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DEVELOPMENT OF THE BURMESE LANGUAGE IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD*

by Maung Wun

The Burmese are a mongoloid race and though they received writing from India—the earliest inscription (VIth century) is a Pali text in Kadamba script—their language is Tibeto-Burman. The first inscription in Burmese itself appears after 1058 and the language thus presents a continuous record extending over nine centuries.

In the earlier part of this record the vocabulary is limited, as the inscriptions are concerned with little but pious gifts; but vernacular literature, both prose and verse, is already traceable in the XVth century.

*This thesis was written in 1937. Hoping to revise and improve it one day I have laid it aside ever since. Now that I have been out of touch with research for so long it should, I deem, be published as it is so that other people may do what I fondly hoped and utterly failed to. I would be greatly gratified, even in the face of adverse criticisms, if it could arouse further interest in the subject. The author.

RACES OF BURMA & CULTURAL ORIGINS

The written history of Burma is the history not of a geographical unit but of a few populous civilised tribes, ruling generally in the Irrawaddy basin which is seldom broader than a hundred miles and tapers northwards, enclosed between vast & thinly populated stretches of comparative barbarism in the hill country to the north-west & north-east.

In prehistoric times the country must have been traversed by races now found far to the south in Malaya & Indonesia, leaving only traces of their passage in pockets of the hills.

The Burmans, I imagine, came down from the hills of the Northern Shan States into the plains of Burma from 832 AD onwards. They settled first in Kyaukse district- "the eleven villages of Myittha" (Mlacsā chay ta kharuin) -where they increased and multiplied. Some of them gradually spread westwards to the Irrawaddy and founded Pagan. In the south they got as far as the rich land of Calañ, Lañkuñ and Mapañcara- "the six khayaing" (khrok kharuin). Northwards they had another kharuin at Toñplun in Mandalay district, and slowly pressed north-west and occupied the Mu valley. Wherever they went (except Pagan itself) they chose well-watered spots, and started or developed wet-rice cultivation (lay), and sometimes even irrigation-canals (mroñ) and dams (chañ).

JBRs 1932 120 Luce "Burma's debt to Pagan"

Needless to say, this is not the Burmese account. They claim to be descendants of Buddha's clansmen who migrated from India to Tagaung in northern Burma in 850 BC

1 1931 Census of India vol. XI part i. 296 Luce "Note on the Peoples of Burma in the XII-XIIIth century".

and thence to Prome in southern Burma in 443 BC. There is no evidence that they were ever in India,¹ and their tradition antedates events by a millenium and a half.

As stated above, they did not enter even northern Burma till the IXth century. And they can hardly have got as far south as Prome at the head of the Irrawaddy delta till the XIth Century when they first overran that delta.

THE PYU

Moreover we know that till at any rate the IXth century Prome- still called ပြည့် "the Capital" to this very day- was the principal city of a race, dominant throughout central Burma, known as the P'iao to the chroniclers of the T'ang dynasty of China 618-905 AD, and as the Pyu to the Burman chroniclers who are much later.²

To judge by their language, a Tibeto-Burman language, the Pyu were, like the Burmese, mongoloids from the north: if so, their journey south, across the overland trade route between north-east India and south-west China (which dates back to the IIInd century BC), would expose them to Indian influences; and on approaching the sea- Prome was virtually a port- they would be exposed to yet further Indian influences. Ptolemy 140 AD mentions the Irrawaddy delta as inhabited by cannibals, but a century later civilisation had spread north from the wealthy brahmanic trading centres near the Isthmus of Kra which were in contact by sea with all parts of India and were receiving immigrants, like the rest of Indo-China and Indonesia, especially from the Kadamba and Pallava kingdoms of the Deccan. Already by the VIth century the Pyu were professing Hinayana Buddhism of the Pali canon, recording it, as well as their own language, in Vth or even IVth century³ Kadamba script: their royal city Prome was called Śri Kṣetra ("Field of Glory"), and in addition to uninscribed objects- images of Viṣṇu and Avalokiteśvara- there have been found, in its ruins, gold plates bearing the "Ye dhammā" formula, and burial urns with inscriptions in the Pyu language referring to kings styled Vikrama who reigned from 673 to 718 AD and to others styled Varman who are undated.⁴ Sanskrit inscriptions containing the same "Ye dhammā" formula, and the same two royal styles, have also been found there, but not among the earliest, and they are in a different

1 Führer's claim in 1894 to have found at Tagaung a stone slab dated 416 AD with a Sanskrit inscription telling how Tagaung was founded by immigrant princes from Hastinapura (Old Delhi) is discredited: the stone has never been produced.

2 JBR 1937 239 Luce "The Ancient Pyu."

3 1912 Rep Supt Arch Sur Burma § 37

4 Indian styles are common in the royal families of Indo-China, the earliest being the Śri Māra family in the II-IIIrd century Sanskrit inscription at Vo-can in Champa, RCMajumdar "Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East: vol I Champa" (Lahore 1927) book iii p. 1

script, the VIIth century Gupta-Brāhmī script of north-eastern India;¹ nor does that script appear to have been used then or since for any Burma vernacular.

THE MON

Again, south of Prome, the Irrawaddy delta and the country as far east as the Menam valley in Siam was occupied by the Mon, a mongoloid race whose language belongs to the Mon-Khmer branch of Austroasiatic. In Burma their principal sites were Pegu (Haṁsāvatī) and Thaton (Sudhammapūra); these sites have not been adequately explored but they go back approximately to this period and Thaton is frequently mentioned in Pali commentaries of the IV-Vth century.² Already by the VIIth if not the VIth century the Mon were recording their language, with loan words from Sanskrit and Pali, in Pallava script (pp: 65, 66 below).

Such were the two civilised races of Burma, the Pyu and the Mon. What happened to them? The Mon continued to have kingdoms of their own off and on till the XVIIIth century and they still have their own language.

The Pyu ceased to rule in the IXth century, their language (with its alphabet) died out after the XIIth, and even their stock has long ceased to be traceable: it is probably an important ingredient in the Burmese people of today. They were overthrown by racial movements, first from the south and then from the north. In the middle of the VIIth century Prome succumbed to the Mon, and the Pyu fell back on central and northern Burma where they extended up to the present Burma-Yunnan frontier with a city at Halin now a village south of Shwebo. And here again, in 832, they were overthrown by Nanchao or tribes under Nanchao, a powerful Shan kingdom stretching over what is now the Chinese province of Yunnan.

THE BURMESE

It would be at this point, the Nanchao irruption of 832, that, one imagines, the Burmese entered the narrow plain of northern Burma widening rapidly to the south. They built their homes wherever, to quote their XIIth century inscriptions ရရှိ၍ ဂျာမြတ်နဲ့ ဂျာ ("where water is clear and grass is tender"), and soon they found themselves at Pagan, admirably situated on the great river near the confluences, the navel of Burma: already in 849 it was a cluster of nineteen hamlets sufficiently important to be surrounded by a wall. Their traditions suggest that they absorbed the Pyu rather than conquered them, and the fact that both their languages belong to the Tibeto-Burman subfamily suggests

1 Nihar-Ranjan Ray "Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma" (Calcutta 1936) 19-30, 88, 96.

2 1938 Rep Supt Arch Sur Burma 21

that they were kindred stocks.

At what stage of civilisation were the Burmese? They were the latest of the major immigrant waves, and culturally behind their predecessors the Pyu and the Mon. They must have gained from their coalescence with the Pyu but there is no direct evidence of this, and such writing as they used came from elsewhere nor did they use it to record their own language. The earliest evidence consists of clay tablets bearing the titles of Burmese royal personages and the "Ye dhammā" formula: occasionally these are in Pali but the earliest are in Sanskrit, and all alike are in IXth century Eastern Bengali or proto-Bengali scripts of a type used in Bengal and Bihar;¹ now it is in these two countries that Mahayana came to be predominant in the VIII-IXth century, and the XIth century Ari clergy² at Pagan- the earliest Buddhist clergy we can trace in northern Burma- were not merely Mahayanist but Tantrist: and Tantrism is associated with Eastern Bengal. Evidently the Burmese received their first culture from north-eastern India, in the IXth century, along the overland trade-route.

If, when entering the plains in 832, the Burmese were subject to Nanchao, they soon outgrew their dependence. The throne at Pagan to which Anawrahta succeeded in 1044- at last we are on historical ground- was an independent throne, and the dynasty he founded, the Dynasty of the Temple Builders 1044-1287, held sway over all Burma. Anawrahta's reign is a landmark, for in addition to unifying the country he introduced a great culture; indeed the chronicles attribute his conquests to evangelistic zeal. Hitherto Pagan had professed not only Tantric Buddhism but also Brahmanism, witness a Visnu temple (the Nathlaung temple) there, erected in his own reign³: and for that matter his reforms seem to have been accompanied by an increase in Mahayana of a respectable type (neither he nor any other Burmese king was a persecutor). Syncretism is also apparent in the religion of the Pyu and the Mon; but with them Hinayana had been dominant almost from the first, and it was from Thaton, the Mon capital, that Saint Arahan, a veritable apostle of the Theravada, set out for Pagan in 1057, converted Anawrahta, and so brought about the final triumph of the Hinayana throughout Burma. Immediately after his conversion Anawrahta demanded the Pali Pitakas from the king of Thaton and meeting with a refusal proceeded to conquer him. Professor Duroiselle writes:

1 Nihar-ranjan Ray "Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma" (Calcutta 1936) 32-3

2 Ann Rep Arch Sur India 1915-6 Duroiselle "The Ari of Burma and Tantric Buddhism."

3 Indian Antiquary 1932 Nihar-ranjan Ray "The Nat-hlaung temple and its gods"; Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art 1934 Nihar-ranjan Ray "Sculptures and bronzes from Pagan."

It is in that year [1057] that Anorata, king of Pagan, swooped down upon the deltaic provinces of Burma, that is, Rāmaññadesa, the Talaing country, and after a siege of three months entered Thaton the capital... The result of the conquest of Thaton was momentous for Pagan;... Anorata took... the most learned monks, the Pali scriptures and their commentaries, and all the best artisans and artists he could find, and, adds the Talaing chronicle, "from that time Pagan flourished exceedingly." Materially the conquerors, the Burmese became, to a great extent, intellectually the conquered; such examples are not rare in history. The form of Mahayanism then extant at Pagan gave way to the Hinayanism of Thaton; magnificent temples were built under the supervision of Indian and Talaing architects; it is only soon after 1057 that inscriptions on stone and votive tablets in Burmese, Talaing and Pali make their appearance at Pagan. It was from that time that writing was adapted to common use by the adoption of a foreign alphabet to represent Burmese sounds; if it is considered that... the Talaing and Burmese characters at that time were identical, and that the greater antiquity of Talaing civilisation is accepted on every hand, I think the rational conclusion is that the Burmese borrowed their alphabet from the Talaings. This does not certainly mean that writing was unknown at the Burmese capital; it can be easily proved that Sanskrit works, Mahayanist, and probably also Sanskrit Hinayanist and Brahmanical works, were in use at Pagan before Anorata. But it is only after the conquest of Thaton that an alphabet is devised for writing the vulgar tongue. It is noteworthy that no inscription whatsoever in Burmese or Pali has yet been found at Pagan antedating Anorata (*Epigraphia Birmanica* I i 6).

That is now the accepted theory on the origin of Burmese writing, but it is a comparatively recent discovery. Most Burmans would, rather vaguely it is true, claim that their writing originated in Buddha's time; and some European surmises have been little better. It may therefore be of interest to show the stages by which our knowledge developed; the following citations are in chronological order, and if they appear to mention two scripts that is only because the script has two main forms- a round form has long been universal but the original form was largely rectangular, it alone occurs in inscriptions until comparatively recent centuries and it survives in the Ordination Ritual, *upasampadā*, which is of course in Pali.

Chronological Summary of research on Burmese and Mon writing

1776 The first¹ European record of the Burmese alphabet is that of Father Carpani,

¹ Carpani says the 1687 French Embassy to Siam "brought some letters of the Pali alphabet

printed by the College of the Propaganda, Rome, in a series of language studies by missionaries returning to Europe. Carpani's guess at an ultimate origin tallies with the modern view that Indian alphabets are derived from Ancient Egyptian and were introduced by the Persians. He prints the square or "Pali" and round alphabets and specimens of texts side by side, saying:

Anyone can easily perceive the source of the Burmese characters if he turns his eyes to the characters of the Pali, Bali or Balia language, the sacred language of those parts, the only one taught by the Talapoins, which is exceedingly ancient and has preserved its purity. It is very hard to say from what part of the world this sacred language came, and what its origin is; some say the letters are derived from the oldest Hebrew characters, others that they, together with the rest of the letters of the languages of Asia and the East, are sprung from the Egyptians. Our opinion rather is that they came first from the Hebrews and then from the Persians through fusion and communication of peoples (Alphabetum Barmanum seu Bomanum Regni Avae Finitarumque Regionum, Typis Sacrae Congreg. de Propaganda Fide, Romae 1776, pp. XXXVII-VIII).

1795 The character in common use throughout Ava and Pegue is a round Nagari, derived from the square Pali, or religious text; it is formed of circles and segments of circles, variously disposed and combined, whilst the Pali, which is solely applied to the purposes of religion, is a square letter, chiefly consisting of right angles (M. Symes "Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava" London 1800, p. 338).

1820 Abel-Rémusat saw the resemblance to the Tibetan alphabet- Burmese was among the alphabets before him- and he inclined to the first of the following alternatives.

Ou les alphabets du Tibet, de l'Inde ultérieure et des îles sont pareillement dérivés d'une source commune, qui doit avoir été une variation du dévanagari, ou l'alphabet Tibétain a donné naissance à tous ceux qui sesont répandus au midi, ou bien, enfin, l'écriture Tibétain a été formée sur le modèle de quelqu'une de celles de l'Inde ultérieure (Abel-Rémusat "Recherches sur les Langues Tartares" Paris 1820, vol. 1 p. 350).

1826 Burnouf and Lassen confirmed Abel-Rémusat's first alternative.

Quoi qu'il en soit, le rapport de l'alphabet pali-barman et siamois, avec le kavi et le cinglais, même tel que nous l'avons, mène à cette conclusion, qu'un ancien alphabet immédiatement dérivé du dévanagari, a dû être porté à Ceylan et à Java, et de-là, passant

to Europe but they are none other than Burmese characters and of the Laos kingdom." I have not seen his reference La Louière "Du Royaume Du Siam 1687-8" (2vols Amsterdam 1691) II 78 but the reproduction at Burnouf & Lassen "Essai sur le Pali" plate I shews the letters to be an angular Siamese variety of Burmese.

au Pégu et a Siam, y prendre la forme du pali du Kammouva [a Burmese Pali text], et du pali du Boromat [a Siamese Pali text], et donner naissance au barman et au Siamois modernes- il faut en même tems rendre raison de la ressemblance- avec le tibétain (Burnouf et Lassen "Essai sur le Pali" Paris 1826 p. 67).

1834 The Mekkhara prince, uncle to the king of Burma has been reading with the greatest interest M. Csoma de Koros's different translations from the Tibet scriptures in your Asiatic Society of Bengal journal, and he is most anxious to obtain the loan of some of the many Tibetan works which the Society is said to possess. He considers many of the Tibetan letters to be the same as the Burmese, particularly the b, m, n and y. (Extract from letter from Col. Burney, British Resident at Ava, to BH Hodgson in JASB 1834 p. 387).

1858 Bishop Bigandet, Vicar Apostolic of Ava and Pegu, saw that the Burmese alphabet is derived from the Mon (Talaing).

The language of the Talaings is totally different from that of the Burmans, but the characters for writing are somewhat the same. It is from them that the latter have received their religion, the scriptures, and the characters used in writing (Bigandet "Life or Legend of Gaudama" 2 vols London 1911 edn, Vol. II p. 143).

1878 The Burmese, as well as the Talaings, received their religion and alphabet from India. Their alphabets differ very slightly, both being a circular variety of the ancient Deva Nagari; but the two languages have no radical affinity, the Burmese being cognate with the Tibetan. Metaphysical works are in the Pali language, in- the vernacular alphabet, the ancient square Pali character being seldom adopted, except in- the sacred Kambhawa, or rules for to be observed at the ordination of priests. It is not unlikely that the Burmese obtained both their religion and their alphabet through the Talaings (Lieut-Gen Albert Fytche "Burma: Past and Present" 2 vols London 1878, vol. II pp. 2, 8, 171).

1885 Dr. Forchammer saw that the Mon alphabet derives from Vengi.

The Burmans borrowed their alphabet from the Talaings- with but few modifications- The letters of the most ancient Talaing inscriptions are almost identical with the Vengi characters of the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. and the eastern Calukya letters. From these alphabets the Talaing letters appear to be derived: the ancient Cambodians have their writing from the same source (E. Forchammer "Jardine Prize Essay on Burmese Law" Rangoon 1885, pp. 5, 23).

1894-1919 Mr. Taw Sein Ko, both before and during his long tenure as Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, published his views *passim*. They hardly lend themselves to reproduction. He derived Burma, a variation of Mrammā, from Brahmā, the deity; at one time he claimed that Burmese writing is derived from "the Indo-Pali

alphabet of Kanishka and not from the South Indian alphabet of the Calukya dynasty of Kalinga from which the Mon alphabet is derived", at another that both Burmese and Mon writing are derived from the Pyu. It is doubtful whether he appreciated the data before him, and the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient gave up noticing his work.

Scholars like Abel-Rémusat 1820 who had seen that Burmese script was only one of a family scattered over Further India, and Bigandet 1858 who realised that it was derived from the Mon, wrote before the evidence on which they could follow up their clues was available, for it was not till the third quarter of the XIXth century, when the recording on which Bühlér based his "Indische Palaeographie" 1896 had accumulated, that the matter became demonstrable. Hence Forchammer 1885 is the first who, in addition to being a competent judge, had the real field of fact before him; subsequent research confirms and expands his verdict.

Mon Script derived from Pallava

That the Burmese received their writing from the Mon is generally accepted, and it is demonstrable. No inscription in Burmese has been found antedating Anawrahta's conquest of the Mon 1057, and Mon is the only vernacular used in the inscriptions of his dynasty until the third reign after the conquest. It is only at the beginning of the fourth reign that Burmese occurs, in the Myazedi Inscription at Pagan 1113, a quadrilateral bearing on each face the same text in a different language; the Pyu text is in the Pyu (Kadamba) script but the Mon, Pali and Burmese texts are all in the Mon script, the script which with minor modifications the Burmese have continued to use ever since.

Whence did the Mon get their writing? Their inscriptions are found both in Burma and in Siam, and their continuity is clear. The Mon of Burma are the same people as the Mon of Siam, they speak the same language, and there has always been ample intercourse between them; thus, in the VIIth century the princess who founded Lamphun (Haripuñjaya) was daughter to the king of Lopburi and wife to the king of Rāmaññadesa (the Mon country of Lower Burma).¹ The XIIth century Mon inscriptions of Lamphun² near the hills of northern Siam are in but a slightly developed form of the letters used in the earliest Mon inscription in Burma, the famous Shwezigon inscription set up at Pagan by Anawrahta's son King Kyanzittha 1090-1112, and this again is but a slightly less archaic form of the script used in the octagonal Mon inscription at Lopburi.³

1 BEFEO 1925 XXV Coedes "Documents sur l'histoire du Laos occidental."

2 BEFEO 1930 Halliday & Blagden "Inscriptions mon du Siam."

3 Lopburi at the head of the Menam delta above Bangkok must have been on a route to the Mekong basin, for Śrī Deva, a lately discovered site to the north-east at the entry to the

The Lopburi inscription is the oldest Mon inscription so far found anywhere, and it is in VIIIth century Pallava script.¹ And that is the script one might *a priori* expect: it has long been noticed that the alphabets of Indo-China and Indonesia² bear a close resemblance to those used in the IV-VIth centuries by the Kings of Vengi, the Pallavas and Kadambas, latterly it has been established that the Hindu overseas expansion emanated largely from the Pallavas, and the oldest inscription in all Indo-China, the Sanskrit inscription at Vo-canh on the east coast of Annam (Champa) is in IIInd-IIIrd century Pallava script.³

Such other evidence as exists points in the same direction. Early Mon notes on Pali Buddhist literature often mention the Vth century commentator Dhammapāla and Conjeveram (Kāñcipura) the Pallava city where he lived. Indeed the very name, Talaing, by which the Mon are best known- Mon is their own name for themselves- is probably derived from Telingana the Kalinga country to the north of the Pallavas, and it may well be that their cultured classes came from there.

Thus the alphabet of the Burmese is in origin Pallava, and they had adopted it by the early XIIth century from the Mon, to whom it was already familiar in the VIIIth.

plateau, contains Visnu temple ruins & V-VIth century Sanskrit inscriptions in a lettering Dr. Barnett assigns to Vengi & Telingana rather than the Pallava country, Indian Art & Letters 1936 New Series X, Quaritch Wales "Exploration of Sri Deva."

- 1 Unless a VIth century fragment nearby is really in Mon. BEFEO 1925 XXV 186 Coedes "Inscription mone de Lopburi."
- 2 Thus, Kawi, the old Javanese alphabet, is a Pallava form, and when Duroiselle shewed it to his Burmese assistants they mistook it for old Burmese, see his invaluable discussion of Mon cultural origins 1919 Rep Supt Arch Sur Burma §§ 40-42.
- 3 Bergaigne & Barth "Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge et Champa" in Notices et Extraits des MSS de la Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris 1885, XXVII part i p. 191. The old verdict still stands. Scholars like Finot (e.g. "Inscription de Vo-canh" in BEFEO 1915 XV part 2-xiv p. 3) and Krom ("Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis," s'Gravenhage 1926, p. 65) accept it. RCMajumdar ("Le Paléographie des Inscriptions du Champa" in BEFEO 1932, p. 127) rejects it, arguing that the Vo-canh script originated from a IIIrd or IVth century North Central Indian alphabet which had already been tinged with southern forms before reaching Champa, and these southern forms were further accentuated when Pallava colonists supplanted the earlier North Central Indian colonists; but he stands alone and he is answered by KANS-astri ("The Origin of the Alphabet of Champa" in Journal of Oriental Research Madras, 1936 X, p. 191, an article which also appears at BEFEO 1935, p. 233).

THE EARLIEST BURMESE LITERATURE

The cultural impetus produced by the conquest of Thaton 1057 led to a marked increase in the use of writing. The zeal of a newly converted people is apparent in the inscriptions of Anawrahta's dynasty, and the dedication of ricefields and villages, of money and slaves, is not solely for the erection of pagodas or the gilding of spires. Even when these are all that is mentioned, the maintenance of the monks, and therefore the education of the young, is implied, for teaching is one of a monk's main duties (ရောင်းခွဲး the Burmese word for monastery is also the word for school); and sometimes a donor will specifically provide for a school- thus, five schools (or lecture halls) are founded as part of a pagoda dedication¹ in 1237. A network of monasteries spread over the land, and with the course of time the effect became cumulative. European travellers, arriving from the XVIth century onwards, mention the prevalence of literacy among the people, and a generation or two ago it used to be a commonplace with the Census Officers of the Government of India that the percentage of literates in Burma was higher than in Spain or South Italy.

But the new alphabet did not even begin to be applied to the vernacular until half a century after the conquest. The library Anawrahta built- you can still see it at Pagan- was for the Pali Tipiṭaka. He supplemented the thirty complete sets he had captured from Thaton with yet further sets which he now obtained by sending a mission to the king of Ceylon, and after they had been compared and verified, copies were made and distributed throughout the kingdom.² Ceylon, the then home of Pali literature, ended by becoming in Burmese eyes the source of all religion, second only to Magadha; and Pali ended by becoming the only sacred language.

Yet the study of Sanskrit continued³ despite the fact that in Upper Burma Sanskrit Buddhism connotes the Mahayana. Indeed the period at which Mahayanism flourished best at Pagan was under Anawrahta's dynasty 1044-1287, the very period during which Hinayanism became the established religion of the land, and as late as 1442 the list of books a governor bestowed upon a monastery includes Tantric as well as Mahayanist and Brahmanical titles. Not that this is typical, for Sanskrit played an inferior role: the Burmese studied and translated it, they did not⁴ and do not write it.

1 L 242 (abbreviation explained at p. 84 below).

2 Mahādhammasaṅkram “Sāsanālaṅkāra Sādan” (1831, edn Rangoon 1928) 95.

3 Thus, L 404, year 1278, says “A minister, called Caturaṅgabijay, well versed in the Three Piṭakas, learned in Sanskrit, Vyākaraṇa, astrological and medical sciences.” See also Nihar Ranjan Ray “Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma” (Calcutta 1936) pp. 34-7, 94, 98.

4 Save for a few short inscriptions, BEFEO 1912 XII viii 19 Duroiselle “Inventaire des inscrip-

They did and do write Pali. The earliest literature is entirely Pali. The first work of which there is any mention is *Kārikā*¹ (extant), a grammatical treatise written about 1090 by Dhammasenāpati, monk of the famous Anada temple at Pagan. The next, *Saddanīti*² (extant), written in 1154 by Aggavārṇsa, monk, is also a grammar, a grammar of the *Tipiṭaka* which Durioselle calls “the most comprehensive in existence”; its second volume, on roots, gives the Sanskrit equivalents of the Pali forms, and it won such a reputation that pupils came from Ceylon to study at Pagan. Numerous other works survive; the authors include a king and a princess but usually they are monks; they write prosody, medicine, astrology, scriptural commentaries and doctrinal expositions, but grammar, and Pali grammar at that, is the dominant subject.

Not until the late XVth century do we find a surviving work written in Burmese; then, in the very first examples, prose and verse alike, the style shews that the language had long been practised; and indeed there is mention³ of its being used for a translation (not extant) from the Pali about 1190. But it must have been used as a main language before that, for it was used as a matter of course in inscriptions after 1113. The inscriptions are there for us to see, and they shew us how the Burmese wrote their language for the first time (pp. 72, 73, 84-99 below).

THE LANGUAGE (I)

Tibetan and Burmese

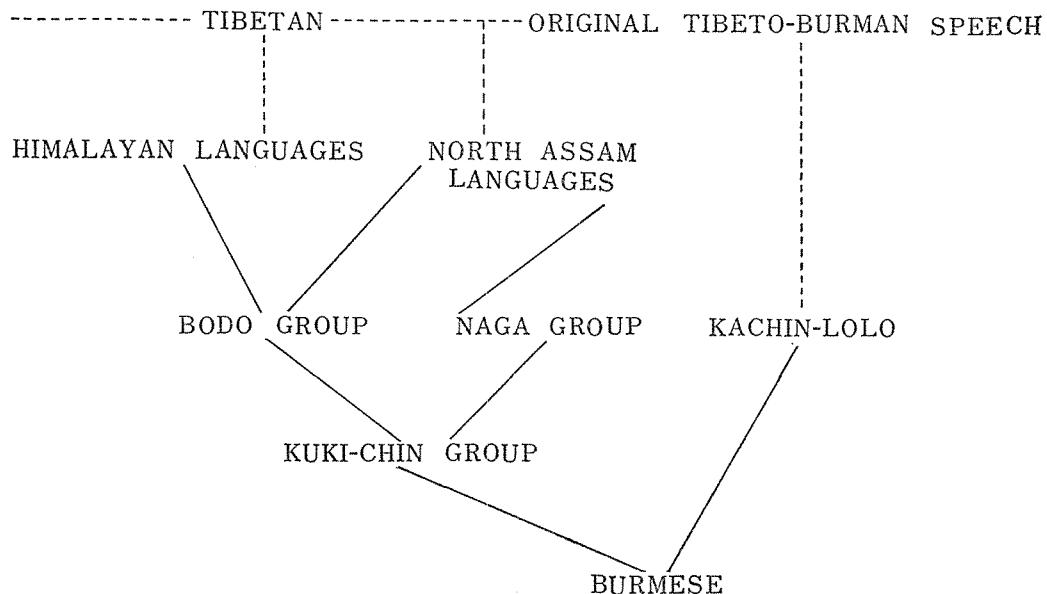
I must briefly place the Burmese in its general setting before passing to the stage in which we find it in the inscriptions. It belongs to the numerous Tibeto-Burman subfamily described at length in the Linguistic Survey of India vol I part i chapters IV, VI from which I take this diagram shewing relationship within the subfamily:

tions palies, sanskrites, mon et pyu de Birmanie.”

1 XVIIth century “*Gandhavarṇsa*” (ed. Minayeff JPTS 1886) 63; Mabel Bode “Pali Literature of Burma” (London 1909) 16.

2 Helmer Smith “*Saddanīti*: la grammaire palie d’Aggavārṇsa, texte établi par Helmer Smith” 3 vols, Lund 1928-30.

3 “*Sāsanavarṇsa*” (ed. Mabel Bode, London 1897) 75.



None of these languages are literate, save only Tibetan and Burmese.¹ Many of the others are doubtless now written, but this is only a recent development, usually due to the introduction of the Roman alphabet by Christian missionaries, and it is therefore on Tibetan that I must rely for a comparison with Medieval Burmese.

Tibetan was first written in the VIIth century when Thon-mi-sambhota, minister to king Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, introduced a North-Western Gupta script.

The scripts of India, north and south alike, derive from a common source, and today Tibetans and Burmans still arrange the letters in their alphabets, the same letters, in the groups known to Panini two thousand years ago.

We thus have, in much the same notation, a record of Tibetan from the VIIth century and of Burmese from the XIIth on which to base a comparative study of the two languages.

Sir George Grierson has indicated the difficulties which confront the comparative philologist when he comes to Tibeto-Burman languages- they seem to be invertebrate, amorphous, to have no grammar. It so happens that such words as Tibetan has in common with Burmese are *prima facie* not likely to be importations, for they are largely concerned with the oldest and simplest things in life; but they are few, and in any case vocabulary is no guide, for otherwise- to take a stock instance- English, especially Johnsonian English, would have to be classed as a Romance language. And when we pass

¹ Lolo and Moso have scripts of their own. Hans Jensen "SIGN, SYMBOL AND SCRIPT" (London 1970) pp. 185-9, 193-5.

to grammar, the standard Indo-European framework, with its definite parts of speech, its regular inflections, is totally absent: Tibeto-Burman languages have few if any parts of speech let alone inflections.

But grammar cannot be thus restricted. Moreover, as exponents of Linguistics¹ have pointed out, there is in every language a basic plan, a certain cut, a structural genius which is much more fundamental than any single feature. Its individual features may have no necessary connection, they may be easily thinkable apart from each other, and yet they seem to cluster in the wake of some controlling impulse which drives them together and dominates their trend. Two cognate languages may have been separated for centuries, their vocabularies may have become utterly different, their accidence, their syntax even, may have drifted apart, and at first sight they may seem to have no relationship; yet examination will shew that throughout they have sought or shunned the same linguistic developments and that their phonetic pattern, their morphological type, has remained constant.

That may well prove to be the case throughout the Tibeto-Burman languages. But the sum total of our present knowledge is inadequate, on modern standards, even for the two major languages. The material has only begun to be collected for Burmese, my own language, and of Tibetan I, a beginner, can hardly speak; yet already it is possible to glimpse what may one day become demonstrable. Both Tibetan and Burmese have increased their vocabulary since they adopted the Indian alphabet (Burmese from Malay, Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, Portuguese and latterly English), but the first Tibetan grammar written by Thonmi Sambhota in the VIIth century is still the standard grammar of the language, the grammar disclosed in the earliest Burmese on record, the XIIth century inscriptions, is the grammar of Burmese today, and the basic similarity between the two languages persists despite their lack of mutual contact within the historic period. Take a random instance: Sir George Grierson says of the Tibetan spoken in Baltistan at the other end of Tibet, the western and two thousand miles from Burma:

The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. The object may precede the subject when it is followed by the suffix *ta*. The genitive precedes the governing word. Adjectives and pronouns usually precede the noun they qualify while numerals follow it. Adverbs are put immediately before the verb or at the beginning of the sentence.
(Linguistic Survey of India III i 38).

Well, in Burmese the order is subject, object, verb though for emphasis the object may precede the subject. The possessed follows the possessor. Qualifying words or clauses

1 E Sapir "Language: an Introduction to the Study of Speech" (Oxford University Press 1921)
127, 152, 200.

precede the qualified, numerals follow it.

I shall attempt to examine the vocabulary, phonology and grammar with reference as far as possible to early Tibetan and to Burmese as found in the inscriptions of Pagan. Phonetics¹ have so far been applied only to modern Burmese speech.

Vocabulary

The similarity of the cardinal numbers in Tibetan, Burmese and the intervening languages is apparent.

<i>Tibetan</i>	<i>Naga</i>	<i>Kuki</i>	<i>Chin</i>	<i>Burmese</i>
1.=gcig	chā, hak, wān-thek	khat, iñ-khat	ma-kat	tat, tac
2.=gñis	ni, anyi, wā-ni	a-nhi, in-ni	ma-nhi	nhac
3.=gsum	lum, chum, sem, azam	a-thūm, in-thūm	ma-tōn	sum ³ sum ³
4.=bshi	peli, āli, lai	man-li, palli	ma-li	le ³
5.=lñā	ngā, ā-gā, bangā	na-ngā, pa-ngā	ma-ngā	ñā ³
6.=drug	wok, luk, ārok, irak	a-rük, ka-rük	ma-rük	khrok
7.=bdun	ni-yet, ānāt, ingit	sārī, tak-si	ma-seri	khu-nhac
8.=brgyad	tāt, set, ā-chat	ā-riet, ki-rēt	ma-rit	het, yhat, rhac
9.=dgu	tu, ā-kū, ikhu	kūo, ta-kū	ma-ko	kui ³
10.=bcu	ichi, sā-o-chi	som, shōm	ma-rā, shom	chai, chay
11.=bcu-gcig				chay-tac
12.=bcu-gñis				chay-nhac
20.=ñi-çu		som-ni		nhac-chay
100.=brgya		ra-jā-kāt, ri-yā-h	ya-kat	ryā, rā
1000.=stoñ				thoñ

¹ LEArmstrong & Pe Maung Tin "A Burmese Phonetic Reader" (London 1925); & JRFirth "Alphabets & Phonology in India & Burma" in Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London University 1936 VIII ii, iii. In my romanisation of Burmese I use one system for the spelling, another for the sound.

For the actual spelling (regardless of pronunciation) I use the tone symbols, and the roman equivalents of the Indian letters, given by Duroiselle in *Epigraphia Birmanica* I. i 9-15.

For the modern pronunciation (regardless of spelling) I use Firth's phonetic script.

Little has been done on the historical grammar and still less on the history of sound changes but the problem is indicated in JRAS 1896 Houghton "Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Palaeontology"; JBR 1913 Duroiselle "Burmese Philology" and 1914 Blagden "Transliteration of Old Burmese Inscriptions."

Notice, too, the similarity between the following:

<i>Tibetan</i>	<i>Burmese</i>	
kun	kun, a-kun	all, entire, whole
klag-pa	kyak	study, reading
kha	khā, a-khā	time
kha-ba	khā ³	bitter
khag-po	khak	difficult, hard
ńa	ńā	1st person pronoun
thań	thań	clear, serene
nag-po	nak	black, dark
pha, a-pha	a-pha, pha	father
ma, a-ma	a-ma, mi	mother
mag-pa	[sā ³ -] mak	son-in-law (sā ³ in B=son)
tshwa	chā ³	salt
yab-mo	yap	a fan; wave the hand
lag-pa	lak	hand
lam	lam ³	road, way
ça	a-sā ³	flesh, meat, surface of body
ça	sā ³	stag
hab	hap	eat quickly

Phonology

Alphabet. In Indo-China as a whole, Sanskrit had usually preceded Pali, and therefore it is not surprising to find that when the Burmese came to write their language, the letters they adopted were those used in Sanskrit rather than in Pali, for ś, § and the *repha* (letters used in Sanskrit but not in Pali) recur in the inscriptions. The range thus offered was more than sufficient, the

mediae	g	j	d	b
mediae aspiratae	gh	jh	dh	bh
cerebrals	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh
spirants	ś	§		

being used only for non- Burmese words (even in such words the initial letter tends to become voiceless when the words are adopted into Burmese, e.g.

<i>Pali</i>	<i>Burmese</i>
daṇḍa	tan
guhā	kū);

and the cerebrals being written as dentals from the first

Indian *Burmese*
letter

ဋ	ဋ ta
ဏ	ဏ tha
ဏ	ဏ da
ဏ	ဏ dh
ဏ	ဏ na.

When the Burmese first applied the alphabet they presumably gave its letters the sound values used by their Sanskrit and Pali teachers, many of whom must have been Indians. But that was nine hundred years ago: Burmese pronunciation has changed since then, and that, too, without corresponding changes in spelling. The result is an alteration of sound values which in some cases is surprising. Thus, according to the original values, ဏ and ဏ should be pronounced *sak* & *tac*: actually they are pronounced θe? & ti?. And the changes have affected even pure Pali words, *saṅghā* and *sacca* being pronounced θinga & θi?sa'.

Parallel sound changes. Often the change is parallel to that in Tibetan: thus, take the palatals

<i>Indian</i>	<i>Burmese</i>	<i>Burmese</i>	<i>Tibetan</i>
letters		pronunciation	
Firth's script			
ဋ	ဋ ca (porch)	sa'	<i>tsa</i> (parts)
ဋ	ဋ cha (porch-house)	sha'	<i>tsha</i>
ဇ	ဇ ja	za'	<i>dsa</i> (guards)
ဇ	ဇ jha	za'	<i>dsha</i> ;
ဇ	and ဇ ဇ <i>ra</i> is often pronounced as a palatal, <i>ya</i> ; indeed it is sometimes actually written as the palatal		
ယ	ယ ya	ya':	
သ	သ va	wa'	
ဆ	ဆ sa	θa', ða'.	

The voiceless letters

ဋ	ဋ ka	ဋ kha
ဏ	ဏ ca (sa')	ဏ cha (sha')
ဏ	ဏ ta	ဏ tha
ဏ	ဏ pa	ဏ pha
ဏ	ဏ sa (θa')	

are pronounced *voiceless* when preceded by the final consonants ဏ *k*, ဏ *c*, ဏ *t*, ဏ *p*,

(all of which constitute a glottal stop), or the neutral vowel \emptyset , or nothing; *voiced* when preceded by a vowel (other than the neutral vowel \emptyset) or nasal.

Contrast the pronunciation of

ကျက်ပါ	kyak pā	ce? pa
ချိန်ပါ	khyac pā	chi?pa
အေကောင်	akoñ	əkaun
မခက်ဖူး	ma khak phū ³	mə khs? 'phu
ထွက်သွား	thwak swā ³	thwe? 'θwa

with the pronunciation of

ହେକୁ	ହେ ହୋ ପା	hle kui lho ² pā	hle go hlo ba
ଲାନ୍ କୋନ୍ କାନ୍		lañ koñ ³	liñ 'gaug
ପ୍ରାନ୍ କ୍ରି		prañ kri ³	pyi 'ji
ଲାକ୍ଷ ପେ	ଲାକ୍ଷ ପା	lakha pe ³ pā	la' ga' 'pe ba
ଇମ୍ କୋନ୍ କାନ୍		im coñ ¹	eiñ zaug'
ଲାଯ୍ ଟୋ		lay to ³	le 'dɔ
ମାନ୍ ଶା		mañ ³ sā ³	'min' 'ða.

Similarly in Tibetan where, however, the spelling also changes: when the preceding word ends in *n*, *m*, *r* or *l*, *kyi* changes to *gyi*; and to *gi* when the preceding final is *ga* or *na*.

လမ် • ရှိ • lam gyi
ပြန် • ရှိ • byan gi
မိုးရှိ • mig gi.

The word ଟିଏଁ • *cig* changes to ଶିଏଁ • *shig* after a vowel or ଏଁ • *i*, ଏଁ • *n*, ଏଁ • *m*, ଏଁ • *r*, ଏଁ • *l*.

శ్రీ పాపింగ్ స్టాన్ పా శిగ్

ମିନ୍ ଶିଖ୍ • min shig.

The word ਤੁ becomes ਦੁ after final $\text{ਨੁ}, \text{ਦੁ}, \text{ਨ੍ਹੁ}, \text{ਮੁ}, \text{ਰੁ}, \text{ਲੁ}$.

ନାନ୍	nañ	du
ମଦୁନ୍	mdun	du
ଶଲାଦ	slad	du
ଖ୍ୟାମ	khyim	du
ବାର	bar	du.

pas (sign of the comparative) changes to *bas* after a vowel or final \bar{s} • \bar{n} , \bar{s} • \bar{r} , \bar{s} • \bar{l}

ର୍ତ୍ତା ସବୁ କୁଣ୍ଡ ସବୁ ଯିନ୍ଦା ।
rta bas khyi chuñ ba yin

The dog is smaller than the horse.

Final Consonants

The correlatives are

	<i>Tibetan</i>	<i>Burmese</i>
guttural	-g -ñ	-k -ñ
palatal		-c -ñ
dental	-d -n	-t -n
labial	-b -m	-p -m
miscellaneous	-h, -r, -l, -s	-y -w

The vocabulary at p. 72 above includes instances of Tibetan -g, -b = Burmese -k, -p and the third paragraph hereunder instances of Tibetan -d = Burmese -t. And the sound values of the Tibetan letters may have been that of the Burmese, for

It must be observed that ଷ୍ଟ୍ ତ୍ ଷ୍ଟ୍ (g, d, b) as finals are never pronounced like the English g, d, b in leg, bad, cab but are transformed differently in the different provinces. In Ladak they sound like k, t, p (Jäschke "Tibetan Grammar" § 5).

Both languages use the same nasals save that Burmese alone uses -ñ which however used to be -n

<i>Burmese</i>	
Old	Modern
acan	acañ in a line;

in Tibetan its place is taken by -ñ, -n

<i>Tibetan</i>	<i>Burmese</i>
miñ	mañ name
sen-mo	sañ ³ [finger-] nail.

Burmese alone uses -c (which however used to be -t) and in Tibetan its place is taken by -g, -d

<i>Tibetan</i>	<i>Burmese</i>	Old	Modern
brgyad	het	rhac	eight
chags-pa	khyat	khyac	to love.

Burmese -y is hard to explain. In the following solitary instance it corresponds to Tibetan -l

Tibetan dñul *Old Burmese* ñuy money, silver.

No correlation has been found for Burmese -w (now obsolete); or for Tibetan -h, -r, -l, -s.

Initial Consonants

Both languages use tenues and tenues aspiratae. Tibetan alone uses mediae but they are often as it were interchangeable with tenues because—witness the part prefix letters play in Tibetan—prefix s generally raises a media to a tenuis and its absence reduces a tenuis to a media.

gañ-ba to be full skañ to fill

(Jäschke "Tibetan Grammar" 139).

The rule is

<i>Tibetan</i>	<i>Burmese</i>	
s-	$\begin{cases} \text{tenuis} = \text{tenuis aspirata} \\ \text{media} = \text{tenuis aspirata} \\ \text{nasal} = \text{aspirated nasal} \end{cases}$	
s kyi-ba	khye ³	borrow
s toñ	thoñ	thousand
s tod	thot, thwat	upper/higher part of a thing
s na	nhā	nose
s nabs	nhap	nasal mucus
s bañs	phañ	dung of large animals
s bug-pa	phok	perforate, pierce
s bo-pa	pho	swell, distend
s bod-pa	phut	tassel, tuft
s min-pa	mhañ ¹	ripe, ripened, to ripe.

Other prefix letters have much the same result, save only *m*-, and the rule is

g-, d-, b-	tenuis, media	$\begin{cases} \text{tenuis, tenuis aspirata,} \\ \text{aspirated nasal} \end{cases}$
h-, r-	nasal	
b kag	khak	obstructed, obstruction
r ku-wa	khui ³	steal
d gu	kui ³	nine
d guñ	[san-] khoñ	midnight
b gre-ba	kri, ³ gri	grow old
r duñ	toñ	hillock
r duñ-ba	thoñ ³	beat, smash
g nañ-ba	nhañ ³	give
h bu	pui ³	worm, insect, snake
ḥ bur-ba	phū ³	spring up
r me-ba	mhai ¹	speck, mole, birth-mark

r moñ-ba	mhoñ	be obscured
r tsi	chiy, che ³	varnish, paint, medicine
b sab-pa	chap	return, pay
b su-ba	chui	go to meet

Sibilants

By sibilants I mean

Jäschke's	Tibetan		
palatal sibilants	<i>tsa</i>	<i>tsha</i>	<i>dsa</i>
semivowels	<i>za</i>	<i>ča</i>	<i>sa</i>

Burmese

<i>ca</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>sa</i>
-----------	------------	-----------

now pronounced

sa' *sha'* and the third, though now a dental pronounced
 θ *a'* was apparently pronounced *sa'* as late as the end of the XVIIIth century.¹

Tibetan	Burmese	
ts-, tsh-, } ds-, z-	= c-, ch-, sometimes s-	
tsag-ge	cak	bull's eye on target
g tsañ-ba	cañ	be clean, pure
b tsan-po	san	strong, power
r tsig-pa	cuik, chok	erect, build
tshigs	chac, chak	knuckle, anything that joins
h tshag-pa	cac, chac	filter, press out
h tshab-pa	chap	repay
h dsugs-pa	cuik, chok	to plant/erect/found/settle
za-ba	ca ³	eat
č-, s- = s-, sometimes ch- and rh-		
ča	a-sa ³	flesh, meat, body-surface, complexion
čaba, cwaba	sa ³	hart, stag, deer, animal
či-ba	siy, se	die, expire, go out (fire)
čes-pa	si	be cognisant, know
b čur-ba	rhui ¹ (jo')	singe
sañ-ba	san ¹ , [sut-] sañ	cleanse, do away with
su	a-sū	who?

1 JBRS 1922 128 Pe Maung Tin "Phonetics in a Passport."

su	suiw ¹	to
so	swā ³	tooth
sras-po	sā ³	son
sras-mo	sa-mī ³	daughter
srog	a-sak	life
g sad	sat	kill, murder
b sab-pa	chap	return, repay kindness
b su-ba	chui	go to meet

Nasals

Of the four Tibetan nasals three (ñ-, n-, m-) have quite regular correlatives in Burmese.

<i>Tibetan</i>	<i>Burmese</i>	
ñ- = ñ-		
ñā	ñā	1st person pronoun
ñag	[ño- ²] ñak	word, speech, talk
ñāñ	ñan ³	male goose
ñu-ba	ñui	weep
d ñul	ñuy, ñwe	silver, money
l ña	ñā ³	five
n- = n-		
na-ba	nā	be ill, ache
nag-po	nak	black, dark, gloomy
nu-ma	nuiw'	nipple, female breast
m nam-pa	nam ³ , nam ³	to smell (of)
r na-ba	ñā ³	ear
r nañ-ba	ñāñ	be choked
m- = m-		
ma	ma	mother
ma	ma	negative & prohibitive particle
mig	myak	eye
mun-pa	mun, mhun	dark, obscure
r me-ba } d me-ba } s me-ba }	mhai ¹	speck, mole, birth-mark
r mog	a-mok, [kha-] mok,	helmet
r moñ-ba	mhoñ	be obscured, obscurity

The fourth Tibetan nasal is a complex character with more variable correlatives in Burmese.

ñ- = ñ-, ñ̄-, n-		
ñā	ñā ³	fish
ñag-ñig	ñac	filth
ñi-ma	niy, ne	sun
ñin-mo	niy', ne ¹	day
ñe-ba	ñi ³	near, be near
s ñug-pa	ñut(-p)	dip in, immerse

Semi-Vowels

Tibetan y-, r-, l-, (allowing for their prefixes and postfixes) have quite regular correlatives in Burmese.

	Tibetan	Burmese
y-	with pre-and	y-
r-	post-fixes	r-
l-		l-
g yab-pa	yap	beckon
yab-mo	yap	a fanning, fan
g yah-ba	yā ³	to itch
g yas- pa	yā	right hand/side
rus-pa	rui ³	lineage, family, bone
g rib-ma	a-rip	shade, shadow
b rgya	ryā, rā	hundred
b rañ }	rañ	chest, breast
hb rañ }		
hb ri-ba	riy, re ³	write, draw, to paint
lag-pa	lak	hand, arm
lam	lam ³	road, way
lus	lū	body, physical frame
lon-pa	lon, lwan	elapse
g lod-pa }	lhöt, lhwat	relax, loosen
lhod-pa }		
s loñ	loñ ³	give (alms)
z la-ba	la	month, moon
z lum-pa	lum, lum ³	circular

W in Tibetan was not invented till about 1300.

ph-, b- = w-

phag-pa	boar, pig	wak	boar, pig
s be-ba	to scuffle, wrestle	whe ¹	to push with hand/horn
phag	what is hidden, secret	whak	conceal
phañ-bu	spindle	wañ ¹	spin cotton
bal	wool	wā	undressed cotton

H- is generally onomatopoeic in both languages. It is interesting to find sometimes Tibetan h- = Burmese rh-, seeing that sometimes old Burmese h- (e. g. het, hi) = Modern Burmese rh- (e. g. rhac, rhi)

h- = h-, rh-

ha	a yawn	ha	to gape
ha-ha hā-hā}	sound of laughter	hā ³ hā ³	sound of laughter
hi-hi	displeased or angry laughter	hī hī hā hā	with loud and shameless laughter
hañ	vacant, vacancy	hañ ³	be vacant
hañ-ba	to pant/gasp	hañ ³	alas!
hab	mouthful	hap	snap at, join
hig	a sobbing	rhuik	inhale
hu	breath	rhū	breathe
he	holla!	he	holla!
hrag	cleft, fissure	hak	to cut asunder edgewise

Initial Vowels

In a few cases the Tibetan word minus its prefix or initial letter is the Burmese word.

Tibetan	Burmese
kyi, gyi, gi, hi	e'
khab	ap
khyim	im, im
ḥdi	iy
dbañ	añ
dbu	ū
ḥog	ok
la	ā

I have traced the third of the above words through the Tibeto-Burman languages:

khyim, khim	Tibetan
khi, im, tim etc	non-pronominalised Himalayan
khyim, khim, kim, him	eastern pronominalised Himalayan
nām, ang etc	North Assam
cham, ham, yim etc	Eastern Naga
a-hem, ki etc	Naga-Bodo
chim, shim, sim etc	Naga-Kuki
in, īn, im etc	Chin
ēm, īn etc	Old Kuki
im, im	Old Burmese
im	Burmese
ī	Tayoy dialect of Burmese

Vowels other than initial A-I-U-E-O

Burmese has long vowels. Tibetan has none save in accentuated vowels and Sanskrit words.

<i>Tibetan</i>	<i>Burmese</i>	
Often -a = -ā		
kha	khā	time of
kha-ba	khā ³	bitter in taste
brgya	ryā	hundred
ñā	ñā	1st person pronoun
lñā	ñā ³	five
ñā	ñā ³	fish
na-ba	ñā	be ill, ache
rna-ba	ñā ³	ear
sna	nhā	nose
rma	a-mā	scar, wound
tshwa	chā ³	salt
za-ba	cā ³	eat
gyah-ba	yā ³	to itch
çā	sā ³	flesh, stag
gyas-pa	yā	right hand/ side
sras	sā ³	son

-i = -iy Old Burmese, -e Modern Burmese

skyi-ba	khye ³	borrow
ñi-ma	niy, ne	sun
ñin-mo	niy', ne ¹	day
þbri-ba	riy, re ³	write, draw
mi-mo	miy-ma	woman
rtsi	chiy	varnish, paint, medicine
çi-ba	siy, se	die, expire, go out (fire)

-u = -uiw Old, -ui Modern Burmese

rku-ba	khui ³	steal
sku	kuiw	body, physical frame
dgu	kui ³	nine
ñu-ba	ñui	weep
nu-ma	nuiw	nipple, female breast
þbu	pui ³	worm, insect, snake
þtshugs	cuik	take root
rus	rui ³	lineage, family, bone
bçur-ba	rhui ¹	sing
su	sui ¹	to
bsu-ba	chui	go to meet

Tibetan has a few words ending in -uñ. Here Burmese has not u but o, perhaps owing to influence of nasalisation.

-uñ = -oñ

kluñ	river	khloñ	creek
khuñ	hole, pit	khoñ ³	hole, pit
sna-khuñ sna-bugs}	nostril	nha-khoñ ³ -pok	nostril
guñ	middle	[a-lay-] khoñ	middle
rtuñ-ba thuñ-ba}	shorten	ton ³	be short
rduñ	hillock	ton	mountain
rduñ-ba	beat, hammer, smash, pound	thoñ ³	pound (with pestle or elbow)

Vowels other than initial

Tibetan

Burmese

-e == -i

me	mi ³	fire
çe-pa	si	apprehend, know
bgre-ba	gri, kri ³	grow old
ñe-ba	ni ³	near, to be near
htshe-ba	[phyak-] chi ³	injure

Tibetan -o-is sometimes represented by the Burmese prototype-o-which is now pronounced *ow* as in English *cow*, German *au*

stoñ	thoñ	thousand
skyoñ-ba	kyoñ ³	tend cattle

But it is more often represented by that o in Old Burmese which has today become -wa-, the subscript wa called *wa-chwai* in Burmese and *wazur* in Tibetan. In Old Burmese this -o- was often interchanged with -wa- thus, kyon or kywan, a slave; and in Tibetan “The figure  sometimes found at the foot of a letter is used in Sanskrit words to express the subjoined  , as in  swā-hā for  ; and is now pronounced by Tibetans = ö: söhā” (Jäschke “Tibetan Grammar” p. 8).

Tibetan

Burmese

-o- == -wa-

koñ	crooked, bent	khwañ	bent, curved
rkon-pa	net, fowler's net	kwan	casting net
tog	top of anything		
thog	roof, cover, top		
stod	upper, higher, former	thot, thwat	top, summit, pinnacle
	part of a thing		
thoñ	plough	thwan	a plough
doñ	pit, deep hole	twañ ³	hole in ground, pit
chu-doñ	waterhole, well	riy-twañ	waterhole, well
lon-pa	elapse	lon, lwan	elapse
so	tooth	swā ³	tooth
glod-pa	(lhod-pa) relax, loosen	lhot, lhwat	to free, emancipate

THE LANGUAGE (II)
Medieval Burmese Grammar

The Inscriptions

I will now describe the grammar of medieval Burmese. It is of course, the first Burmese on record, and if I use the term medieval for the inscriptions of the Pagan Dynasty 1044-1287 (and occasionally a little later), that is because the period happens to coincide with much of the Middle Ages in Europe. My sources are

Copies of varying accuracy

“Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava” (Rangoon 1892)

“Inscriptions copied from the stones collected by Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan pagoda, Mandalay” 2 vols (Rangoon 1897)

“Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma” 2 vols (Rangoon 1900, 1903)

“Original inscriptions collected by king Badawpaya in Upper Burma and now placed at the Patodawgyi pagoda, Amarapura” (Rangoon 1913)

Original spelling retained

Pe Maung Tin & GH Luce “Selections from the inscriptions of Pagan” (Rangoon 1913)

Collotype photo facsimiles

GH Luce & Pe Maung Tin “Inscriptions of Burma: Portfolio I, 493-599 BE (1131-1237 AD)” (Oxford 1934)

I cite inscriptions thus “L 242” by their serial number in CDuroiselle “List of Inscriptions found in Burma” (Rangoon 1921).

The list includes over 300 original inscriptions of the Pagan dynasty; it is to these that I adhere in the main, and it is of them that Professor Luce says:-

they are full of life and vigour down to 1300 AD at any rate. The style is usually brief and simple... Personally (but I am no judge) I find these unpretentious records of Pagan offerings delightful. They are unquestionably the fountain head of Burmese literature, and they are nothing for Burmans to be ashamed of. Before the extravagant and bombastic style of Indian literature captured Burmese, the Burman could express himself with clarity and swiftness which, as the cognate tongue Chinese shows, is the rock-bottom of style in both languages... Ideas, at the dawn of a literature, are simple; there is nothing subtle or recondite about Old Burmese. The vocabulary is small, and as the subject of the inscriptions is usually the dedication of a pagoda or offerings to it, one soon gets familiar with the ordinary words (JBRS 1932 120 & 1936 132 Luce “Burma’s Debt to Pagan” and “Prayers of Ancient Burma”).

The grammar is as simple as the ideas it expressed; it remains simple to this day, and if I use the terminology of Indo-European grammar it is only for convenience sake. In reality there are at most three, not eight, parts of speech in the language; what Dr. Stewart says of Modern is equally true of Old Burmese—

There is no evidence that more than two classes of full- words exist- *nouns*, including pronouns, and *verbs*. Besides these there are *form-words*, either mere particles or broken-down full-words, which are used to shew grammatical relation (JAStewart "An introduction to colloquial Burmese" Rangoon 1936, preface).

The Article

No *definite article* is traceable.

The *indefinite article* is supplied, if at all, by the numeral one, *tac*, often written *ta* in this use. Possibly it is not a native idiom, for it is rare in purely Burmese inscriptions; it appears in the earliest original Burmese inscription, the polyglot Myazedi dated 1113, but the Burmese face may well be modelled on the Pali face; thereafter its occurrence is usually in the brief ink- writings on temple walls describing Jataka scenes, and these ink-writings are undoubtedly condensed translations from the Pali.

pāy mayā <i>tac</i> yok su kā	a beloved queen (Myazedi)
nwā-kloñ-sā <i>ta</i> yok so sañ	a certain cowherd}
stañ-sañ <i>ta</i> yok so sañ	a certain devotee } ink-writings

In Tibetan the numeral one, *gcig*, when written *cig*, serves as an indefinite article
khab cig a needle

The Noun

Gender. There are two genders, masculine and feminine, usually unexpressed; and a third, common or neuter, always unexpressed. Distinctive words are occasionally found, usually for human relationship.

a-phuiw	grandfather	mi-phwā	grandmother
a-pha	father	a-mi	mother
sā	son	smi	daughter
moñ	woman's younger brother	nha-ma	man's younger sister

Sometimes the word *miyama*, woman, is used as postfix to a noun of common gender
kywan slave

kywan miyama female slave

The words amlyui-sā, amlyui-smi, which recur in the brief Jātaka ink-inscriptions, may be translations of the Pali kula-putta, kula-dhītā.

Sometimes a masculine form is rendered feminine by the postfix *ma* (female)

tū	nephew	tū-ma	niece
ñi	man's younger brother	ñi-ma	man's younger sister

Animals are invariably common

klā	tiger
chañ	elephant
khuy	dog
and nwā	taurus is actually used for a milch cow.

Tibetan uses postfixes

pa (pha), ba	father	for male	
po (pho), bo	male		
ma	mother	for female	
mo	female		
rgyal-po	king	rgyal-ma	queen
jo-bo	prince	jo-mo	princess.

The masculine often omits the postfix while the feminine retains it

señ-ge	lion	señ-ge-ma	lioness
ba	bull	ba-mo	cow.

Modern Burmese has postfixes

pha	father	for male
phui	male	

which (unlike *ma* = female, mentioned at extreme top of this page) do not occur in the inscriptions; they are virtually confined to birds, although there is a solitary human instance; and mammals use *thi*³

krak pha	male	domestic fowl
krak ma	female	
doñ ³ phui	(‘dañ pho)	cock
doñ ³ ma	(‘dañ ma’)	
mu-chui ³ phui	(mo ‘sho pho)	widower
mu chui ³ ma	(mo ‘sho ma’)	widow
klā thi	male	tiger
klā ma	female	

Number. There are two numbers, singular and plural. The plural is formed by a postfix *tuiw'*, *atuiw'*, *myā-tuiw'* (*myā* means many, to be many)

thuiw skhañ tuiw'	those lords
iy sū 6 yok atuiw'	those six people
phurā skhañ tape' sā skhiñ myā- tuiw'	the holy disciples of the Lord Buddha.

The postfix tends to be omitted when the actual number is mentioned

lay 47 pay	47 <i>pays</i> of ricefield
nwā 4 khu	4 oxen
kywan 20	20 slaves
rattanā 3 pā	The Three Gems.

A universal plural is expressed by a postfix *khap-sim*, *takā* or *akun* meaning all, whole, entire (usually followed by the plural sign *tuiw'*)

lū nat sattwā <i>khap-sim</i> sa tuiw'	all gods, men & creatures
sū tāw <i>takā</i> tuiw'	all the holy men
sam̄pyañ klan <i>akun</i>	all the <i>sam̄pyañs</i> & <i>klans</i>

Tibetan forms the plural by postfixing *rnam*; or more rarely words like *dag*, *tsho* which originally were words denoting plurality; or *thams* (all), *kun* (all), *dgu* (nine). But, as in Burmese, these signs are usually omitted when plurality is indicated by the context.

Pronouns

Personal pronouns

1st person	ñā
2nd	nañ
3rd	sū, ayañ, khyañ.

The postfix *tuiw'* forms the plural save for *ayañ*,

First person

ñā is used to an individual only by a superior or senior.

ñā le lhū pā turñ e' hu ruy mañ krī kā... lhū turñ sate the king presented it again saying "I also present it again" L 230

ñā chuiw luik e'... ñā kā kok pai cuik liy û am̄

I proceeded to say "I will first go & grow corn" [The Burmese monk Disapramuk to the Emperor of China!] L 376

But in a general statement, not addressed to an individual, ñā can be used by anyone, and this usage recurs throughout the Pagan period.

iy ñā lhū so ratanā 3 pā kuiw these Three Gems which I offer.

And in the possessive ñā may be used even to a senior; then, however, it is not really the 1st person but an elegant substitute for the 2nd

ñā skhañ

my lord = Your Honour

A junior addressing a senior calls himself *atuiw' kywan* meaning, apparently, Your slave (although *atuiw'*, originally a plural postfix, can in itself constitute the 1st person plural, see the last three examples hereunder). A prince offers an image for his father the king and tells him

iy rhuy purhā kā nā skhañ aphei' *ati' kyon* plo' su teh
this golden image has Your slave made for my Lord (Myazedi)

A king's aunt tells the king nā skhiñ *atuiw kywan* kuiw plu piy so im te
it is the house Your Majesty has made for Your slave (L 289)

In a general statement, not addressed to an individual, *atuiw* can be used for *we*, usually in the possessive (with or without the possessive sign, the short tone).

atuiw ra la so phut nā mway
Phutñamway whom we have obtained (L 223)

atuiw' cakkrawalā *atuiw muiw mliy*
our universe (L 190) our rainland (L 270)

Second Person

nañ is used only by seniors; thus, the king to his ministers
mahāpuiw kuiw *nañ* tuiw taruk e' alā alā kuiw si oñ mū liy hu ciy tau mū e'
“Do you make yourselves acquainted with the movements of the Chinese” thus saying
the king sent away Mahāpuiw (L 376)

To a superior, substitutes such as my Lord, our Lord are used
phurhā-loñ kuiw nā krā e', mlatewā so nā skhiñ *atuiw' kywan* kuiw plu piy so im te
I informed the Bodhisat [the king] “This is the house which my noble Lord has
made for Your slave” (L 289)

Quite commonly however the use of a pronoun is avoided altogether and the person is addressed by his name (or preferably his title)

mi thuy tañ ap nuiw so sañkhā thā lañ hu min taw mu e'

The king said “Put whatever monks [you] the aunt thinks suitable in the monastery”
(L 289)

pandit lā ruy pliy pliy sa syañ tuiw kuiw khaw liy... taruk mañ chuiw e'
“[You] the Pandit goes and calls the monks who have fled” said the Chinese king (L
376)

Third Person

The only real pronoun is *khyāñ*

nā *khyāñ* kuiw oñ sa te
I won the case over him (L 281)

Sū (person), *ayañ* (that, the above-mentioned) are rare and it is doubtful whether they

were recognised as pronouns although nowadays *sū* is common in popular and *yañ*³ in literary usage

sū tuiw kā... anā myā so phlac ciy

may they be full of diseases (L 334)

smi i'phak, *ayañ* mi thuy i'truy

daughter I'phak and her aunt I'truy (L 81)

Quite commonly however the use of a pronoun is avoided altogether & the person is addressed by his name (or preferably his title)

thiw pāy mayā siy kha rā, *thiw pāy mayā tanchā nhañ* *thiw kyon surī rwoh su nhañ*
teh thiw pāy maya' *sā rājakumār* *mañ so ā mañ piy turī e'*

as that beloved wife had died the king gave again the ornaments & the three slave-villages of that beloved wife to the son of that beloved wife called Rajakumar (Myazedi).

Possessive

This is formed in the same three ways as for nouns

atuiw' cakkrawalā

our universe

ñā skhañ

my lord

ñā e' mi pha phiy phuiw tuiw

my parents & ancestors

Reflexive

No reflexive pronoun is traceable save in the 3rd person. *Kuiw* (body) is so used, *mimi* (self, own) is used in no other way

mimi lañ

husband of oneself

mimi kiew tuy so... klañjo

kindness with which oneself was looked after (L 51)

mimi phwā rā parim prañ nhuik

in the town of Parim where oneself was born (L 49)

kawarñ kuiw... kuiw tau thwak ruy puiw lhyāñ le e'

the king himself came out and sent the image of Kavam (L 23)

Demonstrative

thuiw (that), *iy* (this)

dhattāw thañ' so tancikū krwac thuiw apa kā phan plu so krwac

the sandalwood casket where the relic is kept; outside that is the crystal casket (L 190)

i sañ kā cañsū mañ krī e' alhū tau te
this is the royal gift of Cansu-man-kri (L 533)

Interrogative

ati (which, what, who) followed by the interrogative postfix *nhe*
thuiw kywon kā ati nhe
who are those slaves? (L 123)
arap 3 pā hū sa kā ati tuiw' nhe
which are the three establishments you talk of (L 263)

Relative

see under Adjective at p. 96 below.

The Verb

As indicated at p. 85 above there are only two classes of full-words (nouns and verbs); a full-word falls into one or other of these two classes according to the form-words it takes, and indeed a verb hardly becomes a complete verb until a verb form-word is added. One of these verb form-words, the negative, is a prefix; the others are postfixes which I will now record as tenses and moods.

Present

The postfixes *e'*, *cwa*, *su teh* (*sa teh*), *te* are really aorist; they always suffice to form the present tense and they frequently suffice to form the past tense

jeyyapwat kā asak le krī e' atuiw' thañ le suñay nhañ' thap tū niy ñan chuiwñray *e'*
Jeyyapwat is now rather aged. He endures hardship day and night, as well as a young man, in serving us (L 230)

ñā syañ kuiw te mañ toñta *cwa*
the king longs for my lord (L 376)
iy rhuy purhā kā... ati' kyon plo' *su teh*
this golden Buddha image I make (Myazedi)

te by itself is a noun form-word, see p. 94 below. If its addition to a noun sometimes seems to constitute in itself a verb predicating that noun's existence it is probably none the less still a noun form-word and the real translation of the passage hereunder may be "Lo! the house which..."

ñā skhiñ atuiw kywan kuiw plu piy so im *te*
this is the house which my Lord has made for your slave (L 289)

Past

The present (really aorist) postfixes suffice for the past tense unless the context is so ambiguous as to render a specific indication of past time desirable, in which case an

additional postfix *piy*, *luik*, *kha*, *lat* precedes the aorist and, if there be one, the plural postfix too.

athak carañ tañ *piy* e'
they sent up the list (L 230)

kū kā... miyā plu *piy* sate
the wife made the cave (L 235)

mañ kri ā krā *luik* e'
I informed the king (L 230)

ñā mi kuiw kā ñā ma si *luik*
I knew not my mother (L 289)

ñā e' mi pha phiy phuiw tuiw le amuy utcā tuiw cwan *kha* ruy swā *kha* kun e'
my parents and grandparents too all passed away leaving behind the inherited
property (L 384)

ku tau arā nhañ *kha* e'
[the king] endowed the site of a temple (L 113)

mahādāñ mliy khap sim yū *lat* te
[the king] took away all the royal gift land (L 230)

Future

The postfix *am* expresses the future, and preceded by the additional postfix *lat* (*lat am*, *lat tam*) it expresses the remote future

ñā kā kok pai cuik liy ū *am* I shall first grow corn (L 376)

noñ lā *lat am* so mañ khap sim all kings who shall come in future (L 334)

phlac *lat tam* so purhā the Buddha who will come (L 242)

a-suiw' mu tuñ *am* nhe what will you do again? (L 223)

Perfect & Pluperfect alike- there is no distinction between them: it is left to the context-
are expressed by inserting the postfix *phū* between the aorist and the past postfixes

carap le plu kha *phū* e
I have made a resthouse too (L 184)

ami ma riy kha *phuh* so klok cā
the stone inscription my mother had not written (L 81)

Imperative

The verb by itself suffices without postfix

i mliy acā noñ lui ra rā yū
take whatever you like instead of this land (L 384)

But one or more postfixes *lañ*, *mū liy*, *lat*, *tum*, *phi*, *piy*- are common, adding shades

of politeness or abruptness which are not always easy to translate

mi thuy tañ ap nuiw so sañkhā thā *lañ*
keep whichever monks the aunt thinks suitable (L 289)

taruk e' alā alā kuiw si oñ *mū liy*
just make yourself acquainted with the movements of the Chinese (L 376)

ñā kuiw lhwat *lat tum*
kindly send to me (L 376)

chuiw *phi lat piy*
do please, do, inform the king (L 376)

Subjunctive

A condition or supposition is expressed by a postfix, *am*, *mū kā*

i.. alhū kuiw... thok pañ rac *am*... asak le rhañ ciy sate
if they support my gift, may they live long (L 354)

syañ disāprāmuk te pā *mū kā* amhu choñ nuiñ *am*
if Syan Disapramuk were here we would be able to carry out the mission (L 376)

Precation is expressed by inserting the postfix *ciy* before the aorist postfix

ñaray kri yhat thap nhuik kyak *ciy e'*
may they be burnt in the Eight Hells (L 404)

lu twañ le phun kri *ciy sate*
may they be glorious among men (L 344)

phiy phyam̄ rok ruy siy *ciy sate*
may they die attacked by calamities (L 263)

Mū (perform) and *ciy* (let, cause) are both verbs used as postfixes: full-words used as form-words.

Number is usually unexpressed. If it is really necessary to indicate the plural a postfix, *kra*, *kun* immediately precedes the tense postfix

amrū cakā lhyañ chuiw *kra e'*
we conversed together

Indeed the latter postfix, *kun* (all), implies more than mere plurality

sañpyañ klan akun anumotanā khaw pā *kun e'*
all the ministers say their blessing (L 161)

niyraban suiw wañ ra ciy *kun sate*
may all enter Nirvana (L 334)

Negation is expressed by the prefix *ma* which eliminates the aorist postfix but not the past or perfect

tumtapai le lhwat ra sañ *ma* hi
there exists no sending of an envoy (L 376)
ami *ma* riy kha phuh so klokçā
the stone inscription my mother had not written (L 81)

Sometimes *ma* *hi* “not to be” is written *may'*

chuiwfiray *may'* so niraban
Nirvana where misery is not (L 190)

Sometimes *ma* is replaced by *a*, especially in precation
purhā skhañ *a* phū ra ciy
let him not see the Lord Buddha (L 51)

Interrogation

There are two postfixes. When the question can be answered simply yes or no, the verb and its tense postfix- or if there be no verb the noun- is followed by the postfix *lo*
atuiw kywan ñray wacyi kharñ wam' arñ *lo*
shall Your slave dare suffer Avici Hell (L 333)
thuiw tok sañ kā mī *lo*
that which is shining, (is it) fire? (L 113)

When the question cannot be answered simply yes or no, the verb and its tense postfix- or if there be no verb the interrogative pronoun- is followed by the postfix *nhe*

lhū ap sa lai ati rap hi sa *nhe*
in what place are the fields which have been given away? (L 533)
asuiw' mu turñ arñ *nhe*
how will you act? (L 233)
thuiw kywon kā ati *nhe*
who is that slave? (L 123)

The only instances which occur of a negative interrogative involve *lo* and a noun; the negative postfix immediately precedes *lo*

mañ kri kā phurhā chu toñ so sū *ma* *lo*
is not the great king a man who prays for Buddhahood? (L 376)

Participles

The aorist participle is formed by adding a postfix *ruy'*, *sa phlan'*, *ra kā* to the verb; the past by inserting that postfix between the verb and the past postfix

kywan kā ña kuiw ñi ciy hu prat *ruy* ña kuiw nhañ piy pri sate
it being decided that I should win, the slave has been bestowed on me (L 223)
i suiw ñā klañcū hi *ra* *kā*
there being such obligation of mine (L 376)

lū nat sattwā khap sim sa tuiw' kuiw akrwañ may' sa phlañ' sañsarā chuiwñray
mha thwak mlok kha ruy' chuiwñray may' so niraban prañ suiw' rok ciy khlañ so
kroñ'

because I wish that all men, gods and creatures, there being no remainder, may
reach the city of Nirvana where there is no misery, after having escaped from the
misery of Samsara (L 190)

tantuiñ le nhac thap rañ lat ruy' tantuiñ twañ nhuik kā... kū le tañ e'
having made a double line of wall around, a temple is built within the wall
thiw pāy mayā sīy kha ra kā

that beloved wife having been dead (L 51)

purhā skhañ sāsanā anhac tac thoñ khrok ryā nhac chay het nhac lon liy bri ra kā
one thousand six hundred and twenty eight years of the religion of the Buddha
having elapsed (L 51)

Syntax

The order of words is subject, object, verb; or quite often object, subject, verb.

Subject whether pronoun, noun or clause needs no postfix

mañ riy son e'

the king poured out libation water

im le nā niy e,' kywan le nā ciy e,' lay le nā cā e'

I inhabit the house, I employ the slaves, I enjoy the fields (L 289)

nā khamañ piy sa le cañ e,' jeyyapwat purhā lhū sa le cañ e'

that my father has given it away is clear; that Jeyyapwat has presented it to the
temple is also true (L 230)

For emphasis or clearness sake the subject, especially if it be a noun or noun-clause,
takes a postfix (after the plural postfix if there be one) *kā*, *sañ*, *sañ kā*, *te*

mlat krī kā sim phurhā kuiw lhū sate

the noble one presented (the fields) to the sima-Buddha image (L 378)

iy sū 6 yok atuiw sañ min kun e'

these six men said (L 30)

iy sañ kā cañsu mañ krī e' alhū tau te

these be the royal gifts of the great king Cañsū [Jeyyasura]! (L 533)

ñōñrañkri smi te atañ may' so tryā kuiw thit lan' ruy'

the daughter of Ñōñrañkri being agitated by the law of impermanance (L 263)

kā is especially used for converting a clause into a noun-clause

thuiw tok sañ kā mī lo

that which is shining, is it fire? (L 113)

6 niy *ā*

on the 6th day

arimaddana mañ su prañ *nhik* *ā*

in the city called Arimaddana (L 51)

nakā kan *twañ*

in the Naga Pond

īy lū *twañ* *nhuik*

in this world

sum pahui' *lhyañ*

at three paharas

When the meaning is clear from the context the postfix may be omitted

intapacra le nāchoñkhyam mruiw niy ra liy e'

Intapacra also had to stay at Fort Nathonkhyam (L 389)

The postfix for a noun-clause is *rhañ* which seems to be a noun denoting time rather than a form-word, and indeed some of the other postfixes, certainly *twañ*, may be full-words

pitakat lhwat so *rhañ* *ā*

at the time when the Pitakas were presented (L 123)

Terminative

The postfix is *suiw*

arhe turañ *suiw* thwak tau mu lat so akhā

when the king went out to Turan in the east (L 113)

Ablative

The postfix is *mha*

nīray *mha* kā prittā *suiw*

from Niriya to Peta world (L 334)

Adjective

There is no adjective. A noun, verb or clause is rendered adjectival by the postfix *so* (or its variants *sa*, *su*, *sañ*, *sow*) which nowadays is justifiably regarded as a relative pronoun

12 yūjanā *so* rhuy piman

the golden mansion which is 12 yojanas [wide]

cā *so* thamañ hañ

the rice & curry which he eats (L 81)

bhun tankhuiw plañā nhañ plañ curñ cwā *sow* anoradhā mañkri

the great king Anoradha who is endowed with glory, power and learning (L 23)

Conjunction

The postfixes are *nhañ'* (and), *lañkoñ* (or)

tanchā *nhañ'* thiw kyon sutñ rwoh
the ornaments and those three villages
miyma *lañkoñ* yokyā *lañkoñ*
woman or man

Numerals

Counting is decimal. Numbers are formed as in Tibetan and Chinese, one ten=10, ten one=11, two ten=20, ten two=12, three ten four=34

Sāsanā anhac tac thoñ khrok ryā nhac chay het nhac

1-1000 6-100 2-10 8

Religion year one thousand six hundred twenty eight year=Buddhist Era 1628

Numbers follow the noun they qualify and must themselves be followed by a generic word shweing the class of thing the noun denotes. These generic words are usually called *numerative particles*; and already that is the only use in which many of them are found in the inscriptions, for even then they had become worn down; but some were and still are nouns or verbs.

They never fail to be assigned but Modern Burmese which has long graded them almost into a hierarchy would be scandalised at the way they can be assigned: the pious donors of the inscriptions assign the same *numerative* to The Three Gems as to a water-closet.

Numerative Particle Use

		<i>Noun/Verb use</i>
pā	rattanā 3 <i>pā</i>	The Three Gems
	riy im 3 <i>pā</i>	3 waterclosets
	arap 3 <i>pā</i>	3 buildings, establishments
yok	burhā 3 <i>yok</i>	3 Buddhas
	skhiñ pancañ nhac <i>yok</i>	two reverend brothers
chū	sañkan <i>chū</i> 1000	1000 yellow robes
	tanchoñ sum <i>chū</i>	three candlesticks
	tamkhākhunklok 1 <i>chū</i>	1 doorway stone
	khyū 3 <i>chū</i>	3 tinkle bells
	nātoñ nhac <i>chū</i>	two eartubes
khu	nwā 14 <i>khu</i>	14 oxen
	rhuy purhā 1 <i>khu</i>	1 golden Buddha image
	kwañkapnhim 1 <i>khu</i>	1 low betel stand

pum	wineñ tac <i>pum</i>	one pile of Vinaya	pum heap
cí	mrañ 1 <i>cí</i>	1 horse	cí to ride
	chañproñ 1 <i>cí</i>	1 bull elephant	
thañ	sakkhañ 1 <i>thañ</i>	1 yellow robe	thañ garment
yhyan	nwā <i>yhyan</i> 30	30 yoke of oxen	
uiw	pyā 1 <i>uiw</i>	1 pot of honey	uiw a pot
khlap	lañpan 2 <i>khlap</i>	2 platters	khlap a flat piece
up	khwak 5 <i>up</i>	5 covered dishes	up cover
lum	thūnphū ta <i>lum</i>	one limebox	lum sphere
klam	dhampapada tac <i>klam</i>	one book of Dhammapada	klam pair of wooden planks binding
			a palm leaf book

Tones

The three tones of Burmese are given at Stewart "An introduction to colloquial Burmese" pp. 2, 17 and their romanization for purposes of historical grammar is given at *Epigraphia Birmanica* vol 1 pt 1 p 12. Burmese never indicates the medial tone as it is inherent in every long vowel but the other two tones are carefully indicated by tone signs.

The tone signs are modern. The inscriptions use no tone signs of any sort; nevertheless they recognise the existence of tone. In the very first inscription, the Myazedi (year 1113) we find

શ કુન્ધાની' રૂયું ruy' મિન્ ટી તી તી tuiw' મય ચ તી mayā' આ ટી am'
 the (a), after or under the syllable affected, representing the short tone, see p 46 above;
 today we would write શ કુન્ધાની' રૂયું મિન્ ટી તી તી મય ચ આ ટી

As for the heavy tone, it can of course exist only in words ending with a final long vowel. Now it is only words which today end in a final long vowel and bear the heavy tone that the inscriptions write with a final h. Thus, the Myazedi has

ലൈഡ് leh ടൈഡ് teh

where today we would write

လည်း lañ³ ('li) တည်း tañ³ ('ti)

and in inscription L 81 (year 1165) we find

အလှ ah ဖုလ် phuh ဆွဲလ် smih ဒိယလ် miyah သလ်sah နဲလ် nwah

where today we would write ഓ ചും മും മയും ചും വും

Such are the indications of tone in the inscriptions, and even they are spasmodic, for as often as not they are omitted. Nevertheless the tones must have been there, and probably they were much the same as today; Burmese abounds in words which are dis-

tinguishable only by a difference of tone; thus

වැඩා (la) to come වැඩා (la³) ('la) to go

In the following passages these two words, come & go, are written without any indication of tone difference yet they clearly have the same opposed meanings as today

thipesyan̄ arap mha *lā* ruy'

coming from Thipesyan

iy sū tuiw lā ruy' tac phan mliy roñ lhā tum rakā

as these people *came* once again to sell lands (L 270)

ma hi mu kā mrak nu riy krañ hi rā lā ciy sate

when I am no more let the slaves *go* where there is tender grass and clear water (L 303)

pañđit *lā* ruy pliy pliy sa syañ tuiw kuiw khaw liy

Pandit, go and call the monks who have fled (L 376)

nañ tuiw taruk e' *alā alā* kuiw si oñ mū lañ

make yourselves acquainted with the *goings* and *comings* of the Chinese (L 376)

THE LANGUAGE (III)

Orthography and Indian Words

Orthography

The spelling of the inscriptions is inconstant. A word is often spelt differently in one and the same inscription; thus the Myazedi has both *plo'* and *plu* for the Modern Burmese *pru* "to make"; and this continues to the very end of the medieval period. The combinations of letters, too, look impossible at first sight to a modern Burman; yet they soon become intelligible, for in groping their way the writers used conventions which it is possible to equate with Modern Burmese.

Old	Modern	Burmese
-iy = -e		
akr iy	akr e	the lower country
kr iy	kr e	copper, brass
khr iy	khr e	leg
n iy	n e	day
n iy	n e	live, stay
p iy	p e	give
r iy	r e	water
lh iy	lh e	boat
s iy	s e	die, expire, go out (fire)

n iy	n e	sun
ml iy	mr e	earth
-uy = -we		
ñ uy	ñ we	silver, money
th uy	th we	speech, a command
th uy	th we ³	junior, youngest
m uy	m we ³	nourish, bring up
r uy	r we ¹	participle postfix p 93 above
rh uy	rh we	gold
s uy	s we ³	blood

-on = -wan

-ot = -wat

ky on	ky wan	a slave
th ot	th wat	summit, top
l on	l wan	elapse
lh ot	lh wat	to set free
s on	s wan	pour out water

-w, no longer used, is represented in Modern Burmese by -o² or -o, and the preceding vowel was often lengthened.

bhava	Pali
bhaw, bhāw	Old Burmese
bho	Modern Burmese

Modern Burmese -o² or -o also represents Old Burmese  or  a symbol romanised as -au or -āu; this symbol is sometimes strengthened by -w thus -auw, -āuw

Old – Modern Burmese

-aw, -āw
 -au, -āu
 -auw, -āuw

} -o², -o

aklaw	akyo ²	fame
aphaw	apho ²	companion
amipurhā cau	miphurā ³ co	Queen Saw
tāw, tau, tāu, tauw	to ²	royal, sacred
tāw, tāu	to	forest
thāw pat	tho pat	ghee, butter
pucaw, pujāw	pūjo ² (Pali pūjā)	offer worship

sāuw	[so]	name of an extinct race
haw	ho	preach

Occasionally -ñ = -e

kam̄ klañ	kam̄ kywe ³	provisions
kleñ, klwañ	kywe ³	feed
klañjū	kye ³ jū ³	gratitude
cañ wañ	cañ ³ we ³	assemble

Occasionally -e = -ñ

te	tañ ³	postfix, pp. 90, 94 above
tape'	tapañ ¹	pupil
le	lañ ³	also

often -y = -ai

-ai = -y

khway	khwai ³	half
chway	chwai ³	to hang
pulay	pulañ ³	pearl
phway'	phwai ¹	put together, compose
may'	mai ¹	not existing
rway	rwai ³	precious stone
lway	lwai ³	vary from course
athay	athai ³	inside
apai ñaray	apāy ñarai ³	hell
minphwai	min ¹ phway	what is to be said
lai	lay	field

Medial L

-l-, medial -l-, is interesting. It has completely disappeared from Modern Burmese, although it survives in a few cases in Modern Mon (and some Burmese dialects.)

Old Burmese	Modern Mon	Modern Burmese	
klā L 344	kla	kyā ³	tiger
pla	pla	pra	to show
plan L 113	plan	pran	again, to return
ploñ plan L 213	plun plan	proñ ³ pran	over & over
plwan L 190	ploñ	prwan, proñ ³	tube

Its place is taken by -y-, or -r- in the following circumstamces

Old *Modern Burmese*

kl-, khl- = ky-, khy-

akluiw	akyui ³	result, fruit
aklwat	akywat	release
klañjo	kye ³ jū ³	obligation, gratitude
klañ, klwañ	kyewe ³	feed
klam	kyam ³	book
kliy kywan	kye ³ kywan	a slave
kloñ, klyoñ	kyoñ ³	monastery, school
klok	kyok	stone
klyat	kyap	tical of silver
khla	khya	let fall
khlañ, khlyan	khyañ	to wish
khlup	khyup	bind
khloñ	khyoñ ³	a stream
khlwat	khywat	liberate
mañ klañ	man kyañ ³	tamarind
pl-, phl-, ml- = pr-, phr-, mr-		
aplac	aprac	evil deed
plañ apa	prañ apa	exterior
plañ'	prañ ¹	be full
plan	pran	return, inform
plwan	prwan	tube, pipe
plu	pru	do, make
phlañ'	phrañ ¹	with, by
phlac	phrac	to be
phlū	phrū	white
mlac	mrac	river
mlac ok, mlok	mrok	north
mlañ' mlay	mrañ ¹ mrai ³	permanent
mlat	mrat	holy
mliy	mre	earth
mliy	mre ³	grandchild

Very occasionally pl-, phl-, ml- = py-, phy-, my-

plak	pyak	inconstant, ruined
plañmanā	pyañ ³ manā ³	Pyinmana town

plyuiw	pyui ³	to plant
phlak	phyak	destroy
phlā	phyā	mat
mlyuiw	myui ³	race, kind, sort

Another combination which has disappeared is *ry*. The inscriptions have it not only in Sanskrit & Pali loan words but also occasionally in Burmese. Today either *r* or *y* has dropped out leaving only the other

<i>Old</i>	<i>Modern Burmese</i>	
aryā (Skt ārya)	ariyā	Aryan
mitta ryā (Skt maitreya)	metteyya	the next Buddha
tukkaciryā (P dukkara cariyā)	dukkaracaryā	arduous conduct
chi ryā (Skt ācārya)	charā	teacher
aciaryāñ	aciārañ	arrangement
tryā	tarā ³	the Law
mu ry añ	murañ ³	winter rice
ry ā	rā	hundred
ry ā	yā	dry cultivation
ry ak	rak	day
ry ak tak	raktak	a milk preparation
ry ap	rap	to stand
ry am	rañ	surround
san ry añ	sanlyāñ ³	palanquin
si ry ak	sarak	mango

There are a few words in the inscriptions which today insert *-y-* immediately after the initial consonant

kī kra	kyī kra	granary
kin	kyin	swear, take oath
kin	kyin ³	dwell (of monks)
kip	kyip	ten
khipañ	khyī pañ ¹	promote
khīmhwañ	khyī ³ mwam ³	applaud
khiy	khye	settle accounts
khin	khyin	weigh
ñī	ñī	younger brother; united
ñhi	ñhi	kindle; make even

The following change is confined to the words here listed

-n = -ñ

-t = -c

acan	acañ	succession, continuity
uyan (P uyyāna)	uyyāñ	a park
ñhan	ñhañ	oppress
ñoñkhyan	ñoñkhyāñ	Ficus infectoria
yhan	yhañ	place side by side
khyat	khyac	to love
cat	cac	investigate
ñhat	ñhac	squeeze; to milk
tat	tac	one
yatkuiw	ackui	man's elder brother
yhat	yhac	eight

Indian influence on vocabulary

Indian influence on the vocabulary of Burmese is strongest in matters connected with religion- and these include the calendar, astrology, weights and measures, architecture- but it is not confined to these, and Indian loan words, as well as Burmese words with new Indian meanings, have long formed part of everyday Burmese speech.

First there are purely Burmese words which, under Buddhist influence, received a new meaning. Sometimes a single word received the connotation of a Sanskrit or Pali term and is henceforward used in that sense; sometimes words are strung together to correspond to a similar string in Sanskrit or Pali.

Sanskrit/Pali

Old Burmese

phala	akluiw (L 184)	result, fruition, blessing
muñcana	aklwat (L 146)	release
yo... so	akrāñ.. thuiw...	correlative pronouns (always followed by nouns) "who /which.. what" framed on the Pali model
anicca	atañ may [sa phlac] (L 270)	[become] impermanent
anicca dhamma	atañ may so tryā (L 334)	the law of impermanence
anicca dhamma sañvejita	atañ may' so taryā kuiw thit lan' (L 263)	be agitated by the law of impermanence

Burmese had a perfectly good word for "to die" (siy) but Buddhism with its new concept of death necessitated a new terminology and it is accordingly framed

on the Buddhist model

jāti jarā maraṇa aphlac uiwmaṇ sekhraṇ (L 213) birth, old age, death

There is nothing new in each single word but the threefold concept links up with saṅkhāra loka, and beyond them is the City of Nirvāna, where none of them exist

moha dosa lobha amuik amyak rañmak (L 409) bewilderment, anger, greed

The three akusala mūlā. Amuik is simply “darkness” but here it has become “bewilderment.” Rañmak is sometimes used for Pali tañhā “craving”

amluiw sā kula putta son of a family
amluiw smi kula dhītā daughter of a family } fellow country men

Burmese recognised only man and woman till the idea of caste (which he never accepted) led the coining of these phrases on the Indian model

sarāna kuiw kway rā body -protection- place; a refuge (L 325)

This is now a standard Burmese phrase, but in one ink inscription sarāna is actually burmanised as “suir”

kusala kamma koñ mhu good deed

puññaphala koñ mhu akluiw result, fruition of good deed

puññā bhāga koñ mhu aphuiw (L 334) share, portion of good deed

asaṅkheyya ma riy twak nuiñ [so sañsarā] (L 242) innumerable [sañśāra]

atidullabha ra khai cwā [so ratana surñ pā] (L 213)

[The Three Jewels which are] very hard to obtain

udaka kieca riy son (L 51) pour out water

re cañ taw khla (L 273) let fall pure holy water

tañhā dāsa rañmak kywen (L 123) a slave to craving

khama sañ khañ [so skhiñ ariyā] (L 190)

[The Holy Lord who is] patient and forgiving

Secondly there are doublets- a Burmese word and an Indian always used together. Sometimes they have the same meaning, sometimes one defines or restricts the other.

ratana uccā rattanā (L 213) property, goods, possessions

kalasa kalasā uiw (L 190)

kalasā kwan uiw (L 354)

a pot shaped like kalasa, the top of a temple

bali pali acā (L 384) pali-food, food offered to gods

paccaya paccañ athok apañ (L 384) support & prop, monk's requisite

saddhā	yuṁ krañ cwā saddhā (L 325)	} believing, faithful
	saddhā yuṁ krañ cwā (L 354)	
prajñā	si krā prañā (L 354)	knowing-hearing prajñā, intelligence
sabbaññutaññā	si cap mrañ nham' so sabbañuta ñān (L 190)	know-deep see-wide omniscience

Thirdly there are loan words pure & simple: the Sanskrit or Pali word is adopted into Burmese. Spelling & pronunciation alike are altered.

Thus, Burmese, having few voiced consonants, substitutes unvoiced

Gutturals

guhā	kū	cave
Migāra	mikāra	the Sāvatthi banker
Mañgala	mañkalo	the 3rd Buddha
Gotama	kotama	the 25th Buddha
sañgha	sañkhā	the Clergy, the Church
bhavagga	phavak	acme of existence
sañgraha	sañkruiw	supporting

Palatals

yojana	yūcanā	measure of distance
Assaji	assaci	fifth of the Five Disciples
Ajapāla	acapāla	the Ajapāla banyan tree
Jambudipa	carñputit	one of the Four Continents
pūjā	pucau	honour, worship

Dentals

dāyaka	tāyakā	donor, benefactor
dasa jātaka	tassajāt	the Ten Jatakas
Devadatta	tevatat	Buddha's evil kinsman
khandha	kanthā	bulk, body
Nandiya	nantiya	the Benares householder
vedāṅga	betañ	the Vedas
dukkaracariyā	tukkaciryā	arduous exertion
Medhañkara	methañkara	an early Buddha
Sumedha	sumethā	the Bodhisatta under Dipañkara
vyādiś	byatit	assign, appoint to duty
danda	tan	punishment-stick
saddhā	satthā	faith
Arindama	arintama	king Arindama

Labials

sam bhojana	sañput	feeding, offering of food
bhīru	philu	demon
bali	pali	an offering to gods
vimāna	biman	heavenly mansion
bhavagga	phavak	acme of existence among the gods
nirvāṇa	nerapan	Nirvana

Changes such as the above are necessitated by the phonological range of the language. And so may others prove to be some day when we know more about its phonological structure. But it is difficult not to suspect that often the change is due to mere mannerism. The Burman can pronounce the following words in their classical form perfectly well

sañgha	the Church
sañśāra	Transmigration
sāsana	teaching

and he actually does pronounce the first when reading Pali: yet when reading Burmese-which retains the name of the Third Jewel but uses native terms burā³ (Buddha), tarā³ (Law) for the other Two- he persists in lengthening the final vowel; and his pronunciation of the above list is ordinarily

sañghā
sañśārā
sāsānā

Ordinarily the change is greater than this. I attach five lists shewing the five groups into which the changes fall.

The final -i in a classical word becomes -iy or -e. Sometimes the vowel in the first syllable changes too.

siri	asariy	glory
avici	aviciy	one of the major hells
koti	kutiy	hunand lhōusand
kuti	kuṭiy	hut
cakra varti	cakkravatiy	universal monarch
cuti	cutiy	vanishing, disease
nirvāṇa	niyraban	Nirvana
r̥si	rasiy	seer, sage
seṭṭhi	satthe,	
	saddhiy, saṭhiy	treasurer, banker

When the last two syllables of the classical word each end in a or ā the first becomes

ui, the last is dropped, and the intervening consonant is either marked with the Burmese virāma or (more rarely) replaced by -w.

iriyā patha	iriyāpuit	way of deportment
Konāgamana	gonāguim	the 23rd Buddha
Padumuttara	padumuttuir	the 10th Buddha
pahara	pahuir	division of time (6 or 7 nāḍika)
puggala	pukkuil	person, man
bala vāhana	buil pā	troops, army
vyākaraṇa	byākaruiṇ	grammar
bhaya	bhuiy, phuiy	fear
yamaka	yamuik	double, twin
Rājagriha	rājagruih	capital of Magadha
vārṣa, vassa	wāchuiw	Lent
saṅgrah	saṅkruiw	help, protection
Sañjiva	sañjuiw	a Hell
Sirñhala, Siñghala	sinkhuiw	Ceylon
saraṇa	suir	a refuge, the Three Refuges

The final -ya in a classical word becomes -ñ with the Burmese virāma. Only a few instances occur in the inscriptions but subsequently it became a regular method of Burmanisation.

Ariya metteyya	ariya mittañ, ariya mettañ	the next Buddha
Jeyya sūra	cañsū, ceysū	a king of Pagan
Citra paccaya	cittarā picañ	the artist Citrapaccaya
ñāṇa paccaya	ñāṇa picañ	the minister Ñāṇapaccaya
paccaya	paccañ	support, requisite
Bhatta paccaya	bhatta bicañ	the cook Bhattapaccaya
Vinaya	winañ	the Vinaya Pitaka
Suvañña paccaya	suwanna pijañ	the minister Suvaññapaccaya
Śri Indra paccaya	Śri Indra picañ	the minister Śri Indrapaccaya

Commonest of all: the final consonant of the classical word loses its vowel value by being marked with the Burmese virāma; and sometimes this process is applied to the penultimate consonant, the final syllable disappearing altogether. Note that the spelling of the remnant remains constant; anything that expresses the Burmese pronunciation does even when the classical spelling expresses it equally well.

abhisekha	apisip	coronation
amātya	amat	king's minister

Anāthapiṇḍika	anāthapin	the Sāvatthi banker
ānubhāva	ānubhaw	greatness, magnificence
āpatti	āpat	ecclesiastical offence
antarāya	antarāy	danger
iṭṭhakā	ut	burnt brick, tile
uyyāna	uyān, ūyan	a park
kappa	kap	an age of the world
camma khaṇḍa	camakhan	animal's skin used as rug
jambudīpa	jambudip, carṇputtit	one of the Four Continents
jātaka	jāt	birth story
ñāṇa	ñāṇ	knowledge, intelligence
tambadīpa, tāmradvīpa	tañpratit	the kingdom of Pagan
tiracchāna	tricchan	animal
thera	ther	monk
Devadatta	tewatat	Buddha's evil kinsman
dhātu	dhat, that	element, relic
nibbāna	nibbān	Nirvana
paritta	paruit	charm, palliative
pañcaṅgikaturiya	pañcaṅgatur	the Five Kinds of Music
pañḍita	pañḍit	learned man
pallañka	panlañ	couch, sofa
piṭakattaya	pitakat	the Three Pitakas
prāsāda	prasat	palace
phalika	phan	crystal
bhavagga	bhawag	acme of existence
mahādāna	mahādān	great gift
vitāna	pitan	canopy, awning
vimāna	piman, biman	heavenly mansion
veluvana	weļuwana	park near Rājagaha
samāpatti	samāpat	attainment
sambhojana vatta	sañput wat	duty of feeding monks
saṁskṛṭa	saṁsakruit	Sanskrit
śākyā varṇśa	sākyawañ	Sākyā family
Sirīdhammāsoka	sirīdhammasuk	Emperor Asoka
sīmā	sim	boundary, parish
suvaṇṇa lipi	suwaṇṇlip	gold writing

Himavant	himawan	Himalaya
sammuti	samuit	boundary determination

But perhaps the majority of classical loan words are those in which burmanisation follows to particular rule; a vowel here, a consonant there, is lopped or modified, and the result is an everyday Burmese word, usually no doubt, but by no means always, religious. Here are a few examples:

anumodana	anumodanā	thanks for gift
arahant	rahanta	arahant
kappa, kalpa	karṇpā, karṇphā	world
cetiya	ceti	pagoda
thapana	thāmanā, ṭhapanā	enshrinement of relics
dāyaka	dāyakā	donor
dhammacakka	dhammacakrā	the Wheel of the Law
dhammasālā	dhammasā	preaching hall
nāḍika	naḍī, nārī	hour of 24 minutes
nāga	nāgā	serpent
parikkhāra	parikkharā, parikhārā	requisite, equipment
pañsukūla	pañsakū	rags from dust heap
prajñā	prajñā, pracñā, prañā	intelligence
pārata, pārada	pratā	quicksilver
pariṣad	parisat	assembly, multitude
preta	prittā	departed spirit
vīsai (Tamil)	bisā	standard 3½ lb weight
mettābhāvanā	mittabhbāwanā	love for all creatures
yamaka pāṭihāriya	yamuik prātahā	the Miracle of the Double Appearances
yojana	yūjanā	a 7 mile league
ratana, ratna	ratanā, rattanā	jewel
saṅgha	saṅghā	the Clergy, the Church
sañśāra	sañśarā	Transmigration
sacca	saccā	truth
sabbaññu, sarva jñā	sabbaññu, sarwwaññu	omniscient
sāsana	sāsanā	Buddha's doctrine, religion

The Burmese Calendar

*Sakarac Era*¹

¹ JBRS 1912 197 Mg May Oung "The Burmese Era" & 1932 150 Pe Maung Tin "The Saka Era in Pagan."

As in other Indo-Chinese countries the era is Indian. It is called sakarac, sakarāc, sakaraj, sakarāja (the spelling varies in Old Burmese).

The name must be that of the Saka Era (dated from 78 AD) which indeed seems to have been in actual use even though it occurs only once in the inscriptions, thus

sakyē tripañcāsat sahassarake in 1053 Sāka Era (1131AD)

But the name is always applied to the current era, which is totally different, being dated from 638 AD (Julian 21 March, Gregorian 24 March, 638). This era is also used in Siam under the name Chulasakaraj. Its origin is unproven. The Burmese attribute it to Popa Saw Rahan a priest-king, who, reigning at Pagan 613-40 AD., dropped 560 years-Saka 560 was our year 638- and started anew. We have no real evidence about Pagan till some centuries later but the era may have originated thus, under the guidance of Hindu astrologers.

Cycle of Year Names

No Burman has heard of this today outside astrological works but in the inscriptions there is a 12 year cycle¹ with the same 12 names, in the same order, as is found in Indian calendars based on the revolutions of the planet Jupiter.

	<i>Sanskrit / Pali</i>	<i>Old Burmese</i>
1	Jeyya	cay, jay, ciy
2	Visākhā	pisyak, bisya
3	Jetṭha	cissa, citssa
4	Asaḷhi	āsim, āsin
5	Saravāṇ	sarawan, srawan
6	Bhadra	phat, phatsa, bhassa
7	Assayujja	āsat, āsut, āsit
8	Krattikā	kratuik, krātuik
9	Migasi	mrikkasuir, mruiksuil
10	Phuṣya	pussa
11	Magha	mākha, māgha
12	Bharaguṇī	phlakun, phlakuin

Month Names

Unlike the Mon, who adopted the Indian names of the lunar months, the Burmese retained their own. The origin and meaning of these names are alike unknown. The 4th, 5th and 7th months in the list below, however, received additional Buddhist names which are Indian to the extent that they begin with Lent (Skt. varsa) and these addi-

¹ JBRS 1916 90 C. O. Blagden "The Cycle of Burmese Year Names"

tional names have superseded the original ones. The equation with the English months is only approximate.

1.	April	Tankhū
2.	May	Kuchun, Kūchun
3.	June	Nāñyun
4.	July	Mlwaytā, Wāchuiw Lent month
5.	August	Nāñkā, Wākhoñ Mid-lent
6.	September	Tāuslañ
7.	October	Santū, Wāklwat Free-from-Lent, Satañkhlwat Free-from-Sabbath
8.	November	Tanchoñmhun
9.	December	Nattaw
10.	January	Plāsuiw
11.	February	Tapuiwthway
12.	March	Tapoñ

Days of Week

The Burmese names for Sunday and Monday are inexplicable; the final syllables may be significant- in Sunday it suggests the Burmese for sun (niy), in Monday the Burmese for moon (la). All the other days are Indian.

	<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Old Mon¹</i>	<i>Old Burmese</i>
Sun	Ādityavāra	Ādittawār	Tanhañkanuy, Tannhañkanuy
Mon	Candravāra	Candrawār	Tanhañlā, Tannhañlā
Tue	Añgāravāra	Añā (Modern Mon)	Añgā
Wed	Budhavāra	Buddhawār	Buddhahū
Thu	Bṛihaspativāra	Brahaspatiわr	Krāsapate
Fri	Śukravāra	Sukrawār	Sokkrā, Sukrā
Sat	Śanivāra	Saniscār	Caniy

Hours

Time was measured by a man's shadow at sunrise or sunset, the shadow being so many phlwā (sole-of-foot) long

niy tak 9 phlwā khway

rising sun 9½ soles of the foot (L 242, year 1131)

But the inscriptions also use the long & short Indian hours

¹ From *Epigraphia Birmanica* III i "An inscription (Mon Inscr IX) found near the Tharaba Gate, Pagan"; Tuesday does not occur.

	<i>Burmese Old/Mod</i>	<i>Modern Mon</i>
prahara, pahara (3hours)	pahuir	bahuil
nāḍī, naḍī (24 minutes)	naḍī nārī	nāḍī

In view of the other evidence (p 66 above) that Burmese culture came through the Mon (Talaing) from the ancient Telinga (Kalinga), it is interesting to find the Burmese today calling the English hour a *nārī* and using the $3\frac{1}{2}$ lb *bisā* weight, and the Tamils similarly using (Tamil forms) *nāṭi* and *visai*, for they are not used in Upper India.