35} t s i^{33} n ù^{21} t s c e^{35} t s e^{35}$ $c o^{42} q w a^{35}$ $q^b o^{42} x w a^{55}$ $h i^{33}$

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{afterward} & 3 & \text{son} & \text{CLF} \\
& \text{truly} & \text{mouth} & \text{CLF} \\
& \text{open} & \text{DUR} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Then sleep} & \text{tree} & \text{CLF} & \text{under} \\
\end{array}
\]

Then the son really kept his mouth opened and slept under the tree\(^{116}\)

\[(34)\] GA-44.2 $\eta^3 a^{32} c^b a^{35} t u^{35}$ $b o^{35} q^b o^{55}$ $k u^{42}$

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
1 & \text{hear.able} & 3 & \text{cry} \\
& \text{DUR} \\
\end{array}
\]

I heard (that) he/she was crying

\[(35)\] S14-4 $b o^{42} t s i^{33} b o^{35} b o^{33}$ $k u^{43} j u^{21}$ $i^{33}$ $p o^{31} p a^{42} c w i^{33}$ $k u^{42}$

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
3 & \text{son} & 3 & \text{father two} \\
& \text{CLF} & \text{drink} & \text{milk} \\
& \text{DUR} \\
\end{array}
\]

The father and the son were drinking milk

\[\footnotesize{115}\] According to Fu and Xu (2008, p. 135), the general location marker $-\eta y^{55}$ (or $m u^{55}$) is found to serve as the durative aspectual marker by suffixing to the verb. In the Lemei corpus $-\eta y^{55}$ (or $m u^{55}$) is not observed.

\[\footnotesize{116}\] In this example the durative aspect meaning is translated by “kept”.

47
The experiential marker (EXP) describes an action which is used to be done by the agent (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 36). Xu and Zhao do not use the word “experiential” but the experiential marker ko⁴² they quote obviously signals the experiential aspect. Wiersma (2007, p. 664) describes the event as a “prior experience”. According to Li and Thompson (1981, p. 226), the experiential aspect in Mandarin signals that an event has been experienced with respect to some reference time. If the reference time is left unspecified, it signals that the event has been experienced at least once at some indefinite time, which is usually the indefinite past. In Lemei the experiential marker is ko⁴² ‘EXP’ as shown in example (36). In this example, the reference time is left unspecified. The agent has probably experienced the event of sleeping before the statement and the sentence comments that he does not need sleeping anymore. This EXP can also be negated by a preceding negator a⁴²ˀ ‘NEG’ as in (37). In this example, the experience of “not seeing a bucket” is experienced by the speaker in the past.

(36) GC-92.4  
bo³⁵ gu⁴²tʰ a ko⁴²  tsʰ a³⁵  
3  sleep  EXP  CRS  
He has slept (before)

(37) PM37-1  
tʰ⁴²  dz³⁵ t³⁴ a⁴²ˀ ko⁴²  
bucket TOP see NEG EXP
(I) have never saw a bucket

3.4.3.3 Verb compounds
A variety of verb compounds (VCs) are observed in Lemei. A type of verb compound seem to demonstrate the property of what is called the resultative verb compound (RVC) in Mandarin. The resultative verb compound is a two-element verb compound (V₁V₂) in which “the second element signals some result of the action or process conveyed by the first element”¹¹⁷ (Li & Thompson, 1981, pp. 54-55). An example of verb compound in Lemei is shown in example (38) in which the second verbal

¹¹⁷ RVC in Mandarin has three characteristics (Li & Thompson, 1981, pp. 56-58): (1) It occur in the potential form, which involves the insertion of -de- ‘obtain’ or -bu- ‘not’ between the two constituents. (2) It cannot be reduplicated. (3) No aspect markers, measure words, or any elements other than the potential infix (-de- and -bu-) may intervene between the two constituents. The three types of RVC include: (1) Directional RVC, (2) Phase RVC and (3) Metaphorical RVC. Whether the RVC in Mandarin corresponds to that in Bai or Lemei needs further investigation.
element $t^5_{55}$ ‘able’\textsuperscript{118} does not represent perfectivity but it signals an achievement. The meaning of the sentence is better understood as “(he) succeedingly shot a bird” rather than “(he) is able to shoot a bird”.\textsuperscript{119} Other common examples of resultative verb compounds in Lemei include $i^{33}t^5_{55}$ ‘see’ and $ŋwi^{42}t^{55}$ ‘think’.\textsuperscript{120}

\[(38) \text{PM1-3} \quad \text{RVC} \]
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
V_1 & V_2 \\
\emptyset & co^{42}t^{55} & ts^{55} & a^{42} & ci^{21} \\
\end{array}
\]

\begin{tabular}{l}
shoot.able & bird & one & CLF \\
\end{tabular}

(He) (succeedingly) shot a bird

### 3.4.4 Clause-final particles

Clause-final particles (i.e. sentence-final particles) are described as “mood words” in Chinese grammar which suggests that the function is related to the “conversational context in various ways” (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 317). Wiersma (2007, p. 665) has outlined eight types of sentence-final particles in Central Bai, namely inchoative, conjectural, concessive, rhetorical question, dismissive, assertion, inferential and imperative.\textsuperscript{121} Some clause-final particles found in the Lemei corpus include conjectural use of $dzo^{42}$, assertive use of $wo^{42}$ and $ma^{21}$, and imperative use of $la^{35}$. Interrogative use of clause-final particle include interrogative $l^{42}$ which is used with a question word and $wa^{21}$ which functions as a question marker in a particle question\textsuperscript{122}.

In Central Bai, the particle $la^{42}$ serves as the perfective aspect marker $la^{42}$ ‘PFV’ as well as the clause-final particle for assertive (Xu & Zhao, 1984, pp. 35, 80). In Lemei, the clause-final particle $ts^{35}$ also seems to serve as a perfective marker as well as a clause-final particle. When it serves as the clause-final particle, it can be glossed according to Li and Thompson (1981, p. 244) as a “Currently Relevant

\textsuperscript{118} According to Li and Thompson (1981, p. 56), in Mandarin the potential infix –de- $‘t^{55}$’ may be glossed as ‘succeed.in’ (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 66) or ‘achievable’ (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 57) since it signals an achievement. In this thesis $t^5_{55}$ is glossed as ‘able’.

\textsuperscript{119} Since $t^5_{55}$ does not represent perfectivity but it signals an achievement, in the free translation it should not be translated as “able to” or “can”.

\textsuperscript{120} In these two examples of Phrase RVC, $t^5_{55}$ may be glossed as ‘arrive’ (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 66).

\textsuperscript{121} In a particle question, the interrogative nature is signaled by the use of a sentence-final particle which turns a declarative clause to an interrogative clause (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 547).

\textsuperscript{122} See the section of sentence-final particles in Central Bai in Xu and Zhao (1984, pp. 80-92).
State” (CRS). For example, the clause in (39) is marked by $ts^h\alpha^{35}$ ‘CRS’, which follows the perfective marker $li^{33}$, to express a sudden “change of state” (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 244).

(39) S19-8 $bo^{35} be^{33} q^bwe^{35} q^bwe^{35} q^bwa^{33} ci^{21} ti^{35} li^{33} ts^h\alpha^{35}$

3 rice bag CLF dog CLF carry PFV CRS

His bag of rice had been taken away by the dog.

In addition to this, the particles $le^{21}$ seems to reflect a similar function as the particle $ne$ (glossed as ‘REx’ [Response to Expectation]) in Mandarin. According to Li and Thompson (1981, p. 300), the particle ‘REx’ possess the semantic function of pointing out to the hearer that what conveyed by the speaker is the speaker’s response to certain claim, expectation or belief of the hearer. Example (40) is chosen from the story of a man of prayer and the first sentence of the story tells the listeners that “there was a man who was generous to offer to God”. After citing a few examples of how generous the man was, this sentence is like the most convincing evidence that the story-teller would like to share so as to convince the hearers that his claim about the prayerful man is true.

(40) S7-5 $bo^{35} ci^{35} q^42 ji^{21} so^{42} li^{35} la^{42} qwa^{35} ts^h\epsilon$ $wu^{35} hi^{35} h\epsilon^{42} le^{21}$

3 body CLF be.sick also continue build church REx

(See,) although his body was sicked (he) still continued to build the church!

With the clause-final particle $le^{21}$, the complete information conveyed by the sentence can be paraphrased as “you see (or listen) if you don’t believe me, although his body was sicked he still continued to build the church!” It has the effect of “calling on the hearer to pay particular attention to the information conveyed by the sentence” (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 300).

---

123 According to Li and Thompson (1981, p. 290), the clause-final particle $le$ in Mandarin is described as a CRS (Currently Relevant State) because it has several functions: (1) talking about a state that involves a change, (2) correcting a wrong assumption, (3) reporting the progress so far, (4) alerting the hearer about what will happen next, and (5) tagging a comment to signal the end of a narrative or end of the speaker’s current contribution to the conversation. In other words, all these functions suggest a currently relevant state based on the knowledge of relationship between the speaker and the hearer. Though $xa^{r5}$ in Lemei might not be suggesting exactly the similar functions, Li and Thompson’s discussion lends a good perspective on understanding the usage of $ts^h\alpha^{r5}$.

124 Li and Thompson (1981, pp. 300-302) quote Chao’s (1968, pp. 802-804) claim that $ne$ in the declarative clauses in Mandarin describes a continued state and depicts an interest in additional information.
3.4.5 Topic prominence

The linguistics feature of topic prominence is a significant concept in the studies of Bai and Lemei. The element ‘topic’ is described by Li and Thompson (1981, p. 15) as one of the most striking features of Mandarin sentence structure in addition to the element of subject and object. In Chinese grammar, a topic refers to “typically a noun phrase (or a verb phrase) that names what the sentence is about, is definite or generic, occurs in sentence-initial position, and may be followed by a pause or a pause particle” (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 87).

In order to avoid the confusion of understanding the topic as a “propositional topic” of the clause” (as in a “topic-comment” framework) and the topic as a topicalized device called “the point of departure”, Levinsohn (2015, p. 41) divides a sentence into three functional parts: the point of departure, the topic and the comment. The “point of departure” (PoD) designates an element that is placed at the beginning of a clause with a dual function. Firstly, it establishes a starting point for the communication. Secondly, it “cohesively anchors the subsequent clause(s) to something which is already in the context (i.e. to something accessible in the hearer’s mental representation)” (Dooley & Levinsohn, 2001, p.68). Above all, points of departure (PsoD) signal discontinuities of situation, reference and, sometimes, action (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 41).

The language of Bai is claimed to be a “topic-prioritizing language” (Zhao, 2013, p. 333) which include the typical topic-comment sentence structures and several topic markers that mark the topic. For example in the Xiaguan Bai variety, one of the topic markers tsɿ⁵⁵ can be used to mark noun phrase, pronoun, time phrase, locative phrase, verb phrase or even a clause as the topic of a sentence (Zhao, 2013, p. 338-340). The above features of topic-prominence are also observed in Lemei. The

---

125 The subject and topic are distinguished in a way that the subject must always have a direct semantic relationship of “doing” or “being” with the verb whereas the topic does not. (Li & Thompson, 1981, pp. 15, 87)

126 There are two properties that topics share: (1) A topic always occurs in the sentence-initial position unless it is preceded by a connector that links it to the preceding sentence or clause. (2) A “topic” can be separated from the “comment” by a pause or by an optional pause particle (for example the clause-final particles) (Li & Thompson, 1981, p.86). Other elements that occur in the sentence-initial position and agree with the definition of topic, for example a verb phrase, time phrase, locative phrase or even an entire clause, can also function as the topic (Li & Thompson, 1981, pp. 94, 99).

127 A propositional topic, according to Levinsohn (2015, p. 23), refers to the referent to which “the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee’s knowledge of this referent” (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 131).

128 Levinsohn (2015, p. 41) follows Prague School linguist Beneš in this analysis.

129 The topic markers in Southern Bai includes nɯ⁵⁵, tsɿ⁵⁵, lɯ⁵⁵ and na⁵⁵ (Zhao, 2013, p. 333).
propositional topic is often marked by a topic marker (or topicalizer) $dzɨ^{35}$ ‘TOP’ as demonstrated in example (41).

(41) S1-1  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Propositional topic</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[wa$^{42}$ no$^{42}$ ci$^{21}$ dzɨ$^{35}$]</td>
<td>[cʰa$^{35}$ to$^{35}$ qe$^{35}$]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eagle this CLF TOP particularly peck chicken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This eagle pecked chicken particularly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concerning the function of the topic marker in Lemei, firstly, it demonstrates a brief pausing feature that the language resource person often utters it with an elongated vowel. Secondly, the topic marker $dzɨ^{35}$ is used as the copula in a clause with a nominal predicate (see Section 3.4.6.6). Thirdly, it also seems to serve as a “discourse marker”. The idea of topic marker as “discourse marker” has been discussed by Zhao (2013, p. 341) who argues that in Southern Bai the topicalizer $tsɿ^{55}$ exhibits a few discourse functions. For example, $tsɿ^{55}$ functions as a “weakened connective” to signal topic change or connection of discourse units between two sentences which do not necessarily possess logical, temporal or sequential relationship. Besides this, in the lengthy discourse the combination of $xɯ^{55}$ (a weakened sequential connective which means ‘afterward’) and $tsɿ^{55}$ often serves as a “discourse topic marker” at the beginning of a new sentence which conclude the previous context as a background or “discourse topic” for that new sentence. In Lemei the topicalizer $dzɨ^{35}$ seems to possess a similar function and the combination of $dzɨ^{35}$ and $bo^{42}ɣɑ^{42}$ ‘afterwards’ is also observed as in example (42). The combination might be translated as “and so (in such a situation)”, and refers to the background given by the previous context that there was a dog that came and took his rice away.

(42) S19-8  
| ts$^{42}$ hi$^{35}$ no$^{33}$ ts$^{42}$ tsʰa$^{35}$ bo$^{42}ɣɑ^{42}$ qʰi$^{35}$ ē$^{23}$ | bo$^{42}ɣɑ^{42}$ $dzɨ^{35}$ |
| ask God PAT ask PFV afterward open eye afterward TOP |
| $bo^{45}$ bæ$^{33}$ qʰwe$^{35}$ qʰwe$^{35}$ qʰwa$^{33}$ ci$^{21}$ ti$^{35}$ li$^{33}$ tsʰa$^{35}$ |
| 3 rice bag CLF dog CLF carry PFV CRS |

After finished praying to God (he) opened his eyes and so (in such a situation) his rice bag had already been carried away by the dog!

Concerning the clause types related to the propositional topic, based on Li and Thompson (1981, pp. 87-92), the four kinds of variations with the comparison of
topic (i.e. “propositional topic” in Levinsohn’s term) and subject realized in a simple declarative sentence\textsuperscript{130} in Mandarin are outlined below using Lemei examples.

(1) Sentences with both subject and topic. An example is shown in example (43). The topic qʰɔ³³ ji⁵⁵ ca²¹ ba²¹ nɔ³³ ‘whatever was good to eat’ is generic and it has no “doing” or “being” relationship with the verb to⁵⁵ ‘peck’. However, the pronoun bo⁴² ‘it (the eagle)’ has a relationship of “doing” with the verb to⁵⁵ ‘peck’. In charting, the topic will be interpreted as the fronted object of a OSV clause.\textsuperscript{131}

\begin{verbatim}
(43) S1-5 O S V
Topic
[qʰɔ³³ ji⁵⁵ ca²¹ ba²¹ nɔ³³] [bo⁴²] to⁵⁵
any eat good NML PAT 3 peck
Whatever was good to eat, it (the eagle) pecked
\end{verbatim}

(2) Sentences in which the subject and the topic are identical. In the clause in example (44), wa⁴² nɔ⁴² cɨ²¹ ‘this eagle’ is the subject since it is in a “doing” relationship with the verb. At the same time it is also the topic because it fits the definition of a topic: it is what the sentence is about, is definite or generic, occurs in sentence-initial position, and is followed by a pause particle (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 87). Above all, it is marked by the topic marker dzɨ³⁵ ‘TOP’. In this thesis, the clause will preferably be charted as the SVO pattern.

\begin{verbatim}
(44) S1-1 S V O
Topic
[wa⁴² nɔ⁴² cɨ²¹ dzɨ³⁵] cʰa³⁵ to⁵⁵ [qɛ³⁵]
eagle this CLF TOP particularly peck chicken
This eagle pecked chicken particularly
\end{verbatim}

(3) Sentences with a topic but no subject. In example (45) qə³⁵ ‘chicken’ is a topic but not a subject because it is not in a “doing” relationship with the verb. Such a clause is interpreted as a topic-comment (TC) construction by Li and Thompson (1981, p. 89). Such a topic corresponds to what Levinsohn understood as “propositional topic”. In addition, in some cases, the topic might also be interpreted as the object in a OSV construction in which the subject is understood but grammatically omitted (i.e. zero anaphora).

\textsuperscript{130} The comment will be charted as verb (or verb phrase) in this thesis.

\textsuperscript{131} Zhao and Li (2008 [2005], p. 499) propose that this main-topic structure (Tm+S+V) is equivalent to the surface structure of OSV.
(45) S1-2  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q3^{35}</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>peck</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chicken, (the eagle) could not eat it

(4) **Sentences with no topic.** The first sub-type is that the *topic* is understood from the communicative context in which the sentence occurs (i.e. zero anaphora) as in (46). The other sub-type, as in example (47), is that the subject is usually an indefinite noun phrase which cannot occur in sentence-initial position and cannot be a topic (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 91). In this thesis, clauses which carry a verb of motion\(^{132}\) will be interpreted as a VS structure and an existential clause.

(46) SS13-2  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Topic)</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(S)</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>a^{423} ki^{35}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“(I am) not afraid!”

(47) S9-2d  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l^{42}</td>
<td>li^{33}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

roll PFV pumpkin one CLF
there rolled out a pumpkin

In addition to these four types, Zhao and Li (2008 [2005], p. 499) have outlined six sub-categories of the “main topic structure” and seven sub-categories of the “sub-topic structure” in Bai.\(^{133}\) They argue that the main topic structure of S-Ts-V corresponds to the SOV order and the Tm-S-V structure corresponds to the OSV order. However, concerning the sub-topic structures, the Tm-S-V-O order does not correspond to OSVO order and the S-Ts-V-O order does not correspond to the SOVO order. For example, the S-Ts-V-O structure is demonstrated in example (48).

(48) S6-2  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>Ts</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[d3^{42}h3^{33} po^{35} ji^{21} dt3^{35}]</td>
<td>[bo^{35} co^{33}pa^{55}]</td>
<td>c^{h33} ji^{33} ku^{33} qwa^{55}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

old.person man CLF TOP 3 teeth only EXIS two CLF
The old man only has two teeth

\(^{132}\) Verbs of motion are generally intransitive verbs. See Li and Thompson (1981, p. 517).

\(^{133}\) The six sub-categories of the “main topic structure” and the seven sub-categories of the “sub-topic structure” (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], pp. 499-500) have been described in Section 1.4.2.3.
3.4.6 Clause types with verbal and non-verbal predicates

This section outlines Lemei clauses with verbal and non-verbal predicates (Dryer, 2007b, pp. 224-275) respectively.\textsuperscript{134} In Lemei, clauses with verbal predicates (i.e. active clauses) include intransitive clauses, transitive clauses and ditransitive clauses. Clauses with non-verbal predicates (i.e. stative clauses), in which verbs that describe states of being, existence, characteristics or qualities are used instead of action verbs, include clauses with adjectival predicates, nominal predicates, locative predicates. Existential clauses and possessive clauses will also be discussed.

3.4.6.1 Intransitive clauses

The first type of clauses with verbal predicates are the intransitive clauses. In the intransitive clause in Bai, the subject noun phrase (NP\textsubscript{Sub}) (i.e. agent) is generally followed by an intransitive verb (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 76). In Lemei a similar structure clause is observed as in example (49) which give a SV pattern.\textsuperscript{135} In the intransitive clause in (50), the negator in form of the negative affix\textsuperscript{136} a\textsuperscript{427} ‘NEG’ precedes the verb negated (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 37).

(49) PM1-2
\[\begin{array}{cc}
S & V \\
...[ma^{42} ci^{21}] & ja^{55}k^{h}u^{42} \\
\text{horse CLF return} & \text{...the horse returned} \\
\end{array}\]

(50) S14-4
\[\begin{array}{ccc}
S & V \\
[fi^{33}b^{33}a^{42} q^{b}a^{55}] & a^{422} ja^{55} k^{21} \\
\text{train CLF NEG go REx} & \text{The train had not departed} \\
\end{array}\]

3.4.6.2 Transitive clauses

In the transitive clause in which two nominal arguments are taken, three possible word orders, SVO, SOV and OSV, are observed in Central Bai (Xu & Zhao, 1984, pp. 76-77). The SVO order is the general pattern (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 76) in which the

\textsuperscript{134} The outline of clause types discussed in this section follow Dryer (2007b, pp. 224-275).

\textsuperscript{135} No distinction between stative and non-stative verb (Dryer, 2007b, p. 259) is observed in the intransitive clauses in Lemei.

\textsuperscript{136} The three sorts of negative morphemes distinguished by Dryer (2008, p. 65) are: (1) negative affixes, (2) verbal negative words (i.e. negative auxiliaries), and (3) nonverbal negative words (i.e. negative particles).
agent (i.e. NP_{sk}) precedes the verb while the patient (i.e. NP_{ob}) follows the verb. An example of transitive clause in Lemei is given in (51).

(51) GC-12.1  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ha^{42}co^{42} ho^{35}]</td>
<td>ji^{25}</td>
<td>[be^{32}]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

child  PL  eat  rice
The children eat rice

The SOV pattern is observed in (52) in which the object (patient) has been fronted before the verb. In Central Bai, the fronted object should be marked with the patient marker no^{33}`PAT'\(^{137}\) if it is a personal pronoun or a proper name (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 77, 50) but the patient marker is not needed if the object is definite. In Lemei the corresponding patient marker is nɔ^{33}`PAT' as shown in (53). According to Dryer (2008, p. 22), this alternative SOV word order is at least vaguely reminiscent of the ba-construction\(^{138}\) (the “disposal form”) of Mandarin.

(52) S18-7  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[bo^{35} dɔ^{42}ho^{35} ni^{21}]</td>
<td>[cʰi^{55}qʰa^{42} qʰa^{42} ni^{35} wo^{42} ci^{21}]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V
chɔ^{55}  hi^{33}  li^{21}bi^{33} bi^{33}  hi^{33}
throw at  lake  CLF  in
The husband threw the iron trap and the barking deer into the lake

(53) S17-10  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...[bo^{35} mo^{33}  dzi^{25}]</td>
<td>[bo^{35} pu^{32}tsi^{33} ho^{33} nɔ^{33}]</td>
<td>qi^{21}ji^{35}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3  mother  TOP  3  daughter  PL  PAT  sell
...their mother sold her daughters

Apart from the SOV pattern, the OSV pattern is also allowed by preposing the object (patient) before the subject (agent) (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 77) as demonstrated in (54). Although this example can be well expressed in passive voice in English as

\(^{137}\) See Xu and Zhao (1984, p. 50-51) for more discussion of patient marker no^{33} in Central Bai.

\(^{138}\) This construction which is originally proposed by Wang (1947) as the “disposal form” in Mandarin states how a person is handled, manipulated, or dealt with; how something is disposed of or how an affair is conducted (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 468).
shown in the free translation, this is not a suggestion that this structure resembles a passive sense\textsuperscript{139} in this language.

(54) S19-08 O S V
patient agent
[bo\textsuperscript{35} be\textsuperscript{33} q\textsuperscript{h}we\textsuperscript{35} q\textsuperscript{h}we\textsuperscript{35}] [q\textsuperscript{h}wa\textsuperscript{33} ci\textsuperscript{21}] ti\textsuperscript{35} li\textsuperscript{42} ts\textsuperscript{h}a\textsuperscript{35}
3 rice bag CLF dog CLF carry PFV CRS
It was his bag of rice that the dog took away (or: his bag of rice had been taken away by the dog)

For negation in the transitive clause, both SOV (as in example [55]) and OSV patterns (as in example [56]) are observed. The SOV order is commonly used in negative clauses (as well as in interrogative clause) in which the object is generally preposed before the verb even if the object is not marked with a patient marker (Xu & Zhao, 1984, pp. 77-78).

(55) S13-20 S O V
[j\textsuperscript{h}35 \textit{qo}35 dzæ\textsuperscript{42} jn\textsuperscript{21}] \[\textit{c}3\textsuperscript{35} ta\textsuperscript{42}\] a\textsuperscript{427} tso\textsuperscript{42}
judge CLF rest be.allow NEG speak
The judge did not say ‘(you) can rest’

(56) S15-14 O S V
ci\textsuperscript{35} q\textsuperscript{h}we\textsuperscript{35} ba\textsuperscript{21}] [a\textsuperscript{422} jn\textsuperscript{21} li\textsuperscript{35}] a\textsuperscript{422} ti\textsuperscript{55}
gold piece NML one CLF also NEG obtain
The gold pieces could not be taken by anyone (Not even one person could take the gold pieces)

3.4.6.3 Ditransitive clauses

A ditransitive clause is one with three nominal arguments\textsuperscript{140}. The ditransitive clause in Lemei demonstrated a SVO\textsubscript{2},\textsubscript{O} structure in which the recipient-like argument (R)

\textsuperscript{139} Xu and Zhao (1984, p. 33) mentioned that in Central Bai there is a usage of preverbal particle \textit{ẽ}\textsuperscript{4} which represent the passive sense. However no such particle is observed in the corpus of Lemei.

\textsuperscript{140} Dryer (2007b, p. 253-254) observes that English has two common constructions of ditransitive clauses. One is that neither the recipient-like argument (R) nor the theme argument (TH) is marked with a preposition and also the R and TH immediately follow the verb. The other is that the TH immediately follows the verb and the R, which is marked by the preposition \textit{to}, occurs later. He states that many languages employ constructions which are similar to one or the other of these two constructions.
and the theme argument (TH) immediately follow the verb in that order and no preposition is needed. As in example (57), the NP_sbj is followed by the verb, the primary object (OBJ_1) and then the secondary object (OBJ_2).\(^{141}\)

(57) S4-2  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O_1</th>
<th>O_2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hen</td>
<td>sweep.feed</td>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>rice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The hen fed the chicken (with) rice

In addition to the SVO₁O₂ structure, according to Xu and Zhao (1984, p. 78), the SO₁VO₂ and O₁SVO₂ patterns are also possible in Bai. The primary object should also be marked with the patient marker \(nɔ^{33}\) PAT’ if it is a personal pronoun or a proper name. In Lemei, the (S)O₁VO₂ structure is demonstrated in example (58) and the O₁SVO₂ structure is shown in (59)\(^{142}\).

(58) S17-5b  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(S)</th>
<th>O_1</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O_2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 daughter</td>
<td>PL PAT</td>
<td>cook</td>
<td>to.for rice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...(the mother) cooked rice for her daughters

(59) GA-63.1  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O_1</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O_2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amei</td>
<td>PAT Asa</td>
<td>give flower</td>
<td>one CLF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Asa gave Amei a flower (or: It is Amei whom Asa gave [her] a flower)

3.4.6.4 Ditransitive clauses with coverbs

In certain cases of ditransitive clauses in Lemei, an additional coverbs like \(zi^{42}\) ‘to.for’ (which also means ‘give’ when used as an active verb) or \(pe^{35}\) ‘to.for’ (not used as an active verb) were used immediately after the verb. Data using coverb \(tɕhi\) ‘to’ from Central Bai are provided by Xu and Zhao (1984, p.79) but its usage is not discussed. In the analysis of ditransitive clause in Mandarin, Li and Thompson (1981, p. 371) observe that one of the two order is SVO₁O₂ in which the primary object (OBJ₁) is

\(^{141}\) Primary object can also be interpreted as indirect object and secondary object as direct object. See Xu and Zhao (1984, p. 78).

\(^{142}\) This is an elicited data.
marked by the preceding coverb gei ‘to’. In Lemei a similar pattern is also observed that the OBJ is marked by the preceding coverb zi⁴² ‘to.for’ as in (60)

(60) GC-53    S  V  O₁  O₂  R  TH

[bo³⁵] fu⁵⁵  zi⁴²  [bo³⁵ jũ⁴²bi⁴² no³³]  [qε³⁵ qa²¹]
3  roast    to.for  3  friend  PAT  chicken meat

He roasted chicken meat for his friend

While Li and Thompson (1981, p. 371) seem to be suggesting that the “preceding coverb” might be understood as the primary object marker in Mandarin, the coverb in Lemei tends to follow the verb closely. Example (61) demonstrates the fronting of the primary object before the verb which leaves the coverb attached after the verb.

In an example with the zero anaphora in (62), the recipient (OBJ₁) is even omitted which leaves the verb, the coverb zi⁴² ‘to.for’ and the theme (OBJ₂) as the only essential elements of the ditransitive structure as long as the context is understood.

(61) S17-5b   (S)  O₁  V  O₂  R  TH

Ø  [bo³⁵ jũ³³tsi³³ hɔ³³ no³³]  cu³³ pe³⁵  [be³³]
3  daughter  PL  PAT  cook    to.for  rice

...(the mother) cooked rice for her daughters

(62) NW-09    V  O₂  TH

so⁴²  zi³⁵  sœ⁴²  zi⁴²  [jo⁵⁵]
sick  TOP  find  to.for  medicine

(In case of) sickness (we) find for (them) medicine

Another type of ditransitive clause carries the causative coverb zǐ³³ ‘CAUS’ before the verb as shown in example (63). In Central Bai the equivalent coverbs are sò³³, sε³³, sì²¹ ‘CAUS’ (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 46). Flexibility of word order is also allowed, as

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143 Li and Thompson (1981, pp. 374-379) concluded that in Mandarin there are three conditions for the usage of gei ‘to’ (ژئ) with the verb: (1) Some verbs are “gei obligatory” that it must be used with gei ‘to’. (2) Some verbs are “gei optional” and (3) some verbs are “gei forbidden”. Whether these conditions apply to Lemei needs further research. Fu and Xu (2008, pp.124-125) argue that in Bai compound verbs with the meaning of give/to are compatible with object taking —no³³. In the dative construction, the OBJ-no³³ marks the recipient/goal while the OBJ-yŋ¹⁵ marks the source.

144 This is an elicited data.
shown in example (64), that the primary object (OBJ₁) can be fronted before the coverb and the verb.

(63) PM39-10 S V O₁ O₂  
[ŋi₃⁵] ɕi₃³ [nɔ₃²⁵ nɔ₃³³] jo₅⁵  
1 CAUS drink 2 PAT medicine

I let you drink medicine

(64) S17-3e S V O₁ V O₂  
bo₄⁵ mo₃³ dzi₃⁵... [bo₃⁵ jʊ₃³³ tsi₃³³ sɔ₃⁵ jʊ₂¹ nɔ₃³³] ɕi₃³ yɨ₄² [su₃⁵]  
3 mother TOP ... 3 daughter three CLF PAT CAUS study book  
(Their mother) let her three daughters study books₁⁴⁵

An alternative structure of example (64) is demonstrated in (65) in which ɕi₃³ ‘CAUS’ is used as an active verb meaning ‘cause’ (or ‘make’). Li and Thompson (1981, p. 602) call such structure in Mandarin as a causative sentence which is resulted from the juxtaposition of a verb meaning ‘cause’ and a clausal direct object.

(65) PM39-11 S V O  
ŋi₃⁵ ɕi₃³ [nɔ₃²⁵ nɔ₃³³ i₃³ jo₅⁵]  
1 cause 2 PAT drink medicine

I make you drinking medicine (or: I cause you [to] drink medicine)

3.4.6.5 Clauses with adjectival predicates
The first type of non-verbal predicates is the adjectival predicate. In a clause with an adjectival predicate (i.e. an attributive clause or a descriptive clause), the semantic predicate is expressed by an adjectival phrase. No copula is used after the NP SBJ in Bai (Xu & Zhao, 1984, pp. 66-67) or in Lemei (see 66). However, often the adjectival predicate is preceded by an intensifier (or adverbial modifier) kɔ₃⁵ ‘very’, as shown in the Lemei example (67). The Lemei kɔ₃⁵ ‘very’ is similar to the Mandarin hen ‘very’ (很) discussed by Li and Thompson (1981, p. 143), in that it does not necessarily convey the literal sense of ‘very’.

(66) LL10 dɔ⁴² cʰu₃³ ti₃³  
road far  
The journey is far

¹⁴⁵ The sentence means the mother let the daughters receive education.
3.4.6.6 Clauses with nominal predicates

The second type of non-verbal predicates is the nominal predicate. According to Dryer (2007b, p. 233), clauses with nominal predicates can be distinguished into the “true equational clause” and the “true nominal predicate clause”. The “true equational clause” is one in which the predicate is referential and which identifies the individual denoted by the subject.\(^{146}\) The “true nominal predicate clause” is one in which the predicate is non-referent and can be viewed as denoting the generic kind entity. The same structure applies to both clause types in Central Bai in which the nominal predicate occurs with the copula \(tsɯ³³\) covering the meanings of ‘be’, ‘be.at’ and ‘exist’ (Xu & Zhao, 1984, pp. 39-40).\(^{147}\) In Lemei, the topicalizer (i.e. topic marker) \(dzɨ³⁵\) acts as the copula.\(^{148}\) Examples of a true equational clause and a true nominal predicate clause in Lemei are demonstrated in (68) and (69) respectively.

For negation in the clause with the nominal predicate in Lemei, a special negator \(ɑ⁴²ˀjɔ³³\) ‘be.not’ occurs at the clause-final position to negate the whole clause (underlined) as in (70).

\(^{146}\) In this clause type both the subject and the predicate can be reversed. If reversed, the only difference in meaning is a possible difference in topic and focus (Dryer, 2007b, p. 233).

\(^{147}\) Clearly Xu and Zhao understand \(tsɯ³³\) as a copula. They write that: “There is only one copula: \(tsɯ³³\) ‘have, at, be’” (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 39).

\(^{148}\) The topicalizer \(dzɨ³⁵\) in Lemei cannot be negated. However, in charting, \(dzɨ³⁵\) in the clauses with nominal predicates will be charted as a copula verb to show a clear word order, for example SVO.

\(^{149}\) This is an elicited data.

\(^{150}\) According to Zhao and Li (2008 [2005], p. 496), negator \(ɑ⁴²ˀjɔ³³\) ‘be.not’ should be regarded as a clause-final particle with a modality of negation.
3.4.6.7 Clauses with locative predicates

The third common type of non-verbal predicate is a “locative expression” (Dryer, 2007b, p. 238). In Central Bai the copula tsu³³ ‘be.at.exist’ also functions as a locative copula (Xu & Zhao, 1984, pp. 39-40). In Lemei, the locative clause involves two distinctive copulas. In the locative clause in which the subject is animate, the locative copula ku⁴² ‘be.at’ (which also means ‘stay’ when used as an active verb) is used as in (71). Where the subject is inanimate the existential copula ji³³ ‘EXIS’ is used as in (72).

(71) PM12-5 [a³⁵mo³³] ku⁴² [ha⁴²to³⁵] mother be.at home
Mother is at home

(72) S14-6b [ki²¹ fi³³ho⁴² ci²¹ su⁵⁵qa³⁵ qa²³³] ji³³ [a³⁵bo⁴² qwa³⁵nɔ³³] djì³³ ride train NML paper CLF EXIS father side
The train ticket is at the father’s side

3.4.6.8 Existential clauses

The existential clause (or presentational clause) is used to state the existence of something (Dryer, 2007b, p. 241) and is often used to introduce a new entity. This type of clause is better rendered into English by the expression beginning with there is or there are. In Central Bai the copula tsu³³ ‘be.at.exist’ also functions as an existential copula (Xu & Zhao, 1984, pp. 39-40). In Lemei the existential copula ji³³ ‘EXIS’ is used as in (73).

(73) S5-2 ca²⁵ma³⁵ ji³³ [mu²¹qa³⁵ ku³³ jn²¹] once.upon.a.time EXIS person two CLF
Once upon a time there were two persons

Another function of an existential clause is to express “predicate possession” (Dryer, 2007b, p. 244). The meaning of possession, in Central Bai, is expressed by the structure of “NP_subj + possessive marker va⁴² + tsu³³ ‘be.at.exist’ + NP_obj” where the copula tsu³³ seems to be understood by Xu and Zhao (1984, p. 23) as a transitive verb ‘have’. In addition to this expression using a transitive verb, Dryer observes that

151 The localizer in this example is not needed because the noun refers to a familiar place ‘home’ (Li & Thompson, 1980, p. 393-394).
152 This example is not considered as existential because it does not state the existence of the subject (i.e. the train ticket) but rather it is “presumably presupposed” (Dryer, 2007b, p. 241).
“many languages employ predicate locative or existential clauses to express such meanings, with the possessor expressed as some sort of locative” (Dryer, 2007b, p. 244). Example (74) and (75) demonstrate such expression in Lemei in which the subject is followed by the locative marker mi³⁵ (i.e. localizer which can be glossed as ‘around’). For negation in existential clause in Lemei, a special negator a⁴²⁷mi³³ ‘exist.not’ follows the subject as in (76).

(74) PM9-10 Possessor Possessee
[ a³⁵mo³³ mi³⁵ ]   ji³³ [ hɔ³³ a⁴²⁷ qʰɔ⁵⁵ ]
mother around EXIS house one CLF
There is a house at where mother is (or: Mother has a house)

(75) S10-2 Possessor Possessee
[ bo³⁵ mi³⁵ dzį³⁵ ]   ji³³ [ a⁵⁵ a⁴²² ci²¹ ]
3 around TOP EXIS duck one CLF
There is a duck at where he is (or: He has a duck)

(76) S9-11 te²¹ bo⁴² ni³³ nɔ³³ [ tɔ²¹u²¹ ci²¹ se³⁵ qɔ³⁵ cʰwɑ⁵⁵ ]
from that day on cicada CLF heart liver lung

   ji³⁵³ co²¹ ze⁴² ]        a⁴²²mi³³
and gut stomach EXIS.not

From that day, the cicada’s heart, liver, lung, gut, and stomach did not exist

3.4.7 Main clauses and subordinate clauses
Clause types can also be distinguished by main clauses and and subordinate clauses. Subordinate clauses (i.e. dependent clauses) can be divided into complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses. These clauses will be discussed in this section respectively. How clauses are linked together will also be discussed.

First of all, a main clause (i.e. independent clause or coordinate clause) can stand alone as a sentence by itself. In Central Bai, sentences are often formed by juxtaposition of chains of two or more main clauses. These clauses are usually joined by a comma without using any conjunctions (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 84). Clauses can

153 The locative marker mi³⁵ in Lemei seems to correspond to the possessive marker va in Central Bai.
154 The three types of subordinate clauses are divided according to Thompson et al (2007, p. 238).
also be coordinated with conjunctions such as ji³⁵ or li³⁵ ‘and’ and la³⁵ ‘and again’ (used to connect verbs only) which are used to connect words or phrases with equal rank¹⁵⁵ (Xu & Zhao, 1984, pp. 49). In Lemei it seems that ji³⁵ ‘and’ (normally has a stressed falling tone after the rising tone) plays a similar function as shown in (77) (the NPs of equal rank have been underlined).

(77) PM14-5  a³⁵mo³³ cʰa³⁵ti²⁵  tsa⁵⁵ cʰa³⁵  ŋi³⁵³ ma³³ cʰa³⁵

mother listen.able  bird sound and  horse sound

Mother heard the bird’s chirp and the horse’s neigh

When the coordinating conjunction ŋi³⁵³ ‘and’ is pronounced without a stressed falling tone as ŋi³⁵ ‘then’, it functions as a linking adverb as in (78). In the discussion of the adverb jiǔ ‘then’ (jiǔ ‘then’ (jiǔ) in Mandarin, Li and Thompson observes that jiǔ ‘then’ can either function as a sentence-linking element meaning ‘then’ or ‘thereupon’ (Li & Thompson, 1981, pp. 331-332), or as a backward-linking adverb¹⁵⁶ (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 655). In Lemei, ŋi³⁵³ seems to show more or less similar function.

(78) S2-5  jo⁵⁵ɕa³⁵ hɔ³³ tɔ⁵⁵ zi⁴²  jiǔ²¹tɛ³⁵  a⁴²ˀ qwɑ⁵⁵ ŋi³⁵ hɨ³³

doctor PL    inject  to.for  injection  one CLF  then  healed

The doctors gave (him) a shot of an injection and then (he was) healed

In (79), a topic chain¹⁵⁷ (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 659) composed of five independent clauses (line 3a to 3e) are shared by one common “topic subject”¹⁵⁸ (Burusphat, 2002, p. 142) bo³⁵ mo³³ ‘their mother’. In addition, a serial verb construction¹⁵⁹ (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 594) ɕo³³ qɛ³⁵ ‘raise chicken’ and ɕo³³ tæ⁴²ˀ and ‘raise pig’ is also observed in line 3c and 3d. These two clauses are describing two separate events in which the topic subject bo³⁵ mo³³ ‘the mother’ “alternates

¹⁵⁵ The description “unequal rank” is used according to Schachter and Shopen (2007, p. 45).

¹⁵⁶ Backward linking refers to the situation in which “a clause is linked to the preceding clause” (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 651). According to Li and Thompson (1981, p. 655), jiǔ belongs to the nonmovable backward-linking element that “relate a clause only to the speaker’s own previous clause, not to a clause that someone else has said”.

¹⁵⁷ Topic chain is a construction “where a referent is referred to in the first clause, and then there follow several more clauses talking about the same referent but not overtly mentioning that referent” (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 659).

¹⁵⁸ Topic subject is “the noun phrase designating the topic of the discourse used as the subject of a clause. Once the topic subject has been established in an initial clause, it will convey given information which is subject to pronominalisation in the following clauses as far as the subject continues” (Burusphat, 2002, p. 148).

¹⁵⁹ A serial verb construction refers to “a sentence that contains two or more verb phrases or clauses juxtaposed without any marker indicating what the relationship is between them” (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 594) The schema being: (NP) V (NP) (NP) V (NP).
between two actions” (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 595). In other words, the two lines will be considered as two separated clauses with zero anaphora in the subject positions.

(79) S17-3a \[bo^{35} mo^{33} dz i^{33}\] q i^{21} yi^{42} 3 mother TOP sell strength
The mother labored

S17-3b ni^{35} co^{33} bo^{35} hu^{33} hu^{33} n 3\ 3 then raise 3 daughter PL PAT thereupon (she) raised her daughters,

S17-3c co^{33} qi^{35} raise chicken
(she) raised chickens

S17-3d co^{33} te^{42} raise pig
(and) (she) raised pigs

S17-3e ni^{35} bo^{35} hu^{33} ts i^{33} si^{35} hu^{21} n 3\ 3 e i^{33} yi^{42} su^{35}. then 3 daughter three CLP PAT CAUS study book thereupon (she) let her three daughters study

3.4.7.1 Complement clause

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\(^{160}\) An example with a perception-cognition-utterance verb ‘see’ is shown in Xu and Zhao (1984, p. 64).
3.4.7.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses function as “modifiers of nouns” (Thompson, Longacre & Hwang, 2007, p. 238). In Central Bai the relative clause is a nominalized clause which precedes the noun it modifies. In other words, the relative clause in Bai is a prenominal relative clause161 (Rel-N order) and the relativizer no33 ‘REL’ connects the relative clause with the noun modified (Xu & Zhao, 1984, pp. 51-52, 73; Dryer, 2008, p. 22). In Lemei the relativizer is nɔ33 ‘REL’ as shown in example (81). In (82) the relativizer na42 seems to result from nɔ33 ‘REL’ merging with the classifier a422 ‘one’.

(80) S16-3 bo42ɣa42 dɔ42hɔ33 jni21 jnwi42ti35 [a422 jni33 bo35ci21 cʰu42 sæ42 afterward old.man CFL think.able one day just only lay a422 qʰɔ33 nɔ33 ba21 da35 sɔ35:j33 a422 ta42] one CLF this NML TOP wait NEG able

Then the old man thought (that) (the duck) only lay an egg one day in this way (he) cannot wait

3.4.7.3 Adverbial clause

Adverbial clauses function as “modifiers of verb phrases or entire clauses” (Thompson et al, 2007, p. 238). Thompson et al (2007, p. 243) outline twelve basic types of adverbial clauses which can be divided into two groups: (1) clauses which can be substituted by a monomorphemic non-anaphoric adverbs (i.e. time, location,

161 Dryer (2008, p. 22) comments the use of prenominal relative clause in Bai as a “more convincing example of word order reminiscent of Chinese”.
162 Dryer (2008, p. 22) describes no33 as a “linking word” or “linker” (LINK) and he observes that in Bai this linker no33 is homophonous with the object postposition no33 (i.e. the patient marker).
manner) and (2) clauses which cannot be substituted by a single word (i.e. purpose, reason, circumstantial, simultaneous, conditional, concessive, substitutive, additive and absolutive). An adverbial clauses in Central Bai usually precedes the main clause (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 97), except in some cases, where a clause appears before or after the main clause (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 97-98). This section does not provide a complete inventory of the adverbial clauses in Lemei, and only some of the types and the corresponding conjunctions will be discussed.

The time adverbial clause in Lemei, like that in Central Bai, precedes the main clause. In (83) the time adverbial clause (underlined) precedes the main clause. Subordination is marked by the subordinating conjunction bo¹⁴ya²⁴ ‘afterward’.

(83) S20-2 ji⁵⁵ pi³³ bo¹⁴ya²⁴ ma ci²¹ ja¹⁵kʰu⁴²
eat full afterward horse CLF return

After eating full the horse returned

The reason clause expresses “a motivating event which may be realized at the time of the main clause event” (Thompson et al, 2007, pp. 250-251). In Central Bai, the subordinate conjunction tsi⁵⁵ ‘since’ (also glossed as ‘if.so’) is described as appearing in the clause final position of the subordinate clause which express the condition (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 49-50, 98). In Lemei, a corresponding subordinating conjunction nj³⁵ ‘then’ is used and the adverbial clause of reason can either appear before the main clause as in (84) or after the main clause as in (85).

(84) S20-1 ma³³ ci²¹ ci³⁵qʰɔ⁵⁵ nj³⁵ ji⁵⁵ qʰu⁴²
horse CLF hungry then eat grass

The horse was hungry so (it) ate grass (or: Because the horse was hungry (it) ate grass)

(85) CONN-2 ku⁴²pæ⁵²b⁴² qʰɔ³⁵ li³³ bo³⁵ pæ⁵⁵ pæ³⁵ pʰo⁴² nj³⁵
motorcycle CLF overturn PFV 3 wheel CLF break since

The motorcycle was overturned because the wheel has broken


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163 The argument of Thompson et al (2007, p. 243) about the substitution of single word might not completely agree with the observation in Lemei.
164 A description of subordinating clauses and subordinating conjunctions in Central Bai see Xu & Zhao (1984, pp. 94-99).
observed that languages seem to “allow one of the simultaneous events to be signalled as providing the context or background for the other, or foregrounded, event.” In example (86), the ways of marking the backgrounded clause as simultaneous with its main clause are realized by: (1) the marker that signals simultaneity bo⁴²pa²¹ ‘the moment’, and (2) the durative marker la⁴²qʷa⁵⁵ ‘still’. The main clause is that the son said something and the adverbial time clause explains when the main clause happened, namely ‘as the father and the son were still drinking milk.’

(86) S20-04 [bo⁴²ya⁴² la⁴²qʷa⁵⁵ i³³ bo⁴²pa²¹], bo³⁵ tsi³³ ni²¹ tso⁴²...
 afterward still drink the.moment 3 son CLF say
 Afterward as (they) were still drinking, the son said…

The conditional clause, as in example (87), is marked with a subordinating conjunction bo³⁵ci²¹ ‘only.if’ to express the condition of which the wolf will be content, namely ‘the dog was dead’.

(87) PM25-5 [si³³ bo³⁵ci²¹] bo³⁵ sɛ³⁵kʰu³⁵
 die only.if 3 be.content
 Only if (the dog) was dead (the wolf) will be content

In Lemei, like in Mandarin, there is a construction where the conditional clause is not marked with an explicit linking element or connective so that the particular relationship between the two clauses must be “inferred by the hearer from his/her knowledge of the situation” (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 641). For example in (88), the sentence can be interpreted to be composed of a subordinating conditional clause (i.e. an adverbial clause of condition) q3⁵ to⁵⁵ a⁴²ʔu⁵⁵ ‘(it) could not peck a chicken’ and a main clause bo⁴²ʔtso⁵⁵ ‘it pecked a bird’ without any explicit connective or punctuation. One reason to support this interpretation is that the potential infix¹⁶⁵ tɨ⁵⁵ is uttered longer to signal a kind of separation between the two clauses. Moreover, the conditional clause will be more accepted as a main clause only if the whole clause ends with the clause-final particle tsʰɑ³⁵ (CRS).

(88) S1-2 [q3⁵ to⁵⁵ a⁴²ʔu⁵⁵] [bo⁴²ʔtso⁵⁵]
 chicken peck not.able 3 peck bird
 (If) (it) could not peck a chicken, it pecked a bird

¹⁶⁵ See Section 3.4.3.3 for discussion of the potential infix ʔu⁵⁵.
The concessive clause describes a clause “which makes a concession, against which the proposition in the main clause is contrasted” (Thompson et al, 2007, p. 262). In Central Bai this kind of clause is often marked by either $li^{55}$ ‘although’ at the end of the first clause or $si^{2}tso^{42}$ ‘but’ at the beginning of the second clause (Xu & Zhao, 1984, pp. 50, 95-96). However, both can also be used together in the case of emphasis (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 50). In Lemei, $ba^{2}li^{35}$ ‘but’ (see [89]) is commonly used at the beginning of the second clause to express the sense of concessive.166

(89) PM25-1  $pi^{42}$ $dzi^{35}$ $c^{h}wa$ $ci^{21}$ $nɔ^{33}$,  $ba^{2}li^{35}$ $bo^{42}$ $dzi^{35}$ $q^{h}wa^{42}$ $a^{42}jɔ^{33}$
  wolf TOP like dog CLF PAT, but 3 TOP dog NEG
A wolf is like a dog, but it is not a dog

### 3.5 Summary

In this chapter, a brief overview of the phonology, orthography and morphosyntax of Lemei are given as a foundation for the analysis of Lemei word order. The Lemei consists of 34 consonant phonemes, 8 vowel phonemes and 5 tones. The data for this thesis was provided by a speaker of the Yu-Teu dialect.

The most basic form of a NP is composed of either a pronoun (PRO) or a noun (N) functioning as a head which may be preceded by modifier(s) (i.e. ADJ + N) and may be followed by a quantifier (QUANT) and/or a classifier (CLF) (i.e. N + CLF). Three common types of NP, including dependents of (1) classifier phrases, (2) associative phrases and (3) modifying phrases are observed. The prepositional phrase in Lemei occurs preverbally. In addition to this, the locative phrase (LOCP), the directional phrase (DIRP) and the temporal phrase (TP) are also observed in Lemei.

The basic structure of a VP in Lemei has a head verb (V) or a head adjectival verb (ADJV) as its nucleus to which the optional preverbal element and the postverbal element is attached. The preverbal elements (PREV) consist of the intensifier, the adverb, and the (preverbal) negator. Postverbal elements (POSTV) include modality markers and aspect markers. A kind of two-element verb compound called “the resultative verb compound” is observed in Lemei. Clause-final particles are also widely used in Lemei.

Lemei is a topic-prominence language, as is Bai. Clause types with verbal predicates (i.e. active clauses) in Lemei include intransitive clauses, transitive clauses and

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166 Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish whether this type of clause is truly subordinate.
ditransitive clauses. Clauses types with non-verbal predicates (i.e. stative clauses) include clauses with adjectival predicates, nominal predicates and locative predicates.
Chapter 4
Analysis and discussion

4.1 Introduction
This chapter is concerned about the analysis of the word orders found in the Lemei corpus. Section 4.2 discusses the result of the frequency count of the various word orders identified in the corpus. The results from the findings contribute answers to the first two research questions, namely, (1) What is the basic word order of the narrative discourse in Lemei?, and (2) What is(are) the other, non-default, word order(s), if any?

Section 4.3 discusses Story 17 hi³³ nɔ³³ a²⁴mo³³ ni³⁵ a⁴²˹ hi³³ nɔ³³ a²⁴mo³³ ‘The good mother and the bad mother’ which has been selected to explain the occurrence of the non-default orders in detail. This discussion addresses the final research question: (3) What are some of the factors that tend to affect the use of non-default word order(s)? Section 4.4 reviews all of the examples of the non-default word orders in each story. Section 4.5 compares the findings in this study with other research mentioned in Chapter 2.

4.2 Analysis of the frequency count of various word orders
In this study, a corpus including 21 texts is analyzed and charted. Out of 413 clauses identified, 354 clauses are considered167 (see Appendix A). The result of charting is summarized below in Table 9.168

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167 60 clauses out of 413 clauses in the corpus are not considered. These include 15 ditransitive clauses, 36 negatives clauses, 3 interrogative clauses, 1 imperative clause, 3 dialogues which do not have the speech orienter (speech orienter refers to the clause that identifies the reported speaker and/or addressee (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 110), and 2 clauses which cannot be charted because the structures seem to be incomplete.

168 The number of clauses considered will be adjusted after reconsidering the special word orders in Section 4.2.1.
Table 9 Summary of frequency count of the corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>No. of clauses considered</th>
<th>Most frequent WO</th>
<th>Non-default WO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Of all clauses</td>
<td>Of least-marked clauses (LMC) (out of all LMC)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. wa⁴²ci²¹ ‘The eagle’</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4 SVO</td>
<td>3 SVO (out of 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. jo⁵⁵ ‘The medicine’</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6 SVO</td>
<td>3 SVO (out of 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. bo³⁵ tsi³⁵ bo³⁵ kʰwa⁵⁵ jɪ⁴ｔne²¹ ‘The son and the father picked fruit’</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8 SVO</td>
<td>6 SVO (out of 7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. qe³⁵mo³³ pa²¹妥协 qe³⁵tsi³⁵ be³⁵ ‘The hen feed the chicken with rice’</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4 SVO</td>
<td>4 SVO (out of 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ni²¹qa³⁵ tse³⁵pu³⁵ gi⁴ｔto²¹ ‘The story of a man and a bear’</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6 SVO</td>
<td>2 SVO (out of 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. dz⁴ｂpo³⁵ dz⁴ｂmo³³ gi⁴ｔto²¹ ‘The story of an old man and an old woman’</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3 SVO</td>
<td>3 SVO (out of 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. wu³⁵ hi³⁵ na⁴ ˀjɔ³³ ‘A person who prays’</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9 SVO</td>
<td>1 SVO (out of 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. bo⁴žja⁴qɑ³¹ je²¹ gi⁴ｔto²¹ ‘The story of a lazy person’</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11 SVO</td>
<td>9 SVO (out of 11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. tɔ²¹tu²¹ je²¹qa³⁵ gi⁴ｔto²¹ ‘The story of the cicada &amp; the man’</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10 SVO</td>
<td>8 SVO (out of 9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

169 This count is a general frequency count of the “the most frequent word order” which includes all of the clauses within the scope of research.

170 This count is limited to the frequency count of the “least-marked clauses”. Several particles are known to affect the word order within a clause. Following the least marked definition, only clauses without topic marker dzï⁴’s ‘TOP’ or ba⁴’s ‘TOP’, patient marker ni⁴’s ‘PAT’ and negative marker a⁴žjɔ³³ ‘not’ will be considered in this count.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>SVO</th>
<th>SVO (out of)</th>
<th>VS, SOV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>73 10. $\text{æ}^{42} \text{ci}^{35} \text{n}^{33} \text{a}^{55} \text{ci}^{22}$</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5 SVO, 1 VS, 1 SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The duck that laid golden egg’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>73 12. $\text{k}^{35} \text{sc}^{35} \text{c}^{42} \text{na}^{42} \text{ci}^{21}$</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8 SVO, 1 VS, 1 SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The hard-hearted man’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>73 17. $\text{tsi}^{35} \text{ja}^{42} \text{cw}^{35} \text{po}^{35} \text{ku}^{42} \text{ci}^{22}$</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9 SVO, 1 SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The two opium smokers’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>73 42. $\text{tsu}^{35} \text{a}^{55} \text{ha}^{42} \text{li}^{35} \text{ci}^{42} \text{tsu}^{35}$</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>29 SVO, 2 VS, 1 SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Do whatever till the end’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>73 6. $\text{b}^{42} \text{ci}^{35} \text{b}^{42} \text{ci}^{21} \text{n}^{33} \text{a}^{55}$</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3 SVO, 1 VS, 1 SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Not knowing is like being dead’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>73 21. $\text{bo}^{35} \text{xo}^{42} \text{ci}^{21} \text{dz}^{35} \text{ci}^{42}$</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11 SVO, 1 VS, 2 SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Die for gold and silver’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>73 72. $\text{bo}^{35} \text{xo}^{42} \text{ci}^{21} \text{dz}^{35} \text{a}^{55} \text{ci}^{42}$</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>45 SVO, 2 VS, 1 SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘What is the benefit?’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>73 27. $\text{hi}^{35} \text{n}^{33} \text{n}^{33} \text{a}^{42} \text{mo}^{33} \text{ci}^{42} \text{hi}^{35} \text{n}^{33} \text{n}^{33} \text{a}^{42} \text{mo}^{33}$</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7 SVO, 2 VS, 1 SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The good mother and the bad mother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>73 31. $\text{ds}^{55} \text{ho}^{35} \text{ju}^{42} \text{mi}^{42} \text{ku}^{42} \text{ci}^{22}$</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14 SVO, 1 VS, 1 SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The husband and his wife’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>73 19. $\text{tsu}^{35} \text{ts}^{42} \text{tsi}^{35} \text{na}^{42} \text{ci}^{21} \text{gi}^{42} \text{ci}^{21}$</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9 SVO, 1 VS, 1 SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘A story of a soldier’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>73 6. $\text{ma}^{35} \text{ci}^{21}$</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6 SVO, 1 SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The horse’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>73 9. $\text{ja}^{35} \text{ci}^{21} \text{ci}^{21}$</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9 SVO, 1 SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The frog’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total no. of clauses</strong></td>
<td><strong>353</strong></td>
<td><strong>289 SVO, 195 SVO (out of 224)</strong></td>
<td><strong>64</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>considered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.1 Reconsideration of special word orders identified

Before counting the frequency of each word order, this section will consider some of the special word orders found in the corpus which are not predicted in the hypothesis. Such word orders include 3 S-Ts-V-O, 1 Tm-V-S and 1 SVOV order.

First of all, the S-Ts-V-O order is demonstrated in (90). This order basically follows the SVO order which is the result of topicalization of the definite classifier NP co$^3$pa$^{55}$ ku$^{33}$ qwa$^{55}$ ‘two pieces of teeth’ (N + Num + CLF). The constituent splits into two parts so that the N co$^3$pa$^{55}$ ‘teeth’ has been preposed before the verb to be the sub-topic, whereas the constituent ku$^{33}$ qwa$^{55}$ ‘two pieces’ (Num + CLF) remains in its original object position (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 498). Likewise, the constituents N + Num + CLF in (91) and (92) also split so that bo$^{35}$ ti$^{21}$mi$^{35}$ ‘the hair’ and bo$^{35}$ ts$^{33}$ju$^{33}$ ‘the children’ become the sub-topics. In other words, the S-Ts-V-O or (S)-Ts-V-O will be considered as the SVO word order in the frequency count.\(^{171}\)

(90) S6-2  
S Ts V O 
[d$^{42}$ho$^{33}$ po$^{35}$ ni$^{21}$ dzi$^{35}$] [bo$^{35}$ co$^{33}$pa$^{55}$] ch$^{33}$ ji$^{33}$ [ku$^{33}$ qwa$^{55}$] 
old.person man CLF TOP 3 teeth only EXIS two CLF 
The old man only had two pieces of teeth

(91) S6-3  
S Ts V O 
[d$^{42}$ho$^{33}$ mo$^{35}$ ni$^{21}$ dzi$^{35}$] [bo$^{35}$ ti$^{21}$mi$^{35}$] ch$^{33}$ ji$^{33}$ [ku$^{33}$ ts$^{33}$] 
old.person woman CLF TOP 3 hair only EXIS two CLF 
The old woman only had two pieces of hairs

(92) S2-1b  
(S) Ts V O 
[bo$^{35}$ ts$^{33}$ju$^{33}$] ch$^{33}$ ji$^{33}$ a$^{42}$ ni$^{21}$ 
3 child only EXIS one CLF 
(The family) only had one child

Secondly, the Tm-V-S order is demonstrated in (93). It should be a variation of the VS order in which the subject qe$^{35}$tsi$^{33}$ qe$^{35}$mo$^{33}$ a$^{42}$ts$^{33}$ ‘a nest of chicken and hen’ splits so that the NP qe$^{35}$tsi$^{33}$ qe$^{35}$mo$^{33}$ ‘chicken and hen’ experiences topicalization and become the main topic (Tm)\(^{172}\), leaving the constituent a$^{42}$ts$^{33}$ ‘a nest’ (Num + CLF) to remain in its original subject position. In other word, the Tm-V-S structure will be considered as the VS order in the frequency count.

\(^{171}\) Concerning the three preposed “sub-topics” (Tms) in example 90 to 92, it looks like all of them carry non-established information. This word pattern needs further investigation.

\(^{172}\) The main topic (Tm) seems to carry non-established information. This pattern needs further study.
There was a nest of chicken (and) hen

Thirdly, the SVOV order identified in Story 14 (example [94]) carries the durative marker *ku*²² ‘DUR’ at the end of the clause. The durative marker, which describes an ongoing state of an action or an event which has started (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 36), usually follows the main verb. This word order will be classified as a special case which will not be considered in this thesis.

Table 10 Summary of frequency count after reconsideration of special word orders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of clauses considered</th>
<th>Most frequent WO</th>
<th>Non-default WO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Of all clauses</td>
<td>Of least-marked clauses (LMC) (out of all LMC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>352</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>138 <em>SV</em></td>
<td>21 <em>VS</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56 <em>(S)V</em></td>
<td>1 <em>Tm-V-S (= VS)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61 <em>SVO</em></td>
<td>10 <em>OSV</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29 <em>(S)VO</em></td>
<td>3 <em>O(S)V</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 <em>(S)(V)O</em></td>
<td>9 <em>SOV</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 <em>S-Ts-V-O (=SVO)</em></td>
<td>13 <em>(S)OV</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 <em>(S)-Ts-V-O (=SVO)</em></td>
<td>3 <em>(S)(OV)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Durative marker is not likely to be analyzed as a verb if it does not have a real meaning. However, this example is marked as SVOV for further investigation.
In summary, the 2 S-Ts-V-O and 1 [S]-Ts-V-O clauses will be counted as 3 SVO clauses whereas the 1 Tm-V-S clause will be counted as 1 VS clause. In addition to this, the clause with SVOV order will not be counted, thus causing the total number of clause considered in this research to be adjusted from 353 to 352 clauses. Table 10 gives a summary of frequency count after reconsideration of special word orders.

4.2.2 The basic word order
In Section 1.4.1.1, it was stated that the identification of the basic word order (BWO) in this study will be limited by two definitions outlined by Dryer (2007a), namely (1) the most frequent word order and (2) the least marked order.

After the reconsideration of some special word orders identified during the charting process, the result of frequency count of word order is summarized below. First of all, from the frequency count of total 352 clauses (see Table 11), the most frequent word order is demonstrated by the 292 SVO clauses (138 SV, 56 [S]V, 61 SVO, 29 [S]VO, 3 [S][V]O, 2 [S][V]O, 2 S-Ts-V-O, 1 [S]-Ts-V-O) which represents 83.0% of the total number of clauses considered. The second most frequent word order is demonstrated by 25 SOV clauses (9 SOV, 13 [S]OV, 3 [S][O]V) which represents 7.1% of the total number of clauses considered. The third rank is the VS order (21 VS, 1 Tm-V-S) which includes 22 clauses (6.2%). The fourth rank is the OSV order which include 13 clauses (11 OSV, 3 O[S]V) 3.7%).

Table 11 Word orders ranking according to the most frequent order count

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Word order (and number)</th>
<th>Subcategory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>83.0%</td>
<td>292 SVO</td>
<td>138 SV, 56 (S)V, 61 SVO, 29 (S)VO, 5 (S)(V)O, 2 S-Ts-V-O, 1 (S)-Ts-V-O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>22 VS</td>
<td>21 VS, 1 Tm-V-S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>25 SOV</td>
<td>9 SOV, 13 (S)OV, 3 (S)(O)V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>13 OSV</td>
<td>10 OSV, 3 O(S)V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Secondly, from the frequency count of the 224 least-marked clauses (see Table 12), the most frequent word order is the SVO order demonstrated by 195 SVO clauses (112 SV, 47 [S]V, 17 SVO, 16 [S]VO, 2 [S][V]O, 1 [S]-Ts-V-O) which represents 87.1% of the total number of the non-marked clauses. The second most frequent order is the VS order demonstrated by 17 VS clauses (16 VS, 1 Tm-V-S) which represents 7.6% of all non-marked clauses. The third rank is the SOV order demonstrated by 9 clauses (3 SOV, 6 [S]OV) (4.0%). The fourth rank is the OSV order demonstrated by 3 clauses (1.3%).

Since the number of the most frequent word order (SVO) exceeds the second most frequent word order by a significant percentage in both methods of frequency count, it is safe to conclude that SVO order should be considered as the default word order of Lemei narratives based on the definitions outlined by Dryer (2007a) mentioned above. In other words, the result of the word order count agrees with the hypothesis that SVO should be considered as the basic word order (i.e. the default word order).

**Table 12 Word orders ranking according to the least-marked order count**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Word order (and number)</th>
<th>Subcategory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>87.1%</td>
<td>195 SVO</td>
<td>112 SV, 47 (S)V, 17 SVO, 16 (S)VO, 2 (S)(V)O, 1 (S)-Ts-V-O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>17 VS</td>
<td>16 VS, 1 Tm-V-S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>9 SOV</td>
<td>3 SOV, 6 (S)OV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>3 OSV</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**4.2.3 The non-default word orders**

After reconsiderating some of the special word orders identified during the charting process, it is found that there are 61 clauses with non-default word orders in the corpus. They include the VS, OSV and SOV word orders (Table 13).
Concerning the VS word order (Appendix B), 22 VS (21 VS, 1 Tm-V-S) clauses are identified in the corpus. It is found that all of the postposed subjects carry non-established information.

As for the OSV order (Appendix C), 13 OSV (10 OSV, 3 O(S)V) clauses are identified. Two types of preposed objects are found, namely objects with established information (O_{EST}) and objects with non-established information (O_{NON-EST}). In the corpus, 9 of the preposed objects in OSV word order carry established information whereas 4 preposed objects carry non-established information.

As for the SOV order (Appendix D), 25 SOV (9 SOV, 13 [S]OV, 3 [S][O]V) structures are identified. The findings show that all of the preposed object carry established information (i.e. all of the preposed objects are O_{EST}).

Table 13 Summary of non-default orders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word order (and number)</th>
<th>Subcategory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22 VS</td>
<td>21 VS, 1 Tm-V-S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 OSV</td>
<td>10 OSV, 3 O(S)V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 SOV</td>
<td>9 SOV, 13 (S)OV, 3 (S)(O)V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.4 Summary of findings

In summary, based on the definition of the basic word order, namely the most frequent word order or the least-marked word order, this study shows that the SVO order tends to be the basic word order in Lemei narrative discourse. Table 11 summarizes the result of the word order rank according to the most frequent word order, whereas Table 12 summarizes the result of the word order rank according to the least-marked word order frequency count. In addition, the VS, SOV and OSV structures are regarded as non-default word orders in Lemei narrative discourse (Table 13).
4.3 Discussion of the occurrence of non-default word orders in Story 17

This section will discuss the occurrence of the non-default word orders (VS, OSV, SOV) identified in Lemei narrative discourse. All of the examples of non-default word orders from Story 17 will be selected for demonstration (see Appendix E for the modified Levinsohn chart in detail). Table 14 summarizes the various word orders and clause types found in the text.

Story 17 is a story about two mothers and their daughters. The good mother is good to her daughters and raises them by caring for them in many ways and earning money to let them study. In the end, all of her daughters secure good jobs in the government and the whole family live happily ever after. The bad mother, on the other hand, earns money by selling her daughters repeatedly to different people. In the end all of her daughters die. The narrative can be divided into two smaller subsections. The first subsection is about the good mother (line 1 to 7) and the second subsection is about the bad mother (line 8 to 17). The free translation of the story is as follows:

1. There was a family with a mother and her daughters, four of them. When her three daughters were ignorant their father died. 2. Then their mother raised her three daughters without looking for a husband. 3. Their mother labored and raised her daughters, (she) raised chickens and pigs and let her three daughters study. 4. At night (she) taught her daughters (about) the truth of life. 5. In the morning and in the evening (she) cooked rice for her daughters, in the afternoon (she) washed clothes (for them). 6. It was what their mother said that her daughters obeyed, it was what her daughters said that their mother listened. 7. Afterward her three daughters all three of them were able to work for the government, and then the mother and her daughters four of them led a good life. A pretty and good mother (she) was.

8. Then there was a mother and her daughters four of them. Their mother was good at earning money. 9. One day their mother took her daughters and went to another country. 10. After (they) arrived in the other country, their mother sold her daughters. 11. Each of her daughters was sold to a place. 12. Then this mother sold each of her daughters for three months. 13. After three months (she) took her daughters back and sold (them) to another person. 14. Again after three months (she) took (them) back again and sold (them) again to another person. 15. After this mother had been selling her daughters for two or three years, her daughters’ bodies...
became sick and her three daughters died one after one. 16. Then their mother
looked at the money and became shocked. 17. So in this way (so this is that) a
mother who loves money is not a mother who cares for children.

Table 14 Analysis of Story 17 ‘The good mother and the bad mother’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>Un-marked</th>
<th>Word order</th>
<th>Clause type considered</th>
<th>Clause type not considered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>EXIS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>INTR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td></td>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>(S)VO</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3c</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>(S)VO</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>(S)VO</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3e</td>
<td>(S)O₂VO₂</td>
<td>DITR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(S)VO₁O₂</td>
<td>DITR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a</td>
<td>(S)O₂VO₂</td>
<td>DITR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b</td>
<td>(S)(O)VO₂</td>
<td>DITR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>OSV</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>OSV</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a</td>
<td></td>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td></td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>ATTR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7c</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>ATTR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>EXIS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b</td>
<td></td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>ATTR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td></td>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9b</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>(S)V</td>
<td>INTR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>(S)V</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>(S)OV</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>(S)V</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13a</td>
<td></td>
<td>(S)OV</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13b</td>
<td></td>
<td>(S)(O)V</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>(S)(O)V</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14b</td>
<td></td>
<td>(S)(O)V</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15a</td>
<td></td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>INTR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15b</td>
<td></td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>INTR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16a</td>
<td></td>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16b</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>(S)V</td>
<td>ATTR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In this story, 27 clauses are considered (4 ditransitive clauses and 1 negative clause are not considered). The most frequent order is demonstrated by 16 SVO order (6 SV, 2 [S]V, 5 SVO, 3 [S]VO). Out of 11 unmarked clauses 7 were SVO (2 VS, 2 SV, 2 [S]V, 3 [S]VO, 2 OSV). Non-default orders include 2 VS, 2 OSV, 2 SOV, 2 (S)OV and 3 (S)(O)V.

4.3.1 Discussion of the VS order
In this text, two new entities, namely \(bo^{35} mo^{33} bo^{35} \) \(\text{ɲu}^{33} si^{55} j\text{i}^{21} na^{427} h\text{ɔ}^{33} \text{wo}^{35}\) ‘a family of the good mother and the three daughters’ (as in example [95]) and \(bo^{35} mo^{33} bo^{35} \) \(\text{ju}^{33} si^{55} j\text{i}^{21} \) ‘the mother and the three daughters’ (as in example [96]), are introduced into the story in line 1 (the beginning of the story) and in line 8a (the beginning of a new episode) respectively by the VS clauses. Both examples demonstrate the thetic propositions which function to introduce new “entities” into the text without linking their introduction “to an already established topic or to some presupposed proposition” (Lambrecht, 1994, 144). In each example of presentational articulation, the subject (the new entity) is postponed after the existential verb \(j\text{i}^{33} \) ‘EXIS’ to the end of the clause so that it becomes the focal constituent (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 55).

(95) S17-1a  
\[ \text{\textit{V S}} \]  
\[ j\text{i}^{33} [bo^{35} mo^{33} bo^{35} \text{ju}^{33} si^{55} j\text{i}^{21} na^{427} h\text{ɔ}^{33} \text{wo}^{35}] \]  
EXIS 3 mother 3 daughter four CLF one family  
There was a four-member family with the mother and the daughters

(96) S17-8a  
\[ \text{\textit{V S}} \]  
\[ \text{ti}^{42} j\text{i}^{33} [bo^{35} mo^{33} bo^{35} \text{ju}^{33} si^{55} j\text{i}^{21}] \]  
again EXIS 3 mother 3 daughter four CLF  
Then there was the mother and the daughters four of them

4.3.2 Discussion of the OSV order
There are two OSV clauses identified in this story. The first one indicates established information, and the second one introduces non-established information. In (97), the NP \(bo^{35} mo^{33} t\text{so}^{42} \) \(ba^{21}\) ‘what the mother said’ (line 6) can be referred to the \(j\text{i}^{21} q\text{a}^{24} \) \(c\text{i}^{42} h\text{a}^{35} c\text{h}^{35}\) ‘the truth of life’ (line 4) that their mother taught them at night. The object (established information) is topicalized (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) to give the O\(_{EST}\)SV order.

81
In example (98), the NP $bo^{35} \, ju^{33} \, tso^{42} \, ba^{21}$ ‘what her daughters said’ (non-established information) has not been mentioned previously in the story. The story listeners may not know what the daughters have told their mother. In other words, the $O_{\text{NON-EST}} \, SV$ order results from preposing the focal constituent with prominence (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 56). By violating the Principle of Natural Information Flow (Comrie, 1989, p. 127), the preposed focal constituent is given prominence.

(98) S17-6b $O_{\text{NON-EST}} \, S \, V$
\[
[bo^{35} \, ju^{33} \, tso^{42} \, ba^{21}] \quad [bo^{35} \, mo^{33}] \quad c^{b}a^{35}
\]
3 daughter say NML 3 mother listen.obey
It was what the daughters said that the mother listened

4.3.3 Discussion of the SOV order
All of the preposed objects in the SOV clauses carry established information. From line 10 to 14a, seven successive clauses demonstrate the SOV order. In line 10 (99), the PoD $c^{h}wa^{55} \, bi^{35} \, kwe^{21} \, hi^{33} \, bo^{42} \, ya^{42}$ ‘after (they) arrived the other country’ signal a change of location as well as a change of time in the narrative for what follows: The bad mother has brought her daughters to a new country and sold them for money. The NP $O_{\text{OBJ}} \, bo^{35} \, ju^{33} \, tsii^{33} \, ho^{33} \, na^{33}$ ‘her daughters’ ($O_{\text{EST}}$), a non-focal constituent, has been preposed before the verb so that prominence is given to the focal constituent (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60) which is the verb $qi^{21}ji^{35}$ ‘sold’ (non-established information).

(99) S17-10 PoD
\[
c^{h}wa^{55} \, bi^{35} \, kwe^{21} \, hi^{33} \, bo^{42} \, ya^{42}
\]
\begin{align*}
S & \quad O_{\text{EST}} & \quad V \\
[bo^{35} \, mo^{33} \, \, dzii^{35}] & \quad [bo^{35} \, ju^{33} \, tsii^{33} \, ho^{33} \, na^{33}] & \quad qi^{21}ji^{35}
\end{align*}
3 mother TOP 3 daughter PL PAT sell
After (they) arrived in the other country, the mother sold the daughters
In (100), the subject remains \( bo^{35} mo^{33} \) ‘the mother’ although it is not represented overtly. By preposing the \( O^{est} \) before the verb, prominence is given to the verbal focal constituent (\( qɨ^{21}ji^{35} a^{427} cʰu^{42} \) ‘sold to a place’) (non-established).

\[
(100) \quad S_{17-11} \quad (S) \quad O^{est} \quad V \\
\emptyset \quad \left[ bo^{35} jw^{33} ts^{33} hɔ^{33} nɔ^{33} a^{427} nj^{21} nɔ^{33} \right] \quad qɨ^{21}ji^{35} a^{427} cʰu^{42} \\
3 \quad daughter \quad PL \quad PAT \quad one \quad CLF \quad PAT \quad sell \quad one \quad place
\]

(The) sold each of the daughters to a place.

In (101), a similar SOV structure with the established object preposed before the verb also gives prominence to the focal constituent (\( qi^{21}ji^{35} nɔ^{55}ŋwa^{55} sɔ^{35} qʰɔ^{33} \) ‘(sold) for three months’).

\[
(101) \quad S_{17-12} \quad S \\
\left[ bo^{35} mo^{33} nɔ^{33} nj^{21} \right] \quad do^{35}kʰi^{33} dzɨ^{35} \\
3 \quad mother \quad this \quad CLF \quad so.then \quad TOP
\]

\[
O^{est} \quad [ bo^{35} jw^{33} hɔ^{33} nɔ^{33} a^{427} nj^{21} nɔ^{33} dzɨ^{35} ] \quad qɨ^{21}ji^{35} nɔ^{55}ŋwa^{55} sɔ^{35} qʰɔ^{33} \\
3 \quad daughter \quad PL \quad PAT \quad one \quad CLF \quad PAT \quad TOP \quad sell \quad month \quad three \quad CLF
\]

Then this mother sold each of the daughters for three months.

From example (102) to (105), the subject, though represented covertly, remains the mother. In (102), the temporal PoD \( j^{33} tsʰa^{35} nɔ^{55}ŋwa^{55} \) ‘three months later’ signals a change in time for what follows. The (S)OV order gives prominence to the verbal focal constituent \( ti^{42} li^{42} qʰæ^{55} \) ‘took back again’ in (102) and \( ti^{42} qi^{21}ji^{35} kʰw^{35}li^{35} a^{427} nj^{21} nɔ^{33} \) ‘sold to another person again’ in (103).

---

\[174\] Since “sold” is mentioned before, strictly speaking, the focal constituent should be \( a^{427} cʰu^{42} \) ‘a place’.

\[175\] Since “sold” is mentioned before, strictly speaking, the focal constituent should be \( nɔ^{55}ŋwa^{55} sɔ^{35} qʰɔ^{33} \) ‘for three months’.

\[176\] Since “sold” and “again” is mentioned before, strictly speaking, the focal constituent should be \( kʰw^{35}li^{35} a^{427} nj^{21} nɔ^{33} \) ‘another person’.

---

83
(102) S17-13a
PoD
\[ ji^{33} ts^{b}a^{35} jo^{55}ja^{55} so^{35} q^{b}ɔ^{33} bo^{42}ya^{42} \]
EXIS PFV month three CLF then

\[(S) \quad (O_{est}) \quad V \]
\[ \emptyset \quad [bo^{35} ju^{33} ho^{33} no^{33}] \quad ti^{42} li^{42} q^{h}ae^{55} \]
3 daughter PL PAT again back take

After three months (the mother) took the daughters back again

(103) S17-13b
\[(S) \quad (O_{est}) \quad V \]
\[ ji^{35} \emptyset \emptyset ti^{42} qi^{21}ji^{35} khwi^{35}li^{35} a^{427}ju^{21} no^{33} \]
and again sell another one CLF PAT and (the mother) sold (the daughters) to another person again

In (104), the PoD \( ti^{42} ji^{33} ts^{b}a^{35} jo^{55}ja^{55} so^{35} q^{b}ɔ^{33} bo^{42}ya^{42} \) ‘again after three months’ signals a switch of time. In (104) and (105), the verbal constituents \( ti^{42} li^{42} q^{h}ae^{55} \) ‘took (the daughters) back again’ and \( ti^{42} qi^{21}ji^{35} khwi^{35}li^{35} a^{427}ju^{21} no^{33} \) ‘sold (the daughters) to another person again’ carry no new information.

(104) S17-14a
PoD
\[ ti^{42} ji^{33} ts^{b}a^{35} jo^{55}ja^{55} so^{35} q^{b}ɔ^{33} bo^{42}ya^{42} \]
again EXIS PFV month three CLF and.then

\[(S) \quad (O_{est}) \quad V \]
\[ \emptyset \emptyset ti^{42} li^{42} q^{h}ae^{55} \]
again back take

Again after three months, (the mother) took (the daughters) back again

(105) S17-14b
\[(S) \quad (O_{est}) \quad V \]
\[ ji^{35} \emptyset \emptyset ti^{42} qi^{21}ji^{35} khwi^{35}li^{35} a^{427}ju^{21} no^{33} \]
and again sell another one CLF PAT and (the mother) sold (the daughters) to another person again
In addition to the above discussion, it is observed that the topic-chain\textsuperscript{177} construction (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 659) tends to occur with the SOV construction. In the seven successive clauses from line 10 to 14b (examples [99] to [105]), the topic subject (Burusphat, 2002, p. 142) remains \textit{bo}\textsuperscript{35} \textit{mo}\textsuperscript{33} ‘the mother’ which is represented covertly (zero anaphora) in five clauses. In the successive four clauses from line 13a to 14b (examples [102] to [105]), the object remains \textit{bo}\textsuperscript{35} \textit{ju}\textsuperscript{33} \textit{ha}\textsuperscript{33} ‘the daughters’ which is represented covertly in three clauses. In other words, these clauses describe the successive events performed by the mother, namely the mother took (the daughters) back, sold (them) again, took (them) back and sold (them) again.

\textbf{4.3.4 Summary of discussion}

From the above analysis, it can be summarized that the findings from Story 17 agree with the hypothesis about the occurrence of the VS, OSV and SOV non-default word orders.

First of all, all of the VS word orders observed in Story 17 are used in existential clauses or clauses with presentational articulation (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 144). In each case, the subject is postposed after the verb to become the focal constituent which occurs towards the end of a clause (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 55).

Secondly, two types of OSV construction are identified from Story 17, namely the O\textsubscript{EST}SV order and the O\textsubscript{NON-EST}SV order. The O\textsubscript{EST}SV order results from topicalization (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) of the object which carries established information, whereas the O\textsubscript{NON-EST}SV order results from preposing the focal constituent with prominence (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 56).

Thirdly, each example of the SO\textsubscript{EST}V word order in Story 17 functions to give prominence to the verbal focal constituent by preposing the object with established information (O\textsubscript{EST}) before the verb (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60). In addition, it is observed that the topic-chain construction (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 659) tends to occur with the SO\textsubscript{EST}V construction.

\textsuperscript{177} Topic chain is the situation “where a referent is referred to in the first clause, and then there follow several more clauses talking about the same referent but not overtly mentioning that referent” (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 659).
4.4 Discussion of the occurrence of non-default word orders in each story

In this section, the result of frequency count of word order in each story will be discussed. The discussion also includes explanation for the occurrence of the non-default word order(s) identified in each story.

4.4.1 Story 1

Story 1, 6 clauses are considered. The most frequent word order is demonstrated by the 4 SVO clauses. Out of 3 unmarked clauses, all of them are in SVO order. Non-default order is demonstrated by the 2 OSV clauses.

Examples (106) and (107) are two parallel clauses. In (106), the O_{NON-EST}SVO order results from preposing the NP qʰɔ³³ ji⁵⁵ ca²¹ ba²¹ nɔ⁴² ‘whatever good to eat’ (non-established information which is the focal constituent) to the clause-initial position. It is given prominence since the Principle of Natural Information Flow has been violated (Comrie, 1989, p. 127). The O_{EST}SV order in example (107) results from topicalization (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) of the NP qʰɔ³³ ji⁵⁵ ca²¹ ba²¹ nɔ⁴² ‘whatever good to eat’ (O_{EST}) which has been mentioned in the previous sentence.

(106) S1-5 O_{NON-EST}SVO
[qʰɔ³³ ji⁵⁵ ca²¹ ba²¹ nɔ³³] bo⁴² to⁵⁵
any eat good NML PAT 3 peck
Whatever was good to eat, he pecked

(107) S1-6 O_{EST}SVO
[qʰɔ³³ ji⁵⁵ ca²¹ ba²¹ nɔ³³] bo⁴² ti³⁵
any eat good NML PAT 3 carry
Whatever was good to eat, he took

4.4.2 Story 2

In Story 2, 8 clauses are considered. The most frequent word order are demonstrated by the 6 SVO clauses (3 SV, 3 [S]V). Out of 4 unmarked clauses 3 were SVO (1 SV, 2 [S]V). Non-default word orders include 1 VS and 1 (S)-Ts-V-O\textsuperscript{178}.

\textsuperscript{178} In Section 4.2.1 this 1 (S)-Ts-V-O is reconsidered as a sub-category of the SVO word order (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 498) and is not considered as a non-default word order.
Example (108) has a presentational articulation. The VS order is used when information is presented in presentation articulation (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 144). The subject $a^{427} hɔ^{42} wo^{35}$ ‘a household’ is postposed after the verb to become the focal constituent which occurs towards the end of a clause (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 55).

(108) S2-1a V S
    ca^{21}ma^{55} jì^{33} [a^{427} hɔ^{42} wo^{35} dʒi^{35}]
    in.the.past EXIS one family TOP
    In the past there is a family (and)...
4.4.5 Story 5

In Story 5, 7 clauses are considered. The most frequent word order is demonstrated by the 6 SVO order (1 SV, 4 SVO, 1 [S]VO). For unmarked clauses, 2 out of 3 belong to the SVO order (1 SVO, 1 [S]VO). Non-default order includes 1 VS order.

In (111), the presentational clause introduces ɲi²¹qa³⁵ ku³³ ɲi²¹ ‘two persons’ (i.e. two characters, including a man and a bear) into the story. The subject is postposed after the existential verb ji³³ ‘EXIS’ to become the focal constituent (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 55).

\[
(111) \quad S5-2\quad V\quad S \\
ca²¹ma⁵⁵ \quad ji³³ \quad [ɲi²¹qa³⁵ ku³³ ɲi²¹] \\
in.the.past \quad EXIS \quad person \quad two \quad CLF
\]

Once upon a time there were two characters

4.4.6 Story 6

In Story 6, 7 clauses are identified and considered. The most frequent word order is demonstrated by the 3 SV clauses. Out of the 4 unmarked clauses, 3 of them belong to the SV order. Non-default orders include 1 VS, 1 S-Ts-V-O\(^\text{179} \) and 1 SOV.

In (112), the subject dɔ⁴²hɔ⁴² po³⁵ a⁴²ʔ ɲi²¹ jn³⁵ dɔ⁴²hɔ⁴² mo³³ a⁴²ʔ ɲi²¹ ‘an old man and an old woman’ (non-established information) presented by the thetic clause is postposed after the verb to be the element in focus (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 27).

\[
(112) \quad S6-1\quad V \\
ca²¹ma⁵⁵ \quad ji³³ \\
in.the.past \quad EXIS \\
S \\
[dɔ⁴²hɔ⁴² \quad po³⁵ \quad a⁴²ʔ \quad jn²¹ \quad jn³⁵ \quad dɔ⁴²hɔ⁴² \quad mo³³ \quad a⁴²ʔ \quad ɲi²¹] \\
old.person \quad man \quad one \quad CLF \quad and \quad old.person \quad woman \quad one \quad CLF
\]

Once upon a time there was an old man and an old woman

The SO\(_{\text{EST}}\)V structure in (113) results from preposing the non-focal constituent NP\(_{\text{OBJ}}\) bo²⁵ ti²¹mi²⁵ ku²³ tɛ⁵⁵ tsì³³ n³⁴² ‘her two strands of hair’ (established information)

\[^{179}\text{This (S)-Ts-V-O order is reconsidered as a sub-category of the SVO word order (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 498) in Section 4.2.1. It is not considered as a non-default word order.}\]
before the verb so that prominence is given to the focal constituent \( tʰi₄² \text{ɕu}⁴² tʰi₄² \text{ɕu}⁴² \) ‘combed again and again’ (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60) which occurs at the clause-final position.

(113) S6-4a  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
[dɔ⁴²hɔ⁴² \text{mo}³³ \text{ɲi}²¹] \quad ja₅⁵ \text{ɕa}³³qʰ\text{a}⁵⁵ \text{ɕu}⁴² \text{bi}⁴²\text{ɲu}³⁵ \\
\text{old.person woman CLF} \quad \text{go wedding place therefore}
\end{array}
\]

\( O_{\text{EST}} \) 
\[
\begin{array}{c}
[bo³⁵ \text{ti}²¹\text{mi}³⁵ \text{ku}³³ \text{tse}⁵⁵ \text{tsi}³³ \text{ŋo}⁴²] \quad tʰi₄² \text{ɕu}⁴² \ tʰi₄² \text{ɕu}⁴² \\
3 \quad \text{hair} \quad \text{two} \quad \text{strand} \quad \text{bit PAT} \quad \text{again comb again comb}
\end{array}
\]

The old woman, since (she will) visited the wedding place, her two strands of hair (she) combed again and again\(^{180}\)

### 4.4.7 Story 7

In Story 7, out of the 6 clauses considered, 9 of them belongs to the SVO construction (2 SV, 2 SVO, 5 [S]VO). Out of all 6 clauses, 5 of them are marked with either topic marker \( dzt³⁵ \) ‘TOP’ or the patient marker \( nɔ³³ \) ‘PAT’ and only one unmarked SV clause is identified. The only non-default VS order is demonstrated by 1 VS clause as in example (114). The subject \( ni²²qa³⁵ a⁴²² ni²²1 \) ‘one person’ (non-established information) presented by this thetic clause is postposed after the verb to be the element in focus (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 27).

(114) S7-1  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
i¹³³ ni²² qa³⁵ a⁴²² ni²²1 \quad dzt³⁵ \\
\text{EXIS} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{one CLF TOP}
\end{array}
\]

There was a person (and)…

### 4.4.8 Story 8

In Story 8, 14 clauses are considered. The most frequent order is demonstrated by the 11 SVO clauses (7 SV, 2 [S]V, 1 SVO, 1 [S]VO). Out of 11 unmarked clauses, 9 of them demonstrates the SVO order (7 SV, 2 [S]V). Non-default orders include 1 VS, 1 O(S)V and 1 SOV order.

\(^{180}\) This free translation is aimed at reflecting the original word order in Lemei. However, it should be understood in English as “because the woman (will) go to the wedding place, (she) combed her two strains of hairs again and again.”
In the VS clause in (115), the subject ba⁴²jɔ⁴²qa²¹ ji²¹ a⁴² jɨ²¹ ‘one lazy person’ (non-established information) is postposed after the verb to be presented by the thetic clause. In such way, it becomes the focal element (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 59).

(115) S8-1   V   S
ca²¹ma₅⁵ jî³³ [ba⁴²jɔ⁴²qa²¹ ji²¹ a⁴² jɨ²¹]
in.the.past EXIS lazy person one CLF
Once upon a time there is a lazy person

In the O_NON-EST(S)V clause in (116), the NP OBJ ji⁵⁵ ba²¹ ‘food’ (non-established information) is preposed before the covert subject and the verb. By violating the Principle of Natural Information Flow (Comrie, 1989, p. 127), the preposed focal constituent ji⁵⁵ ba²¹ ‘food’ is given prominence (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 56).

(116) S8-2   O_NON-EST   (S)   V
ji⁵⁵ ba²¹ Ø ji⁵⁵ si₃⁵
eat NML eat want
Food, (he) wanted to eat

In the SO_EST V pattern in example (117), the non-focal constituent co⁴²qwa₃⁵ qʰɔ⁴² ‘mouth’ (established information) is preposed before the verb so that prominence is given to the focal constituent xwa₅⁵ hɨ³³ ‘kept opening’ (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60). With the durative aspect marker hɨ³³ ‘DUR’ used in the first of the two clauses, it also seems to signal that the first event provides a durative background for the second event (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 223), so that the sentence can be translated as ‘then the son really slept under the tree with his mouth opening up’.

(117) S8-8a   S   O_EST   V
bo⁴²ya⁴² [bo³⁵ tsɨ³³ jɨ²¹] tse³⁵tse³⁵ [co⁴²qwa₃⁵ qʰɔ⁴²] xwa₅⁵ hɨ³³
afterward 3 son CLF really mouth CLF open DUR
Then the son really kept his mouth open

(118) S8-8b   (S)   V
jɨ³³ Ø nu³³tɨ⁴² jɨ⁴² ji⁴² ti³³nɔ⁴²
then sleep tree CLF under
and slept under the tree

---

181 According to Li and Thompson (1981, p. 223), in Mandarin the durative aspect marker –zhe can be used in a complete sentence (i.e. sentences with two verbs) to signal that one event provides a durative background for another event. This principle seems to apply in Lemei also.
4.4.9 Story 9

In Story 9, 14 clauses are considered. The most frequent word order is demonstrated by the 10 SVO order (7 SV, 1 SVO, 2 [S]VO). Out of 9 unmarked clauses, 8 of them are the SVO constructions (7 SV, 1 [S]VO). For the non-default word orders, 2 VS and 2 O(S)V clauses are found.

In the VS clause in (119), the subject ɲi²¹qa³⁵ a⁴²⁷ ɲi²¹ ‘one person’ (non-established information) is postposed after the verb to be presented by the thetic clause. As a result, it becomes the focal element (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 59). In the VS clause in (120), the subject wu⁴² a⁴²⁷ qʰɔ³³ ‘one pumpkin’ (non-established information) is presented by the thetic clause. It is postposed after the verb to becomes the focal element (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 59).

(119) S9-1a

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{V} \quad \text{S} \\
\text{[ca²¹ma⁵⁵ bo⁴² dzo⁴²]} \quad \text{ji³³} \quad \text{[ɲi²¹qa³⁵ a⁴²⁷ ɲi²¹]} \quad \text{dzi³⁵} \\
\text{in.the.past that time} \quad \text{EXIS} \quad \text{person one CLF} \quad \text{TOP} \\
\text{Once upon a time there was a person (and)}
\end{array}
\]

(120) S9-2d

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{V} \quad \text{S} \\
\text{ɲi³⁵ li³³} \quad \text{wu⁴² a⁴²⁷ qʰɔ³³} \\
\text{and roll PFV pumpkin one CLF} \\
\text{...and there rolled out a pumpkin}
\end{array}
\]

The O_{NON-EST}(S)V structure in example (121) results from preposing the focal constituent ɲa⁴²⁴ ci²¹ bo³⁵ co²¹ bo³⁵ ze⁴² bo³⁵ se³⁵ q₃⁵ c₆wa⁵⁵ ‘the frog’s gut, stomach, heart, liver and lungs’ (O_{NON-EST}) to the clause initial position to be given prominence (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 56). By doing so the Principle of Natural Information Flow (Comrie, 1989, p. 127) has been violated.

---

Concerning the NP_{OBJ} ɲa⁴²⁴ ci²¹ bo³⁵ co²¹ bo³⁵ ze⁴² bo³⁵ se³⁵ q₃⁵ c₆wa⁵⁵ ‘the frog’s gut, stomach, heart, liver and lungs’, there is a possibility that it is a double-object structure in Lemei. If it is the case, then the NP ɲa⁴²⁴ ci²¹ ‘the frog’ will be the O_{EST} and the NP bo³⁵ co²¹ bo³⁵ ze⁴² bo³⁵ se³⁵ q₃⁵ c₆wa⁵⁵ ‘the gut, stomach, heart, liver and lungs’ will be the O_{NON-EST}. When both objects are preposed concurrently before the subject, it is hypothesized that the O_{EST} precedes the O_{NON-EST} according to the template P₁(O_{EST}) P₂(O_{NON-EST}) SV proposed by Dik (1989, p. 363) so as to explain variations in constituent order in VS/VO languages. The template is demonstrated as P₁ P₂ V X in which position P₁ can be occupied by one or more TOPIC constituents (established information) whereas P₂ can be occupied by a FOCUS constituent (non-established information). However, since the possible double-object structures are only identified in examples (121) and (122), due to limitation of data this hypothesis needs further investigation.
The frog’s gut, stomach, heart, liver and lungs were all pressed out (by someone).

In example (122), this time the story switches the theme to talk about the internal organs of the cicada. Since the NP \( t\text{ɔ}²¹t\text{ɔ}²¹ ci²¹ s\text{ɛ}³⁵ q\text{ɔ}³⁵ cʰw\text{ɑ}⁵⁵ \) ‘the cicada’s heart, liver, lungs, gut and stomach’ (\( O_{\text{EST}} \)) have been mentioned in the dialogue in the previous sentence already, it is topicalized to the clause-initial-position to form the \( O_{\text{EST}}(S)V \) structure.

In Story 10, 11 clauses were considered. The most frequent order is demonstrated by the 9 SVO clauses (2 SV, 4 [S]V, 1 [S]VO). Out of 6 unmarked clauses, 5 of them were SVO (2 SV, 3 [S]V). Non default word orders include 1 VS and 1 SOV.

In the VS clause in (123), the subject \( d\text{ɔ}⁴²h\text{ɔ}⁴² a⁴²j\text{n}²¹ ‘an old man’ (non-established information) is presented by the thetic clause. It is postposed after the verb to becomes the focal element (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 59).

In the SO\( _{\text{EST}} V \) structure in (124), the temporal PoD establishes the temporal setting for the event that follows. The non-focal constituent \( O_{\text{EST}} b\text{o}³⁵ a⁵⁵ ci²¹ ‘the duck’
(established information) is preposed before the verb so that prominence is given to the focal constituent \(\varphi_5^{55}\varphi_3^{35}\) ‘killed’ (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60).

(124) S10-5a  
PoD  
\[
\begin{align*}
&[bo^{42}ya^{42} \ ji^{33} \ a^{42}\pi^{33} \ dz^{35}] \\
&[dz^{42}\pi^{33} \ ji^{21}]
\end{align*}
\]

afterward EXIS one day TOP old.person CLF  
\[
O^{EST} \ V \\
\begin{align*}
te^{35}te^{35} [bo^{35} a^{55} \ ci^{21}] \quad &\varphi_5^{55}\varphi_3^{35} \\
really &3 \ duck CLF \ kill.complete
\end{align*}
\]

Then (there was) one day, the old man really killed the duck

4.4.11 Story 11

In Story 11, 11 clauses are considered. The most frequent word order is demonstrated by the 8 SVO order (3 SV, 4 [S]V, 1 [S]VO). Out of 9 unmarked clauses, 7 belongs to the SVO order (2 SV, 4 [S]V, 1 [S]VO). Non-default word orders include 1 VS, 1 OSV and 1 SOV order.

In the VS clause in (125), the subject presented by the thetic clause is the NP \(\pi^{21}/qa^{35} a^{42}\pi^{21}\) ‘a person’ (non-established information). The subject is postposed after the verb to become the focus (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 59).

(125) S11-1  
\[
\begin{align*}
ca^{42} &ma^{55} \ ji^{33} \ [\pi^{21}/qa^{35} a^{42}\pi^{21} \ dz^{35}] \\
in.the.past &EXIS \ person \ one \ CLF \ TOP
\end{align*}
\]

Once upon a time there was a person

In the \(O^{EST}SV\) clause in (126), as argued in the hypothesis (in Section 1.4.2.3.1), the definite NP \(b^{35}w^{35} b^{21}\) ‘what he shouted’ (established information) has been topicalized to the clause-initial position (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499).

(126) S11-5a  
\[
\begin{align*}
&[bo^{42}ya^{42} \ ji^{33} \ a^{42}\pi^{33} \ dz^{35}] \\
&[d^{42}\pi^{33} \ ji^{21}]
\end{align*}
\]

afterward 3 shout NML row boat one CLF hear.able  
Then what he shouted was heard by a boat-rower

The (S)\(O^{EST}V\) structure in (127) results from preposing the non-focal constituent \(O^{EST} \ bo^{35} ci^{33} \ p'bo^{55}\) ‘his hands’ (established information) before the verb so that
prominence is given to the focal constituent \( qʰæ^{55} \ zɪ^{42} \ cʰwɑ^{55} \) ‘reached out’ (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60).

(127) S11-9  
(S) O_{EST} V  
\( bi^{42} \ bo^{35} ci^{21} \) \( qʰæ^{55} \ zɪ^{42} \ cʰwɑ^{55} \)  
only.if 2 hand CLF take to.for come  
Only on this occasion his hand reached out

4.4.12 Story 12

In Story 12, 17 clauses are considered. The most frequent word order is demonstrated by the 17 SVO clauses (12 SV, 1 [S]V, 4 SVO). All of the 9 unmarked clauses demonstrate the SVO order. No non-default order is found.

4.4.13 Story 13

In Story 13, 42 clauses are considered. The most frequent word order is demonstrated by 37 SVO clauses (17 SV, 10 [S]V, 8 SVO, 2 [S]VO). Out of 32 unmarked clauses 29 belongs to the SVO order (15 SV, 7 [S]V, 6 SVO, 1 [S]VO). There are 5 non-default word orders which include 2 VS, 1 OSV and 2 (S)VO orders.

In the VS clause in (128), the subject presented by the thetic clause is the NP \( bo^{35} \ jn^{35} \ bo^{35} \ tʰi^{42} \ ku^{33} \ ni^{21} \) ‘the elder brother and the younger brother two persons’ (non-established information). In such a thetic proposition, the subject is postposed after the existential verb ‘EXIS’ to become the focus (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 59).

(128) S13-1  
V S  
ca^{21} ma^{55} jn^{33} [bo^{35} jn^{35} \ bo^{35} tʰi^{42} ku^{33} ni^{21}]  
in.the.past EXIS 3 elder.brother 3 younger.brother two CLF  
Once upon a time there was an elder brother and a younger brother two of them

In the VS clause in (129), the two PoD signals a change in time and a change in the location where a new entity is introduced into the story. The attention was drawn from the surrounding field to \( ço^{55} \ yn^{55} \) ‘the box’. The subject presented by the thetic clause, the NP \( ni^{21} qa^{35} a^{427} ni^{21} \) ‘a person’ (non-established), is postposed after the verb \( ma^{55} ts^{h} æ^{55} cʰwɑ^{55} \) ‘came out’ to become the focus (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 59).
Afterward from box inside, the person came out. Then from the box came out a person.

The OESTSV structure in (130) results from topicalization (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) of the OEST bi35 ti35 co55na55 q542 ni42 s335 l21qwa55 ba21 ‘what they said when they carried the box’.

What they said when they carried the box, the person who stayed in the box heard.

In the (S)OESTV clause in (131), the non-focal constituent OEST bo35 ku42 ni21 wa42 ti55 ci35 ba21 ‘the gold they dug’ is preposed before the verb so that prominence is given to the focal constituent ts321 o35 hi33 se35 ci42 c42 hi33 ‘hid in the pile of firewood’ (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60).

(The elder brother and the younger brother) hid the gold the two of them dug in a pile of firewood.
In the (S)O_{EST}V clause in (132), the non-focal constituent O_{EST} dɔ⁴²hɔ³³ po³⁵ dɔ⁴²hɔ³³ mo³³ ku³³ ni²¹ nɔ⁴² ‘the old man and the old woman two of them’ is preposed before the verb so that prominence is given to the verb wu³⁵ ‘call’ which is the focal constituent (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60).

(132) S13-16a  (S) O_{EST} V Ø [dɔ⁴²hɔ³³ po³⁵ dɔ⁴²hɔ³³ mo³³ ku³³ ni²¹ nɔ⁴²] wu³⁵ old.person man old.person woman two CLF PAT call

The judge summoned the old man and the old woman two of them

4.4.14 Story 14

In Story 14, 6 clauses are considered. The most frequent word order is demonstrated by 4 SVO clauses (2 SV, 1 [S]V, 1 SVO). All of the 3 unmarked clauses demonstrate the SVO order (3 SV). Non-default orders include 1 VS and 1 SVOV.

In the VS clause in (133), the subject se³⁵ nɔ³³ γɔ²¹i⁴² a⁴²ˀ i⁴² hɨ³³ nɔ⁴² bo³⁵ tsi³³ bo³⁵ bo³³ ku³³ ‘a son and a father two of them who lived in a village on a hill’ (non-established information) is presented by the thetic clause. It is postposed after the verb ku⁴² ‘lived’ to become the focal element (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 59).

(133) S14-1 V S ku⁴² [se³⁵ nɔ³³ γɔ²¹i⁴² a⁴²ˀ i⁴² hɨ³³ nɔ⁴² bo³⁵ tsi³³ bo³⁵ bo³³ ku³³ ni²¹] stay hill PAT village one CLF in REL 3 son 3 father two CLF

There was the son and the father two of them who lived in a village on a hill

4.4.15 Story 15

In Story 15, 20 clauses were considered. The most frequent order is demonstrated by 17 SVO clauses (7 SV, 6 (S)V, 3 SVO, 1 [S]VO). Out of 11 unmarked clauses 10 belongs to the SVO order (4 SV, 5 [S]V, 1 [S]VO). Non-default orders include 1 VS and SOV orders.

---

¹⁸³ As discussed in Section 4.2.1 (example [94]), the SVOV word order, being an abnormal order which needs further investigation, will not be considered in this research.
In the VS clause in (134), the subject presented by the thetic clause is the NP ŋu⁴²bi⁴² sɔ³⁵ɲĩ²¹ ‘three friends’ (non-established information). It is postposed after the existential verb ji³³ ‘EXIS’ to become the focal element (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 59).

(134) S15-1  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ca}²¹ ma^{55} \quad ji³³ \quad [ŋu⁴²bi⁴² \ sɔ³⁵ \ ɲĩ²¹] \\
in.\text{the.past} \quad \text{EXIS} \quad \text{friend} \quad \text{three CLF}
\end{array}
\]
There were three friends.

In the SOESTV structure in (135), the non-focal constituent OEST ci³⁵ qʰwe³⁵ ba²¹ ‘gold pieces’ (established information) is preposed before the verb so that prominence is given to the focal constituent tʰæ⁵⁵ ‘took’ (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60).

(135) S15-12  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[bo}³⁵ \text{ku}³³ \text{ɲĩ²¹]} \quad \text{bo}⁴²\text{ya}⁴² \quad [ci³⁵ \text{qʰwe}³⁵ \text{ba}²¹]} \quad \text{tʰæ}⁵⁵ \\
3 \quad \text{two CLF then gold CLF PL take}
\end{array}
\]
The two persons then took the gold pieces.

In the SOESTV clause in (136), the established non-focal constituent OEST qʰæ⁵⁵ pʰa³⁵cʰq⁴² bo⁴²ɲĩ²¹ qʰæ⁵⁵ cʰwa⁵⁵ qa²¹ qʰæ⁵⁵ cʰwa⁵⁵ tso⁴² ba²¹ ‘the meat and the wine brought by the person who carried food’ is preposed before the verb so that prominence is given to the focal constituent ji⁵⁵ ‘eat’ (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60).

(136) S15-13a  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[bo}³⁵ \text{ku}³³ \text{ɲĩ²¹]} \quad \text{ti}⁵⁵ \text{tʰs}a³⁵ \text{bi}⁴²\text{ɲĩ³⁵ xwa}³⁵hɔ³⁵ \quad \text{tsʰ}a³⁵ \text{dɔ³⁵ kʰi³³} \\
3 \quad \text{two CLF get PFV because happy.complete PFV so.then}
\end{array}
\]
O  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
[qʰæ⁵⁵ \ pʰa³⁵cʰq⁴² \ bo⁴²\text{ɲĩ²¹} \ qʰæ⁵⁵ \ cʰwa⁵⁵ \ qa²¹ \ qʰæ⁵⁵ \ cʰwa⁵⁵ \ tso⁴² \ ba²¹]} \quad \text{take food 3 CLF take come meat take come wine NML}
\end{array}
\]
V  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
ji⁵⁵
\end{array}
\]
eat

The two persons got (the gold) thereupon (they) were happy, (so) (they) ate the meat and wine brought by the person who carried the food.
4.4.16 Story 16

In Story 16, 73 clauses are considered. The most frequent word order is demonstrated by the 62 SVO clauses (43 SV, 6 [S]V, 9 SVO, 1 [S]VO, 3 [S][V]O). Out of 51 unmarked clauses, 45 belongs to the SVO order (38 SV, 6 [S]V, 1 [S]VO, 4 [S]OV). Non-default orders include 2 VS, 2 OSV, 1 SOV and 5 (S)OV orders.

In the VS clause in (137), the subject presented by the thetic clause is the NP bo³⁵ swa³⁵ jn³⁵ bo³⁵ jɔ⁴² ku³³ jn²¹ ‘the orphan boy and the grandmother two of them’ (non-established information). It is postposed after the existential verb jn³³ ‘EXIS’ to become the focal element (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 59). Likewise, the subject lu²¹ a⁴²⁷ ci²¹ ‘a dragon’ (non-established information) in example (138) is postposed after the verb ma⁵⁵ tsʰæ⁵⁵ cʰw a⁵⁵ ‘came out’ to become the focus (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 59).

(137) S16-1 V S
            ca²¹ ma⁵⁵ jn³³ [bo³⁵ swa³⁵ jn³⁵ bo³⁵ jɔ⁴² ku³³ jn²¹]
in.the.past EXIS 3 grandson and 3 grandmother two CLF

Once upon at time there was the orphan boy and the grandmother two of them

(138) S16-19 PoD V S
            bo³⁵ qʰo⁵⁵ bo⁴² yə⁴² ma⁵⁵ tsʰæ⁵⁵ cʰw a⁵⁵ lu²¹ a⁴²⁷ ci²¹
 3 cry afterward go.out come dragon one CLF
After he cried, there came out a dragon

In the O⁰⁴⁷ SV structures in (139) and (140), the O⁰⁴⁷ lu²¹ ci²¹ qo⁵⁵ ba²¹ ‘the dragon horns’ and the O⁰⁴⁷ lu²¹ qo⁵⁵ ba²¹ ‘the dragon horns’, which carry established information, are topicalized (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) and be preposed before the subject qwa⁴² tsi⁴² jn²¹ ‘the orphan boy’ respectively.

(139) S16-40 O⁰⁴⁷ S V
            bo⁴² yə⁴² [lu²¹ ci²¹ qo⁵⁵ ba²¹] [qwa⁴² tsi⁴² jn²¹] tsɔ⁵⁵ hi³³
afterward dragon horn PL orphan boy CLF remove DUR
Then the dragon horns, the orphan boy was removing

(140) S16-42 O⁰⁴⁷ S V
            [lu²¹ qo⁵⁵ ba²¹ dzɛ³⁵] [qwa⁴² tsi³³ jn²¹] ti³⁵ yi³⁵ li⁴²
dragon horn PL TOP orphan boy CLF carry CRS
The dragon horns, the orphan boy took away

98
In (141), the \(\text{SO}^\text{EST}V\) clause results from preposing the established non-focal constituent \(bi^{35} mt^{42} nɔ^{33} sɔ^{35} ts^{h}a^{42} ba^{21}\) ‘the three questions of their portions’ before the verb so that prominence is given to the focal constituent \(cw^{a55}pe^{35}\) ‘asked’ (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60).

\[
\begin{align*}
(141) & \quad \text{S16-34a} \\
& \quad \text{O}_{\text{EST}} \quad \text{V} \\
& \quad [bi^{35} mt^{42} nɔ^{33} sɔ^{35} ts^{h}a^{42} ba^{21}] \quad \text{cw}^{a55}pe^{35} \\
& \quad 3 \quad \text{portion PAT} \quad \text{three type NML} \quad \text{ask} \\
& \quad \text{(The orphan boy)} \text{ asked the three questions of their portions}
\end{align*}
\]

In the end of this story, by using five successive \(\text{SO}^\text{EST}V\) clauses, the story listener’s attention are brought to the fact that the orphan has got one thing after another in contrast to the situation that he had nothing in the beginning of the story.

\[
\begin{align*}
(142) & \quad \text{S16-58a} \\
& \quad \text{PoD} \quad \text{S} \quad \text{O}_{\text{EST}} \quad \text{V} \\
& \quad te^{21} bo^{42} nı^{33} nɔ^{33} [qwa^{42}tsi^{33} ju^{21} dzi^{35}] ho^{42} \quad i^{35} ji^{33} \\
& \quad \text{from 3 day PAT orphan.boy CLF TOP house also EXIS}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(143) & \quad \text{S16-58b} \\
& \quad \emptyset \quad ju^{42}ni^{42} \quad i^{35} ji^{33} \\
& \quad \text{wife also EXIS}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(144) & \quad \text{S16-58c} \\
& \quad \emptyset \quad ci^{35} \quad i^{35} ji^{33} \\
& \quad \text{gold also EXIS}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(145) & \quad \text{S16-58d} \\
& \quad \emptyset \quad lu^{21}qo^{55} \quad i^{35} ji^{33} \\
& \quad \text{dragon.horn also EXIS}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(146) & \quad \text{S16-58e} \\
& \quad \emptyset \quad ma^{42} \quad i^{35} ji^{33} \\
& \quad \text{horse also EXIS}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(147) & \quad \text{S16-58f} \\
& \quad \emptyset \quad kɔ^{21}ho^{35} \quad ts^{h}a^{35} \\
& \quad \text{rich.complete CRS}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{From that day, the orphan boy also had the house, (he) also had the wife, (he) also had the dragon horn, (he) also had the horse (and) (he) became rich}
\end{align*}
\]

First of all, the dragon gave its horns to the orphan boy so that it can lose weight and flied to the sky. Then, the villagers shared their gold with him. After that, he bought a horse to carry the dragon horns and the gold. Then the mute girl saw the
dragon horns and began to speak. Finally the orphan married the girl and lived together in the house. Example (142) to (147) demonstrates a topic-chain construction (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 659) in which the topic subject (Burusphat, 2002, p. 142) qwa\textsuperscript{42} tsi\textsuperscript{33} ni\textsuperscript{21} ‘orphan boy’ remains the same. In these SO\textsubscript{EST}V clauses, the O\textsubscript{EST} ho\textsuperscript{42} ‘house’, jwu\textsuperscript{42} ni\textsuperscript{42} ‘wife’, c\textsuperscript{25} ‘gold’, lu\textsuperscript{21} qo\textsuperscript{55} ‘dragon horns’, ma\textsuperscript{42} ‘horse’ (established information) are preposed respectively before the verbs, thus giving prominence to the verbal focal constituent li\textsuperscript{35} ji\textsuperscript{33} ‘also have’ (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60). From these examples, it seems that in the Lemei corpus the topic-chain construction tends to occur with the SO\textsubscript{EST}V clauses.

### 4.4.17 Story 17

In Story 17, 27 clauses are considered. The most frequent order is demonstrated by 16 SVO order (6 SV, 2 [S]V, 5 SVO, 3 [S]VO). Out of 11 unmarked clauses 7 demonstrate the SVO order (2 SV, 2 [S]V, 2 [S]VO). Non-default orders include 2 VS, 2 OSV, 2 SOV, 2 (S)OV and 3 (S)(O)V (see Section 4.3 for the discussion).

### 4.4.18 Story 18

In Story 18, 31 clauses are considered. The most frequent word order is demonstrated by the 27 SVO clauses (6 SV, 4 [S]V, 11 SVO, 6 [S]VO). Out of 16 unmarked clauses 14 belongs to the SVO order (6 SV, 2 [S]V, 3 SVO, 3 [S]VO). Non-default order include 1 VS, 1 SOV and 2 (S)OV orders.

In the VS clause in (148), the subject da\textsuperscript{42} ho\textsuperscript{35} jwu\textsuperscript{42} ni\textsuperscript{42} ku\textsuperscript{33} ji\textsuperscript{21} ‘a husband and a wife two of them’ (non-established) is postposed after the verb to be presented by thethetic clause. As a result, it becomes the focal element (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 59).

(148) S18-1

\[\text{ca}^{21} \text{ma}^{55} \quad \text{ji}^{33} \quad \text{da}^{42}\text{ho}^{35} \quad \text{jwu}^{42}\text{ni}^{42} \quad \text{ku}^{33} \quad \text{ji}^{21} \]

\text{in.the.past} \quad \text{EXIS} \quad \text{husband} \quad \text{wife} \quad \text{two CLF}

Once upon a time there was a husband and a wife two of them

In the SO\textsubscript{EST}V structure in (149), the O\textsubscript{EST} ch\textsuperscript{55} q'h\textsuperscript{a} q'h\textsuperscript{a} jwu\textsuperscript{42} ni\textsuperscript{35} wo\textsuperscript{42} ci\textsuperscript{21} ‘the iron trap and the barking deer’ (established information) has been preposed before the verb, so that prominence is given to the verb ch\textsuperscript{55} li\textsuperscript{33} br\textsuperscript{33} li\textsuperscript{33} h\textsuperscript{33} ‘threw into the lake’. Likewise in (150), the (S)O\textsubscript{EST}V structure results from preposing the O\textsubscript{EST} q\textsuperscript{55} lu\textsuperscript{42} co\textsuperscript{55} ‘the fishing net’ (established information) has been preposed before the verb, so that
prominence is given to the verb \(ca^{42}\ h_i^{33}\ j_i^{42}\ n_o^{42}\ \text{‘pulled up to the tree’}\) (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60).

(149) S18-7a  
\[
\begin{align*}
[bo^{42}\ ya^{42}\ bo^{35}\ dz^{42}\ ho^{35}\ ji^{35}] & \quad \text{O}_{\text{EST}} \\
\end{align*}
\]
afterward 3 husband CLF iron.trap CLF and barking.deer CLF V  
\[
\begin{align*}
ch^{55}\ h_i^{33}\ li^{35}\ hi^{33}\ hi^{33}
\end{align*}
\]
throw DUR lake CLF inside  
Then the husband threw the iron trap and the barking deer into the lake

(150) S18-7b  
\[
\begin{align*}
[\emptyset\ yu^{35}\ lu^{42}\ co^{35}\ dz^{35}] & \quad \text{O}_{\text{EST}} \\
ca^{42}\ h_i^{33}\ j_i^{42}\ j_i^{42}\ n_o^{42}\ .
\end{align*}
\]
fishing.net CLF TOP pull DUR tree CLF on  
(and he) pulled the fishing net up to the tree

In the (S)O\text{EST}V structure in (151), the O\text{EST} \(wo^{42}\ civ^{21}\ \text{‘the barking deer’}\) (established information) has been preposed before the verb, so that prominence is given to the verb \(ze^{21}\ ts^{b}\ ae^{55}\ bo^{35}\ dzae^{42}\ n_o^{42}\ \text{‘towed out to her side’}\) (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60).

(151) S18-10b  
\[
\begin{align*}
j i^{35}\ \emptyset & \quad \text{O}_{\text{EST}} \\
wo^{42}\ civ^{21}\ n_o^{42}\ & \quad \text{V} \\
\end{align*}
\]
and.so barking.deer CLF PAT tow out 3 side  
and (the wife) towed the barking deer out to her side

4.4.19 Story 19
In Story 19, 19 clauses are considered. The most frequent word order is demonstrated by 14 SVO clauses (5 SV, 2 [S]V, 4 SVO, 3 [S]VO). Out of 12 unmarked clauses, 9 belongs to the SVO order (3 SV, 2 [S]V, 2 SVO, 2 [S]VO). Non-default orders include 2 VS, 2 OSV and 1 (S)OV orders.

In the VS clause in (152), the subject \(tsu^{35}\ tse^{35}\ tsi^{33}\ na^{42}\ ji^{21}\ \text{‘a soldier’}\) (non-established information) is postposed after the verb to be presented by the thetic clause. As a result, it becomes the focal element (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 59). Likewise, the thetic proposition in (153) allows the postposed subject \(q^hwa^{42}\ a^{42}\ ci^{21}\ \text{‘a dog’}\) (non-established information) to become the focal element (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 59).
Thirty years ago there was a soldier

When (he) was praying to God, there came out a dog

In each of the O_{EST}SV structures in (155) and (156), the O_{EST}bo^{35} be^{33} q^{h}we^{35} q^{h}we^{35} ‘the bag of rice’, which carries established information, is topicalized (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) and be preposed before the subject q^{h}o^{42} ci^{21} ‘the dog’ (also spoken as q^{h}wa^{33} ci^{21}).

So, the bag of rice, the dog carried (it) away

After finish praying to God and opened his eyes, his bag of rice, the dog has already carried (it) away
4.4.20 Story 20
In Story 20, 6 clauses are considered. The SVO order is the most frequent word order (3 SV, 2 [S]V, 1 [S]VO). All of the 6 unmarked clauses belongs to the SVO order (3 SV, 2 [S]V, 1 [S]VO). No non-default word order is observed in this text.

4.4.21 Story 21
In Story 21, 9 clauses are considered. The SVO order is the most frequent word order (4 SV, 4 [S]V, 1 [S]VO). All of the 9 unmarked clauses belongs to the SVO order (4 SV, 4 [S]V, 1 [S]VO). No non-default order is found in this text.

4.4.22 Summary of discussion
From the above discussion of the 49 non-default word orders from Story 1 to Story 21 (except Story 17), it can be summarized that the findings in this section agree with the findings from the analysis of Story 17 (Section 4.3). All of the examples also agrees with the hypothesis about the occurrence of the VS, OSV and SOV non-default word orders.

First of all, the VS order is used in thetic clauses (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 144) in which the subject is postposed after the verb to become the focal constituent (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 55).

Secondly, two types of OSV construction are identified in Lemei narrative discourse, namely the $O_{EST}$SV order and the $O_{NON-EST}$SV order. The $O_{EST}$SV order results from topicalization (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) of the object which carries established information, whereas the $O_{NON-EST}$SV order results from preposing the focal constituent with prominence (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 56).

Thirdly, the SOV order observed in the Lemei narrative discourse functions to give prominence to the verbal focal constituent by preposing the non-focal constituents (i.e. object with established information) before the verb (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60). In addition, examples of the SOV clauses in Story 16 and Story 17 demonstrate that the topic-chain construction (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 659). also tends to occur with the $SO_{EST}V$ word order.
4.5 Discussion of findings related to the literature review

In this section, the result will be compared with the findings mentioned in the literature review in Chapter 2.

4.5.1 The first research question: the basic word order

Agreeing with most scholars’ claims that SVO is the basic order in Bai, this study proves that Lemei being a branch of Bai language possess SVO order as the default word order. These claims include Bradley (1997, p. 37), Dryer (2008, pp. 22-23), Li (2013 [2009], p. 105) and Zhao and Li (2008 [2005], pp. 499-500).

For Xu and Zhao’s (1984, p. 79) claim that the SVO and SOV/OSV orders “co-exist and can both be used”, this study corresponds with their claim that both orders co-exist.

Wang (2008 [2004], p. 472) claims that while the SVO, SOV and OSV orders being the “three basic word orders” in Bai, the SVO order is a “relatively dominant word order”. The result of this study confirms his claim that SVO is the relatively dominant word order in the Lemei branch of Bai.

Zhao and Li (2008 [2005], pp. 499-500) argue by means of the theory of topic that SVO should be considered as the only basic word order in Bai. The result of this study corresponds with their argument.

This study also agrees with the revised information\(^{184}\) of the *Ethnologue* (20th ed.) that Lemei has a SVO order.

4.5.2 The second research question: the non-default word orders

This study shows that the non-default orders in the Lemei corpus include three structures, namely the VS, OSV and SOV patterns.\(^{185}\)

The VS structure is generally not mentioned as a word order in previous literature in Bai. In the discussion of Bouyei, Burusphet (2000, p. 380) claims that the VS order is a variant word pattern in Bouyei introduced by the existential presentative

\(^{184}\) The order of SOV has been reported on its website, for example, on 23 March 2017. Later the statement has changed to SVO order (viewed on 10 March 2018).

\(^{185}\) The SVOV word order (in Story 14) demonstrated in example (94) is considered as a special case that needs further investigation and thus will not be regarded as an non-default word order.
construction. According to Burusphat (2000, pp. 380-381), what is being asserted by this construction is the “existence or location of a new referent” or the “existence (happening) of an ambient event”\(^{186}\) in Bouyei. In this thesis, the VS word order in Lemei are found to be used in thetic clauses which introduce a new entity (i.e. new referent) to the text.

Concerning the SOV and OSV orders, the finding of SOV and OSV orders in Lemei is supported by the claims of Dryer (2008, pp. 22-23), Li (2013 [2009], p. 105), Zhao and Li (2008 [2005], pp. 499-500), Xu and Zhao (1984, p. 79) and Wang (2008 [2004], p. 472).

4.5.3 The third research question: reasons for using the non-default orders

Based on the discussion in Section 4.3 and Section 4.4, the result in this study supports the hypothesis that the occurrence of non-default orders can be explained by the notions of articulation of sentence (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 55) (for VS), topicalization (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) (for O\(_{\text{EST}}\)SV) and prominence (Callow, 1974, p. 50) (for O\(_{\text{NON-EST}}\)SV and SO\(_{\text{EST}}\)V).

Concerning the VS word order, the findings in this research prove that the VS word order in Lemei causes the subject (non-established new entity) to be postposed after the verb to become the focal element (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 59) in a thetic sentence. In other words, this study agrees with Burusphat’s (2000, p. 385) conclusion in Bouyei that the existential presentative VS construction “focuses on the existence of a referent”.

As for the OSV word order, the findings has confirmed that there are two kind of preposed object in Lemei, namely the O\(_{\text{EST}}\) (which carries established information) and the O\(_{\text{NON-EST}}\) (which carries non-established information). Based on this understanding, first of all, this thesis confirms the hypothesis that the O\(_{\text{EST}}\)SV structure results from topicalization (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) of the object which carries established information. In other words, the findings prove that O\(_{\text{EST}}\)SV structures in Bai are surface structures (or expressions) which result from “patient argument topicalization” (i.e. object topicalization) (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499-500).

\(^{186}\) An example of an ambient event is “it rains” (Burusphat, 2000, p. 381).
Secondly, this thesis confirms the hypothesis that the $O_{\text{NON-EST}}$SV structure results from preposing the object (which carries non-established information) before the subject. By violating the Principle of Natural Information Flow (Comrie, 1989, p. 127), prominence is given to the preposed constituent. This findings agree with Wang’s (2008 [2004], p. 474) observation that the OSV order puts emphasis\textsuperscript{187} on the object. This findings also agree with Burusphat’s (2002, p. 376) argument in Bouyei that the $O_{\text{NON-EST}}$SV structure is resulted from the “left-shift construction” which functions to focus the object by pre-posing the object to a “focus position” (Burusphat, 2002, p. 385). As defined by Herring (1995, p. 163), this is the special position\textsuperscript{188} where the focused information to which the speaker or writer wishes to accord particular salience is allocated.

Concerning the $SO_{\text{EST}}$V word order, this thesis confirms the hypothesis that this order results from preposing the non-focal constituent (i.e. $O_{\text{EST}}$) before the verb so that prominence can be given to the focal constituent which is the verb in the clause-final position (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60). Since all of the preposd object in the SOV word order in Lemei carries established information (Appendix D), the findings agree with Fu and Xu’s (2009, p. 15) argument that in Bai the object pre-posing in SOV involves old information fronting only. In addition, examples of the $SO_{\text{EST}}$V clauses in Story 16 and Story 17 demonstrate that the topic-chain construction (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 659) tends to occur with the $SO_{\text{EST}}$V word order (but not the OSV order). Lastly, as Halliday (2001, p. 348) argues that in Mandarin the SOV structure (realized by the ba construction) shifts the verb to the end of the clause and causing the verb to carry prominence as new information, it seems that the $SO_{\text{EST}}$V word order in Lemei demonstrates a more or less similar function.

4.6 Summary

The first part of this chapter processess the frequency count of the word order in Lemei corpus so as to answer the first and the second research questions, namely: (1) What is the basic word order of the narrative discourse in Lemei?, and (2) What is(are) the other, non-default, word order(s), if any? Section 4.2 describes the analysis of the frequency count of the various word orders. Out of 413 clauses identified from the 21 stories in the Lemei narrative corpus, 352 clauses were

\textsuperscript{187} Wang does not define the term emphasis (2008 [2004], p. 474) and most likely he it in a general sense as “giving attention to” the preposed object.

\textsuperscript{188} According to Burusphat’s (2002, p. 385) assumption, any salient information appears at or near the beginning of the clause.
considered and the frequency of various word orders were counted according to the definitions of most frequent word order and the least-marked order set in Chapter 1. The results shows that the SVO word order tends to be the most basic word order in the Lemei narrative discourse whereas the VS, OSV and SOV structures were regarded as the non-default word orders.

After that, the occurrence of the non-default word orders found in the stories is discussed so as to answer the third research question: (3) What are some of the factors that tend to affect the use of non-default word order(3)? In Section 4.3, Story 17 hi³³ nɔ³³ a²⁴mo³³ ni³⁵ ɑ⁴²ˀ hi³³ nɔ³³ a²⁴mo³³ ‘The good mother and the bad mother’ is selected to demonstrate the discussion of the occurrence of the non-default word orders in more detail. In section 4.4, other examples are also provided from each story for discussion. For the factors that tend to affect the use of non-default word orders, the findings agree with the hypothesis that the factors are related to the notions of the articulation of the sentence (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 55) (for VS), topicalization (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) (for O<sub>EST</sub>SV) and prominence<sup>189</sup> (Callow, 1974, p. 50) (for O<sub>NON-EST</sub>SV and SOV). The final section compared the findings in this study with other research covered in the literature review.

In summary, first of all, the VS order is used in thetic clauses (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 144) in which the subject is postposed after the verb to become the focal constituent (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 55). Secondly, the O<sub>EST</sub>SV order results from topicalization (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) of the object which carries established information, whereas the O<sub>NON-EST</sub>SV order results from preposing the focal constituent with prominence (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 56). Thirdly, the SOV order functions to give prominence to the verbal focal constituent by preposing the non-focal constituents (i.e. object with established information) before the verb (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60). In addition, examples of the SO<sub>EST</sub>V clauses in Story 16 and Story 17 also demonstrate that the topic-chain construction (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 659) tends to occurs with the SO<sub>EST</sub>V word order.

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<sup>189</sup>Prominence refers to “any device whatever which gives certain events, participants, or objects more significance than others in the same context” (Callow, 1974, p. 50)
Chapter 5
Conclusion

5.1 Introduction
This chapter serves as the final conclusion to conclude the findings in this thesis. Section 5.2 recaptures the findings in each of the previous chapters. Section 5.3 evaluates the methodology adopted in this study. Section 5.4 discusses the significance of the findings. Section 5.5 gives some suggestions for further research.

5.2 Summary of findings from previous chapters
This thesis is a preliminary examination of the word order in Lemei which is spoken in the Myitkyina district of Kachin state in northeast Myanmar. Chapter 1 gives a description of the Lemei people and their language and states the objective, the hypothesis as well as the methodology applied to this research.

The research objective in this thesis is to explore the word order of narrative discourse in Lemei as spoken in northeast Myanmar. The main research questions are: (1) What is the basic word order of the narrative discourse in Lemei? (2) What is(are) the other, non-default, word order(s), if any? (3) What are some of the factors that tend to affect the use of non-default word order(s)?

This thesis argues for the following hypotheses: (1) the default basic word order of Lemei narratives should be considered as SVO (Xu & Zhao, 1984, p. 76). (2) Other, non-default, word orders include VS, SOV and OSV orders (Xu & Zhao, 1984, pp. 76-77). (3) Concerning the occurrence of the non-default word orders, it is hypothesized that the factors are related to the notions of the articulation of the sentence (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 55) (for VS), topicalization (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) (for O_{EST}SV) and prominence (Callow, 1974, p. 50) (for O_{NON-EST}SV and SOV).

As for the methodology, a corpus of narrative discourse in Lemei which includes 21 texts was charted by using the modified Levinsohn (2015, p. 16) chart, and the corpus was then analyzed following principles of discourse analysis. For the scope of research, the thesis is limited to the main clauses and declarative clauses collected.
from narrative discourses. Only intransitive and transitive clauses are studies, whereas ditransitive clauses and negative clauses are not included.

Chapter 2 reviews previous literature on Bai. Since previous linguistic studies have not documented the Lemei variety spoken outside of China, this thesis relies heavily on the literature written on Bai and other branches of Bai spoken in China. Sections include: (1) previous studies on the Bai people and their language, (2) previous studies on the Bani people and their language, (3) previous studies on typology and word order in Bai and (4) previous discourse studies related to word order in Bai or other languages.

Chapter 3 gives a brief overview of the phonology, orthography and morphosyntax of Lemei as a foundation for the analysis of Lemei word order. It does not intend to provide an exhaustive description of the language. In brief, Panyi Bai, which includes the Yu-Teu dialect and the Da-E dialect, consists of 34 consonant phonemes, 8 vowel phonemes and 5 tones. The data for this thesis was provided by a speaker of the Yu-Teu dialect.

The most basic form of the NP is composed of either a pronoun (PRO) or a noun (N) functioning as a head which may be preceded by modifier(s) (i.e. ADJ+N) and may be followed by a quantifier (QUANT) and/or a classifier (CLF) (i.e. N+CLF). Three common types of NP are identified. They include dependents of (1) classifier phrases, (2) associative phrases, and (3) modifying phrases. The prepositional phrase (PP) in Lemei occurs preverbally. In addition to this, the locative phrase (LOCP), the directional phrase (DIRP) and the temporal phrase (TP) are also observed in this variety of language.

The basic structure of a VP in Lemei has a head verb (V) or a head adjectival verb (ADJV) as its nucleus to which the optional preverbal element and the postverbal element is attached. The preverbal elements (PREV) consist of the intensifier, the adverb, and the (preverbal) negator. Postverbal elements include modality markers and aspect markers. Clause-final particles are also widely used in Lemei.

Like Bai, Lemei is described as a topic-prominence language. Clause types with verbal predicates include intransitive clauses, transitive clauses and ditransitive clauses. Clauses types with non-verbal predicates include clauses with adjectival predicates, nominal predicates and locative predicates.

Chapter 4 devotes to the analysis of the frequency count of the various word orders identified in the Lemei corpus and the discussion related to the research questions.
Out of 413 clauses identified, 352 clauses are considered and the frequency of various word orders are counted according to the definitions of most frequent word order and the least-marked criteria set in Chapter 1.

Concerning the first and the second research question, it is concluded that in Lemei narrative discourse the SVO order tends to be the most basic word order where as the VS, OSV and SOV structures are regarded as the non-default word orders. Concerning the third research question about the factors of using non-default word orders, it is concluded that the VS order is used in thetic clauses (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 144) in which the subject is postposed after the verb to become the focal constituent (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 55). Secondly, the O_{est}SV order results from topicalization (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) of the object which carries established information, whereas the O_{non-est}SV order results from preposing the focal constituent with prominence (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 56). Thirdly, the SOV order functions to give prominence to the verbal focal constituent by preposing the non-focal constituents (i.e. the object with established information) before the verb (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 60). In addition, examples of the SO_{est}V clauses in Story 16 and Story 17 also demonstrate that the topic-chain construction (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 659) tends to occurs with the SO_{est}V word order.

### 5.3 Evaluation of methodology

Concerning the methodology of frequency count of word orders, Dryer recommends frequency as the “primary criterion in word order typology” (Dryer, 2007, p. 74). In this study, it is observed that frequency count is an effective method in identifying the word order of a language like Lemei. The modified Levinsohn (2015, p. 16) chart also provides a practical framework to analyze the text. However, charting depends largely on the researcher’s understanding of the language. Likewise, how various elements are interpreted will directly affect the result of the word count.

First of all, the number of clauses identified may vary due to inconsistency in deciding which elements to chart. For example, the connective ɲi³⁵ ‘and’ can either be interpreted as the coordinating conjunction ‘and’ or as a subordinating conjunction ‘and.so’ as in an adverbial clause of reason. Very often even the language resource person cannot tell the subtle difference between the two. As a result, one sentence can be interpreted in various different ways which affect the number of clauses directly. For example, it is possible to interpret line 5 in Story 6 in three ways: either as one clause (as in [157]), as two clauses (as in [158]) or as
three clauses (as in [159]). In the analysis of a long text or corpus, the ways of interpretation might affect the counting to a more significant degree.

(157) S6-5 (Adverbial clause)
[bo⁴²ya⁴² dɔ⁴²hɔ³³ po³⁵ni²¹ su⁴² kʰ⁴² ni³⁵ su⁴² dɔ⁴²xi⁵⁵ ni³⁵]

then old.person man CLF laugh up **and** laugh big.more **since**

S V (main clause)
[bo³⁵ co³³pa⁵⁵ ku³³ qwa⁵⁵ tsì³³] li³⁵ ca⁵⁵ li⁴²
3 teeth two CLF bit also fall PFV

Then because the old man laughed and laughed more, his two bit of teeth fell (down)

(158) S6-5   (Adverbial clause)
[bo⁴²ya⁴² dɔ⁴²hɔ³³ po³⁵ni²¹ su⁴² kʰ⁴² ni³⁵]

then old.person man CLF laugh up **since**

(S) V (main clause)
Ø su⁴² dɔ⁴²xi⁵⁵
laugh big.more

S V (main clause)
ni³⁵ [bo³⁵ co³³pa⁵⁵ ku³³ qwa⁵⁵ tsì³³] li³⁵ ca⁵⁵ li⁴²
and 3 teeth two CLF bit also fall PFV

Then because the old man laughed, (he) laughed more and his two bit of teeth fell (down)

(159) S6-5 S V (main clause)
bo⁴²ya⁴² dɔ⁴²hɔ³³ po³⁵ni²¹ su⁴² kʰ⁴²
then old.person man CLF laugh up

(S) V (main clause)
Ø su⁴² dɔ⁴²xi⁵⁵
laugh big.more

and S V (main clause)
ni³⁵ [bo³⁵ co³³pa⁵⁵ ku³³ qwa⁵⁵ tsì³³] li³⁵ ca⁵⁵ li⁴²
and 3 teeth two CLF bit also fall PFV

Then the old man laughed and laughed more and his two bit of teeth fell (down)
Secondly, determining the frequency of a word order might be affected by how different elements are interpreted. For example, the particle $dzɨ^{35}$ in Lemei is generally interpreted as a topic-marker ‘TOP’ as in (160). However, if Zhao’s (2013, p. 341) argument that in Southern Bai the topic-marker $tsɨ^{55}$ functions as a “weakened connective”\textsuperscript{190} applies also to $dzɨ^{35}$ in Lemei, then the clause in Story 7 line 2 can have another possibility as in (161). In (160), a SVO clause is identified whereas in (161) two SVO clauses could be observed.

\vspace{0.5cm}
\begin{align*}
(160) \quad & S7-2 \quad \text{PoD} \quad (S) \quad V \quad O \\
& [bo^{35} \ sə^{42}tɨ^{55} \ mɨ^{21} \ dzɨ^{35}] \ Ø \ cɨ^{21}kɨ^{21} \ cɨ^{35} \ zɨ^{42} \ [hi^{35} \ nɔ] \\
& 3 \ \text{find.able money \ TOP} \ \text{firstly offer to \ God \ PAT} \\
& \text{(When) he earned money, (he) offered to God first}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(161) \quad & S7-2 \quad S \quad V \quad O \quad (S) \quad V \quad O \\
& bo^{35} \ sə^{42}tɨ^{55} \ mɨ^{21} \ dzɨ^{35} \ Ø \ cɨ^{21}kɨ^{21} \ cɨ^{35} \ zɨ^{42} \ hi^{35} \ nɔ \\
& 3 \ \text{find.able money and.then} \ \text{firstly offer to \ God \ PAT} \\
& \text{He earned money and (he) offered to God first}
\end{align*}

5.4 Significance of findings

This thesis attempts to analyze the basic word order of the Lemei language as spoken in Myanmar. The effort is also a preliminary attempt to analyze the language with the approach of discourse analysis. In addition, this work provides heretofore unavailable documentation of Lemei, a Northern Bai variety which is spoken in Myanmar, and has some specific implications relating to the understanding of word order in the language.

First of all, the VS word order is generally not mentioned in previous literature on Bai. In the discussion of word order typology in Bai, the attention is usually on the fronting of object as in SOV or OSV structure. However, this study has also identified the VS structure, which involves postponing the subject after the verb, as one of the non-default orders. This findings allow one to acknowledge the possibility of a special word order in existential clauses or clauses with presentational articulation in the research of Bai variety.

Secondly, based on Zhao’s argument that Bai is a “topic-prioritizing language” (Zhao, 2013, p. 333) which includes the typical topic-comment sentence structures and

\textsuperscript{190} See Section 3.4.5 for discussion of this “weakened connective” (Zhao, 2013, p. 341).
several topic markers that mark the topic, this study acknowledges the frequent usage of topicalization in Lemei and adds evidence to the claim that Lemei is a topic-prominent language. On the other hand, the approach of analysing the language by the theory of topic has proved to be fruitful. The findings echo with Zhao and Li’s (2008 [2005], p. 500) suggestion that “in order to understand the basic word order typology in Bai, one must start from the basic theory of topic structure.”

Thirdly, the grammar sketch in Chapter 3 serves as a preliminary basis to understanding the morphosyntax of Lemei. Though applying insights from Chinese Mandarin constructions (especially Li and Thompson’s [1981] approach) to understand Lemei may not be a convincing method, the procedure has proven to be useful in unlocking Lemei’s complicated grammatical phenomena which have not been discussed previously in the literature.

### 5.5 Suggestions for further research

For further research, there are some suggestions concerning the methodology.

First of all, more narrative texts should be included in the corpus. The text should also be selected according to Levinsohn’s (2015, p. 22) suggestion, i.e. only third person narratives with two or more major participants interacting should be chosen.

Secondly, concerning the scope, clause types such as ditransitive clauses and negative clauses should be included. In addition to this, interrogative clauses and imperative clauses could also be covered.

Thirdly, concerning the charting procedure, it is observed that charting has a major impact on the result. Consequently, it is important that careful attention is paid to the decision-making process of charting. For example, connectives and particles like topic markers should be considered carefully. More in-depth analysis is required in order to be able to chart these word classes accurately.

Fourthly, future study should include Lemei double-object construction. If this construction is allowed, the analysis concerning the order of preposed focal
constituents could be conducted to prove whether the hypothesis\textsuperscript{191} proposed by Dik’s (1989, p. 363) template (Section 4.4.9) applies to Lemei or not.

Finally, concerning the occurrence of the non-default word order(s), the hypothesis in this thesis is limited to the notions of the articulation of the sentence (Levinsohn, 2015, p. 55), topicalization (Zhao & Li, 2008 [2005], p. 499) and prominence (Callow, 1974, p. 50). However, it is believed that there might be some other reasons which contribute to the usage of non-default word order(s). For example, further research can compare the clauses with non-default word order(s) with the notional structure (Longacre, 1996, pp. 35-36)\textsuperscript{192} of the narrative discourses in Lemei. Such findings are expected to be contributive to the exploration of the occurrence of non-default order(s) in Lemei.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{191} When both $O_{\text{EST}}$ and $O_{\text{NON-EST}}$ are preposed concurrently before the subject, it is hypothesized that the $O_{\text{EST}}$ precedes the $O_{\text{NON-EST}}$ according to the template “P1 ($O_{\text{EST}}$) P2 ($O_{\text{NON-EST}}$) S V” proposed by Dik (1989, p. 363).
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{192} The notional structure includes exposition, inciting moment, developing conflict, climax, denouement, final suspense and conclusion (Longacre, 1996, pp. 35-36).
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APPENDIX A:

DETAILED RESULT OF FREQUENCY COUNT OF WORD ORDER

Reference number for the texts represented in the table:

1. wa⁴²ci²¹ ‘The eagle’
2. jo²⁵ ‘Medicine’
3. bo³⁵ tsi³³ bo³³ kʰwa⁵⁵ ji⁴²ne²¹ ‘The son and the father picked fruit’
4. qe³⁵mo³³ pa²¹j³ qe³⁵tsi³³ be³³ ‘The hen feed the chicken with rice’
5. ji²¹qa³³ tse³³pu³³ gi⁴²to²¹ ‘The story of a man and a bear’
6. dɔ⁴²hɔ⁴²po³⁵ dɔ⁴²hs⁴²mo³³ gi⁴²to²¹ ‘The story of an old man and an old woman’
7. wu³⁵ hi³⁵ na⁴²t a⁴²t ji²¹ ‘A person who prays’
8. ba⁴²jɔ⁴²qa²¹ ji²¹ gi⁴²to²¹ ‘The story of a lazy person’
9. tɔ³²ti²¹ ji²¹qa³³ gi⁴²to²¹ ‘The story of the cicada and the man’
10. sæ⁴²ct³⁵ sæ⁴²no³³ a⁵⁵ a⁴²ct²¹ ‘The duck that laid golden egg’
11. kɔ³⁵ se³⁵ch³³na⁴²t a⁴²t ji²¹ ‘The hard-hearted man’
12. tsi⁵⁵ ja⁴²chwi⁵⁵ po³³ ku⁴²t ji²¹ ‘The two opium smokers’
13. tsu³⁵ a⁵⁵ha⁴²li³³ti³²tsu³⁵no³³ ‘Do whatever till the end’
14. a⁴²t si³³hi³³ ‘Not knowing is like being dead’
15. bi³²ct³³ bi⁴²ti²¹no³³si³² ‘Die for gold and silver’
16. bo³³xo⁴²ci²¹dai³³a⁵³ha⁴² ‘What is the benefit?’
17. hi³³no³³a⁵³mo³³ji³⁵a⁴²th³³no³³a⁵³mo³³ ‘The good mother and the bad mother’
18. dɔ⁴²ho³⁵ju⁴²ni²⁴ ku³³ji²¹ ‘The husband and his wife’
19. tsu³⁵tsi³³na⁴²tji²¹gi⁴²to²¹ ‘A story of a soldier’
20. ma³³ct²¹ ‘The horse’
21. ja⁴²u⁴²ct²¹ ‘The frog’
### Key for the table:
- DL: Dialogue (not considered in this study)
- DT: Ditransitive clause (not considered in this study)
- IM: Imperative clause (not considered in this study)
- N: Negative clause (not considered in this study)
- Q: Interrogative clause (not considered in this study)
- NA: Clause which cannot be charted (e.g. incomplete or not clear)

(Word order(s) in italic represents sub-category of word order(s))

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**Result of frequency count after reconsideration of special word orders**

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<th>Non-default order</th>
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# APPENDIX B: NON-DEFAULT ORDERS CHART (VS)

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<td>a⁴²² hɔ⁴²wɔ³⁵ dɔr³⁵</td>
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<td>$ku^{42} \text{s}e^{35} n^o^{33} y^{21} t^{42}$ stay hill PAT village $a^{42} t^{42} h^{33} n^o^{42}$ one CLF in REL</td>
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<td>bi³⁵ ti³⁵ co⁵⁵ŋa⁵⁵ qʰɔ⁴² nɔ³³ 3PL carry box CLF PAT jì³⁵ sɔ³⁵ bɔ²¹ qwaɛ⁵⁵ ba²¹ and mutual speak NML</td>
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<td>139</td>
<td>S16-40</td>
<td>lu²¹ cl²¹ qo⁵⁵ ba²¹ dragon horn PL</td>
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<td>140</td>
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<td>lu²¹ qo⁵⁵ ba²¹ dzì³⁵ dragon horn PL TOP</td>
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<td>97</td>
<td>S17-6a</td>
<td>bo³⁵ mo³³ tso⁴² ba²¹ 3 mother say NML</td>
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<td>98</td>
<td>S17-6b</td>
<td>bo³⁵ jìu³³ 3 daughter</td>
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# APPENDIX D: NON-DEFAULT ORDERS CHART (SOV)

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<th>Example (no.)</th>
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<td><strong>NON-EST</strong></td>
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<td>113</td>
<td>S6-4a</td>
<td><em>dʒ^{42}h^{42} mo^{33} j^{21}</em></td>
<td><em>bo^{35} ti^{21}mi^{35}</em></td>
<td>(tʰ^{42} , cu^{42} , t'h^{42} , cu^{42}) again comb again comb</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>old.person woman CLF</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ja^{55} , ɕa^{33}qʰa^{55} , cʰu^{42})</td>
<td>(ku^{33} , tse^{55} , tsi^{33} n^{42}) two piece bit PAT</td>
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</tr>
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<td>go wedding place</td>
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<td><em>bi^{42}j^{35}</em></td>
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<td>117</td>
<td>S8-8a</td>
<td><em>bo^{35} tsi^{33} j^{21}</em></td>
<td><em>tse^{35}tse^{35} [ɕo^{42}qwa^{35} qʰɔ^{42}]</em></td>
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<td>3 son CLF</td>
<td>really mouth CLF</td>
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<td>124</td>
<td>S10-5a</td>
<td><em>dʒ^{42}h^{33} j^{21}</em></td>
<td><em>tə^{35}tə^{35} [bo^{35} a^{55} ci^{21}]</em></td>
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<td>127</td>
<td>S11-9</td>
<td>([bo^{35} ci^{35} pʰo^{55}])</td>
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<td><em>bo^{35} ku^{42} j^{21}</em></td>
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<td>3 two CLF</td>
<td>dig.able gold NML</td>
<td>(se^{35} , ɕq^{42} , c'h^{42} , hi^{33}) firewood CLF in</td>
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<td>Sentence</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<td>132</td>
<td>S13-16a</td>
<td>$d_3^{42}h_2^{33}p_0^{35}$ old_person man $d_3^{42}h_3^{33}m_0^{33}$ old_person woman $k_1^{33}n_2^{21}n_3^{42}$ two_CLF PAT</td>
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<td>S15-12</td>
<td>$b_0^{35}k_u^{33}n_i^{21}b_0^{42}y_2^{42}$ (3) two_CLF then $c_i^{35}q_1^{35}w_1^{35}b_0^{21}$ gold_CLF PL</td>
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<td>S15-13a</td>
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<td>S16-34b</td>
<td>$b_{11}^{35}m_0^{42}n_3^{33}$ (3) portion PAT $s_1^{35}t_1^{42}b_0^{21}$ three type NML</td>
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<td>bo³⁵ ju³³tsi³³ hɔ³³ nɔ³³ 3 daughter PL PAT</td>
<td>qi²¹ji³⁵ sell</td>
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<td>zɛ²¹ tsʰæ⁵⁵ bo³⁵ dzæ⁴³na⁴² tow out 3 side ca⁴² hi³³ bo³⁵ ci²¹mi³³ put DUR 3 front</td>
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APPENDIX E: STORY 17 ‘THE GOOD MOTHER AND THE BAD MOTHER’

Free: 1. There was a family of a mother and her daughters, four of them. When her three daughters were ignorant their father died. 2. Then their mother raised her three daughters without looking for a husband. 3. Their mother labored and raised her daughters, (she) raised chickens and pigs and let her three daughters study. 4. At night (she) taught her daughters (about) the truth of life. 5. In the morning and in the evening (she) cooked rice for her daughters, in the afternoon (she) washed clothes (for them). 6. It was what their mother said that her daughters obeyed, it was what her daughters said that their mother listened. 7. Afterward her three daughters all three of them were able to work for the government, and then the mother and her daughters four of them led a good life. A pretty and good mother (she) was. 8. Again there was a mother and her daughters four of them, their mother was good at earning money. 9. One day their mother took her daughters and went to another country. 10. After (they) arrived in the other country, their mother sold her daughters. 11. Each of her daughters was sold to a place. 12. Then this mother sold each of her daughters for three months. 13. After three months (she) took her daughters back and sold (them) to another person. 14. Again after three months (she) took (them) back again and sold (them) again to another person. 15. After this mother had been selling her daughters for two or three years, her daughters’ bodies became sick and her three daughters died one after one. 16. Then their mother looked at the money and became shocked. 17. So in this way (so this is that) a mother who loves money is not a mother who cares for children.
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<th>Nuclear predication</th>
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<td>bo³⁵ bo³³</td>
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<td>3 father</td>
<td>bo³⁵ bo³³</td>
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Note: The table entries are in the Wolof language with phonetic transcriptions.
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<td>14b</td>
<td>(S)(O)V</td>
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<tr>
<td>15a</td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>bo³⁵ mo³³ n³³ nj³³</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bo³⁵ ju³³tsi³³</td>
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<td>bo³⁵ ju³³tsi³³</td>
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<tr>
<td>15b</td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>ɲi³⁵</td>
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<td>bo³⁵ ju³³tsi³³</td>
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<td>bo³⁵ ju³³tsi³³</td>
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<tr>
<td>16a</td>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>bo³⁵ya⁴²</td>
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<td>bo³⁵ mo³³</td>
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<td>i³³ h³³</td>
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<tr>
<td>16b</td>
<td>(S)V u</td>
<td>ɲi³⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>k³³ h³³ts³³u³³</td>
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<td>k³³ h³³ts³³u³³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 14a: (S)(O)V

- ɲi³⁵: ut⁴² j³³ tʰu³³
- ɲu³³: month three CLF
- bo³⁵ya⁴²: and then
- ɲu³³: again back take

### 14b: (S)(O)V

- ɲi³⁵: and
- ɲu³³: again sell
- kʰwi⁴³li³⁵: another
- a⁴³ j³³ n³³: one CLF PAT

### 15a: SV

- bo³⁵ mo³³ n³³: 3 mother this CLF
- ɲi³³: and
- bo³⁵ ju³³tsi³³: daughter PL LINK
- h³³: body
- ɲu³³: money CLF PAT

### 15b: SV

- ɲi³⁵: and.so
- bo³⁵ ju³³tsi³³: daughter
- ɲu³³: money CLF PAT
- h³³: very

### 16a: SVO

- bo³⁵ya⁴²: and.then
- bo³⁵ mo³³: see DUR
- nj³³: money CLF PAT

### 16b: (S)V u

- ɲi³⁵: and
17  SOV  (−ve)  nɔ³³  ba³¹  dɔ³³  kʰ  ɪ³³  nɔ³³  |  no³³  zə³³  ɲə³³  nɔ³³  |  hʰ  qʰu³³  |  a³⁵  ɲə³³  ɲə³³  nɔ³³  a³⁵  mo³³  |  ɑ⁴²  ˀ jɔ³³  be.  not  |    |

this NML so.then  
TOP  like money LINK  
children LINK mother  
be.good.to know  
be. not