

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis describes the covariance of semantic meaning and syntactic function of the morpheme *ba* in Sgaw Karen. The morpheme *ba* has numerous lexical meanings and grammatical functions, and occurs very frequently in everyday speech and sentences. Using the insights from grammaticalization each of these meanings and functions are related to each other. By focusing on the grammaticalization I will show the change from an independent verb to more grammatical functions as it appears in new constructions.

This morpheme functions not only as a full verb but also as a grammatical marker. That is why we can find a lot of *ba* in Sgaw written and spoken texts. Only forms which have the same phonological form and tone are considered.

The grammar of Sgaw has been described by the missionary linguists Wade (1842), Mason (1846), and Gilmore (1896), and more recently by Jones (1961). The morpheme *ba* is mentioned in passing, and so this thesis focuses solely on the distribution and function of *ba*.

Sgaw is a Tibeto-Burman language of the Karenic branch spoken in Myanmar and Thailand.

1.2 Thesis organization

This thesis consists of six chapters. The introductory chapter gives background information on the Sgaw language and its speakers; geographic setting; linguistic affiliation; thesis scope, goals, assumptions and methodology; literature review and a grammatical sketch.

Chapter two describes the meaning and use of *ba* as an independent verb. The different meanings and functions are related in a semantic map.

In chapter three the pre-verbal uses of *ba* and how it functions in the sentences will be discussed. Also, some elaborative expressions which use *ba* as a pre-verb will be discussed. Chapter four presents the post-verbal functions of *ba*. Many of the functions of post-verbal *ba* are modal. The next chapter, chapter five, discusses other uses of *ba*, including the negative particle *ba* and morphological words with *ba*. The final chapter, chapter six, brings together the different functions and meanings in a holistic semantic map, and suggests further research.

1.3 The Sgaw

This background section gives general background information of Sgaw Karen language historically, geographically, anthropologically and linguistically.

1.4 Historical background

Speakers of Karen languages have a traditional story of coming from a land north of their current location. The story of “Htaw Meh Pa”¹ describes the forefather of the Karen going out to kill a pig that had been ravaging their gardens. The patriarch killed the pig and sent his sons out to collect the carcass. But when the sons went to get the pig they only found a tusk. They returned and gave the tusk to their father who made a comb out of it. This comb had magical powers giving eternal youth to all who used it. Soon the population increased and so they set out to find better land. They travelled until they came to “Hti Seh Meh Ywa” ‘the river of flowing sand’. Htaw Meh Pa became impatient with his family for being so slow, and forged ahead, telling his sons that he would mark the trail he took. However Htaw Meh Pa marked his trail with banana palms and his children could not find the way. So they settled and waited for Htaw Meh Pa to return.

Many Karen suggest that their original homeland was Mongolia and that Hti Seh Meh Ywa is the Gobi desert. Some traditions suggest that the Karen entered South East Asia by three routes. The first two groups entered Myanmar from Yunnan and the third group went to Thailand and Cambodia.

The first group of Karen travelled along the Irrawaddy River, through the center of Myanmar and then headed southward. Arriving there, they separated into two groups; one moving to the delta area and the other settling around Yangon, the former capital of Myanmar.

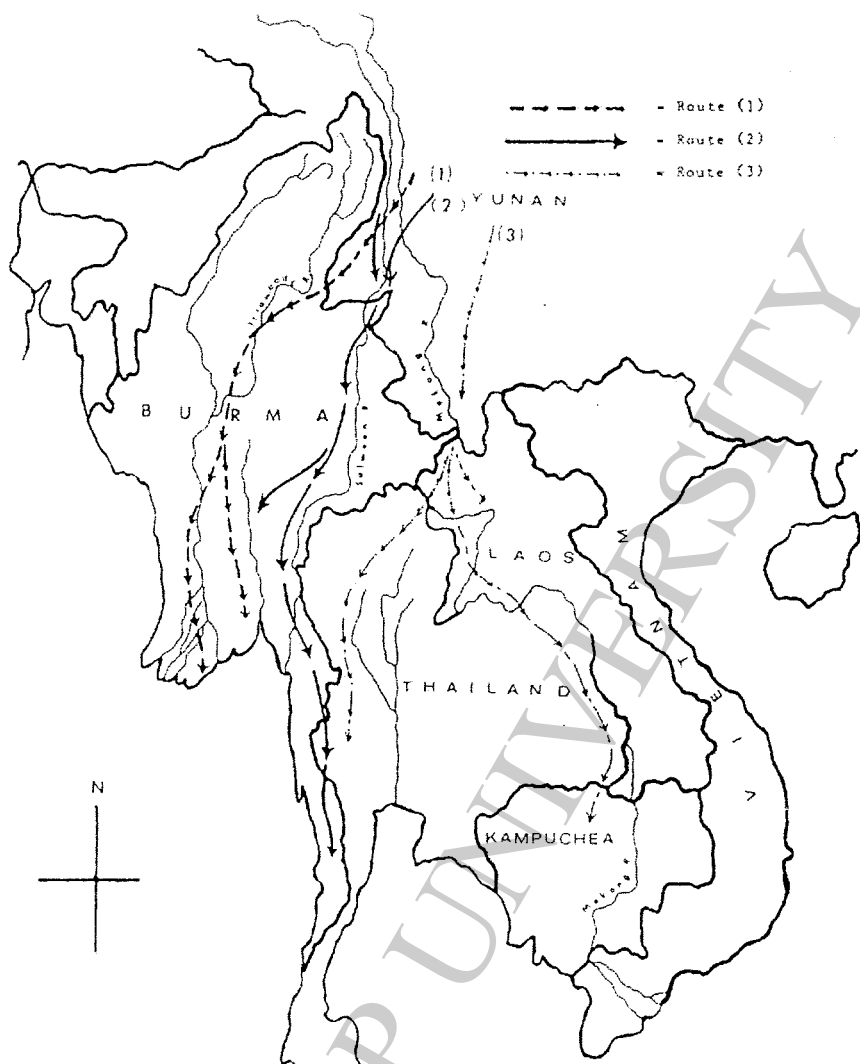
¹ See for example Jones (1961:224-231)

The second group of Karen entered from the North East following the Salween River, (which is called *Than Lwin* in Burmese). From there, some Karen remained in Shan State and some went down further to settle in Kayah and Kayin State and others travelled further to the southernmost part of Myanmar.

The third route taken was outside of Myanmar. In this route, the Karen followed Mekong River and found their residence in Thailand, Laos and Cambodia.²Figure 1 shows the three routes that Karen people have migrated into South East Asia.

PAYYAP UNIVERSITY

² No evidence for Karen living in Laos and Cambodia has yet to be found.



Note
 Route (1) along the Irrawaddy - settled in Delta Regions especially.
 Route (2) along the Salween - settled in the Eastern Border areas -
 Shan State, Karenni State, Toungoo, Thaton, Houlmein,
 Tavoy and Mergui.
 Route (3) along the Mekong - settled in Thailand, Laos and Kampuchea.

Figure 1: The routes taken by Karen people entering South East Asia (Keenan 2004)

1.5 Geographic setting

Arriving in Myanmar, the Karen people multiplied and started to settle in different places. Approximately one-third of the Karen population in Myanmar lives in Karen State. One can also find them in Thailand along the Myanmar-Thailand border. The Sgaw Karen also spread to other locations. They are the largest and most widely

scattered Karen group. Their population is the highest in the Irrawaddy Delta which is in the South Western part of Myanmar. They also can be found in Kayin (Karen) State, and Taninthayi (Tenasserim) Division (Myeik and Dawei districts), Yangon city, Bago Division (Taungoo district, Bago district and Tharyarwaddy district), Mandalay Division (Pyin Oo Lwin and Kalaw districts), Kayah State (Mawchi district) and Thailand.

Figure 2 shows the distribution of Karen groups in South East Asia.

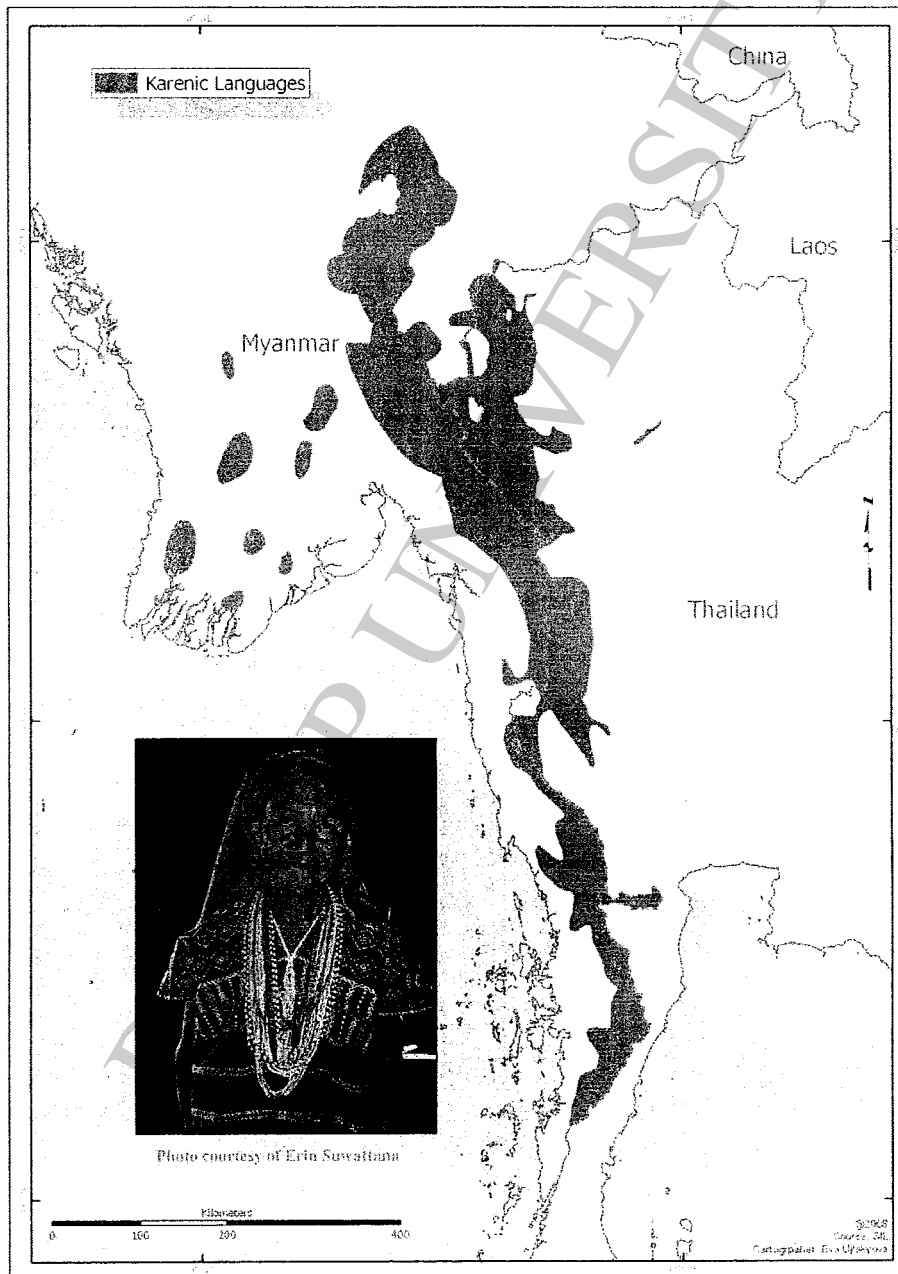


Figure 2: The distribution of Karen people (Mann, Smith & Ujlakyova 2009)

1.6 Sociological information

Sgaw Karen is the dominant Karen group, both numerically and socially. The Karenic languages include 20-25 distinct languages along with numerous divergent dialects (Manson 2010, 2011). Sgaw is the language of wider communication for the different Karen groups, especially amongst the Baptists.

The population of Sgaw is uncertain. Lewis (2009) lists the population of Sgaw Karen as 1,480,000. Bradley (1997:60) lists the population of Sgaw as 1,600,000, but states that this figure is highly under-enumerated. Many Sgaw identify themselves as Burmese officially, so as to improve their opportunities in society.

The official Burmese name of the language is Sgaw Kayin. The autonym is 'Pwakenyaw' meaning 'person' but some interpret it as meaning 'person with power'. There are many different names that have been used to refer to the Sgaw Karen. The Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) lists some alternative names for Sgaw Karen language as: Burmese Karen, Kanyaw, Kyetho, Paganyaw, Pwakanyaw, Sgaw, S'gaw, S'gaw Kayin, White Karen, and Yang Khao. They are sometimes referred to as 'White Karen' but the 'White Karen' are a different group which speak a different language to Sgaw.³ The White Karen live only around Pyinmana, the new capital city of Myanmar. In this thesis, the word 'Karen' will be used to refer to the Sgaw Karen people as well as the Sgaw Karen language.

The Sgaw script is based on the Burmese script. This writing system was developed by Rev. Dr. Jonathan Wade in 1832 and it has been used until the present time. Since the creation of the script, Sgaw has developed a rich written literature. A key publication was the Sgaw Karen Bible published in 1853. A new modern revision has recently been published. A Sgaw hymnal was produced in 1908. Many educational books and pamphlets have been published, especially for Christians. School text books for primary levels were produced in the past, though nowadays these are not used in the government schools. As a result, children do not have much access to written material in Sgaw and Sgaw Karen literacy rates are now much lower. Magazines, newsletters, story books, novels, songs, CDs, DVDs, religious books and much other literature is being produced weekly, monthly and annually. Two or three Karen radio programs are aired daily. Much other Karen literature and language works have been done though there are very few works being done concerning with Sgaw Karen grammar.

³ Naw Veronica (p.c.)

1.6.1 Linguistics affiliation

Sgaw Karen speakers, as stated above, can be found in Myanmar and Thailand. The Southeast Asian linguistics area has five language families: Austroasiatic (sometimes called Mon-Khmer), Sino-Tibetan, Tai-Kadai, Hmong-Mien, and Austronesian. Sgaw Karen is part of the Sino-Tibetan language family. However, different authors suggest different affiliations within Sino-Tibetan. Benedict (1972) suggests that the Karen languages are sister to the Tibeto-Burman languages (Figure 3), but later changes his view to Karen being just another branch of Tibeto-Burman (Benedict 1976, see also Shafer 1974, Bradley 1997, Matisoff 2003), see Figure 4.

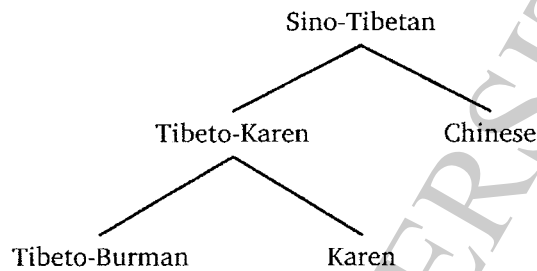


Figure 3: The position of Karen (Benedict 1972)

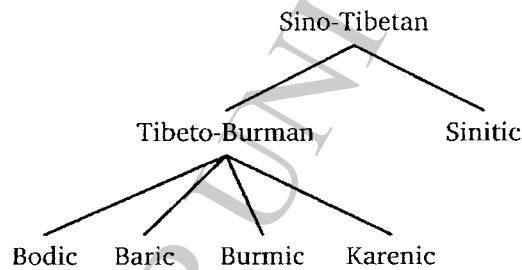


Figure 4: The position of Karen (Shafer 1974, c.f. Benedict 1976, Matisoff 2003)

Figure 3 is Benedict's taxonomy (1972) and Figure 4 is Shafer's classification of Karen languages. Benedict places Tibeto-Burman and Karen under the Tibeto-Karen node, but Shafer classifies Karen as a branch of Tibeto-Burman along with Bodic, Baric, and Burmic. Note that Shafer's use of the term "Karenic" refers to the highest level node under Tibeto-Burman comprising the Karen languages.

This variation is due to Karen languages having SOV word order while almost all other Tibeto-Burman languages have SOV word order. It was assumed by earlier researchers that languages could not change their word order easily and as Chinese has SVO word order and Karen languages have SVO order also, they must be more closely related.

Jones (1961) who analyzed four Karen languages suggests that Sgaw is a distinct branch from Pho within the Karen languages (Figure 5). Bradley (1997), based on reports from key Karen linguists, suggests that Sgaw and Pho are more closely related (Figure 6).

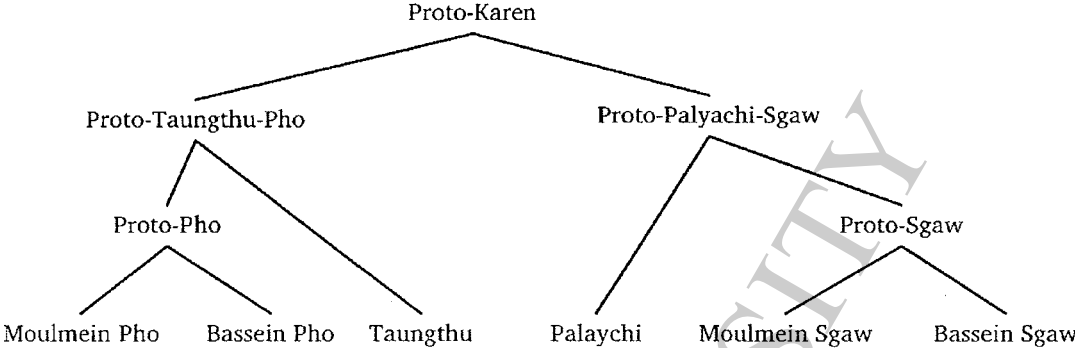


Figure 5: Karen classification (Jones 1961:83)

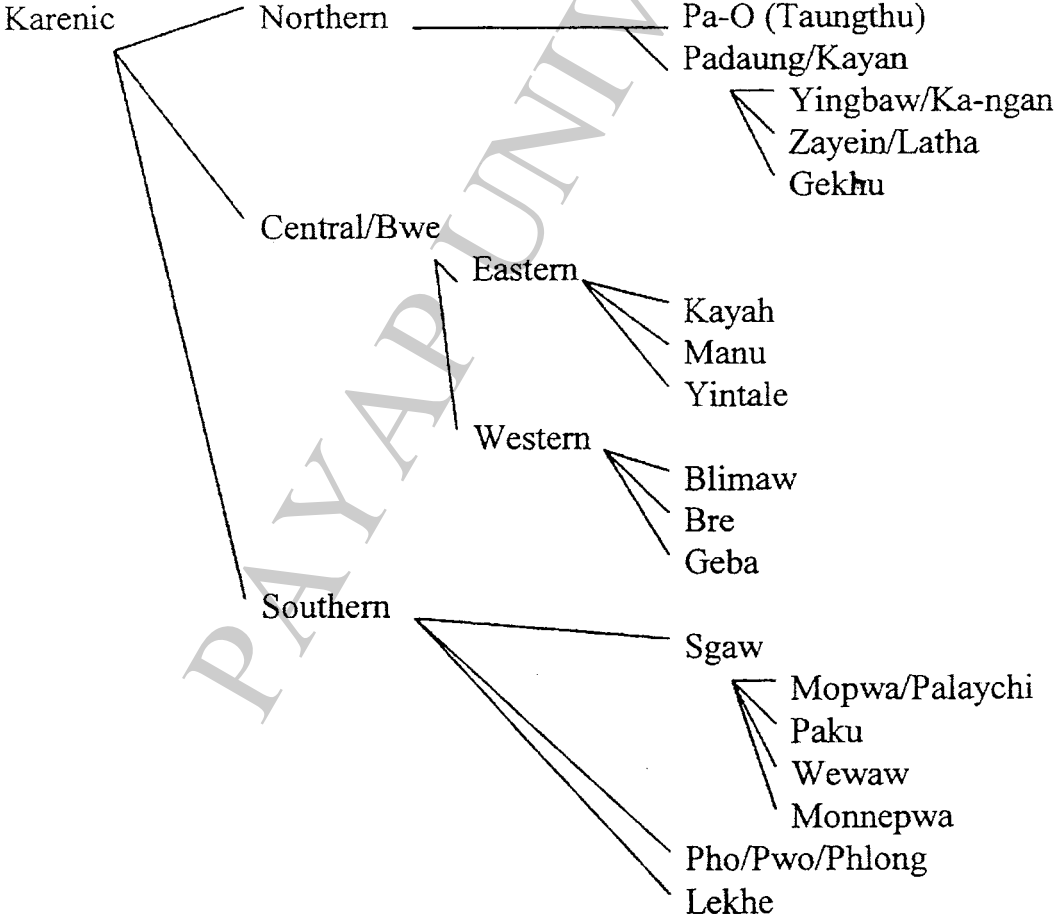


Figure 6: Classification of Karenic languages (Bradley 1997:4)

Sgaw Karen has several dialects but these have not yet been researched⁴. The most distinct Sgaw Karen dialects from the standard Rangoon dialect are found in Bassein, Taungoo, Moulmein, and Thailand. There are some differences in usages and different accents between these dialects. For example, Thai-Karen people would call a spoon *tʃwi* while speakers from delta region of Myanmar call it *nɔ̃ də*; the Moulmein accent sounds like singing to the delta Sgaw, while other Sgaw speakers think the delta people speak with a flat and low voice. Unfortunately, these anecdotal comments on dialect differences have not been researched.

Further, Sgaw is spoken by other Karenic groups including the Kayah, Kayan, Kayaw, Bwe, and Paku as a lingua franca. In fact, their native language influences their speech of Sgaw. There are differences of accent, tone, speed and choice of lexical items. It takes many days to months for people from these different Karen groups to learn Sgaw. For example, according to my experience, two of the six Sgaw tones are different in Thailand Sgaw Karen compared to Myanmar Sgaw Karen. Further, Maw Chi (Pa Ku) Sgaw from Kayah State has a different speaking style. They speak very fast and abrupt. They use some different particles in the sentences to standard Rangoon Sgaw. However, one interesting thing is that these people can switch to the standard dialect when they meet with Sgaw from outside their community.

1.7 Goals

Enfield (2003) discussed the semantic concept ‘acquire, come to get’ and its grammaticalization in languages of Southeast Asia. Unfortunately, no Tibeto-Burman languages were used in his analysis. This thesis extends Enfield’s analysis to Tibeto-Burman. A very significant difference from the other four language families of Southeast Asia is that Sgaw uses the independent verb *ba* ‘hit, touch’ to extend its meaning into the semantic domains that other Southeast Asian languages encode with “acquire, come to get”. This difference can be best understood as a difference in viewpoint (Delancey 1981), as “acquire” focuses on the recipient “touch” focuses on the instigator.

⁴ This seems logical seeing that speakers are spread all over Southern Burma and western Thailand.

1.7.1 Research questions

Thus, the research questions explored in this thesis are:

1. What are the meanings of the verb *ba* and how are these meanings related to each other?
2. In what ways does *ba* function as a marker of grammatical categories?

1.7.2 Assumptions, hypothesis and objectives

As this thesis takes the theoretical approach of grammaticalization, there are several assumptions that are assumed. First, there are changes from more lexical to more grammatical meaning. Second, a semantically general term is more likely to be grammaticalized than a more specific term. For example, 'come' is more likely to grammaticalize than 'sprint', 'jog' or 'run' (e.g. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991).

The following hypotheses are proposed:

1. *ba* moves from more concrete semantic meanings to more grammatical functions.
2. There are relationships between the different uses and meanings and these can be diagrammed in a semantic map.

Thus the objectives of this thesis research are to:

1. To identify the range of meanings and grammatical uses of *ba*.
2. To relate the different uses and meanings and propose a possible path or pathways in the development of these uses.

1.8 Methodology

There are several steps in doing this thesis research. The following section describes how this research has been done, how the data has been collected and managed.

The first step of this thesis started with collecting data relating to the word *ba* from different sources such as the Book of Mark and some stories from fluent native speakers. Also included are some examples which came out of my intuition and from the informal conversation of the daily conversation. Before the next step began, data collecting and reading the related literature were done almost at the same time. In the next place, the examples are organized based on the syntactic structures and subdivided groups according to their related semantic meanings.

The thesis research includes my personal native speaker intuition, interviews and discussions with Sgaw speakers in Yangon, and interviews and discussions with Sgaw speakers in Chiang Mai. The places where data collection took place were the church, the pastor's home, the university, the author's home, the shop, the library, and friends' homes.

The data was taken from recorded texts. The texts were recorded from Dr. Naw Chi Poe, a fluent Sgaw Karen speaker who is in her sixties. She speaks Yangon dialect which is the same dialect spoken by the author. The analysis is based on only Yangon dialect of Sgaw Karen.

Data for this thesis comes from the Sgaw New Testament, narratives, daily conversation, personal intuitions and dictionaries. Thus some data is from modern speech and some is from the Book of Mark.

Two Sgaw Karen-English dictionaries were consulted to add to the exemplars found in the Book of Mark and modern speech. The 'Drum Sgaw-English' and 'A dictionary of the Sgaw Karen' are two Karen-English dictionaries that have helped in finding old usages as well as a wide range of examples in elaborative expressions.

As there are several Sgaw dialects, the data in this thesis has been regularized to the phonological system of standard Yangon Sgaw. Tone has been omitted in the phonological transcription to make it less cumbersome.

In some cases, directionality is identified by looking at the differences between the old (the Book of Mark) and the modern (speech) texts but since there are not so many differences between the two source of data (they are only 150 years apart), the direction of grammaticalization will be identified based on research from other languages, and the assumptions that words move from more lexical to more grammatical meaning.

1.9 Scope and limitations

The data is based on a limited text collection, namely the Book of Mark, a descriptive story, a narrative story, an experience story, informal conversations and formal interviews. Example sentences were checked with the native speakers of Sgaw Karen from both Myanmar and Thailand. As it is a limited corpus, there may be further uses of *ba* not identified. Further, as Sgaw has been written for 150 years, we only have the recent history of the language. Comparing the modern-day usage shows no appreciable differences.

1.10 Sgaw linguistic overview

Sgaw is a language of the Karen branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family in South East Asia. The Karen languages along with Bai are the only SVO languages in the Tibeto-Burman family. Sgaw is monosyllabic agglutinated speech. There are no final consonants in Sgaw⁵. It is a tonal language with six different tones (Jones 1961).

1.10.1 Phonology

The phonology of Sgaw has been described by a number of authors including Jones (1961), Puttachart (1983) and Saw Lar Baa (2001). This phonological description is based on Jones (1961) updated to modern IPA based on Jones' descriptions of the phonemes and Saw Lar Baa's analysis.

Sgaw Karen has 27 consonants – with a six-way distinction in place and distinction between voiceless aspirated, voiceless unaspirated and voiced with plosives and fricatives. The consonant phonemes /z, fi, ŋ, c, c^h, ʃ, ɲ/ are rare.

⁵ Syllable final glottal stop is interpreted as part of the tonal features.

Table 1: Sgaw Karen consonant phonemes

		Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	Vl asp	p ^h	t ^h		c ^h	k ^h	ʔ
	Vl unasp	p	t		c	k	
	Vd	ɸ	ɗ				
Fricative	Vl asp		θ	s	ʃ	x	
	Vl unasp			s ^h			
	Vd			z		ɣ	fi
Nasal		m		n	ɲ	ŋ	
Lateral				l			
Approximant		w		ɹ	j		

Consonant clusters only occur syllable initial with /w, l, ɹ, ɣ, j/ occurring as the second element.

Table 2: Sgaw consonant clusters

	w	l	ɹ	ɣ	j
p	✓	✓	✓	✓	
t	✓		✓		
k	✓	✓	✓		
p ^h		✓		✓	✓
t ^h	✓		✓		
k ^h	✓	✓			
ɓ		✓	✓	✓	
ɸ	✓				

	w	l	ɹ	ɣ	j
m		✓		✓	✓
n	✓				
ɲ	✓				
θ	✓		✓		
s				✓	
s ^h	✓			✓	
ʝ	✓				
r	✓				
l	✓				

Sgaw Karen has a nine vowel system with no diphthongs.

Table 3: Sgaw Karen vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low	ɛ	a	ɔ

Sgaw is tonal with six tones. These tones are a combination of pitch and glottal constriction.

Table 4: Sgaw Karen tones

Phonetic	Description (Jones 1961)
45	High with a slight rise
ɥ ⁵²	High falling with glottal constriction
32	Mid with a slight fall
ɥ ³³	Mid with glottal constriction
21	Low falling
ɥ ¹¹	Low with glottal constriction

1.10.2 The constituent order of the Sgaw verb phrase

In this section the constituent order of the Sgaw verb phrase is discussed as it is quite important and also the interest of this study. Figure 7 shows the constituent order of a simple verb phrase in Sgaw (Jones 1961).

(Pre-Verb) + Head Verb + (Post-Verb) + (Adverb)

Figure 7: Sgaw verb phrase constituent order

The Sgaw verb phrase is comprised of four positions; only the head verb is obligatory. The pre-verbal element (Pre-Verb), the post-verbal element (Post-verb) and adverb are optional. Adverbs usually follow the head verb, but in poems and formal speeches, the adverb can be found before the head verb. Nevertheless, according to the available data, I would analyze the adverb as a post-verbal element based on frequency of occurrence.

Typically the head verb is a verb which can stand alone without any other support in a verb phrase. Compared to the other elements in a verb phrase, the head verb conveys more of the semantic meaning of the whole verb phrase.

Consider the following examples of Sgaw verb phrases:

1) *le ma ta.blɔ.xɔ*
 go do at once
 V V ADV
 'Go do at once.' [Con 26/4 (1)]

2) *ɔ ge we.da me*
 eat go.back 3 rice
 V V PRO N
 '(S/he) ate again her/his rice.' [Con 26/4 (1)3]

In example (1) *ma* 'do' is the head verb and carry more semantic content in than *le* 'go'. *le* 'go' does not function as the head verb *ma* 'do'; it shows more of the direction and also functions as a helping verb or a preverbal modifier of the head verb *ma*. In the second example (2), *ge* 'go back/return' appears after the head verb *ɔ* 'eat'. Like the first example, *ge* 'go back' does not have its usual meaning 'go back'. However, it just supports the head verb to show that the agent has gone back to eat again.

In the two examples given above the verbs *le* 'go' and *ge* 'go back/return' can still be used as independent verbs. Some of the verbs which are used before or after another verb do not have as clear a meaning as they used to. They are used and conceptualized as different meanings. More complex verb phrases would be constructed with other helping verbs, and modal verbs.

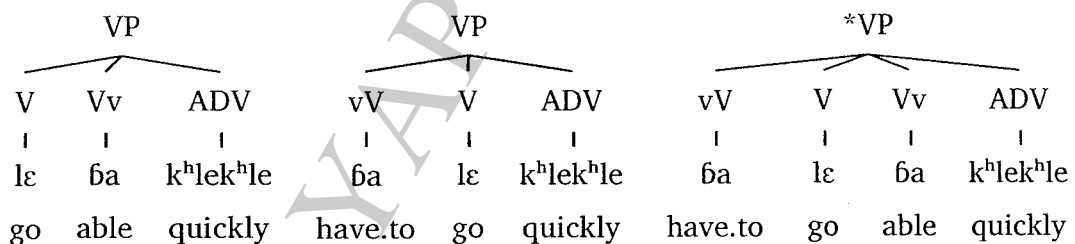


Figure 8: Examples of Sgaw verb phrases with *ba*

The three examples (Figure 8) clearly display how the preverbal and post verbal fit together into the verb phrase constituent. Vv stands for a post verbal verb, vV stands for a preverbal verb and VP stands for the verb phrase. The first verb phrase shows that adverb (ADV) occurs after the Verb and post-verb. The second verb phrase also shows that adverb (ADV) occurs after the pre-verb and verb. From this, we can draw conclusion that adverb does not occur before verb or preverbal or post verbal. In the

last verb phrase it can be seen that when both pre-verbal and post-verbal occur in a verb phrase, the phrase become ungrammatical.

1.10.3 Pronouns

Sgaw has both free and bound pronouns. The bound pronouns appear on verbs and in possessive noun phrases.

Table 5: Sgaw pronouns

	1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl	3
Free/Subject	<i>jɛ</i>	<i>wɛ</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>θuwɛ</i>	-
Bound	<i>jə-</i>	<i>pə-</i>	<i>nə-</i>	<i>θu</i>	<i>ə-</i>
Object	<i>ja</i>		<i>na</i>	<i>θi</i>	<i>ɔ</i>

Gilmore (1898:20) describes reflexive forms of the personal pronouns as formed by affixing the bound pronoun to *θa?* 'self':

Table 6: Sgaw reflexive pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>jəθa?</i>	<i>pə θa?</i>
2 nd	<i>nəθa?</i>	<i>θu θa?</i>
3 rd	<i>əθa?</i>	

These forms occur in the object position of clauses when the person affected by the action is the same as the person performing it.

1.10.4 Particles

Particles are morphemes with abstract grammatical functions that do not inflect and, further, cannot constitute the head of a phrase. There are three major types of particles: noun particles (associated with nouns), verb particles (associated with

verbs and clauses), and unrestricted particles (associated with both nouns and verbs). A further distinction can be made between final clause and non-final clause.

Particles in Sgaw Karen express functions like announcement, politeness, questions, negation, obligation, ability, and allowance. Like other languages, the Sgaw particles often originate from verbal roots, and many also still function as verbs.

Particles in Sgaw Karen do not lose their phonological features such as vowel quality, tone or consonant variation when being grammaticalized.

Consider the case of the verb *ne*. In *Syntax and semantics of the benefactive construction*, Hilary Chappell (1992) discusses how the verb *ne* has developed into a benefactive marker. As a full independent verb *ne* has a meaning 'get/achieve'. For instance:

- 3) *mo-mo ne do-jə.s^{hi}*
 mother get money-fifty
 N V N

Mother got fifty (dollars). [Con 30/6 (1)]

However, in constructions with another verb this morpheme *ne* has grammaticalized to mark the following noun phrase as the beneficiary of the action described by the other verb, as in the following examples from Chappell (1992):

- 4) *θo.k^{ha} so ne na na tə-p^{hlə}*
 monk carry BEN 2sg basket one-CLF
 N V P PRO N QNT

The monk carried the basket for you. [Chappell.ex2]

- 5) *a.we.θe ne ne pwa thi.kə ta.θə.ble*
 3pl get BEN 1pl country independence
 PRO V P PRO N N

They got the country's independence for us. [Chappell.ex5]

- 6) *awε pho k^{hlə} ne (*k^{hlə}) ja*
 3 cook quickly BEN (*quickly) 1sg
 PRO V ADV P ADV PRO

S/he cooked it quickly for me. [Chappell.ex8]

In example (6) the adverb occurs after the verb and placing after *ne* makes the sentence ungrammatical.

1.10.5 Verbs

Sgaw verbs can be divided into transitive and intransitive. Verbs are not inflected for tense, aspect or person. Particles are added to the verb phrase to indicate voice, mood, aspect, person and number. Often, they are left to be inferred from the context.

Simple verbs simply consist of only one syllable while combined verbs are composed of two or more syllables. Every perfect syllable has a signification of its own; therefore, two or more perfect syllables combined form a complex idea; as direct, upright, or erect; rise to an erect posture. Sgaw has many serial verb constructions, for example, 'go take eat', 'come run do'; unfortunately, these constructions are outside the scope of this thesis, but remain a significant area of research.

Verbs are sometimes paired merely for the sake of euphony; but generally both aid in giving fullness and force to the idea intended. For example, one can say, I love to go.come.work.work.eat.drink.enjoy as a complex without any grammatical mistake. Paired words, whether Nouns, Verbs, or other parts of speech, give the Karen language a beauty, and force of expression unsurpassed perhaps by any other language in the world. Paired Verbs may be parsed separately, or as combined verbs according to their position in the sentence.

1.10.6 Adverbs

Suriya Rantanakul (1999) groups adverbs into three groups; ordinary adverbs, expressive and intensifiers. Suriya defines expressives as follow:

In Sgaw Karen expressives can occur as verbs, adjectives, or adverbs. Two characteristics of expressives in Sgaw Karen are: first, expressives occur only as polysyllabic words, starting from two syllables and with a high incidence as three syllabic and four syllabic words: second, some kind of iconicity plays a part in the repetition of vowels, in the gradation of vowels and in the mutual pushing of front and back vowels, for example. Many examples of these plays on the vowels of the expressive words appear to be sound-imitating (onomatopoeia), and shape-imitating, and even smell-imitating.

As already described in Session 1.7.2, adverbs in Sgaw Karen usually occur after that verbs except in some poetic speech styles.

1.11 Literature review

There have been a lot of studies concerned with grammaticalization in linguistics. The purpose of this section is to review the literature on some of the topics concerning grammaticalization, to provide available literature on the concepts and definitions related to grammaticalization, and to show some grammaticalization pathways related to this thesis in languages of Southeast Asia. Since grammaticalization can happen in a wide range of domains, this review will focus on the domains and situations which would be relevant to Sgaw Karen *ba*.

1.11.1 Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization is broadly defined as the process by which a lexical item or a sequence of items becomes a grammatical morpheme, changing its distribution and function in the process (c.f. Meillet 1912⁶, Lehmann 1982, Heine & Reh 1984, Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991, Hopper and Traugott 1993, Heine & Kuteva 2002).

Lehman's (2005) review of the different definitions of grammaticalization points out that the weaknesses of the so-called different definitions of 'grammaticalization' had resulted in arguments and criticisms. For example, some defined grammaticalization as diachronic phenomenon. The problem with the term 'diachronic' here was that it was perceived and expressed as historical. Nevertheless, Lehmann explained the fusion between these two terms as follows:

Synchrony and diachrony are two perspectives on the same thing. There are no purely synchronic and no purely diachronic phenomena; there is only a synchronic and a diachronic side to a linguistic phenomenon. In modern English, *have* 'possess' bears a synchronic relation to *have* AUX, whose diachronic counterpart is the evolution of *have* AUX out of *have* 'possess'. The principle that variation is the synchronic manifestation of (diachronic) change applies to grammaticalization as it applies to analogy, assimilation or just any linguistic process. Grammaticalization could never be a kind of diachronic change if it were not a kind of synchronic variation, too.
(Lehmann 2005:153)

Hopper & Traugott (1993) also point out that grammaticalization can be defined in two ways. In the first sense, the grammaticalization is a "tracing back the past sources of grammatical forms". Secondly, it is conceived as a "framework within

⁶ The term 'grammaticalization' was not known until Antoine Meillet coined the word in 1912, though the concept behind had been around since the time of Humboldt (1822) and Gabelentz (1891).

which to account for language phenomena such as language acquisition, pragmatics, and language contacts”.

The tendency for lexical morphemes to develop into grammatical morphemes involves a number of processes. (Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer 1991, Hopper & Traugott 1993, Lehman 2005)

Unidirectional. A key hypothesis is that change is unidirectional from lexical to grammatical. There are no instances of a grammatical morpheme becoming lexical. There are no unambiguous examples of grammatical markers becoming lexical words.

Semantic bleaching. As a morpheme is grammaticalized it loses its specific lexical meaning.

Extension. The morpheme is used in new and novel contexts.

Phonological reduction. Grammaticalized morphemes are reduced phonologically. For example English *going to* grammaticalizing to a future marker *gonna*.

7a) *Toni is going to the market*

b) **Toni's gonna the market*

c) *Toni's gonna get his PhD*

Loss of syntactic freedom. As a morpheme becomes more grammaticalized it has a more limited distribution. In example (7), the future marker *gonna* can only occur with a following verb, where the lexical morpheme *going to* can occur with both noun phrases and verbs.

Universal paths. There are a number of pathways that occur cross-linguistically (Bybee & Dahl 1989, Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer 1991, Heine & Kuteva 2002).

These processes are gradual and there can exist overlapping functions at any stage.

Lehmann (2005:7-8) remarks that ‘analogical grammatical change is a kind of grammatical change that is neatly distinct from grammaticalization but which may co-occur and interact with it in particular historical changes’. He, therefore, differentiates these two concepts with pure grammaticalization without analogy and analogical-orientated-grammaticalization.

Bisang (2007:2) summarized the characteristics of grammaticalization in East and mainland Southeast Asia as follows:

1. Lack of obligatory categories and predominance of pragmatic inference even in the case of highly abstract grammatical concepts such as tense or definiteness
2. Existence of rigid syntactic patterns (word-order patterns)
3. No or limited coevolution of form and meaning

Bisang's point three describes how in Southeast Asia languages morphemes that take on more grammatical functions do not have any phonological reduction.

The degree of fusion (Figure 9) identifies how closely connected two morphemes are, with syntactic fusion having the least restrictions to lexical expressions where two concepts are expressed in the same morpheme.

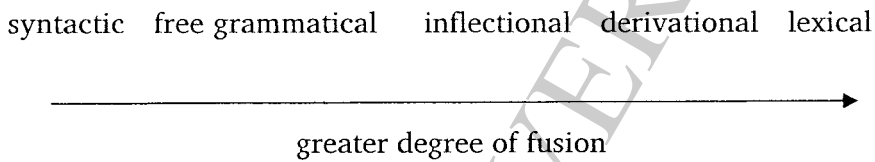


Figure 9: The degree of fusion (Bybee1985:12)

Lehmann (1995, 2002) identifies the phases of morphologicalization and demorphologicalization as the two phases that compose grammaticalization (see Figure 10).

F1. *The phases of grammaticalization*

level	Discourse	Syntax	Morphology	Morphophonemics
technique	isolating	> analytic	> synthetic-agglutinating	> synthetic-flexional > zero
phase	syntacticization	morphologization	demorphemicization	loss
process	<hr style="width: 50%; margin: 0 auto;"/> grammaticalization			

Figure 10: The phases of grammaticalization (Lehmann 2005)

In the *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization* (Heine & Kuteva 2002), many examples of grammaticalization are presented from both the source and target ends. For

example, the grammaticalization of the Mandarin Chinese motion verb *dào* which as a main verb means ‘arrive, reach’ become a grammatical modal auxiliary ‘can, be able’ and later developing an ability meaning ‘manage to, succeed’ (Heine & Kuteva 2002:45):

- Mandarin Chinese
- 8a) *tā dào le Zhongguó*
 3S arrive ASP China
 ‘S/he arrived in China’
- b) *tā dào Zhongguó qù le*
 3S to China go ASP
- c) *kàn-dào*
 see-arrive
 ‘succeed in seeing’

In example (8a) the verb *dào* has its lexical meaning of ‘arrive’; in (8b), a different construction, *dào* no longer functions as a verb but as a preposition, and finally in (8c) *dào* has been fused to another verb and its meaning has changed to succeed.

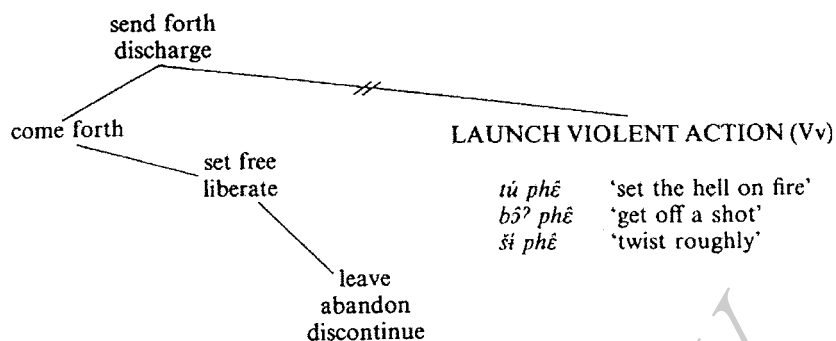
arrive, reach > ability marker
 > allative preposition

Figure 11: Grammaticalization of Mandarin Chinese verb ‘arrive’

Another example is the Burmese verb *lai*. *lai* as a main verb means ‘follow’. When it functions as a preverbal it shows accompanying sense, the action in progress, and imitating or copying others. When it functions as a post-verbal, it functions as giving command. This post-verbal function is also used to mark past action and sometimes future function and sometimes, before for the occasion before the action started. With a final particle *ta*, the post-verbal function is used for quantity, for example ‘love so much or last so many hours’.

Heine & Kuteva (2002:46) note that these pathways are very frequent in Asian languages.

Another example, from Lahu this time, shows the relationships between different meanings/functions of the verb *phê* ‘release’ (Figure 12):



**Figure 12: Polysemy and grammaticalization of Lahu ‘release’
(Matisoff 1991:414)**

The verb *phê* has a number of senses ‘come forth’, ‘discharge’, ‘liberate’ and ‘leave’. It has also grammaticalized to a post-verbal element whose meaning is ‘launch a violent action’. The two parallel lines on the path between ‘send forth discharge’ and ‘launch violent action’, means that a boundary of grammaticalization has been crossed.

1.11.2 Semantic maps

Auwera & Plungian (1998) show that semantic maps are powerful tools in the analysis of cross-linguistic variation for the domain of modality. They describe the different types of modality and relate them to each other in a chart (Table 7).

Table 7: Modality types (Auwera & Plungian 1998: 82)

Possibility			
Non-epistemic possibility			Epistemic possibility (Uncertainty)
Participant- internal possibility (Dynamic possibility, Ability, Capacity)	Participant-external possibility		
	Non-deontic possibility	Deontic possibility (Permission)	
Participant- internal necessity (Need)	Non-deontic necessity	Deontic necessity (Obligation)	Epistemic necessity (Probability)
	Participant-external necessity		
Non-epistemic necessity			
Necessity			

They then analyze a number of languages and identify patterns of development (pathways). The summary (Figure 13) shows the pathways of grammaticalization from lexical verbs (on the left) through to modality and then on to other non-modal grammatical categories.

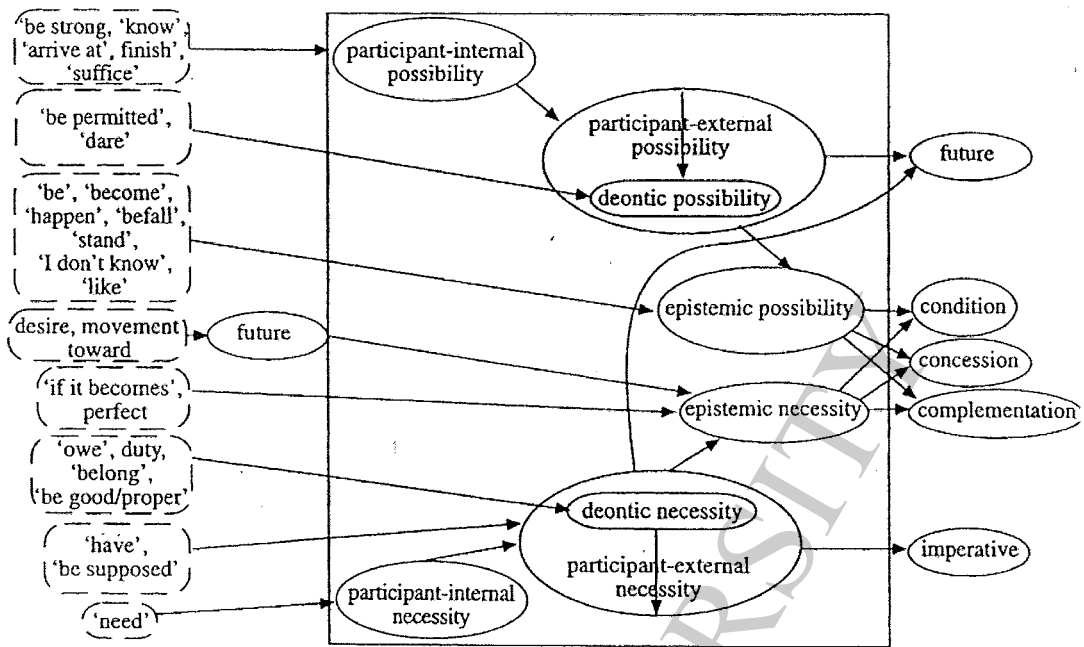


Figure 13: The pathways of possibility and necessity (Auwera & Plungian 1998: 98)

Martin Haspelmath (2003:213) discusses semantic maps as a method for describing and illuminating the patterns of multifunctionality of grammatical morphemes. A semantic map does not imply a commitment to a particular choice among monosemic and polysemic analyses, i.e. the meanings/functions are either subsenses (monosemic analysis) or different lexemes (polysemic analysis). He further states that a semantic map is a geometrical representation of functions in “conceptual/semantic space” that are linked by connecting lines and thus constitute a network.

1.11.3 Pathways related to *ba*

The semantic range of meanings of Pathways discovered from analysis of other languages that have meanings similar to the range of meaning of Sgaw *ba* help to identify the relationship and directionality between the different meanings/functions. As an independent main verb *ba* includes the following meanings: ‘hit’, ‘touch’, ‘satisfy’, ‘arrive’, ‘encounter’, ‘succeed’, ‘fit’, ‘appropriate’ and ‘correct’.

Semantic changes appear cross linguistically to follow particular pathways. In this thesis, as I am only studying one language, I compared the meanings of *ba* in Sgaw

with other languages that have had much more research and then developed possible pathways.

The pathways associated with the meanings of *ba* found in Heine & Kuteva (2002) include:

- Arrive
 - > Ability
 - > Allative
 - > Succeed
 - > Until (temporal)
- Get
 - > Ability
 - > Change-of-State
 - > Obligation
 - > Passive
 - > Past
 - > Permissive
 - > 'have' Possession
 - > Possibility
 - > Succeed
- Suitable
 - > Ability
 - > Obligation

Above are the common grammaticalization path of the verb 'arrive', 'get' and 'suitable'. It should be noted that 'ability' comes out from all three meanings. 'get' can extend by grammaticalization to the function as a past tense. It is also noticeable that both 'arrive' and 'get' verb being grammaticalized to the sense 'succeed'.

Enfield (2001, 2003) discusses the relationship of meanings of the verb 'acquire, come to get' in Southeast Asian languages. The meaning changes he observed include:

- Acquire
 - > Possibility
 - > Achievement
 - > Succeed
 - > Resultative
 - > Obligation
 - > Manner

1.12 Text examples

Transcriptions of Sgaw will be given in phonemic IPA with tones omitted. At times, the Sgaw orthography will be used along with the IPA transcription. Sgaw places no spaces between words, but the IPA transcription identifies grammatically relevant words.

The format of glossing follows the Leipzig glossing rules, with morphemes being indicated by a hyphen (-) and the glosses lined up from the left of each word. Free translations in natural English follow grammatical sentences. At times a more literal translation is given and identified by Lit.

Along with the text example a code which identifies the source of the data is given. P&T identifies the “Pig and Tiger” story; Elephant means the “Elephant” story; Harvest identifies the procedural discourse about harvesting; Mason_Mk stands for Mason’s Sgaw translation of the New Testament Book of Mark; and finally, Con identifies everyday conversation I collected along with the date the data was collected.

Usually, Sgaw sentences are finished with final particles in the written form. However, since the data of this analysis is based on spoken sentences, in some examples, final particles may be missing. In other examples, only the significant part of the sentence is included, so final particles will not be present. Some final particles are changed phonologically in spoken sentences. For example, *bo* replaces *ba*.