CHAPTER 6 Eastern Pwo Karen Verb Particles Indicating 'Up' and 'Down'

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

1. Introduction

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

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

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

(NP1) <u>(verb particle(s)) V (verb particle(s))</u> (NP2) (NP3) (adverbial elements)

Figure 1: Basic structure of the Eastern Pwo Karen clause

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

(1) nə   mə   ʔáN   bá   kʊ́   ʔáʔá   lə́   jə   ɣéiN   phə̀N   ɕḭ̄
     2SG   IRR   eat   OPP   cake much   LOC   1SG   house inside too
     'You will also get a chance to eat a lot of cake inside my house.'

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

(2) ʔəwê   ɣê   tháN   lə́   jə   dàʊ   phə̀N
     3SG   come   up   LOC   1SG   room   inside
     'He came up to my room.'

(3) ʔəwê   ɣê   làN   lə́   jə   dàʊ   phə̀N
     3SG   come   down   LOC   1SG   room   inside
     'He came down to my room.'

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

(4) lənìjò   thî   tháN
     today   water   ascend
     'Today, the water level rose.'

(5) ləmìjò   thî   làɴ
     today   water   descend
     'Today, the water level dropped.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

(6) jə   lì   thán   lɔ́   ʔə   ɣéiɴ
     1SG   go   up   LOC   3SG   house
     'I went to his house.'

(7) jə   jō   thán   ʔə   ɣéiɴ
     1SG   look   up   3SG   house
     'I looked up at his house.'

(8) ʔəwê   chó   tháɴ   θéiɴmɯ̄
     3SG   lift   up   firewood
     'He lifted up the firewood.'

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

(9) ʔəwê   θə́ɯɴ   tháɴ   ɣéiɴ
     3SG   build   up   house
     'He started to build a house.'

(10) phlòʊn   ʔá   tháɴ
      person   many   up
      'The number of people increased.'

(11) phlòʊn   ɕà   làɴ
      person   few   down
      'The number of people decreased.'

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

(12) thîkhlóphʊ́   làɴjwà   làɴ
      river   flow   down
      'The river is flowing vigorously.'

(13) jə   kɯ́   làɴ   θéiɴphài
      1SG   peel   down   bark
      'I peeled the bark vigorously/carefully.'

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

(14) ʔəwê   θò   châiɴ   mɔ̄khʊ́
      3SG   wear   shirt   a.while.ago
      'He put on a shirt a while ago. / He was wearing a shirt a while ago.'

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

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

(15) ʔəwê   θ̀ò   tháɴ   châiɴ   m̄khɚ́
      3SG   wear   up   shirt   a.while.ago
      'He put on a shirt a while ago. '

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

(16) ʔəwê   pàʊ   tháɴ   pàiɴtərân
      3SG   open   up   window
      'He opened a window.'

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

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

(17) ʔəwê   cáiɴ   tháɴ   lɚ́   châiɴ   khlôʊn
      3SG   walk   up   LOC   shop   outside
      'He got out of the store.'

(18) ʔəwê   cáiɴ   làɴ   lɚ́   thəʔàn
      3SG   walk   down   LOC   Hpa-an
      'He got off (the bus) in Hpa-an.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

	Verb	Meaning	a/s	thán	làn	Notes
(A) <Directional 1>						
1	γê	'come'	a	Up	Down	
2	jùu	'fly'	a	Up	Down	
3	lì	'go'	a	Up	Down	
4	phûu	'jump'	a	Up	Down	
5	thàiɴ	'return'	a	Up	Down	
6	klí	'run'	a	Up	Down	
7	cáiɴ	'walk'	a	Up, Spec	Down, Spec	*cáiɴ thán* and *cáiɴ làn* of the Special use mean 'get out' and 'get off', respectively.
8	lì γê [ ] (wind / come)	'wind blows'	a	Up, Incho	Down	*lì ʔú* 'wind blows' [89] is a synonym.
(B) <Directional 2>						

9	ʔáɴcà	'ask'	a	Up Incho	Down	
10	bò	'bend'	a	Up	Down	
11	kò	'call'	a	Up	Down	
12	phé	'cut'	a	Up	Down	
13	dá	'find'	a	Up	Down	*dá* 'see, visible' [198] is a homonym.
14	màbò	'help'	a	Up	Down	
15	mè	'punch'	a	Up	Down	
16	thêɴ	'kick ~ with one's heel'	a	Up	Down	
17	thè	'kick ~ with the back of one's leg'	a	Up	Down	
18	jō	'look'	a	Up	Down	
19	dàʊnɛ́	'point at'	a	Up	Down	
20	pɔ̄	'read'	a	Up, Incho	Down	
21	kòɕà [ ] nò (shout / mouth)	'shout'	a	Up, Incho	Down	
22	khlàiɴ	'speak'	a	Up, Incho	Down	
23	chè	'stab'	a	Up	Down	
24	thàʊ	'wipe'	a	Up	Down	
(C) <Directional 3>						
25	jò	'carry ~ on one's shoulder'	a	Up	Down	
26	càʊlé	'draw'	a	Up	Down	
27	chó	'lift ~ with one's hand'	a	Up	Down	
28	θàʊ	'move (vt)'	a	Up	Down	
29	θəwài	'pump'	a	Up	Down	
30	cháɴ	'push'	a	Up	Down	
31	ʔɔ́kɪ́	'put'	a	Up	Down	
32	khwái	'throw'	a	Up	Down	
(D) <Inchoative 1>						
33	tháɴ	'ascend, climb'	a	Incho	-	
34	ʔáɴlū̄ [ ] thî (bathe / water)	'bathe'	a	Incho	-	
35	ɣɛ̀	'be in action'	a	Incho	-	
36	lá	'boil (vi)'	a	Incho	-	
37	ʔáɴxwī	'boil (vt)'	a	Incho	-	

38	ɣàɣòɴ	'break (vi)'	a	Incho	-	
39	θɵ́ɯɴ	'build'	a	Incho	-	*θɵ́ɯɴ* 'plant' [125] is a homonym.
40	khàthɵ́ɯɴ	'bundle'	a	Incho	-	
41	mị̄ ʔáɴ [ ] (fire / eat)	'burn'	a	Incho	-	
42	bàiɴbòɴ	'coil'	a	Incho	-	
43	pəkòʊɴ	'collect'	a	Incho	-	
44	ʔáɴphôɴ	'cook'	a	Incho	-	
45	kàʊ	'cough'	a	Incho	-	
46	ɣáɴ	'cry, weep'	a	Incho	-	
47	blá	'get cured, get recovered'	a	Incho	-	
48	thɵ́ɯɴlī	'dance'	a	Incho	-	
49	mà	'do'	a	Incho	-	
50	mîmāɴ	'dream'	a	Incho	-	
51	ʔɔ̀	'drink'	a	Incho	-	
52	ʔáɴ	'eat'	a	Incho	-	
53	ɣòɴ	'end, finish'	a	Incho	-	
54	dɔ́	'fold'	a	Incho	-	
55	θànáɴ	'forget'	a	Incho	-	
56	màchə̀ɴ	'help'	a	Incho	-	
57	lâɴ wēdài	'lightning flashes'	a	Incho	-	
58	ʔáɴxṵ̂	'look for'	a	Incho	-	
59	θɔ̂	'make sound'	a	Incho	-	
60	dàʊ	'make war'	a	Incho	-	
61	tàiɴ	'make'	a	Incho	-	
62	lókwè	'play'	a	Incho	-	
63	thè	'pluck'	a	Incho	-	
64	thōɴ	'pound'	a	Incho	-	
65	ʔáɴmʊ̀	'put ~ in one's mouth'	a	Incho	-	
66	chà	'sew'	a	Incho	-	
67	ɕòɕó	'shake'	a	Incho	-	
68	wàthó	'shiver'	a	Incho	-	
69	mà [ ] thàkhʊ́ (do / song)	'sing'	a	Incho	-	
70	mî	'sleep'	a	Incho	-	
71	nī	'smile, laugh'	a	Incho	-	
72	kəchí̱	'sneeze'	a	Incho	-	
73	ʔáɴɣṵ́	'steal'	a	Incho	-	
74	ʔwì	'steam (vi), steam comes out'	a	Incho	-	

75	ʔánɣôʊɴ	'steam (vt), braise'	a	Incho	-	
76	màlú	'study; teach'	a	Incho	-	
77	ʔánchàʊ	'suck'	a	Incho	-	
78	phô	'swell (vi)'	a	Incho	-	
79	jā [ ] thî (swim / water)	'swim'	a	Incho	-	
80	lɔ̀	'tell'	a	Incho	-	
81	chônmón	'think, consider'	a	Incho	-	
82	lâɴ xwèiɴ [ ] (thunder / coo)	'thunder'	a	Incho	-	
83	cə̀ɴ	'tie'	a	Incho	-	
84	ʔókhò	'wait for'	a	Incho	-	
85	jàɴ [ ] cúɯ (wave / hand)	'wave hand'	a	Incho	-	
86	làɴjí	'wilt'	a	Incho	-	
87	nə̀ɴ	'win'	a	Incho	-	
88	thûtərài	'wind (as rope or paper)'	a	Incho	-	
89	lì ʔúɯ [ ] (wind / blow (vt))	'wind blows'	a	Incho	-	*lì ɣê* 'wind blows' [8] is a synonym.
90	mà [ ] kəlôʊɴ (do / job)	'work'	a	Incho	-	
(E) <Intensive>						
91	khā	'break (vi) (as a branch)'	a	-	Inten	
92	ʔàɴlûˆ	'dry ~ in the sun'	a	-	Inten	
93	làɴthé	'fall, drop'	a	-	Inten	
94	làɴjwà	'flow'	a	-	Inten	
95	ʔánlōɴ	'lend (as money, rice)'	a	-	Inten	
96	ʔánlèiɴ	'lend (general things)'	a	-	Inten	
97	ʔánláiɴ	'lick'	a	-	Inten	
98	mînàɴ	'lie down'	a	-	Inten	
99	lâɴ phlà [ ] (thunder / strike)	'lightning strikes'	a	-	Inten	
100	làɴphlī	'melt (vi)'	a	-	Inten	
101	kúɯ	'peel'	a	-	Inten	
102	chə̀ɴ	'rain'	a	-	Inten	

103	kwɛ́phəjā	'release'	a	-	Inten	
104	khwá	'scratch'	a	-	Inten	
105	ʔáɴchâ	'sell'	a	-	Inten	
106	làɴbə̀ɴ	'sink (vi)'	a	-	Inten	
107	chînàɴ	'sit down'	a	-	Inten	
108	thʊ́phlɪ̀	'spit'	a	-	Inten	
109	bàichài	'squeeze'	a	-	Inten	
110	jāiɴ	'step on'	a	-	Inten	
111	ʔáɴjū̄	'swallow'	a	-	Inten	
112	chíchâ	'urinate'	a	-	Inten	
113	ʔáɴɣá	'welcome'	a	-	Inten	
(F) <Inchoative 1 & Intensive>						
114	ʔáɴká	'bake'	a	Incho	Inten	
115	ʔáiɴ	'bite, chew'	a	Incho	Inten	
116	ʔáɴxʊ́	'broil'	a	Incho	Inten	
117	ná	'count'	a	Incho	Inten	
118	kàbài	'cover; shut'	a	Incho	Inten	
119	ʔíchâ	'defecate'	a	Incho	Inten	
120	khə́ɯɴ	'dig'	a	Incho	Inten	
121	cɔ̂	'fry'	a	Incho	Inten	
122	chôɴná	'listen'	a	Incho	Inten	
123	jɔ̄dèiɴ	'mix'	a	Incho	Inten	
124	ʔò	'peel'	a	Incho	Inten	
125	θə́ɯɴ	'plant'	a	Incho	Inten	θə́ɯɴ 'build' [39] is a homonym.
126	ʔáɴbʊ́	'rear, nourish'	a	Incho	Inten	
127	ʔɔ́pwài	'take a rest'	a	Incho	Inten	
128	pjò	'vomit'	a	Incho	Inten	
129	ʔáɴchʊ̂jwà	'wash (as clothes)'	a	Incho	Inten	
130	klàiɴ	'whet'	a	Incho	Inten	
131	kè	'write'	a	Incho	Inten	
(G) <Inchoative 2>						
132	châ	'ache'	s	Incho	-	
133	mə̂ɴ	'alive'	s	Incho	-	
134	ʔə̀ɴ	'bad'	s	Incho	-	
135	ʔɔ́	'be, exist'	s	Incho	-	cf. ʔɔ́ 'stay, live' [274]
136	kɛ́	'be, become'	s	Incho	-	
137	xîlà	'beautiful'	s	Incho	-	
138	káiɴ	'bent'	s	Incho	-	
139	dʊ́	'big'	s	Incho	-	
140	khá	'bitter'	s	Incho	-	
141	θə̂ɴ	'black'	s	Incho	-	
142	mé blɔ́ [ ] (eye / blind)	'blind'	s	Incho	-	

143	lâ	'blue'	s	Incho	-	
144	ɣōɴ	'chilly'	s	Incho	-	
145	wàɴkʰwàɴ	'circular'	s	Incho	-	
146	cʰêiɴ	'clean'	s	Incho	-	
147	nā ʔə̀ɴ [ ] (ear / bad)	'deaf'	s	Incho	-	
148	jó	'deep	s	Incho	-	
149	ʔwí	'delicious'	s	Incho	-	
150	cîcá	'dirty'	s	Incho	-	
151	xâiɴ	'dry'	s	Incho	-	
152	làɴlài	'dull, blunt'	s	Incho	-	
153	ɣɔ̀	'early'	s	Incho	-	
154	kʰà	'expensive'	s	Incho	-	
155	jàiɴ	'far'	s	Incho	-	
156	pʰlέ	'fast'	s	Incho	-	
157	bóɴ	'fat'	s	Incho	-	
158	xû	'flat'	s	Incho	-	
159	tʰáɴpʰɔ̂	'float'	s	Incho	-	
160	kʰlàʊ	'free'	s	Incho	-	
161	xwè	'full, be filed'	s	Incho	-	
162	ɣì	'good'	s	Incho	-	
163	ɣî̧	'green'	s	Incho	-	
164	nā xə̂ɴ [ ] (ear / heavy)	'hard of hearing'	s	Incho	-	
165	nòɴ	'hard'	s	Incho	-	
166	pʰímé	'hate'	s	Incho	-	
167	ɣə̂ɴ	'hear'	s	Incho	-	
168	xə̂ɴ	'heavy'	s	Incho	-	
169	ɣέ	'hot, spicy'	s	Incho	-	
170	kʰō	'hot'	s	Incho	-	
171	θàwī	'hungry'	s	Incho	-	
172	jɔ̀	'inflamed (as liver)'	s	Incho	-	
173	mə̀ɴ	'intoxicated'	s	Incho	-	
174	θà	'itchy'	s	Incho	-	
175	θí̧jâ	'know'	s	Incho	-	
176	təcwī	'late'	s	Incho	-	
177	pʰàɴ	'light, bright'	s	Incho	-	
178	kʰὲ	'lit'	s	Incho	-	
179	tʰɔ̂	'long, high'	s	Incho	-	
180	ʔέ	'love'	s	Incho	-	
181	ʔá	'many'	s	Incho	-	
182	tʰáɴɕā	'married'	s	Incho	-	
183	má	'mistaken'	s	Incho	-	
184	θâɴ	'new'	s	Incho	-	

185	θàɕā	'old (animate)'	s	Incho	-	
186	làɴlì	'old (inanimate)'	s	Incho	-	
187	máiɴ	'plump'	s	Incho	-	
188	cùʊ	'pointed'	s	Incho	-	
189	ɣɔ̀ (wɔ̀)	'red'	s	Incho	-	
190	náɴ	'remember'	s	Incho		
191	dóɕā	'rich'	s	Incho		
192	bá	'right'	s	Incho	-	*bá* 'cheap' [218] and *bá* 'hit' [270] are homonyms.
193	mêiɴ	'ripe; cooked'	s	Incho	-	
194	ʔʉ́ʉ	'rotten'	s	Incho	-	
195	póʊɴlóʊɴ	'round'	s	Incho	-	
196	ɣân	'salty'	s	Incho	-	
197	θàmɛ́	'scared, afraid of'	s	Incho	-	
198	dá	'see, visible'	s	Incho	-	*dá* 'find' [13] is a homonym.
199	chôɴkàiɴ	'sick'	s	Incho	-	
200	nə̂ɴ	'smell'	s	Incho	-	
201	phlî̤	'smooth'	s	Incho	-	
202	khàʊ	'solid'	s	Incho	-	
203	cháiɴ	'sour'	s	Incho	-	
204	nə̂ɴcí	'stink'	s	Incho	-	
205	lòɴ	'straight'	s	Incho	-	
206	chóɴ	'strong'	s	Incho	-	
207	khɔ̄ʔwì	'sultry'	s	Incho	-	
208	chə̂ɴ	'sweet'	s	Incho	-	
209	táɴ	'thick'	s	Incho	-	
210	kwí	'ticklish'	s	Incho	-	
211	pwài	'tired'	s	Incho	-	
212	láʔə̀ɴ	'ugly'	s	Incho		
213	lə̀ɴ	'warm'	s	Incho	-	
214	cɔ́	'wet'	s	Incho	-	
215	ʔwà	'white'	s	Incho	-	
216	lɛ̄	'wide'	s	Incho	-	
217	bàɴ	'yellow'	s	Incho	-	
218	bá	'cheap'	s	-	Incho	*bá* 'right' [192] and *bá* 'hit' [270] are homonyms.
219	khléiɴ	'cold'	s	-	Incho	
220	ɕʉ́ʉ	'cool'	s	-	Incho	
221	khài	'dark'	s	-	Incho	
222	ɕà	'few'	s	-	Incho	
223	xwî	'light, not heavy'	s	-	Incho	

224	ʔéiɴ	'narrow'	s	-	Incho	
225	ɕáɴ	'poor'	s	-	Incho	
226	phɨ́	'short, low'	s	-	Incho	
227	pî̵	'small'	s	-	Incho	
228	xwɛ̄	'thin, skinny'	s	-	Incho	
229	bə̀ɴ	'thin' (as a book)	s	-	Incho	
230	θàbáɴ	'young'	s	-	Incho	
231	θà xwî [ ] (heart / light)	'glad'	s	Incho	Incho	
232	blà	'lightly seasoned'	s	Incho	Incho	
233	bàʊ	'near'	s	Incho	Incho	
234	ʔwì	'slow'	s	Incho	Incho	
235	pháʊ	'soft'	s	Incho	Incho	
(H) <Restrictive>						
236	phɯ́	'carry ~ on one's back'	a	Restr	-	
237	béiɴ [ ] mé (close / eye)	'close eyes'	a	Restr	-	
238	tháʊ	'ride'	a	Restr	-	
239	chîthə́ɯɴ	'stand'	a	Restr	-	
240	kòɴ	'wear (as sarong)'	a	Restr	-	
241	θò	'wear (as shirt)'	a	Restr	-	
(I) <Integrated>						
242	phà	'born'	-	Integ	-	
243	tài	'go out'	-	Integ	-	
244	pàʊ	'open (vt)'	-	Integ	-	
245	mɛ́	'sprout'	-	Integ	-	
246	cà	'start, begin'	-	Integ	-	
247	kàɴ	'yawn'	-	Integ	-	
248	náʊ	'enter'	-	-	Integ	
249	blà	'hang'	-	-	Integ	
250	jwà	'make ~ flow'	-	-	Integ	
251	bə̀ɴ	'sink (vt)'	-	-	Integ	
252	pjá	'take off (as clothes)'	-	-	Integ	
253	kwɛ́	'take off (as clothes)'	-	-	Integ	
(J) <Special>						
254	cáiɴphlò	'run away'	a	Spec	-	
255	cáiɴɣà	'run away'	a	Spec	-	
256	lòɴ	'follow'	a	Spec	-	
257	ʔáɴnàɴ	'distribute'	a	-	Spec	

258	θá	'breathe'	a	Spec	Spec	
(K) <No use>						
259	ʔɔ́phlɛ́	'bear (vt)'	a	-	-	
260	báthài	'bump, hit'	a	-	-	
261	phóɴ	'catch'	a	-	-	
262	khwɛ̀	'crawl'	a	-	-	
263	bjàɴ	'cure'	a	-	-	
264	cà	'defeat'	a	-	-	
265	làɴ	'descend'	a	-	-	
266	θî	'die'	a	-	-	
267	pjáʊ	'follow'	a	-	-	
268	ɣàphlò	'get astray'	a	-	-	
269	phílâɴ	'give'	a	-	-	
270	bá	'hit'	a	-	-	*bá* 'right' [192] and *bá* 'cheap' [218] are homonyms.
271	ʔɔ́xáʊ	'marry'	a	-	-	
272	dákhòɴ	'meet'	a	-	-	
273	tòɴnóɴ	'run into someone'	a	-	-	
274	cài	'say'	a	-	-	
275	ʔɔ́	'stay, live'	a	-	-	cf. *ʔɔ́* 'be, exist' [135]
276	pətháʊ	'stop (vi, vt)'	a	-	-	
277	dʊ́	'strike'	a	-	-	
278	màni̱	'take'	a	-	-	
279	náɴ [ ] θà (remember / heart)	'wake up'	a	-	-	
280	θà tháɴ [ ] (heart / ascend)	'angry'	s	-	-	
281	θà làɴ [ ] (heart / descend)	'sad'	s	-	-	

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

3. Discussion

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

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

3.1 (A) <Directional 1>

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

(19)   jə   lì̠   tháɴ   ló   ʔə   ɣéiɴ   =(6)
       1SG   go   up   LOC   3SG   house
       'I went to his house.'

(20)   jə   lì̠   làɴ   ló   ʔə   ɣéiɴ
       1SG   go   down   LOC   3SG   house
       'I went to his house.'

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

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

3.2 (B) <Directional 2>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(25) jə   màbò   tháɴ   ʔəwê
      1SG   help   up   3SG
      'I cooperated with him.'

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

Note that for the verb *ʔáɴcà* 'ask' [9], *pɔ̄* 'read' [20], *kòɕà nò* 'shout' [21], and *khlàiɴ* 'speak' [22], *tháɴ* may express an inchoative meaning when co-occurring with them. Therefore, they are given the note "Up, Incho" in the *tháɴ* column.

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

3.3 (C) <Directional 3>

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

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

(26) ʔəwê   chó   tháɴ   θéiɴmū̄   =(8)
      3SG   lift   up   firewood
      'He lifted up the firewood.'

(27) ʔəwê chó   làɴ   θéiɴmūɯ
      3SG   lift down firewood
      'He lifted down the firewood.'

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

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

(28) ʔəwê khwái tháɴ lōʊɴ
      3SG   throw up   stone
      'He threw up a stone.'

(29) ʔəwê khwái làɴ   lōʊɴ
      3SG   throw down stone
      'He threw down a stone.'

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

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

3.4 (D) <Inchoative 1>

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

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

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

(30) ʔəwê θə́ɯɴ tháɴ ɣéiɴ   =(9)
      3SG   build up   house
      'He started building a house.'

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

(31) ʔəwê cà   tháɴ θə́ɯɴ ɣéiɴ
      3SG   start up   build house
      'He started building a house.'

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

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

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

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

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

(32) ʔəwê   θɔ́ɯɴ   ɣéiɴ   ɣòɴ   jàʊ
　　　3SG   build   house   finish   PFV
　　　'He finished building a house.'

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

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

(33) ʔəwê tháɴ tháɴ θéiɴ jàʊ
     3SG   climb up   tree   PFV
     'He has started climbing a tree.'

The verb *tháɴ*, however, cannot co-occur with the verb particle *làɴ*. Additionally, the verb *làɴ* 'descend' [265], the origin of the verb particle *làɴ*, cannot co-occur with either of the verb particles *tháɴ* or *làɴ*.

3.5 (E) <Intensive>

For the verbs in this group ([91]–[113]), the emphasis of the action is indicated by *làɴ*; *tháɴ* does not have this use. All the verbs in this group are active verbs; however, it is difficult to find more specific semantic commonalities among the verbs in this group. It is certain that many of the verbs in this group are semantically related to a downward direction in some way. For example, in the situations represented by *lànthé* 'fall, drop' [93], *lànjwà* 'flow' [94], and *lànbə̀ɴ* 'sink' [106], the referents of the subjects move downward; In the situations represented by *mînàɴ* 'lie down' [98], *chînàɴ* 'sit down' [107], and *jāiɴ* 'step on' [110], the actions are downward movements; In the situations represented by *thóphlì* 'spit' [108] and *ʔáɴjū* 'swallow' [111], the referents of the objects move downward. However, this group also includes verbs that are not necessarily related to a downward direction, such as *ʔáɴlōɴ* 'lend (as money, rice)' [95], *ʔáɴlèiɴ* 'lend (general things)' [96], *kwɛ́phəjā* 'release' [103], *ʔáɴchâ* 'sell' [105], and *ʔáɴɣá* 'welcome' [113]. Thus, it is difficult to find characteristics common to all the verbs in this group.

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

(34) θéiɴthɔ́ɯɴ ʔəthàiɴ khā   làɴ   jàʊ
     tree   branch   break down PFV
     'A tree branch just broke vigorously.'

(35) thîkhlóphʉ́ lànjwà làɴ   =(12)
     river   flow   down
     'The river is flowing vigorously.'

(36) ʔəwê ʔáɴláiɴ làɴ   thwê
     3SG   lick   down   dish
     'He licked the plate vigorously.'

(37) jə   kɯ́   làɴ   θéiɴphài =(13)
      1SG   peel   down   bark
      'I peeled the bark vigorously/carefully.'

(38) ʔəwê   ʔáɴchâ   làɴ   ɣéiɴ
      3SG   sell   down   house
      'He decisively sold his house.'

(39) ʔəwê   chînàɴ   làɴ
      3SG   sit.down down
      'He sat down firmly.'

(40) ʔəwê   ʔáɴɣá   làɴ   hə̀
      3SG   welcome down   1PL
      'He welcomed us warmly.'

3.6 (F) <Inchoative 1 & Intensive>

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

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

(41) ʔəwê   ná   tháɴ   pɛ́châɴ
      3SG   count up   money
      'He started counting the money.'

(42) ʔəwê   ná   làɴ   pɛ́châɴ
      3SG   count down   money
      'He counted the money precisely.'

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

(43) *ʔəwê ná   thán péchân ɣɔ̀ɴ   jàʊ
    3SG   count   up   money   finish PFV
    'untranslatable'

(44) ʔəwê ná   làɴ   péchân ɣɔ̀ɴ   jàʊ
    3SG   count   down money   finish PFV
    'He finished counting the money precisely.'

3.7 (G) <Inchoative 2>

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

(45) phlòʊɴ ʔá   tháɴ   =(10)
    person many   up
    'The number of people increased.' (Lit: People became many.)

(46) phlòʊɴ ɕà   làɴ   =(11)
    person few   down
    'The number of people decreased.' (Lit: People became few.)

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

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

(47) *phlòʊɴ   cà   tháɴ   ʔá
        person   start   up   many
      Intended meaning: 'The number of people increased.'

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

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

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

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

làɴ	tháɴ
bá 'cheap' [218]	khà 'expensive' [154]
khléiɴ 'cold' [219]	khō 'hot' [170]
ɕʉ́ 'cool' [220]	lə̀ɴ 'warm' [213]
khài 'dark' [221]	phàɴ 'light, bright' [177]
ɕà 'few' [222]	ʔá 'many' [181]
xwî 'light' [223]	xə̂ɴ 'heavy' [168]
ʔéiɴ 'narrow' [224]	lē 'wide' [216]
ɕáɴ 'poor' [225]	dʉ́ɕā 'rich' [191]
phɨ́ 'short, low' [226]	thɔ̂ 'long, high' [179]
pî̵ 'small' [227]	dʉ́ 'big' [140]
xwē 'thin, skinny' [228]	bón 'fat' [157], máiɴ 'plump' [187]
bə̀ɴ 'thin' [229]	táɴ 'thick' [209]
θàbáɴ 'young' [230]	θàɕā 'old (animate)' [185]

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

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

In addition, Kato (2013) notes that in the usage of inchoativity in the Western Pwo Karen verb particles, verbs expressing a positive meaning tend to co-occur with the verb particle *thàɴ* 'up' (corresponding to *tháɴ* in EPK), while verbs expressing a negative meaning tend to co-occur with the verb particle *láɴ* 'down' (corresponding to *làɴ* in EPK). The same is pointed out in the neighboring language, Thai, by Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005: 169). As evidence, Kato (2013) points to the fact that *kàiɗò* 'rich', *ɣé* 'good', *xîlà* 'beautiful', *shèiɴ* 'clean', and *ʔwì* 'delicious' co-occur with *thàɴ* 'up' and *meʔ ɓlàu* 'blind', *nə́ʔù* 'smell bad', and *ɓàθaʔlò* 'dirty' co-occur with *láɴ* 'down'. He then considers *ʔə́* 'bad', the antonym of *ɣé* 'good', which co-occurs with *thàɴ*, to be an exception. This phenomenon reminds us of the metaphor "GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN" pointed out by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 16). In EPK, however, the semantic counterparts of these Western Pwo Karen words, *dóɕā* 'rich' [191], *ɣì* 'good' [162], *xîlà* 'beautiful' [137], *chêiɴ* 'clean' [146], *ʔwí* 'delicious' [149], *mé blɔ́* 'blind' [142], *nâɴcí* 'stink' [204], *cîcá* 'dirty' [150], *ʔə̀ɴ* 'bad' [134] all co-occur with *tháɴ*. Therefore, it is unlikely that EPK has such a semantic association. There may also be room for reconsideration regarding the semantic association in Western Pwo Karen, given that *ʔə́* 'bad' co-occurs with *thàɴ* 'up'. Differences between EPK and Western Pwo Karen are also discussed in Section 4.

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

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

3.8 (H) <Restrictive>

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

(48)   ʔəwê   θò   châiɴ   mɔ̄khɔ́   =(14)
       3SG   wear   shirt   a.while.ago
       'He put on a shirt a while ago. / He was wearing a shirt a while ago.'

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

(49)   ʔəwê   θò   tháɴ   châiɴ   mɔ̄khɔ́   =(15)
       3SG   wear   up   shirt   a.while.ago
       'He put on a shirt a while ago.'

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

(50)   ʔəwê   θò   thá   châiɴ   mɔ̄khɔ́
       3SG   wear   THA   shirt   a.while.ago
       'He was wearing a shirt a while ago.'

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

3.9 (I) <Integrated>

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

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

(51) nə   phɔ́   phà   thán   jàʊ   ʁâ
      2SG   child   born   up   PFV   Q
      'Has your child been born yet?'

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

(52) ʔəwê   náʊ   làn   lɔ́   təwân   phə̀n
      3SG   enter down   LOC   village inside
      'He entered the village.'

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

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

3.10 (J) <Special>

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

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

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

3.11 (K) <No use>

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. Differences with Western Pwo Karen

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

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

Comparing verbs expressing the same meaning in EPK and Western Pwo, the co-occurability of *thán*/*thàɴ* and *làɴ*/*láɴ* is common in many cases, however, there are also quite a few cases where the two languages differ. I would like to point out here such cases. For example, EPK *phón* 'catch' [261], *khwè* 'crawl' [262], *dɔ́* 'strike' [277], and *màɴ̄* 'take' [278] cannot co-occur with either *thán* or *làɴ*, but the semantically corresponding Western Pwo Karen verbs *phàuɴ* 'catch', *swá* 'crawl', *dò* 'strike', and *mánê* 'take' can co-occur with both *thàɴ* and *láɴ* (Western Pwo *swá* 'crawl', *dò* 'strike', and *mánê* 'take' have already been mentioned in 3.11). EPK *mé blɔ́* 'blind' [142], *jó* 'deep' [148], *cîcá* 'dirty' [150], *làɴlài* 'dull, blunt' [152], and *nə̂ɴcí* 'stink' [204] co-occur with *thán* of Inchoative 2, but the semantically corresponding Western Pwo verbs *meʔ ɓlàu* 'blind', *joʔ* 'deep', *ɓàθaʔlò* 'dirty', *láɴleiʔ* 'dull, blunt', and *nə́ʔù* 'smell bad' co-occur with *láɴ* to the contrary (Western Pwo *meʔ ɓlàu* 'blind' and *ɓàθaʔlò* 'dirty' have already been mentioned in 3.7). EPK *pwài* 'tired' [211] and *ʔwà* 'white' [215] co-occur only with the *thán* of Inchoative 2, but the semantically corresponding Western Pwo verbs *pwí* 'tired' and *ɓwá* 'white' can co-occur with both *thàɴ* and *láɴ*; however, the difference between the use of *thàɴ* and *láɴ* is uncertain. EPK *ʔéiɴ* 'narrow' [224] co-occurs only with *làɴ* of Inchoative 2, but the semantically corresponding Western Pwo verb *ʔàiɴ* 'narrow' can co-occur with both *thàɴ* and *láɴ*; however, the difference between the use of *thàɴ* and *láɴ* is uncertain. EPK *ʔwì* 'slow' [234] can co-occur with the *thán* and *làɴ* of Inchoative 2, but the semantically corresponding Western Pwo verb *ɕâu* 'slow' can co-occur only with *láɴ*. Thus, there are quite a few cases where the co-occurability of *thán*/*thàɴ* and *làɴ*/*láɴ* differs between Eastern and Western Pwo Karen.

5. Concluding remarks

Let us summarize what has been discussed above.

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

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

	Examples	a/s	thán	làn
(A) <Directional 1>	lì 'go'	a	Up	Down
(B) <Directional 2>	jɯ̄ 'look'	a	Up	Down
(C) <Directional 3>	chó 'lift'	a	Up	Down
(D) <Inchoative 1>	ʔáɴ 'eat'	a	Incho	-
(E) <Intensive>	kúɯ 'peel'	a	-	Inten
(F) <Inchoative 1 & Intensive>	ná 'count'	a	Incho	Inten
(G) <Inchoative 2>	ʔá 'many'	s	Incho	-
	ɕà 'few'	s	-	Incho
	pháɯ 'soft'	s	Incho	Incho
(H) <Restrictive>	θò 'wear'	a	Restr	-
(I) <Integrated>	pàɯ 'open (vt)'	-	Integ	-
	náɯ 'enter'	-	-	Integ
(J) <Special>	lòɴ 'follow'	a	Spec	-
	ʔáɴnàɴ 'distribute'	a	-	Spec
	θá 'breathe'	a	Spec	Spec
(K) <No use>	θî 'die'	a	-	-
	θà thán 'angry'	s	-	-

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

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

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

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

These are summaries of what we have discussed so far.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Abbreviations

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

Sounds and transcription

The transcription used in this study is phonemic. Consonant phonemes are /p, θ [θ~t̪θ~t̪], t, c [tɕ], k, ʔ, ph [pʰ], th [tʰ], ch [tɕʰ], kh [kʰ], b [ɓ], d [ɗ~d], ɕ, x, h, ɣ, ʁ, m, n, ɲ, (ŋ), ɴ, w, j, l, (r [r~ɽ~ɻ])/. The bracketed consonants mainly occur in loan words. Rhymes are /i [(ə̃)i], ɨ, ɯ [(ə̃)ɯ], i̠ [ɪ], ʊ, e, ə, o, ɛ, a, ɔ, ai, aʊ, əɴ [əɴ~ə̃], aɴ [ăɔɴ~ã], oɴ [oɴ~õ], eiɴ [eiɴ~ei], əɯɴ [əɯɴ~əɯ], oʊɴ [oʊɴ~oʊ], aiɴ [aiɴ~aĩ]/. There are four tones: high-level /á/ [55], mid-level /ā/ [33~334], low-level /à/ [11], and falling /â/ [51]. Pwo Karen has atonic syllables, which can occur in all positions except utterance final. The only rhyme that can occur in atonic syllables is /ə/, and atonic syllables are transcribed with no tone marking.

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

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

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