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Source: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Sep., 1943), pp. 313-366

Published by: Harvard-Yenching Institute

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2717831>

Accessed: 30-09-2015 15:07 UTC

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FURTHER ANALYSIS OF THE PYU INSCRIPTIONS *

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About the seventh century, there was a cultured Tibeto-Burmic people, the Pyu, with a capital near modern Prome whose site covers a greater area than that of any city ever built by the Burmese.¹ Their earliest inscription may antedate the earliest Burmese inscription by several centuries and be contemporaneous with the earliest Tibetan documents.² A number of Pyu inscrip-

* The writer began the investigation of Pyu with the study of its phonetics and tones as the primary aim, and this paper is largely the outgrowth of criticisms and suggestions made by Professors Franklin EDGERTON and E. H. STURTEVANT on that preliminary study. The writer is also indebted to Professor M. B. EMENEAU for advice, both linguistic and typographical; to Dr. John L. CHRISTIAN for checking my interpretations of the Burmese text and for bibliographical and other suggestions; to Paul K. BENEDICT, for reference to some notes on Pyu which he added as Appendix VI to v. 12, pt. 2, of *Sino-Tibetan Linguistics*, a series begun by the writer and continued by Mr. BENEDICT, none of which are yet published, and to Professors George A. KENNEDY and Albrecht GOETZE for suggestions.

The transcription employed here is the same as in *Vocalism* (see *BIBLIOGRAPHY*), except that, due to typographical considerations, the chuintantes have been transcribed *c* and *j*, the palatalized nasal as *ñ*, and the Burmese falling tone as *..*. Aryan words have been transcribed in the usual manner for those languages. Aryan loan-words in Pyu which have aspirated consonants have been written with *h* to make them more easily recognizable. The accent of *i* represents the same thing epigraphically and phonetically as the dot of *a* and has been employed here only due to typographical difficulties. Underscored letters or those in parentheses are doubtful.

Abbreviations: A, Face A of Myazedi inscriptions; *ARASI*, *BC*, Annual Report Archaeological Survey of India, Burma Circle; AB, Faces A and B; B, Face B; Bu., Burmese; coll., colloquial; *EB*, *Epigraphia Birmanica*; *EI*, *Epigraphia Indica*; Jud., JUDSON, see *BIBLIOGRAPHY*; K, Kukish; mod., modern; N, nominative; O, Old; O.B. Old Bodish (classical Tibetan); P, Pali; pass., passive; perf., pf., perfect; prior., prioritve; Py., Pyu; Sk., Sanskrit; sp., spoken; ST, Sino-Tibetan; T., Talaing; TB, Tibeto-Burmic; wr., written.

¹ G. E. HARVEY, *History of Burma*, London, 1925, p. 12. For the history of the Pyu, see HARVEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 11-15, 28, 269, 307-9, 312, map of Pyu kingdom p. 1; G. H. LUCE, The Ancient Pyu, *JBRS*, 27, 239-53 (1937); LUCE and Pe Maung TIN, Burma down to the Fall of Pagan. An Outline, Part I, *JBRS*, 29, 264-73 (1939); and MAY OUNG, Prome and the Pyus, *JBRS*, 2, 72-3 (1912).

² If the assumption of BLAGDEN (see note 5, below) on the dates of the urn inscriptions is correct.

tions have been found but most of these have not been deciphered.³ The Rosetta stone to the Pyu inscriptions is the Myazedi inscription of Pagan (c. 1113 A. D.), written in Pyu, Mon, Burmese and Pāli. Charles Otto BLAGDEN suggested the meaning of a large portion of the Pyu words in this inscription⁴ and in a subsequent article made some brilliant deductions from some short urn inscriptions.⁵

BLAGDEN considered his work as a preliminary study and expressed the hope that the work would be continued by Tibeto-Burmic scholars. Actually, however, he had deciphered the major part of the vocabulary possible with the materials published and had made comparisons of a large part of the deciphered words with cognate forms in other Tibeto-Burmic languages. And, with the exception of some short inscriptions from Halingyi and Hmawza, tentatively transliterated but not photographically reproduced, no further attempts at decipherment of the remaining Pyu inscriptions have been published. While the number of additional words identified here is not large, a few of these are important, such as verbal particles, and it is hoped that these, together with a study of the phonetics of Pyu, may spur further analysis of the remaining Pyu inscriptions and the search to discover more of them.

The following subjects will be discussed: (1) epigraphy, (2) additional interpretations, (3) transcription of Aryan words, (4) phonetics, (5) prefixes, (6) comparison with Karenic, (7) grammar, (8) text, (9) vocabulary, (10) résumé for epigraphists.

EPIGRAPHY

At a first glance the Pyu script does not seem to bear any resemblance to that of the other three faces of the same inscription. L. FINOT pointed out that the subscript *y* is characteristic of the early period of the Indian alphabet to circa A. D. 350.⁶ VENKAYYA,

³ Dr. CHRISTIAN informs me work is being conducted on numerous Pyu urn inscriptions, according to word from Prof. PEARN.

⁴ BLAGDEN, 1911 (see bibliography).

⁵ BLAGDEN, 1913-14. This followed identification of royal names on two of the urn inscriptions by VENKAYYA, ARASI, BC, 1912, p. 11.

⁶ BLAGDEN, 1911, p. 370.

government epigraphist, considered the alphabet of some Pyu inscriptions to be of about the fourth century and that it resembled ancient Telugu,⁷ while HARVEY stated that "the earliest Pyu inscription contains Kadamba letters which were in use at that date near Goa on the Bombay coast."⁸

A little study, however, shows that most of the letters employed in the Pyu faces of the Myazedi inscription resemble those of the other three languages of that inscription, and BLAGDEN, proceeding first with the Pyu transcription of Aryan loan-words, has identified most of the letters so certainly that it will only be necessary to mention here some points that are minor but which, it is believed will give a more accurate view of the Pyu language.

BLAGDEN recorded *l* but never *l̄*. The Pyu letter bears no resemblance to the *l* of the other inscriptions and may represent a slightly different phoneme. But as it is used in native words and the transcription of non-native words to the exclusion of *l̄*, it has been recorded here as *l*.

BLAGDEN records two words with initial *d̄* but always noted that the initial might be his *l̄*.⁹ I have not found where BLAGDEN gave any epigraphic reasons for believing that the initials of these words was different from his *l̄* and can find nothing distinctive in their shape to suggest a difference.

There are other than epigraphic reasons for doubting the existence of a *d̄*. With the exception of those Tibeto-Burmic languages where dentals have uniformly become apical alveolars, none have cerebrals in native words except Bodic and Kukish languages and dialects where they are always derived from an original stop consonant + *r*. As BLAGDEN has established beyond a doubt that at least the vocabulary of Pyu is basically Tibeto-Burmic and as there are a sufficient number of occurrences of stop consonants before *r* in native words to indicate that they did not become cerebrals, there is no etymological or comparative ground for assuming the existence of such phonemes in Pyu.

Moreover, the rarity of his suggested occurrence of *d̄* is ground for doubting the validity of such an interpretation. Still another

⁷ ARASI, BC, 1912, p. 12.

⁸ Op. cit., p. 4.

⁹ BLAGDEN, 1911, p. 386, n. 3; EB, 62, 63, 65.

reason for believing that his tentative *d* represents an *l* is the comparative rarity of initial *l*, only one native word being transcribed with this initial in his vocabulary, although this phoneme is not ordinarily rare in Tibeto-Burmic. For the comparative evidence, see the Pyu word for "moon" below.

For these reasons, particularly the lack of any distinction discernible to the writer after comparing the occurrences of the supposedly distinct letters on both faces, the words which BLAGDEN recorded with *d* have been recorded here with *l*.

The lack of original cerebrals in Tibeto-Burmic and the rarity of the occurrence of his *dh* (in only one word) also casts doubt on its existence as a separate phoneme. It looks very much like Old Pyu *p*,¹⁰ but as Late Pyu does not have the same pronounced bulge to the left it probably is not *p*. So that although doubting the existence of *d'*, it is retained in this transcription for want of a satisfactory solution.

Similarly BLAGDEN's original marks of length over vowels have been retained although it is doubtful whether they represented actual length of vowels. Only three vowels, *i*, *o*, and *u*, were so transcribed, and the Pyu markings were different for each.

In his first work on Pyu, BLAGDEN transcribed the word for "name" as *mī* because an extra hook occurs alongside the much larger *i*-hook. It is found only in this word, which has a short vowel in Lucei, the one well-recorded TB language which has long medial vowels, although Pwo has *mī*. BLAGDEN had suggested that the extra hook might be "merely a prolongation of the left part of the *m*" and in *Epigraphia Birmanica* he wrote the word *mi* without commenting on the change. But the extra hook is too regularly and carefully executed to look like an accidental lengthening of the left part of the *m*. So the mark of length has been retained although it may indicate something besides length of vowel.

BLAGDEN recorded only one word with *ō* (Face A, l. 20), "because it has a hook on the top."¹¹ It is not a hook, but like a

¹⁰ Old Pyu refers to the language of the urn inscriptions, Late Pyu to that of the Myazedi inscription. The reason for the distinction is explained under GRAMMAR.

¹¹ EB, 63, n. 6.

wedge slightly flattened on the top in both faces in BLAGDEN's plates. In the DE BEYLIÉ plate it looks very much like an anusvāra with a scratch or crack passing from above through its center down to the middle of the akṣara below. In AB 3 is another word which BLAGDEN transliterated *vq:*, perhaps because in his plates the akṣara has a superscribed mark somewhat resembling that of his *ō* mentioned above. But in the photostatic enlargements from his and DE BEYLIÉ's plates, the word looks like *nwq:* or *lwq:* but as the *n* or *l* extend above the line of the top of the row of letters, contrary to custom, BLAGDEN's transcription has been retained.

The only check on BLAGDEN's *ū* is in Aryan loan words (see below), where it never corresponds to *ū* in the Pāli of the inscriptions.

Pyu employed dots in various combinations: the visarga, the anusvāra, and a subscript form of anusvāra called '*ok-mrati*' in written Burmese (sp. *ouk-myit*), or any combination of these. The subscript anusvāra frequently occurs to the lower left of certain letters, *d*, *g*, particularly if the vowel is *ū* or *e*. But this arises from limitations of space due to the shape of the letters, the subscript *ū*, or the widening of the akṣara by the addition of *e*, and BLAGDEN correctly took no cognizance of it in his transcription.

But the distinction which BLAGDEN made throughout his transcriptions between the anusvāra directly over the letter and that to the upper right side of the letter was unnecessary as he seemed to realize,¹² as it occurs to the right of the letter only where the long hooked superscript *i* comes down over a narrow letter leaving no space for the anusvāra directly over the letter. Where the Pyu letter is broad as the *h* of *hlī:* (A 7), the anusvāra occurs over the *h* despite the overhanging *i* to the left. The only exceptions to this rule are Pyu *Samanalō* where a dot is placed to the right but not level with the top of the letter as it is when the vowel is *i*, but near the middle of the side, and Face B has *Samanalō:* with the visarga quite clear; and one instance of *kui* with three dots to the right quite clearly (A24) but which cannot be verified from Face B as it is damaged at that point. These discrepancies from

¹² BLAGDEN, 1911, p. 366 n.

the general rule look like stone cutters' errors and the *anusvāra* has been standardized here over the vowel.

BLAGDEN refers to unexplained marks.¹⁸ One of these is a slightly upward curve over certain letters. It occurs over *la* (BLAGDEN's *da*) (A, and perhaps B, 3) and over the third *la* of a series of four (A 24; Face B damaged). In all other occurrences it is found on the last word before the punctuation marks (||): *to:* (AB 5, 11), *tc'o:* (AB 12, A 26-B 29), *pa* (A 23; Face B damaged above the letter), except in AB 13, where it occurs over both the words *pa:* *tc'e* which are the last words before the punctuation marks. In view of its occurrence over words already provided with the vowel *o* and possibly *e*, it is improbable that it denotes a vowel. From its position just before the punctuation marks in all cases except where it occurs over *la*, which is a conjunction, we may conclude that it is either some additional mark of punctuation or that it was not an inherent tone but one induced by the sentence structure, perhaps something like the English falling tone or the French rising tone at the end of a sentence. Although the writer is not able to define it more precisely, there seems to have been no uncertainty in the mind of the author or of the stone cutters as to its use, as there was in the case of || and |, as A and B faces agree in its use where the latter has not been damaged.

In B 28, cross hatches occur between the bottom of the superscript *i* and the top of the subscript *d*, *tc'*, in the words transcribed *di*, *tc'i*: and may represent *k-*, in which case these words should have been transcribed *kdi*, *ktc'i*:. As no other instance of *k-* prefix has been noted in the Myazedi inscription, BLAGDEN's rendering of these words has not been altered.

As to the urn inscriptions, BLAGDEN was in doubt in transcribing one of the subscript letters as his *l*. In proto-Tibeto-Burmic the most common phonemes now written as subscript letters were *r*, *y*, *l*, and *w*, in approximately that order of frequency. As BLAGDEN had identified the subscript *r* and *w* in the urn inscriptions without difficulty, this would narrow the probabilities for the unknown subscript letter to *y* and *l*. Subscript *y* occurs in the

¹⁸ 1911, p. 383, n. 1; 385, n. 14.

Myazedi inscription only in *kya*: of unknown meaning and origin, and it may have disappeared in Pyu although this cannot be determined at present. There are no other subscript letters than *l* occurring in the Myazedi inscription which resemble the unknown subscript letter of the urns. And BLAGDEN's identification of his *p(l)ā* as "four," which certainly had an *-l-* in Tibeto-Burmic, makes his identification a certainty in the opinion of the writer.

As the Pyu *-e* and *-o* consist respectively of a curve to the left and curves to the left and right which seldom rise above the level of the tops of the row of letters in the Myazedi inscription, BLAGDEN's identification of the *-e* in *kle*: in the urn inscriptions is no doubt correct. Similarly with his identification of *-o* in "nine" which he wrote *t(k)o*, but which is certainly *t(k)ūo*. The word which BLAGDEN identified as meaning "month" and tentatively transcribed as *de* or *le* (his transcription) is certainly not *de* as *d* has a sharp angle in the curve to the left not found in the initial of this word. If the least weathered examples of the initial are compared with similar examples of subscript *l*, there remains no doubt that the initial of the word for "moon" is *l*. But the sign above the letter does not in the least resemble the *-e* or *-o* in the words *kle*: or *t(k)ūo* mentioned above. Instead of a hook to the left and on a level with the top of the row of letters, it is a 7-shaped symbol rising straight from the top of the letter, then running straight to the left. If this sign occurring over the first word for "month" in inscription B1 is compared with the symbol over the word BLAGDEN transcribed *v(ø)*: on urn D1, they will be found identical. As neither *-e* nor *-o* are probable, the writer prefers to consider the sign as non-vocalic and the word for "month" as *la*, which occurs most often in TB words for "moon."¹⁴ The vowel is short in Burmese, which may give a clue to the use of the symbol.

¹⁴ The proto-Tibeto-Burmic word for "moon" may have had a prefixed consonant or prefixed consonants before the initial *l*. In Old Bodish we find *zla* "moon." But the comparisons so far found with O.B. *zl* are so few that phonetic equations for it have been determined for only small and scattered TB linguistic areas. Whether *z* was a prefix or whether it was part of a consonantal cluster preceded by a consonantal prefix is not certain. But the one certainty is that *la* was at least a part of the word for "moon" in nearly all the TB languages.

BLAGDEN doubtfully wrote the initial of the word for "five" as (*n*). The letter resembles *dj* more than *n* of the Myazedi inscription. As **n* becomes *y* in certain Karenic dialects, and **y* becomes *dj* in some Kukish dialects, *dj* would not be an impossible initial; but from the rarity of such changes in Tibeto-Burmic the chances are probably about 200 to 1 against it. And the fact that *n* occurs in the Myazedi inscription reduces the possibilities still further so that we may accept BLAGDEN's tentative identification as a practical certainty.

This word "five" occurs as *na*, but also as *pi-na* in D1, but on urn C as *mi-na*. The transverse line which distinguishes *m* from *p* may be a stonecutter's error or a break in the stone. On the other hand it may be an important clue that there were two dialects in Old Pyu. For TB prefixes do not follow the same phonetic laws as the corresponding initials and the interchange of *p-* and *m-* prefixes is not due to substitution as WOLFENDEN believed,¹⁵ but to a definite phonetic shift such as is found in Khami where *p-* in the northern dialects is regularly represented by *m-* in the southern dialects.

The word which BLAGDEN transcribed (*k*) *i·* in all four urn inscriptions, is clearly *kūi* or *kiū*. The latter is improbable as any diphthong approaching *-iū* would likely be written *-yū* in South-eastern Asiatic languages. As this is the only occurrence of *-ui* in any published Pyu inscription, the word may be a borrowing.

ADDITIONAL INTERPRETATIONS

BLAGDEN concluded that the Burmese text was the original draft on which the Mon and Pyu versions were based,¹⁶ although he had admitted that "There are, however, a few cases of special agreement between the Pali and Talaing versions which make it probable that the author of the latter had access to and used, or perhaps himself drafted, the former."¹⁷

Rather, if one may be so flippant with the ancient past, it may be said that Rājakumāra held a press conference and gave the

¹⁵ As he expressed it in a conversation with the writer.

¹⁶ BLAGDEN, 1914, pp. 1068-9.

¹⁷ 1909, p. 1019.

pandits the story, which each wrote up in his own language to the best of his ability. The Pāli pandit went in for style, the Pyu for a moderate amount of detail, while the Burmese and Talaing obeyed the editorial injunction to "hold it short!"

Actually the amount of detail in the different versions was probably largely determined by spatial factors. The Pāli script is concise and this, together with the omission of the list of slave villages, left a good deal of space for the balance of the narrative. Although the Pyu script has many long subscript and superscript letters so that the total number of lines is less than that of any other version, yet the words are the shortest of all and the particles not excessive so that the Pyu version probably has more detail than any other except the Pāli. The Burmese and Talaing are particularly barren narratives, probably because of the space occupied by the Burmese particles, the Talaing dissyllabic words, and the subscript *r* in both, made with a sweeping flourish.

This will give some idea of the relative value of the other versions in the interpretation of Pyu. Pāli is valuable both lexically and grammatically, Burmese usually only for morphology, Talaing seldom for anything.¹⁸

The additional interpretations may be divided into (1) morphology; (2) textual analysis.

Fairly reliable conclusions may be drawn regarding a number of verbal particles. For while the text is short, there is little conflicting evidence.

tc'e. The present tense occurs twice in the text:

ma bū: bā: u wā pā: tc'e tc'o: (AB 12) which BLAGDEN translated "I present to my lord," and
yā bā: hra t'a u wā pā: tc'e (AB 13) "I give to this sacred image of gold."

Both of these phrases occur in the statement of Rājakumāra to the king, but the word "give" occurs only in the second in the Pali version where we find *demi* (A 22, B 20).

The Talaing version does not worry over tenses and does not

¹⁸ A profound Talaing scholar like BLAGDEN no doubt can extract information from the Talaing face that is not apparent to a novice in that language.

have anything corresponding to the first sentence above. But the meaning of the Talaing sentence corresponding to the second one of Pyu clearly infers later time as the passage reads literally "slave three villages which lord give (i. e. gave) to me, that I, slave, give to statue-of-Buddha."

At the end of Rājakumāra's speech in the Burmese text, corresponding to AB 13 of the Pyu, occurs *piy ye'* (A 21, B 17). DU ROISELLÉ¹⁹ states that this is a variant of *e'*, found only in the Myazedi pillars, and on p. 35 he equates *e'* with modern *i*, which he explains is used in medieval and modern Burmese as a verbal suffix of the present but used in recounting past events. For modern Burmese, this agrees substantially with LONSDALE.²⁰ And while the occurrence of *ye'* after *piy* does look as if the *y* were a glide, the fact remains that *piy ye'* occurs only there, in both cases, where the meaning is present in the Pali text, while *piy e'* occurs in Burmese A 9 where the meaning is past, and that in all other instances where *e'* occurs the meaning is past. It may therefore be suggested that the Burmese of Myazedi preserved a present tense postposition *ye'* and a past tense postposition *e'* which fell together soon after.

tc'e is, however, not a purely present indicative tense particle. It occurs in A 23, 26, where the sense is optative, the wishing being in the present but the fulfilment in the future. It is not an optative particle, however, as that is *bū*: the only word common to the two optative sentences and corresponding to the Old Burmese precative *tciy'* (A 35), *tciy* (A 39), and the Talaing optative *or*²¹ in the same sentences.²² The sense of *tc'e* in optative sentences was to the Pyu probably present.

BLAGDEN suggested that *tc'e* might be a verbal auxiliary of the verb *pā*: but its occurrence with this verb is probably purely accidental as many TB languages employ "to give" in the sense of "to permit." His suggestion of *bū*: meaning "to do" was based upon Burmese comparisons, *mū* or '*a-mho*', rather than the textual meaning.

¹⁹ EB 39.

²⁰ 175-6.

²¹ BLAGDEN 1909, p. 1047.

²² The rule for the position of *bū*: seems to be that it precedes the object or objects of the following optative verb root (A 23, 25).

bí: occurs more often than any other word in the Pyu text. BLAGDEN merely gives it as a “verbal prefix (?)”. With languages so structurally different as Pyu and Pāli one may not expect, of course, very close parallels in sentence structure. But Pāli nevertheless gives a surprisingly accurate idea of the usual function of Pyu bí: as the following parallels will show:

tra: o ho: bí: pā: to: (A 5) with Pāli *adā gāmattayān tassā* (A 11, B 9). Similarly *bí: pā:* (A 6) with *adā* (A 14); *bí: tdi:* (A 11) with *āha* (A 19); *bí: se* (A 11-12) with *akāśim* (B 18); *bí: tc'a* (A 18) with *pātesi* (B 27).

Besides these instances of verbs preceded by bí: corresponding to aorists, which in Pāli expressed the past tense, there are other instances where the only verb in the corresponding Pāli phrase is an aorist: *Arimaddananāmasmi pure āsi mahabbalo rājā Tibhuvanādicco udiccādiccavāṁsajo* (A 4-5), corresponding to *Rimadhanabū u mī bí: si || Sri Tribhuwanadityadhamaradja u mī bí: si ||* (A 2-3). Similarly with the name of the queen in the following sentence.

For *d'au u sa: Radjaguma bí: si u mī* (A 4-5) there is an aorist verb and past participle in Pāli: *tass' ās' eko suto Rājakumāro nāma nāmato . . .* (A 8-10, B 7-8). And *d'au bā: ma-ya: bí: hi* (A 5) corresponds to a past participle *aniccatāvasam tassā gatāya* (A 13) followed by the main verb in the aorist.

Corresponding to a past participle in Pāli: *bí: twā: (AB 2), gate (A 4); bí: pā: (A 12), dinnan (A 22); bí: rī (A 13, B 14), tutṭhahattho (A 24).*

Or a gerund followed by a past participle: *bí: si (A 14), vatvāna tutṭhahattho pamodito (A 24-5, B 22).*

bí: usually corresponds to Old Burmese *e'* except where the O. Bu. verb is placed in the gerund (with *ruy'*), and even then *ruy'* is frequently followed by *e'*. DUROISELLE has already stated that while the modern equivalent is used for the present and historical present, *e'* is used in Old Burmese “as a verbal suffix showing the past.”²³

These correspondences of bí: with Pāli and Old Burmese forms

²³ EB 35.

indicating past time, together with the omission of *bí*: in the present and optative, make clear its function as a particle indicating the past.

dà, ta, t'a. From the evidence adduced here there might be some question whether *bí*: might not represent perfect action rather than past time. This involves the discussion of the Pyu verbal particles *dà*, *ta* and *t'a*.

Burmese offers the best evidence as to their function. The occurrences of *dà* with the corresponding Burmese particles are: A 2, O. Bu. *ra kā* (B 2); A 5, O. Bu. *ra kā* (A 10); A 7, O. Bu. *ruy' e'* (A 13-14); A 9, O. Bu. *ra kā* (A 16); A 14, O. Bu. *ra kā* (A 21); A 18, O. Bu. *ra kā* (A 27); A 20, O. Bu. *plo' e' || plo' bri* *ra kā* (A 29) (the sentence structure is not exactly the same here); A 21, O. Bu. *ruy' e'* (A 32); A 22, O. Bu. *ruy' e'* (A 33). The occurrence of *dà* in A 26 is quite clear but has no apparent connection with a verb. It looks like an adjective following *Medeya*, perhaps corresponding to Talaing *trey* "excellent, exalted.

Of the nine occurrences of *dà* with verbs, O. Bu. *ra kā* is found six times in the same context and *ruy' e'* three times. The difference in meaning between these Old Burmese particles was probably very slight. The first has been called a prioritive, denoting an action preceding that of a following verb, while *ruy'* is called a continuative which DUROISELLE compares with the gerund of Sanskrit. They both might be translated with a participle or by "when" or "after." The difference in use in Old Burmese seems to be that *ra kā* usually occurs before the punctuation marks (||), while *ruy' e'* occurs in the middle of the Old Burmese sentence. In this respect Pyu *dà* agrees again most closely with O. Bu. *ra kā*, as it is found six times just before the punctuation marks against three times in the middle of a sentence.

Sometimes preceding *dà* is another particle *ta*, while in the same context we find O. Bu. has a particle *bri* preceding *ra kā* or *ruy' e'*, as Pyu A 7, O. Bu. A 13; A 18, O. Bu. A 27; A 20, O. Bu. A 29; but A 5, O. Bu. *k'a* (A 10), and A 22, O. Bu. simply *ruy' e'* (A 33). Yet for five occurrences of Pyu *ta*, we find Burmese correspondence of *bri* three times. O. Bu. *bri* may correspond

phonetically to mod. Bu. *pri* or *pri:*. DUROISELLE considered it equivalent to the former, but *pri* is ingressive and *pri:* denotes “perfect, completed action”²⁴ and probably, though not necessarily, all the instances of *brī* in the O. Bu. text denote completed action. DUROISELLE interpreted O. Bu. *k'a* as equivalent to mod. Bu. *k'ai*²⁵ which in the sentence where it is used could mean “(That dear queen) having (died) and gone away” (Jud.; LONSDALE 192.4), or “having just (died)” (Jud.). DUROISELLE believed O. Bu. *k'a* had the latter significance. In conclusion, we may grammatically equate Pyu *ta* with O. Bu. *brī*, probably mod. Bu. *pri*: “perfect” and, if DUROISELLE’s interpretation is correct, with O. Bu. *k'a*, mod. Bu. *k'ai*: “just completed action.”

The Myazedi inscription has a particle *t'a* occurring only once (AB 2) and there before *dā*. The corresponding O. Bu. is *liy*, *liy brī ra kā* (B 2, A 3). As *ra kā* corresponds to *dā* we may assume that *liy brī* corresponds to *t'a*. DUROISELLE showed that O. Bu. *liy* compared phonetically with mod. Bu. *le*²⁶ but I have not found a satisfactory definition of the latter. DUROISELLE said it denotes “indefinite past time; also euphonic.” LONSDALE stated merely that it “indicates a natural sequence of events without reference to any particular time” (p. 192). While there is no possible doubt of the occurrence of *t'a* in both the A and B faces, the writer is inclined to agree with BLAGDEN’s tentative equation of *t'a dā* with *ta dā*. The reason for the skepticism regarding the correctness of *t'a* is the rarity of aspirated stop consonants in native Pyu words. See PHONETICS. Further evidence might decide this point.

Almost the only verbal particle occurring in the Talaing text is *tuy* (A 3, 10), corresponding to Pyu *t'a dā* (AB 2) and *ta dā* (A 7) respectively. BLAGDEN’s definition in *Epigraphia Birmanica*²⁷ as a “particle or auxiliary forming the past tense” practically repeats his earlier one.²⁸ But in the latter, he added that it was equal to O. Bu. *brī ra kā*. It seems that BLAGDEN understood

²⁴ LONSDALE, nos. 330, 331.

²⁵ It is difficult to see how O. Bu. *k'a* could change phonetically into *k'ai*. The mod. Bu. *k'ai* could, of course, be derived from O. Bu. *k'a + e'*. But if that were the origin, O. Bu. *k'a* probably would not be identical in meaning with mod. Bu. *k'ai*.

²⁶ EB 30.

²⁷ P. 58.

²⁸ JRAS, 1909, p. 1029.

the Burmese equivalent clearly enough but translated the Talaing word incorrectly into English, due perhaps to DEROISELLE's ambiguous definition.²⁹ Actually the two occurrences of Talaing *tuy* in this text correspond to O. Bu. *liy bri ka* and *bri ruy' e'*. The fact that *tuy* corresponds to Pyu *t'a d̥a* and *ta d̥a* is another reason for believing *t'a* is an error for *ta*. Talaing *tuy* in this text is employed only in expressions denoting the passage of time.

tc'o: is an emphatic or exclamatory particle. Its use is clearest in *ha pra tc'o: ha pra tc'o:* "good deed! good deed!" (A 14), corresponding to Pāli *sādhu sādhū* (A 24);³⁰ Bu. *koñ lhen' teh koñ lhen'* (A 21-2), in which *teh* is an emphatic particle, while *lhen'*, according to DEROISELLE, corresponds to mod. Bu. *lim'*, an exclamatory future.³¹

²⁹ EB 31-2.

³⁰ Talaing employs *sādhukār* (A 18).

³¹ LONSDALE 179. DEROISELLE considered *lhen'* to be the result of assimilation of *le*, verbal particle, and the future suffix '*am'*, mod. Bu. '*am'*. As examples of assimilation of '*am'*, he cited *k'ye + 'am' = k'yim'*, *pe + 'am' = pim'*, and *le + 'am' = lim'*. This is a convincing argument for phonetic contraction in modern written Burmese. But he further points out that the present pronunciation of *k'yim'*, *pim'*, and *lim'* is *tc'en'*, *pen'*, and *len'*, and that *l* of certain words is often colloquially aspirated. He leaves the reader to infer that the phonetic development has been O. Bu. *liy + 'am' > lhen'* > wr. Bu. *lim'* > mod. sp. Bu. *len'* > coll. Bu. *l'en'*. BLAGDEN has so frequently protested against projecting a late Burmese phonetic change (and he might have added colloquial pronunciations) into interpretation of Old Burmese that it is only necessary here to call attention to the complicated and improbable phonetic development that DEROISELLE's explanation infers.

Moreover, I see nothing in either the Pāli or Talaing texts to support DEROISELLE's contention that Bu. *koñ lhen'* means "it will be good."

Unless the connecting links between O. Bu. *lhen'* and mod. Bu. *lim'* can be shown, the following solution offers fewer phonetic difficulties and provides a translation more nearly in accord with the other texts. We must first consider a point in phonetics.

DEROISELLE has ably shown that mod. Bu. *-wa-* is represented in the Myazedi inscription by *-o-*. We should expect that mod. Bu. *-ya-*, which does not occur in the Myazedi inscription, would be represented by *-e-*. There is one instance of this in O. Bu. *het* "eight." Although the modern spelling is *hratc*, in the Bodh Gaya inscription of the late thirteenth century, the word is written *hyat* (BLAGDEN, 1914, p. 1064) which dates fairly closely the phonetic change or at least the method of writing the vocalic phoneme.

Another example of mod. Bu. *-ya-* equivalent to O. Bu. *-e-* is perhaps O. Bu. *lhen'* which may be compared with mod. Bu. *hlyan*. The usual meanings of this modern Burmese word are "when" or "if." But JUDSON gives the additional use as "sometimes definitive or emphatic," while LONSDALE, 238, gives it as an adverbial adjective meaning "only; even." Either of these meanings would fit very well in the O. Bu. text.

tc'o: is also met with where Rājakumāra surprises the king in telling him he gives the golden Buddha to him (A 12) and where he expresses the wish that any who oppress the slaves may never see the Buddha Metteyya (A 26). It is therefor in all its occurrences not only a final particle, as BLAGDEN stated, but a final exclamatory particle.

to: may be called a verbal paragraph ending. It always directly follows the verb root and no other verbal particles may follow it, although a noun does once (AB 18). There is no particle corresponding to it in any of the other texts. Although O. Bu. *e'* alone (without other particles) seems to correspond to it more often than any other particle, *e'* occurs much more frequently and at the end of short sentences. On the other hand, *to:* concludes a series of events. The two particles actually have no similarity in use, as the O. Bu. *e'* really corresponds to Pyu *bí:* preceding the verb root that *to:* follows.

tba: (A 6) is "apparently an auxiliary going with *pá:*," according to BLAGDEN. But the Pāli text reads *adā puna* (A 14), and the Old Burmese *piy tum e'* (A 12-13). Modern Burmese has two words *tum* and *tum'* meaning respectively "to do alternately" and "to turn back; to repeat, to do again or in return" (J. 486; L. 210, 215). These two words are probably from the same original root (see note 31). The O. Bu. *tum* appears to correspond best to the latter of the modern Burmese words. It is probable, then, that Pyu *tba:* is a verbal particle meaning "again."

u is listed in the Pyu glossary of *Epigraphia Birmanica* as "a particle used (1) to connect numerals with a noun, 2; (2) after

The only phonetic difficulty is the O. Bu. final glottal stop which is not found in mod. Bu. *hlyāñ*. But the writer has never been able to discover any regular equivalence for the final glottal stop of written Burmese in any of the other TB languages. Rather it seems frequently to have been used to form derivatives as may be seen from glancing through a good Burmese dictionary. Consequently it may be suggested that originally there were two, possibly cognate, words, one meaning "when, if," without a glottal stop, and the other with a final glottal stop and the uses given above; and that the two fell together in modern Burmese. The use of *hlyāñ* as an emphatic particle would accord with Pyu *tc'o:* as the writer interprets its use and would agree more nearly with the Pāli and Talaing texts. But either by this or by DUROISELLE's interpretation of *lhen'*, *tc'o:* appears to be an emphatic particle.

words in the genitive relation, 4, 6-10, 18-21; (3) in certain other combinations not falling clearly under these heads, 3, 14, 17." And this is followed by four other dissyllabic "words" beginning with *u*, although there is nothing in the writing to show that the last part of such "words" belongs with the *u*.

Although *u*, alone or in some of the combinations given by BLAGDEN in the glossary, occurs most often in the text where it could be taken for a genitive, yet there are difficulties with such an interpretation. In the text where Rājakumāra refers to "my son, my grandson, or my kinsman," *gi* is used for "my" and *u* is not employed. So we should have to conclude that *u* is only a genitive with nouns and not with pronouns, which would be unusual for a TB language.

But it is noticeable that in BLAGDEN's glossary there is no third person pronoun although the greater part of the narrative is in that person. Let us try the possibility of *u* being that pronoun:

- (A 2) . . . *hrā u sni: bī: twā:* "(162) 8 his years did elapse."
- (A 2) *Rimadhanabū u mī bī: si* "Arimaddanapur its name did call."
- (A 3) *Tribhuwanadityadhammaradja u mī bī: si* "Tribhuwanāditya-dhammarāja his name did call"; similarly in A 4, A 5.
- (A 4) *d'au u sa:* "that her son," i. e. "son of that (queen," mentioned in the preceding sentence).
- (B 6) *ma-ya: u tra* "queen her goods."
- (A 6) *ma-ya: u sa:* "queen her son." Etc.

Only one instance has been found where *u* appears to be a nominative:

- (A 8-9) *u dī bī: mtau ma d'au tda:* "he was nourished by the king" (for the analysis of the sentence, see below).

But *u-wā*, which BLAGDEN accounted for as "a particle or post-position meaning 'to' (dative)," adding that in A 5 "it apparently means 'to her,'" is more simply explained as the same third person pronoun *u* with the dative *-ā* (corresponding to the Khimi dative *-a'*), *w* being a glide. Thus

- (A 6) *ma-ya: u.sa: Radjaguma u wā* "(gave) to him, the queen's son, Rājakumāra."

(A 5) *u wà tra: o ho: bì: pà:* “gave to her three villages of slaves.”

ma is a relative pronoun. Corresponding to Pyu *yá ma* (B 23) is Pāli *etam yam* (A 33), and to Pyu *ma* (A 25), Pāli *yo* (A 38). The Talaing relative pronoun is also *ma*. The corresponding occurrences of this pronoun in Pyu and Talaing are: Pyu A 9, Tal. A 12; Pyu A 19, Tal. A 23; Pyu A 25 (first occurrence), Tal. A 32. The Talaing relative pronoun precedes the clause as in English while the Pyu relative pronoun follows it.

The second occurrence of *ma* in A 25 is of uncertain meaning, while the *ma* in A 26 is probably a negative; see A 25, 26, below.

A 1-2. *Dathagada ba dø bá: bì: pdū sgu dā: ba twa.* The known words are *Dathagada* “Tathāgata,” *bá:* “honorific,” and *bì:* “past tense.” From the recurrence of *ba*, it seems probable that it is a particle. It also occurs in the Halingyi inscription, l. 3, and possibly on urn E, in both instances before *hi* “to die.” As *Tathāgata* does not occur in any of the other versions, and none of the other Pyu words are found elsewhere, BLAGDEN suggested the meaning to be “Tathāgata’s parinirvāṇa,” “after Buddha’s death,” or “after the establishment of Buddha’s religion.” From the association of *ba* with *hi* in the Halingyi and urn E inscriptions, we may guess that *ba dø* or *ba twa* had something to do with the death of the Tathāgata, in accordance with BLAGDEN’s second interpretation.

If we pursue BLAGDEN’s suggestion further, we may guess that *bì: pdū sgu dā:* means something like “went (to) parinirvāṇa.” I am indebted to Prof. Ferdinand LESSING for the following suggestions as to the possible literal meaning of the Pyu phrase. He translates literally Skr. *pari-nir-vā-ṇa* as “complete-out-blow,” i. e. “complete blow out,” or extinction; Chinese *yüan-chi* “round (i. e. complete) -rest”; Old Bodish *yons-su ji-bar āgyur-ba* “perfectly calm become.”^{31a} As all the non-Aryan texts of Myazedi are very literal, we may be fairly certain that the Pyu text did not employ metaphorical expressions similar to Old Bodish *jin-dag-la gcegs-pa* “go to the Pure Field.” If Pyu translated literally, simi-

^{31a} Ernest J. EITEL, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, gives translations of nirvāṇa from a different viewpoint.

larly to Pāli, Chinese or Old Bodish expressions, one of the four Pyu words must mean "complete" or "perfect." As *bí:* indicates the past tense and *pdū* is necessarily a verb root and, as it will be seen below, adjectives probably usually follow the noun, *dः:* would be the only likely word with the meaning "complete" or "perfect."

If Pyu followed the Sanskrit, *pdū* would mean "blow," and "extinction" may be suggested as the significance of *sgu*. Otherwise *pdū* would probably mean something like "go" or "become," and *sgu* "rest; calm."

But the Talaing text reads *sās kyek Buddha tirley* "religion object-of-worship Buddha my-lord" and the Burmese text *purhā sk'an sāsana* "Buddha lord religion." Returning to BLAGDEN's last suggestion, *bí: pdū* would mean "established" and *sgu dः:* something like "religion."

These suggestions have been given in some detail, for if one or two words can be established from some other source, the meaning of the rest of the phrase could probably be determined.

A 3-4. *u dः: la bā: u wə: ma-ya: Trilogawādasagadewi.* *u* usually means "his," referring in this instance to the king just mentioned. *la* occurs four times in A 24 where the corresponding Pāli term is *vā* and the Talaing term *la:*, both meaning "either . . . or," and the O. Bu. *lañ-gon* "also." It is therefore a conjunction and in A 24 means "either . . . or" and we may surmise that it means "and" in A 3-4, but not "was" as BLAGDEN suggested. *bā:* is the honorific. So we have tentatively "his . . . and honorific his . . . queen T-." The Pāli text reads *piyā devi sā Tilokavaṭām-sikā hitesi kusalā sabbakiccesu pana rājino* (A 7-8, B 6-7). One of the unknown words could not refer to *kicca* "the duties" of the king, for even if another noun were supplied, there would still be no adjective to connect the queen with them. It is probable therefore, that the meaning is "his benevolent and clever queen," *bā:* perhaps being displaced from its usual place directly preceding *ma-ya:* for rhetorical reasons.

This conclusion is partially verified by the only other occurrence of *dः:*, in A 14-15, *u dः: tra: bā: Mahathe* where the Pāli text has

dayāparo Mahāthero (A 25), and may be translated “his compassionate scholar, the honorable Mahāthera.” Cf. Lucei *dā* “patient, forbearing.”

A 7-8. *bí: sri: bí: hní: hlí: hi u mtu dū ro:.* BLAGDEN has suggested that *sri:* means “to reign,” but it is separated from the number of years of his reign in the preceding sentence which reads literally “The honorable king (’s) year (s) 28 were (priorative).” He translates *hní:* “to be sick,” comparing it with Bu. *nā*. Although the words probably do not compare tonally or phonetically, in anything except initial (see PHONETICS), yet all the other texts have a word for “sick” in this sentence and this word seems more likely from its position to have that meaning than any other word. Accepting BLAGDEN’s interpretation, the sentence would begin “(While he) reigned, (he) sickened. . . .”

The next word *hlí:* occurs in another passage, A 24-5, B 26: *yá Būdha u wá gá: hlí:* where BLAGDEN translated it as “dedicate” which seems correct, the passage reading literally “this Buddha it to I dedicate (the slaves),” corresponding to the parallel Pāli passage: *maya dásā gāmattayanivāsino dinnā guhāya sovaṇṇapatiṁaya māhesino* (A 35-7). Although BLAGDEN considered the usage of *hlí:* in A 7 was not clear, it seems probable that the meaning there was very similar to that in A 25, *hlí: hi* corresponding to Pāli *māranantikarogassa* “illness causing death as its end” (A 15). If we take the two occurrences of *hlí:*, it seems to mean something like “destine” and we may translate the two passages roughly “destined to the Buddha” and “destined to die.”

The balance of the passage in A 7-8, *u mtu dū ro:.* is not clear. *ro:* occurs nowhere else. *u* probably means “his,” as that is its most common meaning and there is no known verbal particle following. Consequently *mtu* is probably a noun. *mtu dū* occurs again in A 24, the two words separated by *kíu:*³² the passage

³² As transcribed by BLAGDEN, EB, 65. See EPIGRAPHY. From the corresponding Pāli phrase, we should expect *kíu:* to mean “oppress.” But as our knowledge of the function of the visarga combined with the anusvāra in Pyu is unsatisfactory, the number of possible parallels for the Pyu word is large: Bu. *k'ut* “strike with the edge of (a knife or any flat thing),” *k'up* “strike forward (with the paw, as a cat or tiger; as the paddle of a steamer),” *k'uik* “to hit,” and some intransitives for which the

reading *yá tra: tí mtu kú: dū* and probably corresponding to Pāli *kareyy' upadduvam tesam dásānam* (A 39). *mtu* therefor probably means “death,” or some fatal action or illness resulting in death.

dū also occurs in A 17-8: *d'au tra: bá: sagha two u hñu dí dū tdq: tu bá: bí: tc'a to: tdū*. The known meanings are “those lords honorific assemblage-or-church . . . third-pers.-pron. king . . . honorific pour term. water.” Pāli has *etesam pana bhikkhūnam sammukhā so sumānaso jalām pātesi katvāna sakkhin tu vasudhātalam* (A 28-30, B 26-8). In the Pyu text, if *sagha* means “an assemblage,” *two* probably means “(of) mendicant monks”; but if, as BLAGDEN translated it, it refers to the Buddhist church, it could mean “beggars.” The word *hñu* occurs again, with two other unknowns, in A 24: *mra dja hñu*. This phrase corresponds to Tal. *ña: tc-en* “3d-pers.-pron. another,” and to O. Bu. *sū tate t'ū* “who one different.” One may guess that the literal translation of *mra dja hñu* is “other any person,” although this is based upon nothing more substantial than Tsangla *bra* “another, other, strange”; and the interchange of *mr-* and *br-*, while occurring in some TB groups, is not clearly understood. We may surmise that *sagha two u hñu* means “assemblage of monks, its persons,” although it may mean “assemblage of monks, its different (persons).” The following *dí dū* may have its parallel in Talaing *han ti* “onto the earth.” The Pāli version has a different construction: *jalām pātesi katvāna sakkhin tu vasudhātalam*. A comparison of Pyu *dí* with Chinese *dī*, Siamese *dì* suggests it may mean “earth.” In summary, it may be noted that *dū* seems to follow a noun and, as there is no indication in the other texts that it is an adjective, we may conclude that it is a postposition. From the context it appears to mean something like “down”: “(poured) down onto,” “(bowed) down (by death),” “(slaves') oppression.”

corresponding causatives should begin with *k'* although I have not found them: *kun* “to come to an end, be spent,” *kup* “be curved, bent down,” *kuin*: “hang over in a curve, bend downwards”; and one transitive: *kuin* “hold, lay hold, take hold of.” Lucei has two intransitives *kún* “to stoop,” *kár* “to bend down, droop,” and an adjective *kül* “drooping at the top.” Thus, the Pyu *kú:* might mean that the slaves were “cut” down, “struck” down, “knocked” down, “finished,” “bent” down, or “held” down, all of which would be a fairly literal translation of the Pāli.

The *td̄a: tu bā:* in A 17-8 has a possible parallel only in Pali *so sumānaso*, so that *tu* may mean "well pleased."

A 8-9. *u dī bī: mtau ma d'au td̄a: to u lo: tro: dī bī: mdau ha: la: dā.* There are two verbs here, *mtau* and *mdau* and BLADGEN was in doubt as to which meaning to attach to them. Both the Pāli and Talaing texts begin the sentence with "remembering."³³ But as Pyu is a Tibeto-Burmic language, its word order would probably more nearly parallel that of Old Burmese, where *okmi* "remember" is the last verb of the sentence and *muy* "bring up, rear" is the first. Moreover in every Pyu sentence of determined meaning, dependent clauses always precede the principal verb. So that BLAGDEN's preferred readings seem certain.

dī occurs twice in this sentence, both times before *bī:*, which suggests that it may be a verbal particle. The first word in the sentence is *u*, a third person pronoun referring back to Rājakumāra in the preceding sentence, and as Rājakumāra did not nourish the king, but vice versa, the deduction is warranted that the meaning is "he was nourished" and that *dī* denotes the passive.

ma was found above to be the relative pronoun. The following two words mean "that king" or "the king." The following *to* may be an agentive postposition. But the Pali text has *dhammarājassa* while the O. Bu. text has *mañ grī* "great king," so that *to* might mean "great" or "righteous." The word does not recur except in Urn E inscription. BLAGDEN considered *lo:* to mean "in, on" in A 11, 13, but *lo: tro:* in this sentence to mean "benefits." Preferring a meaning in accordance with the other occurrences of *lo:*, the writer would consider *tro:* to signify "favors," the meaning of *u lo: tro:* being "the favors (bestowed) on him," i. e. on the prince. As *tro:* is the last noun or pronoun before *dī bī: mdau* it is probably the subject of the verb; and as the meaning cannot be that the favors do the remembering, the construction must again be passive and the meaning "favors were remembered," supporting the previous suggestion of *dī* as a particle denoting the passive (see also A 21, 22, below). As neither *ha:* nor *la:* occur

³³ Pāli A 16 has *maranto*, which DUROISELLE has corrected without comment to *saranto*, the form occurring in B 14.

elsewhere and the other texts offer no clue, it can only be said that as they follow the final verb of the sentence, they are probably verbal particles, but may be nouns.

A 10. *bradima t'a tū*.³⁴ The Pāli text reading *satthuno bimbam sabbasovannayam subham*, would permit *tū* to be translated *satthuno*, *sabba-* or *subham*. However, Old Burmese *hruy 'a-ti su pu-rhā*, where '*a-ti*' means "only, nothing but (gold)," make it probable that Pyu *tū* corresponds to Pāli *sabba-* and should be translated "all of, entirely of, only of, nothing but."

A 14-16. BLAGDEN suggested that *tra: bā:* as a title applied to ecclesiastics might be the same as the word for "slave" with the addition of the honorific particle "used as deprecatory pronoun of the first person."³⁵ But as the idea of slave is so contradictory to that of an honorific particle, this is improbable. Since *tra:* may be from **tra:*, *trā:*, *tran:*, or *tram:*, it is probable that the Pyu words for "slave" and for an ecclesiastic are from quite different roots. BLAGDEN's second suggestion, deriving the word for an ecclesiastic from Bu. *tarā:* seems more plausible phonetically, but not entirely satisfactory semantically.

In the Pali text, *sumedhatta*, *bahussuto*, *pandito*, and *varampandito* are terms applied to one or another of these ecclesiastics. Another is referred to as *sampannasīlavā*, and as virtue was the end of their learning, it seems probable that the group was very largely composed of scholars. In the Talaing text, the word corresponding to Pyu *tra:* in this passage is *titcār* which BLAGDEN thought perhaps was an abbreviation or contraction of *tirla ātcār* "lord teacher" (EB 54). In the Burmese text, the word is *saṅgrī*, the last part of which means "great." Translating it "a high ecclesiastical dignitary," DUROISELLE derives it from *saṅghā + kṛī:*. But why not from *sañ* "to learn, teach" + *kṛī:* meaning "great scholar" or "great teacher"? The *tra:* occurring in this passage, therefor, probably meant neither "slave" nor "lord" nor "ecclesiastic" but "scholar" or "teacher."

³⁴ The reading is doubtful, as there is an unexplained left hook under the *t* and above the *ū* in both the A and B faces. BLAGDEN suggests *tk'a* as an alternative reading, of which the writer is skeptical, but can offer no solution.

³⁵ EB, 66.

A 14-15. See A 3-4 above.

A 17-18. See A 7-8 above, paragraphs 4, 5.

A 21. *dí bí: dí dā.* In A 8-9 when *dí* occurred before *bí:* it was found to make the verb passive. But as the word immediately following *bí:* is nearly always a verb root, the second *dí* in this sentence probably is also. It may mean something like "gather," or as BLAGDEN stated, "assemble, bring together." The only clue to the meaning of *dí* as a verb is in the Burmese text (this passage being left out of the Pāli text) where *yo* is the verb, translated by DUROISELLE "take, bring," and considered the equivalent of mod. Bu. *yū*.

In A 22, *dí* occurs again as a verb root, where it could mean "gathered (his thoughts)" but probably does not. A more plausible explanation is that *dí* in both A 21 and 22 means something like "get out, put out," i. e. the slaves of the three villages were gotten out, he got out (i. e. expressed) his aspiration. The *tc'ō*, in A 22, may correspond to Pāli *pañidhānam* "aspiration or prayer," for the object sometimes follows its verb, as in line 18.

A 22. *tc'ai* (see also preceding paragraph). Two different words are given for "pour," *tc'a* (A 18) and *tc'ai*. BLAGDEN translates, without comment, the first as "pour" and the second as "pour out." The context is somewhat different in each case. In the first, the water is poured onto the ground while in the second it is poured out to the cave-pagoda and Buddha. This raises the interesting question whether we are faced with a type of inflection or whether *i* is really a particle which has been joined to the preceding word for convenience in writing, as is frequently done in Pāli or Burmese. The only resemblance to inflection noticed in the inscription is *hlau* "dedication" or "dedication formula" and *hlí:* "to dedicate, to destine." But as inflection is comparatively rare in TB languages and almost entirely wanting in Southern Tibeto-Burmic, it seems more likely that *i* is a particle with some locative significance, perhaps "out" as BLAGDEN seems to suggest.

A 23. *plá:* may mean "attainment," Pāli *-pativedhāya*, lit. "piercing." If the Pyu translated the Pāli word literally, it may

be compared with Bahing *bla*, Katcinish *păla* "arrow." In this line and in B 14, *pa* could mean "cause."

A 24. See A 7-8, paragraph 4.

A 24-5. See A 7-8, paragraph 2.

A 25, B 27. *ga hñi tc'i ga bro pdq ma ta: nū: bū:* The only parallel found is Pāli *yo koci pāpasāṅkappo naro assaddhamānaso*. In the Pyu sentence, *ga . . . ga . . .* suggest the following words to be parallel expressions; they probably signify something other than "either . . . or . . ." as that is expressed by *la . . . la . . .* Then *hñi tc'i* and *bro pdq* would correspond to *pāpasāṅkappo* and *assaddhamānaso*. As adjectives seem to follow the noun (see GRAMMAR), *hñi* would mean "thought" and *tc'i* "evil" while *bro* would mean "mind" and *pdq* "unbelieving." In comparison, Bu. has *hnatc³⁶* "heart" which is much used in compounds referring to mental states, and Kukish *blui* "heart, mind," similarly employed.³⁷ For Pyu *tc'i*, cf. Lucei *tc'ia*, *tc'e* "bad."

The translation of *ma* in this sentence offers three possibilities. It was found above that it is usually a relative pronoun, and the sentence may mean "(he) who (with) evil thoughts and unbelieving mind. . . ." If this is the correct interpretation, *ma* would correspond roughly to *naro* in the Pāli text. But under PHONETICS it will be noticed that TB *-i appears sometimes to be represented in Pyu by -a, and we could compare the *ma* of this sentence with the TB root *mi* "man." If this is the correct translation, *ma* would correspond exactly to Pāli *naro*. Yet in A 26 below, *ma* seems to be the common TB negative *ma*, and if it is the meaning also in A 25, we shall have to revise the meaning tentatively attributed to *pdq* from "unbelieving" to "believing," *bro pdq ma* corresponding to *assaddhamānaso*.

³⁶ For *-ik > Bu. -atc, see Vocalism, pt. 2, p. 20, 22.

³⁷ This last comparison is offered with some hesitation, as the conditions under which TB *-l- sometimes is represented in Burmese by -r- but usually by -y- are not clear. The solution of this problem depends upon data from the Old Burmese inscriptions, most of which is not available to the writer, and upon the modern Burmish dialects, which have not been satisfactorily recorded. Until a solution is reached for Burmish, no solution will be possible for Pyu. As to the final -o of Pyu *bro*, cf. *-um > Pyu -o (see PHONETICS), from which we may deduce that *-uin would probably be represented in Pyu by -o.

For the balance of the above sentence, no interpretation can be suggested, except that *bū:* is optative and may belong with the following sentence.

A 26, B 28-9. *Medeya dā ba: dī tcí: tí tmū ma pā: tc'e tc'o:.* The corresponding Pāli sentence reads *Metteyyadipadindassa dassanam nāthigacchatū* (B *ādhigacchatū*) *ti.* As the verb “give” is used in many TB languages for “permit,” that is probably the meaning of *pā:* here, a surmise which is verified by the verbal particles *tc'e* for the present tense (and optative) and *tc'o:,* an exclamatory particle. We should expect to find a negative near the verb. *ma* is the most common negative in TB languages and it is found here directly preceding the verb, as in Burmese. *tí tmū* has already been interpreted by BLAGDEN as “in (the) presence.”

We may question whether *Medeya dā ba: dī* is not a poor approximation of *Metteyyadipadinda.* If it is, *tcí:* can only mean “attain, get, obtain,” judging from the other texts. But the tonal marks on the Pyu syllables following *Medeya* as well as the phonetic transcription *dā* for Pāli *-di-* (correctly *-dī-*) make this interpretation improbable. Moreover all the other texts have two verbs, “see” and “get, attain,” and two have some laudatory description of Metteyya. It can only be suggested here that *dā ba:* translate either Pāli *dīpad-inda*, or T. *trey* “excellent, exalted,” and *dī* and *tcí:* mean “see” or “sight” and “obtain, attain, get” respectively, as words of those meanings occur in all the other texts in that order: P. *dassanam . . . ādhigacchatū*; Bu. *pū ra* “behold get-or-obtain”; T. *nirñātc⁸⁸ . . . go'* “sight” . . . “obtain.”

Urn A. In Myazedi A 5-6 *tra* is found mentioned after the death of the queen: *ba: ma-ya: bī: hi ta dā ma-ya: u tra* while in Urn A it is mentioned after the death of the king: *tdā: ba: u hi tra.* Although there is nothing in the Pāli text to indicate that any property of the queen was referred to, the Burmese text has *tan-tcā* which JUDSON translated “an ornament or article of embellishment; a tool, implement, utensil; an appendage of any kind”; while the Talaing has *kiryā* which BLAGDEN⁸⁹ compared with mod. Talaing

⁸⁸ From *nātc* “to see.”

⁸⁹ 1909, p. 1032.

kriyyā "an article of furniture or dress," corresponding to Bu. *kriyā*, *kariya* "appendages, utensils; deed, action." The Burmese consider it derived from Pāli *kiriya* or Sanskrit *kriyā* "action."

While the translation of *tra* in the Myazedi inscription as "goods, ornaments" appears safe, one may doubt that this word had the same meaning in Urn A inscription.⁴⁰ It is unlikely that it refers to the gift of the king's goods to another, as this would have to be told in the next two unknown words, although it would not be impossible in a funerary style trimmed to essentials. But even at that ancient date, the heirs probably dissimulated their interest in the inheritance to the extent at least, of not mentioning it before the name of the king. And for the same reason we may discount the possibility of its referring to ornaments buried with the charred bones, such as DUROISSELLE found in a nearby copper urn (*ARASI, BC*, 1913, 13, 16).

The most plausible explanation is that *tra* translated the Burmese word in both its meanings, "appendages, utensils" and "deed, action," and that the first meaning applied in the Myazedi inscription, but the second in Urn A inscription, perhaps lauding the king's good deeds.

Although tentatively accepting BLAGDEN's partial identification⁴¹ of *kni* as "seven" and *hní* of Urn B 1 as "two," yet their phonetic correspondence with TB languages in general would be better if the meanings were reversed; i. e., if *kni* meant, not "seven," but "two" it would correspond phonetically with O. B. *gnyis*, the *g-* prefix of Old Bodish being represented in Naga languages by *k-* or *k'-*. And on the other hand, *hní*,⁴² which BLAGDEN thought might mean "two," corresponds better phonetically with TB **snyis* "seven."⁴³

⁴⁰ BLAGDEN was doubtful of the subscript *r* in this word. The curve to the left is only slightly shorter than the *r* in *-vikrama* on Urn D 1. Moreover there is no other subscript letter in the urns which it resembles, so that his transliteration of the symbol is certain.

⁴¹ EI 130.

⁴² On Urn B 1.

⁴³ This reconstruction is approximate as the determination of original sibilants and affricates is a difficult problem (see "Vocalism I," 310, n. 20), and this root does not occur in Old Bodish, but is the most common Tibeto-Burmic root for "seven." The section on PHONETICS shows that at least some sibilants became *h* in Pyu, and it seems probable that this occurred with the original **s-* or **c-* of this root.

tí “on (the fourth day).” *ta* “perfect,”⁴⁴ of which the verb is probably *kūi*, “aged”?

tdq: bā: u ru kle: yā. In Myazedi *yā* means “this,” but let us guess that in Old Pyu, when at the end of a sentence at least, it meant “here.” We should then have “king honorific his bones . . . here.” The approximate meaning of the unknown word becomes obvious, and in Burmese is found *kyin:* “to sleep,” a respectful term at present usually applied to Buddhist priests, but in comp. with *-on:* or *-wap* means “to remain in a state of repose.” The TB form would therefor be **klen:*, or perhaps *klen:*⁴⁵

Urn B 1. BLAGDEN expressed some doubt that *hi* meant “die” or “death” in the urn inscriptions. But it is the only meaning found for the word in the Myazedi inscription and is the verb most to be expected on a funerary urn. In this inscription, *hi* is replaced by (*b'ū*). Since, at a later date, the kings of Pagan seldom died in bed, we might guess that King Sihavikrama was assassinated. But it seems unlikely that either his successor or his relatives would advertise the fact. More likely is that it is a euphuism for “die.”

Halingyi. *bā: dā wī ti m (l) i u sa: . . . bā:* is the honorific and we should expect some title or name to follow. The following two syllables look suspiciously like *-dewī* in the Myazedi inscription, an attempt to transcribe P. *devī*. We may guess that the next three aksaras are the queen’s name, *Timli*, although it does not look like anything either Aryan or Pyu. The passage would then read “(The) honorable queen *Timli* her son.”

1. 3. *bā: (nū) ba hi.* If the reading *nū* is correct, it may be compared with Kukish *nū* “mother” and translate the passage “honorable mother . . . die.” *ba* was transcribed tentatively in inscription E, also before *hi*; and it is found in A 1 of the Myazedi inscription, where BLAGDEN believed the reference was to Tathāgata going to his parinirvāṇa. It seems therefore to have something to do with dying or the deceased. We may surmise that the sense of the inscription is that the son erected this monument to his mother, Queen T-, who died.

⁴⁴ See above. ⁴⁵ For TB **-e-* > Bu. *-i-*, see “Vocalism II,” Table 11, p. 18.

Urn E. Some of the words occurring in this inscription will be found in the vocabulary.

TRANSCRIPTION OF ARYAN WORDS

The king of Pagan had conquered Thaton, the Talaing capital, some fifty years before the Myazedi inscription was written, in order to get sets of the Tripitaka. The Burmese then got their Indo-Aryan lore second hand from the Talaings who had received it from Indo-Aryan traders along the coast. The kings probably capitalized on their superficial knowledge of strange tongues something like California real estate promoters who, when they chose names like El Modena, Verdemont, or Belle Vista, little realized or cared whether they shocked the sensitive souls of linguists. Consequently we find many Pali-Sanskrit hybrids in the non-Aryan languages of the inscriptions.⁴⁶

The Pyu borrowings should be considered in connection with similar borrowings from Aryan by Talaing and Burmese:

From the urns:

1. Sk. Harivikrama⁴⁷

Py. Harivikrama

⁴⁶ Taw Sein Ko has suggested that both Sanskrit and Pāli versions of the Buddhist scriptures coexisted in India and Burma from the fifth to the seventh centuries, and that the Pāli version was superceded by the Sanskrit from the eighth to the 11th centuries (*ARASI, Burma Circle*, 1912, p. 12). If this statement is correct, it would account for the note made by Charles DUROISELLE that "from the earliest known times, the Burmese have adopted and have retained up to the present, a very large number of words clearly taken from the Sanskrit, not from the Pali"; he cited examples in *The Derivation of Prome, JBRs*, 2 (1912), p. 97. It might also explain BLAGDEN's remark, in commenting on Burmese and Mon *saruwañutañāñ*, the "Sanskritized forms are common in both Mon and Burmese, both ancient and modern."

The Pāli of the inscription is not without errors. One of the most notable is the use of dentals for cerebrals: *sunātha* for *suñātha*, *byāvato* for *byāvaṭo*, *māranantika* for *mārañantika*-, *tutthahattho* for -*haṭṭho*, etc. If the dentals of the Tibeto-Burmic languages were apicalalveolar then as they are today in Burmese, we might suspect that the author of the Pāli text was not an Aryan. The use of a short vowel for a long is quite common: *devi* for *devī*, *Tilokavaṭañsikā* for *Tilokāvaṭañsikā*, -*tva* frequently for the gerund, etc. There are other errors such as *upadduvām* for *upaddavām*. But only one Sanskritized tatsama has been noted, *śrī* for *siri* or *siri*.

⁴⁷ HARVEY has suggested that the Vikrama were a dynasty of Indian or half-Indian blood (*op cit.*, 12).

2. Sk. Simha-vikrama

P. Sīha-

Py. Sihavikrama

3. Sk. Sūrya-vikrama

P. Suriya-

Py. Sūriya-vikrama

From the Myazedi inscription:

4. P. Arimaddana- . . . pure (A 5)

T. Arimaddanapur (B 3)

B. Arimaddanapur (A 3)

Py. Rimadhanabū (AB 2)

5. P. Rājakumāro (A 9)

Rājakumāra- (B 2)

T. Rādjakumār (A 6, 9-10,
21, B 14)

B. Rādjakumār (A 27)

Py. Radjaguma (A 4, 6, 8,
B 4, 9, 19, 22)

6. P. Mahāthero (A 25, B 22-3)

T. Mhāthe . . (B 23)

B. Mahāther (A 23, B 19)

Py. Mahaṭhe (A 15)
Mhaṭhe (B 15)7. P. Muggaliputtako (B 23)⁴⁸T. Muggaliputtatissatther
(A 19, B 24)B. Muggaliputtatissatther
(A 23, B 20)Py. Mūgalubūdadisaṭhe (A 15)
Mūgalubūdīsaṭhe (B 15)

8. P. Brahmaṇpalo (A 27)

T. Brahmapāl (A 20)

B. Brahmapāl (A 24, B 21-2)

Py. Wrahmaba (AB 16)

⁴⁸ There is a slight transverse crack across the face, but all the characters are unmistakable.

9. P. Sono (B 25)⁴⁹
 T. Son (A 20)
 B. Son (A 25)⁵⁰
 Py. Sū (A 16, B 17)
10. Sk. sarvajñatājñāna
 P. sabbaññutāññāna
 sabbaññutaññāṇa (A 34)
 T. sarwyaññutaññāṇ (B 39)
 sarwyaññu . . . ḥ (A 29-30)
 B. sarwyaññutaññāṇ (B 30)
 Py. saweñodeñe (A 23)
 . . weñodeñe (B 24)
11. P. Sumedho . . . pañđito (A 26)
 T. Sumedhapañđit (A 19)
 B. Sumedhapañđit (A 24)
 Py. Sūmedhabadí (A 15)
 ??medhaḥadí (B 16)
12. P. Saṅghasenavho varapañđito (A 28)
 Saṅghasennavho varapañđito (B 26)
 T. Saṅghasenawarapañđit (A 21)
 B. Saṅghasenawarapañđit (B 21-2)
 Py. Sagasiwṛabadi (A 17)
 Sagusiwṛabadi (B 17)
13. P. Tibhuvanādiceo (A 6) dhammarājassa (B 14)
 T. Tribhuwanādityadhammarādj (A 3-4)
 B. Tribhuwanādityadhammarādj (A 4, B 3)
 Py. Tribhuwañadítiyadhamaradja (A 3)
 Tri . . uwanadítiyadhamaradja (B 2-3)
14. P. Metteyya- (A 40)
 Mittiyya- (B 39)⁵¹
 T. Mettey (A 33)
 B. Mittiyā (A 39)

⁴⁹ The letters are clear, but there are some unexplained marks which are probably scratches.

⁵⁰ The virāma is light, but not indistinct.

⁵¹ Wrongly transcribed on p. 48, *EB*, due to typographical error. Footnote 6, p. 49, gives it correctly.

- Mittiryā (B 33)
- Py. Medeyā (A 26, B 28)
15. Sk. sthāpanā
 P. ṭhapanā
 T. ṭhāpanā (A 24)
 thāpa . . (B 36)
 B. thāpanā (A 28)
- Py. stabana (A 19)
 staṭana (B 19)
16. P. saṅgha
 Py. sagha (AB 17)
17. P. Tathāgata
 Py. Dathagāda (AB 1)
18. P. Buḍḍhādikam (B 1)
 T. Buḍḍhāya (A 1)
 Buddha (A 1)
 B. Buddha (B 1)
 Py. Būḍha (A 10, 11)⁵²
 Būḍha (B 11)
19. Sk. pratimā
 P. paṭimā
 Py. bradima (B 10)
20. Sk. śrī
 P. sirī
 siri
 śrī (AB 1)
 T. śrī (A 1, 3)
 B. śrī (AB 1)
 Py. siri (A 1)
21. P. Tilokāvaṭāṁsikā
 devi . . . Tilokavaṭāṁsikā (A 7)⁵³
 devī . . . Tilokava . . . kā (B 6)
 T. Trileokawaṭāṁsakādewī (A 4-5)⁵⁴

⁵² All Pyu forms refer, not to Buddha, but to an image of Buddha.

⁵³ The niggahita is not visible in the plate, but DUROISELLE states that it is quite distinct on the stone.

⁵⁴ The “thrust out” of *o* appears to have been absent-mindedly written at the end of one line and again at the beginning of the next, leaving the reading -eo-. The *l* is, however, dim.

- ... lokawatamsakādewi (B 4-5)
- B. Trilokawaṭāṁśakādewī (A 6)
- Py. Trilogawāḍasagadewī (A 4)
Trilogawadasagadewī (B 3-4)
22. P. Brahmadevo (A 27, B 25)
- T. Brahmadiw (A 20)
- B. Brahmadiw (B 21)
- Py. Wrahmadeyo: (B 16)
Wradēyo: (A 16)
23. Sk. prajñā
- P. paññā
- B. pradjñā (A 35)⁵⁵
prañdjā (B 30)
- Py. breñe (A 23)

Tibeto-Burmic *-e- has become -i- in written Burmese.⁵⁶ This change was apparently taking place at the time the Myazedi inscription was written for we find i in the Burmese transcriptions of Nos. 14 and 22. As medial e occurs in the Talaing of the inscriptions and in written Talaing of today, this tendency evidently did not occur in that language and T. *Brahmadiw* was probably borrowed from Burmese.⁵⁷

Regarding the Old Pyu words, we need only note that final -a was preserved and that even in that period Pāli and Sanskrit were compounded in the same word.

The Late Pyu borrowings may be divided into two classes: those which Pyu borrowed from Burmese or Talaing (Nos. 4-12) which had already dropped the final vowel in the latter languages,⁵⁸ and those where Pyu preserved the final vowel (Nos.

⁵⁵ Or *pradjñyā?*

⁵⁶ See "Vocalism, II," p. 18.

⁵⁷ The shift from *-e- to -i- may have been first to *-ei- and *Brahmadevo* > **Brahmadeivo* > Pyu *Wrahmadeyo:*. But as this tendency is not noted in Pyu in any other word, *Wrahmadeyo:* probably originated by popular analogy with Pāli *brahmadeyya* "excellent or royal gift."

⁵⁸ Pyu probably also took the name of the king from Burmese. The final -a of the Pyu word only indicates that, while the Pyu transformed a final stop consonant of Burmese into a glottal stop, they could not do that with a final affricate, but had to add -a in order to pronounce it.

Perhaps also belonging in the same group is Pyu 'Ari, or *Ari* (the initial is found nowhere else in Pyu), corresponding to Bu. 'Ari. BLAGDEN translated it as the

14-23). The difference may have been due to one or both of two causes: (1) the first set of words ended in stem vowel *-a* or *N.-o* in Pāli while the second ended in *-i*, *-ī*, or *-ā* (the latter either in Pāli, Talaing, or Burmese) in most instances; or (2) all of the first group except No. 10 are names of persons or places existing at that time, while all of those of the second groups except Nos. 21 and 22 were words connected with Buddhist worship. The two groups of words may have been introduced into the language at different times and perhaps from different sources.

Further evidence of the distinction between the two groups of words is that an unaspirated surd stop has generally been preserved before *r* or *y*: Nos. 1-3, 13, 21. The first three belong to Old Pyu on which there is not enough material for a phonetic analysis. But the last two words were the names of a Burmese king and queen and must necessarily belong to the period of Burmese borrowings, i. e. Late Pyu. But the only examples of an Aryan unaspirated surd stop before *r* in the second group of words show *pr-* became *br-* (Nos. 19, 23). We may guess that sometime between the dynasty of the Vikramas and the time of the Myazedi inscription, these surd stops became sonants.

The foreign words borrowed by Pyu through Burmese or Talaing (Nos. 4-12), which had already lost the original final vowel of Pāli and therefore ended in a consonant in those non-Aryan languages, dropped this final consonant in Pyu. When this final consonant in Burmese or Talaing was a continuant (in the examples *-r*, *-l*, *-n*, *-ñ*), it dropped without trace in Pyu (Nos. 4-10). The two examples of a final stop consonant in Burmese and Talaing (Nos. 11, 12) replace it with (:) . From such descriptions as have

“(Buddha) Ariya (Metteya).” But if this were a Burmicized form of *Ariya*, one would expect the dropping of the final vowel to result in *'Ariy*. As this is not the Burmese form, one may ask whether the epithet applied to the Metteyya was not a relic of the Mahāyānism with its tantric influences, of which the indigo-robed Aris were the priests. Ari has been derived from *Ariya*, and on the other hand the correct spelling of the Burmese word has been said to be *Arañ*, *Araññ*, corresponding to Pāli *Araññaka*. But none of the discussion informs the reader as to the earliest form of the Burmese word, which is the decisive point. For the Aris, see LOUIS FINOT, *Un nouveau document sur le Bouddhisme birman*, JA, ser. 10, vol. 20, 121-35 (1912); The Ari of Pagan, JBRs, 8, 75-8 (1913) (reprint from *Rangoon Gazette*); DUROISELLE, ARASI, BC, 1913, p. 18 ff.; 1916, p. 12-3; 1917, p. 34-5; review of DUROISELLE, 1916, by G. H. LUCE, JBRs, 8, 53-6, (1918); Maung TIN, Derivation of ‘Ari,’ JBRs, 8, 155-6.

been given of the phonetics of ST languages, original final stop consonants in those languages are frequently replaced by a glottal stop, as in modern Burmese.⁵⁹ And we may suspect that either the superscript or subscript dot in these loan words represents the glottal stop. From the occurrence of the subscript dot with aksaras where no final stop consonant occurs (Nos. 13, 14, 17, 21, 22), we may eliminate it as a symbol for the glottal stop. For (·) in native words, see PHONETICS.

The subscript dot long presented a baffling problem. A similar subscript circle is employed in Burmese. In spoken Burmese, words so marked have vowels of medium length (i. e. shorter than long vowels, but longer than those of words closed with the glottal stop), spoken with an "intermittent" or "creaky" voice, and terminated by a weak closure of the glottis, as in the words *hn̩qñ*, *tcoñ*, *tcwñ*.⁶⁰ Identical phonetic phenomena occur when the written word ends in a short vowel, although no subscript circle is written, as in *pră*, *hră*, *kă*, *hmă*.⁶¹

As Burmese adopted, sometime after the Myazedi inscription, a visarga corresponding to the Pyu visarga apparently to denote the same tone (see PHONETICS), one might infer that when Burmese adopted the subscript circle it represented the same tonal or phonetic phenomenon as in Pyu. And as the Burmese subscript circle indicates a shortened vowel, one might conclude that the subscript dot of Pyu denoted something similar, particularly as it is found ten times under a vowel which was short in Pāli but adjacent to a long vowel in the corresponding Pāli word, or one which might have been made long in Pyu by compensatory lengthening (Nos. 7, 11-14, 17, 21), and in the other instances, except one, the dot occurs under aksaras which were sometimes recorded long or short in Pāli, Talaing, or Burmese.

However, not all the vowels which would be short in these Aryan loan words, even assuming compensatory lengthening in

⁵⁹ See Lilius E. ARMSTRONG and Pe Maung TIN, A Burmese Phonetic Reader, London, 1925, p. 22.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, 21-2, 4. The closure of the glottis probably begins during the pronunciation of the vowel and progresses gradually, giving the intermittent or creaky sound Armstrong referred to.

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, 21-2, 12, 14.

Pyu, are marked short. And if *ū* represented a long vowel as BLAGDEN seemed to believe, the subscript dot in such words as *dū*, *tdū*, *pdū* would present a serious difficulty to any theory that it represented a short vowel. Moreover, if we note the initials of the syllables in which the subscript dot occurs in Aryan loan words, we get the following results: *g* twice, *v* $3\frac{1}{2}$ times,⁶² *d* $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, *y* once. If we examine the initials in the Pyu words in the VOCABULARY, we find *g* twice, one of these probably a loan-word from Aryan, the other in Halingyi inscription which is uncertain; *w* before the final vowel in *twā*, *p'wū* twice; *d* 15 times.⁶³ The subscript dot occurs with every *d* initial except *di* in Halingyi and *k(d)i* in urn A, neither or which can therefor be considered certain, and once in Myazedi.

If we note the representation of Aryan stop consonants, except those before *r* or *y* or after *s*, some idea of the function of the subscript dot may be gained. We find Pāli *k* represented by *g* in Nos. 5, 21 (twice); *t* by *d* in Nos. 7 (twice), 10, 14, 17 (twice), 19; *t* by *d* in No. 21; *p* by *b* in Nos. 4, 7, 8, 11 ($\frac{1}{2}$), 12, 15 ($\frac{1}{2}$), but *p* by *b* Nos. 11 ($\frac{1}{2}$), 15 ($\frac{1}{2}$). In the consideration of the sonant stop consonants as represented in Pyu, no consideration will be taken here of aspirated sonant stops where they were correctly transcribed in Pyu, to which they were foreign. Where the subscript dot occurs, it will be placed under the consonant here. We find Pāli *g* represented by *g* in Nos. 7, 17; *gh* by *g* in No. 12; *d* by *d* in Nos. 13 ($\frac{1}{2}$), 21, 22; *d* by *d* in No. 13 ($\frac{1}{2}$); and in the two faces of the Pyu inscription *Būdha* occurs seven times against *Budha* once.

As there is no agreement on any word between the two faces in representing a Pāli surd with a subscript dot in Pyu or in representing a Pāli unaspirated sonant stop without the subscript dot, four errors out of 54 such stops the stonecutters had to engrave do not seem excessive.

Consequently we may conclude that the Pyu represented Pāli surd stops ordinarily by the corresponding sonant stops, and Pāli

⁶² Where it is found under a letter of a Pāli loanword in one face but not in the other, it is considered as half an occurrence.

⁶³ Prefixed consonants are not considered as initials, of course.

sonant stops with a subscript dot for *g* and *d*, and a symbol that looks like a reversed 'B or a θ for *b*. Too many unknown factors would be involved in venturing any deductions regarding the actual pronunciation of these phonemes in Pyu. Also whether undotted *w* and *y* represented surds, or semi-sonants, must be left an open question. At any rate, it seems certain that the subscript dots do not represent short vowels, as the writer first surmised; and if the present solution is more in accord with the facts, it is due to the searching criticism by Professors STURTEVANT and EDGERTON of the writer's earlier theory.

To return to the phonetics of Aryan loan-words, we may note that consonantal clusters (except consonant + *r*, *s-* + consonant, or *hm*), including doubled consonants, dropped the first consonant (Nos. 4, 7, 10, 11, 12 (twice), 13, 14 (twice), 16, 18, 21, 23). Another example is the village name of unknown origin, Pyu *Samanalo*; Burmese and Talaing *Sakmunalo-* (the final consonant is uncertain).

A palatal nasal in Pyu changes *a* or *ā* of the other languages to *e* (Nos. 10 [twice], 23).

Except before *r* or *y* (for which see above), un aspirated surd stops of the other languages are recorded as un aspirated sonants in Pyu (Nos. 4, 5, 7 (twice), 8, 10-12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21 (thrice)). This change is also found in the village name which is *Rapāy* in Talaing and Burmese, but *Rabai* in Pyu (A 20, B 21).

Other changes seem to have been *br-* > *wr-* (Nos. 8, 22); *sth-* > *st-* (No. 15).

PHONETICS

If the known borrowings from Sanskrit, Pali, and Talaing are eliminated, the most noticeable feature of the Pyu phonetic system is the almost total lack of aspirates, except for *tc'* as initial, and *t'* apparently fluctuating with *t* as *t'mū:* and *tmū* "presence, *t'a dā* and *ta dā*. All Sino-Tibetan languages except Pyu have a very extensive list of surd aspirates. But in Pyu they are so rare that any word having one is suspect of borrowing. The only Pyu word with aspirated initial which has been found to compare with a similar word in some other TB language is *p'wu* "day."

Contrasting with this lack of surd aspirates is the extensive representation of sonant stops. Burmese probably only had original *b'*, Kukish *b* and *d*.⁶⁴ But Pyu seems to have had them all, agreeing in this respect with Bodic.⁶⁵ Whether the original surd aspirates became unaspirated surds or sonants in Pyu cannot be determined at present.

Like Burmese, Pyu has only one spirant, *s*. It also has only one affricate, *tc'*; but Burmese has the complete palatal varga and Old Bodish⁶⁶ has the complete *tc* and *ts* vargas except for the nasal of the latter series.

Pyu has lost all original final consonants, like a number of scattered Tibeto-Burmic languages such as Northern Loloish and Angami. Original final stop consonants were probably replaced in Pyu by a glottal stop represented by the anusvāra, as *ta* "one," Bu. *tatc*, O. B. *gtcig*; *hní* "two," Bu. *hnatc*; *hra* "eight," Bu. *hratc*; *hñí* "thought" (n.), Bu. *hnatc* "heart." At the time of the Myazedi inscription, Burmese preserved its final consonants, and it may have been due to Pyu influence that these were dropped.

The Pyu visarga probably denotes the falling tone as in Burmese, to which it corresponds: *sa*: "son," Bu. *sa*:; *ma-ya*: "queen," Bu. *ma-yā*: "wife," O. Bu. *ma-yā* "queen"; *pá*: "give," Bu. *pe*:; *ho*: "three," Bu. *sum*:; *tc'a*: "likeness," Bu. *'a-tc'an*:. As the Burmese did not employ this sign at the time of the Myazedi inscription, they may have taken it from the Pyu, at a later date.

Where there is no tone mark in Burmese, there is none in Pyu: *-mī* "name," Bu. *-mañ*; *hi* "die," Bu. *sě*; *la* "month," Bu. *lă*; *bo* "form; mold," Bu. *pum*.

Where the TB root ended in **-s*, the corresponding Pyu word seems not to have had the tone mark to be expected from the Burmese form according to the above rules: *ru* "bone," O. B.

⁶⁴ Chinese had a complete list of sonant stops, which by KARLGREN's system are recorded as sonant aspirates. However, all Sino-Tibetan languages probably slightly aspirated their initial sonant stops, but with the possible exception of Bu. *b'*, this aspiration has no importance for comparative purposes.

⁶⁵ Bodic includes most of the languages of Tibet and the Himalaya region.

⁶⁶ "Classical Tibetan."

⁶⁷ For additional evidence, see Aryan loan-words.

rus-pa (but Bu. *'ă-rui:*); *kni* “seven,” TB **snyis* (but Bu. *k'ū-nate*). .

Some apparent exceptions to tonal correspondences to Burmese may be explained on other grounds. Thus *pí-na*, *na* “five” should be *pi-na:*, *na:*; to correspond to Bu. *na:*; and *tkūo* “nine” should be *tkūo:* to correspond to Bu. *kui:*. But I shall show in another paper that original prefixed consonants caused the falling tone in Burmese. These prefixes have almost entirely disappeared in Burmese, but they are preserved in the two above numerals in Pyu. We may infer from this that it was the loss of the prefixes that caused the falling tone in Burmese.

The word for “year” should be *sni* instead of *sni:* if it corresponded to Bu. *hnatc*; but it corresponds instead to a root which is not well authenticated in the O. B. *k'a-niin*, *na-niin* “last year,” Nung, Tsangla ⁶⁸ *niñ* “year.” The Pyu tone is permissible with the final found in Old Bodish, not with the one found in Burmese.

Only three tonal exceptions seem unexplainable: *pli* “grandchild,” which should be *pli:* if it corresponds of Bu. *mre:*; *pri*: “city,” which should be *pri* to correspond to Bu. *prañ*; and *pla* “four,” for which no sure explanation can be offered for a final glottal stop.

A falling tone terminated with a glottal stop, such as *pá:* “give” supposes according to the above inductions, is not known to exist in Tibeto-Burmic. But the root *pi*, *bi* “give” is so general in Tibeto-Burmic, that the writer has been reluctant to consider Kukish *pek* “give” as an unrelated root, although unable to explain its errant vowel and final. Although not entirely clarifying the matter, the Pyu word *pá:* does not seem to offer an important connecting link. Its falling tone is what we should expect from a comparison with Bu. *pe:*, and its final glottal stop is what we should expect from Kukish *pek*.

The following phonetic equations may be suggested: ⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Tsangla is the language of the Bodish group which is most closely related to Old Bodish.

⁶⁹ For the phonetic equivalences of Old Bodish, Burmese and Kukish (Lucei), see Vocalism.

Final *-a

	Pyu	Bu.	O. B.	Nung Kukish
five	<i>pí-na</i> ,	<i>ńa</i>	<i>ńa:</i>	<i>lńa</i>
son		<i>sa:</i>	<i>sa:</i>	<i>*p-ŕna</i>
queen	<i>ma-ya:</i>	<i>ma-ya:</i>	"wife"	
this		<i>yá</i>		<i>ya</i>
good	<i>pra</i>			<i>*p'ra</i>
rel. pron.	<i>ma</i>			<i>ma</i> "3d pers. pron."

TB *-a = Pyu -a.

Final *-i

to die	<i>hi</i>	<i>sě</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>ti</i>
to speak	<i>td̄i:</i>			<i>ti</i>
grandchild	<i>pli</i>	<i>mre:</i>	<i>p'ə-lí</i>	

TB *-i = Pyu -i.

Final *-u

3d pers. pron.	<i>u</i>		<i>hhu</i>	"this"
ten	<i>sū</i>		<i>btcu</i>	
bone	<i>ru</i>	<i>'ă-rui:⁷⁰</i>	<i>rus-pa</i>	
kinsman	<i>sru:</i>		<i>sru</i>	"mother's sister"

TB *-u = Pyu -u.

Final *-wa

	Pyu	Bu.	O. B.	Kukish
nine	<i>tkūo</i>		<i>go</i> ⁷¹	<i>kua</i>
village	<i>o</i>	<i>rwa</i>		<i>k'ua</i>

TB *-wa = Pyu -o ?

⁷⁰ For the comparison of this final with Bu. -ui, note also Pyu -wū: of *Dji-wū*; of village name (B 21), with O. Bu. *Hen-buiw* (A 31), and what looks like *Ten-buiw* (B 26), although the *T* may be due to a scratch across the top of an original *H*. The Talaing has an impossible transcription of this word, the first part of which looks like *ńa:h-*, and the last part (in B 34) like *gir-uy*, perhaps for *-b'ui-uy*.

⁷¹ "Nine" in the nineties.

⁷² The reading for this word "is a mere guess founded on its shape" (BLAGDEN,

Final *-wi

	Pyu	Bu.	Kukish
water	<i>td̥y</i>		<i>tui</i>
day	<i>p̥w̥y</i>	* <i>pwe</i> “sun” ⁷³	
		TB *-wi = Pyu -u ?	

Final *-in

	Pyu	Bu.	O. B.
year	<i>sni:</i>	<i>hnatc</i>	<i>nin</i>
name	<i>mī</i>	- <i>mañ</i>	<i>min</i>
city	<i>pri:</i>	<i>prañ</i> “country”	
		TB *-in = Pyu -i.	

Final *-um

	Pyu	Bu.	O. B.
three	<i>ho:</i>	<i>sum:</i>	<i>gsum</i>
shape	<i>bo</i>	<i>pum</i>	
		TB *-um = Pyu -o ? ⁷⁴	

In view of the statements in the last paragraph preceding these tables, we may tentatively group together the following entries on the theory that they all originally had medial *-i-* (except the word for “eight” which had *-ya-* originally), and ended in a stop consonant.

Medial *-i- + stops

	Pyu	Bu.	O. B.	Kukish
one	<i>ta</i>	<i>tatc</i>	<i>gtcig</i>	
eight	<i>hra</i>	<i>hratc</i>	(<i>brgyad</i>)	

⁷³ Based on Atsi, Lashi *pwi*, Maru *pa* “sun.”

⁷⁴ If the correlation of Pyu *bro* and Kukish *bluñ* “mind” is correct, we may suppose that TB *-u- + nasal > Pyu -o.

	Pyu	Bu.	O. B.	Kukish
two	<i>hní</i>	<i>hnatc</i>	(<i>gnyis</i>)	
thought	<i>hñí</i>	<i>hnate</i> “heart”	(<i>snyin</i>)	
give	<i>pá:</i>	<i>pe:</i>	<i>byi-n</i>	<i>pek'</i>
four	* <i>bjli</i> <i>pla</i>	<i>le:</i>	<i>bji</i>	

As there are so many unknown factors involved, this table is necessarily exploratory rather than conclusive. Suffixes have seldom been found in ST languages, but a number of them have apparently been added in the words in this table. The final *-n* in the O. B. word for “give” is not part of the original TB root, as it occurs nowhere outside of Bodish dialects; and some Kukish dialects have *pi* for “give” where others have *pek'*. A final stop consonant has been recorded on the word for “four” in some of the Northern Burmish dialects, but the writer does not consider the present record entirely trustworthy phonetically. The original final of the Bu. word for “two” was *-*ik*.⁷⁵ We draw the following tentative conclusion:

TB *-i- + stop consonant = Pyu -i after initial *n* or *ñ*, =-a after other initials. If the last two entries prove not to belong here, we might equate Bu. -*atc* with the latter part of the above equation.

Sibilant initial

	Pyu	Bu.	O. B.
to die	<i>hi</i>	<i>sě</i>	<i>ci</i>
three	<i>ho:</i>	<i>sum:</i>	<i>gsum</i>

TB sibilant initial = Pyu *h*-?

Pyu *td-*

	Pyu	Kukish
water	<i>tdñ</i>	<i>tui</i> ⁷⁶
speak	<i>tdi:</i>	<i>ti</i>

Pyu *td-* = Kukish *t*-?

⁷⁵ See “Vocalism, II,” Table 14, no. 5, and p. 21, note 5.

⁷⁶ But Kwoireng *ta-dwi*, Phadang *tun-dui*.

Tables might be made of the nasal initials, but a glance at the above table will indicate they are preserved in Pyu. The question of the equivalents for stop consonants is too involved with the complicated problem of original sonancy to discuss for a language so little known as Pyu. The indications are that the original stop consonants are preserved in Pyu, either as they were originally or with sonancy reversed.⁷⁷

PREFIXES

The first three numerals do not seem to have had the **k-* prefix (O. B. *g-*).⁷⁸ But

pla "four," O. B. *bji* (< **bjli*), Bu. *le:*.
pí-na "five," K. **p-rña*, O. B. *lna*, Bu. *nā:*.
tru "six," O. B. *d-rug*, Chinese *liuk* < **ruk*.
tkūo "nine," O. B. *d-gu*, Bu. *kui:*.

There are many other instances of prefixes in Pyu, as the vocabulary will show, for which cognates have not been found. *t-* prefix, which occurs in no other TB language before initial *d*, may be a clew to the falling tone in certain Burmese words where the tone has not been accounted for. The appearance of *s-* and *h-* prefix in the same language is also found in no other TB language and may prove of future importance.

COMPARISSON WITH KARENIC

No comparisons have been given above between Pyu and the Karenic languages because sometimes phonetically, but especially tonally, they do not compare well. Yet the possibility of a close relationship between Pyu and Karenic should not be overlooked. According to MASON, writing about 1858, the Karens stated they came from Toungoo, just to the east of Prome, the approximate center of the Pyu, while the Sgaws extended to Prome. Some of

⁷⁷ In addition to the above comparisons, note *la* "month," Bu. *lă*, O. B. *zla-ba*, Lucei *t'la*; *sri*: "to reign" (?), O. Bu. *srwin* "lord, majesty," *srwan* "lord, king," Bu. *'ā-hrañ* "lord" (SEIDENSTÜCKER 14); *ḥā*: honorific, Bu. *pā* respectful (but used as a verbal affix), or O. Bu. *pāy*; *hlau* "dedication," Bu. *hlū* "to give for religious purposes."

⁷⁸ Unless the suggestion made under Urn A, ADDITIONAL INTERPRETATIONS, should prove to be correct.

the phonetic differences between Pyu and Karenic are peculiar to the latter and to no other TB language, and may be late. The tonal distinctions of the Karenic languages are complex and not fully understood. Consequently these differences cannot be considered as precluding the possibility of a close relationship between Pyu and Karenic. Superficially they look very similar, as the following comparisons between Pyu and Pwo (unless otherwise specified) show:

Pyu	Pwo	Pyu	Pwo
tā “one”	tā (Sgaw)	hi “die”	θī ⁴
hní “two”	nī ⁴	si “speak, call (by name)”	sī ⁶ “say”
ho: “three”	θā ⁸		
plā “four”	li	sa: “son”	θa-baɪ̯ (Mason; Sg. θa-sa; Bwe θa-sai)
pi-na “five”	yai < *nai		Mopwa ta-sa,
tru “six”	tcū ⁴		
kni “seven”	nwi ⁴		
hra “eight”	tco ⁶	t'a “iron”	tā ⁶
tkuo “nine”	-k'wī ⁴	la “month”	lā ²
sū “ten”	-s'ī ⁴	o “village”	tā-wā ⁸
sni: “year”	nī ¹⁰	pā: “give”	p'e ³
mī “name”	mī ⁹	tdū “water”	tī ⁴
pli “grandson”	li (Sgaw)	p'wū “day”	-pā ⁶ “light” (Sgaw)

Karenic has lost prefixes preserved in Pyu, but some Karenic languages preserve traces of final nasals lost in Pyu. Consequently Pyu cannot be considered the ancestor of the Karenic languages, but rather as perhaps their closest relative.

GRAMMAR

Nouns.—No indications of grammatical categories of gender or number have been found. Pyu seems to have had no nominative, agentive, and accusative. A locative “in” (and perhaps dative) preposition *tí*, and a locative postposition *lo:* “in, on” were employed. The genitive always precedes the governing noun, either directly, as *tra: o ho:* “slave villages three,” “three villages

of slaves," or more often with the nominative-genitive of the third person pronoun intervening, as *ma-ya: u sa:* "queen her son," "queen's son." Similar to the last, is the dative *Radjaguma u-wā* "Rājakumāra him-to," "(gave) to Rājakumāra," employing the dative of the third person pronoun, *u-wā*.

Pronouns.—*gā:* "I" (nom.; and perhaps possessive in A 23), *gi* "my" (possessive). *u* 3d pers. pron. (*u-wā* dat.). We may suspect that the *-i* of *gi* is the vestige of a TB genitive *-i*, which has replaced the root vowel.

Adjectives.—*tā* frequently follows a noun, and it may be questioned whether it is a noun in a genitive construction, "of gold," or whether it is an adjective meaning "golden." The mod. Talaing *taw* is used either as a noun or adjective, and as all the known genitives precede the noun in Pyu, we may infer that *tā* is probably an adjective.

Numerical adjectives always follow the noun, as *o ho:* "villages three," *sni: hrā:* "years eight."

One certain occurrence of an adjective is in *ha pra* which BLAGDEN considered to mean "good deed," taking *ha* to probably mean "good." This was due to his unfamiliarity with the TB root *pra*, *p'ra* "good." While *pra* occurs in A 23: *gā: pra*, translated by BLAGDEN "I am doing," it may mean "my well-doing" or "I doing-good."

And there are two instances where the other texts indicate the probability of previously unrecognized words being adjectives, as *tdā: to* "king righteous" or "king great" (A 9), and *tdā: tu* "king well-pleased" (A 17-8).

But when a pronoun, at least the third person pronoun, precedes the noun, the adjective or adjectives seem to be placed between the pronoun and noun, as *u dō: la bā: u wō: ma-ya:* "his benevolent and honorif. his clever queen," *u dō: tra: bā: Mahāthe* "his compassionate scholar honorif. Mahathero."

Verbs.—Verbal particles have been discussed in the first part of ADDITIONAL INTERPRETATIONS.

Old Pyu Grammar.—There is not only quite a difference in epigraphic style between the old urn inscriptions and those of

Myazedi, but also in grammar. Where in the Myazedi inscription the honorific *bá:* generally precedes the noun: *bá: tda:*, *bá: ma-ya:*, in the urn inscriptions it follows the noun, *tda: bá:* occurring in three of the inscriptions twice each. The particle *bí:* which precedes verbs in the past and *tc'e* which follows verbs in the present are wanting in the urn inscriptions, although *hi* "die" certainly refers to past time and *kle:* probably means "reposes" and refers to present time. Consequently a distinction has been made in this paper between Old Pyu and Late Pyu. If we had more common lexical comparisons from the two periods, some phonetic change might perhaps be observed.

TEXT

The following interlinear translation is offered in the belief that future workers on the Pyu inscriptions would like to have some familiarity with the idiomatic construction of the language and because palaeographers may thus find most easily in their context the still undeciphered or uncertain words.⁷⁹

1. siri Dathagada *ba* *dō* *bá:* *bí:* *pdū* *sgu* *dā:* *ba* *twa* M
 Prosperity Tathāgata honorif. did go rest? perfect 1000
²
 DC XX *hrá u sni: bí: twā: t'a dā ||*
 600 20 eight his year did elapse perf.? prior.
 Prosperity! 1628 years after the Tathāgata's parinirvāṇa
³
 yá tí pri: Rimadhanabū u mī *bí:* *si* || Sri Tribhuwanadityadhama-
 this in city Arimaddanapur its name did call Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhamma-
⁴
 radja u mī *bí:* *si* || *u dō:* la *bá:* *u wō:* *ma-ya:* Triloga-
 rāja his name did call his benevolent and honorif. his clever queen Trilokā-
 wādasagadewī *bí:* *si* *u mī* ||
 vaṭāmsikādevī did call her name
 in this city called Arimaddanapur, Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhamarāja so called (was
 lord), his benevolent and clever queen was called Trilokāvaṭāmsikādevī,
⁵
 d'au u sa: Radjaguma *bí:* *si* *u mī*
 that her son Rājakumāra did call his name
 (and) her son was called Rājakumāra.

⁷⁹ The numbers refer to the lines of face A, regardless of its condition at any particular point. The same word will usually be found in Face B in the same line or not more than one or two lines from there.

u wá tra: o ho: bí: pá: to: ||

her to slave village three did give termin.

(The king) gave her three villages of slaves.

d'au bá: ma-ya: bí: hi ta dà ma-ya: u tra tra: o ho: bí: pá:
 the honorif. queen did die perf. prior. queen her goods slave village three did give
 tba: bá: ma-ya: u sa: Radjaguma u wá||

again honorif. queen her son Rājakumāra him to

When the queen died, (he) gave the queen's goods and the three villages of slaves
 to the queen's son Rājakumāra.

d'au bá: tdá: sni: tpū? hrá bí: ta dà|| bí: sri: bí: hní: hlí:
 the honorif. king year twenty eight did finish prior. did reign? did sicken destine
 8

hi u mtu dū ro: ||

die his death? down unto?

The king, after twenty-eight years, (while) he reigned became mortally ill.

d'au bá: ma-ya: u sa: Radjaguma bí: si u mī|| u dí bí: mtau
 the honorif. queen her son Rājakumāra did call his name he pass. did nourish
 ma d'au tdá: to u lo: tro: dí bí: mdau ha: la: dà||
 which the king great? him on favor pass. did remember prior.
 righteous?

The queen's son named Rājakumāra,—the favors with which the king had nourished
 him being remembered,

d'au bá: Būdha u tc'a: bo bradima t'a tū bí: se kya: ||
 the honorif. Buddha his likeness form image golden wholly did make
 11

d'au bá: Būdha bí: tu: t'mū: lo: yá na bí: tdi: to: ||
 the honorif. Buddha did bring presence in this like? did speak termin.
 manner?

made a golden image in the likeness and form of the Buddha (and) brought the
 Buddha into the presence and spake thus:

yá bá: Būdha t'a bá: ra: sa: bí: se ma bū: bá:
 this honorif. Buddha golden honorif. thy? behalf? did make which lord honorif.
 son?

u wá pá: tc'e tc'o: ||

him to give do !

"This golden Buddha, which (I) made (on) thy? behalf?, (I) give to (my) lord.
 13

yá tra: o ho: bí: pá: ma bū: || yá bá: hra t'a u wá
 these slave villages three did give which lord this honorif. Buddha golden it to
 pá: tc'e ||

give do

the three villages of slaves which my lord gave (me), (I) give to this golden Buddha.

14
 d'au lo: bá: tdá: bí: rí pa dà bí: nü ha pra tc'o: ha
 that upon honorif. king did delight cause? prior. did exclaim deed good ! deed
 pra tc'o: bí: si ||
 good ! did call

Thereupon the king was delighted and exclaimed "A good deed, a good deed!" he called out.

15
 d'au u dō: tra: bá: Mahaṭhe| tra: bá: Mūgalubūda-
 those his compassionate scholar honorif. Mahāthero scholar honorif. Muggaliputta-

16
 disaṭhe | tra: bá: Sūmedhabadí | tra: bá: Wrahmaba | tra:
 tissathero scholar honorif. Sumedhapañdita scholar honorif. Brahmapāla scholar

17
 bá: Wrahmadeyo: | tra: bá: Sū tra: bá: Sagasiwārabadí ||
 honorif. Brahmadeva scholar honorif. Sona scholar honorif. Samghasenavarapañdita

18
 d'au tra: bá: sagha two u hñu dí dū tdá: tu
 those scholars honorif. church beggars its persons earth upon king well-pleased
 assemblage mendicant-monks

bá: bí: tc'a to: tdū ||
 honorif. did pour termin. water

Those, his scholars, Mahāthero, (etc.), (in the presence of) those scholars, mendicant monks of the church, the king, well pleased, poured water onto the ground.

19
 d'au bí: ta dà ma-ya: u sa: Radjaguma bí: si u mī ma bí:
 that did complete prior. queen her son Rājakumāra did call his name who did

20
 stabana Būdha t'a bí: se gø u stau t'a bí: ta dà ||
 enshrine Buddha golden did make cave-pagoda its spire golden did complete prior.
 That having been done, the queen's son who was named Rājakumāra enshrined the golden Buddha and having completed the golden spire of the cave-pagoda,

d'au gø u hlau bí: sá: to: Samanalō: o tà|Rabai
 that cave-pagoda its dedication did pronounce termin. Sakmunalon village one Rapāy

21
 o tà [| Djí]-wū: o tà|| yá tra: o ho: dí bí: dí dà||
 village one Hen-buiw? village one these slave village three pass. did assemble? prior.
 get out?

he pronounced the dedication of this cave-pagoda, and the three slave villages of Sakmunalon, Rapāy, and Henbuiw, having been assembled,

22
 yá bá: ma-ya: u sa: Radjaguma yá gø Būdha u wà tdū
 this honorif. queen her son Rājakumāra this cave-pagoda Buddha them-to water
 bí: tc'a i ta dà
 did pour out pf. prior.

the queen's son Rājakumāra, having poured out water (to) this cave-pagoda and Buddha (or Buddha of the cave-pagoda),

23

yà na bí: dí tc'ō[||] yà ma gá: pra bū: saveñodeñe breñe
 this like? did express aspiration this which? I (do) may omniscience wisdom
 manner? good

bí: bí: pá: tc'e na: tí plá: pa ||
 did give do for attainment cause?

thus expressed (his) aspiration: "May this which I did well be the cause (for)
 permitting me to attain omniscience and wisdom.

24

yà tra: tí mtu kú: dū gi sa: la| gi pli la| gi su:
 these slaves to death? pressed? down? my son either my grandson or my kinsman

25

la| mra dja hñu la| yà Bñdha u wá gá: hlí: to: ma dí| ga hñí
 or other? any? person or this Buddha it to I destine termin. which pass. if? heart

26

tc'i ga bro pdá ma ta: nū: bū: ||
 bad if? mind unbelieving? who? may
 believing? not?

Whoever oppresses these slaves,—either my son, my grandson, my kinsman, or any other person—which I dedicate to this Buddha,—because of evil heart or unbelieving mind—

yà bá: Bñdha Ari Medeyá dá bá: dí tc'i: tí tmú ma pá:
 this honorif. Buddha Ari Metteyya exalted see get in presence not permit
 tc'e tc'o: ||

do !
 may he never be permitted into the presence to get to see the exalted Buddha Ari Metteyya.

VOCABULARY ⁸⁰

u third pers. pron. (M, urns, *kya*: 10.

Ha) *kle*: to repose (urns).

o village 5, 6, 12, 20, 21. *t (k) ūo* nine (A B).

ka (Ha). (*k'a*) (urns).

kü: press? oppress? 24.

kü (A). *ga* if? 25.

küí aged? (urns). *gá*: I 23, 25.

⁸⁰ The numbers refer to the lines of Face A, the letters A, B, C, D, E to the urn inscriptions labelled A, B 1, C, and D 1 by BLAGDEN, and E by DUROISELLE, while Ha refers to the Halingyi inscription. Urns indicates that the word is found in inscriptions A, B 1, C, and D 1, while M signifies that the word occurs in the Myazedi inscription too often to enumerate.

<i>gi</i> my 24.	<i>tu:</i> bring 10.
<i>gø</i> cave-pagoda 19, 20, 22. (Skr. <i>guhā</i>)	<i>to</i> great? just? 9, E.
<i>tga</i> (Ha)	<i>to:</i> terminal particle denoting end of one subject and change in the narration to another. 5, 11, 18, 20, 25.
<i>sgu</i> rest (n.) ? religion? 1.	<i>tra</i> goods, ornaments 6; action, deed? (A).
<i>na</i> (A C), <i>pi-na</i> (D), <i>mí-na</i> (C) five.	<i>tra:</i> slave 5, 6, 12, 21, 24.
<i>nū</i> exclaim 14.	<i>tra:</i> scholar? teacher? 14-17.
<i>nū:</i> 25.	<i>tru</i> six (C).
<i>hnu</i> persons 17, 24.	<i>tro:</i> favor 9.
<i>tc'a</i> pour 18, 22.	<i>twa</i> 1.
<i>tc'a:</i> likeness 10.	<i>twā:</i> elapse (of time) 2.
<i>tc'i</i> evil? 25.	<i>two</i> mendicant monks? beggars? 17.
<i>tc'i:</i> (or <i>ktc'i:</i> ? See EPIGRAPHY) obtain, get, attain 26.	<i>mtu</i> death? 7, 24.
<i>tc'e</i> present time 12, 13, 23, 26.	<i>mtau</i> nourish 9.
<i>tc'o</i> aspiration 22.	<i>stau</i> spire (cf. Skr. <i>stūpa</i>) 19.
<i>tc'o:</i> exclamatory particle 12, 14, 26.	<i>ta</i> perfect? 2.
<i>dja</i> any? 24.	<i>t'a</i> golden (Old Tal. <i>t'ar</i>) 10, 11, 13, 19.
<i>ña</i> (Ha).	<i>da</i> (see ADDITIONAL INTERPRE- TATIONS, Halingyi) (Ha).
<i>kñō</i> (Ha).	<i>dq</i> priorititive M.
<i>hñi</i> heart? thought? 25.	<i>dq:</i> perfect (adj.) ? 1.
<i>ta</i> perfect 5, 7, 18, 20, 22, urns, E.	<i>di</i> (Ha).
<i>ta</i> one 20, 21, A.	<i>di</i> (or <i>kdi</i> ? See EPIGRAPHY) sight (n.) 26.
<i>ta:</i> 25.	<i>dí</i> earth? 17.
<i>ti</i> part of proper name? Ha.	<i>dí</i> assemble? put or take out? 21, 22.
<i>tí</i> (prep.) in; for; on (a certain day) 2, 23, 24, 26, urns.	<i>dí</i> passive 8, 9, 21, 25.
<i>tu</i> well pleased? 18.	<i>dū</i> down? down unto? 7, 17, 24.
<i>tū</i> all, entirely, only of 10.	<i>dø</i> 1.

<i>d̥o:</i> benevolent, compassionate	<i>pla:</i> attainment? piercing? 23.
3, 14.	<i>pli</i> grandson 24.
<i>k (d) i</i> (D)	(<i>p</i>) <i>lī</i> (D). (be? Cf. Bu. prate).
<i>td̥a:</i> king 7, 9, 13, 17, urns.	(<i>tp</i>) <i>ū</i> twenty 7. <i>tpū</i> (B). (A?).
<i>td̥i:</i> speak 11.	
<i>td̥ū</i> water 18, 22.	<i>p'wu</i> day (A B).
<i>pda:</i> unbelieving? believing? 25.	
<i>pdū</i> go? establish? 1.	<i>bo</i> form 10.
<i>mdau</i> remember, recall 9.	<i>bro</i> mind? 25.
<i>d̥au</i> that, the? then? (M)	<i>ba</i> 1, Ha, E.
<i>na</i> manner? (postpos.) like? 11,	<i>ba:</i> honorific particle (M, urns,
22.	Ha, E.).
<i>na:</i> 23.	<i>ba:</i> 26.
(<i>nu</i>) (Ha.).	<i>bí:</i> past tense (M).
(<i>nū</i>) mother? (Ha.).	<i>bū:</i> lord 12, 13. ⁸¹
<i>kni</i> seven (or two?) (A).	<i>bū:</i> (optative) may 23, 25.
<i>sni:</i> year 2, 7, urns.	<i>tba:</i> again 6, E. (See note 83).
<i>s (n) ū:</i> (B).	(<i>b'ū</i>) die (euphemistic)? (B).
<i>hma</i> (A).	
<i>hní</i> two (or seven?) (A B)	<i>ma</i> relative pron. 9, 12, 13, 19,
<i>hní:</i> be sick? 7.	(23?), 25, (25?), ⁸² (Ha?).
<i>pa</i> cause? 14, 23.	<i>ma</i> not 26, (25?).
<i>pa:</i> give; permit 5, 6, 12, 13, 23,	<i>ma-ya:</i> queen 3, 5, 6, 8, 18, 21.
26.	<i>mī</i> name 2-5, 8, 19.
<i>pra</i> good 14, 23.	<i>m (e):</i> E.
<i>pri:</i> city 2.	<i>mra</i> other? 24.
<i>pla</i> four (A B C).	<i>tmū</i> presence? 26.
	<i>t'mū:</i> presence? 11.

⁸¹ *bū:* may be the optative in all its occurrences, the meaning in 12, 13, being "may (I give)." The interpretation of "lord" for those lines seems preferable in the present state of our knowledge of Pyu, however.

⁸² It is the second occurrence in line 25 whose interpretation is doubtful.

⁸³ If the following word is *tba:*, as BLAGDEN transcribed it in 1915, then *me:* is probably a verb, as *tba:* seemed in the Myazedi inscription to be a verbal particle meaning "again." But in 1913, DUROISELLE transcribed it as *t'bā:*, which, if correct, would permit no inference regarding *me:*.

<i>wa</i> E. ⁸⁴	<i>la</i> month (A B C).
- <i>wa</i> dative (of 3d pers. pron.) 5, 6, 12, 13, 22, 25.	<i>la</i> : 9. (<i>l</i>) <i>i</i> (see ADDITIONAL INTERPRETATIONS, Halingyi) (Ha).
<i>wa:</i> (D).	
<i>wi</i> (Ha) (see ADDITIONAL INTERPRETATIONS, Halingyi).	<i>lo</i> : into, to, upon 9, 11, 13.
<i>wø:</i> clever? 3. (See EPIGRAPHY.)	<i>hlí</i> : destine? dedicate? 7, 25. <i>hlau</i> dedication formula 20.
<i>ya</i> (Ha).	
<i>ya</i> this 2, 11-13, 21, 22, 24, 26, Ha. here (urns).	<i>sa</i> : son 4, 6, 8, 18, 21, 24, Ha, E. ⁸⁵ <i>sa</i> : on behalf of? 11. <i>sai</i> : pronounce (a dedication) 20. (See <i>sa</i> : note).
<i>ra</i> : thy? 11.	
<i>rí</i> to delight 13.	<i>si</i> speak, say, call (by name) 2-5, 8, 14, 19.
<i>ru</i> bone (urns).	
<i>ro</i> : 8.	<i>se</i> make 10, 12, 19.
<i>sri</i> : to reign? 7.	<i>sü</i> ten (urns).
<i>sru</i> : kinsman 24.	
<i>hra</i> Buddha? 13. (cf. O. B. <i>pu-</i> <i>hrā</i>).	<i>ha</i> deed? 14.
<i>hra</i> eight 2, 7.	<i>ha</i> : 9.
<i>la</i> and? 3. either . . . or . . . 24.	<i>hi</i> die 5, 7, A C D, Ha, E. <i>ho</i> : three 5, 6, 12, 21. (<i>hau</i>): three (D).

RÉSUMÉ^{85a}*Aryan Loan Words*

<i>g</i> < <i>k</i> .	<i>w</i> < <i>v</i> .
<i>d</i> < <i>t</i> , <i>t</i> .	<i>s</i> < <i>ś</i> , <i>s</i> .
<i>b</i> < <i>p</i> .	<i>wr-</i> may be from <i>br-</i> .
<i>g</i> < <i>g</i> .	<i>st-</i> may be from <i>sth-</i> .
<i>d</i> < <i>d</i> , <i>d</i>	<i>e</i> before or following <i>ñ</i> may be from <i>a</i> , <i>ā</i> .
<i>b</i> < <i>b</i> .	

⁸⁴ DUROISELLE, 1913, p. 15, gives this as *va*:⁸⁵ According to DUROISELLE, 1913, p. 15. BLAGDEN transcribed it as *sà*; q. v.^{85a} Primarily from the viewpoint of Pyu epigraphy.

Tentative correspondence with other TB languages:

Pyu words with the visarga should be cognate to Burmese words with a visarga. This may not be an invariable rule as the falling tone of Burmese may be due to the loss of an original prefix which Pyu still preserved.

When a root originally ended in *-s*, no tone mark is to be expected, although one may be found in Burmese.

Pyu (·) indicates that a final stop consonant was lost.

Pyu *-a* = TB *-a*.

Pyu *-ā* = TB *-i* (Bu. *-e*) ; Bu. *-atc*, O. B. *-ig*, Lucei *-ik*.

Pyu *-i* = TB *-i* (Bu. *-e*) ; TB *-in* (Bu. *-añ*, *-atc*).

Pyu *-u* = TB *-u* (Bu. *-ui*) ; TB *-wi* (Bu. *-we*, Lucei *-ui*, O. B. *-i*).

Pyu *-o* = TB **-wa* (Bu. *-wa*, Lucei *-ua*, O. B. *-o*) ; TB *-um* (Bu. *-uin*).

Pyu *-au* may replace Pyu *-o* or *-u*.

Pyu *td-* = Lucei *t-*.

Pyu *h-* = Bu. *s-*, O. B. *s-*, *ś-*.

Cognates for Pyu words with prefixes should be sought in Khami (a Kukish language), Katcinish, Nungish, or Old Bodish, not in Burmese or Lucei.

Rules of syntax

Pronouns precede the noun.

Genitive nouns precede the noun governed, with or without *u*, the third person pronoun, intervening, as *ma-ya: u tra* "goods of the queen," but *tra: o* "villages of slaves."

Adjectives probably follow the noun, unless a pronoun precedes.

The direct and indirect objects usually precede, but may follow the verb.

The honorific *ba:* is placed between the pronoun and the noun. Its use following the noun occurs, but is exceptional.

The relative pronoun *ma* follows the clause it would precede in English.

Dependent clauses precede the principal clause.

tc'e denotes present time and the word immediately preceding is a verb root.

bi: is always the sign of the past tense and the word following a verb root.

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⁸⁶ The page headings for BLAGDEN's and DUROISELLE's articles in the *Epigraphia Birmanica* are *The Myazedi Inscriptions*, but there is no title page. (Reproduction of Faces A and B, all four languages).

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⁸⁷ Title of the first paragraph.

⁸⁸ This is cited only because of the loss of what was apparently the only copy in this country of Adoniram JUDSON, *A Grammar of the Burmese Language*, Rangoon, 1888.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MYAZEDI PAGODA, PAGAN

THE PYU TEXT

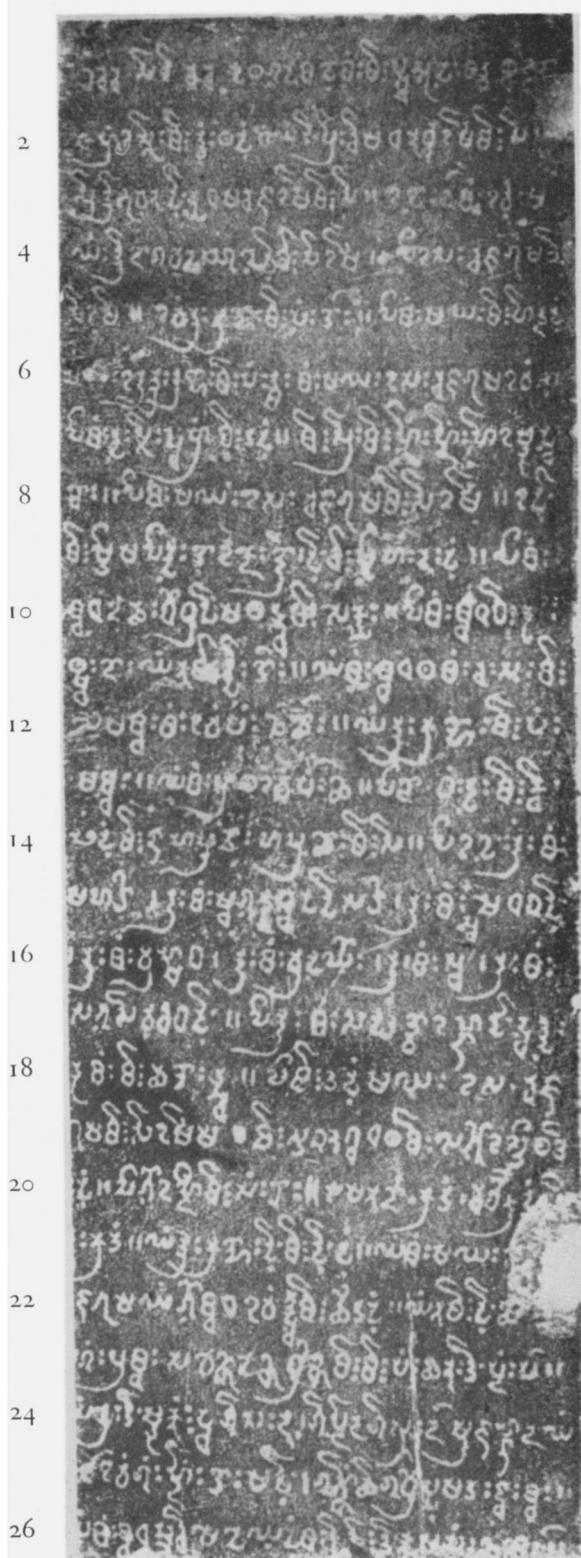
A

B

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10	၁၃၂၄၁၈၇၆၉။	10	၁၃၂၄၁၈၇၆၉။
12	၁၃၂၄၁၈၇၆၉။	12	၁၃၂၄၁၈၇၆၉။
14	၁၃၂၄၁၈၇၆၉။	14	၁၃၂၄၁၈၇၆၉။
16	၁၃၂၄၁၈၇၆၉။	16	၁၃၂၄၁၈၇၆၉။
18	၁၃၂၄၁၈၇၆၉။	18	၁၃၂၄၁၈၇၆၉။
20	၁၃၂၄၁၈၇၆၉။	20	၁၃၂၄၁၈၇၆၉။
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INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MYAZEDI PAGODA, PAGAN
THE PYU TEXT

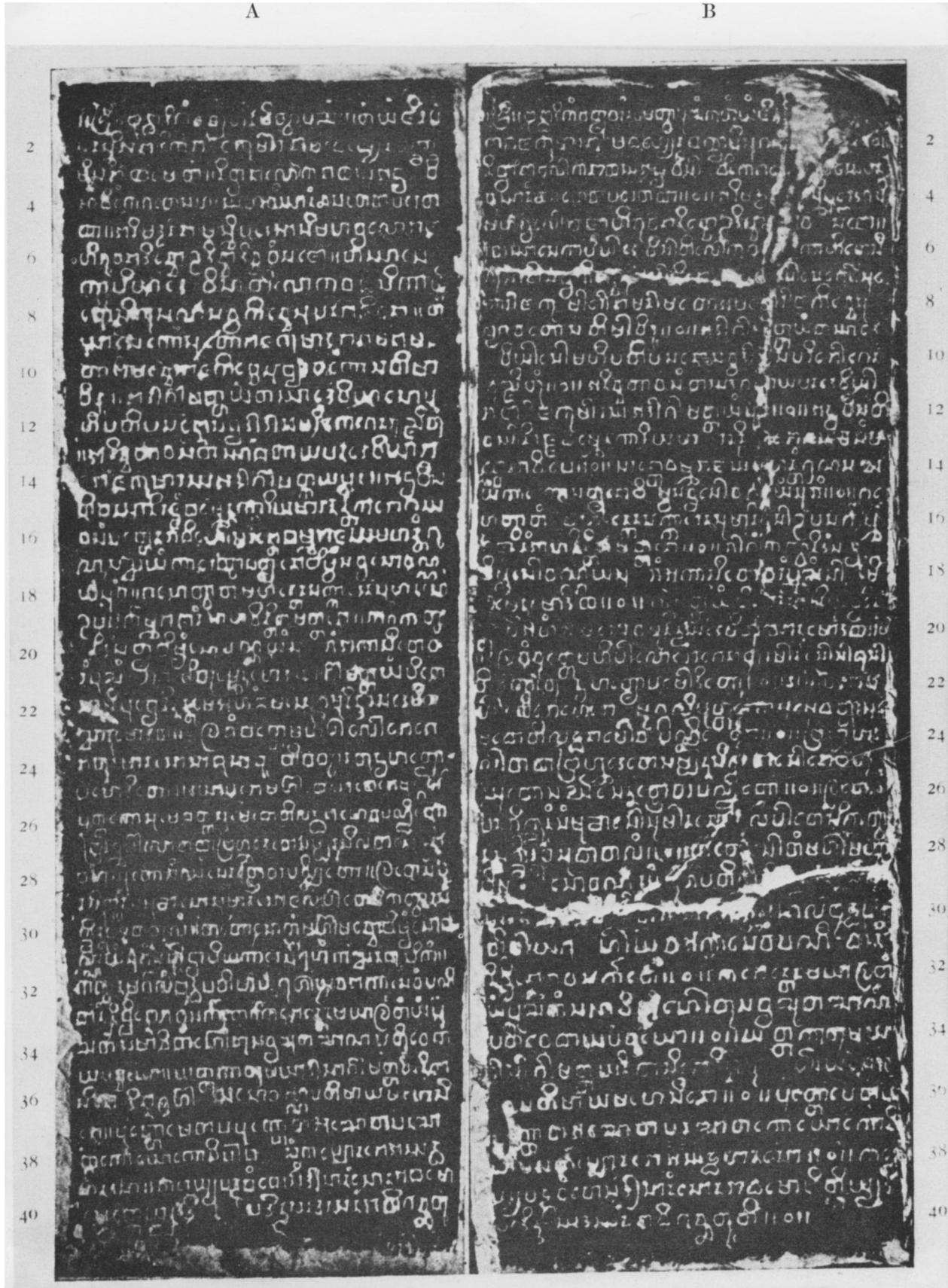
A



INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MYAZEDI PAGODA, PAGAN
THE PALI TEXT

A

B



INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MYAZEDI PAGODA, PAGAN
THE BURMESE TEXT

A

B



INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MYAZEDI PAGODA, PAGAN
THE TALAING TEXT

A

B

2 မြတ်ပေါ်သာမျိုးအားမြတ်ပေါ်ပေါ်သာမျိုး
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 30 သူတို့မြတ်ပေါ်သာမျိုး
 32 သူတို့မြတ်ပေါ်သာမျိုး
 34 သူတို့မြတ်ပေါ်သာမျိုး
 36 သူတို့မြတ်ပေါ်သာမျိုး
 38 သူတို့မြတ်ပေါ်သာမျိုး
 40 သူတို့မြတ်ပေါ်သာမျိုး
 42 သူတို့မြတ်ပေါ်သာမျိုး
 44 သူတို့မြတ်ပေါ်သာမျိုး