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The middle marker in Pwo Karen

Atsuhiko Kato

Abstract

Pwo Karen (the Hpa-an dialect) has a middle voice marker. Three constructions are formed with this marker: the middle, reflexive, and reciprocal constructions. This paper describes the semantic and morphosyntactic features of these constructions. It also points out a phenomenon whereby productivity of the anticausative use of the middle construction increases in a certain syntactic context. Moreover, it shows that the middle marker plays an important role in Pwo Karen inchoative/causative verb pairs. Lastly, the semantic range that these three constructions denote will be clearly shown in general linguistic terms.

1. Introduction

LaPolla (1996) and LaPolla with Yang (2005) state that middle voice marking is very rarely recognized as such in grammars of Tibeto-Burman languages, and that it is often simply treated as a normal direct reflexive or as an intransitivizer.[1] Pwo Karen, which is a Tibeto-Burman language belonging to the Karenic branch, has a grammatical form that can be considered a middle voice marker, but exactly as LaPolla stated, I used to regard it simply as an intransitivizer (Kato [加藤] 2004). However, I later realized that a Pwo Karen syntactic process that changes the object to the subject should be taken as indicating a middle voice, as LaPolla (p.c., 2008) personally pointed out to me. This was the anticausative use of the middle construction, which

1 Studies of Tibeto-Burman languages that recognize middle marking as such include LaPolla (2000) and Takahashi (2012).

will be described in Section 3.1. Thus, in Kato (2009a), I labelled this anticausative the Pwo Karen middle construction. Since then, as my research has progressed, I have come to consider that the morpheme *θà* that forms the anticausative construction should be recognized as being closely associated with *θà* that appears in other syntactic environments, as will be seen in Sections 3.2, 4, and 5 below. This is because I have come to realize that many of the actions or processes that are expressed by clauses containing *θà* conform well with many of the situation types of the middle-related constructions that Kemmer (1993) describes in her cross-linguistic study of the middle voice. Therefore, in this paper, I consider the morpheme *θà* in its various uses as a single morpheme, recognize it as the middle marker[2] in Pwo Karen, and describe all of its uses. By doing so, we can take a comprehensive view of the uses of *θà*, which I used to treat separately in my works, including Kato [加藤] (2004). This type of approach could also contribute to the typology of the middle.

The variety of the Pwo Karen language treated in this paper is the Hpa-an dialect, which belongs to Eastern Pwo Karen. The Hpa-an dialect is spoken in the capital of Karen State, Myanmar, and the Pwo Karen dialects spoken in nearby cities such as Hlaingbwe and Kawkareik can be included here. For classification of the Pwo Karen dialects and a detailed discussion of their characteristics, see Kato (1995, 2009b), Phillips (2000, 2017), and Dawkins and Phillips (2009a,b). For the historical status or historical changes of the Karenic branch, see e.g., Haudricourt (1946, 1953, 1975), Luce (1959), Jones (1961), Matisoff (1991, 2003), Solnit (2001, 2013), Shintani (2003), Manson (2009), and Kato (2018).

In Section 2, the basic morphosyntactic properties of *θà* are shown, and the three constructions that are formed by *θà*, i.e., the middle construction, reflexive construction, and reciprocal construction, are defined. In Sections 3, 4, and 5, each construc-

2 Kemmer (1993: 15) uses the term "middle marker" for the "language-specific morphosyntactic marker that appears in the expression of some cluster of distinct situation types that are hypothesized to be semantically related to one another and to fall within the semantic category of middle voice."

tion is described. Section 6 describes the phenomenon whereby the productivity of the anticausative use of the middle construction increases in a certain syntactic context. In Section 7, we will see how the anticausative use of the middle construction works among Pwo Karen inchoative/causative verb pairs based on the work of Haspelmath (1993, 2016). In Section 8, we will consider the range of meanings that the middle, reflexive, and reciprocal constructions denote, with reference to the situation types that Kemmer (1993) proposes. Section 9 is the summary.

2. Three constructions formed with the middle marker *θà*

In order to discuss the uses of the morpheme *θà*, we will first have to examine the structure of a verb-predicate clause in Pwo Karen. See Figure 1 below:

(NOUN$_1$) (Vptc) VERB (Vptc) (NOUN$_2$) (ADVERBIAL ELEMENTS)

Figure 1: Basic structure of a Pwo Karen verb-predicate clause

Pwo Karen words can be classified into nouns, verbs, adverbs, particles, and interjections (see Kato [加藤] 2004: 27–30, 2008a). A verb-predicate clause is a clause whose predicate is a verb. In a verb-predicate clause, all elements but the verb shown as "VERB" are optional. Before and after the verb, verb particles,[3] abbreviated "Vptc", can occur, and multiple verb particles may occur in both positions. I call the part consisting of a verb and verb particle(s) a "verb complex". "NOUN$_1$" is the slot where the subject occurs. "NOUN$_2$" is the slot where the object occurs. In the case of a ditransitive verb, two objects can occur in the "NOUN$_2$" slot. For example, when the ditransitive verb *phi̱lâɴ* 'give' occurs as the verb, two objects can occur; the object that occurs immediately after the verb denotes Recipient and the other object Theme. In "VERB", concatenated type serial verbs may occur (see Kato 2017). After the

3 Particles can be classified into "adpositional particles", "subordinate clause particles", "general particles", "noun modifying particles", "verb particles", "adverbial particles", and "sentence particles" (see Kato [加藤] 2004).

“NOUN$_2$” slot, adverb(s), adpositional phrase(s), and adverbial particle(s) may occur in various orders. I represent these as “ADVERBIAL ELEMENTS”. In addition to these, some nouns and adverbs may occur clause-initially, and another verb may occur after the “ADVERBIAL ELEMENTS”, i.e., separated type serial verbs (see Kato 2017), but we need not concern ourselves with these elements in this paper. (1) is an example of a verb-predicate clause:

(1)

nə	mə	ʔáɴ	bá	kʊ́	ʔáʔá	lə́	jə	ɣéɪɴ	phɔ̀ɴ	ɕī
2SG	IRR	eat	OPP	snack	much	LOC	1SG	house	inside	too
NOUN$_1$	Vptc	VERB	Vptc	NOUN$_2$	adverb	adpositional phrase			adverbial particle	
	verb complex				ADVERBIAL ELEMENTS					

‘You will also get a chance to eat many snacks inside my house.’

Clauses wherein the morpheme *θà* is used can be grouped into three constructions: the middle construction (see Section 3), the reflexive construction (see Section 4), and the reciprocal construction (see Section 5). These can be clearly defined from the point of view of how the verb complexes are formed, as shown in (2). The abbreviation “V” indicates a verb. A verb complex may also occur recursively as the “V”.

(2) Verb complexes of three constructions employing the middle marker *θà*:

(a) the middle construction: V *θà*

(b) the reflexive construction: V *làɴ θà*

(c) the reciprocal construction: V *lóθà*

In the verb complex of the middle construction, the verb particle *θà* is put immediately after the “V”. In the verb complex of the reflexive construction, *θà* occurs after the verb particle *làɴ*, which occurs immediately after the “V”. *làɴ* is a verb particle that denotes a downward movement. In the verb complex of the reciprocal construction, *θà* occurs as the second syllable of the compound verb particle *lóθà*.

I consider the three constructions in (2) to be distinct constructions because they assume different surface forms despite the fact that they all contain the same morpheme *θà*. Especially in (c), the morpheme *θà* is compounded with the preceding syllable *ló*, unlike (a) and (b) where *θà* preserves the status of an independent word in either case. Also, the semantics of these constructions have different characteristics, though they are related to each other. Thus, I do not give a common label to these three constructions.

Next, I will give example sentences containing each of these constructions. A number after an English translation indicates where the sentence appears in my Pwo Karen corpus. (3) is an example of the middle construction, (4) the reflexive construction, and (5) the reciprocal construction.

(3) chəʔə́ɯɴ jò mwɛ̄ wêdá thîkhʊ́lɔ́ɴ ʔəphlóʊɴphʊ́
cloud TOP COP EMP ice round.thing

pəkòʊɴ θà lə mèiɴ lɔ̂
collect MID one kind ASS
'Clouds are a kind of what is made of ice particles gathering together.' (III-05.3)

(4) pə ʔè pàdʊ́jàʊjáɴ làɴ θà bênɔ́θò má, pəcháiphʊ́chā jò
1PL if respect down MID like.that not.until farmer TOP

chəpəjʊ́ chəbáθà mə dàʊpàiɴ
purpose desire IRR be.filled
'As far as we don't respect ourselves, we, farmers, will not see our dreams come true.' (IV-09.36)

(5) nəθí dá lóθà phàɴphɔ̂ɴ dài jā
2PL see RECP sometime still is.it.not
'Haven't you seen each other yet?' (012.8)

Etymologically, the middle marker *θà* originates from a noun meaning 'heart' at the Proto-Karen stage, and this nominal use of *θà* still occurs in Pwo Karen. The Proto-Karen form was probably *sak[3] (with Tone 3; for the Proto-Karen tones, see Kato 2018), which can be considered as being related to Matisoff's (2003) Proto-Tibeto-Burman form *sak 'breath(e)' (Matisoff 2003: 642).

The middle marker *θà* still preserves the features of a noun. That is, a personal pronoun of Form I[4] corresponding to the subject may appear before *θà*. See examples (6) through (8); (6) is an example of the middle construction, (7) the reflexive, and (8) the reciprocal. In these examples, *ʔə*, Form I of the third person singular and plural pronouns, occurs. Its appearance is optional. It is unknown what semantic effect placing a pronoun of Form I before *θà* has. In the reciprocal construction, *lóθà*, a compound verb particle, is divided into two parts by an intervening personal pronoun. This phenomenon will be discussed in Section 5.

(6) ʔəwê ʔáɴlɛ̀ ʔə θà jàʊ
3SG change 3SG mid PFV
'He has changed.'

(7) ʔəwê θi̱jâ làɴ ʔə θà ʔé
3SG know down 3SG MID NEG
'He does not understand himself.'

(8) ʔəθí ʔɛ́ ló ʔə θà
3PL love ? 3PL MID
'They love each other.'

Since it is a feature of nouns that they may be preceded by a pronoun, we should

4 Personal pronouns have two forms, i.e., Form I and Form II. Pronouns in Form I are placed before a noun and indicate possession. See Kato (2009a: 94).

consider a possibility that the middle marker *θà* is not a particle but a noun. If it is a noun, *θà* in examples (6) through (8) is the object of the clauses. Nevertheless, *θà* should be considered grammaticalized as a verb particle, because the middle marker *θà* cannot be topicalized despite the fact that in general the object may be topicalized. Topicalization in Pwo Karen involves left-dislocation of a noun with a topic marker placed after it. See the ungrammaticality of (6′) through (8′).

(6′)	*ʔə	θà	nɔ́	ʔəwê	ʔánlɛ̀	jàʊ	
	3SG	MID	TOP	3sg	change	PFV	
(7′)	*ʔə	θà	nɔ́	ʔəwê	θíjâ	làN	ʔé
	3SG	MID	TOP	3SG	know	down	NEG
(8′)	*ʔə	θà	nɔ́	ʔəθí	ʔɛ́	ló	
	3PL	MID	TOP	3PL	love	?	

There is further evidence of *θà* being a verb particle: other verb particles can appear after *θà*. See the example below:

(9)	lənéiɴjò	jə	mə	ʔɔ́	ɣì	làN	jə	θà	dáwê
	this.year	1SG	IRR	live	good	down	1SG	MID	HORT

‘I swear that I will behave myself this year.’ (0-01.474)

This is an example of the reflexive construction. The form *dáwê* after *θà* is a verb particle; hence it is an element within the verb complex. Thus, in terms of the structure shown in Figure 1, we need to consider *θà* before *dáwê* to be also a verb particle, not a noun (= object).

In Sections 3 to 5, we will examine the middle, reflexive, and reciprocal constructions in detail.

3. The middle construction

The middle construction is a clause with a verb complex "V *θà*". I call this type of verb complexes "middle forms" in this paper. The middle construction can be classified into two groups in terms of whether demotion of the subject is involved. In 3.1, we will discuss the case where demotion of the subject is involved, and in 3.2, the case where demotion of the subject is not involved.

In the discussion below, notes in angle brackets '< >' are the labels of the situation types of the middle proposed by Kemmer (1993). Kemmer lists eleven situation types: "grooming", "nontranslational motion", "translational motion", "change in body posture", "indirect middle", "naturally reciprocal event", "emotion middle", "cognition middle", "spontaneous event", "logophoric middle", and "passive middle". In the case of the two-word labels, such as "spontaneous event", I note only the first word, e.g., <spontaneous>. When I am not sure which situation type a given middle form should be grouped into, I attach a question mark. The situation types expressed by the Pwo Karen middle-related constructions will be discussed in Section 8.

3.1 The case where demotion of the subject is involved (= the anticausative use)

In the case where demotion of the subject is involved, clauses have the features of an anticausative construction. According to Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000: 7), an anticausative is a "valency-reducing derivation where the S of the derived verb corresponds to the underlying O, and there is no marker of the underlying A".[5] See the ordinary transitive clause in (10) first:

(10) ʔəwê pàʊ thánɴ pàitərâɴ
3SG open(tr.) up window
'He opened the window.'[6]

5 The discussions of the anticausative use of *θà* in this paper (especially those in Sections 3.1, 6, and 7) are based on Kato [加藤] (in print-b).

6 The verb *pàʊ* almost always occurs with the verb particle *thánɴ*, which denotes an upward

By using the verb particle *θà*, this sentence can be changed into an intransitive sentence as in (11):

(11) pàitərâɴ pàʊ thánɴ θà
window open(tr.) up MID
'The window opened.'

The noun *pàitərâɴ* 'window', which was in the object position in (10), occurs in the subject position in (11). Moreover, in (11), the subject *ʔəwê* '3SG', present in (10), can never appear. I call this "demotion of the subject" in this paper. Thus, "demotion of the subject" in this paper indicates a case where the subject argument cannot appear on the surface. I call this use of the middle marker the "anticausative use" of *θà* and the middle form in this use the "anticausative form". In the anticausative use, valence of the verb decreases by one.

One of the important roles of the anticausative use of *θà* is to make an intransitive predicate from a transitive verb when a verb denoting an intransitive situation is lacking. Pwo Karen has few transitive verbs that denote an action causing a change to a patient. In this paper, verbs denoting such actions are called "causative verbs". Since there are few causative verbs in Pwo Karen, many actions that cause a change to a patient are expressed using causative constructions.[7] Typically, the causative construction using the causative particle *mà*, which denotes a direct control on the causee, is employed. Examples include *mà θî* (mà + 'die') 'to kill', *mà ɣàɣòɴ* (mà + 'break (intr.)') 'to break', *mà khā* (mà + 'be bent') 'to bend', *mà làɴthé* (mà + 'to drop (intr.)') 'to drop (tr.)', *mà thé* (mà + 'be cut') 'to cut', and *mà wà* (mà + 'to shake (intr.)') 'to shake (tr.)' (see Kato 2009a). Conversely, Pwo Karen occasionally has

movement. This verb particle is often pronounced *ʁáɴ* in rapid speech.

7 For details of the causative constructions in Eastern Pwo Karen, see Kato (1999). Different dialects of Pwo Karen show various differences in causative constructions. For the causative constructions in Northern Pwo Karen, for example, see Phillips (2017: 57–58, 89–91).

only a causative verb, lacking an intransitive counterpart. In such a case, the anticausative *θà* is employed to express the intransitive sense. I have pointed this out in Kato (2009a). Thus far, the anticausative forms shown in (12) have been found:

(12) a. ʔánlɛ̀ θà (change(vt.)/MID) ‘change(vi.)’ <spontaneous>
b. ʔò θà (open(vt.)/MID) ‘be opened (as a betel nut)’ <spontaneous>
c. béiɴ θà (close(vt.)/MID) ‘be closed (as eyes)’ <spontaneous>
d. châɴ θà (line up/MID) ‘be in a row’ <spontaneous>
e. khədà θà (attach/MID) ‘be attached’ <spontaneous>
f. klài θà (roll up/MID) ‘be rolled up (as a sleeve)’ <spontaneous>
g. klò θà (peel off/MID) ‘be peeled’ <spontaneous>
h. mà θà (make/MID) ‘become (a state like ~)’ <spontaneous>
i. pəkòʊɴ θà (collect/MID) ‘gather’ <spontaneous>
j. pàʊ tháɴ θà (open(vt.)/up/MID) ‘open (as a window)(vi.)’ <spontaneous>
k. thûtəràì θà (twist/MID) ‘kink’ <spontaneous>
l. θàʊ θà (move(vt.)/MID) ‘move(vi.)’ <spontaneous>
m. wái θà (turn(vt.)/MID) ‘be turned (as key)’ <spontaneous>

Pwo Karen verbs can be grouped into volitional verbs and non-volitional verbs (see Kato [加藤] 2004, 2008a). In (12), the original verbs are all volitional, but the anticausative verbs are all non-volitional. Thus, in Kato (2009a), I considered all anticausative forms non-volitional. However, after publishing that paper, I found volitional anticausative forms, which are listed in (13). Among these, forms (13c) and (13e) are also listed in (12); that is, these three can be used as both volitional and non-volitional predicates.

(13) a. ʔókí̱ θúı θà (put/secretly/MID) ‘hide oneself’ <nontranslational>[8]
b. bài θà (massage/MID) ‘get a massage’ <grooming>
c. châɴ θà (line up/MID) ‘stand in a line’ <nontranslational>

8 *θúı* is a verb particle that means ‘to do (something) secretly’.

d. khlēiɴ θà (roll/MID) ‘turn over (as in bed)’ <nontranslational>

e. θàʊ θà (move(vt.)/MID) ‘move (to another place)’ <nontranslational>

In addition to these, there are anticausative forms that are derived from causative expressions with the causative particle *mà*. These are all volitional predicates. See (14):

(14) a. mà khō thánɴ θà (CAUS/hot/up/MID) ‘warm up oneself’ <nontranslational>

b. mà lànthîphā θà (CAUS/tumble/MID) ‘tumble down (on purpose)’ <nontranslational>

c. mà thēiɴ θà (CAUS/familiar/MID) ‘be on friendly terms’ <?>

d. mà xî θà (CAUS/beautiful/MID) ‘dress up’ <grooming>

To take (14a) as an example, the anticausative form *mà khō thánɴ θà* (CAUS / hot / up / MID) means ‘(someone) warms oneself’. Its original causative expression *mà khō thánɴ* (CAUS / hot / up) means ‘to warm (something)’ as in *mà khō thánɴ thî* (CAUS / hot / up / water) ‘to warm water’.

Moreover, there are also anticausative forms that are derived from serialized verbs. As Kato (2009a, 2017, in print-a) points out, Pwo Karen has a type of serialized verb construction with a causative meaning, as shown below:

(15) jə́ dʊ́ θî ʔə̀

1SG hit die 3SG

‘I hit him intending to kill him.’

In the serialized verbs in (15), the first verb (represented as V1) is a volitional transitive verb, and the second verb (represented as V2) is a non-volitional intransitive verb. The object argument of V1 and the subject argument of V2 are generally co-referential. This type of serialized verb depicts a situation where an agent performs an action denoted by V1 intending the occurrence of an event denoted by V2 and may take the anticausative use of *θà*. Thus far, the anticausative forms shown in (16) have been

found. In terms of volition, they are all non-volitional.

(16) a. kà bài θà (cover/be choked/MID) ‘be covered’ <passive>

b. kán kədù θà (shield/invisible/MID) ‘be hidden’ <passive>

c. khə́ɯɴ bə̀ɴ θà (dig/be buried/MID) ‘be buried’ <passive>

d. kwà làɴchè θà (hang/dangle/MID) ‘be hung’ <passive>

e. thò bàʊ θà (join/be attached/MID) ‘be attached’ <passive>

These anticausative forms express that as a result of performing the action denoted by V1, the event denoted by V2 has occurred. Below is an example:

(17)	chəphə̀ɴ	kánɴ	kədù	θà	dē	θéɪnlá
	hole	shield	invisible	MID	INS	tree.leaf

‘The hole is covered with tree leaves.’

The meaning of this sentence is as following: Someone put tree leaves over a hole in the ground, and as the result of this action, the hole is now invisible. What is important is that this sentence entails someone’s action of placing tree leaves; it is not that the tree leaves hid the hole as a natural result of falling. All the anticausative forms listed in (16) entail such an action denoted by V1. On the other hand, the forms listed in (12) do not entail the existence of an action. For example, (11) typically depicts a situation where a window opened automatically. That is why I labeled the forms in (12) <spontaneous> (= spontaneous event), and those in (16) <passive> (= passive middle). Although the forms in (16) entail the existence of an actor, a noun denoting an actor can never appear in the clause. On this point, they differ from the “passive voice”.

3.2 The case where demotion of the subject is not involved

The case treated in 3.1 has characteristics of the anticausative construction. That is, the object argument of the original verb occurs as the subject, and the original subject

never appears. In the case treated here, such demotion of the subject is not observed. In Kato (2009a), a paper on the changes of valence with verb particles, I treated the middle marker *θà* but did not refer to the case where demotion of the subject does not occur. That was because I considered *θà* of this case with no demotion to be a different morpheme, since its syntactic behavior is different. However, as Shibatani (2006) points out, voice phenomena need not alter argument alignment patterns, nor need they change verbal valence. Therefore, the presence or absence of demotion of the subject cannot be a reason to group uses of *θà* into different morphemes.

In the discussion below, we will classify the middle construction with no subject-demotion in terms of verb semantics. As I argued in Kato [加藤] (2004, 2008a), Pwo Karen verbs can be classified from the point of view of volitionality and lexical aspect. First, in terms of volitionality, verbs can be classified into volitional verbs and non-volitional verbs. Second, in terms of lexical aspect, they can be classified into dynamic verbs and stative verbs. Generally speaking, dynamic verbs denote Vendler's (1967) activities, accomplishments, or achievements, and stative verbs denote states. If we use these two classifications, Pwo Karen verbs can be grouped into four types: volitional dynamic verbs, volitional stative verbs, non-volitional dynamic verbs, and non-volitional stative verbs. Among these four, there are very few volitional stative verbs.

When this classification is applied to middle forms with no subject-demotion, their meanings are easy to grasp. In the following sections, we will see the middle forms with no subject-demotion in the order volitional dynamic, non-volitional dynamic, and non-volitional stative. No volitional stative forms have been found.

3.2.1 Volitional dynamic

Samples of middle forms without demotion of the subject that are volitional and dynamic are listed in (18). Middle forms grouped into this category are all intransitive. Many of these denote "nontranslational motions" in Kemmer's terms. When *θà* is bracketed in the list, it is omittable. It is unknown what difference is entailed by its

presence or absence. *θà* with no brackets is non-omittable. Forms with non-omittable *θà* in (18) are middle forms that have no unmarked counterparts, so-called "deponent verbs" (cf. Kemmer 1993: 22). No glosses are given for these. The verb *thàʊ* of *thàʊ θà* in (18l) means 'to draw' and can be used in isolation; however, since its meaning is quite different from the meaning of the middle form as a whole, I recognize (18l) as deponent.

(18) a. ʔɔ́ θúɩ (θà) (be/secretly/MID) 'hide oneself' <nontranslational>
b. ʔɔ́pətháʊ (θà) (stop/MID) 'stop' <nontranslational>
c. ʔùtərài (θà) (turn/MID) 'have a turn' <nontranslational>
d. cá θà 'turn back' <nontranslational>
e. cɔ́ (θà) (consider/MID) 'consider, deliberate' <cognition>
f. cónɴ θà 'stretch oneself' <nontranslational>
g. dòthò (θà) (lean/MID) 'lean' <nontranslational>
h. kəljânɴ (θà) (return/MID) 'return' <nontranslational>
i. pəthwɛ̄ θà 'rely' <nontranslational(?)>
j. pàxî θà 'to apply cosmetics' <grooming>
k. phəlé θà 'avoide (as a ball)' <nontranslational>
l. thàʊ θà 'be patient' <emotion>
m. wâinɴ θà 'face (a direction)' <nontranslational>
n. wèinɣânɴ (θà) (ramble/MID) 'ramble, loiter' <nontranslational>

The middle forms listed in (19) should be added here. These are special in that each of them consists of two verbs and *θà*.

(19) a. ché θî θà (?/die/MID) 'pretend to be dead' <nontranslational>
b. ché xî θà (?/beautiful/MID) 'show off' <nontranslational>
c. ché pi̱ θà (?/small/MID) 'be humble' <nontranslational>
d. thōʊɴ θî θà (accept/die/MID) 'die willingly' <emotion(?)>
e. thōʊɴ ɕánɴ θà (accept/poor/MID) 'live in contented poverty' <emotion(?)>

The verb *ché* in (19a,b,c) is a verb that cannot be used in isolation. The form '*ché* V *θà*' as a whole means 'to show oneself to V'. It can be recognized as a sort of idiomatic frame. The verb *thōʊɴ* in (19d,e) is a verb that means 'to accept' or 'to suffer'. The form '*thōʊɴ* V *θà*' also can be recognized as a sort of idiomatic frame that means 'willingly V'.

3.2.2 Non-volitional dynamic

Samples of middle forms without demotion of the subject that are non-volitional and dynamic are listed in (20). These are all intransitive. When *θà* is bracketed, it is omittable. It is unknown what difference its presence or absence entails. Many of these denote a "spontaneous event" in Kemmer's (1993) terms. The forms with no gloss are deponents.

(20) a. ʔùtərài (θà) (turn/MID) 'spin, rotate' <spontaneous>
b. bàithái (θà) (be choked/MID) 'be choked (as a pipe)' <spontaneous>
c. càdèiɴ (θà) (be mixed/MID) 'be mixed' <spontaneous>
d. càʊthài (θà) (be hit/MID) 'be hit (as a head against something)' <spontaneous>
e. kəthái (θà) (get jammed/MID) 'get jammed' <spontaneous>
f. kàiɴphà (θà) (be divided/MID) 'be divided, break up' <spontaneous>
g. khàthè θà 'writhe in agony' <spontaneous>
h. lànchè (θà) (dangle/MID) 'dangle' <spontaneous>
i. lànkhlēiɴ (θà) (roll(vi.)/MID) 'roll (as a ball)' <spontaneous>
j. lèlɔ̄ (θà) (wobble/MID) 'wobble (as a tooth)' <spontaneous>
k. náɴ tháɴ θà (remember/up/MID) 'wake up' <cognition>
l. thələ̂ɴ (θà) (be excessive/MID) 'be excessive, go too far' <spontaneous>
m. θànáɴ θà (forget/MID) 'be absent-minded' <cognition>
n. thəlɛ̄ (θà) (flutter/MID) 'flutter (as a leaf)' <spontaneous>
o. wàtəlù (θà) (tremble/MID) 'tremble, shiver' <spontaneous>
p. wâiɴ θà 'face (a direction)' <spontaneous>

Among these, *ʔùtərài (θà)* in (20a) and *wâiɴ θà* in (20p) also function as volitional predicates. Thus, they are listed also in (18).

náɴ thánɴ θà 'to wake up' in (20k) has an equivalent without *θà* meaning 'to remember (something)', as in, e.g., *jə náɴ thánɴ ʔə̀* (1SG / remember / up / 3SG) 'I remembered him'. Similarly, *θànánɴ θà* 'be absent-minded' in (20m) has an equivalent without *θà* meaning 'to forget (something)', as in, e.g., *jə θànánɴ thóʊɴ lə thóʊɴ* (1SG / forget / bag / one / bag) 'I forgot a bag'. Therefore, in these two cases, *θà* functions in a sense like an intransitivizer that deprives the verb of its ability to take an object argument. However, since the meanings of the forms with and without *θà* differ in these cases, I do not take it as an intransitivizing function of *θà*.

3.2.3 Non-volitional stative

Samples of middle forms without demotion of the subject that are non-volitional and stative are listed in (21). Many of these are equivalents of the "emotion middle" in Kemmer's (1993) terms.[9] When *θà* is bracketed, it is omittable, but the omittable cases are few.

These are sometimes intransitive and sometimes transitive, which I indicate with the bracketed abbreviations "intr." and "tr.". The forms with no gloss are deponents.

(21) a. ʔɔ́ θà (be/MID) (intr.) 'think (without a reason), misunderstand' <cognition>

b. cɔ́ɯɴ θà (lazy/MID) (intr.) 'be bored' <emotion>

c. ɣâiɴ θà (tr.) 'hate' <emotion>

d. jâɴ θà (tr.) 'sympathize, feel pity for' <emotion>

e. jū̄ θà (tr.) 'long for, miss' <emotion>

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9 There is a verb *báθà* 'to want (something)' that looks as if it were a middle form but is best analyzed as a compound verb of the verb *bá* 'to hit' and the noun *θà* 'heart' because it never allows any element to occur between *bá* and *θà*. The examples listed in (21) allow verb particles to occur between the verb and *θà*. To take *ká θà* 'be ashamed' as an example, the verb particle *khè*, a substitutive applicative marker, appears in the sentence *jə ká khè θà* (1SG/difficult/SUBS/MID) 'I feel ashamed on behalf of (him)'.

f. ká θà (difficult/MID) (intr.) ‘be ashamed, be embarrassed’ <emotion>

g. khō̰ θà (hot/MID) (intr.) ‘be anxious’ <emotion>

h. máʊ (θà) (comfortable/MID) (intr.) ‘be pleased’ <emotion>

i. pwài θà (intr.) ‘be tired’ <emotion>

j. təmjâN θà (strange/MID) (intr.) ‘be surprised’ <emotion>

k. θàwī (θà) (hungry/MID) (tr.) ‘be hungry’ <emotion>

ɣâiN θà in (21c), *jâN θà* in (21d), and *jṵ̄ θà* in (21e) can take an object that denotes someone/something toward which an emotion is directed, as seen in, e.g., *jə jâN θà nə̀* ‘I feel pity for you’.

I recognize *θàwī (θà)* in (21k) as a transitive, but it can only take as an object the nouns *mḭ̀* ‘rice’ and *thî* ‘water’, as in *jə θàwī (θà) mḭ̀* (1SG / hungry / MID / rice) ‘I am hungry’ and *jə θàwī (θà) thî* (1SG / hungry / MID / water) ‘I am thirsty’.

Among the examples in (21), forms (21c), (21e), (21g), and (21h) also have a form with *θà* placed before the verb, that is, *θà ɣâiN* ‘to hate’, *θà jṵ̄* ‘to long for’, *θà khō̰* ‘be anxious’, and *θà máʊ* ‘be pleased’. The difference in meaning between the forms “V *θà*” and “*θà* V” is not yet clear. *θà* placed before the verb of these forms cannot be recognized as the middle marker because of its position in the predicate. These forms could be considered either idioms or compounding verbs that consist of the noun meaning ‘heart’ and a verb following it.[10]

4. The reflexive construction

The reflexive construction is a clause that has a verb complex “V *làN θà*”. I call this type of verb complex the “reflexive form”. The morpheme *làN*, also pronounced *ʁàN*, is a verb particle originating from the verb *làN*, meaning ‘descend’, which denotes a downward movement (the verb *làN* is never be pronounced as *ʁàN*). A reflexive form appears when, in a transitive clause, the subject and the object are co-referential. See

10 In Pwo Karen, there are many such expressions, e.g., *θà ɣḭ̀* (heart / good) ‘be kind’, *θà tháN* (heart / ascend) ‘be angry’, *θà ɛáN* (heart / poor) ‘be sorrowful’.

the example below first:

(22) ʔəwê chè jə̀
3SG stab 1SG
'He stabbed me.'

When we replace the subject and the object of (22) with any other nouns, so long as the subject and the object are not co-referential, the clause does not become ungrammatical. However, when we need to say 'he stabbed himself' in Pwo Karen, we cannot use the sentence in (23).

(23) *ʔəwê$_i$ chè ʔəwê$_i$
3SG stab 3SG
Intended meaning: 'He stabbed himself.'

This sentence is ungrammatical. In order to express the meaning of 'he stabbed himself', it is necessary to use the reflexive construction, as shown in (24):

(24) ʔəwê chè làN θà
3SG stab down MID
'He stabbed himself.'

The reflexive construction is an intransitive clause. Therefore, it never allows any noun to occur in the object position. Thus, the valence decreases in the reflexive construction in the sense that the object argument of a transitive verb cannot appear.

The verb particle *làN* in the reflexive construction cannot be omitted. Thus, the sentence below, which is obtained from (24) by omitting *làN*, is ungrammatical:

(24′) *ʔəwê chè θà
3SG stab MID

Thus, the reflexive construction differs formally from the middle construction, where the verb complex consists of the verb and *θà* only, though they share the middle marker *θà*. Thus, we can say that Pwo Karen is a language where "the reflexive marker is a form which is similar, but not identical to the middle marker" in Kemmer's (1993: 25) words.

Other examples are shown in (25). Since the reflexive construction is highly productive, we should note that this is not an exhaustive list.

(25) a. ʔàʊ làɴ θà (praise/down/MID) 'boast'
b. ʔáɴbʉ́ làɴ θà (feed, rear/down/MID) 'make a living'
c. cʉ́ làɴ θà (immerse/down/MID) 'immerse oneself (in water)'
d. jʊ̄ làɴ θà (look at/down/MID) 'look at oneself (with a mirror)'
e. kətɔ̀ làɴ θà (worry/down/MID) 'be worried about oneself'
f. khláʊ làɴ θà (overturn/down/MID) 'lie face down'
g. lɔ̀ làɴ θà (talk/down/MID) 'talk to oneself'
h. nɛ̀ʔáɴ làɴ θà (believe/down/MID) 'be confident'
i. nôɴjā làɴ θà (regret/down/MID) 'repent'
j. pàdʊ́ làɴ θà (respect/down/MID) 'respect oneself'
k. θíjâ làɴ θà (know/down/MID) 'be conscious of oneself'
l. mà θî làɴ θà (CAUS/die/down/MID) 'kill oneself'

Below, I note three points that seem noteworthy. First, in the reflexive construction, an inanimate subject generally does not occur. However, in the example below, the reflexive construction is used despite the subject being an inanimate noun.

(26) ɣéiɴ châɴlé làɴ θà lɔ̀ thîkhló ʔənàiɴ
house arrange down MID LOC river side
'Houses are built in a line along the river.' (I-10.7)

The verb complex *châɴlé làɴ θà* only takes an inanimate noun as its subject. Thus, I

interpret this verb complex as a kind of idiomatic expression, meaning ‘be in a line’, using the reflexive construction.

Second, some verbs appear in a reflexive form only. Below are examples ((27d) and (27e) use serialized verbs that never appear without *làɴ θà* in these combinations):

(27)	a. ʔánjàɣáʊ làɴ θà	‘struggle’
	b. khwàiɴ làɴ θà	‘coil up (as a snake)’
	c. tōʊɴpàiɴ làɴ θà	‘be convinced, be persuaded’
	d. ʔɔ́ ɣì̱ làɴ θà (be/good/down/MID)	‘behave oneself’
	e. phûɪ θî làɴ θà (jump/die/down/MID)	‘kill oneself by jumping off’

In these forms, the element “*làɴ θà*” cannot be removed. It follows from this that the reflexive construction also has deponent verbs.

The third point concerns the reason that the reflexive construction uses the verb particle *làɴ*. Probably this is related to the fact that *làɴ* may be used to express movement toward a deictic center. See the example below:

(28) ʔəwê ʔè ɣê̱ làɴ ʔò,
3SG if come down that

lɔ̀ bá jə lì̱ phûnɛ̀ɛàmá ʔə ɣéiɴ ʔò xɔ̄
tell (request) 1SG go Phuneshama 3SG house that SFP

‘If he comes, please tell him that I have gone to Phuneshama’s house.’ (001.351)

In this sentence, *làɴ* indicates that *ʔəwê* ‘he’ will come to ‘you’, who is the deictic center in this situation. The verb particle *làɴ* here expresses that the movement is toward the place where the viewpoint is placed. Given this use of *làɴ* indicating a movement toward a deictic center, it is not strange that *làɴ* may also be used to express that an action returns to the actor (= subject), which is the central participant of an event denoted by a verb. Therefore, I assume that the use of *làɴ* in the reflexive construction originated from *làɴ* indicating movement toward a deictic center.

5. The reciprocal construction

The reciprocal construction is a clause that has a verb complex "V *lóθà*". I call this type of verb complex the "reciprocal form". This construction depicts reciprocal situations. The form *lóθà* (also pronounced as *ʁóθà*) is a compound verb particle, i.e., a verb particle consisting of two morphemes. Before discussing its compoundness, we will see the syntactic characteristics of the reciprocal construction.

As is described in Kato (2009a), there are two ways of expressing the participants of a reciprocal situation. Here, in order to simplify the discussion, let us limit ourselves to a reciprocal situation with only two participants. One of the ways of expressing the participants is that the subject refers to both of the participants, as in (29). The other is that the subject refers to one of the participants, and the noun introduced by the comitative (= instrumental) preposition *dē* refers to the other participant, as in (30).

(29) hə dʊ́ lóθà
1PL hit RECP
'We hit each other.'

(30) jə dʊ́ lóθà dē ʔə̀
1SG hit RECP with 3SG
'I and he hit each other'

The verb *dʊ́* 'to hit' in this example is a transitive verb that can take an object as in *jə dʊ́ ʔə̀* (1SG / hit / 3SG) 'I hit him', but *dʊ́* in (29) and (30) cannot take an object. Thus, if we change the adjunct in (30) into the object, the sentence is ungrammatical, i.e., **jə dʊ́ lóθà ʔə̀* (1SG / hit / RECP / 3SG). In this sense, *lóθà* decreases valence by one.

Verbs that can be used in the reciprocal construction are not limited to transitive verbs. The verb *máʊ* 'comfortable' in the example below is an intransitive verb.

(31) hə máʊ lóθà
1PL comfortable RECP
'We are getting along well.'

(32) phɔ́θá ʔəjò máʊ́ lóθà dē ʔəwê

child this.one comfortable RECP with 3SG

'This child is getting along well with him.' (001.2464)

In the case of intransitive verbs, valence-decreasing does not occur.

In the case of transitive verbs, valence-decreasing may not occur in a certain case. If the patient is not a participant of the reciprocal situation, valence-decreasing does not occur. For example, the noun *cú* 'hand' in (33) and (34) below can appear in the clause, because it is not a participant of the reciprocal situation of 'shaking hands'. In these sentences, "I" and the other person are participants of the situation.

(33) hə phóN lóθà cúɪ

1PL catch RECP hand

'We held hands with each other.'

(34) jə phóN lóθà cúɪ dē ʔə̀

1SG catch RECP hand with 3SG

'I held hands with him.'

As I said in the beginning of this section, *lóθà* is a compound verb particle. It consists of *ló* and *θà*. I had not noticed this fact when I wrote Kato (2009a), which also treats *lóθà* as a valence-changing verb particle. We can say that *lóθà* consists of two morphemes because *ló* and *θà* may be separated by an intervening personal pronoun. The samples in (35) and (36) below are taken from the Bible[11]:

(35) khlàiN ló ʔə θà tā , ...

speak ? 3PL MID then

'(They) spoke to each other, and then .....' (Genesis 37:19)

11 *The Holy Bible in Pwo Karen*. Rangoon: The Bible Society of Burma, 1966.

(36) ..... nəθí tè ló nəθíʔə θà .....

2PL quarrel ? 2PL MID then

'..... that you are quarrelling with each other .....' (Mark 9:16)

In these samples, the pronouns corresponding to the subjects *ʔə* in (35) and *nəθíʔə* in (36) are placed before *θà*, and, as a result, *ló* and *θà* are separated. Expressions like these are somewhat old-fashioned in modern times. That they appear in the Bible, which was first published in the 19th century, is not irrelevant to the fact that these expressions are old-fashioned. However, it is not true that these expressions has completely disappeared in modern times. As another morpheme can occur between them, *ló* and *θà* have to be recognized as distinct morphemes. Moreover, because the intervening pronouns are words, *ló* and *θà* in *lóθà* are also words. The category to which *ló* belongs is that of verb particles, as is the case with *θà*.

We can be fairly certain that *θà* in the reciprocal construction is the same as the middle marker *θà*, because in many languages reciprocal markers are etymologically related to their middle markers (Kemmer 1993: 95–127). Meanwhile, the etymological aspect of *ló* remains fairly unclear. It does not mean anything in isolation, and it does not appear if it is not used with *θà*. This is why I have glossed it "?". However, cognate forms with *ló* can be found in other Karenic languages, that is, *lū* in Kayah Li (Solnit 1997: 112) and *lòʔ* in Sgaw Karen. In Kayah Li, according to Solnit's description, *lū* alone is placed after the verb to indicate a reciprocal situation. In Sgaw Karen, according to my research, *lòʔ* occurs with *θáʔ*, which originated from the noun meaning 'heart' and indicates a reciprocal situation, as in Pwo Karen. It follows from these that *ló* as a morpheme related to reciprocal situations can date back to fairly old times, though we cannot say yet that it was a reciprocal marker at the Proto-Karen stage.

The morphemes *ló* and *θà* in *lóθà* may be separated, but still it is also true that they are joined strongly to each other. This can be said from the following fact: only personal pronouns can occur between *ló* and *θà*. No other elements can occur between

them. In contrast, in the case of *làɴ* and *θà* in the reflexive construction, elements other than personal pronouns can appear between them, as in the example below:

(37) kətɔ̀ làɴ lā nə θà nɔ́ chài
worry down HORT 2SG MID that SFP
'Please worry yourself.' (II-11:11)

In this example, not only the personal pronoun *nə* but the hortative verb particle *lā* also appears between *làɴ* and *θà*. I put a space between *làɴ* and *θà* of the reflexive construction because, as seen from this, they show considerable independence from each other; *ló* and *θà* of *lóθà* are not independent to such a degree. In addition to this, placing a personal pronoun before *θà* of *lóθà* as in (35) and (36), as well as (8), entails old-fashionedness, whereas in the middle and reflexive constructions, placing a personal pronoun as in (6) and (7) does not. For these reasons, I recognize *lóθà* as a compound particle consisting of the particles *ló* and *θà*. Thus, in the examples that we have seen above, when *ló* and *θà* are juxtaposed, I do not put a space between the two morphemes but gloss *lóθà* as a whole with the abbreviation "RECP".

I will show samples of reciprocal forms in (38) besides those which we have already seen. Among these, *nôɴ lóθà* in (38i), *xwì lóθà* in (38j), and *mɔ̂mɔ́ lóθà* in (38k) can be said to denote Kemmer's (1993: 17, 109–119) "naturally reciprocal events", because the situations that these verbs denote are necessarily mutual.

(38) a. ʔɛ́ lóθà (love/RECP) 'love each other'
b. bádòɴ lóθà (resemble/RECP) 'resemble each other'
c. dá lóθà (find, see/RECP) 'meet'
d. lɔ̀ lóθà (talk/RECP) 'have a conversation'
e. phòʊnɣôʊn lóθà (embrace/RECP) 'embrace each other'
f. màchə̀ɴ lóθà (help/RECP) 'help each other'
g. nɛ̀ʔán lóθà (believe/RECP) 'believe each other'
h. nī thánɴ lóθà (laugh/up/RECP) 'laugh at each other'

i. nôɴ lóθà (wrestle/RECP) ‘wrestle’

j. xwì lóθà ([cocks] fight/RECP) ‘(cocks) fight’

k. mɔ̃mɔ́ lóθà (same/RECP) ‘be the same’

6. Increase of productivity in the anticausative use of the middle construction

Among the three constructions that we have examined, the reflexive construction and the reciprocal construction are highly productive. However, the middle construction seems relatively low in productivity. It might even be that middle forms are formed with a fixed, closed set of verbs. Nevertheless, in a certain case, the productivity of the middle construction increases. In this section, we will observe a phenomenon where the middle forms in the anticausative use increase their productivity when they co-occur with the resultative verb particle *wɛ̀*.

All the anticausative forms consisting of only a verb and *θà* that have been so far found are listed in (12) and (13) in 3.1. One might imagine that an anticausative form could be derived from every causative verb, but this is not the case. The transitive verbs *ʔáɴká* ‘to bake’ in (39) and *thû* ‘to roll (as a mat)’ in (40), for example, are causative verbs; that is, they denote an action causing a change to a patient, but we cannot make anticausative forms from these verbs.

(39) *já ʔáɴká θà
fish bake MID
Intended meaning: ‘The fish is baked.’

(40) *khlɔ́ thû̃ θà
mat roll MID
Intended meaning: ‘The mat is rolled.’

Nevertheless, anticausative forms of causative verbs such as *ʔáɴká* ‘bake’ and *thû* ‘roll’ become grammatical when they are accompanied by the resultative verb particle *wɛ̀* ‘be already Ved; to V in advance’, as shown in (41) and (42). The word order of *wɛ̀*

and *θà* has to be *wɛ̀ θà*, not *θà wɛ̀*.

(41) já ʔánká wɛ̀ θà
fish bake RES MID
'The fish has already been baked.' or 'The fish has been baked in advance.'

(42) khlɔ́ thû wɛ̀ θà
mat roll RES MID
'The mat has already been rolled.' or 'The mat has been rolled in advance.'

Other examples are shown in (43) through (50). In these examples, the verbs cannot be changed into grammatical anticausative forms without *wɛ̀*, as is seen from the forms shown in parentheses. However, if they are followed by *wɛ̀*, grammatical anticausative clauses are obtained. In other words, anticausative forms increase their productivity when they co-occur with *wɛ̀*.

(43) mḭ̀ ʔánphôɴ wɛ̀ θà (*ʔánphôɴ θà)
rice cook RES MID
'Rice has already been cooked.'

(44) phlì cə̀ɴthɔ́ɯɴ wɛ̀ θà (*cə̀ɴthɔ́ɯɴ θà)
rope tie RES MID
'The rope has already been tied.'

(45) châiɴ ʔánchûjwà wɛ̀ θà (*ʔánchûjwà θà)
shirt wash RES MID
'The shirt has already been washed.'

(46) nɔ́ thè wɛ̀ θà (*thè θà)
grass pull.out RES MID
'The grass has already been pulled out.'

(47) chəphə̀ɴ khə́ɯɴ wɛ̀ θà (*khə́ɯɴ θà)
hole dig RES MID
'A hole has already been dug.'

(48) láiʔàʊ kòkí̲θɯ́ wɛ̀ θà (*kòkí̲θɯ́ θà)
book conceal RES MID
'The book has already been concealed.'

(49) châiɴ ɕâɴ wɛ̀ θà (*ɕâɴ θà)
shirt tear RES MID
'The shirt has already been torn.'

(50) phlì kwɛ́ làɴ wɛ̀ θà (*kwɛ́ làɴ θà)
rope untie down RES MID
'The rope has already been untied.'

Co-occurrence with the verb particle *wɛ̀* helps to make a grammatical anticausative clause only in the case of causative verbs. Non-causative verbs such as *dʊ́* 'hit, strike' in (51) can never form grammatical anticausative forms, even when they occur with the particle *wɛ̀*.

(51) *cəpwɛ̄ dʊ́ wɛ̀ θà
desk hit RES MID
Intended meaning: 'The desk has already been hit.'

However, as long as the verb is a causative verb, using the verb with *wɛ̀* makes it possible to form a grammatical anticausative clause. Thus, this syntactic procedure, i.e., making the anticausative form "V *wɛ̀ θà*", is highly productive. When I published Kato (2009a), I did not notice its high productivity.

What is noteworthy is that in an anticausative clause with the verb particle wɛ̀, the presence of an action that caused the result is entailed. This semantic feature is made clear when the clause is compared to a clause with the corresponding intransitive verb, if there is one. Examples (52a) and (53a) below are sentences with intransitive verbs corresponding to the transitive verbs used in (49) and (50):

(52) a. châiɴ já wɛ̀
shirt be.torn RES
'The shirt is already torn.'

b. châiɴ ɛ̂ɴ wɛ̀ θà (= 49)
shirt tear RES MID
'The shirt has already been torn.'

(53) a. phlì làɴkwɛ́ wɛ̀
rope be.untied RES
'The rope is already untied.'

b. phlì kwɛ́ làɴ wɛ̀ θà (= 50)
rope untie down RES MID
'The rope has already been untied.'

The difference between (52a) and (52b) is that in (52b), where the anticausative construction is used, the presence of an action that caused the situation of "being torn" is entailed, which is not the case in (52a) with the intransitive verb. Similarly, the difference between (53a) and (53b) is that in (53b), the presence of an action that caused the situation of "being untied" is entailed, while it is not in (53a). In this way, in the anticausative clauses with *wɛ̀*, the presence of a causing action is entailed, whereas in the anticausative clauses without *wɛ̀*, no such causing action is entailed. Thus, (11) expresses a situation where the window opened by itself. If we add *wɛ̀* to

(11), however, the presence or absence of an action is ambiguous in the obtained sentence; see (54). The sentence in (54) can be used both when the window was opened by some action or when the window opened by itself.

(54) pàitərâɴ pàʊ thánɴ wɛ̀ θà
window open(tr.) up RES MID
'The window has already been opened.'

Anticausative forms with *wɛ̀* are similar to anticausative forms formed from serialized verbs that we saw in (16) in 3.1 in that both kinds of anticausative forms entail causing actions. In anticausative clauses with *wɛ̀* also, a noun that denotes an actor can never occur in the clause. Thus, we can also label anticausative forms with *wɛ̀* as <passive> (= passive middle).

In 3.1, I said that one of the important roles of the anticausative use of *θà* is to make an intransitive predicate from a transitive verb when a verb that denotes an intransitive situation is lacking. This is correct so far as anticausative forms without *wɛ̀* are concerned. However, the role of the anticausative form "V *wɛ̀ θà*" evidently is not just to make an intransitive predicate, because the transitive verbs used in (49) and (50), *ɛ̀âɴ* and *kwɛ́*, have the equivalent intransitive verbs *já* and *làɴkwɛ́* shown in (52a) and (53a). Thus, we have to consider why the anticausative form "V *wɛ̀ θà*" is used without using an ordinary intransitive or transitive predicate.

The meaning expressed by the anticausative clause in (49) can be approximately fulfilled by using (55a) below, a clause with an ordinary transitive predicate. (49) also has the equivalent intransitive clause shown in (52a). What then is the raison d'être of (49) (shown again as (55b))?

(55) a. jə ɛ̀âɴ thá wɛ̀ châiɴ
1SG tear PREP RES shirt
'I have torn the shirt.'

b. châiɴ ɛâɴ wɛ̀ θà (= 49, 52b)

shirt tear RES MID

'The shirt has already been torn.'

The difference between (55a) and (55b) is the location of the viewpoint. In (55b) the viewpoint is on the patient, "shirt", while in (55a) the viewpoint is on the actor, "I"; therefore, the patient is made more prominent in (55b) than in (55a). In this way, using the anticausative form "V *wɛ̀ θà*" can make the patient prominent. The patient can be prominent in a simple intransitive clause like *châiɴ já wɛ̀* in (52a); however, as discussed above, use of the form "V *wɛ̀ θà*" can also indicate the presence of an action, whereas (52a) cannot. In short, one of the purposes of using "V *wɛ̀ θà*" would be to place the viewpoint on the patient and, at the same time, show the presence of a causing action.

7. Distribution of the anticausative forms in inchoative/causative verb pairs

In this section, we will see how the verbs in Haspelmath's (1993) list of inchoative/causative verb pairs are expressed in Pwo Karen, as in four other papers on Tibeto-Burman languages (Kiryu [桐生] 2015 on Meche; Matsuse [松瀬] 2015 on Newari; Onishi [大西] 2015 on Rawang; Shirai [白井] 2015 on rGyalrong) contained in Pardeshi, Kiryu and Narrog [パルデシ・桐生・ナロック] (2015). Doing so will reveal an important aspect of Pwo Karen anticausative forms.

Haspelmath researched 31 pairs of inchoative/causative verb pairs[12] in 21 languages and presented a list of verb pairs arranged in order from strong preference for causative

12 Haspelmath (1993: 90) defines an inchoative/causative verb pair as follows: "An inchoative/causative verb pair is defined semantically: it is a pair of verbs which express the same basic situation (generally a change of state, more rarely a going-on) and differ only in that the causative verb meaning includes an agent participant who causes the situation, whereas the inchoative verb meaning excludes a causing agent and presents the situation as occurring spontaneously."

derivations to strong preference for anticausative derivations (Haspelmath 1993: 104). The table in (56) shows the Pwo Karen forms that correspond to the verb pairs of Haspelmath's list. Haspelmath uses the term "verb" pairs, but he states that his labelling does not take into account the status of the deriving elements as inflectional, derivational, or syntactic (Haspelmath 1993: 92). Thus, although the causative derivation and anticausative derivation in Pwo Karen are both syntactic and not morphological, this does not present a problem in applying the theory of Haspelmath to the Pwo Karen pairs.

The symbols C, A, E, S, and L stand for types of alternations, that is, causative, anticausative, equipollent, suppletive, and labile alternations. If I simply use the terms "intransitive" and "transitive" verbs for Haspelmath's inchoative and causative verbs, (i) in the causative alternation, the intransitive verb is basic and the transitive verb is derived; (ii) in the anticausative alternation, the transitive verb is basic and the intransitive verb is derived; (iii) in the equipollent alternation, both intransitive and transitive verbs are derived from the same stem; (iv) in the suppletive alternation, different verb roots are used; and (v) in the labile alternation, the intransitive and transitive verbs have the same form.

We can see from the table in (56) that in many cases Pwo Karen uses the causative construction with the causative particle *mà* in order to express a transitive situation; that is, the causative alternation is the most frequently employed in Pwo Karen inchoative/causative verb pairs. Preference for the causative alternation is also common to Meche, Newari, Rawang, and rGyalrong. Meanwhile, it must be noted that the anticausative alternation is employed in 3 of the 31 pairs. As I pointed out in Kato (2009a), although Pwo Karen has an anticausative alternation, in Burmese, the neighboring Tibeto-Burman language with which Pwo Karen now has the closest contact, there is no anticausative alternation.

(56) Pwo Karen forms corresponding to Haspelmath's (1993) 31 pairs of inchoative/causative verbs

	inchoative	causative	
1. boil	khō thánɴ	mà khō thánɴ	C
2. freeze	khólónɴ	mà khólónɴ	C
3. dry	xâiɴ	mà xâiɴ	C
4. wake up	nɔ́ thánɴ	mà nɔ́ thánɴ	C
5. go out/put out	cáiɴ thánɴ (go outside) lànphái (as fire)	thàʊ thánɴ (put out side) mà lànphái (as fire)	S C
6. sink	lànbɔ̀ɴ	bɔ̀ɴ lànɴ	E
7. learn/teach	màlʊ́	màlʊ́	L
8. melt	phlī	mà phlī	C
9. stop	pətháʊ	mà pətháʊ	C
10. turn	ʔùtərài	mà ʔùtərài	C
11. dissolve	phlī	mà phlī	C
12. burn	khōɣʊ́	mà khōɣʊ́	C
13. destroy	ɣàɣòɴ	mà ɣàɣòɴ	C
14. fill	xwè	mà xwè	C
15. finish	ɣòɴ	mà ɣòɴ	C
16. begin	tài thánɴ	tài thánɴ	L
17. spread	lɛ̄ thánɴ	mà lɛ̄ thánɴ	C
18. roll	lànkhlēiɴ (θà)	khlēiɴ	E
19. develop	dʊ́ thánɴ	mà dʊ́ thánɴ	C
20. get lost/lose	lànmā	mà lànmā	C
21. rise/raise	thánɴ	bò thánɴ	C
22. improve	ɣì thánɴ	mà ɣì thánɴ	C
23. rock	wàthʊ́	mà wàthʊ́	C
24. connect	bàʊ	thò bàʊ	C
25. change	ʔánlɛ̀ θà	ʔánlɛ̀	A
26. gather	pəkòʊɴ θà	pəkòʊɴ[13]	A
27. open	pàʊ thánɴ θà	pàʊ thánɴ	A
28. break	ɣàɣòɴ	mà ɣàɣòɴ	C
29. close	bài	khà bài	C
30. split	théphà	mà théphà	C
31. die/kill	θî	mà θî	C

C = causative alternation; A = anticausative alternation; E = equipollent alternation;
S = suppletive alternation; L = labile alternation

13 *pəkòʊɴ* is a borrowing from Mon. See *pəkom* 'to convene' (Shorto 1962: 54), *paʔkom* 'to collect' (Sakamoto 1994: 41)

The places where anticausative alternations appear are also noteworthy. In this list, Haspelmath arranged verb pairs in order from strong preference for causative derivations to strong preference for anticausative derivation. Anticausative alternations appear in relatively lower places in Pwo Karen. This is in accordance with the universal tendency that Haspelmath proposed.

Moreover, let us dig a little deeper into this issue, based on Haspelmath's "spontaneity scale". Haspelmath (2016), in another paper, proposed "spontaneity scale" shown below:

(57) The spontaneity scale (Haspelmath 2016)

transitive	>	unergative	>	automatic	>	costly	>	agentful
('cut')		('talk')		('freeze (intr.)')		('break (intr.)')		('be cut')

<———— more causatives more anticausatives ————>

This is a scale of non-causal verb meanings. Haspelmath argues that causative coding of a verb pair is more likely when the noncausal (= inchoative) verb's meaning is on the higher end (the left-hand part) of the scale, while anticausative coding is more likely when the noncausal verb's meaning is on the lower end (the right-hand part) of the scale. We could say that the table in (56) picks up the part of "automatic" and "costly".

Here, let us draw attention to the two positions of the scale, "automatic" and "costly". According to Haspelmath (2016: 35–36), an automatic process is "a process that is easily construed as occurring on its own, without any external energy input, such as 'melt', 'freeze', 'dry', 'wake up', 'sink', 'go out (fire)'", and a costly process is "a process that does not so easily occur on its own, but typically involves some energy input ("cost"), e.g. 'break (intr.)', 'split (intr.)', 'open (intr.)', 'close (intr.)', 'gather (intr.)'". Generally speaking, we can say that the intransitive situations denoted by simple anticausative forms shown in (12) in 3.1 are costly processes. Therefore, Haspelmath's generalization that anticausative coding is more likely when the

noncausal verb's meaning is on the lower end also holds true in Pwo Karen.

There is one further point that we must note. Haspelmath's "agentful processes" are processes that "are quite difficult to construe as occurring on their own, without an agent, because of agent-oriented manner components in their meaning" such as 'be cut', 'be washed', 'be beaten', and 'be thrown' (Haspelmath 2016: 36). Agentful processes have "agent-oriented manner components in their meaning (i.e. they seem to require reference to an agent in their definition)" (ibid.). He also says that when we talk about agentful processes, we "seem to necessarily have an agent in mind" (ibid.). Recall that the anticausative forms made from serialized verbs shown in (16) in 3.1 and those with the verb particle *wè* discussed in Section 6 entail the presence of an action. Thus, we can say that situations denoted by these anticausative forms are the Pwo Karen equivalents of Haspelmath's agentful processes. These anticausative forms, which entail an action, can be said to be longer than simple anticausative forms as in (12), which denote costly processes, in that they use verb serialization or a verb particle. Haspelmath argues that the lower the noncausal meaning of a causal/noncausal pair (= causative/inchoative pair) is on the spontaneity scale, the longer an anticausative form will be. The situation in Pwo Karen pointed out above is in accordance with the generalization that Haspelmath proposes.[14]

8. The range of situation types expressed by the middle marker *θà*

In what we have so far discussed, I have labeled middle forms as, for example, <spontaneous>. These are the names of the situation types that are identified by Kemmer (1993) as being expressed by middle systems in the languages of the world. Kemmer lists eleven situation types, i.e., "grooming", "nontranslational motion", "translational motion", "change in body posture", "indirect middle", "naturally

14 Haspelmath (2016)'s paper is highly attractive, but some of his discussions need further consideration. He says that no language says 'make something be cut' to express 'cut' (p. 52), however, since Pwo Karen does not have a simple verb that expresses 'cut', the causative particle *mà* must be used to express 'cut': the Pwo Karen equivalent of "cut" is *mà thé* (CAUS/be.cut) 'cut', e.g., *jə mà thé phlì* (1SG/CAUS/be.cut/string) 'I cut a string'.

reciprocal event", "emotion middle", "cognition middle", "spontaneous event", "logophoric middle", and "passive middle". For details, see Kemmer (1993: 16–20). Here, employing the situation types that Kemmer proposes, we will see what meanings the middle marker *θà* is associated with.

From (12), (13), and (14) in 3.1, we can say that the anticausative use of *θà* is associated with "spontaneous events", "nontranslational motion", and "grooming". From (16), anticausative forms made from serialized verbs, can be said to be associated with the "passive middle". From the discussion in Section 6, anticausative forms with *wɛ̀* are also associated with "passive middle". From (18) and (19) in 3.2.1, middle forms without demotion that are volitional and dynamic can be said to be associated with "nontranslational motion", "cognition middle", "grooming", and "emotion middle". From (20) in 3.2.2, middle forms without demotion that are non-volitional and dynamic can be said to be associated with "spontaneous event" and "cognition middle". From (21) in 3.2.3, middle forms without demotion that are non-volitional and stative can be said to be associated with "emotion middle" and "cognition middle". Moreover, the reflexive construction is associated with "direct reflexive", and the reciprocal construction is associated with "reciprocal" and "naturally reciprocal events", as can be seen from the discussion in Sections 4 and 5.

Kemmer (1993: 202) proposes a map that shows semantic relations between the situation types that middle constructions and other related constructions express. Adopting her map, I show the situation types with which each of the Pwo Karen middle, reflexive, and reciprocal constructions is associated in Figure 2. From this map we can clearly see the situation types with which the Pwo Karen middle marker *θà* is associated, and those with which it is *not* associated. The middle construction in Pwo Karen expresses "grooming", "nontranslational motion", "emotion middle", "cognition middle", "spontaneous event", and "passive middle", but it does not express "translational motion", "change in body posture", "indirect middle", "naturally reciprocal event", or "logophoric middle". Moreover, the reflexive construction only expresses "direct reflexive", and the reciprocal construction

expresses “reciprocal” and “naturally reciprocal events”.

The situation type called “indirect reflexive” refers to a three-participant event in which the Recipient or Beneficiary participant is co-referential to the Agent (Kemmer

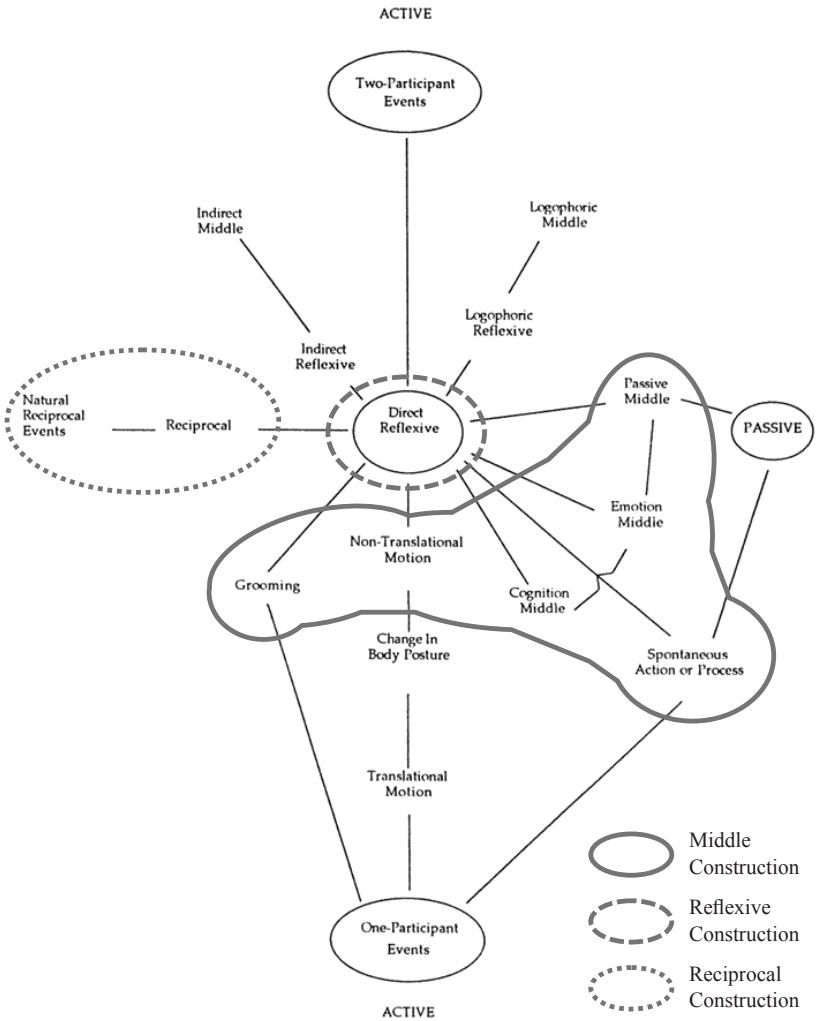

Figure 2: Kemmer’s (1993) situation types and the Pwo Karen constructions with the middle marker

1993: 36). In Pwo Karen, a reflexive clause that expresses such a situation is not acceptable, as is shown below:

(58) *jə xwè phí̱ làN θà láiʔàʊ
1SG buy BEN down MID book
Intended meaning: 'I bought for myself a book'

In order to express the intended meaning of this sentence, we have to say *jə xwè láiʔàʊ jə ɣāN* (1SG / buy / book / 1SG / for). Note that according to Manson (2010: 257), in Kayan, a language which belongs to the same Karenic branch, the intended meaning of (58) can be expressed with the reflexive.

9. Summary

In this paper, I pointed out that in Pwo Karen there are three constructions that are formed by using the middle marker *θà*, i.e., the middle, reflexive, and reciprocal constructions, and described semantic and morphosyntactic characteristics of these constructions. I also discussed that the productivity of the anticausative forms increases when it is accompanied by the resultative verb particle *wè*. Moreover, applying the typological generalization proposed by Haspelmath (1993, 2016), I showed how the anticausative use of the middle construction plays a role in Pwo Karen intransitive and transitive verb pairs. Lastly, I showed how the constructions formed with *θà* are associated with the situation types proposed by Kemmer (1993).

In the studies of Karenic languages, voice phenomena have by and large not been discussed before. This could be related to the fact that many of the Karenic languages have no active-passive opposition, except for certain languages such as Sgaw Karen. Solnit (1997: 8) says that in Kaya Li there is no inflection of verbs for voice; Kato [加藤] (2004: 52) says that it is unnecessary to posit a category of voice in Pwo Karen. However, according to Shibatani (2006), voice can be considered a phenomenon that reflects "conceptual distinctions pertaining to the evolutionary properties of an action

— namely the nature of the origin of an action, the manner of its development, and the way it terminates" (p. 262). When we observe Karenic languages from this standpoint, we find that they have various voice phenomena: Every Karen language has a causative construction; Kayah Li evidently has a benefactive applicative (Solnit 1997: 112–113); Geba has several applicatives including the comitative applicative and instrumental applicative (Kato [加藤] 2008b; for the semantic variation that applicative constructions express, see Peterson 2007: Ch. 3); Kato (2009a), in discussing the phenomenon of valence-changing, pointed out that Pwo Karen has the middle and several applicatives, including the benefactive applicative, comitative applicative, prioritive applicative, assistive applicative, and substitutive applicative; in his Kayan grammar, Manson (2010) describes two types of detransitivization, which changes the "object" into the "subject" (pp. 134–136; 253–255), and also describes the phenomena of reciprocals, reflexives, passive, and benefactive applicative (pp. 255–259); and in Manson (2017: 159), he also points out that applicatives are much more common than passives in the Karenic languages. Indeed, we could say that the Karenic languages are rich in voice phenomena. I feel that we need to observe Karenic languages in greater detail in terms of voice in future research.

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Abbreviations

ASS	particle denoting assertion
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative particle
COP	copula verb
EMP	emphasis
HORT	hortative
INS	instrumental/comitative
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
MID	middle
NEG	negative
OPP	particle denoting opportunity
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PREP	preparative
RECP	reciprocal
RES	resultative
SFP	sentence final particle
SG	singular
SUBS	substitutive applicative
TOP	topic
Vptc	verb particle
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

Transcription

The transcription used in this paper 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], ɕ, x, h, ɣ, ʁ, m, n, (ɲ), (ŋ), ɴ, w, j, l, (r [r~ɽ~ɹ])/. The bracketed consonants occur in loan words. Rhymes are /i [ɤ̆i], ɨ, ɯ [ɯ~ɤ̆ɯ], i̱ [ɪ], ʊ, e, ə, o, ɛ, a, ɔ, ai, aʊ, əɴ, aɴ [ɑ̆ɔɴ], oɴ, eiɴ [eiɴ~ei], əɯɴ [əɯɴ~əɯ], oʊɴ [oʊɴ~oʊ], aiɴ/. There are four tones: /á/ [55], /ā/ [33~334], /à/ [11], /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 have so far transcribed the vowel phoneme /i̱/ [ɪ] as /ɩ/. However, the symbol /ɩ/ is difficult to distinguish from /i/ when they are written with a tone sign. Compare, for example, /ɩ́/ and /í/. Moreover, /ɩ́/ and /í/ are hard to distinguish from each other in some IPA fonts in italics. Therefore, I use /i̱/ instead of /ɩ/ in this paper.

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