

13 *The structure of Pagan period Burmese*

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1 Introduction

The earliest attested forms of the Burmese language are the inscriptions of the Pagan period. The Pagan dynasty is thought to have been founded by King Anawrahta အနော်ရထာ in 1044CE, though the Burmese chronicles such as the *U Kala Chronicle* ဦးကုလား မဟာရာဇဝင်ကြီး ၊ ṽkəlā mähàjāzawīndā and the *Glass Palace Chronicle* မှန်နန်းရာဇဝင် ၊ ṽānnānjāzawīn mention that Anawrahta was the forty-second king of the Pagan dynasty. No reliable source is available however to ascertain who the forty-one kings prior to Anawrahta were. King Anawrahta's name — in the form Aniruddha — is the earliest name found in contemporary records like votive tablets of Pagan period.

The Burmese inscriptions were collected together by King Bodawpaya ဘိုးတော်ဘုရား bódāp'hajā in the second half of the eighteenth century for the purpose of the settlement of his revenue. The successive kings of Burma depended mainly upon land revenue as their source of wealth. However, for a thousand years, from the Pagan period until the Konbaung ကုန်းဘောင် kóunbāun period, land in Burma had been divided into two categories, ecclesiastical and secular. The former category comprised lands which had been donated by successive kings and their families, nobles and wealthy people as testimony to their faith in Buddhism, and belonged to Buddhist temples, forming part of their assets. Such land was exempt from royal taxation, and was scattered here and there throughout the country. It was necessary for the later kings of Burma to try to distinguish the ecclesiastical land from the secular land. King Bodawpaya carried out this difficult task in the later half of the eighteenth century.

Charles Duroiselle, Director of the Archaeological Survey, reported that in total approximately three thousand Burmese inscriptions had been found in Burma. Ninety percent of these are in Burmese, and the rest are in Sanskrit, Pali, Tamil and Mon. Emil Forchhammer, Professor of Pāli at Rangoon College, collected inscriptions throughout the country by producing on paper rubbings of as much of the inscriptions as was on stone which was exposed and above ground. Taw Sein Ko, successor to Forchhammer, transliterated them into modern Burmese script and published them as *Epigraphia Birmanica* in four volumes, three of which are in two parts, including some English translations with notes and comments. Volume one of *Epigraphia Birmanica* is cited here as Taw Sein Ko and Duroiselle (1919). U Tun Nyein (1899) translated 171 inscriptions

produced by Forchhammer into English, and published them as *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava: translation, with notes*. U Pe Maung Tin and Gordon H. Luce (1934–1956) arranged the paper rubbings of the inscriptions in chronological order and published them under the title *Inscriptions of Burma*, in five portfolio editions containing about six hundred inscriptions. Another series of transliterations of *Old Burmese Inscriptions* has recently been carried out and published by the Archaeological Department of the Ministry of Culture (Aung Thaw 1972–1983). The five volumes in this series contain 225, 145, 227, 152 and 95 inscriptions, respectively. King Bodawpaya ordered the original inscriptions to be copied onto 719 stones, which are preserved in the precinct of the Mahamuni Pagoda မဟာမုနိဘုရား in Mandalay, and still in situ. Paper rubbings of forty-two *Inscriptions within the walls of the Mahamuni in Mandalay* were published with transliterations into modern Burmese script by the Yangon University History Department (1989).

The present study is concerned with the general structure of Burmese in the Pagan period, rather than with providing an exhaustive account of the language of this period. The focus is on phonology, syntax and morphology, all analysed mainly by deciphering Burmese inscriptions dating from the Pagan period. Except in a very few cases, the material on which the analysis is based is taken from U Pe Maung Tin and Professor Luce's *Inscriptions of Burma* (1934–1956).

Abbreviations (abbreviations referring to grammatical forms are listed at the end of the paper):

<i>OB</i>	Old Burmese, Pagan period Burmese
<i>WB</i>	Written Burmese, modern Burmese spelling
<i>trsl</i>	transliteration
<i>pron</i>	pronunciation in modern Burmese

NB Examples from Pe Maung Tin and Luce (1934–1956) are cited as *Inscr.*, followed by Portfolio number in Roman numerals I–II... and inscription plate number Arabic numerals 1,2....

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2 Phonology

It is impossible to know exactly what Pagan period Burmese sounded like, because no phonetic material is available. It is, however, possible to reconstruct the phonology of the Burmese on the basis of the orthography found in the inscriptions and loan words from Pali and Sanskrit. It is important to point out at this stage that spelling in the inscriptions was highly variable. This will become immediately obvious from looking at the examples in this paper. Accommodating alternative spellings forms an important part of task of deciphering inscriptions.

Pali and Sanskrit loans

Burmese inscriptions of the Pagan period contain large numbers of loan words, almost all from Pali and Sanskrit. Some examples are given in (1).

(1) OB Loans from Pali and Sanskrit

OB	translit.	Pali	translation
ကာမ	kāma	kāma	karma
ဂေါတမ	gotama	gotama	Gotama
စကြဝဠာ	cakravalā	cakkavāla	universe
စတုမဟာရဇ်	catūmahāraj'	catumahārājika	Catumaharajika
ဧမ္ဗုဒ္ဓိပုံ	jambudip'	jambūdipa	Jambudipa
ဌာပနာ	ṭhāpanā	ṭhapanā	enshrining
တာဝတိံသံ	tāvatin'sā	tāvatiṃsa	Tavatimsa
တိရိစ္ဆာန်	tirī't'chan'	tiracchāna	animal
တုသိတာ	tussitā	tusita	Tusita
ဒေဝဒတ်	devadat'	devadatta	Devadatta
နမော	namo	nama, namo	homage, veneration
နာဂါ	nāgā	nāga	mythical serpent demon
နိဗ္ဗန်	niy'rapan'	Skt nirvāṇa	nirvana
~နိဿရပန်	nibban'	Pāli nibbāna	nirvana

နိမာနရတိ	<i>nimānarati</i>	<i>nimmānaratī</i>	<i>Nimmanarati</i>
ပရနိမတသ္မတိ	<i>paranimatasvati</i>	<i>paranimmitavasavattī</i>	<i>Paranimmitavasavatti</i>
ပရိက္ခရာ	<i>parikkharā</i>	<i>parikkhāra</i>	items used by monks
ပါရမီ	<i>pāramī</i>	<i>pāramī</i>	perfection
ပိတကတ်	<i>pitakat'</i>	<i>piṭaka</i>	<i>pitaka</i>
ဗသုန္ဒရီ	<i>basundari</i>	<i>vasundhara</i>	bearer of wealth
ဗုဒ္ဓါ	<i>buddhā</i>	<i>buddha</i>	<i>Buddha</i>
ဗြဟ္မာ	<i>brahmā</i>	<i>brahmā</i>	superior being
မဟိန္ဒတ	<i>mahin'ta</i>	<i>mahinda</i>	<i>Mahinda</i>
ယာမာ	<i>yāmā</i>	<i>yāmā</i>	<i>Yama</i>
ရတနာ	<i>ratanā</i>	<i>ratana</i>	jewel
ရဟန္တာ	<i>rahanta</i>	<i>arahanta</i>	monk
ရူပ	<i>rūpa</i>	<i>rūpa</i>	appearance
ဝေတနာ	<i>vetanā</i>	<i>vedanā</i>	feeling
သရီရဓတ္တဝံ	<i>sarīradhattāv'</i>	<i>sarīradhātu</i>	relic
သာသနာ	<i>sāsanā</i>	<i>sāsanā</i>	teaching
သတ်ဒွါ	<i>sat'dvā</i>	<i>sattva, satta</i>	living being
သဗ္ဗညုသညာဏ်	<i>sabbaññusaññāṇ'</i>	<i>sabbaññūtā-ñāṇa</i>	omniscience
သမုတြာ	<i>samutrā</i>	<i>samudra, samudda</i>	ocean
အန္တရာယ်	<i>antarāy'</i>	<i>antarāya</i>	danger
အဘိသိက်	<i>abhisik'</i>	<i>abhiseka</i>	anointing, consecration
အရိမိတ္တိယ ~	<i>arimittiya~</i>	<i>ariya metteya ~</i>	<i>Maitreya</i>
အရိယမေတ္တည် ~	<i>ariyyamettaññ~</i>	<i>arimetteya</i>	
မိတ်တည်	<i>mit'taññ'</i>		
အရူပ	<i>arūpa</i>	<i>arūpa</i>	formless
အသူရာ	<i>asūrā</i>	<i>asura</i>	cowardly
ဥပါသကာ	<i>upāsakā</i>	<i>upāsaka</i>	lay devotee

Consonants

The Pali and Sanskrit loans in Burmese are generally very close in form to the original Pali or Sanskrit words. The next step is to reconstruct from this evidence the values of the consonants in the orthography of the inscriptions (က = *k*, မ = *m*, ဓ = *c*, တ = *t*, ဟ = *h*, ရ = *r*, ဝ = *v* etc) to produce a table of Pagan period Burmese initial consonants and their values for writing Pali and Sanskrit words as in (2).

(2) Initial consonants

က	k	ခ	kh	ဂ	g	ဃ	gh	င	ñ
စ	c	ဆ	ch	ဇ	j	ဈ	jh	ည	ñ
တ	t	ထ	th	ဒ	d	ဓ	dh	န	n
ပ	p	ဖ	ph	ဗ	b	ဘ	bh	မ	m
ယ	y	ရ	r	လ	l	ဝ	v	သ	s
ဟ	h	ဥ	l						

It is safe to assume that the Burmese of the Pagan period contained contrasting pairs of voiceless aspirated and unaspirated velar, dental and labial stops, and palatal affricates, as in (3).

(3)	OB	trsl	gloss	WB	trsl	pron
	ကိုဝ်	kuiv'	self	ကိုယ်	kuiy'	kò
	ခင်	khañ'	spread	ခင်း	khañ''	k'hín
	စာ	cā	eat	စား	cā''	sá
	ဆု	chu	reward	ဆု	chu	shü
	တောင်း	ton'	request	တောင်း	ton''	táun
	ထောင်	thon'	thousand	ထောင်	thon'	t'hàun
	ပယ်	pay'	bean	ပဲ	pai	pé
	ဖထွယ်	phathuy'	uncle	ဘထွေး	bhathve''	bədwe

Judging from the loan words derived from Pali and Sanskrit, there was also a contrast between voiced and voiceless velar, dental and labial stops and palatal affricates, as in (4).

(4)	OB	trsl	gloss
	ကာမ	kāma	sensual desire
	ဂေါတမ	gotama	Gotama
	စကြဝဠာ	cakravalā	Cakravala
	ဓမ္မဒိပ	jambudip'	Jambudipa
	တာဝတိံသ	tāvatin'sā	Tavatimsa
	ဒါယကာ	dāyakā	supporter
	ပါရမီ	pāramī	principal virtues
	ဗုဒ္ဓါ	buddhā	Buddha

It is uncertain however whether there was any distinction between voiced aspirated and voiced unaspirated stops: (ဂ-ဃ ဇ-ဈ ဒ-ဓ ဗ-ဘ g-gh j-jh d-dh b-bh). The five letters ငြေ့ညဏ် ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ were used to represent the 'cerebral' or 'retroflex' sounds of Pali and Sanskrit. There seems, however, to have been no distinction between cerebral and dental sounds in the Burmese of the Pagan period, since the same word may be found written using counterpart letters from both series, as in (5).

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| (5) | OB | <i>trsl</i> | <i>gloss</i> |
| | ဌာပနာ ~ ထာပနာ | <i>ṭhāpanā ~ thāpanā</i> | enshrine |
| | ပိဋကတ် ~ ပိတကတ် | <i>piṭakat' ~ pitakat'</i> | Buddhist scripture |

Consonant clusters

In Pagan period Burmese, a syllable or word could combine with any vowel, any single consonant, or with a certain number of consonant clusters. The permitted consonant clusters can be divided into four groups. The first comprises velars or labials followed by liquids written in their subscript forms: င -*r*- and လ -*l*-. Some examples are given in (4).

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------|-------------------|-----------------|---------|-------------------|-------------|
| (6) | OB | <i>trsl</i> | <i>gloss</i> | WB | <i>trsl</i> | <i>pron</i> |
| | ကြည်ညို | <i>kraññ'ññui</i> | revere | ကြည်ညို | <i>kraññ'ññui</i> | ṭeɪjɔ̀ |
| | ကြ | <i>krañ</i> | plot, plan | ကြ | <i>krañ</i> | ṭeàɴ |
| | ကြွယ် | <i>klva.y'</i> | water buffalo | ကျွယ် | <i>kyvai'</i> | ṭeəwé |
| | ခြယ် | <i>khriy'</i> | leg | ခြေ | <i>khre</i> | ṭeʰi |
| | ရှယ်မ | <i>khruy'ma</i> | daughter-in-law | ချွေးမ | <i>khyve'ma</i> | ṭeʰwémə |
| | လွတ် | <i>khlvat'</i> | liberate | ချွတ် | <i>khyvat'</i> | ṭeʰu? |
| | ပြည် | <i>praññ'</i> | country | ပြည် | <i>praññ'</i> | pji |
| | ပြု | <i>plu'</i> | make | ပြု | <i>pru</i> | pju |
| | ဖွယ် | <i>phlac'</i> | be | ဖွယ် | <i>phrac'</i> | pʰji? |
| | ဖြူ | <i>phlū</i> | white | ဖြူ | <i>phrū</i> | pʰjù |
| | မြက် | <i>mrak'</i> | grass | မြက် | <i>mrak'</i> | mje? |
| | မြေ | <i>mliy'</i> | soil | မြေ | <i>mre</i> | mje |

The second group comprises velars or labial consonants followed by the semivowel ယ , the subscript form of the initial consonant letter လ *y*, as seen in the examples in (246).

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|--------------|--------------|-------|---------------|-------------|
| (7) | OB | <i>trsl</i> | <i>gloss</i> | WB | <i>trsl</i> | <i>pron</i> |
| | ကျောန် | <i>kyon'</i> | slave | ကျွန် | <i>kyvan'</i> | ṭeun |
| | ကျက် | <i>kyak'</i> | be cooked | ကျက် | <i>kyak'</i> | ṭeɛ? |
| | ပျက် | <i>pyak'</i> | be destroyed | ပျက် | <i>pyak'</i> | pje? |
| | ဖျာ | <i>phyā</i> | tip | အဖျား | <i>aphyā'</i> | pʰjá |
| | မျာ | <i>myā</i> | many | များ | <i>myā'</i> | mjá |

Velar/labial + liquid clusters in Pagan Burmese correspond sometimes to velar/labial + semivowel cluster spellings in the modern language as in (246). Note that velar + semivowel cluster spellings are not pronounced as such in the modern language.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| (8) | OB > WB | <i>trsl</i> | <i>gloss</i> | WB <i>pron</i> |
| | ကျွပ် > ကျပ် | <i>klyap' > kyap'</i> | tical | ṭeə? |
| | လွယ်ကျွန် > ကျေးကျွန် | <i>kliy'kyvan' > kye" kyvan'</i> | slave | ṭeun |
| | ညွှန် > ကျေးဇူး | <i>klaññ'jū > kye"jū"</i> | gratitude | ṭeézú |
| | ကွက် > ကျောက် | <i>klok' > kyok'</i> | stone | ṭeəu? |
| | မွက် > မျက် | <i>mlek' > myak'</i> | eye | mje? |

The third group comprises any initial consonant, with the exception of the consonant *o v*, combined with semivowel *o -v-*, as shown in the examples in (9).

(9)	<i>OB</i>	<i>trsl</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>WB</i>	<i>trsl</i>	<i>pron</i>
	ကလျာန်	<i>klvaññ'</i>	feed	ကျေး	<i>kyve''</i>	təwé
	ထွက်	<i>thvak'</i>	go out	ထွက်	<i>thvak'</i>	tʰwɛʔ
	နွာ	<i>nvā</i>	cow	နွာ	<i>nvā''</i>	nwá
	ပွင်	<i>pvañ'</i>	attain Buddhahood	ပွင်	<i>pvañ''</i>	pwɪn
	လွတ်	<i>lvat'</i>	be free	လွတ်	<i>lvat'</i>	luʔ

In the fourth and last group, clusters consist of nasals or liquids + *h*, the subscript *ဟတို*: *həthó* of modern Burmese. Examples are shown in (10).

(10)	<i>OB</i>	<i>trsl</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>WB</i>	<i>trsl</i>	<i>pron</i>
	ငှက်	<i>ñhak'</i>	bird	ငှက်	<i>ñhak'</i>	ŋɛʔ
	နွှိ	<i>nhui</i>	awaken	နွှိ	<i>nhui''</i>	ŋó
	နှစ်	<i>nhac'</i>	year	နှစ်	<i>nhac'</i>	ŋiʔ
	မှတ်	<i>mhat'</i>	mark	မှတ်	<i>mhat'</i>	maʔ
	ရှယ်	<i>rhay'</i>	front	ရှေ့	<i>rhe'</i>	ʃɛ
	ရွယ်	<i>rhuy'</i>	gold	ရွှေ	<i>rhve</i>	ʃwè
	လှူ	<i>lhū</i>	donate	လှူ	<i>lhū</i>	ʔù
	လျှောက်	<i>lhyok'</i>	address	လျှောက်	<i>lhyok'</i>	ʃauʔ

Vowels

The vowels of Pagan Burmese were represented by the letters and symbols shown in (11).

(11)	a	အ ~ အအ်	<i>a ~ a''</i>
	i	အိ ~ အိအ်	<i>i ~ i''</i>
	u	အု ~ အုအ်	<i>u ~ u''</i>
	e	ဧအ် ~ အေ	<i>e</i>
	ɛ	အယ်အ်	<i>aɣ''</i>
	o	အောအ်	<i>o''</i>
	o	အို ~ အိုဝ်	<i>ui ~ ui''</i>

The letter *ဧ e* was interchangeable with the equivalent symbol *အေ e*. The actual sound of *ဧ e* seems to have been different from that of *ဧ e* /*e*/ in modern Burmese, because words with the vowel /*e*/ in modern Burmese are the descendants of words which in Pagan period Burmese were always represented using the combination of two vowel symbols, – *ဝယ် -iy'*, as in the examples in (12).

(12)	OB > WB	trsl	gloss	pron
	နိယံ > နေ	niy' > ne	live	nè
	ပိယံ > ပေး	piy' > pe"	give	pé
	သိယံ > သေ	siy' > se	die	thè
	လိယံ > လေး	liy' > le"	four	lé

The spelling ဝိယံ -iy' seems to have been a diphthong, pronounced differently from -ယံ -ay' and ဟိယံ -uy'. Words spelt with -ယံ -ay' in the Pagan period are all pronounced with the vowel -e in modern Burmese, while Old Burmese words in ဟိယံ -uy' have become -we in the modern language as in (13).

(13)	OB > WB	trsl	gloss	pron
	ခြယ်မ > ချေးမ	khruy'ma > khyve"ma	daughter-in-law	te ^h wéma
	ခုယံ > ခွေး	khuy' > khve"	dog	k ^h wé
	ကယ်သိုဝ် > ကဲ့သို့	kay'suiv' > kai'sui'	like, as	kɛðo
	ပါယံ > ပဲ	pāy' > pai	legume	pé
	မယံ > မဲ့	may' > mai'	without	mɛ
	မုယံ > မွေး	muy' > mve"	feed	mwé
	ရှယ် > ရွှေ	rhuy' > rhve	gold	ʃwe

The method of writing the contrasting pairs of long and short vowels in Pali and Sanskrit seem to have been used to write a tonal contrast in Burmese. In Burmese, the symbols denoting Pali long vowels (ဘိ ဝိ ဘိ ဝိ) seem to have denoted low tone, as in the words in (14).

(14)	OB	trsl	gloss	WB	trsl	pron
	ငါ	nā	I	ငါ	nā	ŋà
	နာ	nā	sick	နာ	nā	nà
	ရာ	ryā	hundred	ရာ	rā	jà
	ငှါ	nī	younger brother	ညှိ	nī	jì
	တူ	tū	nephew	တူ	tū	tù
	ယူ	yū	take	ယူ	yū	jù

The spelling အော o was probably pronounced /ɔ/. This is suggested by its appearance in Pali loans containing the vowel o such as ဂေါတမ gotama 'Gotama' and အနုမောတနာ anumotanā 'rejoicing together'. It may, however, have been pronounced as a diphthong /au/ since words containing the vowel ခော -o /ɔ/ in modern Burmese were in almost all cases derived from spellings in -ဝ် -av' in Pagan period Burmese, like the words in (15).

(15) Pagan period words in -ဝ် -av'

OB > WB	trsl	gloss	pron
ခဝ် > ခေါ်	khav' > kho	call	k ^h ò
တာဝ် > တော	tāv' > to	forest	tó
တဝ်လှန် > တော်လှန်	tav'lan' > tolhan'	revolt	tòtàn
ဟဝ် > ဟော	hav' > ho	preach	hó
ပူဇဝ် > ပူဇော်	pūjav' > pūjo	make devotional offering	pùzò

Similarly the sound spelled with the symbols -ဝ် -ay' may have been pronounced as a diphthong /ai/, as in the words in (16).

(16) OB words in -ဝ် -ay'

OB > WB	trsl	gloss	pron
ခဝ် > ခဲ	khay' > khai	hard	k ^h é
ငါဝ် > ငဝ်	nāy' > nāy'	small	ŋè
လာဝ် > လဝ်	lāy > lay'	paddy field	lè

The reflexes of Pagan period Burmese words written with -ဝ် āy' are pronounced in Modern Burmese as low tone /ɛ/ in the modern language (as လာဝ် lāy' > လဝ် lay' in (15) above), while those with short -ဝ် -ay' have high tone reflexes spelt with -^h -ai, pronounced /ɛ/ in modern Burmese (as ခဝ် khay' > ခဲ khai in (16) above).

The combination ြဝ် -uy' is thought to have been another diphthong /ui/, as in the words in (17).

(17) OB words in ြဝ် -uy'

OB > WB	trsl	gloss	pron
ခွဝ် > ခွေး	khuy' > khvai	dog	k ^h wé
ခြွယ်မ > ချေးမ	khruy'ma > khyve'ma	daughter-in-law	tɕ ^h wéma
မှဝ် > မွေး	muy' > mve"	rear, bear	mwé
မြွယ် > မြွေ	mruiy' > myve	snake	mwé

Our attention now turns to the combination ြဝ် ui, pronounced /o/ in modern Burmese. Taken separately, ြဝ် i represents an /i/ sound front vowel and ြဝ် u a back vowel /u/, but what other sounds can these two symbols in combination have represented? The evidence is ambiguous. They appeared in variant forms, namely ြဝ်အိ -i', ြဝ်အိ -ei' and ြဝ်အိ -ui', as in the words in (18).

(18) OB words in -ဝ် -ay'

OB > WB	trsl	gloss	pron
ကေဝ်အိ > အကို	kei' > akui	to	kò
သေဝ်အိ > သို့	sei' > sui'	like	θo
အတိဝ်အိ ~ အတေဝ်အိ > အတို့	ati' ~ atei' > atui'	they	ʔətɔ
အဖေဝ်အိ > အဖို့	aphei' > aphui'	for	ʔəp ^h o
စစ်ကေဝ်ဝ် > အစ်ကို	ec'keiv' > ec'kui	older brother	ʔəkò

This may suggest that ြဝ် ui was a vowel in Pagan period Burmese which had no close equivalent in the Indian languages to which the script's fundamental design was more suited. It is worth noting that towards the end of the Pagan period, this vowel was systematically written with a final consonant -ဝ် -v' attached, as in (18). One possibility is that ြဝ် ui was pronounced as a diphthong /ou/, as in (19).

(19)	<i>OB</i>	<i>trsl</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>WB</i>	<i>trsl</i>	<i>pron</i>
	ကိုယ်	<i>kuiv'</i>	body	ကိုယ်	<i>kuiv'</i>	kò
	ခိုက်	<i>khuiv'</i>	steal	ခိုး	<i>khui''</i>	kʰó
	ဆိုက်	<i>chuiiv'</i>	say	ဆို	<i>chui</i>	sʰò
	တိုက်	<i>tuiv'</i>	short	တို	<i>tui</i>	tò
	မိုက်	<i>muiv'</i>	sky	မိုး	<i>mui''</i>	mó
	လိုက်	<i>luiv'</i>	desire	လို	<i>lui</i>	lò

Tones

Burmese of the Pagan period is thought to have been tonal, as is modern Burmese. Tones are sometimes represented during the earlier stage of the Pagan period by the addition of particular symbols: -အ် -^{a'} corresponds to modern Burmese creaky tone. -ဝ် -^{v'} and -ဟ် -^{h'} correspond frequently, but not consistently, to low and high tones, respectively, as in the examples in (20). The symbol -အ် -^{a'} often appears in subscript form under the letter which precedes it, instead of appearing to the right of the final consonant letter.

(20)	<i>OB</i>	<i>trsl</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>WB</i>	<i>trsl</i>	<i>pron</i>
-အ် - ^{a'}	စအ်	<i>sa^{a'}</i>	'begin'	စ	<i>sa</i>	sà
	ဟိအ်	<i>hi^{a'}</i>	'be'	ရိ	<i>rhi</i>	ʃi
	နအ်	<i>nu^{a'}</i>	'soft, tender'	န	<i>nu</i>	nu
	ပျအ်	<i>plyu^{a'}</i>	'act'	ပြ	<i>pru</i>	pjü
	အဖအ်	<i>apha^{a'}</i>	'father'	အဖ	<i>apha</i>	ʔəpʰa
	အမိအ်	<i>ami^{a'}</i>	'mother'	အမိ	<i>ami</i>	ʔəmi
	မယ်အ်	<i>may^{a'}</i>	'deficient'	မဲ	<i>mai'</i>	mɛ
	ခြင်သိယ်အ်	<i>khraṇ'siy^{a'}</i>	'lion'	ခြင်သဲ	<i>khraṇ'se'</i>	ʔɛinðɛ
	ဆီအ်တောင်	<i>chi^{a'}ton^{a'}</i>	'pray'	ဆုတောင်း	<i>chuton^{a'}</i>	sʰyutáun
-ဝ် - ^{v'}	ထိုဝ်	<i>thuiv'</i>	'that'	ထို	<i>thui</i>	tʰò
	ခဝ်	<i>khav'</i>	'call'	ခေါ	<i>kha</i>	kʰò
	လိုဝ်	<i>luiv'</i>	'desire'	လို	<i>lui</i>	lò
	ပုထိုဝ်	<i>puthuiv'</i>	'hollow stupa'	ပုထိုး	<i>puthui''</i>	pətʰó
-ဟ် - ^{h'}	သမိဟ်	<i>samih'</i>	'daughter'	သမီး	<i>sami''</i>	θəmi
	သဟ်	<i>sah'</i>	'son'	သား	<i>sā''</i>	θá
	မိယဟ်	<i>miyah'</i>	'wife'	မယား	<i>mayā''</i>	məjá
	နွဟ်	<i>nvah'</i>	'bull'	နွား	<i>nvā''</i>	nwá
	ဤဟ်	<i>ih'</i>	'this'	ဤ	<i>ī</i>	ʔi

Modern low tone words often appear in Pagan period Burmese with long vowels in open syllables and short vowels in closed syllables, as in the words in (21), though by no means consistently, as the exceptions in (15) and (19) show.

(21) OB low tone words

OB	trsl	gloss	WB	trsl	pron
ကူ	kū	'cave shrine'	ဂူ	gū	gù
ငါ	nā	'I'	ငါ	nā	ṇà
ငို	nī	'younger brother'	ညို	nī	ṇì
စုံ	cum	'full'	စုံ	cum	sòun
တောင်	ton'	'mountain'	တောင်	ton'	tàun
နာ	nā	'ill'	နာ	nā	nà
သိယ့်	siy'	'die'	သေ	se	thè
လာယ့်	lāy'	'paddy field'	လာယ့်	lāy'	lè

The practice of representing creaky tone with -အ် -a' written either to the right of or underneath the final consonant disappeared during the latter half of the Pagan period, as is seen from the spellings in (22).

(22) Early Pagan period -အ် -a' spelt without -အ် -a' in the late Pagan period.

early OB	trsl	gloss	later OB	trsl	gloss
အမိအ်	amī ^{a'}	'mother'	ငမိ	ṇami	'my mother'
အဖအ်	apha ^{a'}	'father'	ငဖ	ṇapha	'my father'
စအ်	sa ^{a'}	'begin'	ရ	ra	'get'
ဆုအ်တောင်	chu ^{a'} ton'	'pray'	လ	la	'moon'

It seems that the final consonant -ဟ် -h' had a function similar to the *visarga* -ḥ -" in modern Burmese (eg OB ကြိဟ် *krīh* > WB ကြီး *krī* 'big'; OB နွဟ် *nvah* > WB နွား *nvā* 'bull'). However, words in high tone were not systematically discriminated from low tone words, particularly in the latter half of the Pagan period, as illustrated in (23).

(23) Tone ambiguity in late Pagan period words

OB	trsl	> 1. WB low tone	> 2. WB high tone
ငါ	nā	ငါ nā 'I'	ငါး nā" 'fish'
စာ	cā	စာ cā 'writing'	စား cā" 'eat'
နာ	nā	နာ nā 'ill'	နား nā" 'ear'
(အ)ရောင်	(a)ron'	အရောင် aroṇ' 'colour'	(အ)ရောင်း (a)ron ^{a'} 'sell'
လေ	le	လေ le 'wind'	လေး le" 'four'

Syllable-final consonants

In Pagan period Burmese, a closed syllable rhyme could consist of various combinations of vowels with a final velar, palatal, dental or labial consonant, which was marked with the symbol အသတ် *asat'*. All the combinations observed in Pagan period Burmese are found in modern Burmese, in addition to several more besides, as in (24); cells in the table without asterisks indicate combinations which did not appear in Pagan period Burmese.

(24) Permitted closed syllable rhymes in Pagan period Burmese

OB	trsl	- a	- i	- u	- e	- o	- ui	- v-
က	k'	*			*	*	*	*
န	n'	*			*	*	*	*
စ	c'	*			*			
ည	ññ'	*			*			
တ	t'	*	*	*	*			*
ပ	p'	*	*	*				*
မ (-)	m' (-m)	*	*	*				
ယ	y'	*	*	*				*
ဝ	v'	*						*

Examples of words with closed syllable rhymes in Pagan period Burmese are given in (25).

(25)

		OB	trsl	gloss	WB	trsl	pron
က	k'	ငှက်	n̄hak'	'bird'	ငှက်	n̄hak'	ŋɛ?
		သောက်	sok'	'drink'	သောက်	sok'	θau?
		ယောက်	yok'	CLF for people	ယောက်	yok'	jau?
		မှိုက်	n̄huik'	'in'	မှိုက်	n̄huik'	ŋai?
		ထွက်	thvak'	'go out'	ထွက်	thvak'	tʰwɛ?
င	ñ'	လင်	lān'	'husband'	လင်း	lān''	lín
		ညောင်	ñon'	'banyan'	ညောင်	ñon'	ŋaun
		တန်တိုင်	tan'tuñ'	'brick wall'	တံတိုင်း	tan'tuñ''	tândàin
		တွင်	tvañ'	'inside'	တွင်း	tvañ''	twín
စ	c'	တစ်	tac'	'one'	တစ်	tac'	ti?
		နှစ်	nhac'	'two';	နှစ်	nhac'	ŋi?
		ယုစံ	yhaç'	'eight'	ရှစ်	rhaç'	ji?
ညံ	ññ'	ရည်	rāññ'	'liquid'	ရည်	raññ'	jè
		ကြည်	hraññ'	'long'	ရှည်	rhaññ'	je
တ	t'	သတ်	sat'	'kill'	သတ်	sat'	θa?
		သပိတ်	sapit'	'almsbowl'	သပိတ်	sapit'	θəbei?
		လဆုတ်	lasut'	'waning moon'	လဆုတ်	lasut'	lazou?
		လွတ်	hvat'	'be free'	လွတ်	hvat'	lu?
နံ	n'	ကန်	kan'	'tank'	ကန်	kan'	kàn
		မိန့်အိ	mìn'	'decree';	မိန့်	mìn'	mein
		ဖုန်	phun'	'glory'	ဘုန်း	bhun''	pʰóun
ဝံ	p'	ခပ်သိမ်း	khap'sim'	'all'	ခပ်သိမ်း	khap'sim''	kʰa?θéin
		မွတ်သိပ်	mvat'sip'	'hungry'	မွတ်သိပ်	mvat'sip'	mu?θei?
		လုပ်	lup'	'do'	လုပ်	lup'	lou?
မ (-)	m' (-m)	ခံ	kharñ	'receive'	ခံ	kharñ	kʰàn
		ဤမိ	im'	'house'	အိမ်	im'	?èin
		သုံး	surñ	'three'	သုံး	surñ''	θóun
ယံ	y'	ဆယ်	chāy'	'ten'	ဆယ်	chay'	sʰɛ
		လီယံ	līy'	'four'	လေး	līy'	lé
		မှယ်	muy'	'feed'	မွေး	mve''	mwé

Attention is drawn to the combinations of vowel *ə* - *e* with final consonants, which do not appear in modern Burmese. These spellings appear to have been variants of other combinations, as in (26):

(26) Variant forms with *ə* - *e* - *ʼ*

OB	trsl	gloss	WB	trsl	pron
နှစ် ~ နှစ်	<i>nhēc' ~ nhac'</i>	'two'	နှစ်	<i>nhac'</i>	ɲiʔ
မျက် ~ မျက်	<i>mlek' ~ myak'</i>	'eye'	မျက်	<i>myak'</i>	mjɛʔ
လှိုင် ~ လှိုင်	<i>lhen' ~ lhyan'</i>	EMPHATIC	လှိုင်	<i>lhyan'</i>	ʔajɪn
လည်း ~ လည်း	<i>leññ' ~ laññ'</i>	'also'	လည်း	<i>laññ'</i>	lé
ဟေတ် ~ ရှေ့ ~ ရှစ်	<i>het' ~ rhec' ~ rhac'</i>	'eight'	ရှစ်	<i>rhac'</i>	ʃiʔ
ဇစ် ~ အစ်	<i>ec' ~ ac'</i>	'older brother'	အစ်ကို	<i>ac'kui</i>	ʔəkò

The combinations *ə*-*ot'* and *ə*-*on'* were variants of *ə*-*vat'* and *ə*-*van'*, respectively, as in (27):

(27) Variation of *ə*-*ot'* ~ *ə*-*vat'* and *ə*-*on'* ~ *ə*-*van'*

OB	trsl	gloss	WB	trsl	pron
ကျောက် ~ ကျန်	<i>kyon' ~ kyvan'</i>	'slave'	ကျန်	<i>kyvan'</i>	tɕɪn
လှောက် ~ လွတ်	<i>lhot' ~ lhvat'</i>	'release'	လွတ်	<i>lhvat'</i>	ʔuʔ
သောက် ~ သွန်	<i>son' ~ svan'</i>	'pour out'	သွန်	<i>svan'</i>	θùn
အထောက် ~ အထွတ်	<i>athot' ~ athvat'</i>	'pinnacle'	အထွတ်	<i>athvat'</i>	ʔəth'uʔ

Lastly, in some rhymes, *u* - *u* and *o* - *o* were interchangeable during the earlier part of the Pagan period, as in (28).

(28) Variation of *u* ~ *o*

OB	trsl	gloss	WB	trsl	pron
ပြုအ် ~ ပြုအ်	<i>plu' ~ plu'</i>	'make'	ပြု	<i>pru</i>	pju
ရောဟ် ~ ရွာ	<i>roh' ~ rvā</i>	'village'	ရွာ	<i>rvā</i>	jwà
လောန် ~ လွန်	<i>lon' ~ lvan'</i>	'past'	လွန်	<i>lvan'</i>	lùn
အမောအ် ~ အမှု	<i>amho' ~ amhu</i>	'deed'	အမှု	<i>amhu</i>	ʔəm̥u

3 Sentence types and sentence syntax

This section looks at the formation of sentences in Pagan period Burmese. Single sentences were either simple, consisting of a single clause, or complex, consisting of a subordinate clause and a main clause. Four sentence types can be identified: affirmative, negative, imperative and interrogative, each treated separately below.

Topic-complement sentences

Sentences with a topic and a complement may be referred to as equational sentences. In such sentences, both the topic and the complement consisted of a noun phrase, as in (29)–

(31). Needless to say, the topic was not obligatorily present in Pagan period Burmese: it was often omitted.

- (29) *topic complement topic complement*
 လဲတဆယ်ကာ ထေရစာတေ၊ ဂျဲပဲကာ အရ္ပာစာတေ။
lai.tachay'.kā thera.cā.te, 35.pai.kā aryā.cā.te
 field.ten.TOP monk.eat.REAL 35.'peh'.TOP holy.eat.REAL
 'Ten *peh* of fields is to provide for the senior monk, and 35 for the other monks.'
 (Inscr. I-383a)

- (30) *topic complement*
 ဤလိယ်ယောက်သောကျန်သည်ကာ အဖကျန်။
īy'.liy'.yok'.so.kyvan'.saññ'.kā apha.kyvan'.
 this.four.CLF.ATTR.slave.SUBJ.TOP father.slave
 'These four slaves are father's slaves.' (Inscr. II-204a)

- (31) *topic complement*
 ဤပုရာကျန်ဖျက်ဆီသောသူကာ၊ ဩဝံအဝစိယန်စိယ်သူတေ။
īy'.purhā.kyvan'.phyak'chī'.so.sū.kā, nīrāy'.avacīy'.nac'.ciy'.sū.te.
 this.Buddha.slave.destroy.ATTR.person.TOP hell.Avici.sink.CAUS.REAL.EMPH
 'Whoever destroys the Pagoda slave will be drowned in the infernal realm of Avici.'
 (Inscr. I-22)

Sentences with a verbal predicate

The sentences (32)–(40) consist of noun phrases in combination with a verbal predicate.

- (32) *topic predicate (subject + verb)*
 ဇေယျပုတ်ကာ အသက်လေကြီးစေအံ။
jeyyapvat'.kā asak'.le.krī'.e^a
 Zeyyaput.TOP age.also.big.REAL
 'Zeyyaput is old.' (Inscr. I-90)
- (33) *subject predicate (object + verb)*
 သကရစ်၅၇၂ခု ဥဓိနာမင် ရှယ်တောင်တက်၏။
sakkaraj'.572.khu ucinā.man' rhuy'.ton'.tak'.e^a
 Sakkaraja.572.CLF Uzana.king gold.mountain.ascend.REAL
 'King Uzana ascended the throne in Sakkaraja year 572.' (Inscr. I-90)
- (34) *subject predicate*
 သကရစ်၆၀၉ခု အတိုင်သခင်မင်ကင်္ကသူ ပျံတာဝံမူစေအံ။
sakkaraj'.609.khu atuiv'.sakhiñ'.man'.kañkasū pyarñ.tāv' mū.e^a
 Sakkaraja.609.CLF our.lord.king.Kingathu die.HON.REAL
 'Lord King Kingathu passed away in Sakkaraja year 609.' (Inscr. II-143)

- (35) *subject object verb*
 ငါကာ နိရဗန်ကိုလျှင် လိုဝံသတေ။
nā.kā niraban'.kui.lhyan' luiv'.sate
 I.SUBJ nirvana.OBJ.EMPH want.REAL
 'I desire nirvana.' (Inscr. III-232)

- (36) *topic indirect object*
 ဤယံငါလှူသကာ ပုရှာတြာသဗ္ဗာရတနာသုပါသောအာ
īy'.nā.lhū.sa.kā purhā.tryā.saṅghā.ratanā.suñ.pā.so.ā
 this.I.donate.REAL.TOP Buddha.Dhamma.Sangha.jewel.three.CLF.ATTR.to

verb
 လှူသတေ။
lhū.sa.te
 donate.REAL

'My donation was for the three gems: Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha.' (Inscr. II-143)

In (36) the topic ဤယံငါလှူသကာ *īy'.nā.lhū.sa.kā* is a nominalised verb phrase 'that which I donated.'

- (37) *subject indirect object verb*
 စည်သူမင် သခင်ကင်္ကသုကိုဝံ ပိယံတာဝံမူသောလယ်။
caññ'sū.man' sakhan'.kaṅkasū.kuiv' piy'.tāv' mū.so.lay'
 Sithu.king lord.Kinggathu.to give.HON.ATTR.paddy
 '(The paddy which...) King Sithu granted to Lord Kinggathu.' (Inscr. II- 143a)

- (38) *indirect object subject*
 သကရစိဉ္ဇာဓု သခင်မင်ခုန်တိုင်ကိုဝံ မင်ကြံ ဤသို့အံ
sakarac'.531.khu sakhan'.man'khun'tuiñ'.kuiv' man'.krī ī.sui'
 Sakaraja.531.CLF lord.Mingondain.to king.big this.way

verb
 မိန့်တင်မူ၏။
*min'.tav' mū.e**
 decree.HON.REAL

'In the year of Sakaraja 531, the King gave orders to Lord Mingondain thus.'
 (Inscr. II- 143a)

- (39) *topic (indirect object) subject verb*
 အတိုင်ကျွန်ကိုဝံကာ အတိုင်ကျွန်ဖ ပိယံတုံအေ။
atuiv'kyvan'.kuiv'.kā atuiv'.kyvan'.pha piy'.tuñ.e'
 me.to.TOP my.father give.again.REAL
 'My father gave it to me in turn.' (Inscr. II-174)

- (40) *direct object* *indirect object* *subject* *predicate*
 လယ်နှင့်အ်ကျွန် ရတနာသုံပါသောကိုဝ် ငါ လှူခသော။
lay'.nhan'kyvan' ratanā.sum.pā.so.kuiv' nā lhū.kha.so
 field.and.slave gems.three.CLF.ATTR.to I donate.PAST.REAL
 'I dedicated the paddy fields and slaves to the Three Gems.' (*Inscr.* II-164)

Negative sentences

Verbs were negated by prefixing the negative particle မ *ma*, as in sentences (41)–(53). The sentence-final negative verb particle ဘူး *bū* bú/p^hú of modern colloquial Burmese is found neither in Pagan period Burmese, nor in modern formal Burmese (WB).

- (41) ငါ သာလေ မဟိ၊ ငါ မုယ်စာတန်သောသူလေ မဟိ။
nā sa.le ma.hi, nā muy'sā.tan'so.sū.le ma.hi
 I son.also NEG.have I raise.ought.ATTR.person.also NEG.have
 'I have no son and no one else to raise.' (*Inscr.* I-51)
- (42) ဖုန် မကြီ အသက် မရှည်စေ။
phun' ma.krī asak' ma.rhaññ'ce
 glory NEG.big life NEG.long.CAUS
 'May glory be not great, may life be not long.' (*Inscr.* I-88)
- (43) နိယံရောင်လရောင် မမြင်သောဖွဲ့စိယံအေ။
niy'.roñ'.la.roñ' ma.mrañ'.so.phlac'.ciy'.e'
 sun.light.moon.light NEG.see.ATTR.be.CAUS.REAL
 'May he be visible neither by sun light nor moonlight.' (*Inscr.* I-104)
- (44) စာရချင်လျက်လျှင် မစာရတတ်သောတြိစနံလျှင် ဖွဲ့စိယံသတေ။
cā.ra.khlyan'.lyak'.lhyān' ma.cā.tat'so.trican'.lhyān' phlac'.ciy'.sate
 eat.get.want.while.EMPH NEG.eat.able.ATTR.animal.EMPH be.CAUS.REAL
 'May he be an animal that is unable to eat even if he wants to eat.' (*Inscr.* IV-389)
- (45) ငါကာ အဆုယ်အမျှိုင် မဟိယံအံစွံတေ။
nā.kā achuy'amyluiv' ma.hiy'svarñ.te
 I.TOP relatives NEG.have.capable.REAL
 'I am unable to have any family.' (*Inscr.* II-112)
- (46) စာသင်တိုက်ကာ မပြီသိယံ။
cā.sañ'.tuik'.kā ma.prī.siy'
 writing.learn.building.TOP NEG.finish.yet
 'The building for teaching the Scriptures is not finished yet.' (*Inscr.* III-271)
- (47) တယောက်တည်လျှင် မစာဖူး။
ta.yok'.taññ'.lhyān' ma.cā.phū
 one.CLF.only.EMPH NEG.eat.EXP
 '(I) have not eaten alone.' (*Inscr.* II-193)

- (48) ဥစ္စာဟိယ်ဟိယ် မပိယ်လိုဝ်သော ဝန်တိုင်နှစ်လိုလေ
uccā.hiγ'.hiγ' *ma.piγ'.luiv'.so* *van'tuiv'.nhac'.lui.le*
 property.have.SUBJUNC^{REDUP} NEG.give.want.ATTR uncharitable.enjoy.also

ငါ မဗွန်လိုဝ်။
nā ma.phlac'.luiv'
 I NEG.be.want

'I do not want to be a man who does not donate and who is stingy, even though he may own much property.' (*Inscr.* III-249)

- (49) အမိန် မဟိအာ။
amin' ma.hi.ā
 order NEG.have.EMPH
 'There is no time to waste issuing an order.' (*Inscr.* I-79b)

- (50) မိယာ မဟုတ် ခြွယ်မ တေ။
miyā ma.hut' khluγ'ma te
 wife NEG.true daughter-in-law REAL
 'She is not the wife, but the daughter-in-law.' (*Aung Thaw* 1972–1983, vol. i, p.24)

- (51) မပိုင်မခြာနိုင်သော အတိုင်မသိသော က္လောင်။
ma.puiñ'khrā.nuiñ'.so atuiñ'.ma.si.so kloñ'
 NEG.divide.can.ATTR measure.NEG.know.ATTR monastery
 'The monastery beyond measure which could not be divided' (*Inscr.* III-243)

- (52) ရတနာသုံးပါသောဗွယ်ကာ ငါ့ဗွယ်သိုဝ် ဆံခြည်တတန်လျှင်
ratanā.suñ.pā.so.mliγ'.kā nā.mliγ'.suiv' chañ.khraññ'.ta.tan'.lhyañ
 gems.three.CLF.ATTR.earth.TOP my.earth.to hair.strand.1.CLF.EMPH

မဝင်စိယ်။
ma.vañ'.ciγ'.

NEG.enter.CAUS

'Never let the religious land be confused with my own land, even if it be only by the size of a strand of hair.' (*Inscr.* III-296)

- (53) ဤယ်မျှသကျန်ကာ ဖုရှာတြာသင်ခါတိုင်ကိုဝ်လေ မလှူ။
iy'.mhyasa.kyvan'.kā phurhā.tryā.sañ'khā.tuiv'.kuiv'.le ma.lhū,
 this.much.slave.TOP Buddha.Law.Sangha.PL.to.also NEG.donate,

လင်သာအဆုယ်အမျှိုင်တိုင်ကိုဝ်လေ မပိယ်သော
lan'.sā.achuy'amlyuiv'.tuiv'.kuiv'.le ma.piγ'.so
 husband.son.relatives.PL.to.also NEG.give.REAL

'I donate these slaves to none of Buddha, Law or Sangha; nor do I give them o my husband, son or relatives.' (*Inscr.* II-201a)

Orders and exhortations

Imperative and exhortative sentences in Pagan period Burmese contained either a verb phrase *without* any sentence-final particle (such as သတေ *sate* or အေ *e'*), or a verb phrase with one of the causative or imperative verb markers shown in (54).

(54) OB imperative markers

OB	trsl	gloss	WB	trsl	pron	e.g.
(omission of sentence-final verb particle)						
လေ/လိယံ	<i>le~liy'</i>	IMP	လေ	<i>le</i>	<i>lè</i>	(260)
လောအံ~လဝ်	<i>lo'~lav'</i>	IMP	လော့	<i>lo'</i>	<i>lɔ</i>	(261)
လင်	<i>lan'</i>	IMP	လင်္ဂ	<i>lan'</i>	<i>lɪn</i>	(266)(267)(268)
စိယံ	<i>ciy'</i>	CAUS	စေ	<i>ce</i>	<i>sè</i>	e.g. (270)(274)(275)(284)(285)(286)

Questions

Yes-no questions in Pagan period Burmese used the sentence-final interrogative particle လော *lo*, while နေ *nhe* was used in WH-questions, with one of the WH-question words set out in (55) and found in the examples following it.

(55) WH-question words

OB	trsl	gloss	WB	trsl	pron	e.g.
အဖယ်	<i>aphay'</i>	'what/which?'	အဘယ်	<i>abhay'</i>	<i>ʔəbè</i>	
အသိုဝ်	<i>asuiv'</i>	'how?'	အသိုဝ်	<i>asui'</i>	<i>ʔəðɔ</i>	
အတိ	<i>atī</i>	'what/where?'	အတိ	<i>atī</i>	<i>ʔəti</i>	
အဖယ်ကြောင့်	<i>aphay'kron'</i>	'why?'	အဘယ်ကြောင့်	<i>abhay'kron'</i>	<i>ʔəbèdzaun</i>	

- လော *lo* (Stc~) → Q?: yes-no question particle [=WB လာ: *la'* *lá*]

- (56) မိန့်အံလိုက်သော မင်လော။
min^a.luik'.so man'.lo
 decree.just.ATTR king.order.Q-?
 'Was it the King who issued the order?' (*Inscr.* I-78b)
- (57) နှစ်နှစ်သုံးနှစ်ကြိုကာ မကြာဖူးသလော။
nhac'.nhac'.sum.nhac'krui.kā mā.krā.phū.sa.lo.
 two.year.three.year.before.TOP NEG.hear.EXP.REAL.Q-?
 'Have (you) not heard this already in the past two or three years?' (*Inscr.* II-168)
- (58) စည်သူမင်ကြည်ကာ မိုင်တောက်သည်ကာ မိလောဟု မေတင်မူ၏။
*caññ'sū.man'.krī.saññ'.kā muiv'.tok'.saññ'.kā mī.lo.hu me.tav'mū.e**
 Sithu.king.big.NOM.TOP sky.shine.NOM.TOP fire.Q-?.QUOT ask.HON.REAL
 'King Sithu asked: Is that luminous matter a fire?' (Forchhammer 1892:145)

- (59) ပုထိုဝ်ထန်လော ဗုဒ္ဓိထန်လော မိယ်ရကာ၊
puthuiv'.than'.lo buddhi.than'.lo miy'.rakā
 stupa.toddy palm.Q-? Buddha.toddy palm.Q-? ask.since
 'Since he asked whether the toddy palm belonged to the stupa or to Buddha...'
 (Aung Thaw 1972-1983, vol. i, p.24)
- နှေ *nhe* (Stc~) → Q-WH: WH-question particle [=WB နည်း *naññ'* ní]
- (60) အသိုဝ် ငါ ခံမ်အံနှေ။
asuiv' nā khañ.vam'.am.nhe.
 how I endure.dare.IRR.Q-WH
 'How shall I endure (it)?' (*Inscr.* I-79a)
- (61) အသိုဝ် သတ်ခြင်နှေ။
asuiv' sat'.khañ'.nhe.
 how kill.NOM.Q-WH
 'By what manner of execution?' (*Inscr.* II-68)
- (62) မနှင်ပိယ်သော ဖွစ်မုကာ အသိုဝ်အံမူအံနှေ။
ma.nhañ'.piy'.so phlac'.kha.mukā asuiv'.mū.am.nhe.
 NEG.prior.give.ATTR be.REAL.if how.act.IRR.Q-WH
 'If (he) fails to return it, what shall (we) do?' (*Inscr.* I-79b)
- (63) အဖယ်မိန်အံ ဩင်သနှေ။
aphay'.min' on'.sa.nhe.
 what.decree succeed.REAL.Q-WH
 'With what decree did you succeed (in the case)?' (*Inscr.* I-78b)
- (64) ကျာန်၂၀သကာ အဖယ်မည်သော ကျာန်နှေ။
kyvāñ'.20.sa.kā aphay'.maññ'.so kyvāñ'.nhe.
 slave.20.ATTR.TOP what.name.ATTR slave.Q-WH
 'What are the names of these twenty slaves?' (*Inscr.* I-38b)
- (65) ခိုဝ်စသောသူတိုဝ်ကာ အဖယ်ဟူ ခံလိမ်နှေ။
khuiv'.ca.so.sū.tuiv'.kā aphay'.hū khañ'.līm'.nhe.
 steal.eat.ATTR.person.PL.TOP what.say endure.OPT.Q-WH
 'How will those who steal to eat survive?' (*Inscr.* II-168)
- (66) ထိုဝ်ကျာန်ကာ အတီနှေ။
thuiv'.kyvāñ'.kā atī.nhe.
 that.slave.TOP where.Q-WH
 'Where are the slaves?' (*Inscr.* I-51)
- (67) အတီမှ လာသနှေ။
atī.mha lā.sa.nhe.
 where.from come.REAL.Q-WH
 'Where did (he) come from?' (*Inscr.* I-95a)

- (68) အရပ်၃ပါဟူသကာ အတီတိုင်အံနေ။
arap'.3.pā.hū.sa.kā atī.tuiv'.nhe.
 region.3.CLF.say.ATTR.TOP where.PL.Q-WH
 'Where are the so-called Three Regions?' (*Inscr.* II-143a)
- (69) အသိုဝ်မူရယ် အခါရှည်ဖွစ်တတ်အံနေ။
asuiv'.mū.ruy' akhā.rhāññ'.phlac'.tat'.arñ.nhe.
 how.act.SUBORD time.long.be.can.IRR.Q-WH
 'In what way can it last for a long time?' (*Inscr.* IV,392)

Exclamations

Exclamations were expressed in Pagan period Burmese with a sentence-final particle တကာ *takā*, as in sentences (70)–(73).

- (70) ဩဤနွယ်အရပ်ကာ မ္ဗတ်စွာတကာဟု ဆိုဝ်တဝ်မူရယ်။
o.ī.mliy'.arap'.kā mlat'.svā.takā.hu chuiv'.tav'mū.ruy'.
 oh!.this.land.region.TOP noble.very.EXCL.QUOT say.HON.SUBORD
 '[The king] uttered: "How glorious this land is!"' (*Inscr.* I-79b)
- (71) ဩဤယ်မင်ကြီကာ မိမိပြညာဖွင်ကြီရယ် ဆိုင်သော မဟုတ်တကာ။
o.iy'.mañ'.krī.kā mimi.praññā.phlañ' chuiv'.so ma.hut'.takā.
 oh!.this.king.big.TOP REFL.knowledge.with say.ATTR NEG.true.EXCL
 'Alas, the king's speech was not made from his own knowledge!' (*Inscr.* II-68)
- (72) ငါက ဤယ်သိုဝ်အံ မရိယ်ဖူတကာဟု မိန့်အံစအံ။
ñā.kā iy'.suiv' ma.riy'.phū.tukā.hu min'.e'.
 I.TOP this.way NEG.write.EXP.EXCL.QUOT decree.REAL
 '(He) said: "I have never written in such a way!"' (*Inscr.* I-78b)
- (73) အညွန့် မဆိတ်တကာ။
añvan' ma.chit'.takā.
 sprout NEG.pick.EXCL.
 'Do not pick sprouts!' (*Inscr.* III-271)

Conditional assumptions

Conditional assumptions contain a subordinate clause followed by a main clause which is an assumed or desired consequence of the subordinate clause. The assumption is expressed using either of the particles အံ *arñ* or မူကာ *mūkā* attached to the verb of the subordinate clause.

- (74) အကြင်သူတဝ် သာရဟန်းပုံဏာယောက်ယာမိယ်မ ခီပင်ရအံ၊
akrañ'.sū.tav' sā.raham'.pumñā.yok'yā.miy'ma khīpañ'.ra.arñ,
 that.person.HON being.monk.Brahmin.man.woman exalt.can.IRR

ထိုသူတင်သာတိုင်လေ	ငါနှင့်ထပ်တူ	အလှူအကျိပ်ကိုဝံ
<i>thui.su. tav'.sātuiv'.le</i>	<i>nā.nhan'.thap'tū</i>	<i>alhū.akluiv'.kuiv'</i>
that.person.HON.person.also	I.with.equally	donation.benefit.OBJ

ရစိယံကုန်သတေ။

ra.ciy'.kun'.sate.

get.CAUS.all.REAL

'If any people, whether it a monk, Brahmin, man or woman, tend it, may they all receive merit in equal measure to the merit of my donation.'

(Inscr. II-126b)

- (75) ဤယံသူ ငမိန်လျက် ဖျက်စီးမှုကာ
 īy'.sū *nā.min'.lhyak'* *phyak'chī.mukā*
 this.person I.decreed.despite destroy.if

လူအဖွဲ့စီဟူသောက

lū.aphlac'.hū.so.ka

person.existence.say.ATTR.TOP

ရှစ်ဖန်

rhac'.phan'

eight.times

မဖွဲ့စီရစိယံသောတေ။

ma.phlac'.ra.ciy'.so.te.

NEG.BE.can.CAUS.REAL.EMPH

'If this man destroys (this) despite my warning, may he not be (reincarnated as) a human being eight times.' (Inscr. II-134b)

- (76) ဤယံနိယံသောယောက်ယာမိယံမ ဖျက်ဆီးသော သိမြင်၍ အရိယံအရမ်
 īy'.niy'.so.yok'yā.miy'ma *phyak'chī.so* *si.mran'.r** *ariy'aram'*
 here.live.ATTR.man.woman destroy.ATTR know.see.SUBORD protection

မယူစိမ်မှုကာ၊

ma.yu.cim'.mūkā

NEG.take.CAUS/IRR.try.if

ငါသခင်တကာ

nā.sakin'.takā

my.lord.all

ဤယံမျှသောကာ

īy'.mhya.so.kā

this.extent.ATTR.TOP

ငြိယံသင်စိမ်ကုန်သောတေ။

īray.san'.cim'.kun'.so.te.

hell.befall.CAUS/IRR.all.ATTR.REAL

'If on the other hand those men and women who live here, observing acts of destruction, should not take action [or: should not cause action to be taken], may they all, my numerous lords, be cast into hell.' (Inscr. I-28a)

- (77) အဆုယ်အဝါသူကြံသူတပါ ဖျက်ဆီးတေဟူမှုကာ အာဝစိယံကာ
 achuy'avā.su.krī.su.tapā *phyak'chī.te.hū.mukā* *āvacy'.kā*
 relatives.person.big.person.other destroy.EMPH.say.if Avici.TOP

အထက်အယင်တိုင်အိကာအညွက် ကျက်စိယံသုတေ။
 athak'.ayan'.tuiv^{ac}.kã.aok' kyak'.ciy'.sute.
 above.he.PL.TOP.beneath boil.CAUS.REAL

'If relatives, leaders or strangers destroy (this), may Avici be above and they below, and may they boil there.' (Inscr. I-28b)

- (78) နောင်အခါ ငသာငမ္မယ်တစ်လည်ကောင်၊ ငါဆုယ်မ္မိုင်တစ်လည်ကောင်
 non'.akhã ña.sã.ña.mlay'.taç'.laññ'.kon', ñã.chuy'mluiv'.taç'.laññ'.kon'
 later.time my.son.my.grandchild.one.also.good my.relative.one.also.good

ဖျက်ဆီး၏အဟူမူကာ အဖုန်မကြီ အသက်မရှည်စိယံသုတေ။
 phyak'chĩe*.hũ.mukã aphun'.ma.krĩ asak'.ma.rhaññ'.ciy'.sate.
 destroy.REAL.QUOTE.if glory.NEG.big life.NEG.long.CAUS.REAL
 'In future, if my son, my grandson or a relative destroy (this), may he never be glorious, nor endowed with long life.' (Inscr. I-44a)

- (79) သျှင်ဒိသာပြာမုက်တေ ပါမူကာ အမှု ဆောင်နိုင်အံ။
 syaň'.disapramuk'.te pã.mũkã amũ choň'.nuin'.am.
 Shin_Dithapramok.EMPH include.if matter perform.can.IRR
 'If Shin Dithapramok goes along, he will be able to carry out the matter.'
 (Inscr. III-271)

Complex sentences

Subordinate clauses Pagan period Burmese sentences made use of one the subordinating conjunctions suffixed to the verb of the subordinate clause, as in the examples in (80)–(95).

- ရှယ် *ruy'* (V~) → SUBORD: subordinate clause marker; V and / V and therefore [=WB
 ရှု *r* jwe*]

- (80) ငါမိထုယ် မုယ်ရှယ် ကြီး၏။
 ñã.mithuy' muy'.ruy' krĩ.e^{ac}.
 I.aunt raise.SUBORD grow up.REAL
 'I grew up raised by my aunt.' (Inscr. II-181)

- (81) သုယ်ခဲ အန်ရှယ် သိယ်စိမ်အံတေ။
 suy'.khai an'.ruy' siy'.cim^{ac}.te.
 blood.clot vomit.SUBORD die.CAUS/IRR.REAL
 'May he vomit clots of blood and die.' (Inscr. II-144)

- (82) ငါကိုဝ် ခပ်ရှယ် မင်ကြီ ဤအမှု နှင်၏။
 ñã.kuiv' khav'.ruy' man'.krĩ lamhu nhan'.e*.
 I.OBJ call.SUBORD king.big this.affair entrust.REAL
 'The King summoned me and entrusted me with this affair.' (Inscr. III-271)

- (83) ကိုဝိမိယာ သာနှစ်ယောက် အပေါင်ငှယောက် ပုတြာလှူရယ်အံ
 kuiv'.mīyā sã.nhac'.yok' apoh'.4.yok' puhra'.lhu.ruy'
 REFL.wife son.two.CLF total.4.CLF Buddha.donate.SUBORD

ကျောက်စာ ရိုယ်၏အံ။
 klok'.cā ri'y'.e'

stone.writing write.REAL

'(I) made this inscription after four of us, including my wife and two sons, made an offering to the Buddha' (Inscr. I-6)

- (84) အသျှင်မင်ကြီးလေ ရေစင်တင် သွန်ရှယ် အနုမောတနာခပ်တင်မူ၏။
 asyañ'.mañ'.krī.le re.cañ'.tav' svan'.rhuy' anumotanā.khav'.tav' mū.e*.
 noble.king.big.also water.clean.HON pour.SUBORD rejoicing.call.HON.REAL
 'His majesty the King poured the holy water and celebrated his religious deed.'
 (Inscr. I-24)

- အံသောငှာ am'.so.nhā (V~) → PURP: in order that it will V [=WB အံသောငှာ am'.so.nhā ၊ ၵၵၵၵၵ]

- (85) ရခဲစွာသော ရတနာသုံးပါ ထာအံသောငှါ
 ra.khai.svā.so ratanā.sum.pā thā.amsonhā
 get.difficult.very.ATTR jewels.three.CLF place.PURPOSE

တင်စွာသော ဥတ်အတိသော တန်တိုင်ဝန်ကျင်လေ ပွါ၏ယ်။
 tañ'.svā.so ut'.atī.so tan'tuin'.van'kyan'.le plu.e*y'
 splendid.very.ATTR brick.full.ATTR wall.surrounding.also make.REAL

'(I) constructed a splendid brick wall for the purpose of preserving the Three Gems, which had been obtained with difficulty.' (Inscr. I-69)

- လိုဝ်သောငှာ luiv'.so.nhā (V~) → PURP: in order that it might V [=WB လိုသောငှာ lui.so.nhā ၊ ၵၵၵၵၵ]

- (86) သင်္ဃာရာဆိုဝိဇ္ဇာယ်မှ ထွက်မွှောက်လိုဝ်သောငှါ ကူပုရာ ပွါအံ။
 sañ'sarā.chuiv'ñrāy'.mha thvak'.mlok'.luiv'sonhā kū.purhā plu.e'.
 Samsara.suffering.from leave.release.PURP cave.Buddha make.REAL
 '(I) constructed a cave-temple so that I will be freed from the cycle of rebirth and suffering.' (Inscr. II-138)

- စိမ်အံသောငှာ cīm'.so.nhā (V~) → PURP: in order that it may cause to V [=WB စိမ်သောငှာ cim'.so.nhā ၊ ၵၵၵၵၵ]

- (87) ရတနာသုံးပါသောကိုဝ် ပစ္စည်းငှပါ အလိုဝ်ရစိမ်အံသောငှါ လှူသော
 ratanā.sum.pā.so.kuiv' paccaññ'.4.pā aluiv'.ra.cīm'.sonhā lhu.so
 jewels.three.CLF.ATTR.to property.4.CLF necessity.get.PURPOSE donate.ATTR

ကျွန်ငှါလယ်၁၆၆
kyvan'.4, lay'.166.
 slave.4, field.166

'Four slaves and 166 paddy fields which (I) dedicated to the Three Gems for the purpose of usage of the Four Necessities.' (*Inscr.* III-316)

- (88) က္လောန်နိက္ခိရတ္တနာဒပါသတိ၏ ပစ်စေည့်ဖွဲ့စိစိမ်သောငှါ လဲလှူ၏။
kloñ'.nhuik'.rattanā.3.pā.sa.tui.e pac'ceñ.phlac'.cim'.soñhā lai.lhū.e*.*
 monastery.in.jewels.3.CLF.ATTR.PL.GEN property.be.PURP field.donate.REAL.
 'I dedicated fields so that they would become the property of the Three Gems in the monastery.' (*Inscr.* I-24)

- (89) သင်ပုတ်ဆမိ မပြတ်စိမ်သောငှါ
sañ'put'.cha.mi ma.prat'.cim'.soñhā
 food_offering.oil.lamp NEG.run_short.PURP

အိုမ်မွန်သင်သမိ စေတီကိုဝ် လှူသောလဲကာ စလင်လဲ၅၀။
uim'mvan'saṇ'.samī cedi.kuiv' lhū.so.lai.kā calañ'.lai.50.
 Ohn Mun Thin.daughter stupa.to donate.ATTR.field.TOP Salin.field.50
 'The land which Ohn Mun Thin's daughter donated to the stupa, so that it would not run out of food and lamps, is 50 *pai* in Salin.' (*Inscr.* I-12)

- သောကြောင့် *so.kron'* (V~) → because V [=WB သောကြောင့် *so.kron'* ၊ ၵတေ့ၤ]

- (90) နိဝဗ္ဗန်ပြည်ကိုဝ် လိုဝ်ချင်သောကြောင့်၊
nip'bban'.praññ'.kuiv' luiv'.khlañ'.sokron',
 Nirvana.country.OBJ desire.want.because

အာမနာမည်သော ကန်၏ယ် အဝံ့နှက် ဥတ္တိပ္ပသော
*āmanā.maññ'.so kan'.e*y' avhañ'.nhuk' utti.plu.so*
 Amana.name.ATTR pond.GEN whole.in brick.make.ATTR

တန်တိုင်လေည့်ပျ၏အံ။
*tan'tuin'.leññ'.plu.e***
 wall.also.make.REAL

'(I) constructed the brick walls around a pond named Amana because (I) want to attain the state of Nirvana.' (*Inscr.* I-12)

- (91) သဗ္ဗညုမည်သော ပုဂ္ဂဟအတ္ထစကိုဝ် လိုဝ်သောဟ်ကြောင့်အံအံ၊
sabbhāu.maññ'.so puhrā.aphlac'.kuiv' luiv'.soh'kron'.e',
 omniscience.name.ATTR Buddha.existence.OBJ want.because.REAL

သကရစ်၅၅၆ခု တန်ဆောင်မုန်းလဆန်း၂ရက် သောကြာနိယ်အံအာ
sakarac'.556.khu tan'choñ'mun'.la.chan'.2.rāyk' sokrā.niy'.ā
 Sakkaraja.556.CLF Tazaungmon.month.wax.2.CLF Friday.day.on

ကုထာပနာသောကြံဝ်။

kū.thāpanā.so.hrav'.

cave.enshrine_relic.when

'when [I] enshrined a relic of the Buddha in the cave-shrine on Friday, the 2nd waxing day of Tazaungmon in Sakkaraja year 556, since I wanted to become an omniscient Buddha.' (*Inscr.* I-10a)

- ရကာ *rakā* (V~) → since/because V [=WB ရကာ: *rakā*"] *jāgá*

- (92) မွတ်သိပ်ဆိုဝ်ငြယ်သောကိုဝ် မလိုဝ်ခွင်ရကာ ပုရှာမဟာသခင်နှင့်အံ
mvat'sip'.chuiw'iray'.so.kuiv' mā.luiv'khlan'.rakā purhā.mahā.sakhan'.nhan'
 hungry.unhappy.ATTR.OBJ NEG.want.since Buddha.great.lord.and

ဤယံကောဝ် နိယံသောသဃာအာ လှူသောကာ စလယ်အပါယ်၂၀၀၀။
īy'.klon' niy'.so.sanghā.ā lhū.so.kā calay'.apāy'.2000
 this.monastery live.ATTR.monkhood.to donate.ATTR.TOP Salay.pay.2000

'(I) dedicated 2000 *pay* of Salay land to the Lord Buddha and to the monks who live in this monastery, in order to avoid the agony of hunger.' (*Inscr.* I-10a)

- (93) မဟာဓိဓမ္မရာဇဂုရုကိုဝ် မင်ကြီနာဒေါင်မျာ င်သော
mahādhi.dhamma.rāja.guru.kuiv' man'.krī.nādon'myā nai.so
 Mahadhi.Dhamma.Raja.Guru.to king.big.Nadaungmya young.since

စာသင်ရကာ၊ မင်ဖွစ်ပြီ မဟာထိကောဝ်ပုရှာအာ
cā.sān'.rakā man'.phlac'.pri mahāthi.kron'.purhā.ā
 writing.learn.since king.become.SUBORD Mahadhi.monastery.Buddha.to

မင်ကြီနာထောင်မျာ လှူသောမစံသာလဲ၁၀၀။
man'.krī.nā.thon'myā lhū.so.mac'sā.lai.100
 king.big.Nadaungmya donate.ATTR.Myt-tha.field.100

'Since King Nadaunmya had learned as a pupil with Mahadhi Dhammaraja Guru when he was young, he, after his ascending to the throne, dedicated 100 paddy fields at Myittha to the Buddha in Mahadhi monastery.' (*Inscr.* I-63a)

- (94) ကု ပြီရကာ ဖုရှာလောင်ကိုဝ် ငါကြာအေ။
kū prī.rakā phurhā.loñ'.kuiv' nā.krā.e'
 cave finish.since Buddha.future.to I.report.REAL

'When (the construction of) the cave-temple was finished, I reported it to the Buddha-to-be (the king).' (*Inscr.* II-181)

- (95) အဖိုဝ် ငါလိုဝ်စ ဟူရကာ အဖိုဝ် ငါ ပိယံအေ။
aphuiv' nā.luiv'.ca hū.rakā aphuiv' nā piy'.e'
 value I.want.EXCL say.because value I give.REAL

'Since [he] said "I want money!" I paid it.' (*Inscr.* I-79a)

- လျက် *lyak'* (V~) → while V-ing [=WB လျက် *lyak' ṭəjɛʔ*]

- (96) စာချင်လျက် မစာ၊ ငါတ်၊ သောက်ချင်လျက် မသောက်၊ ငတ်။
cā.khyañ'.lyak' ma.cā, ṇāt', sok'.khyañ'.lyak' ma.sok', ṇāt'.
 eat.want.while NEG.eat, starve, drink.want.while NEG.drink, thirst.
 'Though they want to eat, they starve; though they want to drink, they thirst.'
 (Inscr. II-202)
- (97) မြတ်သောက္ခန္ဓာနှင့် ပြည့်စုံလျက် ဆိုင်ငြယ်အမှတ်မသိလိုဝ်။
mlat'.so.klaññ'cū.nhañ' plaññ'cūñ.lyak' chuiv'ṇiray'.amhat'.ma.si.luiv'.
 noble.ATTR.benefit.with full.while suffering.significance.NEG.know.want
 'Being full of holy benefit, they are not aware of suffering.' (Inscr. III-235)

Nominalised clauses

Embedded clauses within complex sentences are frequently nominalised, as in (98)–(100). In these sentences, the nominalised clause functions either as the topic (98)–(99) or as the grammatical object (100) of the sentence.

- (98) က္လောင်လှူသောကာ အပေါင် ကျောက်ကာ ၅ယောက်
kloñ'.lhū.so.kā apon' kyon' 5.yok'
 monastery.donate.ATTR.TOP total slave.NOM 5.CLF
 'His donation to the monastery amounted to five slaves.' (Inscr. I-6)
 [topic: 'that which he donated']
- (99) ပရိတ်ရွတ်သောကာ သခင်မဟာထေရ် (—) ဤယံစယောက် ဟုတ္တာ
parit'.rvat'.so.kā sakhiñ'.mahāther' (...) i'y.8.yok' huttā
 prayer.recite.ATTR.TOP lord.MahaThera (...) this.8.CLF true.EXCL
 'It is true that those who recited the *paritta* were eight persons including Maha Thera.' (Inscr. I-10)
 [topic: 'those who recited the *paritta*']
- (100) မွတ်သိပ်ဆိုဝ်ငြယ်သောကိုဝ် မလိုဝ်ခွင်ရကာ
mvat'sip'.chuiv'ṇiray'.so.kuiv' chañ'khrañ'.rakā
 starve.suffer.ATTR.OBJ NEG.desire.since
 'Since I do not desire starving and suffering...'
 [object: '(my) starving and suffering...']

Relative clauses

Relative clauses preceded the noun, ending with the attributive clause marker *သော so*, still found in modern formal Burmese. The relative clauses are underlined in sentences (101)–(108). In sentences (105)–(108), the intensifier *စွာ cvā* is added to the verb in the attributive relative clause.

- (101) သာမိယံတေဝိဇ္ဇကာစာသော ထမင်ဟင်။
 sã'mliy'.teiv^{ac}.kã.cã.so thaman'han'
 son.grandson.PL.TOP.eat.ATTR rice.curry
 'Rice and curry which sons and grandsons [will] eat.' (Inscr. I-5)
- (102) ငါပွသော ကူ ငါပွသော ပုရဟာ
 ñã'.plu.so kũ ñã'.plu.so purahã
 I.make.ATTR cave I.make.ATTR Buddha
 'The cave-temple and Buddha that I constructed.' (Inscr. I-21)
- (103) ဥခေါင်ဆင်သောတန်ဆာ၊ လည်ဆင်သောတန်ဆာ၊
 ukhoñ'.chan'.so.tan'chã, laññ'.chan'.so.tan'chã,
 head.adorn.ATTR.ornaments neck.adorn.ATTR.ornaments
- ကိုယ် ဆင်သောတန်ဆာ၊ ခါ ဆင်သောတန်ဆာ၊
 kuiv'.chan'.so.tan'chã, khã.chan'.so.tan'chã,
 body.adorn.ATTR.ornaments waist.adorn.ATTR.ornaments
- ခြယ် ဆင်သောတန်ဆာ
 khriy'.chan'.so.tan'chã
 leg.adorn.ATTR.ornaments
 'Ornaments to adorn the head, neck, body, waist and leg.' (Inscr. III-274)
- (104) ဖွစ်သဆိုငြယ်၊ အိုဝ်မင်သဆိုငြယ်၊ သိယ်သဆိုငြယ်
 phlac'.sa.chuiv'nray' uiv'mañ'.sa.chuiv'nray' siy'.sa.chuiv'nray'
 exist.ATTR.suffering aged.ATTR.suffering die.ATTR.suffering
 'Suffering in birth, suffering in growing old, suffering in death.' (Inscr. II-216)
- (105) ရခဲစွာသော ရတနာသုံပါ
 ra.khai.cvã.so ratanã.sum.pã
 obtain.difficult.very.ATTR jewel.three.CLF
 'The Three Gems which are very difficult to obtain.' (Inscr. I-69)
- (106) တင်တယ်စွာသောကူ
 tañ'tay'.cvã.so.kũ
 splendid.very.ATTR.cave
 'A cave temple which is most splendid.' (Inscr. II-194)
- (107) သာယာစွာသောက္လောင်
 sã'yã.cvã.so.klon'
 pleasant.very.ATTR.monastery
 'A very pleasant monastery.' (Inscr. II-194)
- (108) တင်တယ်စွာသောဥတ်
 tañ'tay'.cvã.so.ut'
 splendid.very.ATTR.brick
 'Very splendid brick' (Inscr. III-247)

Such clauses could also appear as the final main predicate of a sentence, as in (109) and (110), containing stative verbs in which the attributive clause marker သော *so* was equivalent to the sentence-final verb marker အံ *e'*.

- (109) အနာများသော၊ ဆင်ငြယ်ဝေတနာကြီးသော၊ ကုန်ကွသော
anā.myā.so, chañ'ñray'.vetanā.krī.so, kun'.kva.so
 disease.many.ATTR poor.pain.big.ATTR back.hunched.ATTR

နူးဝဲသော။

nūvai.so

leprous.mangy.ATTR

‘[He will be] riddled with disease, poor and greatly suffering, hunchbacked and mangy with leprosy.’ (*Inscr.* I-12)

- (110) အသက်ရှည်အံ။
asak'.rhaññ'e'
 life.long.REAL
 ‘Life is long.’ (*Inscr.* I-38a)

4 Word classes and phrase syntax

This section looks at the characteristics of nouns, verbs, adjectives and the function of various noun and verb particles.

Nouns

The great majority of nouns and verbs in Pagan period Burmese were monosyllabic, as in (111):

(111) Monosyllabic nouns and verbs

OB	trsl	gloss	WB	trsl	pron
ချစ်	<i>khyac'</i>	love	ချစ်	<i>khyac'</i>	te ^h i?
ဆာင်	<i>chān'</i>	elephant	ဆာင်	<i>chan'</i>	sh ⁱ n
ထီး	<i>thī</i>	finial on stupa	ထီး	<i>thī'</i>	t ^h í
တူ	<i>tū</i>	dig	တူး	<i>tū</i>	tú
တက်	<i>tak'</i>	ascend	တက်	<i>tak'</i>	te?
ထန်	<i>than'</i>	toddy palm	ထန်း	<i>than'</i>	t ^h án
နှစ်	<i>nhec'</i>	year	နှစ်	<i>nhac'</i>	ni?
နီယံ	<i>niy'</i>	live	နေ	<i>ne</i>	nè
မိန့်အံ	<i>min^a</i>	command	မိန့်	<i>min^a</i>	mein
လာ	<i>lā</i>	proceed	လာ	<i>lā</i>	là
သတ်	<i>sat'</i>	kill	သတ်	<i>sat'</i>	θa?
အိမ်	<i>im'</i>	house	အိမ်	<i>im'</i>	ʔèin

Most bisyllabic or polysyllabic words in the inscriptions can be analysed as polymorphemic compounds, with the first and second components both carrying independent meanings, as in (112):

(112) Bimorphemic compounds in Pagan period Burmese

OB	trsl	gloss	WB	trsl	pron
ချံသာ	<i>khyam'sā</i>	rich (< cool + pleasant)	ချမ်းသာ	<i>khyam^a'sā</i>	ts ^h ánθà
သူခိုင်	<i>sūkhuiv'</i>	thief (< person + steal)	သူခိုး	<i>sūkhuī'</i>	θak ^h ó
ဖထွယ်	<i>phathuy'</i>	uncle (< father + little)	ဘထွေး	<i>bhathve'</i>	bədwé
မျက်နှာ	<i>myak'nhā</i>	face (< eye + nose)	မျက်နှာ	<i>myak'nhā</i>	mjeʔnà
ဝံသာ	<i>varisā</i>	happy (< belly + pleasant)	ဝမ်းသာ	<i>vam^a'sā</i>	wúnθà

Complex noun phrases could be formed from nouns with postpositioned adjectives, as in (113) a. and b.

- (113) a. လန်ပန်ကြီး b. ဆည်လည်ငယ်
 lan'pan'.krī *chaññ'laññ'.ñay'*
 tray.big pagoda bell.small
 'big tray' 'small pagoda bell'

Noun–noun compounds, as in (114), the first noun modifies the second noun. Examples of object–verb compounds are shown in (115), and of subject–verb compounds in (116).

(114) noun–noun compounds

OB	trsl	gloss	translation
ကျောက်စာ	<i>kyok'.sā</i>	stone.writing	> inscription
ငယ်ထိ	<i>ñuy'.thī</i>	silver.umbrella	> silver <i>hti</i>
ဆင်စွယ်	<i>chañ'.cvay'</i>	elephant.tusk	> ivory
ရွယ်ထိ	<i>rhvuy'.thī</i>	gold.umbrella	> golden <i>hti</i>
ရွာသူကြီး	<i>rvā.sū.krī</i>	village.person.big	> village chief

(115)

OB	trsl	gloss	translation
ဆင်ထိန်	<i>chañ'.thin'</i>	elephant.keep	> elephant keeper
နို့ဝိုစိစ်	<i>nuiv'.cuic'</i>	milk.suckle	> suckling

(116)

OB	trsl	gloss	translation
ကောက်လျင်	<i>kok'.lyañ'</i>	paddy.fast	> fast-maturing paddy
ကြွယ်ဖြူ	<i>krvay'.phlū</i>	copper.white	> white copper
ကျောင်းကြီး	<i>kloñ'.krī</i>	monastery.big	> large monastery
ငြယ်ငယ်	<i>ñray'.ñay'</i>	hell.little	> little hell
မျှငယ်	<i>myā.ñay'</i>	wife.small	> concubine
သူကြီး	<i>sū.krī</i>	person.big	> chief
သူကြွယ်	<i>sū.krvay'</i>	person.rich	> rich person
သူဆင်းရဲ	<i>sū.chañ'rai</i>	person.poor	> poor person

Noun formation

Derivational morphology in Pagan period Burmese included the formation of nouns from verbs using the prefix အ *a*, as in (117). Examples of nouns derived from bisyllabic verbs are given in (118).

(117) noun → verb derivation by အ *a* prefixation

<i>OB</i>	<i>trsl</i>	<i>gloss</i>
ကိန် > အကိန်	<i>kin</i> > <i>akin'</i>	curse (v.) > curse (n.)
ကျင် > အကျင်	<i>kyan'</i> > <i>akyan'</i>	practise > behaviour
လွတ် > အလွတ်	<i>lvat'</i> > <i>alvat'</i>	set free > liberation
စ > အစ	<i>sa</i> > <i>asa</i>	begin > beginning
ဆင်ရဲ > အဆင်ရဲ	<i>chan'yai</i> > <i>achan'yai</i>	be poor > poverty
နာ > အနာ	<i>nā</i> > <i>anā</i>	be ill > disease
ဖွစ် > အဖွစ်	<i>phlac'</i> > <i>aphlac'</i>	be, become > being, state
မိန်အ် > အမိန်အ်	<i>min^a</i> > <i>amin^a</i>	order (v.) > instruction
လှူ > အလှူ	<i>lhū</i> > <i>alhū</i>	donate > donation
ဟိအ် > အဟိအ်	<i>hi^a</i> > <i>ahi^a</i>	live > life
သိယ် > အသိယ်	<i>siy'</i> > <i>asiy'</i>	die > death

The prefix အ *a* is added to both parts of the following disyllabic verbs, as in (118):

(118)

<i>OB</i>	<i>trsl</i>	<i>gloss</i>
လာ+လာ > အလာအလာ	<i>lā + lā</i> > <i>alālālā</i>	go + come > movement
ငိုညွတ် > အငိုအညွတ်	<i>ñiññvat'</i> > <i>añiññvat'</i>	conform > in conformity with
စိပျါ > အစိအပျါ	<i>cīpvā</i> > <i>aciāpvā</i>	prosper > progress
ညှန်ဆယ် > အညှန်အဆယ်	<i>ñhan'chay'</i> > <i>añhan'achay'</i>	hurt, injure > oppression
တင်တယ် > အတင်အတယ်	<i>tiñ'tay'</i> > <i>atiñ'atay'</i>	be fitting > appropriateness
နိုင်ထက် > အနိုင်အထက်	<i>nuiñ'tak'</i> > <i>anuiñ'atak'</i>	splendid > splendour
နှိပ်စက် > အနှိပ်အစက်	<i>nhip'cak'</i> > <i>anhip'acak'</i>	persecute > persecution
ပိယ်ကမ် > အပိယ်အကမ်	<i>piy'kam'</i> > <i>apiy'akam'</i>	hand over, transfer > giving
ပျက်စီး > အပျက်အစီး	<i>pyak'sī</i> > <i>apyak'asī</i>	destroy > destruction
သိမြင် > အသိအမြင်	<i>simrañ'</i> > <i>asiamrañ'</i>	know by seeing > eye-witness

In (117)–(118) the prefix အ *a* has the function of forming a verbal noun from a verb.

It seems that in kinship terms the prefix အ *a* may have had the function of third-person pronominal prefix. Words illustrating this, and the first-person prefix was *c* *ñā*, are given in (119).

(119) Pronominal prefixation

မိဖ	<i>mīpha</i>	parents
အမိအဖအ	<i>ami^aapha^a</i>	his/her parents
ငမိငဖ	<i>ṇamiṇapha</i>	my parents
အမိ	<i>ami</i>	his/her mother
ငမိ	<i>ṇami</i>	my mother
တကာကြီမ	<i>takākṛīma</i>	mother of a layman
အဖအ	<i>apha^a</i>	his/her father
ငဖ	<i>ṇapha</i>	my father
သခင်	<i>sakhin^a</i>	lord
အသခင်	<i>asakhin^a</i>	his/her lord
ငသခင်	<i>ṇasakhin^a</i>	my lord
မိပုဂ္ဂ	<i>mipurhā</i>	consort
အမိပုဂ္ဂ	<i>amipurhā</i>	his consort
သာ	<i>sā</i>	son
အသာ	<i>asā</i>	his/her son
ငသာ	<i>ṇasā</i>	my son
မိယာ	<i>miyā</i>	wife
အမိယာ	<i>amiyā</i>	his/her wife
ငမိယာ	<i>ṇamiyā</i>	his/her wife
ငီမ	<i>ṇīma</i>	younger sister
အငီမ	<i>aṇīma</i>	his younger sister
သမိတ် ~ သမိ	<i>samih^a ~ samī</i>	daughter
အသမိ	<i>asamī</i>	his/her daughter
ဆုယ်မျှိုင်	<i>chuy^amluiv^a</i>	family
အဆုယ်အမျှိုင်	<i>achuy^aamluiv^a</i>	his/her family
ငဆုယ်ငမျှိုင်	<i>ṇachuy^aṇamluiv^a</i>	my family

Pronouns

Certain pronouns developed from nouns with pronominal prefixes. These pronouns were also found in conjunction with kinship nouns, as in (120)

(120) Pronouns

အတိုင်	<i>atuiv^a</i>	they (later 'we', and see (126))
အတိုင်သခင်	<i>atuiv^asakhin^a</i>	their lord
အတိုင်ကျွန်	<i>atuiv^akryan^a</i>	their slave (later 'I')
အတိုင်ကျွန်ဖ	<i>atuiv^akyvan^apha</i>	my father
အတိုင်ကျွန်ကြီ	<i>atuiv^akyvan^aphakṛī</i>	my uncle
အတိုင်အကျွန်လင်	<i>atuiv^akryan^alan^a</i>	my husband
ငတိုင်ကျွန်	<i>ṇatuiv^akryan^a</i>	our slave (later 'I')
အတိုင်မိုင်မိယံ	<i>atuiv^amuiv^amliy^a</i>	our sky and land
အတိုင်မင်မိယံ	<i>atuiv^aman^amliy^a</i>	land of our king

Further examples of pronominal prefixation are found in (121)–(122).

- (121) ရိယံဗ္ဗိယံ ခပ်သိမ်သော အသခိင် ဖွစ်သော မင်ကြီ
riy'mliy' khap'sim'so asakhiñ' phlac'so mañ'krī
 water.land all.ATTR [its]lord be.ATTR king.great
 'Great king who reigns as lord over the water and the earth.' *Inscr.* II-194
- (122) ရတနာ အပေါင်အဖပ် အသခင် ဖွစ်ထသော မင်ကြီ
ratanā apōñ'apav' asakhiñ' phlac'thaso mañ'
 jewel companion [its]lord be.EUPH.ATTR king.great
 'King, Lord of treasure and of retinue.' *Inscr.* III-247

The prefix အ *a* seems to have been optional in ဩက် ~ အဩက် *ok' ~ aok'* 'bottom', the opposite of အထက် *athak'* 'top'. Analogously, မြောက် *mlok' ~ myok'* 'north' was freely interchangeable with မလ္လိဩက် ~ မြစ်ဩက် *mlac'ok' ~ myac'ok'* 'downstream/downriver'. However, တောင် *ton'* 'south' was also the word for 'mountain'. It is tempting to speculate that these words for 'north' and 'south' reflected the geographical environment from which the early Burmans migrated towards the Irrawaddy river basin. The 'river' which forms the first component of 'north' clearly cannot refer to the Irrawaddy, since that river flows not from တောင် *ton'* 'mountain/south' to မလ္လိဩက် *mlac'ok'* 'downstream/north', but from north to south, so the river in question must be some other river. The forms မလ္လိဩက် ~ မြစ်ဩက် *mlac'ok' ~ myac'ok'* are found denoting 'north' in Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce's *Inscriptions of Burma* Porfolios I–IV, plates 123, 174, 177b, 224, 244, 250, 380 and 474.

Two suffixes yielded nouns from verbs: ခြင် *khran'* (> WB ခြင်း *khran''* *te'hin*) and မူ *mhu*, as in (123) and (124):

- (123)
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------------------|--------------|---|----------------|-------------------|--------------|
| <i>OB noun</i> | <i>trsl</i> | <i>gloss</i> | | <i>OB verb</i> | <i>trsl</i> | <i>gloss</i> |
| ကျင့်ခြင် | <i>kyan'khran'</i> | practice | < | ကျင့် | <i>kyan'</i> | practise |
| တင်တယ်ခြင် | <i>tan'tay'khran'</i> | fitness | < | တင်တယ် | <i>tan'tay'</i> | be fitting |
| ညှန်ဆဲခြင် | <i>ññhan'chaikhran'</i> | oppression | < | ညှန်ဆဲ | <i>ññhan'chai</i> | oppress |
| သတ်ခြင် | <i>sat'khran'</i> | execution | < | သတ် | <i>sat'</i> | kill |

- (124) ကောင်မူ *koñ'mhu* act of merit < ကောင် *koñ'* good ကောင်း
 ခိုင်မူ *khuiv'mhu* theft < ခိုင် *khuiv'* steal ခိုး

Pagan period Burmese made use of the pronouns in (125), which could be made plural by adding the suffix တိုင်အံ *tuiv^{aw}* or တိုင် *tuiv'*, as in (126), as in modern Burmese.

- (125)
- | | | |
|---------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| ငါ | <i>ñā</i> | I |
| အကျောန် အကျန် | <i>akyon'~akyvan'</i> | I (polite, lit. 'your slave') |
| အတိုင်အံကျန် | <i>atuiv^{aw}kyvan'</i> | I |
| ငတိုင်ကျန် | <i>ñatuiv'kyvan'</i> | I |
| သင် | <i>sañ'</i> | you |
| နင် | <i>nañ'</i> | you |

- | | | |
|------|---------------|------------------------------|
| ချင် | <i>khyañ'</i> | he |
| သူ | <i>sū</i> | he |
| အယင် | <i>ayañ'</i> | he (polite, lit. 'that one') |
- (126) ငါတို့ *nā'tuiv'* we
 သင်တို့ *sañ'tuiv'* you
 ချင်တို့ *khyañ'tuiv'* they
 သူတို့ *sū'tuiv'* they
 အယင်တို့ *ayañ'tuiv'* they (polite)

The same plural suffix တို့ *tuiv'* was applied to nouns referring to human beings, as in (127).

- (127) ငါ က္လောင်တွင် နိယသော သခင်တိုင်အံ
nā klon'tvañ' niy'so sakhañ'tuiv^a
 my monastery.in live.ATTR lord.PL
 'The senior monks living in my monastery.' (*Inscr.* III-275)
- (128) အဝဇိယံကအထက် အယင်တိုင် ဩက် ကျစိယံသတေ။
avaci'kaathak' ayañ'tuiv' ok' kyasiv'sate
Avici.of.above he.PL beneath fall.CAUS.REAL
 'May they fall so that they are beneath and Avici is above' (*Inscr.* I-11)
- (129) သင်တို့ သုယောက်လိယံ အနာယူပစေ လသိယံ ဟု မှာခဇေ
sañ'.tui surñ.yok'.liy' ana.yū.pa.ce lasiy' hu mhākha.e^a
 you.PL three.CLF.also rest.take.POL.CAUS still QUOT order.REAL
 'He ordered the three of them to rest.' (*Inscr.* II-139)

The same plural suffix တို့ *tuiv'* is also found with the inanimate nouns in (130):

- (130) မြို့ယံတိုင် *mliy'tuiv'* lands
 တောင်တိုင် *ton'tuiv'* mountains
 ငွယ်တန်ဆောင်တိုင် *nuy'tan'choñ'tuiv'* silver appendages

Demonstrative Pronouns

Pagan period Burmese used the demonstrative pronouns in (131). Examples of these in combination with nouns are given in (132) and (133).

- (131) *OB trsl gloss WB trsl*
 ထို *thuiv'* that ထို *thui*
 ဤ *īy'* this ဤ *ī*

- (132) *OB* *trsl* *gloss* *WB* *trsl*
 ဤယ် *īy'* this ဤ *īy'*
 ဤယ်ကျောင်း *īy'kloŋ'* this monastery ဤကျောင်း *īy'kloŋ'*
 ဤယ်နိက် *īy'nhuik'* here ဤနိ *ī'n**
 ဤယ်သိုဝ် *īy'suiv'* in this way ဤသို *īy'sui'*
 ထိုဝ် *thuiv'* that ထိုဝ် *thuiv'*
 ထိုဝ်ကူ *thuiv'kū* that cave ထိုဝ်ကူ *thuiv'kū*
 ထိုဝ်တွင် *thuiv'tvaŋ'* there ထိုဝ်တွင် *thuiv'tvaŋ'*
 ထိုဝ်သိုဝ် *thuiv'suiv'* in that way ထိုဝ်သို *thuiv'suiv'*
- (133) ဤယ်သူ သံယောက်
īy'.sū *sum yok'*
 this.person three.CLF
 'These three people.'

Verbs

(a) Transitive and intransitive verbs

Pagan period Burmese had transitive-intransitive verb pairs distinguished by aspirated and unaspirated initial consonants, as in modern Burmese. Examples are shown in (134).

(134) Transitive-intransitive verb pairs

<i>intransitive</i>	<i>trsl</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>transitive</i>	<i>trsl</i>	<i>gloss</i>
ကျ	<i>kla</i>	fall	ချ	<i>khyā</i>	drop
ကျက်	<i>kyak'</i>	be cooked	ချက်	<i>khyak'</i>	cook
ကွဲ	<i>kvai</i>	be broken	ခွဲ	<i>khvai</i>	break
ကွတ်	<i>klvat'</i>	be liberated	ဆွတ်	<i>khlvat'</i>	emancipate
လွတ်	<i>lvat</i>	be free	လွတ်	<i>lhvat</i>	set free

(b) Verb reduplication

Verb reduplication was used to express excessiveness or continuation of an action, as in (135)–(138). This was sometimes written using the numeral ၂ 'two'.

- (135) ကြံ့စွာသော အမတ်
krī.2.svā.so *amat'*
 big.REDUP.very.ATTR nobleman
 'A nobleman of exceedingly high rank' (*Inscr.* I-69)
- (136) အထူထူသော သတ်ခြင်အာ ရောက်ကုန်အေ။
athūthū.so *sat'.khraŋ'.ā* *rok'.kun'.e'*
 special.REDUP.ATTR kill.NOM.to arrive.all.REAL
 'They were all killed by diverse methods of execution.' (*Inscr.* II-168)

- (137) ချံသာလေ မျက်မှောက် ထင်၂ ရောက်စိယ်။
khyar̥sā.le myak'mhok' thañ'.2 yok'.ciy'
 wealthy.also now clearly.REDUP arrive.CAUS
 'May wealth now definitely come to pass.' (*Inscr.* III-250)
- (138) က္လောင် နိယံနိယံသော သဃာ
klor̥' niy'.niy'.so saṅghā
 monastery live.REDUP.ATTR monkhood
 'Monks who are living in the monastery.' (*Inscr.* II-132a)

Adverbs

Adverbs in the inscriptions were formed in one of three ways. The first is with the adverbial suffix *စွာ* *cvā* seen above in attributive relative clauses forms adverbs which modify verbs, as in the underlined phrases in (139) and (140). Adverbial phrases formed from verbs are the second type of adverb, such as those underlined in sentences (141)–(147). A third type of adverbs are derived from nouns, such as the underlined phrase in sentence (148).

- (139) အသက် ရှည်စွာ နိယံရစိယ်အေ။
asak' rhaññ'.cvā niy'.ra.ciy'.e'
 life long.ADV live.can.CAUS.REAL
 'May [he] enjoy a long life.' (*Inscr.* I-82b)
- (140) မြတ်မြဲစွာ ငါပြုသော ကောင်မှုကို ထိပါသော
mray'mrañ.cvā ñā.plu.so koñ'mhu.kuiv' thipā.so
 steadfast.ADV I.make.ATTR act of merit.OBJ violate.ATTR
- ဖျက်ဆီးသောသူကာ။
phyak'chī.so.sū.kā
 destroy.ATTR.person.TOP
 'The person who encroaches and destroys my meritorious deeds, carried out steadfastly.' (*Inscr.* II-153a)
- (141) မိတ်တည်ဖုရသခင် ဖွစ်သရှင်ခါနိုက် မချွတ်
mit'taññ.phurhā.sakhiñ' phlac'.sarhav'.khā.nhuik' makhvyat'
 Maitreya.Buddha.Lord be.when.time.in without fail
- ဖူးချင်သောကြောင့်
phū.khalyañ'.so.kroñ'
 worship.want.because
 'Because I wish to pay obeisance to Maitreya without fail when he appears in this world.' (*Inscr.* III-293)

- (147) ရွာသူကြိုတိုင်အံ အနိုင်အထက် အခွန်တောင်း၏။
rvā.sūkṛī.tuiv' anuiñ'.athak' akhvan'.ton'.e.*
 village.headman.PL forcibly tax.request.REAL
 'The village headmen forcibly demanded tax.' (Inscr. II-196)
- (148) မြွယ်ကြီးတောင်တိုင်ခပင် မုန့်ညက်၂ ပျက်စီးသိုဝ် ပျက်စီးမိသတေ။
mliy'.krī.ton'.tuiv'.khapañ' mun'.2.ññak'.2 pyak'cī.suiv' pyak'cī.sim'.sate.
 land.big.mountain.PL.all flour.2.crush.2 destroy.as destroy.CAUS.REAL
 'May they be destroyed just as earth and mountains are crushed to fine particles.'
 (Inscr. I-63a)

Numerals

All the numerals of modern Burmese are found in the inscriptions, as in (149).

(149) Numerals in OB

OB	trsl	gloss	WB	trsl
တစ်	<i>tac'</i>	one	တစ်	<i>tac'</i>
နှစ် ~ နှေ့စ်	<i>nhac'</i>	two	နှစ်	<i>nhac'</i>
သုံး	<i>surñ</i>	three	သုံး	<i>surñ"</i>
လိယံ	<i>liy'</i>	four	လေး	<i>liy"</i>
ငါး	<i>ñā'</i>	five	ငါး	<i>ñā"</i>
ခြောက်	<i>khrok'</i>	six	ခြောက်	<i>khrok'</i>
ခုနစ်	<i>khunhac'</i>	seven	ခုနစ်	<i>khunhac'</i>
ယှစ် / ရှေ့စ် / ဟေတ်	<i>yhac'~rhac' ~het'</i>	eight	ရှစ်	<i>rhac'</i>
ကိုး	<i>kuiv'</i>	nine	ကိုး	<i>kuī"</i>
ဆယ်	<i>chay'</i>	ten	ဆယ်	<i>chay'</i>
ရာ	<i>ryā'</i>	hundred	ရာ	<i>yā'</i>
ထောင်	<i>thon'</i>	thousand	ထောင်	<i>thon'</i>
သောင်း	<i>soñ'</i>	10,000	သောင်း	<i>soñ"</i>
သိန်း	<i>sin'</i>	100,000	သိန်း	<i>sin"</i>

Classifiers

Numerals were used in conjunction with classifiers, the most common of which are listed in the examples in (150):

(150) Classifiers

OB	trsl	gloss (with translation if unclear)
ကန်ခကန်	<i>kan'.1.kan'</i>	lake.1.lake
ရွယ်၆၅အုပ်	<i>rhvuy'.65.klyap'</i>	gold.65.ticals
ငယ်၅အုပ်	<i>ñuy'.5.klyap'</i>	silver.5.ticals
ပြတေ၃အုပ်	<i>pyatā.92.klyap'</i>	mercury.92.tical

ပုရာဇာရ
ဆီမိတိုင်၍ရ
စာသင်ကျောင်းငါးရ

ညွယ်၍ရ
နွာဂုရ
နွာပိုက်ငှာ
လင်ပန်၂ခွပ်
နောင်နင်ဇွပ်

ခွက်၃ခွပ်
ရှာသုံခင်
ဆင်တစ်စီ

မြင်ဘစီ
လှယ်၇စီ

ပုရာငှာ
သင်ကန်၃ဆူ
ခွက်ခွင်သုံဆူ
ချူ၃ဆူ
သန်လျင်သဆူ
စာရပ်စဆောင်

စပါ၃ငှတင်
အဝတ်ဖျင်၂ထည်
ပုဆိပ်ငှထည်
အထက်သက်ခံ၃ထည်
အပြက်သက်ခံထည်
အရပ်သုံပါ
ရတနာသုံပါ

နိကာယ်ငါပါ

နိယံသုံပဟိုအံ

လယ်၅ပယ်
ပွိုဝ်ခင်၃ပယ်

သိရက်ဇွပ်င
ညောင်နှစ်ပါင်
သိယံဖိုဝ်သာဖိုဝ်၅ဝ်သာ

ဆန်သုံပြည်

purhā. 1.khu
chīmītuirī'. 5.khu
cāsañ'kloñ'. ñā.khu
klvay'. 5.khu
nvā. 7.khu
nvāpuik'. 4.khu
lañ'pan'. 2.khlap'
noñ'nañ'. 9.khlap'
khvak'. 3.khlap'
rhā.suñ.khañ'
chañ'. tac'. cī
mrañ'. 1.cī
luy'. 7.cī
purhā. 4.chū
sañkan'. 3.chū
khvak'khvañ'. suñ.chū
khū. 3.chū
san'lyañ'. 1.chū
cārap'. 8.choñ'
capā. 34.tañ'
avat'phyañ'. 2.thaññ'
puchui'. 45.thaññ'
athak'sak'khañ. 3.thaññ'
aok'sak'khañ. 1.thaññ'
arap'. suñ.pā
ratanā.suñ.pā

nikāy'. ñā.pā

niy'. suñ.pahui'

lay'. 5.pay'
plui'v'khañ'. 3.pay'

sirak'. 9.pañ'
ññoñ'. nhac'. pāñ'
siy'phuiv'sāphuiv'. 5.pisā

chan'. suñ.praññ'

Buddha. 1.thing
oil.lamp.pole.5.things
school.five.things
buffalo.five.things
cow.7.things
bullock.4.things
tray.2.flat things
bell.2.flat things
cup.3.flat things
farmland.three.areas
elephant.one.ride
horse.1.ride
cart.7.ride
statue.4.holy objects
robe.3.holy objects
cymbal.three.holy objects
bell.3.holy objects
palanquin.1.holy object
shelter.8.houses
rice.34.bushels
tunic.2.garments
waistcloth.45.garments
upper garment.3.garments
lower garment.1.garment
region.three.abstract objects
jewel.three.abstract objects
'the Three Gems'
nikaya.five.sacred objects
'five sections of the Sutta Pitaka'
day.three.drumstrokes
'three drumstrokes of daytime'
paddy.5.*pay*
plant.plot.3.*pay*
'three *pay* of planting land'
mango.9.plants
banyan.two.plants
liquor.value.meat.value.5.*viss*
'five *viss* of liquor and meat'
rice.three.*pyi*
'three *pyi* of husked rice'

ကွံသုံယာ	<i>kvañ.suñ.yā</i>	betel.three.quids
ကျန်၁၇၈ယောက်	<i>kyvan'.178.yok'</i>	slave.178.persons
သင်ကြံပန်စင်၅ယောက်	<i>sañ'krīpan'cañ'.5.yok'</i>	priest.5.persons
ကုလာ၃၆၆ယောက်	<i>kulā.366.yok'</i>	Indian.366.persons
ပုရှာ၅ယောက်	<i>purhā.5.yok'</i>	statue.5.persons 'five Buddha statues'
အမတ်ကြံ၃ယောက်	<i>amat'krī.3.yok'</i>	minister.3.persons
နွာတယုန်	<i>nvā.ta.yhan'</i>	bull.one.pair
သေချနစ်လုံ	<i>sekhū.nhac'.lun</i>	liquor.two.round things (bottles)
စေတီ၂လုံ	<i>ceṭī.2.lun</i>	stupa.2.round things

Interestingly, one classifier which is not found anywhere in the inscriptions is the classifier ကောင် *koñ'* used for animals in modern Burmese. Instead of ကောင် *koñ'* we find *ခု khu* for counting animals, as in ကလွယ်၁ခု *klvay'.1.khu* 'buffalo.one.thing' နွာ၁ခု *nvā.1.khu* 'cow.one.thing'. Animals used for transport, however, were counted with စီ *cī* 'ride', thus ဆင်တစ်စီ *chan'.tac'.cī* 'elephant.one.ride' and မြင်၁စီ *mrañ'.1.cī* 'horse.one.ride'.

Another point worthy of note is that in the inscriptions monks and holy beings are counted with ယောက် *yok'*, which counts lay humans in modern Burmese, and not with the classifier ပါ *pā* (= WB ပါ: *pā*) which is used for holy beings in modern Burmese, thus OB ပန်စင်နှစ်ယောက် *pan'cañ'.nhac'.yok'* 'priests.two.people'.

Similarly, in the inscriptions holy objects are counted, as in (151), with *ခု khu*, which counts ordinary secular objects in modern Burmese, rather than with *ချူ chū* (= mod Bur *ဆ chū*), the modern Burmese classifier for holy objects.

- (151) ရွယ်ပုရှာ၁ခု ငွယ်ပုရှာ၁ခု
rhuy'.purhā.1.khu ṇuy'.purhā.1.khu
 gold.Buddha.1.thing silver.Buddha.1.thing
 'one golden Buddha image and one silver Buddha image'.

Noun markers: postpositions and case-marking particles

A range of post-positional particles and noun markers, many with a case-marking function, which express the relation of nouns to other words in the sentence.

- ကာ *kā* (PHRASE~) → TOP/SUBJ: topic/subject marker [=WB ကာ: *kā*" *ká*]
- ကိုဝ် *kuiv'* (N~) → OBJ: object/ accusative marker [=WB ကို *kui* *kò*]
- ကိုဝ် *kuiv'* (N~) → to N: indirect object / dative marker [=WB ကို *kui* *kò*]
- အာ *ā* (N~) → to N: indirect object / dative marker [=WB အာ: *ā*" *ʔá*]
- ဖွဲအ် *phlañ^a* (N~) → with N: instrumental marker [=WB ဖွဲ *phrañ^a* *pʰjɪN*]
- နှင်အ် *nhañ^a* (N~) → with N: instrumental marker [=WB နှင် *nhañ^a* *ṇɪN*]
- မှ *mha* (N~) → from N: source / ablative marker [=WB မှ *mha* *m̥a*]
- ဧအ် *e^a* (N~) → GEN: from N: genitive / possessive marker [=WB ဧ *e** *ʔi*]

- သိုဝ်အ် *suiv^a* (N~) → to N: direction to or towards [=WB သို^a*sui'* ၵဝ]
- နိုက် *nhuik^a* (N~) → in N: location [=WB နို^a *n** နှါ?
- တွင် *tvañ^a* (N~) → in N: location [=WB တွင် *tvañ^a* twiN]
- အာ *ā* (N~) → in N: location [no WB equivalent]
- လျှင် *lyhañ^a* (N~) → in N: location [no WB equivalent]
- ထက် *thak^a* (N~) → more than N: comparative marker [=WB ထက် *thak^a* t^hε?]
- လေ~လည် *le~laññ* also (N~) → also, and, both...and [=WB လေ~လည်: *lai~laññ*" lÉ]

- ကာ *kā* (PHRASE~) → TOP/SUBJ: topic/subject marker [=WB ကာ: *kā*" ká]

- (152) လင်ကာ သိယ်အ်၊ မျာကာ ဟိအ်။
lañ^a.kā siy^a.e^a, myā.kā hi.e^a.
 husband.SUBJ die.REAL, wife.SUBJ live.REAL.
 'The husband has passed away [but] the wife is living.' (Inscr. I-79a)

- (153) ဤယ်ငါကာ အဆုယ်အမွိုင် မဟိအ်စွဲတေ။
īy^a.ñā.kā achuy^aamluiv^a ma.hi^a.cvañ.te.
 this.I.SUBJ relations NEG.exist.can.REAL.
 'I have no family with me.' (Inscr. II-112)

- ကိုဝ် *kuiv^a* (N~) → OBJ: object/ accusative marker [=WB ကို *kui* kò]

- (154) သမိမိယာကိုဝ်လေလှူအ်၊ သမိကြိကိုဝ်လေလှူအ်၊
samī.mīyā.kuiv^a.lē.lhū.e^a, samī.krī.kuiv^a.lē.lhū.e^a,
 daughter.wife.OBJ.also.donate.REAL daughter.big.OBJ.also.donate.REAL

သမိငါယ်မောင်မကိုဝ်လေ လှူအ်
samī.ñāy^a.moñ^ama.kuiv^a.lē lhū.e^a
 daughter.young.attendant.female.OBJ.also donate.REAL
 'I donated my daughter, my wife, my older daughter, and my younger daughter.'
 (Inscr. I-6)

- (155) ငါလှူသောဗ္ဗိယံကိုဝ် အစိုရသတေ
ñā.lhū.so.mliy^a.kuiv^a acuirā.sate
 I.donate.ATTR.land.OBJ possess.REAL
 '[He] possesses the land that I dedicated.' (Inscr. I-31)

- (156) သိစပ်မြင်စပ်သော သဗ္ဗညုညနိပုဏ္ဏဆုကိုဝ်လျှင် လိုဝ်သတေ။
si.cap^a.mrañ^a.cap^a.so sabbaññāññan^a.purhā.chu.kuiv^a.lyvañ^a luiv^a.sa.te.
 know.all.see.all.ATTR omniscience.Buddha.reward.OBJ.EMPH desire.REAL.EUPH
 'I desire the Buddha's reward of omniscience by which I will understand all matters.' (Inscr. II-140)

- ကိုဝ် *kuiv* (N~) → to: indirect object / dative marker [=WB ကို *kui* kò]

- (157) ငါ့ညီသင်တိုင် သခင်မဟာကသပကိုဝ် မွယ်ရောင်လှာရကာ
ñāplaññ'saṇ'.tuiv' sakhiṇ'.mahā.kassapa.kuiv' mliy'.roṇ'.lhā.rakā
 NgaPyiThin.PL Lord.Maha.Kassapa.to land.sell.since
 'Nga Pyi Thin and other sold their land to Lord Maha Kassapa.'

- အာ *ā* (N~) → to: indirect object / dative marker [=WB အား *ā* 'ါ]

- (158) ဤယံငါ့လှူသောတောင်ကြွေင် ပုရှာတြာသဃာရတနာသုံးပါသောအာ
īy'.ñā.plu.so.tāv'.kloṇ' purhā.trā.saṅghā.ratanā.suṇ.pā.so.ā
 this.I.make.ATTR.forest.monastery Buddha.law.monkhood.jewel.three.CLF.ATTR.to

အကုန်ငါလှူအေ။
akun'.ñā.lhū.e'
 all.I.donate.REAL

'This forest monastery I have erected to the Three Gems: the Buddha, the Law and the monkhood.' (Inscr. I-90)

- (159) အထူထူသောသတ်ခြင်အာ ရောက်ကုန်အေ။
athūthū.so.sat'.khraṇ'.ā rok'.kun'.e'
 special.ATTR.execution.to arrive.all.REAL
 'They were all killed by diverse means of execution.' (Inscr. II-168)

- ဖွင်အ် *phlañ* (N~) → with N: instrumental marker [=WB ဖွင့် *phrañ* 'phj̥N]

- (160) ရွယ်တန်ဆောင်ငယ်တန်ဆောင်တိုင်ဖွင်အ် ပူဇော်ရယ်အ်
rhuy'.tan'choṇ'.ñuy'.tan'choṇ'.tuiv'.phlañ' pūjāv'.ruy'
 gold.ornament.silver.lamps.PL.with worship.SUBORD
 'Making devotional offering with golden and silver lamps.' (Inscr. I-73)

- (161) ချတ်သမျက်စိယံဖွင် ရှုကြရစိယံအ်
khyat'.sa.myak'ciy'.phlañ' rhu.kra.ciy'.e'
 love.ATTR.eye.with look.PL.CAUS.REAL
 'May they look on with loving eyes.' (Inscr. II-216)

- နှင်အ် *nhañ* (N~) → with N: instrumental marker [=WB နှင့် *nhañ* 'n̥N]

- (162) မိမိအသက်နှင်တူသော၊ မျက်စိယံမျက်ဆန်နှင်တူသော
mimi.asak'.nhañ'.tū.so, myak'ciy'.myak'chan'.nhañ'.tū.so
 self.life.with.same.ATTR eye.eyeball.with.same.ATTR

မိမိချတ်စွာသောလင်၊
mimi.khyat'.cvā.so.lañ',
 self.love.very.ATTR.husband

'My husband whom I love, who to me is [as precious] as my life, as precious as my eyes.' (Inscr. II-145)

- (163) ထင်ရှာစွာသော ဖြစ်ညာနှင့်အံ ပြည်အံစုံသောရဟန်းအဖွဲ့စစ်
than'rhā.cvā.so phrac'ññā.nhañ' praññ'cūm.so.rahan'.aphlac'
 visible.very.ATTR wisdom.with full.ATTR.arahan.being
 'With the status of an *arahan* endowed with conspicuous wisdom.' (Inscr. II-145)

• မှ *mha* (N~) → from N: source / ablative marker [=WB မှ *mha* မှာ]

- (164) ငါဖမှ လာသောကျွန်
ñā.pha.mha lā.so.kyvan'
 my.father.from come.ATTR.slave
 'Slaves inherited from my father' (Inscr. II-150)

- (165) လိယံမျက်နှာမှ လာလာသောပုဂ္ဂိုလ်သခင်
liy'.myak'nhā.mha lālā.so.purhā.sakhiñ'
 four.directions.from come.ATTR.Buddha.Lord
 'Buddhist priests who came from the four points of the compass.' (Inscr. III-249)

• အေ *e'* (N~) → GEN: from N: genitive / possessive marker [=WB အေ *e'* ခါ]

- (166) လူဇယ်စည်ဇိမ် နတ်ဇေယျစည်ဇိမ် ခံစပြီသော
lū.ey'.caññ'jīm' nat'.e'.caññ'jīm' khañca.prī.so
 human.GEN.luxury nat.GEN.luxury enjoy.finish.REAL
 'After enjoying the luxurious life of humans and *nats*.' (Inscr. I-69)

- (167) သခင်အေအမိန်အဟူကိုဝံ ခံပိယံတတ်သောသူ
sakhiñ'.e'.amin'ahū.kuiv' khañ.piy'.tat'.so.sū
 Lord.GEN.command.OBJ receive.give.usually.ATTR.person
 'One who is accustomed to receiving Royal Orders.' (Inscr. II-143a)

• သိုဝ်အံ *suiv'* (N~) → to N: direction to or towards [=WB သို့ *sui'* ဝဲဝဲ]

- (168) နိယံရဗ္ဗနံပြည်သိုဝ်အံ ရောက်စိယံချင်သောကြောင့်အံ
niy'rabbān'.praññ'.suiv' rok'.ciy'.khlyan'.sokron'
 Nirvana.land.to arrive.CAUS.want.because
 'because I want them to reach Nirvana.' (Inscr. II-194)

- (169) မြို့ယံကြွေမြိုဝ်သအလ္လစသိုဝ် ရောက်စေသတေ။
mliy'.krīmluiv'.sa.aphlac'.suiv' rok'.ce.sate.
 earth.big.swallow.ATTR.state.to arrive.CAUS.REAL
 'May they be swallowed up into the earth.' (Inscr. II-194)

• နှိုက် *nhuik'* (N~) → in N: location [=WB နှိ *n'* နှါ]

- (170) မွတ်စွာသောပုဂ္ဂိုလ်သခင်အေ အာနုဖဝ်နှိုက် အသက်ရှည်အေ။
mlat'.cvā.so.purhā.sakhañ'.e' ānuphav'.nhuik' asak'.rhaññ'.e'
 exalt.ADV.ATTR.Buddha.Lord.GEN power.in life.long.REAL
 'He enjoyed long life under the influence of the power of the exalted Buddha.' (Inscr. I-18)

- (171) ကုဆုန်လပြည့်ဗုဒ္ဓဟုနိယံအနိဂ် လွတ်အေ။
kuchun'.la.plaññ'.buddhahu.niy'.nhuik' lvhat'.e'.
 Kason.moon.full.Wednesday.day.on release.REAL
 '[I] liberated [the slaves] on the full-moon Wednesday of the month of Kason.'
(Inscr. II-138)

- တွင် *tvañ'* (N~) → in N: location [=WB တွင် *tvañ'* *twìñ*]

- (172) လူတွင် ဖုန်မကြံစိယံ။
lū.tvañ' phun'.ma.krī.ciy'.
 human.in glory.NEG.big.CAUS
 'May he not be glorious in the human world' *(Inscr. II-144)*

- (173) ဤဟ်သုဒ္ဓယောက်သောကာ တြာကွန်သာယာတွင် မိယ်ပိယ်သတေ
ih'.sū.4.yok'.so.kā trā.kvan'.sāyā.tvañ' miy'.piy'.sate
 this.person.4.CLF.ATTR.TOP Taya Kun Thaya.in ask.BEN.REAL
 '[The Judge] inquired about these four people in the Taya Kun Thaya court.'
(Inscr. II-143)

- အာ *ā* (N~) → in N: location [no WB equivalent]

- (174) ဤယံငါမူသောအလှူကိုဝ် အနိုင်အထက်ဖျက်ဆီသောသူကာ [-]
iy'.nā.mū.so.alhū.kuiv' anuiñ'athak'.phyak'chī.so.sū.kā [-]
 this.I.do.ATTR.donation.OBJ by force.destroy.ATTR.person.TOP [-]

ဤယံငါကြီးစပါသောအာ ကျက်စိယံကုန်သတေ
iy'.nāy'.krī'.8.pā.so.ā kyak'.ciy'.kun'.sate
 this.hell.big.8.CLF.ATTR.in cook.CAUS.all.REAL
 'May those who destroy my donation with force all be boiled in the
 Eight Tiers of Hell.' *(Inscr. II-143)*

- လျှင် *lyhañ'* (N~) → in N: location [no WB equivalent]

- (175) အဝစိယံအထယ်ငြယ်လျှင် ကျက်စိယံသတေ
avacy'.athay'.nray'.lyhañ' kyak'.ciy'.sate
 Avici.inside.hell.in cook.CAUS.REAL
 'May [he] be boiled the hell of Avici.' *(Inscr. I-68)*

- (176) သကြာနိယံလျှင် တန်တိုင်တည်အေ
sakrā.niy'.lyhañ' tan'tuiñ'.taññ'.e'
 Friday.day.on wall.erect.REAL
 'This wall was built on Friday.' *(Inscr. I-105a)*

- ထက် *thak'* (N~) → more than N: comparative marker [=WB ထက် *thak'* tʰɛʔ]

- (177) လူဖြစ်က လူတကာထက် မြတ်သောချ်သာ
lū.phlac'.ka lū.takā.thak' mlat'.so.khyam.sā
 human.be.if person.all.more-than excellent.ATTR.happiness
 'If I be human, [may I have] happiness more excellent than other humans.'
 (Inscr. II-181)
- (178) အတိုင်ကျန်တိုင်နိယံသောထက်ကာ သင်္ခါနိယံသောမ္မတိအေ။
atuiv'kyvan'tuiv'.niy'.so.thak'.kā saṅkhā.niy'.so.mlat'.e^a.
 we.live.NOM.more-than.SUBJ monkhood.live.NOM.honourable.REAL
 'The place the *sangha* live in is more exalted than the place we live in.' (Inscr. I-6)

- လေ~လည် *le~laññ* also (N~) → also, and, both...and [=WB လဲ~လည်: *lai~laññ*" lɛ]

- (179) ရှယ်ထီလေဆောင်အေ၊ ရှယ်ပန်လင်လေပွဲအေ။
rhuy'.thī.le.chon'.e^a, rhuy'.pan'lañ'.le.plu.e^a.
 gold.umbrella.also.hold.REAL, gold.throne.also.make.REAL
 '[I] brought a both golden umbrella and made a golden throne.' (Inscr. I-6)
- (180) နွလေလှူအေ၊ ဆိတ်လေလှူအေ။
nvā.le.lhū.e^a, chit'.le.lhū.e^a.
 ox.also.donate.REAL, goat.also.donate.REAL
 '[I] donated both an ox and a goat.' (Inscr. III-235)
- (181) ကန်လေတစ်ခုအေတူ၏။
kan'.le.tac'.khu^a.tū.e^{}.*
 pond.also.one.CLF.dig.REAL.
 '[I] also dug a pond.' (Inscr. III-303)

5 Sentence-final verb particles

Sentence-final verbs in affirmative sentences in the Pagan inscriptions could be marked with a range of particles showing tense and aspect, shown in the examples sentences that follow. While assigning glosses to အေ *e^a* and အံ *am* is relatively straightforward, glossing သော *so*, သောတေ *sote* and သတေ *sate* when they occur as sentence-final verbal markers is more problematic. As mentioned above, attributive clause marker သော *so* could be used to complete finite sentence-final verb clauses, which were identical in form to relative clauses. It could be reduced in form to သ *sa*, and was frequently combined with the euphonic particle တေ *te*. The grammaticalisation and diachronic development of these markers is discussed further by Yanson (this volume).

- သတေ *sate* (V~) → REAL.EUPH: *realis* and euphonic marker V-s, V-ed [=WB သတည်း: *sataññ^a* θədi].

- (182) ဤယံလေ သဃံကိုဝံ လှူသတေ။
īy'.le saṅghā.kuiv' lhu.sate
 this.also monkhood.to donate.REAL.EUPH
 'I donated that also to the monkhood.' (*Inscr.* II-162)
- (183) ဖျက်ဆီရစ်သော သူကာ အပယ်၄ပါလျှင် ကျက်စိယံသတေ
phyak'chī.rac'.so sū.kā apay'.4.pā.lhyān' kyak'.ciy'.sate
 destroy.remain.ATTR people.TOP punishment.4.CLF.in cook.CAUS.REAL.EUPH
 'May they who destroy be cooked in the Four States of Hell.' (*Inscr.* I-99)
- သော *so* (V~) → REALIS: V-s, V-ed [=WB သည် *saññ'* ၏] – see (40), (109), (110)
 - သောတေ *sote* (V~) → REAL.EUPH: *realis* and euphonic marker V-s, V-ed [=WB သတည်း: *sataññ'* ၏ ၏].
- (184) မြက်နုအရိယံကြည် ဟိယံအရာ လာစိယံသောတေ။
myak'.nu'.riy'.kraññ' hiy'.rā lā.ciy'.sote
 grass.tender.water.clear exist.place go.CAUS.REAL.EUPH
 'May they go to where there is tender grass and clear water.' (*Inscr.* III-261a)
- လတ်အံ *lat'arh* (V~) → EUPH/IRR: euphonic + future/*irrealis* [=WB လတ္တံ *lattam'* လာ?တံ]
- (185) လာလတ်အံသောပုရ
lā.lat'arh.so.purhā
 come.EUPH/IRR.ATTR.Buddha
 'The Buddha who will appear.' (*Inscr.* I-68)
- (186) နောင်လာလတ်အံသော မင်ခပ်သိမ်
noñ'.lā.lat'arh.so. mañ'.khap'sim'
 future.come.IRR.ATTR king.all
 'All the kings who will come in the future.' (*Inscr.* I-21)
- အံ *arh* (V~) → IRR: *irrealis* marker; will/would V [=WB အံ *arh'* ၏]
- (187) သခင်ဗ္ဗုသောပိတကတ် ငါရှိယံခိုင်အံ
sakhin'.plu.so.pitakat' nā.rhay'khuiv'.arh
 Lord.make.ATTR.pitaka I.pay obeisance.IRR
 'I shall pay obeisance to the *pitaka* that the Lord created.' (*Inscr.* I-98)
- (188) ဤယံငါလှူသောလယ်ကိုဝံ ဖျက်ဆီသူ ဟူသမျှကာ
īy'.nā.hlū.so.lay'.kuiv' phyak'chī.sū hū.samhya.kā
 this.I.donate.ATTR.field.OBJ derstroy.person call.all.TOP

အဝိစိယံဋြယ်လျှင် လာအံသတေ။

aviciy'.iray'.lhyañ' lā.arñ.sa.te

Avici.hell.to go.IRR.ATTR.EMPH

'Whoever destroys the field I have donated shall go to the hell of Avici.'

(Inscr. II-132a)

(189) အရပ်၃ပါ သာသနာ တည်အံ

arap'.3.pā sāsana tāññ'.arñ

place.3.CLF teaching establish.IRR

'[I] shall establish the teaching of the Buddha at three locations.' (Inscr. II-147)

(190) သျှင်ဒိသာပြာမုက်တေ ပါမူကာ အမှုဆောင်နိုင်အံ။

shyan'.disāprāmuk'.te pā.mūkā amhu.chon'.nuññ'.arñ

Shin Disapramok.EMPH include.if task.carry out.can.IRR

'If you assign Shin Disapramok, he will carry out the task successfully.'

(Inscr. III-271)

(191) ပုရှာသခင် နိယရဗန်မမူမိ၊ သကြာမင်ကိုဝ် ခပ်ရယ်၊
 purhā.sakhañ' niy'raban'.ma.mū.mī, sakrāmañ'.kuiv khav'ruy',
 Buddha.lord nirvana.NEG.act.before Thagyamin.OBJ call.SUBORD

သိန်ခိုင်ကွန်နီကံ၊

sin'khuiv'.klvan'.nhuik',

Sri Lanka.island.in

သိရိဓမ္မသုကမင်ကြိသာ၊

sirīdhammasuka.mañ'.krī.sā,

Sri Dhamma Asoka.king.son

မဟိန်တထေရ

mahin'ta.thera

Mahinda.monk

သာသနာတည်ရစ်အံ၊

sāsana tāññ'.rac'.arñ,

doctrine.build.remain.IRR,

နင်စောင်မရစ်ဟု

nañ'.con'ma.rac'.hu

you.guard.remain.QUOT

နှင်ခဲရကာ။

nhañ'.khai.rakā.

entrust.REM.because

'Before his entering the state of *nirvana*, the holy Buddha summoned Thagyamin and commanded him, saying that the monk Mahinda, the son of King Sri Dhamma, would remain and propagate the doctrine in Sri Lanka. Entrusting him with the task, he said "You must take care of it" ...' (Inscr. III-250)

- အေ e^a (V~) → REALIS: V-s, V-ed [=WB ၏ e* ?]

(192) ညောင်ပင် စိုက်အေ။

ññon'.4.pan' cuik'.e^a

banyan.4.CLF plant.REAL

'I planted four banyan trees.' (Inscr. I-105)

- (193) စာသင်ကျောင်း၅ခု ပွဲဇာန်
cāsañ'.kloñ'.5.khu plu.e'
 study.school.5.CLF plant.REAL
 'I built five schools [for Buddhist study].' (*Inscr.* III-254b)
- (194) ကျောက်စာ ရယ်ဇာန်
klok'cā riy'.e'
 stone.writing write.REAL
 'I wrote an inscription.' (*Inscr.* I-6)
- (195) ဦးစိနာမင်ကြီး ဟရယ်တောင် တက်ဇာန်
ucinā.mañ'.krī haruy'.toñ' tak'.e'
 Uzana.king.big gold.mountain ascend.REAL
 'King Uzana ascended the throne.' (*Inscr.* I-36)

6 Other verb particles

Below, more examples from the inscriptions illustrate grammatical forms associated with verbs presented in this paper. Further example sentences and a list of all the grammatical forms discussed in this paper are given at the end.

- omission of sentence-final verb particle → indicates an order; imperative [= WB]

- (196) ကောက်ပယ် ပြီးသောကာ ဝင်။
kok'.pay' prī.pī.so.kā van'
 paddy.beans finish.PERF.ATTR.TOP enter
 'Go in after the harvest is finished.' (*Inscr.* III-271)
- (197) ဤသူ့ယောက်သောကိုဝ် အစိတ်အစိယ် မိယ်ပိယ်။
ī.sū.3.yok'.so.kuiv' acit'aciy' miy'.piy'
 this.person.3.CLF.ATTR.OBJ detail ask.BEN
 'Make inquiries for me in detail about these three people.' (*Inscr.* I-74)

- ကုန် *kun'* (V~) → all V, each V [=WB ကုန် *kun'* kòun]

- (198) မင်သာအမတ်သတ္တေသူကြွယ်တိုင်သည်လည် အနုမေတာနုခါဝ်ပါကုန်ဇာန်။
mañ'sā.amat'.satthe.sūkrvay'.tuiv'.saññ'.laññ' *anumetana.khav'.kun'.e'*
 prince.minister.rich rejoicing.call.all.REAL
 person.person.wealthy.PL.NOM.also
 'Princes, ministers and wealthy people all celebrated the glory [of my donation].'
 (*Inscr.* I-31)
- (199) အယင်တိုင်ကာ သြက်အထယ်လျှင် ဖွစ်စိယ်ကုန်သတေ။
ayan'tuiv'.kā ok'.athay'.lyhan' phlac'.ciy'.kun'.sate.
 they.TOP beneath.inside.in be.CAUS.eventually.REAL
 'May they end up beneath [and hell above].' (Aung Thaw 1972–1983, vol. i, p.44)

- (200) လူပြိတ္တာလျှင် ဖွစ်စိယံကုန်သတေ။
lū.prittā.lyvañ' phlac'.ciy'.kun'.sate.
 human.ghoul.EMPH be.CAUS.eventually.REAL
 'May they turn into human ghouls.' (Aung Thaw 1972–1983, vol. i, p.44)

• ကြ *kra* (V~) → PL: plural; V has plural subject [=WB ကြ *kra* tēa]

- (201) အပေါင်ကျွန်၃၀ မုယ်ကြပြီသောတေ။
apoñ'.kyvāñ'.30 muy'.kra.prī.so.te
 total.slave.30 keep.PL.PERF.ATTR.EUPH
 'They look after a total of thirty slaves.' (Inscr. I-77)

• ခ ~ ခါ ~ ခယ် *kha ~ khā ~ khay'* (V~) → REM: remote past, remote place [=WB ခဲ *khai'* k^hε]

- (202) က္လောကံစာရိယံခါသော။
klok'.cā.rīy'.khā.so
 stone.writing.write.REM.ATTR
 '[I] wrote an inscription.' (Inscr. I-21)

- (203) အတိုင်အံကျန် ပျက်စီးဆင်ငြယ်ခဇေ
atuiv^a'.kyvañ' pyak'cī.chañ'iray'.kha.e^a'
 I ruined.poor.REM.REAL
 'I was bankrupted and became poor.' (Inscr. I-79a)

- (204) ဤကျွန်၂ယောက်သာကာ ငါသခင် ငါလှူခအေ။
ī.kyvañ'.2.yok'.sā.kā ñā.sakhañ' ñā.lhū.kha.e^a'
 this.slave.2.CLF.only.TOP my.lord I.donate.REM.REAL
 'I donated these two slaves to my Lord.' (Inscr. IV-378a)

- (205) အမုယ်ဥတ်စာတိုင်ကိုင် ဇွန်ခ၍ယ် သွာခသွာအေ။
amuy'ut'cā.tuiv'.kuiv' cvañ'.kha.r^a'y' svā.kha.svā.e^a'
 parents.possessions.PL.OBJ abandon.REM.SUBORD go.REM.go.REAL
 'My parents abandoned their legacy and passed away.' (Inscr. III-272)

- (206) သာမ္ဗိယံချစ်ကိုင် ပိယ်ခယ်
sā.mliy'.khyac'.kuiv' piy'.khay'
 son.grandson.love.OBJ give.REM
 'Give your beloved son and grandson.' (Inscr. IV-381)

- (207) ရဲခဲစွာသောရတနာသုံပါ
ra.khai.cvā.so.ratanā.sum.pā
 obtain.difficult.very.ATTR.jewel.three.CLF
 'The Three Gems which are very hard to obtain.' (Inscr. I-69)

- ချင် *khlan'* (V~) → desire, want to V [=WB ချင် *khyan'* tɕʰin]

- (208) စချင်ဝတ်ချင်လျက်သော လူပြိတ္တာလျှင် ဖွစ်စိမိသတေ။
sa.khlan'.vat'.khlan'.lyak'.so lū.prittā.lyhan' phlac'.cim'.sate.
 eat.want.wear.want.while.ATTR human.ghoul.EMPH be.CAUS/IRR.REAL
 'May they be human ghouls who perpetually want to eat and drink.' (*Inscr.* IV-416a)
- (209) သံသရာငြိယ်ကလွတ်ရာ ဖွစ်သောနိယံရပ်န ဆုကိုဝံလိုဝံချင်သည်။
samsara.rā.nray'.ka.lvāt'.rā phlac'.so.niy'rapan' chu.kuiv'.luiv'.khlan'.saññ'
samsara.hell.from.release.place be.ATTR.nirvana reward.OBJ.want.want.REAL
 '[I] desire the reward of *nirvana*, which is the state of release from the cycle of rebirth.' (*Inscr.* IV-413)

- စိယ် *ciy'* (V~) → CAUS: cause to V; may V happen; causative/exhortative marker often used in orders and commands [=WB စေ *ce* sè]

- (210) ဤငြိယ်ကြိပါအာ ကျက်စိယ်ကုန်သတေ။
īy'.nray'.krī.8.pā.ā kyak'.ciy'.kun'.sate.
 this.hell.big.8.CLF.in cook.CAUS.all.REAL
 'May they all be boiled in the Eight Tiers of Hell.' (*Inscr.* I-51)
- (211) လျှာတလံထွက်လျက် ခံစေသတေ။
lyvan'.ta.lan.thvak'.lyak' kharñ.ce.sate.
 tongue.one.lan.protrude.while suffer.CAUS.REAL
 'May [they] suffer [the punishment of] their tongues protruding one *lan* (six feet).' (*Inscr.* I-69)
- (212) ကျန်၇၃ယောက်သကာ [-] ဤပုရာ၄ဆူသော ကိုင် လုပ်ကူညီစိယ်
kyvan'.73.yok'.sakā [-] ī.purhā.4.chū.so.kuiv' lup'.klvaññ'.ciy'
 slave.73.CLF.ATTR.TOP [-] this.Buddha.4.CLF.ATTR.OBJ make.feed.CAUS
 'May 73 slaves take care of these four Buddhas.' (*Inscr.* II-130)
- (213) ဤပုရာ၄ဆူသောကိုင် လုပ်ကူညီစိယ်ဟု လှူသတေ။
ī.purhā.4.chū.so.kuiv' lup'.klvaññ'.ciy'.hu lhū.sate
 this.pagoda.4.CLF.ATTR.OBJ look after.CAUS.QUOT donate.REAL
 '(I) donated (servants) to look after these four pagodas.' (*Inscr.* II-130)
- (214) ပိတကတ် ရွယ်ကူတွင် ထာလစိယ်ဟု မိန့်ရက။
pitakat' rhuy'.kū.tvan' thā.la.siy'.hu min'.rakā
 Pitaka gold.cave-temple.in place.EUPH.CAUS.QUOT decree.because
 '(The King) issued a decree to preserve the Buddhist scriptures in the golden cave-temple.' (*Inscr.* I-98)

- (215) သျာသုမ္ဘိယံ သိကြည်မ္ဘိယံကိုဝ်ကာ အခွန် မတောင်စိယံ။
syāsu.mliy', sikaññ'mliy'.kuiv'.kā akhvan' ma.toñ'.ciy'.
 Shathu.land, Thikyi.land.OBJ.TOP tax NEG.request.CAUS
 'Do not levy tax on the lands owned by Shathu and Thikyi.' (*Inscr.* II-96)
- (216) နိဗ္ဗန်မည်သော မသိယံပြည် ဝင်စိယံသတေ။
nibban'.maññ'.so ma.siy'.praññ' vañ'.ciy'.sate.
 Nirvana.named.ATTR NEG.die.country enter.CAUS.REAL
 'May they be able to enter the immortal world called Nirvana.' (*Inscr.* II-202)
- (217) ငါပုသော ကောင်းမှုကိုဝ် ထိပါသော ဖျက်ဆီးသော သူကာ
ñā.plu.so koñ'mhu.kuiv' thipā.so phyak'chī.so sū.kā
 I.do.ATTR good deed.OBJ violate.ATTR destroy.ATTR person.TOP
 မ္ဘိယံကြိုက်အထက် အယင်တိုင်ကာ အဝိစိဋ္ဌာယ်ခံစိယံသတေ။
mliy'.krī.ka.athak' ayañ'tuiv'.kā avici.ñray'.khañ'.ciy'.sate.
 earth.big.SUB.above they.TOP Avici.hell.suffer.CAUS.REAL
 'May they suffer underground in the hell of Avici if they trespass upon and destroy my meritorious deeds.' (*Inscr.* II-153a)
- (218) ချတ်သောမျာ ချတ်သောသာနှင့်အံ ကွဲကင်စိယံ။
khyat'.so.myā khyat'.so.sā.nhañ' kvi.kvañ'.ciy'
 love.ATTR.wife love.ATTR.son.with divide.separate.CAUS
 'May he be separated from his beloved wife and beloved son.' (*Inscr.* II-153a)
- (219) ပိယံခါသောကိုဝ် ဖျက်သောက သတ္တဝံလေ အာမ္ဗယ်မယ်သောသာ
piy'.khā.so.kuiv' phyak'.so.kā sā.phlac'.le āmvay'.may'.so.sā
 give.REM.ATTR.OBJ destroy.ATTR.TOP animal.be.also fur.without.ATTR.animal
 ဖြစ်စိယံသတေ။ ငါဖွံစံလေ အကြိယံမယ်သောငါ ဖြစ်စိယံ။
phlac'.ciy'.sā.te. ñā.phlac'.le ākriy'.may'.so.ñā phlac'.ciy'
 be.CAUS.animal.REAL. fish.be.also scales.without.ATTR.fish be.CAUS
 'Whoever would destroy my donation, may he be without fur if an animal and without scales if a fish.' (Aung Thaw 1972-1983: vol. ii, p.46)
- စံ *caṃ* (V~) → enjoy V-ing
- (220) ငါအလှူကောင်းမှုအိအက္ခိဝ်သည် ငါရစံသော အက္ခိဝ်နှင့်ထပ်တူလျှင်
ñā.alhū.koñ'mhu.e'.akluiv'.saññ' ñā.ra.caṃ.so.akluiv'.nhañ'.thap'tū.lyvañ'
 my.donation.merit.GEN.benefit.NOM I.obtain.enjoy.ATTR.benefit.with.equal.EMPH
 ရစံစိယံသတေ။
ra.caṃ.ciy'.sate
 obtain.enjoy.CAUS.REAL
 'May [they] enjoy benefits comparable to those I enjoyed from my meritorious act of donation.' (*Inscr.* I-144)

- $\text{cvar}\bar{n}$ (V~) $\rightarrow$ can V [? = WB $\text{cvar}\bar{n}$ "swán]

- (221) ငါက အဆုယ်အမွှိဝ် မဟိယ်အံ့စွဲတေ။
nā.kā achuy'amluiv' ma.hiy'.cvarṇ.te.
 I.TOP relatives NEG.exist.can.REAL
 'I have no possibility of having any family.' (*Inscr.* II-111)
- (222) ထင်မှိဝ်လျာမှိဝ် မကြာင်ကြစိယ်စွမ်တေ။
than'.phuiv'.lyvā.phuiv' ma.kron'kra.ciy'.cvarṇ'.te.
 fuel.price.tongue.price NEG.worry.CAUS.can.REAL
 'They have no need to worry about the price of fuel or food.' (*Inscr.* III-275)
- (223) ဤယံပုရာကျွန်ကိုဝ် မစိုဝ်ပါစွဲတေ။
iy'.purhā.kyvan'.kuiv' ma.cuiv'.pā.cvarṇ.te.
 this.Buddha.slave.OBJ NEG.own.POL.can.REAL
 '[They] will be unable to own this pagoda slave.' (*Inscr.* II-182a)
- (224) ငသာ၊ ငမွှိယ်၊ ငဆုယ်တိုင်ကာ မဝင်ပါစိယ်စွဲတေ။
nā.sā, nā.mliy', nā.chuiv'.tuiv'.kā ma.van'.pā.cvarṇ.te.
 my.son, my.grandson, my relative.PL.TOP NEG.enter.POL.CAUS.can.REAL
 'May none of my sons, grandsons or relatives be permitted to enter.' (*Inscr.* II-132a)
- (225) ဖုရာအဗ္ဗစံဗ္ဗစံလေ မဖူစိယ်စွဲတေ။
phurhā.aphlac'phlac'.le ma.phū.cvarṇ.te
 Buddha.state.be.also NEG.worship.CAUS.can.REAL
 'Buddha after Buddha, may he be unable to worship them.' (*Inscr.* I-101)

- တတ် tat ' (V~) $\rightarrow$ can V; usually V-s [=WB တတ် tat ' ta?]

- (226) ဤယံရတနာဒုပါသောကိုဝ် လုပ်က္ကည်တတ်သောသူ
iy'.ratanā.3.pā.so.kuiv' lup'.klvaññ'.tat'.so.sū
 this.jewel.3.CLF.ATTR.OBJ do.feed.can.ATTR.person
 'He who can take care of the Three Gems.' (*Inscr.* II-143a)
- (227) သူတစ်ထူကိုဝ်ညွန့်ဆယ်တတ်သော၊ မလွတ်တတ်သပြိတ္တာ။
sū.tathū.kuiv'.ññhan'.chay'.tat'.so, ma.lvat'.tat'.sa.prittā.
 person.other.OBJ.torture.can.ATTR, NEG.release.can.ATTR.ghoul
 'A ghoul who (habitually) tortures others and cannot be released.' (*Inscr.* II-216)

- တော် မူ to' mū (V~) $\rightarrow$ HON: honorific construction; lit: '[honoured-V] do-' [=WB တော် မူ to' mū tò mù]

- (228) မင်ကြီလေလာတတ်မုပါရယ် တြာလေနာတတ်မုပါဒေ
mañ'.krī.le.lā.tāv' mu.pā.ruy' tyrā.le.nā.tāv' mū.pā.e'
 king.big.also.come.HON.POL.SUBORD doctrine.also.listen.HON.POL.REAL
 'The King came and listened to the doctrine.' (*Inscr.* IV-390)

- (229) ပြည်အနောက်ဖက်လှည့်ကွန်ကံ မင်ကြိနိယံတဝ်မူအေ။
praññ'.anok'.phak'.lhaññ'kla.nhuik' mañ'.krī.niy'.tav' mū.e^a.
 Pyay.west.Hlegya.in king.big.live.HON.REAL
 'The King resides in Hlegya, west of Pyay.' (*Inscr.* III-271)

- (230) အတိုင်သခင်မင်ကင်္ဂာသူ ပျံတာဝ်မူအေ။
atuv'.sakhin'.mañ'.kañkāsū pyaṃ.tāv' mū.e^a.
 our.lord.king.Kingathu die.HON.REAL
 'Our Lord, King Kingathu, has passed away.' (*Inscr.* II-143a)

- တန် *tan'* (V~) → suitable to V, ought to V [=WB တန် *tan' tən*]

- (231) ငါမုယ်စာတန်သောသူလေမဟိ။
ñā.muy.cā.tan'.so.sū.le.ma.hi.
 I.care for.ought.ATTR.person.also.NEG.exist
 'There is no-one I should take care of.' (*Inscr.* I-51)

- (232) ရိယံမသွန်တန်ဟုရယ်။
ruy'.ma.svan'.tan'.hu.ruy'.
 water.NEG.pour.ought.QUOT.SUBORD
 '[He said] that [one] should not pour water.' (*Inscr.* III-264)

- တုံ *tum* (V~) → 'V again' [=WB တုံ *tum tòun*]

- (233) မိန်တာဝ်မူတုံအေ။
min'.tāv' mū.tum.e^a.
 order.HON.again.REAL
 '[The King] again issued an order.' (*Inscr.* I-3)

- (234) တန်တိုင်ဗ္ဗတုံအေ။ ကူတည်တုံအေ။
tan'tuiñ'.plu.e^a kū.taññ'.tum.e^a.
 wall.make.REITER.REAL, cave.build.again.REAL
 '[He] both made the wall and constructed cave temple as well.' (*Inscr.* I-17)

- (235) လယ်မ္ဗိယံသုရျာ၊ ဥယန်တရ လှူတာဝ်မူတုံအေ။
lay'.mliy'.sum.ryā, uyan'.ta.khu lū.tāv' mū.tum'.e^a.
 field.land.three.hundred, garden.one.CLF donate.HON.also.REAL
 '[The King] again donated three hundred *pay* of fields and a garden.' (*Inscr.* III-235)

- ∞ *tha* (V~) → EUPH: euphonic; used in expressions of wonder and admiration [=WB ∞ *tha*]

- (236) အထူးဆန်ကြယ်ထသော သရီရတတ်တာဝါ
athū.2.chan'kray'tha.so sarīratat'tāv'
 special.REDUP.wonderful.EUPH.ATTR relic.HON
 'Especially wonderful relics [of the Buddha].' (*Inscr.* IV-390)
- (237) သူတကာအေကိုဝ်ကွယ်ရာ ဖွစ်ထသောမင်။
sū.takā.e'.kuiv'kvay'rā phlac'tha.so.mañ'
 people.all.GEN.revere.NOM be.EUPH.ATTR.king
 'The King who is revered by all the people.' (*Inscr.* III-247)
- (238) ယောက်ကျတကာထက် ဖွတ်စွာထသော ကြာမင်ကြံ၊
yok'kyā.takā.thak' mlat'cvā.tha.so trā.mañ.krī,
 man.all.more-than noble.very.EUPH.ATTR doctrine.king.big
 'The King of the doctrine who is more noble than all other men.' (*Inscr.* IV-398)
- နိုင် *nuiñ'* (V~) → can V [=WB နိုင် *nuiñ'* *nàin*]
- (239) မဏ္ဍိတ်နိုင်သောလူပြိတ္တာလျှင် ဖွစ်စိယံကုန်သတေ။
ma.kvat'.nuiñ'.so.lū.prittā.lyhañ' phlac'ciy'.kun'sate.
 NEG.liberate.can.ATTR.human.ghoul.EMPH be.CAUS.all.REAL
 'May [they] all be human ghouls who cannot be set free.' (*Inscr.* I-64)
- ပါ *pā* (V~) → POL: polite [=WB ပါ *pā* *pà*]
- (240) ဤယ်မျှသောသူတိုင်အံကာ သိပါကြပါသတေ။
īy'myha.so.sū.tuiv'.kā si.pā.krā.pā.sa.te.
 this.extent.ATTR.person.PL.TOP know.POL.hear.POL.REAL.EUPH
 'All these people knew and looked on [as witnesses].' (*Inscr.* II-130)
- ဖူး *phū~pū* (V~) → EXP: experiential; has (ever) V-ed [=WB ဖူး *phū* *pʰú*]
- (241) စရပ်လေပွဲခဖူ၏
*carap'.le.plu.phū.e**
 shelter.also.make.EXP.REAL
 'I have also built a resthouse.' (*Inscr.* IV-372)
- (242) ထိလေ ဆောင်ခဖူ၏
*thī.le choñ'.kha.pū.e**
 finial.also hold.REM.EXP.REAL
 '[I] have also placed a stupa finial.' (*Inscr.* IV-372)
- (243) ပုရဟာလေ သံရအံ ပွဲအံခဖူ၏
*purhā.le sum.khu' plu'.kha.phū.e**
 Buddha.also three.CLF make.REM.EXP.REAL
 '[I] have also made three Buddha images.' (*Archaeological* 1972 I-19)

- (244) ငါက ဤသို့သိဝံအံ မရိယံဖူတကာဟု မိန့်အံအံ
 ṇā.kā ṭy'.suiv^{ae} ma.rīy'.phū.takā.hu min^{ae}.e^{ae}
 I.TOP this.way NEG.write.EXP.EXCL.QUOT state.REAL
 '[He] stated that he had never written thus.' (Inscr. I-78b)

• ပိယံ piy' (V~) → EUPH: euphonic [=WB ပေ pe pè]

- (245) တိုင်ဆောက်ပိယံအံ။
 tuiñ'.chok'.piy'.e^{ae}.
 pillar.build.EUPH.REAL
 '[He] built a stone pillar.' (Forchhammer 1892:282)
- (246) အဖိုင်ငယ်တင်တထောင် ပိယံရယ် ဝယ်ပိယံအံ။
 aphuiiv'.ñuy'.tāv'.ta.thon' piy'.ruy' vay'.piy'.e^{ae}.
 value.silver.HON.one.thousand give.SUBORD buy.EUPH.REAL
 '[He] bought it for a price of one thousand in silver.' (Forchhammer 1892:281)
- (247) ဆပ်ရာသောခြည်ကိုလေ ငါဆပ်ပိယံအံ။
 chap'.ryā.so.khyiññ'.kuiv'.le ṇā.chap'.piy'.e^{ae}.
 repay.should.ATTR.debt.OBJ.also I.repay.EUPH.REAL
 '[I] also repaid the debt which I owed.' (Inscr. I-79a)
- (248) လူနတ်ခပ်သိမ်သောကိုဝံ သင်သရာဆိုင်ငြယ်မှ ကယ်ပိယံလျက်၊
 lū.nat'.khap'sim'.so.kuiv' sañ'sarā.chuiv'ñray'.mha kay'.piy'.lyak',
 human.nat.all.ATTR.OBJ samsara.suffering.from rescue.EUPH.while
 '[He] relieves all the humans and nats from the suffering of the cycle of rebirth...'
 (Inscr. I-79a)

• ပြီ pri (V~) → PERF: perfective aspect; completed verb action [=WB ပြီ pri pì]

- (249) ပျံတင်မှုပြီအံ။
 pyarñ.tāv'mū.pri.e^{ae}.
 die.HON.PERF.REAL.
 '[The King] has passed away.' (Inscr. II-143a)

- (250) တန်ဆောင်ကြီးကာ ပြီပီ
 tan'chon'.krī.kā prīpī
 shrine.big.TOP finish.PERF

ကူတည်ပြီသောလေ ဖုရုပ္ပုအံ။
 kū.taññ'.prīso.le phurhā.plu.e^{ae}.
 cave.construct.finish.when.also Buddha.make.real
 'When I had completed the temple I made a Buddha image' (Inscr. I-17)

• ခိ bhi (V~) → EMPH: emphatic [= WB ခိ phi phī]

- (251) ပုထိုဝ်တဝ်ကိုဝ် လှူဘိလိယံအေ။
puthuiv'.tav'.kuiv' lhu'.bhi.liy'.e'.
 stupa.HON.OBJ donate.EMPH.EUPH.REAL
 '[I] also donated a pagoda.' (*Inscr.* II-163)

• ရာ (V~) → compulsion, opportunity; must V, can V [=WB ရာ ja]

- (252) ငြိအလုံရောင်ရယ် ဝယ်ရသောမ္ဘိယံ၊
ñrīalum.roñ'.ruy' vay'.ra.so.mliy',
 younger brother.all.sell.SUBORD buy.can.ATTR.land
 'The land which I was able to buy, having sold everything to my brother.'
 (*Inscr.* III-229)

- (253) မိန့်တဝ်မူပိယံရကာ ပုကံနိယံရအေ။
min'.tav' mū.piy'.rakā pukam'.niy'.ra.e'.
 order.HON.give.since Pagan.live.can.REAL
 'Since [the King] had sanctioned it, he was permitted to reside in Pagan.'
 (*Inscr.* III-234)

• ရစ် rac' (V~) → remain and V [=WB ရစ် rac' ji?]

- (254) ဤယ်ငါလှူသောလဲကာ သာသနာ၅၀၀၀လျှင် တည်ရစ်စိမ်သတေ
iy'.ñā.lhū.so.lai.kā sāsanā.5000.lyhan' taññī'.rac'.cim'.sate
 this.I.donate.ATTR.field.TOP sāsanā.5000.EMPH establish.remain.CAUS/IRR.REAL
 'May the field which I donated cause the teachings of the Buddha to be preserved
 for five thousand years.' (*Inscr.* I-90)

- (255) ဤယ်မျှသောသူတိုင်အံ ရိယံရစ်သော။
iy'.myha.so.sū.tuiv' riy'.rac'.so.
 this.extent.ATTR.person.PL write.remain.ATTR
 'This number of them left their writings.' (*Inscr.* I-4)

• ရာ ryā (V~) → ought to V; must V [=WB ရာ rā jā; see Okell and Allott (2001:182 'ရာ 6')]

- (256) သမာ ကုရယ် မတတ်ရှာသော အနာဖိယံ
samā ku.ruy' ma.tat'.ryā.so. anā.phuiy'
 physician cure.SUBORD NEG.can.can.ATTR disease.danger
 'A disease which physicians cannot cure.' (*Inscr.* II-144)

- (257) တိုင်ကာတန်မန်ကို မချုပ်ရှာ။
tuiñ'kā.tan'man'.kui ma.khyup'.ryā.
 country.envoy.OBJ NEG detain.should
 'The envoy sent from another country should not be detained.' (*Inscr.* III-271)

- လိယ် *liy'* (V~) → EUPH: euphonic [=WB လေ *le* lè]

(258) ရှယ်ကုတွင်ထာလိယ်အေ။
rhuy'.kū.tvan'.thā.liy'.e'
 gold.cave.in.place.EUPH.REAL
 '(He) placed it in a golden cave-shrine.' (*Inscr.* I-98)

(259) မြင်မူ၍မလာ၍ ငါမိန့်အံလိယ်အေ။
*mran'mū.im'.lā.r** *nā.min'.liy'.e'*
 Myinmu.house.come.SUBORD me.order.EUPH.REAL
 '[He] came to my house in Myinmu and gave me orders.' (*Inscr.* I-78b)

- လေ ~ လိယ် *le* ~ *liy'* (V~) with no sentence-final verb marker → IMP: imperative marker [=WB လေ *le* lè]

(260) ကောက်ပယ်လေ ခိုက်လိယ်။
kok'.pay'.le cuik'.liy'
 paddy.beans.also grow.IMP
 'Plant rice and other things.' (*Inscr.* III-271)

- လောအံ ~ လဝ် *lo'* ~ *lav'* (V~) → IMP: imperative marker [=WB လော့ *lo'* lə]

(261) ကွဗ္ဗမင် စတ်လဝ် ဟူ၍။
*klacvā.man' cat'.lav' hū.r**
 Kyaswa.king divide.IMP say.SUBORD
 'King Kyaswa said: 'Divide (it), and...' (*Inscr.* III-231)

- လိုင် *luiv'* (V~) → want to V [=WB လို *lui* lə]

(262) နိယံရဗန်ဆုရလိုဝ်သတေ။
niy'raban'.chu.ra.luiv'.sate.
 nirvana.reward.obtain.want.REAL
 '[I] want to obtain the reward of nirvana.' (*Inscr.* II-130)

(263) ဆိုင်ငြယ်သောအဖွစ်လည် မဖွစ်လိုဝ်။
chuiiv'iray'.so.aphlac'.lāññ' mā.phlac'.luiv'.
 poverty.ATTR.state.also NEG.be.want
 '[I] do not desire to be in a state of poverty.' (*Inscr.* II-130)

(264) ငါမူသောအကျိဝ်က ငါလိုဝ်သဆု ပွည့်စုံလိုသတေ။
nā.mū.so.akluiv'.ka nā.luiv'.sa.chu pūññ'.lui.sate.
 I.do.ATTR.benefit.TOP I.want.ATTR.reward fulfil.want.REAL
 'Concerning the benefit of my donation, I want the reward I long for to be fulfilled.' (*Inscr.* I-182a)

- လိုက် *luik'* (V~) → 'just V', 'V thoroughly, decisively' [=WB လိုက် *luik'* lai?]

- (265) ရွယ်တန်ဆောင်ငယ်တန်ဆောင်တိုင်အံ့ဖွင်အံ့ ပုဇောပ်ရယ်အံ့ ထည်အံ့လိုက်အံ့
rhuy'.tan'choñ'.ñuy'.tan'choñ'.tuiv'.phlan' *pujāv'.ruy'* *thaññ'.luik'.e'*
 gold.ornament.silver.ornament.PL.with devote.SUBORD insert.just.REAL
 'I worshipped with gold and silver ornaments, and enshrined them.' (Inscr. II-80)

• လင် *lan'* (V~) → IMP: imperative marker [=WB လင် *lan'* lɪN]

- (266) အပိုင်အခြာတိုင် ဆောက်ပိယ်လင်။
apuiv'akhrā.tuiv' chok'.piy'.lan'.
 boundary.pillar build.BEN.IMP
 'Erect a boundary pillar.' (Inscr. III-296)

- (267) သခင် တိုင် အလိုပ်ရလင်ဟု လှူတော်မူတုံရကာ
sakhin'.tuiv' aluiv'.ra.lan'.hu lhū.to' mū.tuñ.rakā
 Lord.PL desire.obtain.IMP.QUOT donate.HON.again.because
 'Because the King again made offerings, saying "Masters, take what you need..."'
 (Inscr. II-203)

- (268) သင်္ခါတာလင်ဟု မိန့်တော်မူအံ့။
sañkhā.thā.lan'.hu min'.tāv' mū.e'
 monkhood.place.order.QUOT order.HON.REAL
 '[The King] gave orders, saying "Place the monks here."' (Inscr. IV-401)

• လွယ် *lway'* (V~) → easy to V [=WB လွယ် *lway'* lwè]

- (269) ရောင်ရယ်လွယ်သော။
roñ'ray'.lway'.so.
 contented.easy.ATTR
 '[It is] easy to be contented.' (Inscr. II-216)

• လျင် *lyhan'* (PHRASE~) → EMPH: emphatic [=WB လျင် *lyhan'* ʔajɪN]

- (270) နိဗ္ဗန်ရံသာအာ ရောက်စေလျင်တော။
nibban'.khyamsā.ā rok'.ce.lyhan'.te.
 nirvana.happiness.to arrive.CAUS.EMPH.REAL
 'May [they] reach the happy state of *nirvana*.' (Inscr. II-162)

- (271) တိုင်ဆောက်ပလိယ်ဟူသော ထုယ်တောင်ရလျင်သတော။
tuiv'.chok'.paliy'.hū.so thuy'tāv'.ra.lyhan'.sate.
 pillar.erect.command.QUOT.ATTR royal order.obtain.EMPH.REAL
 '[I] received a royal order to erect a pillar.' (Inscr. III-268)

• ဝမ်အံ *vam'* (V~) → dare to V [=WB ဝံ *vam'* wɪN]

- (272) အတိုင်ကျွန်ငြယ်အဝစိယ် ခံဝမ်အံသော။
atuiv'kyvan'.iray'.avacy' khar̃.vam^u.ar̃.so.
 I.hell.Avici suffer.dare.IRR.ATTR.
 'I will dare to suffer the hell of Avici.' (*Inscr.* III-231b)

• သာ *sā* (V~) → be feasible to V [=WB သာ *sā* ၀à]

- (273) ဖိလုသတ်ရယ် မလွတ်တတ်သာ။
philu.sat'.ruy' ma.lvāt'.tat'.sā
 ogre.kill.SUBORD NEG.release.can.feasible
 '[He] was killed by an ogre and cannot possibly be liberated.'
 (Pe Maung Tin 1928:7)

• သိယ် *siy'* (V~) → yet/still V [=WB သေး *se'* ၀é]

- (274) မြွယ်ကြံအထယ်ငြယ် [-] ကျက်စိယ်သိယ်သတေ။
mliy'.kr̃.athay'.iray' [-] kyak'.ciy'.siy'.sa.te
 earth.big.inside.hell [-] cook.CAUS.still.REALEUPH
 'May he still be boiled in the hell inside the earth.' (*Inscr.* II-202)

- (275) အတိုင်ကျွန်လင် ပုကံသာ နိယံရစိယ်လသိယ်
atuiv'kyvan'.lan' pukar̃.sā niy'.ra.ciy'.la.siy'
 my.husband Pagan.only live.can.CAUS.EXCL.still
 'My husband was allowed to live only in Pagan.' (*Inscr.* III-234)

- (276) ငါမစာရသိယ်ဟု မိန့်ခရကာ၊
nā.ma.cā.ra.siy'.hu min'.kha.rakā
 I.NEG.eat.can.still.QUOT order.REM.because
 'Since [the King] stated "I have not yet eaten"...' (*Inscr.* III-268)

• သင်အံ *sañ^u* (V~) → should V, ought to V [=WB သင့် *sañ^o* ၀iN]

- (277) ဤယံကျွန်တိုင်အံကိုဝ် ဓနပတိယံအံ မယူသင်အံဟုရယ်အံ၊
iy'.kyvan'.tuiv^u.kuiv' dhanapatiy^u ma.yū.sañ^u.hu.ruy^u,
 this.slave.PL.OBJ Dhanapati NEG.take.should.QUOT.SUBORD
 'Saying that Dhanapati should not take these slaves...' (*Inscr.* I-77)

• အား *ā* (V~) → be free to V [=WB အား *ā'* ၇á]

- (278) အမိန့်မဟိအာဟု မိန့်ဇအံ။
amin'.ma.hi.ā.hu min'.e^u.
 order.NEG.issue.EXCL.QUOT state.REAL
 '[The King] said that he did not issue an order.' (*Inscr.* I-79b)

- ဦး (V~) → V further, more; go on and V [=WB ဦး: ၵ်" ၵ်]

(279) ငါကာ ကောက်ပဲ ခိုက်လိယံဦးအံ။
 nā.kā kok'pai cuik'.liy'.uai.arñ.
 I.TOP crops plant.EUPH.yet.IRR
 'I will plant crops and paddy henceforth.' (Inscr. II-168)

(280) ငှပဲ လှူဦးအံ။
 4.pai lhū.uai.arñ.
 four.pai donate.yet.IRR
 '[I] will donate four pay [of land] henceforth.' (Inscr. V-591b)

- အပ် ap' (V~) → ought to V [=WB အပ် ap' ၵa?]

(281) နာထောင်ရယ် နာအပ်အံ။
 nāthoñ'.ruy' nā.ap'.e'.
 listen.SUBORD obey.should.REAL
 '[You] ought to listen and obey.' (Inscr. II-168)

(282) မိယံအပ်အံဟူ စိယံအံ
 miy'.ap'.e'.hū ciy'.e'.
 ask.should.REAL.QUOT send.REAL
 '[He] enquired, saying that he ought to send [a messenger].' (Inscr. II-168)

7 Additional examples

(283) အတိုင်ကျွန်ဖကြိကာ အတိုင်ကျွန်ဖကိုဝံ ပိယံအံ။
 atuiv'kyvan'.phakrī.kā atuiv'kyvan'.pha.kuiv' piy'.e'.
 my.uncle.SUBJ my.father.to give.REAL.
 'My uncle gave [it] to my father.' (Inscr. II-174)

(284) လုစရစ်သောသူကာ အဝိစိယံအထယ်လျှင် ကွဲစိယံသတေ။
 lucarac'.so.sū.kā aviciy'.athay'.lhyañ' kla.ciy'.sate.
 plunder.ATTR.person.SUBJ Avici.inside.in fall.CAUS.REAL
 'May the person who plunders fall into the hell of Avici.' (Inscr. II-174)

(285) ကောင်မှုကိုဝံ မူလိုဝံသောသကာ ကောင်မှုကိုဝံ မူရစိယံအံ။
 koñ'mhu.kuiv' mū.luiv'.so.sa.kā koñ'mhu.kuiv' mū.ra.ciy'.e'.
 act of merit.OBJ do.want.ATTR.NOM.TOP act of merit.OBJ do.can.CAUS.REAL
 'May those who wish to perform acts of merit be able to do so.' (Inscr. II-216)

(286) ဤပုရုဏ္ဏသောကိုဝံ လုပ်ကွည့်စိယံဟု လှူသတေ။
 ī.purhā.4.chū.so.kuiv' lup'kvaññ'.ciy'.hu lhū.sate.
 this.Buddha.4.CLF.ATTR.OBJ care for.CAUS.PURP donate.REAL
 'I made this donation so that they may look after these four Buddha statues.'
 (Inscr. II-130)

- (287) အတည်မယ်အသောတရာကိုဝ် ထိတ်လန့်လတ်ရယ်အ်
ataññī.maȳ.so.taryā.kuiv̄ thit̄lan̄.lat̄.ruȳ.
 stability.lack.ATTR.law.OBJ terrify.EUPH.SUBORD
 'He is terrified with the doctrine to the effect that nothing is stable.' (*Inscr.* I-143)
- (288) မိမိလင်နတ်ရွာလာသောမင်ကိုဝ်လေ မ္ဗတ်နိဝ်စွာ မ္ဗစ်၍
mimi.lan̄nat̄rvāḍa.so.man̄.kuiv̄.le mlat̄nuiv̄.cvā phlac̄.r̄.
 self.husband.heaven.go.ATTR.king.OBJ.also revere.ADV be.SUBORD
 'In reverence for my husband the king who passed away...' (*Inscr.* I-143)
- (289) အတိုင်သခင်မင်ကင်္ကာသူကိုဝ် ပုရာလောင်က္ခစွာမင် ပိယံတဝ်မူသော
atuiv̄.sakhiñ̄.man̄.kiñkā.sū.kuiv̄ purhā.loñ̄.klacvā.man̄ piȳ.tav̄.mī.so
 stability.lack.ATTR.law.OBJ Buddha.future.KyaSwa.king give.HON.REAL
 'The future Buddha, King Kyaswa, gave [it] to my Lord, Kingathu.' (*Inscr.* I-143)
- (290) အမိမှ လာသောကျွန်၂၆
ami.mha lā.so.kyvan̄.26
 mother.from come.ATTR.slave.26
 'Twenty-six slaves inherited from my mother' (*Inscr.* II-212)
- (291) အမိပုရာစာဝ်သည် သင်သရာဆိုဝ်ငြာယ်မှ မ္ဗောက်လိုဝ်သောငါ
amipurhā.cāv̄.saññī sañ̄sarā.chuiv̄rīrāȳ.mha mlōk̄.luiv̄.sōñhā
 Queen.Saw.NOM samsara.suffering.from free.want.since
 'Since Queen Saw wants to be free from the cycle of rebirth.' (*Inscr.* II-138)
- (292) တစ်ဖန် မ္ဗိယံ ရောင်လှာတုံရကာ၊
tac̄phan̄ mliȳ ron̄.lhā.tur̄.rakā,
 again land sell.come.again.because
 'Since he again came and sold land...' (*Inscr.* II-162)
- (293) မိတေညံမည်သောဖုရာ ဖြစ်လစ်သောခါ ဖြစ်ပါခွင်သတေ။
miteññī.man̄ññī.so.phurā phlac̄.lac̄.so.khā phlac̄.pā.khlañ̄.sate.
 Maitreya.name.ATTR.Buddha be.?EUPH.ATTR.time be.include.want.REAL
 '[I] want to be alive when the Buddha Maitreya reaches enlightenment.'
 (*Inscr.* IV-401)
- (294) ငါ့ဤမိန့်ကံလာလတ်ရယ် မိန့်အ်လှာအ်။
ñā.īm̄.nhuik̄.lā.lat̄.ruȳ min̄.lhā.ē.
 my.house.in.come.EUPH.SUBORD order.come.REAL
 '[He] came to my house and gave orders.' (*Inscr.* I-74)
- (295) အတည်မယ်သောတရာကိုဝ် ထိတ်လန့်အ်လတ်ရယ်၊
ataññī.maȳ.so.taryā.kuiv̄ thit̄lan̄.lat̄.ruȳ,
 stability.without.ATTR.nature.OBJ fear.EUPH.SUBORD
 'Being terrified by the instability of nature...' (*Inscr.* II-143a)

8 Conclusion

It seems reasonable to assert that the general structure of Burmese in the Pagan period was not fundamentally different from that of contemporary Burmese. Apart the difficulty of deciphering the script, it is not difficult to access the content of Burmese inscriptions. They provide us a great deal of material concerning the phonology and grammar of Burmese at that time.

Phonologically, it is argued that Pagan period Burmese contrasted voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated series of obstruents: labial, dental, and velar stops and palatal affricates. Judging from the orthography, it is apparent that Pagan period Burmese had a series of consonant clusters comprising velar and labial stops combined with liquids: က *kr*, ခ *khr*, ပ *pr*, ဖ *phr*, မ *mr* and ကလ *kl*, ခလ *khl*, ပလ *pl*, ဖလ *phl*, မလ *ml*. The vowels were *a i u e o*; the diphthongs seem to have been *ai* and *ui*. It is uncertain what the sound the spelling ဝိ *iy* represented. It is generally agreed that three tones were distinguished.

Affirmative sentences were composed of four types: subject–complement, subject–predicate, subject–object–predicate and object–subject–predicate. Negative sentences were formed by prefixing a negative particle မ *ma* to the Verb. Imperative sentences contained a verb with no particle attached. Several particles could however be suffixed to verbs: နှေ *nhe* in interrogative sentences with question words, and လော *lo* in interrogative sentences expecting the answer yes or no. Besides these, verbs were modified by a number of other verb particles. Pagan period Burmese made use of postpositions, some with case-marking functions.

9 Index of grammatical forms

က ခ ပ ဖ မ

က *kā* (N~) → TOP/SUBJ: topic / subject / nominative [=WB က *kā* 'ká]. (29)(30)(32)(35)(36)(39)(45)(46)(52)(53)(57)(58)(64)(65)(66)(68)(70)(71)(76)(77)(89)(92)(98)(99)(101)(140)(142)(143)(152)(153)(173)(174)(178)(183)(188)(196)(199)(204)(215)(217)(221)(224)(240)(244)(250)(254)(279)(283)(284)(285)

ကုန် *kun'* (V~) → all V, each V [=WB ကုန် *kun'* kòun]. (74)(76)(136)(159)(174)(198)(199)(200)(210)(239)(249)

ကိုဝ် *kuiv'* (N~) → OBJ: object / accusative [=WB ကို *kui* kò]. (74)(82)(90)(91)(92)(100)(140)(154)(155)(156)(167)(174)(188)(191)(197)(205)(206)(209)(212)(213)(215)(217)(219)(223)(226)(227)(247)(248)(251)(295)(277)(285)(286)(287)(288)(289)

ကိုဝ် *kuiv'* (N~) → dative: 'to' [=WB ကို *kui* kò]. (37)(38)(39)(40)(53)(87)(89)(93)(94)(143)(157)(182)(283)

က *ka* (V~) → PL: plural; V has plural subject [=WB က *ka* t̃a]. (161)(201)

ခ/ခါ/ခဝ် *kha/khā/khay'* (V~) → REM: remote; V action is remote in space or time [=WB ခ *khai'* k'h̃]. (191)(202)(203)(204)(205)(206)(219)(242)(243)(276)

ခ *khai* (V~) → difficult to V [=WB ခ *khai* k'h̃]. (85)(105)(207)

ခွင် *khlan'* (V~) → desire, want to V [=WB ခွင် *khyan'* t̃h̃in]. (44)(90)(92)(100)(141)(145)(168)(208)(209)(293)

စခဇေဗျည

စံ *carì* (V~) → enjoy Ving [=WB စမ်း *cam'* "sán]. See (220)

စိမ်အံ *cim'* (V~) → CAUS/IRR: conflation of causative စေ *ce* sè + *irrealis* အံ *arì* 'will cause to V' [=WB စိမ် *cim'* sēin]. e.g. (76)(81)(208)(254)

စိမ်အံသော့ *cim'.so.nhā* (V~) → PURP: in order that it may cause to V [=WB စိမ်အံသော့ *cim'.so.nhā* sēin.ဝံ့.ရံ]. e.g. (87)(88)(89)(143)

စိယ် *ciy'* (V~) → CAUS: cause to V; may V happen; causative/exhortative marker often used in orders and commands [=WB စေ *ce* sè]. e.g.

(31)(42)(43)(44)(52)(74)(77)(78)(128)(129)(137)(139)(142)(144)(148)(161)(168)(169)
(172)(174)(175)(183)(184)(199)(200)(210)(211)(212)(213)(214)(215)(216)(217)(218)
(219)(220)(222)(224)(225)(239)(270)(274)(275)(284)(285)(286)

့ *cvā* (V~) → ADV: adverb-forming suffix; V-ly [=WB ို *cvā* swà]. e.g.
(139)(140)(170)(288)

့ *cvā* (V~) → intensifier: very V [=WB ို *cvā* swà]. (70)(85)(105)(106)
(107)(108)(135)(162)(163)(207)(238)

့ *cvarì* (V~) → can V [=WB ိုမ်း *cvam'* swán]. (221)(222)(223)(224)

တထဒဇန

တာ *takā* (PHRASE ~) → EXCL: exclamation [=WB တကား *takā* tagá] (70)(71)(72)(73)

တဝ် *tav'* (N~) → HON: honorific; 'honoured N' [=WB တော် *to'* tò].
(74)(84)(236)(246)(251)

တဝ်မူ *tav' mū* (V~) → HON: honorific construction; lit: 'perform an honoured V' [=WB တော်မူ *to' mū* tò mù].
(34)(37)(38)(58)(70)(84)(228)(229)(230)(233)(235)(249)(253)(267)(268)(289)

တေ *te* (SENTENCE ~) → EUPH: euphonic [=WB တည်း *taññ'* tí].
(144)(156)(182)(184)(240)(274)

တတ် *tat'* (V~) → can V; usually V-s [=WB တတ် *tat'* ta?].
(44)(69)(167)(226)(227)(236)(256)(273)

တန် *tan'* (V~) → suitable to V, ought to V [=WB တန် *tan'* tàn]. (41)(231)(232)

တိုဝ် *tuiv'* (N~) → PL: noun plural marker [=WB တို *tu'* tō].
(53)(65)(68)(77)(88)(101)(127)(128)(129)(144)(147)(148)(157)(160)(198)(205)(224)
(240)(255)(265)(267)(277)

တုံ *turn* (V~) → V again [=WB တုံ *turn* tòun]. (39)(233)(234)(235)(267)(292)

တွင် *tvañ'* (N~) → locative: 'in' [=WB တွင် *tvañ'* twìn]. (127)(172)(173)(214)(258)

ထာ *tha* (V~) → EUPH: euphonic; used in expressions of wonder and admiration [=WB ထာ *tha* thā]. (122)(236)(237)(238)

ထက် *thak'* (N~) → more-than: used in comparative constructions [=WB ထက် *thak'* thē?].
(177)(178)(238)

ထိုဝ် *thuiv'* (~N) → that N [=WB ထို *thui* thò]. (66)(74)(132)

နိုင် *nuiñ'* (V~) → can V [=WB နိုင် *nuiñ' nàin*]. e.g. (51)(79)(190)(239)

န *nhe* (Stce~) → Q-WH: WH-question particle [=WB နည်း *nhe*].
(60)(61)(62)(63)(64)(65)(66)(67)(68)(69)

နိင် *nhuik'* (N~) → locative: 'in' [=WB နိင်/နိ *nhuik'/n**].
(88)(141)(170)(171)(191)(229)(294)

နင်အ် *nhan'* (N~) → instrumental: 'with'; 'and' [=WB နင် *nhan'*]. (40)(74)(92)(97)
(143)(162)(163)(218)(220)

ဝ ဖ ဗ ဘ မ

ဝါ *pā* (V~) → POL: polite [=WB ဝါ *pā pà*]. (129)(223)(224)(228)(240)

ဝိယံ *piy'* (V~) → EUPH: euphonic [=WB ဝေ *pe pè*]. (245)(246)(247)(248)

ဝိယံ *piy'* (V~) → BEN: benefactive; V for somebody [=WB ဝေ *pe pè*].
(245)(246)(246)(247)(248)

ပြီ *pri* (V~) → SUBORD: subordinate clause marker; V and...; V and therefore... [=WB ပြီ *pri*]. (93)

ပြီ~ဝိ *pri~pī* (V~) → PERF: perfective aspect; completed verb action [=WB ပြီ *pri*].
(196)(201)(249)(250)

ဖူ~ပူ *phū~pū* (V~) → EXP: experiential; has (ever) V-ed [=WB ဖူး *phū'*].
(47)(57)(72)(241)(242)(243)(244)

ဖွင်အ် *phlan'* (N~) → instrumental: 'with' [=WB ဖွင် *phran'* 'pʰjɪn].
(71)(144)(160)(161)(265)

ဘိ *bhi* (V~) → EMPH: emphatic [=WB ဖိ *phi*]. (251)

မာ (V~) → NEG: negative verb marker [=WB မာ *mā*].
(41)(42)(43)(44)(45)(46)(47)(48)(49)(50)(51)(52)(53)(57)(62)(71)(72)(73)(75)(76)(78)
(90)(92)(96)(97)(100)(153)(172)(191)(215)(216)(221)(222)(223)(224)(225)(227)(231)
(232)(239)(244)(256)(257)(263)(273)(276)(277)(278)

မှ *mha* (N~) → source / ablative 'from' [=WB မှ *mha*].
(86)(164)(165)(248)(290)(291)

မုကာ *mukā* (PHRASE~) → 'if' [=WB မူကာ *mūkā*]. (62)(75)(76)(77)(78)(79)(190)

ယ ရ လ ဝ

ရ *ra* (V~) → compulsion, opportunity; must V, can V, get to V [=WB ရ *ra*]. e.g.
(74)(139)(252)(253)(275)(285)

ရကာ *rakā* (V~) → since/because V [=WB ရကာ *rakā*].
(59)(92)(92)(93)(94)(95)(100)(145)(157)(191)(214)(253)(267)(276)(292)

ရစ် *rac'* (V~) → remain and V [=WB ရစ် *rac'*]. e.g. (254)(255)

ရယ်~ရယ်အ်~ရ်~ရ်ယံ *ruy'~ruy'~r'~r'y'* (V~) → SUBORD: subordinate clause marker; V and... / V and therefore... [=WB ရ် *r' jwe*]. (69)(70)(76)(80)(81)
(82)(83)(84)(160)(191)(205)(228)(232)(246)(252)(256)(259)(261)(265)(273)(277)(281)
(287)(288)(294)(295)

- ရာ *ryā* (V~) → ought to V; must V [=WB ရာ *rā jā*; see Okell and Allott (2001:182 ‘ရာ 6’)]. e.g. (256)(257)
- လေ /လည် *le / laññ* (N~) → also [=WB လည်: *laññ* ‘lÉ]. e.g. (179)–(180)
- လေ ~လိယ် *le ~ liy’* (V~) with no verb-final sentence marker → IMP: imperative marker [=WB လေ *le lè*]. e.g. (260)
- လော *lo* (Stce~) → Q-?: yes-no question particle [=WB လော *lo ló*]. e.g. (56)–(59)
- လောအံ ~လဝ် *lo~lav’* (V~) → IMP: imperative marker [=WB လော *lo’ lə*]. e.g. (261)
- လိုက် *luik’* (V~) → ‘just V’, ‘V thoroughly, decisively’ [=WB လိုက် *luik’ lai?*]. e.g. (265)
- လင် *lan’* (V~) → IMP: imperative marker [=WB လင် *lan’ līn*] (266)(267)(268)
- လတ် *lat’* (V~) → EUPH: euphonic [=WB လတ် *lat’ la?*]. (294)(295)(287)
- လတ်အံ *lat’arñ* (V~) → EUPH/IRR: euphonic + future/irrealis [=WB လတ် *lattam’ la?tān*]. e.g. (185)(186)
- လိယ် *liy’* (V~) → EUPH: euphonic [=WB လေ *le lè*]. e.g. (251)(258)(259)(279)
- လိုဝ် *luiv’* (V~) → want to V [=WB လို *lui lò*]. e.g. (262)(263)(264)
- လိုဝ်သော *luiv’.so.nhā* (V~) → PURP: purpose; in order that it might V [=WB လိုသော *lui.so.nhā lò.ḍṣ.ḥà*]. e.g. (86)
- လျက် *lyak’* (V~) → while V-ing [=WB လျက် *lyak’ ṭaje?*]. e.g.
- လွယ် *lva’y’* (V~) → easy to V [=WB လွယ် *lva’y’ lwè*]. e.g. (269)
- လျှင် *lhyarñ* (N~) → locative: ‘in’ [no WB equivalent]. e.g. (175)–(176)
- လျှင် *lyhan’* (PHRASE~) → EMPH: emphatic [=WB လျှင်း *lyhan’ ṭajín*]. e.g. (270),(271)
- လင် *lan’* (V~) → order, imperative [=WB လင် *lan’ līn*]. e.g. (266)(267)(268)
- ဝမ်အံ *vam^{ac}* (V~) → dare to V [=WB ဝံ *vam^a wūn*]. e.g. (272)

သတဋ္ဌအ

- သတေ *sate* (V~) → REAL.EUPH: *realis* and euphonic marker V-s, V-ed [=WB သတည်း *sataññ^a* ṭadí].
- သာ *sā* (V~) → be feasible to V [=WB သာ *sā θà*]
- သင်အံ *sañ^{ac}* (V~) → should V, ought to V [=WB သင် *sañ^a θīn*]
- သိယ် *siy’* (V~) → yet/still V [=WB သေး *se* ‘θé]
- သော *so* (V~) → REALIS: V-s, V-ed [=WB သည် *saññ’* ṭi] – see (40), (109), (110)
- သောတေ *sote* (V~) → REAL.EUPH: *realis* and euphonic marker V-s, V-ed [=WB သတည်း *sataññ^a* ṭadí].
- သိုဝ်အံ *suiv^{ac}* (N~) → like, as if N [=WB သို့ *sui’ ḍṣ*]
- သိုဝ်အံ *suiv^{ac}* (N~) → to, towards N [=WB သို့ *sui’ ḍṣ*]
- ဟု *hu* (PHRASE~) → QUOT: quotation marker [=WB ဟု *hu hū*]
- အာ *ā* (V~) → be free to V [=WB အာ: *ā’ ṭá*]
- အံ *arñ* (V~) → IRR: *irrealis* marker; will/would V [=WB အံ *arñ’ ṭān*]

သာ *sā* (V~) → be feasible to V [=WB သာ *sā* θà]. e.g. (273)

သော *so* (V~) → ATTR: attributive clause marker [=WB သော *so* θံ]. e.g.

သောကြောင့် *so.kron'* (V~) → because V [=WB သောကြောင့် *so.kron'* θံဒံ့အံ]. e.g. (90), (91)

သင်အံ *san'* (V~) → should V, ought to V [=WB သင်အံ *san'* θိၤ]. e.g. (277)

သိယံ *siy'* (V~) → yet/still V [=WB သိယံ *siy'* θဲ]. e.g. (274)(275)(276)

သိုဝ်အံ *suiv'* (N~) → direction: 'to' [=WB သိုဝ်အံ *suiv'* θဲ]. e.g. (168)–(169)

အာ *ā* (N~) → locative: 'in' [no WB alternative]. e.g. (174)

အာ *ā* (N~) → dative: 'to' [=WB အာ: *ā*" ၵာ်]. e.g. (158)–(159)

အာ *ā* (V~) → be free to V [=WB အာ: *ā*" ၵာ်]. e.g. (278)

ဦ *ū* (V~) → V further, more; go on and V [=WB ဦ: *ū*" ၵုၤ]. e.g. (279)(280)

အံ *arh* (V~) → IRR: *irrealis* marker; will/would V [=WB အံ *arh* ၵာ်]. See (187)(182)(190)(203)(203)(205)(189)

အံသောရာ *am.so.nhā* (V~) → PURP: in order that it will V [=WB အံသောရာ *am.so.nhā* ၵာ်.ဝံ.ၵံ.ၵံ. e.g. (85)

အပ် *ap'* (V~) → ought to V [=WB အပ် *ap'* ၵာ်?]. e.g. (281)(282)

အေ *e'* (N~) → possessive/genitive [=WB အေ *e'* ၵိ]. e.g. (166)(167)

အေ *e'* (V~) → REAL: *realis* marker V-s, V-ed [=WB အေ *e'* ၵိ]. e.g. (192)(193)(194)(195)

ဤယံ~ဤ *īy'~ī* (~N) → this [=WB ဤ *ī* ၵိ].

