

Verb Particles Indicating ‘up’ and ‘down’ in Western Pwo Karen

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Abstract

The Pwo Karen verb particles *thàñ* and *lán* originate from verbs that means ‘ascend’ and ‘descend’ respectively. In this study, I identify three uses that are common to *thàñ* and *lán*: indicating (i) direction, (ii) inchoativity, and (iii) emphasis. I also point out that, used with a particular verb, *thàñ* or *lán* can only employ one of these three uses. In addition to these uses, *lán* is also used in the reflexive construction.

1. Introduction

Pwo Karen is a language that belongs to the Karenic branch of the Tibeto-Burman linguistic family of the Sino-Tibetan linguistic stock. This language, as well as other Karenic languages¹, is an analytic SVO-type language. In my study (Kato 2009), I classified the Pwo Karen dialects into Western, Htoklibang, Eastern, and Northern Pwo Karen, based on my own research data and that of Phillips (2000). This study examines the Kyonbyaw dialect, which belongs to Western Pwo Karen. Kyonbyaw (or Kyonpyaw; in Burmese, /còunbyò/) is a city of the Ayeyarwady Division in Myanmar and is situated around 17°18'N, 95°12'E. Hereafter, “Western Pwo Karen” refers to the Kyonbyaw dialect².

This study investigates the types of verbs the verb particles *thàñ* and *lán* co-occur with in Western Pwo Karen, and the types of meanings *thàñ* and *lán* indicate when they co-occur with verbs.

Previous studies on Pwo Karen morphosyntax include Kato (1998, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2008b, 2009a, 2010) and Phillips (2008), but they all deal with Eastern Pwo Karen. No studies have ever been conducted on Western Pwo Karen morphosyntax, except very old grammatical

¹ For the historical study and genealogical relationships of the Karenic languages, see Haudricourt (1946, 1953, 1975), Jones (1961), Shintani (2003), and Manson (2003).

² The transcription of this paper is phonemic. Consonant phonemes are /p, ph, b, b̥, θ [t̥~θ], ð [d̥~ð], t, th, d, c [t̥e], ch, k, kh, ?, s, sh, z, e, x, y, m, n, n̥, ɲ, w, j [j~j̥], l, r [i~i̥]. Vowel phonemes are /i, i̥, u, u̥, e, e̥, o, o̥, a, ḁ/. Tonemes are ‘high level tone’ [55], ‘low level tone’ [11], and ‘falling tone’ [51]/. The syllable structure can be represented as C1(C2)V1(V2)(C3)/T. As C1, all the consonants except /v/ can occur. As C2, /w, l, j, r/ can occur. All the combinations of ‘-V1(V2)(C3)’ are /i, i̥, u, u̥, e, e̥, o, o̥, a, ḁ, ai, au, əN, an, eɪN, əʊN, əʊn, aɪN, aʊN, i?, e?, o?, a?, ə?, e?, əu?, əu?/. The pitch of syllables ending with /?/ is [51]. Phonemically, I interpret this pitch as the falling tone.

outlines of Duffin (1913) and Purser and Tun Aung (1922:172-217). There have, however, been studies on Western Pwo Karen in areas other than morphosyntax. Kato (1995) discusses phonology, and Kato (2002) deals with vocabulary. Additionally, Western Pwo Karen dictionaries of Purser and Tun Aung (1922) and Pwo Karen Baptist Language and Culture Committee (1990) exist. Purser and Tun Aung do not mention which dialect they deal with, but the vocabularies in their dictionary are evidently of Western Pwo Karen.

In the grammar of Eastern Pwo Karen (Kato 2004), I posited five parts of speech, that is, nouns, verbs, adverbs, particles, and interjections. This same classification can be applied without change to Western Pwo Karen. Of these parts of speech in Eastern Pwo Karen, particles are defined as words that cannot occur in isolation in speech. The particles in Eastern Pwo Karen that can occur in speech only when they are used with verbs are called “verb particles”. All 61 verb particles are listed in Kato (2004). In Western Pwo Karen also, particles that can occur only when they are used with verbs can be defined as verb particles. It is likely that the number of verb particles in Western Pwo Karen is also more than 50, but the precise number is presently unknown. Examples of verb particles in the Kyonbyaw dialect are shown below:

(1) *je mō lé*

1SG mō go

‘I wanted to go.’

(2) *je ?àn bà θa?klúθà*

1SG eat bà banana

‘I was able to eat bananas.’

(3) *?əwè dà só khòláun*

3SG see só mountain

‘He saw distant mountains.’

The verb particles *mō*, *bà*, and *só* in (1), (2), and (3), respectively, express desire, acquisition of an opportunity, and certain distance between the actor and undergoer. Some verb particles occur before the verb, like *mō*, and the rest after, like *bà* and *só*. In Eastern Pwo Karen, 11 verb particles (18%) occur before the verb, and 50 (82%), after. I believe that in Western Pwo Karen as well, the verb particles that occur after the verb are overwhelmingly greater in number than the ones that occur before the verb.

Western Pwo Karen has verb particles that originate from verbs *thàñ* ‘ascend’ and *lán* ‘descend’. They are phonologically identical with the original verbs, but *thàñ* can also be pronounced as *lán*. They appear after the verb and denote direction, inchoativity, emphasis, and

reflexivity. Eastern Pwo Karen also has the cognate verb particles *thán* and *lán* (Kato 2004:291-301). The sentences shown in (4) are examples of the Western Pwo Karen verb particles *thàn* and *lán*. Details of these verb particles are discussed in sections 2 and 3.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (4) (a) ?əwè sàin thàn | (b) ?əwè sàin lán |
| 3SG run thàn | 3SG run lán |
| ‘He ran up.’ | ‘He ran down.’ |

Sentences (5) and (6) are examples in which the main verbs *thàn* ‘ascend’ and *lán* ‘descend’ are used:

- | |
|---------------------------------|
| (5) ?əwè thàn khòláun |
| 3SG ascend mountain |
| ‘He climbed the mountain.’ |
-
- | |
|-----------------------------------|
| (6) ?əwè lán shei? |
| 3SG descend rice.field |
| ‘He went down to the rice field.’ |

Forms that correspond etymologically to the Western Pwo Karen verb particles *thàn* and *lán* and that also functionally resemble them, are found in other Karenic languages: Sgaw Karen particles *thô* ‘upwards’ and *lô* ‘downwards’ (Kato 1993); Kayah Li bound directionals *pøthe* ‘upwards’ and *tâlē* ‘downwards’ (Solnit 1997:136-137); Kayan directional suffixes *-tʰân* ‘upwards’ and *-lân* ‘downwards’ (Manson 2010:142-145); 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’.

2. Research on *thàn* and *lán*

Discussion in this study is based on sporadic research that I carried out while studying abroad in Yangon, Myanmar, from 1992 to 1995. The consultant is Ms. Dahlia Win (born in the mid 1950’s), who is a native speaker of the Kyonbyaw dialect.

As is shown in (4), the Western Pwo Karen verb particles *thàn* and *lán* appear after the verb. Many languages exhibit a phenomenon whereby motion verbs are grammaticalized. As Matisoff (1991) discusses, such a phenomenon is also often observed in Southeast Asian languages. We can demonstrate that the verb particles *thàn* and *lán* have been grammaticalized using the following two facts.

The first is word order: *thàn* in (7) below is a verb, and *thàn* in (8) is a verb particle.

(7) ?əwè thàn θo? pəlou?

3SG ascend wear shirt

'He went up and wore a shirt,' or 'He wore a shirt and went up (with the shirt on).'

(8) ?əwè θo? thàn pəlou?

3SG wear thàn shirt

'He wore a shirt.'

Verb serialization is highly productive in Pwo Karen. This language mandates that a motion verb appear as the first verb in the serial verb construction. Thus, in (7), *thàn* appears before the verb *θo?*. This *thàn* has not lost its original meaning 'ascend', and denotes that the referent of ?əwè 'he' goes up somewhere. However, the verb particle *thàn* in (8) has lost its original meaning, and has the function of emphasizing the meaning of the verb *θo?* in some way (see 3.3). This *thàn* appears after the verb³. The verb particle *lán* also has the same characteristic.

The second fact pertains to pronunciation. The verb particle *thàn* may be pronounced as *lán* in every use. Thus, *thàn* in (8) may be pronounced as *lán*. However, the verb *thàn*, as in (7), is never pronounced that way. Unfortunately, this criterion cannot be applied to the verb particle *lán* because it is never pronounced otherwise.

In addition to the motion verbs *thàn* 'ascend' and *lán* 'descend' in Western Pwo Karen, another motion verb, *tháin* 'return', has grammaticalized into a particle. The verb particle *tháin*, which originates from this verb, denotes 'doing something again'. Grammaticalization of motion verbs that mean 'go' and 'come' in many Southeast Asian languages has been well documented in the literature (see Matisoff 1991:438-440). However, the equivalent Western Pwo Karen verbs *lé* 'go' and *yài* 'come' have not grammaticalized into function words.

Using Hattori's (1957) questionnaire for basic vocabulary, I chose 275 Western Pwo Karen verbs to examine (i) whether each verb co-occurs with *thàn* or *lán*, and (ii) what meanings *thàn* or *lán* denote if verbs co-occur with *thàn* or *lán*. The results are presented in Table 1. Note that the 'verbs' in this table include expressions containing multiple words such as idioms, serial verbs, and verb complexes (constructions containing a verb and particle(s)). In those cases, spaces are used to show word boundaries.

The column headed with 'a/s' shows whether the verb is an active (=a) or stative verb (=s). Western Pwo Karen verbs can be grouped into active verbs, which denote actions or events, and stative verbs, which denote states. These features, that is, active or stative, are highly related with

³ According to Aikhenvald's (2006) terminology, 'verb + *thàn*' as in sentence (8) may also be considered to be one kind of serial verb construction, which is called the "asymmetrical serial verb construction". In this paper, I do not regard this as a serial verb construction, but as a construction where a verb is followed by a verb particle.

what *thàn* and *lán* indicate.

The column headed with ‘*thàn*’ shows what *thàn* indicates: ‘u’ represents upward direction (see 3.1); ‘i’, inchoativity (see 3.2); and ‘e’, emphasis (see 3.3). A dash ‘ - ’ represents that the verb does not co-occur with *thàn*.

The column headed with ‘*lán*’ shows what *lán* indicates: ‘d’ represents downward direction (3.1); ‘i’, inchoativity (3.2); and ‘e’, emphasis (3.3). The symbol ‘(r)’ represents that the verb is used in the reflexive construction but is bracketed because this type of use is peculiar, in that *lán* always occurs with the verb particle *θa?*. A dash ‘ - ’ represents that the verb does not co-occur with *lán*.

Table 1: Co-occurrence of verbs with *thàn* and *lán* and uses

(Notes: a: active verb, s: stative verb, u: upward direction, d: downward direction,
i: inchoativity, e: emphasis, r: reflexivity)

verb	meaning	a/s	<i>thàn</i>	<i>lán</i>				
[001] lé	‘go’	a	u	d	[021]	cou?	‘draw’	a
[002] yài	‘come’	a	u	d	[022]	swei?	‘pump’	u
[003] sàin	‘run’	a	u	d	[023]	θəw?	‘move (t.)’	d
[004] láun	‘chase’	a	u	d	[024]	jô	‘look’	u
[005] swá	‘crawl’	a	u	d	[025]	dâ	‘find’	d (r)
[006] lí ?ù	‘wind blows strongly’	a	u	d	[026]	kho?nà	‘listen’	d (r)
[007] jú	‘fly’	a	u	d	[027]	θàèò	‘breathe’	u
[008] jâ thi	‘swim’	a	u	d	[028]	mé	‘drunken’	i
[009] phù	‘jump’	a	u	d	[029]	mèin	‘ripe’	-
[010] pho?	‘follow’	a	u	-	[030]	?àu	‘exist’	i
[011] dō	‘strike’	a	u	d (r)	[031]	mè	‘alive’	-
[012] phàun	‘catch’	a	u	d	[032]	þàun	‘fat’	i
[013] shàN	‘push’	a	u	d	[033]	shà	‘ache’	-
[014] she?	‘stab’	a	u	d (r)	[034]	θa?	‘itchy’	i
[015] thè	‘kick’	a	u	d	[035]	kwì	‘ticklish’	-
[016] ko?	‘call’	a	u	d	[036]	θa?câ	‘old (as animate)’	i
[017] ko?câ	‘shout’	a	u	d	[037]	phlái	‘fast’	-
[018] ?ànsàN	‘ask’	a	u	d (r)	[038]	xàin	‘dry’	i
[019] mánê	‘take’	a	u	d	[039]	θèjà	‘know’	- (r)
[020] khwei?	‘throw’	a	u	d	[040]	?ài	‘love’	i
					[041]	θa?yàin	‘hate’	- (r)

[042]	θa?xwì	'glad'	s	i	-	[079]	xwé	'full, be filled'	s	i	-
[043]	θa?thàn	'angry'	s	i	-	[080]	khləw?	'free'	s	i	-
[044]	phán	'light, bright'	s	i	-	[081]	khàu	'free'	s	i	-
[045]	khô	'hot'	s	i	-	[082]	yáu	'early'	s	i	-
[046]	?wí	'sultry, muggy'	s	i	-	[083]	nâuca?	'late'	s	i	-
[047]	yâun	'cold'	s	i	-	[084]	xè	'heavy'	s	i	-
[048]	ló	'warm'	s	i	-	[085]	xwì	'light'	s	i	-
[049]	khwán	'circular'	s	i	-	[086]	?à	'many'	s	i	-
[050]	phlòun	'round'	s	i	-	[087]	?wì	'delicious'	s	i	-
[051]	sú	'pointed'	s	i	-	[088]	shè	'sweet'	s	i	-
[052]	láun	'straight'	s	i	-	[089]	yàn	'salty'	s	i	-
[053]	xó	'large'	s	i	-	[090]	yài	'hot, spicy'	s	i	-
[054]	kàidò	'rich'	s	i	-	[091]	khà	'bitter'	s	i	-
[055]	dò	'big'	s	i	-	[092]	shàin	'sour'	s	i	-
[056]	thàu	'long, high'	s	i	-	[093]	?ù	'rotten'	s	i	-
[057]	dĕ	'thick (as cloth)'	s	i	-	[094]	me? blàu	'blind'	s	-	i
[058]	tàn	'thick (as book)'	s	i	-	[095]	né?ù	'smell bad'	s	-	i
[059]	jí	'flat'	s	i	-	[096]	xwê	'slender, slim'	s	-	i
[060]	yáu	'red'	s	i	-	[097]	eaú	'slow, late'	s	-	i
[061]	là	'blue'	s	i	-	[098]	bàsàu	'wet'	s	-	i
[062]	bán	'yellow'	s	i	-	[099]	khei?	'dark'	s	-	i
[063]	jè	'green'	s	i	-	[100]	khlèin	'cool'	s	-	i
[064]	θè	'black'	s	i	-	[101]	lánlei?	'dull, blunt'	s	-	i
[065]	nè	'smell'	s	i	-	[102]	shei?	'small'	s	-	i
[066]	dà	'see, visible'	s	i	-(r)	[103]	phì	'short, low'	s	-	i
[067]	nâyè	'hear'	s	i	-(r)	[104]	bàθa?lò	'dirty'	s	-	i
[068]	shàun	'strong'	s	i	-	[105]	phou?	'soft (as cotton)'	s	-	i
[069]	yé	'good'	s	i	-	[106]	báin	'soft (as meat)'	s	-	i
[070]	?é	'bad'	s	i	-	[107]	jo?	'deep'	s	-	i
[071]	phlè	'smooth'	s	i	-	[108]	ea	'few'	s	-	i
[072]	θàn	'new'	s	i	-	[109]	lánbáin	'dented'	s	-	i
[073]	xilá	'beautiful'	s	i	-	[110]	pwí	'tired'	s	i	i
[074]	shèin	'clean'	s	i	-	[111]	bwá	'white'	s	i	i
[075]	náun	'hard'	s	i	-	[112]	bà	'right'	s	i	i
[076]	bou?	'near'	s	i	-	[113]	?àiN	'narrow'	s	i	i
[077]	jáin	'far'	s	i	-	[114]	yáithè	'get up'	a	e	-
[078]	lái	'wide'	s	i	-	[115]	sàin	'go out'	a	e	-

[116]	thou?	‘ride’	a	e	-	[149]	ka?	‘tie’	a	e	-
[117]	khláin	‘speak’	a	e	-	[150]	lí yài	‘wind blows’	a	e	-
[118]	jo?	‘carry on one’s shoulder’	a	e	-	[151]	wî	‘count’	a	e	-
[119]	sho?	‘lift’	a	e	-	[152]	θè	‘plant’	a	-	e
[120]	thànphò	‘rise to the surface’	a	e	-	[153]	?èshà	‘defecate’	a	-	e
[121]	shéthè	‘stand up’	a	e	-	[156]	?ànñwî	‘boil’	a	-	e
[122]	nî	‘smile’	a	e	-	[157]	?ànkà	‘bake’	a	-	e
[123]	yàn	‘cry, weep’	a	e	-	[158]	?ànxò	‘broil’	a	-	e
[124]	yàndo?	‘wail’	a	e	-	[159]	?ànyòun	‘steam’	a	-	e
[125]	wâtho?	‘shiver’	a	e	-	[160]	?àn	‘eat’	a	-	e
[126]	kài	‘become’	a	e	-	[161]	jû	‘swallow’	a	-	e
[127]	θè	‘build’	a	e	-	[162]	?áu	‘drink’	a	-	e
[128]	?ànmó	‘put something in one’s mouth’	a	e	-	[163]	pjо?	‘vomit’	a	-	e
[129]	nàñ θa?	‘wake up’	a	e	-	[164]	thòphlei?	‘spit’	a	-	e
[130]	làn xwéin	‘thunder’	a	e	-	[165]	shènán	‘sit down’	a	-	e
[131]	θàu	‘make sound’	a	e	-	[166]	mìnán	‘lie down’	a	-	e
[132]	ya?shè	‘sneeze’	a	e	-	[167]	mì	‘sleep’	a	-	e
[133]	kán	‘yawn’	a	e	-	[168]	thâun	‘pound’	a	-	e
[134]	káun	‘wear (as sarong)’	a	e	-	[169]	kei?dou?	‘wipe’	a	-	e
[135]	θo?	‘wear (as shirt)’	a	e	-	[170]	kwa?	‘scratch’	a	-	e (r)
[136]	wâi	‘open (vt)’	a	e	-	[171]	khwa?	‘shave’	a	-	e
[137]	kláin	‘whet’	a	e	-			(as plank)			
[138]	?àuxəw?	‘marry’	a	e	-	[172]	kù	‘peel’	a	-	e
[139]	thàncâ	‘marry’	a	e	-	[173]	θwà	‘slice’	a	-	e
[140]	θa?wi	‘sing’	a	e	-	[174]	nəw?	‘enter’	a	-	e
[141]	sou?kàun	‘collect’	a	e	-	[175]	kwé	‘write’	a	-	e
[142]	phó	‘swell’	a	e	-	[176]	thou?	‘scrub’	a	-	e
[143]	jo?	‘become inflamed’	a	e	-	[177]	jâin	‘step on’	a	-	e
[144]	bó	‘swell (as blister)’	a	e	-	[178]	?àukè	‘put’	a	-	e
[145]	mài	‘sprout’	a	e	-	[179]	lánthe?	‘fall’	a	-	e
[146]	báin	‘wind (as rope)’	a	e	-	[180]	khâ	‘break (vi)’	a	-	e
[147]	thùkhléin	‘roll (as paper)’	a	e	-			(as branch)			
[148]	sé	‘bind’	a	e	-(r)	[181]	shé	‘rain’	a	-	e
						[182]	lánjwá	‘flow’	a	-	e
						[183]	lánbé	‘sink’	a	-	e

[184]	khe?	'turn (as road)'	a - e	[214]	khè	'dig'	a (e) e
[185]	lánjei?	'die (as plant)'	a - e	[215]	yáiwa?	'move'	a - -
[186]	lánbái	'wither'	a - e	[216]	nâ?é	'deaf'	s - -
[187]	bèin	'close (as eye)'	a - e	[217]	nâxè	'hard of hearing'	s - -
[188]	bei?	'squeeze'	a - e	[218]	?əw??a?	'dumb'	s - -
[189]	phèlàn	'give'	a - e	[219]	bàkou?	'cough'	a - -
[190]	?ànshà	'sell'	a - e	[220]	?ànshe?	'fry'	a - -
[191]	?ànláun	'lend (as money)'	a - e	[221]	?ànlàin	'lick'	a - - (r)
[192]	?ànléin	'lend (in general)'	a - e	[222]	?àin	'bite, chew'	a - - (r)
[193]	kwè	'take off (as clothes)'	a - e	[223]	?áushou?	'suck (as milk)'	a - -
[194]	má bei?	'extinguish'	a - e	[224]	θa?bái	'hungry'	s - -
[195]	mè ?àn	'burn'	a - e	[225]	θa?wí	'hungry'	s - -
[196]	má θì	'kill'	a - e	[226]	má lánphei?	'turn off (as light)'	a - -
[197]	θì	'die'	a - e	[227]	mímân	'dream'	a - -
[198]	phlâ	'release'	a - e	[228]	lánphlài	'born'	a - -
[199]	má ya?yáun	'destroy'	a - e	[229]	?àuphlài	'born'	a - -
[200]	gàn ja?	'tear'	a - e	[230]	sou?shà	'sick'	s - -
[201]	má kàin	'bend'	a - e	[231]	blà	'recover'	a - -
[202]	phe? the?	'cut'	a - e	[232]	blán	'cure'	a - - (r)
[203]	lé xəw?	'mix'	a - e	[233]	te? lo?θa?	'quarrel'	a - -
[204]	lánđa?	'become hard'	a - e	[234]	dəw?	θəw? 'make war'	a - -
[205]	?ànphâun	'cook'	a e e	[235]	máné	'win'	a - -
[206]	sha?	'sew'	a e e	[236]	sà	'defeated'	a - -
[207]	pha?be?	'shut'	a e e	[237]	sàinphlo?	'run away'	a - -
[208]	ka?be?	'close'	a e e	[238]	θa?bàn	'young'	s - -
[209]	táin	'make'	a e e	[239]	?àupwí	'take a rest'	a - -
[210]	pho?be?	'cover'	a e e (r)	[240]	?ànyù	'steal'	a - -
[211]	plù	'carry on one's back'	a e e	[241]	má shəmá	'work'	a - -
[212]	phî	'melt (vi)'	a e e	[242]	?àupəthəw?	'stop'	a - -
[213]	láu	'tell'	a e e (r)	[243]	sei?	'say'	a - - (r)
				[244]	phô	'read'	a - -
				[245]	lo?kwé	'play'	a - -
				[246]	yáthəlèin	'dance'	a - -
				[247]	dâkháun	'see, run into'	a - -
				[248]	kho?	'wait'	a - -
				[249]	máshé	'help'	a - -

[250]	θàthei?	‘bump, hit’	a	-	-	[264]	málò	‘study’	a	-	-
[251]	yán sù	‘wave hand’	a	-	-	[265]	θa?mái	‘scared’	s	-	- (r)
[252]	θùwa?	‘shake; wash’	a	-	-	[266]	?àidò?	‘like’	s	-	- (r)
[253]	?àukè θù	‘conceal’	a	-	-	[267]	θa?lán	‘sad’	s	-	-
[254]	jôxwâ	‘look for’	a	-	-						
[255]	ðəw?nài	‘show’	a	-	-	[268]	làn wâidei?	‘lightning lights’	a	-	-
[256]	ðo?	‘bend’	a	-	-	[269]	ðlò	‘lightly seasoned’	s	-	-
[257]	?ànshùwa?	‘wash (as clothes)’	a	-	-	[270]	the?	‘pluck, pick off’	a	-	-
[258]	?ànlû	‘bathe’	a	-	-	[271]	?ànlû	‘rear’	a	-	- (r)
[259]	thàn	‘ascend’	a	-	-	[272]	èàn	‘poor’	s	-	-
[260]	lán	‘descend’	a	-	-	[273]	ðá	‘thin’	s	-	-
[261]	sháunmàun	‘think’	a	-	- (r)	[274]	lí	‘old (as thing)’	s	-	-
[262]	θa?nàn	‘forget’	a	-	- (r)	[275]	ðàmà	‘mistaken’	s	-	-
[263]	θàunlò	‘teach’	a	-	-						

3. Uses of *thàn* and *lán*

There are three uses common to both *thàn* and *lán*: indicating (i) direction, (ii) inchoativity, and (iii) emphasis. In addition to these, only *lán* is used in the reflexive construction.

This study shows that, used with a particular verb, *thàn* or *lán* can have only one meaning out of uses (i), (ii) and (iii), and that in uses (ii) and (iii)—in many cases—only one of either *thàn* or *lán* can co-occur with a verb.

In the following sections, I will discuss each use.

3.1 Indicating direction (upwardness and downwardness)

Both *thàn* and *lán* indicate direction: *thàn* indicates upward direction; and *lán*, downward direction. This type of use can be observed only in active verbs, and can be grouped into the following four cases: in which the direction of the (i) movement of ‘the referent of the subject’ is indicated, (ii) action itself is indicated, (iii) movement of ‘the referent of the object’ is indicated, and (iv) perceptual stimulus is indicated.

Sentence (9) is an example of case (i). (Sentence (4) is also an example.) In (9a), the sentence shows that the referent of the subject *?əwè* ‘he’ moves upwards. Conversely, in (9b), the referent of the subject moves downwards. Clauses read this way in the case of verbs that are related to movements. In Table 1, verbs [001] to [010] come under this case.

- (9) (a) ?əwè lé thàN
3SG go thàN
'He went up.'

(b) ?əwè lé lán
3SG go lán
'He went down.'

Sentence (10) is an example of case (ii). The action of ‘striking’ involves a motion of an arm. (10a) shows that the arm moves upwards, while (10b) shows that the arm moves downwards, that is, in each sentence, the direction of the action itself is indicated. Verbs [011] to [015] come under this case.

- (10) (a) jə dò thàn ?əwè
1SG strike thàn 1SG
'I struck him upward.'

(b) jə dò lán ?əwè
1SG strike lán 3SG
'I struck him downward.'

Verbs denoting actions of voice production can be included in this case. Examples are verbs [016] to [018]. When the mouth is raised upwards, *thàn* is used, and when the mouth is directed downwards, *lán* is used. See (11):

- (11) (a) ?əwè ko?éá thàn
 3SG shout thàn
 ‘He shouted upward.’

(b) ?əwè ko?éá lán
 3SG shout lán
 ‘He shouted downward.’

Sentence (12) is an example of case (iii). When a stone is thrown, it flies somewhere. (12a) shows that the stone flew upwards, while (12b) shows that the stone flew downwards. The clause reads this way if a verb denotes an action that involves a movement of ‘the referent of the object’. Verbs [019] to [023] come under this case.

- (12) (a) ?əwè khwei? thàn lōun
 3SG throw thàn stone
 ‘He threw the stone upward.’

(b) ?əwè khwei? lán lōun
 3SG throw lán stone
 ‘He threw the stone downward.’

Sentence (13) is an example of case (iv). In this situation, if the perceptual stimulus, that is, ‘his voice’, is emitted from a place higher than the actor, *thàn* is used; on the other hand, if ‘his voice’ is emitted from a place lower than the actor, *lán* is used. Active verbs that denote sight and hearing read this way. Verbs [024] to [026] come under this case.

- (13) (a) jə̥ kho?nà thàn ?ə̥ lû (b) jə̥ kho?nà lán ?ə̥ lû
 1SG listen thàn his voice 1SG listen lán his voice
 ‘I listened to his voice.’ ‘I listened to his voice.’

Most verbs that are used to indicate direction can co-occur both with *thàn* and *lán*; however, an exception has been found, namely, [010] *pho?* ‘follow’. This verb does not co-occur with *lán*. The action of ‘following someone downwards’ is expressed by *sàin lán pho?* (go.out / lán / follow) and not by **pho? lán*. The reason that **pho? lán* is not used is unknown.

It is interesting to draw attention to [027] *θàeò* ‘breathe’. *θàeò thàn* means ‘breathe in’, and *θàeò lán* means ‘breathe out’. This would be related to the movement of the shoulders or breast when one breathes. That is, when one breathes in, the shoulders or breast move upwards, and when one breathes out, the shoulders or breast move downwards. If one stands on one’s hands, these movements are reversed. However, even in this case, *θàeò thàn* means ‘breathe in’, and *θàeò lán* means ‘breathe out’. Thus, *θàeò thàn* and *θàeò lán* must be considered to be idioms meaning ‘breathe in’ and ‘breathe out’.

3.2 Indicating inchoativity

When a stative verb is followed by *thàn* or *lán*, ‘verb + *thàn/lán*’ expresses the beginning of a state denoted by the verb, that is, inchoativity. Verbs [028] to [113] are used in this type of use when they co-occur with *thàn* or *lán*. (14a) is an example with *thàn*, and (14b), with *lán*.

- (14) (a) ?əwè bâun thàn (b) ?əwè xwê lán
 3SG fat thàn 3SG slim lán
 ‘He got fat.’ ‘He got slim.’

In this type of use, only one of either *thàn* or *lán* can be used for a verb in many cases. Verbs [028] to [093] co-occur only with *thàn*, and verbs [094] to [109], only with *lán*. It seems that there are correlations between the meanings of verbs and the *thàn* and *lán* to be used. Following are three possible correlations:

[A] Verbs that denote states concerning large quantities co-occur with *thàn*, and those that denote states concerning small quantities co-occur with *lán*. For example, [032] *bâun* ‘fat’, [053] *xó* ‘large’ [055] *dō* ‘big’, [056] *thàu* ‘long, high’, [057] *dă* ‘thick (as cloth)’, [058] *tân* ‘thick (as book)’, [084] *xă* ‘heavy’, and [086] *?ă* ‘many’ co-occur with *thàn*; on the other hand, [096] *xwê* ‘slender, slim’, [102] *shei?* ‘small’, [103] *phì* ‘short, low’, and [108] *ea* ‘few’ co-occur with *lán*. It is interesting to note that this correlation is reminiscent of the metaphor reflected in English, ‘MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN’, which was pointed out by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:15-16). However, an exception

exists: [085] *xwì* ‘light’ co-occurs with *thàn* and not with *lán*.

[B] Verbs denoting good states co-occur with *thàn*, and those denoting bad states co-occur with *lán*. For example, [054] *kàidò* ‘rich’, [069] *yé* ‘good’, [073] *xilá* ‘beautiful’, [074] *shèin* ‘clean’, and [087] *?wì* ‘delicious’ co-occur with *thàn*; on the other hand, [094] *me?* *blàu* ‘blind’, [095] *nó?ù* ‘smell bad’, and [104] *bàθa?lò* ‘dirty’ co-occur with *lán*. This is also reminiscent of the metaphor ‘GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN’, which was pointed out by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:16). An exception exists here as well: [070] *?s* ‘bad’, a verb denoting the state of being BAD itself co-occurs with *thàn* and not with *lán*.

[C] Verbs that denote shapes, tastes, and colors (except [111] *bwá* ‘white’) co-occur with *thàn*. See below:

Shapes: [049] *khwán* ‘circular’, [050] *phlòun* ‘round’, [051] *sú* ‘pointed’, [052] *láun* ‘straight’

Tastes: [088] *shè* ‘sweet’, [089] *yàn* ‘salty’, [090] *yài* ‘hot, spicy’, [091] *khà* ‘bitter’,
[092] *shàin* ‘sour’

Colors: [060] *yáu* ‘red’, [061] *là* ‘blue’, [062] *bán* ‘yellow’, [063] *jè* ‘green’, [064] *θè* ‘black’

In addition to these three correlations, there might be a correlation ‘high temperature = *thàn*; low temperature = *lán*’, because [045] *khô* ‘hot’ and [048] *ló* ‘warm’ co-occur with *thàn*, and [100] *khlèin* ‘cool’ co-occurs with *lán*. However, [047] *yáun* ‘cold’ co-occurs with *thàn*.

Verbs that can co-occur with *thàn* and *lán* exist: [110] *pwí* ‘tired’, [111] *bwá* ‘white’, [112] *bà* ‘right’, and [113] *?ain* ‘narrow’. The differences between when *thàn* is used and when *lán* is used remain to be seen.

3.3 Indicating emphasis

When *thàn* and *lán* co-occur with active verbs, they may denote vigoroussness, suddenness, perfectness, thoroughness, or powerfulness. By translating *thàn* and *lán* (in this case into English), we can use the words ‘vigorously’, ‘suddenly’, ‘perfectly’, ‘thoroughly’, or ‘powerfully’. See sentences (15) to (18). In this study, I regard this function of *thàn* and *lán* as indicating emphasis. In this use, *thàn* and *lán* do not greatly influence the meanings of sentences. Thus, removing *thàn* or *lán* from a sentence does not lead to a large contextual discrepancy.

- (15) ?əwè shéthè thàn
3SG stand.up thàn

‘He stood up {vigorously, suddenly, etc}.’

- (16) ?əwè shènán lán
 3SG sit.down lán
 ‘He sat down {vigorously, suddenly, etc}.’
- (17) ?əwè θo? thàn pəlou?
 3SG wear thàn shirt
 ‘He put on the shirt {vigorously, suddenly, etc}.’
- (18) ?əwè kwè lán pəlou?
 3SG take.off lán shirt
 ‘He took off the shirt {vigorously, suddenly, etc}.’

In this type of use as well, only one of either *thàn* or *lán* can be used for a verb in many cases. Verbs [114] to [151] co-occur only with *thàn*, and verbs [152] to [204] co-occur only with *lán*. Additionally, it appears that there are correlations between the meanings of verbs and the *thàn* and *lán* to be used. I will point out three possible correlations below:

[A] If the action that a verb denotes is an upward action, *thàn* co-occurs, and if it is a downward action, *lán* co-occurs. For example, [114] *yâithà* ‘get up’, [116] *thou?* ‘ride’, [118] *jo?* ‘carry on one’s shoulder’, [119] *sho?* ‘lift’, [120] *thànphò* ‘rise to the surface’, and [121] *sháthà* ‘stand up’ co-occur with *thàn*; on the other hand, [152] *θò* ‘plant’, [165] *shènán* ‘sit down’, [166] *mìnán* ‘lie down’, [177] *jáin* ‘step on’, [178] *?àukè* ‘put’, [179] *lánthe?* ‘fall’, [181] *shó* ‘rain’, [182] *lánjwá* ‘flow’, and [183] *lánbó* ‘sink’ co-occur with *lán*.

[B] In relation to the action that a verb denotes, if something appears, *thàn* co-occurs, and if something disappears, *lán* co-occurs. For example, [127] *θò* ‘build’, [142] *phó* ‘swell’, [144] *bó* ‘swell (as blister)’, and [145] *mài* ‘sprout’ co-occur with *thàn*; on the other hand, [194] *má bēi?* ‘extinguish’, [195] *mè ?àn* ‘burn’, and [197] *θi* ‘die’ co-occur with *lán*.

[C] In relation to the action that a verb denotes, if something and something else approach each other, *thàn* co-occurs, and if something and something else separate from each other, *lán* co-occurs. For example, [134] *káun* ‘wear (as sarong)’ <approach of the actor and clothes>, [135] *θo?* ‘wear (as shirt)’ <approach of the actor and clothes>, [141] *sou?káun* ‘collect’ <approach of the collected things>, [146] *báin* ‘wind (as rope)’ <approach of the whole parts of the rope>, [147] *thùkhléin* ‘roll (as paper)’ <approach of the two sides of paper>, [148] *só* ‘bind’ <approach of the bound things>, and [149] *ka?* ‘tie’ <approach of both ends of the rope> co-occur with *thàn*; on the other hand, [189] *phèlàn* ‘give’ <separation of the actor and given thing>, [190] *?ànshà* ‘sell’ <separation of the actor

and sold thing>, [191] *?ànlâun* ‘lend (as money)’ <separation of the actor and money>, [192] *?ànléin* ‘lend (in general)’ <separation of the actor and thing>, [193] *kwè* ‘take off’ <separation of the actor and clothes>, [198] *phlā* ‘release’ <separation of the actor and released object>, and [202] *phe?* *the?* ‘cut’ <separation of pieces that are cut> co-occur with *lán*.

Some verbs co-occur with *thàn* and *lán*: [205] *?ànphàun* ‘cook’, [206] *sha?* ‘sew’, [207] *pha?bei?* ‘shut’, [208] *ka?bei?* ‘close’, [209] *tain* ‘make’, [210] *pho?bei?* ‘cover’, [211] *phù* ‘carry on one’s back’, [212] *phî* ‘melt (vi)’, and [213] *láu* ‘tell’. Differences between when *thàn* is used and when *lán* is used have not been subjected to research so far. Note that with [214] *khà* ‘dig’, both *thàn* and *lán* are used, albeit in different senses. *khà lán* means ‘digging soil or some substance’, whereas *khà thàn* means ‘digging up something buried’. Since the latter is considered to be an idiom, ‘e’ is bracketed in the table.

Of the verbs listed in Table 1, [126] *kài* ‘become’ and [145] *mài* ‘sprout’ are, in many cases, followed by *thàn*. In these cases, it is possible that they are being idiomatized.

3.4 The use of *lán* in the reflexive construction

The particle *lán* is sometimes used in the reflexive construction. Sentence (19) below is an example:

- (19) ?əwè she? lán θa?
 3SG stab lán RFL
 ‘He stabbed himself.’

The form *θa?* is a verb particle indicating reflexivity, and it originates from the noun meaning ‘heart’. (Kato (2009a) describes the behavior of the Eastern Pwo Karen verb particle *θà*, which has the same function.) In Pwo Karen, if a sentence has an object that is coreferential with the subject, as in (20), it is ungrammatical.

- (20) * ?əwè_i she? ?əwè_i
 3SG stab 3SG
 Intended meaning: ‘He stabbed himself.’

Instead of (20), the predicate needs to have the ‘verb + *lán* + *θa?*’ form, as in (19), to express the intended meaning shown in (20). ‘Verb + *lán* + *θa?*’ can be defined as the reflexive construction. In the reflexive construction, *lán*, as well as *θa?*, is a necessary item. Therefore, ‘*lán* + *θa?*’ as a whole

could possibly be regarded as one verb particle that indicates reflexivity⁴.

As shown above, the use of *lán* in the reflexive construction differs from the use of *lán* discussed in 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3, in that it always has to occur with *θa?*. Thus, *lán* in the reflexive construction needs to be examined separately. In Table 1, ‘r’ is shown in brackets in this sense.

The reflexive construction is possible with verbs that denote actions or states in which the actor itself can be the undergoer at the same time. The actions or states do not need to be high in transitivity. For example, the verbs in (21) and (22) are relatively low in transitivity.

- (21) ?əwè jō lán θa?
 3SG look lán RFL
 ‘He looked at himself (in the mirror).’

- (22) ?əwè θa?yain lán θa?
 3SG hate lán RFL
 ‘He hates himself.’

The acceptability of sentences with the reflexive construction cannot always be judged in a clear-cut way. For example, the verb *phèlán* ‘give’ generally cannot be used in the reflexive construction. However, if we think of a peculiar situation, such as when one dedicates himself/herself to ‘God’, *phèlán lán θa?* would be acceptable.

3.5 Verbs with which *thàn* and *lán* do not co-occur

Verbs [215] to [275] cannot be followed by either *thàn* or *lán* when the ‘reflexive *lán*’ is excluded. The meanings of these verbs are various. There are many cases where it is hard to understand why neither *thàn* nor *lán* co-occur with the verb. For example, [220] *?ànshe?* ‘fry’, a verb denoting an action related to cooking, cannot co-occur with either of them. However, other cooking-related verbs such as [156] *?ànxwî* ‘boil’, [157] *?ànkà* ‘bake’, [158] *?ànxò* ‘broil’, and [159] *?ànyòun* ‘steam’ co-occur with *lán*. The reason for this should be clarified in future studies.

Regarding the type of use in which inchoativity is indicated, stative verbs can generally co-occur with either *thàn* or *lán*. Nevertheless, some stative verbs do not co-occur with either: [216] *nâ?ɔ* ‘deaf’, [217] *nâkɔ* ‘hard of hearing’, [218] *?əu?θa?* ‘dumb’, [224] *θa?bái* ‘hungry’, [225] *θa?wî* ‘hungry’, [230] *sou?shà* ‘sick’, [238] *θa?bàn* ‘young’, [265] *θa?mài* ‘scared’, [266] *?àidò?* ‘like’, [267] *θa?lán* ‘sad’, [269] *błò* ‘lightly seasoned’, [272] *càn* ‘poor’, [273] *bó* ‘thin’, [274] *lì* ‘old’, and

⁴ The verb particle *θa?* is also used as a ‘middle voice marker’, as shown below (see Kato 2009a for Eastern Pwo Karen).

- (i) khán poján ?ànlái θa? jou?
 country Myanmar change(tr.) θa? (perfect)
 ‘Myanmar has changed.’

[275] *bàmà* ‘mistaken’. Out of these, [272] *càn* ‘poor’ and [274] *lì* ‘old’ have inchoative counterparts as independent words, that is, *lánèàn* ‘become poor’ and *lánlì* ‘become old’. Thus, *thàn* or *lán* do not need to be used. As for other verbs, the reason that neither *thàn* nor *lán* can co-occur remains to be investigated.

4. Conclusions

Three uses are common to the verb particles *thàn* and *lán*: indicating (i) direction, (ii) inchoativity, and (iii) emphasis. The particles *thàn* or *lán* used with a particular verb can have only one meaning out of uses (i), (ii), and (iii). In uses (ii) and (iii), in many cases, only one of either *thàn* or *lán* can co-occur with a verb. In addition to these three uses, *lán* is used in the reflexive construction.

The phenomenon whereby bound forms that originate from the verb denoting ‘ascend’ and ‘descend’ are put after the verb to indicate more abstract meanings is also observed in some neighboring languages such as Thai (Noss 1964:189-190, Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom 2005:168-170) and Lao (Enfield 2007:259-260, 387-389, Suzuki 2009). Thus, this phenomenon is likely to be an areal feature.

Abbreviations

1,2,3 - first, second, and third persons; SG – singular; RFL - verb particle indicating reflexivity

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西部ポー・カレン語の「上」と「下」を表す動詞助詞

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要旨

西部ポー・カレン語の動詞助詞(動詞小辞) thàN と lán は、それぞれ、「上がる」と「下がる」を表す同形の動詞に由来する。本稿は、これら動詞助詞の用法に関する考察である。thàN と lán に共通する用法として、(i) 方向を表す用法、(ii) 起動相を表す用法、(iii) 強意を表す用法、の 3 つを指摘する。任意の動詞と共に使われた thàN と lán はこの 3 つの用法のうち一つの読みしか持たない。また、lán には再帰表現に用いられる用法もある。

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