CHAPTER THIRTY-NINE

PWO KAREN

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1 INTRODUCTION

Pwo Karen belongs to the Karen branch. Its closest relative is probably Sgaw Karen with more distant relationships to the other languages of the Karen branch such as Pa-O and Karenni (Kayah).

The dialects of Pwo Karen can be divided into two groups: the eastern dialects and the western dialects (see Kato 1995). The eastern dialects are spoken in the Karen State, the Mon State, the Tenasserim Division of Burma and western Thailand. The main towns where the Eastern dialects are spoken are Hpa-an, which is the capital of the Karen State, Hlaingbway, Kawkareik. The western dialects are spoken widely in the area of the Irrawady delta, and the main towns where they are spoken are Bassein, Myaungmya, Kyonbyaw. The dialect treated in this chapter is one of the Eastern dialects spoken around Hpa-an, referred to here as the Hpa-an dialect.

The western and eastern dialects differ in many aspects and are barely intelligible largely because of phonological and semantic differences. For example, in the eastern dialects /caiN:/ [tɕ aĩ^{55}] means 'to walk', but the cognate word in the western dialects is /saiN_/ [saĩ^{11}], which means 'to run'. The dialects are not very different at the syntactic level, although there are some striking differences; for example, the eastern dialects have a causative construction which takes a complement sentence such as /jə- ʔaN:məN. lə- ʔəwe. lɪ_/ (1sg-order-COMP-3sg-go) 'I ordered him to go', but the western dialects have no such construction. Instead, in the western dialects, the same thing is expressed by using a causative auxiliary /ʔaN_mə_/ which is cognate with eastern /ʔaN:məN./, i.e. /jə- ʔaN_mə_ le: ʔəwe_/ (1sg-CAUS-go-3sg).

The exact number of Pwo Karen speakers is unknown. According to the estimated population statistics published by the Burmse government in 1993, there were 2.86 million Karen in Burma, but it does not say how many of these were Pwo Karens. An estimate would be that over one million Pwo Karens live in Burma and since there are also a number of Pwo Karens in Thailand, the whole population is probably between one and two million. Increasingly, however, Pwo Karens are shifting their language to Burmese and Thai under the influence of these neighbours.

Several writing systems have been created for the Pwo Karen dialects. The most widely used in Burma are the Monastic script and the Mission script (Stern 1968). The Monastic script was created for one of the eastern dialects (perhaps for the Hpa-an dialect) and is based mainly on the Mon script. Its history is poorly understood, but surviving records in it date back to the middle of the nineteenth century (U Phon Myint 1975). It is now coming into widespread use throughout the Karen State, since it is taught in many Buddhist monasteries. The Mission script, based on Burmese alphabet, was originally invented for one of the eastern dialects by an American missionary, but it is not in vogue in the eastern areas where Buddhists overwhelmingly outnumber Christians. It is, however, presently popular in the delta, where Christians have been increasing in number. Unfortunately, it does not altogether suit the phonological systems in the Western dialects.

2 SOUNDS

The syllable structure of the Hpa-an dialect can be represented as C1(C2)V1(V2)(C3)/T, where C1 is an onset consonant, C2 is the second member of a cluster, V is a vowel, C3 is a coda, and T is a tone. In this structure, -V1(V2)(C3) is referred to as the rhyme.

There are consonant phonemes as shown below:

Stops						
p	θ	t	c	k		ʔ
ph		th	ch	kh		
b		d				
Fricatives						
			ç	x		h
				ɣ	ʁ	
Nasals						
m		n	ɲ	(ŋ)	N	
Semivowels						
w				j		
Liquids						
				L R		

/θ/ is an interdental stop. /c/ and /ch/ are affricates; [tç][tçh]. The /b/[ɓ] and /d/[ɗ] are imploded, but while the /b/ is consistently imploded the /d/ often is not. All of the consonants except /N/ can occur as onsets, but only the consonants /w/, /l/, /r/, /j/ can occur as the second member of the clusters. In the coda, only /N/, which nasalizes preceding vowels, can occur. In some dialects, including the western Kyonbyaw dialect and the eastern Tavoy dialect, /ʔ/ also can occur as a coda (Kato 1995). In the Hpa-an dialect, however, the final /ʔ/ has already disappeared.

The rhymes are as follows:

(a) Plain rhymes

Simple vowels			Diphthongs	
i	ɨ	ɯ	ai	aʊ
ɪ	ʊ			
e	ə	o		
ɛ	a	ɔ		

(b) Nasalized rhymes

Simple vowels		*Diphthongs*		
əN		eiN	əɯN	oʊN
aN	oN	aiN		

(Note: Nasalization of /eiN/, /əɯN/,/oʊN/ is very weak.)

There are four tones:

High-level	/V:/	[55]	Pronounced with normal voice.
Mid-level	/V=/	[22(3)]	Pronounced with breathy voice. It is sometimes accompanied by a rising contour especially in utterance final position.
Low-level	/V_/	[11]	Pronounced with normal voice.
Falling	/V./	[51]	Pronounced with slightly creaky voice.

When two falling tones are juxtaposed morphologically in a single word, the first falling tone often changes to the low-level tone:

(1) *thi.* 'water' + *khlaN.* 'hot (of water)' > *thi_khlaN.* 'green tea'

The Hpa-an dialect has atonic syllables, in which /ə/ is the only permitted vowel, and which never occur in utterance final position. When they are followed by a word boundary, they are represented as /Cə-/.

Intonation sometimes distorts the pitch contours of the tones. For instance, tones of verbs before the perfective particle /jaʊ_/ often have a contour [223], which resembles the contour of the mid-level tone:

(2) *phla=* *ba*: [223] *jaʊ_*
arrow hit PERF
'The arrow has hit (the mark)!'

Since the verb /ba:/ has the high-level tone, it may be pronounced as [55], but when it is pronounced as [223], the sentence clearly shows that the speaker has hoped the occurrence of the event. All of the tones may be pronounced [223] before the particle /jaʊ_/. The influence of intonation patterns can also be observed in the verbs of yes-no interrogative sentences and the verbs of sentences answering them:

(3) *nə-* *mə-* *lɪ_*[223] *ʁa.*
2sg IRR go QUE
'Are you really going?'
mə- *lɪ_* [223]
IRR go
'Yes, of course!'

This contour shows doubt or suspicion in a question, and a strong belief or confidence in an answer. Instead of an intonational pattern, this pitch pattern might alternately be analysed as a tone change of the verb to the mid-level tone, but this matter requires further investigation.

3 PARTS OF SPEECH

Pwo Karen words can be divided into those which can constitute an utterance in isolation (i.e. verbs, nouns, adverbs, and interjections) and those which cannot (i.e. particles).

The words which can constitute an utterance in isolation, other than interjections, can be defined as follows.Verbs can have verb particles attached to them (preverb particles and postverb particles are discussed later). For example, /lɪ_/ 'to go' is a verb, since it can be preceded by the preverb particle /mə-/ (irrealis):

(4) *mə-* *lɪ_*
IRR go '(I) will go.'

Nouns can be the argument of a verb but cannot have verb particles attached to them, for example, /phloʊN_/ 'person; Karen' below:

(5) **mə-* *phloʊN_*

(6) *phloʊN_* *ʔɔ:* *lə-* *ɣa_*
person exist one NC
'There is one person.'

Adverbs can neither have verb particles attached to them nor can they be the argument of a verb, for example, /ləpoʊN_/ 'much' below:

(7) **mə-* *ləpoʊN_*
IRR much

(8) **ləpoʊN_ ʔɔ:*
much exist

In contrast, particles cannot constitute an utterance in isolation. On this point, they are similar to affixes (discussed later). In this chapter, the relatively independent morphemes are referred to as particles, but ultimately it may be impossible to draw a strict dividing line between particles and affixes. Below are the most important particles (each list is not an exhaustive one):

3.1 Adpositions

Pwo Karen has prepositions, such as these illustrated below:

/lə-/ (~/lɔ:/~/le:/) 'in, at' (location), 'to' (goal) or 'from' (source).

(9) *ʔəwe. ʔɔ: **lə-** ʔə- ɣeiN:*
3sg exist in his house
'He is in his house.'

/de=/ 'with' (instrument or accompanier) or 'and' (conjunction)

(10) *jə- ʔaN: mɪ_ **de=** nʊ:thoʊN_*
1sg eat rice with spoon
'I eat rice with a spoon.'

(11) *kho_θa: **de=** θa_kwi_θa:*
mango and banana
'a mango and a banana'

There is also a circumposition:
/be.~θo_/ 'like', 'as'.

(12) *ʔaN: mɪ_ **be.** cəpaN. **θo_***
eat rice like Japanese like
'(He) eats rice as a Japanese.'

3.2 Demonstratives

There are demonstratives, such as shown below (they follow nouns):

(13) *ɣeiN: **jo_***
house this
'this house'

(14) *ɣeiN: **nɔ:***
house that
'that house'

(15) *ɣeiN: **ʔo_***
house that
'that house' (very far)

Demonstratives are often used as topic markers (especially /nɔ:/):

(16) *ʔə- ɣeiN: **nɔ:** jə- lɪ_ ʔe:*
his house TOP 1sg go NEG
'To his house, I didn't go.'

3.3 Adverbial particles

Particles function as adverbs, but they cannot constitute an utterance in isolation. For example:

(17) *ɣɪ_* ***ma=***
good very
'(It) is very good.'

(18) *ɣɪ_* ***pəθai_*** *ʔe:*
good not so NEG
'(It) is not very good.'

3.4 Preverb particles

Particles before a verb show various meanings including irrealis, negation, obligation, and causation:

/mə-/ Irrealis marker. There is no marker for realis.

(19) *jə-* ***mə-*** *lɪ_*
1sg IRR go
'I will go.'

/lə-/ Negative marker:

(20) *jə-* ***lə-*** *lɪ_* *ba:* *ʔəkhʊ:coN_* ...
1sg NEG go NEG because
'Because I didn't go...'

/ba:/ 'must, have to':

(21) *jə-* ***ba:*** *lɪ_* *ʁa.*
1sg must go QUE
'Do I have to go?'

/da_/ Causative marker:

(22) *jə-* ***da_*** *lɪ_* *ʔəwe.*
1sg let go 3sg
'I let him go./I made him go.'

3.5 Postverb particles

Particles after a verb add various meanings including 'to try', 'to do for a purpose', 'to do in advance', and various directions.

/jʊ=wa=/ 'try to (do)' (< /jʊ=wa=/ 'to look after (someone)')

(23) *jə-* *ke_* ***jʊ=wa=*** *lai:*
1sg write PVP alphabet
'I tried to write the alphabet.'

/tha:/ (~/da:/) 'to do something for some purpose'. Its meaning is similar to the Burmese auxiliary *-tha:* or the Japanese morpheme '*(-te) oku*'.

(24) *jə-* *ke_* ***tha:*** *lai:*
1sg write PVP letter
'I wrote a letter (for a certain purpose).'

/wɛ_/ '(to do) in advance'

(25) *jə- lɔ_ **wɛ**_ ʔəwe.*
1sg tell PVP 3sg
' I told him in advance.'

/thaN:/ 'upward movement', 'increase' or 'change to a better condition', etc. (< /thaN:/ 'to ascend' 'to climb')

(26) *khlaiN_ **thaN**:*
speak PVP
'He spoke upward.'

/laN_/ 'downward movement', 'decrease' or "change to a worse condition' etc. (< /laN_/ 'to descend')

(27) *ke_ **laN**_*
write PVP
'to write down'

3.6 Subordinate clause markers (see also Section 5.6.3)

For example:

(28) *jə- ʔaN: mɪ_ ɣoN_, ʔaN:lu= thi.*
1sg eat rice after bathe water
'After eating, I took a shower.'

3.7 Conjunctions

For example:

(29) *jə- lɪ_ pəjaN_ khaN=, **de**= ʔəwe. lɪ_ θaiN. khaN=*
1sg go Burma country and 3sg go Thai country
'I went to Burma, and he went to Thailand.'

3.8 Sentence-final particles

The sentence-final particles denote various attitudes of the speaker. For example, /nɛ./ is used when the speaker seeks the agreement of the hearer.

(30) *ʔəjo_ ɣɪ_ **nɛ**.*
this good SFP
'This is good, isn't it?'

4 MORPHOLOGY

4.1 Inflectional morphology

Pwo Karen nouns and verbs do not inflect. Nonetheless, the pronoun paradigm might be termed inflectional. Each pronoun has two forms: form I and form II.

	Form I	*Form II*
1sg	*jə-*	*jə_*
1pl	*pə-~hə-*	*pə_~hə_*
2sg	*nə-*	*nə_*
2pl	*nəθi:*	*nəθi:*
3sg	*ʔəwe.*	*ʔə_~ʔəwe.*
	ʔə-	
3pl	*ʔəθi:*	*ʔəθi:*

The form I is used before a verb for subjects, or before a noun to denote a possessor. There are two forms for form I 3sg pronoun; /ʔəwe./ is used before verbs and /ʔə-/ before nouns. But for subjects of subordinate clauses, /ʔə-/ is sometimes used. The 3pl form /ʔəθi:/ sometimes becomes /ʔəθi:ʔə-/ before nouns. Form II is used after verbs and prepositions, or when pronouns are topicalized. Each pronoun has an emphatic form: jəwe. (1sg), pəwe. ~ həwe. (1pl), nəwe. (2sg), nəθi:we. (2pl), ʔəwe. (3sg), ʔəθi:we. (3pl).

4.2 Derivational morphology

As mentioned already, it is difficult to draw a strict dividing line between particles and affixes. In this article, morphemes which cannot constitute an utterance in isolation, those which are less independent morphologically, are termed affixes. The important affixes are shown below.

4.2.1 Suffixes

/cha=/ makes nouns which denote owners or experts.

(31) *ɣeiN:cha=* owner of a house < *ɣeiN*: house
(32) *toʊN=cha=* dancer of Karen dance < toʊN= 'Karen "Don" dance'

/phʊ:/ makes nouns which denote members of a group. cf./phʊ:/ 'child'

(33) *təwaN.phʊ*: villagers < *təwaN.* 'village'
(34) *phloʊN_phʊ*: Pwo Karen people < phloʊN_ 'Pwo Karen; person'

4.2.2 Prefixes

/pə-/ (pronounced as /hə-/ also) makes nouns denoting certain kinds of people.

(35) *pəθa_baN*: young people < *θa_baN*: 'young'
(36) *pəmwi_* guest < *mwi_* guest (*mwi_* is a bound form.)

/ʔə-/ makes nouns from verbs.

(37) *ʔəθa*: fruit < *θa*: to bear fruit
(38) *ʔədi*: egg < *di*: to lay (an egg)

/ʔe_/ (also pronounced as /ʔə-/) makes adverbs from verbs.

(39) *ʔe_phlɛ*: fast, swiftly < *phlɛ*: to be fast
(40) *ʔe_blɛ_* as to be satisfied < *blɛ_* satisfied

/chə-/ makes nouns from verbs. cf. /chə_/ 'thing'

(41) *chədoN*: fence < *doN*: to fence
(42) *chəchəN_* rain < *chəN_* to rain

4.2.3 Reduplication

Reduplication is used for making adverbs from verbs.

(43) *phlɛ:phlɛ*: fast, swiftly < *phlɛ*: to be fast
(44) *ɣɪ_ ɣɪ_* well < *ɣɪ_* to be good

4.3 Compounding

As in many of the monosyllabic languages of the region, many compounds are found in Pwo Karen. Some examples of these are as follows (N and V denote nouns and verbs respectively):

4.3.1 N < N + V

(45) *thi.ʔɔ_* drinking water < *thi.* water + *ʔɔ_* to drink
(46) *mɪ:dwai_* matchstick < *mɪ: fire* + *dwai_* to light

4.3.2 V < N + V

(47) *θa_thaN*: to be angry < *θa_* heart + thaN: to ascend
(48) *na = ɣəN.* to hear < *na* = ear + *ɣəN.* to hear

4.3.3 N < N + N

(49) *me:thi. tear* < *me*: eye + *thi.*water
(50) *wɔ_beiN:nɯ = thi.*milk < *wɔ_beiN*: cow + *nɯ = thi.* milk
(In N + N compounds, the second element is the head.)

4.3.4 V < V + N

(51) *chəN.na* = comfortable to listen < *chəN.* sweet + *na* = ear
(52) *ke_pərəN.* to write (a letter) < *ke_* write + *pərəN.* news
As in: */ke_pərəN. lai:/* (write-letter) to write a letter

4.3.5 V < V + V

(53) *cheiN_xi.* clean < *cheiN.* clean + *xi.* beautiful
(54) *ɣəɯN = khəN.* stable < *ɣəɯN* = stable + *khəN.* hard
Concatenated serial verbs (see Section 5.5.1) might also be considered verb compounds, since criteria have not been found to distinguish between serial and compound verbs.

5 SYNTAX

5.1 Word order

The basic Pwo Karen word order is Subject-Verb-Object.

(55) *θa_ʔwa thɛ_ thwi:*
Thawa kick dog
'Thawa kicked the dog.'

The basic word order is retained even in existential sentences. Pwo Karen has only one existential verb: /ʔɔ:/.

(56) *lai:ʔaʊ_ lə- beiN: **ʔɔ:** lə- cəpwɛ= ʔəphaN.khʊ:*
book one NC exist at table top
'There is a book on the table.'

(57) *jə- phʊ: **ʔɔ:***
my child exist
'I have a child.'

Adverbs and adpositional phrases occur after the verb and the object (if there is one).

(58) *ʔaN: mɪ_ **ʔe_phlɛ:***
eat rice fast
'Eat rice fast!'

In the comparative sentence, which is made with a postverb particle /da:/, standard noun is put after it. Since /da:/ is a postverb particle, it cannot be separated from the verb.

(59) *jə- thɔ. da: **ʔəwe.***
1sg long than 3sg
'I am taller than he.'

5.2 Negation

There are two particles which denote negation: /ʔe:/ and /lə-/. /ʔe:/ is a sentence-final particle and is used in main clauses:

(60) *ʔəwe. khlaiN_ chəkhlaiN_ xɛ_xɛ_ **ʔe:***
3sg speak language slowly NEG
'He does not speak slowly.'

/lə-/ is a preverb particle, and is used in subordinate clauses. When /lə-/ is used before the verb, the particle /ba:/ is usually put immediately after the verb or in clause-final position.

(61) *ʔəwe. ʔe_ **lə-** ʔaN: mɪ_ **ba:** nɔ:, jə_ mə- ʔaN:*
3sg if NEG eat rice NEG that 1sg IRR eat
*(= ʔəwe. ʔe_ **lə-** ʔaN: **ba:** mɪ_ nɔ:, . . .)*
'If he doesn't eat the rice, I will eat it.'

5.3 Interrogative sentences

Yes-no interrogative sentences are made with the sentence-final particle /ʁa./:

(62) *nə- mə- thaiN_ **ʁa.***
2sg IRR return QUE
'Are you going back?'

In sentences that include an interrogative word, the sentence-final particle /lɛ./ occurs:

(63) *ʔəjo_ (mwɛ=) chənɔ: **lɛ.***
this be what QUE
'What is this?'

5.4 Noun phrases

Stative verbs and demonstratives follow nouns:

(64) *phloʊN_ ɣI_ jo_*
person good this
'this good man'

Pwo Karen has many numeral classifiers, which follow numerals. The numeral classifier construction occurs after the noun. The origins of the numeral classifiers are unknown.

(65) *tho_ nI= duɯ_*
pig two NC (animal)
'two pigs'

In possessive constructions, the possessor precedes the possessed. The 3sg pronoun (form I) is often attached to the possessed noun.

(66) *θa_ʔwa (ʔə-) ɣeiN:*
Thawa his house
'Thawa's house'

Relative clauses are introduced by the relative marker /lə-/. The relative clause follows the head noun when the head noun is identical to the subject of the relative clause. In such cases, a pronoun which refers to the head noun occurs in the relative clause, but in informal speech, both the relative marker and the following pronoun tend to be omitted. Relative clauses are often followed by demonstratives.

(67) *phloʊN_ (lə- ʔə-) lɪ_ lə- ʔə- ɣeiN: nɔ:*
person REL 3sg go to his house that
'the person who went to his house'

When the head noun is not identical with the subject of the relative clause, the relative clause may either precede or follow the head noun. The relative /lə-/ is used when the relative clause follows the head noun but not when it precedes it, and no coreferential pronoun occurs in the relative clause. The head final type seems preferred in informal speech.

(68) *khaN:phai_ lə- jə- thaʊ: lə- daʊ_ phəN_ nɔ:*
shoe REL 1sg wear in room inside that
'the shoes that I wear in the room'
= *jə- thaʊ: lə- daʊ_ phəN_ khaN:phai_ nɔ:*
1sg wear at room inside shoe that

5.5 Verb serialization

Like other Southeast Asian languages, Pwo Karen has verb serialization. Serialization involving two verbs is examined, since it is basic in Pwo Karen verb serialization; the first verb is referred to as V1 and the second as V2. Verb serialization in Pwo Karen is more limited than in other Southeast Asian verb-medial languages such as Thai or Vietnamese. In Thai, a neighbouring language, it is possible for noun phrases or preposition phrases to intervene between serialized verbs as /pay talàat súɯɯ plaa/ (go-market-buy-fish) '(I) went to the market and bought a fish'. In Pwo Karen, however, the corresponding serialization is not acceptable:

(69) **jə- lɪ_ phja. xwe_ ja:*
1sg go market buy fish

In some Karen dialects with more contact to Thai, this type of verb serialization seems acceptable to some speakers, but in the Hpa-an dialect it is unacceptable. To express the equivalent of 'I went to the market and bought a fish' using verb serialization in the Hpa-an dialect, it is necessary to put the word /phja./ 'market' somewhere other than between the two verbs, making it a non-argument:

(70) *jə- lɪ_ xwe_ ja: lə- phja.*
1sg go buy fish at market
'I went and bought a fish at the market.'

Of course, the same notion can be expressed without using verb serialization at all, for example by using combined clauses:

(71) *jə- lɪ_ phja. ɣoN_, xwe_ ja:*
1sg go market after buy fish

In Pwo Karen, the only time a noun phrase can separate the two verbs is when the second verb denotes the result of the first verb or an objective description about the situation denoted by the first verb. In such cases a noun phrase or preposition phrase can occur between V1 and V2 (shown below).

Serialized verbs in Pwo Karen can be divided into the concatenated and separated serialization according to the position of the negative marker /lə-/ when they occur in a subordinate clause. Pwo Karen also has another type of serialization, the appositive type, where /lə-/ occurs before both the first and the second verb (Kato 1998). But only the two important types will be discussed here.

(1) Concatenated type: the negative marker /lə-/ occurs before V1.

(72) *jə- lə- **lɪ_ xwe_** ba: ʔəkhʊ:coN_,...*
1sg NEG go buy NEG because
'Because I did not go to buy (something), ...'

(2) Separated type: the negative marker /lə-/ occurs before V2.

(73) *jə- **khlaiN_** phloʊN_ lə- **θr:** ba: ʔəkhʊ:coN_,...*
1sg speak Pwo Karen NEG can NEG because
'Because I cannot speak Pwo Karen,...'

5.5.1 Concatenated type

In concatenated serialization, V1 and V2 are tightly combined and no other elements intervene between them. Therefore it might be tempting to view serialized verbs of this type as compound verbs, but the combinations of V1 and V2 is quite free and productive. V1 and V2 are usually arranged in accordance with the temporal order of events. The semantic relationships denoted by the sequence of V1 and V2 include cause–result, means–purpose, manner–action, and simultaneity. There are four possible combinations of V1 and V2 according to whether the verbs are intransitive or transitive:

(a) Intransitive + intransitive: the whole concatenated verb functions as intransitive.

(74) *ʔəwe. **laN_thi.pha=** **θi.***
3sg tumble die
'He tumbled and died.'

(75) *jə- **chi.naN_** **ko_ɕa_***
1sg sit cry
'I sat and cried.'

(b) Intransitive + transitive: the whole concatenated verb functions as transitive.

(76) *jə- **chi.naN_** **ʔaN:kho_** ʔəwe.*
1sg sit wait 3sg
'I waited for him while seated.'

(77) *jə- **lɪ_** **xwe_** ja: lə- beiN:*
1sg go buy fish one NC (flat thing)
'I went and buy a fish.'

(c) Transitive + transitive: the whole concatenated verb functions as transitive.

(78) *jə- **θɪ:ja.** **na:θɪ:** ʔəɣaiN=ʔəcoN_*
1sg know understand reason
'I know and understand the reasons.'

(79) *jə- **xwe_** **ʔaN:** kʊ:*
1sg buy eat confectionary
'I bought a cake and ate it.'

(d) Transitive + intransitive: the whole concatenated verb functions as transitive.

(80) *jə- **dʊ:** **θi.** thwi:*
1sg strike die dog
'I struck the dog to kill it.'

(81) *ʔəwe. **thaʊ_** **cheiN.** ʔə- mɛ:*
3sg brush clean his tooth
'He brushed his teeth to clean them.'

In the patterns (a), (b), and (c), both V1 and V2 are either volitional verbs (agentive verbs) or non-volitional verbs (non-agentive verbs), and the subjects of V1 and V2 are identical. The objects in pattern (c) are usually, but not always, identical for V1 and V2. See the example below:

(82) *jə- chu.laN_ ʔaN: mɪ_ de= thi.la:*
1sg put in eat rice with salt
'I ate rice after putting salt in it.'

In such cases, the object of the concatenated verbs is always an argument of V2. In the example above, /mɪ_/ is an argument of V2. The word /thi.la:/, which is the patient of V1, cannot be put in the object position for V1 + V2:

(83) **jə- chu.laN_ ʔaN: thi.la:*
1sg put in eat salt
'I ate (rice) after putting salt in it.'

Pattern (d) differs from the other patterns on two points. First, the logical subjects of V1 and V2 are not identical. In /jə- dʊ: θi. thwi:/, the logical subject of V1 is 'I' which is the subject

of the whole V1 + V2 construction, whereas the logical subject of V2 is the 'dog', which is the object of V1 + V2. The logical subject of V2 is usually identical with the patient of V1, but this is not always the case, although such exceptions are relatively rare:

(84) *jə- khəuN: laN_bəN_ phloʊN_ cʊ:*
1sg dig be buried dead body
'I dug (a hole) to bury the dead body.'

Second, the volitionality of V1 and V2 differ from each other in this pattern; i.e. V1 is volitional but V2 is not. Volitional verbs cannot occur as the second verb:

(85) **jə- dʊ: mi.naN_ ʔəwe.*
1sg strike lie down 3sg

Note that, although the transitive + transitive pattern may show the same properties as pattern (d), this is quite rare. Consider the example below:

(86) *jə- lɔ_ ɣəN. ʔəwe.*
1sg tell hear 3sg
'I told him (a story).'

In this sentence, the logical subjects of V1 and V2 are different, and the verbs also differ in volitionality. In such cases, the second verb is always very low in transitivity.

Concatenated verbs usually occur in temporal order. However, there are two exceptions. One such case is found below:

(87) *jə- mi. koN_ thədoN_*
1sg sleep wear sarong
'I wore my sarong and went to sleep.'

In this example, the order /koN_mi./ (wear-sleep) is not allowed. It seems that Pwo Karen prohibits the combination transitive + intransitive when the agents of the two verbs are identical, and in such cases the verbs need to be reversed. Another exception is where one of the consecutive events involves movement:

(88) *jə- ɣɛ. ʔaN: mɪ_*
1sg come eat rice
'I came after having lunch.'

Here also the order /ʔaN: ɣɛ./ (eat-come) is not allowed. Verbs denoting movement always have to occur as V1. Since this sentence also means 'I came to eat lunch', it is semantically ambiguous. The next sentence is another example:

(89) *ʔəwe. ɣɛ. kli:* (**kli:ɣɛ.*)
3sg come run
'He came running.'

5.5.2 Separated type

In verb serialization with separated verbs, noun phrases, or prepositional phrases may occur between V1 and V2. With these, the co-referentiality of the arguments of V1 and V2 vary from case to case. Below are the examples:

(90) *jə- **dʊ:*** *thwi:* ***θi.*** *poʊN=*
1sg strike dog die SFP
'When I struck the dog, it happened to die.'

(91) *jə- **ʔaN**: mɪ_ **blɛ_** jaʊ_*
1sg eat rice full PERF
'I've eaten rice and got full.'

(92) *ʔəwe. **kli**: **phlɛ**:*
3sg run fast
'He runs fast.'

(93) *jə- **khlaiN**_ phloʊN_ **bəuN**: ʔe:*
1sg speak Pwo Karen brave NEG
'About speaking Pwo Karen, I don't dare (to do it).'

In separated verb serialization, V2 denotes the result of V1, as in the first two examples above, or denotes an objective description or judgment about the event denoted by V1, as in the last two examples. Note that /ʔəwe. kli: phlɛ:/ is an objective description of 'his running'. Thus, this serialization cannot occur in imperative sentences: */kli: phlɛ:/ 'Run fast!'. An imperative would have to be given as /kli: phlɛ:phlɛ:/ (run-fast) or /kli: ʔe_phlɛ:/ (run-fast)). Only verbs denoting non-volitional situations can occur as the second verb. They are usually, but not always, intransitive, as below:

(94) *jə- ʔaN:xuu. khaN:phai_ da: ʔe:*
1sg look for sandal find NEG
'I looked for (my) sandals but I couldn't find (them).'

What should be noted is the semantic difference between concatenated serialization and separated serialization. Consider the examples below:

(95) *jə- dʊ: θi. thwi*: (Concatenated type)
1sg strike die dog
'I struck the dog to kill it.'

(96) *jə- dʊ: thwi: θi. poʊN=* (Separated type)
1sg strike dog die SFP
'When I struck the dog, it happened to die.'

In the first example, the 'death' of the dog was expected from the beginning, thus it is purposive. In the second example, however, the 'death' occurred unexpectedly or accidentally, thus this serialization denotes a cause-result. Interestingly, the first sentence does not always imply the death of the dog, but the second always implies it. This fact is established by putting a clause meaning 'but it did not die' after them:

(97) *jə- dʊ: θi. thwi:, la=naN. θi: θi. ʔe:*
1sg strike die dog but also die NEG
'I struck the dog to kill it, but it did not die.'

(98) **jə- dʊ: thwi: θi., la=naN. θi: θi. ʔe:*
1sg strike dog die but also die NEG

The addition of this clause to clauses containing separated serialization yields a contradiction, whereas its addition to cases of concatenated serialization is fine. This is because the separated serial verbs always imply a result but the concatenated ones do not. This is quite similar to verb serialization in Kayah, where concatenated verbs like (97) also do not always imply a result (Solnit 1997: 68).

5.6 Sentences with plural clauses

5.6.1 Complement sentences

The complementizer /lə-/ (~/lə:/~/le:/) may occur before complement sentences which are embedded as the object of matrix sentences.

(99) *jə- da: (lə-) ʔəwe. kli:*
1sg see COMP 3sg run
'I saw him running.'

But, /lə-/ is not attached to the complement sentences which occur as the subject of matrix sentences.

(100) *[hə- ʔaN: chədo_chəla:] ɣɪ_ ma=*
1pl eat vegetable good very
'It is good to eat vegetables.'

5.6.2 Coordinated clauses

Conjunctions are used to coordinate clauses. In the next example, /la=naN./ 'but' is used to mark the coordination of two clauses, but it is used in the next section as a subordinate clause marker. When it is used as a conjunction, a pause may occur before it.

(101) *jə- lɪ_ pəjaN_ khaN=, **la=naN.** θi: ʔəwe. lɪ_ θaiN. khaN=*
1sg go Burma country but also 3sg go Thai country
'I went to Burma, but he went to Thailand.'

5.6.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses usually precede main clauses and come marked in various ways.
(a) Adverbial clauses may be marked by various kinds of subordinate clause markers. In the examples below, some subordinate markers occur clause-finally:

(102) *jə- ʔɔ: lə- maʊ: ba: **ʔəkhʊ:coN_**, ləni_jo_ jə- ma_ kəloʊN.*
1sg exist NEG healthy NEG because today 1sg do job
kɛ: ʔe:
take place NEG
'Since I'm not fine, I can't do my job today.'

(103) *paʊ_ thaN: pai_təlaN. **ɣoN_**, chəphʊ:xa= naʊ: laN_ we. ləpoʊN_ ma= lɔ.*
open PVP window after insect enter PVP PVP much very SFP
'After (I) opened the window, many insects came in.'

(104) *lai:ʔaʊ_ ʔɔ: ləpoʊN_ **la=naN.** θi:, jə- pɔ= maʊ: ʔe:*
book exist much but also 1sg read comfortable NEG
'Although there are many books, they aren't fun.'

/la=naN./ of the last example above may occur immediately after the verb:

(105) *lai:ʔaʊ_ ʔɔ: **la=naN.** ləpoʊN_ θi:, jə- pɔ= maʊ: ʔe:*
book exist although much also 1sg read comfortable NEG

In the next examples subordinate clause markers occur clause-initially:

(106) ***kəla_** lə- ʔaN: mI_ dai_ ba:, θi.ja_ khwai: wi= nə- cu:*
before NEG eat rice still NEG wash PVP PVP your hand
'Wash your hands before you eat rice.'

(107) *jə- wai_ phɪ: nə- lu:, **thoN=** jə- jaʊ: ʔaʊ_*
1sg spin PVP your thread till my age run out
'I will spin your threads for the rest of my life.'

Although adverbial clauses usually precede main clauses, those with /thoN=/ usually follow main clauses. /thoN=/ perhaps originated from /thoN_/ 'to reach'. Next, The subordinate clause marker /ʔe_/ occurs before the verb:

(108) *maN_cɔ_ θa_bjɔ_ **ʔe_** ɣɛ., da_ ʔɔ_ ləxI_*
uncle Thabyaw if come let drink don't
'If uncle Thabyaw comes, don't let him drink (liquor).'

The subordinate clause marker /be. ~ θo_/ surrounds clauses:

(109) ***be.** jə- mə- θɪ: **θo_**, jə- klɨ_cɨ_ cha. ma=*
so as to 1sg IRR can so as to 1sg endeavour much very
'I endeavoured so much so that I could (do it).'

(b) Adverbial clauses may also be marked by special nouns which introduce subordinate clauses. For example:

(110) *jə- lI_ **ʔəkha.**, chə- chəN_ cha. ma=*
1sg go time thing rain much very
'When I went (there), it rained hard.'

(c) Finally, adverbial clauses may be marked by topic markers. For example:

(110) *lI_ jʊ= **nɔ:**, chə- ʔɔ: naN= meiN_ ʔe:*
go look TOP thing exist any kind NEG
'When I went there, I found nothing.'

ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS

IRR irrealis marker
NC numeral classifier
PVP postverb particle
QUE question marker
SFP sentence-final particle
TOP topic marker

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