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Pwo Karen

1 Introduction

Pwo Karen belongs to the Karenic branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family. Most Tibeto-Burman languages are of the SOV type, but the basic word order for Karenic languages is SVO. The change from OV to VO is believed to have occurred in the proto-language of the Karenic languages (see Matisoff 1991a: 481–482, 2000: 346–347), most likely through contact with some Mon-Khmer language(s). Matisoff (2000) suggests heavy contact with Mon in the late first millennium AD. Manson (2009) observes that Mon-Khmer loanwords in Karenic languages imply a greater connection with the Palaungic branch of Mon-Khmer rather than the Monic branch.

The Karenic branch includes various languages in addition to Pwo Karen, such as Blimaw, Bwe, Geba, Gekho, Kayah, Kayan, Kayo, Manu, Monebwa, Mopwa, Paku, Pa-O, Sgaw Karen, Thalebwa, Yeinbaw, and Yintale¹. Although Jones (1961) argued that Pwo Karen and Sgaw Karen are only remotely related, one of the genealogically closest languages to Pwo Karen in the Karenic branch is Sgaw Karen. Manson (2003) and Shintani (2003), two of the most recent studies on the classification of the Karenic languages, both classify Pwo Karen as having a relatively close relationship to Sgaw Karen.

According to an estimate of the Myanmar government in 1993, the total population of the Karen people was 2.86 million. Nearly half of this number is most likely Pwo Karen. There are also tens of thousands of Pwo Karen in Thailand. In Myanmar, only Pwo Karen and Sgaw Karen are occasionally considered ethnically Karen.

The Pwo Karen language is widely spoken in the Irrawaddy Delta, Mon State, Karen State, Tennasserim Division, West-Central Thailand, and North-western Thailand. Given findings reported in the studies of Kato (1995, 2009b), Phillips (2000), and Dawkins & Phillips (2009a, 2009b), Pwo Karen dialects can

¹ According to Shintani, Tadahiko (p.c.), the number of Karenic languages can be near fifty.

be classified into four preliminary groups, as shown in Table 1. The criterion for this grouping is mutual intelligibility, that is, dialects in each group are unintelligible to speakers from other groups. However, degrees of intelligibility between dialects can vary, even within the same group. Thus, these classifications might need to be revised after more consideration. For intelligibility between the dialects in Thailand, see the findings reported by Dawkins & Phillips (2009a, 2009b).

Table 1: Pwo Karen dialect groups

Dialect	Location
Western Pwo Karen	Irrawaddy Delta, Myanmar
Htoklibang Pwo Karen	Bilin Township, Mon State, Myanmar
Eastern Pwo Karen	Karen State, Myanmar; Mon State, Myanmar; Tennasserim Division, Myanmar; West-Central Thailand ²
Northern Pwo Karen	Northwestern Thailand

This chapter focuses on one of the dialects in the Eastern Pwo Karen group, which is spoken around Hpa-an (ဘားအံ /phāʔàn/ in Burmese and ၵ်းအံ /thəʔàn/ in Pwo Karen), the capital of Karen State. I call this variety the Hpa-an dialect. This dialect has been influenced by its neighboring languages, including Mon, Burmese, and Thai, and there are a number of loanwords from these languages in the Hpa-an dialect. The name for ethnic Pwo Karen in the Hpa-an dialect is /phlòʊn/. The majority of the speakers of the Hpa-an dialect are Buddhists, but there are also a few Christians. Buddhists and Christians use different writing systems (see Kato 2006); this chapter uses the Buddhist writing system. This system appeared in the second half of the 18th century at earliest through the influence of the Mon writing system. It is now more widespread than the Christian writing system in Karen State.

² The West-Central Thailand Pwo Karen people are a politically distinct group from the Pwo Karen people of Myanmar who speak Eastern Pwo Karen dialects. They are Thai citizens who came to Thailand over 200 years ago at the invitation of King Rama I (Renard 1980).

2 Phonology

2.1 Suprasegmental phonology

The Hpa-an dialect has four tones:

High-level	မး	má	[ma55]
Mid-level	မာ့	mā	[mā33 ~ 334]
Low-level	မာ	mà	[ma11]
Falling	မာ့	mâ	[ma51]

Mid-level is pronounced with breathy phonation, and may be pronounced with a rising pitch in utterance-final position and before a pause.

Haudricourt (1946) reconstructed three tones for Proto-Karen, and later added another tone in Haudricourt (1975). Hpa-an tones correspond to the Proto-Karen tones, as shown in Table 2. The numbers 1, 2, 2', and 3 represent the Proto-Karen tones. Tone1, Tone2, and Tone3 were first reconstructed in 1946, and Tone2' was added in 1975. Tone1, Tone2, and Tone2' are plain tones while Tone3 is a checked tone. The capital letters H, M, and L represent the classes of Proto-Karen initial consonants: H=voiceless aspirated stops, voiceless fricatives, voiceless sonorants; M=voiceless unaspirated stops, implosives (or preglottalized stops); L=voiced stops, voiced fricatives, voiced sonorants. Haudricourt (1975) assumes that Tone2' merged with Tone2 in syllables beginning with L-series consonants at the Proto-Karen stage.

Table 2: Tonal correspondence with Proto-Karen

	1 (plain)	2 (plain)	2' (plain)	3 (checked)
H	Falling [51]	High-level [55]	High-level [55]	Low-level [11]
M	Low-level [11]	High-level [55]	High-level [55]	Low-level [11]
L	Low-level [11]	Mid-level [33]		High-level [55]

Kato (1995) reports that some dialects of Pwo Karen, such as Tavoy (Eastern Pwo) and Kyonbyaw (Western Pwo), have a final glottal stop in the syllables which used to have Tone3 at the Proto-Karen stage, for example, /thòʔ/ 'pig' in Tavoy. Thus, Proto-Pwo must have had a final glottal stop, but it no longer appears in the Hpa-an dialect.

According to Shintani (2003), the Proto-Karen voiced stops *b, *d, *g are conserved in four Karenic languages, that is, Bwe, Geba, Monebwa, and Paku.

Detailed data for Bwe are presented in Henderson (1997) and Geba is discussed in Kato (2008a). In the other Karenic languages, Proto-Karen *b, *d, *g have changed to [p], [t], [k] or [p^h], [t^h], [k^h] (see Jones 1961, Shintani 2003, and Man-son 2009). In Pwo Karen dialects, *b, *d, *g have changed to [p^h], [t^h], [k^h].

2.2 Syllable structure and segmental phonemes

The syllable structure of the Hpa-an dialect can be represented as C1(C2)V1(V2)(N)/(T). ‘C’ stands for a consonant, ‘V’ a vowel, and ‘T’ a tone. ‘T’ is bracketed because Pwo Karen has atonic syllables, which always end with the vowel /ə/, and I transcribe these syllables as Cə without a tonal diacritic. Atonic syllables cannot appear in an utterance-final position.

The transcriptions used in this chapter are phonemic. There are 26 consonant phonemes and 11 vowel phonemes, as shown in Table 3. Phonetic values to notice are: /θ/[t̥~θ], /c/[t̪c̪], /ph/[p^h], /th/[t^h], /ch/[t̪c̪^h], /kh/[k^h], /b/[β], /d/[d̪], /j/[j~j̃], /r/[r], /i/[ĩ], /ĩ/[ĩ]³, /w/[w̃]. Similar to the neighboring language Burmese, there are contrasts between aspirated and unaspirated stops; however, /b/ and /d/ are implosives, unlike egressive /b/ or /d/ in Burmese. There are no voiceless sonorants, even though, Proto-Karen used to have these sound types. The consonants /p/, /ŋ/, and /r/ occur mostly in loanwords from Mon or Burmese.

Table 3: Consonants and vowels

Consonants					Vowels			
p	θ	t	c	k	ʔ	i	ĩ	u
ph		th	ch	kh		ĩ		ũ
b		d				e	ə	o
			ɕ	x	h	ɛ	a	ɔ
				ɣ	ɸ			
m		n	(ŋ)	(ŋ)	ɴ			
w			j					
		l						
		(r)						

3 I usually use the symbol “ĩ” for the vowel phoneme that is represented as /ĩ/ (underbarred “i”) in this article. However, “ĩ” and the symbol “ĩ” representing another vowel phoneme are difficult to distinguish from each other when they are with a tone mark and in italic. Compare, for example, “ĩ” (ĩ) to “ĩ” (ĩ). Thus, in this paper the symbol “ĩ” is employed for the former, and these are represented respectively as “ĩ” and “ĩ”.

All of the consonants except /N/ can occur as C1. Four consonants can occur as C2: /w, l, r, j/. Table 4 displays all of the possible combinations of C1 and C2.

Table 4: Possible combinations of C1 and C2

		C1																	
		p	θ	t	c	k	ʔ	ph	th	ch	kh	b	d	x	h	m	n	j	l
C2	w	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	l	+				+		+			+	+				+			
	r	+				+													
	j	+						+				+				+			+

The part of the syllable labeled -V1(V2)(N) is called the rhyme. There are 21 types of rhymes in Hpa-an, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Rhymes

Rhymes

i	ɨ	ɯ		ai	aʊ	(iN)	əN		eiN	əʊN	oʊN
ɨ		ɔ				aN	oN			aiN	
e	ə	o									
ɛ	a	ɔ									

The uvular nasal /N/, which can only occur syllable-finally, often does not form a closure and may only nasalize the preceding vowel, especially in rapid speech. Moreover, the final consonant /N/ of /eiN/, /əʊN/, /oʊN/ is frequently totally dropped. /iN/ is only found in Burmese loanwords.

The vowel of the rhyme /aN/ is phonetically realized as a diphthong. The entire rhyme is pronounced as [ǎN]. This diphthong is different from the diphthongs of /eiN/, /əʊN/, /oʊN/, and /aiN/ because it is a rising diphthong, while the first and second elements of the diphthongs in /eiN/ [ei(N)], /əʊN/ [əʊ(N)], /oʊN/ [oʊ(N)], and /aiN/ [aiN] are of equal prominence.

3 Morphology

3.1 Word structure

Pwo Karen is a highly isolating language; its words do not inflect at all. However, there are three productive word formation processes: compounding (3.1.1),

affixation (3.1.2), and reduplication (3.1.3). Pwo Karen words are classified into five classes: nouns, verbs, adverbs, particles, and interjections (Kato 2004).

Typical Pwo Karen morphemes are monosyllabic, and many of them can stand on their own as a word. Thus, Pwo Karen has a lot of monosyllabic words. Examples of monosyllabic words are as follows: *ခေါဟ်* *khó* ‘head’, *စူး* *cuí* ‘hand’, *ခင်း* *khán* ‘leg’, *နိပ်* *nò* ‘mouth’, *ကော့* *ná* ‘nose’, *ကာ* *nā* ‘ear’, *လေဝ်* *lī* ‘go’, *ဟုယ့်* *ye* ‘come’, *မိ* *mí* ‘sleep’, *အင်း* *ʔán* ‘eat’, *အပ်* *ʔə* ‘drink’, *မာ* *mà* ‘do’, and *သို့* *thí* ‘die’. Some Pwo Karen words are polysyllabic, and many of them are formed through compounding, affixation, and reduplication.

Pwo Karen also has a lot of ‘sesquisyllabic’ words, that is, disyllabic words with an atonal first syllable. (The term ‘sesquisyllabic’ was first introduced by Matisoff 1973b: 84ff.) Sesquisyllabic words may be monomorphemic or have an atonal prefix. Monomorphemic examples include: *ကိဆင့်* *kəchân* ‘elephant’, *ပှာ* *pəná* ‘buffalo’, *တိုတပ်* *təkə* ‘lotus’, *အိုယုက်* *ʔəjáv* ‘age’, *စိုယွာ* *cəxwà* ‘king’, *ဝိုအိုင်* *pəʔòN* ‘white ant’, and *သိုဝါ* *θəwài* ‘to suck’. Examples with atonal prefixes *ʔə* and *chə* are shown in 3.1.2.

Below are the word formation processes in Pwo Karen.

3.1.1 Compounding

Compounding is a highly productive process of word formation in Pwo Karen. Only nouns and verbs are involved in compounding, and the resultant words are also nouns or verbs. The possible compounding patterns are described below.

[A] There are four patterns in the formation of compound nouns:

- N+N > N There are many instances of this pattern in my data. In most cases the latter element is the semantic head as in (1), (2), and (3).
 - (1) *မေ* *mé* ‘eye’ + *ထီ* *thí* ‘water’ > *မေထီ* *méthí* ‘tear’
 - (2) *သီး* *thí* ‘medicine’ + *တပ်* *tàv* ‘building’ > *သီးတပ်* *thitàv* ‘hospital’
 - (3) *စူး* *buí* ‘rice’ + *ဖင့်* *phân* ‘storehouse’ > *စူးဖင့်* *buíphân* ‘granary’

The former element may be the semantic head as in (4) and (5), but this is relatively rare. The reason for this irregularity is unknown; however, it could be the result of influence from Mon.

- (4) *လင်း* *lín* ‘cart’ + *မိ* *mí* ‘fire’ > *လင်းမိ* *línmí* ‘train’
- (5) *ဖိုင်* *phàn* ‘pot’ + *ထာ* *thà* ‘iron’ > *ဖိုင်ထာ* *phànthà* ‘Chinese pot made of iron’

- N+V > N There are many instances of this pattern in my data. The syntactic relationship of the noun and the verb varies: the ‘N’ may be the subject of the ‘V’ as in (6), the object as in (7), or the adjunct as in (8) and (9). In many cases, the semantic head is the ‘N’, but sometimes resultant nouns are headless as in (9): a ‘handle’ is not a kind of ‘hand’.

- (6) လုံ• *lōVN* ‘stone’ + ယေဝ် *jī* ‘to be green’ > လုံ•ယေဝ် *lōVNjī* ‘jade’
 (7) သိုဝ် *θāN* ‘side dish’ + အဝ် *ʔə* ‘to drink’ > သိုဝ်အဝ် *θāNʔə* ‘soup’
 (8) ထာ *thà* ‘iron’ + ဆာ *chà* ‘to sew’ > ထာဆာ *thàchà* ‘sewing needle’
 (9) စူး *cuí* ‘hand’ + ဖိး *phón* ‘to hold’ > စူးဖိး *chuíphón* ‘handle, grip’

- V+V > N There are a few instances of this pattern in my data:

- (10) ဝင် *bàn* ‘to be yellow’ + အွာ *ʔwà* ‘to be white’ > ဝင်အွာ *bànʔwà* ‘curtain’
 (11) ကံင် *kòN* ‘wear (as sarong)’ + သိုဝ် *θə* ‘wear (as shirt)’ > ကံင်သိုဝ် *kòNθə* ‘clothes’

- V+N > N Only one instance of this pattern has been found in my data:

- (12) အိုဝ် *ʔəphlé* ‘to be born’ + မူး *mūni* ‘day’ > အိုဝ်မူး *ʔəphlémuini* ‘birthday’

[B] There are three patterns for the formation of compound verbs:

- V+V > V There are many instances of this pattern in my data. Compounding of quasi-synonymous verbs as in (15) and (16) results in more formal words.

- (13) နိုဝ် *nəN* ‘to smell’ + အူး *ʔu* ‘to be rotten’ > နိုဝ်အူး *nəNʔu* ‘to have rotten smell’
 (14) ယောဝ် *əp* ‘to bump’ + ကိုလံင် *kəlôn* ‘to hurry’ > ယောဝ်ကိုလံင် *əpkəlôn* ‘to hurry’
 (15) ယို *xí* ‘to be beautiful’ + တေဝ် *yí* ‘to be good’ > ယိုတေဝ် *xíyí* ‘to be beautiful’
 (16) တိုင် *yòN* ‘to be finished’ + ထုတ် *tháv* ‘to end’ > တိုင်ထုတ် *yòNtháv* ‘to be finished’

- N+V > V There are many instances of this pattern, and ~~all~~ of these ~~exam-~~
~~ples~~ have a body-related noun as the first element. (See also 3.2 below.)

- (17) သာ *θà* ‘heart’ + ခေဝ် *khə* ‘to be hot’ > သာခေဝ် *θàkhə* ‘to worry’
 (18) ကာ• *nā* ‘ear’ + တိုဝ် *yəN* ‘to hear’ > ကာ•တိုဝ် *nāyən* ‘to hear’

- V+N > V A few instances including the verbs below have been found in my data:

- (19) ဝး *bá* ‘to hit’ + သာ *θà* ‘heart’ > ဝးသာ *báθà* ‘to want (something)’
 (20) ကေဝ် *kə* ‘to write’ + ပြိုင် *pəʔən* ‘news’ > ကေဝ်ပြိုင် *kəpəʔən* ‘to write (a letter)’

3.1.2 Affixation

Pwo Karen has affixes; however, only a limited number of morphemes function as affixes. These morphemes are all derivational as there are no inflectional affixes in Pwo Karen. Kato (2004) lists 10 derivational affixes, and the following affixes are the most productive ones.

အို *ʔə-* is prefixed to verbs mainly denoting states, and derives nouns. This morpheme is related to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman prefix **a-* (Benedict 1972: 121–123; see also Matisoff 2003: 104–117), which has various functions in Tibeto-Burman languages, including nominalization.

- (21) အို *ʔə-* + ခိုင်း *khléin* ‘to be cold’ > အိုခိုင်း *ʔəkhléin* ‘cold thing’
 (22) အို *ʔə-* + ဆောင်း *cháin* ‘to be sour’ > အိုဆောင်း *ʔəcháin* ‘sour food’
 (23) အို *ʔə-* + အွာ *ʔwà* ‘to be white’ > အိုအွာ *ʔəʔwà* ‘white color’

ဆို *chə-* is prefixed to various kinds of verbs, and derives nouns. It originates from the noun ဆို *chə*, which means ‘thing’. Compared to အို *ʔə-*, nouns derived with ဆို *chə-* tend to have more abstract meanings.

- (24) ဆို *chə-* + ခိုင်း *khléin* ‘to be cold’ > ဆိုခိုင်း *chəkhléin* ‘coldness’
 (25) ဆို *chə-* + အဲ *ʔé* ‘to love’ > ဆိုအဲ *chəʔé* ‘love (n.)’
 (26) ဆို *chə-* + မာ *mà* ‘to do’ > ဆိုမာ *chəmə* ‘job’

အေ *ʔè-* is prefixed to stative verbs, and derives adverbs.

- (27) အေ *ʔè-* + ဟေ့ဝ် *ʔi* ‘to be good’ > အေဟေ့ဝ် *ʔèʔi* ‘well’

ဖာ *phà-* is prefixed to stative verbs, and emphasizes the meaning of the verb.

- (28) ဖာ *phà-* + ညော့ဝ် *dó* ‘to be big’ > ဖာညော့ဝ် *phàdó* ‘to be quite big’

ဖော့ဝ် *-phó* (also pronounced *wó*) is a diminutive which is suffixed to nouns. It originates from the noun ဖော့ဝ် *phó* ‘child’.

- (29) ယး *já* ‘fish’ + ဖော့ဝ် *-phó* > ယးဖော့ဝ် *jáphó* (*jáwó*) ‘little fish’

3.1.3 Reduplication

Reduplication applies only to verbs; nouns cannot be reduplicated. Reduplication derives an adverb from a stative verb. Derived adverbs are more colloquial than those with အေ *ʔè-* shown in 3.1.2 above.

- (30) အး *ʔá* ‘to be many’ > အးအး *ʔáʔá* ‘much’
 (31) ဖွဲ *phlé* ‘to be fast’ > ဖွဲဖွဲ *phléphlé* ‘fast’

- (32) ယုယ် *xè* ‘to be slow’ > ယုယ်ယုယ် *xèxè* ‘slowly’
 (33) ဟေ့ဂ် *γ̃i* ‘to be good’ > ဟေ့ဂ်ဟေ့ဂ် *γ̃iγ̃i* ‘well’

Disyllabic words are reduplicated in the form of AABB (A and B stand for each syllable) when they are bimorphemic, as shown below.

- (34) ထို့ဆာ *thíchà* ‘to be exact’ > ထို့ထို့ဆာဆာ *thùthíchàchà* ‘exactly’
 (35) ယုၼ်ယုင် *xuúxàn* ‘to be united’ > ယုၼ်ယုၼ်ယုင်ယုင် *xuúxuúxànxàn* ‘unitedly’
 (36) ယုၼ်မုက် *éuímáuv* ‘to be peaceful’ > ယုၼ်ယုၼ်မုက်မုက် *éu'éuímáuvmáuv* ‘peacefully’

However, monomorphemic disyllabic words are reduplicated in the form of ABAB, as in the following example.

- (37) ဝးဉာ *bádà* ‘to be moderate’ > ဝးဉာဝးဉာ *bádàbádà* ‘moderately’

3.2 Psycho-collocations

Pwo Karen has psycho-collocations (Matisoff 1986). Many of these are N-V or V-N compound verbs that have သာ *θà* ‘heart’ as the noun, as shown in examples (38) to (43) (see also (19) above). Other body-related nouns also appear in psycho-collocations, as shown in (44) and (45).

- (38) သာခေါင်. *θàkhō* ‘to worry’ < သာ *θà* ‘heart’ + ခေါင်. *khō* ‘to be hot’ (=17)
 (39) သာယုၼ်. *θàxwí* ‘to be glad’ < သာ *θà* ‘heart’ + ယုၼ်. *xwí* ‘to be light’
 (40) သာလင် *θàlàn* ‘to be sad’ < သာ *θà* ‘heart’ + လင် *làn* ‘to descend’
 (41) သာထင်း *θàthán* ‘to be angry’ < သာ *θà* ‘heart’ + ထင်း *thán* ‘to ascend’
 (42) သာမဲ *θàmé* ‘to fear’ < သာ *θà* ‘heart’ + မဲ *mé* ‘to sprout’
 (43) ကးသာ *káθà* ‘to be shy’ < ကး *ká* ‘to be difficult’ + သာ *θà* ‘heart’
 (44) ကာ.ကာင်း *nākáin* ‘to be dishonest’ < ကာ. *nā* ‘ear’ + ကာင်း *káin* ‘to be bent’
 (45) မေံခေါင်. *mékhō* ‘to be ashamed’ < မေံ *mé* ‘face’ + ခေါင်. *khō* ‘to be hot’

Below is a sample sentence with သာမဲ *θàmé* ‘to fear’:

- (46) ဂ်းဝး သာမဲ ဒ်ခိဝေ့ ဒေး။
nə bá θàmé ʔəwé ʔé
 2SG must fear 3SG not
 ‘You don’t have to be scared of him.’

3.3 Elaborate expressions

Pwo Karen has many elaborate expressions (Kato 2005; for the concept of elaborate expressions, see Haas 1964:xvii-xviii, Matisoff 1973a: 81–86, 297–301, Matisoff 1991b). Elaborate expressions are quadrisyllabic words where either the first and third, or the second and fourth, syllables are either identical or similar in that they have several phonemes in common. The following are examples of these types of expressions.

- (47) သုင်းယုံ့့သာယုံ့့ *θáwN-xwî-θá-xwî* (liver-light-heart-light) ‘to be glad’
 (48) သုင်းတဝ်သာလိင် *θáwN-táθá-lòN* (liver-honest-heart-straight) ‘to be honest’
 (49) ထောတ်ဇောတ်လိဇောတ် *thó-phó-lí-phó* (bird-child-squirrel-child) ‘small animals’
 (50) မာဆိက်မာကျိင် *má-chái-má-klò* (make-rice.field-make-alluvium) ‘to make rice fields’
 (51) သိင်းဖံင်ဝးဖံင် *θéin-phōN-wá-phōN* (tree-explode-bamboo-explode) ‘forest fire happens’

4 Grammar and syntax

As previously mentioned in 3.1, Pwo Karen words can be grouped into five classes: nouns, verbs, adverbs, particles, and interjections. There is no need to posit the category of ‘adjectives’ because semantically adjective-like words are verbs (Kato 2008b).

The basic construction of clauses with a single verb, that is, those without serial verb constructions, can be schematized as in Figure 1:

Figure 1: Basic construction of Pwo Karen clause

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

NP₁ is the subject. NP₂ and NP₃ are the objects when a transitive verb is present; two objects can occur only when the verb is ditransitive (see (56) below). Verb particle(s) (so-called “auxiliaries”) can occur immediately before and after the verb and function to modify the verb. ‘Adverbial elements’ include adverbs, adpositional phrases, adverbial particles, and other forms. The verb is the only required element in a Pwo Karen clause, thus it is not bracketed. There are no non-verb predicates such as noun predicates or adpositional phrase predica-

tes (see (55)). For example, the following sentence contains a monotransitive verb.

- (52) သာအွာ မံ အင်း ဝး မေဝ် အးအး လုံ ဟိုင်းဖိုင် ဆေဝ်။
θàʔwà mə ʔán bá mǐ ʔáʔá lá yéin phàɴ ɛ̃
 Thawa IRR eat get.to rice much L house inside also
 NP₁ VPT verb VPT NP₂ adverb adpositional phrase adverbial particle
 ‘Thawa will also get to eat much rice at home.’

4.1 Basic sentences and word order

The basic word order for Pwo Karen is SVO. Sentence (53) is an example of an intransitive sentence. The single argument of an intransitive verb always appears before the verb, and this is also true of existential or phenomenal sentences.

- (53) သာအွာ ဆိုကင်။
θàʔwà chíɴàɴ
 Thawa sit
 ‘Thawa sat down.’

Below is an example of a monotransitive sentence.

- (54) သာအွာ ညှောက် သာခိုင်း။
θàʔwà dɔ́ θàkhléin
 Thawa strike Thakhlein
 ‘Thawa struck Thakhlein.’

A copular verb sentence, shown in (55), is also considered a transitive sentence. The copular verb မွဲ *mwē* cannot be omitted. Pwo Karen does not have any sentences where predicates contain only a noun phrase or adpositional phrase (see Kato 2013).

- (55) သာအွာ မွဲ နှံ။
θàʔwà mwē phlòʊɴ
 Thawa COP Karen
 ‘Thawa is a Karen.’

In the case of a ditransitive verb, the two objects are arranged in the order of Recipient - Theme.

- (56) သာအွာ ဖေလင့် သာခိုင်း နွဲသး။
θàʔwà phílân θàkhléin nwēθá
 Thawa give Thakhlein jackfruit
 ‘Thawa gave Thakhlein a jackfruit.’

Adjuncts are introduced into sentences with ‘adpositional particles’ (defined in Kato 2004), which I will hereafter call ‘adpositions’. Adpositions occur before the noun, that is, they are prepositions, with the exception of the circumposition ဓေ *bē* ... သိုဝ် *θò* ‘like’ (see (60) for an example). Sentences (57) and (58) are examples of လှ် *lǎ* ‘at; to; from’⁴. This adposition indicates the semantic roles of Location, Goal, and Source. Which role that လှ် *lǎ* expresses in a particular clause depends on various factors including the meaning of the verb and context, as discussed in Kato (2010). When the verb is not a motion verb, the noun preceded by လှ် *lǎ* is generally interpreted as the Location, as in (57). On the other hand, when the verb is a motion verb as in (58), the noun preceded by လှ် *lǎ* can denote either the Goal or Source, and the semantic role is mainly determined by the context of the utterance. For example, in (58), if Hpa-an is the location where the utterance was made, it is interpreted as the Goal; otherwise, it would be interpreted as the Source.

- (57) သာအွာ မာ ဆိုမာ လှ် ထိုအင်။
θàʔwà mà chəmà lǎ thəʔàn
 Thawa do work L Hpa-an
 ‘Thawa works at Hpa-an.’

- (58) သာအွာ ဟုယှ် လှ် ထိုအင်။
θàʔwà yé lǎ thəʔàn
 Thawa come L Hpa-an
 ‘Thawa came to Hpa-an,’ or ‘Thawa came from Hpa-an,’

Sentences (59) and (60) are examples of ခေ *dē* ‘with’ and ဓေ *bē* ... သိုဝ် *θò* ‘like’, respectively.

⁴ The Pwo Karen spelling လှ် can be read as *lǎ* or *lə*. Thus, many morphemes such as *lǎ* ‘adposition indicating Location, Goal, and Source’, *lǎ* ‘relativizer’, *lə* ‘negative particle’, and *lə* ‘one’ are written in the same way.

- (59) သာအွာ လေဝ် ဆိုယာင် ချေ သာခိုင်း။
θàʔwà l̥i chəjàin dē θàkhléin
 Thawa go far.place with Thakhlein
 ‘Thawa traveled with Thakhlein.’
- (60) သာအွာ မာ ဝေ့သာခိုင်းသိုဝ်။
θàʔwà mà bē θàkhléin θò
 Thawa do like Thakhlein like
 ‘Thawa did it like Thakhlein.’

Negation is indicated by placing အေး ʔé in the clause-final position when the clause is a main clause, as shown in (61).

- (61) သာအွာ ညှောက် သာခိုင်း အေး။
θàʔwà dʊ θàkhléin ʔé
 Thawa strike Thakhlein NEG
 ‘Thawa did not strike Thakhlein.’

On the other hand, if the negated clause is a subordinate clause, two morphemes, လှ် *lə* and ဝး *bá*, have to be used at the same time. လှ် *lə* appears immediately before the verb, and ဝး *bá* appears in the clause-final position, as shown in (62). Neither of these usually are not omitted, but ဝး *bá* may occasionally be dropped in a highly informal speech.

- (62) သာအွာ လှ် ညှောက် သာခိုင်း ဝး အခေါတ်ကျံင်၊ ယှ် ညှောက် အိုဝေ့။
θàʔwà lə dʊ θàkhléin bá ʔákhʊcòN, jə dʊ ʔəwé
 Thawa NEG strike Thakhlein NEG because 1 SG strike 3 SG
 ‘Because Thawa did not strike Thakhlein, I struck him.’

လှ် *lə* is related to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman negative affix **ta* (Benedict 1972: 97; see also Matisoff 2003: 162, 172)⁵. I posit **tə* for Proto-Karen (cf. Sgaw Karen *tə*); however, the etymology of ဝး *bá* is unknown.

Pwo Karen does not have a passive voice, as is often the case for languages in mainland Southeast Asia. However, as discussed by Kato (2011), agent-defocusing effect (see Myhill 1997), which is a significant functional role of the passive voice in many languages, is fulfilled in Pwo Karen by the indefinite pro-

⁵ Benedict (1972: 97) says that The Proto-Tibeto-Burman **ta* is an element for ‘imperative negative’. In Karenic languages, its reflexes are used as general negative markers.

noun ဆို *chə* which originates from the noun meaning ‘thing’⁶. The indefinite pronoun ဆို *chə* occurs only in the subject slot. One of the important functions of this pronoun is to show that an animate actor is unknown to the speaker, that is, the subject noun is indefinite. Examples of this construction are presented in (63) and (64).

(63) ဆို ဘျောဟ် ယ်။

chə dʊ̃ jə̃
INP strike 1SG

‘I was struck by somebody.’ (not ‘struck by something’)

(64) ဆို ချိုင် ဝှဲ၊ လို ထ်အင်။

chə khlə̃iN phlòʊN lá thəʔàN
INP speak Karen L Hpa-an

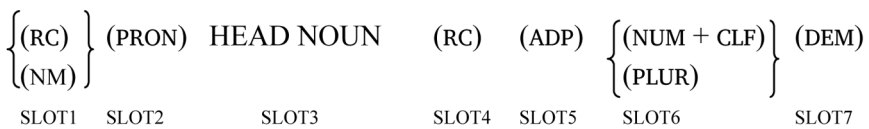
‘The (Pwo) Karen language is spoken in Hpa-an.’

4.2 Nominal domain

4.2.1 Basic structure of the NP

The order of the constituents in the Pwo Karen noun phrase is shown in Figure 2. Brackets denote optional items.

Figure 2: The order of components within the Pwo Karen NP



The slots represent locations for the following elements in the NP: SLOT1 is for the relative clause and nominal modifier; SLOT2 is for the pronoun expressing a possessor; SLOT3 is for the head noun; SLOT4 is for the relative clause; SLOT5 is for the adpositional phrase; SLOT6 is for the ‘numeral + classifier’ (see 4.2.2)

⁶ The noun ဆို *chə* ‘thing’ is also used as the “formal subject” in sentences that denote natural phenomena. Examples include: ဆိုဆိုင်။ *chə chə̃N* (thing / rain) ‘It is raining’; ဆိုခေါင်။ *chə khə̃* (thing / hot) ‘It is hot’; ဆိုခိုင်။ *chə khlé̃iN* (thing / cold) ‘It is cold’; and ဆိုခါ။ *chə khà̃i* (thing / dark) ‘It is dark’.

and particle denoting plurality; and SLOT7 is for the demonstrative particle. The following examples illustrate this structure.

- (65) ယး ဖာဇောတ် သိုင့်ခိင်း ယိုင်
já phàdú θāN béiN jò
 fish big three CLF this
 {SLOT3} {SLOT4} {SLOT6} {SLOT7}
 ‘these three big fishes’

- (66) ယိုင်သိုင် ညေ ခေါတ်လုက် သယ် က်
jə θò dē khó láv θè nɔ́
 my friend with cap PLUR that
 {SLOT2} {SLOT3} {SLOT5} {SLOT6} {SLOT7}
 ‘those friends of mine with a cap’

A noun that modifies the head noun, that is, the nominal modifier, appears in SLOT1. Below is an example:

- (67) နွံ ဆိုယို ဆိုလာ
phlòvN chəxíchalà
 Karen culture
 {SLOT1} {SLOT3}
 ‘Karen culture’

The noun that denotes the possessor of the head noun is one type of nominal modifier. Sentence (68) is an example. In a possessive expression, the pronoun referring to the possessor may occur before the possessed noun, which has the effect of marking the expression as more formal.

- (68) မင်စဝ် (အ်) တိုင်
máncò (ʔə) yéiN
 uncle his house
 {SLOT1} {SLOT2} {SLOT3}
 ‘(my) uncle's house.’

Relative clauses in Pwo Karen are externally headed relative clauses, and occur in SLOT1 or SLOT4. In Pwo Karen, some relative clauses do not use any marker and others use the relativiser လို *lɔ́*. In colloquial speech, relative clauses without any marker are preferred. There are two types of relative clauses without any marker: the postnominal type occurring in SLOT4 and the prenominal type

occurring in SLOT1. Generally speaking, when the relativized noun is the subject of the verb in the clause, the postnominal type is used, as shown in (69). On the other hand, when the relativized noun is not the subject, the prenominal type is used, as shown in (70). A single verb, such as *phàdó* ‘very big’ that occurs in SLOT4 in (65), can be regarded as a relative clause of the postnominal type.

- (69) *thl̥ d̥əwət̥ ɔ̃ k̥ h̥ ɣɔ̃ ʔəwɛ̃ ʔé*
phlòvN [d̥ɔ̃ jà] nɔ̃ ɣé ʔé
 person strike 1SG TOP come NEG
 {SLOT3} {SLOT4}
 ‘The person who struck me didn’t come.’

- (70) *ɔ̃ d̥əwət̥ d̥əwɛ̃ thl̥ k̥ h̥ ɣɔ̃ ʔé*
/jə d̥ɔ̃ d̥é lé/ phlòvN nɔ̃ mwɛ̃ ʔəwɛ̃
 1SG strike with stick person TOP COP 3SG
 { SLOT1 } {SLOT3}
 ‘The person whom I struck with a stick is he/she.’

In formal speech, the relative clause with the relativizer *lá* is preferred. The relative clause with *lá* always appears in SLOT4. The relative clauses in (69) and (70) can be paraphrased with *lá*, as shown in (71) and (72) below. In the relative clause with *lá*, the ‘resumptive pronoun’ (see Comrie 1989: 147) must appear when the head noun is the subject of the relative clause, as in (71). However, when the head noun is not the subject as in (72), the resumptive pronoun appears only when the head noun is animate, and the pronoun may be omitted in this case.

- (71) *thl̥ lá ʔé d̥əwət̥ ɔ̃ k̥ h̥ ɣɔ̃ ʔəwɛ̃ ʔé*
phlòvN [lá ʔə d̥ɔ̃ jà] nɔ̃ ɣé ʔé
 person REL 3SG strike 1SG TOP come NEG
 {SLOT3} { SLOT4 }
 ‘The person who struck me didn’t come.’

- (72) *thl̥ lá ɔ̃ d̥əwət̥ (ʔé) d̥əwɛ̃ k̥ h̥ ɣɔ̃ ʔé*
phlòvN [lá jə d̥ɔ̃ (ʔə) d̥é lé] nɔ̃ mwɛ̃ ʔəwɛ̃
 person REL 1SG strike 3SG with stick TOP COP 3SG
 {SLOT3} { SLOT4 }
 ‘The person whom I struck with a stick is he/she.’

4.2.2 Classifiers

Pwo Karen has numeral classifiers. Kato (2004) lists 31 numeral classifiers, and some examples are presented below. The final two are mensural classifiers, and the others are sortal classifiers (for the terms mensural and sortal classifiers, see Vittrant 2002).

ချူ	<i>duì</i>	used for mammals other than human beings; also used as a general classifier
ဟာ	<i>ya</i>	used for human beings
ဝိုင်	<i>béIN</i>	used for flat things; also used for birds, fish, insects
ဝိုင်	<i>phlóUN</i>	used for round things
ဝိုင်	<i>bòN</i>	used for long things
ဝိုင်	<i>dón</i>	used for a group of people or animal
ဝိုင်	<i>bón</i>	used for a package of something

Classifiers in Pwo Karen must be used in enumeration and appear with a numeral, as shown in (73). ‘Numeral + classifier’ occurs in SLOT6 in terms of the NP structure illustrated in Figure 2.

- (73) ထုံး ဝါး ချူ ယိုင်
thwí jɛ̃ duì jò
 dog five CLF:animals this
 ‘these five dogs’

If there is no numeral, the phrase with a classifier is ungrammatical, for example, *ထုံးချူယိုင် **thwí duì jò* (dog / CLF / this). Numerals also cannot occur without a classifier, for example, *ထုံးဝါးယိုင် **thwí jɛ̃ jò* (dog / five / this).

The head noun can be omitted in which case the ‘numeral + classifier’ would function anaphorically, as shown below:

- (74) အိုင်ယိုင် မွဲ ယိုင်ထုံး။ လိုင်ချူယိုင် အဲယိုင် ဆာ့မာ။။
 ?əjò mwē jə thwí. lə duì jò ?é jə chā mā
 this COP my dog one CLF:animal this love 1SG much very
 ‘This is my dog. He (this one) loves me very much.’

Classifiers are also used in indefinite expressions. The form ‘လိုင် *lə* + CLF + CLF’, where လိုင် *lə* means ‘one’, indicates ‘some ~’. Thus, လိုင်ဟာဟာ + CLF:human + CLF:human’ in (75) can be glossed as ‘somebody’. Classifiers also occur in a negative sentence with ဣင် *nāN* ‘any’ in the form of ‘ဣင် *nāN* + CLF’ to indicate

‘no ~’, as shown in (76). These indefinite expressions occur in the position of ‘adverbial elements’ in Figure 1.

- (75) ဤ ချောက် ယံ လိုဟာဟာ။
phlòʊN dʊ́ jə̀ lə-γà-γà
 person strike 1SG one-CLF:person-CLF:person
 ‘Somebody struck me.’

- (76) ဤ ချောက် ယံ ကင်. ဟာ အေး။
phlòʊN dʊ́ jə̀ nāN γà ʔé
 person strike 1SG any CLF:person NEG
 ‘Nobody struck me.’

4.3 Verbal domain

4.3.1 Verbal inflections and categories

Pwo Karen verbs are not inflected and do not mark tense, either obligatorily or optionally. In addition, number or person is not marked in the verb phrase.

On the other hand, modality and aspect are expressed by various particles. One of the most important particles denoting modality is the irrealis marker $\text{နိ } mə$, which occurs before the verb⁷. This marker indicates that an action, event, or state that is denoted by the verb is ‘non-actual’. There is a general pattern in use of this marker. When it is used with an active verb, that is, a verb indicating an action or event, a clause with $\text{နိ } mə$ refers to the future, as in (77), and a clause without $\text{နိ } mə$ refers to the past or present, as in (78).

- (77) အိုဝေ နိ ဟ့ယံ။
ʔəwé mə γé
 3SG IRR come
 ‘He will come.’

⁷ According to my impression, the irrealis marker $\text{နိ } mə$ has considerable similarity in function to the Burmese irrealis verb sentence marker $\text{မဝ် } mɛ$. For the details of modality-marking devices including $\text{မဝ် } mɛ$ in Burmese, see Vittrant & van der Auwera (2010).

- (78) အိုဝေ ဟုယံ။
ʔawé yé
 3SG come
 ‘He came. / He comes (e.g., every day).’

However, when used with a stative verb, *နိ mə* can appear in a clause referring to the past or present when the speaker is not sure about the situation described in the clause. Notice that sentence (79) can refer to a past or present situation. In (79), the speaker is not sure whether ‘he’ is/was a farmer.

- (79) အိုဝေ နိ မွဲ ဆိက်ဖေတ်ဆာ။
ʔawé mə mwé cháiphóchā
 3SG IRR COP farmer
 ‘Maybe he is a farmer,’ or ‘Maybe he was a farmer.’

Moreover, *နိ mə* does not occur in clauses with stative verbs that refer to the future if the speaker is sure that the situation denoted by the verb will be true. Therefore, in the sentence below, *နိ mə* does not occur because the speaker is sure that the ‘boxing game’ will be held.

- (80) ကေခိုင်း ဝဲးပိုမေဝ် အို။
kèkhó bóɔnpwèmè ʔɔ
 tomorrow boxing.game exist
 ‘There is a boxing game tomorrow.’

Etymologically, *နိ mə* is considered to have meant ‘want to (do something)’ at an earlier stage, since the West Pwo Karen verb particle *mə* and the Sgaw Karen verb particle *mə* both mean ‘want to’ and are cognates with *နိ mə* (Kato 2009b). In Western Pwo, the irrealis marker is *kə*, and in Sgaw Karen, the irrealis marker is also *kə*. Therefore, we can posit the form **kə* for the Proto-Pwo Karen irrealis marker. In Eastern Pwo, the form meaning ‘want to’ became an irrealis marker, and the form **kə* has been lost.

Next, we will discuss the aspect-marking particle *ယုဝ် jəu*, which appears in the clause-final position. When used with a verb denoting a momentary event, this particle expresses that the event has occurred, as in (81).

- (81) အိုဝေ ထံင် ထိုအင် ယုဝ်။
ʔawé thòN thəʔàn jəu
 3SG arrive Hpa-an PERF
 ‘He has arrived in Hpa-an.’

When ယှ် *jàv* is used with a verb denoting a durable action, the clause expresses that the action has been completed, or that the action has begun, that is, an inchoative meaning, as shown in (82).

- (82) $\text{အိုဝဲ အင်းမေဝ် ယှ်}$
ʔəwé ʔáN mǐ jáv
 3SG eat rice PERF
 ‘He has eaten,’ or ‘He has begun eating.’

When ယှ် *jàv* is used with a stative verb, the meaning is always inchoative, as shown in (83).

- (83) ယး ယှာ် ယှ်
já xâiN jáv
 fish to.be.dry PERF
 ‘The fish is already dry.’

It is most likely the case that ယှ် *jàv* indicates perfectivity. Note that the equivalent Sgaw Karen perfective marker is လိ *li*. Thus, ယှ် *jàv* probably had a lateral consonant [l] as its initial at an earlier stage. Etymologically, this form could be related to Chinese *liǎo* ‘finish’ or Thai *léew* ‘finish; perfective marker’, but this point would need further clarification from future studies.

Pwo Karen does not have a form to indicate progressive aspect. Unlike the neighboring languages Burmese or Thai, where verbs meaning ‘to stay’ or ‘to live’ have been grammaticalized to indicate progressive aspect, no verb has been grammaticalized to have this kind of function in Pwo Karen. Instead, verbs can express a progressive action without the help of additional forms, as shown in (84).

- (84) $\text{လှ်ဟှ်ယှ် အိုဝဲ အင်း မေဝ်}$
ləjɔ̃ð ʔəwé ʔáN mǐ
 this.morning 3SG eat rice
 ‘He had a meal this morning,’ or ‘He was having a meal (when I arrived) this morning.’

4.3.2 Serial verb constructions (SVCs)

There are two types of serial verb constructions in Pwo Karen: the ‘concatenated type’ and ‘separated type’. These terms were introduced in Kato (1998). The

concatenated and separated types of serial verb constructions respectively correspond to the contiguous and non-contiguous SVCs of Aikhenvald & Dixon (2006). For the separated type, a noun phrase or an adpositional phrase can intervene between V1 (the first verb) and V2 (the second verb). However, for the concatenated type, these elements cannot intervene.

The definitions of these types of serial verb constructions are as follows. The negative particle လှံ *lə*, which is used in the subordinate clauses (see sentence (62) in 4.1), occurs before V1 in the concatenated type, as in (85), and before V2 in the separated type, as in (86). Negatability as a syntactic test is widely used in studies of Southeast Asian languages for the purpose of classifying verb-related phenomenon (see Matisoff 1991c: 393–394, for example). Note that the negative particle အေး *ʔé* (see sentence (61) in 4.1) cannot be employed for the definition because it appears in the clause-final position.

- (85) လှံ လှံ ယှိုအင်း ကောတ် ဝး အိုခေါတ်ကျိုင် ...
jə lə xwè ʔán kʊ́ bá ʔəkhóçòn ...
 1SG NEG V1:buy V2:eat cake NEG because
 ‘Because I did not buy and eat the cake ...’

- (86) လှံ အင်း မေဝ် လှံ ဝှယ် ဝး အိုခေါတ်ကျိုင် ...
jə ʔán mǐ lə blè bá ʔəkhóçòn ...
 1SG V1:eat rice NEG V2:full NEG because
 ‘Because I ate rice but did not get full ...’

The fundamental difference between the concatenated type and the separated type is whether the event denoted by V2 can be controlled or not. For the concatenated type, both events denoted by V1 and V2 are more or less controllable by the referent of the subject. However, for the separated type, the event denoted by V2 is always uncontrollable while the event denoted by V1 can be either controllable or uncontrollable by the subject.

• Concatenated type

The two verbs in this type express a sequence of events linked by particular semantic relationships, including Means (V1) - Purpose (V2), Manner (V1) - Action (V2), and Cause (V1) - Result (V2). The order of the verbs reflects the temporal sequence of the events.

There are four possible combinations of intransitive and transitive verbs; each combination is discussed in [A] to [D] below. Combined verbs function like a single verb in the clause.

[A] intransitive + intransitive => intransitive

This whole construction functions as an intransitive verb. Both verbs are volitional verbs. The subject arguments of V1 and V2 are the same (S=S).

- (87) အိုဝေ့ ဆိုကင် ကိုပ်ယှာ။
ʔəwè chinàN kòèà
 3SG sit shout
 ‘He sat and shouted.’

[B] intransitive + transitive => transitive

This whole construction functions as a transitive verb. Both verbs are volitional verbs, and the subject arguments of V1 and V2 are the same (S=A). The object argument of V2 occurs as the object of the whole construction.

- (88) ယံ ဆိုကင် ပဝ် လိက်အိုက်။
jə chinàN pō láiʔàv
 1SG sit read book
 ‘I sat and read a book.’

[C] transitive + transitive => transitive

This whole construction functions as a transitive verb. Both verbs are volitional verbs, and the subject arguments of V1 and V2 are the same (A=A). The object arguments of V1 and V2 are usually the same, as in sentence (89), but sometimes they are not the same, as in (90) where the object argument of V1 is ‘window’ and the object argument of V2 is ‘mountain’. In (90), only the object argument of V2 can appear as the object of the whole construction; the object argument of V1 cannot appear. Thus, (91) is ungrammatical.

- (89) ယံ ယိုအင်း ကောဟ်။
jə xwè ʔán kó
 1SG buy eat cake
 ‘I bought a cake and ate it.’

- (90) ယံ ပုဂ်ထင်း ဝောဝ် ခေါဟ်လံင်။
jə pəvthán jō khólòN
 1SG open look mountain
 ‘I open (the window) and looked at the mountain.’

- (91) *ယုံ ပုဂ်ထင်း ယောင်း ပါကြဉ်း။
jə pəʊthán jə pàitəràɴ
 1SG open look window

[D] transitive + intransitive => transitive

This whole construction functions as a transitive verb. V1 is a volitional verb, while V2 is a non-volitional verb. The object argument of V1 and the subject argument of V2 are the same (O=S), and the shared argument occurs as the object of the whole construction.

- (92) ယုံ ညှော် သို့ ထုံး။
jə dʊ θi thwí
 1SG strike die dog
 ‘I struck the dog to death.’ (More exactly: I struck the dog intending to kill it.)

In this combination, if V2 is a volitional verb, the concatenated verbs become ungrammatical. For example, ညှော်ဆို့ကင် *dʊ chinàɴ* (strike / sit) is ungrammatical and cannot mean ‘(I) struck (the dog) to make him sit’ or ‘(I) struck (the dog) and sat down’.

Of the four combinations discussed above, in the combination [D] ‘transitive + intransitive’, the event denoted by V2 does not have to actually happen, because it is merely an intended event by the actor of V1.⁸ Thus, (93) is acceptable. This characteristic is also found in the serial verb construction in Kayah Li (Solnit 1997: 68).

- (93) ယုံ ညှော် သို့ ထုံး လာကင့်သီး သို့ အေး။
jə dʊ θi thwí lánàɴθi, θi ʔé
 1SG strike die dog although die NEG
 ‘Although I struck the dog intending to kill it, but it did not die.’

For the combinations other than ‘transitive + intransitive’, however, this feature does not hold. For example, in (89) above, negation of V2 renders the sentence semantically odd. Thus, sentence (94) is not acceptable.

⁸ In terms of pragmatics, if sentence (92) is not followed by a clause which negates the verb သို့ *θi* ‘die’, the ‘dog’ is usually interpreted to have been dead.

- (94) *ယ့် ထိုအင်း ကောတ် လာ•ကင့်သီး အင်း အေး။
 *jə xwè ʔán kɔ̃ lānānθí, ʔán ʔé
 1SG buy eat cake although eat NEG

Literal meaning: 'Although I bought a cake and ate it, but I did not eat it.'

In this case, V2 in the serial verb construction ထိုအင်း *xwè ʔán* (buy / eat) is not merely a intended event of the actor. That is, the action denoted by V2 has to have been performed in order for this serial verb construction to be semantically true.

In addition, the order of V1 and V2 follows the temporal sequence of events, with the exception of the five motion verbs: လေင် *li* 'go', ဟုလ့် *yé* 'come', ထာင် *thāin* 'return', ထင်း *thán* 'ascend', and လင် *lān* 'descend'. Pwo Karen mandates that these motion verbs appear as the first verb in the concatenated type of serial verb construction. Thus, even if the motions 'go', 'come', 'return', 'ascend', and 'descend' occurred after another action, these five verbs have to appear in the V1 slot. Thus, (95) can express not only the situation 'I came and bought a fish', but also the situation 'I bought a fish and came (with it)'.

- (95) ယ့် ဟုလ့် ထို လး။
 jə yé xwè já
 1SG come buy fish

'I came and bought a fish,' or 'I bought a fish and came (with it).'

• Separated type

In the separated type of serial verb construction, a noun phrase or an adpositional phrase can intervene between V1 and V2. In this type, V2 is usually an intransitive verb, while V1 can be either intransitive or transitive.

There are two cases of the separated type constructions in terms of the semantic relationship between V1 and V2. The first case is when V2 is the result or effect of the action or event denoted by V1, as seen in (96), (97), and (98):

- (96) အိုဝေ လင်ထေ သို။
 ʔawé lānthé θi
 3SG fall die

'He fell and died.'

- (97) အိုဝေ အင်း မေဝ် ဝှယ်။
 ʔawé ʔán mī blè
 3SG eat rice full

'He ate rice and got full.'

- (98) မီယဝ် ဝး ကာ။ သို့။
mijò bá ká θî
 cat hit car die
 ‘The cat collided with a car and died.’

The second case is when V2 denotes ability, possibility, or permissive. See (99) and (100):

- (99) အိုဝေ ကာ။ သို့။
ʔəwé nán ká θî
 3SG drive car capable
 ‘He can drive a car.’

- (100) ကို လေဝ် ဆိုယာင် ကေဝ်။
nə lî chəjàin nî
 2SG go far.place get
 ‘You can travel. (You are permitted to travel.)’

The verb ကေဝ် *nî* ‘get’, when used in this position, denotes permissive as in (100). A semantic change of the verb, i.e. GET to PERMISSIVE, has occurred here, but the verb has not been grammaticalized into a grammatical marker.

As previously mentioned, in the separated type, the event denoted by V2 is always uncontrollable. Thus, V2 must always be a non-volitional verb, while V1 can be either volitional or non-volitional. For example, the sentence below in (101) is ungrammatical because the second verb အင်း *ʔán* ‘eat’ is volitional:

- (101) *ယို အင်းဖိင့် မေဝ် အင်း။
**jə ʔánphôn mî ʔán*
 1SG cook rice eat
 Intended meaning: ‘I cooked rice and ate it.’

If a speaker wants to construct a sentence with the meaning ‘I cooked rice and ate it’, the concatenated-type serialization has to be used, as shown in (102) below:

- (102) ယို အင်းဖိင့် အင်း မေဝ်။
jə ʔánphôn ʔán mî
 1SG cook eat rice
 ‘I cooked rice and ate it.’

Serial verb constructions like (101), where a noun phrase intervenes between the two volitional verbs, are often observed in SVO languages in Southeast Asia. For example, Thai *hǔn khâaw kin* (cook / rice / eat) ‘I cooked rice to eat’⁹ is grammatical. However, serialization like this is not acceptable in Pwo Karen. Solnit (1997: 56–57) points out that Karenic languages show a preference for immediate concatenation of verbs. Pwo Karen is no exception. Solnit (2006: 159) also suggests that this preference is a legacy of the old Tibeto-Burman verb-final typology.¹⁰

In terms of argument sharing, there are two cases in the separated type. The first case is when the subject arguments of V1 and V2 are the same, as can be seen in (96), (97), (98), (99), and (100) above (S=S, A=S, A=S, A=S, and probably A=S, respectively). V2 in the separate type is usually an intransitive verb, as mentioned above; however, if V1 is a transitive verb, V2 also may be a transitive verb, although this is rare. Sentence (103) below is such an example. In this case, the object arguments of V1 and V2 are the same, as well as the subject arguments (A=A).

- (103) လှ် အင်းယုၼ် ခင်းဖ် ဒူး လှ်ၼ်။
jə ʔánxuí khánphài dá jàv
 1SG look.for sandal find PERF
 ‘I was looking for a pair of sandals and have found one.’

The second case is when the object argument of V1 and the subject argument of V2 are the same (O=S), as seen in (104). This type of serial verb construction is called a ‘pivotal serial verb construction’ in Jarkey (2010: 118)

- (104) လှ် ချောက် ထဲး သို့ လှ်ၼ်။
jə dʊ́ thwí θi jàv
 1SG strike dog die PERF
 ‘I hit the dog, and it died.’

Finally, it is worthwhile to compare the semantic characteristics of (104) and (92), which are semantically similar to each other. As previously mentioned, in

⁹ As an English translation for this Thai serial verb construction, ‘I cooked rice to eat’ is more suitable than ‘I cooked rice and ate it’ because putting the clause ‘but, I did not eat’ afterwards makes no discrepancy (Prof. Marasri Miyamoto, p.c.).

¹⁰ Generally, serial verb constructions in verb-final languages do not allow a noun phrase to intervene between the verbs (see Foley & Olson 1985).

(92), the event denoted by V2 does not have to actually happen. However, in (104), a separated construction, the event denoted by V2 has actually happened. Thus, (105) is semantically unacceptable. Compare this with sentence (93).

- (105) *ယုံ ချောတ် ထုံး သို့ လာ.ကန့်သီး သို့ အေး။
 *jə dʊ́ thwí θí lānâNθí, θí ʔé
 1SG strike dog die although die NEG
 Literal meaning: ‘I struck the dog and it died, but it did not die.’

• Versatile verbs

Some verbs in concatenated serial verb constructions have changed their meanings into more abstract ones and are therefore more flexible in terms of co-occurrence with other verbs. I call these verbs ‘versatile verbs’ here, following Matisoff’s (1969) terminology, although Kato (2004) treats them as verb particles. Aikhenvald & Dixon’s (2006) ‘asymmetrical serial verb constructions’ are serial verb constructions which contain this type of verbs. Some of the Pwo Karen versatile verbs can be pronounced differently from the main verbs. This fact suggests that these verbs have been grammaticalized and function as particles.

The verb ယောဝ်. *jə* ‘look at’ functions as a versatile verb which indicates tentativeness. (See Burmese parallel examples, p. ■■■).

- (106) ယုံ အင်း ယောဝ်. ခေါင်သး။
 jə ʔán jə khòthá
 1SG eat look mango
 ‘I ate a mango to taste it.’

The verb ထင်: *thán* ‘ascend’ can be used as a versatile verb to indicate that V1 is performed with upward movement. As a versatile verb, it can be pronounced either *thán* or *bán*.

- (107) အုံ့ဝေ ယောဝ်. ထင်: ခေါတ်လံင်။
 ʔəwé jə thán khó̀lòN
 3SG look ascend mountain
 ‘He looked up the mountain.’

Similarly, the verb လင် *làn* ‘descend’ functions as a versatile verb to indicate that V1 is performed with downward movement. As a versatile verb, it can be pronounced either *làn* or *bàn*.

- (108) အိုဝေ့ ယောဝ် လင် သိင်း ခင်းထာ်။
ʔəwé j̄ɔ̄ lən̄ θéin khánthài
 3SG look descend tree root
 ‘He looked down the root of the tree.’

Note that, in Pwo Karen, the verbs လေင် *l̄i* ‘go’ and ဟ့ယ့် *ɣé* ‘come’ are not used as versatile verbs.

The verb *khwái* ‘throw’, as a versatile verb, indicates thoroughness of an action. It can be pronounced either *khwái* or *wái* as a versatile verb. (See Burmese, p. ■■■■).

- (109) အဝ် နွိုက် သာ် အေလုက်။
ʔə khwái θài ʔəláv
 drink throw liquor all
 ‘Drink up all the liquor.’

ဝးသာ *báθà* ‘want’ can occur as a versatile verb expressing desire to perform V1. It can be pronounced either *báθà* or *wáθà* as a versatile verb.

- (110) ယ့် မို ယောဝ် ဝးသာ ဆိုဟ့င်မိုင့်။
jə mə j̄ɔ̄ báθà chəyànmə̃n
 1SG IRR look want movie
 ‘I want to see the movie.’

ဇှိုလင့် *phílân* ‘give’, a ditransitive verb, can occur as both V1 and V2 as a versatile verb. See also sentence (56) in 4.1, where ဇှိုလင့် *phílân* occurs as the main verb. When the versatile verb ဇှိုလင့် *phílân* appears in the V1 position, it functions as a causative auxiliary (see Kato 2009a for more detail):

- (111) အိုဝေ့ ဇှိုလင့် ပဝ် ယ့် လိက်အုက်။
ʔəwé phílân p̄ɔ̄ j̄ə láip̄àv
 3SG give read 1SG book
 ‘He had me read a book.’

On the other hand, when ဇှိုလင့် *phílân* appears as a versatile verb in the V2 position, it expresses benefactivity (see Kato 2009a for more detail). In this position, it can be pronounced either as *phílân* or *wílân*.

- (112) အိုဝေ့ ပဝ်. ဖေ်လင့် ယို လိက်အိုဝ်။
ʔəwɛ̌ p̄ɔ̌ p̄hɪlân jə̌ láɪʔàɔ̌
 3SG read give 1SG book
 ‘He read a book for me.’

As Matisoff (1991c) discusses, many Southeast Asian languages have grammaticalized the verb ‘to give’ as a causative or benefactive marker, and Pwo Karen is no exception.

4.4 Clausal/sentential organization

4.4.1 Ellipsis of arguments

In Pwo Karen, arguments can be omitted if their identity is inferrable from the context. The next example presents two sequential sentences in context. The subject အိုဝေ့ *ʔəwɛ̌* ‘3SG’ in (b) refers to Thawa, and it is omissible.

- (113) a. လိုဂီယိုင် သာအွာ ဟယ့် လို ယိုဟိုင်းယိုင်။
lənɪjò θàʔwà ɣɛ̌ lə̌ jə̌ ɣéɪn jò
 today Thawa come L 1SG house this
 ‘Thawa came to my house today.’
- b. (အိုဝေ့) မာဝိုင် ဖေ်လင့် ယို သိုင်ဂီခိုင်။
ʔəwɛ̌ mə̀bò p̄hɪlân jə̌ θèɪnɪkhlò̀n
 3SG help give 1SG all.day
 ‘(He) helped me all day.’

4.4.2 Topicalization

Pwo Karen has a syntactic topicalizing process whereby the topicalized constituent appears in sentence-initial position followed by a topic marker. The topic marker is usually required. A topicalized constituent is given an explanation about it in the rest of the sentence. Topicalization occurs frequently in Pwo Karen. Kato (2004) lists five topic markers, among which လို *nɔ̌* is used most frequently. လို *nɔ̌* is grammaticalized from the demonstrative particle လို *nɔ̌* ‘that’.

Consider (114) below as an example. When the subject သာအွာ *θàʔwà* is topicalized, we get (115), and when the object သာခိုင် *θàkhléɪn* is topicalized, we get (116).

- (114) သာအွာ ညှော်တ် သာခိုင်း။
θàʔwà dʊ θàkhléin
 Thawa strike Thakhlein
 ‘Thawa struck Thakhlein.’
- (115) သာအွာ ကို ညှော်တ် သာခိုင်း။
θàʔwà nʊ dʊ θàkhléin
 Thawa TOP strike Thakhlein
 ‘As for Thawa, he struck Thakhlein.’
- (116) သာခိုင်း ကို သာအွာ ညှော်တ်။
θàkhléin nʊ θàʔwà dʊ
 Thakhlein TOP Thawa strike
 ‘As for Thakhlein, Thawa struck him.’

Constituents that can be topicalized are not limited to arguments of a verb. Sentence (117) is an example where an adpositional phrase is topicalized, and (118) is an example where a subordinate clause is topicalized.

- (117) ချေ နှောတ်ထုံ ကို ယုံ အင်း မေဝ် ၼ အေး။
dē nʊθhòʊN nʊ jə ʔán m̥i bá ʔé
 with spoon TOP 1SG eat rice ~~right~~ NEG
 ‘With a spoon, I ~~cannot~~ eat rice.’
- (118) သာခိုင်း အေ အို ကို ယုံ ဝို ဟယ့် ကိုဝ် ကေဝ် အို။
θàkhléin ʔè ʔʊ nʊ jə mə ʔé kò n̥i ʔə
 Thakhlein if exist TOP 1SG IRR come call get 3SG
 ‘If Thakhlein is there, I will bring him here.’

4.4.3 Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences in Pwo Karen can be defined as sentences that have an interrogative particle ဟ့ *bá* or လယ့် *lé*, as discussed in Kato (2013). There are two types of interrogative sentences: polar interrogative sentences (yes-no questions) and content interrogative sentences (wh-questions).

A polar interrogative sentence is formed by placing the particle ဟ့ *bá* at the end of the sentence. See (119) and (120) for examples.

- (119) ကို နို လေဝ် ဟ့ၣ်။
nə mə ɿ̃ ɲá
 2SG IRR go PQ
 ‘Will you go?’
- (120) မူဟ့ၣ် အိုဝေဝ် လေဝ် ဟ့ၣ်။
muiyá ʔəwé ɿ̃ phjá ɲá
 yesterday 3SG go market PQ
 ‘Did he go to the market yesterday?’

A content interrogative sentence is formed by using an interrogative word and placing the particle လဝ် *lɛ̃* at the end of the sentence. The occurrence of လဝ် *lɛ̃* seems semantically redundant, but it is a required element and cannot be omitted. Interrogative words include ဆိုကို *chə́nɔ́* ‘what’, ခွဲ *phlòɴ* ‘who’, ထိုင်ခဝ် *thòɴkhɔ́* ‘where’, ဆာ်ယိက် *chàijái* (လေဝ်လေဝ် *lɛ̃lɛ̃*) ‘when’, ဝးကို *bánɔ́* ‘why’, and ခဝ်ခဝ် *khòkhɔ́* ‘which one’. Movement of interrogative words does not take place in the formation of content interrogative sentences. They appear in the same positions as equivalent elements in declarative sentences. Sentences (121) and (122) present examples of content interrogative sentences:

- (121) ကို နို အင်း ဆိုကိုလဝ်။
nə mə ʔán chə́nɔ́ lɛ̃
 2SG IRR eat what CQ
 ‘What will you eat?’
- (122) ခွဲ အင်း ဆဝ်ယး လဝ်။
phlòɴ ʔán chə́njá lɛ̃
 who eat fowl CQ
 ‘Who ate the chicken?’

Note that interrogative sentences in Pwo Karen cannot be formed by using a particular intonation pattern, which is the same case in Bwe Karen as discussed by Henderson (1978). Additionally, in some languages in the area, interrogative sentences can be made by juxtaposing the positive form and the negative form of the same verb; however, Pwo Karen does not have such a procedure for making an interrogative sentence.

In addition, လဝ် *lɛ̃* is phonologically similar to the colloquial Burmese particle လဲ *lɛ̃*, which has a similar function. Whether it was borrowed from Burmese is unknown. The Sgaw Karen equivalents of Pwo Karen ဟ့ၣ် *ɲá* and လဝ် *lɛ̃* are,

respectively, ၁ိ *hí* and လဲၣ် *lé*, and they are cognates with the Pwo Karen forms. Thus, if လဲၣ် *lé* is a borrowing from Burmese, the period of borrowing must date back to a time before the split of Pwo and Sgaw.

4.4.4 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are embedded in the matrix clauses without any marking, such as a nominalizer or complementizer. Sentences (123) and (124) contain complement clauses embedded in the subject position, and (125) is one embedded in the object position.

- (123) အံၣ်ဝဲၣ် အင်း မေဝ် ဖွဲ။
 [ʔəwê ʔáN mǐ] phlé
 3SG eat rice fast
 ‘He eats rice quickly.’
- (124) ပံၣ် ခါၣ် ဖွဲ၊ ကား။
 [pə khláin phlòvN] ká
 1PL speak Karen difficult
 ‘It is difficult for us to speak Pwo Karen.’
- (125) ယံၣ် ခူး အံၣ်ဝဲၣ် ကီး။
 jə dá [ʔəwê klí]
 1SG see 3SG run
 ‘I saw him running.’

Interrogative sentences can also be embedded in the object position. In this case, the entire embedded clause has to be moved to the clause-initial position as shown in (126). This sentence can be translated with ‘whether’.

- (126) အံၣ်ဝဲၣ် ကီး ဟံၣ် ယံၣ် သေၣ်ယံၣ် အေး။
 [ʔəwê klí ʔá] jə θijá ʔé
 3SG run PQ 1SG know NEG
 ‘I do not know whether he ran.’

Sentence (123) above is similar to the separated serial verb construction in (127), but their sentence structures are different.

- (127) အိုဝေဝေ အင်း မေဝ် ဝှယ်။ (=97)
ʔəwé ʔán mǐ blè
 3SG eat rice full
 ‘He ate rice and got full.’

One of the differences between (123) and (127) is that the embedded clause in (123) can be clefted, but the equivalent part that seems like an embedded clause in (127) cannot be clefted, as shown in (128) and (129).

- (128) ဝှဲ ကို မှဲ အိုဝေဝေ အင်း မေဝ် လှ်။
phlé nɔ́ mwé [ʔəwé ʔán mǐ] l̥
 fast TOP COP 3SG eat rice EMP
 ‘What is fast is his eating rice.’

- (129) *ဝှယ် ကို မှဲ အိုဝေဝေ အင်း မေဝ် လှ်။
**blè nɔ́ mwé ʔəwé ʔán mǐ l̥*
 full TOP COP 3SG eat rice EMP

Interestingly, northern Karenic languages such as Kayah and Geba use concatenated serial verbs to express similar meanings to (123), as shown in (130) and (131).

- (130) *ʔa ʔe phrē dī* [Kayah Li; Solnit (1997: 65)]
 3SG eat fast rice
 ‘He eats quickly.’

- (131) *ja ʔā plá dī* [Geba; Kato (2008a: 174)]
 1SG eat fast rice
 ‘I eat quickly.’

However, in Sgaw Karen, which is one of the closest Karenic languages to Pwo Karen in terms of genealogy and geography, a meaning similar to (123) is expressed with the same word order, as illustrated in (132).

- (132) အဝဲ အိန် မှဲ ချ့. [Sgaw Karen; my data (cf. Kato 1993)]
ʔəwé ʔɔ́ mē khlé
 3SG eat rice fast
 ‘He eats quickly.’

In order to more fully understand the history of the Karenic languages, it is important to take such syntactic differences among the Karenic languages into consideration.

5 Semantics and pragmatics

5.1 Common semantic domains

5.1.1 Food terminology

In Pwo Karen, food is divided into two categories: ‘rice’ and ‘food eaten with rice’. ‘Rice’ is called မေင် *mì* and ‘food eaten with rice’ is called သိုင်း *θâN*. The former term, မေင် *mì*, specifically means ‘cooked rice’, complemented by two other words for ‘rice’, as shown below.

Pwo Karen	English	cf. Corresponding Burmese words ¹¹
ရူး <i>buí</i>	‘paddy’	ဝါး, ကောက် <i>zǎbá, kau?</i>
ဟူဆး <i>yúchá</i>	‘uncooked rice’	ဆန် <i>shàn</i>
မေင် <i>mì</i>	‘cooked rice’	ထမင်း <i>thāmín</i>

5.1.2 Expressions of “cutting”, “carrying”, and “washing”

Southeast Asian languages tend to show fine verbal distinctions for particular actions such as ‘cutting’. Below are some examples of Pwo Karen verbs for ‘cutting’, ‘carrying’, and ‘washing’.

- Verbs of cutting

သူင်း	<i>dán</i>	‘to cut vertically with a knife or a sword’
ဖေံ	<i>phé</i>	‘to cut horizontally with a knife or a sword.’
ထိက်	<i>thái</i>	‘to cut with scissors’
ကိုတ်	<i>kətài</i>	‘to cut with a saw’
တိုင်း	<i>klón</i>	‘to cut powerfully with a knife or a sword’

¹¹ See Burmese chapter for a complete list of rice terms and corresponding forms in other SEA languages.

- Verbs of carrying

ဆောတ်	<i>chó</i>	‘to carry with hand(s) or arm(s)’
ယိုင်	<i>jò</i>	‘to carry on the shoulder’
တင်	<i>tàn</i>	‘to carry on the head’
ဖူး	<i>phuí</i>	‘to carry on the back’
- Verbs of washing

သို့လာ	<i>θijà</i>	‘to wash hands, legs, dishes and general things’
အင်းဆူယွာ	<i>?ánchuijwà</i>	‘to wash clothes’
အင်းဗျူ	<i>?ánphlū</i>	‘to wash one's head’
ဗှာ	<i>phlā</i>	‘to wash one's face’

5.2 Pragmatics & discourse

5.2.1 Sentence-final particles

Pwo Karen has a group of particles that appear sentence-finally and show the speaker's attitudes towards the propositions expressed in the sentences. These items are called sentence-final particles in Kato (2004). The most significant feature of sentence-final particles in terms of syntax is that they cannot appear in subordinate clauses. In other words, they appear outside the schema shown in Figure 1. The reason for this is that their functions are related to discourse-level features. Kato (2004) lists 22 sentence-final particles, and the interrogative particles ဟ့ာ *hà* and လယ့် *lê*, which we have seen in 4.4.3, are also included. It is, however, debatable whether the interrogative particles should be regarded as sentence-final particles because they can also appear in certain types of subordinate clauses, as shown in (126) in 4.4.4 above. The most frequently used sentence-final particles are discussed in turn below.

ကယ့် *nê* is used when the speaker expects the hearer's approval, as in (133).

- (133) ဆို ခေါင်. ဆာ့မာ. ကယ့်။
chə khə̃ chā mā nê
 thing hot much very SFP
 ‘It is very hot, isn't it?’

ယုင်. *x̃* is used when the speaker wants the hearer to understand his/her intention, as in (134).

- (134) ယံ မှ် ထာင် လၢ် ယုင်။
jə mə thàin lə̃ x̃
 1SG IRR return imminently SFP
 ‘I am going now. OK?’

ယာဝိုဝ် *jābò* is used when the speaker has a conviction, as shown in (135).

- (135) အိုဝေ လေဝ် ယာဝိုဝ်။
?əwé l̩ jābò
 3SG go SFP
 ‘Of course, he went.’

5.2.2 Politeness

Pwo Karen does not have a grammatical device for politeness, but politeness can be expressed using a vocative expression after the sentence. Vocative expressions include kinship terms such as ပါဝါ *pàpà* ‘father’ and မာဝ်တုင် *mətòʊn* ‘mother’; professional terms such as ဆရာ *charà* ‘teacher’ and မာန်ကံ *mànnē* ‘Buddhist novice’; and other relationship terms such as သောဟ် *θó* ‘friend’. Sentence (136) presents an example.

- (136) ယံ လေဝ် လိုင် အေး သောဟ်။
jə l̩ lə̃n ?é, θó
 1SG go anymore NEG friend
 ‘I won't go anymore, my friend.’

The Hpa-an dialect has borrowed honorific verbs from Mon that indicate respect to Buddhist monks. Three verbs have been noted so far in my fieldwork: ကိုညာ *kəjə* ‘go; come’, ဝင် *p̃* ‘die’, and ပိုဝ် *pət̃in* ‘inform’. They all are borrowings from Mon listed in Shorto’s (1962) dictionary as <kña> ‘honorific prefix used for verbs denoting movements when referring to monks’, <patim> ‘inform’, and <paw> ‘die (honorific)’.

The verbs ကိုညာ *kəjə* ‘go; come’ and ဝင် *p̃* ‘die’ are used when the subject of the verb refers to a monk, as in (137) and (138).

- (137) သင်ယာ ကိုညာ ယုင်။
θànkhá kəjə jàʊ
 monk go;come PERF
 ‘The monk has gone,’ or ‘The monk has come.’

- (138) သင်ယာ့ ဝင် ယုင်။
θàŋkhâ p̄ jàv
 monk die PERF
 ‘The monk has died.’

The verb ပုံတိဉ် *pətêin* ‘inform’ is used to describe speaking to a monk, as shown in (139).

- (139) အိုဝေ့ ပုံတိဉ် ထင်း သင်ယာ့။
?əwé pətêin thán θàŋkhâ
 3SG inform up monk
 ‘He spoke to the monk’

There is no particular honorific verb that describes the action when a monk speaks. When the monk speaks, the verb လိံ *l̄* ‘tell’ is used, which is the most common word for denoting speaking. Sentence (140) provides an example of this case.

- (140) သင်ယာ့ လိံ အို တိုကာ ။
θàŋkhâ l̄ ?ə təkà
 monk tell his disciple
 ‘The monk spoke to his disciple.’

တိုညာ *kaŋà* ‘go; come’ and ဝင် *p̄* ‘die’ can be called ‘honorific expressions’, while ပုံတိဉ် *pətêin* ‘inform’ is ‘humilific’.

6 Summary

Pwo Karen is a language with the following characteristics. In terms of its phonology, it has four tones and implosives. It is an isolating language, and its morphemes are monosyllabic and also sesquisyllabic. It also has many compound words. The basic word order is SVO, it has no tense marker, the nominal modifier precedes the head noun, and it has both postnominal and prenominal relative clauses. There are many numeral classifiers. Two types of serial verb constructions have been identified. Arguments can be omitted, topicalization frequently occurs, and complement clauses are embedded without any marking. There are also a number of sentence-final particles.

Although Pwo Karen is a language that has basic SVO word order, some of its features are aberrant from the characteristics common to VO-type languages in mainland Southeast Asia. These include the following: (a) existence of prenominal relative clauses (as shown in (70), 4.2.1); (b) nominal modifiers preceding the head nouns (as shown in (67) and (68), 4.2.1); and (c) a preference for concatenated-type serial verb constructions (see the discussion following (101), 4.3.2). Through my contrastive observation with other Pwo Karen dialects such as Western Pwo Karen, and other Karenic languages including Sgaw Karen and Geba, I propose that (a) can be attributed to the recent influence of Burmese, and that (b) and (c) have been followed from the Proto-Karen stage.

The history of the Karenic languages is still full of many mysteries. In order to more fully understand what happened that caused the proto-language of this linguistic group to change from SOV to SVO, we need to continue studying and analyzing these languages, one by one in detail.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADP	adpositional phrase
CAUS	causative verb particle
CLF	classifier
COP	copular verb
CQ	particle indicating content question
DEM	demonstrative particle
EMP	particle indicating emphasis
EXP	particle indicating experience
INP	indefinite pronoun
IRR	irrealis marker
L	particle <i>l̥</i> indicating Location, Source, and Goal
NEG	particle indicating negation
NM	nominal modifier
NP	noun phrase
NUM	numeral
PERF	particle indicating perfectivity
PL	plural
PLUR	particle indicating plurality
PQ	particle indicating polar question
PRON	pronoun
RC	relative clause
REL	particle that introduces a relative clause

SFP	sentence-final particle
SG	singular
TOP	particle indicating a topic
VPT	verb particle

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Appendix 1: Summary of linguistic features

Legend

- +++ the feature is pervasive or used obligatorily in the language
- ++ the feature is normal but selectively distributed in the language
- + the feature is merely possible or observable in the language
- the feature is impossible or absent in the language

	Feature	+++/++/+/-	page and § ref. in your article
Phonetics	Lexical tone or register	+++	2.1
Phonetics	Back unrounded vowels	+	2.2
Phonetics	Initial velar nasal	+	2.2

	Feature	+++/++/+/-	page and § ref. in your article
Phonetics	Implosive consonants	+++	2.2
Phonetics	Sesquisyllabic structures	++	3.1
Morphology	Tendency towards monosyllabicity	+++	3.1
Morphology	Tendency to form compounds	+++	3.1.1
Morphology	Tendency towards isolating (rather than affixation)	+++	3.1
Morphology	Psycho-collocations	+++	3.2
Morphology	Elaborate expressions (e.g. four-syllable or other set patterns)	+++	3.3
Morphology	Reduplication generally	++	3.1.3
Morphology	Reduplication of nouns	–	3.1.3
Morphology	Reduplication of verbs	+++	3.1.3
Grammar	Use of classifiers	++	4.2.2
Grammar	Classifiers used in counting	+++	4.2.2
Grammar	Classifiers used with demonstratives	–	4.2.2
Grammar	Adjectival verbs	+++	4
Grammar	Grammatical number	–	4.2.1, 4.3.1
Grammar	Inflection of verbs	–	4.3.1
Grammar	Use of tense/aspect markers	++	4.3.1
Grammar	Use of verb plural markers	–	4.3.1
Grammar	Grammaticalization of GET/OBTAIN (potential mod. resultative/perfect aspect)	+	4.3.2
Grammar	Grammaticalization of PUT, SET (completed/resultative aspect)	–	
Grammar	Grammaticalization of GIVE (causative, benefactive; preposition)	+++	4.3.2
Grammar	Grammaticalization of FINISH (perfective/ complete aspect; conjunction/temporal subordinator)	+	
Grammar	Grammaticalization of directional verbs e.g. GO / COME (allative, venitive)	–	4.3.2
Grammar	Grammaticalization of SEE, WATCH (temptative)	+++	4.3.2

	Feature	+++/++/+/-	page and § ref. in your article
Grammar	Grammaticalization of STAY, REMAIN (progressive <u>and</u> continuous, durative aspects)	–	4.3.1
Grammar	Serial verb constructions	+++	4.3.2
Syntax	Verb precedes object (VO)	+++	4.1
Syntax	Auxiliary precedes verb	++	4
Syntax	Preposition precedes noun	+++	4.1
Syntax	Noun precedes adjective	+++	4.2.1
Syntax	Noun precedes demonstrative	+++	4.2.1
Syntax	Noun precedes genitive	–	4.2.1
Syntax	Noun precedes relative clause	++	4.2.1
Syntax	Use of topic-comment structures	+++	4.4.2
Syntax	Ellipsis of arguments known from context	+++	4.4.1
Lexical semantics	Specific terms for forms of rice	+++	5.1.1
Pragmatics	Use of utterance-final pragmatic particles	+++	5.2.1
Pragmatics	Encoding of politeness	–	5.2.2
Pragmatics	Encoding of honorifics	+	5.2.2

Appendix 2: Text interlinearized

Folk tale: **TAMARIND TREE** (Recorded in Hpa-an, November 2000)

(1) ကဲ၊ ဖျာ့ခွာ နှံ လိုဟာ။

ké phjākhwā ?ṵ lə yà
 well male be one CLF:person
 ‘There was a [young] man.’

(2) ဖျာ့ခွာ လိုဟာ ကိုတာ။

phjākhwā lə yà nótā,
 male one CLF:person TOP

ဆုံ ဝါန်ထင်း ဆုံ ဝါန်ထင်း

chə phàn thán, chə phàn thán,
 thing bright ascend thing bright ascend

ယောင်ထင်း မင်ခိုင် ထောင်လိုင် ကို
jō thán m̀̀nkhlōn thàin lòn n
 look ascend tamarind branch upside TOP

ဇရာဇူယုာ ကို ခူး တာ
phjāphuáē n dā tā,
 old.man TOP find and

မွဲ ဖောတ်သး ဇရာ ကို အိုဆိုညာန် အို မာန် ယုဂ် လဝ်ဝေ။
“mwē phóthá phjā n ?ə chəjān ?s m̀̀n jàv” lè wé
 COP bachelor guy that his wisdom exist exact PERF tell EMP
 ‘An old man saw the young man [thoughtfully] looking up a tamarind
 branch every time when the sun rises, and said, “Absolutely this bachelor
 has wisdom!”’

(3) ခေယို ဖောတ်မူး ကို ယို မို ညှိုခို ကင်ထီး
“dē jə phómú n jə mə dàikhá ní”
 with my daughter TOP 1SG IRR make.marry for.a.while
 ‘“I’ll make him marry my daughter.”’

(4) ယိက်ယိက် အိုဝေ ညှိုခို ခွိုက် ဝေ ယာခိုင်။
jáijái ?əwé dàikhá khwái wé jābò
 soon 3SG make.marry throw EMP SFP
 ‘After a while he made them married.’

(5) ညှိုခို ဝေ သယ်ဟိုင် ကို
dàikhá wé thèyòN n,
 make.marry EMP after TOP

လို ဆိုဖာန် ဇရာဖောတ်သး ကို ယောင် မင်ခိုင် ထောင်လိုင် ကို
lè chəphàn phjāphóthá n jō m̀̀nkhlōn thàin lòn n,
 L dawn bachelor that look tamarind branch upside because

မွဲ ညာန် ဆိုလယို ဆိုလယို ကို သေယို အေး။
mwē jān chələ chələ n thijá ?é
 COP wisdom what what TOP know NEG
 ‘After he made them married, he wondered what wisdom the young man had
 because the young man [kept] looking up the tamarind branch at dawn.’

(6) ၵျာ့ဖူယျာ့ ထေန် ၵျာ် မွဲ အိုညာန် ၵျာ့အောတ်။
phjāphuēā thīN nō “mwē ʔə ɲāN phàdō”
 old.man think TOP COP his wisdom huge
 ‘The old man thought, “ He is a very wise man.” ’

(7) ယိက်ယိက် ၵျာ့ဖူယျာ့ ၵျာ် အင်းစာ အိုမး ဖဝ်။
jáijái phjāphuēā nō ʔáncà ʔə má phō
 soon old.man TOP ask his son.in.law PERF
 ‘Soon, the old man asked his son-in-law.’

(8) မွဲ ဆိုလယ့် နာန်ဝါ ၵျာ် ဝိန်ထင်း ဆို ဝိန်ထင်း
“mwē chələ, nāN wà, chə phàn thán, chə phàn thán,
 COP what daughter husband thing bright ascend thing bright ascend

ၵျာ် ယောဝ် မင်ခိုင် ထောင်လိုင် ၵျာ်
nə jō mǎnkhlon thàin lōN nō”
 2SG look tamarind branch upside TOP
 ‘ “Why do you look up the tamarind branch every time the sun rises?” ’

(9) ဝးပါပါ ၵျာ်ဒေ့ လဝ် ဒေ့ဒူး မွဲ ကျာ်ခိုင်။
pápàpà, ʔəwē lō wédá mwē cābò
 Oh! 3SG tell EMP COP like.this
 ‘Oh! The son-in-law answered like this.’

(10) မင်ခိုင်ထောင် ၵျာ့ ၵျာ် ကလ်
“mǎnkhlon thàin phjā nō nē
 tamarind branch thing that TOP

မွဲ အေ တောင် ယျာ် ထံင်း ကင်ထီး
mwē ʔè tàin èàv thón ní
 COP if make happen.to top for.a.while

မို် ဟင်းဖူ ယူးယေ့ဝ်။
mə ɣánpheu xáxì”
 IRR make.sound surely
 ‘ “That tamarind branch, if you make a top from it, it will surely make a lot of sound!” ’