

# SIAMESE MUTE H.

By F. OTTO SCHRADER.

In my study of the Siamese alphabet<sup>1</sup> I did not discuss the problem of the two prefix-like mute letters called *h̄ē nā* and *'p̄ nā* (H ᨠ, ᨡ ᨠ), because there can be no doubt as to the way of transcribing them in accordance with my principles (*h*, *'*). Professor Conrady has made a few remarks on these mysterious letters<sup>2</sup>, but they are far from exhaustive, nor, indeed, intended to be so. I, therefore, venture to offer the following essay based on a rather too diffuse paper penned by me<sup>3</sup> in 1919 in the leisure of internment, partly with the help of a fellow-prisoner<sup>4</sup> whose phenomenal knowledge of the Siamese language enabled me to avoid some lexicographical inaccuracies<sup>5</sup>.

## I. H̄ē nā no mere graphic sign.

The Siamese believe that their mute *h* (and likewise mute *'*, of which I shall speak later) is a purely graphic sign invented for allowing those "low" letters (nasals, liquids, and semivowels) which, unlike the medial explosives (g, j, d, b), have no "high" equivalent (aspirate), to assume the tonal value of a "high" letter wherever the rising tone of a word cannot otherwise be accounted for. *H* belonging to the class of "high" letters (*ak̄sor s̄n̄*), it naturally raises the tone of a word; e. g., *vām* "vibrating, glittering", with normal tone, changes to *vām̄* with rising tone, meaning "terrified", when *h*

<sup>1</sup> *Asia Major*, vol. I, p. 45 fl. I seize the opportunity of stating one omission: on p. 50 line 14 the word "partly" should be inserted before "connected".

<sup>2</sup> See his *Indochinesische Causativ-Denominativ-Bildung* p. 133 fl. and 143 fl.

<sup>3</sup> Without knowledge of Conrady's work which it partly contradicts, partly confirms and supplements.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. P. Freye of Bremen, formerly a teacher in Bangkok.

<sup>5</sup> Most of my references, so far as Siamese is concerned, are to Cartwright's *Siamese-English Dictionary*. — The guttural nasal is transcribed through *η*.

is prefixed to it, just as such words as *hṛ* have the rising tone on the mere strength of their initial *h*.

Now there are two facts in Siamese orthography itself which do not quite accord with this purely graphic meaning ascribed to *hṛ nā*:

1. Words with initial tenuis, if spoken with rising tone, are not written with *hṛ nā* but with the fourth accent ( ) which seems to have been specially invented for them, as it occurs nowhere else. Yet *hṛ nā* as a mere graphic sign for raising the tone might have done just as well, and, viceversa, instead of it the fourth accent might have been used in the case of the words now written with *hṛ nā*.

2. A number of words with falling tone are written with *hṛ nā* and, in addition to it, as if to counteract the influence of *hṛ nā*, with the second accent ( ̂ ). Such words are, e. g., *hlā<sub>2</sub>* ( 𑖇𑖫𑖜 ) "heaven" and *hmāi<sub>2</sub>* ( 𑖇𑖫𑖜𑖫 ) "to be burnt" which, if written *lā<sub>1</sub>*, *māi<sub>1</sub>* ( 𑖇𑖫𑖜, 𑖇𑖫𑖜 ), would be pronounced exactly alike. It might be argued that the orthographic difference is due to a wish of exhibiting at least in writing the difference of meaning in such pairs of words (*lā<sub>1</sub>* = "to delay; late", *māi<sub>1</sub>* = "not"). But in that case, why is the spelling *lām<sub>1</sub>* used for both "interpretor" and "to tie up", and *rē<sub>1</sub>* for 1) "metal", 2) "to run straight towards", and 3) "to pare", not to speak of other words?

The conclusion, then, seems to be inevitable that *hṛ nā* must have once been more than a merely graphic sign.

## 2. Hṛ nā a means of writing aspirate sonants?

The Siamese view that "low" letters other than mediæ may be "raised" by means of *hṛ nā* (no media, as a matter of fact, being ever written with *hṛ nā*), together with the fact that the media aspirata is actually wanting in Siamese (as in Tibetan, etc.), it having apparently merged into the tenuis aspirata, seems to justify such equations as, e. g., *vām* (vibrating, etc.): *hvām* (terrified) = \**gām* (to vibrate?)<sup>1</sup>: *khām* (to fear); that is to say, the question arises whether all combinations with *hṛ nā*, or at least some of them, should not be looked at as original aspirate sonants whose aspiration was lost in the spoken language, but has left its trace in the rising tone

<sup>1</sup> There does exist a word *gām* but it is = Sanskrit *grāma* "village".

of the word<sup>1</sup>. I am inclined to answer this question in the affirmative in the following way.

There can be but little doubt, in Tibetan as well as Siamese, as to the secondary character (both in form and meaning) of all words with initial tenuis aspirata. Aspiration and (or) hardening of the originally soft initial was in those languages a means of deriving new words from old ones, and, at the same time, the starting-point of the tonal system<sup>2</sup>. There is reason to believe that in Siamese not only initial mediæ were treated in this way but also initial nasals, liquids, and semivowels. For, quite a number of words with *hṛ nā* show the same sort of semasiological connection with the corresponding unaspirated word as do the words with initial aspirate mute; that is to say, the word with aspirate has a secondary meaning as compared with the unaspirate one. Examples (Siamese only)<sup>3</sup>:

a) with initial explosive:

<i>gan</i> to itch	<i>khan</i> excitable
<i>got</i> to bend; crooked	<i>khot</i> to be rolled in spiral form, to coil
<i>gom</i> sharp	<i>khom</i> bitter ( <i>khom<sub>1</sub></i> to torment, oppress)
<i>đot</i> to lay down, to give up	<i>thot</i> to take off, pull off; to disappear
<i>dīm<sub>1</sub></i> to pierce	<i>thim<sub>2</sub></i> to pierce with a stick <sup>4</sup>
<i>dum<sub>1</sub></i> to throw	<i>thum<sub>2</sub></i> to throw stones at
<i>blük</i> precious stone	<i>phlük</i> a variety of crystal

b) with initial sonant:

<i>ṇap</i> to catch with the teeth	<i>hṇap</i> quickly, hastily
<i>ṇok</i> to be nervous, agitated	<i>hṇok</i> shaky, tottering

<sup>1</sup> For the position of the *h* compare the examples below (p. 39) for Siamese *hl* — Tibetan *lh* and the varying pronunciation of the latter as *lh* or *hl*.

<sup>2</sup> I am aware of Prof. Conrady's totally different view of the origin of the tenses and tenses aspirata, but I think that we must distinguish between older *t*. and *t*. asp. and later ones, of which the latter only are due to a prefix (which, by the way, need not disappear, as shown e. g. by 'a *chuṅ* + ten asp.). Prof. Conrady's thesis, as it stands, clashes with the fact of the restrictedness, as to time, of all phonetical laws.

<sup>3</sup> In Tibetan, class *b* appears to be missing; among class *a*, which is quite conspicuous, I include the imperatives with initial aspirate: the aspirate was here used (along with other means) for creating an emphatical form of the root. As for Burmese, see below chapter 6.

<sup>4</sup> Notice that this and the next instance show the same (falling) tone on both sides.

<i>nēp</i> to join, to embrace	<i>hnēp</i> pincers, forceps
<i>yōi</i> <sub>2</sub> to drip, trickle down	<i>hyōi</i> <sub>1</sub> again and again, continually <sup>1</sup>
<i>rop</i> to hop, to fight	<i>hrop</i> riot, uproar
<i>liō</i> <sub>2</sub> to turn	<i>hliō</i> to look round
<i>loŋ</i> down; to come down, put down	<i>hloŋ</i> to wander in mind, forget
<i>lip</i> thin, stunted	<i>hlip</i> small fissure in a mountain
<i>lum</i> <sub>1</sub> low, hollowed out	<i>hlum</i> <sub>1</sub> pit, well, grave <sup>1</sup>
<i>vāŋ</i> <sub>1</sub> empty, vacant	<i>hvāŋ</i> <sub>1</sub> empty place; between <sup>1</sup>
<i>vēu</i> <sub>1</sub> round flat piece	<i>hvēu</i> ring
<i>vām</i> glittering, palpitating	<i>hvām</i> frightened, terrified

### 3. Tibetan correspondences of *hō nā*<sup>2</sup>.

While in the category of words just dealt with *hō nā* appears as an original formative element, there are other categories in which it is evidently the mere remnant or substitute of another sound. This is obvious within Siamese itself, as we shall see later, but still more so when we compare Tibetan of whose prefixes *s* and less often *r* and *g* are found in the place of the Siamese *hō nā*. Here, it is true, we have to remember that in Tibetan the prefixes have gained ground and cannot, therefore, throughout be regarded as pre-ethnic; still, considering that a few Siamese explosives and fricatives (*ʔ*, *p*, *f*, *w*) point to ancient prefixes<sup>3</sup>, it seems but natural that the Siamese language should have preserved a more direct trace of such former prefixes, viz., in the form of *hō nā*. The following parallels are an attempt to show what might belong together from this point of view. They include a few cases where it is doubtful whether *hō nā* is not rather the aspiration dealt with in the preceding section than the Siamese successor of a pre-Tibetan prefix, because, as we have already pointed out, there are undoubtedly many words in Tibetan which have received their prefix only in Tibetan times, some even when the prefix had ceased to be spoken. The following parallels, then, are meant to exemplify all Tibetan correspondences of *hō nā* which may or may not be prefixes, for which reason some of them will have to be referred to again in the next chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Here the form with *hō nā* has the deep tone and not, as is the rule, the rising tone.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Conrady, loc. cit. p. 133 fl. (disregarded in this paper, see note 3 p. 33).

<sup>3</sup> See my article mentioned at the beginning of this paper.

### 1. Siamese *hŋ*-, *hn*-:<sup>1</sup>

Siamese:	Tibetan:
<i>hŋā</i> "much, very" (cf. <i>ŋā</i> "to collect", etc.)	<i>rnām</i> "full", <i>rnams</i> plural sign
<i>hŋŋŋ</i> <i>hŋŋŋ</i> "to quarrel"	<i>snog-pa</i> "to torment, annoy"
<i>hŋŋn</i> "crest, plume, comb"	<i>snon-du</i> "at the head, before"
<i>hŋap</i> see p. 35	<i>rnab-pa</i> "to be hungry, greedy"; <i>rnabs-pa</i> "stretching out the hand to catch"; <i>brnab-sems</i> "covetousness"
<i>hnā</i> <sub>2</sub> "face; in front of"	<i>sna</i> "nose, peak, tip, end" <i>sŋa</i> "before", etc.
<i>hnŋ</i> "to run away"	<i>sñeg[s]-pa</i> "to run after, pursue"
<i>hnŋŋ</i> "to suspect"	<i>bsñeŋs-pa</i> "to fear, be afraid"
<i>hnŋot</i> "moustache"	<i>sñod-pa</i> "to draw out and twist, as in spinning"
<i>hnun</i> "to reinforce, to support"	<i>snun-pa</i> "to multiply"; <i>snon-pa</i> "to augment, revive, strengthen"
<i>hnŋŋ</i> "swamp"	<i>rnŋog-pa</i> , <i>bsñogs</i> "muddy, miry"
" "pus"	<i>rnag</i> "pus"
<i>hnŋok</i> "deaf"	<i>rnŋŋ-ba</i> "to become choked, be stifled"
<i>hnŋet</i> "tired" }	<i>gñid</i> "sleep";
<i>hnŋit</i> "sad" }	<i>rnñid-pa</i> "to fade; to grieve"
<i>hnñām</i> "thorn"	<i>rnŋo-ba</i> "sharp, pointed"
<i>hnŋue</i> <sub>1</sub> <i>kān</i> <sub>2</sub> "character, appearance"	<i>gñug-ma</i> "natural, innate"

### 2. Siamese *hm*-:

<i>hmāŋ</i> "to be ashamed"	<i>sma</i> "to humiliate"
<i>hmō</i> "careless, inattentive"	<i>smugs-pa</i> "laziness"
<i>hmŋ</i> "physician"	<i>sman</i> "medicine"
<i>hmē</i> <sub>1</sub> "dirty, spotted"	<i>sme-ba</i> "spot on the skin"

<sup>1</sup> = Tibetan prefix + *ŋ*, *ñ*, *n*. For the Tibetan interchange of the nasals cf. the fourth example, below, also *ð-s-ŋal-ba* "to be exhausted", *g-ñal-ba* "tiredness", *m-nal* "sleep", *mal* "bedstead", further A. H. Francke, *Sketch of Ladakhi Grammar*, p. 6, § 7 (*dñul* and *mul*, both = "silver", etc.).

Siamese:

*hmōk* „fog, dust”  
*hmuok* „darkness, fog”  
*hmük* „ink”  
*hmak hmom* „to be dirty”

3. Siamese *hy-*:<sup>2</sup>

*hyan* “to jest, mock”  
*hyon*<sub>1</sub> “to let loose, let go”  
 „ ” “to make longer”  
 (cf. *yōn* “lengthy, to lengthen”  
*hyap* “swaying, flapping” (cf. Burm.  
*yap* “fan”)

4. Siamese *hr-*:<sup>4</sup>

*hrī*<sub>1</sub> “to damp (a fire or flame);  
 dim”  
*hrō* “slight, thin, erased, pierced”  
*hrin*<sub>1</sub> “a kind of small mouse”  
*hrīp* (*rīp*) “to urge, hasten, hurry”  
*hrop* “to wriggle about, to writhe”  
*rup hrū*<sub>1</sub> “obscure, dusky, dark”

Tibetan:  
*rmugs-pa* “thick fog” (cf. *mog-pa*  
 “dark or faded colour”)  
*snag* “ink” (cf. *nag-po* “black”)<sup>1</sup>

*g-yen* “to calumniate”<sup>3</sup>  
*g-yuŋ-ba* “to outcast, expel”  
*gyaŋ-ba* “to be delayed, post-  
 poned”  
*yun* “any certain space or length  
 of time”  
*g-yob byed* „the fan of a yak-tail  
 to drive away flies”

*srab-pa* “narrow, slight, shallow,  
 loose”  
*srab-mu* “thin, fine, slender”  
*srin* “insect, worm”  
*reb-reb-pa* “to be in a great hurry”<sup>4</sup>  
*srub-pa* “to stir, stir up, churn”  
*srab-srib* “twilight; dark, obscure”;  
*hrab-hrib* (*rab-rib*) “mist, dimness”;  
 cf. *rum* “darkness”, *srod* “evening-  
 twilight”

1 Cf. preceding foot-note.

2 For which neither *ry-* nor *sy-* can be expected on the other side, as these compounds do not exist in Tibetan.3 The hyphen here and in the following in order to distinguish prefix *g + y* from radical *g + infix y*, as does the Tibetan script except when there are two prefixes as in *gyaŋ-ba*.4 For Tibetan *sr-* > *hr-* > *r-* compare, e. g., *srag-jul* “violent” ~ *hrag-pa* “hardness” ~ *rags-pa* “course, thick”; *sran-pa* ~ *hraiŋ* ~ *reŋ-ba*; *srib* ~ *hrīb* ~ *rīb*. It seems, however, not always quite certain that the form without *s* or *h* is the younger one.5. Siamese *hl-*:<sup>1</sup>

Siamese:  
*hlā*<sub>2</sub> “sky, air”  
*hlām* “to cook, burn”  
*hlē*<sub>1</sub> “awry, squinting”  
*hlē* “a female liar”  
*hlē*<sub>1</sub> „more than enough, super-  
 fluous”  
*hlak* “chief, principal part”  
*hlao*<sub>1</sub> “relation, caste, society”  
*hlen*<sub>1</sub> “post for tethering animals to”  
 „ ” “house, dwelling”  
*hlön* “high, lofty; to go up”  
*hlat hlat* “lately, recently”  
*hlut* “to be untied, become un-  
 fastened; to release”  
 (cf. *lot* “to unwind”, *lat* “to release”  
*hlāp lāo*<sub>2</sub> “to be reproved, tamed  
 down”  
*hluom* “too loose, badly fitting,  
 freely”  
*hlup* “to cover, to hang down”  
*hlūp* (also *hlīp*) “a small fissure”

Tibetan:  
*lha* “god, angel”<sup>2</sup>  
*lhaŋ-ŋe* „clear, distinct”;  
*lhab-se lhab-pa* “to glimmer”  
*sle-ba, lhe-ba* “to twist, plait; distor-  
 tion”  
*sle-yoŋ* “crookedness, deceit, trick-  
 ery”  
*sre-ba* “to add, sum up”  
*lthag* “more, surpassing, superior”<sup>3</sup>  
*slas* “retinue, servants”  
*sraŋ-ba* “to straighten; straight”  
*sraŋ* “hamlet, village”  
*slon-ba* “to raise, elevate, erect”  
*stad* “in future, henceforth”;  
*stad-ma* after, the hind part”  
*glod-pa*<sup>4</sup>, *lhod-pa*, *lod-pa* “loose,  
 relaxed, slackened”  
*lud-pa* “phlegma, mucus”  
*slob-pa* “to learn, to teach”  
*lhab-lhub* “slovenly dress; wide,  
 flowing”  
*srebs* “a cleft, gap, fissure”

1 Represented in Tibetan by *sl-* and what seems to be its later form (but not perhaps in our first example), *lh-* and occasionally by *sr-*. The original pronunciation of *lh-* must have been *hl-* which is even now heard in Eastern Tibet (Conrady, loc. cit., p. 73) and not only there (cf. Foucaux, *Grammaire*, p. 10, calling attention to the ancient travellers' spelling *hLassa*). In the Ladakhi dialect “all prefixed letters before *l* become *h*” (Francke, loc. cit., p. 4).2 There is a strong temptation to connect these words with the next pair (*lha* = “shining one, Lichtwesea”, like Sanskrit *deva*) and thus obtain the equation Siam. *hlā*<sub>2</sub>: Tib. *lha* = Skt. *dyauh*: *devah!* (comp. also Tib. *sla-ba* “moon”). But, on the other hand, *hlön* (see below) seems to be derived from *hlā*<sub>2</sub>.3 Comp. the preceding pair and *hlön* (below), but also p. 43.4 Which should be *g-lod-pa*, but *g* before *l* is not looked at as a prefix.

*hlum*<sub>1</sub> "a pit, well, grave"  
*hlāi* "to flow", *hlēo* "liquid"

*lhums* "the womb"  
*lha-ba* "sap or resinous juice of trees; to soften, to suppurate"

#### 6. Siamese *lv*-:

In Tibetan the letter *v* (འ), which, by the way, is one of the rarest, takes no prefix. But Siamese *lv* seems to answer to Tibetan "small a" (ཨ) plus labial explosive, as against *s* plus the same resulting in *w* or *f*<sup>1</sup>. The following parallels may be found worth considering.

Siamese:	Tibetan:
<i>lv̄p̄</i> "having an opening";	{ <i>ba'-bo</i> "hole, cave";
<i>lv̄a</i> "opened; wound";	
<i>lv̄ān</i> <sub>1</sub> "between", etc.	
<i>lv̄in</i> "weary, fatigued"	<i>'byi-ba</i> „to be wiped off, be effaced” <sup>2</sup>
<i>lv̄tan</i> <sub>1</sub> "to cast, fling"	<i>'phen-pa</i> „to cast, fling"
<i>lv̄ān</i> "ring"	<i>'phan-bo</i> „wheel, circle”.

#### 4. Siamese interchange of *h̄p̄ nā* with radical initials<sup>3</sup>.

In Siamese, *h̄p̄ nā* before *l*, less often before other sounds, interchanges with explosives, especially those of the labial class, and sometimes with *s* (*s'*). This interchange is in many cases connected with a change of vowels that reminds one strongly of the Indo-European *ablaut*. E. g., the vocalic change of the series *hlām*, *hlōm*, *blōn*, *plēn*, etc. (see below, first example) appears to be much the same as the one in the Indo-European root *\*bhā*, *\*bhē*, *\*bhō* with its *l* and *r* extensions; cf. *bhrājati*, φλέγω, φλόξ, *flagrare*, *to blaze*, *bell*, etc. A similar phenomenon is found in Burmese (see below, section 6) and Tibetan where, however, *pl*, *phl*, and, in Burmese, also *bl* are missing, i. e., represented by *pr*, etc. (*py*, etc.). In Tibetan we have, e. g., *hril-po* "round, globular", and, beside it, *'gril-ba* "to be twisted" (*gril* 'a roll'), *'khril-ba* (*khyil-ba*) and *'phyil-ba* "to wind, twist", *sgril-ba* 'and *'dril-ba* "to wrap up, heap up", *'khrul-ba* "to be distorted", *sbrul* "serpent, snake", etc. etc., and, on the other hand, *ril-ba* "round"; but, as is evident (also from *sgor-mo*, *kor* "round", *'khor-ba* "to turn round", etc.), there can be no question of prefixes here, *ril* being clearly a reduced form (*gril* > *hril* > *ril*). Even so with Siamese *hlēo*

answering to *phl̄ēo* and to Tibetan *g'lo* and *blo* (see below) there can be but little doubt as to *h̄p̄ nā* representing an original radical initial and not a prefix. Often, however, it is exceedingly difficult to decide whether *h̄p̄ nā* belongs to this category, or whether it has replaced a prefix (above, section 3) or is an original aspirate (section 2). Thus in the case of Siam. *hlut* (see below) the fact of its corresponding with *plot*, etc., and with Tib. *glod-pa* "to loosen", *blud-pa* "to release" (*glud-pa* and *blud-pa* "a ransom") seems to prove that *h̄p̄ nā* (and likewise the *h* in Tib. *lhod*) is here the substitute of a guttural or labial radical initial<sup>1</sup>; yet, on the other hand, there are so many forms with initial *l* — Siam. *la* "to let go, give up", *lat* "to release (from a bent back position)", *lot* "to unwind", *luon*<sub>1</sub> "to slip away, pass away", *lui*<sub>1</sub> "to become unfastened"; Tib. *lod-pa* "relaxed, lazy", *lud-pa* "phlegm", *liŋs* "banished", etc. — that we find it impossible to regard all of them as secondary both in form and meaning<sup>2</sup>. Again, Siam. *hlum*<sub>1</sub>, as compared with *lum*<sub>1</sub> (p. 36), seems undoubtedly to be derived from the latter by means of aspiration, whereas by the side of Tib. *lhums* (p. 40) its *h* looks like the remnant of a prefix, and beside *glum*, etc., (see below) and Tib. *sbrum-pa* "pregnant" like a subtilized radical initial.

In this category, then, as will have been already understood from the examples given, *h̄p̄ nā* appears to be, or have replaced, one of the varying initials of a family of words in which apparently nothing is constant save the liquid following the initial and to some extent (*ablautsreihen*?)<sup>3</sup> the vowel following the liquid. The list I subjoin cannot but be imperfect in many respects. It is merely intended to call attention to the curious phenomenon.

*hlām* "to cook, burn"; see p. 39. Add *hlōm* "to melt, fuse"; *hlou* "to boil to a jelly"; *hlek* "iron, metal"; and compare: *blōn* "brightly", *blōŋ* "flame, fire", *rlan*<sub>1</sub> "polished, bright" (≈ Tib. *phyam-phyam-pa*

<sup>1</sup> Which is the more likely as, in Tibetan at least, *l* (as also *r*, *y*, *v*) appears to be seldom, if ever, an original radical initial; see II. Kourber, *Morphologie des Tibétischen* (Marburg thesis, 1921, unpublished), §§ 135—139: *l* becomes initial through the loss of an original initial to which *l* was added either as a prefix or an infix.

<sup>2</sup> Not only because they remind us of our *lōw*, *lwo*, *loose*, *schlottern*, and the like with which they may or may not be ultimately connected, but also (Conrady, loc. cit. p. 50) because the tonal accent of such Tibetan words as *glon-pa* "to answer" contradicts the Tibetan view that *l* takes no prefix but is, when following an initial consonant, a mere "affix" (infix) to the latter.

<sup>3</sup> The Tibetan *ablaut*, as Koerber has shown (loc. cit. §§ 3—5), moves on the whole within the lines *a*, *e*, *o* and *u*, *i*.

<sup>1</sup> Schrader, loc. cit., p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Phri* "to be worn out" ~ *phri-ba* "to decrease".

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Conrady, loc. cit., pp. 144 fl., 47 fl. (not made use of in this paper).

"glittering"), *plēŋ*<sub>1</sub> "to shine"; *blān*<sub>1</sub> "boiling"; *plēp* "to flash, gleam"; *plēo* "flame", *blō-blē* "at evening, at dusk", *blēi* "gem"; *brāi*, *brāo* "bright, shining"; *glōk*, *klōk* "to burn" (≈ Tib. *glog* "lightning", *glog-pa* "silver", *bkrag* "brightness, lustre"); *khlap* "shining, lustrous" (of black objects); *ch<sup>a</sup>lēm*<sub>2</sub> "beautiful to look at"; *th<sup>a</sup>luŋ* "to melt, fuse"; and with initial *l*: *lāŋ*<sub>2</sub> "to wash clean" (≈ Tib. *lags-mo* "clean"), *lōŋ*<sub>1</sub> (*lōŋ*<sub>2</sub>) "clear, open", *lūam*<sub>1</sub> "bright, shining". Perhaps we may add: *lē* "to look at, see" (and, for *hlā*<sub>2</sub>, Tib. *sla-ba* "moon").

*hlē*<sub>1</sub> "[exclamation as end of] canto of poetry"; *blēŋ* "song, music" (≈ Tib. *dbyaŋs*), *plēŋ*<sub>1</sub> "to chatter, talk", *blām*<sub>1</sub> "talkative", *glōŋ* and *klōŋ* "verses, poetry", *klōm*<sub>1</sub> "to sing a lullaby", *klāo*<sub>1</sub> "to say, explain" (≈ Tib. *klag-pa*, *klog-pa* "to read", *glu* "a song"), *khlu* "flute"; and with initial *l*: *lao*<sub>1</sub> "to tell, explain", *lao* "class prefix of words denoting wind-instruments", *lām* "interpreter", *lū* "to be reported", and Tib. *lo* "rumour", *lon* "message", *lab-pa* "to speak"<sup>1</sup>.

*hlē*<sub>1</sub>; see p. 39. Compare: *blē*<sub>1</sub> "crooked, lopsided", *blēŋ* "dislocated, sprained", *brēŋ*<sub>1</sub> "cross-road" (≈ Tib. *phred* "across"); *phlē* "crooked, with prevarications" (≈ Tib. *phye-ba* "to crawl"), *phlēŋ* "to alter"; *plē* "to translate", *plēŋ* and *plēn*<sub>1</sub> "to change, transform", *prēŋ*<sub>1</sub> "incorrect, faulty", *plīn*<sub>2</sub> "to turn a thing inside out", *plōm* "false, spurious"; also *plā*<sub>2</sub> "to wrestle", *blāŋ but* "to return an answer, reply" (≈ Tib. *blan-pa*, *glan-pa*, *glon-pa* do.); further: *klēŋ*<sub>2</sub> "to pretend, deceive" (≈ Tib. *sgye-sgyur* "crooked", *khram-pa* "a liar"); *T<sup>a</sup>lop talēŋ* "to tell lies", *s<sup>a</sup>lēŋ* "noxious, hurtful" (≈ Tib. *ste-yoŋ*), *s<sup>a</sup>lon* "crooked, wriggling", *th<sup>a</sup>luŋ* and *ch<sup>a</sup>luŋ* "to twist" (≈ Tib. *slu-ba* "to entice, to deceive"); and with initial *l*: *lēk* "to entice into an ambush", *lō*<sub>1</sub> *luoŋ* "to deceive", *lōp* "stealthily", and Tib. *li-ba* "squinting", *log-pa* "to return, [be turned] upside down; wrong".

*hlē*<sub>1</sub>; see p. 39. Add *hlai* "many, several", *hlūa* "remainder", *hlām* "much, in crowds" (≈ Tib. *lhan* "together"), and compare: *blāŋ*<sub>1</sub> "many, different people", *braŋ*<sub>1</sub> "much, crowded" (≈ Tib. *bra-ba* "to have in great plenty"); *klon*<sub>1</sub> "copious, abundant" (≈ Tib. *klas* id.), *khloŋ* "herd, crowd" (≈ Tib. *klon* "mass, bulk", *khrod-pa* "crowd, mass"), *gran* "[too] much, many"; *s<sup>a</sup>lōŋ* "much, many, several", *s<sup>a</sup>lua* *s<sup>a</sup>lāŋ*<sub>1</sub> "crowded, dense"; and with initial *l*: *lāŋ* "some", *laŋ* "fast, stout", *lē* "and", and Tib. *la-la* "some, a few".

<sup>1</sup> This group and the first are ultimately one (cf. *plēŋ*<sub>1</sub> on both sides and Greek φάω, φάω ~ φημί, φωνή), while the connection, with the second, of *brēŋ*<sub>2</sub> "to speak" (cf. Tib. *snra-ba*), *brūaŋ*, *brō*, *Priaŋ*<sub>2</sub>, etc., seems doubtful.

*hlōŋ*; see p. 39. Compare *phlō*<sub>1</sub> "to rise up (to the surface)", *phluŋ*<sub>2</sub> "to rise up (of smoke)", *bluŋ*<sub>1</sub> "to boil up, rush up", *blōŋ*<sub>2</sub> "tall, big, huge"; *grōŋ*<sub>1</sub> "great (in stature)" (≈ Tib. *bla* "upper, superior"; *klad* "what is above", *kron-kron* "upright"); *th<sup>a</sup>lon* "protruding (of eye ball), *s<sup>a</sup>lao* "tall, high"; and, with initial *l*: *lan*<sub>2</sub> "excellent", *luon* "to exceed". Comp. also *hlak*, etc., p. 39, further *hlēm* "pointed; peninsula" ≈ *blēm* "projecting a little way".

*hlēo* "imprudent, rash; to be startled", *hlōk* "to terrify, startle", *hluk hluk* "quickly, hastily"; *phlēo* "quickly", *khlu* "busy", *phlut* "to come out quickly", *blu* "rocket", *blui*<sub>1</sub> "greedily, hastily", *blan* "immediately, at once" (≈ Tib. *glo-bur*, *blo-bur* "suddenly"). Cf. preceding group.

*hlut*; see p. 39. Add *hlon*<sub>1</sub> "to fall", *hlon* "to forget", and (?) *hluom* (p. 39), and compare: *pla*, *phla*, *plōi* "to let go", etc., *plot* "to set free", *blat* "to fall out, be separated", *blāŋ*<sub>2</sub> "to slip, make a mistake"; *plan*<sub>2</sub> "to rub, plunder", *plūaŋ*<sub>2</sub> "to strip, take off"; *glōŋ*<sub>1</sub> "to shake, vacillate", *glōŋ*<sub>1</sub> and *glēo* "easily", *grāt* "to be separated"; *th<sup>a</sup>lom*<sub>1</sub> "to slip down"; *th<sup>a</sup>lok* "to skin, flay"; *s<sup>a</sup>la* "to let go, cast off", *s<sup>a</sup>lot* "[to be] sad", *s<sup>a</sup>lop* "to faint, swoon"; and, with initial *l*: *la* "to let go", etc. (p. 41). Comp. also next group.

*hlāi*; see p. 40, and add *hlan*<sub>1</sub> "to pour down". Compare: *th<sup>a</sup>lāi* "to slide, go elsewhere", *s<sup>a</sup>lāi* "to slip"; *klan*<sub>1</sub> "to distil", *glōŋ* "canal", *glūn*<sub>1</sub> "waves"; *plā* "fish", *pliu* "to float in the air, be wasted".

*hlōŋ*<sub>1</sub> "darling". Compare: *klōi cāi* "darling", *glōi*<sub>2</sub> "to agree with, to hug", *glen* "to caress", *plōp* "to flatter", and *lōm* "to flatter, caress".

*hlum*<sub>1</sub>; see p. 40. Add *hlup* "to cover" (p. 39), and compare: *glum* "to cover", *glum*<sub>2</sub> "shady, sheltered", *klum*<sub>2</sub> "to darken", *klop* "to cover, bury"; *blop* "twilight, dusk", *brōŋ* "hollow, hole; *th<sup>a</sup>luoŋ* "to hollow out"; and *lum*<sub>1</sub> "low, excavated".

*hrō*; see p. 38. Compare: *prō* "brittle, fragile", *prōi* "a little, fine (of rain)", *prōŋ*<sub>1</sub> "full of holes, thin"; *grāŋ*<sub>1</sub> "thin" (≈ Tib. *phra-ba* "thin, fine", *phran* "little, small", *khrot-mo* "brittle, fragile").

*huan*<sub>1</sub> etc.; see p. 40. Compare: *kvāŋ*<sub>2</sub> "wide, broad"; *s<sup>a</sup>vāŋ*<sub>1</sub> "bright, shining"; and *vāŋ*<sub>2</sub> "wide, broad" (*vā*<sub>2</sub> "sky"); also *phōŋ*<sub>1</sub> "bright, pure". See also p. 47, l. 13.

*hnā*<sub>2</sub>; see p. 37. Add *hnon* "crest, comb", *hnen* "to raise the head", and compare: *s<sup>a</sup>ŋā* "majestic, glorious", *s<sup>a</sup>ŋān*<sub>2</sub> "tall, high, lofty", *ph<sup>a</sup>ŋok* "to raise the head", and, with initial nasal, *ŋā*<sub>2</sub> "to raise", and the prefix *nā*<sub>1</sub> in such compounds as *nā*<sub>1</sub> 'ai "shamefaced".

*hmqk*; see p. 38. Compare: *kh<sup>a</sup>mua* "dark, dirty", *kh<sup>a</sup>muk*, *kh<sup>a</sup>mua* "twilight, dusk"; *s<sup>a</sup>mom* "dirty, rotten"; and *mō zō* "looking dark, dirty" (≈ Tib. *mog-pa*, *mun-pa* "dark", *myags-pa* "rotten").

*H* before *y* I find once interchanging with gutturals, another time with a labial: *hyon<sub>1</sub>* (p. 38) ≈ *kyāi* "spring (of a watch, etc.)", *kh<sup>a</sup>yan<sub>2</sub>* "to retire, abandon"; *hyap* (p. 38) ≈ *Prop Prūa* "to flap the wings".

With *h<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub>* (with *l < r*?) "house, dwelling" (p. 39) Tib. *bran* "lodging, abode" is perhaps more directly connected than Tib. *sran*; for the latter seems to be = Siam. *s<sup>a</sup>rok* "town", and Tib. *gron* "house, village, town" = Siam. *krun* "chief city".

### 5. 'ō nā in place of hō nā.

In about half a dozen of words 'ō nā occurs in apparently the very same function or functions as hō nā:

'yā<sub>1</sub> "separation, divorce; sign of the prohibitive: don't!" Compare *yēk*, *yīn* "to separate"; *yō* "to stop, lay down", *yan<sub>2</sub>* "to halt, stop"; *hyut* "to stop, halt, stay"; *kh<sup>a</sup>yak*, *kh<sup>a</sup>yat* "to reserve, put by", *kh<sup>a</sup>yan* "to retire, abandon, relinquish"; and, with secondary palatal (from explosive + *y*): *cak* "to split", *chāk* "partition, screen"; *zik* "section, part", and Tibetan *gcod-pa* "to cut; give up, avoid; stop", 'chad-pa "to be cut off, to cease, end", 'jog-pa "to put, lay down, leave".

'yā<sub>1</sub> "to be, stay, live" (original meaning: "to last"). Compare: *yāo* "long", *yon* "long, enduring", *yūn* "to stand", *yōn<sub>1</sub>* "lengthy, to lengthen", and possibly *hyon<sub>1</sub>* (p. 38); also Tib. *yod-pa* and *yin-pa* "to be", *yu-ba* "life-tree", *yo-byad* "necessaries [of life]"<sup>1</sup>.

'yāk "to need, want, desire, be hungry". Compare (with *c < ky*) *cak* "to will", *coŋ* "please"; further *grūan<sub>1</sub>* "apparatus, utensils"; and, in Tibetan: *gyon* "want, need", *sñog-pa* "to crave for, lust after", *mño* "fond of", *chags-pa* "to love; passion for".

'yān<sub>1</sub> "kind, sort, mode". Compare *yten<sub>1</sub>* "example, manner", and, in Tibetan, *cho-ga* "way, method" and 'chag-pa "to tread, walk".

'yōn<sub>1</sub> "nimble, stealthily"<sup>2</sup>. Compare: *kyōn* "quickly, nimbly", *kh<sup>a</sup>yum* "quickly, immediately", *kh<sup>a</sup>yōn<sub>1</sub>*, *kh<sup>a</sup>yēn<sub>1</sub>* "limping", *yōn<sub>1</sub>* "to walk on tiptoe", *yōn<sub>1</sub>* "jumping up and down"; and in Tibetan: *gyon-po* "crooked, rough", *mchon-ba* "to leap, jump".

<sup>1</sup> But hardly Tib. 'thso-ba "to live" which seems rather to come from *thsa-ba* "hot, to be hot".

<sup>2</sup> With which *glōn<sub>1</sub>* "nimble, easily, freely" cannot well be connected, because for \*gy we should expect *gr*, not *gl*. It belongs to *hnt* etc. (p. 43).

'ō nā, then, stands only before *y*, while hō nā occurs also before other sonants. Both letters produce the rising tone, and both are now mute. But 'ō nā cannot originally have been the spiritus lenis (with or without vowel) as which it is written, because the latter as a "medial" letter has not the power to convert the following sound into a "high" one. We have a "high" *h* and a "low" *h* (ʰ, ʰ̄ = *h*, ʰ̄), but only a "medial" spiritus lenis (ʰ̄ = ʰ); 'ō nā, consequently, seems to have been something like a "high" (i. e., absolutely voiceless) spiritus lenis which for want of orthographic accuracy was identified in writing with the "medial" one.

### 6. Confirmation through the Burmese.

[To find an historically true transliteration of the Burmese alphabet is not such a simple thing as Mr. B. Houghton's "Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Palaeontology" (1896, *J. R. A. S.*) would make us believe. E. g., there is every reason to doubt that the Burmese at the time of the introduction of the alphabet had in their language any palatal explosives. They may have transcribed the Pāli palatals through what appeared to be their nearest Burmese equivalent (cf. the Greek transcription of the Indian palatals). Similarly the various correspondences, in Tibetan, of the Burmese letter used for transcribing the Pāli *s* but now-a-days sounded, in purely Burmese words, like "the English *th* in both *the* and *thin*", there being "no rule for determining which sound is to be given" (Chase, *Anglo-Burmese Handbook*, Rangoon 1890), make us necessarily pause before writing *s* for it. I cannot, however, here attempt to solve these problems, nor that of the diphthongs and therefore transcribe the consonants in agreement with those of the Pāli and the vowels as seems best to me, viz., in the following way: *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*; *ē*, *ē̄*, *ō*; *ou*, *oi*; *am*, etc. (nasalized vowels)<sup>1</sup>; — *k*, *kh*, *ŋ*; *c*, *ch*, *j*, *ñ*; *t*, *th*, *n*; *p*, *ph*, *m*; *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*; *s*; *h*. The normal (rising) tone is not written; the falling tone I denote through the gravis (˘) after the end of the word, and the so-called "checked tone" through what it really is, viz., the spiritus lenis.]

In Burmese the letter called for graphic reasons *ha thō* or "h thrust out" seems to correspond in almost every respect with the Siamese hō nā. It is the hook-shaped secondary form of the letter *h* (⊙)

<sup>1</sup> I do not like the transcription *ā*, because it suggests the idea of a long nasalized *a* (cf. the Siamese) which in the Burmese script at least does not exist.

and occurs only with nasals, liquids, and semivowels, to which it is subscribed but before which the *h* it represents is actually sounded whenever the group is initial, while, when it is final, the *h* is mute. The following are examples for the several cases of its occurrence when initial, and, at the same time, its identity with *hā nā* and relation to Tibetan.

Siamese:	Burmese:	Tibetan:
<i>hnok</i> (p. 35); cf. <i>nak</i> "to shiver"	<i>ηhak</i> "malaria"	—
—	<i>ηhā</i> "to borrow"	<i>brña-ba</i> "to borrow"
<i>hnsp</i> "to pinch"	<i>ñhap</i> "to pinch"	—
—	<i>ñha</i> "to be considerate"	<i>sñam-pa</i> "to think"
<i>hnqñ hnqñ</i> "to quarrel"	<i>nhqñ</i> "to annoy"	<i>snog-pa</i> "to annoy"
<i>hnqñ</i> "to suspect"	<i>nhqñ nhè</i> "to doubt, hesitate"	<i>bsñens-pa</i> "be afraid of"
<i>hnā</i> "face", etc. (p. 43)	<i>nhā</i> "the nose"	<i>sna</i> "nose, peak", etc.
<i>hmōk, hmak, hmom</i> , etc. (p. 38, 44)	<i>mhqñ</i> "to be dark"	<i>rmon-ba</i> "to be obscured"
<i>hmūan</i> "to be like; similar"	<i>mhya</i> "to be equal, alike"	<i>smyan</i> "match-making"
<i>hrq̄</i> (p. 38, 43)	<i>rhu</i> "to be scarce"	<i>srab-pa</i> etc. (p. 38)
<i>yā<sub>1</sub></i> (p. 44); comp. the negative particle <i>hrq̄k</i>	<i>rhu</i> "to remove out of the way"	<i>bgram-pa</i> "separated"
<i>hlut</i> "to release"	<i>lhvat</i> "to release"	<i>glod-pa, lhod-pa</i> , etc. (p. 39)
<i>hlām, hlqm</i> , etc. (p. 39, 41)	<i>lhun</i> "to warm one's self by fire"	<i>lhan-ñe</i> etc. (p. 39)
<i>hvan<sub>1</sub></i> "to cast, fling" (p. 40)	<i>vhe</i> "to propel violently"	<i>'phen-pa</i> "to throw", etc.

Turning now to the function or functions of *ha thō*, we find its most conspicuous employment to consist in the transformation of intransitive or neutro-passive verbs into transitives or causals. The rule is well conceived by James E. Bridges in his "*Burmese Grammar*" (Rangoon 1915): "Some<sup>1</sup> intransitive verbs are made transitive by

<sup>1</sup> Not so very few; I count seventy, but there must be still more. F. O. S.

aspirating the initial consonant of the verb, or, if it has a corresponding aspirate, by changing it for such aspirate." The rule does, however, not only apply to the group consonant + *y*, as Bridges examples (save one) would make one believe, but, as our following list will teach, to all sorts of simple as well as compounded initials<sup>1</sup>.

a) with initial explosive:

<i>kya</i> "to fall"	<i>khyā</i> "to bring down, throw down"
<i>krq̄k</i> "to be afraid"	<i>khraq̄k</i> "to frighten"
<i>kvā</i> "to become separate, be apart"	<i>khvā</i> "to separate, sever"
<i>cut</i> "to be torn, rent"	<i>chut</i> "to tear, rend"
<i>pi</i> "to be pressed, flattened"	<i>phi</i> "to press, flatten"
<i>pyq̄</i> "to be pleased, happy"	<i>phyq̄</i> "to coax; to make happy"
<i>pvāñ</i> "to be open"	<i>phvāñ</i> "to open";

b) with initial sonant:

<i>ñē</i> "to lean, be inclined"	<i>ñhē</i> "to incline, set on one side"
<i>ñt</i> "to be even, equal"	<i>ñht</i> "to make even; to persuade to accompany"
<i>nac</i> "to sink"	<i>nhac</i> "to immerse"
<i>mrañ</i> "to be high"	<i>mhrañ</i> "to make high, exalt"
<i>yut</i> "to be inferior"	<i>rhut</i> "to put down"
<i>rvē</i> "to move from" (intrans.)	<i>rhvē</i> "to move from" (trans.)
<i>lap</i> "to be uncovered, empty"	<i>lhap</i> "to uncover; to neglect".

This method of forming causals does not exist in either Tibetan<sup>2</sup> or Siamese and must, consequently be regarded as a late, i. e., idiomatic development. It suggests, however, the possibility of a purely semasiological use of the aspiration as such also in the related languages.

In addition, then, to this class of words with *ha thō* there is, secondly, the one already exemplified where *ha thō* answers both to Siamese *hā nā* and to some Tibetan prefix or prefix-like letter.

And there is, thirdly, in Burmese too, as in Siamese, the interchange, real or apparent, of ante-sonant *h* with radical initials, though here it is of course less variform because of the non-existence, in Burmese, of initial mediæ and of *l* (and partly even *r*) after explosives. Examples abound, but it will suffice here to compare with

<sup>1</sup> Excepting only the dental class which is not represented at all. I count 25 words with initial explosive, and 45 with initial sonant.

<sup>2</sup> In the Tibetan causals with initial aspirate the aspiration is phonetically conditioned, viz., by the prefix (*'a chwā*); see H. Koerber, *loc. cit.*

*hlām* etc. (p. 41) the following Burmese words: *prəuŋ* "to be bright", *proi* (sp. *prō*) "to shine", *phrū* "to be white"; *kroi* (sp. *krō*) "to boil to a pulp, to melt (metal, etc.)", *kraŋ* "star", *krañ* "to be clear, pure", and *khrañ* "ray"; further *kraŋ kraŋ* "loudly", *prak prak* "clearly, conspicuously", *prəu* "to say, speak, tell", *mrañ* "to sound".

### 7. Conclusions.

From the facts I have tried to disclose two conclusions only can be drawn with certainty, viz., 1) that the Siamese *hə nā* on account of its close agreement with the Burmese *ha thō*, not to speak of other reasons, must have once been a spoken *h*; and 2) that *hə nā*, like *ha thō*, has not an uniform origin. On the latter point a few final remarks may be added here.

When comparing the Burmese causals formed by means of aspiration (p. 47) with our table on p. 35 fl. it seems probable that in Siamese the aspiration was used though not for the same yet for a similar purpose. But this wants further inquiry, because there are certain Tibetan parallels, such as Tib. *kha-ba* "bitter"  $\sim$  Siam. *khom* (p. 35), and Tib. *ṛṇab-pa* (p. 37)  $\sim$  Siam. *hṇap* (p. 35), which seem rather to point to a secondary origin of *hə nā* also in this class of words.

It is very tempting, indeed, to look at *hə nā* everywhere as a mere remnant of some prefix, but it is by no means easy to prove this view to be correct, because, as we have seen, there are many cases where *hə nā* seems to have taken the place of a radical initial. Those strings like *hlām*, *hləm*, *blōŋ*, *blōñ*, *glōk*, *klōk*, *khlap*, *lūam*<sub>1</sub>, etc. (p. 41 fl.) are a terrible crux. Does *hə nā* as such actually change therein with *b*, *g*, etc.? or was it prefixed to an initial and original *l*? or to a secondary *l* reduced from one of the ancient groups *bl*, *gl*, etc.?<sup>1</sup> or is it the remnant of or substitute for a prefix taken by an original or a secondary *l*? In some cases *hə nā* seems to have arisen within Siamese from some prefix-like (but possibly radical) aspirate explosive; comp. *kh<sup>a</sup>net* "weary"  $\sim$  *huet do.* (p. 37), *kh<sup>a</sup>yan*<sub>2</sub> "to retire, abandon"  $\sim$  *hyon*<sub>1</sub> (p. 38), *th<sup>a</sup>lai*  $\sim$  *hlai* (p. 34). Possibly also the threefold accentuation of words with *hə nā* (as in *hlōŋ*, *hlē*<sub>1</sub>, *hlā*<sub>2</sub>) points to the diverse origin of the enigmatical letter.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. foot-note 2 on p. 41.