

A Synopsis of Pwo Karen (Hpa-an dialect)

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1 Pwo Karen

- “Karen” in a narrow sense — Sgaw and Pwo. Sometimes including Paku, Gekho, Geba and Bwe. Others [Padaung, Kayah, Pao etc.] are usually considered different ethnic groups.
- 2.86 million Karen in Burma (estimated by Burmese Government 1993)
- Pwo Karen — East Pwo and West Pwo. Hardly mutually intelligible. Considered separate languages among Karen people.
- Closest language — Sgaw Karen (and Paku, Monebwa, Thalebwa)
- Buddhist script (18c-19c?), Christian script (184X), Leke script (19c?)

Kinds of scripts used in writing Pwo Karen

	Irrawady Delta	Karen State	Thailand
Christians	Christian script	Christian script	—
Buddhists	—	Buddhist script	—

2 Phonology and tonal split

East Pwo tones: /á/[44] /ā/[22(3)] /à/[11] /â/[51] (=Jones 1961: /á?/ /á/ /a/[mid] /à/). /ā/ is quite breathy. /â/ is occasionally creaky (not always). On the tonal split of Karen, see Haudricourt (1946, 53, 75)

- East Pwo, Hpa-an dialect (cf. Moulmein Pho of Jones)(B. /phǎʔàn/, EP /thəʔàn/)

	*1 (A)	*2 (B)	*2' (B')	*3 (C)
*H (1)	â[51] (J. à)	á[44] (J. á?)	á[44] (J. á?)	à[11] (J. à?)
*M (2)	à[11] (J. a)	á[44] (J. á?)	á[44] (J. á?)	à[11] (J. à?)
*L (3)	à[11] (J. a)	ā[22] (J. á)		á[44] (J. a?)

(Final glottal stop has disappeared relatively recently.)

- West Pwo, Kyonbyaw dialect (cf. Bassein Pho of Jones)(B. [còunbyò], WP [còunpjò])

	*1 (A)	*2 (B)	*2' (B')	*3 (C)
*H (1)	à[11] (J. à)	à[11] (J. à)	à[11] (J. à)	aʔ[41] (J. à?)
*M (2)	á[44] (J. á)	à[11] (J. à)	à[11] (J. à)	aʔ[41] (J. à?)
*L (3)	á[44] (J. á)	â[41] (J. á?)		aʔ[41] (J. à?)

East Pwo tonal pitches would be closer to those of Proto-Pwo since the low series tones are always lower (except tone *3). A flip-flop has occurred in West Pwo. (Jones’s description of the pitches of the tones of both dialects is not exact.)

cf. Sgaw Karen, Hpa-an dialect

	*1 (A)	*2 (B)	*2' (B')	*3 (C)
*H (1)	á[55] (J. á)	â[41] (J. á?)	á[55] (J. á)	āʔ[33] (J. a?)
*M (2)	á[55] (J. á)	â[41] (J. á?)	á[55] (J. á)	āʔ[33] (J. a?)
*L (3)	ā[33] (J. a)	à[11] (J. à)		àʔ[11] (J. à?)

Phonemic inventory of Hpa-an dialect C1[except N](C2:w l r y)V1(V2)(C3:N)/T

Consonants					Vowels				Tones		
p	θ	t	c	k	?	i	í	ui	má	[44]	
ph		th	ch	kh		ɨ		u	mā	[22(3)]	
b[β]		d[dʰ]				e	ə	o	mà	[11]	
			ç	x	h	ɛ	a	ɔ	mâ	[51]	
				ɣ	ʙ				(mə	atonic)	
m		n	ɲ	ŋ	ɳ						
w			j								
All rhymes											
i	í	ui		ai	au	(ɨN)	əN	eiN	əuiN	ouN	
ɨ						aN	oN		aiN		
ɛ	ə	o									
ɛ	ə	ɔ									

Proto-Pwo /u/ and /ui/ merged into /ui/ in this dialect. Jones does not distinguish the important phonemic contrast /ui/ versus /i/, ex. /phúí/“carry on the back” : /phí/“short” (Jones transcribes both of them as /phýʔ/). /p t c k ʔ b d/ basically do not co-occur with the tones /ā/ and /â/ (except loanwords). Phillips (2000) says there is no such co-occurrence restriction, but there is.

Phonemic inventory of Kyonbyaw dialect C1[except N](C2:w l r y)V1(V2)(C3:ʔ N)/T

Consonants					Vowels				Tones			
p	θ	t	c	k	ʔ	i	í	ui	u	má	[44]	
ph		th		kh		e	ə	o		mà	[11]	
β		d				ɛ	a	ɔ		mâ	[41]	
b	ð									maʔ	[41ʔ]	
			s	ç	x					(mə	atonic)	
			sh									
			ʒ		ɣ							
m		n	ɲ	ŋ	ɳ							
w			j									
All rhymes												
i	í	ui	u									
ɨ	ə		o									
ɛ	a		ɔ									
ai			au									
		əN		eiN	əuiN	ouN		iʔ		eiʔ	əuiʔ	ouʔ
		aN		aiN	auiN	aun		eʔ	aʔ	oʔ		

Jones does not distinguish the important phonemic contrast /ui/ versus /i/, ex. /phúí/“jump” : /phí/“short” (Jones transcribes both of them as /phý/). He also does not distinguish the contrasts /au/ versus /ɔ/, /ai/ versus /ɛ/ in writing the Bassein Pho text. /dáiʔ/“and” should be /dɛʔ/, and /jáu/“this” /nàu/“that” /làu/“(end)” should be /jɔʔ/ /nɔʔ/ /lɔʔ/ respectively in my notation. Jones’s /ɛʔ/ and /ɔʔ/ correspond to my /eiʔ/ and /ouʔ/. /p t c k ʔ β d/ basically do not co-occur with the tone /â/ (except loanwords).

Phonemic inventory of Proto-Pwo C1[except N](C2:w l r y)V1(V2)(C3:ʔ N)/T

Consonants					Vowels				Tones				
p	t	c	k	ʔ	i	í	ui	u	má				
ph	th	ch	kh		e	ə	o		mā				
b[β]	d[dʰ]				ɛ	a	ɔ		mà				
		s	ç	x					mâ				
				ɣ	ʙ				(mə	atonic)			
m	n												
w		j											
All rhymes													
i	í	ui	u										
ɨ	ə		o										
ɛ	a		ɔ										
ai			au										
		əN		əiN	əuiN	əuN		eʔ	iʔ		əiʔ	əuiʔ	əuʔ
		aN		aiN	auiN	aun		eʔ	aʔ	oʔ			

Some examples of correspondences. (EP:East Pwo, WP:West Pwo, S:Sgaw [Hpa-an], PP:Proto-Pwo)

*H1: EP ph̄u WP ph̄u S ph̄u PP *ph̄u “jump”, EP ph̄u WP ph̄u S ph̄u PP *ph̄u “grandfather”, EP ph̄o WP ph̄o S ph̄o PP *ph̄o “flower”, EP th̄i WP th̄i S th̄i PP *th̄i “water”, EP kh̄i WP (b̄auθ̄o) S kh̄e PP ? “tiger”, EP m̄i WP m̄i S m̄i PP *m̄i “sleep”, EP n̄a WP n̄a S n̄a PP *n̄a “nose”, EP n̄on WP n̄o S n̄a PP *n̄on “smell”, EP x̄i WP x̄i S x̄i PP *x̄i “beautiful”, EP l̄an WP l̄an S l̄o PP *l̄an “thunder”, EP j̄o WP j̄au S j̄o PP *j̄au “easy”, EP θ̄i WP θ̄i S θ̄i PP *s̄i “die”, EP k̄ach̄an WP k̄ash̄an S k̄ash̄o PP *k̄ach̄an “elephant”

*H2: EP ph̄á WP ph̄i S ph̄u PP *ph̄á “short”, EP ph̄on WP ph̄au S ph̄o PP *ph̄au “catch”, EP th̄o WP th̄o S th̄o PP *th̄o “bird”, EP th̄an WP th̄an S th̄o PP *th̄an “climb, ascend”, EP ch̄ain WP sh̄ain S sh̄i PP *ch̄ain “sour”, EP kh̄u WP kh̄o S kh̄o PP *kh̄o “head”, EP j̄á WP j̄a S j̄á PP *j̄á “fish”, EP m̄i WP m̄e S m̄e PP *m̄e “fire”, EP θ̄á WP θ̄à S θ̄á PP *s̄á “fruit”, EP lá WP là S lá PP *lá “leaf”, EP w̄á WP w̄a S w̄á PP *w̄á “bamboo”, EP ȳein WP j̄ein S h̄i PP *ȳein “house”, EP th̄oun WP th̄ou S th̄o PP *th̄oun “bag”, EP kh̄oun WP kh̄o S kh̄u PP *kh̄oun “dig”, EP ch̄oun WP ch̄o S ch̄o PP *ch̄oun “mortar”, EP ch̄oun WP ch̄o S ch̄o PP *ch̄oun “mortar”, EP θ̄oun WP θ̄o S θ̄u PP *s̄oun “louse; liver”

*H2’: EP ph̄o WP ph̄o S ph̄o PP *ph̄o “child”, EP x̄w̄i WP x̄w̄i S x̄i PP *x̄w̄i “bone”, EP m̄e WP m̄ai S m̄e PP *m̄ai “to sprout”, EP θ̄i WP θ̄e S θ̄e PP *s̄e “capable”,

*H3: EP ph̄ai WP ph̄ei S ph̄i PP *ph̄ai “skin”, EP th̄a WP th̄a? S th̄ā? PP *th̄ā? “iron”, EP ch̄e WP she? S sh̄e? PP *ch̄e? “stab”, EP kh̄a WP kh̄a? S kh̄ā? PP *kh̄ā? “shoot”, EP n̄o WP no? S n̄o? PP *n̄o? “mouth”, EP l̄o WP lo? S l̄o? PP *l̄o? “repay”, EP θ̄o WP θ̄o? S θ̄o? PP *s̄o? “wear”,

*M1: EP p̄on WP p̄o S p̄o PP *p̄on “reign”, EP t̄ain WP t̄ain S t̄e PP *t̄ain “create”, EP c̄i WP s̄e S s̄e PP *c̄e “silver”, EP k̄u WP k̄u S k̄u PP *k̄u “shell”, EP k̄on WP k̄au S k̄u PP *k̄au “wear (as pants)”, EP ʔ̄ain WP ʔ̄ain S p̄əʔ̄i PP *ʔ̄ain “glutinous rice”, EP ʔ̄o WP ʔ̄au S ʔ̄o PP *ʔ̄au “drink”, EP b̄on WP b̄au S b̄o PP *b̄au “numeral classifier (long thing)”, EP b̄a WP b̄a S b̄a PP *b̄a “pray”, EP d̄o WP d̄au S d̄o PP *d̄au “knife”

*M2: EP t̄an WP t̄an S t̄an PP *t̄an “thick”, EP k̄o WP k̄o S k̄o PP *k̄o “cake”, EP k̄on WP k̄au S k̄o PP *k̄au “crooked”, EP ʔ̄an WP ʔ̄an S ʔ̄o PP *ʔ̄an “eat”, EP d̄i WP d̄i S d̄i PP *d̄i “egg”, EP b̄a WP b̄a S b̄a PP *b̄a “hit; right”, EP ʔ̄e WP ʔ̄ai S ʔ̄e PP *ʔ̄ai “love”, EP k̄oun WP k̄oun S k̄u PP *k̄oun “plan”

*M2’: EP k̄e WP k̄ai S k̄e PP *k̄ai “become”, EP ʔ̄a WP ʔ̄a S ʔ̄a PP *ʔ̄a “many”, EP d̄u WP d̄o S d̄o PP *d̄o “strike”,

*M3: EP t̄a WP t̄i S t̄a? PP *t̄a? “building”, EP c̄o WP so? S s̄o? PP *co? “peck”, EP k̄o WP ko? S k̄o? PP *k̄o? “call”, EP b̄ai WP b̄ei? S b̄i? PP *b̄ai? “closed, choked”, EP d̄au WP d̄ou? S d̄o? PP *d̄ou? “room of a long house”, EP d̄au WP d̄au? S d̄u? PP *d̄u? “fight”

*L1: EP ph̄l̄e WP ph̄l̄e S pl̄e PP *ph̄l̄e “tongue”, EP ph̄on WP ph̄o S p̄u PP *ph̄on “inside”, EP ch̄an WP sh̄an S p̄as̄ PP *ch̄an “fog”, EP th̄on WP th̄au S t̄o PP *th̄on “bridge”, EP kh̄e WP kh̄ai S k̄e PP *kh̄ai “shine”, EP m̄a WP m̄a S m̄a PP *m̄a “do”, EP l̄an WP l̄an S l̄o PP *l̄an “descend”, EP j̄ain WP j̄ain S j̄i PP *j̄ain “far”, EP j̄e WP j̄a S j̄a PP *j̄a “1sg (object form)”, EP n̄e WP n̄a S n̄a PP *n̄a “2sg (object form)”,

*L2: EP ph̄a WP ph̄a S pa PP *ph̄a “father”, EP th̄on WP th̄au S t̄o PP *th̄on “to pound”, EP kh̄o WP kh̄o S k̄o PP *kh̄o “hot”, EP m̄u WP m̄o S m̄o PP *m̄o “mother”, EP n̄a WP n̄a S n̄a PP *n̄a “ear”, EP n̄i WP n̄e S n̄e PP *n̄e “get”, EP w̄e WP w̄ai S w̄e PP *w̄ai “elder sibling”, EP ȳain WP ȳain S ȳi PP *ȳain “strength”, EP l̄an WP l̄an S l̄o PP *l̄an “place”,

*L3: EP ph̄ai WP ph̄ei? S pi? PP *ph̄ai? “go out (as light)”, EP th̄e WP the? S t̄e? PP *th̄e? “be cut”, EP ch̄o WP sho? S s̄o? PP *ch̄o? “carry”, EP kh̄o WP kho? S k̄o? PP *kh̄o? “neck”, EP m̄e WP me? S m̄e? PP *m̄e? “eye, face”, EP j̄ai? WP jei? S ji? PP *j̄ai? “long (in time)”, EP l̄ai WP lei? S li? PP *l̄ai? “alphabet”, EP j̄a WP ja? S ja? PP *ja? “be torn”,

numerals: EP l̄on WP l̄o S t̄o PP *l̄on “one”(H1), EP n̄i WP n̄i S kh̄i PP *n̄i “two”(H1), EP θ̄an WP θ̄a S θ̄a PP *s̄an “three”(H1), EP li WP li S l̄wi PP *l̄wi “four”(L2), EP j̄e WP j̄ai S j̄e PP *j̄ai “five”(L2), EP x̄u WP x̄u S x̄u PP *x̄u “six”(H1), EP nw̄e WP nw̄e S nw̄i PP *nw̄e “seven”(H1), EP x̄o WP xo? S x̄o? PP *x̄o? “eight”(?), EP kh̄w̄i WP kh̄w̄i S kh̄w̄i PP perhaps *kh̄w̄i “nine”(?), EP ch̄i WP sh̄i S sh̄i PP *ch̄i “ten”(H1)

	East Pwo	nə-	ʔ̄án	m̄i	ʔ̄on	jàu	ɸá	
(1)	West Pwo	nə-	ʔ̄àn	m̄é	ʔ̄aun	jouʔ̄	ɸà	
	Sgaw (East)	nə-	ʔ̄ó	m̄ē	w̄i	lí	fiá	
		you	eat	rice	finish	PERF	QUE	“Have you eaten rice?”

3 Morphology

3.1 Affixation

- (2) ʔəkhú “fume” ← ʔə- + khú (v) “to smoke”
(3) ʔəthí “liquid” ← ʔə- + thí (n) “water”
(4) pəθàbáN “young people” ← pə- (hə-) + θàbáN (v) “young”

3.2 Compound

- (5) méthí (n) ← mé (n) + thí (n)
tear eye water
(6) láinmí (n) ← láin (n) + mí (n)
train cart fire
(7) lōUNWò (n) ← lōUN (n) + wò (v)
ruby stone red
(8) láithû (n) ← láí (n) + thû (v)
leaf inscription book roll
(9) mūtháN (n) ← mū (n) + tháN (v) (exocentric)
east sun rise
(10) bànʔwà (n) ← bàn (v) + ʔwà (v)
curtain yellow white
(11) θàmé (n) ← θà (n) + mé (v)
frightened heart to sprout
(12) chēinphlí (v) ← chēin (v) + phlí (v)
very clean clean slippery

3.3 Reduplication

- (13) ʔáʔá “much” ← ʔá “many”

4 Word order

4.1 Verb and argument

(S)V(O)

- (14) láíʔàU lànthé
book drop “The/a book dropped.”
(15) θàʔwà chínàN
(name) sit “Thawa sat down.”
(16) θàʔwà dú còkhléin
(name) strike (name) “Thawa struck Saw Khlein.”
(17) jə- ʔé nè
1sg love 2sg “I love you.”

4.2 Verb and adverb

- (18) θàʔwà ʔáN mì phléphlé
(name) eat rice rapidly “Thawa ate (rice) rapidly.”

4.3 Noun and relative clause

Post-head (non-marked): used when the head is the subject

- (19) d̀òuɴ [R d̀ú]
town big “big town”
- (20) phl̀òuɴ [R lì lé cəp̃ɑɴ]
person go (loc) Japan “people who went to Japan”

Pre-head (non-marked): used when the head is non-subject

- (21) [R jə- tháu lé dàuʔhàɴ] khánphài
1sg wear loc room sandal “the sandals which I wear in the room”

Marked (with the relative marker): formal

- (22) phl̀òuɴ lé [R ʔə- lì lé cəp̃ɑɴ]
person (rel) 1sg go (loc) Japan “people who went to Japan”

(Table 1) Frequencies of the relative clauses

Syntactic role of the head	Kind of relative clause	
Subject	Post-head	241 (81%)
	Pre-head	42 (14%)
	Marked	15 (5%)
	Subtotal	298 (100%)
Object	Post-head	4 (4%)
	Pre-head	84 (92%)
	Marked	3 (3%)
	Subtotal	91 (100%)
Oblique	Post-head	2 (5%)
	Pre-head	35 (92%)
	Marked	1 (3%)
	Subtotal	38 (100%)
Non-clause-internal element	Post-head	3 (15%)
	Pre-head	16 (80%)
	Marked	1 (5%)
	Subtotal	20 (100%)
Total	447	

4.4 Possessive expression

- (23) chərá (ʔə) láíʔàu
teacher 3sg book “the teacher’s book”

4.5 Noun and adpositional particle

- (24) d̀è kā
with car “by car”
- (25) lé thəʔàɴ (lé can also be pronounced l̃ə)
from, at, to Hpa-an “from Hpa-an / at Hpa-an / to Hpa-an”
- (26) b̃è cəp̃ɑɴ θ̀ò
like Japanese like “like a Japanese”

4.6 Verb and verb particle

- (27) nə- bá lì
2sg must go “You must go.” (cf. bá “hit”)
- (28) jə- lì j̃u
1sg go try “I tried to go.” (cf. j̃u “look”)

4.7 Negation

Different morphemes are used in the main clause (*ʔé*) and the subordinate clause (*lə-*). *lə-* is older. It is cognate with the Sgaw negative particle *tə-*, which occurs in both kinds of clauses. *bá* usually occurs with *lə-* (cf. Burmese *mǎ* ~ *phú*, French *ne* ~ *pas*)

- (29) jə- ʔán mì ʔé [main clause]
 1sg eat rice (neg) “I did not eat rice.”
- (30) ʔəwê lə- ʔán kó bá ʔəkhúçòn | jə- ʔán [subordinate clause]
 3sg (neg) eat cake (neg') because 1sg eat
 “Since he did not eat the cake, I ate it.”

4.8 Main clause and subordinate clause

Subordinate clauses are usually put before the main clause:

- (31) chəçhòn ʔá ʔəkhúçòn | chəkáchəyè ʔá
 rain many because difficulty many
 “Since we have much rain, there is a lot of difficulty.”

Some are put after the main clause:

- (32) mə- ʔókhò | thōN ʔəwê yê thàin khó
 (irr) wait till 3sg come return (fut)
 “I will wait till he comes back.”

Subordinate markers are put in various positions: clause final (as in 31); clause initial (as in 32); before the verb (as in 33); after the verb (as in 34).

- (33) nə- ʔè mí báthà | thàin
 2sg if sleep want to return
 “If you want to sleep, go home.”
- (34) həməni bənʔò mwē lānāN phlòUN θí ...
 person like that be although Karen also
 “Although People like that are ethnically Karen, ...”

4.9 Interrogative sentences

cf. Mon /ha/, Shan /hâa/, Burmese /lé/

- (35) nə- ʔán mì wâ
 2sg eat rice (que) “Did you eat rice?”
- (36) nə- ʔán chənó lê
 2sg eat what (que) “What did you eat?”

5 Verb serialization

Concatenated type and separated type. The negative particle /lə-/ occur before V1 in concatenated type, and before V2 in separated type.

5.1 Concatenated type

- (i) intransitive+intransitive → intransitive
- (ii) intransitive+transitive → transitive
- (iii) transitive+transitive → transitive
- (iv) transitive+intransitive → transitive

- (37) ʔəwê lənthîphā θî
 3sg fall down die “He fell down and died.”
- (38) jə- lî xwè já
 1sg go buy fish “I went to buy a fish.”

(39) jə- xwè ʔán kú
 1sg buy eat cake “I bought and eat a cake.”

(40) jə- cān já cakhô
 1sg pull torn paper “I torn the paper.”

yê “come” and li “go” always occur as V1:

(41) jə- yê klí
 1sg come run “I came running. / I came to run.”

The event denoted by V2 does not have to actually happen if the serialization is a combination of “transitive+intransitive” or V1 is a movement verb (cf. Solnit 1997:68):

(42) jə- dú θí thwí. lānân θí θí ʔé
 1sg strike die dog but die (neg) “I struck the dog to kill but it did not die.”

(43) jə- lì xwè já. lānân θí xwè ʔé
 1sg go buy fish but buy (neg) “I went to buy a fish but I did not buy.”

In the case of “transitive+transitive” the patient of V1 cannot occur:

(44) jə- chûlân ʔán mì dē jáʔúthî
 1sg put in eat rice with ngapi(魚醬) “I ate rice with ngapi.”

(45) *jə- chûlân ʔán jáʔúthî
 1sg put in eat ngapi

5.2 Separated type

(a) V2 describes the manner of the action denoted by V1:

(46) jə- ʔán mì phlé
 1sg eat rice fast “I eat rice quickly.”

(b) V2 denotes the result of the action denoted by V1:

(47) jə- ʔán mì blè
 1sg eat rice full “I ate rice and got full.”

(48) jə- ʔánxû khánphài dá jàᵁ
 1sg look for sandal find (perfect) “I looked for a pair of sandals and found one.”

(49) jə- dú thwí θí pōᵁN
 1sg strike dog die unexpectedly “I struck the dog, and it suddenly died.”

The situation denoted by V2 is not an expected one, and has to actually happen:

(50) *jə- dú thwí θí lānân θí θí ʔé
 1sg strike dog die but die neg

(c) V2 denotes potentiality:

(51) jə- kè láí phlòᵁN bá
 1sg write alphabet Karen right “I can write Pwo Karen alphabets.”

(52) ʔəwê khlàin phlòᵁN θí
 3sg speak Karen capable “He can speak Pwo Karen.”

One of the important characteristics of separate type: V2 is always an unvolitional verb.

(53) *jə- ʔánphôn mì ʔán
 1sg cook rice eat

This sentence has to be changed as below (concatenated type):

- (54) jə- ʔánphôn ʔán mì
1sg cook eat rice “I cooked rice and ate it.”

Compare the Thai sentence below:

- (55) phǒm hǔŋ khâaw kĭn
I cook rice eat

“preference for nuclear over core serialization” (Solnit 2006 “Karen and Sino-Tibetan.” ICSTLL 39). Pwo Karen has the same tendency. Northern Karenic languages show stronger tendency for nuclear serialization.

- (56) **Kayah Li** ʔa ʔe phrē dī
Solnit (1997:65) 3 eat fast rice “He eats quickly.”

- (57) **Geba** jǎ- ʔā plá dī
(my data) 3 eat fast rice “I eat quickly.”

- (58) **Sgaw** jə- ʔô mē khlé
(my data) 1sg eat rice fast “I eat quickly.”

6 Causative expressions

Two types of causative constructions.

Type 1: one predicate (one verb complex)

- (59) jə- mà _____ θī ʔəwê
1sg do,make die 3sg “I killed him.”
- (60) jə- dà _____ θī ʔəwê
1sg (caus) die 3sg “I let him die.”
- (61) jə- phílân lī ʔəwê
1sg give go 3sg “I let him go (for his sake).”

Type 2: two predicates (verb + complement clause)

- (62) jə- ʔánmôn [C ʔəwê lī]
1sg send on an errand die 3sg “I ordered him to go.”
- (63) jə- phílân [C ʔəwê lī]
1sg give 3sg go “I let him go (for his sake).”

No phonologically related pairs of lexical non-causative and causative verbs

cf. Burmese:

câ : châ “drop”, có : chó “bend”, cauʔ : chauʔ “frighten”, souʔ : shouʔ “tear”, pwîn : phwîn “open”, myîn : hmyîn “raise”, yô : ɛô “decrease”, ʔeiʔ : ʔeiʔ “lull” etc...

	“non-causative”	“causative”	
DROP	lânthé	mà lánthé	
BEND	káin	mà káin	
FRIGHTEN	thámé	mà thámé	
TEAR	já	mà já	
OPEN	pàu thà	pàu	Note: thà=verb particle indicating spontaneity
RAISE	thán	mà thán	
DECREASE	çà	mà çà	
LULL	mī	dà mī	

There are few transitive verbs which denote a physical change: pàu “to open (tr.)”, thàu “to move (tr.)”, wáí “to twist (tr.)”, “ʔò “peel (tr.)”; ʔánlè “change (tr.)”. In these cases, there are no intransitive equivalents.

7 Head-markingness

Stronger head-markingness than neighboring Burmese. ([_{vc}]: verb complex.)

- (64) mə- [_{vc} ɣì n̄] pə̀
 IRR good 1pl “(That) will benefit for us.”
- B.** t̄ú ɣətweʔ káun d̄ɛ
 him for good REALIS “(It) is good for him.” (subject of judgment)
- (65) ɣəwê [_{vc} lì khè] jə̀
 3sg go 1sg “He went instead of me.”
- B.** t̄ú ɣəsá t̄wá yâ d̄ɛ
 him instead go must REALIS “(I) had to go instead of him.” (substitution)
- (66) jə- [_{vc} tàin dá] kú
 1sg make cake “I only made a cake.”
- B.** mōun d̄à sá d̄ɛ
 cake only eat REALIS “(I) only ate cakes.” (limitation)
- (67) ɣəjə̀ [_{vc} ɣì dá] ɣəʔə̀
 this good that “This is better than that.”
- B.** t̄ú d̄ɛʔ káun d̄ɛ
 him than good REALIS “(She) is better than he.” (comparison)
- (68) phúθá θè [_{vc} dú lóθà]
 child pl hit “The children hit each other.”
- B.** khǎlé jín yaiʔ t̄ɛ
 child each other hit REALIS “The children hit each other.” (reciprocity)

8 Complement sentences

No overt marking for complement sentences.

- (69) jə- θíjâ [_C ɣəwê mə- lì]
 1sg know 3sg (irr) go “I know that he will go.”
- (70) [_C hə- ɣán chədòchəlá] ɣì
 1pl eat vegetable good “It is good to eat vegetables.”

9 Parallelism (elaborate expression)

Frequent use of parallelism. cf. Matisoff (1973: 81-86, 297-301), Solnit (1997: 271-287), Henderson (1997 vol.II: xiv-xv)

- (71) C hə- thíC C hə- khānC
 1pl water? 1pl country “our country”
- (72) C n̄ phúC C n̄ máC
 get child get wife “have a family”
- (73) C ɣə- cìC C ɣə- thônC
 3sg silver 3sg gold “his fortune”
- (74) C ləthàinC C kànkàC
 talk discuss “to gossip”
- (75) C báchíC C báʔàC
 sneeze stuffed up “catch a cold”

- (76) ɕ dàv ʔánɔ ɕ dàv ʔòɔ
 (caus) eat (caus) drink “to treat; to dine”
- (77) ɕ lə̀ yìɔ ɕ khlàin báɔ
 tell good speak right “good at expressing oneself”
- (78) ɕ ʔə- thìɔ ɕ ʔə- θòɔ
 3sg ? 3sg friend “his friend”
- (79) ɕ lə̀ phíɔ ɕ thàin phíɔ
 tell (benef) ? (benef) “tell for someone’s sale”
- (80) ɕ mà cháíɔ ɕ mà nàɔ
 make rice field make ? “do rice farming.”
 (nà=borrowing from Shan or Thai. Not used in isolation.)

10 Loanwords

10.1, 10.2, 10.3 can be considered to have been borrowed before the tonal split. 10.4 are newer but borrowed before the split of Proto-Pwo into East Pwo and West Pwo. 10.5 are relatively recent. (The forms irrelevant to the discussion are in parentheses.) Mon forms: Sakamoto (1994), Old Mon forms: Shorto (1971)

10.1 Regular phonological correspondences between East Pwo, West Pwo and Sgaw

Many Mon words were borrowed before the tonal split.

- EP pàitərân WP təràn S pétró “door, window”
 cf. Mon taʔraŋ, paŋtaʔraŋ, Old Mon taraŋ, pāntaraŋ
- EP təlâ WP tələ S tələ “box” cf. Mon kaʔla
- EP phjá WP phjà S phjá “market” cf. Mon phya
- EP pətháv WP ʔauthô S pətùʔ “stop” cf. Mon tətʔ, pətətʔ
- EP kəbàn WP kəbân S kəbó “ship” cf. Mon kaʔbaŋ, Old Mon kəbān
- EP láí WP leiʔ S líʔ “letter, writing” cf. Mon læc, Old Mon lekh
- EP càkhô WP saʔkhàu S sáʔkhó “paper” cf. Mon cakkhau
- EP pədè WP pədái S pədé “rabbit” cf. Mon haʔtai
- EP kəlè WP kriʔ S króʔ “to suit, to fit” cf. Mon kraək
- EP tàv WP tuʔʔ S tōʔ “building” cf. Mon taək, Bur taiʔ
- EP təwân WP təwàn S θəwó “village” cf. Mon kwan, Old Mon twān

10.2 Regular phonological correspondences between West Pwo and Sgaw

WP pànłè S pólè “sea” cf. Bur pìnłè (EP form mächəmài is from Mon. cf. saʔmasaʔmac)

10.3 Regular phonological correspondences between East Pwo, Sgaw

EP kò (WP klóun) S kóʔ “island” cf. Mon taʔkəʔ, Old Mon tkoʔ, Thai kòʔ

10.4 Regular phonological correspondences between East Pwo, West Pwo

- EP tən WP tó S tò “pillar” cf. Mon taəŋ, Bur tàin
- EP kəmâ WP kəmə (S rəkô) “pond” cf. Mon kaʔma
- EP chərâ WP shərà S θərâ “teacher” cf. Bur shăyà
- Pwo and Sgaw forms were borrowed from Burmese separately.

10.5 Only one dialect or no regular phonological correspondence

- EP lébòn (WP nòkhùt) (S nòké) “stick” cf. Mon lèʔ
- EP pò (WP θî) (S θí) “die (as to a buddhist monk)” cf. Mon pə
- EP kəpà (WP yài) (S hế) “come (as to a buddhist monk)” cf. Mon paʔ
- EP θəná (WP d̥iudá) (S d̥iudá) “enemy” cf. Mon hnaʔ
- EP cəpwē WP səpwé S səpwé “table” cf. Bur zəbwé
- EP cé WP seʔ S sēʔ “machine” cf. Bur seʔ
- EP pēin WP béin “machine” cf. Bur béin
- EP páichân (WP sé) (S sé) “money” cf. Bur paiʔshàn

(EP cháin) WP pəlouʔ (S shé) “shirt” cf. Mon paʔloʔ
EP p̄ WP phô S pháʔ “read” cf. Mon pòh, Bur phaʔ
EP plài (WP má pháunphleʔ) (S mā p̄phléʔ) “save” cf. Mon prac
EP pəti (WP meʔ) (S méʔ) “sand” cf. Mon haʔtvi
EP ʔəyáú (WP θaʔ) (S θáʔ) “age” cf. Mon āyu

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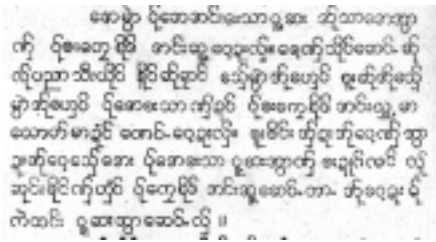
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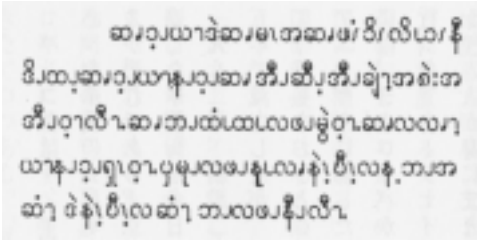
Text

(recorded in Hpa-an, November 2000)

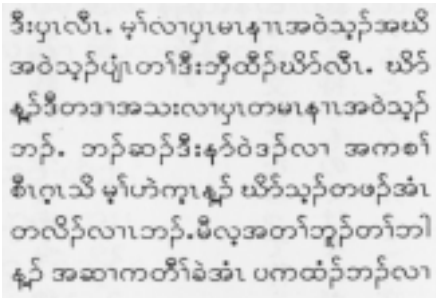
- (1) ké phjā khwā ʔó lə- yà
 well thing male be one (nc:human)
- (2) phjā khwā lə- yà nótā
 thing male one (nc:human) (topic)
 chə- phàn ɓán chə- phàn ɓán
 (thing) bright up (thing) bright up
 jū thán mànklón thàin lòn nó
 look up tamarind branch upside (topic)
 phjā phû cā ɓó dá tā
 thing old man old (topic) find and
 “mē phúthá phjā nó
 (copula) bachelor thing that
 ʔə- chəpân ʔó mân jàu ”, lə wē
 his wisdom be exact (perfect) tell (emphasis)
- (3) “dē ʔə- phúmúú nó jə- mə- dàikhâ ní ”
 with his daughter (topic) I (irrealis) make marry for a while
- (4) dējái ʔəwē dàikhâ wái wē jābò
 soon he make marry (throw) (emphasis) (sentence final)
- (5) dàikhâ wē θɛ̀yòN nó
 make marry (emphasis) and (topic)
 lé chəphàn phjā phúthá nó
 (loc) dawn thing bachelor that
 jū mànklón thàin lòn nó
 look tamarind branch upside because
 mwē jân chələ chələ nó θjâ ʔé
 (copula) wisdom what what (topic) know (neg)
- (6) phjā phû cā thîn nó
 thing old man old think (topic)
 “ mwē ʔə- jân phàdú ”
 (copula) his wisdom big
- (7) dējái phjā phû cā nó
 soon thing old man old (topic)
 ʔáncà ʔə- má wɔ̃
 ask his son-in-law (vivid)
- (8) “ mwē chələ nân wà
 (copula) what daughter husband
 chə- phàn ɓán chə- phàn ɓán
 (thing) bright up (thing) bright up
 nə- jū mànklón thàin lòn nó ”
 you look tamarind branch upside (topic)
- (9) pápàpà ʔəwē lə wédá mwē cābò,
 (interjection) he tell (emphasys) (copula) like this



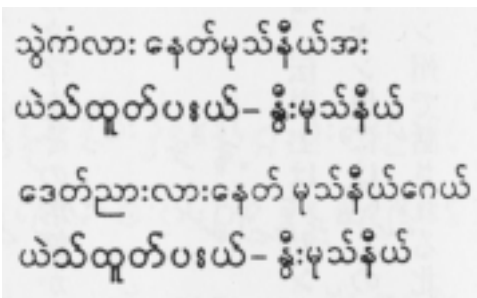
Buddhist Pwo script



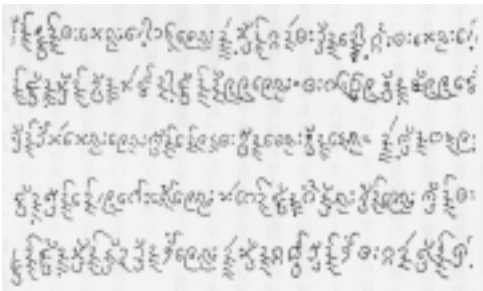
Christian Pwo script



Christian Sgaw script (Wade script)



Buddhist Sgaw script



Leke script



Leaf inscription of Buddhist Pwo script



Hpa-an



Learning Buddhist Pwo script in a summer camp