

CHAPTER 6

Eastern Pwo Karen Verb Particles Indicating
'Up' and 'Down'

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[ABSTRACT]

Eastern Pwo Karen has the verb particles *thán* 'up' and *làn* 'down' derived from the verbs *thán* 'ascend' and *làn* 'descend'. These verb particles have six basic uses that can be classified based on the meanings they exhibit: Directional, Inchoative, Intensive, Restrictive, Integrated, and Special. Furthermore, Directional usage can be classified into three categories and Inchoative into two, resulting in a total of nine different uses. All Eastern Pwo Karen verbs can be divided into eleven groups, based on the criteria regarding which of the nine uses the verb particles *thán* and *làn* exhibit when co-occurring with them, or do not co-occur with them. This article discusses in detail the meanings of the above nine uses, and further discusses the characteristics of the eleven verb groups. It also clarifies, as one of its conclusions, whether or not a verb can co-occur with these verb particles is unpredictable.

1. Introduction

Pwo Karen belongs to the Karenic branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages (cf. Matisoff 2003). It is an analytic SVO (subject-verb-object) type language, which does not have a tense or person marking on the predicate. These are characteristics shared by all Karenic languages (see Kato 2021). This article deals with the Hpa-an dialect of Pwo Karen, which belongs to the Eastern Pwo Karen group. The Hpa-an dialect is spoken around Hpa-an, the capital city of Karen State, Myanmar. This dialect belongs to the Eastern Pwo Karen group; for the classification of the Pwo Karen dialects, see Kato (2009), in which Western Pwo Karen, Htokilibang Pwo Karen, Eastern Pwo Karen, and Northern Pwo Karen are proposed. West-Central Thailand Pwo Karen reported by Phillips (2018) seems to be a variation of Pwo Karen, which seems very close to Eastern Pwo Karen. For an overview of the phonology and morphosyntax of the Hpa-an dialect, see Kato (2017, 2019b). Hereafter, the Hpa-an dialect of Pwo Karen is referred to as EPK (Eastern Pwo Karen).

This study aims to examine what verbs the EPK verbal particles *thán* 'up' and *làn* 'down' can co-occur with, and what meanings they exhibit when they co-occur with a verb. A similar study was conducted by Kato (2013) on Western Pwo Karen. However, EPK has been briefly discussed only by Kato (2004). This study is much more detailed than that of Kato (2004).

As shown in Kato (2021, 2022), the basic structure of an EPK clause can be represented as in Figure 1:

(NP1) (verb particle(s)) V (verb particle(s)) (NP2) (NP3) (adverbial elements)

Figure 1: Basic structure of the Eastern Pwo Karen clause

NP1 is the subject; NP2 is the indirect object and NP3 is the direct object. V(= verb) appears after the subject. A verb particle is a particle that appears before or after V. The underlined part is called the verb complex. A concatenated type of verb serialization (see Kato 2017, 2019b) can appear in the V position. Kato (2004) lists eleven verb particles that appear before the verb and fifty verb particles that appear after the verb. Between the elements of a verb complex, noun phrases never appear. For example, the following sentence (1), also used in Kato (2021, 2022), would help in understanding the structure of a clause more clearly. The forms *mə*, indicating irrealis, and *bá*, indicating opportunity, appearing before and after the verb *ʔán* ‘eat’, are verb particles.

- (1) nə mə ʔán bá kó ʔáʔá ló jə yéin phèn ɛ̄
 2SG IRR eat OPP cake much LOC 1SG house inside too
 ‘You will also get a chance to eat a lot of cake inside my house.’

The functional words *thán* ‘up’ and *làn* ‘down’ discussed in this article are verb particles that appear after the verb, like the verb particle *bá* in (1). Let us look at an example. Sentences (2) and (3) shown below are examples of *thán* and *làn*, respectively. In both the examples, these verb particles appear after the verb *yê*. The particle *thán* in (2) represents an upward direction, while *làn* in (3) represents a downward direction. Since direction is the most concrete of the meanings that these verb particles express, in this article, the verb particles *thán* and *làn* are glossed as ‘up’ and ‘down’, respectively.

- (2) ʔəwê yê thán ló jə dàu phèn
 3SG come up LOC 1SG room inside
 ‘He came up to my room.’
- (3) ʔəwê yê làn ló jə dàu phèn
 3SG come down LOC 1SG room inside
 ‘He came down to my room.’

The verb particles *thán* and *làn* are derived from the verbs *thán* ‘ascend, rise, climb’ and *làn* ‘descend, drop’, respectively. The verb *thán* denotes an upward movement, while *làn* denotes a downward movement. Examples (4) and (5) are of the verbs *thán* and *làn*:

- (4) ləni̯jò thî thán
 today water ascend
 ‘Today, the water level rose.’

- (5) lənìjò thî làn
 today water descend
 ‘Today, the water level dropped.’

Let us briefly discuss the grammaticalization of *thán* and *làn* in two aspects. First, the verb particles *thán* and *làn*, as in (2) and (3), have phonological features not found in the verbs *thán* and *làn*, as in (4) and (5). That is, the verb particle *thán* may be pronounced *lán* or *bán*, and the verb particle *làn* may be pronounced *bàn*. For example, the verb complex *yê thán* (come / up) ‘come up’ in (2) may be pronounced *yê lán* or *yê bán*. Similarly, *yê làn* (come / down) ‘come down’ in (3) may be pronounced *yê bán*. This phonological phenomenon is observed very frequently in any of the uses of *thán* and *làn* described in Section 2. The verbs *thán* and *làn* are never pronounced this way. In other words, phonetic reduction has occurred in the verb particles *thán* and *làn*. Second, the meanings expressed by the uses of verb particles *thán* and *làn* as discussed in the following sections, except for the directional meanings of their Directional use, have become abstract and are no longer related to the meanings of the original verb *thán* and *làn*, denoting actions of moving up and moving down. Therefore, semantic bleaching has occurred in the verb particles *thán* and *làn*. The point is that erosion (phonetic reduction) and desemanticization (semantic bleaching), both of which are common in grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 2), are observed in the verb particles *thán* and *làn*. Thus, there would be no problem in calling *thán* and *làn*, as discussed in this article, verb particles.

Among the EPK motion verbs, *thàin* ‘return’ is grammaticalized in addition to *thán* and *làn*. For example, as in *phílân thàin* (give / return) ‘return, give back’, *thàin* denotes a backward direction. Motion verbs for ‘go’ and ‘come’ are grammaticalized in various languages (Heine and Kuteva 2002), but EPK *lì* ‘go’ and *yê* ‘come’ have not been grammaticalized. However, the younger generation have begun using *yê* for the purpose of expressing graduality as in *yê ʔá thán* (come / many / up) ‘It has gradually increased’. This could be considered a grammaticalization of *yê* ‘come’.

Before moving on to the next section, it is necessary to mention the classification of verbs. As discussed in Kato (2008), all EPK verbs can be divided into two categories: active verbs, which denote actions or events, and stative verbs, which denote states. Other important verb classifications in EPK include those based on volition and transitivity, but the classification of active and stative verbs is particularly important when describing the functions of *thán* and *làn*. There are several tests to distinguish between active and stative verbs. The simplest tests include those using adverbs such as *ʔèphlé* ‘fast’, *xèxè* ‘slowly’, or *ʔèchón* ‘strongly’ and adverbial phrases such as *nī nàrì* (two / hour) ‘for two hours’. Active verbs can co-occur with at least one of these adverbial expressions, but stative verbs cannot co-occur with any of them. For example, the active verb *ʔán* ‘eat’ can co-occur with *ʔèphlé* as in *ʔán ʔèphlé* (eat / fast) ‘eat fast’, but the stative verb *yì* ‘good’ cannot co-occur with any of them.

2. A survey of the verb particles *thán* and *làn*

I made a list of about 280 verbs by consulting Hattori (1957) and inquired two native EPK speakers (Mr. Saw Khin Maung Aye and Ms. Naw Snow Paw) in Pwo Karen and Burmese whether the verb particles *thán* and *làn* could co-occur with each verb and, if so, what kinds of meanings they expressed and in what situations they are used. The survey was conducted for approximately two hours each week over three months, from September to December 2021, with both consultants present during the survey. As a result of the survey, it was found that both *thán* and *làn* have verbs that they can and cannot co-occur with. It was also found that based on the meanings that *thán* and *làn* express when co-occurring with verbs, the uses of *thán* and *làn* can be categorized into six basic uses: Directional, Inchoative, Intensive, Restrictive, Integrated, and Special. The Directional can be further divided into Directional 1, Directional 2, and Directional 3, and the Inchoative can be further divided into Inchoative 1 and Inchoative 2. Thus, there are a total of nine uses: Directional 1, Directional 2, Directional 3, Inchoative 1, Inchoative 2, Intensive, Restrictive, Integrated, and Special. In any of these uses, *thán* and *làn* do not appear in the same verb complex. Each use will be explained below. Note that *làn* can represent reflexivity in the form “V *làn* *thà*”, as discussed in detail in Kato (2019a). The form *thà* is a middle marker. This use is not treated in this article because it is considered to be a kind of idiom in which *làn* has to appear with *thà*. Also, the expression in the form of “V *thán* V *làn*”, such as *ʔə thán ʔə làn* (stay / up / stay / down) ‘behave’, is also considered a kind of idiom, and it will not be discussed in this article.

Directional is the use of indicating an upward or downward direction: *thán* indicates an upward direction and *làn* a downward direction. This use can be further divided into three categories: Directional 1 is the case in which the direction of movement of the referent of the subject is indicated; Directional 2 is the case in which the direction of the action denoted by the verb is indicated; and Directional 3 is the case in which the direction of movement of the referent of the object is indicated. Examples are shown in (6) through (8). Sentence (6) is an example of Directional 1 usage, and expresses that the referent of the subject “I” moved to “his house”, which is situated at a higher level than the starting point. Sentence (7) is an example of Directional 2 usage, and expresses that the action of looking was performed in an upward direction. Sentence (8) is an example of the use of Directional 3, and expresses that the referent of the object “firewood” was moved upward.

(6) *jə l̥i thán lə ʔə yéin*
 1SG go up LOC 3SG house
 ‘I went to his house.’

(7) *jə j̥ə thán ʔə yéin*
 1SG look up 3SG house
 ‘I looked up at his house.’

- (8) ṽəwê chó thán θéinmū
 3SG lift up firewood
 ‘He lifted up the firewood.’

Inchoative is the use of indicating the start of an action or state. This use can be further divided into two: Inchoative 1 is the case in which starting of an action is indicated; and Inchoative 2 is the case in which starting of a state (change of state) is indicated. Sentence (9) is an example of Inchoative 1 usage. This example expresses that the action of building started. Sentences (10) and (11) are examples of the use of Inchoative 2. Example (10) expresses that the state of there being many humans has started, and (11) expresses that the state of there being few humans has started.

- (9) ṽəwê θáun thán yéin
 3SG build up house
 ‘He started to build a house.’

- (10) phlòun ṽá thán
 person many up
 ‘The number of people increased.’

- (11) phlòun ə̀ làn
 person few down
 ‘The number of people decreased.’

Intensive is a use to indicate that an action is performed vigorously, carefully, or precisely. Sentences (12) and (13) are examples.

- (12) thíkhlóphú lànjwà làn
 river flow down
 ‘The river is flowing vigorously.’

- (13) jə kú làn θéinphài
 1SG peel down bark
 ‘I peeled the bark vigorously/carefully.’

Restrictive is a use that limits the meaning of a verb to one of two possible ones when the verb can express two different meanings. Take the verb *θò* ‘wear’ for example. See (14):

- (14) ṽəwê θò chāin mōkhó
 3SG wear shirt a.while.ago
 ‘He put on a shirt a while ago. / He was wearing a shirt a while ago.’

The verb *θò* can express two meanings: the action of putting on clothes and the action of keeping clothes on. Thus, (14) can express two meanings: ‘he put on a shirt a

while ago’ and ‘he was wearing a shirt a while ago’. In this case, the use of *thán*, as in (15), limits the meaning to ‘he put on a shirt a while ago’. In other words, the meaning of the verb is restricted by *thán*. This is the Restrictive use.

- (15) ʔəwê θò thán chàin mōkhó
 3SG wear up shirt a.while.ago
 ‘He put on a shirt a while ago.’

Integrated usage is when the verb is not used without *thán* or *làn* and always appears with *thán* or *làn*. See (16) for example:

- (16) ʔəwê pàò thán pàintərân
 3SG open up window
 ‘He opened a window.’

The verb *pàò* ‘open’ is never used alone, and is always followed by *thán*. In other words, *pàò thán* is united as a single expression. In the Integrated use, since *thán* and *làn* are integrated with the verb, they do not have a generalizable meaning or function, unlike the uses we have seen.

Finally, the Special usage is when “verb + *thán*” or “verb + *làn*” as a whole expresses an idiomatic meaning. See (17) and (18) for example:

- (17) ʔəwê cáin thán ló chàin khlôun
 3SG walk up LOC shop outside
 ‘He got out of the store.’

- (18) ʔəwê cáin làn ló thəʔàn
 3SG walk down LOC Hpa-an
 ‘He got off (the bus) in Hpa-an.’

The verb *cáin* means ‘to walk’. However, while *cáin thán* expresses the meaning ‘walk upward’, it also expresses the meaning ‘get out’ as a whole, as in (17). Similarly, while *cáin làn* means ‘walk downward’, it also means ‘get off’ as a whole, as in (18). These meanings ‘get out’ and ‘get off’ are idiomatic. The particles *thán* and *làn* exhibiting the Special use, similar to the case of Integrated use, have no generalizable meaning or function.

The co-occurring verb generally determines the use(s) exhibited by *thán* and *làn*. Thus, EPK verbs can be classified based on which of the above nine uses the co-occurring *thán* or *làn* exhibits. That is, for the following Group (A) through (I): (A) <Directional 1>; (B) <Directional 2>; (C) <Directional 3>; (D) <Inchoative 1>; (E) <Intensive>; (F) <Inchoative 1 & Intensive>; (G) <Inchoative 2>; (H) <Restrictive>; (I) <Integrated>; and (J) <Special>. The brackets “< >” read that *thán* or *làn* co-occurring with a verb of the group in question exhibits the bracketed use(s). In the verbs of Group (F), two uses, i.e., Inchoative 1 and Intensive, are observed. In addition, verbs that do not co-occur with either *thán* or *làn* are labeled Group (K). Defined in this way, all verbs in EPK belong to one of the 11 groups from Group (A) to (K). The number of verb groups is two more than the nine uses because we have

Group (F), where two uses are observed, and Group (K), whose verbs do not co-occur with either *thán* or *làn*. In some verbs, *thán* and *làn* may exhibit the Directional use as well as another one. In such cases, the Directional use is adopted as the basis for classification of the verbs because it retains the directional meanings of the original verbs and is considered the most basic.

Table 1 shows the results of the survey. The order of the verbs in each group is the alphabetical order of the English translation (Note that when the verbs in each group can be subgrouped according to their co-occurrence possibility with *thán* and *làn*, they are arranged alphabetically within the subgroup). All verbs are assigned a serial number. The column of “a/s” indicates whether the verb in question is an active or stative verb: “a” is an active verb, and “s” is a stative verb. The *thán* and *làn* columns indicate whether these verb particles can co-occur with each verb. That is, when the verb does not co-occur with *thán* or *làn*, the symbol ‘-’ is used; and when the verb can co-occur with *thán* or *làn*, the six basic uses exhibited by the co-occurring *thán* or *làn* are given in abbreviated forms. The abbreviated forms are: Up (= Directional, upward), Down (= Directional, downward), Incho (= Inchoative), Restr (= Restrictive), Inten (= Intensive), Integ (= Integrated), and Spec (= Special). Directional use is divided into two categories, upward and downward, for clarity, thus the number of abbreviations is seven. If more than one use is given in one column (e.g., “Up, Spec”), it means that the verb particle can be used in either of the specified ways.

The “verbs” treated in this article include collocations and idioms, which are composed of a noun and a verb and have verb-like characteristics as a whole. No. 8 *lì yê* is such an example. “(wind / come)” refers to the meaning of the respective word. That is, in this case, *lì* means ‘wind’ and *yê* means ‘come’, and the entire expression means ‘wind blows’. In collocations and idioms consisting of a noun and a verb, *thán* or *làn* is postposed to the verb element. The position where *thán* or *làn* appears is represented by ‘[]’.

Table 1: Co-occurrence possibilities of *thán* and *làn* with verbs and the meanings that *thán* and *làn* exhibit

	Verb	Meaning	a/s	<i>thán</i>	<i>làn</i>	Notes
(A) <Directional 1>						
1	<i>yê</i>	‘come’	a	Up	Down	
2	<i>jù</i>	‘fly’	a	Up	Down	
3	<i>lì</i>	‘go’	a	Up	Down	
4	<i>phú</i>	‘jump’	a	Up	Down	
5	<i>thàiN</i>	‘return’	a	Up	Down	
6	<i>klí</i>	‘run’	a	Up	Down	
7	<i>cáin</i>	‘walk’	a	Up, Spec	Down, Spec	<i>cáin thán</i> and <i>cáin làn</i> of the Special use mean ‘get out’ and ‘get off’, respectively.
8	<i>lì yê</i> [] (wind / come)	‘wind blows’	a	Up, Incho	Down	<i>lì phú</i> ‘wind blows’ [89] is a synonym.
(B) <Directional 2>						

9	ʔáncà	‘ask’	a	Up Incho	Down	
10	bò	‘bend’	a	Up	Down	
11	kò	‘call’	a	Up	Down	
12	phé	‘cut’	a	Up	Down	
13	dá	‘find’	a	Up	Down	<i>dá</i> ‘see, visible’ [198] is a homonym.
14	màbò	‘help’	a	Up	Down	
15	mè	‘punch’	a	Up	Down	
16	thân	‘kick ~ with one’s heel’	a	Up	Down	
17	thè	‘kick ~ with the back of one’s leg’	a	Up	Down	
18	jō	‘look’	a	Up	Down	
19	dàoné	‘point at’	a	Up	Down	
20	pō	‘read’	a	Up, Incho	Down	
21	kòèà [] nò (shout / mouth)	‘shout’	a	Up, Incho	Down	
22	khlâin	‘speak’	a	Up, Incho	Down	
23	chè	‘stab’	a	Up	Down	
24	thào	‘wipe’	a	Up	Down	
(C) <Directional 3>						
25	jò	‘carry ~ on one’s shoulder’	a	Up	Down	
26	càolé	‘draw’	a	Up	Down	
27	chó	‘lift ~ with one’s hand’	a	Up	Down	
28	thào	‘move (vt)’	a	Up	Down	
29	thəwài	‘pump’	a	Up	Down	
30	chán	‘push’	a	Up	Down	
31	ʔókí	‘put’	a	Up	Down	
32	khwái	‘throw’	a	Up	Down	
(D) <Inchoative 1>						
33	thán	‘ascend, climb’	a	Incho	-	
34	ʔánlū [] thī (bathe / water)	‘bathe’	a	Incho	-	
35	γè	‘be in action’	a	Incho	-	
36	lá	‘boil (vi)’	a	Incho	-	
37	ʔánxwī	‘boil (vt)’	a	Incho	-	

38	γὰγὸΝ	‘break (vi)’	a	Incho	-	
39	θῶυΝ	‘build’	a	Incho	-	<i>θῶυΝ</i> ‘plant’ [125] is a homonym.
40	khàthῶυΝ	‘bundle’	a	Incho	-	
41	mí ᾱ́Ν [] (fire / eat)	‘burn’	a	Incho	-	
42	bàinbòΝ	‘coil’	a	Incho	-	
43	pəkòουΝ	‘collect’	a	Incho	-	
44	ᾱ́ΝphòΝ	‘cook’	a	Incho	-	
45	kàου	‘cough’	a	Incho	-	
46	γάν	‘cry, weep’	a	Incho	-	
47	blá	‘get cured, get recovered’	a	Incho	-	
48	thῶυΝlī	‘dance’	a	Incho	-	
49	mà	‘do’	a	Incho	-	
50	mīmāΝ	‘dream’	a	Incho	-	
51	ᾱ́ò	‘drink’	a	Incho	-	
52	ᾱ́Ν	‘eat’	a	Incho	-	
53	γὸΝ	‘end, finish’	a	Incho	-	
54	dó	‘fold’	a	Incho	-	
55	thàΝán	‘forget’	a	Incho	-	
56	màchèn	‘help’	a	Incho	-	
57	lân wēdài	‘lightning flashes’	a	Incho	-	
58	ᾱ́Νxū	‘look for’	a	Incho	-	
59	θῶ	‘make sound’	a	Incho	-	
60	dàου	‘make war’	a	Incho	-	
61	tàin	‘make’	a	Incho	-	
62	lókwe	‘play’	a	Incho	-	
63	thè	‘pluck’	a	Incho	-	
64	thōΝ	‘pound’	a	Incho	-	
65	ᾱ́Νmò	‘put ~ in one’s mouth’	a	Incho	-	
66	chà	‘sew’	a	Incho	-	
67	εὸεό	‘shake’	a	Incho	-	
68	wàthó	‘shiver’	a	Incho	-	
69	mà [] thàkhó (do / song)	‘sing’	a	Incho	-	
70	mī	‘sleep’	a	Incho	-	
71	nī	‘smile, laugh’	a	Incho	-	
72	kəchí	‘sneeze’	a	Incho	-	
73	ᾱ́Νyú	‘steal’	a	Incho	-	
74	ᾱ́wi	‘steam (vi), steam comes out’	a	Incho	-	

75	ῥάνυδον	‘steam (vt), braise’	a	Incho	-	
76	màlò	‘study; teach’	a	Incho	-	
77	ῥάγχαυ	‘suck’	a	Incho	-	
78	phô	‘swell (vi)’	a	Incho	-	
79	jā [] thī (swim / water)	‘swim’	a	Incho	-	
80	lò	‘tell’	a	Incho	-	
81	chônmon	‘think, consider’	a	Incho	-	
82	lân xwèin [] (thunder / coo)	‘thunder’	a	Incho	-	
83	cèn	‘tie’	a	Incho	-	
84	ῥόκηò	‘wait for’	a	Incho	-	
85	jàn [] cú (wave / hand)	‘wave hand’	a	Incho	-	
86	lânjí	‘wilt’	a	Incho	-	
87	nèn	‘win’	a	Incho	-	
88	thûtərài	‘wind (as rope or paper)’	a	Incho	-	
89	li ῥύ [] (wind / blow (vt))	‘wind blows’	a	Incho	-	<i>li yé</i> ‘wind blows’ [8] is a synonym.
90	mà [] kəlôun (do / job)	‘work’	a	Incho	-	
(E) <Intensive>						
91	khā	‘break (vi) (as a branch)’	a	-	Inten	
92	ῥάνlû	‘dry ~ in the sun’	a	-	Inten	
93	lânthé	‘fall, drop’	a	-	Inten	
94	lânjwà	‘flow’	a	-	Inten	
95	ῥάνlōn	‘lend (as money, rice)’	a	-	Inten	
96	ῥάνlèin	‘lend (general things)’	a	-	Inten	
97	ῥάνláin	‘lick’	a	-	Inten	
98	mínàn	‘lie down’	a	-	Inten	
99	lân phlà [] (thunder / strike)	‘lightning strikes’	a	-	Inten	
100	lânphlī	‘melt (vi)’	a	-	Inten	
101	kú	‘peel’	a	-	Inten	
102	chèn	‘rain’	a	-	Inten	

103	kwéphəjā	‘release’	a	-	Inten	
104	khwá	‘scratch’	a	-	Inten	
105	ʔáncĥâ	‘sell’	a	-	Inten	
106	lānbə̀n	‘sink (vi)’	a	-	Inten	
107	chĥnà̀n	‘sit down’	a	-	Inten	
108	thóphlĥ	‘spit’	a	-	Inten	
109	bàichài	‘squeeze’	a	-	Inten	
110	jāin	‘step on’	a	-	Inten	
111	ʔánjũ	‘swallow’	a	-	Inten	
112	chíchâ	‘urinate’	a	-	Inten	
113	ʔányá	‘welcome’	a	-	Inten	
(F) <Inchoative 1 & Intensive>						
114	ʔánká	‘bake’	a	Incho	Inten	
115	ʔáin	‘bite, chew’	a	Incho	Inten	
116	ʔánxó	‘broil’	a	Incho	Inten	
117	ná	‘count’	a	Incho	Inten	
118	kábài	‘cover; shut’	a	Incho	Inten	
119	ʔíchâ	‘defecate’	a	Incho	Inten	
120	khóuN	‘dig’	a	Incho	Inten	
121	cô	‘fry’	a	Incho	Inten	
122	chônná	‘listen’	a	Incho	Inten	
123	jōdēin	‘mix’	a	Incho	Inten	
124	ʔò	‘peel’	a	Incho	Inten	
125	thóuN	‘plant’	a	Incho	Inten	thóuN ‘build’ [39] is a homonym.
126	ʔánbú	‘rear, nourish’	a	Incho	Inten	
127	ʔópwài	‘take a rest’	a	Incho	Inten	
128	pjò	‘vomit’	a	Incho	Inten	
129	ʔánchũjwà	‘wash (as clothes)’	a	Incho	Inten	
130	klàin	‘whet’	a	Incho	Inten	
131	kè	‘write’	a	Incho	Inten	
(G) <Inchoative 2>						
132	châ	‘ache’	s	Incho	-	
133	mĥN	‘alive’	s	Incho	-	
134	ʔə̀N	‘bad’	s	Incho	-	
135	ʔó	‘be, exist’	s	Incho	-	cf. ʔó ‘stay, live’ [274]
136	ké	‘be, become’	s	Incho	-	
137	xĥlà	‘beautiful’	s	Incho	-	
138	káin	‘bent’	s	Incho	-	
139	dó	‘big’	s	Incho	-	
140	khá	‘bitter’	s	Incho	-	
141	thə̀N	‘black’	s	Incho	-	
142	mé bló [] (eye / blind)	‘blind’	s	Incho	-	

143	lâ	‘blue’	s	Incho	-	
144	γōN	‘chilly’	s	Incho	-	
145	wàNkhwàN	‘circular’	s	Incho	-	
146	chêiN	‘clean’	s	Incho	-	
147	nā ʔəN [] (ear / bad)	‘deaf’	s	Incho	-	
148	jó	‘deep’	s	Incho	-	
149	ʔwí	‘delicious’	s	Incho	-	
150	cí cá	‘dirty’	s	Incho	-	
151	xâiN	‘dry’	s	Incho	-	
152	lân lai	‘dull, blunt’	s	Incho	-	
153	γò	‘early’	s	Incho	-	
154	khà	‘expensive’	s	Incho	-	
155	jàiN	‘far’	s	Incho	-	
156	phlé	‘fast’	s	Incho	-	
157	bón	‘fat’	s	Incho	-	
158	xú	‘flat’	s	Incho	-	
159	thánphô	‘float’	s	Incho	-	
160	kh lào	‘free’	s	Incho	-	
161	xwè	‘full, be filed’	s	Incho	-	
162	γì	‘good’	s	Incho	-	
163	γí	‘green’	s	Incho	-	
164	nā xəN [] (ear / heavy)	‘hard of hearing’	s	Incho	-	
165	nòn	‘hard’	s	Incho	-	
166	phímé	‘hate’	s	Incho	-	
167	γəN	‘hear’	s	Incho	-	
168	xəN	‘heavy’	s	Incho	-	
169	γé	‘hot, spicy’	s	Incho	-	
170	khō	‘hot’	s	Incho	-	
171	θàwī	‘hungry’	s	Incho	-	
172	jò	‘inflamed (as liver)’	s	Incho	-	
173	mən	‘intoxicated’	s	Incho	-	
174	θà	‘itchy’	s	Incho	-	
175	θíjâ	‘know’	s	Incho	-	
176	təcwī	‘late’	s	Incho	-	
177	phàn	‘light, bright’	s	Incho	-	
178	khè	‘lit’	s	Incho	-	
179	thô	‘long, high’	s	Incho	-	
180	ʔé	‘love’	s	Incho	-	
181	ʔá	‘many’	s	Incho	-	
182	thánəā	‘married’	s	Incho	-	
183	má	‘mistaken’	s	Incho	-	
184	θân	‘new’	s	Incho	-	

185	θàeā	‘old (animate)’	s	Incho	-	
186	lànlì	‘old (inanimate)’	s	Incho	-	
187	máin	‘plump’	s	Incho	-	
188	cù	‘pointed’	s	Incho	-	
189	γò (wò)	‘red’	s	Incho	-	
190	nán	‘remember’	s	Incho		
191	dóeā	‘rich’	s	Incho		
192	bá	‘right’	s	Incho	-	<i>bá</i> ‘cheap’ [218] and <i>bá</i> ‘hit’ [270] are homonyms.
193	mêin	‘ripe; cooked’	s	Incho	-	
194	ʔú	‘rotten’	s	Incho	-	
195	póunlóun	‘round’	s	Incho	-	
196	γân	‘salty’	s	Incho	-	
197	θàmé	‘scared, afraid of’	s	Incho	-	
198	dá	‘see, visible’	s	Incho	-	<i>dá</i> ‘find’ [13] is a homonym.
199	chônkàin	‘sick’	s	Incho	-	
200	nân	‘smell’	s	Incho	-	
201	phlî	‘smooth’	s	Incho	-	
202	khàu	‘solid’	s	Incho	-	
203	cháin	‘sour’	s	Incho	-	
204	nânčí	‘stink’	s	Incho	-	
205	lòn	‘straight’	s	Incho	-	
206	chón	‘strong’	s	Incho	-	
207	khōʔwì	‘sultry’	s	Incho	-	
208	chôn	‘sweet’	s	Incho	-	
209	tán	‘thick’	s	Incho	-	
210	kwí	‘ticklish’	s	Incho	-	
211	pwài	‘tired’	s	Incho	-	
212	láʔân	‘ugly’	s	Incho		
213	lòn	‘warm’	s	Incho	-	
214	có	‘wet’	s	Incho	-	
215	ʔwà	‘white’	s	Incho	-	
216	lē	‘wide’	s	Incho	-	
217	bàn	‘yellow’	s	Incho	-	
218	bá	‘cheap’	s	-	Incho	<i>bá</i> ‘right’ [192] and <i>bá</i> ‘hit’ [270] are homonyms.
219	khléin	‘cold’	s	-	Incho	
220	etú	‘cool’	s	-	Incho	
221	khài	‘dark’	s	-	Incho	
222	eà	‘few’	s	-	Incho	
223	xwí	‘light, not heavy’	s	-	Incho	

224	ʔéiN	‘narrow’	s	-	Incho	
225	éáN	‘poor’	s	-	Incho	
226	phí	‘short, low’	s	-	Incho	
227	pî	‘small’	s	-	Incho	
228	xwē	‘thin, skinny’	s	-	Incho	
229	bèn	‘thin’ (as a book)	s	-	Incho	
230	θàbáN	‘young’	s	-	Incho	
231	θà xwî [] (heart / light)	‘glad’	s	Incho	Incho	
232	blà	‘lightly seasoned’	s	Incho	Incho	
233	bàu	‘near’	s	Incho	Incho	
234	ʔwì	‘slow’	s	Incho	Incho	
235	pháo	‘soft’	s	Incho	Incho	
(H) <Restrictive>						
236	phúú	‘carry ~ on one’s back’	a	Restr	-	
237	béiN [] mé (close / eye)	‘close eyes’	a	Restr	-	
238	tháo	‘ride’	a	Restr	-	
239	chîtháwN	‘stand’	a	Restr	-	
240	kòN	‘wear (as sarong)’	a	Restr	-	
241	θò	‘wear (as shirt)’	a	Restr	-	
(I) <Integrated>						
242	phà	‘born’	-	Integ	-	
243	tài	‘go out’	-	Integ	-	
244	pào	‘open (vt)’	-	Integ	-	
245	mé	‘sprout’	-	Integ	-	
246	cà	‘start, begin’	-	Integ	-	
247	kàN	‘yawn’	-	Integ	-	
248	náo	‘enter’	-	-	Integ	
249	blà	‘hang’	-	-	Integ	
250	jwà	‘make ~ flow’	-	-	Integ	
251	bèn	‘sink (vt)’	-	-	Integ	
252	pjá	‘take off (as clothes)’	-	-	Integ	
253	kwé	‘take off (as clothes)’	-	-	Integ	
(J) <Special>						
254	cáinphlò	‘run away’	a	Spec	-	
255	cáinyà	‘run away’	a	Spec	-	
256	lòN	‘follow’	a	Spec	-	
257	ʔánnàN	‘distribute’	a	-	Spec	

258	θά	‘breathe’	a	Spec	Spec	
(K) <No use>						
259	ῥόφλέ	‘bear (vt)’	a	-	-	
260	βάθαι	‘bump, hit’	a	-	-	
261	φόν	‘catch’	a	-	-	
262	κhwè	‘crawl’	a	-	-	
263	bjàn	‘cure’	a	-	-	
264	κά	‘defeat’	a	-	-	
265	λάν	‘descend’	a	-	-	
266	θί	‘die’	a	-	-	
267	πιάο	‘follow’	a	-	-	
268	γὰφλò	‘get astray’	a	-	-	
269	φίλân	‘give’	a	-	-	
270	βά	‘hit’	a	-	-	<i>bá</i> ‘right’ [192] and <i>bá</i> ‘cheap’ [218] are homonyms.
271	ῥόχάο	‘marry’	a	-	-	
272	δάκhò	‘meet’	a	-	-	
273	τόνhò	‘run into someone’	a	-	-	
274	καί	‘say’	a	-	-	
275	ῥó	‘stay, live’	a	-	-	cf. ῥó ‘be, exist’ [135]
276	πῶθáo	‘stop (vi, vt)’	a	-	-	
277	δύ	‘strike’	a	-	-	
278	μάνι	‘take’	a	-	-	
279	νάη [] θά (remember / heart)	‘wake up’	a	-	-	
280	θά θάν [] (heart / ascend)	‘angry’	s	-	-	
281	θά λάν [] (heart / descend)	‘sad’	s	-	-	

In following Section 3, findings of the survey will be discussed for each of the groups (A) through (K).

3. Discussion

As shown in the previous section, the uses of the verb particles *thán* and *làn* can be classified into six categories based on the meanings they exhibit: Directional, Inchoative, Intensive, Restrictive, Integrated, and Special. Of these, the Directional use of the verb particles can be further divided into Directional 1, Directional 2, and Directional 3, and the Inchoative use into Inchoative 1 and Inchoative 2, resulting in a total of nine uses. Furthermore, all EPK verbs can be classified into the following

11 groups based on which of these nine categories the co-occurring *thán* or *làn* exhibits: (A) <Directional 1>; (B) <Directional 2>; (C) <Directional 3>; (D) <Inchoative 1>; (E) <Intensive>; (F) <Inchoative 1 & Intensive>; (G) <Inchoative 2>; (H) <Restrictive>; (I) <Integrated>; (J) <Special>; and (K) <No use>. The following subsections discuss the characteristics of the verbs in each group and the meanings of the uses exhibited by *thán* and *làn* in each group. The numbers bracketed by “[]” represent the verb numbers in Table 1.

3.1 (A) <Directional 1>

All the verbs in this group ([1]–[8]) denote the movement of the referent of the subject. Any of these verbs can co-occur with both *thán* and *làn*. When co-occurring with these verbs, *thán* indicates that the direction of movement of the referent of the subject is above the horizontal axis, while *làn* indicates that it is below the horizontal axis. Sentence (19) is an example with the verb *lì* ‘go’ [3], which belongs to group (A). The verb particle *thán* in this sentence indicates that the subject “I” went to a higher position than the starting point, e.g., went to “his house” on the mountain from the foot. The sentence obtained by replacing *thán* in (19) with *làn* is (20). This sentence, for example, expresses that “I” went from the top of the mountain to “his house” at the foot.

(19) jə l̥i thán lá ʔə yéiN =(6)
 1SG go up LOC 3SG house
 ‘I went to his house.’

(20) jə l̥i làn lá ʔə yéiN
 1SG go down LOC 3SG house
 ‘I went to his house.’

As discussed in Section 2, and shown in (17) and (18), *cáin* ‘walk’ [7] is also used with *thán* and *làn* exhibiting the Special use. *cáin thán* means ‘get out’ as well as ‘walk upward’, and *cáin làn* means ‘get off (a vehicle)’ as well as ‘walk downward’. This is why “Spec” is noted in the *thán* and *làn* columns. Kato (2004: 294) considered the *thán* in *cáin thán* ‘get out’ to denote an outward movement, but the examples shown in Kato (ibid.) which appear to denote an outward movement are in fact either of the Special use, such as *cáin thán*, or of the Integrated use, such as *tài thán* ‘go out’ [243].

lì yê (wind / come) [8] is an idiom, meaning ‘wind blows’. The reason that “Incho” is noted in the *thán* column is that *lì yê thán* (wind / come / up) means not only ‘wind blows upward’, but also ‘wind begins to blow’. *lì yê* (wind / come) ‘wind blows’ [8] has a synonymous idiom *lì ʔú* (wind / blow (vt)) [89], but the latter is not applied as per the Directional usage.

3.2 (B) <Directional 2>

All the verbs in this group ([9]–[24]) can co-occur with both *thán* and *làn*. *thán* and *làn* indicate that the direction of the action denoted by the verb is above or below the horizontal axis, respectively. All the verbs in this group are active verbs. It is

difficult to generalize the semantic features common to these verbs. Since it is also difficult to generalize what the “direction of action” is, it would be best to illustrate it with examples.

Example (21) is a sentence with the verb *mè* ‘punch’ [15]. In this example, *thán* indicates that the fist moved above the horizontal axis during the punching action. Using *làn* instead of *thán* as in (22) indicates that the fist moved below the horizontal.

(21) jə mè thán ʔəwê
 1SG punch up 3SG
 ‘I punched him.’

(22) jə mè làn ʔəwê
 1SG punch down 3SG
 ‘I punched him.’

Similarly, when *thán* or *làn* co-occurs with *bò* ‘bend’ [10], *phé* ‘cut’ [12], *dàoné* ‘point at’ [19], *chè* ‘stab’ [23], and *thàv* ‘wipe’ [24], the direction of the hand movement is expressed. In the case of *thân* ‘kick ~ with one’s heel’ [16] and *thè* ‘kick ~ with the back of one’s leg’ [17], the direction of the movement of the foot is expressed. Since *bò* ‘bend’ [10] describes the action of bending a wire or the like, a part of the referent of the object is also bent according to the direction of bending. In this respect, this verb is similar to the verbs in Group (C), where the movement of the referent of the object is denoted, but in Group (C) the movement of the entire referent of the object is denoted, and that is different from the meaning of *bò*, which changes only a part of the referent of the object. Therefore, this verb is included in Group (B), not Group (C).

Example (23) with the verb *jō* ‘look’ [18] and *thán* expresses that the gaze was directed above the horizontal axis when the action of looking was performed. For example, if “his house” is on a mountain and one sees it from the foot of the mountain, this sentence is used. Conversely, *làn* is used instead of *thán* when looking at a house at the foot of a mountain from the top of it.

(23) jə jō thán ʔə yéin =(7)
 1SG look up 3SG house
 ‘I looked up at his house.’

Similarly, for the verb *dá* ‘find’ [13], the direction of gaze is indicated by *thán* and *làn*.

In the situation expressed by example (24) with the verb *kò* ‘call’ [11] and *thán*, “he” is at a higher position than the actor. If “he” is at a lower position than the actor, *làn* is used.

(24) jə kò thán ʔəwê
 1SG call up 3SG
 ‘I called him.’

In this example, it can be considered that the voice is seen as a kind of line connecting the actor and the listener, and its direction is indicated. The same is true for *ʔáncà* ‘ask’ [9] and *khlàin* ‘speak’ [22]. The same is also true for *p̄* ‘read’ [20], although the situation is a bit more unique. The expression *p̄ thán láip̄àv* (read / up / book) ‘read a book’ expresses a situation in which a book is read aloud. If the listener of the voice is at a higher position than the actor, *thán* is used, and if the listener is at a lower position, *làn* is used.

Example (25) with the verb *màbò* ‘help’ [14] and *thán* is used when “he” lives in a higher position than the actor. For example, Mae Sot, a town on the Thai side, is higher than Hpa-an, the capital of Karen State. If the actor “I” lives in Hpa-an and “he” lives in Mae Sot, (25) with *thán* is used. Conversely, if the actor lives in Mae Sot and “he” lives in Hpa-an, then *làn* is used.

- (25) jə màbò thán ʔəwê
 1SG help up 3SG
 ‘I cooperated with him.’

Thus, in this group, the direction of action is, in some sense, indicated by *thán* or *làn*.

Note that for the verb *ʔáncà* ‘ask’ [9], *p̄* ‘read’ [20], *kòèà nò* ‘shout’ [21], and *khlàin* ‘speak’ [22], *thán* may express an inchoative meaning when co-occurring with them. Therefore, they are given the note “Up, Incho” in the *thán* column.

Another unique use found in the uses of Directional 1 and Directional 2 should also be noted. The place of a respected person such as a Buddhist monk or king is seen as a high place, and *thán* is sometimes used to describe movement to the residence of a Buddhist monk or king, or an action toward them. For example, *lì thán* (go / up) expresses going to the residence of a Buddhist monk or king; and *khlàin thán* (speak / up) expresses speaking to a Buddhist monk or king.

3.3 (C) <Directional 3>

All the verbs in this group ([25]–[32]) can co-occur with both *thán* and *làn*. They are all active verbs, which represent a causative action resulting in a movement of the referent of the object. If the direction of movement of the referent of the object is above the horizontal axis, *thán* is used; if below, *làn* is used.

See example (26) with the verb *chó* ‘lift ~ with one’s hand’ [27] and *thán*. This sentence expresses the upward movement of the referent of the object, “firewood”. This sentence is used, for example, in a situation where firewood is moved up from the ground to a shelf. Conversely, in a situation where firewood is moved down from the shelf to the ground, *làn* is used instead of *thán*, as seen in (27).

- (26) ʔəwê chó thán θéinmū =(8)
 3SG lift up firewood
 ‘He lifted up the firewood.’

- (27) ʔəwê chó làn θéinmū
 3SG lift down firewood
 ‘He lifted down the firewood.’

The verb *chó* describes the action of carrying something by hand, while *jò* ‘carry ~ on one’s shoulder’ [25] describes carrying something on the shoulder. In situations in which firewood is moved onto a shelf or taken down from a shelf by carrying it on the shoulder, *jò* is used instead of *chó*.

Let us look at another verb. (28) and (29) are examples using *khwái* ‘throw’ [32].

- (28) ʔəwê khwái thán lōun
 3SG throw up stone
 ‘He threw up a stone.’

- (29) ʔəwê khwái làn lōun
 3SG throw down stone
 ‘He threw down a stone.’

If the stone flies above the horizontal axis, (28) is used; if it flies below, (29) is used.

Thus, in this group, the direction in which the referent of the object moves is indicated by *thán* or *làn*.

3.4 (D) <Inchoative 1>

In the verbs of this group ([33]–[90]), starting of an action is expressed by *thán*. All the verbs in this group are active verbs; however, it is difficult to find more specific semantic commonalities among the verbs belonging here.

Note that *làn* has a use for indicating the starting of a state, as will be discussed in 3.7, but cannot be used to indicate the starting of an action.

In the use of Inchoative 1, *thán* has meanings such as ‘start to V’, ‘have come to V’, or ‘be now V-ing’. See example (30) with the verb *θáun* ‘build’ [39].

- (30) ʔəwê θáun thán yéin =(9)
 3SG build up house
 ‘He started building a house.’

This use of *thán* can be paraphrased by using the verb *cà* ‘start, begin’ [246]. *cà* belongs to Group (I), as discussed in 3.9, and always appears with *thán*. This *cà thán* can be followed by a verb to express the meaning of ‘start to V’. The following verb functions as the object of *cà thán*. Thus, (30) can be paraphrased as (31) below.

- (31) ʔəwê cà thán θáun yéin
 3SG start up build house
 ‘He started building a house.’

Examples (30) and (31) can represent the same situation. However, when *thán* is used, as in (30), there tends to be an implicature that the action was not performed at

all in the preceding phase. Thus, (30) can mean ‘He finally started to build a house’ or ‘He is, after all, building a house now’. Moreover, emphasis is sometimes placed on this implicature rather than on inchoativity, with connotations such as ‘only this time’ or ‘take this opportunity to V’. If (30) is used with such a connotation, it could be translated as ‘Only this time he built a house’ or ‘He decided to take this opportunity to build a house’.

For active verbs that do not co-occur with *thán* in Inchoative 1 usage, i.e., active verbs that do not belong to either Groups (D) or (F), *thán* cannot be used to express the inchoative aspect. In the case of such a verb, the only way to express the inchoative aspect is to use *cà thán*. For example, when using *ʔánláiN* ‘lick’ [97], belonging to Group (E), to mean ‘start to lick’, one needs to say *cà thán ʔánláiN* instead of using the unacceptable combination **ʔánláiN thán*. However, in the case of verbs belonging to Groups (A) and (B), *thán* may express the inchoative aspect for some verbs, in addition to a directional meaning. For example, *khlàiN* ‘speak’ [21] with *thán* postposed can mean ‘to start to speak’ as well as ‘to speak upwards’; thus, the note “Incho” is placed in the *thán* column.

As will be discussed in 3.7, stative verbs cannot co-occur with *cà thán*, but any stative verb can co-occur with *thán* or *làn* to express an inchoative meaning, so no problems arise from their inability to co-occur with *cà thán*.

In some languages, the verb denoting upward movement has become an element indicating completion. For example, the Japanese words *agaru* ‘ascend’ and *ageru* ‘raise’ can express completion when they appear as the second element of a compound verb (see, e.g., Tsujimura 2014: 205–213), e.g., *kaki-agaru* (write-ascend) ‘finish being written’ and *kaki-ageru* (write-raise) ‘finish writing’. However, completion is never expressed by the EPK verb particle *thán*. Thus, *θáun thán yéiN* in (30) cannot be used to mean ‘finish building a house’. If one wants to express the meaning of ‘finish building a house’, it is necessary to use the intransitive verb *yòN* ‘end, finish, be over’ [53], as in the following example.

- (32) ʔəwê θáun yéiN yòN jàv
 3SG build house finish PFV
 ‘He finished building a house.’

The part of *ʔəwê θáun yéiN* in this sentence is a clause embedded as the subject of *yòN*. Note that *jàv* in (32) is a particle indicating perfective, but using *jàv* with the verb particle *thán* in the same clause cannot express completion. For example, the sentence *ʔəwê θáun thán yéiN jàv* (3SG / build / up / house / PFV) means ‘He has started building a house’. Kato (2004: 296) gives several examples of the use of *thán* for completion, but these examples should be regarded as the uses of Inchoative 1, Inchoative 2 or Integrated.

There is one thing worth mentioning about this group, which is the fact that the verb *thán* ‘ascend, climb’ [33], the origin of the verb particle *thán*, can co-occur with the verb particle *thán*, as shown in example (33).

- (33) ṽəwê thán thán θéin jào
 3SG climb up tree PFV
 ‘He has started climbing a tree.’

The verb *thán*, however, cannot co-occur with the verb particle *làn*. Additionally, the verb *làn* ‘descend’ [265], the origin of the verb particle *làn*, cannot co-occur with either of the verb particles *thán* or *làn*.

3.5 (E) <Intensive>

For the verbs in this group ([91]–[113]), the emphasis of the action is indicated by *làn*; *thán* does not have this use. All the verbs in this group are active verbs; however, it is difficult to find more specific semantic commonalities among the verbs in this group. It is certain that many of the verbs in this group are semantically related to a downward direction in some way. For example, in the situations represented by *lànthé* ‘fall, drop’ [93], *lànɲwà* ‘flow’ [94], and *lànɲə̀n* ‘sink’ [106], the referents of the subjects move downward; In the situations represented by *mìnàn* ‘lie down’ [98], *chìnàn* ‘sit down’ [107], and *jāin* ‘step on’ [110], the actions are downward movements; In the situations represented by *thóphlì* ‘spit’ [108] and *ṽánɲū* ‘swallow’ [111], the referents of the objects move downward. However, this group also includes verbs that are not necessarily related to a downward direction, such as *ṽánlōn* ‘lend (as money, rice)’ [95], *ṽánlèin* ‘lend (general things)’ [96], *kwéphajā* ‘release’ [103], *ṽánchā* ‘sell’ [105], and *ṽányá* ‘welcome’ [113]. Thus, it is difficult to find characteristics common to all the verbs in this group.

The Intensive use of *làn* indicates that the action is performed in a more intensified manner than usual. The detailed meanings that can be expressed by this use of *làn* vary depending on the context in which the sentence is used. For example, events or actions are expressed as being performed vigorously, carefully, precisely, decisively, and so on. Below are example sentences with *khā* ‘break (as a branch)’ [91], *lànɲwà* ‘flow’ [94], *ṽánláin* ‘lick’ [97], *kuú* ‘peel’ [101], *ṽánchā* ‘sell’ [105], *chìnàn* ‘sit down’ [107], and *ṽányá* ‘welcome’ [113].

- (34) θéinthóuɲ ṽəthàin khā làn jào
 tree branch break down PFV
 ‘A tree branch just broke vigorously.’
- (35) thíkhlóphú lànɲwà làn =(12)
 river flow down
 ‘The river is flowing vigorously.’
- (36) ṽəwê ṽánláin làn thwê
 3SG lick down dish
 ‘He licked the plate vigorously.’

- (37) jə kú lán θéiNphài =(13)
 1SG peel down bark
 ‘I peeled the bark vigorously/carefully.’
- (38) ʔəwê ʔánchâ lán yéiN
 3SG sell down house
 ‘He decisively sold his house.’
- (39) ʔəwê chínnàN lán
 3SG sit.down down
 ‘He sat down firmly.’
- (40) ʔəwê ʔánɣá lán hè
 3SG welcome down 1PL
 ‘He welcomed us warmly.’

3.6 (F) <Inchoative 1 & Intensive>

The verbs in this group ([114]–[131]) share features with Group (D) in that starting of an action is indicated by *thán*, and with Group (E) in that emphasis of an action is indicated by *lán*. These verbs have characteristics of both Group (D) and (E), thus setting up a separate group. All the verbs in this group are active verbs; however, it is difficult to find more specific semantic commonalities among the verbs in this group.

Since the verbs in this group can co-occur with both *thán* as used in Inchoative 1 and *lán* from its Intensive use, we can clearly observe the difference between these two uses in the verbs of this group. Let us take, for example, *ná* ‘count’ [117] and compare *ná thán* in (41) with *ná lán* in (42).

- (41) ʔəwê ná thán péchân
 3SG count up money
 ‘He started counting the money.’
- (42) ʔəwê ná lán péchân
 3SG count down money
 ‘He counted the money precisely.’

Example (41) expresses that the action of counting money was started. On the other hand, (42) expresses that the action of counting money was done with care. The difference in the meaning expressed by these two sentences will help us understand the difference of the uses of Inchoative 1 and Intensive. This difference can also be seen in the difference in co-occurrence with *yòN* (see (32)), which expresses the meaning of ‘finish V-ing’. *ná thán* cannot co-occur with *yòN* as in (43), but *ná lán* can as in (44). It can be assumed that (43) is not acceptable because the inchoative meaning of *ná thán* is inconsistent with the meaning of completion in *yòN*.

- (43) *ʔəwê ná thán péchân yòn jào
 3SG count up money finish PFV
 ‘untranslatable’
- (44) ʔəwê ná làn péchân yòn jào
 3SG count down money finish PFV
 ‘He finished counting the money precisely.’

3.7 (G) <Inchoative 2>

In the verbs of this group ([132]–[235]), the starting of a state is indicated by *thán* or *làn*. All the verbs in this group are stative verbs. In (45), the starting of a state with many humans is indicated by *thán*, while in (46), the starting of a state with a few humans is indicated by *làn*. That is, the meaning of ‘become V’ is expressed by placing *thán* or *làn* after the verb.

- (45) phlòŋ ʔá thán =(10)
 person many up
 ‘The number of people increased.’ (Lit: People became many.)
- (46) phlòŋ èà làn =(11)
 person few down
 ‘The number of people decreased.’ (Lit: People became few.)

When *thán* or *làn* is postposed to a stative verb, the entire verb complex takes on the characteristics of an active verb. For example, *ʔá* ‘many’ [181] in (45) is a stative verb, and cannot co-occur with adverbs such as *ʔèphlé* ‘fast’, *xèxè* ‘slowly’, and *ʔèchón* ‘strongly’, or adverbial phrases such as *nī nàri* (two / hour) ‘for two hours’: thus, **ʔá ʔèphlé* (many / fast) is unacceptable. However, the verb complex *ʔá thán* has the characteristics of an active verb as a whole, so it can co-occur with such adverbs, as seen in *ʔá thán ʔèphlé* (many / up / fast) ‘increase fast’. It is only in the case of Inchoative 2 that such an active-stative-shifting phenomenon is observed. In the other uses of *thán* and *làn*, verbs are active verbs (except for Group I, where the specification of a/s is unknown), and the verb complexes obtained by postposing *thán* or *làn* to them also have the characteristics of active verbs.

The reason I subgroup the Inchoative use into Inchoative 1 and Inchoative 2 is that there is a subtle difference in meaning that can be observed between the two. The use of Inchoative 2 involves the implicature that the state expressed by the verb existed before, but with a lower degree, i.e., that the state of “less V” existed before. For example, (45) implies that there was a state of “less many” before and (46) implies that there was a state of “less few” before. However, no such implicature occurs in when using Inchoative 1. Rather, as noted in example (30), in the use of Inchoative 1, there tends to be an implicature that the action was not performed at all in the preceding phase. Further, there is another reason to distinguish between the uses of Inchoative 1 and Inchoative 2. The paraphrase by the verb *cà* ‘start, begin’ [246] shown in (31) is not possible in Inchoative 2, that is, *cà thán* cannot co-occur with a stative verb. Therefore, (47) below is ungrammatical.

- (47) *phlòŋN cà thán ʔá
 person start up many
 Intended meaning: ‘The number of people increased.’

Given these differences, the use of Inchoative 2 might be viewed as independent of the use of Inchoative 1 and should be labeled, for example, as the use of “change of state”. Or possibly Inchoative 1 should be labeled “Ingressive”, and Inchoative 2 should be labeled simply “Inchoative” without number, because the linguistic term “inchoative” tends to be used for the starting of a state (Dahl 2009). However, in this article, I tentatively regard Inchoative 1 and Inchoative 2 as subgroups of the same Inchoative use, because I suspect that the differences between these two uses shown above could be attributed to difference in meaning between active and stative verbs.

In the research available to date, any stative verb can co-occur with *thán* or *làn* in the use of Inchoative 2, with the exception of the two stative verbs discussed in 3.11. Within the verbs listed in Table 1, 86 stative verbs can only co-occur with *thán*, 13 with *làn*, and 5 with both *thán* and *làn*. There are far more verbs that can only co-occur with *thán* than with *làn*. This suggests that *thán* may be more unmarked than *làn* in Inchoative 2 usage. However, only the possibility is mentioned here as this requires deeper study.

Interestingly, there is at least one antonym for a stative verb that co-occurs only with *làn*, and the antonym co-occurs only with *thán*. Table 2 shows pairs of such antonyms. The left column shows the 13 verbs that co-occur only with *làn*, and the right column shows their antonyms. Note that *xwē* ‘thin, skinny’ [228] has two antonyms.

Table 2: Stative verbs that co-occur only with *làn* and their antonyms

<i>làn</i>	<i>thán</i>
bá ‘cheap’ [218]	khà ‘expensive’ [154]
khléin ‘cold’ [219]	khō ‘hot’ [170]
éú ‘cool’ [220]	lòn ‘warm’ [213]
khài ‘dark’ [221]	phàn ‘light, bright’ [177]
èà ‘few’ [222]	ʔá ‘many’ [181]
xwī ‘light’ [223]	xôn ‘heavy’ [168]
ʔéin ‘narrow’ [224]	lē ‘wide’ [216]
éán ‘poor’ [225]	dóeā ‘rich’ [191]
phí ‘short, low’ [226]	thô ‘long, high’ [179]
pī ‘small’ [227]	dó ‘big’ [140]
xwē ‘thin, skinny’ [228]	bón ‘fat’ [157], máin ‘plump’ [187]
bèn ‘thin’ [229]	tán ‘thick’ [209]
thàbán ‘young’ [230]	thàeā ‘old (animate)’ [185]

As exemplified by the fact that *èà* ‘few’ [222] co-occurs with *làn* and *ʔá* ‘many’ [181] co-occurs with *thán*, in the pairs shown in Table 2, verbs semantically associated with small quantities appear to co-occur with *làn* to indicate a decrease, while verbs associated with large quantities appear to co-occur with *thán* to indicate an increase. However, it is difficult to discuss the relationship between any given

concept and quantity. This is evident in the fact that although *θàbàn* ‘young’ [230] and *θàèā* ‘old (animate)’ [185] co-occur respectively with *làn* and *thán*, both *θàn* ‘new’ [184] and *lànli* ‘old’ (inanimate) [186] co-occur with *thán*. The verbs *θàbàn* ‘young’ [230] and *θàn* ‘new’ [184] have a semantic property in common in that they represent a small amount of time since some entity began to exist in the world. However, the former co-occurs with *làn* and the latter with *thán*. From this it can be said that it is difficult to predict whether *thán* or *làn* can co-occur with any given stative verb.

In addition, Kato (2013) notes that in the usage of inchoativity in the Western Pwo Karen verb particles, verbs expressing a positive meaning tend to co-occur with the verb particle *thàn* ‘up’ (corresponding to *thán* in EPK), while verbs expressing a negative meaning tend to co-occur with the verb particle *lán* ‘down’ (corresponding to *làn* in EPK). The same is pointed out in the neighboring language, Thai, by Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005: 169). As evidence, Kato (2013) points to the fact that *kàidò* ‘rich’, *yé* ‘good’, *xilà* ‘beautiful’, *shèin* ‘clean’, and *λwì* ‘delicious’ co-occur with *thàn* ‘up’ and *me? blàu* ‘blind’, *ná?ù* ‘smell bad’, and *bàθa?lò* ‘dirty’ co-occur with *lán* ‘down’. He then considers *?á* ‘bad’, the antonym of *yé* ‘good’, which co-occurs with *thàn*, to be an exception. This phenomenon reminds us of the metaphor “GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN” pointed out by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 16). In EPK, however, the semantic counterparts of these Western Pwo Karen words, *dóèā* ‘rich’ [191], *yì* ‘good’ [162], *xilà* ‘beautiful’ [137], *chéin* ‘clean’ [146], *λwì* ‘delicious’ [149], *mé bls* ‘blind’ [142], *nán-ci* ‘stink’ [204], *cíca* ‘dirty’ [150], *?àn* ‘bad’ [134] all co-occur with *thán*. Therefore, it is unlikely that EPK has such a semantic association. There may also be room for reconsideration regarding the semantic association in Western Pwo Karen, given that *?á* ‘bad’ co-occurs with *thàn* ‘up’. Differences between EPK and Western Pwo Karen are also discussed in Section 4.

It has thus far been found that 99 of the 104 stative verbs can only co-occur with either *thán* or *làn*. The remaining five [231–235] can co-occur with both *thán* and *làn*. In the case of *blà* ‘lightly seasoned’ [232], there is no semantic difference between using *thán* and *làn*. For the other verbs, there are semantic differences between using *thán* and *làn*. *θà xwí* (heart / light) ‘glad’ [231] usually co-occurs with *thán*, but when *làn* is used, it takes on the nuance of ‘feel relieved’. For *bàv* ‘near’ [233], *thán* indicates that a place is getting closer and *làn* indicates that a person is approaching; see, for example, *thə?àn bàv thán* (Hpa-an / near / up) ‘Hpa-an is getting closer’ and *θəwé bàv làn* (3SG / near / down) ‘He came closer’. In the case of *λwì* ‘slow’ [234], *thán* indicates that a vehicle, such as an automobile, slows down, while *làn* indicates that actions such as talking, walking, and running become slower. For *pháv* ‘soft’ [235], *thán* denotes a situation in which food becomes soft due to cooking, and *làn* denotes a situation in which a tire or something becomes soft due to the air being released.

Note that *bá* ‘right’ [192] and *bá* ‘cheap’ [218] are both verbs derived from *bá* ‘hit’ [270]. In this article, these three are considered homonyms. *bá* ‘right’ co-occurs with *thán*, *bá* ‘cheap’ with *làn*, and *bá* ‘hit’ does not co-occur with either. That is, the co-occurrence of the three verbs with *thán* and *làn*, which have the same origin, is different. This makes it clear that the co-occurrence of these three verbs with *thán* and *làn* is not determined by their etymology.

3.8 (H) <Restrictive>

All the verbs in this group ([236]–[241]) are active verbs that have two meanings. One meaning is some physical action, and the other is maintaining the result brought about by that physical action. For example, the verb *θò* ‘wear’ [241] can denote two actions. One is an action that involves the movement of an entity, i.e., putting on clothes. The other is the action of keeping the moved entity in its position, i.e., keeping it on the body. Thus, (48) can express two meanings: (a) ‘He put on a shirt a while ago’ and (b) ‘He was wearing a shirt a while ago’.

- (48) ʔəwê θò châiN mōkhó =(14)
 3SG wear shirt a.while.ago
 ‘He put on a shirt a while ago. / He was wearing a shirt a while ago.’

In such a case, *thán* can be used to limit the meaning to the first physical action. This is the Restrictive use. This use is not found in *làn*. In example (48), using *thán*, as in (49), can fix the meaning to (a) ‘He put on a shirt a while ago’.

- (49) ʔəwê θò thán châiN mōkhó =(15)
 3SG wear up shirt a.while.ago
 ‘He put on a shirt a while ago.’

Conversely, to fix the meaning to (b), the verb particle *thá* (may be pronounced *dá*) is used to express the retention of the result, as in (50).

- (50) ʔəwê θò thá châiN mōkhó
 3SG wear THA shirt a.while.ago
 ‘He was wearing a shirt a while ago.’

In this survey, six verbs that can be used with *thán* falling under Restrictive use were found. Let us look at the other verbs. *phú* ‘carry ~ on one’s back’ [236] can denote two actions: taking up of a load on the back and keeping of that load on the back. With *thán*, the meaning can be limited to the action of taking up a load on one’s back. *béiN mé* ‘close eyes’ [237] can denote two actions: closing the eyes and keeping the eyes closed. With *thán*, the meaning can be limited to the action of closing the eyes. *tháv* ‘ride’ [238] can denote two meanings: the action of getting on a vehicle and keeping of being on a vehicle. With *thán*, the meaning can be limited to the action of getting on. *chítháun* ‘stand’ [239] can denote two actions: standing up and maintaining the standing position. With *thán*, the meaning can be limited to the action of standing. The difference between the last verb *kòN* ‘wear’ [240] and *θò* ‘wear’ [241] in (48)–(50) is that *θò* denotes an action of wearing something on the upper body, whereas *kòN* denotes an action of wearing something on the lower body. Just like *θò*, *kòN* can also denote two actions: the action of putting on clothes, and that of keeping it on the body. With *thán*, the meaning can be limited to the action of putting it on.

3.9 (I) <Integrated>

The verbs in this group ([242]–[253]) are special in that they always appear with *thán* or *làn*. In that sense, the verb and verb particle are integrated. Verbs in the other uses can appear on their own without *thán* and *làn*; however, the verbs in Group (I) do not appear on their own. Thus, the meaning attached to each verb in the table is the one expressed by “verb + *thán/làn*” as a whole. Moreover, for the same reason, it is not possible to determine whether they are inherently active or stative verbs. This is why, for these verbs, the mark ‘-’ is shown in the a/s column in Table 1. The verb complex “verb + *thán/làn*” as a whole has the characteristics of an active verb, which is true for all the verbs in EPK. The particles *thán* and *làn* in the Integrated use do not have a generalizable meaning or function.

Take *phà* ‘born’ [242] as an example of a verb that always appears with *thán*. This verb always appears in the form *phà thán*, with *thán* following the verb. An example is given in (51).

- (51) nə phó phà thán jàʊ kâ
 2SG child born up PFV Q
 ‘Has your child been born yet?’

The following (52) is an example of *náʊ* ‘enter’ [248], which always appears with *làn*. Since *náʊ* always appears with *làn*, (52) can be used whether the movement toward the village is upward or downward. There is no combination of *náʊ thán*.

- (52) ʔəwê náʊ làn ló təwân phèn
 3SG enter down LOC village inside
 ‘He entered the village.’

Note that Kato (2004: 299) considered *làn* to have a use for inward movement, and regarded its co-occurrence with *náʊ* as an example of this use. However, *làn* co-occurring with *náʊ* should be considered an example of Integrated use. Several other examples that Kato (ibid.) considered to indicate inward movement can also be interpreted as Directional or Intensive use.

All the verbs listed [242] to [247] in Table 1 always appear with *thán*, and all the verbs listed in [248] to [253] always appear with *làn*. Thus, these verbs could constitute a single compound verb in the form of “verb + *thán/làn*”. However, these verbs may appear without *thán* or *làn* in compound words. The compound noun *mūnáo* ‘west’ consisting of *mū* ‘sun’ and *náʊ* ‘enter’ is such an example. Thus, we cannot easily conclude that “verb + *thán/làn*” as a whole constitutes a single verb.

3.10 (J) <Special>

The verbs in this group ([254]–[258]) show an idiomatic meaning when co-occurring with *thán* or *làn*. In the Special use, the meaning of the verb complex “verb + *thán/làn*” as a whole cannot be predicted from the meaning of the verb and *thán/làn*. In this respect, these verbs are special. The verb *cáin* ‘walk’ [7], given as an example of the Special use in (17) and (18), is regarded as belonging to Group (A) because co-occurring *thán* and *làn* basically exhibit the use of Directional 1. In this survey,

no verbs were found where co-occurring *thán* or *làn* can exhibit both Special and another use, with the exception of *cáin*.

Let us look at the verbs belonging to this group one by one. *cáinphlò* ‘run away’ [254] denotes that a person who must be in a certain place runs away from there. It is used, for example, when a prisoner escapes from prison. This verb followed by *thán*, *cáinphlò thán*, means ‘the escape succeeds’. *cáinyà* ‘run away’ [255] denotes running away from danger, etc. This verb followed by *thán*, *cáinyà thán*, means ‘run away from one’s own village forever’. *lòn* ‘follow’ [256] followed by *thán* means ‘take someone’s side, stand by someone’. *ʔánnàn* ‘distribute’ [257], followed by *làn*, means ‘give something to the less fortunate’ in charity work, etc. The last verb *thá* ‘breathe’ [258] means ‘breathe in’ when followed by *thán*, and ‘breathe out’ when followed by *làn*.

3.11 (K) <No use>

The verbs in this group ([259]–[281]) cannot co-occur with either *thán* or *làn* in any context.

Why do these verbs not co-occur with either *thán* or *làn*?

For example, it is relatively easy to understand why *thí* ‘die’ [266] does not co-occur with any of them. The event of death is not compatible with the Directional use because it has no direction; It is not compatible with the Inchoative use because it is a momentary phenomenon; Since the Intensive use is often found in verbs that are closely related to a downward direction, it is easy to understand why the verb that expresses the event “to die”, which is not directly related to a downward direction, is not observed in this use; The Restrictive use is for verbs with two meanings, and *thí* is not used in this category because it does not fit that condition; The Integrated and Special uses are only found in certain verbs and have nothing to do with *thí*.

As for the two stative verbs *thá thán* (heart / ascend) ‘angry’ [280] and *thá làn* (heart / descend) ‘sad’ [281], they do not co-occur with *thán* or *làn* probably because these verbs are idioms containing the verbs *thán* and *làn*.

In this way, some verbs can be explained as to why they cannot co-occur with either *thán* or *làn*. However, for many verbs, it is difficult to explain why they cannot co-occur with either *thán* or *làn*. For example, the action of crawling denoted by the verb *khwè* ‘crawl’ [262] involves a movement. Nevertheless, whether the movement is upward or downward, *khwè* cannot co-occur with *thán* or *làn*. This is all the more strange given that the Western Pwo Karen verb *swá* ‘crawl’ can co-occur with both *thàn* ‘up’ and *lán* ‘down’, indicating direction (see Kato 2013), as will be discussed in 4. Furthermore, *dó* ‘strike’ [277] cannot co-occur with *thán* or *làn*, even if the striking motion is upward or downward. *mànī* ‘take’ [278] also cannot co-occur with *thán* or *làn*, even in situations where the referent of the object moves upward or downward. Again, the verbs *dò* meaning ‘strike’ and *máné* meaning ‘take’ in Western Pwo Karen can co-occur with either *thàn* ‘up’ or *lán* ‘down’ indicating direction (Kato 2013). Given this fact, it is difficult to understand why the verbs *dó* ‘strike’ and *mànī* ‘take’ cannot co-occur with either of the verb particles. As for *khwè* ‘crawl’, it seems to be compatible with inchoativity, because crawling is an action that is continuable. Thus, it is not surprising if *thán*, exhibiting the use of Inchoative 1, co-occurs with this verb. However, this use of *thán* also does not co-occur with

khwè. It seems very difficult to give a reasonable explanation for the fact that these verbs do not co-occur with either *thán* or *làn*.

4. Differences with Western Pwo Karen

Kato (2013) discusses the Western Pwo Karen verb particles *thàn* ‘up’ and *làn* ‘down’. These correspond etymologically to the EPK verb particles *thán* and *làn*, respectively. Various differences can be seen between Western Pwo Karen and EPK, with the most striking difference being the pitch of the tones. This is also true for the pitch of these verb particles, that is, the pitch has an inverse relationship: Eastern /*thán*/ [high-level] vs. Western /*thàn*/ [low-level]; Eastern /*làn*/ [low-level] vs. Western /*làn*/ [high-level].

Kato (2013) recognized three uses of *thàn* and *làn* in Western Pwo Karen: uses for direction, inchoativity, and emphasis. These are semantically equivalent to the Directional, Inchoative, and Intensive uses in this article, respectively. However, there is a major difference. That is, the use of inchoativity in Western Pwo corresponds only to the use of Inchoative 2 in this article and not to Inchoative 1. In the use of Inchoative 1 in EPK, *thán* follows the active verbs. In Kato (2013), the use of *thàn* following an active verb in Western Pwo was considered to be for the use of emphasis, except when it indicates direction. I now believe that the use of *thàn* following an active verb in Western Pwo may be given the same labeling as the use of Inchoative 1 in the present article. However, a re-examination of Western Pwo is needed to draw any conclusions. Furthermore, in Kato (2013), the Restrictive, Integrated, and Special uses were not recognized, but perhaps these three uses are also likely to exist in Western Pwo. Again, this requires a re-examination.

Comparing verbs expressing the same meaning in EPK and Western Pwo, the co-occurrence of *thán/thàn* and *làn/làn* is common in many cases, however, there are also quite a few cases where the two languages differ. I would like to point out here such cases. For example, EPK *phón* ‘catch’ [261], *khwè* ‘crawl’ [262], *dó* ‘strike’ [277], and *màn* ‘take’ [278] cannot co-occur with either *thán* or *làn*, but the semantically corresponding Western Pwo Karen verbs *phàun* ‘catch’, *swá* ‘crawl’, *dō* ‘strike’, and *mánē* ‘take’ can co-occur with both *thàn* and *làn* (Western Pwo *swá* ‘crawl’, *dō* ‘strike’, and *mánē* ‘take’ have already been mentioned in 3.11). EPK *mé bló* ‘blind’ [142], *jó* ‘deep’ [148], *cíca* ‘dirty’ [150], *lànlaì* ‘dull, blunt’ [152], and *nāncí* ‘stink’ [204] co-occur with *thán* of Inchoative 2, but the semantically corresponding Western Pwo verbs *me? blàu* ‘blind’, *jo?* ‘deep’, *bàθa?lò* ‘dirty’, *lànlei?* ‘dull, blunt’, and *ná?ù* ‘smell bad’ co-occur with *làn* to the contrary (Western Pwo *me? blàu* ‘blind’ and *bàθa?lò* ‘dirty’ have already been mentioned in 3.7). EPK *pwài* ‘tired’ [211] and *λwà* ‘white’ [215] co-occur only with the *thán* of Inchoative 2, but the semantically corresponding Western Pwo verbs *pwí* ‘tired’ and *bwá* ‘white’ can co-occur with both *thàn* and *làn*; however, the difference between the use of *thàn* and *làn* is uncertain. EPK *ʔéin* ‘narrow’ [224] co-occurs only with *làn* of Inchoative 2, but the semantically corresponding Western Pwo verb *ʔàin* ‘narrow’ can co-occur with both *thàn* and *làn*; however, the difference between the use of *thàn* and *làn* is uncertain. EPK *λwì* ‘slow’ [234] can co-occur with the *thán* and *làn* of Inchoative 2, but the semantically corresponding Western Pwo verb *éau* ‘slow’ can co-occur only with *làn*. Thus, there are quite a few cases where the co-occurrence of *thán/thàn* and *làn/làn* differs between Eastern and Western Pwo Karen.

5. Concluding remarks

Let us summarize what has been discussed above.

Six basic uses of the Eastern Pwo Karen verb particles *thán* and *làn* can be set up based on the meanings they exhibit: Directional, Inchoative, Intensive, Restrictive, Integrated, and Special. Of these, the Directional use can be further divided into three categories, and Inchoative into two. Namely, there are nine uses of *thán* and *làn* altogether: Directional 1, Directional 2, Directional 3, Inchoative 1, Inchoative 2, Intensive, Restrictive, Integrated, and Special. Which of these uses *thán* and *làn* exhibit is fixed by the co-occurring verb, and some verbs do not co-occur with either *thán* or *làn*. Based on this viewpoint, all the verbs in EPK can be divided into 11 groups: (A) <Directional 1>; (B) <Directional 2>; (C) <Directional 3>; (D) <Inchoative 1>; (E) <Intensive>; (F) <Inchoative 1 & Intensive>; (G) <Inchoative 2>; (H) <Restrictive>; (I) <Integrated>; (J) <Special>; and (K) <No use>. Table 3 shows the relationship between each group and the uses of *thán* and *làn*.

Table 3: Groups of the verbs and the uses of *thán/làn*

	Examples	a/s	<i>thán</i>	<i>làn</i>
(A) <Directional 1>	lì ‘go’	a	Up	Down
(B) <Directional 2>	jō ‘look’	a	Up	Down
(C) <Directional 3>	chó ‘lift’	a	Up	Down
(D) <Inchoative 1>	ʔán ‘eat’	a	Incho	-
(E) <Intensive>	kú ‘peel’	a	-	Inten
(F) <Inchoative 1 & Intensive>	ná ‘count’	a	Incho	Inten
(G) <Inchoative 2>	ʔá ‘many’ eà ‘few’ pháu ‘soft’	s s s	Incho - Incho	- Incho Incho
(H) <Restrictive>	thò ‘wear’	a	Restr	-
(I) <Integrated>	pào ‘open (vt)’ náu ‘enter’	- -	Integ -	- Integ
(J) <Special>	lòn ‘follow’ ʔánnàn ‘distribute’ thá ‘breathe’	a a a	Spec - Spec	- Spec Spec
(K) <No use>	thí ‘die’ thà thán ‘angry’	a s	- -	- -

All the verbs belonging to Groups (A), (B), and (C) can co-occur both with *thán* and *làn* of the Directional use. Verbs belonging to the other groups cannot co-occur with both *thán* and *làn* of the same use, except for a few verbs in Group (G) and Group (J). In other words, with respect to the co-occurrence with *thán* and *làn* of the same use, the verbs in Groups (A), (B), and (C) show symmetry, while the verbs in the other groups do not.

There are two significant differences between active and stative verbs: (i) All stative verbs except the two stative verbs in Group (K) can co-occur with *thán* or *làn*, while some of the active verbs cannot co-occur with either *thán* or *làn*; (ii) When

stative verbs co-occur with *thán* and *làn*, both *thán* and *làn* exhibit the Inchoative use only; On the other hand, when active verbs co-occur with *thán* or *làn*, the uses that *thán* and *làn* exhibit are not limited to one use; that is, one of the following five uses: Directional, Inchoative, Intensive, Restrictive, and Special.

Restrictive usage is only exhibited by *thán*, while Intensive usage is only exhibited by *làn*. Furthermore, when only active verbs are taken into account, Inchoative usage is only exhibited by *thán*.

These are summaries of what we have discussed so far.

A major issue in the description of *thán* and *làn* is whether the co-occurrence of *thán* or *làn* with any given verb is predictable or unpredictable. As noted above, stative verbs belong to Group (G), except for two verbs. That is, they can co-occur with either or both *thán* and *làn*. However, as discussed in 3.7, it is difficult to predict whether *thán* or *làn* can co-occur with any given stative verb. For active verbs, predicting co-occurrence seems to be even more difficult than for stative verbs. As discussed in 3.11, it is difficult to reasonably explain why *khwè* ‘crawl’ [262], *dó* ‘strike’ [277], and *mànī* ‘take’ [278] cannot co-occur with *thán* or *làn* in the Directional use. In Western Pwo Karen, the semantically corresponding verbs to these three verbs can co-occur with any of the verb particles corresponding to *thán* and *làn* in the use of direction. Taking Western Pwo Karen into account, it becomes even more difficult to explain why these verbs do not fall into groups (A), (B), and (C). In 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6, I also noted that with respect to the groups (D), (E), and (F), it is difficult to find semantic commonalities among the verbs in each group. Given these facts, at this point the question of whether it is predictable or unpredictable that *thán* or *làn* can follow any given verb can only be answered as impossible. If this is the case, then it would seem that the co-occurrence of a verb with *thán/làn* is only to be considered as a fixed combination.

There are further issues that need to be considered. One question is why *làn* co-occurring with an active verb does not exhibit the Inchoative use while *thán* co-occurring with an active verb can exhibit this use. Given that *làn* exhibits the Inchoative use when co-occurring with a stative verb, it is difficult to explain why it does not exhibit this use when co-occurring with an active verb. Conversely, there is also the question of why *thán* never exhibits the Intensive use while *làn* co-occurring with an active verb can exhibit the Intensive use. The explanation of such differences between *thán* and *làn* in the directions of semantic change is left for future research.

Finally, I would like to mention three similar phenomena in some genealogically related or neighboring languages.

The first is about other Karenic languages. As noted in Kato (2013), forms that correspond etymologically to the verbs *thán* ‘ascend’ and *làn* ‘descend’ and indicate upward and downward directions, are found in other Karenic languages: Sgaw Karen particles *thó* ‘upwards’ and *lō* ‘downwards’ (Kato 1993); Kayah Li bound directionals *páthe* ‘upwards’ and *tālē* ‘downwards’ (Solnit 1997: 136–137); Kayan directional suffixes *-tʰán* ‘upwards’ and *-làn* ‘downwards’ (Manson 2010: 142–145); and Bwe Karen verbal suffixes *-tha* ‘up’ (Henderson 1997:336–337) and *-la* ‘down’ (Henderson 1997: 204–205). All of these are forms that originate from the verbs that mean ‘ascend’ and ‘descend’. However, it is likely that there will be a variety of differences in the uses of these morphemes from language to language.

The second is about the neighboring languages. In some neighboring Tibeto-Burman languages of Karen, it is well known that the verbs meaning ‘go’ or ‘come’ express inchoativity, e.g., *ṭwá* ‘go’ and *là* ‘come’ in Burmese (Okell 1969: 438–439, 328–329), and *qay* ‘go’ in Lahu (Matisoff 1973: 223, 240; Matisoff 1991: 407). The EPK verbs meaning ‘go’ and ‘come’ do not have this use; instead, *thán* indicates inchoativity (As noted in Section 1, the verbs for going and coming have not been grammaticalized in EPK). In neighboring Thai and Lao, however, the verbs meaning ‘ascend’ and ‘descend’ express inchoativity (For Thai, see Noss [1964: 189–190] and Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom [2005: 168–170]; for Lao, see Enfield [2007: 259–260] and Suzuki [2009]). In this respect, EPK resembles Thai and Lao.

The third is about the Qiangic group of Tibeto-Burman. Shirai and Nagano (2022), dealing with nDrapa and rGyalrong, present a model in which directional affixes in these languages come to express telicity in the final phase of semantic change. Telicity is a concept related to the endpoint of an action. On the other hand, EPK *thán* expresses inchoativity of an action but not completion, as discussed in detail in 3.4. That is, *thán* is related to the starting point, not the endpoint of an action. It is interesting that the morphemes representing movement are oriented toward the endpoint in Qiangic and toward the starting point in EPK. This fact probably implies that the endpoint and starting point, while appearing to be oppositely related, are in fact closely related. The endpoint of some situation is also the starting point of the next new situation. For example, in the situation represented by the verb *thán* ‘ascend’, an entity moves from a lower to a higher position. In this situation, the upward movement is both the endpoint of a situation in which the entity is in a lower position and the starting point of a situation in which it is in a higher position. Therefore, it is not surprising that morphemes denoting a direction could indicate the endpoint of a situation in one language and the starting point in another.

Abbreviations

Down = downward; Incho = inchoative; Integ = integrated; Inten = intensive; Lit = literally; LOC = the particle *lə* indicating source, location, and goal; PFV = perfective; PL = plural; Q = question marker; Restr = restrictive; SG = singular; Spec = special; THA = the verb particle indicating retention of a result; Up = upward; V = verb; vi = intransitive verb; vt = transitive verb; 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person.

Sounds and transcription

The transcription used in this study is phonemic. Consonant phonemes are /p, θ [θ~ṭθ~ṭ], t, c [tɕ], k, ʔ, ph [pʰ], th [tʰ], ch [tɕʰ], kh [kʰ], b [β], d [d̥~d̄], ɕ, x, h, ɣ, ʋ, m, n, ŋ, (ŋ), ŋ, w, j, l, (r [r~ṛ~ṛ]),/. The bracketed consonants mainly occur in loan words. Rhymes are /i [(ə̃)i], i, u [(ə̃)u], i [i], u, e, ə, o, ε, a, ə, ai, aʊ, əN [əN~ə̃], aN [ãN~ã̃], oN [oN~õ̃], eĩN [eĩN~eĩ], əuN [əuN~əu], ouN [ouN~ou], aĩN [aĩN~aĩ]/. There are four tones: high-level /á/ [55], mid-level /ā/ [33~334], low-level /à/ [11], and falling /ã/ [51]. Pwo Karen has atonic syllables, which can occur in all positions except utterance final. The only rhyme that can occur in atonic syllables is /ə/, and atonic syllables are transcribed with no tone marking.

I formerly transcribed the vowel phoneme /ĩ/ [i] as /i/. However, the symbol /i/ is difficult to distinguish from /i/ when they are written with a tone sign. Compare,

for example, /i/ and /i/. Moreover, /i/ and /i/ are hard to distinguish from each other in some IPA fonts in italics. Therefore, I presently use /i/ instead of /i/.

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