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TIBETAN RE IN ITS WIDER CONTEXT

By WALTER SIMON

In a previous article¹ I had dealt with Tibetan *re* in *ḥa-re*² and *re-skan*.³ In attempting to study *re* in its wider context I wish to exclude from consideration *re* in *re-ba* 'to hope' and *re* in *re-ḥig* (*re-ḥig*) 'little while, moment'.⁴ *re* in *re-ba* does not seem to call for any special comment. As far as *re* in *re-ḥig* is concerned, it may suffice here to stress the identity of *re* in *re-ḥig* with *re* in *ga-re* 'where?' on the one hand, and *re* in *re-re* 'each' on the other. All three cases pre-suppose the basic meaning of 'part, member, item, etc.'. The specialization in time of *re-ḥig* (part = moment) has its spatial counterpart in *ga-re* (what part, which part(s)? = where?), *ga* being identical with *ga* in *ga-na* 'where' or in *ga-la* introducing a rhetorical question (where [in all the world]?). In *re-re* the distributive function is due to repetition⁵ (item by item, member [of a group] by member), obviously extended from there also to single *re* in the meaning of 'each'.

I

re in *na-re*

As is well known, *na-re* introduces direct speech.⁶ Jäschke, in the entry *na-re* of his *Dictionary*⁷ has already warned us against regarding it as a verb: 'by form and position an adv[erb], like *ḥdi-skad-du*'. Its non-verbal nature has also been stressed by J. Bacot: 'Expression non verbale signifiant "il dit"'.⁸ Bacot has refrained, however, from giving any further explanation.

There are indeed a number of grammatical observations which speak against defining *na-re* as a verb.

(1) At the end of the direct speech, which is marked by *ces* (*śes*, *zés*), corresponding to Skt. *iti*, we witness *smras(-so)*, *zer(-ro)*, or a similar verb of saying (or asking [*driś-so*]). The introduction of the direct speech by a verb of saying would be tautological. Though examples of such tautological usage (*smras-pa*

¹ 'The Tibetan particle *re*', *BSOAS*, xxx, 1, 1967, 117-26.

² The occurrence of *skye-ḥa-re* in a passage of the Tibetan translation of the *Avadānaśataka* which is practically identical with example 3 of the previous article (see p. 120) [N, *mDo*, *Ha*, 205A7] enables us to omit the asterisking of *ḥa-re*.

³ See below, p. 560.

⁴ Note also *re-c'uñ-na* occurring in the same meaning in the *bTsun-mo-bkaḥi t'añ-yig* (see B. Laufer, *Der Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 223, n. 3). Cf. also M. Hofinger, *Le Congrès du Lac Anavatapta*, Louvain, 1954, p. 182, n. 4.

⁵ cf. the distributive function due to repetition in the case of numerals (see, e.g., H. A. Jäschke, *Tibetan grammar* [with 'Addenda' by A. H. Francke, assisted by W. Simon], Berlin, 1929, § 21, p. 33), or in *so-so* 'singly, individually' (literally 'place by place').

⁶ The identification of *na-re* with Skt. *namu* (see J. Nobel, *Udrāyana, König von Roruka. 11. Wörterbuch*, Wiesbaden, 1955, 43 [included also in Professor Lokesh Chandra's *Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary*, vii, New Delhi, 1960, 1333]) is untenable.

⁷ London, 1881 (or later reprints), 300.

⁸ *Grammaire du tibétain littéraire. 11. Index morphologique*, Paris, 1948, 65.

. . . *žes smras-so*) are not infrequent, introducing direct speech by a non-verb would seem to constitute at least a convenient alternative.

(2) Though we observe the instrumentative if the word naming or describing the speaker is connected with words like *smras-pa*, this case-suffix does not occur if the utterance is introduced by *na-re*.

(3) The person to whom the utterance is addressed is never found *after na-re*. If the 'addressee' is mentioned at all, his name or description will be placed before that of the speaker.⁹

(4) In a similar way, no adverb describing the manner or time of the utterance will ever be observed between the name of the speaker and *na-re*. In fact, *na-re* always follows *immediately* after his name.

Though each of these four observations speaks more or less strongly against the verbal nature of *na-re*, none of them would seem to provide us with a key to its real nature. From a close examination of the usage of *na-re* in various texts of the Tibetan Canon¹⁰ it would appear that the function of *na-re* does not merely consist in introducing an utterance. An analysis of passages where more than one utterance is involved is bound to show that *na-re* also stresses the name or the general description of the speakers whose utterances are reported. The speakers may be contrasted in a general way as *k'a-cig*¹¹ [or *la-la*]¹² 'some' *na-re* . . . , *k'a-cig [la-la] na-re*, or specified as *gañ ma dad-pa de-dag* 'non-believers' *na-re* . . . *gañ dad-pa-dañ-ldan-pa-dag* 'believers' *na-re*,¹³ or simply referred to as *gžan-dag* 'others'.¹⁴ In a conversation between two girls reported as being overheard, the utterance of the second girl is introduced as *cig šos* 'the other one' *na-re*.¹⁵

Some confirmation of the suggested emphasis on the name or description of the speaker by *na-re* may be derived from a passage in the third chapter of the *Lalitavistara*¹⁶ where the Sanskrit original, after an initial *kecid āhu* . . . 'some said', shows a string of sentences beginning with *apare* 'others' *tvāhu* (= *tu āhu*), the contrast being stressed by the particle *tu* 'but'. The corresponding Tibetan text has throughout *la-la na-re*.¹⁷

It may be less easily conceded that *na-re* emphasizes the name or the description of the speaker if only a single speaker and a single utterance are involved. There seem to be, however, clear cases of the latter kind. If parents

⁹ cf. the two examples on p. 558 where the person to whom a message is conveyed has been mentioned.

¹⁰ *na-re* is found there far more frequently than Jäschke's remark (*Dict.*, 300) 'It hardly occurs in old classical literature' would lead us to expect. For the Tun-huang language see, e.g., pp. 103.27, 104.36, and 116.9 of J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, and Ch. Toussaint (ed.), *Documents de Touen-Houang*, Paris, 1940-6.

¹¹ See, e.g., *Karmašataka*, N(arthang), *mDo*, *Ša*, 476B¹, and *Sa*, 61B⁷.

¹² See, e.g., *Lalitavistara*, N, *mDo*, *Kha*, 21B³, and cf. below, p. 557.

¹³ *Karmašataka*, N, *mDo*, *Ša*, 91B¹ and 175A².

¹⁴ See, e.g., Jäschke's quotation from the *Waidurya Sñon-po* (*Dict.*, 300a) *gal-te gžan-dag na-re*.

¹⁵ *Vinayakṣudrakavastu*, N, *hDul*, *Da*, 183A⁴⁻⁵.

¹⁶ ed. Lefmann, Halle, 1902, I, 20.12-22.20.

¹⁷ N, *mDo*, *Kha*, 21B³-22B.

worried about the inability of their son to rise from his chair consult a doctor and his diagnosis of 'sheer laziness'¹⁸ is given in direct speech, it may be assumed that the emphasis is on the doctor as well as on the diagnosis.

Direct speech, introduced by *na-re*, is also used when soothsayers (*ltas-mk'an*) give their verdict,¹⁹ or prophesy the future of a child,¹⁹ or when the relatives²⁰ suggest its name at the birthday festival. In fact the impression resulting from a scrutiny of the texts is that in the course of a story direct speech is frequently reserved for an utterance of persons in authority, or otherwise of particular interest, and that introducing their utterance by *na-re* further enhances that interest.

The contention, then, is that *na-re* fulfils a dual function, emphasis on the speaker on the one hand and introduction of direct speech on the other. The realization of such a function allows us, I believe, to split into two parts what has hitherto been considered a disyllabic word and treated as such in our dictionaries. The first constituent may then be identified with the case-suffix *-na*, affixed to the name or description of the speaker in the meaning of 'in the case of' (= 'as far as . . . is concerned'), in which it occurs also after the pronoun *ho* 'that' (*ho-na* = 'in that case, then'). Understanding *-na* as a case-suffix would account for the absence of an instrumentative,²¹ mentioned above under (2) and explain also why *na-re* always follows immediately after the name of the speaker (see above under (4)).

As far as the second constituent is concerned, it is suggested that we are dealing here with an adverb *re* in the meaning of 'thus', pointing forward to the direct speech which it introduces, and taken up as such by *zes* (*ces*, *ses*). As opposed to Skt. *evam* it would only refer to what follows and not also to what precedes.²²

The passage from the *Lalitavistara* quoted above may be quoted again. The string of sentences starting with *apare twāhu* shows over and above such variants as *apare 'pyāhu*²³ and *apara evam āhu*, on one occasion also *apare tvevam āhu*.

With due allowance made for the somewhat loose correspondence between Tibetan *-na* and Skt. *tu*, it would appear that *la-la-na* can be equated with *apare tu*, *evam* with *re*, the *zes* before *zer-ro* with *iti*, and the final verb *zer-ro* of the Tibetan text with *āhu* at the beginning of the Sanskrit sentence.

Though *re* in the meaning of 'thus' does not seem to occur in any other context, further support can be derived from its frequent function in the

¹⁸ *Karmaśataka*, N, *mDo*, *Śa*, 56A³⁻⁴.

¹⁹ *Avadānaśataka*, N, *mDo*, *Ha*, 120B⁷; *Karmaśataka*, N, *mDo*, *Śa*, 140B⁵, 297A^{6-297B}¹, and 419A⁶⁻⁷.

²⁰ *Avadānaśataka*, N, *mDo*, *Ha*, 249A⁵.

²¹ In one single case only have I found the instrumentative suffix combined with *-na*, the combination recalling *de-bas-na* (cf. also *HJAS*, v, 3-4, 1941, 389, etc.): *Karmaśataka*, N, *mDo*, *Śa*, 291A¹, *mt'oñ-nas kyañ p'a-ma-la smras-pa/ yab-yum k'yed-kyis-na re . . .*

²² See, e.g., M. Monier-Williams's *Sanskrit-English dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, 232.

²³ Ed. Lefmann, 22.2.

meaning of 'how', 'Thus' and 'how' being correlative adverbs, there can be little doubt as to the etymological identity of *re* in these two functions. However, before dealing with *re* in the meaning of 'how', I wish to adduce two passages in which *-na re* introduces in direct speech a message from the Buddha. They are both taken from the *Avadānaśataka*: In the first Buddha sends an urgent summons to King Kapphīṇa.

(a) ²⁴ *Tato Bhagavatā lekham lekhayivā sa dūto 'bhihitah/ Kapphīṇo mad vacanāt vaktavyo [vaktavyah] . . . iti.*

(b) ²⁵ *De-nas bCom-ldan-hdas-kyis hp'rin-yig bris-na p'o-nya de-la bka stsal-pa/ rgyal-po Ka-pi-na-la ṅa-na re . . . zés gyis-śig.*

In the second passage Buddha calls upon Ānanda to go to Supriyā and to request her to provide on his behalf for the four kinds of society, during a period of three months, clothing, food . . . and medical supplies.

(a) ²⁶ *Tatra Bhagavān āyusmantam Ānandam āmantrayate sma/ gacchĀnanda mad vacanāt Supriyām vada catasraste parśadas tramāsyam cīvarapiṇḍapāta . . . bhaiśajyapariśkāraiḥ pratipādayitavyā iti.*

(b) ²⁷ *De-nas der bCom-ldan-hdas-kyis ts'e-dañ-ldan-pa Kun-dgaḥo-la bka stsal-pa/ Kun-dgaḥo k'yod soñ-la Rab-sdug-ma-la ṅa-na re hk'or-bzi-po-rnams-la k'yod-kyis zla-ba gsum-gyi bar-du (2) gos dañ/ zas dañ . . . sman-zoñ-rnams p'ul-cig ces gyis-śig.*

The correspondences

(1) ṅa-na = mad vacanāt

(2) zés (ces) = iti

(3) gyis-śig = vaktavyah (vaca)

have been indicated by roman fount. As far as the correspondence *re* = *evam* is concerned, the example from the *Lalitavistara* adduced above is the only one observed so far.

II

Exclamatory *re* before adjectives and verbs

The following passages taken from the fourth chapter of the Tibetan version of the *Mahākaruṇika-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* ²⁸ illustrate well the usage of exclamatory *re* in its meaning of 'how!'. Each of the three examples is introduced by *kye-ma-ho* 'alas!':

kye-ma-ho Dzam-bu-glinḥ de nyams re dga [ex. 1].

kye-ma-ho hts'o-[125B] bahi hjig-rten de re bzañ [ex. 2].

kye-ma-ho mir hgyur-ba hdi rnyed-pa re dka [ex. 3].

Though the Chinese version ²⁹ has 'so pleasant!', 'so wonderful!', and

²⁴ Ed. Speyer, II, St. Petersburg, 1906 (or reprint in 'Indo-Iranian Reprints', III, 1958), 104.5-6.

²⁵ N, *mDo, Ha*, 355B⁶⁻⁷.

²⁶ Ed. Speyer, II, 8.9-11.

²⁷ N, *mDo, Ha*, 285B¹⁻².

²⁸ N, *mDo, Cha*, 125A⁷-125B¹.

²⁹ *T(aishō) T(ripitaka)*, XII, 957b¹⁶.

‘so difficult to obtain!’,³⁰ corresponding to *nyams re dga*, *re bzani*, and *rnyed-pa re dka*, the usual Skt. equivalent is apparently *katham* ‘how!’. The latter correspondence is indicated by a punctuated line in Ts’e-riñ dbañ-rgyal’s Sanskrit–Tibetan dictionary³¹: *re bde* [ex. 4] ‘how fortunate!’ is given as the translation of *katham gatam*, with *bde* shown by another punctuated line as corresponding ‘roughly’ (*rtsub-poñi don*) to *gatam*.³²

The correspondence *re* = *katham* can be further confirmed by a passage from the *Karaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* recently discussed from another point of view by Professor C. Régamey.³³ The Skt. *Āryaputra katham te śarīram śītalam* is rendered as *hp’ags-pañi sras lus re grañ-ba-ñig* [ex. 5] ‘how cold your body is, sir!’.³⁴

It would be wrong, however, to expect *katham* in the Skt. original whenever we find *re* in the Tibetan version. A comparison³⁵ of the Tibetan and Skt. texts of the *Avadānaśataka* and the *Lalitavistara* has yielded two other kinds of exclamation. *kye-ma re skyid*³⁶ [ex. 6] ‘Oh, what luck!’ corresponds to *aho bata saukhyam*³⁷ in the 89th story of the former text, and the latter³⁸ (ch. xviii) twice uses the cliché *re-stes*³⁹ [ex. 7] ‘how excellent!’ to translate *śobhanam syāt*.⁴⁰

Quite a number of examples of the exclamatory usage of *re* can be gleaned from the *bTsun-mo-bkañi t’an-yig*.⁴¹ I confine myself here to indicating briefly the passages concerned.⁴² The position of *re* between two closely connected words has already been observed by Jäschke⁴³ (see nos. 4–6 [= exx. 11–13]) in the list below:

- (1) *re-skyid* [ex. 8, cf. ex. 6] (46.13/138) *bgrod-sar p’yin-no re-dga re-skyid-na* ‘while it is so pleasant and so lucky to have arrived at our destination!’.
- (2) *re-dga* [ex. 9, cf. ex. 1]. Cf. also the refrain ending in *re-dga* ‘how I rejoice in . . .!’ of Laufer’s fifth song (39–41/126–30); and furthermore 57.6/154.

³⁰ 如是可樂，如是希有，如是難得。

³¹ *Dictionnaire tibétain-sanscrit*, ed. J. Bacot, Paris, 1930, 170A³, *katham* being spelt *kañam*.

³² I feel unable to comment on *gatam*.

³³ ‘Le pseudo-hapax *ratikara* et la lampe qui rit’, *Asiatische Studien*, XVIII–XIX, 1965, 174, etc.; cf. pp. 185, 187 and p. 192, n. 37.

³⁴ N, *mDo*, *Ja*, 352A.

³⁵ The comparative rarity of this usage of *re* may be gathered from the fact that I did not succeed in locating more than one cliché each in these two extensive texts.

³⁶ N, *mDo*, *Ha*, 363A².

³⁷ Ed. Speyer, II, 115.7.

³⁸ N, *mDo*, *Kha*, 196A¹ and 196B².

³⁹ The gloss *stes-pa ni legs-pa* has been preserved in Sumatiratna’s Tibetan–Tibetan–Mongolian dictionary (*Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum*, VI–VII), Ulan Bator, 1959.

⁴⁰ Ed. Lefmann, 265.18 and 266.13.

⁴¹ See above, p. 555, n. 4. In his translation Laufer often equates *re* with ‘how!’ (*wie!*), but fails to do so consistently, as a comparison of the translation of the various examples would show (cf., e.g., his translation of the refrain of his ‘Fifth song’ which occurs with and without *re*). Nor is the exclamatory usage of *re* mentioned in his ‘Index’.

⁴² References to the text itself are given by quoting both page and line in Laufer’s edition; for his translation reference to the page has been considered sufficient.

⁴³ See also below, p. 560 and n. 49. Note that the same principle of word order is observed in the case of the negation.

- (3) *re-c'uñ* [ex. 10] (37.3, etc. [refrain] / 123–4) *don re-c'uñ* ' [of] how little use ! '.
- (4) *nyam-re-t'ag* [ex. 11] (93.20/208) ' how sincere [?] ! ' .⁴⁴ *hbras-bu sems hdi nyam-re-t'ag* ' how sincere our realization of the maturing [of our sins] is ! ' .
- (5) *nyon-re-moñs* [ex. 12] (95.6/210) *sems-can nyon-moñs nyon-re-moñs* ' how sinful the sinful creatures are ! ' . Cf. also 93.20/208.
- (6) *snyin-re-rje* [ex. 13] (108.10/228) *nyes-med sems-can mañ-po snyin-re-rje* ' how pitiful the many innocent beings are ! ' . Cf. also 33.12/118 and 93.19/208.

The above 13 examples enable us to list here, with an attempt at translation, the 8 collocations assembled by Jäschke in his *Dictionary*,⁴⁵ though no contextual help is given. His first two examples are taken from his copy of the *rGyal-rabs*, viz. *nyams re dga* [ex. 14, cf. exx. 1 and 9] ' how pleasant ! ' and *blo re bde* [ex. 15, cf. ex. 4] ' how happy [?] ! ' . (The former has been adduced by J. Nobel⁴⁶ in support of the verse *yid-hoñ sems-can mt'oñ re dga*⁴⁷ ' how pleasant to see the delightful being ! ' , a free translation of *sattvaḍarśanapriyamānāpa*,⁴⁸ though in fact we do not witness there a case of *re* ' put between two closely connected words ' , which is the common feature of Jäschke's examples.⁴⁹)

Jäschke's last two collocations, *don-re-c'uñ* [ex. 16] and *snyin-re-rje* [ex. 17] have been explained above as they occur in the *bTsun-mo bkahi t'añ-yig* [exx. 10 and 13].⁵⁰ The remaining four are *ho-re-brgyal* [ex. 18] ' how annoying [?] ! ' , *skyug-re-log* [ex. 19] ' how disgusting ! ' , *ze-re-hjigs* [ex. 20] ' how frightful ! ' , and *yi-re-mug* [ex. 21] ' how depressing [?] ! ' .

Finally, from Sumatiratna's dictionary,⁵¹ which also includes the gloss *re-stes* [ex. 22, cf. ex. 7] = *ci ma-ruñ* ' would that ! ' , two further collocations can be added : *skal-ba re bzañ* [ex. 23, cf. ex. 2] ' how fortunate ! ' , translated as *e yaṛqamśig sain qubi*, and *re glen* [ex. 24] ' how stupid ! ' , translated as *arai teneg bainam, teneg ajuyu*.

III

Three further usages of *re*

(a) *re* in *re-skan* and *re-sés*

re in *re-skan* has been dealt with shortly in my previous paper.⁵² In the light of the numerous examples of *re* in the meaning of ' how ' , I feel that the meaning of ' may you not say ' suggested there must be given up. I also failed

⁴⁴ See Jäschke, *Dict.*, 228, where *t'ag* is identified with *dag*.

⁴⁵ p. 533, sub 6.

⁴⁶ *Suvarṇaprabhāṣottama-sūtra*. II. *Wörterbuch*, Leiden, 1950, 209.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, I. *Die tibetischen Übersetzungen*, 169.22.

⁴⁸ See Nobel's edition of the Sanskrit text, Leipzig, 1937, 231 (śloka 48).

⁴⁹ It seems that the attention paid by Jäschke to this special type of example has prevented this eminent lexicographer from recognizing the actual meaning of exclamatory *re*, though he mentions that it is ' only used in emphatic speech ' .

⁵⁰ See here above. Two examples of *snyin-re-rje* are given in Jäschke's dictionary, on pp. 294a s.v. *sdug-pa* (*bod-[h]bañs sdug-ge snyin-re-rje* ' the good, poor Tibetans ') and 607a s.v. ' *e-ma* (' *e-ma sems-can snyin-re-rje* ' alas, the poor people ! '), the former quoted from a prayer, the latter from the *rGyal-rabs*.

⁵¹ See above, p. 559, n. 39.

⁵² art. cit., 126.

to consider the similar usage of *re* in *re-sés*, which has been adduced by Bacot⁵³ side by side with *re-skan*. The translation 'jamais' has been offered in either case.⁵⁴ I should like to suggest as an alternative a rhetorical question introduced by *re* 'how'. *re* in *re-skan* would in this function correspond exactly to Chinese 豈 *chii*.⁵⁵

The further suggestion made there to regard *skan* as a cognate of *skad* 'speech' and to interpret it as a verb meaning 'to say' can be supported by the occurrence, in the biography of Nāropa, of a verb *skan* which A. Grünwedel translated as 'to speak with a full mouth, to mumble'.⁵⁶ Accordingly the literal meaning of *re-skan* and *re-sés*⁵⁷ would appear to be 'How can you (he, etc.) [possibly] say (or speak of) . . .' and 'How can I (you, he, etc.) [possibly] be able to . . .'.

(b) *re* in *ha-re*

As in the case of *re-skan* (and *re-sés*) the definition of *re* as a negative (prohibitive) particle, corresponding to Skt. *mā*, must be abandoned. With the preceding pronominal *ha* resuming what precedes it and transforming it into a hypothetical clause, *re* constitutes a rhetorical question which serves as its apodosis. In example 21 of the previous article⁵⁸ we witness in fact *gal-te* 'if' to introduce the hypothetical clause. To illustrate further by means of the first example there,⁵⁸ the admonition to keep away from the house of ill fame is followed by the question: *ts'ul ma yin-pas sdug-bsnal-bar gyur-ta-re*. This, then, might be translated literally as: 'If through improper behaviour you get into misfortune that then (*ha*) how? (*re*)' = 'What would it be like if through improper behaviour you were to get into misfortune?' Though, no doubt in accordance with the Sanskrit original, a paraphrase by means of *mi* . . . *p'yir-du* may in one instance be observed,⁵⁹ the usage of *ha-re* to translate the Skt. 'negative purpose clause' constitutes therefore a free translation into Tibetan, which brings it closer to the Mongol translation by the suffix *γuʼjai/güʼjei* 'what if'.⁶⁰

⁵³ op. cit., II, 112–13.

⁵⁴ In the case of *re-skan* Bacot adds the alternative rendering 'en aucune manière'.

⁵⁵ cf. the Chinese rendering of *re-skan*, p. 126, n. 52 of the previous article, and Tibetan *lta ci smos* quoted there.

⁵⁶ *Die Legenden des Nā-ro-pa*, Leipzig, 1933, 160: mit vollem Munde sprechen, mümmeln. The passage *skan-sgra-dañ bcas gsol-nas* (p. 103) was translated by H. V. Guenther (*The life and teaching of Nāropa*, Oxford, 1963, 50) as 'eating noisily'.

⁵⁷ The example offered by Bacot (from the *Nansal*) reads *Da ña sgoñi t'em-pa hdi la gom-pa rgyal re-sés*, which he translates, equating *re-sés* with *jamais*, as 'Jamais je ne pourrai franchir le seuil de cette porte'. It can easily be seen that *pourrai* translates in fact *sés*. (See his *Trois mystères tibétains*, Paris, 1921, 246 [= p. 219 of the English translation by H. I. Woolf, London, [1924]].)

⁵⁸ art. cit., 119–20.

⁵⁹ The warning not to touch the stop string of a (magic) lute appears first (N, *hDul*, *Da*, 320B, cf. also Schiefner–Ralston, *Tibetan tales*, repr., London, [1926], 229–30) as *rgyud yañ t'og-ma la ma reg-sig nyes-pañi dmigsu gyur-ta-re*. A few lines later the text is varied to: *nyes-pañi dmigsu mi hgyur-bañi p'yir rgyud ltag-ma la ma reg-sig*.

⁶⁰ See p. 125 of the previous article.

(c) *Final exclamatory re*

Final exclamatory *re* occurs frequently in the oaths preserved in the Tun-huang 'Annals',⁶¹ a fact to which, after the publication of my previous article, attention has kindly been drawn by Professor F. K. Li, Mr. H. E. Richardson, and Professor G. Uray. It was translated by Bacot as 'jamais' and equated with *re-skan*.⁶² The latter equation would seem untenable as it completely ignores the presence and meaning of *skan*, discussed above. On the other hand, the translation of final exclamatory *re* by 'never' or 'not by any means' (to add the alternative rendering of *re-skan* proposed by Bacot in his grammar⁶³) appears to fit the context well in quite a number of these sentences. Mr. H. E. Richardson has moreover referred me to a passage in dPa-bo gTsug-lag hP'reñ-ba's *C'os-byuñ* (sixteenth century) where the book version of the 'Kar-chung Inscription' shows final *re* instead of the negation *mi* (*myi*) of the inscription,⁶⁴ and quite recently Dr. D. L. Snellgrove used the translation 'not on your life!', while noting 'the use of the final particle *re*, emphatic and exclamatory'.⁶⁵

These examples, while significant for the semantic development of *re*, can, I believe, all be reconciled with the basic function of *re* 'how' in a rhetorical question (as it were 'How can there possibly be any mention or question of that?').

re, then, is not a negative particle but an adverb whose meanings are 'so' (in the case of *-na re*) and 'how' (in exclamatory sentences or rhetorical questions).

⁶¹ See *Documents de Touen-Huang* (as quoted above, n. 10), 105.10 ff., 110.9 ff., 110.23 ff. Cf. also F. K. Li in S. Egerod and E. Glahn (ed.), *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren dedicata*, Copenhagen, [1959], 57.

⁶² *Documents de Touen-Huang*, p. 137, n. 1 (and n. 3).

⁶³ See above, p. 561, n. 54.

⁶⁴ Inscription (cf. G. Tucci, *The tombs of the Tibetan kings*, Rome, 1950, 106): ... *myi gzig-go myi spañ-ño* '[Buddha's doctrine] will not perish, will not be abandoned'. *C'os-byuñ*: *dkond-cog gsum* (the Triratna) *gzig re spañ re*.

⁶⁵ D. L. Snellgrove, *Four Lamas of Dolpo*, II, Oxford, 1968, appendix III (notes to vol. I), p. 314, referring to p. 86 of the translation ('I care for worldly matters!') and ll. 7-8 of A, p. 7 of the first section of the original (*hjiq-rten-gyi snañ-ba skad-cig yod re*).