VALENCE-CHANGING PARTICLES IN PWO KAREN*

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Abstract: Pwo Karen has a large number of verb particles, some of which may increase or decrease the valence of the verb. This paper describes such valence-changing verb particles. When Pwo Karen is compared with Burmese, a neighboring Tibeto-Burman language, from the viewpoint of valence-changing, the difference between these two languages is brought into high relief. Burmese only has a few valence-changing auxiliary-like morphemes, and especially it does not have a valence-decreasing one. Many of the situations which are expressed with the valence-changing verb particles in Pwo Karen are conveyed by using particles following the nouns in Burmese, therefore we can say that Pwo Karen shows stronger head-markingness than Burmese. Pwo Karen and Burmese are largely different not only in word order but also in the details of their grammars, though they are neighboring languages of the same linguistic stock.

Keywords: Pwo Karen, Karenic, Tibeto-Burman, grammaticalization, head-markingness

1. INTRODUCTION

Pwo Karen is a Tibeto-Burman language which belongs to the Karenic branch.¹ It is spoken mainly in the Irrawaddy delta and the surrounding areas of the Burma-Thai border including Karen State. The number of speakers is unknown because of the lack of accurate statistics, but it may be between one million and two millions. Dialects can be largely grouped into the western dialects that are spoken in the Irrawaddy delta and the eastern dialects spoken around the Burma-Thai

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¹ Important studies on the history of Karenic languages include Haudricourt (1946), Haudricourt (1953), Luce (1959), Jones (1961), Burling (1969), Benedict (1972), Haudricourt (1975), Mazaudon (1985), Luce (1991), etc. For genealogical positioning of Pwo Karen within the Karenic branch, see Shintani (2003).
The dialect treated in this paper is spoken around Hpa-an, the capital of Karen State, Burma (Myanmar), and belongs to the eastern group.

Pwo Karen is an analytic SVO-type language, like the other Karenic languages. All of the Karenic languages which have so far been described are SVO, which is aberrant among the Tibeto-Burman languages, the large majority of which are of SOV-type. The sentences (1)(2)(3) below are examples of intransitive, monotransitive, and ditransitive sentences, respectively.

(1) \(θàʔwà\) \(chínàn\)  
(name) sit  
‘Thawa sat down.’

(2) \(θàʔwà\) \(ʔán \) \(khòʔá\)  
(name) eat mango  
‘Thawa ate a mango.’

(3) \(θàʔwà\) \(phílàn\) \(θàkhléin\) \(khòʔá\)  
(name) give (name) mango  
‘Thawa gave Thakhlein a mango.’

The single argument of an intransitive verb is always put before the verb, and this is also true of existential or phenomenal sentences. In a ditransitive clause, the recipient is put right after the verb, and the theme follows it. In this paper, I call the noun phrase appearing before the verb the ‘subject’, and the noun phrase(s) appearing after the verb ‘object’. For a ditransitive clause, I call the object appearing first the ‘first object’ and the one following it the ‘second object’. Note that the terms ‘first object’ and ‘second object’ only signify their word order and do not imply that either of them has the syntactic privilege. Therefore they differ from Dryer’s (1986) concept of ‘primary object’ and ‘secondary object’.

Pwo Karen has over sixty particles occurring with verbs (see Kato 2004), called ‘verb particles’ in this paper. Here we will examine the behavior of the verb particles which change the valence of the verb; and I will proceed to characterize one of the important aspects of Pwo grammar by contrasting it with Burmese, a neighboring Tibeto-Burman language.

2. VERB PARTICLES

Kato (2004) classified Pwo Karen words into four parts of speech: nouns, verbs\(^3\), adverbs, particles. The criterion to single out particles is whether the form can

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\(^2\) The western dialects and the eastern dialects are mutually unintelligible, and there are also a lot of differences within the western and eastern groups. Kato (1995) treats two Eastern dialects (Hpa-an and Tavoy). For the dialects on the Thai side, see Phillips (1996, 2000).

\(^3\) The category of ‘adjective’ is not posited. All of the Pwo Karen verbs can be divided into active verbs and stative verbs. Words with meanings that correspond to those of adjectives in
Valence-changing particles in Pwo Karen

occur in isolation. While nouns, verbs and adverbs can occur in speech in isolation, particles cannot do so. Particles have to occur with other forms in order to appear in speech. Particles can be classified according to what element they occur with. Verb particles are defined as particles that occur with a verb when they are used in speech.

There are two types of verb particles: those that precede verbs and those that follow them. The construction consisting of a verb and verb particle(s) is called a ‘verb complex’, and is diagrammed by bracketing it with \[ vc \] in this paper. See the following examples (bá and ðú are verb particles):

(4) \( ðà?wà \ [ vc bá \ ðú ] \)
  (name) must go
  ‘Thawa must go.’

(5) \( ðà?wà \ [ vc ðú \ ] \)
  (name) go stealthily
  ‘Thawa went stealthily.’

When a noun occurs after a verb particle following a verb (i.e., VERB + VERB PARTICLE + NOUN), the verb particle might look as though it were an adpositional particle. The adpositional particles have a function similar to the prepositions and postpositions of other languages. Take the verb particle dá ‘comparison’ for example:

(6) \( ?əjò \ yì \ dá \ ?ɔʔò \)
  this good that
  ‘This is better than that.’

dá is, however, not an adpositional particle. That is clear when we compare its behavior with that of genuine adpositional particles, e.g. the adpositional particle dē indicating instrument or accompaniment:

(7) \( ðà?wà \ ðú \ dē \ kā \)
  (name) go with car
  ‘Thawa went by car.’

In (6) and (7), the sequences of ‘VERB + PARTICLE + NOUN’ of both examples look like the same structure. But the dē kā part of (7) can be put into the sentence initial position by topicalization, while the dá ?ɔʔò part of (6) cannot be:

other languages are classified into stative verbs in Pwo Karen. Many of the stative verbs are intransitive.
On the other hand, the noun ʔəʔò of the dá ʔəʔò part of (6) can be removed, while the noun kā of the dē kā part of (7) cannot be:

(6′) *dá ʔəʔò nō ʔəjò yì
that TOP this good

(7′) dē kā nō ʔəʔwà ñì
withcar TOP car go
‘It is by car that Thawa went.’

These reflect the fact that a verb particle forms a constituent with a verb, and an adpositional particle forms a constituent with a noun.

3. VALENCE-CHANGING VERB PARTICLES

In this paper, the total number of noun phrases which can occur in the subject and object slots when a verb or a verb complex is used is called the ‘valence’ of the verb or the verb complex. When a verb particle occurs with a verb, the valence of the verb complex sometimes differs from that of the original verb. I call verb particles which have such a function ‘valence-changing verb particles’. Some verb particles have the function of preventing the object of the original verb from occurring and of introducing a new noun phrase as the object. In such a case, the valence of the original verb and that of the verb complex remain the same, but we can consider the valence to have been decreased and increased at the same time. I therefore also include such particles in the category of valence-changing verb particles.

In the following sections, we will see each of the valence-changing verb particles of Pwo Karen. These are a group of five verb particles which express causation (dà, mà, philàn, kò, lò), bá ‘subject of judgment’, nī ‘for, to’, khè ‘substitution’, philàn ‘benefaction’, dá ‘limitation; single-handedness; comparison’, nàin ‘comparison’, wī ‘precedence’, yèn ‘accompaniment’, bó ‘assistance’, ʔà ‘reflexivity; spontaneity’, lòθà ‘reciprocity’. The five particles expressing causation are preverbal, and all of the remaining particles are postverbal.
Some of the valence-changing verb particles are grammaticalized nouns or verbs. For the ones which originated from nouns or verbs, we need to examine whether they have actually grammaticalized into particles. The diagnostic criteria used in this paper to distinguish the verb particles from the original nouns or verbs are semantic, syntactic and phonological. Heine and Kuteva (2002:2) say that grammaticalization involves four main interrelated mechanisms; i.e. (a) desemanticization (or “semantic bleaching”) -- loss in meaning content, (b) extension (or context generalization) -- use in new contexts, (c) decategorialization -- loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized forms, and (d) erosion (or “phonetic reduction”) -- loss in phonetic substance. Semantic difference is related to (a), syntactic difference to (b) and (c), and phonological difference to (d). Unfortunately, all three of these differences cannot always be observed. For detailed discussions of each of the particles' grammaticalization, see below.

### 3.1. Causative particles

There are five verb particles which express causation, here called “causative particles”. They are dà (also pronounced dàu, dái or dĕ; perhaps dàu is the original pronunciation), mà, phîlân, kô, lô. The canonical pattern of sentences with a causative particle is as follows, taking dà as an example. With an intransitive verb, the causee occurs as the object:

(8) ?əwê [ve dà chîmân ] thàʔwà
    3sg      sit (name)
‘He let Thawa sit down.’

With a monotransitive verb, the causee occurs as the first object and the original object appears as the second object:

(9) ?əwê [ve dàʔân ] thàʔwà khôʔá
    3sg      eat (name) mango
‘He let Thawa eat a mango.’

With a ditransitive verb, the causee is introduced by the preposition dē, the first object of the original verb occurs as the first object, and the second object of the original verb occurs as the second object:

(10) ?əwê [ve dà phîlân ] thâkhlîérâ n khôʔá dē thàʔwà
    3sg      give (name) mango with (name)
‘He asked Thawa to give Thakhlein a mango.’

All of the causative particles can occur either with active or stative verbs.

Out of the five causative particles, dà and mà are used most frequently. dà is used when the causer does not have direct control of the situation, while mà is

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4 For grammaticalization in Southeast Asian languages see Matisoff (1991).
used when the causer does have direct control. mà originates in the verb mà meaning ‘to do, to make’.

(11) jə [vc dà əi] ?ə
    1sg die 3sg
    ‘I let him die (as he wanted to die).’

(12) jə [vc mà əi] ?ə
    1sg die 3sg
    ‘I killed him.’

phasis (also pronounced phlàn) is a particle which indicates benefactive causation; it originates in the verb phîlàn (also pronounced phlàn) ‘to give’ (its first syllable comes from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *bay [Matisoff 2003 (HPTB)]). As Matisoff (1991) shows, many Southeast Asian languages have grammaticalized the verb ‘to give’ as a causative or benefactive marker (see also 3.5 of the present paper).

(13) jə mə [vc phîlàn ñi] ñə
    1sg IRR go 2sg
    ‘I will let you go (for your sake).’

kò indicates causation which is achieved by inviting or calling someone, and originates in the verb kò ‘call’ (HPTB *gaw).

(14) jə [vc kò nóN thán ] ?ə
    1sg wake up 3sg
    ‘I called him and woke him up.’

{lò denotes that a situation is caused by saying something to someone, and originates in the verb lò ‘to tell’.

(15) ?əwê [vc lò chà ] jə
    3sg ache 1sg
    ‘He spoke ill of me.’ (literally: He talked to me so that I would ache.)

dà is a real particle, that is, there is no verb that can be identified as its origin. But the rest of the causative particles originate in verbs. In order to identify the latter as particles, we need to explain the difference between the first verb of a verb serialization as in (16) and these causative particles.

(16) jə dô əi ?ə
    1sg hit die 3sg
    ‘I hit him intending to kill him.’
Pwo Karen has verb serialization like many other Southeast Asian languages. There are two types of verb serialization in Pwo Karen: one is the concatenated type where the verbs are juxtaposed as in (17) and the other is the separated type where other elements like noun phrases can intervene between the verbs as in (18).

(17) jə ?ánphôn ?án mà
    1sg cook  eat rice
    ‘I cooked rice to eat.’

(18) jə ?ánphôn mà phlé
    1sg  cook rice fast
    ‘I cook rice quickly.’

In the concatenated type, when the combination of the verbs is ‘transitive + intransitive’, the logical object of the first verb and the logical subject of the second verb become coreferential, and as a result, the clause shows a causative-like meaning as in (16). In the other combinations (i.e. ‘intr. + intr.’, ‘intr. + tr.’, ‘tr. + tr.’), the logical subjects of the two verbs are always the same as can be seen in (17).

The difference between the causative particles and the first verb of the serialized verbs as in (16) is that the causative particles can take a transitive verb which denotes the caused event. mà, phîlàn, kò, lɔ can co-occur with transitive verbs:

(19) jə [ve mà pjò ] ?ə mà
    1sg  vomit 3sg  rice
    ‘I made him vomit rice.’

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5 The term “verb concatenation” was introduced in Matisoff (1969).
6 Solnit (2006a) says the Karenic languages show “preference for nuclear over core serialization”. Nuclear serialization equals the concatenated type here, and the core serialization equals the separated type. ‘Core’ and ‘nuclear’ are the terms of Role and Reference Grammar (Cf. Van Valin and LaPolla 1997). On the whole, the SVO-type languages of Southeast Asia prefer core serialization, but the Karenic languages generally prefer to use nuclear serialization and some of them do not have core serialization. For example, Geba, one of the Karenic languages spoken in northern Karen State, is such a language, and the serialized verbs corresponding to (18) exemplify nuclear serialization: ja ?ā plā dì (1sg-eat-fast-rice) ‘I eat rice quickly’ (my data). Although Pwo has core serialization, it also makes much use of nuclear serialization as compared with other Southeast Asian SVO-type languages. For the detail of Pwo Karen verb serialization, see Kato (1998). For verb serialization of the other Karenic languages, see Ratanakul (1981), Kato (1993), Lord and Craig (2004) on Sgaw Karen, and Solnit (1997:Chapter 4, 2006b) on Kayah Li.
In an ordinary serialization, however, the verb which denotes the caused event cannot be a transitive verb:

(23) *jə dů pjə ?ə mə
1sg hit vomit 3sg rice
(I hit him to make him vomit rice.)

This difference in syntactic behavior is the criterion to distinguish the causative particles originating in verbs from general transitive verbs. But since these four causative particles still preserve more or less the meanings of the original verbs and have not shown phonological changes, we could say that their degree of grammaticalization is low.

3.2. bá ------ introducing a subject of judgment

This particle is also pronounced wá. It originates in the verb bá ‘to hit against, to bump’. Below is an example sentence with the verb bá:

(24) phlā bá jə
arrow hit 1sg
‘An arrow hit me.’

The particle bá has many uses such as indicating inevitability, experience etc. It causes valence-change when it introduces a noun as an object indicating someone who judges the situation expressed by the verb, and often can be translated into English with the prepositions ‘for’ or ‘to’, as seen in (25) and (26). bá occurs with intransitive verbs, which are chiefly stative verbs.

(25) láiʔəw lə běn jə [vc máu bá ] jə
book one NC this comfortable 1sg
‘This book is enjoyable to me.’
This verb particle can be considered to have originated as the second element of a serialization, as below. The first and second elements are shown bracketed respectively with \([v_1]\) and \([v_2]\):

\[(27) \text{mùmùe } \vphi\text{lāphān} \ [v_1 \text{ chècō } \text{lān}] \ [v_2 \text{ bā }] \ jā\]

\[\text{sun} \ \text{light} \ \text{shine} \ \text{down} \ \text{hit} \ 1\text{sg}\]

‘The light of the sun came down and hit me.’

In this example, the light of the sun in fact hits ‘me’, but in (25) and (26), \(bā\) has lost the meaning ‘to hit’, and nothing hits ‘me’ or ‘you’.

Phonologically, the verb particle \(bā\) may be pronounced \(wā\) while the verb \(bā\) cannot be pronounced \(wā\):

\[(28) \ [v_1 \text{ māu } \text{ wā }] \ jā\]

\[\text{comfortable} \ \ 1\text{sg}\]

\[(29) *\text{phlā } \text{ wā } \ jā\]

\[\text{arrow} \ \text{hit} \ 1\text{sg}\]

The verb particle \(bā\) is semantically and phonologically different from the verb \(bā\). A syntactic difference has not so far been found, but there would be no problem in classifying it as a particle.\(^7\)

### 3.3. \(nī\)----- ‘for, to’

This particle originates in the verb \(nī\) ‘get’ (HPTB *r-ney-t). Below is an example sentence with the verb \(nī\):

\[(30) \ jō \ nī \ jā \ lō \ bèi\text{n}\]

\[1\text{sg} \ \text{get} \ \text{fish} \ \text{one} \ \text{NC}\]

‘I got a fish.’

The particle \(nī\) occurs with intransitive verbs (chiefly stative verbs), introducing a noun referring to someone which the event or the state denoted by

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\(^7\) In Southeast Asian languages, negatability of a verb can often be a test for the grammaticalization of the verb. But this test cannot be used as a criterion for the grammaticalization of \(bā\), because verb serializations such as (27) and verb complexes such as (25) and (26) behave in the same way with respect to negation. When a concatenated type serialization is negated, the whole set of serialized verbs are negated: the negative particle \(lō\) appears before the set of serialized verbs. In a ‘verb + verb particle’ construction, \(lō\) also appears before the whole construction. Thus, we cannot distinguish the full verb \(bā\) from the verb particle \(bā\) based on the manner of negation.
the verb is related to. Just like \( b\acute{a} \) in section 3.2, it can be translated into English with the prepositions ‘for’ or ‘to’, as seen in (31).

\[(31) \text{ch\~nod\~och\~l\~a j\~o [ve \~y\~i n\~i ] h\~a} \]
\[\text{vegetable this good 1pl} \]
\[\text{‘This vegetable is good to us.’} \]

The difference between \( n\~i \) and \( b\acute{a} \) is that, while a clause with \( n\~i \) shows the subjective judgment of the referent of the object noun, a clause with \( n\~i \) is neutral about whose judgment the situation expressed by the verb is. Therefore the sentence (32) does not show whose judgment ‘the shirt is beautiful’ is, but in (33) it is ‘she’ that thinks ‘the shirt is beautiful’.

\[(32) \text{ch\~a\~i\~n \~l\~o b\~e\~i\~n j\~o [ve x\~i n\~i ] ?\~a} \]
\[\text{shirt one NC this beautiful 3sg} \]
\[\text{‘This shirt is beautiful for her.’} \]

\[(33) \text{ch\~a\~i\~n \~l\~o b\~e\~i\~n j\~o [ve x\~i b\~a ] ?\~a} \]
\[\text{shirt one NC this beautiful 3sg} \]
\[\text{‘This shirt is beautiful for her.’} \]

The verb particle \( n\~i \) seems to have originated as the second element of a concatenated type verb serialization, as seen below, though the process of its semantic change is unknown.

\[(34) \text{ph\~o\~n k\~a\~i\~n [v\~1 \~\theta\~w\~\~i ] [v\~2 n\~i ]th\~i} \]
\[\text{pottery fragment suck get water} \]
\[\text{‘The piece of pottery sucked water.’} \]

In this example, the water moves into the pottery and the pottery ‘possesses’ the water, but in (31) and (32) for example, \( n\~i \) has lost the meaning ‘to get’, and ‘us’ or ‘her’ is not possessed by anything. Neither syntactic nor phonetic evidence has so far been found, but I would like to consider the \( n\~i \) described above a verb particle, on the basis of the semantic difference between these sentences.

In a concatenated type verb serialization which has \( n\~i \) as the second element, the first verb is usually a verb denoting an action or an event, but \( n\~i \) indicating ‘for, to’ usually occurs with a stative verb. This fact also might be considered evidence in support of the claim that \( n\~i \) has been grammaticalized.

3.4. \textit{kh\~e} ----- \textit{substitution}

\textit{kh\~e} denotes that someone substitutes for someone else, and can be translated with ‘in place of’ or ‘instead of’. An etymologically related noun or verb for this particle has not been found yet. It chiefly occurs with active verbs.
When this particle occurs with an intransitive verb, the noun showing the person who is substituted for appears as the object, as seen in (35).

(35) ṭəwê [Ve li ƙhê] jô
  3sg  go  1sg
  ‘He went in place of me.’

With a transitive verb, the noun which shows the substituted person occurs as the first object, and the original object occurs as the second object, as seen in (36).

(36) ṭəwê [Vè ?ámphô ƙhê] jô mú
  3sg  cook  1sg  rice
  ‘He cooked rice in place of me.’

3.5. phlân ----- benediction

phlân is also pronounced wîlân, phlân, phî or wî, and originates in the verb phlân ‘to give’ (HPTB *bôy). Below is an example sentence with the verb phlân:

(37) jô  phlân  ṭô  láîʔàu
  1sg  give  3sg  book
  ‘I gave him a book.’

The verb particle phlân denotes that an action is carried out for someone's sake.\(^8\) It chiefly occurs with active verbs.

When this particle occurs with an intransitive verb, the noun showing the beneficiary occurs as the object of the verb complex, as seen in (38).

(38) jô  [Ve li  phlân ] ṭô
  1sg  go  3sg
  ‘I went for his sake.’

When it occurs with a transitive verb, the beneficiary occurs as the first object, and the original object appears as the second object, as seen in (39).

(39) ṭəwê [Ve pô phlân ] jô lái
  3sg  read  1sg  letter
  ‘He read a letter for me.’

^8 Chappell (1992) discusses in detail the Sgaw Karen benefactive marker nê (her transcription is ne) which comes from the verb nê ‘to get’. The behavior of Pwo phlân seems very similar to that of Sgaw nê. She argues that nê forms a constituent with the following benefactive NP and cannot be considered an enclitic to the main verb, but in my Sgaw Karen data, nê can never be detached from the verb complex, therefore I would like to consider it to be similar to the verb particle of Pwo Karen. In my data Sgaw Karen has another benefactive marker ʔê, perhaps cognate with Geba ʔi that is a main verb meaning ‘to give’, but it is not used as a main verb in Sgaw. I do not know the difference between nê and ʔê.
This phlân can be considered to be what was originally the second element of the serialized verbs as is shown in (40).

\[(40) \text{jo} \quad [v1 \text{ hi}] \quad [v2 \text{ phlân}] \quad ?\da \quad \text{láiÈ} \quad \text{âu} \\
1sg \quad \text{go} \quad \text{give} \quad 3sg \quad \text{book} \\
\text{‘I went and gave him a book.’}\]

As already mentioned above, Matisoff (1991) points out that the verb meaning ‘to give’ in many Southeast Asian languages became the benefactive marker. Pwo Karen phlân is another example. It has lost the meaning ‘to give’ and come to show benefaction.

Phonologically, the verb particle phlân may be pronounced wîlân, as seen in (41), but the verb phlân cannot be, as seen in (42).

\[(41) \text{jo} \quad [v1 \text{ hi} \quad \text{wîlân}] \quad ?\da \\
1sg \quad \text{go} \quad 3sg \\
\text{‘I went for his sake.’}\]

\[(42) *\text{jo} \quad \text{wîlân} \quad ?\da \quad \text{láiÈ} \quad \text{âu} \\
1sg \quad \text{give} \quad 3sg \quad \text{book} \]

In addition to this, the verb particle also has the shortened form phî (or wî), as seen in (43), but the verb does not have such a form, as seen in (44).  

\[(43) \text{jo} \quad [v1 \text{ hi} \quad \text{phî}] \quad ?\da \\
1sg \quad \text{go} \quad 3sg \\
\text{‘I went for his sake.’}\]

\[(44) *\text{jo} \quad \text{phî} \quad ?\da \quad \text{láiÈ} \quad \text{âu} \\
1sg \quad \text{give} \quad 3sg \quad \text{book} \]

In addition, the verb particle phlân differs syntactically from the verb phlân. While the verb phlân can take two objects referring to the recipient and the theme as seen in (40), in a verb complex with the verb particle phlân, it is only the noun referring to the beneficiary that phlân introduces as the object. Compare (40) with (38).

As discussed above, the verb particle phlân is semantically, phonologically and syntactically different from the verb phlân. There would be no problem in classifying it as a particle.

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9 In an idiomatic elaborate expression such as phî yâin phî bjâ (give-strength-give-power) ‘support’, the form phî may appear.
3.6. **dá ----- limitation; single-handedness; comparison**

dá is also pronounced ʰá. It has three uses: limitation, single-handedness and comparison. An etymologically related noun or verb for this particle has not been found yet.

### 3.6.1 Limitation

When dá is used in this way, a noun phrase which limits the referent of the subject noun occurs as the object of the verb complex, and the sentence is translated into English with the meaning ‘only’. Examples are shown in (45) and (46). With this usage, the particle dá can occur with an intransitive verb only, but that verb can be either active or stative.

(45) phlòʊnmwì [vc ʔdá ] ʔðN ɣà
guest  be  three  NC
‘There are only three guests.’

(46) ʔəθí [vc ɣè  dá ] ʔəkhwâ
3pl  come  male
‘Only the male ones of them came.’

This verb particle dá cannot occur with a transitive verb, thus the sentences with the transitive verb tàin in (47) and (48) below are ungrammatical.

(47) *phlòʊnmwì [vc tàin  dá ] ʔðN ɣà
guest  make  three  NC

(48) *ʔəθí [vc tàin  dá ] ʔəkhwâ
3pl  make  male

If you want to express the meaning ‘only three of the guests made (it)’ and ‘only the male ones of them made (it)’, one of the ways to do this is to use a cleft sentence and add the particle ʰl̰ indicating emphasis in the sentence-final position, as seen in (49) and (50).

(49) tàin  nó  phlòʊnmwì ʔðN ɣà  ʰl̰
make  TOP  guest  three  NC  EMPHASIS
‘It is only three of the guests that made (it).’

(50) tàin  nó  ʔəkhwâ  ʰl̰
make  TOP  male  EMPHASIS
‘It is only the male ones of them that made (it).’
3.6.2 Single-handedness

When dá is used in this way, the clause can be translated into English using ‘by oneself’ or ‘for oneself’. In this usage, a pronoun coreferential with the subject is placed after dá. (51) is an example with an intransitive verb, and (52) with a transitive verb. Notice that the verbs occurring with this particle are chiefly active verbs.

(51) jə [ve ɣê dá ] jə
     1sg     come     1sg
     ‘I came by myself.’

(52) jə [ve tàiN dá ] jə
     1sg     make     1sg
     ‘I made (a cake) by myself.’

In the case of transitive verbs such as (52), the original object of the verb cannot appear. In other words, in this case dá introduces a new argument, i.e. the pronoun coreferential with the subject, and at the same time, prevents the original object from occurring. (53) and (54) show that if the original object appears, the sentence is ungrammatical.

(53)*jə [ve tàiN dá ] kó
     1sg     make     cake

(54)*jə [ve tàiN dá ] jə kó
     1sg     make     1sg cake

In order to say ‘I made a cake by myself’ in Pwo Karen with a single sentence, we need to use, for instance, a sentence such as (55) below, which has two clauses.

(55) jə tàiN kó ?əkhâ, jə [ve tàiN dá ] jə
     1sg     make     cake     when 1sg     make     1sg
     ‘When I made a cake, I did (it) by myself.’

3.6.3 Comparison

In this usage, dá occurs chiefly with stative verbs, and indicates comparison. The verb complex with this particle can take a noun referring to the compared entity as the object.

(56) ?əjə [ve ɣî dá ] ?əʔə
     this     good     that
     ‘This is better than that.’
3.7. náin ----- comparison

Just like dá (3.6.3), náin also expresses comparison. An etymologically related noun or verb for this particle has not been found yet. The difference from dá is that náin is more formal and old-fashioned. náin also chiefly occurs with stative verbs.

(57) nò [vc thô náin ] nà
    mouth high nose
    ‘The mouth is higher than the nose. (=to be talkative)’

3.8. wì ----- precedence

The particle wì indicates that someone carries out an action ahead of someone else, or that an action is carried out before another action. A valence-change occurs in the former case. An etymologically related noun or verb for this particle has not been found yet. It chiefly occurs with active verbs.

When wì occurs with an intransitive verb, the noun referring to the compared person occurs as the object, as seen in (58).

(58) jə mə [vc ft wì ] nò
    1sg IRR go 2sg
    ‘I will go ahead of you.’

Similarly, when wì occurs with a transitive verb, the noun referring to the compared person occurs as the object, as seen in (59), but if the noun is used, the original object of the verb cannot appear, as demonstrated in (60).

(59) jə [vc ?án wì ] nò
    1sg eat 2sg
    ‘I ate ahead of you.’

(60) *jə [vc ?án wì ] nò mù
    1sg eat 2sg rice

If a noun referring to the compared person does not occur in the sentence, the original object can occur as the object of the verb complex, as seen in (61).

(61) jə [vc ?án wì ] mù
    1sg eat rice
    ‘I ate rice ahead [of you].’

Therefore, unlike dá meaning ‘single-handedness’ which we saw in 3.6.2, the original object does not entirely lose the right of appearing in the sentence.
3.9. ṣeN ----- accompaniment

The particle ṣeN indicates that an action is carried out with another person. An etymologically related noun or verb for this particle has not been found yet. It chiefly occurs with active verbs.

When ṣeN occurs with an intransitive verb, the noun referring to the accompanying person occurs as the object, as seen in (62).

(62) jɔ [ve ḳeN ]ʔǝ
     1sg    go      3sg
     ‘I went with him.’

With a transitive verb, the noun referring to the accompanying person occurs as the first object and the original object occurs as the second object, as seen in (63).

(63) jɔ [ve ?ánchə ṣeN ]ʔǝ kô
     1sg    sell  3sg   cake
     ‘I sold cakes with him.’

This verb particle resembles the adpositional particle dẽ in that both particles indicate accompaniment. The propositional meanings of the two sentences below are the same, but the sentence (64) with ṣeN has the implication that the actor ‘I’ feels a sense of closeness with ‘him’.

(64) jɔ [ve ?án   ṣeN ]ʔǝ mû
     1sg    eat   3sg   rice
     ‘I ate rice with him.’

(65) jɔ   ?án mû dẽ ʔǝ
     1sg eat rice with 3sg
     ‘I ate rice with him.’

Note that the next sentence means that ‘I’ and ‘Thawa’ ate together with someone (i.e. there are three participants).

(66) jɔ [ve ?án   ṣeN ] mû dẽ thàwà
     1sg    eat rice with (name)
     ‘I and Thawa ate rice [with someone].’

3.10. bɔ ----- assistance

The particle bɔ indicates that an action is carried out to help someone. An etymologically related noun or verb for this particle has not been found yet. It chiefly occurs with active verbs.
When \( bò \) occurs with an intransitive verb, the noun referring to the person who is helped occurs as the object, as seen in (67).

\[
(67) \quad jə \quad [ve \, thán \, bò] \quad ?ə
\quad 1sg \quad \text{climb} \quad 3sg
\quad 'I climbed [the mountain helping] him [carry the rock].'
\]

With a transitive verb, the noun referring to the person who is helped occurs as the first object and the original object occurs as the second object, as seen in (68).

\[
(68) \quad jə \quad [ve \, ʔānphôn \, bò] \quad ?ə \quad mù
\quad 1sg \quad \text{cook} \quad 3sg \quad \text{rice}
\quad 'I helped him cook rice.'
\]

3.11. \( \thetaà \) ----- *reflexivity; spontaneity*

This particle originates in the noun \( \thetaà \) ‘heart’ (HPTB \( *\text{sak} \) “BREATH(e)”\(^{10} \)), and shows reflexivity or spontaneity.

### 3.11.1 Reflexivity

Occurring with a transitive active verb, the particle \( \thetaà \) meaning reflexivity denotes that the patient is the actor himself. It often co-occurs with the verb particle \( \text{lân} \) ‘down’.\(^{11} \)

In Pwo Karen, when the referent of the subject performs an action that is directed at himself, an object coreferential with the subject cannot occur. Thus, (69) is ungrammatical.

\[
(69) \quad *?əwè, \text{chè} \quad \text{lân} \quad ?ə
\quad 3sg \quad \text{stab} \quad \text{down} \quad 3sg
\]

In order to make this sentence grammatical, we have to use the particle \( \thetaà \) and remove the noun from the object slot:

\[
(70) \quad ?əwè \quad [ve \, \text{chè} \quad \text{lân} \quad \thetaà]
\quad 3sg \quad \text{stab} \quad \text{down}
\quad 'He stabbed himself.'
\]

\(^{10}\) This morpheme should not be associated with \( *\text{sam} \) \( \not\equiv *\text{sem} \) “HEART” (HPTB; p.311, p.537) because the Proto-Sgaw-Pwo form (perhaps \( *\text{sâ} \) or \( *\text{sak} \)) had the stopped tone (corresponding to Haudricourt’s 1946 third tone).

\(^{11}\) \( \text{lân} \) can also be pronounced \( \text{ʁàn} \) and originates in the verb \( \text{lân} \) ‘descend’. In passing, the verb particle \( \text{thán} \) (also pronounced \( \text{kân} \)) originates in the verb \( \text{thán} \) ‘ascend’ and means ‘up’.
θà originates in the noun meaning ‘heart’, but θà in (70) is not the object noun. This can be demonstrated by showing that while objects can generally be topicalized, θà in (70) cannot. For example, the object noun thwí in (71) can be topicalized and put in the sentence-initial position as in (71’).

(71) ʔəwə dó thwí
    1sg  hit  dog
‘He hit a dog.’

(71’) thwí nó ʔəwə dó
    dog  TOP  3sg  hit
‘As for a dog, he hit one.’

θà in (70), however, cannot be topicalized, as demonstrated in (70’) below.

(70’) *θà nó ʔəwə chè làN
    TOP  3sg  stab  down

(70’) may mean ‘As for the heart, he stabbed it’, but cannot mean ‘He stabbed himself’. Thus, it is evident that θà in (70) is different from the noun meaning ‘heart’ both semantically and syntactically. Thus it would be no problem to consider θà in (70) a particle although it is phonologically the same as the noun θà. The verb complex in (70) cannot have an object. In other words, we can say the verb complex is intransitivized.

3.11.2 Spontaneity (middle voice)

The combination of θà plus a transitive active verb sometimes denotes that the result of the verbal action has happened spontaneously. Transitive verbs used in this way with θà are basically volitional, but become unvolitionalized in this construction.

In sentences of this type, the original object occurs in the subject slot. See (72) first.

(72) ʔəwə pàu thán pàitərən
    3sg  open  up  window
‘He opened the window.’

When θà is used with this sentence, the original object pàitərən appears as the subject:

(73) pàitərən [ve pàu thán θà ]
    window  open  up
‘The window opened.’
Valence-changing particles in Pwo Karen

θà originates in the noun meaning ‘heart’, but θà in (73) is not the object noun, just as we saw in 3.11.1, because θà cannot be topicalized as in (73’) below.

(73’)*θà nō pātərān pāu thān
TOP window open up

Thus, θà in (73) should be considered a verb particle as well as θà indicating reflexivity, as discussed in 3.11.1.

The sentence in (73) cannot have an object. In other words the verb is intransitivized. Intransitivization was observed also in the use of θà meaning ‘reflexivity’, but it is noteworthy that θà meaning ‘spontaneity’ changes the object into the subject. We can call this phenomenon middle voice. The phenomenon whereby a morpheme showing reflexivity comes to indicate spontaneity or middle voice has been observed cross-linguistically. Therefore, it is likely that this use of θà originated from θà indicating reflexivity.

Pwo Karen lacks semantically and phonologically related pairs of intransitive and transitive verbs, as are found in many other Tibeto-Burman languages, e.g.: Burmese cā ‘to fall’ : chā ‘to drop’. It usually has only an intransitive verb, and a causative particle has to be used in order to express the corresponding transitive situation. For example, lānthē ‘to fall’ vs. mā lānthē ‘to drop’; thī ‘to die’ vs. mā thī ‘to kill’; yāyōn ‘to break (intr.)’ vs. mā yāyōn ‘to break (tr.)’; kāin ‘to be bent (intr.)’ vs. mā kāin ‘to bend (tr.)’.

However, there are a few cases where Pwo Karen has only the transitive equivalents, and that is the main reason why θà is used. It is used in order to express intransitive situations, e.g.: pāu θà ‘to open (intr.)’ vs. pāu ‘to open (tr.)’; θāu θà ‘to move (intr.)’ vs. θāu ‘to move (tr.)’; wāi θà ‘to twist (intr.)’ vs. wāi ‘to twist (tr.)’; ?ō θà ‘to peel (intr.)’ vs. ?ō ‘to peel (tr.)’; pānle θà ‘to change (intr.)’ vs. pānle ‘change (tr.)’.

3.12. lōθà ---- reciprocal

lōθà is also pronounced wōθà or kōθà. It shows reciprocity. An etymologically related noun or verb for this particle has not been found yet, though the second syllable θà might be related to the noun θà ‘heart’. This particle can occur either with active or stative verbs. In clauses with this particle, there are two ways to introduce the participants of a reciprocal situation. In the first of these constructions one of the participants is shown by the subject and the other participant is expressed by the noun with the preposition dē:

(74) jà [və máu lōθà ] dē ?ō [intransitive]
1sg comfortable with 3sg

‘I am getting along well with him.’

---

In the other construction the subject refers to both of the participants:

(76) hə [ve máo lőθà] [intransitive]
    1pl comfortable
    ‘We are getting along well.’

(77) hə [ve dó lőθà] [transitive]
    1pl hit
    ‘We hit each other.’

In both constructions the sentences with a transitive verb (75) and (77) above cannot take an object. In other words, lőθà can cause valence-change.

However, an entity which is not a participant in a reciprocal situation can appear as the object. See the sentences below.

(78) jə [ve phóN lőθà] cuú dē ?ə
    1sg catch hand with 3sg
    ‘I held hands with him.’

(79) hə [ve phóN lőθà] cuú
    1pl catch hand
    ‘We held hands with each other.’

4. CONCLUSION

Table 1 summarizes the discussion above from the point of view of whether the verb particles increase or decrease valence. Since dā ‘single-handedness’ introduces a new argument and at the same time prevents the original object from occurring, I put ‘yes’ in both columns. In the case of wî ‘precedence’, since the original object cannot occur in certain environment, the ‘yes’ in the right column is bracketed. Out of these, the particles which increase valence can be called applicative markers (For further information on applicative constructions, see Peterson 2007).
When we compare the valence-changing behavior of Pwo Karen with that of Burmese, a Tibeto-Burman language with which Pwo Karen now has the closest contact, we can see more clearly the characteristics of Pwo Karen grammar.

Burmese does not have many verb particles or versatile verbs which can be considered to cause valence-change: the only ones are the causative morphemes (-kháin, -sè, -pè), -pè denoting benefaction, and -pyâ denoting the showing of something:

(80) ū gò ná sá kháîn dève
       him NON-SUBJECT  fish eat CAUS REALIS
       ‘(I) let him eat fish.’

(81) ná gò dâgà phwîn pè bà
       me NON-SUBJECT  door open BENE POL
       ‘Please open the door for me.’

(82) ná gò sà?ou? phây pyâ bà
       me NON-SUBJECT  book open ‘show’ POL
       ‘Please read a book for me.’

These are all related to valence-increasing, but there is no particular morpheme which causes valence-decreasing in Burmese.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb particle</th>
<th>Valence-increasing</th>
<th>Valence-decreasing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>causative particles</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bá (subject of judgment)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nî (“for, to”)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khè (substitution)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phîlân (benefaction)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dá (limitation)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dá (single-handedness)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dá (comparison)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náîn (comparison)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wî (precedence)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>(yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yân (accompaniment)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bò (assistance)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðà (reflexivity)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðà (spontaneity)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lóðà (reciprocality)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Valence-increasing and -decreasing of the verb particles.
Furthermore, many of the same meanings expressed by the valence-changing verb particles of Pwo Karen are often expressed in Burmese by attaching certain markers to nouns. Each of the markers shown in bold type in the Burmese sentences below form a constituent with the preceding noun.

(83) \( \text{tú} \ ?\text{ātwe} \ ? \text{kuN} \ dë \)
\(3\text{sg} \ for \ good \ \text{REALIS} \ [\text{subject of judgment; \text{“for, to”}}] \)
\‘(It) is good for him.’

(84) \( \text{tú} \ ?\text{āsá} \ ?\text{twá} \ yá \ dë \)
\(3\text{sg} \ instead \ go \ must \ \text{REALIS} \ [\text{substitution}] \)
\‘(I) had to go in place of him.’

(85) \( \text{yauʔcá} \ ?\text{dā} \ ?\text{lā} \ dë \)
\text{male} \ only \ come \ \text{REALIS} \ [\text{limitation}] \)
\‘Only the males came.’

(86) \( \text{tú} \ ?\text{de} \ ? \text{kuN} \ dë \)
\(3\text{sg} \ than \ good \ \text{REALIS} \ [\text{comparison}] \)
\‘(She) is better than he.’

(87) \( \text{khaʔlē} \ ?\text{jīn} \ ?\text{yaiʔ} \ ?\text{tē} \)
\text{child} \ each\text{other} \ hit \ \text{REALIS} \ [\text{reciprocality}] \)
\‘The children hit each other.’

We could therefore say that Pwo Karen shows stronger head-markingness than Burmese.\(^{13}\) Since Pwo Karen does not have verb agreement and has a number of adpositional particles\(^{14}\), we cannot say it is a typical head-marking language. However, Pwo has at least two head-marking phenomena besides valence-changing verb particles. One is the possessive expression where a personal pronoun corresponding to the possessor noun may be attached to the possessed noun, which is the head of this construction. The reason why a pronoun is used can be considered to show that the whole structure is not a compound noun but a possessive expression. Since the form which clarifies the meaning of possession is attached to the head, we can say this construction is a kind of head-marking:

\(^{13}\) On the definition of head-marked and dependent-marked, see Nichols (1986, 1992).

\(^{14}\) The important adpositional particles include: \(lō ~ lē \ ‘at ; to ; from’, \ dē \ ‘with’, and \ bē \ ... \ θō \ ‘like’. Many of the adpositional particles are put before the noun, but in case of \ bē \ ... \ θō, the noun is put between \ bē \ and \ θō \ as \ bē \ pʰlōon \ θō \ ‘like a Karen’.
Valence-changing particles in Pwo Karen

(88) ʧʰrâ [ (ʔɔ) ʰáɪʔàʊ ]
  teacher his   book
  ‘The teacher's book.’

The other is that the weakened forms of personal pronouns are used before verbs, and are phonetically dependent on them. It could be taken for a harbinger of ‘pronominalization’:

(89) jə nə jə ꟬
  1sg TOP 1sg go
  ‘As for me, I went.’

What has been said above (having a large number of valence-changing particles) is also true of the other Karenic languages that I have researched (i.e., Sgaw Karen and Geba). Karenic languages and Burmese, neighboring Tibeto-Burman languages, are quite different not only in word order (all of the Karenic languages are SVO languages), but also in the details of their grammar. This fact might be highly significant when we consider the history of the Karenic languages.

APPENDIX 1: PHONEMIC INVENTORY OF THE HPA-AN DIALECT

The transcription of this paper is phonemic. /n/ occurs only as a final. It is a uvular nasal, but its closure often is not complete, and as a result it only nasalizes the preceding vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Tones</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p θ t c k ?</td>
<td>i i u</td>
<td>mà [55]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph th ch kh</td>
<td>i [i] u</td>
<td>màa [22(3)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕ x h</td>
<td>e a o</td>
<td>mà [51]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m n ɲ ŋ N</td>
<td></td>
<td>(mə atonic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w j</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15 My intuitive impression is that Sgaw Karen seems to use the weakened pronouns more frequently than Pwo Karen. For example, jə in (89) is often “omitted”, but in the similar construction of Sgaw Karen, it seems that the weakened pronouns tend not to be “omitted”. For the similar construction of Sgaw Karen, see Dai et al. (1991). LaPolla (1994) sees this phenomenon of Sgaw Karen in the context of pronominalization.

16 According to David Solnit (p.c. Sept. 2006), some of the Pwo Karen verb particles discussed above have close equivalents in Eastern Kayah Li, and some are etymologically cognate as well as functionally similar. Looking at Henderson (1997) makes me feel that Bwe Karen also has similar characteristics.
All rhymes
i   i   u   ai   au   (i)n   ən   ein   əmɨn   ən
ɪ   u   an   on   aɪn
e   ə   o
e   a   ɔ

APPENDIX 2: PRONOUNS OF THE HPA-AN DIALECT

The form I is mainly used before verbs (i.e. subject) or nouns (i.e. possessor), while the form II is mainly used after verbs (i.e. object) and with adpositional particles. The emphatic form is typically used when the pronoun is topicalized, but also in the subject or object slots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Form I</th>
<th>Form II</th>
<th>Emphatic form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>jə</td>
<td>jɔ</td>
<td>jəwɛ, jəwɛdá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>hɔ (pɔ)</td>
<td>hɔ (pɔ)</td>
<td>hɔwɛ (pɔwɛ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hɔwɛdá (pɔwɛdá)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>nɔ</td>
<td>nɔ</td>
<td>nɔwɛ, nɔwɛdá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>nɔθì</td>
<td>nɔθì</td>
<td>nɔθîwɛ, nɔθîwɛdá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>ðɔ</td>
<td>ðɔ</td>
<td>ðɔwɛ, ðɔwɛdá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>ðɔθì</td>
<td>ðɔθì</td>
<td>ðɔθîwɛ, ðɔθîwɛdá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ðɔθìθɔ (only before nouns)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ABBREVIATIONS

1,2,3  first, second, third
      person pronouns  NEG  negation
BENE  benefactive  pl  plural
CAUS  causative  PERF  perfect
COP  copulative verb  POL  politeness
EMPH  emphatic  REFL  reflexivity
INTER  interjection  QUE  question
IRR  irrealis  SFP  sentence final particle
LOC  location  sg  singular
NC  numeral classifier  TOP  topic
NE  the particle nɛ used  Vptc  verb particle
      before a pause
TEXT

“MAGIC STICK”
(recorded in Hpa-an, November 2000)

(1) phjā mú čā ʔś lə ɣà
thing male old be one NC:HUMAN

(2) ʔọ phómú nó
3sg daughter TOP

ʔəwê dāɪkâ dē lṳlēin nó
3sg make.marry with swindler that

(3) lṳlēin nóta cāu dá lié ʔọ lié
swindler TOP rub Vptc EMPH 3sg stick

nī cúkhú lə kâu jò
as forearm one NC:PIECE this

(4) cāu dá lié nóta
rub Vptc stick TOP

cəxwà phókhwâ ŋî dá phô
king son go see VIVIDNESS

(5) “nə mə mà chəlê, nə lié jò”
2sg IRR do what 2sg stick this

(6) “lîe jò phlòwən thàcâ thî
stick this person old also

dô bən lən thà kê” lə wè
hit youngdown REFL capable tell EMPH

(7) “mə mwèhâ” cəxwà phókhwâ lə
IRR COP QUE king son tell
(8) “mwē nâ” lò wê
   COP SFP tell EMPH

(9) “mɔ mwē kâ, lɔ mwē kâ,
   IRR COP QUE NEG COP QUE
   nɔ dú jū bā nǐ jō”
   2sg hit try (<look) Vpte a little SFP

(10) ?owê mèînçā nó ?owê pâkė ?ɔ mà
   3sg mother-in-law TOP 3sg make 3sg wife

(11) ?ɔ mà mõmõ nó ?owê kòkì
   3sg wife true TOP 3sg put

   luú dò phèn ?ò
   LOC room inside that

(12) ?owê mjôn thān nũ ?ɔ mèînçā thí lɔ
   3sg drag up get 3sg mother-in-law once just

(13)dài cáīn láŋ khwāí lé yéīn khlôûn nó,
   CAUS walk down Vpte LOC house back after

   dàí klí khwāí phlòpài
   CAUS run Vpte in.haste

(14) ?owê thān dú thān khlû luû ?ò
   3sg return hit Vpte mat LOC there

   pâûpàûpâû òûn thí
   ONOMATOPOEIA three time

(15) ?owê thâu thān nũ thān ?ɔ mà mõmõ
   3sg drag up get Vpte 3sg wife true
(16) “bänklán jābò”
young SFP

(17) bänklán thōnńóðó nó, cəxwà phúkhwà
young like.that because king son

ʔānkwèn xwè təkwè ló jābò
ask buy instantly just SFP

(18) lānthébáðà dú báń lán ké phṓphó
that.is.to.say hit young down capabl like that

nó, mə thāin dú báń lán báðà
if IRR return hit young down want.to

phā nānthí jī jābò
father a little also SFP

(19) cəxwà phúkhwà chè khwái cī pjàpjàpjàpjä
king son pay Vptc money ONOMATOPOEIA

tā, thāin nī wè luú
after return get EMPH LOC

ʔə nō phèn jābò
3sg palace inside SFP

(20)ʔə phā kāchä ʔāncà “nə mə mà chəlë
3sg father master ask 2sg IRR do what

phúkhwà, lè lə bōn jò”
son stick one NC:LONG.OBJECT this

(21) “lè phjā jò jā pà,
stick thing this QUE father
phlòun thèçā òì dó bán làn thè ké”
person old also hit young down REFL capable

(22)“ʔà mə mwē bâ phûkhwâ
oh IRR COP QUE son

(23)“mwē pâ. ʔakhônthô nötâ
COP SFP effect TOP

jə dá mêmô pâ”
1sg see truly father

(24)“ʔè dá bà bo” ʔô phă lî
if see Vptc if 3sg father tell

“kèkhô nó báchâinlê phlòun thèçâ nó
tomorrow TOP about person old TOP

câin cènâ bà kô yà dè jâbô”
walk announce Vptc every NC:HUMAN every SFP

(25)thônñoò nó câin cènâ thêmjânô,
like.that TOP walk announce after

bálənônô yê dè nûthô,
some come with cane

bálənônô yê thâu dè láîn
some come ride with cart

(26)yê câin thôn ʔè
come walk arrive NEG

(27)phlòun thèçâ jâbô
person old SFP
(28) bàn làn báθà dù
   young down want.to SFP

(29) thōnnēθò nó “kòun jàu bâ” cəxwà lò
   like that TOP assemble PERF QUE king tell

(30)“kòun jàu”
   assemble PERF

(31)“?è kòun, jø bá dò wî”
   if assemble 1sg must hit PRECEDENCE

(32)“jø dò ?è yòn khá θò,
   1sg hit if finish side if

   nəθí dò tàièn θà kò yà dè”
   2sg hit Vptc next every NC:HUMAN every

(33) thōnnēθò lə thí nò
   like.that one time TOP

   ʔə phû dû càu pàu pàu θòn thí nò,
   3sg child hit Vptc ONOMATOPOEIA three time after

   cəxwà khwàindàiñ
   king die

(34) phjā yè dë láiñ thèmûkhô
   thing come with cart pl right now

   mà láiñ khlàu nàñ yà ʔè
   take cart have. time any NC:HUMAN NEG

(35) thàiñ cählen thàiñ thôn pipì
   return walk Vptc arrive all
There was an old woman. She made her daughter marry a swindler. (One day) the swindler was rubbing a stick as big as a forearm. When he was rubbing the stick, the son of the king passed by and saw him. “What will you do with that stick?” (With) this stick, even an old man can be (made) young by hitting himself with it,” he said. “Is that true?” the son of the king said. “It's true,” (the swindler) said. “You hit yourself so that I can see if it's true or not.” The swindler made his mother-in-law pretend to be his wife. He kept his true wife inside the room. He brought his mother-in-law (to meet the son of the king). He took her behind the house, and made her run away in haste. He hit a mat three times (behind the house). Then he brought his true wife out (of the room). “She is young, isn't she?” Since she became young like that, the son of the king asked to buy the stick at once. He thought, “If one can hit someone and make him so young, I want to make my father young by hitting him (after going back home).” The son of the king paid money and took (the stick) back to the palace. His father asked, “What will you do with this stick, Son?” “(With) this stick, an old man can be (made) young by hitting (himself) with it.” “Oh, is that true, Son?” “It's true, Father. I saw the effect actually.” “If you actually saw that,” his father said, “tomorrow, let's walk around and let every old person know that.” After announcing this, some (old people) came with canes, some came with carts. They couldn't come on foot, because they were old people. They wanted to be young. Then, “Are you all here?” the king said. “We are all here.” “If you are all here, I must hit myself first.” “After I finish hitting myself, then you guys all hit yourselves.” Then, when the son hit the king three times, the king died. The people who came with carts didn't even take the time to ride the carts. They were all able to walk back home!

REFERENCES


Valence-changing particles in Pwo Karen


