PRAGMATICS IN OLD TIBETAN: INVESTIGATIONS BASED ON SEVERAL DUNHUANG TEXTS

Cairangsanzhou

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2022

Department of East Asian Languages and Culture
SOAS, University of London

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Abstract

Historical Pragmatics is uncharted territory in Old Tibetan studies. This dissertation explores pragmatics in the Old Tibetan (8th to 11th centuries) as a language represented in texts discovered in Cave 17 in Dunhuang. This dissertation attempts to take a small step toward understanding socio-pragmatics in Old Tibetan manuscripts from Central Asia by understanding honorification and humilification in Old Tibetan. Primarily taking historical and social texts such as *Old Tibetan Annals, Old Tibetan Chronicle,* Old Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa*, and a selected group of Old Tibetan epistolary writings as the corpus, this dissertation solicits linguistic tokens such as verbs of speech and motion, nouns, pronouns, and deferential titles in these texts to extrapolate social meanings embedded in such individual linguistic tokens. It is evidenced from the corpus that socio-historical backgrounds and syntactic contexts serve as the backdrop for investigating honorific and humilific use of Old Tibetan verbs, nouns, and pronouns, as well as deferential titles and expressions. From the investigation, we can observe that there, it seems, is a hierarchy for the honorific terms in Old Tibetan. For instance, the motion verb *gshegs* 'to go' is used explicitly for the royal family members of the Tibetan Empire in the documents covering imperial matters; by contrast, ministers take a different motion verb *mchi* 'to go', which is still honorific, but not appropriate for the royals. Contrasting the use of pairs of honorifics and humilific verbs is another way to pinpoint the employment of pragmatic significance in Old Tibetan. For instance, honorific *stsald* 'to give' and humilific *gsol* 'to give', attested in the same letter, demonstrates the different social status of agents merely by the subject taking a different verb in the text. The variation in the structure of different types of Old Tibetan epistolary writings is also significant in exploring the pragmatics expressed in these writings. All in all, different pragmatic strategies used in the Old Tibetan texts present a linguistic atlas that resembles the social reality of Tibetans and Tibetan speakers at the time and their elaborative ways of expressing (im)politeness in the language.

Acknowledgement

Completing this PhD dissertation has been one hell of a journey. However, the pandemic made it extremely challenging to accomplish my initial goals in a timely fashion. It was primarily due to being trapped in different parts of the globe during the last few years. Like many academic works, this project has been collaborative, and I have received generous assistance for the entire process from institutions and individuals. I want to recognise them here.

It is inconceivable for me to finish my PhD studies without financial support from the SOAS Research Studentships. Therefore, I am grateful to the SOAS for fully funding my studies.

First and foremost, I want to thank my supervisor Nathan Hill for pushing me through this journey with wholehearted support, reading drafts at various stages, sending references through thousands of email exchanges, and organising numerous virtual and in-person supervision meetings. I am also grateful to my viva committee, Professor Brandon Dotson and Dr Joanna Bialek, for their extreme patience and insightful comments.

I want to thank Trulku Tsering Dorje, the director of the Himalaya Library, for providing me with a comfortable space in his phenomenal library to work during my short stay in Chengdu. I also thank many friends for pointing me in the right direction and providing references wherever needed. Especially, Burkhard Quessel, Tim Thurston, Hiroyuki Suzuki, Tashi Bum, Gyashuk Sonam Tseden, Palgon Thar, Yangchen Dangkhang, Kuabum Gyal, Chris Peacock, Andrew Grant, Gerald Roche, and others have generously shared their time with me. I also thank Sam van Schaik and Jody Butterworth for allowing me to hold a PhD placement at the British Library.

Lhaksam la, Tseyang la, and Noryang provided me with a home away from home in London. They have been too kind to take me in as a family member, hosting me and feeding me whenever I am in London for the last few years.

Finally, I thank my family, especially my parents and parents-in-law. They are my primary strength source for all the vagabond years I have spent in different countries; their support

means the world to me. And my most heartful thanks to my wife, Sonam Wangmo, for supporting me all the way; without her unconditional care, I would not be able to finish this dissertation.

Notes on Editing Conventions

I follow the Wylie transliteration for Tibetan texts throughout this dissertation. For personal and proper names, I capitalise the first letter instead of the root letters (*ming gzhi*). I transliterate the reversed vowel diacritic "ཀྀ" with a capitalised "I" to show the distribution in Old Tibetan, though it probably does not carry any semantic or phonetic value. For "འ" added as a subscript like "པ྄", I transliterate it as "*pa'a*". I use a "+" symbol between the letters for unconventional stacked letters. For Chinese, I provide both *pinyin* and traditional characters.

Abbreviations

ABL ABLATIVE
ABS ABSOLUTIVE
ADJ ADJECTIVE
ADV ADVERB
ALL ALLATIVE
AUX AUXILIARY
BnF The Bibliothèque nationale de France
BPNP Sgra sbyor bam po gsnyis pa
CL CLASSIFIER
CO CO-REFERENTIAL MARKER
CONN CONNECTIVE
CONT CONTINUATION MARKER
CONV CONVERB
COP COPULA
CPL COMPLETED (ASPECT)
CT CLASSICAL TIBETAN
DEM DEMONSTRATIVE
DIP DISTRIBUTIVE PRONOUNS
EGO EGOPHORIC
ELA ELATIVE
EP EMPHATIC PARTICLE
ERG ERGATIVE
FACT FACTUAL
FP FINAL PARTICLE
FUT FUTURE (VERB INFLECTION)
GEN GENITIVE
H HONORIFIC
HU HUMILIFIC
IDP International Dunhuang Project
IMP IMPERATIVE (VERB INFLECTION)
IND INDEFINITE MARKER
INF INFERENTIAL
LOC LOCATIVE
MP MODAL PARTICLE

MT MODREN TIBETAN
NDEM NEUTRAL DEMONSTRATIVE
NEG NEGATION
NMLZ NOMINALISER
NONP NON-PAST FORM (VERB INFLECTION)
OT OLD TIBETAN
OTA Old Tibetan Annals
OTC Old Tibetan Chronicle
OTDO Old Tibetan Documents Online
P PERSON
PAST PAST FORM (VERB INFLECTION)
PERF PERFECT
PL PLURAL
PLN PLACE NAME
PN PERSON NAME
PRES PRESENT
PRON PRONOUN
Q QUESTION PARTICLE
QUOT QUOTATIVE
RED REDUPLICATE
SG SINGULAR
ST Sino-Tibetan
SWITCH SWITCH-REFERENTIAL MARKER
TEPM The Envoys from Phywa to Dmu
TERM TERMINATIVE
TOP TOPIC MARKER
V VERB
WT WRITTEN TIBETAN

Pragmatics in Old Tibetan: Investigation based on several Dunhuang Texts

Introduction

Old Tibetan texts are crucial for studying the language change and historical linguistics of the Tibetan language(s). At the turn of the 20th century, a cache of Old Tibetan texts was found in cave number 17, later known as the "Library Cave" of Dunhuang, an oasis town in Central Asia. Scholars with different academic backgrounds have studied Old Tibetan texts from Dunhuang for more than a century. Another source for Old Tibetan texts is the inscriptions found in various locations of Central Tibet. Post-imperial Tibetan scholars occasionally used Old Tibetan sources to produce texts concerning religion and history. For instance, authors of religious chronicles from different traditions and periods such as Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba (1504-1566), 'Gos lo tsa'a ba gzhon nu dpal, and Ka thog Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu (1698-1755) used Old Tibetan texts from the Tibetan Imperial period for references.[1] Old Tibetan texts in multiple forms, written on paper, stelae, wood slips, bells, and stone, were found throughout the Tibetan Plateau and other adjacent areas to the Tibetosphere, most with historical and religious significance. During Old Tibetan textual studies in the early twentieth century, history was one of the main areas to which the attention of Tibetologists was attracted for the most part.

This study aims to contribute to a better understanding of linguistic specificities such as pragmatics, honorification, humilification, and indexicality in OT and the historical development of the Tibetan language as well as social, cultural, and historical complexities expressed in OT texts to form a better grasp of the social and cultural realities of historical Tibet and of OT as a language. Four groups of texts, versions of *OTA*, *OTC*, OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, and OT epistolary writings, were selected as the primary sources for this study. The *OTA* and *OTC* were likely written somewhere from the 8th to the 9th century, while at least one version of the OT *Rāmāyaṇa* was written slightly later. Brandon Dotson argues that one of the longest versions of the OT *Rāmāyaṇa* (ITJ 737-1(A)) shares the scribal hands with *OTC* (Dotson, 2013a, p. 250), in conformity with my observation that the recension I represented by this version is earlier than the recension II.

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[1] See Richardson (Richardson, 1967, 1980) for mentioning Dpa' bo Gtsug lag phreng ba's use of various stelae inscriptions from the OT period in his well-known text *The Feast of the Learned* (Chos 'byung Mkhas pa'i dga' ston), *The Blue Annals* (Deb ther sngon po) and use of stela inscriptions by Ka thog Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu.

Research Methodology

This dissertation takes an interdisciplinary approach to philological and corpus linguistics. The steps taken for the analysis are reading relevant OT texts, selecting pertinent examples with contextual information, translating them into English and discussing the linguistic tokens used in the sections selected; referring to previous literature to validate the analysis, especially when there is disagreement on interpreting certain element of the text, whether it is on grammar or semantics. The linguistic tokens this dissertation focuses on are motion verbs, speech verbs, honorification, deference titles and their syntactical environment and the pragmatics of such tokens throughout various OT texts of multiple genres. This project is a blissful beneficiary of the Old Tibetan Documents Online (https://otdo.aa-ken.jp) (henceforth OTDO) project. Although facsimiles of OT texts are available at the websites of the International Dunhuang Project (http://idp.bl.uk/) (henceforth IDP) and The Bibliothèque nationale de France (https://gallica.bnf.fr) (henceforth BnF), OTDO is so far the only digital archive with conveniently searchable transliterations of OT texts. The present author uses the corpus as the primary source by searching relevant tokens such as verbs of speech and motion, consulting the facsimile editions and transliterations and translations previously done by other scholars. Examples used in this dissertation are sometimes drawn from digitally available texts from the OTDO and other times transcribed from existing facsimile editions of manuscripts. Since the OTDO database does not include many of the OT letters, so the present author had to transcribe them from facsimiles made available online by IDP and BnF. Besides the digital corpus, this study occasionally employs other lexicographical and linguistic sources such as texts from the OT, Classical Tibetan, Modern Tibetan, and modern spoken dialects for synchronic and diachronic comparisons. However, the primary method is to explore digital corpus with synchronic data comparisons amongst various OT texts.

Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation explores pragmatics in OT through its five chapters, including its introduction and conclusion. The first chapter is a literature review, which surveys scholarships on relevant topics such as OT studies, politeness in general, politeness in Tibetan languages, and historical pragmatics. These topics are explored with various lengths and details depending on their relevance to the dissertation. The second chapter is on the deictic verbs and the social relations revealed via motion verbs in OT. The primary aim is to determine what motion verbs are used in *OTA*, *OTC*, and OT *Rāmāyaṇa* and how they are

pragmatically significant through an internal comparison. The third chapter explores the speech verbs in *OTC* and *Rāmāyaṇa* to find ways of marking the person with different speech verbs in the sociolinguistic milieu represented in these OT texts. It is done by exploring the usage of different speech verbs in OT texts by looking at the use of various verbs regarding the social status of the speakers and addresses as well as the contexts of the speeches. In addition, these texts are used to shed light on the pragmatics in OT as a language. Finally, the fourth chapter studies OT epistolary writings, focusing on the typology of OT letters, politeness strategies such as honorifics, humilifics, pragmatics in addressing, and deferential titles. The fifth chapter is the conclusion, where the observations of the dissertation are presented in more concise forms.

Chapter 1. Literature Review

Introduction

A cache of Old Tibetan manuscripts discovered from a cave in Dunhuang, an oasis town in Central Asia, has been a focal point of Tibetan studies for around a century now. Studies on these texts were multidisciplinary; history, philology, medicine, and religious studies are areas where Tibetologists primarily focused. However, an exploration of the pragmatics of the Old Tibetan language used for writings in these manuscripts has not been attempted by anyone yet. Thus, this dissertation will read Old Tibetan texts with particular attention to the politeness strategies used across various genres. To do so, an investigation of previous scholarships in several areas is in order here. The first area to be covered in the literature review is the studies that treated Old Tibetan (henceforth OT) as a language in general, and the study done on several OT texts used as the primary source for this study, the *Old Tibetan Annals* (henceforth *OTA*), the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (henceforth *OTC*), the Old Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa* (henceforth OT *Rāmāyaṇa*), and OT epistolary writings. Secondly, this study provides an overview of politeness studies, focusing on the politeness studies conducted on Tibetan languages. For a specific scope, this project lies at the interface of these research areas. To tackle the above topics, it is necessary to provide some provisional definitions for at least two key concepts, Old Tibetan, and politeness. Thus, this chapter aims to define Old Tibetan and politeness first by drawing attention to the existing literature and then evaluating the status of studies of politeness in Tibetan with particular attention to the studies conducted on verbs, auxiliary verbs, and pronouns. The last part of the chapter focuses on the literature on politeness studies in general and a few conceptual frameworks relevant to the present study.

1.1 Old Tibetan

To answer the question of what Old Tibetan is must be sought through a diachronic view of the Tibetan language since it is a language that has existed in a certain period of historical timespan in the past. Tibetan is a primary language in the language family commonly known as Sino-Tibetan,[2]. The Old Tibetan is usually overlooked by scholars except in explorations of the historical phonology and periodisation.

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[2] The structure of the Sino-Tibetan as a language family remains controversial, and not all linguists working on this language family subscribe to this taxonomy. It is evinced in recent debates on the name of the language

It is widely believed that since the middle of the 7th century, Old Tibetan was the official language of the Tibetan Empire (from the 7th to 9th centuries AD), which once stretched from the Himalayas in the west to the Hexi Corridor (Héxī zǒuláng 河西走廊) in the northeast. From the same period, new texts began to be written in newly adopted Tibetan scripts from Indic scripts. These oldest language materials found in various locations, including Central Tibet and Central Asian sites, are the corpus we have so far on OT as a language.[3] These writings have been primarily preserved in inscriptions on stelae, bells, rocks, wooden tallies, and paper. For the general periodisation of the language, Miller defined Old Tibetan as the language represented by written texts from the 7th century, when the script came into being, to the spelling reform that has taken place during the reign of Khri Lde srong btsan (c. 804-815) by dividing the history of language into Proto-Tibetan (?–7th century), OT (7th – the first part of the 9th century) further divided into two types of Old Church Tibetan (7th–9th century where the language of Buddhist texts show traces influences of Sanskrit originals and which date from the rein of the first of the Tibetan kings Srong bstan sgam po) and OT (proper) (from the invention of the script until the year 821/2, Sino-Tibetan Treaty inscription (exemplified by non-canonical texts from Central Asia)), Late OT (first part of the 9th –10th century), which, again, divided into Classical Tibetan ("new canonical language of" of the Tibetan Buddhist establishment; set by the orthographic reforms of Khri lde srong btsan) and Literary Tibetan (the non-canonical texts from the 9th century on, with limited influence from the 'rules' established for Classical Tibetan) (Miller, 1968, pp. 147–148, nt. 1).[4]

However, this periodisation is disputed; for instance, Róna-Tas suggested a different system of periodisation with Pre-Tibetan, Ancient Tibetan, and a three-way OT. For his periodisation, Pre-Tibetan (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Tibeto-Himalayan), Ancient Tibetan "von der Absonderung des Tibetischen von den nächsten verwandten Sprachen

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family as "Sino-Tibetan" versus "Tibeto-Burman" or "Trans-Himalayan" (LaPolla, 2016; van Driem, 2018). Scholars with different backgrounds still gather evidence to validate the language family to this day, as evidenced by a recently published article in *Nature* by Zhang et al. (Zhang et al., 2019)

[3] Chinese sources record that Tibetans sent a mission to the Chinese court in the year 648 asking for ink and paper technology (Pelliot, 1961, p. 6), which can probably be seen as a sign that the script was already in use and Tibetans were making preparations for producing texts with paper and ink on a grand scale. The earliest Tibetan texts were probably written on materials such as wood slips or 'tallies' (OT. *khram*) and stone stelae as we still have access to OT texts written on these materials from the imperial period discovered in various sites from Central Tibet and Central Asian archaeological sites. Even after the paper was available to the Tibetans, they still used "tallies" for administrative purposes for about a century until the year 744/745, according to the records from OTA (Uebach, 2008, p. 64). For OT texts written on wood slips, see Wang and Chen (Y. Wang & Chen, 1985).

[4] Miller built his periodisation based on Japanese scholar Nishida's periodisation (T. Nishida, 1963), providing Nishida's Japanese equivalents for all the periods in his system.

bis zu den ältesten faßbaren Nachrichten über die tibetische Sprache [from the segregation of Tibetan from the nearest allied languages to the earliest tangible information about the Tibetan language]," OT: consisted of Early OT: the first half of the 7th century (the rise of the Tibetan Empire; first attempts at writing down the Tibetan language), Middle OT: 650-814 (Buddhism as the state religion; standardisation of the pre-classical Written Tibetan), and Late OT: 815-11th century (*BPNP*; intense translation activity) (Róna-Tas, 1985, pp. 94–101). Róna-Tas made some minor changes to his threefold OT periodisation. They presented Early OT as lasting to the death of Srong btsan sgam po in 649 (domination and spread of the Yar lung valley dialect over other Central Tibetan areas; no standardisation), Middle OT, from about 650 until 814 (the significant expansion of the Tibetan Empire; translation of Buddhist texts), Late OT, from 815 until 11th century (decay of the centralised government) (Róna-Tas, 1992, p. 697).

Tsuguhito Takeuchi proposed to divide the development of Old Tibetan into the three following stages: the first stage being "Formation of Literary Old Tibetan" (7th to 8th c.), second stage as "Spread over the Tibetan Plateau and to Central Asia" (8th to 9th c.) and third stage as "Old Tibetan as a *lingua franca*" (9th to 11th c.) or also in his own words,[5] Early Old Tibetan (mid-seventh c. to mid-eighth c.), Middle Old Tibetan (late-eighth c. to mid-ninth c.), Late Old Tibetan (late-ninth c. to early 12th c.) (2013, p. 3;12). If we follow the suggestions of his studies, most of the texts examined for this study, except *OTA*, would fall under the last period of OT, the late OT or when OT was a *lingua franca* for people with various linguistic backgrounds in parts of Central Asia even after the fall of Tibetan domination in the region. Takeuchi further argued that the Tibetan language, which was the basis for Old Tibetan documents, had spread from Yarlung (WT. *Yar klung*) valley to every corner of the Tibetan Plateau and Central Asia through the expansion of the Tibetan Empire, where these localities were previously not inhabited by Tibetan speakers (Takeuchi, 2013b, p. 13). Recently, another slightly different periodisation was offered by Beckwith and Walter. They categorise the OT into four periods by furthering Takeuchi's scheme into Early Imperial Tibetan (attested in the *OTA*),[6] Middle Imperial Tibetan (attested in the Zhol Inscription), Late

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[5] This view was first presented by Hungarian Tibetologist Géza Uray (Uray, 1981a) and subsequent studies were carried out by Takeuchi (Takeuchi, 1990, 2004, 2012).

[6] Some scholars argue that the *OTA* dates after 840, possibly even later (Takeuchi, 2013b, p. 3). If it is justified, the exemplar for this period needs revision. However, Dotson argues that the tradition of recording annals probably originated in the early-to-mid 650s, and it was first inscribed on wooden slips that later transferred to paper. In terms of dating, Dotson also believes that Version I of *OTA* (PT 1288) was probably compiled in the mid-ninth century, and he admits that it is difficult to date Version II (ITJ 0750) with any precision. Still, he

Imperial Tibetan (attested in the Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription), and Late OT (or "post-Imperial OT" attested in the *OTC*) (Beckwith & Walter, 2015, p. 56). Recently, Joanna Bialek has provided a nuanced periodisation of three types of Old Tibetan originated from the Proto-Tibetan (or Pre-Old Tibetan): 1. Early Old Tibetan (EOT) started with the invention of the script in the mid-seventh century with sound changes of sound *s*L->L*s*- and assimilation of *s*-; 2. Middle Old Tibetan (MOT) is characterised by the merger of SGR- and *[zdr-] and devoicing of plain consonants in onset; 3. Late Old Tibetan (LOT) with the feature of losing the prefixes *g*-, *b*-, and *r*- in word-initial position and rhotacism L->[r-] (Bialek, 2018c, pp. 33–37). These periodisations mentioned above were exclusively done from diachronic perspectives.[7] Therefore, dialectal diversity of OT is a subject yet to be explored by scholars, and this project does not aim at reconstructing any phonological aspects of OT.

In addition, it is worth noting that the periodisation of the Tibetan language was dealt with in introductory books with considerable readerships, like Thurgood and LaPolla's volume titled *The Sino-Tibetan Languages* (Thurgood & LaPolla, 2006a). Although there is a part titled Bodish Languages in this volume written by DeLancey (DeLancey, 2006a, 2006b), only Tibetan varieties known as Classical Tibetan and Modern Lhasa Tibetan received attention.[8] In this book, Scott DeLancey defines the OT just by bypassing it with an extremely narrow frame. He states, "The term 'Old Tibetan' refers to written material from before about 1000 CE, primarily inscriptions and documents found in the Dunhuang caves" (2006, pp. 255–256). However, his description is probably not entirely accurate since no scholar so far applies the name OT merely to the written texts nor only to materials from before the 1000 CE, but a spoken language that is represented by the orthography of the written texts produced from the 7th to the late 11th centuries (sometimes even as late as to the early 12th century) as we have seen from the periodisation systems mentioned earlier.

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maintains that the information in both versions was possibly compiled simultaneously as the described events took place (Dotson, 2009a, pp. 13–14).

[7] Compared to OT, its spatial and temporal neighbour Middle Chinese is relatively well-studied. Several monographs and numerous articles on regional dialects of Middle Chinese such as the North-western and other variations are available, see Luo (2012), Chen (1976), and Pulleyblank among many.

[8] In the new edition of the volume published in 2016, two other languages were added to the part on Bodish languages, namely Kurtöp (Hyslop, 2016) and Tshangla (Andvik, 2016). For some reason, two languages, Dolakha Newar (Genetti, 2016) and Kathmandu Newar (Nepāl Bhāṣā) (Hargreaves, 2016), were also added to the Bodish; they were previously categorised as Newar Dialects in the first edition (Thurgood & LaPolla, 2006b, pp. 353–384). Therefore, this volume takes "Bodish" as a higher-level categorisation than Tibetic languages. However, the treatment of Tibetic branches has not changed in the aggiornamento. Classical and Lhasa are still the only two varieties of Tibetan included in the volume (DeLancey, 2016a, 2016b).

For the origin of orthography of Written Tibetan, Beckwith argues that it must have been based on the colloquial spoken form of the Tibetan dynastic family when finalised in the mid-7th century (Beckwith, 2010). However, it is very likely, as Takeuchi asserts, that the orthography was based on the speech of the people of Yarlung valley (Takeuchi, 2013b, p. 12), but not just the dynastic family, since it requires a leap of faith to know how the speech of the dynastic family of Tibet is different from rest of the people in the Yar lung valley. For instance, we neither know how other the speech of dynastic families was from the dialects of people in Yarlung, nor do we have documentary evidence saying it was picked as the basis for Tibetan orthography. Therefore, Beckwith's assertion was made without any substantial evidence.

Consequently, it can be dismissed. Moreover, as a common understanding in linguistic explorations, written texts do not usually mirror the exact spoken language. Some influential linguists from the last century went as far as to disregard the idea that the written texts were derived from the spoken and asserted that written text is secondary compared to the spoken language (Saussure, 2011; Sapir, 2002, p. 16; Bloomfield, 1984, pp. 281–296).[9] Scholars of OT studies have also reminded us decades ago of how OT spoken language was probably never morphologically or syntactically identical to the contemporaneously written texts (Róna-Tas, 1992, p. 697).

However, for now, one can conclude that OT was the language that is the orthographic basis for the genesis of written Tibetan in the seventh century and was used throughout the Tibetan Plateau and Central Asia until the early 11th century. Varieties of this language were the dominant language for at least four centuries on the Tibetan plateau and parts of Central Asia along the Silk Roads until the 12th century. Thus, all the genuine Tibetan documents from Dunhuang can be treated under the umbrella term OT. Particular attention should be paid to the possible information on the dating and provenance of individual texts, such as where it was authored or who translated it, if possible. This type of information comes in handy for understanding dialectal variations in OT from different periods and regions.

Moreover, multiple periodisations mentioned earlier will be helpful as we explore new texts by checking if they conform with the linguistic features of OT texts dated with certainty. For dating OT literature, except for a few stele inscriptions and official documents, many other texts, including documents unearthed in Dunhuang, pose challenges to coming up with definitive dates. Thus, projects like this take a diachronic approach to the language varieties

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[9] Saussure's famous analogy of picture versus photograph is a good case in point (Saussure, 2011, p. 24).

as a starting point to discover the synchronic reality of OT as a language. As a result, apart from taking OT as a language that had changed due to phonological, morphological, and syntactical changes for internal factors, it is also essential to understand that changes must have taken place for OT via language contact with other tongues, either voluntarily or by colonising non-Tibetan speakers and achieving a status of *lingua franca* for Chinese, Khotanese, Uighurs, and Tibetans at least in multi-ethnic oasis towns along with the Silk Road (Dotson & Helman-Wazny, 2016, p. 19).

As the corpus for this project, the *OTA* (PT 1288; ITJ 0750; Or 8212.87), the *OTC* (PT 1286; PT 1287; ITJ 1375),[10] *Rāmāyaṇa* (PT 0981; PT 0982; PT 0983; ITJ 0737-1; ITJ 0737-2; ITJ 0737-3), and collection of the OT epistolary writings (see the list in Chapter Three) discovered from Dunhuang were selected as primary sources, occasional comparisons were also made with other relevant OT texts. When choosing primary sources, this project chose the texts only from Dunhuang by following Nathan Hill's suggestion that "Tibetan texts other than imperial stone inscriptions or Dunhuang manuscripts may ultimately date from the same period of history as these materials, but cannot be guaranteed to be free of subsequent contamination and therefore should be disregarded in the linguistic study of the Old Tibetan period" (N. W. Hill, 2009, p. 9). However, it seems there are other documents from other locations along the Silk Road that can be considered suitable candidates. For instance, Takeuchi convincingly argued that the OT contracts unearthed in Domoko in Khotan are earlier than the ones from Dunhuang (Takeuchi, 1994) as well as OT texts written on wood slips and paper from Miran and Mazār Tāgh (Y. Wang & Chen, 1985) in the Stein collection and German Collection (Trinkler-Sammlung). Of course, there are Tibetan texts acclaimed to be from the imperial era that is not genuine; for instance, the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum*, a collection of teachings on Avalokiteśvara ('Phags pa spyan ras gzhigs), usually attributed to the emperor Songtsen Gampo (Srong bstan Sgam po) but very likely from more than five centuries later and multiple versions of *The Testament of Ba* (*dba' bzhed/rba bzhed*)[11] as well as Tibetan translations of the Buddhist canonical works credited to the translators from the imperial era that have often gone through later revisions.

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[10] Documents labelled as PT (Pelliot tibétain) are from the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, while documents labelled as ITJ are from the Stein Collection of British Library in London.

[11] For a translation of a later version of the text in its entirety, see Diemberger et al. (2000). It is probably accurate to say that a version of *The Testament of Ba* (WT. *dba'/rba bzhed*) existed during the imperial time as a fragment had been discovered amongst texts from Dunhuang pushed back its origin, at least, to the 11th century (van Schaik & Iwao, 2008). For more recent studies on *The Testament of Ba*, see a recent volume edited by Lewis Doney ('Bringing Buddhism to Tibet', 2020).

1.2 Studies on OT

The Tibetan language is often understood as comparatively well studied amongst Tibeto-Burman languages. However, systematic studies of varieties of Tibetan language, such as OT, are quite scarce. It has been more than a century since the discovery of the textual treasury of OT texts in a cave on the Silk Road along with more than half a dozen other languages; these Tibetan texts discovered there attracted attention mostly from historians and philologists, but not so much from the field of linguistics.[12] For instance, only one text on the grammar of OT based on these texts is available in Chinese (Z. Wang, 2012), and a timely monograph-length study on the synchronic phonology of OT came out only less than a decade ago (N. W. Hill, 2009). However, there are sporadic studies on phonology and morphology since the first half of the 20th century to this day (F.-K. Li, 1933; Shafer, 1950; Uray, 1953; Coblin, 1976; Che, 1981, 1984; Róna-Tas, 1992; N. W. Hill, 2010c; Jacques, 2012; N. W. Hill, 2014)[13] and a two-volume corpus-based study on the compounds and compounding in OT had been recently published (Bialek, 2018a, 2018b). Regarding OT texts,[14] scholars paid attention to some textual genres more than others. For instance, some significant studies on OT have been undertaken on the stele and bell inscriptions (Richardson, 1985; F. K. Li & Coblin, 1987), various letters (Uray, 1988; Takeuchi, 1990a), and contracts (Takeuchi, 1994, 1995), historical texts such as the *OTA* (Dotson, 2009a),[15] *Annals of 'A zha Principality* (F. W. Thomas, 1951),[16] and the *OTC* (Uray, 1972; N. W. Hill, 2006a; Zeisler, 2011; Dotson, 2013a),[17] divination texts (Laufer, 1914; Dotson, 2007a; A. Nishida, 2016, 2018), medical texts (Yoeli-Tlalim, 2013, 2015), and comparatively less studied Buddhist texts (Dalton & Schaik, 2006; Mayer, 2004; van Schaik, 2015), just to name a few. However, as mentioned earlier, grammatical features of the OT are relatively neglected in most of the studies. In the recent turn of Tibetan linguistics on the study of evidentiality (Sun, 1993; Hongladarom, 1993; DeLancey, 2001; de Villiers et al., 2009;

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[12] Scholars argue that these documents were from at least before the twelfth century when Cave 17 (generally known as the Library Cave) in Dunhuang was sealed for unknown reasons. Rong (1999, p. 272) argues that the cave was closed before 1006, and Imaeda (2008, p. 98) also dates the sealing of the cave to the first half of the eleventh century.

[13] I am aware that this list is not exhaustive. Therefore, I only cite some influential works here, which is a subjective approach by default. In morphological and phonological studies of Tibetan, voice alternation in the Tibetan verbal paradigm is an area where many insightful discussions have taken place among linguists since the mid-twentieth century. For details, see Shafer (Shafer, 1950), Uray (1953), Li (1959), Coblin (1976), Hill (2014), Bialek (2020), Jacques (2012, 2021), and for a response to Jacques, see Bialek (2021).

[14] We, of course, must understand OT texts under a broader definition, including those written on paper and on stelae, bells, and wood slips.

[15] For a complete list of references, see https://otdo.aa-ken.jp/archives?p=Pt_1288.

[16] For a more complete list of references, see https://otdo.aa-ken.jp/archives?p=ITJ_1368.

[17] For a complete list of references, see https://otdo.aa-ken.jp/archives?p=Pt_1287.

'Evidential Systems of Tibetan Languages', 2017) and switch-reference (Haller, 2009; Beer, 2019),[18] Old Tibetan is a marginalised area, with very few studies conducted on evidentiality and co-switch referencing in OT.[19] Moreover, research on pragmatics in OT is almost non-existent except for some works on *verba moriendi* (N. W. Hill, 2008) and auxiliary verbs (Takeuchi, 2014). Thus, it is imperative to introduce these works in a more detailed manner in this section.

Hill's research on death-related verbs in *OTA* is the closest study we can find on politeness strategies in OT, although he does not frame it as such (N. W. Hill, 2008). In this article, Hill illustrates the usage of five different verbs in OT (including one verbal phrase), *dgung du gshegs* 'to go to heaven', *nongs* 'to grieve, regret, to make a mistake', *gum* 'to die', *bkum* 'to kill', *btungs* 'to massacre' to describe the death of people with different social status from the highest, the emperor to the lowest, the enemies of the Tibetan Empire. As Hill suggests, in *OTA*, the highest form of the honorific verb for dying, *dgung du gshegs* 'to go to heaven', is reserved only for the emperor (*btsan po*). Unlike the honorific meaning of *gshegs* as a verb for dying of highly ranked peoples such as Lamas and rulers in the Classical and Modern Tibetan, *gshegs* was merely an honorific motion verb meaning 'to go' in OT, and it was reserved for emperors (ITJ750:109; 120; 127; 128; 129; 132;148; 282; 296), the royal court (WT. *pho brang*) (ITJ750:58), and empresses and princesses (WT. *btsan mo*)[20] (ITJ750:53; 101; 103; 176; 177) in *OTA*. A recent article by Huang Weizhong argues that *gshegs* is a verb exclusively used for the emperor in OT (Huang Weizhong 黃維忠, 2021). Still, it is not the case as clearly suggested by its usage with princesses and empresses.

The verb *nongs* 'to grieve, regret; to make a mistake' is a *verbum moriendi* used primarily for royal Tibetan women except for two occasions where it is also used for the death of an heir apparent and a Chinese emperor, which are also unquestionably honorific ways of addressing Tibetan and Chinese royals. Hill asserts that *gum* 'to die' is the most neutral word for death in

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[18] Beer mentions that Abel Zadoks first presented on co-switch references in Tibetan at various conferences without publishing anything on it long before Haller's publications (Beer, 2019, p. 249, n. 1).

[19] Recent article by Zack Beer on switch-reference is based on *Ye shes rgyas pa'i mdo*, a text translated in the 8th century (Beer, 2019). It, of course, went through later revisions, but the co-switch referential markers were likely the same ones in the OT original; therefore, in this regard, it probably could be seen as an OT text.

[20] It seems *btsan mo* is used both for the wife and the emperor's daughter in *OTA*. The motion verb *gshegs* 'to go' is used for the princess Snya mo steng[s] going to Spung rye rgyug of Snya shur as a bride (IO750.53) and princess Khri bangs going to 'A zha as the bride (ITJ750:103) as well as empress Khri mo stengs going to the area of Dags for a political campaign (ITJ750: 101) and empress Kim shang khong co going to Ra sa (ITJ750: 176; 177). For a complete English translation of the *OTA*, see Dotson (2009). For a study of notable noble ladies of the Tibetan Empire, see Uebach (Uebach, 2005).

the *OTA and* is used for both one's natural and unnatural death (Hill, 2008, p. 73). Moreover, *bkum* 'to kill' is another verb used in *OTA* and according to Hill, this is specially used for foreigners and traitors of the empire who were killed by the Tibetan state as punishment (N. W. Hill, 2008, p. 77). Another verb of death Hill describes *btungs* 'to massacre' which is used only once in *OTA*, as *btungs* in other OT texts including the *OTC* and Zhol stele inscription (N. W. Hill, 2008, p. 78), it is exclusively used for describing the death of many Chinese caused by Tibetan military attacks.[21] The final verb Hill discusses is *'chi* 'to die', the most common verb in Classical and Modern Tibetan languages; however, it is absent in the *OTA,* and Hill weighs in to support Beckwith's argument that *'chi* is a Chinese loanword by mentioning its absence in the *OTA* (N. W. Hill, 2008, p. 79). Verb *shi* 'to die' has been understood as the perfective form of *'chi* 'to die' in Classical and Modern Tibetan, but it appeared in the *OTC* (PT 1287: 171; 172) as a non-perfective form.[22] Non-perfective form *'chi* is also attested in other OT texts covering the topics such as divination, Buddhism, and proverbs (PT 0126: 41; PT 1047: 362; 369; ITJ0504: v1-4; ITJ0730:41; ITJ0739:3v11; 9r2). Thus, it is probably premature to conclude yet on its loanword status without rigorously examining the verb. Another verb of death that is not attested in *OTA* but in the Zhol Stele inscription, which is as old as *OTA*, if not older,[23] was *grongs* (perfective) 'to die'; it is used for the death of the Chinese emperor He'u 'kI wang 唐肅宗 (insc_ZHOL: s49-s50) (Richardson, 1985, pp. 12–13) from illness and a perfective form *bkrongs* 'to be killed' is used in *OTC* for killing of the emperor (PT 1287:19; 301). In varieties of Tibetan language, besides verbs, nouns, and especially pronouns are an area where pragmatics is extensively expressed.

The pronominal system of a language is particularly relevant to the study of pragmatics. Asif Agha (1994, p. 279) argued convincingly by presenting research on how pronominal shifts of *you* from *thou* in English reflect changes in sociological relationships. To this date, Hill's

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[21] Although it is not mainly referred to Chinese, *kha btag(s)* is another verb phrase with the meaning 'to massacre' or killing many at once in Old Tibetan (PT 0981: r254; ITJ 0737-2: r20; ITJ0737-3: 24; 30), which is also attested in modern Amdo Tibetan (Since the present author is a native speaker of the variety, no reference will be given for data on Amdo. For a study on the specific Amdo variety of the author, see Tsering Samdrup and Suzuki (Tsering Samdrup & Suzuki, 2019)). Interestingly, this verb phrase is only attested in all OT texts other than versions of OT *Rāmāyaṇa* in the corpus for this dissertation. Nevertheless, this type of usage is significant for exploring the dialectology of OT as a spoken language and dating OT texts from Dunhuang.

[22] Although it does not disprove its loanword origin, it is a piece of good evidence that the non-perfective form *'chi* is a late development following the stem alternation habits of Tibetan, as observed by Bialek (Bialek, 2018b, pp. 315–317).

[23] Richardson dates it to the year 764 (Richardson, 1985, p. 2), Beckwith and Walter also date it to a year between 764 to 767 (Walter & Beckwith, 2010, p. 301), and Li and Coblin date it to shortly after 763 (1987, pp. 3–4).

piece on the pronominal system in OT is virtually the only literature on this topic for OT (N. W. Hill, 2010a). Hill focuses solely on personal pronouns. Most of his examples are drawn from *OTC* and *The Envoys from Phywa to Dmu* (PT 0126: 104-168),[24], but the present study only reports his findings on pragmatically significant personal pronouns.

Interestingly, Hill observed that *bdag* is a humilific form of first-person singular in OT as in the dialect of modern Shigatse (WT. *gzhis ka rtse*) of Western Central Tibet (N. W. Hill, 2010a, p. 553); similarly, *bdag cag* occurs as a first-person plural pronoun connoting speakers with the lower status. In contrast to Beckwith and Walter's assertion that *nga* connoting humbleness and any Tibetan emperors would never use it during the Imperial period (Beckwith & Walter, 2015, p. 296),[25] Hill discovers that *nga* is used by people from all social strata, including a would-be emperor and emperors; he argues that "The *nga* expresses neither humility nor haughtiness; it is the most neutral, default pronoun of the first person singular" in OT (N. W. Hill, 2010a, p. 552). Another notable observation by Hill was that, unlike its honorific singular usage in Modern Tibetan, *khyed* was used in OT only as a neutral second-person plural pronoun (N. W. Hill, 2010a, p. 564). These findings can be taken as the basis for the current project and expanded by bringing more attestations from various texts in primary sources to the discussion.

Besides Hill's research, Takeuchi's work on auxiliary verbs in OT is another landmark study taking a diachronic approach to developing auxiliary verbs from OT to various modern Tibetan dialects (Takeuchi, 2014). One of the central arguments he puts forward is that all the nominal sentences before the OT ended with FP (WT. *rdzogs tshig*) *-o* and later dropped and replaced it with auxiliary verb *yin* after initially introducing the negation form *ma yin* through three different stages (Takeuchi, 2014, p. 410). Furthermore, he believes that the auxiliary verb *red* began to be used in the spoken Amdo Tibetan first and then spread its usage to Kham and Central Tibet based on its prevalence in an 18th-century text (Takeuchi, 2014, p. 411). However, Shao disputes this origin theory by providing examples of its existence in a late 14th or early 15th-century autobiography of a Buddhist scholar, Mi nyag 'jam dbyangs grags pa from Khams (Shao, 2016, p. 40). Yet, the main problem with Shao's line of argument is that it is necessary to acknowledge that we are dealing with a non-autograph

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[24] For a recent study of this specific document, see Hill (2021).

[25] Beckwith and Walter's argument probably stems from observing the Classical Chinese linguistic tradition where the emperor usually addresses himself with a first-person singular pronoun exclusively used for him. Like Chinese, *zhèn* 朕, instead of more neutral ones like *wǒ* 我 and *wú* 吾 is used for the emperor. However, it very likely did not work similarly in Old Tibetan. For more on pronouns in Classical Chinese, see, for instance, Graham (1973).

manuscript with possible later origin or 'contaminations' and these manuscripts, in Paul Maas's words, are "consequently of questionable trustworthiness" (Maas, 1958, p. 1).[26] Research on auxiliary verbs is significant for studying pragmatics in OT since modern Tibetan dialects have developed various verbal auxiliaries that were not entirely present in its oldest written records.

If we review the research on OT texts, most studies are conducted from the perspective of history and philology. The *OTA* and *OTC* are probably the most studied OT documents from Dunhuang or elsewhere. Taking the *OTC* as an example, Bacot et al.'s translation to French in full-length (J. Bacot et al., 1940), Hill's (2006) and Zeisler's (2011) translations of the first chapter, and Brandon Dotson's monograph-length study (Dotson, 2013a) are among the significant research on the *OTC*. Furthermore, Uray's treatment of various aspects of the *OTC* includes its structure and genesis (Uray, 1992), narratives (Uray, 1967), songs (Uray, 1972), and verbs (Uray, 1964) are also well-known in the field. A recently published article by two Chinese scholars does an excellent job surveying the existing scholarship on *OTC* since its discovery in the early 20th century (Zhu & Huang, 2018). However, various scholars used *OTA* as the source for historical research for most of the well-known works from the 20th century on the history of the Tibetan Empire both in the Tibetan (Gedun Choephel, 2002) and western languages (J. Bacot et al., 1940; Beckwith, 1987; R. A. Stein, 1972; Vostrikov, 2013). However, as mentioned earlier, a complete translation of the *OTA* in a monograph-length study only came out in 2009 (Dotson, 2009a). Besides, the scholars largely ignored the linguistic features of this extraordinary text, known as Tibet's first history, since most were fascinated by the historical information provided.[27]

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is a classical Indian epic often attributed to the poet and sage Valmiki; it is surprising that multiple Tibetan versions of the epic made it to Dunhuang and probably

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[26] Leonard van der Kuijp mentions this autobiography and its significance in a recent work; however, he does not go into the study of its editions nor evaluate its originality (2014, 140-141). The introduction to the publication of the modern Beijing edition of his autobiography says he is a 14th-century scholar, and other textual sources support this date. For instance, Dpa' bo gtsung lag phreng ba mentions this Lama in Chos 'byung Mkhas pa'i dga' ston as a contemporary of the 5th Karmapa Deshin Shekpa (De bzhin gshegs pa) (1384-1415) gets(Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba, 1985, p. 1015). However, it is unclear whether the autobiography's printed version is from the same period or has not gone through any revisions. So, anyone who reads this text should not be confident claiming it is from the 14th century. All in all, a critical philological approach should be taken to determine the date of this type of text before making any bold historical and linguistic assertions.
[27] A study of the grammar of *OTA* is the title of a recent project funded by Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (https://gepris.dfg.de/gepris/projekt/324476415), investigated by Dr Joanna Bialek of Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. The forthcoming publications from this project will be linguistic analyses of the *OTA*. On the other hand, a linguistic study of the more dynamic text, *OTC*, is yet to be written.

enjoyed some popularity on the Silk Roads at the turn of the first millennium. OT *Rāmāyaṇa* was not a direct translation of any Indian languages or Khotanese and Chinese versions, but elements parallel with different recensions in different languages (de Jong, 1972), probably with its innovations. These OT *Rāmāyaṇa* texts attracted some interest from the scholars of Tibet since the discovery of the manuscripts in 1929 by F. W. Thomas among Sir Aurel Stein's collection; Thomas translated most of the verses from the text (1929). Later, J. K. Balbir edited and translated one of the Paris manuscripts (de Jong, 1972). Among scholars who worked on Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa*, J. W. de Jong produced a complete translation of the manuscripts with commentaries (1989) after publishing two articles on the topic, one on a summary of the text (de Jong, 1972) and another on the transliteration of the content of six different manuscripts of the Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa* (de Jong, 1977).[28] However, none of these scholars tackled linguistic features such as the concentration of politeness embedded in Old Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa* texts. Therefore, *Rāmāyaṇa* texts represent a narrative genre that is neither Buddhist nor Tibetan among the Dunhuang manuscripts. Compared to the relatively formulaic nature of the *OTA*, narratives of the *OTC* and *Rāmāyaṇa* make ideal sources for exploring the linguistic features.

It is thousands of documents if we talk about OT texts from Dunhuang. Thus, the number of available texts necessitates choosing a specific text or a textual genre for linguistic and philological investigations. For that purpose, the *OTA*, the *OTC,* OT *Rāmāyaṇa* renderings, and epistolary writings stand out as promising candidates for the primary sources for this project because of their diversity in style, authorship, and dates. Moreover, since the study of OT pragmatics and politeness in specific is an uncharted area or *terra incognita*, research on this topic does not only clarify the linguistic puzzles of OT as a language but also ignites historical insights into the social realities of people who were using OT at the time, no matter if they were Tibetans or non-Tibetans. Most importantly, it contributes to the social history of the people at the time, studied by scholars since more than a half-century ago (Róna-Tas, 1955). Therefore, the main goal of this study is to generate new findings via taking new perspectives—reading OT texts from the angle of linguistic pragmatics.

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[28] Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa* documents from Dunhuang have attracted attention from some Tibetan scholars. However, most of their works are preliminary and generic, thus not devoting any lengthy descriptions here. For studies in the Tibetan language, see Sha bo rab brtan (2008), Ting 'dzin brka shis (2007), and Rta bo'u phyag rdor (2009). For an overview of various adaptations of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Tibet from the Old Tibetan period until the 20th century, see different works by Roesler (2016; 1999).

1.3 Studies on politeness in the Tibetan language

The Tibetan language has had honorifics and humilifics at least since the OT period; we can easily trace its usage to the earliest stage of OT as a written language. Honorification is linguistic "relationships involving social status, respect, or deference between communicative interactants" (Agha 1994, 277). Humilific is a politeness strategy used by the speaker(s) or writer(s) via lowering the value of themselves and their belongings.[29] It is common practice for scholars to include honorifics under the rubric of politeness, although some scholars discussed differences. For instance, Leech categorised the honorifics as "bivalent politeness", which were "selected based on two sociopragmatic dimensions, vertical and horizontal distance". In contrast, other types of politeness were categorised as "trivalent" since they involve a third dimension, the "weightiness of the transaction" (2014, pp. 10–11). Nevertheless, like other politeness expressions, it is simplistic to understand honorific expressions as static politeness strategies no matter the context since one can be rude to another person by using honorifics. Thus, Tibetan honorifics should probably be understood as what Asif Agha once suggested (2003). For him, rather than representing an individual's social status, the use of honorific expressions indexing "deference entitlement" to position oneself when interacting with others. It is more flexible and context-based than the social status of a person we usually understand. According to Agha, honorific expressions do not solely depend upon one's "monadic" social status but rather on the "dyadic (otherwise, polyadic)" deference entitlement (2003, p. 133). With Agha's nuanced interpretation in mind, we can assume that it is an interactional role that people deal with when honorific expressions are used. For Brown and Levinson, the definition of honorific goes following, it is "direct grammatical encodings of relative social status between participants, or between participants and [referents]" (1987, p. 276), and it should be examined critically for its emphasis on the mapping of the grammatical aspect of the honorifics, which probably does not provide as many analytical insights as we deal with utterances.

1.3.1 Honorifics

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[29] Tibetan term *zhe sa* is usually used as an equivalent to honorifics by some western scholars (DeLancey, 1998b), however, in the original sense in Tibetan, humilifics should also be part of the *zhe sa* type of language, since it just means 'respectful speech'. There is not a specific term used for humilifics or humbling strategies in Tibetan, probably due to it is being less productive compared to the honorifics. Thus, *khengs pa skyung ba'i tshig* 'terms for diminishing arrogance' probably is the most appropriate name for it in Tibetan.

As evidenced in epistolary writings, honorification is already in use in the Old Tibetan language that is used by people with different ethnic backgrounds in Dunhuang towards the end of the last millennium. Honorifics are often attested in the *proem* part of the personal letters, since the official letters are devoid of greetings, thus they are rarely found in them. Greetings in general are formulaic and senders of the letters are interested in learning about the mental and bodily condition of the addressee as mentioned above. However, minor details of the formula can be varied, for instance, some are asking about the condition of body, while others about mental state. The following letters are interested only in the bodily condition of the recipient of the letter. Understandably, for the officials, it is political affairs that are troubling them and for the religious people, it is the caring of all beings that made them tired. Thus, senders of the letters are primarily concerned with these two endeavours when it comes to greet different addressees. Honorifics are used both for social superiors and equals in Old Tibetan letters.

As for politeness in the Tibetan language, there is only a handful of existing research on honorification often focused on Modern Lhasa Tibetan. Jäschke was one of the earliest to bring this topic to light by calling honorifics "respectful terms" in his short monograph on Tibetan grammar (1883, pp. 35–36). A few articles have been written since 1975 (Kitamura, 1975; Lyovin, 1992; DeLancey, 1998; Feurer, 1996) on honorifics that are relatively well-known in Tibetan language studies. However, honorifics in other Tibetic languages received less attention except for occasional mentioning of their usage in Ladakh (Koshala, 1987) and Amdo (Ebihara, 2006) by linguists. Since Lhasa Tibetan has become a default source of samples for studying Tibetan language(s), it necessitates a general summary of the existing literature on honorifics in Lhasa Tibetan here. This dissertation will mainly focus on three articles on honorifics in Lhasa Tibetan, and they are primarily concerned with the honorific vocabularies in Lhasa. Amongst them, Kitamura Hajime's account is one of the earliest works on honorific usage in Tibetan; he provides an overview of the honorific system in Lhasa Tibetan based on the interviews conducted with an aristocratic descendant from Tibet based in Japan (Kitamura, 1975). The study reports that honorific forms are attested in parts of speech such as verbs, adjectives, adverbs, nouns, pronouns, particles, auxiliary verbs, and interjections in Lhasa Tibetan. In terms of usage, Kitamura categorises the Lhasa Tibetan honorifics into two somewhat confusing types (Type A and Type B). Type A, according to Kitamura, is "The form selected by the speaker when he considers the hearer or the third person concerned with the thing or event that is represented by a sequence of sound

corresponding to it as superior to himself and the hearer or the third person" (1975, pp. 60–61). Type B is "The form selected as to the 'judgment' of the hearer or the speaker, where the former is considered by the latter as his superior, and hence as to the forms made up of the auxiliary verb + the interrogative particle and the interjections" (Kitamura, 1975, p. 65). Unlike scholars who worked on honorifics in Lhasa, subsequently focusing only on vocabularies, Kitamura provides a few conversation examples to make the context more relevant for readers who are not familiar with the use of honorifics in the Lhasa Tibetan (1975, pp. 60; 62–67). However, this study has its limitations; for instance, it is problematic that the author sees the social stratification in Tibetan society as a static existence. He simplifies the usage of honorific expressions as something exclusively used by social inferiors to their superiors.

Lyovin's study of honorifics in modern Lhasa Tibetan is based on the data derived from various dictionaries. Thus, it neither represents the pronunciation of Lhasa Tibetan nor gives any conversational contexts for these honorific terms (1992). Moreover, his introduction to the article focuses on the concept of the "classifier system"[30], which, according to his conclusion, proved not relevant for the study of honorifics in the Lhasa Tibetan (Lyovin, 1992, p. 46). Nevertheless, Lyovin concludes that, without much convincing evidence, Sino-Tibetan languages perhaps are "recipients and transmitters" of the classifier system but not the "source" (p. 46). His article mainly focuses on honorific verbal phrases, which are very productive in Lhasa Tibetan. He correctly maintains that most lexical pairs of plain and honorific forms in Tibetan are morphologically unrelated, with few exceptions. Since nouns are the biggest lexical group of honorifics in Lhasa Tibetan, Lyovin deals with them extensively by dividing honorific nouns into different groups associated with one's body parts. He argues that there is an arbitrariness in the indigenous category of prefixing a particular group of nouns with a specific particle (Lyovin, 1992, p. 51), which shows his lack of understanding of the cultural and linguistic background of the Tibetan language. For instance, his justification for the randomness was primarily presented through the examples such as the use of the prefix *gzim* 'sleep' for the nouns including *zhu mar* 'lamp', *khang pa* 'house', *khyi* 'dog', *sgo* 'door', *spos* 'incense', *nyal gzan* 'blanket', which he thinks have no connection with sleeping or '*gzim*' whatsoever (Lyovin, 1992, p. 51). However, even someone with minimal knowledge of Tibetan language and culture would probably be able to

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[30] Lyovin gives a "classifier system" to refer to a "phenomenon that involves some kind of over marking of different noun classes when nouns belong to different classes" (Lyovin, 1992, p. 45).

relate these nouns to sleeping in the Tibetan context; as the *gzim zhu* 'lamp' and *gzim spos* 'incense' are usually used for one's *gzim khang* 'bedroom', a *gzim khyi* 'dog' is a pet dog traditionally kept in the bedroom. They receive honorific classifiers merely due to the status of the person involved in the context. In contrast, *gzim gzan* 'blanket' is the very blanket one wears when sleeping. When explaining how the syllabic breaking works in the formation of honorific forms, Lyovin recognises the particle *lags* as a suffix marking nouns as a token of politeness (1992, p. 53), while for Kitamura, *lags* was an interjection (Kitamura, 1975, p. 67). Lyovin's subsection under the heading "Historical Development" does not fulfil its premises; he provides a generic statement that all honorifics are either borrowed from other languages or have their internal origin elaboration without any evidence provided for the historical development of the Tibetan language (1992, p. 54). Furthermore, his explanation regarding *chibs rta* 'horse' being a non-honorific form (Lyovin, 1992, p. 55) is entirely false, and it is probably due to his lack of understanding of the flexibility to choose between *chibs, chibs pa* or *chibs rta* 'horse' as an honorific expression in Lhasa Tibetan.

Scott DeLancey's article on honorifics in Lhasa is based on the linguistic data collected from exile Tibetans living in the US (1998). Like Lyovin, DeLancey had also committed to using the "classifier system" as a theoretical framework to interpret the honorific systems in Tibetan. However, this attempt was also not particularly successful. DeLancey states that "almost all honorific nouns are verbal phrases with an honorific root as the first element" in Lhasa Tibetan (p. 112). He further generalises the structure of all the Tibetan nouns and then all the honorific nouns in terms of their formational rules, such as bimorphemic, followed by a list of ten honorific noun roots to provide a roadmap for the construction of Tibetan honorific nouns. He believes that around fifteen or so common honorific noun roots mainly refer to body parts (DeLancey, 1998, p. 112). However, as the title suggests, it does give a general introduction to the honorific nouns by dividing them into four patterns according to the formation of the honorific terms: if the term is monomorphemic, bimorphemic, or whether the honorific is built on the second or the first element of the plain verbal phrase etc. (DeLancey, 1998, pp. 114–115). DeLancey further categorises the Tibetan honorific nouns into three types: categorisation of the person, closed schemas with roots *gzim* 'lie down, sleep', *gsol* and *bzhes* 'eat, drink', and *chibs* 'horse', and man-made objects (pp. 115-119). The most notable shortcoming of DeLancey's article is that it does not provide any contextual information on the usage of these honorific nouns; not even a single conversational scenario is provided, which is a disappointment for a publication that appeared

in an anthropological journal. Moreover, Potapova briefly discusses honorific forms in the Tibetan language by analysing a group of Tibetan words with honorific prefixes (1997). Mélac and Tournadre's recent treatment of verb 'give' in Lhasa Tibetan is a study focuses on the semantic and pragmatic aspects of the verb by examining different forms including the basic term *sprad*, hypernymic *btang,* honorific *gnang*, humilific *phul*, and productivity of light verbs from some of these forms (2021).

Linguists take both synchronic and diachronic approaches to the study of languages. However, amongst the studies mentioned above on honorification in the Tibetan language, almost none are interested in the history and the historical evolution of honorifics in the Tibetan language or even a comparative study of honorifics in different Tibetan dialects. Moreover, except for Agha (1994), none of the works on Tibetan honorifics is interested in exploring the theoretical and applied implications of the honorifics in Tibetan. Thus, a theoretically informed diachronic approach to honorifics in Tibetan is critically needed to provide a new perspective on the historical development of honorifics in the Tibetan language. This project only partially achieves this mission by identifying tokens about politeness in OT, including honorification and humilification of pronominal, nominal, and verbal systems and other linguistic features such as deferential titles, polite greetings in text-level indexicality that are closely related to politeness in written OT texts. Furthermore, to understand politeness in each language, it is necessary to review the theoretical frameworks in pragmatics and specifically the subdiscipline known as politeness studies to understand what some meanings scholars attribute to politeness.

1.3.2 Humilifics

Humilifics are politeness strategies centring on lowering and abasing the status of speakers when expressing regard or esteem toward person of superior social standing. Humilific is a politeness strategy used by the speaker(s) or writer(s) via lowering the value of themselves and their belongings.[31] In Old Tibetan, it is usually expressed thorough verb forms and adjectival suffixes added to nouns (including pronouns). Humilifics are relatively fewer in Old Tibetan compared to honorifics. *gsol* 'to ask; to offer', *'bul* 'to give; to offer', *zhus* 'to inform', *mjal* 'to meet' are so far the verbs attested in OT letters used in reference to the

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[31] Tibetan term *zhe sa* is usually used as an equivalent to honorifics by some western scholars (DeLancey, 1998b), however, in the original sense in Tibetan, humilifics should also be part of the *zhe sa* type of language, since it just means 'respectful speech'. There is not a specific term used for humilifics or humbling strategies in Tibetan, probably due to it is being less productive compared to the honorifics. Thus, *khengs pa skyung ba'i tshig* 'terms for diminishing arrogance' probably is the most appropriate name for it in Tibetan.

sender of the letters rather than the receivers. First person pronouns can be attested in a humilific forms as well as a noun used for one's own wife. The humilific verb *gsol* 'to give' is commonly used by the sender for himself to lower his/her own status in the *prescript* while identifying the senders of the letter and while inquiring about the health of the addressee. Humilifics appear only in verbs and pronouns in Old Tibetan letters, and we will explore these two types with the available examples in the following sub-sections.

1.4 Politeness

The general understanding of politeness as a universally applicable static notion for "being nice" is not satisfactory for scholarly explorations. Unlike the positive connotations attached to everyday politeness, academic approaches usually understand it as a neutral concept. However, defining politeness, especially in a universally agreed manner, has been challenged by scholars. As Bargiela-Chiappini states, "Despite the variety of studies which focus on linguistic politeness […] the field still lacks an agreed definition of what 'politeness' is" (2003, p. 1464). There should probably never be a universally agreed definition for politeness about its multifaceted nature in terms of linguistic and non-linguistic senses. However, some early literature on politeness studies has tried to define politeness pragmatically. For example, Brown and Levinson's influential work on politeness asserts, "…politeness, like formal diplomatic protocol (for which it must surely be the model), presupposes that potential for aggression as it seeks to disarm it, and makes possible communication between potentially aggressive parties" (P. Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 1). However, this definition takes more of a functional approach to politeness by pinpointing what it does – namely, regulating the potential aggression in communicative parties. It is unquestionably a critical aspect of politeness; however, it is not the whole picture. Similarly, Lakoff, in a similar vein, defines politeness by stating, "Politeness can be defined as a means of minimising confrontation in discourse – both the possibility of confrontation occurring at all and the possibility that a confrontation will be perceived as threatening" (Lakoff, 1989, p. 102). Like Brown and Levinson, Lakoff is also concerned with the role of politeness for minimizing confrontation to maintain social harmony. Interestingly, all the above scholars view communications amongst humans in a somewhat pessimistic light.

To go beyond a simple definition of politeness that is applicable to all the politic phenomena, some scholars argued for a necessity to make a distinction between "first-order politeness" (politeness1) and "second-order politeness" (politeness2). According to these scholars, the

former is "the various ways in which polite behaviour is perceived and talked about by members of socio-cultural groups", while the latter is "a theoretical construct, a term within a theory of social behaviour and language usage" (Watts et al., 2005, p. 3). Thus, in studies of politeness expressions in any language, scholars mainly deal with politeness2. Another influential scholar, Leech, introduced the concept of the "Politeness Principle", which is "to maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place" (Leech, 1983, p. 82). However, this approach aligns more with the positive understanding of politeness in everyday use than a neutral scholarly understanding of the term suggested by Ide, "Politeness is a neutral term. Just as 'height' does not refer to the state of being 'high', 'politeness' is not the state of being 'polite'" (1989, p. 225). Thus, Leech's take on politeness is similar to what Watts characterises as "politic behaviour", a "socio-culturally determined behaviour directed towards the goal of establishing and maintaining in a state of equilibrium the personal relationships between the individuals of a social group, whether open or closed, during the ongoing process of interaction" (2009, p. 135).

These theories are deeply rooted in the conversation analysis. Thus, context plays a more critical role than the terms people understand as polite or impolite in the everyday notion. Leech's eight characteristics of politeness provide a roadmap to a better understanding of what politeness is, although it is mainly based on communications in real life. According to him, first, "politeness is *not obligatory*". Second, "there are varying *gradations* of polite and impolite behaviour". Third, "there is often a *sense of what is normal*". Fourth, "how far politeness will occur, or whether it will occur at all, *depends on the situation*". Fifth, "there is a *reciprocal asymmetry* in polite behaviour between two parties". Sixth, "it can manifest itself in repetitive behaviour, which is to a lesser or greater degree ritualized". Seventh, "it is fairly central to politeness that it involves the passing of some kind of *transaction of value* between the speaker and the other party". Eighth, politeness has the "tendency to preserve a *balance* of value between the participants A and B", such as in thanks and apologies, two participants repay the debt one owes to another (Leech, 2014, pp. 4–8). Leech's presentation is a simplified version of politeness to reduce its characteristics into eight headings. However, it, sometimes, is the most helpful way to organise human knowledge; as Saussure once claimed, "in static linguistics, as in most sciences, no course of reasoning is possible without the usual simplification of data" (Saussure, 2011, p. 102). Therefore, we could take these points as a starting point for studying the characteristics of politeness.

Scholars categorisee the studies on politeness since the 1970s into the succession of 'three waves' (Christie, 2015; Culpeper, 2011a; Haugh, 2018a). This periodisationn is rather reductionistic. However, since dividing the history of a particular field into consecutive phases has some merits for understanding the field, let us look at these three successive waves of politeness research since the late 1970s.

The "first wave" was the phase when scholars were committed to searching for universality in politeness strategies across the languages and cultures of the world. Brown and Levinson's work (1987) was quintessential of this phase and became highly influential such that outsiders sometimes even equate the entire field with their work. In terms of method, first wave theories usually relied heavily on the Gricean conversational model (Grice, 1975). The "second wave" of politeness research critiques the first wave theories by providing culture-specific frameworks as evidence (Ide, 1989) as well as providing a comprehensive theory of (im)politeness (Watts, 2005). Finally, some scholars recognise a "third wave" for recent works reviewing the works of the last two waves and "theoriz[ing] the possibility of change through its focus on locally generated meanings that challenge the ideological constraints" (Christie, 2015, p. 359). The third wave is interested in re-evaluating the existing scholarship on politeness studies of the previous two waves, critically evaluating their work, and finding a balance between formal and discursive approaches, such as taking into account the context and all the participants, both speaker and hearer perspectives (Haugh, 2018b). The scholars belonging to the "third wave", with postmodern tendencies, have taken a social turn, by criticising the mere positive view of politeness in most of the influential theories on politeness including Brown and Levinson's. They argue for the importance of a more nuanced approach to politeness by assessing the degree of sincerity which was taken for granted in Brown and Levinson's model (Mills, 2003, pp. 59–60). This line of argument led to adding linguistic nuances such as theorising impoliteness to the field (Culpeper et al., 2003; Culpeper, 2005; Bousfield, 2008), and some scholars even started using the term (im)politeness for including both politeness and impoliteness under one rubric.

Any theory claiming to provide a universally valid model for a phenomenon is somewhat questionable, and Brown and Levinson's (1987) work is not exceptional in this regard. Their seminal work titled *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage* was initially published as a chapter in 1978 (P. Brown & Levinson, 1978). Their work generated a great deal of

controversy since its publication; their work has been widely cited both in and outside of linguistics studies; many scholars use superlatives to describe their pioneering work and claim it is amongst the first group of work produced on modern linguistic analysis of politeness (Culpeper et al., 2017, p. 2; Dickey, 2016, p. 197). Thus, it is worth recapping at least some aspects of it here. Brown and Levinson were the first to introduce the concept of 'face' to elucidate politeness in a broader sense; they confess that the concept of 'face' was borrowed from sociologist Erving Goffman. It was an English folk term (1987, p. 61) which was historically derived from the Chinese concepts of "face" (*miànzi* 面子 and *liǎn* 臉). Goffman's definition of 'face' was "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (Goffman, 1955, p. 213). Moreover, Brown and Levinson utilize the notion of a hypothetical Model Person (MP) who, apart from being a fluent speaker of a natural language under study, is "endowed with two special properties – rationality and face" (1987, p. 58). Of course, the speaker and the addressee are ideally MPs in their analyses.

According to Brown and Levinson, there are two main types of utterances to fulfil the social needs of the addressees through 'face-threatening acts' (FTA), namely positive and negative politeness (1987, p. 60). They define *Negative face* and *Positive face* as "the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e., to freedom of action and freedom from imposition" and "the positive consistent self-image or "personality" (crucially including the desire that this self-image is appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants" respectively (1987, p. 61). Like many early theorists working on politeness, Brown and Levinson were also influenced by Grice's conversation model, better known as the Cooperative Principle (CP). In CP, he conclusively expressed in an often-cited statement, "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (Grice, 1975, p. 45).

As aforementioned, notwithstanding its citation frequency, criticisms roared against Brown and Levinson's work since the early days of its publication, as their introduction to the reissue confesses (1987, pp. 1–50). The most pointed criticism against Brown and Levinson's work came from scholars from East Asia, by criticizing the theory for containing Western or Anglophone biases which do not necessarily explain cross-cultural phenomena such as the Asian linguistic situations (Ide, 1989; Mao, 1994; Matsumoto, 1989). These scholars

discredit Brown and Levinson's theory, particularly its universality; critical evaluations of other scholars, in return, feature different degrees of support for the universality that Brown and Levinson proposed (Leech, 2007; Pizziconi, 2003). Apart from the influential work by Brown and Levinson, there are other competing theories, for instance, Leech (1983), Watts (2003), Sell (2005), and Hall (2009), to name a few that are relevant to the historical approaches of the present study. Some are closely linked with Brown and Levinson's theory among these theoretical interpretations and perspectives, while others have highly distinctive approaches. For instance, Hall proposes three categories of politeness after evaluating Brown and Levinson's work, namely "affiliative politeness" and "redressive politeness" corresponding to the positive and negative politeness of Brown and Levinson's, and "the politeness of respect (*uerecundia*)", one additional category which is about "how to convey the expected degree of linguistic respect to these above (and below) in the social hierarchy (2009, p. 8)." Brown and Levinson's approach was a point of departure for many scholars. However, as Watts once confessed (2003, p. 262), although highly critical of the preceding theories, his search for a better politeness theory has not always been successful.

Roger Sell claims that all human interactions operate within politeness parameters (2005, p. 114), and he furthers the argument by stating "human behaviour and the meaning of moral terms are forever in flux" and "nothing will ever fix the reference of "politeness" to human behaviour once and for all" (2005, p. 113). For reasons like the ever-in-transition status politeness in human behaviours and its interwoven complexity in everything people say and do, precisely defining it is extremely difficult. Due to the change of views on theories in humanities and social scientific studies in recent decades, it seems the general trend in politeness studies is also taking a postmodern approach by not adopting any one theory wholeheartedly but maintaining its close connection with the current development in different fields of studies such as pragmatics and sociolinguistics (Christie, 2015). Scholars have pragmatically applied bits and pieces of multiple theoretical frameworks in recent research on historical politeness, such as ancient in the study of Roman politeness (Dickey, 2016).

1.5 Historical Pragmatics

Pragmatics is generally understood as the study of language in use and the contexts in which it is used, which are not dissimilar to discourse analysis. Some scholars even doubt there is any significant difference between these two areas of discipline (Traugott, 2006, p. 539). For the present purpose, we can take pragmatics as a site where an OT writer's knowledge of

grammar meets with his/her knowledge of the world to express politeness to his readers as well as to show how characters with different status interact with one another in narratives. Although there are research done in pragmatics studies such as, 'pragmatic failure', termed by Thomas (1983), to explain situations in cross-cultural context and relevant to the non-nativeness caused by researching specific historical periods of one's native language, it is not applicable here since we do have any reference point, at least for now, what is the correct way of using pragmatics in OT.

Due to the overwhelming preference for spoken data over written data by the scholars of pragmatics, the historical or diachronic turn of pragmatics studies came relatively late. Scholars of historical pragmatics are usually concerned with how people used their languages in the past and over time while fully recognising the availability of natural language data from the past and the importance of the socio-historical context. German linguists were pioneers in coining the name(s) of historical pragmatics as a discipline. In a single volume, Horst Sitta terms it as *pragmatische Sprachgeschichte* (pragmatic historical linguistics) (1980), and Dieter Cherubim as *historische Sprachpragmatik* (historical linguistic pragmatics) (1980). Many scholars view a volume edited by Andreas H. Jucker entitled *Historical Pragmatics: Pragmatic Developments in the History of English* in 1995 as a breakthrough for historical pragmatics as a discipline (Papi, 2000; Archer, 2017). The volume, as the title suggests, after recognising "theoretical discussion on the historical dimension of pragmatics" to the date were primarily conducted in Romance and Germanic studies (Jacobs & Jucker, 1995, p. 4), is almost entirely focused on the English language in its 22 chapters except for one chapter on Japanese discourse markers (Onodera, 1995) and another on dialogue forms in German (Fritz, 1995). Only one chapter in this volume is on linguistic politeness, studying linguistic politeness strategies used in Shakespeare's plays (Kopytko, 1995). The publication of the inaugural issue of the *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* in 2000, a result of several panels at the Sixth International Pragmatics Conference in Reims (Jucker & Taavitsainen, 2000), was also significant in historical pragmatics studies. Since then, it has become an area scholars explore quite extensively. The representative scholarship includes several edited volumes, including *Methods in Historical Pragmatics* (Fitzmaurice & Taavitsainen, 2007), *Historical Sociopragmatics* by Jonathan Culpeper (Culpeper, 2011b) and *Understanding Historical (Im)politeness* by Jonathan Culpeper and DZ Kádár (2010). The edited volume titled *Historical Sociopragmatics* was initially published as a special issue of the *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 10:2 (2009). It is

one of the first book-length works to explore historical sociopragmatics through the lenses of multidisciplinary approaches. As exemplified in these influential volumes and the subsequently published journal articles, studies in historical pragmatics so far, like any new scientific discipline, are overwhelmingly focused on European languages. Not a single work had been written on the Tibetan language(s) at any given time of its history with a historical sociopragmatic perspective so far.

Like in other subfields of pragmatics, politeness in written texts received very little scholarly attention until recent years. Although research on written politeness could enhance the knowledge of a particular milieu's social, cultural, and linguistic realities, it is also challenging mainly due to the limited contextual information any written texts could provide. Leech was amongst theorists who took an interest in written politeness and accounted that "various kinds of written texts, where the writer shows politeness to someone [who] may happen to read…" as part of the "third-person politeness" (2014, pp. 17–18). Although, as aforementioned, Leech follows the Gricean tradition of speech-act theoretical perspective, like Brown and Levinson, he also prioritises the speaker's intent by utilizing Grice's maxims. There was no ardent defendant of politeness in written text like Roger Sell. He usually takes a diachronic approach by examining readings of different texts done by successive generations of readers (Sell, 2005, pp. 118–129).

Since making speakers visible is an integral approach for the study of historical sociopragmatics,[32] this dissertation is interested in recontextualising the utterances; it can be, but is not limited to, figuring out the time, place, cultural and social contexts of the utterances; what is happening before or after the utterances, and who is talking to whom for what purposes. This project does not necessarily collect evidence in OT to fit Brown and Levinson's universal model. However, it strives to locate the linguistic tokens to understand politeness strategies used in written varieties that supposedly represent dialects of OT from the 7th to the 11th century and later varieties of Tibetan languages whenever pertinent. There are multiple ways to approach politeness. Consequently, this project aims not only to look at the concentration of politeness strategies in the OT on a semantic level but also in a pragmatic and socio-cultural view of politeness which emphasises the social context of these texts. For instance, honorification and humilification of motion and speech verbs is an area

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[32] For instance, influential work in historical sociolinguistics such as Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg, 2017, p. 2) emphasises the importance of language used when historical sociolinguists study language use.

explored in the OT corpus used for this study. Honorifics or honorific register is usually understood as a "reflexive model" of pragmatic behaviour in a language used to address honour or respect to an addressee (Agha, 2007, p. 301). Therefore, it is beneficial to look at politeness in a broader scope of language and social relations by borrowing appropriate conceptual frameworks such as indexicality to identify strategies, registers, and tokens used in OT texts to indicate social relations and pragmatics of politeness.

1.6 Indexicality and social deixis

Linguists borrowed the concept of indexicality from Charles Sanders Peirce, an American philosopher and semiotician. For Peirce, indexicality is not a concept that is exclusive to, as he claims, "Anything which focuses the attention is an index. Anything which startles us is an index, in so far as it marks the junction between two portions of experience" (1955, pp. 108–109). Peirce has provided illustrations of a series of indicators as examples to show what an index is, including a low barometer with moist air indicating rain, a weathercock indicating the direction of the wind, and the pole star and pointing finger indicating the north (Peirce, 1992, p. 14). Indexicality, as Pizziconi and Christie summarized when used in linguistics, is "used to refer to the capacity of linguistic signs of various kinds to 'invoke' some other object, while not explicitly describing or referring it" (2017, p. 145).

On the other hand, deixis has been understood as 'pointing' through language, and any tokens with the ability to point are usually known as deictic expressions (Yule & Widdowson, 1996). For instance, Lyons defines deixis as follows:

> By deixis is meant the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities talked about, or referred to, about the Spatio-temporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it, typically, of a single speaker and a least one addressee (Lyons, 1977, p. 377).

Deixis is usually further divided into 'temporal' ('now', 'then'), 'spatial' ('here', 'there'), and 'personal' ('you', 'me') fields to 'point' to time, and location and people in different contexts. Two other types of deixis, social deixis and discourse deixis, were added later by scholars (Fillmore, 1997; Levinson, 2004). Social deixis is grammaticalized tokens in languages encoding social roles, status, and relationships of the speakers, addressee, and referents in a speech event in which the honorifics are a quintessential expression that falls

under the category. As Levinson points out, other distinctions such as the choices of different pronouns, summon forms, vocatives, and titles are also ways of encoding the social ranking of the speaker and addressee in many languages (1983, p. 63). Fillmore once defined social deixis as "the study of that aspect of sentences which reflect or establish or are determined by certain realities of the social situation in which the speech act occurs (1975, p. 76)." However, this definition received criticism from scholars for being too broad of an approach to even including topics covered by the speech acts theory (Levinson, 1983, p. 89). Although deixis and index reflect different traditions, some scholars use them coextensively without making distinctions except by taking the former as something that is specifically concerned with linguistics while the latter as a general term for a wider variety of phenomena (Agha, 2007; Levinson, 2004; Yuel, 2003). For instance, Agha characterises deixis expressions as denotational indexical, and he contends that the "variables of utterance" is dependent on the "variables of interaction" to achieve the distinctive character of deixis (2007, p. 40).

For this project, social indexicality should be explored as a primary method to understand the relationships of social persons depicted in OT texts. The main goal of this exploration is to read linguistic (textual) tokens indexing contextual features that contribute construal of the multi-dimensions of the relationships of the speaker (writer) and hearer (reader). These indexes can be seen as an objective interpretation of the encoded social information since these indexes express a message that is understood with conformity by everyone at the time. Therefore, we also try to obtain the best evaluation given the contextual information available at hand now to interpret. All in all, studying deixis in OT is relevant for revealing the structure of the language and the context where it is used for understanding social relations articulated in such texts. Moreover, this study strives to pragmatically use concepts and theoretical frameworks mentioned above by not relying heavily on one specific concept since different theories have potential strengths and weaknesses when answering specific questions. Therefore, using multiple frameworks is the ideal approach to extrapolate the best understanding of the data. Finally, it is not the goal of this study to reconstruct spoken OT, but rather to decipher the written records in OT texts to shed light on the social history of Imperial Tibet.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter, first, summarizes definitions of OT by providing different periodisations produced by scholars up to the present and reviews research conducted on some of the

relatively well-known texts from Dunhuang and elsewhere. Then it recapitulates some specific research conducted on politeness and Tibetan languages, on pronominal nouns, verbs of death, and auxiliary verbs. Next, the chapter reviews the literature on politeness studies in the Tibetan language, explicitly focusing on honorific studies in Lhasa Tibetan. Subsequently, the chapter reports on the definition of politeness, and provides brief history of politeness studies as a discipline. Finally, it tackles a few specific approaches such as deixis and indexicality, which are advantageous to identify the tokens relating politeness and social relations in OT texts such as the *OTC*, the *OTA*, OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, and OT epistolary writings produced and dispatched to Dunhuang.

Chapter 2: Lexical Semantics of Motion Verbs in OT

> "Everything must be studied from the point of view of itself, as near as we can get to this, and from the point of view of its relations, as near as we can get to them." Samuel Butler, "Truth and Convenience", *The Note-books of Samuel Butler* (2014, p. 373)

Introduction

Politeness does not necessarily have to be linguistic. For instance, OT texts mention numerous occasions where envoys of neighbouring kingdoms perform an action termed as *pyag 'thsal* 'to pay homage', which in Classical and Modern Tibetan means prostrating oneself in front of someone. Thus, it is not sufficient to look at the linguistic tokens to understand social relations, but one must examine the social behaviours of the people at the time. The first step to understanding social relations is looking at motion verbs in the *OTA*, *OTC*, and *Rāmāyaṇa*. These motion verbs may provide some nuanced understanding of the social relations of the Tibetans when writing these texts. The factuality represented in primary sources does not play a role in using motion verbs, but it is significant for the role played theoretically for expressing (im)politeness. Significantly, these three texts have different degrees of factualness: the *OTA* is the most accurate recording of history, the *OTC* is a text taking a literary approach to history, and finally, OT *Rāmāyaṇa* is a fiction adapted from ultimately Indian sources. Consequently, it is probably fair to state that the *Rāmāyaṇa* being a translated text, we are expected to see some difference in the use of motion verbs compared to texts such as *OTA* and *OTC*, supposedly written by Tibetans.

Using the term 'motion verbs', I only include the verbs that denote a spatial movement of the subject in question. Such verbs can be further divided into subtypes expressing manner of motion, the path of motion, and "verbs which do not primarily specify manner or path" (Huber, 2017, p. 36). Talmy proposed the following definition for motion event, it is an "even that consists of one object (the 'Figure') moving or located for another object (the reference-object or 'Ground')" (Talmy, 1985, p. 61). To better understand the lexical semantics of motion verbs, they must be examined considering the manner of movement, path, and the goal of the motion of the verbs. For this purpose, it is helpful to consult Leonard Talmy's work on languages differing in how they encode path and manner in a single clause (1985, 2003). According to Talmy's analysis, there are two types of languages when it comes to encoding motion path and manner; they are "verb-framed" (Motion-Path) languages (i.e., Romance, Greek, and Japanese, etc.) and "satellite-framed" (Motion+Co-event) languages

(i.e., Germanic, Slavic, and Celtic, etc.); in the V-framed languages, location or movement is encoded with the main verb of a clause while in S-framed languages it is with a satellite or grammatical element associated with the verb. These two categorisations are not necessarily mutually exclusive; some languages that use both strategies are known as "equipollently-framed" languages where "both manner and path are expressed by 'equipollent' elements—that is, elements that are equal in formal linguistic terms, and appear to be equal in force or significance (Slobin, 2004, p. 226) and Mandarin Chinese shows such characteristics (L. Chen & Guo, 2009). Sino-Tibetan languages are categorised as belonging to this third category in the typology.

These verbs usually have the source, or goal paths either explicitly stated or implicitly inferred as contextual information. In other words, by 'motion verbs', I only refer to verbs that express agentive or self-propelled displacement or translocation of the subject(s). Therefore, in short, most of the motion verbs included in this study fall under the two generic rubrics of verbs indicating motion toward or away from a landmark, exemplified by 'to come' and 'to go' (Nakazawa, 2007). In OT, at least six different deictic verbs 'to go' are attested with their past forms (e.g., *gshegs, mchis, song, dong, phyin, bzhud*); fewer non-perfective forms of the verbs are attested in these primary sources, only three are attested (e.g., *'gro,' dong*, *mchi*). Among these verbs, at least two convey opposite movements 'to go' and 'to come' by the same form (e.g., *gshegs* and *mchis*).

Interestingly, both lexical verbs seemed to have lost their function of conveying motion-related meanings later in Classical Tibetan; the former has become an honorific *verbum moriendi* while the latter is an existential verb. Krisadawan Hongladarom (1996) is among a few scholars who have written about motion verbs in Tibetan. However, she does not provide the source for her Tibetan language data, but one can probably assume that she is mainly concerned about the modern Lhasa Tibetan (aka Central Tibetan; U-Tsang Tibetan). Following Traugott's work on English verbs, Hongladarom argues for the tendency to develop epistemic and subjective meanings in deictic motion verbs in the Tibetan (1996, p. 15). As she correctly points out, *song* and *byung* in Modern Lhasa Tibetan often do not work as lexical terms but have grammaticalized (Hongladarom, 1996, p. 19). A similar situation is observable for the verb *'ong* 'come' in OT, where it is not merely a motion verb. Still, a verb with the meaning 'capable' (PT 1287: 206) proves that this motion verb had been

grammaticalized even in the OT period. Like in other languages, motion is conveyed using different verbs with distinctive deictic significance in OT texts.

Guillaume Oisel observes in his study on deictic motion verbs in Classical (aka. Middle) and Modern Lhasa Tibetan that motion verb *song* is a translocative ('away from the deictic centre') personal deixis while *phyin* is an andative ('away from this person or place') relative deixis (2017, p. 166) that is usually used with the first person and also occasionally with the third person when the speaker is not present (2017, p. 162). Similarly, in OT, *phyin* is translocative 'going away from the speaker' but toward a person or place; thus, Oisel's classification of Classical Tibetan *phyin* being an andative (away from this person or place) is not entirely applicable here. Instead, *pyin* in OT denotes the subject in question going to an imagined or relative deictic centre expressed by the speaker or the writer; thus, there is often a relative deictic landmark when *pyin* is used.

This chapter focuses on the lexical semantics of motion verbs in OT by surveying what motion verbs are there and how they are used. Motion verb *gshegs,* or "to go", a high honorific motion verb, is the most used in *OTA*. This verb is used for royalty, deities, and characters with high social status. The most common motion verb in OT *Rāmāyaṇa* is *'ong* 'to come'. In *OTA* and *OTC*, if *gshegs* is attested in the verbal phrase *dgung du gshegs*, or "goes to the heaven", it is used only for the death of the emperors, while when it appears as *rjer gshegs*, it means the emperor "comes as the lord". Generally, the verb *gshegs* in OT was an honorific motion verb used for people with high social status. In Old Tibetan, it seems had not yet developed the honorific meaning in Classical Tibetan for the deaths of people with high social status. The verb *mchis* is another relatively common motion verb specifically used for the departure of ministers in *OTA*, ministers, messengers in *OTC*, and Daśagrīva, king Ramana, and Hanumanta in Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa*. The verb *mchis* has at least two meanings in OT: 'to go', and the other is an existential verb.

Textual evidence indicates that the copular verb meaning seemed to have taken over the entire meaning of *mchis* later in Classical Tibetan; however, we are only concerned with the former meaning here. Other motion verbs *'gro* 'to go'(imperfective), *song* 'to go', and *phyin/pyin* 'to go' are used in the *OTC* and *Rāmāyaṇa* texts and the imperfective form *'gro* is only used for the first person and reported speech. Imperative forms of three verbs are also attested in OT primary sources; the verb *song* is used as an imperative form once by a social superior to an inferior, and *bzhud* 'to go' amongst social equals, and *shog* 'to come' between

strangers in *Rāmāyaṇa*. Other motion verbs like *drangs* 'to lead', *spos* 'to move/transfer', are used in *OTA*. An adverb *slar* is used before for *log*, *khor*, *mchis* to express the meaning 'to return' or 'go back to' in *OTA* and *OTC*. Although an exhaustive list of all the examples where motion verbs are attested in the primary sources is unnecessary, for clarity, this dissertation aims to include at least one contextually based example for every motion verb in these primary sources.

2.1 Motion verbs in *OTA*

Due to the genre of the text and its formulaic style, only a few motion verbs are attested in *OTA*. Amongst them, the honorific *gshegs* 'to go' is the most common motion verb, and the plain verb *mchis* 'to go' comes as the second most popular motion verb in the text. There is an apparent reason behind the high frequency of attestations of these two verbs, that is—*OTA* is primarily concerned with the significant events to have taken place for the imperial court for each year in its brief and formulaic annual entries. Naturally, one of the limitations posed by using the *OTA* as a primary source is that it is a document recording the activities of the royal court and the ministers of the Tibetan Empire, primarily centred on the emperor as the central figure. Thus, it is not a source where we could find motion verbs regarding ordinary people. Another shortcoming of using the *OTA* as a linguistic source is its briefness, particularly fragmentary early entries. As Takeuchi observes (Takeuchi, 1995, p. 25), the *OTA* had probably been used as a reference calendar by various people, including civil servants, during the heyday of the Tibetan empire. This usage of *OTA* as a calendar is also evident from the beginning of the well-known translation guidebook purportedly produced at the time, *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, or *Grammar in Two Volumes*.[33]

There are at least three ways to describe the action of returning, *slar 'khor*, *slar log*, and *slar mchis. The* last is not attested in *OTA*, but in *OTC* and OT *Rāmāyaṇa*.

2.1.1 *gshegs* "to go/come"

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[33] An *OTA*-like passage appears at the beginning of this text, *rta'i lo la btsad po khri lde srong btsan pho brang gi'i 'on cang do na bzhugs* 'in the year of the horse, Khri Lde-srong btsan, the emperor, resides in the castle of 'On cang do', see *BPNP* (p. 1). The general formula of the *OTA* is to begin the entry with the animal of the year, followed by the emperor's whereabouts. Then it recounts other significant events such as the whereabouts of royalties, the prime minister, the wars they fought, the locations of the summer and winter councils that took place that year, etc. There are at least two critical editions of the text *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, one by Mie Ishikawa (1990a) and another by Spen pa rdo rje (2011). For studies on *Mahāvyutpatti*, see Pagel (2007).

The verb *gshegs* appears more than 30 times in *OTA* and *gshegs* is the highest honorific term used solely for the emperor (*btsan po*), princes, and princesses (both Chinese and Tibetan). The OT term *btsan po*, the title of the ruler of the Tibetan empire, was rendered as *zànpǔ* 贊普 in Tang Chronicles, written in the 10th century and revised in the 11th century (Ou Yangxiu & Song Qi 歐陽修 & 宋祁, 1975, p. 6071).[34] In OT texts, *rje* is used for the rulers of smaller kingdoms and their neighbouring empires, such as Tang.[35] Many scholars also use the term "king" for Tibetan *bstan po* of the Tibetan Empire, but it is not often clear if their political agenda is the reason behind the usage.[36] The phrase *dgung du gshegs* 'to go to heaven' for the Tibetan emperor is mentioned in Hill's article on OT verbs about death (2008, p. 71).[37] The verbal phrase *dgung du gshegs was* continuously used for the death of emperors in later Buddhist historical accounts of Tibet from during the 'later propagation' (*phyi dar*), probably following the OT primary sources available at the time, such as the works of Ngag-dbang Kun-dga' bsod-nams (1597-1660), Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho or the Great Fifth Dalai Lama (1642-1682), and Ka-thog Rig 'dzin tshe-dbang nor-bu (1698–1755). However, since *dgung du gshegs* is a specific expression associated with the emperors, this expression has rarely been used for the lamas, masters, and other religious or secular persons with high status in the history of Tibet.

2.1.1.1 The emperor

Traditionally, it is recorded in Tibetan historical writings that the emperors of the Tibetan Empire are descended from heaven, and specific linguistic tokens such as *rmu/dmu thag* 'the *rmu/dmu* rope' are associated only with them to show their uniqueness.[38] The following sentence is from the beginning of the *OTA*, the part which has not yet been written in its form

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[34] This title is also attested in a Chinese poem written by Tang Dynasty poet Dùfǔ 杜甫(712-770). The poem goes as, "似聞贊普更求親，舅甥和好應難棄" "I have heard that Tibetan emperor sent [an envoy to the Chinese court to seek] for a treaty; a peace between the nephew and maternal uncle would be difficult to abandon" (*The Poetry of Du Fu*, 2016, p. 140).

[35] Examples are numerous, for instance, 'A zha rje, 'the lord of 'A zha' (ITJ0750:102;245) and bru sha rje 'the lord of bru sha' (ITJ0754:283). A recent discovery of a silver seal made in a mausoleum complex in Dulan county on the North-eastern Tibetan plateau had the OT inscription *dbon 'a zha rje phyag rgya* 'The seal of Lord of 'A zha, the nephew'. Scholars argue that a certain 'A zha lord elsewhere known as *'Bon da rgyal btsan zung* from the mid-eighth century as the most probable owner of this seal (A Dun, 2021).

[36] *Bod kyi rgyal po chen po* 'the great king of Tibet' is also used on the stone pillar often known as the Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821-822. Some examples of the works that translate *bsan po* as king are Li and Coblin (F. K. Li & Coblin, 1987); they retain the Tibetan term *btsan po* in some translations of inscriptions. However, the king is used instead for discussions, while the emperor translated *rgya rje*, 'Chinese lord'.

[37] Erik Haarh also discusses the phrase in *The Yar-lung dynasty* (1969, p. 119).

[38] According to these sources, Tibetan kings travel to a heavenly world through holding dmu/rmu thag 'dmu rope' once their sons are able to ride horses (sras kyis chibs kha thub par gyur pa na// rmu thag la 'jus nam mkhar gshegs so skad/) (Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba, 1985, 160).

of annual entries but as a general account of the reign of Khri Srong-rtsan. This statement provides a time reference with the deixis *de nas* 'from then', after six years from the conquering of Zhang-zhung. Thus, this statement is the first occasion in *OTA* of an emperor's departure to heaven by using the phrase *dgung du gshegs* 'going to heaven'. Hill observes that the honorific meaning of going to heaven is only reserved for the emperor's death in *OTA* (2008, 71-72). It likely reinforces the mythical status of the emperors that conforms with the narrative that the first emperor came down from heaven to rule the black-headed subjects (*myi mgo nag*).[39]

(1)
*de nas lo drug na' / btsan po khrI srong rtsan dgung du **gshegs**o /* (PT 1288: 15)
After six years from then, emperor Khri Srong-rtsan went to heaven.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and followed by a sentence Final Particle (henceforth FP) *so*.

The following statement describes that in the year 675-676, the emperor Khri Mang-slon went to Zhe-shing and Khri mo-lan in the spring, and the princess gave a banquet there. As a side note, it seems we could learn some narrative details from the *lhag bcas* or 'connective marking particle' *te* attested in this sentence. This particle is not only connecting two separate clauses syntactically but also semantically.

(2)
*phagI lo la bab ste / btsan po dpyid zhe shing du **gshegs**te / btsan mo khrI mo lan gyIs / ston mo chen po gsold /* (ITJ 0750: 62-63)
It fell on the year of the pig, the emperor went to Zhe-shing in the spring, and princess Khri mo-lan threw a grand banquet.

Syntactically, it is preceded by a terminative marker *du*, and followed by a connective marker *te*.

In the year 676-677, emperor Khri Mang-slon passed away, as recorded here in *OTA*, and like all his predecessors, he also *dgung du gshegs*, 'goes to heaven'.[40]

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[39] On this term, see Hill (2013b).

[40] Later Tibetan historical accounts have some peculiar things about the emperors going to heaven after death. The narrative goes something like this: there is a cord known as *dmu thag* 'the cord of *dmu*' connecting the emperors to the heaven from which they could transport themselves to heaven after their death. Dri-gum Btsan-po destroyed the cord from circling a sword in the air while fighting with groom Lo-Ngam (Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba, 1985). However, this narrative does not conform to the one presented in *OTC* where Lde-bla Gung-

(3)
*dgun tshang bang sna nas / khrI mang slon dgung du **gshegs*** (ITJ 0750: 66-67)
In the winter, from Tsang Bang-sna, Khri Mang-slon went to heaven.

The motion verb is also attested as the final word of a sentence without being followed by any other words or particles. In this case, it is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and followed by Ø.

2.1.1.2 Princesses

Tibetan princesses are addressed with the verb *gsheg*s for their trip from one location to another. However, unlike the emperors, it is never used for their death. Only the emperor goes to heaven, but not anyone else in OT texts, not even the powerful grandmother Khri-ma-lod who occupied the throne of the empire from the year 704 to 712. During the time of expansion of the Tibetan Empire, princesses are sent between empires and kingdoms as brides for diplomatic purposes.

Princess Mun-chang (Wénchéng Gōngzhǔ 文成公主) came to Tibet in the year 641-642, and the following sentence records her trip to Tibet escorted by the minister Mgar Stong-rtsan of the Tibetan Empire. This statement only mentions the goal of the motion, which is *bod yul*, and we could infer that China was the source of the motion.

(4)
*[b]tsan mo mun chang kong co / mgar stong rtsan yul zung gyIs spyan drangste bod yul du **gshegs**o /* (PT 1288: 11-12)
Princess Mun-chang Kong-co, escorted by Mgar Stong-rtsan Yul-zung, came to the land of Tibet.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and followed by an FP *-o*.

In the year 710-711, Chinese princess Kim-shang (Jīnchéng Gōngzhǔ 金城公主) went to Tibet as a bride to Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan. Dotson observed that *OTC* made no mention of the two

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rgyal, a deity, tries to take Dri-gum Btsan-po to the heaven upon Lo-gam's assassination of him but failed to do so due to some nefarious ritualistic action on the part of Lo-ngam who took a monkey out from his armpit. See Dotson's translation and discussion involving the monkey (2013b, p. 267).

Chinese princesses (Dotson, 2013b, p. 29). However, their trips are explicitly recorded in *OTA* as historical events and motion verb *gshegs* is used for both princesses.

(5)
*btsan mo kIm shang khong co ra sa'I sha tsal du **gshegs*** / (ITJ 0750: 177)
Princess Kim-shang Khong-co went to the Sha-tsal in Ra-sa.

Syntactically, the motion verb *gshegs* is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and the statement is ended with the motion verb without being followed by any words or particles, or Ø.

A Tibetan princess named Snya-mo-stengs was sent to Zhang-zhung[41] as the bride to Snya-shur Spungs-rye-rgyug in the year 671 to 672. She was not the only Tibetan princess sent to neighbouring kingdoms; a few other princesses were sent to 'A zha, Turks, and Bru zha.[42]

(6)
*btsan mo snya mo steng[s] snya shur spungs rye rgyug la bag mar **gshegs** par lo gchIg* (ITJ 0750: 53)
Princess Snya-mo-stengs went as a bride to Snya-shur Spungs-rye-rgyug; it was one year.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *-r* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*, making the part of the dating formula *par lo gcIg* 'it was one year'.

In the year 688-689, during the reign of emperor Khri 'dus-srong (676–704), princess Khri Mo-stengs took a trip to Dags-yul to achieve political objectives.

(7)
*bstan mo khrI mo stengs dags yul du chab srId la **gshegs** par lo chIg* (ITJ 0750: 101)
Princess Khri Mo-stengs went to Dags-yul for a political campaign; it was one year.

Syntactically, it is preceded by an allative particle *la*, followed by a nominaliser *pa* which is followed by a terminative marking particle *-r*.

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[41] Scholars believe that, in this context, Snya-shur is an epithet used for Zhang-zhung, see Dotson (2009, p. 89).
[42] For a study of four Tibetan princesses sent to other neighbouring kingdoms during the Tibetan Empire period, see Bsod nams rgyal (2020).

Other attested examples are in similar veins and most of them are used to describe princesses of the empire travels to different places. For instance, it was recorded that in the year 689-690, the princess Khri-bangs went to 'A zha as a bride with the verb *gshegs*.

(8)
*btsan mo khrI bangs/ 'a zha rje la bag mar **gshegs*** (ITJ 0750: 102-103)
Princess Khri-bangs went as a bride to the lord of 'A-zha.

Lords of the neighbouring kingdoms are addressed as *rje* 'lord'. It is used as a general term for the rulers of neighbouring kingdoms and sometimes even for the Tibetan ruler. For instance, it is attested in the famous last line from Chapter I of the *OTC* on the death of Spu de gung rgyal (posthumously known as Grang mo gnam gser brtsig), as *'greng mgo nag gi rje/ dud rngog chags kyi rkyen du gshegs so*, 'ruler of the black-headed upright men went due to the bent and maned animals'.[43] Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *-r* and followed by Ø.

2.1.1.3 The emperor's court

The *pho brang* 'court' can be taken as a subject for motion verb *gshegs*; although *pho brang* can be a physical palace, it is the collective of the emperor, ministers, and queens as a court.[44] Another verb associated with the court in OT is *bzhugs* 'to reside'; it is one of the most used verbs in *OTA* regarding the court. There is only one occasion in *OTA* that *gshegs* is used for the court, and the statement describes the emperor's court going to a particular place in the winter of the year 673-674. The court's plurality comprises many people who probably do not play an essential role in using the motion verb *gshegs* because the emperor and princesses are part of the court.

(9)
*dgun pho brang shangs gyI rab ka tsal du **gshegs** shing* (ITJ 0750: 58)
In winter, [the emperor] court went to the Rab-ka-tsal in Shangs.

As de Jong and others noted, *gshegs* is used for 'depart' and 'to come' (de Jong, 1989, p. 54). This verb is sometimes difficult to pinpoint the usage with such details in the *OTA*

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[43] For the previous reading of this line, see Dotson (2013b, p. 270), Hill (2013), Zeisler (2011), Chetsang (2011), and Bialek (2018a, p. 167). Term *rngog chags* is used primarily for the horses since *rngog* or mane is a term mostly used for the mane of horses in other Old Tibetan texts and Classical Tibetan. For references, see texts such as the *On Disputes Between Yaks and Horses* (ITJ 0731).
[44] For a discussion of *pho brang*, see Denwood (1990).

since it requires a lot of contextual information, such as the deictic *origo* of the speaker/writer, who is almost unattainable. Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and followed by a coordinating particle *shing*.

2.1.2 *mchis* 'to go'

In the *OTA*, *mchis* is used as a motion verb for chief ministers (*blon chen po*)[45] and court ministers. However, this is not to generalize that it is solely used for the ministers in OT since *OTA* is highly constrained due to the subject it covers. As exemplified by the Old Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa*, *mchis* can be used for other types of people than ministers (See Section Three of this chapter). One thing to note is that this motion verb is never used for the emperor in *OTA*. Motion verb *mchis* is preceded by terminative particles, and the *mchis* "to be" is preceded by locative markers in *OTA*.

> (10)
> *blon btsan snyas/ zhIms gyI gu ran du zhang zhung gyI mkhos bgyIste/ dru gu yul du ltang yor* **mchIs** (ITJ 0750:64)
> Minister Btsan-snya executed the administration of Zhang-zhung in Gu-ran of Zhims;[46] and then [he] went to the land of Turks (Dru-gu-yul) for plunder (?).[47]

This sentence is from one of the earlier entries of the *OTA*, from the year 675–676, to be precise, at the end of the reign of Khri-mang-slon (650–676). The minister Btsan-snya of the Mgar family is described here with the motion verb *mchis*; as explained, there is no consensus amongst scholars on the purpose of the trip to the Dru-gu-yul. Syntactically, it comes at the end of a sentence and is preceded by a terminative marker -*r*. Moreover, Minister Bstan-snya going of the Dru-gu-yul had taken place after executing the administration of Zhang-zhang in Zhims since the connective marking converb *te* at the end of the first clause demonstrates the transition in action. Therefore, according to Hazod's dates (Hazod, 2019, p. 54), this entry is about an event that happened before the appointment of Btsan-snya as the chief minister sometime between 677 and 680.

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[45] Hazod contends that the title *Blon chen po* or *Blon che* 'chief minister' was probably an invention of Mgar Stong-rtsan yul-zung, to make himself more powerful, after the death of the emperor Srong-btsan Sgam-po (2019, p. 48). For a detailed study on the number and status of *Blon chen po* during imperial Tibet, see Hazod (2019).

[46] Previous scholars have discussed the Old Tibetan term *mkhos* 'administration' and its possible meaning, other related verbal phrases such as *'brog mkhos* 'administration of pasture' and *zhing mkhos* 'administration of fields' are attested in OT texts (Bialek, 2018b, p. 385).

[47] Here, I follow Dotson's adaptation of Beckwith and Bstan-lha Ngag-dbang Tshul-khrims (Dotson, 2009a, p. 91) to translate the term *ltang yo* as plunder.

Cung-bzang 'Or-mang was one of the longest-serving chief ministers of the Tibetan Empire; he served from 728-29–ca.749 under the reign of Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan (712–755) and he probably administrated 'A-zha for a few years (Hazod, 2019, p. 70). Although the source where the minister set off from is not explicitly mentioned here, it was probably somewhere in Central Tibet.

(11)
*blon chen po cung bzang 'a zha yul du **mchIs** par lo gcIg* (ITJ 0750:273)
Chief minister Cung-bzang went to the land of 'A-zha; it was one year.

Syntactically, the motion verb here is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and followed by a nominaliser *pa* which is part of the dating formula in *OTA* as verb + *par lo gcig* '[it] was one year'.

Two subjects are mentioned in the following sentence, both are ministers, but none is a chief minister. However, Zhang stong-rtsan is probably a *zhang blon* 'uncle minister' to the emperor, thus these ministers are highly ranked in the court. In terms of the sentence structure, it is straightforward with a terminative case particle connecting the subjects with the verb:

(12)
*blon khri bzang dang zhang stong rtsan gnyIs 'a zha yul du **mchis*** (Or 8212.187:34-36)
Minister Khri-bzang and Zhang stong-rtsan went to the land of 'A-zha.

Syntactically, it is preceded by a terminative marker *du* without being followed by anything else.

In the following entry, the motion verb *mchis* is used for the minister Zhang rgyal-zigs going back to Tibet after his military expedition to China in the years 762-764.[48] The verbal phrase *slar bod yul du mchis te* previously had been translated as 'returned to Tibet', however, to capture the exact meaning of the motion verb *mchis* and adverb *slar*, I decided to translate it as a predicate 'went back to Tibet' here.

(13)

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[48] Although the *OTA* entries are organized annually, this specific entry runs over two years, See Uray (1991) for a discussion.

*zhang rgyal zigs slar bod yul / du / **mchis** te / zhang rgyal zIgs // dang / blon stag sgra dang zhang stong rtsan dang zhang / btsan ba las stsogs pas / keng shIr dra ma drangste ke shI phab // rgya rje bros // nas / rgya rje gsar du bcug / nas / dra ma / slar log nas // zhang rgyal zig bod yul du mol cen la / mchis / par lo gchig /* (Or 8212.187: 52-55)

Then Zhang rgyal-zigs went back to the land of Tibet, and Zhang rgyal-zigs and minister Stag-sgra, Zhang stong-rtsan, Zhang btsan-pa led an expedition to Keng-shi and took over Ke[ng]-shi, the Chinese lord fled so put a new Chinese lord; the military returned, and Zhang rgyal-zig[s] went back to Tibet for a grand meeting, and it was one year.

The motion verb is preceded by the terminative particle *du* and followed by a connective marking particle *te*.

2.1.3 *rgal* 'to cross'

The verb *rgal* 'to cross' can also be included into the category of motion verbs since it is describing a particular movement in the space, for instance, crossing of a bridge in this case. It is attested three times in only one version of the *OTA* (Or 8212.187), and it is used for the Tibetan army crossing a particular iron bridge known as *bum ling* near 'Bu Shing the Kun,[49] led by the Tibetan generals Zhang rgyal zigs and Zhang stong rtsan and others.

(14)
*chab srId zhIg nas zhang rgyal zIgs dang zhang stong rtsan las stsogs pas // bum lIng lcag zam **rgal** te // dra cen drang ste / 'bu shIng kun dang zIn cu dang ga cu las stsogs pa / rgya'I mkhar mang po phab ste /* (Or 8212.187: 50-52)

The political ties (with China) were dismantled and Zhang rgyal-zigs and Zhang stong-rtsan and others crossed the iron bridge of Bum-ling and led a great military expedition; [they] took over 'Bu Shing-kun and Zin-cu and many other Chinese strongholds.

There are two other attestations of this verb in the same document (Or 8212.187: 82; 84), however, it is probably written as scribal exercises since the content repeats what is written in the example above (14). Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by a noun *lcag zam* 'iron bridge' and followed by a connective converb *te*. Speaking of the army, another motion verb, *drangs* 'to lead', is commonly used with the term *dra ma* 'army' in *OTA* for leading military expeditions.[50]

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[49] Dotson, following Uray, identifies this bridge as the Hongji bridge on the Yellow River (2009a, p. 132). However, Cairang 才讓 argues that *Bum ling* is a transliteration of the Chinese term *Feng lin* 凤林, and which was later Tibetanised as *'bum gling*, and it is a bridge near the monastery by the same name. For more on the name of the bridge and a cave complex and monastery known as Bum ling or 'Bum gling, see Cairang (2019).
[50] Regarding the term *dra ma* in OT, see Uray (1962).

2.1.4 *dra ma drangs* 'to lead an expeditionary army'

The verb *drang* alone means 'to lead' and usually pairs with the noun *dra ma* 'army', a unique term used in the *OTA*.[51] Scholars previously discussed it on many occasions, and Uray's piece so far is the most informative source in which he concluded that it is referred to an "army or troop sent on an enterprise or campaign, expeditionary army" (1962, p. 223). *Dra ma drangs* as a phrase is only attested once in the *OTA* when mentioning ministers leading a military expedition to present-day Lintao 臨洮 of Gansu 甘肅 in the year 714-715.[52]

A delayed military expedition took place in the year 687-688 (ITJ 0750: 97), which shares similarities in sentence structure and the grammar of the previous example.

(15)
*'bon da rgyal dang / blon chen pho khrI gzigs gnyIs gyis / 'bu shIng kun du **dra ma drangs**te / slar 'khord par lo gchIg /* (ITJ 0750: 196-197)
'Bon Da-rgyal and chief minister Khri-gzigs, the two of them, came back from leading an expeditionary army to 'Bu shIng-kun; it was one year.

Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by a noun *dra ma* 'army' followed by a connective marker *te*. This verb is used for ministers, but we should not be misled by the attestations to conclude that it suggests any information on the subject's social status since leading military expeditions is a specific role played by the ministers and generals.

Interestingly, this verb seems play a role of the association between *dra ma* 'army', the expeditionary army, and the verb *drangs* is so explicit that even omission of the noun *dra ma* preceding it as an object would not affect the meaning, as exemplified in the following sentence:

(16)
*dgun blon chen pho khrI 'bring gyIs / tsong ka che chung du **drangs**te / rgya'I dmag pon chen po thug pu shi bzung /* (ITJ 0750: 127-128)
In the winter, chief minister Khri-'bring led [an expeditionary army] to the greater and lesser Tsong-ka and arrested Chinese chief general Thug Pu-shi.[53]

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[51] It often comes in the perfective form *drangs* mainly due to the nature of the OTA as a historical account mainly written in the past tense.
[52] See Dotson (2009a, p. 109).
[53] Pu shi, as suggested by Dotson, probably is a transcription of the Chinese title *fushi* 副使 'assistant commissioner', rather than a personal name (2009b, p. 100).

Syntactically, the motion verb *drangs* is preceded by a terminative marker *du* followed by a connective marker *te*.

Similarly, the following sentence is also an example using the verb *drangs* for leading a military expedition:

(17)
*btsan pho sras khri 'dus srong / sgregs kyi lha lung du bltam blon btsan snyas dru gu yul du **drangs**te/ ldum bu khri bshos khrom 'tsald par lo gcig* (ITJ 0750: 67-68)
Son of the emperor, Khri 'Dus srong was born in Lha lung of Sgregs. Minister Btsan snyas led [an expeditionary army] to the land of Turks and proclaimed the military government of Khri bshos. it was one year.

In the year 676 to 677, Khri Mang slon, the emperor, passed away, and Khri 'dus srong was born. In the same year, minister Btsan snya led a military expedition to the land of Turks, it seems this had taken place before Btsan snya became the chief minister. Syntactically, the motion verb is, again, preceded by terminative marker *du* and connective converb marking particle *te*.

Not all military expeditions are described as completed actions in the *OTA*. For instance, the following attestation is an imperfective form of the verb *drang*, which describes a situation where a plan to lead a military expedition in the year 686-687 had been delayed. Thus, it is only a description of a motion rather than the motion itself. Classical Tibetan dictionaries provide a paradigm of *drang, 'dren, drangs*, *drongs* for this verb (Jäschke, 1881, p. 284). The imperfective form *'dren* for this verb is not attested in OT *Annals*.

(18)
*blon khri 'bring gyis / drug gu yul du **drang** zhes bgyi ba las/ pyi dalte/ dbyar 'dun shor snar 'dus* / (ITJ 0750: 94-95)
Minister Khri-'bring's plan to lead [an expeditionary army] to the land of Turks was delayed, and the summer council was convened in Shor sna.

Combining with other nouns, this motion verb be used as an honorific for inviting socially high persons.

2.1.5 *spyan drangs* **'to invite' 'to escort'**

The verbal phrase *spyan drangs*, literally meaning 'to lead [someone's] eyes' is not exactly a straightforward motion verb. It is a predicate with the meaning 'to invite' or 'to escort someone' and denotes a displacement of the invitee, and another key information grammaticalized here is that the invitee probably has a higher social status than the inviter. This verbal phrase only appears once in the entire text of the *OTA,* and it is used for chief minister Mgar stong rtsan inviting the Chinese princess Wénchéng Gōngzhǔ 文成公主.

(19)
*btsan mo mun chang kong co/ mgar stong rtsan yul zung gyis **spyan drang** ste bod yul du gshegs* (PT 1288: 11-12)
The princess Mun-chang Kong-cho, having been escorted by Mgar Stong-rtsan Yul-zung, went to the land of Tibet.

Although later historical accounts of Tibet are particularly elaborative on reconstructing this historical episode, the *OTA* comparatively dedicates little effort to record the event. Of course, the mere mention of the occasion is significant. Unlike the famous imperial woman Khri ma lod, *OTA* does not record Chinese princesses' whereabouts except for her arrival as mentioned above and her funeral later in the text (PT 1288: 84). Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by an honorific noun *spyan* 'eye' and followed by the connective particle *ste*.

2.1.6 *spos* 'to move/relocate'

Motion verb *spos* is not only used for a person moving from one location to another but also for other actions like transferring written records from one form to another, for instance, from tallies to paper. Thus, it is not clear if it has any social status connotation attached to it. With verb *spos*, the movement of the emperor from one location to the next was described in one of the earlier entries in *OTA* in the year 673 to 674.

(20)
*bya gagI lo la' btsan po dbyar stod pho dam mdo na bzhugs shIng / dbyar smad sum chu bor **spos**te / * (ITJ 0750: 56)
It fell on the year of the rooster. The emperor resided in Pho dam mdo in the early summer and moved to Sum Chu-bo in the late summer.

Syntactically, the motion verb is immediately preceded by a terminative marker *-r* and followed by a connective marker *te*.

In the following statement, tally records transfer was described with this motion verb. It does not mention to form it had been transferred to, by just describing the action of transferring tally.[54]

(21)

*dbyar 'dun lha gab du 'bon da rgyal dang / blon chen po khrI gzigs gyIs bsduste / mngan gyi khab soe khram **spos*** (ITJ 0750: 161)
'Bon Da rgyal and chief minister Khri gzigs, both, convened the summer council, and [they] moved the tally record of the revenue office.

Syntactically, the motion verb appears at the end of a sentence, and it is preceded by a noun *khram* 'tally'.

In example 17, the following statement mentions the transferring of the records from the red tally to the yellow paper according to the decree of the emperor.

(22)
*btsan po bkas khram dmar pa shog shog ser po la **spos** par lo chig* (ITJ 0750: 299)
By the emperor's order, the [records on] red tally were relocated to yellow paper; it was one year.

Syntactically, it is preceded by an allative particle *la* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*. Although the verb *spos* is attested twice for moving records from one form to another, as the first example demonstrates, it is also used for moving the court; thus, it is not an obscure verb restricted only to transfer data.

2.1.7 *slar 'khor* 'to return'

The verb *'khor* means 'to turn', preceded by the adverb *slar* meaning 'back', and the verbal phrase *slar 'khor* is used to describe the emperor and ministers returning to their original place of departure in *OTA*. This verbal phrase shares an accidental etymological similarity with the English verb return, which is from Latin *re-* 'back' + *tornare* 'to turn'. There are at least three ways to describe the action of returning, *slar 'khor*, *slar log*, and *slar mchis*. The last is not attested in *OTA*, but it does appear in *OTC* and OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. It seems *slar log* and *slar 'khor* cannot be used interchangeably in the case of *OTA*. One

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[54] For a study on the introduction of paper to Tibet and transferring documents from wooden tallies to paper, see Uebach (2008).

possibility is that *slar 'khor* is a socially marked honorific phrase only used for the emperor, the court, and chief ministers, while *slar log* is a plain verbal phrase used for subjects such as the army. Another possibility is that it is not marked for the speech register.

In *OTA*, most often, the emperor and chief ministers are described with this motion verb for their return from their leisurely journeys of their territory and political campaigns and military expeditions to neighbouring kingdoms such as the land of 'A zha and Turks. It was once used for the emperor returning from his hunting trip to the north.

(23)
*spre'u lo la / btsan po dbyard byang roldu gshegs pa las **slar 'khor**te / po brang ra mtshar tu btab /* (ITJ 0750: 296)
In the year of the monkey, the emperor went to the north for sporting in the summer and returned, and the court was settled in Ra-mtshar.

Syntactically, it is preceded by ablative particle *las* and followed by a connective converb *te*.

Trips taken by various ministers are often to the neighbouring kingdoms, as the following statement mentions the return of chief minister Mgar Stong rtsan one year before his death from 'A zha in the year 666-667. The motion verb *slar 'khor* is employed here with only mentioning the source where he is returning from, so that makes the point of reference for the deictic centre unclear and had to be assumed by the readers. Still, it probably had to be where the writer produced the document.

(24)
*blon che stong rtsan 'a zha yul nas **slar 'khord** te zrid mda'r thong myig byung bar lo gchig* (PT 1288: 46-47)
Chief minister Stong-rtsan returned from the land of 'A-zha and a *thong myig*[55] appeared in Zrid-mda'; it was one year.

Syntactically, this verbal phrase verb is preceded by an elative marker *nas* and followed by a connective converb *te*. This is a case where a *da drag* or *-d* follows the second

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[55] Previous scholars provide different translations of this term from "a skin disease" to a "homicide", for a discussion of various renderings of the term, see Dotson (2009a, p. 88). Bialek understands it as "suicide attempt" and "murder attempt" (2018, 156).

syllable *'khor*. However, as Laufer argued a century ago, orthographically distinctive *'khord* and *'khor* are phonetically equivalent (1914, pp. 57–58).

In the following example, another chief minister, Khri 'bring comes back from his trip to the land of Turks in the year 689-690, as described below.

> (25)
> *blon che khri 'bring dru gu yul nas **slar 'khor**te dgun 'dun phul poe nya sha tshal du 'dus par lo chig* (ITJ 0750:103)
> Chief minister Khri-'bring returned from the land of Turks, and the winter council convened in the Nya sha tshal of Phul po; it was one year.

slar 'khor 'to return' is vague in expressing its goal, but clear from where the subject returned from, *dru gu yul*, 'the land of Turks'. In terms of syntax, this verbal phrase *slar 'khor* is preceded by an elative marker *nas*, and followed by a connective converb *te*.

2.1.8 *slar log* 'to return'

Another verbal phrase for 'to return' in the *OTA* is *slar log*, *log* means 'to turn; to reverse; rebel'. It is interesting to explore the usage of the motion verb *slar log* and its relationship with the goal of the action. Often, this verb is used without mentioning a location as a goal of the action for returning. The last sentence in the following passage shows that the ministers have not returned to Tibet but somewhere else since it mentions one of the minister's trips to Tibet after their return. So, we must infer a location meant by the writer while he was producing the text. However, we do not have a clear understanding of the location where they returned in the passage.

> (26)
> *zhang rgyal zIgs / / dang / blon stag sgra dang zhang stong rtsan dang zhang / btsan ba las stsogs pas / keng shIr dra ma drangste ke shI phab / / rgya rje gsar du bcug nas dra ma **slar log** nas zhang rgyal zigs bod yul du mol cen la mchis par lo gcig* (Or 8212.187: 53-55)
> Zhang rgyal-zigs, minister Stag sgra, and Zhang Stong rtsan, and Zhang btsan pa led an expeditionary army to Keng shi (Jingshi 京師) and took Ke[ng] shi; throned a new Chinese lord and the expeditionary army returned. From there, Zhang rgyal-zigs went back to the land of Tibet for a grand meeting; it was one year.

Syntactically, this verbal phrase is preceded by a noun *dra ma* 'army' and followed by an elative particle *nas*.

2.1.9 Conclusion

A very limited number of motion verbs are attested in *OTA* primarily due to its often-repeated formulaic nature of annual entries.[56] Thus, *OTA* is not exactly the best candidate for exploring motion verbs in OT. However, it also strengthens the corpus since some nuances can be drawn from the unique nature of the text being an official record from the imperial court. This text sheds light on the social hierarchy of the Tibetan imperial court, for instance, in how the verb *gshegs* is only used for royalty, including the emperor, princesses, and the court. In contrast, *mchis* is usually used for ministers, especially those with high status, such as chief ministers. Furthermore, when the verb *gshegs* is used with *dgung du* or 'to heaven', it is specifically reserved for describing the emperor's death. On the other hand, *drangs* 'to lead' is a verb with a specific task assigned to it; it exclusively means leading an army when it is attested alone. However, usually the verbal phrase *spyan drangs* 'to invite/escort' is used for someone with a lower social status to invite or escort a person with higher social status.

There are also motion verbs in *OTA* that do not differentiate the social status of the addressee or the speaker (or writer). For instance, *spos* 'to move/transfer', can be used for moving things and relocating the emperor and the imperial court. Another pair of verbal phrases are attested in *OTA*, *slar 'khor* 'to return', very likely an honorific can be used for the emperor and chief ministers, while *slar log* 'to return', is a plain verbal phrase used for the army. Motion verb *rgal* 'to cross' is used for ministers/generals leading an army to cross a bridge to attack the Chinese fortresses. Since the annual entries presented in *OTA* do not provide much of a social history of the commoners, it is pivotal to take this document as a point of departure and explore other OT texts to build on the findings from this text.

Table 1. Frequency of motion verbs in different manuscripts of *OTA*

	ITJ 0750	PT 1288	Or 8212.187	Total
gshegs	29	5	2	36
mchis	2	0	8	10
rgal	0	0	3	3
drangs	10	1	5	16
spos	3	0	1	4

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[56] For the frequency of occurrences of individual motion verbs in *OTA* documents with different shelf marks, see table 1.

slar 'khor	4	1	0	5
slar log	0	0	1	1
Total	48	7	20	75

2.2 Motion verbs in *OTC*

The *OTC* is probably the oldest Tibetan historical narrative centred on describing emperors from the Tibetan Empire period. As Dotson describes, *OTC* contains "narrative depictions that date from not long after the events they purport to describe are probably intermingled with fabulous plot elements that have been elaborated in the retelling" (2013b, p. 243). The *OTC* dates, at the earliest, to the mid-ninth century (Dotson & Helman-Wazny, 2016, pp. 131; 135). Both the *OTC* and *OTA* have attracted extensive scholarly attention and yielded multiple translations so far; thus, they are probably the most well-known Tibetan texts from Dunhuang. Unlike the simple narration of *OTA*, the *OTC* is known by many for its literariness: its inclusion of legends, folktales, songs, motifs, and proverbs. With a more dynamic and complex narrative style, more motion verbs are attested in *OTC* than in *OTA*. Interestingly, there is a high concentration of motion verbs in Chapter I (PT 1287: 1-62) and Genealogy (PT 1286: 1-69) of *OTC*, especially the verb *gshegs*, 'to go'; it is attested more than 25 times in total only in these two chapters, which is more than two-thirds of the total number of attestation in the entire text.[57] Apart from the motion verbs attested in *OTA*, other motion verbs such as *'gro* 'to go', *song* 'to go', *'ong* 'to come', *lhags* 'to arrive', *dong* 'to go', *slebs* 'to arrive', and *pyin* 'to go and arrive' are used in *OTC*. The *OTC* also mentions more people with different social statuses, and some of the motion verbs attested in *OTC* do not seem to differentiate the social status of the addressees and can take any subjects.

2.2.1 *gshegs* 'to go/come'

The motion verb *shegs* 'to go/come' is often used for gods and royalty such as the emperor, princes, and princesses in *OTC*. This verb is also attested in songs to address the emperor, so it should not be understood as a separate usage.

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[57] Although these occurrences are probably inadvertent due to the content of the chapter. for the frequency of occurrence of motion verbs in different chapters in *OTC*, see Table 2.

2.2.1.1 The emperor

Apart from the usual term *bstan po* 'the emperor', *rgyal po* 'king' is occasionally used as a title for Tibetan emperors in *OTC*. In *OTA*, the term *rgyal po* 'king' appeared only once to address the king of *Bru sha* (ITJ 0750: 277), but never of Tibetan emperors.[58] Since *OTA* is only concerned with the rulers of Tibet after Srong btsan sgam po, it is probably true that using the title *Btsan po* to the rulers before Srong btsan sgam po was a later projection.

> (27)
> *btsan po yang myang ro sham por **gshegs** nas / myang ro thal ba tshal du g.yul bres nas / 'ung nas rta rdzI 'i mchid nas / dbu' 'breng zang yag kyang gcad du gsol / dbu' skas sten dgu yang kha thur du btsan du gsol nas rnam gnyis kyang de bzhin gnang ngo* // (PT 1287: 13-16)
> The emperor also went to the Myang ro sham-po, fought in Myang ro dusty forest and then the groom asked [the emperor], "cut the head-braids, and turn upside down the nine-levelled head-ladder," and [the emperor] did so.

Syntactically, the motion verb *gshegs* is preceded by a terminative marker *-r* and followed by an elative marking converb *nas* in this context.

The following example is an occasion where *rgyal* 'king' is used for Tibetan ruler in *OTC*, Stag bu Snya gzigs dies and is described as going to heaven.

> (28)
> *'ung gI rjes la / zIng po rje la dra ma ma drangs par /rgyal stag bu dgung du **gshegs**o / / (PT 1287: 163-164)
> Later, before leading an expeditionary army against the Zing po rje, king Stag-bu went to heaven.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and followed by an FP *-o*. Although *rgyal* rather than *btsan po* is the title used for Stag bu Snya gzigs, the motion verb *gshegs* is used for his death in conformity with the *verba moriendi* in OT.

In the following passage, *dgung du gshegs* 'go to heaven' probably should be understood literally as 'flying in the sky' rather than a *verbum moriendi* since it is described as 'flying in the sky' rather than a *verbum moriendi* since it describes Dri gum btsan po's mysterious activities as a sign of his abnormality.

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[58] On the suggestion of translating the OT term *btsan po* as "emperor" instead of "king", see Beckwith (1987, p. 14, n.10).

(29)

*drI gum btsan por mtshan btags nas / mtshan btags nongste / thugs su yang zhugs / lde sras myI 'I myi tshul te / mngon bar gdung du **gshegs** pa la stsogs pa 'phrul dang byIn ched po mnga' bas / dro dang dregs ma thub ste //* (PT 1287: 5-7)

[He was] named Dri gum btsan po, it was an error to give him the name. So it entered his mind. He truly goes to heaven and beyond, possessed with magic and great power. He could not control his pride and heat.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *-du* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*.

As mentioned earlier, Tibetan emperors are only known as *btsan po* 'the emperor' in the *OTA*. However, *rgyal* 'king' is used for the short-lived emperor Stag bu snya gzig, the emperor who was supposed to be the grandfather to Srong btsan sgam po in *OTC*.[59] Even with a title change, the verbal phrase *dgung du gshegs* 'to go to heaven' is used for his death.

Dri gum btsan po is a unique case among the emperors of the Tibetan empire. He was killed by Lo ngam. Thus, he failed to "go to heaven", so his death was described as follows in *OTC*:

(30)

*btsan po ni / lo ngam rta rdzIs bkrongste / spur ni zang brgya' ma kha sprod kyI nang du bcug ste / rtsang po 'i gzhung la btang ngo / chab gzhug ser tshangs su / klu 'o de ring mo 'I ltor **gshegs** so //* (PT 1287: 32-33)

The emperor was slayed by the groom Lo ngam and the corpse was sealed in the copper cask and put into the river at Ser tshangs, the end of the river, and it went to the stomach of the serpent 'O de ring-mo.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *-r* and followed by an FP *so*. It explicitly mentions in the story that the god Lde bla gung rgyal failed to take the emperor to heaven. Thus, the emperor Dri gum did not 'go to heaven' like all his predecessors but went to (*gshegs*) the stomach of a serpent named 'O de ring mo.

2.2.1.2 Gods

As subjects, apart from the emperors, queens, and ministers of the Tibetan Empire, *OTC* happens to mention a variety of gods and spirits, and amongst them, Lde bla gung rgyal and

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[59] Beckwith's (1987, pp. 14–15, n. 10) suggests that the term rgyal po for Tibetan ruler can be used as a justification for dating manuscripts to the post-imperial era not sufficiently substantiated.

Klu 'O de ring mo take the motion verb *gshegs*. After Lo ngam's monkey ritual, the personal god of the emperor absconded himself to Mount Tise.

(31)
*lde bla gung rgyal ni ti tse gangs rum du 'phangste **gshegs** so / /* (PT 1287: 18-19)
Lde-bla gung-rgyal went by throwing [himself] into the Ti-tse snow [mountain].

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a connective marking converb *te* and followed by an FP *so*. My reading of *'phangs* here in this context as 'quickly' is mainly based on the perfective form of the Amdo colloquial verb /həŋ/ 'going quickly', a cognate for *'phangs* 'to shoot/throw' in Written Tibetan.[60]

2.2.1.3 Princes

The *OTA* is mainly concerned with the prominent characters such as emperors, ministers, and princesses of the empire who are involved in briefly running the empire. Similarly, *OTC* mentions royalty of the Tibetan Empire, but it also mentions deities as well as enemies of the empire. It might have something to do with the special nature of the text itself, narrating not only the biographical account of the emperors, ministers, but also the conflicts that took place during the Tibetan Empire in a fuller picture, but with a certain degree of improvisations from the writer added to the text. The *OTC* mentions the narratives about young princes, for instance, in the story about Sha khyi and Nya khyi brothers re-claiming the corpse of their father, Dri gum btsan po, the motion verb *gshegs* is used for Sha khyi, the elder brother who later became the king:

(32)
*gcen sha khyI ni yab kyI sku mtshal gnyer du **gshegs**o /nya khyi ni rkong dkar po lagso / dmag sum stong sum rgya zhig dang chaste **gshegs**o, mkhar phying bar **gshegs**o /* (PT 1287: 50-51)
The elder brother, Sha khyi, went to retake the corpse of [his] father, Nya khyi [went] to the white Rkong. With three thousand and three hundred troops, [Sha khyi] went to the castle Phying-ba.

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[60] Bettina Zeisler translates this line as "[the monkey] then cast Lde bla gung rgyal into the womb of the glacier Ti tse" (2011, p. 105), Dotson as "Lde bla gung rgyal departed, cast into the depths of the snows of [Mount] Ti tse" (2013c, p. 267), and Hill as "Lde bla gung rgyal was cast into the womb of the snow mountain Ti tse, and died" (2006b, p. 92).

Syntactically, the first attestation is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and followed by an FP *-o*; the second attestation is preceded by a connective marking converb *te* and followed by an FP *-o*, and the third attestation is preceded by a terminative marker *-r* and followed by an FP *-o*.

In the following example, Sha khyi took thousands of soldiers with him and went to take revenge for his father and along the way, he went (*gshegs*) to some other locations:

> (33)
> *ting srab rong rIngs 'da's so / ba / chos gung dang du **gshegs** so / myang ro sham por **gshegs** na / lo ngam po brgya' nI zang bu brgya' glad la phub nas lcebs'o //* (PT 1287: 53-55)
> [They] went to Ba chos Gung dang by reaching the long valley of Ting srab, when [they] went to Myang ro sham-po, one hundred men from Lo ngam[61] with pots over their heads and committed suicide.

Syntactically, the first attestation of the motion verb is preceded by the terminative marker *du* and followed by an FP *so*. The second attestation is preceded by a terminative marker *-r* and followed by a converb *na*. The motion verb *gshegs* is used two times for his trips to Ba chos Gung dang and Myang ro Sham po; before going to Ba chos Gung thang. Another motion verb, *'da'* 'to pass' is used for the Sha khyi for passing certain locations on the way to regain power.

2.2.1.4 Princesses

The usage of *gshegs* with princesses going to neighbouring kingdoms such as Zhang zhung as a bride or a diplomat in *OTC* is identical to *OTA*. Chapter viii of the *OTC* mentions during the reign of Srong brtsan sgam po, his sister Sad mar kar married the Lig myi rhya. However, it is only mentioned as she went to him for political purposes.

> (34)
> *btsan mo sad mar kar // lIg myi rhya la chab srId la **gshegs** so //* (PT 1287: 399)
> Princess Sad ma kar went to Lig myi rhya (the king of Zhang-zhung) for a political campaign.

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[61] From reading this episode of history recorded in post-imperial chronicles such as *De'u Chronicle* (Lde'u jo sras, 1987, p. 162), we can conclude that Lo ngam is a clan name or name of a minor kingdom. The groom who fought with Dri-gum btsan po is very likely the lord of this clan or kingdom.

Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by an allative particle *la* and followed by an FP *so* in this context.

Srong brtsan Sgam po was not satisfied with his sister's performance in Zhang zhung and ordered Spug Gyim brtsan rmang cung, an envoy, to deliver a message to her. It is described as follows:

> (35)
> *mkhar khyung lung du mchis na // btsan mo myi bzhugs te // chab nya la rol zhing /
> /mtsho ma pang du **gshegs** nas // rmang cung ma pang du mchis te // btsan mo zha
> sngar pyag bgyIs na //* (PT 1287: 403-404)

> When [Spug Gyim brtsan rmang cung] went to (*mchis*) the Khyung lung castle, the princess was not there, she has gone (*gshegs*) to the Lake Ma pang for fishing when Rmang cung went to (*mchis*) Ma pang and prostrated in front of the princess.

Syntactically, the motion verb *gshegs* is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and followed by an elative particle *nas*. This is another particularly helpful passage depicting in contrast that different motion verbs are used for people with different social statuses in *OTC*. The motion verb *gshegs* 'to go' is used for Sad mar kar, the emperor's sister, while *mchis* 'to go' is used for Spug Gyim brtsan rmang cung, the messenger in the same sentence. The social status of Spug Gyim brtsan rmang cung we know is an envoy from Srong brtsan Sgam po to his sister.[62]

2.2.2 *gshegs* 'to go' in songs

Since these attestations of the verb *gshegs* in *mgur* and *mchid* songs are used for the emperor, they should not be understood differently. Don grub rgyal, a Tibetan scholar who studied *mgur* in OT sources, is correct in spotting eleven attestations of the term *mgur* in *OTC* (he uses a generic term Dunhuang texts, but his search is merely based on *OTC*). However, he is incorrect to conclude that *mgur*, *glu*, and *mchid* can be used interchangeably. He argues in his *magnum opus*, *Bod kyi gur glu byung 'phel gyi lo rgyus dang khyad chos bsdus par ston pa rig pa'i khye'u rnam par rtsen pa'i skyed tshal zhes bya ba bzhugs so* [A study on the history and characteristics of Tibetan Mgur glu] as following:

> *Tun hong yig tshang du mgur zhes pa'i tha snyad 'di snag phyir lan bcu gcig tsam
> 'byung ba dang/ de bzhin mgur dang go don yongs su mtshungs pa'i glu dang mchid*

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[62] Another messenger with a similar name appears later in the text, Spug Gyim tang rmang bu (PT 1287: 165-166), but it is hard to be confident in identifying these two messengers as the same.

ces pa'i tha snyad kyang thengs kha shas su byung ste/ dper na Seng go myi chen gyis dwags po yongs 'bangs su bkug rjes/ btsan po rjes 'bangs kyis dgyes skyems ston mo gsol lo/ 'ung git she khyung po spung sad kyis glu blangs pa'i tshig la zhes dang/ yang de nas dba's dbyi tshab kyis mchid blangs pa zhes pa lta bu'o// des na 'id dus kyi mgur dang glu/ mchid ces pa'i tha snyad gsum po ni go don yongs su mtshungs pa'i ming gi rnam grangs tsam yin pa las 'di 'mgur yin pa las glu min zhes dang yang de glu yin pa las mgur min no zhes dbye ba bye brag tu dgar rgyu mi 'dug pas/ mgru zhes pa'ng glu dang/ glu zhes pa'ng mgur yin no//

Mgur is attested eleven times in Dunhuang Texts; similarly, *glu* and *mchid*, terms with identical meanings, also appear several times. For example, after Seng go Myi chen defeated and subdued Dwags po, it has been recorded that 'the emperor and his subjects enjoyed a banquet and at that time, Khyung po spung sad sang these words' and 'then Dba's dbyi tshab sang the *mchid*.' Therefore, at that time (during the time of the Tibetan Empire), *mgur*, *glu*, and *mchid* were different terms with identical meanings. Thus there are no specific differences such as this is *mgur* but not *glu* or that is *glu* but not *mgur*; instead, *mgur* was *glu* and *glu* was also *mgur*. (Don grub rgyal, 1997a, p. 339)"

Contrary to Don grub rgyal's conclusion, it is apparent that *mgur*, *glu*, and *mchid* are terms used for people with different social statuses during imperial Tibet; for instance, *mgur* is only used for the songs sung by the royalty, while *mchid* and *glu/klu* are often associated with non-royals.[63]

However, it is also worth noting these are used in metrically rendered songs. Thus, certain grammatical particles may be occasionally abbreviated to fit the poetic metre. The emperor Khri Lde gtsug brtsan sang a song to a minister of 'Jang or Nanzhao 南詔, a vassal kingdom, who came to visit. The song starts with boasting about the land and the emperor's lineage of Tibet. The motion verb *gshegs* is used for the emperor's coming as the lord of Tibet.

(36)
*lha sras nI myi 'i mgon / myI yul nI thams chad dang / myi mtshungs nI myi 'dra' ste // yul mtho ni sa gtsang bas // bod yul nI gshang du **gshegs** //* (PT 1287: 352-353)
A son of the gods–lord of humans.
Does not resemble or equal anywhere in the entire human world.
To the high and pure land,
The basin of Tibet, he came.

Syntactically, the motion verb is attested at the end of a line in this song, preceded by a terminative marker *du*.

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[63] For a detailed discussion of the seven *mgur*, four *glu*/*klu*, and five *mchid* recorded in the *OTC*, see Dotson (2013b, pp. 187–235).

Lady of Cog ro replied to councillor Khe rgad rgyal to re's song to justify her actions of not paying homage to the emperor. However, it is also possible that the Cog ro Lady is ironic by calling the emperor a god in her song.

> (37)
> *cog ro zas mchid blangs pa 'I tshig la // kye 'dam gyi ni thang kar du / lha **gshegs** ni zhal ma 'tshol // lha **gshegs** nI zhal 'tshol na / dud de ni pyag kyang 'tshal // pyag mda' nI sleb kyis 'dzIn //* (PT 1287: 491-492)
> Words the Lady from Cog ro sang in her song are:
> Oh! To the white plain of 'Dam,
> A god arrived; however, I could not recognize the god,
> Had I recognized when the god arrived,
> I would have bent and paid homage,
> And I would have seized the arrow once it arrived.

Syntactically, both attestations of the motion verb are preceded by a noun *lha* 'god' and followed by topicaliser *ni*. The motion verb *gshegs* is used for the god in this song. However, the god here very likely stands for the emperor, Cog ro lady is not exactly being frank when she addresses the emperor as the god.

2.2.3 *mchis* 'to go/come'

It seems *mchis* 'to go/come' is often used for ministers and messengers in *OTC*. We do not know if the ministers also act as messengers. At least the ones who take *mchis* are not ordinary messengers. During the reign of emperor Srong brtsan Sgam-po, once Khyung po spung sad zu tse, the minister went to castle Khri boms, and faked a banquet for the emperor. However, he was punished for his actions.

> (38)
> *de 'I 'og du khyung po spung sad zu tses / byas pa las // 'o ma lde lod btsan dang regs ma mjal nas // mkhar khri boms su **mchIs** te //* (PT 1287: 93-94)
> After that, Khyung po Spung sad Zu tse served but disagreed with 'O ma lde lod btsan and went to castle Khri boms.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *su* and followed by a connective particle *te*. It is worth noting that the disloyalty of a minister to the emperor and its imperial court does not influence his status, at least not in how he had been reflected in historical writings. As shown here, the writer of the *OTC* does not discriminate

against a particular minister's disloyalty to rip off the privileges he enjoys in written records, as the example above suggested.

Three ministers, Myang (Tseng sku), Dba's (Dbyi tshab), and Mnon (Pang sum 'dron po) went to Pyin ba to take an oath, and their trip is described as follows.

> (39)
> *myang dba's mnon dang gsum // bro len ching mkhar pying bar **mchIs** nas // nyin zhing nI phag tshal gyi shing khung na skugso // mtshan zhing nI pying bar **mchi** ste //* (PT 1287: 157-161)
> Myang, Dba's, and Mnon, three, took the oath and went to Pying castle;[64] during the day, they hid in the woods in forest and went to Pying ba at night.

Syntactically, both attestations are preceded by terminative marker *-r* while the first attestation is followed by *nas* and the second by a connective particle *ste*. After the oath-taking meeting mentioned above, the ministers who took part in the meeting went back to their respective homes, and *mchis* was used as a motion verb with multiple ministers as the subject. Although not clearly indicated, it can be inferred that the statement is about ministers going back to their own homes from the meeting. The adverb *slar* is used here to express they are not just going but going back to their own homes.

> (40)
> *de nas dgung thus bgos ste / slar **mchis** so //* (PT 1287: 179)
> Then [they] divided tasks and went back [to their respective homes].

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by an adverb *slar* 'again', and followed by an FP *so*.

The only occasion where the identity of the subject for verb *mchis* is possibly used not for a minister is the statement where Spug gyim brtsan rmang cung, a messenger, went to Zhang zhung to deliver a message from the emperor Srong btsan sgam po to the princess Sad mar kar (PT 1287: 402-405).

> (41)
> *lIg myi rhya 'I so nam dang bu srid zung shIg ches // spug gyim brtsan rmang cung bka' stsal te // mkhar (403) khyung lung du **mchis** na // btsan mo myi bzhugs te // chab nya la rol zhing // mtsho ma pang du gshegs nas // rmang cung ma pang*

---

[64] I read *ching* here as gerundive particle *cing*.

du (404) **mchis** *te // btsan mo zha sngar pyag bgyIs na // btsan mo zhal nas // btsan po dral gyI zha snga nas // thugs bde 'am myi bde (405) zhes bka' stsal to //*
Please go to LIg myi rhya for farming and bearing sons! [The emperor] ordered Spug gyim brtsan rmang cung to go to Khyung lung stronghold, and the empress was not there; she went fishing at Lake Ma pang. Then Rmang cung went to the [Lake] Ma pang. Paid homage to the empress, and the empress said, "Are the mind of emperor, my brother, at peace?"

A discernible contrast in using different motion verbs to different addressees is best demonstrated in a line where both the groom Lo ngam and the combative emperor Dri gum btsan po went to the castle Myang ro sham po with different motion verbs:

(42)
'ung nas lo ngam rta rdzI yang / mkhar myang ro sham por slar **mchIs** *so / btsan po yang myang ro sham por /***gshegs** *nas /* (PT 1287: 13-14)
Then the groom Lo-ngam returned to (*mchis*) the castle Myang-ro sham-po, and the emperor also went to (*gshegs*) Myang-ro sham-po.

Syntactically, the motion verb *mchis* is used for Lo ngam and it is preceded by an adverb *slar* 'again' and followed by an FP *so*. The motion verb *gshegs* is used for Dri gum btsan po, the emperor, preceded by a place name + allative marker *-r* and followed by an elative marker *nas*. However, it is not very likely that Lo ngam is a regular groom but a court minister overseeing the horse supplies for the military. Thus, we could probably list him as a minister in terms of his social status even before becoming the temporary lord after slaying the emperor. Although the narrative, in general, does not particularly portray the emperor in a favourable light, his status does not change in terms of what verbs to use for him. Therefore, it is significant to understand the strength of deference in the politeness system of OT, where it does not permit impolite or even plain verbs even if the emperor is out of his expected league.

2.2.4 *'gro* 'to go' (imperfective)

The imperfective verb *'gro* 'to go' is attested five times in *OTC*. Among five usages, it was used twice for reported speech. Since the text records events that have taken place in the past, *'gro* only appear in reported speech or hypothetical situations. The first use of the verb is in Ngar las skyes's conversation with his mother about the death of his father and brother, threatening his mother to reveal the truth about their whereabouts by stating he will *shir 'gro* 'to go and die'.

(43)

*spus kyI bu ngar le skyes kyi mchid nas / nga la myi bstan na shIr **'gro** zhes bgyis pa dang / ma kyang gdod bstan te / khyod kyi pha nI rhyas bsad do / khyod kyi jo bo btsan po ni / lo ngam rta rdzIs bkrongste / spur ni zangs brgya' ma kha sprod kyI nang du bcug ste rtsang po 'i gzhung la btang ngo /* (PT 1287:30-33)

Ngar-le-skyes, the son of Spus, says, "I am going to go and die if you do not show me", and then mother finally [spoke] truthfully, "Rhya killed your father, groom Lo-ngam killed your elder brother, the emperor and sealed the corpse [your father] in a copper casket and threw into the river."

Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by *shir* (verb *shi* 'die' followed by a terminative marker *-r*) and followed by a quotative particle *zhes*, which is followed by a verbal noun *bgyis pa* 'saying'.

After hearing this from his mother, he utters a proverbial statement which is not dissimilar to modern Tibetan *gtam dpe* 'proverbs'.[65]

(44)

*'ung nas spus kyi bu ngar la skyes kyi mchid nas / nga myI rlagi ni rjes gcod / chu rlag gi ni dbres tshol du **'gro** zhes mchi nas / chaste song ngo /* (PT 1287: 34-35)

Then Ngar-la-skyes, in the words of the son of Spus, "I will track down the trace of a lost person and find out about the lost water", said and, [he] left.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and followed by a quotative particle *zhes*. Bialek treats *myi rlag* < **myi rlag pa* "a lost person" (2018b, 383) and *chu rlag* < **chu sri(n) rlag pa* "a lost water-demon" as compounds (2018b, 24). It seems they are used in a proverbial statement here, where the second part about *chu rlag* "lost water" is a metaphor to emphasise the meaning *myI rlag* "lost person" expressed in the first part of the statement.

When Ngar las skyes went to look for the corpse of the emperor, he met with the serpent 'O de ring mo, and she asked a ransom for the corpse described as following. This statement is an excerpt from a conversation with his mother where he asks for more provisions before taking another trip to search for the ransom.

(45)

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[65] For a short study on the use of *gtam dpe* amongst modern Tibetans in Amdo Golok, see Pirie (2009).

*spur gyi glud du / myI 'i myig bya myig dang mtshungs 'og nas 'gebs pa gcig 'dod ches
zer na ma rnyed kyIs / da dung tshol du **'gro** dgos kyis / brgyags thog shig ces mchi nas
song ngo / /* (PT 1287: 41-42)

"…as the ransom for the corpse, she said [she] wants [a boy with] human eyes
resembling bird eyes closing eyelids upward and I could not find one, so have to go and
look for it, please prepare some provisions," said [Ngar las skyes] and left.

Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and followed by a
verbal auxiliary *dgos* 'have to', followed by a particle *kyis*.

The last example here is extracted from Chapter II of the *OTC*, on the successive chief
ministers, an aggrandizing narrative of Mgar Khri sgra 'Dzi rmun's wisdom. It provides a
hypothetical scenario where he can reveal the minds of three random travellers in a group. It
seems the verb is in the imperfective form mainly due to its hypothetical nature of the event
where it is not exactly a past event but a timeless situation.

(46)
*de 'i 'og tu / / mgar khri sgra 'dzI rmun gyis byaste / / 'dzangs rgya dang ltag brnyan nI
/ / 'dron po myi / gsum 'grogs te **'gro** na / / 'dron po thog ma 'I snying la 'dI sems / / bar
ma 'i snying la 'dI / / sems / tha ma 'I snying la 'dI sems shes / / grogs po la gtam byas
pa dang / / bden nam brdzun / 'dron po gsum kha bkalte rmas na / / khrI sgra 'dzI rmun
mchi ba bzhin mad de / / 'dzangs kyang / / nI de tsam mo / /* (PT 1287: 79-83)

After him, Mgar Khri-sgra 'Dzi rmun [was the chief minister], and for his wisdom and
intelligence, [seeing] three people travelling together, he recounted to his friend what
the first person was thinking, what the middle person was thinking, and what the last
person was thinking. When asked three travellers to find out if [what 'Dzi rmun
guessed] was true or false, they were like what 'Dzi rmun said, [and he was] that wise.

Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by a connective marker *te* and followed by a
converb *na*. All in all, *'gro* is used by Ngar las skyes when referring to himself (PT 1287: 31;
35; 42) and the author-compiler writing about random travellers (PT 1287: 80). This motion
verb is also used for minister [Dba's] Dbyi tshab (PT 1287: 151) when he went home with
[Myang] Tseng sku after his failed attempt to acquire the blood money for the killing of his
younger brother by Gshen Khri bzher in the presence of Zing po rje:

(47)
*dbyi tshab sngun (151) na **'gro** ba 'I rna bar lhangs shes thos ste / / dbyi tshab kyis
tshIg de tog ces blangs nas / / tseng sku khyod (152) zer ba las bden ba myed do / / kho
bo yang 'dI las ma rangs pa myed kyis / / khyod sems pa dang myi 'dra' (153) re zhes
mna' bor ro / /* (PT 1287:150-153)

Dbyi tshab walks in the front and hears it loud and clear. He said, "Tseng sku, there is no truer than what you have said. I do not have anything better than this to offer. I share what is on your mind." And he took an oath for it.

Thus, it seems this motion verb does not only differentiate the social status of the addressee in *OTC* but it also can be used by the speaker for him/herself in certain situations.

2.2.5 *p(h)yin* 'to go' (perfective)

As mentioned earlier, *pyin* 'to go' is another perfective form used for Ngar las skyes when he set out to look for the ransom (PT 1287:43, see in example (49) for the verb *song*). Since *p-* and *ph-* are used interchangeably in OT, it can be treated as equivalent to CT *phyin*. This motion verb is also attested in a song with metaphors by Khri 'Dus srong to confront Mgar clan and the verb *pyin* is also used for a personified rock and its inability to climb to the top of Sham po Mountain.

(48)
bya pu nI lung chungs na // 'bangs shIg ni rje ru re / mgar bu nI rje ru re / sbal pa ni 'pur du re // 'bangs las nI rje re ba / mthing brang nI gyen du 'gyur / pa bong ni ri la 'drIl / pya mda'I ni smra 'or gyis gyen du nI 'dril 'drIl yang // sham po ni rtse mo ru **pyin** *snyam nI leng myi bgyid //* (PT 1287:462-464)

In the small valley of Bya pu, a subject wants to become the lord, the son of Mgar wants to become the lord; the subject wants to become the lord, [is like] a frog wants to fly. It is like canals flowing uphill and boulders rolling upwards on a mountain. The braggart of the lower part of the Pya valley,[66] even if [he] rolls [the boulder] upwards on Sham-po, it will never reach the top.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *ru* and followed by an auxiliary verb *snyam* 'think'.

2.2.6 *song* 'to go' (perfective)

The motion verb *song* 'go' is used for third-person narratives and actions completed in the past. In the first example, this motion verb is used for Ngar las skyes's mother to escape to her natal home after a deadly massacre against her Bkrags clan, executed by the scions of Rhya.

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[66] I follow Bialek's interpretation of *smra 'or* as "a braggart" here (2018b, 180; 385–387). Dotson is uncertain about the meaning other than it should be an object (2013c, p. 350, n.8)..

(49)

*'ung gI 'og du bkrags kyI bu lha bu ru la skyes pha tshan dang / / rhya pha tshan du 'thabs so / rhyas bkrags rabs bchad / dud sna pho lo / / bkrags kyI chung bag cig bros te / pha myang gI yul thar to / lto na bu khyer te **song** ba byung ngo / /* (PT 1287: 26-28)

After that, the father, and sons of Bkrags, the divine son ru-la-skyes and the father and sons of Rhya fought, and the Rhya clan made Bkrags extinct and drove away from the livestock. It happened that a woman of Bkrags escaped to her natal land, carrying a child in her womb.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a connective marking particle *te* and followed by a nominaliser *ba*. This verb is part of a phrase where the serialisation of verbs takes place, *khyer te song* 'carried and went away'. The final verb *byung* at the end of the clause usually means 'to appear' or 'to happen'.

Later, when Ngar las skyes went to find the ransom for regaining Dri gum's corpse, he found the right boy after searching everywhere. In this passage, two motion verbs were used for him, *pyin* and *song*; both are perfective forms for 'to go'. Since these two verbs were used almost in one sentence, it is possible these two verbs had very similar usage and that the author wanted just to avoid repetition. However, it is premature to say two verbs are identical just by looking at one case.

(50)

*gang par 'phrun gyi 'og du **pyin** na / cho myi bya 'I bu mo zhig yur ba byed pa 'I gan du **song** na / bu khu ljo na 'dug pa zhig / myig bya myig dang mtshungs 'og nas 'gebs pa gcig 'dug nas / de blu na ji 'dod ces ma la drIs na / ma na re gzhan myI 'dod / nam nam zha zhar / btsan po rje dbyal zhig nongs na / thor to 'phren mo ni bcings / ngo la mtshal gyis byugs / lus la ni bzhags / btsan po 'i spur la nI 'tshog / myI la 'phrog [rl]om / zas la nI za 'thung / de ltar bya 'am myi bya zhes mchi nas / de bzhin bgyi bar / mna' bchad mtho' bchad / dam bgyIs tshIg bgyis nas / / cho myI bya 'I bu mo khrid de **song** ngo / /* (PT 1287: 43-48)

When [Ngar la skyes] went down to the Gang par 'phrun and went up to a lady of Cho myi bya irrigating and [saw] a baby boy in a cradle with the bird-like eyes that close its eyelids upwards. Then he asked, "what would it cost to ransom the boy?" The mother said, "I do not want anything else except this: whenever the emperor and his consort die, will you allow [people] to tie [their] braids on the top of heads, rub vermillion on faces, put [?] on bodies, gather around the corpse of the emperor, to boast about deprival of other people, eat and drink the food? [He] agreed to do all and swore an oath and promised [her with] sacred words, and he left with the girl of Cho myi bya.

In the part of *OTC* where Seng go Myi chen pledged his qualifications for leading the troops to Dags po, he allegorically spoke about putting an awl into a bag and coming out of the bag as one's qualification of a highly respected general. The motion verb *song* is used for the awl to come out of the bag.[67]

(51)
myi chen na re // myi yongs kyis kho bo la snyan du myi brjod pa yang bden no // kho bo sngon sgye 'u nang du zhugs kyang ma zhugs / rtse mo pyir ma byung ba yang bden no // kho bo sngon sge 'u nang du zhugs su zin na // rtse mo bas yu ba phan chad pyung ste **song** *zin no // 'ung gIs deng kho bos gsol ba yang // sngon ji 'i nang du yang ma zhugs pas // gdod 'jug par gsol ba yIn no zhes byas so //* (PT 1287: 209-212)
The big man says, "indeed, all the people do not speak highly of me; I have not gone into the bag, and it is true that [I] have not shown the tip [of the awl] out. If I have gone into the bag earlier, I have come out not only the tip but also the shaft [of the awl]. Then what I have said was I have not gone into anything before, so I am going into one now."

Syntactically, the motion verb *song* is preceded by a connective marking particle *ste* and followed by the auxiliary verb *zin* to further express the completion of the action of going. I have only included three examples of motion verb *song* used for Ngar las skyes' mother, Ngar las skyes, and Seng go myi chen's monologue to address himself here. It is also used for Ngar las skyes when he was accompanied by the girl of Cho myi bya (PT 1287: 48) and a stream in a proverbial statement in Mgar Khri 'bring's reply to the Chinese general Wong ker zhang she (PT 1287: 503) as:

(52)
thang shIng lo brgyar skyes (503) *pa yang / sta re gchig gI dgra 'o // chu gzha' gsang du* **song** *ba yang // gru mdom gang gis ska chig chod do //* (PT 1287: 503)
Although a pine tree grows for hundreds of years, it is the match for a single axe. Although a river runs very deep, a boat that is the length of [one's] arm span crosses it instantly.[68]

In this context, the motion verb *song* is used for the river which goes very deep, probably means going deep into the hidden area under the water.

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[67] As will be mentioned below, this metaphor of awl is an adaptation of the Chinese passage from *Shiji* 史記 and probably has nothing to do with the modern Amdo proverb describing inharmonious nature of a team, *'big sge nang la bsuds 'dra* "like putting awls in a bag"; the bag in this proverb is probably a bag that is made of yak hair or wool felt and once you put awls in it the tips of the awl come out and people use it as a metaphor for having too many opinions and not being able to make a unanimous decision by a group of people. See Takeuchi for identification of this passage in *Shiji* (1985).
[68] It is uncertain what is the meaning of the term *gzha' gsang* here. Dotson translates it as 'the very depths' (2013a, p. 303) and Kha sgang et al gives two different explanations, for the first entry, they have it as *che zhing yangs pa* 'big and wide' while for the second as *nam zhig* 'when time comes ' (2019, p. 377).

Oisel observed that *phyin* is primarily used for the first person and sometimes for third person; while *song* is commonly used for the third person and rarely with the second person in a CT text, Mi la ras pa's biography (Oisel, 2013, pp. 84–87).

2.2.7 *'ongs* 'to come'

The motion verb *'ong* (imperfective) or *'ongs* 'to come' is attested twice in the *OTC*, one in its perfective form *'ongs* for Ngar las skyes coming back to his mother for more provisions after his first trip to find his nephews. Its imperfective form *'ong* is attested in the chapter on successive chief ministers regarding a messenger.

(53)
*spus kyi bu ngar la skyes kyis / gnam mtha' bzhir btsal kyang myi 'i myig bya myig dang mtshungs 'og nas 'gebs pa ma rnyed nas / brgyags chad lham bugste / slar ma 'I gan du **'ongs** nas / myI rlag gi nI rjes chod / chu rlagI ni dbres kyang rnyed do /* (PT 1287: 38-40)
Ngar-la-skyes, the son of Spus looked for four directions to the edge of the sky but [he] could not find one [person] with human eyes look like bird-eye; he was out of food and his shoes were exhausted so [he] came back to his mother and told her that "I have caught the lost people, I have seen the waves of the lost water.

Syntactically, the motion verb *'ongs* is preceded by a terminative marking particle *du* and followed by an elative marking particle *nas* in this context. It is obvious that the deictic origo in this passage is set at the home of Ngar las skyes, motion verb *'ongs* 'came' is used when he went home while *song* is used for leaving the home and going somewhere else. The deictic centre is set where the main character of the narrator is based, for instance, in the following example, it is where the chief minister Mong Khri do re snag tshab is at the time when he expects coming of a messenger.

(54)
*de 'i 'og du mong / khri do re snang tshab kyis byaste // 'dzangs kyi tshad nI / rtsang bod kyi jo bo mar mun brlags [te?] / dku' ched po blod pa 'I tshe // deng pho nya zhIg rings par **'ong** ba snyam gis // pho nya 'i lan myur du / bgyi 'tshal zhes mchi nas // pho nya 'I lan ji la ma rag par byas pa las // 'ung gI rjes la' // pho nya mchis nas / / gsod bya myi dgos par // sngar sug las bgyis lagste // 'ung tsam mo //* (PT 1287: 74-78)
After that, Khri Do-re Snang-tshab served as [the chief minister], and for his wisdom, [when they] destroyed Mar-mun, the lord of Rtsang-bod, and when [they were]

discussing major plots, expecting a messenger coming (*'ong*) from afar that day, and [he] said, "please reply to the messenger quickly!" [He] made the reply without receiving anything [about the message that was still on its way]. When the messenger came later, didn't have to convey, had already done the writing of [the reply] earlier, it was like that.

Both *'ong* 'to come' and *'gro* 'to go' are attested in this passage. The pair of *'ong* 'to come' and *song* 'to go' or *'gro* 'to go' can be taken as equivalents of English motion verbs "come", usually presumed as expressing a "motion towards speaker" and "go", denoting "motion away from the speaker" (Wilkins & Hill, 1995, p. 209). Consequently, scholars argue that "go" and "come" are not mere deictic oppositions but semantically complex expressions (Wilkins & Hill, 1995). Although it is challenging to see if they are identical to English counterparts in terms of usage, Tibetan motion verbs are also semantically complex and a different meaning of OT motion verb *'ong* is attested in our corpus.

The verb *'ong* with a different meaning is attested twice in *OTC* and it seems 'suitable' or 'to be able to become someone or perform a certain duty' is the closest translation I can offer, for now, it is used during Seng go Myi chen and Kyung po Spung sad's disagreement on who is suitable to lead a campaign to Dags po (PT 1287: 205-209), which is, as Takeuchi suggested (1985), an adaptation of a passage from the *Shiji*. The verb *'ong* is used in an interrogative and a negative statement in the following passage, it can also be probably translated as 'capable' to show one's potential to become something from the perspective of the speaker.

(55)
'ung nas khyung po spung sad na re // khyo 'da's / dmag pon **'ong** *ngam / myI 'dzangs pa go // sgye 'u nang du smyung bu bcug pa dang mtshungs shes bya na // khyo 'da' / btsan po 'i snam pyI par bka' stsal nas // lo du ma zhig lon na // 'dzangs rngo thog go zhes // myI chig gIs / bstod pa kho bos ma thos na // khyo 'da's myI* **'ong** *ba la bsgre bsgre ste // 'bangs chab 'tshal bar mchi 'o // zhes byas so //* (PT 1287: 205-209)
Then Khyung-po spung-sad said, "are you fit to be general? To be a wise man, it is said, is like putting an awl in a bag. It has been a few years since you were appointed as an attendent to the emperor, yet I have not heard anyone praising you for being a wise man. After repeated [attempts], you are still not suitable, and you would waste the subjects."

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a noun *dmag pon* 'general' and followed by an interrogative marking particle *ngam*. The usage of the verb *'ong* here is not entirely as a motion verb. However, it is widespread even in modern Tibetan languages, for instance, *yong*, another perfective form of *'ong* is used in modern Tibetan U-tsang dialect to express

speaker's knowledge on one's ability to perform a specific task in a sentence like *de 'dra yong gi ma red* 'it cannot be done.' Here, *yong* is used "as an existential verb presupposing the speaker's habitual knowledge" (Hongladarom, 1996, p. 21).

2.2.8 *lhags* 'to arrive; to fall'

The killing of groom Lo-ngam is an interesting episode in *OTC*, and scholars argue the outline and motifs were drawn from the ritual literature of Old Tibetan (Dotson, 2013a, p. 15). Especially in the last part where the motion verb *lhags* 'to arrive; to fall' is attested, a pronominal confusion is presented with the appearance of first-person pronouns with genitive markers in front of the term *rta rdzi* or groom. It is probably a plot against Lo ngam expressed in the words of one of Rhya mo rhul bzhi khugs and Sna nam btsan bzhong rgyal, by describing how the speaker's own horse groom will bring the dog with poison on its fur to Lo-ngam.

> (56)
> *yul myang ro sham po drung du **lhags** nas / thabs kyIs bsgyud de / khyI 'i spu la dug yod pa da nga 'I rta rdzis khrid nas / khyI bzang po lo ngam gyi lagis byugs pa dang / nga 'I rta rdzIs khyi 'I spu la dug bskus pas lag pa byug ste bsad de / sha blan no //* (PT 1287:24-26)
> Then they went (*lhags*) to the foot of the Myang-ro sham-po. From a ruse, my groom took the dogs with poison on its hair to Lo-ngam and he caressed the better dog with his hands and killed him by the poison. Thus, [they] have taken the revenge.

Syntactically, the motion verb *lhags* is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and followed by an elative marker *nas*. It is not particularly clear who is the subject for the verb *lhags* here. Since Myang ro sham po is a toponym and does very likely not make the subject, then dogs are probably the subject here in this context. However, *lhags* is attested as a verb meaning "to fall" in other OT texts, which even harder for us to understand the usage.

2.2.9 *dong* 'to go'

It seems *dong* 'to go' (perfective) is used for ministers in *OTC*, although it is only attested twice. It is used by both Myang and Dba's ministers for going home together.

> (57)
> *'ung nas myang dba's gnyi yi chad de / 'grogs / ste **dong** ngo // dbyI tshab ni snga / tseng sku nI 'pyi ste // khyim du **dong** ngo //* (PT 1287:147-148)

Then both Myang and Dba's were disappointed and went together; Dbyi-tshab in the front and Tseng sku behind, [they] went home.

Syntactically, the first attestation here is preceded by a connective marker *ste* and followed by an FP *ngo*, while the second attestation is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and followed by an FP *ngo*. It is interesting to observe the imperfective form of the verb *'dong* is attested on the west side of the inscription of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty (Treaty: w40),[69], which is identical to the imperfective form of our verb *dong* here. It should probably be translated as 'to send' there since it is concerned with the issue of sending messengers by both Tibet and China. However, Richardson translates it as 'set out' (Richardson, 1978, p. 153). Hill once observed that motion verb *dong* in OT has dual antecedents and examples here support this conclusion.[70]

2.2.10 *slebs* 'to reach'

The verb *slebs* is used in the *OTC* to describe the actions of insects and rivers on three occasions in the text. All of them are part of the songs and appear after particles of negation, such as *ma* and *myi*. There is another attestation of *sleb* scholars do not treat as a motion verb but as a cognate of *leb* 'flat' when translating it (PT 1287: 492). I find it convincing to understand *sleb* in this context as 'flat' or 'horizontal'.[71]

(58)
cog ro zas mchid blangs pa 'I tshig la // kye 'dam gyi ni thang kar du / lha gshegs ni (492) zhal ma 'tshol // lha gshegs nI zhal 'tshol na / dud de ni pyag kyang 'tshal // pyag mda' nI **sleb** *kyis 'dzIn // de 'i ni (493) man chad la // dud de ni pyag 'tshal du / sogs bu nI yu ba thungs // 'greng ste ni pyag 'tshal du / sten kyi ni chos (494) ma lags / /*
Cog ro za sang the following song: "Alas! [I] did not know that a god came to the flat plains of 'Dam, if [I] did, [I] would have paid respect by bending over and saluting. [I would also] hold the arrow horizontally. To salute below the arrow, [my arms] are too short for bending over and saluting. It is not the tradition to salute while standing upright."

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[69] However, there are counter examples for this statement. For instance, the following example from Sino-Tibetan Treaty do not support this argument, *phan tshun gyI pho nya 'dong ba yang // lam rnying par byung nas //* (Sino-Tib Insc: w40-w41) For both sides to send envoys, old routes should be taken.

[70] No published source is availlable for this observation yet (personal communications with Nathan Hill).

[71] Previous studies could not come to an agreement on intrepreting this word. Dotson left it untranslated and for a discussion on previous treatments of the word, see Dotson (2013b, 204, n.34). Bialek translates this line as [I] would seize the arrow with ?the flat hand? (2018b, 139).

The following two lines are from 'Dus srong's song at the time of Mgar clan's disloyalty to the emperor, by belittling the Mgar by using a metaphor of an insect, *grog sbur*, 'beetle' which becomes the prey for a hawk.

(59)
*ya ru nI dgung ma **slebs** / ma ru nI dog ma **slebs** /* (PT 1287: 461)
[The beetle] could not reach the sky above and could not reach the earth below.

Syntactically, both attestations in this context are preceded by negation marking *ma* without being followed by any words or particles.

Different types of oratorical skills were employed in the exchanges that took place between Mgar Khri 'bring and Chinese general Wong ker zhang she, metaphorical statements such as the following one are prevalent in their exchange.

(60)
*mye rI ka na 'ba'r ba / chu lung pa na 'bab pas gsad du myI **slebs**te //* (PT 1287: 515-516)
The fire on the mountains could not be reached by the water flowing in the valley to extinguish it.

Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by a negation marker *myI* and followed by a connective marking particle *-te*. Interestingly, the subjects in sentences with these attestations of *slebs* are insects and natural phenomena such as rivers if we treat the usage in example 54 as a different word meaning 'flat' or 'horizontal'.

2.2.11 *bros* 'to escape'

The motion verb *bros* 'to escape' is used for a woman from the Bkrags clan (who later gives birth to Ngar las skyes) and (Mgar) Yul zung in *OTC*. It seems the usage does not distinguish the social status of the subjects.

(61)
*bkrags kyI chung ba gchig **bros** te / pha mying gI yul du thar to /* (PT 1287: 27)
A little girl from Bkrags escaped to [her] natal home.

Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by a numeral noun *gcig* 'one' and followed by a connective marking particle *te*.

During the reign of Gnam ri slon btsan, a local lord escaped to the land of Turks to avoid attacks from the generals of the emperor. It is recorded as follows:

(62)
*mang po rje sum bu nI dru gu yul du **bros** so //* (PT 1287: 183)
Sumbu, the lord of many, escaped to the land of Turks.[72]

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and followed by an FP *so*.

The motion verb *bros* is also used for ministers, such as Yul zung's flight from Khyung po spung sad's place to report to the emperor his findings of the disloyalty of a minister.

(63)
*yul zung slar **bros**te btsan po 'i snyan du gsol to // yul zung slar **bros** pa'I rjes la //*
khyung po spung sad rang lcebste gum nas / mgo bchad de // bu ngag re khyung bskur
nas // sku mkhar pying bar mchIs so // (PT 1287: 323-324)
Yulzung escaped back and reported it to the emperor. After Yulzung had escaped back, Khyungpo Spungsad died from committing suicide. His son, Ngagre Khyung bskur took it and [brought it] to the Pyingba castle.

Syntactically, both attestations in this context are preceded by an adverb *slar* 'again', and the first attestation is followed by a connective marking particle *-te* while the second is by a nominaliser *pa*. The motion verb *bros* takes various subjects without differentiating their social status.

2.2.12 Conclusion

Apart from being a historical document, the *OTC* can be understood as a literary text as well. Various subjects, including gods, royalties, ministers, messengers, random travellers, and animals such as dogs and beetles, as well as personified natural phenomena like fire, flames, flowing water, and rocks, can take motion verbs for indexing and express deictic meaning in the *OTC*. Usage of motion verbs *gshegs* and *mchis* in *OTC* are almost identical to the *OTA* where *gshegs* is used for the emperors, while *mchis* is for ministers, even Lo ngam, the

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[72] I am following Dotson here to translate *mang po rje* as 'the lord of many' (2013b, p. 327) although it is possible that *mang po* is the name of a kingdom or the personal name of this particular lord.

emperor-slayer, takes this motion verb. However, gods are an addition in the *OTC* compared to *OTA*, which is decided by the content and genre of the text. Ngar las skyes, a central character in an episode on retrieving the emperor's corpse in *OTC*, takes motion verbs *song*, *pyin*, *'gro*, and *'ong*. Among these motion verbs, perfective form *song* is also used for Ngar las skyes's mother, imperfective verb *'gro* takes ministers as well as random pedestrians, and *pyin* takes a personified rock. At the same time, *'ong* is only attested regarding Ngar las skyes. Motion verb *slebs* is used mostly for insects and natural phenomena such as a beetle and a stream in the songs performed by certain royalties in *OTC*.

Table 2. Frequency of motion verbs in different chapters of *OTC*[73]

	Gen.	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	VIV	XV	XVI	Total
gshegs	10	15	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	35
mchis	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
go	0	3	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
song	0	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	7
ong	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
lhags	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
dong	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
slebs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
pyin	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	10	27	5	5	2	2	0	3	5	1	4	5	1	0	0	1	0	71

2.3 Motion verbs in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*

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[73] The order of chapters is closely followed with Dotson's arrangement, according to him, seventeen chapters of the *OTC* should be organized as follows: Genealogy: PT 1286, 1–69; Royal Genealogy, Chr. I: PT 1287, 1–62; Tale of Dri gum, Chr. II: PT 1287, 63–117; Account of chief Councillors, Chr. III: PT 1287, 118–172; Reign of Stag bu snya gzigs, Chr. IV: PT 1287, 173–246; Reign of Gnam ri slon btsan, Chr. V: PT 1287, 247–298; Oaths of Dba's Dbyi tshab and Srong brtsan sgam po, Chr. VI: PT 1287, 299–314; Reign of Srong brtsan sgam po, Part One, Chr. VII: PT 1287, 315–327; Career of Zu tse, Part Two, Chr. VIII: PT 1287, 398–432; Songs of Sad mar kar, Chr. IX: PT 1287, 433–455; Reign of Srong brtsan sgam po, Part Two, Chr. X: PT 1287, 456–481; Song of Emperor Khri 'Dus srong, Chr. XI: PT 1287, 482–494; Songs of Lady Cog ro and Councillor Khe rgad, Chr. XII: PT 1287, 495–525; Victory of Councillor Mgar Khri 'bring over Wong ker zhang she, Chr. XIII: PT 1287, 526–536; Songs of Pa tshab and Cog ro za, Chr. XIV: PT 1287, 328–337; Eulogy of Khri 'Dus srong, Chr. XV: PT 1287, 338–365; Reign of Khri Lde gtsug brtsan, Chr. XVI: PT 1287, 366–397; Reign of Khri Srong lde brtsan (Dotson, 2013b, pp. 408–409). On the issue of misplaced panels in *OTC*, see Uray (1992).

As a text with dozens of characters and dramatic plots, it is expected for the OT *Rāmāyaṇa* to employ different motion verbs for different characters. To better understand the OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, after completing a series of studies, de Jong concludes that six different manuscripts from Dunhuang represent two recensions of the story, ITJ 0737-3 (D), ITJ 0737-1 (A), *verso* of ITJ 0737-2 (C) and PT 0983 (F) representing the recension I while PT 0981 (E) and *recto* of ITJ 0737-2 (B) recension II (de Jong, 1977, p. 37). In their recent study on multiple Tibetan documents from Dunhuang, after a careful palaeographical study, they conclude that ITJ 0737-3 (D) and ITJ 0737-1 (A) and the *OTC* are written in the same hand (Dotson & Helman-Wazny, 2016, pp. 164–165); they also contend that PT 0981 (E) dates to the late *Guīyìjūn* 歸義軍 era (late tenth century) (pp. 138–139). This conclusion, if true, is significant on several levels; it probably explains the reason why some versions, for instance, version E of the *Rāmāyaṇa* texts, is easier to read than other OT texts for someone who received training for reading Modern and Classical Tibetan because the later versions of the text probably reflect the latest grammatical and orthographic norms of all the texts we examine here. Moreover, it might shed light on changes that took place for OT orthographical and linguistic features in the 9th to the 10th century if we compare multiple versions of the same story from two consecutive centuries critically.[74] Although some motion verbs, such as *’phur* ‘to fly’, *mchongs* ‘to jump’, and *bzhud* ‘to go’ are only attested in OT *Rāmāyaṇa* texts. At the same time, a handful of other motion verbs appear in *OTA* and *OTC* are missing there, this minor difference probably has more to do with the narrative style and subject matter of each text than their dates.

2.3.1 *gshegs* ‘to go/come’

The motion verb *gshegs* ‘to go’ is used for different gods in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, including Tshangs-pa, Devaputras, or the sons of the gods, Mahadeba, and highly ranked human characters of the narrative such as the king of Ten Chariots, Ramana, and Sita. Thus, this motion verb can be treated as an honorific form reserved for the characters with high status

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[74] One small but obvious orthographical detail supports this conclusion; it is, unlike written as *phyin* ‘to go’ in other versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the motion verb *pyin* is the allomorph attested in version D and A of *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *OTC* (See for a discussion later in this chapter). When we read this text, we probably should always keep in mind that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a translated work, and it would be worthwhile to see if it had been held to a high standard as the imperial court did for the translations of Buddhist texts. Meetings on standardising the dharma translations were convened in the presence of the emperor and bilingual terms were produced and standardised and regulated by the chief translators as recorded in the *BPNP* (p. 2-4). It would also be interesting to see if there are any points of influence from such manuals on the translation of these non-Buddhist texts.

and never used for the demon king Daśagrīva or his sister Phurpala, nor even the monkeys treated favourably in the epic. The motion verb *gshegs* takes both singular and plural subjects. The imperfective form is not attested anywhere in the OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. Regarding its distribution in two recensions, the motion verb *gshegs* is more commonly used in recension II (ITJ 0737-1) than in recension I (PT 0981).

In the following example, *gshegs* is used for the sons of the gods with a terminative particle *su*; it is under the encouragement of Malhyapanta, the sons of the gods agreed to go to the land of Langkapura:

(64)
lha 'i bu rnam[sic] *kyang // yul lang ka pu rar* **gshegs** *su gnang ngo //* (PT 0981: r59)
Sons of gods also agreed to go to the land of Langkapura.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by terminative marker *-r* and followed by another terminative marker *su*, which is part of a phrase *gshegs su gnang*,

Sons of the gods are not identified other than using the generic term *lha'i bu rnams* 'the sons of the gods' here and they take the motion verb *gshegs*. In the following example, motion verb *gshegs* is used twice for the sons of the gods in the following passage from the recension I of the Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa* and it is very similar to the example quoted above. However, the first attestation here is in an interrogative statement where Malhyapanta asks his nephews, the sons of the gods, to go to Langkapura using honorific *gshegs*.

(65)
tsha bo rnams tshe gchig lang ka pu ra[r] **gshegs** *su ji gnang zhes gso[l] [---] lha 'I bu rnams* **gshegs***u gnang ste // srin pos kyang [---] [---] solto//* (ITJ 0737-1: 8-10)
When asked, "would you nephews go to Langkapura for once [---]?" and the sons of the gods agreed to go there. The Rakshasa also [---].

Syntactically, the first attestation is preceded by a terminative marker *-r* and followed by another terminative marker *su*. The second attestation is preceded by a plural marking *rnams* and followed by a terminative marker *-u*. Even in reported speeches, Malhyapanta uses *gshegs* to address the sons of gods who are, as he mentioned, his nephews, which probably indicates that *gshegs* is the motion verb used between characters with similar social status. Since motion verb *gshegs* is usually an honorific term, therefore, it is

possible that Malhypanta is being inappropriately polite and officious by putting him in a lower status to ask his nephews.

Tshangspa (Brahmā) is probably the highest-ranked character in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and takes the motion verb *gshegs*. In the following example, *gshegs* is used for Tshangspa to leave abruptly after boasting about his phenomenal power to the sons of gods.

(66)
*tshangs pas bka' stsald pa // srId gsum dbang byed nged las myed / stong khams myi [---] mda's 'phangs des myi phog / ches gsungs nas phyod ches **gshegs** pa dang // lha 'I bu rnams yi chad de / ma ha de ba 'I dngos grub bsgrubso //* (ITJ 0737-1: 29-31)
Tshangs-pa ordered, "I am the only one who reigns over the three worlds, and not space […] will not be struck by the arrows by anyone", said so and went with great haste and sons of gods were in despair and practised obtaining of the power of Mahadeba.

Syntactically, the motion verb *gshegs* is preceded by a phrase *phyod ches*.[75]

Following is a passage with the densest usage of *gshegs* in the OT *Rāmāyaṇa*: among four attestations in total, all four of them were used for Mahadeba. One attestation is when Upade uses *gshegs* to address her husband Mahadeba when pleading for his consent to come to have an audience with the sons of the gods.

(67)
*ma ha de bas kyang // sems kyi rtog pa ngan par / thugsu chud de / **gshegs**u [ma] gnang [ba] las / mgrIn bcus / mgo gchig bchad de / sbyin bsregs dang mchod pa sna tshogs byas kyang [---] [---] **gshegs**u [ma?] gnang nas // ma ha de ba 'I btsun mo / u pa de / shin du thugs rje ste / ma ha de ba la gsol pa [---] [---] bu rnams kyis bsnyen pa sna tshogs 'dI ltar bgyis pa la thugs myi rje 'am / **gshegs** pa 'I rigs she[---] [g]sol pa dang / ma byI dag sems kyi rtog pa ngan pas myi 'gro 'o zhes byung nas // **gshegs**u ma gnang ngo //* (ITJ 0737-1: 31-35)
Mahadeba realizes the bad intention [of the sons of the gods] and does not come. Even after Ten-heads cut off one of his heads and worshipped by making a burnt offering, [---] still did not come. Upade, Mahadeva's consort, sympathised with them deeply. She said to Mahadeba, "[---] [---] The sons of the gods showed you such respect, and you still do not have any pity for them? You should come." He said, "Those down there are full of evil intentions, so I shall not go." He did not consent to come.

Syntactically, the first attestation is preceded by a connective marking particle *de* and followed by a terminative marking particle *-u*. For the second attestation, due to damage, it is

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not clear what precedes the motion verb, but it is followed by a terminative marking particle *-u*. The third attestation is preceded by an interrogative marker *'am*, which was part of the preceding sentence, followed by a nominaliser *pa*. The fourth attestation is preceded by an elative marker *nas* and followed by a terminative marking particle *-u*, which is followed by an honorific negational predicate *ma gnang*, 'not do/grant'. It is noteworthy that *'gro* 'to go' is used by Mahadeba for himself here instead of *gshegs* in a conversation with his consort, which probably confirms that characters with high status very likely do not address themselves with honorific terms in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*.[76]

Motion verb *gshegs* is used for Ramana several times in recension I of the OT *Rāmāyaṇa.* In the following example, the motion verb *gshegs* is used for Ramana in the narrative when he went to have an affair with Litsabyid's wife.

(68)
mo dga' cheste // mjal du rung gis / sus (383) *kyang ma tshor bar spyon chig ches mchi nas // rgyal po yang sus ma tshor bar **gshegs**te* (384) *mo dang mjal bas gzims ste /* (ITJ 0737-1: 382-384)
She was excited, "we could meet, come without anyone knowing" said [Litsabyid's wife] and the king went without letting anyone knowing, met with her, and slept with her.

Syntactically, it is preceded by a verb *tshor ba* 'to feel, to know' followed by a terminative marker *-r* and followed by a connective marker *te*.
In the same recension, the motion verb is also used for Sita when Ramana entrusted her to five hundred divine seers in the Malaya Mountain.

(69)
re shig na rgyal po dag kyang dus su slar ma log nas / btsun mo skyo ches ste / gdugs (356) *gchig 'khyam du **gshegs** nas // sras slar drang srong la bcol pa las // sras btsun mo 'i* (357) *slad bzhin 'brangso /* (ITJ 0737-1: 355-357)
After some time, the king and others did not return. One day, the queen was extremely saddened and went for a walk. [She] entrusted [her] son to the divine seers but [the son] followed the queen.

Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by *'khyam du* (a verb *'khyam* 'to walk' followed by a terminative marker *du*) and followed by a converb *nas*.

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[76] Walter and Beckwith, by erroneously taking first person pronoun *nga* as a humble form, argue that they have "never seen (and hardly imaginable) in any Imperial period text" that "the emperor consistently refers to himself with the humble first person pronoun *nga*" (2010, p. 296).

2.3.2 *mchi/mchis* 'to go; come'

Motion verb *mchis* is used for characters Daśagrīva, Ramana brothers, and Hanumanta in the OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. Both the perfective form *mchis* and imperfective form *mchi* are attested. For Ramana, it is attested in both his own speech and in the narrative. In the following example, the imperfective form *mchi* is used by Lagshana to himself.

When the antagonist of the story, Daśagrīva (sometimes written as Daśagrīva), rode a chariot and went to look for Byisnu to fight after he was informed by his major and minor ministers that Byisnu has the greatest magic and power; the narrative uses *mchis* as the motion verb for him going there.

> (70)
> *mda' sha gri ba shIng rta la zhugs nas der **mchIs** so //* (PT 0981: r71-r72)
> Mda'-sha-gri-ba mounted on a chariot and went there.

Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by a demonstrative pronoun *de* followed by terminative marking particle *-r* and followed by an FP *so*. Although Daśagrīva is the antagonist in the story, the motion verb *mchis* is occasionally used for him.

This motion verb is also used for the protagonist of the story, Ramana. For instance, in the following statement, *mchis* is used for Ramana when he returned from hunting to find out that Sita, his consort, was gone.

> (71)
> *de nas rgyal po ra ma na slar **mchis** na // btsun mo sa gzhi dang bcas te ma mchIs pa dang //* (PT 0981: r170-r171)
> When king Ramana returned, the queen, together with the ground, was not there.

This motion verb is preceded by an adverbial *slar* and followed by converb *na*. Two verbs with the form *mchis* are used here in the above statement, first as a motion verb in reference to Ramana and then as an existential verb, in reference to Sita. It is interesting that in the recension I (ITJ 0737-1: 165; see in the section on *byon*) uses an honorific motion verb *byon* in this part of the narrative instead of *mchis*. Recension II or the later version does not use motion verb *byon* for Ramana. Another difference in detail is that in the recension II quoted

above, it is Ramana, but in recension I, it is *rgyal po mched gnyIs* 'the king and his brother, the two' who returned and found out that Sita was missing.

The same narrative of Ramana went for hunting and coming back to find the queen missing is retold in the voice of Ramana later in the text as follows:

(72)
*bdag ni bslu ba'I ri dags de bkum slar **mchIs** na' // sag gzhir bcas te / bzang mo myi bzhugs nas mye ngan {yid} la gdungs pa'I lug mdog ni // lo 'ba' lhags pa'i // shing ltar mdzes dang bral /* (PT 0981: r233-r234)
When I returned from killing the deceptive animal, with the land, the great woman does not reside there [anymore], and the sorrow made [my] heart ached; it made the colour of [my body] as a tree with leaves fallen and absent of the beauty.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by an adverb *slar* 'again' and followed by a converb *na'*. Ramana is using the motion verb *mchis* for himself, thus, we can probably conclude that it is a plain verb.

Apart from Daśagrīva and Ramana, Hanumanta, the monkey, also takes the motion verb *mchis* in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. After the monkeys discussed who can go to the land of Langkapura to look for the queen, Hanumanta volunteered to go there, and it was described as follows in the text:

(73)
*ha nu man ta nga nus zhes khas blangs nas // gnyIs ni mtsho 'gram na sdod // ha nu man ta mchongs te **mchis** nas // yul lang kar phyIn nas // btsal ba las // mkhar sgo myed rim dgu 'I nang du bcugs nas // dmag gyis 'tshol 'o //* (PT 0981: r225-r227)
Hanumanta came forward by saying I can do it. Two [brothers] remained at the seashore. Hanumanta went by jumping to the land of Lang-ka and by searching [found the queen] in a gateless nine-story castle and was guarded by soldiers.

In this context, the motion verb is preceded by a connective marking particle *te* which was preceded by another motion verb *mchongs* 'to jump' and followed by an elative marking particle *nas*. Another motion verb *phyin* is also attested in proximity with *mchis*, however, *phyin* has the meaning of not only going but also arriving, which will be discussed below when it is treated as a separate motion verb. It is interesting that in the first sentence of this quote, an agentive marker *-s* is expected after the subject Hanumanta but it was omitted in our text.

Having gone to Langkapura, Hanumanta went to King Ramana with the letter from his queen, and again, the motion verb *mchis* is used for Hanumanta.

(74)
*yI ge mnos te / rgyal po ra ma na'i drung du **mchis** te / /* (PT 0981: r258-r259)
Carrying the letter, [Hanumanta] went to the presence of king Ramana.

In this context, the motion verb *mchis* is preceded by *drung du* (*drung* 'presence', followed by a terminative marking particle *du*) and followed by a connective particle *te*. Thus, *mchis* is primarily used for Daśagrīva, Ramana, and Hanumanta in the OT *Rāmāyaṇa*.

2.3.3 *song* 'to go'

The motion verb *song* is a perfective and imperative form meaning 'to go'. When it is in the perfective form, it means going away from the deictic centre of the narrator/writer/speaker. It is used for Daśagrīva, some unnamed gods, and Phurpala, Daśagrīva's sister. In the following sentence, the motion verb *song* is used for Daśagrīva when he failed to challenge Byisnu and went back to Langkapura. *Sla* in the following sentence is very likely a mistake for *slar* 'back' or 'again', to indicate returning to a place.

(75)
*sla[r] lang ka'i yul du **song** ngo / /* (PT 0981: r81)
[Daśagrīva] went back to the land of Langka.

Syntactically, the motion verb *song* is preceded by a *thad du* 'directly', which was preceded by *langg ka'i yul* 'the land of Langka', the location where Daśagrīva went and followed by an FP *ngo*. Semantically, the frame *slar…song* is "went back to…" denoting the person is going away from the narrator's deictic centre, in this case, in the continent of 'Dzam bu, Mdga'shagriba went from there to Langkapura.

In the following passage, Phya, the soothsayer, asked gods who was the god who granted the empowerment to Daśagrīva, and some gods answered it was Mahadeba, then Phya told the gods to go to Mahadeba to enquire about it. So, it is used by Phya to commend other gods to go to Mahadeba.

(76)

*phya 'i zhal nas / / lang ka'I rgyal po 'da' sha grI ba bas / lha rnams bkol zhing gnod pa byed pa / / dang po dbang sus bskur / / zhes rmas pa dang / ma ha de ba lags ces gsol te / / 'o na ma ha de ba'i thad du **song** la / / gza' phur bus ma ha de bal dris pa las / / ma ha de ba'i zhal nas ngas 'di dbang bskur ba ni mad / /* (PT 0981: r83-r86)

The Phya (soothsayer) said, "'Da'shagrIba, the king of Lang-ka exploited the gods and harmed them, so who first gave the empowerment to him?" They said, "it was Mahadeba" and "Then directly go to the Mahadeba!"[77] Bṛhaspati asked him, and he said, "I *did give* him the empowerment."

Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and followed by a *la* particle which usually connects two imperatives in CT, but the second imperative is missing here, this probably is a conventional way of using imperatives in OT. In this context, the verb *song* is used as an imperative form by the soothsayer to ask other gods to go to Mahadeba.

After Phurpala, the demon's sister searched everywhere for a suitable wife for her brother, and she returned to her place and informed her brother about the beauty of Ramana's wife. The motion verb *song* is used for Phurpala going back to her place.

(77)

*rang gi gnas su **song** ste / / mying po mda' sha gri ba la gsol pa / / 'dzam bu gling myI yul na / / rgyal po ra ma na 'i btsun mor 'os pas / / ra ma na la phrog pa'i rigs so zhes gs[o]l pa dang / /* (PT 0981: r137-r139)

[She] went back to her place and said to brother Daśagrīva, "in the continent of Jambudvīpa, land of humans, the king Ramana's queen is suitable for [your wife],[78] so [we] should abduct her from Ramana".

Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *su* and followed by a connective marking particle *ste*. This is the only place where this motion verb is used for Phurpula.

In the following example, the motion verb *song* is used for Daśagrīva in the reported speech of three monkeys who witnessed the abduction of Sita, the queen of Ramana, when Ramana asked if they had seen her.

(78)

*rmas na' / gzhe nying snga mo zhig na / / myI mgo bcu pa zhig gi / / bud myed sman 'dra' ba zhig sa bzhI dang bcas te khyer de **song** ngo / /* (PT 0981: r186-r187)

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[77] Read *thad* as "right; directly".

[78] As de Jong rightly pointed out (1989, p. 23), some details are definitely missing in this part of the text.

When asked, [they said] "In the morning, three days ago, a person with ten heads carried a woman with a piece of land and went away."

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a connective marking particle *de* and followed by an FP *ngo*. This is an episode where monkeys address Ramana, thus they should probably be referred to as social equals. Their description in the above statement shows that monkeys do not know the identity of Daśagrīva and have no inclination whatsoever. Thus, it seems safe to say that *song* can be used between strangers with unknown social statuses in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. Again, this perfective form of verb *song* is used for the subject, Daśagrīva going away from the deictic centre of the speakers, monkeys.

2.3.4 *'gro* 'to go' (imperfective)

The motion verb *'gro* is used by Daśagrīva, Ramana, Lagshana, and monkeys when they are referring to themselves before executing the action of going in their speeches since it is in imperfective form. The motion verb *shog* 'to come' as an imperative form is used by Byisnyu to Daśagrīva to ask him to come in as well as to Byisnyu by Daśagrīva when he called on him to start a fight. Various motion verbs are attested in the following passage and *'gro* 'to go' is used by Daśagrīva to himself when Byisnyu invited him to come in and *'ongs* 'to come'(perfective) is used by Byisnyu to Daśagrīva, Daśagrīva to himself, and by the writer of the story to Daśagrīva.

(79)
*byI snyu 'I zhal nas / rgyal po 'dir **'ongs** pa legs / / nang du shog cig ces bsgo ba dang mda' sha gri ba na re nga nI thab mo la **'ongs** na / / cI ste nang du **'gro** zhes byas pa dang / / byI snu 'i zhal nas / / khyed yi bu cag gnyIs kyang zhan las 'phags pa yin bas / / khyI phrad du 'thab par myi rigs pas / / dIng ni nang du **shog** la zan yang zos ngal yang sos te / sang ni 'thab mo 'gyed do shes 'byung ba dang / / 'da' sha grI ba nang du **'ongs** pa dang / / byI snu lang su yang ma btub pa las mda' sha grI ba khros nas / / tshur **shog** yu bu cag gnyis 'thab mo 'gyed ces zer ba dang / byI snu zhal nas / gzhan myI dgos nga'i rna ba ya gcig thyog la khye rog ces zer ba dang / rna ba ya [gc]Ig kyang ma theg nas / / bred zad nas / byI snu 'i rkang pa la mgo gtugs nas phyag byas so / /* (PT 0981: r73-r81)
Byisnyu said, "it was good that the king came here, please enter [the room]."
Mda'shagripa said, "I came here for the fight, why should I enter?". Byisnyu said, "you and I are greater than others,[79] thus [we] shall not fight like dogs that meet each other, so come inside today, having eaten food, resumed from tiredness, we can do the fighting tomorrow." Daśagrīva came inside and Byisnyu could not stand up, thus,

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[79] Read *yi bu cag* as *yu bu cag*. *Khyed* here is very likely *pluralis majestatis*, for more on this topic, see Hill (2013).

Daśagrīva was angry and said, "come here, we shall fight." Byisnu said, "[you] do not have to do anything else, just lift one of my ears and carry it away", [Daśagrīva] was unable to lift even one of his ears, and his alertness was exhausted. He touched Byisnu's feet with his head and prostrated to him.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative marking particle *du* and followed by a quotative marker *zhes*. Apart from various motion verbs used here, it is also noteworthy that the verb *thyog* which is the imperative form of subsequently attested verb *theg* 'lift up' attested here. The tense paradigm provided by different dictionaries are inconsistent, but it should be somewhere along the lines of the following: *gdeg, 'degs, btegs, theg*. Thus, *thyog* is a peculiar OT form of spelling that only attested in this text. Although *thyog* seems only to be attested in Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa*, the same form is used in another version when this episode is recounted (ITJ 0737-2: r75).

Moreover, Ramana referred to himself with the motion verb *'gro* when he set out for hunting and asked his brother Lagshana to guard the queen.

(80)
*rgyal po 'i zhal nas / / 'o na ri dags bsnyag du '**gro** gis / / lag sha na lha mo srungs shig zhes bsgo so / /* (PT 0981: r151-r152)
The king said, "then I will go and track the animal, Lagshana, you guard the queen", he ordered.

In this context, the motion verb *'gro* is preceded by a terminative particle *du* and followed by a converb *gis*, this particle expresses volitional first-person action. The traditional grammarians call it the agentive marker used for the purpose of giving reasons.[80] Due to the imperfective tense and non-honorific nature, *'gro* is primarily used by the speaker for oneself in conversations and reported speeches in the text and the above example is from an order Ramana gave to his brother while referring himself.

Similarly, in the following passage on Lagshana's conversation with the queen before her abduction by the king of Langkapura took place, *'gro* is used by Lagshana for himself on

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[80] In Tibetan *byed sgra rgyu mtshan ston pa la 'jug pa* 'agentive case used for giving reasons', for a discussion see Rdo rje rgyal po (1992, p. 13). However, this particle should not be seen as *byed sgra* or agentive case marker on several grounds. First, it does not follow the rules of the agentive markers where different particles are assigned to designated finals of the preceding words. Second, it does not function like an agentive marker. This particle is usually preceded by a verb rather than a noun, which is the case for agentive markers. Third, this particle is exclusively used with the first-person subjects while agentive markers do not have to follow such rules.

two occasions to refuse to go and find the king when the queen asked. However, through examining the context, it is evident that a negational particle is likely missing in the first case where *'gro* is used because the first part of the line provides the reason for Lagshana not pursuing his elder brother but choosing to follow king Ramana's order to guard the queen.

(81)
*lag sha na'i mchi[d] [---] rgyal pos bdag la bka' [---] lh[a] [m]o srungs shig zhes mchi bas // bdag '**gro** she[s] mchi ba dang [---] kh[r]os nas smras pa' // rgyal po nongs na // nga la bsrung na cha ci mchis // [---] lam na // rgyal po myi bzhug[s] dang // [b]dag dang bzhugs par d[g]ongs pa 'dra['] [---] ma thad na nga'I lus 'di mye phung du gyur te // su reg pa tshig cig zhes dmod pa b[o]r t[e] // de nas [la]g sha na 'i zhal nas // bdag ni gcen gyI bsgo ba nyan te myI '**gro** bar zad gyI // sems la gsal ba myed do // sems la g.yo myed na / nam zhig na khyo shug mkhon cig ces dmod pa bor //* (PT 0981: r156-r163)
Lagshana said, "the king ordered me to guard the queen, I shall [not] go". The queen angrily said, "if the king dies, what is the point to guard me? You seem probably want to be with me once the king is not there. If you do not agree, my body becomes a mass of fire and whoever touches, let it burn him." She cursed. Then Lagshana said, "I will follow my elder brother's order and shall not go anywhere. It is clear to me that there is nothing on my mind. There is no deceit in mind, thus may you, husband, and wife, hate each other someday." He uttered the curse.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a negation marker *myi* and followed by a nominaliser *ba*. Lagshana would not dare to go to look for the king when the queen asked him to, thus, he refuses it by saying *myi 'gro* with the negation marker *myi*.

In the following statement, the monkeys discussed who should go to the land of Langkapura and check if the queen is there and *'gro* is used in an interrogative statement with no subject but to ask who should go by using the pronoun *su* 'who' preceding the verb.

(82)
*de nas spre'u rnam gyis // bsgros pa // yul lang ka pu ra ni rgya' mtsho na 'dug pas // yu bu su '**gro** nus ces bsgros pa dang /* (PT 0981: r223-r224)
Thereupon monkeys discussed, "the land of Langkapura is in the ocean, who amongst us can go there?" They discussed.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *su* and followed by a modal verb *nus* 'can'. This is another occasion where *'gro* is used for monkeys when asking if they can jump to the land of Langkapura.

2.3.5 *phyin/pyin* 'to go'

Since it is common to use *pa* and *pha* interchangeably in OT texts, consequently, *pyin* 'to go' is the primary form attested in *OTC*, compared to its counterpart *phyin* in CT. However, it is interesting to observe that the scribe or translator to one version of the OT *Rāmāyaṇa* is very consistent with using *phyin* in the entire text (PT 0981; recension II according to de Jong) while another version is very determined to use *pyin* (ITJ 0737-1; recension I according to de Jong), this probably shed lights on the relative dating of two recensions where recension II is later than the recension I where a *pa* and *pha* were distinctly used. In terms of subjects, *phyin/pyin* is used for Ramana's father, Ramana and Lagshana, monkeys, and Daśagrīva. The following example is from a description of Ramana's father, the king with ten-chariots, when he participated a battle between gods and Asuras.

(83)
re shig na lha dang lha ma yin g.yul sprad de / / rgyal po shing rta bcu pa

*dmag la **phyin** nas / rmas te slar byon pa dang / /* (PT 0981: r105-r106)
At one point, gods and Asuras fought a battle, and the king Daśaratha went for war and came back after being wounded.

In terms of syntax, this motion verb is preceded by an allative particle *la* and followed by an elative particle *nas*. The motion verb *phyin* is used as part of the phrase *dmag la phyin* and *dmag* here should be understood as 'battle' rather than soldiers, with the allative particle *la* for the purpose of the journey. The following passage is on Daśagrīva taking away the queen while Ramana and his brothers were away. The verb *phyin* is used for Daśagrīva who approached the queen to seize her and carry her away.

(84)
*de nas srIn mda' sha grI ba der **phyin** nas / / lha mo blang ba tshad pa las / / lha mo la reg pa tshig par shes nas / rgyal po ra ma na dag kyang slar log du nye bas / / sa gzhI the gi tsam zhig dang blangs nas bros so / /* (PT 0981: r168-r170)
Mda' sha gri ba went there and tried to seize the queen but he knew he would be burned; king Ramana and others were soon to return, so he seized [her] with a plot of ground and fled.[81]

Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by *der*, a demonstrative pronoun *de* followed by a terminative marker *-r* and followed by an elative marker *nas*. Two other motion verbs

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[81] For reading *the gi* 'little bit of', I followed Btsan lha ngag dbang tshul khrims (1997, p. 296).

are attested in this passage, *slar log* 'to return' and *bros* 'to escape; to flee', the former is used for Ramana and his brother while the latter is used for Daśagrīva, these two verbs will be discussed separately later.

The following passage is a narrative on king Ramana sending three monkeys to look for the queen and their inability to locate her. The verb *phyin* is used three times here, however, not as a motion verb for the last attestation, at least not in a literal sense.

(85)
*rgyal pos kyang // 'phrin yig dang // rtags so rdub brdzangs nas // tshol du btang ngo // de nas spre'u gsum mar **phyin** dgung **phyIn** na // khungs ma **phyin** / rmad ma rnyed nas / mchI mchi ba dang //* (PT 0981: r218-r220)
The king also sent people to look for [the queen] with a letter and a token ring. Then three monkeys went down to everywhere but could not arrive at the source nor a clue, so they were going on and on…

Syntactically, the first two attestations in this context are part of a reduplicated phrase *mar phyin dgung phyin* 'gone up and down' meaning going everywhere, in the formulae ABCB, where B stands for the motion verb *phyin* and A and C are two nouns *mar* 'the lowest point' and *dgung* 'sky' respectively. The third attestation is preceded by a negation marker *ma* and the predicate ends with the motion verb *phyin*. The last *phyin* here requires some explanation, it is used as part of the phrase *khungs ma phyin*, with a negation marker between *khungs* 'the origin; the source' and *phyin* 'to go'. I read this phrase as not being able to find a source or not being able to track down the trace. It is also interesting to see the usage of motion verb *mchi* 'to go' (imperfective) used in the passage. Remarkably, it is used as a reduplication to emphasize the length of the process by stating "going on and on" rather than just going.[82] Version A of the text, there is a reduplication form *'gro 'gro* 'going on and on' instead (ITJ 0737-1: 167).

The verb *phyin* is also used for unnamed multiple subjects in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. For instance, it is used for the army of the monkeys and Ramana for arriving to Langkapura by crossing a bridge constructed by two powerful monkeys.

(86)
*de nas lang ka pu rar **pyin** te / srin po la dmag 'gyed par dus btab nas //* (ITJ 0737-1: 295-296)

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[82] For studies on reduplication in Tibetan, see Uray (1954) and Vollmann (2009).

Thereupon, [they] went and arrived in Langkapura and fixed a time to have a battle with the demons.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker -*r* and followed by a connective marker *te*. As mentioned earlier, *pyin* indicates not only going but also arriving at the destination and this example vividly illustrates that aspect with the previous sentence where it mentioned that the army of the monkeys crossed the bridge and went to Langkapura.

2.3.6 *'ongs* 'to come'

The motion verb *'ongs* 'to come' in both its perfective and imperfective form *'ong* is used for Drang srong (Skt. *ṛṣi*) or Seer, Daśagrīva, Rol rnyed ma (Sītā), and monkeys. In the following example, *'ongs* is used for when Malhyanpanta arrived to Drangsrong to offer his daughter to Drangsrong or the divine Seer. Another form *'ong* is attested in this passage as well. However, the latter probably should not be interpreted as a motion verb, but an auxiliary verb to support the preceding verb *dpyas pa* 'to laugh at'.

(87)
zhag gsum lon ba'i 'og du / / mal hyan pan tas / / [lha?] [dra]ng srong la gsol pa / / 'jig rten dag na gnyi ltar dro ba rkon / / bdag la byams par khyod las gzha[sic] *myI bzhugs / / drIn gzo lan du bdag gi bu mo 'di / / me ke se na 'bul na bzhes su gsol / / zhes byas nas / / bu mo khrid de* **'ongs** *pa dang / / lha 'i drang srong rab du myI dgyes te / / bdag gyis bu ma*[sic] *'dI blangs na ni / / drang srong gi chos lugs dang yang 'gal te / / 'jig rten gzhan gyis kyang dpyas par* **'ong** */ / ma blangs na nI brtse bas byin ba'i nor blang ngo zhes smras pa'i tshigs dang yang 'gal na / / cI lta bya snyam nas sems myi bde ste cang myi gsung ba dang/ /* (PT 0981: r38-r44)
After three nights, Malhyanpanta said to the divine Seer, "it is rare to find a sun-like warmth in the worlds. Nobody else but you showed kindness to me. To repay your kindness, I offer my daughter, Mekesena, to you and please accept her." He brought his daughter, and the divine seer got extremely peeved. He thought, 'If I accept this girl, it will violate the religion of the divine seers, and [beings] other worlds would laugh at me. If I do not accept her, I will violate the discipline 'shall accept the treasure offered with love', and his mind was disturbed by it and would not say a word.

Syntactically, the first attestation of the motion verb *'ongs* is preceded by a connective marking particle *de* and followed by *pa dang*. In contrast, the second attestation, where the imperfective form *'ong* used, is preceded by a terminative marker -*r* and the sentence ends with the motion verb itself. I have included a rather long passage as the example here to provide contextual information about the surroundings of the two forms of verb *'ongs*. The verb *'ongs* in the first instance is a motion verb with Malhyanpanta and his daughter as subjects, but the second case is taken from Malhyanpanta's thoughts, and it is not related to the motion of any subjects. Thus, it should be read as the prospect of their ridiculing

him with the auxiliary verb *'ong* to express the future aspect of the action but not as they will come and ridicule him. The verb *'ongs* is often used for describing someone coming to a relative deictic centre no matter whether it is a place or a person.

The following statement is from king Ramana when he talks to the queen about his concerns about him pursuing the deceitful deer while leaving the queen there alone. The subject is not explicitly mentioned, but it can be inferred that Daśagrīva is very likely to be the intended subject for the verb here.

(88)
rgyal po'i zhal na[s] */ / 'u ni bsnyag gi bar du khyod phrog par* **'ong** *zhes bgyi ba dang / / *(PT 0981: r148)
The king said, "[someone] will come to abduct while I pursue [the wild animal]."

Syntactically, the imperfective form of the motion verb *'ong* is preceded by verbal noun *'phrog pa* 'abducting' followed by a terminative marker *-r* and followed by a quotative marker *zhes* in this context. For this attestation, as the imperfective form in the previous example, *'ong* here could also be read as an auxiliary verb implying the future aspect of an action expressed by the main verbal noun *'phrog pa* 'abducting' with a terminative particle *-r*, not as "come to abduct you". If that is the case, then the phrase *'phrog par 'ong* should be translated as something along the lines of '[he] will kidnap [you]'.

Dotson observed some intertextuality between OT *Rāmāyaṇa* and Gri-gum Btsan po narrative in *OTC* that bodies of babies were sealed in copper cask (a copper vessel in the former case) and placed into a river and found by others as a prevalent motif (2013a, p. 173). The following passage is an excerpt where this famous motif is presented in OT *Rāmāyaṇa* and motion verb *'ongs* is used for the vessel coming to the furrow of Indian farmers.

(89)
de nas re shig na / mda' sha gri ba'i chung ma la bo mo gcig brtsas so /
/ mchan[mtshan] mkhan gyis bldas[bltas] na / / pha dang srin po 'i sde tshan brlag pa'i
mtshan dang ldan nas / zangs kha sbyar gyi nang du bcugs ste / / chu bskur te btang
ngo / / re shig rgya gar gI zhing pa / / dka' blang ba'i nang du **'ongs** *nas rnyed do / /*
(PT 0981: r93-r96)
After some time, a daughter was born to the Daśagrīva's wife. The sign-readers read it as a sign for destroying the community of demons; thus, [they] put her into a copper

vessel and placed her into the river. Shortly, [the copper vessel] came into the channel and was found by an Indian farmer.[83]

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and followed by an elative particle *nas*. The verb *'ongs* is used for Daśagrīva's daughter sealed in a copper vessel, later known as Rol rnyed ma and Sita when she was abandoned due to the inauspicious signs brought by her birth. The motion verb was specifically used for the vessel which contained Rol rnyed ma came into the channel or furrow.

In the following statement, *'ong* is used for three monkeys when Ramana met with them when he went to look for the queen. Two different motion verbs are used here, in Ramana's words to the monkeys.

(90)
*rgyal pos nged gnod pa myi byed gis mar shog shig ces bos pa dang / spre'u der **'ongs** so / /* (PT 0981: r185-186)
The king [said], "I won't harm you, please come downwards," and monkeys came there.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by *der*, a demonstrative pronoun *de* followed by a terminative particle *-r* and followed by an FP *so*. In this example, Ramana was the deictic centre, and all the motion verbs were used accordingly by Ramana calling the monkeys to come to him. It is worth noting that plural marking for the monkeys is omitted here.

In the following example, the motion verb *'ongs* is used for the army of monkeys. After having agreed on their alliance, Ramana and the monkeys made an appointment, but the army of the monkeys did not show up on time for the appointment as the following statement shows:

(91)
*lo gsum bsdad pa las spre'u dmag ma **'ongs** nas / / mda' la ye ge bris nas / / mgrIn bzang gyi yu[l] du 'phangs pa dang / /* (PT 0981: r209-r211)
[Ramana] waited there for three years, but the army of the monkeys still did not come. [Ramana] wrote a message and shot it [with an arrow] to the land of Mgrin bzang.

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[83] Read *dka'* as *rka* 'furrow; channel'.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a negation marker *ma* and followed by an elative particle *nas*. Negation is expressed with the perfective form *'ongs*, therefore, particle *ma* was used.

2.3.7 *rgyu* 'to travel; to move'

By looking at the two examples attested in OT *Rāmāyaṇa* texts, *rgyu* is an intransitive motion verb denoting the speedy celestial movement which is associated with beings and planets travelling or roaming in the space or the sky. For instance, in the examples below, this verb is used for stars in the sky and Daśagrīva's sister, who is paranormal even as a demon. Thus, it can be concluded that *rgyu* is a motion verb connoting ultra-speed and extreme distance that the subject travels very fast, no matter whether it is a star or a being.

In the following example, motion verb *rgyu* is used for a group of stars moving in the sky and the verbal phrase noun *rgyu skar* '(moving) star' is a commonly used term in Classical and Modern Tibetan.[84] The following poetic passage is from Ramana's letter to Sita, the queen, who was delivered by Hanumanta, the monkey, to Langkapura to comfort her. The letter is written in a metaphorical style to convey the information that once Ramana, who is like the precious jewel, once goes to Langkapura, he would be able to diminish the moving stars or the demons; and until then, the queen should keep the tears to herself and never lose hope in him.

> (92)
> *lhun po ril por / / rIn cen byin shar na' / / skar tshogs mkha' las **rgyu** ba 'od dang bral /*
> */ de bas bdag la / thugs brtse 'i ngang nyId ni / / dkyil yangs / rgya' mtsho 'i gtings su /*

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[84] Although *rgyu skar* as a verbal phrase appeared in Old Tibetan such as divination texts (ITJ 0739: 6v10), a famous case of attestation of this verbal phrase as well as the verb *rgyu* in Classical Tibetan is a verse usually attributed to Dran pa Ye shes Grags pa (San. Smṛtijñānakīrti) (ca.1100) in a folktale-like narrative for writing it on the door-top of a house in Gtsang rta nag. The stanza goes: *ri bong 'dzin pa **rgyu skar** phreng ba can // mtshan mo mkha' la **rgyu** ba ma mthong nas// dwangs pa'i mtsho nang 'di na zla ba zhes// gzugs brnyan tshad mar 'dzin pa byis pa'i blo//* 'It is an ignorant mind if one does not see the moon, the hare holder with the garland of moving stars, travelling on the night sky, but instead saying 'there is a moon in the clear lake' by pointing to the reflection.' For a slightly differently worded version of the verse and the story of Pandita Smṛtijñānakīrti, see Sakya throne holder 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs Ngag-dbang Kun-dga' bSod-nams's work titled *Rnal 'byor rgyud kyi dam pa'i chos byung ba'i tshul legs par bshad pa yo ga bstan pa'i sgo 'byed* at https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:W29307#open-viewer accessed on 5th March 2019.

*gyur ltar ya[n?] phu chab lta bu'i / yid kyIs / / dba' rgal dag / / rgya skyed dgongs pa'I /
lhum su / thim bar mdzod ces byung ngo / /* (PT 0981: r238-r241)
When the precious jewel arises on top of mount Meru, stars moving in the sky lose
their brilliance. Thus, please show me your affection which is like the centre of the vast
sea and let your mental sprays dissolve into the womb of capacious mind as if they are
mountain springs.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by ablative particle *las* and followed by a
nominaliser *ba* in this context.

This motion verb is also used for a character in the story. In the following passage, *rgyu*
probably describes Phurpala, the demoness's speedy travelling or movement in the space
since it is the verb used for *rgyu skar* 'moving stars' in OT (ITJ0739-1: 06v10).

(93)
*de nes res shIg na / / 'da' gri ba'i sring mo / / phur pa la zhes bya ba / / skra 'dzings
shIng 'jol ba / / myIg nas mye 'bar ba / / mtshan gcig la dpag tshad brgyad khrI 'i bar
du **rgyu** zhing / / myI 'o chog la gnod pa zhIg yod pas / / rgyal po ra ma na mthong ba
dang / / ma 'os par bzang bas / / a cang chags ches te / 'di dang lhan gcig 'grogs na ci
ma rung snyam nas / /* (PT 0981: r129-r133)
After some time, 'Da' [sha] gri ba's sister, known as Phurpala, who had messy hair,
flames coming out of [her] eyes, and moves eighty thousand *yojana*s (*dpag tshad*) for
one night, and who harms everyone, having seen Ramana appearing uncommonly
noble, tremendously desired him, and thought [to herself]: how nice it would be if I
could be with him.

Phurpala is a special case in the text where her motion is described as *rgyu* to demonstrate her
abnormal speed as a demoness. Syntactically, it is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and
followed by a continuative marking converb *zhing* in this context.

2.3.8 *'phur* 'to fly'

This verb is attested in the *Rāmāyaṇa* texts to describe the divine birds, so it seems although
gods and demons travel between celestial realms, they do not fly like birds. This motion verb
is attested as *'pur* three times in one text (ITJ 0737-1; recension I). Amongst these
attestations, it was used once for Sita's failed attempt to fly after Ramana accused her of
disloyalty to him during her confinement in Langkapura (ITJ -737-1: 401). In the following
example, the motion verb *'phur* as a part of a verbal noun *'phur ba* 'flying' is used for divine
birds when describing landscape where a troop of demons live.

(94)
*lha bya gnam la **'phur** ba ni gshog sgra 'ur 'ur / /* (PT 0981: r6)
Divine birds flying in the sky, making a roaring sound.

Syntactically, the motion verb or verbal noun is preceded by an allative particle *la* and followed by topicaliser *ni* in this context. This is from a passage where the writer describes the environment of the kingdom of demons at the beginning of one version of the text. Motion verb *'phur* is used for very likely plural divine birds flying in the sky, and for the sound of flying divine birds an onomatopœic word *'ur 'ur* is used.

When three monkeys were sent to search for the queen Sita, they encountered a bird with one of its wings burned. The bird had information on whereabouts of the queen and told them how its wing got burned. The following statement is from the bird with burned wing:

(95)
*nged gnyis rgyal srid ltod pa / las / dam bchas pa' / rI rab kyi rtse mo nas / **'phur** te //*
(ITJ 0737-1: 228-229)
"We fought over reigning of the kingdom; took an oath and flew from peak of Mount Meru…"

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by an elative particle *nas* and followed by a connective particle *te* in this context. This is the bird recounting how the wing was burned by the sun from flying over Mount Meru, and *'phur* is used for bird brothers in the monologue.

2.3.9 *mchongs* 'to jump'

This motion verb is attested four times and all the attestations are primarily concerned with the monkeys. After monkeys discussed who could jump over the sea to travel to the land of Langkapura, Hanumanta was the one who was able to go there by jumping over the sea. Excerpts from two versions of Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa* texts differ in details, for instance, the version E (PT 0981) presents a narrative that after a brief discussion, Hanumanta volunteers to go to Langkapura while the second excerpt from version A (ITJ 0737-1) has some details where two other monkeys, Sindu and Phashu lament about their inability to go to Langkapura and Hanumanta agreeing to go there only after Pha[g]shu asked him whether he is capable of going.

In the following passage, *mchongs* is used for Hanumanta for travelling to Langkapura by jumping, however, another motion verb *mchis* 'to go' was used as an auxiliary verb probably to emphasize that it is not just a vertical jump but horizontal hopping to another location, thus, I translate it as 'went to' there 'by jumping'.

(96)
*ha nu man ta **mchongs** te mchis nas / / yul lang kar phyIn nas / / btsal ba las / / mkhar sgo myed rim dgu 'I nang du bcugs nas / / dmag gyis 'tshol 'o / /* (PT 0981: r226-r227)
Hanumanta went to the land of Langka by jumping and he [found out] that [the queen] was sealed in a nine-layered castle without any doors and guarded by the armies.[85]

Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by an agent, Ha nu man ta, and followed by a connective particle *te*. It seems perfectly fine to use *mchongs* alone without the secondary verb *mchis* when exploring the possibilities of jumping as it shows here in the following example. Two monkeys confess their incapability to jump to Langkapura and it is with the secondary verb *mchis* that *mchongs* was used finally when Hanumanta went there by jumping.

(97)
*sIn du na re ngas myi nus shes zer / pa[g] shu na re ngas phar nI **mchongs**na / nas rgas pas pyir myi **mchongs** shes byas pa dang // ha nu man ta smras nI ma smras / yid la nus snyam pa sams pa dang / pag shu na re / ha nu man ta myi nus sam zhes dris so // rngo thog ches mchi nas // rgya mtsho la **mchongs**te mchis nas /* (ITJ 0737-1: 240-242)
Sindu said, "I am not able to do it"; Pagshu said, "if I jump to the other shore, then I would not be able to jump back to this shore due to the old age". Hanumanta said nothing but thought he would be able to do it. Pagshu asked "Hanumanta, are you capable to do it?" [Hanumanta] said "I am capable to do it" and went there by jumping over the sea.

Three attestations are syntactically different, the first attestation is preceded by a topicaliser *ni* and followed by a converb *-na*, the second attestation is preceded by a negation particle *myi* and followed by a quotative particle *shes*, and the third attestation is preceded by an allative particle *la* and followed by a connective particle *-te*. Interestingly, monkeys are the only group of characters in *Rāmāyaṇa* to perform the jumping motion, suggested by the usage of this motion verb.

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[85] Read *'tshol* as *'tsho* 'to herd; to take care of'.

2.3.10 *bzhud* 'to go'

The motion verb *bzhud* 'to go' is used for Ramana and Lagshana, Sita, and the monkey lord 'Ba'li in the text in both perfective and imperative forms. After some persuasion done by the deceived Sita, Lagshana finally went to assist his elder brother and *bzhud* is used for him going there.

> (98)
> *de nas lag sha na gcen gi grogs mdzad du **bzhud** pa dang / /* (PT 0981: r163-r164)
> Then Lagshana went to assist his elder brother.

Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by a terminative particle *du* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*. Unlike *phyin*, *bzhud* is very likely concerned with the going part of the motion rather than arriving since the verb is usually connected with action or goal stated when the subject in question is about to leave from the source.

The following passage is also on the Ramana brothers, it is not particularly straightforward in the text who is speaking here, but it is probably Ramana since it refers to Sita as *bzang mo*, the beautiful one. This was spoken right after they have awakened from sleeping for an extended period. After uttering the following statement, they went on their journey to look for the queen.

> (99)
> *da tsam bzang mo de / gdung ba'i mchIs ma dkyus shing spyan bkra' nas / / zla mdangs mdzes pa'i zhal na nas lbab ltar 'dril ba snyam / / gnyI zer lta bu 'i nyen pa'i thugs ngan gis / / mtshan mo mun pa bzhIn du gyur pa snyam zhes gsung zhIng **bzhud** pa dang / /* (PT 0981: r176-r178)
> [Ramana] said, "The beautiful woman, now tears of suffering from her bright eyes must be rolling down like stones on her moonlight-dashing face. Her sunbeam-like mind probably forced into the darkness of the night by the evil power" and they went on.

There is no destination mentioned here.

While hunting, when the deceitful animal was shot by Ramana, it shouted Lagshana's name to deceive Sita to send Lagshana to rescue Ramana from the predicament. The following passage describes the situation where Sita was deceived by the animal.

> (100)

*rI dags na re / snyIng rje lag sha na zhes bos pa dang / lha mo si tas gsan nas / jo bo
ma rung ba 'dra's / gcung grogs la **bzhud** ches byas na /* (ITJ 0737-1: 151-152)
The deer exclaimed, "sympathise [me]! Lagshana!" Sita, the queen heard it and said, "it
seems the lord is in distress, [you], the younger brother, go and assist [him]."

Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by an allative particle *la* and followed by a
quotative marker *ches* in this context. The verb *bzhud* is used as an imperative verb here
by Sita to order Lagshana to go and assist his brother.

It can also be the present form of the verb used for prohibitive, typical for Tibetan
language, attested with negations and in the following example. The present form is used
in the text with negation when the wife of 'Ba'li, one of the two opposing monkey
brothers, persuades her husband not to fight with his brother. It is the wife addressing her
husband not to go when *ma bzhud* was used.

(101)
*'ba' lI 'i chung ma 'i mchid nas / mgrin bzangs kyIs myi thub pa 'I steng du / de bar nyin
chig bzhIn du rgol ba dang sbyar na / non skyabs byed pa 'ga' zhig yod pa 'dras ste /
bkrongs par mchis // de ring ma **bzhud** chig ches bgyisna //* (ITJ 0737-1: 199-201)
'Ba'li's wife said, "looking at Mgrin-bzang not being able to defeat you but insisting on
fighting every day, it seems some people are supporting him; [they] would kill [you].
Do not go today!"

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a negation particle *ma* and followed by an
auxiliary verb *cig*. For both affirmative and prohibitive statements, imperative forms of
motion verbs can be followed by an imperative particle *c(h)ig*.

Motion verb *bzhud* is also used for Sita when Ramana convinced himself that she had an
affair with the demon king and asked her to go away by telling her to go anywhere she
wants to go as the following example shows.

(102)
*de bas na lha mo gar dgyes par **bzhud** chig ches gsungs pa dang //* (ITJ 0737-1: 395-
397)
Therefore, queen, go wherever you want!

Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by a terminative marker *-r* and followed by an
auxiliary verb *chig* in this context. As can be seen above, *bzhud* is used between husbands and
wives of 'Ba'li, the monkey king, and Ramana and Sita as well as by the author/narrator to

Ramana brothers, but never for other characters in the epic. So, *bzhud* emphasizes the process of movement, used between people who knew each other very well, but no substantial conclusions could be made. Pragmatically, *bzhud* is used by Sita to Lagshana, Ramana to his wife, 'Ba'li's wife to 'Ba'li, therefore, it probably should be taken as a plain form.

2.3.11 *slar log* 'to return'

As mentioned earlier, *log* alone is not necessarily sufficient to express the meaning of 'to return' but only 'opposite'. If it is paired with *gnyid* as *gnyid log,* it means 'to sleep'. Thus, *slar* is a necessary adverbial particle that precedes it to provide the meaning 'to return'. The following statement is from the oration of a bird with a burned wing to the monkeys. It seems *slar log* can be used to describe oneself. However, it seems the speaker must be at the location where he/she returned to at the time of utterance. For instance, the bird with the burned wing speaks about the process of how he had been deceived by his brother in the following fashion:

> (103)
> *nu bo 'i 'dab ma nyi mas tshIg la thug nas / **slar log** nas / nu bo rogs byas pa dang bdag nyI mas tshig ste /* (ITJ 0737-1: 230-231)
> My younger brother's wing was about to be burned by the sun, so I went back to assist [my] younger brother and I was burned by the sun.

Syntactically, this verbal phrase is both preceded and followed by the elative particle *nas*. The deictic centre is where it is at the time when speaking, the location where the younger brother was when it went to help, thus, the deictic centres are well-demarcated in first-person narratives.

The verbal phrase verb *slar log* is also used for Ramana with a negation marker *ma* when he had not returned as expected by the queen from going for a political campaign to defeat king Benbala.

> (104)
> *re shig na rgyal po dag kyang dus su **slar ma log** nas / btsun mo skyo ches ste /* (ITJ 0737-1: 355)
> Thereupon, the king and his men did not return on time; thus, the queen was extremely depressed.

Syntactically, the verbal phrase is preceded by a terminative marking particle *su* and followed by an elative particle *nas*. In terms of the deictic centre, it is where the queen is in this case since the king did not return to her. Thus, the queen is the main character here in this third-person narrative.

2.3.12 *byon* 'to come'

The motion verb *byon* 'to come' is used for the King Ten Chariots, Ramana's father, Ramana, Lagshana, and Sita in the Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa*. After being rescued from Langkapura, Sita was accompanied by Ramana and his brother to Jambudvīpa, where Ramana is the king. Like *phyin*, it is very possible that *byon* carries a meaning that it is more concerned with arriving at a destination. The difference is in spatial deixis, where *phyin* is away from the narrative deictic centre while *byon* is towards the narrative deictic centre, which means going to Jambudvīpa is expressed as *byon* while going to Langkapura is *phyin*.

> (105)
> *rgyal po ra ma na mched stangs dbyal yang / 'dzam bu kling du **byon** no /* (ITJ 0737-1:
> 326)
> King Ramana, his brother, and his wife came to the continent Jambudvīpa.

Syntactically, this motion verb is preceded by a terminative particle *du* and followed by an FP *no*. However, when Ramana and Lagshana are together, they can take the same motion verb *byon*, as follows.

> (106)
> *rgyal po mched gnyIs kyang slar **byon** na // lha mo sa gzhI dang bchas par gar song gthol*[sic] *myed nas //* (ITJ 0737-1: 165)
> When king Ramana and Lagshana returned, the queen, with the ground, was nowhere to be found.[86]

The narrative deictic centre can be changed from one episode of the epic to another. For instance, *byon* is also used for Sita and her son for going back to the Seers after taking a walk where the Seers are based in the centre. Like *log*, *byon* is preceded by *slar* to express the meaning of going back to a place.

> (107)

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[86] Read *gthol* as *gtol*. This is an altertation of aspirated *tha* and unaspirated *ta*, a common practice in some OT texts. However, amongst texts included on OTDT, *gthol* is attested in this text only.

*btsun mo si ta dang sras la ba gnyis 'grogste slar **byon** //* (ITJ 0737-1: 364)
Queen Sita and the Laba, the son came back together.

Syntactically, the motion verb comes at the end of a sentence, and it is preceded by an adverb *slar* 'again'.

Similarly, the same verb is also used with king Ramana for going back to his country from a successful political campaign against a neighbouring king named Benbala.

(108)
*rgyal po ra ma na yang chab srid legs rgyal nas / ben ba la 'bangs rnal mar bkug ste slar **byon** no //* (ITJ 0737-1: 367-368)
King Ramana was successful with political campaigns and conquered Benbala as genuine subjects and came back.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by an adverb *slar* 'again' and followed by FP *no* in this context. It is, again, used with *slar* which indicates the subject going back to a location where he/she was before taking the journey in question. It is probably his own kingdom where he went from defeating the people of Benbala.

The motion verb *byon* is also used for more abstract things such as one's thought as shown in an earlier part of the epic when Ramana encountered Sita for the first time as described below.

(109)
*rgyal po ra ma nas gzigs na / myIr skyes pa la // bud med de las bzang zhing mtshan dang ldan ba myed de / thugsu **byon** nas//* (ITJ 0737-1: 107-108)
King Ramana saw that no woman is more beautiful than [her] amongst all humans and was attracted to her.[87]

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative particle *-su* and followed by an elative particle *nas* in this context. Ramana thought that Rol rnyed ma (later named Sita) was more beautiful than anyone he had seen before, and he was attracted to her. Motion verb *byon*

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[87] The literal meaning of *thugs su byon* is '[something/someone] came to one's mind' 'enter the mind' in honorific terms, however, since there is no equivalence in the English language, thus, I translate it as 'attracted to'. Other similar phrases in Tibetan, still in use in modern written Tibetan, is *yid du 'ong*, or 'coming to one's mind' meaning someone finding something attractive. The origin of such expressions is beyond the scope of discussion here, but it would not be surprising to find a Sanskrit source for these expressions. This type of figurative and metaphorical usage of deictic motion verbs in Tibetan is briefly mentioned by Honladarom (1996, pp. 19–20). Comparatively, *thugs su zhugs* (PT1287:6) 'entering [one's] mind' means something bad invading one's mind as shown in the *OTC* how Dri gum bstan po went crazy after he was given a name erroneously.

in this passage is used for when Rol rnyed ma arrived at or came to Ramana's mind because of her attractiveness. Here, *byon* is very likely a verb used exclusively for characters with relatively high status in the epic, however, not as high as various highly ranked gods mentioned earlier in the text.

2.3.13 *spyon* 'to come/go'

Motion verb *spyon* is attested only once in the OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. From looking at the syntactical context, it is an imperative form. In the following example, the motion verb *spyon* is used by Litsabyid's wife when she is speaking to Ramana. This plot is about Ramana's extramarital affair with Litsayid's wife, and it is a stark contrast to Sita's chastity described later in the story. It can also be seen as an honorific verb in the following context.

(110)
rgyal po ra ma na bzang zhing 'od chags par 'dug pas // mo dga' cheste // mjal du rung gis / sus kyang ma tshor bar **spyon** *chig ches mchi nas // rgyal po yang sus ma tshor bar gshegste mo dang mjal bas gzims ste /* (ITJ 0737-1: 381-384)
King Ramana was handsome and splendid, "[I think] we should meet. You come [to me] without anyone knowing it," said [Li tsa byid's wife] and the king went without letting anyone know about it and met with her and slept with her.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative marking particle -*r* and followed by an auxiliary *chig*, which usually follows the imperative form of verbs to express commanding and optative moods.

2.3.14 *dong* 'to go'

The motion verb *dong* 'to go' and its imperfective form *'dong* are used for Ramana and Mgrin bzang, the armies of the monkeys, and the sons of the gods. The first example below is concerned with Ramana and Mgrin bzang, the monkey king, going back to their own homes after agreeing on meeting again in three years, and *dong* is used at the end of the sentence to indicate both going back to their own homes.

(111)
de nas / ra ma nas / mgrIn bzangs la dus btab nas / slar so so gnas su **dong** *ste //* (ITJ 0737-1: 208)
Then Ramana set a time with Mgrin bzangs and they went back to their own homes.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative particle *su* and followed by a connective particle *ste* in this context. The adverb *slar* is used here to indicate that they are returning to their homes from a location other than their homes.

Later when Ramana and the monkey king led the army of the monkeys to Langkapura, two powerful monkeys, Makhu and Damsi constructed bridges from moving mountains and trees for them to cross the sea to Langkapura. *Dong* is used here to describe the armies, including Ramana crossing the bridge and going to Langkapura.

(112)
*zam pa brtsIgs nas rgal te **dong** ngo //* (ITJ 0737-1: 295)
[They] constructed a bridge and [they] went by crossing it.

Syntactically, the motion verb *dong* is preceded by a connective particle *te* and followed by FP *ngo* in this context. The verb *dong* relates to both the source and its goal of the motion. For instance, it is going that is emphasized in the above example without directly mentioning the destination---Langkapura. However, in the previous example, Ramana and Mgrin bzang's homes were explicitly mentioned as goals.

The motion verb *dong* is also used for the sons of the gods in the following example when they promised to help Malyapa'da to avenge his father by stating they will try their best before they went away.

(113)
*lha 'i bu rnams na re / nged kyis de bzhin du ci nus pa tsam bya zhes **dong** nas //* (ITJ 0737-2: v46)
The sons of the gods said, "do thus, to the extent that we are able" and then went.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a quotative marking particle *zhes* and followed by an elative particle *nas* in this context. Again, the goal of the motion is not mentioned, the sons of the gods just went away after the utterance. This example does not fulfil Hill's observation of dual antecedents for the verb *dong* in OT since according to the narrative, there are more than two sons of gods involved in the action of going here.

In the following example, the imperfective form of the verb, *'dong* is used by Ramana to his younger brother in a conversation with him before they encountered a super big monkey in a valley.

(114)
*ci ltar sems can chen po'i khu ba lags shes dris pa dang / bstan gis **'dong** ngo zhes gsungs nas / lung pa'i phur phyin na spre'u 'phags par ched pa zhIg snang de /* (PT 0983: v2-1—v2-2)
"How come it is the bodily fluid from a big animal?" [asked the younger brother]. "I will show [it to] you, let's go" said [the elder brother] and [they] went to the narrow end of the valley and there was a super big monkey.

The use of the imperfective form is understandable since it is in a reported speech, however, the choice of *'dong* instead of *'gro* is not clear.

2.3.15 *gda'/ bda'* 'to reach/arrive'

Motion verb *gda'/bda'* (imperfective) is used four times in two versions of Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa* texts with small variations in spelling. This motion verb is usually used for the subject moving to the deictic centre where the speaker or narrator is located. It is used when Ramana and Lag sha na met with a big monkey named Mgrin bzang when asked if he has seen a woman resembling Sita, he replied in version A as follows:

(115)
*khyed **gda'** ba dang bros nas / da ltar rI grod ya bi na mchis te /* (ITJ 0737-1: 180-181)
"[Monkeys] escaped when you reach [here], and [they] are up there in the hermitage now."[88]

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a second-person pronoun *khyed* and followed by a nominaliser *ba*, making it a verbal noun. The subject mentioned here, *khyed*, is a second person plural pronoun indicating the Ramana brothers.

The motion verb *gda'* 'to reach' is used for describing their arrival and the second motion verb *bros* 'to escape' is used for the monkeys who ran away into the mountains upon the arrival of Ramana brothers. In another version of the text (version E), a different spelling *bda'* is attested with variations also in the narrative:

(116)
*khyed **bda'** ba dang bros nas da lta' rI 'di la thal / /* (PT 0981: r183-r184)

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[88] Read *ri grod* as *ri khrod* 'hermitage; retreat'. *Ya bi* probably is a variation of *ya byi*, attested multiple times in an OT divination text (ITJ 0739).

"When you reach [here], [monkeys] escaped and now they have gone to this mountain."

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a second-person pronoun *khyed* and followed by a nominaliser *ba*. The accounts in the two versions are different only in the last part of the sentence where the big monkey states the location where other monkeys are when the utterance takes place. In version A, they are in the mountain up there, by using a spatial deixis marker *ya bi* 'up there' and in version E the monkeys 'went into this mountain', another spatial deixis marker *'di* 'this' is used for pointing the monkeys.

(117)
*spre 'u ma rungs pa zhig 'ongs so zhes / mda' sha grI ba 'i snyan du **gda's** nas /* (ITJ 0737-1: 259-260)
It reached Daśagrīva's ears that "a mischievous monkey has come".

Syntactically, the motion verb *gda's* is preceded by a terminative marking particle *du* and followed by an elative particle *nas*. In this case, the motion verb is describing the movement of a message, and not an actor.

The second occasion where the perfective motion verb *gda's/gdas* (perfective) is used in *Rāmāyaṇa* is when Daśagrīva heard about the coming of the monkey to his land.

(118)
spre'u ma rungs pa zhig 'os['ongs] so zhes zer nas // 'da' sha kra[gri] ba'i snyen[snyan] *du **gdas** te ///* (PT 0981: r244)
"A mischievous monkey has come," said and it reached 'Da'shakra[gri]ba's ears.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a terminative particle *du* and followed by a connective particle *te*.

2.3.16 *bros 'to escape'*

Motion verb *bros* 'to escape' is attested three times in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is used once for monkeys and twice for Daśagrīva and two examples are included here. In the following example, it is used for three monkeys who escaped when Ramana and Lagshana approached the wounded monkey Mgrin bzang.

(119)

*bdag gI slad na spre'u gsum zhig // khyed bda' ba dang **bros** nas da lta' rI 'di la thal //*
(PT 0981: r183-r184)
"As you arrived, three monkeys near me escaped and they went to this mountain now."

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by a sociative case marker *dang*,[89] and followed by a converb *nas*.

This motion verb is also used for Daśagrīva in the narrative for escaping after abducting Sita when Ramana and Lagshana were about to return to Sita.

(120)
*rgyal po ra ma na dag kyang slar log du nye bas //sa gzhI the gi tsam zhig dang blangs nas **bros** so //* (PT 0981: r169- r170)
Since King Ramana [brothers] were about return, [he] took [Sita] with a plot of land and escaped.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by an elative marking particle *nas* and followed by an FP *so* in this context. It seems the use of the motion verb *bros* is not based on the social status of addressees.

2.3.17 *rgal* 'to cross'

Motion verb *rgal* 'to cross' is attested in one recension of the text. When led the army of monkeys to Langkapura, two monkeys, Makhu and Damsi had disputes due to rivalry, king Ramana resolved it by convincing them with reasoning and they built a bridge together. The motion verb *rgal* 'to cross' is used here to describe them crossing the bridge to go to Langkapura.

(121)
*zam pa brtsIgs nas **rgal** te dong ngo //* (ITJ 0737-1: 295)
[They] built a bridge and went by crossing it.

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by an elative particle *nas* and followed by a connective particle *te*. The subject of the sentence is not mentioned here, but it can be inferred from the previous sentence that monkeys and king Ramana are the ones who crossed the bridge here.

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[89] For a study on the particle *dang* in Tibetan, see Schneider (2017).

Imperfective form of the motion verb *brgal* is used three times in the following example for Ramana and his younger brother Lag sha na for crossing the ocean to attack Langkapura. It is the part of the narrative where they are planning for crossing the ocean. Therefore, the verbs are in imperfective forms.

(122)
*rgyal po ra ma na sna la **brgal** na / shi phan chad lha mo khugs kyang cha myed pas // jI ltar bya zhes bgros pa dang // gcung lag sha nas sngar **brgal** bar gsol nas // mda' dang po 'phangste phog pa 'I 'og du / de nas ra ma nas **brgal** bar byas pa dang / srin po 'i rdzu 'phrul gyis / rang gI lus myi mthong bar sbaste / mtshon gyi char pa phab nas / myi dang spre 'u dmag kyang phal cher bkum mo /* (ITJ 0737-1: 313-317)
They discussed, "there is no point to acquire the queen if king Ramana crosses it first and dies. What should we do?" Younger brother Lag sha na said to cross it first and [they have agreed] that after him shooting the first arrow and hitting the target then Ramana would cross it. Then the demon made his own body invisible with magic and showered artillery attacks over the army of human and monkeys killed almost all of them.

Syntactically, the first attestation is preceded by *sna la*, a noun 'nose; front' followed by an allative marker *la* and followed by a converb *na*. The second attestation is preceded by *sngar*, a noun 'first; front' followed by a terminative marker *-r* and the motion verb makes a verbal noun by adding a nominalizer *ba*, it is again followed by a terminative marker *-r*. The third attestation is also a verbal noun *brgal ba*, preceded by an agentive marking particle *-s* and followed by terminative marker *-r*.

2.3.18 *shog* 'come' (imperative)

This motion verb in imperative form is used for monkeys by Ramana and for Daśagrīva by Byisnyu. The etymology for this verb is not clear and it is difficult to provide a complete paradigm if there is one. In the following example, this verb is used by Ramana to three monkeys when he is summoning them.

(123)
*rI grod du bltas pa dang / spra bo che gsum gda' ste // nged gnod pa myi byed gyis / mar **shog** shi[g] ches bgyis pa dang // spre 'u gsum yang der 'ong ste rmas na //* (ITJ 0737-1: 182-183)

[They] looked at the hermitage, there were three giant baboons.[90] [Ramana] said, "we will not harm [you], come down here!" Then the three baboons came there,[91] and then asked them…

Syntactically, it is preceded by an adverb *mar* 'down' and followed by an imperative marking particle *shig*. In terms of paths, imperative form of the verb *shog* is asking the addressee to come to the speaker while another motion verb *bzhud* 'to go' (Example 97; 98; 99) is commending addressee to go away from the speaker.

The same part of narrative is rendered slightly different in another recension as follows:

(124)
*de nas rI grod du bltas na // spre'u gsum gda' ba dang // rgyal pos nged gnod pa myi byed gis mar **shog** shig ces bos pa dang / spre'u der 'ongs so //* (PT 0981: r184-r186)
Then [they] looked at the barren mountain, there were three monkeys. The king yelled, "we will not harm you, come down [here]!" and the monkeys came.

Compared to the last example, the *spra bo che* 'giant baboons' are changed to *spre'u gsum* 'three monkeys' in this version. And the speech verb *bgyis* 'to say/do' is changed to *bos* 'to yell'. Clearly marked plural *spre'u gsum* 'three monkeys' becomes ambiguous *spre'u* 'monkeys' in this version. Syntactically, both attestations are identical. It is worth noting that, in both cases, when the king is speaking, he uses the first-person plural pronoun *nged* instead of singular *nga* or *bdag* to refer to both himself and his brother.

Divine figures are using the verb *shog* to others in quotes of OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. The following example is where Byisnyu is asking Daśagrīva to come into his house.

(125)
*byI snyu 'I zhal nas / rgyal po 'dir 'ongs pa legs // nang du **shog** cig ces bsgo ba dang mda' sha gri ba na re nga nI thab mo la 'ongs na // cI ste nang du 'gro zhes byas pa dang //* (PT 0981: r73-r74)
Byisnyu said, "It is great that the king is here. Come in!" Daśagrīva said, "I came for the fight, why should I go in?"

Syntactically, it is preceded by Preposition + Terminative marker *nang du* 'towards inside' and followed by an imperative marking particle *cig* which follows CT conventions.

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[90] *gda'*, apart from being a motion verb, it is also an existential verb.
[91] As evidenced here, the text does not differentiate *spra* 'baboon' and *spre'u* 'monkey', since both are used for the same type of animals, I have translated as monkeys in both cases.

Byisnu is insisting Daśagrīva to come into his home before a fight between them had taken place and he was trying to convince Daśagrīva to postpone the fight to the next day.

(126)
byI snu 'i zhal nas // khyed yi[sic] *bu cag gnyIs kyang zhan*[sic] *las 'phags pa yin bas // khyI phrad du 'thab par myi rigs pas // dIng ni nang du **shog** la zan yang zos ngal yang sos te / sang ni 'thab mo 'gyed do shes 'byung ba dang //* (PT 0981: r74-r77)
Byisnyu said, "You and me, we are better than others. Therefore, should not fight right away like dogs. Come into [the house] today, after eating the food, rested from the tiredness, we can fight tomorrow."

Here, this verb is followed by a continuative marking particle -*la* which works differently from the allative marking -*la*, usually preceded by a noun.[92]

Here, the imperative form of the motion verb is used by Daśagrīva to Byisnu in the same setting as two examples mentioned above.

(127)
*byI snu lang su yang ma btub pa las mda' sha grI ba khros nas // tshur **shog** yu bu cag gnyis 'thab mo 'gyed ces zer ba dang /* (PT 0981: r77-r78)
Byisnu was not able to stand up [when Daśagrīva came in], Daśagrīva got angry and said, "come here and we will have the fight!"

Syntactically, the motion verb is preceded by terminative marker *tshur* 'towards here' and followed by a first-person plural inclusive pronoun *yu bu cag* 'we'.
From these examples, we can see that paths are critical for this verb, followed by terminative markers -*du* and -r such as *nang du* 'towards inside', *mar* 'towards down here', and *tshur* "towards here" are used.

2.3.19 Conclusion

In the OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, the verb *gshegs* 'to go' is used for various gods, Ramana's father, Ramana, and Sita, characters with high status in the epic, while *mchis* 'to go' is reserved for Ramana, Daśagrīva, and Hanumanta, also characters with relatively high social ranking. The motion verb *gshegs* is a high honorific used for gods and protagonists of the narrative while *mchis* is a motion verb used for humans and demons. In addition, *mchis* can be used by the speaker for himself, as evidenced by Ramana. Imperfective motion verb *'gro* 'to go' and imperative form *shog* 'come' are two rarely attested verbs in the OT *Rāmāyaṇa*; these verbs are most often used in conversations. In this text, they are used for characters such as

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[92] For examples of allative -*la* used in OT, see Hill (2011, pp. 7–15).

Daśagrīva, Ramana, Lagshana, and monkeys. At the same time, perfective form verbs *'ongs* 'to come' is used for the characters such as Drang srong, Daśagrīva, Sita, and monkeys, while *dong* 'to go' is used for Ramana, the sons of the gods, Mgrin bzang, and the army of the monkeys for going to a destination both with and without referring to the goal of motion. In this regard, *phyin* 'to go and arrive' is explicit in mentioning its goal of the motion or a relative deictic centre, and it is used for Ramana's father, Ramana and his brother as a unit, monkeys, and Daśagrīva. Some motion verbs are only attested in the OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. Of those verbs, *mchongs* 'to jump' is only used for the monkeys, but it has to be paired with another verb *mchis* 'to go', to emphasize it is not just a vertical but a horizontal motion; *bzhud* 'to go' is used for Ramana, Lagshana, Sita, and the monkey lord 'Ba'li for moving away from a deictic centre, both perfective and imperative forms, *rgyu* 'to move' is used for moving stars and Phurpala, the demon's sister who travels thousands of miles in a day. The verb *byon* 'to go' is used for Ramana's father, Ramana, Lagshana, and Sita, with an adverbial element *slar* to indicate their trip back to a relative deictic centre.

Table 2. Frequency of motion verbs in versions of *Rāmāyaṇa*[93]

	PT 0981 (E)	PT 0983 (F)	ITJ0737-1 (A)	ITJ0737-2 (C; B)	ITJ0737-3 (D)	Total
gshegs	2	0	14	12	0	28
mchis	6	1	8	1	0	16
song	7	0	13	2	1	23
gro	6	1	13	2	0	22
pyin	0	0	12	0	0	12
phyin	8	2	0	0	0	8
ongs	10	2	13	7	2	34
rgyu	2	0	2	0	0	4
phur	1	0	1	0	1	3
mchongs	1	0	3	0	0	4
bzhud	2	1	6	0	0	9
slar log	1	0	2	0	0	3
byon	2	0	7	0	0	9
dong	0	0	3	1	0	4

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[93] The frequency of occurrences shown here are not significant in themselves since all the versions are fragments with various degrees of completeness.

'dong	0	1	1	0	0	2
bda'	1	1	0	0	0	1
gda'	1	0	2	0	0	0
dzegs	0	0	2	0	0	2
Total	50	9	102	25	4	184

Imperial Tibet is a highly stratified society; thus, one shall expect to find a hierarchically rendered narrative if it is a written text from that epoch and which is exactly what we see in OT texts unearthed in Dunhuang, especially the *OTA*, the *OTC*, and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. As Hazod recently argued, the extreme stratification is represented even with different-sized tumulus mounds for the emperors, differently ranked ministers, queens, and regional lords from Imperial Tibet (2019). To tackle the hierarchical nature of OT society, this chapter is devoted to examining the motion verbs attested in the *OTA*, *OTC*, and Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa* to extrapolate the logic behind the usage of different motion verbs. To understand the social implications of motion verb usage, one must decipher the deixis and semantics of the motion verbs.

Thus, some general observations on motion verbs in OT texts are in order here. The motion verb *gshegs* is used in *OTA* only for the emperor and royalty of the empire and gods are the other group of subjects added in *OTC* for its usage; similarly, is merely used for different highly ranked gods in OT *Rāmāyaṇa* as well as socially high-ranking characters such as Ramana and Sita but never used for other non-god characters such as monkeys and demons. Thus, it is safe to say that this motion verb is only used for persons and characters with the highest social status in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. The verb *mchis*, ignoring its usage as a 'be' verb, is used for ministers and messengers in *OTA* and *OTC* while multiple characters, both protagonists and antagonists, take this verb in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, including Daśagrīva, king Ramana, and Hanumanta. However, it seems the verb is not used for minor characters such as Lagshana and Daśagrīva's sister in *Rāmāyaṇa*. Therefore, it is probably correct to say that these characters also have a higher status, only secondary to the gods, sometimes even the same as the gods (in the case of Ramana). Motion verbs *gshegs* and *mchis* are good tokens to be examined for diachronic changes. For instance, the verb *gshegs* is a mere motion verb conveying the meaning 'to go' and 'to come' in OT; probably due to semantic bleaching, the honorific meaning 'to die' is the only meaning available later in Classical Tibetan.

Imperfective motion verbs such as *'gro* 'to go' and *'dong* 'to go' are used both in *OTC* and *Rāmāyaṇa* for reported speeches describing an action that has not yet been completed. No imperfective forms of motion verbs are attested in *OTA*. The imperfective forms do not implicate any information on the social status of the speaker or the addressee, and thus can be taken as plain forms. A small number of verbal phrases, *slar 'khor*, *slar log*, and *slar mchis* with the meaning 'to return' are attested in these texts and all of them use adverb *slar* to make verbs *'khor* 'to turn', *log* 'to revolt', and *mchis* 'to go' acquire new meanings. Amongst these verbal phrases, *slar 'khor* is exclusively used for the emperor and chief ministers in *OTA* and *slar log* is used for the regular ministers and characters in both *OTA* and *Rāmāyaṇa*. The adverb *slar* is used for other motion verbs, such as *gshegs* 'to go' (PT 1287: 58), *'ongs* 'to come' (PT 1287: 39), and *byon* 'to come' (ITJ 0737-1: 364), but two parts are usually not in such proximity as the verbal phrases mentioned above. Some motion verbs are distinctive to individual texts in the examined corpus. For instance, some unique motion verbs such as *rgyu* 'to move', *mchongs* 'to jump' are only attested in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, and *'phur* 'to fly' in OT *Rāmāyaṇa* and *OTC*; the motion verbs *lhags* 'to arrive' and *slebs* 'to reach' are only used in *OTC* while *spos* 'to move' is used in *OTA* for moving of the court and transferring records.

Chapter 3: Speech Verbs in OT

Like motion verbs, verbs of speech are another area where honorification and humilification often take place in OT. This chapter is on different speech verbs attested in the *OTC* and OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. Amongst the OT texts included as the corpus for this dissertation, *OTA* should be eliminated from investigating speech verbs since it only includes two verbs of speech.[94] A total of 23 different speech verbs are attested in both texts and two texts share about half of them. Speech verbs such as *bon*, *blod*, *blangs*, *brdol*, *btams*, and *lan btab* are exclusively attested in the *OTC* while *zhus*, *bos*, *gleng*, *bgros*, and *byung* are only found in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. For convenience, two recensions of the OT *Rāmāyaṇa* are taken as one text, although it raises some issues.

3.1 Types of Direct Quotation

3.1.1 Opening

There are many ways to open a direct quotation in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*; however, some strategies are employed repeatedly for introducing a direct speech. For instance, syntactically, a quotative marker used at the opening of the direct quotation is a litmus test and with similar functions as single apostrophes ' ' in British English and double apostrophes " " in American English.[95] Presenting some of the common strategies in the form of formulas can be useful for generalizing the pragmatics of OT that is shown in the OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. These five types of formulae presented in this section are the ones with the speaker explicitly mentioned in the text. It by no means suggesting that there is a finite set of methods for opening direct quotations in OT. There are other ways to introduce a direct speech in OT and I will deal with them briefly at the end of this section.

3.1.2 Type 1

One common form is that an agent (P1) is followed by the ergative marker; it is followed by the listener (P2), it is followed by an allative marker, and finally the clause uses a nominalized speech verb as demonstrated in the following formula:

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[94] Verbal phrase *bka' stsald* 'to decree; to give order' is attested for multiple times in *OTA*. However, it is often in the context of installing chief ministers (*blon chen po*) by the decree of emperors (ITJ 0750:154; 155; 223; 238; 245; 250).

[95] I am aware of challenges face for defining quotations with the syntactic characterization of quotation with quotation marks on several fronts, including non-existence of quotation marks in spoken language etc.

(P1)+(ERG)+P2+ALL+(SPEECH VERB+NMLZ)

In this formula, P1 refers to the "person one" or "the speaker" while P2 refers to "the listener". An example from the OT *Rāmāyaṇa* as following, where Ramana (P1) is speaking to two monkeys (P2):

(128)

Rgyal po ra ma nas spre'u gnyis la bsgo pa (ITJ 0737-1: 292-293)

rgyal po	*ra ma nas*	*spre'u*	*gnyis*	*la*	*bsgo-pa*
king	PN-ERG	monkey	two	ALL	say.H-NMLZ

King Ramana said [the following] to two monkeys……

In this formula, the speaker and listener are explicitly mentioned, a slightly different variant where the speaker is omitted can be found in our text.

3.1.3 Type 2

Even with quotes where the speaker is mentioned at the opening of the quote, a speech verb is not necessarily needed. The direct speech can be started with a phrase where the agent or speaker is followed by an elative case marker *nas* or **PN+(GEN)+zhal/*mchid*+ELA** such as *lha mo'i zhal nas* 'from mouth of the goddess' or *lha mo'i mchid nas* 'from word of the goddess.' Direct speech follows these phrases and at the closing a quotative marking particle is usually required.

(129)

lha mo 'i zhal nas / gar 'gro zhes rmas /(224) drang por gsol pa dang / dmyIg tshums shes byung / (ITJ 0737-1: 223-224)

lha mo 'i	*zhal*	*nas*	*gar*	*'gro zhes*	*rmas*	*drang por*
goddess.GEN	mouth	ELA	where.TERM	go-QUOT	ask	truthful-TERM

gsol pa	*dang*	*dmyig*	*tshums shes*	*byung*
say.HU-NMLZ	CONN	eye	close.IMP-QUOT	emerge

The goddess asked, "where are you going?" [Monkeys] answered truthfully, [and she] said, "close [your] eyes!"

OT employs many verbal phrase sentences connected by various converbs and grammatical particles. Therefore, a direct speech sometimes starts just after particles *pa/ba dang* or *pa/ba las* to quote directly in verbal phrase sentences with clause chains without mentioning the speaker, not even a demonstrative pronoun is used since the speakers are mentioned at the

very beginning of the verbal phrase sentence. For instance, in the following example where Ramana and his brother are conversing, once the younger brother is mentioned by *gcung* 'younger brother', it sets the scene that it is a conversation between two brothers and there is no need to mention the elder brother either by name.

(130)
*gcung gI mchid nas / jI ltar sems chan gyi khu ba lags shes zhus pa dang // bstan gyis 'dong zhes **gsung** (175) nas / lung pa 'I pur pyin na //* (ITJ 0737-1: 174-175)
The younger brother said, "How come it is liquid from an animal?" "[Let's] go and [I will] show [it to you]" said [Ramana] and went to the innermost part of the valley.

In the example shown above, the speech verb *gsung* is followed by converb *nas*, which is followed by the second clause.

3.1.4 Type 3

Another type of formula introducing a direct speech is where the speaker is followed by an ergative case marker which is, again, followed by a nominalized speech verb.

P+(ERG)+(ADV)+SPEECH VERB+NMLZ

This type only mentions the speaker but not the listener in the immediate syntactical context as the following example shows.

(131)
tshangs pas bka' stsald pa // (ITJ 0737-1: 29)

thsangs pas	*bka'*	*stsald pa*
Brahmā-ERG	words	give.CPL-NMLZ

Brahmā said, ……

With an adverb preceding the verb is also found in our text.

(132)
*srIn mos yang **smras** pa //* (ITJ 0737-1: 128)

srIn mos	*yang*	*smras pa*
demoness-ERG	also	say.CPL-NMLZ

The demoness also said……

In this case, an honorific verbal phrase *bka' stsald* is used for introducing a direct speech from the Brahmā.

3.1.5 Type 4
P+*na re*

This is another common form where the speaker is followed by *na re* to introduce a direct speech.

3.1.6 Type 5
P(N)+(ERG)+V+CONV

Another typical opening of a direct speech in OT *Rāmāyaṇa* is in the formula of P+V+CONV. This is the most common formula used for opening direct quotations of the letters in the text.

(133)
*de nas u pa de khros nas / dngos grub myi 'dod na myI 'dod ches **bya[s]*** (ITJ 0737-1: 40)

de nas	*u pa de*	*khros nas*	*dngos grub*	*myi*	*'dod na*
then	PN	angry-CONV	power	NEG	want-CONV

myI	*'dod*[96]	*ches bya*[*s*]
NEG	want	QUOT-say

Then U pa de was angry and said, "If you do not want the power, that is fine."

These formulas are the commonly used strategies in OT *Rāmāyaṇa* for introducing direct speeches. However, it does not mean this is an exhaustive list. For instance, direct speeches can be directly followed by markers *pa/ba dang* and *pa/ba las*, and *de nas* 'then', as well as a phrase such as *'di skad gsungs so* 'said the following' (Example 278). Even with a final particle *so*, this phrase introduces the following quotation, therefore, we should recognise this usage of *so*.

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[96] The phrase *myi 'dod na myi 'dod* 'that is fine [if you] do not want [it]', a duplication of verbs preceded by negation marker separated by converb *na* is a common way of showing someone negating an action even in modern dialects of Tibetan such as Amdo.

3.1.7. Closing quotes

Closing a direct speech in OT *Rāmāyaṇa* is less dynamic compared to opening. The only form is by using a quotative marker which is followed by speech verb and then by converbs reference as following:

   QUOT+SPEECH VERB+CONV or FP

3.1.8. Pragmatics of the speech verbs

Speech verbs in OT *Rāmayāna* can be divided into three categories: honorific verbs, humilific verbs, and plain verbs or those do not differentiate the social status of the speakers or the addressees. The pragmatic aspect of the verbs is very context-based; thus, the speakers take different speech verbs while they are in conversation with different characters. Therefore, change of role is possible according to the context. For instance, Ramana is the king and superior to most of the characters and the speech verb *gsol* is used for the inferior characters, however, when he is conversing with his father, a humilific version *gsol* is used for him as shown in example here:

   (134)

   *ra ma nas tshor te / yab la **gsol** pa // bdag nI yab kyi(81) sku yon du bsngos te / rgyal srId long spyod dang / 'du 'dzI la ma chags par spangs nas // drang srong gi spyad pa [sp]yo[d](82) ching / dben ba 'I gnasu mchi 'o zhes **gsol** nas // drang srong gi gnasu song ba dang / yab dgyes nas /* (ITJ 0737-1: 80-82)

   Ramana knew [it] and told his father, "I would offer all the wealth to the give up

   kingship, possessions, and bustle of worldly affairs to practice the practice of a divine

   seer and go to a quiet place" said so and went to the place of divine seers and the father

   was pleased.

Syntactically, verbs that appear at the opening of a direct speech are usually followed by a nominaliser *pa/ba*.

However, this analysis is a miscalculation. It seems there are speech verbs that only appear at the closing of a direct speech such as *bgyis* and *byas*, and speech verbs that appear both at the opening and closing, such as *gsol*, but speech verbs that solely appear at the opening are not to be found in OT.

3.2 Speech verbs in *OTC*

Based on a preliminary investigation, 18 different verbs of speech were found in *OTC*, 16 monosyllabic and two verbal phrases. Amongst these speech verbs, at least three are honorific and one is humilific.

Speech verbs in *OTC*

Table 3. Speech verbs in *OTC*.

Gloss	*-pa (pa')/ -ba*	*-de/-te/-ste*	*-pa dang*	*-pa/ba las*	*-nas*	*-na*	*-o*	*-Ø*
mchi	1	-	-	-	6	1	-	2
bsgo	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	
bka' stsal	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
gsungs	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
gsol	2	-	-	1	-	-	2	-
zer	3	-	-	1	1	1	1	-
dris	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
rmas	-	-	1	-	-			-
smra	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
byas	-	-	1	-		2	3	-
bgyis	-	-	1	-		1	2	-
bon	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
brjod	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	-
blangs	10	-	-	-	1	-	2	-

brdol	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
btams	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
lan btab	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

3.2.1 *mchi* 'to ask; to say'

The speech verb *mchi* in *OTC* is used to describe the speech act of Ma-ma, chief ministers of the Tibetan empire, *btsan mo* or princesses of the empire, and others. Etymologically, the noun form for speech *mchid* has a close relationship with the verb *mchi*. It is used ten times in reference to Ma ma Gro zha ma Skyi brling ma, a prophetic divination practitioner who offered a name for the newly born prince, Ngar la skyes, the descendant of Brkags clan who was critical for restoring and enthronement of the son of emperor Dri gum bstan po, various chief ministers for the emperors, and Rmang cung, a special envoy sent to Zhang zhung by Khri Srong brtsan.

When Ma-ma Gro zha ma Skyi brling ma asked the people about the signs such as if the Dam le dbal Lake dried up or not, instead of the verb for asking *dris* mentioned earlier, *mchi* is used. We are not sure if it was for stylistic purposes or due to pragmatic significance. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation.

> (135)
> *ma ma 'I mchid nas / skyI brag mar ba nI rnyil tam ma rnyil / dang ma 'bri spangs nI myes tshig gam ma tshIg / mtsho dam le dbal mtsho ni skams sam ma skams shes **mchi** /* (PT 1287: 1-3)
> Ma ma asked, "Had the steep rock of Skyi collapsed or not? Had the pasture of Dang ma 'bri burnt or not? Had the Dam le Dbal Lake dried up or not?"

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *shes* without being followed by anything.[97]

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[97] Although particles *ches*, *zhes* and *shes* are generally understood as quotative markers and I have labelled them as such in this dissertation.

The following example is also from the same conversation between Ma ma Gro zha ma Skyi brling ma and with the attendants of the young emperor on offering the newly born prince a name. This statement is also from Ma-ma when she gives the name Dri gum btsan po. The speech verb is also used for closing a direct quotation. Instead of the meaning 'to ask' used above, it is more appropriate to describe the usage as 'to say' here.

(136)
*drI gum btsan por mtshan thog shig ches **mchi** nas // drI gum btsan por mtshan btags nas /* (PT 1287: 5-6)
[Ma-ma] said, "name [him] as Dri-gum Btsan-po" and then [they] named [him] Dri-gum Btsan-po.[98]

Syntactically, it is immediately preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and followed by a converb *nas*.

In the following example, speech verb *mchi* is used for Ngar la skyes when he is speaking to his mother. It is used for closing a direct quotation.

(137)
*nga la ston chig ces **mchi** na / ma'I mchid nas / myi 'chung kha ma che shig / rte'u chung kha ma drag nga myI shes shes byas na* (PT 1287: 29-30)
When [Ngar-la-skyes] said, "show [him] to me", then the mother said, "little boy, do not be a big moth! Little yearling, do not have a strong muzzle!"[99]

In the following example, speech verb *mchi* is used for Ngar la skyes speaking to his mother when he is setting off on his odyssey to reclaim the corpse of the emperor. It is, again, used for closing a direct quotation.

(138)
*'ung nas spus kyi bu ngar la skyes kyi mchid nas / nga myI rlagi ni rjes gcod / chu rlag gi ni dbres tshol du 'gro zhes **mchi** nas / chaste song ngo /* (PT 1287: 35)
Thereupon the son of Spus, Ngar la skyes said, "I will track down the lost people and find out about the waves of the lost water" and departed.

---

[98] An imperative marking *shig* is used after the verb *thog* 'to attach; to call' in the Ma-ma's quote, however the commending particle *shig* does not follow the later CT conformity of only following -*s* suffixes; it is probably suggesting that -*s* is already lost at this stage of OT.
[99] Another imperative form for a verb *ston* 'to show' is used here and it is followed by the imperative marking particle *chig*, which is a homophone for *cig*. It must be argued that *ston* originally had a second suffix -*d* that is silent at the time of writing this text justifies the use of *chig* here.

Syntactically, it is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a converb *nas*. The quote here is very likely a proverbial statement since it uses the commonly used epithets or *double entendre* in OT, a point the speaker wants to convey followed by metaphorical pair of the statement.

The following example takes place after a failed episode of Ngar la skyes' expedition, when he came back and told his mother that he had to go again to search for the ransom to reclaim the emperor's corpse. The speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation.

(139)
da dung tshol du 'gro dgos kyis / brgyags thog(s) *shig ces **mchi** nas song ngo / /* (PT 1287: 42)
[Ngar la skyes] said, "[I] still have to go and look for it, please prepare some provisions", and then left.

Syntactically, this speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *ces* and followed by a converb *nas*.

As a continuation from the above narrative, Ngar la skyes finally found a fitting candidate for the ransom the serpent asked for. When asking the boy's mother what she desires in return for the boy, the mother had a particular request, and the following is an excerpt from the mother's request. Speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation.

(140)
*btsan po 'i spur la nI 'tshog / myI la 'phrog [-]om / zas la nI za 'thung / de ltar bya 'am myi bya zhes **mchi** nas /* (PT 1287: 46-47)
"…to gather around the emperor's corpse, abducting [it] from all the people,[100] consuming all the food, will [you] do it or not?" asked [the mother] and then…

In this context, the verb *mchi* most likely means 'to ask' since it is followed by an interrogative statement. Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a converb *nas*.

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[100] This is an especially challenging sentence to translate due to multiple possibilities of reconstructing the damaged word ended with *-om* in the line. Dotson (2013b, pp. 269; 322, ft.28) agrees with Zeisler (2011, p. 163) to read it as *rlom*, I also follow them here.

Following examples is from the narrative known as *blon chen bgyis pa* or 'the history of serving as chief ministers [of the empire]'.[101] The speech verb is used for Mong Khri do re snang tshab as the chief minister when he was by preparing a reply to an envoy's message long before receiving it. The speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation.

(141)
*pho nya 'i lan myur du / bgyi 'tshal zhes **mchi** nas //* (PT 1287: 76-77)
"Please send response to the envoy quickly!" Said [Mong Khri do-re snang tshab] and……

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a converb *nas*.

The following example is also from the narrative on consecutive chief ministers where it mentions how Khri sgra 'dzi rmun guessed what was on the mind of three travellers. The speech verb is used for describing what Khri sgra 'dzi rmun had said previously.

(142)
*khrI sgra 'dzI rmun **mchi** ba bzhin mad de / / 'dzangs kyang / / nI de tsam mo / /* (PT 1287: 82-83)
 It was in accordance with what Khri sgra 'dzi rmun said, it was how wise he was.

Syntactically, it is preceded by a personal name and followed by a nominaliser *ba*.

Another wise chief minister, Spung sad zu tse was so extremely bright that when he sees a flock of pigeons in the sky fly over and while seeing them flying back, he could tell one pigeon was missing. In the following example, speech verb *mchi* is used for Spung sad zu tse for closing a direct quotation.

(143)
*khras bsad pa 'dra's ltos shes **mchi** nas //* (PT 1287: 99)
"[It] looked like [one sparrow was] killed by a hawk, check it out," said [Spung sad zu tse] and then…

It is preceded by a quotative *shes* and followed by a converb *nas*.

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[101] For a detailed study of this part of *OTC*, see Hazod (2019).

Emperor Srong brtsan sgam po sent Spug Gyim brtsan rmang cung to Zhang zhung as an envoy to convey a political message to Sad mar kar, the emperor's sister. This speech verb is used for Spug Gyim rman brtsan cung when he returned and said he had a *mgur* 'song' from Sad mar kar. This is speech verb is also used for closing a direct quotation.

(144)
mgur blangs pa 'I tshig nI 'dI zhes **mchi** */* (PT 1287: 428-429)
"These are the words of the song" said [Rmang cung].

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and the sentence is ended with this speech verb.

3.2.2 *bsgo* 'to instruct; to say'

It seems this is a verb exclusively used by various lords; thus, it is connected to the emperor's status and have the meaning that a superior is talking to his subordinates. However, if it is the narrator is referring to the emperor, it is an honorific term for the writer to refer the emperor's speech with this verb. As exemplified in the following examples, the emperor only gives an order *bka' stal* or *bsgo*, the verb in question here. It seems the verb *bsgo* in Classical Tibetan became the action of giving advice, order, and instruction by a highly ranked person to others. It seems *bsgo* was attested in OT in only one form, compared to the stems *bsgo*, *sgo*, *bsgos, sgos* as future, present, past, and imperative forms respectively in Classical Tibetan.

It is Zing po rje speaking to Myang tseng sku about 'Dzi zung, his loyal servant's wife inappropriately showing her genitalia to Myang tseng sku. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation.

(145)
rjo mos sdig bsnol stu bstan ba bas / / khar glan yang rjo mo dbang gis / nyes pa myed do zhes **bsgo** *ste / gsol ba ma gnang ngo / /* (PT 1287: 141-142)
"Not only the lady displayed her vulva in order to profane [you], had she patch it on your face, since she was a lady, it was not a crime", said [Zing po rje] and did not grant [what] was asked.

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a connective marking *ste* which leads to a phrase where it says, Zing po rje did not grant what was asked.

When Bshos to re khru gu of Dba's clan and Khri bzher 'dron kong of Gshen clan fought and the latter killed the former, Bshos to re's elder brother 'Phangs to re dbyi tshab complained to the Zing po rje and asked for a bloodwite. However, the lord dismissed it by stating:

(146)
*dge bas myi dge ba bsad na / bsad du zad do zhes **bsgo** 'o / /* (PT 1287: 146)
 "[When the] good kills the evil, it is appropriate," said [the lord].

Syntactically, the speech verb *bsgo* is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by an FP *'o*. Although making conclusions with two examples is bit too rush, but it seems the *bsgo* is only of stem *bsgo* in OT, since this form is used for expressing the perfective aspect here in the examples.

3.2.3 *bka' stsal* 'to give order'; 'to say'; "to decree"

In theory, all the generals are also capable of giving orders, but primarily emperors give orders except for one case, when Princess Sad mar kar gives an order. Thus, from this contextual information, we could probably conclude that a *bka'* in *OTC* is used explicitly for decrees from the members of the royal family. This verb is probably the most common speech verb used in *OTC* due to the nature of the text recounting various conversations the emperors and lords had with their subordinates. It is a verbal phrase composed of the honorific noun *bka'* 'speech' and verb *stsal* 'to give'. The emperor is the most common subject to take this verb; out of more than 18 usages in the *OTC*, 12 are used for various emperors. Like *bsgo*, it seems *stsal* is with only one form in *OTC*,[102] it is probably due to the nature of *OTC* as a narrative.

Before Dri gum btsan po, an obnoxious emperor, involved in the fight with his horse groom Lo-Ngam, he incited fights from everyone in his orbit as shown in the following excerpt from *OTC*. The speech verbal phrase *bka' stsal* is used for closing a direct quotation.

(147)
*yab 'bangs pha dgu' dang /yum 'bangs tshan gsum la dgra ru rgal g.yag du drung phod dam zhes **bka' stsal** na /* (PT 1287: 8-9)

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[102] Uray pointed out that this verb in the *OTA* found with double nominative preceding the verb for bestowing something upon the second subject by the first (1960, p. 50, n.37).

[Dri-gum btsan po] gave an order to nine paternal subjects and three maternal subjects if they dare to stand up as the enemy like a yak.

The verbal phrase *bka' stal* is used for the emperor asking everyone to fight with him. The verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* to quote the preceding sentence while followed by a converb *na*.

It is a commonly used verb for emperors, another person taking this verb is the empress Sad mar kar, sister of the emperor Khri Srong btrsan who was sent to Zhang zhung through a political marriage. This verbal phrase is used for closing a direct quotation.

(148)
*btsan po dral gyI zha snga nas // thugs bde 'am myi bde zhes **bka' stsal** to //* (PT 1287: 404-405)
"At the presence of the brother emperor, is he at ease or not?" [Sad mar kar] ordered.

Sad mar kar ordered Rmang cung, the special envoy sent from the imperial court to press him on how her brother was doing. It is not as much as to give an order but to show the hierarchy between the speaker and the listener is the key with this verb. Syntactically, it is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a final particle *to*.

3.2.4 *gsungs* 'to sing/say'

It is widely known that *gsung* is an honorific form of 'to say' in Classical Tibetan. Here in *OTC*, it is predominantly used for the emperors and princes from the imperial court delivering *mgur*[103] in verses but not used for speaking *per se*. The verb *blangs* 'to sing' was also used for other people delivering *mchid* and *klu*, types of songs delivered by non-royal people.[104] The verb *gsung* is attested six times in *OTC* and used for various people from the imperial court.

For instance, the honorific speech verb *gsungs* is used for the prince Nya khyi delivering a *mgur*. It is used for closing a direct speech or the song.

(149)
*yul yab kyi rje myi bzhugs na / pyi 'brog gdengs pyol pyol gyi cha 'o / dog yab kyi char ma mchisna / sa 'on bu spur khog khog ces **gsungs** so /* (PT 1287: 52-53)

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[103] For the difference between *mgur* and *mchid*, see section on motion verb *gshegs* (2.2.2).
[104] *mgur blangs pa* 'sing a song' (PT 1287: 266; 351; 407; 424; 428; 435; 456)

He sang, "If there were no lord as the father of the country, the outer pasture would become chaotic; if there were no rain as the father of the land, seeds would become hollow."

Although the text is not explicit in identifying who is the singer, examining the context, this part of the text is focused on the adventures of Nya khyi. Syntactically, the speech verb *gsungs* is preceded by a quotative marker *ces* and followed by a final particle *so*.

This is from Sha khyi's cryptic song after avenging his father's murder. The speech verb *gsungs* is used three times, once for opening and twice for closing direct quotations. The translation of this song is tentative since previous translations done by various scholars have not arrived at a consensus whatsoever.[105]

(150)
*mgur 'dI zhes **gsungs**o / 'a ba nyi nye pa nyid / bya ro ro na mdung gI rtse rang nig / yos ro ro na lham gyi gong ra nig / brla' brdungs / spur btab / 'wo de myed spu de myed ches **gsungs** so / slar pying ba stag rtser gshegs s'o / yul yab kyi rje ru gshegs so / yul pyi 'brog gdengs myi pyol gyi cha 'o / dog yab kyi chab mchis kyIs / sa 'on bu spur myI khog gI cha 'o / de zhes mgur **gsungs**o /* (PT 1287: 56-60)
Sha khyi sang the following song, "*'a ba nyi nye pa nyid,*[106] A bird, if circling around too much, would end up on the tip of a spear. A hare, if circling around too much, would end up at the tip of [one's] boots. The thighbone was smashed, [the emperor's corpse] was laid into the grave. There is no 'Wo de and there is no Spu de." Then he returned to Pying ba stag rtse, to be the lord of the fatherland. [He] sang the following *mgur*, "the outer pasture would not become chaotic; there is rain as the father of the land, seeds would not become hollow."

Again, it is used for the singing of the *mgur* by prince Sha khyi. The first attestation of the speech verb *gsungs* is preceded by quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a final particle -*o*. The second attestation is also preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and followed by a final particle *so*. The third attestation is preceded by a noun *mgur* and followed by a final particle -*o*.

In the following example, the speech verb *gsungs* used for the *mgur* of victory delivered by Khri Srong brtsan's subjects at the victory banquet after conquering Zhang zhung. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation.

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[105] For different readings, see recent translations from Hill (2006, pp. 98–99), Zeisler (2011, p. 109), and Dotson (2013, p. 270), amongst many others.

[106] Very few previous translations translate this line from the song. Don grub rgyal renders it into modern Tibetan as *a pha ni nye pa kho na nyid*, 'father is the only closest person' by further arguing *'a ba* is still used in Amdo (1997a, p. 357). However, it does not qualify his argument since the term in Amdo is *a ba*, not *'a ba*.

(151)

'ung gi rjes la // btsan po rjes 'bangs dgyes skyems ston mo gsol te / btsan po khri srong brtsan gyis mgur blangs pa // kye rje 'i nI mtshan ba 'di // khrI 'i nI srong brtsan zhig // blon gyI ni mying ba 'dI // stong rtsan ni yul zung zhIg // chibs kyI ni mying ba 'dI // rngul bu nI gtsang gtsang lta // gtsang gtsang ni yang yang lta / yu bu nI rje dang blon // yar mo ni chu thungs kyis // mdo nas nI rtsang du bsring // yar mo nI zheng chungs kyis lho nas nI byang du bskyed // ma brun nI mtha' bzhi rgyal // yu bu nI rje dang blon // rje 'is nI 'bangs ma gtang / rje 'is nI 'bangs btang na / gnam mtha'I ni srung du rung // 'bangs kyis nI rje ma gtang / 'bangs kyIs ni rje btang na / ngas po ni rmad du rung // mgur de zhes gsungs so // (PT 1287: 434-440)

Thereupon the emperor and his vassals enjoyed a victory banquet,[107] and the emperor sang the following *mgur*, "Alas, the one who is named as the lord is Khri Srong brtsan. The one who is named as the minister is Stong rtsan yul zung. The ones named as horses are Rngul bu gtsang gtsang and Rngul bu yang yang. Look at the river again and again. We lord and the minister, like the Yarmo river, although small, it is stretched from end to the head of the valley. It is also like the Yarmo river, although narrow stretched from south to north, defeating the enemies from four directions without pressuring them. We lord and the minister, the lord never abandoned his subjects, if he abandons subjects, he should guard the edge of the country. The subjects never abandoned the lord, if the subjects abandoned the lord, Ngas po should be sacked."

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and final particle *so*. In this *mgur*, an honorific noun *mtshan* 'name' is used for the emperor and the plain noun *mying* 'name' for the minister and the horse, so it probably proves that attendants or ministers are singing this song. Use of the honorific noun *mtshan* for the name of the emperor himself is significant that using the honorific for oneself is not the norm. We do not know if it is due to the reporter's point of view or not.

3.2.5 *gsol* 'to say'[108]

This is one of the most used speech verbs in *OTC* and it is usually used to refer to subordinates when they speak with superiors whether it be the emperor or a local lord. This verb is used by others are speaking with the relatives of the emperor and Lo-ngam to the emperor Dri gum btsan po, Mnyan 'dzi zung nag po to the lord Zing po rje Stag skya bo,

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[107] The idiom *btsan po rjes 'bangs* caused some disputes for previous scholars where Beckwith read *btsan po rje* as 'lord emperor' followed by an ergative marker *-s*, which, again, followed by *'bangs* 'subjects'. However, in a later work with Michael Walter, he accepts *rjes 'bangs* as 'followers and subjects' (Beckwith & Walter, 2010, p. 540), a translation offered in Li and Coblin (1987, pp. 265, 399). Dotson has it as emperor's vassal or emperor and vassal (2013c, p. 112) and Bialek translates as 'subject of lord's place' (2018b, 79).

[108] Li and Coblin provide that *gsol* can be interpreted as "--to invoke, call upon, beseech, request, ask; to feed sacrifice to, make offerings to; to report; to call or give a name to"(1987, p. 469).

Myang tseng sku to the lord Zing po rje Khri pang sum, Sad mar kar, the emperor's sister to the emperor Khri Srong-btsan, and Phangs-to-re dbyi-tshab to the lord Zing-po-rje as well as various ministers and followers to emperors. In the narrative of Tibetan imperial court recorded in the *OTC*, this verb is used explicitly as an honorific form used by subordinates to their superiors to show respect and lower the speakers' status. This is a commonly used speech verb since there are a lot of conversations addressed to the speakers' superiors such as emperors and lords in *OTC*. However, this is not merely used as a verb of speech but can also be understood as a verb with the meaning *to offer* when presenting a gift or a name to a social superior and other meanings are also attested.

When asked by Dri-gum btsan po, the aggressive emperor seeking for a fight to all his attendants whether they dare to fight with him, everyone denied it by using the humilific speech verb *gsol*. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation.

(152)
*yab 'bangs pha dgu' dang yum 'bangs tshan gsum la dgra ru rgal g.yag du drung phod dam zhes bka' stsal na / so so nas kun gyis myI phod ches **gsol** to /* (PT 1287: 8-9)
[Emperor Dri-gum Btsan-po] decreed to nine paternal subjects and three maternal subjects, "do you dare to take me as an enemy like the yaks fighting?" Everyone, one by one, said, "I do not".

Since it is subordinates rejecting the emperor, so it is understandable that a verb with the humilific attitude is used here to show the power dynamic between the actors in play in this conversation. Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and followed by a final particle *to*.

The following passage is a continuation of the last example, and it is a prelude of the fight between horse groom Lo ngam and the emperor Dri gum bstan po where the groom requested a type of divine weapon from the emperor. The humilific speech verb *gsol* is used three times to address Lo ngam, the first and third attestations for closing direct quotations and second attestation for opening a direct quotation.

(153)
*lo ngam rta rdzis kyang myi phod ces **gsol** pa las ma gnang ste / / 'ung nas lo ngam gyIs **gsol** pa / de ltar myI gnang na / lha 'i dkor mdung rang 'debs dang / ral gyI rang gcod dang / khrab rang gyon dang / phub rang bzur la stsogs pa / 'phrul gyi dkor ched po mnga' ba 'I rnams bdag la stsal na phod ces **gsol** to /* (PT 1287: 9-12)

Lo-Ngam, the horse groom also said "I do not dare" but [the emperor] did not accept [his] refusal. Then Lo-Ngam said, "if you would not stop, I dare if [I am] given with all the weapons with great power: the divine spear which throws itself, the sword which cuts by itself, the armour which puts on by itself, the shield that diverts by itself and so on."

The message is explicit with the verb used here that the Lo ngam is subordinate to the emperor although the narrative is not particularly in favour of the emperor by portraying the emperor as an unreasonable ruler inciting fights with everybody and Lo-Ngam was able to kill the emperor in the narrative. However, the social hierarchy is never questioned, rather reinforced through verbs such as *gsol* to show that Lo ngam was a lowly horse groom while the emperor was the unchallengeable ruler from the heaven. Syntactically, the first attestation of the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *ces* and followed by *pa las* and the second attestation preceded by an ergative marker *gyis* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*, while the third attestation is preceded by a quotative marker *ces* and followed by a final particle *to*.

Zing po rje stag skya bo is a local ruler residing in a stronghold known as the old Snyen dkar and he received a sincere appeal from his councillor on his style of governing. This speech verb is used both for opening and closing a direct quotation.

(154)
*'ung nas zing po rje stag skya bo 'i blon po // mnyan 'dzI zung nag pos // rjo bo la **gsol** pa' / rjo bo ji la yang log pa gshIn pyogs mdzad pas // skol kyI srid nI srid du ma rung / chos nI chos su ma rung ste / yul gyI myi dbul / nyams kyI srid dma' ste / na mo brlag zin na jI nongs shes **gsol** nas /* (PT 1287: 129)
Then Zing po rje's minister, Mnyang 'Dzi zung nag po told [his] lord,[109] "you, the lord, have done everything in reverse and death directed, both our politics and ethics are not in correct orders. People in the country are poor, the ruling power is demised, it is almost ruined, so what should be done?"

Since this is a subordinate offering plea to his lord, the verb *gsol* is used. Syntactically, the first attestation is preceded by an allative particle *la* and followed by a nominaliser *pa'* and the second attestation is preceded by a quotative marker *shes* and a converb *nas*.

3.2.6 *zer* 'to say' 'to ask'

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[109] A term *rjo bo* is used here is peculiar form, but it seems it is an archaic form in OT for *rje bo*, moreover, *rjo mo* is used for the wife of a lord in the same text, see PT 1287: 141.

Although this speech verb is prevalent amongst various modern Tibetan dialects, it seemed it was not popular in OT. Moreover, this speech verb does not display any pragmatic significance in its usage; it is attested five times and used for Ngar la skyes, the serpent king 'O de ring mo, Myang 'dzi zung nag po, a minister to Zing po rje stag skya bo, and Myang tseng sku.

This speech verb is used when Ngar-la-skyes asked his mother about where his father is and demanded her to show him. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation.

(155)
*bu spus la 'greng nus tsam nas / ma la myI gang bya gang la rjo bo yod na nga 'i rjo bo gar re / myi gang bya gang la / pha yod na nga 'i pha ga re zhes **zer** to /*
(PT 1287: 28-29)

Since around the time when the son was able to stand up, he said to his mother, "Everyone has a lord, where is my lord? Everyone has a father, where is my father?"

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and a final particle *to*, which is usually used after *-r* due to an occasionally deleted secondary suffix *-t* in OT known under the name *da drag* to later Tibetan grammarians.

This speech verb is also used for Klu 'O de be de ring mo, when speaking to Ngar la skyes about the ransom for reclaiming the emperor's body. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation.

(156)
btsan po 'i spur jI 'dod pas blu zhes byas na / gzhan jI yang myI 'dod / myi 'I myig bya myIg ltar 'dug pa 'og nas 'gebs (38) *pa gchig 'dod ces **zer** nas / /* (PT 1287: 37-38)
[Ngar la skyes] asked, "I want the corpse of emperor, what do you want [as a ransom]?" Klu 'O de ring mo said, "[I] do not fancy anything else [but a person with the] bird eyes closed upwards."

The speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *ces* and followed by a converb *nas*.

This speech verb is also used for Sha khyi quoting what Klu 'O de ring mo when speaking to Nya khyi, his brother. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation.

(157)
*sras sha khyi nya khyI dang yang mjald / klu 'o de ring mo dang yang mjal na / spur gyi glud du /myI 'i myig bya myig dang mtshungs 'og nas 'gebs pa gchig 'dod ces **zer** na*

ma rnyed kyIs / da dung tshol du 'gro dgos kyis / brgyags thog shig ces mchi nas song ngo / / (PT 1287: 41-42)

"I met with Sha khyi met with Nya khyi also met Klu 'O de ring mo, for the ransom of the corpse, [he] wants a person with bird eyes closed upwards but could not find one. I still have to go and look for it, prepare some provisions," [said Ngar la skyes]and left.

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and a converb *na*.

This speech verb is used in a direct quotation from Zing po rje Stag skya bo, referring to what 'Dzi sung, his minister said.

(158)
*zIng po rje stag skya bo nyan du ma rung ste / / 'dI skad **zer** ba nyes so zhes / / 'dzI zung blon po las / pyung ngo / /*(PT 1287: 132-133)

Zing po rje Stag skya bo was not happy to hear it, and [said], "It is wrong to say such things!" And 'Dzi zung was removed from [his role as the] minister.

The speech verb is preceded by a phrase *'di skad* 'thusly' and followed by a nominaliser *ba*.

The following episode is from the part where Dba's dbyi tshab was unhappy once he was mistreated by Zing po rje and his fellow comrade Tseng sku shared the sentiment with him by singing a song while they were travelling one after another. This speech verb is used for Dbyi tshab when referring to what Tseng sku said about the in support of Dbyi tshab for the unfair treatment he received from the lord Zing po rje.

(159)
*dbyi tshab sngun na 'gro ba 'I rna bar lhangs shes thos ste / / dbyi tshab kyis tshIg de tog ces blangs nas / / tseng sku khyod **zer** ba las bden ba myed do / / kho bo yang 'dI las ma rangs pa myed kyis / / khyod sems pa dang myi 'dra' re zhes mna' bor ro / /* (PT 1287: 150-153)

Dbyi tshab was walking in the front and heard it loud and clear. He said, "Tseng sku, there is no truer than what you have said. I do not have anything better than this to offer. Would not I share what is on your mind? I would." And he took an oath for it.

The speech verb is preceded by a second person pronoun *khyod* and followed by a nominaliser *ba*. Use of a particle *re* at the end of a statement in this direct quotation

expresses negation, with the other negation in phrase *myi 'dra'* 'do not resemble', it is emphasizing the certainty.[110]

This speech verb is used for Zhang snang's thought where he finds what Khyung po spung sad said was true.

(160)
*zhang snang gI glo ba la / khyung po spung sad bdag dang shag rag po ste / spung sad **zer** ba bden snyam nas /* (PT 1287: 310)
Zhang snang thought, since Khyung po spung sad is a dear friend to me, what he said would be true.

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a personal name *spung sad* and followed by a nominaliser *ba*.

This speech verb is used when emperor Khri srong brtsan referred to the words from his sister, Sad mar kar, sealed in a hat.

(161)
*zhu pyag rgya pye ste / gzigs na / g.yu rnying bzang po sum cu tsam zhig byung ste // btsan po dgongs dgongs nas / yu bus lig myI rhya la rgol phod na nI g.yu thogs shig // rgol ma phod na nI bud myed dang mtshungs zhu gyon chig **zer** ba lta zhes bka' stsal nas // rje blon blod blod de // lIg myi rhya 'I srid brlag go //* (PT 1287: 429-432)
When unsealed and checked the hat, around thirty old and quality turquoises were found. The emperor thought again and again, then said, "She is saying if we could attack Lig myI rhya, then we should decorate ourselves with turquoises. If we could not attack him, then should wear the hat like women." King and ministers discussed again and again, and they destroyed LIg myi rhya's rule.

Syntactically, the speech verb *zer* is preceded by a command marking particle *chig* and followed by a nominaliser *ba*.

3.2.7 *dris* 'to ask' (perfective) and *'dri* 'to ask' (imperfective)

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[110] Jäschke's dictionary notes this function of *re* (1881, p. 533). However, it seems this particle also express a meaning of negation in Old Tibetan as noted in Simon (1968, p. 562) and his interpretation of equating its function with 'how' in a rhetorical question still has to be tested through finding more attestations in OT texts.

This speech verb is one of very few with more than one stem to express its distinct tenses in *OTC*. The perfective stem of the verb is used for two cases in two episodes on the emperor Dri gum btsan po. In both cases, *OTC* refers to women, but is probably not significant.

In the following example, this speech verb is used for Ma ma gro zha ma skyi brling ma, the lady from whom a name for the young prince is received. It is used closing a direct quotation.

(162)
*$ /:/ drI gum btsan po sku chung ba 'I tshe mtshan jIr gdags shes / /ma ma gro zha ma skyi brling ma la **drIs** na / / ma ma 'I mchid nas / skyI brag mar ba nI rnyil tam ma rnyil / dang ma 'bri spangs nI myes tshig gam ma tshIg / mtsho dam le dbal mtsho ni skams sam ma skams shes mchi /* (PT 1287: 1-3)
When DrI gum bstan po was young, [people] asked (*dris*) Ma ma gro zha ma skyi brling ma "what name should [he] be given?" (*-na*) and then the Ma ma asked (*mchi*) "did the red cliff of Skyi crumbled or not? Did the grassland of Dang ma 'bri burn or not? Did the lake of Dam le dbal dried up or not?"

This line is from the episode from the beginning of the *OTC* on the naming of the emperor Dri gum btsan po by a privileged lady—Ma ma Gro zha ma skyi brlingma, after her seeking some signs followed the birth of the prince. The text does not provide agent(s) who is performing the act of asking here but we know that Ma ma was the object to be asked to give the prince a name. Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by an allative case particle *la* and followed by a converb *na*.

This verb is also attested in a statement from Ngar la skyes where he asked the mother of the boy who was an ideal candidate for the ransom what she wants in return for the boy. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation.

(163)
*de blu na ji 'dod ces ma la **drIs** na / ma na re gzhan myI 'dod / nam nam zha zhar / btsan po rje dbyal zhig nongs na /* (PT 1287:44-45)
When [Ngar-la-skyes] asked mother [of the boy], "what did [she] want in return for the [boy]?"

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by an allative case particle *la* and a converb *na*. This statement is in narrative past tense thus it is understandable to see the perfective stem is used.

The non-perfective stem *'dri* is also attested twice in two versions of the *OTC* for sending envoys to investigate various matters for the court. For instance, it is used for the same event described in two versions of the story of Khyung po Spung sad zu tse becoming disloyal and the renderings of the two statements quoted here are not identical in two versions.

Examples from PT 1287 and ITJ1375 are different in terms of stylistic language. However, content wise, both recounts how Mgar yul zung went to Khri boms under the order of the emperor to investigate Spung sad.

(164)
*btsan pos spung sad gsol ba bzhin gnang ste // mgar yul zung pho brang sa **'dri**r bka'*
stsal nas //yul zung khri boms su mchis te / brtags na // (PT 1287: 321-322)
The emperor agreed with Spung-sad and ordered Mgar Yul-zung to go and ask at the
palace and when Yul zung went to Khri-boms and investigated……

Here the present form of the verb *'dri* 'to ask' is followed by a terminative particle *-r* and preceded with a monosyllabic term *sa* 'earth; place; locality'.

In the following example, the same speech is used in the same context for the same person as in the example 198.

(165)
*'ung gi rjes la // mgar yul zung pho brang sa **'dri** bar bka' stsal te // zu tse gan du*
mkhar khri bomsu mchis nas /// mgar [yul? zung?] gis bltas na / (ITJ1375: v5-v6)
Then, Mgar Yul-zung was ordered to go to the palace [by the emperor] to ask and when
[Yul-zung] went to Zu-tse in Castle Khri-boms and checked…

Syntactically, this attestation is also preceded by the same monosyllabic term *sa*, but it is followed by a nominaliser *ba* here, to which, a terminative marker *-r* is used.

3.2.8 *rmas* 'to ask'

Verb *rmas* is used for 'to ask' in OT. It is not a frequently used speech verb with only four occurrences in the entire *OTC*. This verb is used in *OTC* to the emperor, Tseng sku, Rmang cung, and random pedestrians, thus, it is a verb that can be used for anyone regardless of the social hierarchy of the subject.

The following excerpt is from the part where the narrative retells an account on Khri sgra 'dzi rmun, a chief minister who was so clever that he could read people's minds. The speech verb is used for three unnamed guests.

(166)
*de 'i 'og tu // mgar khri sgra 'dzI rmun gyis byaste // 'dzangs rgya dang ltag brnyan nI // 'dron po myi / gsum 'grogs te 'gro na // 'dron po thog ma 'I snying la 'dI sems // bar ma 'i snying la 'dI // sems / tha ma 'I snying la 'dI sems shes // grogs po la gtam byas pa dang // bden nam brdzun /'dron po gsum kha bkalte **rmas** na // khrI sgra 'dzI rmun mchi ba bzhin mad de // 'dzangs kyang // nI de tsam mo //* (PT 1287: 79-83)
After him, Mgar Khri sgra 'dzi rmun [was the chief minister], and for his wisdom and intelligence, when [seeing] three people travelling together, he told his friend what the first person was thinking, what the middle person was thinking, and what the last person was thinking. When asked three travellers to check if [what 'Dzi rmun guessed] was true or false [it turned out that] they were just like what 'Dzi rmun said, it was the extent of his wisdom.

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a continuative marking particle *te* and followed by a converb *na*.

This is from an episode where the emperor asked Zhang snang to respond to a song sang by Khyung po spung sad zu tse without much hope in his ability to make a satisfying rejoinder since he was a junior official. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation.

(167)
*'ung nas btsan po 'i thugs la dgongs pa // blon po lho rngegs gchig gIs lan blan bar thugs re ba las / sus kyang ma blan to // 'ung nas zhang snang pe 'u zur 'bring po bchas pa tsam zhig // snang ma ltom zhing mchis pa la //khyod pha snying nye ba 'I bu na // klu shes sam zhes **rmas** pa dang // zhang snang gis mchid 'tshal zhes gsol to //*
(PT 1287: 232)
Thereupon, the emperor expected one of Lho rngegs ministers would reply to the song, but no one did. Then [the emperor] asked Zhang snang, who is just a middling *pe 'u zur* standing distracted there, "If you are the son of your loyal father, do you know any songs?" and Zhang-snang said "[I] shall sing [as you command]."

The verb *rmas* is used after the interrogative statement preceded by a quotative *zhes* and followed by *pa dang*.

When the empress Sad mar kar met with Rmang cung, an envoy sent by the emperor, her brother, Sad mar kar asked questions as greetings and this speech verb is used for her. It is interesting to see when the empress conveyed her greetings, an honorific noun *thugs*

'mind/heart' is used for the emperor while a non-honorific *glo ba* 'mind/lung' is used for Rmang cung.

(168)
btsan mo zhal nas // btsan po dral gyI zha snga nas // thugs bde 'am myi bde zhes bka' stsal to // thugs bde zhes gsol to // rmang cung glo ba bde 'am myi bde zhes rmas na / glo ba bde zhes gsol to // (PT 1287: 405)
The empress said, "are the emperor and the queen's minds at peace or not?" [Rmang cung] said, "their minds are at peace". [Then the empress] asked, "Is Rmang-cung's mind at peace or not?" and [Rmang cung] said, "I am at peace".

Like the previous usage, verb *rmas* is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a converb *na*.

3.2.9 *smra* 'to say'

This speech verb is attested only twice in *OTC*, once for Tseng sku speaking to himself and another case where it is used as a general term describing boastful speech.
In the following example, the speech verb *smra* is used for Tseng sku, when speaking to himself. It is used at the opening of a direct quotation.

(169)
tseng sku gchig pu pyi na tshur smra ste / chab chab (149) *nI pha rol na / yar chab nI pha rol na // myI 'i ni myI bu ste / lha 'I ni sras po bzhugs // rje bden ni bkol /* (150) *du dga' / sga bden gyis nI bstad du dga' zhes snying la sems pa khar tor ches byung nas //* (PT 1287: 148-150)
Tseng sku was alone behind [Dbyi tshab] and said to himself, "on the other side of the river, the other side of the Yar river, where the son of humans–the son of gods resides. [As a subject] it would be pleasant to have a just lord to rule [him], [as a horse] it would be pleasant to have a just [person] to put a saddle on [it]." He spouted out of mouth what was in his mind.

Syntactically, it is preceded by an adverbial prepositional term *tshur* 'towards oneself' and followed by a continuative marker *ste* which was followed by a song.

The following example is from a long allegorical song performed by the emperor 'Dus srong when minister Mgar became disloyal to him.

(170)

*pya mda'I ni **smra** 'or gyis gyen du nI 'dril 'drIl yang // sham po ni rtse mo*
ru pyin snyam nI leng myi bgyid // (PT 1287: 463-464)
The braggart of lower part of the Pya valley, even if [he] rolls [the boulder] upwards on Sham-po, it will never reach the top.].

This speech verb is preceded by a topicaliser *ni* and followed by a syllable *'or* which makes the second part of a verbal phrase.

3.2.10 *bon* 'to say'

Many argue that *bon* as a verb usually means to chant or to repeat (Btsan lha ngag dbang tshul khrims, 1997, p. 542) which is similar to verbs such as *gyer* or *zlo*.[111] We should not go into details here about multiple layers of meaning for the word *bon*, related to the name of the religion in Tibet.

Three ministers of the emperor, Myang, Dbas', and Mnon sent a message via Tshes pong nag seng to the emperor about their intention to wage a war against their own lord, Zing po rje, with the help from Spur rgyal. This speech verb is used for describing the action of announcing news to someone.

(171)
'ung nas myang dba's mnon dang gsuM gyis /tshes pong nag seng las prin kyIs // spu
*rgyal stag bu 'I snyan du **bon** nas //* (PT 1287: 157-158)
Then Myang, Dba's, and Mnon, three of them via the message from Tshes pong nag seng, announced [their will] to the ears of Stag bu, the Spur rgyal.

The speech verb is preceded by a terminative marker *du* and followed by a converb *nas*.

3.2.11 *brjod* 'to say'

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[111] An interesting but unconvincing argument was put forward by Beckwith on the origin of the word *bon* being derived from Chinese term *fán* (2011). Uray dedicates an article to discuss verb *bon* where he offers several possible meanings "to ask (a god, a sovereign); to give (to a god, a sovereign); (a god, a sovereign) receives, obtains, takes" as well as to murmur, recite (charms, prayers); to invoke, summon, call (Uray, 1964, p. 334). One example where the verb could be understood as invoking is probably from Myang and dba's's *mchid* after renaming the Ngas po as 'Phan yul, the song goes: *gzus ni lha bon to/ slon mtsan slon khol gzus ni lha bon to* 'justice invoked the gods, justice of the Slon tshan and Slon khol invoked the gods' (PT 1287: 185-186).

This verb of speech is attested for four times in *OTC* and used for the public spreading the words rather than an individual speaking. This is further evidenced in modern Amdo Mabzhi dialect, where the cognate /ɦdʑot/ 'to spread words' is used widely for spreading words to many people.[112] In terms of the sociopragmatics of the term, it is a plain term without indexing the status of the speaker.

The following statement is made by Myi chen in the passage the *OTC* writer borrowed from Chinese *Shi Ji* 《史記》 (*Records of the Grand Historian*, by Sima Qian 司馬遷).[113] Myi chen is defending himself by saying it is true that not everyone had a favourable opinion of him. The speech verb is used in direct quotation for describing a general situation where the public do not say any good things about him.

(172)
*myI chen na re / / myi yongs kyis kho bo la snyan du myi **brjod** pa yang bden no / /*(PT 1287: 209)
Myi chen said, "it is true that not everybody speaks nicely [about] me."

Thus, the verb *brjod* is used for everybody or the multitude without classifying individual speakers here. The speech verb is preceded by a negation marker *myi* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*.

This is an excerpt from *OTC* when Myi chen subjugated Dags po, he received rewards from the emperor. This speech verb is used for describing the scene of people praising him with a wild yak with silver horns as a metaphor.

(173)
*'brong che po rngul gyi rva myi /yongs kyi kha na **brjod** na / //*(PT 1287: 216)
Everyone talks about the big wild yak with silver horns…

The verb *brjod* is again used for the public without identifying a single speaker. The speech verb is preceded by a locative marker *na* and followed by a converb *na*.

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[112] This is based on innovative *'brog skad* (pastoralist tongue) of Amdo, the author's native tongue. For a discussion of different types of Amdo Tibetan, see Cham tshang Padma Lhun grub (2009).
[113] For a study on this passage and its source, see Takeuchi (1985).

The following example is a narrative regarding the reign of Khri srong brtsan, how the chief minister Myang mang po rje zhang snang was able to subjugate Sum-pa without waging a war against it.

(174)
*'ung gI 'og du myang mang po rje zhang snang gIs / sum pa mtha' dag dmagis gdab myi dgos par / lug rtug gis sgyu phab ste / lce 'I thor tho la **brjod** nas / khyIm grangs ma shor par yongs kyis 'bangs rnal mar bkug go //* (PT 1287: 303-305)
Then lord Myang mang po rje zhang snang subjugated the entire Sum-pa without waging military attacks, but with the magics played with sheep droppings by saying things with tip of his tongue. Without losing [even one] household, [he] subjugated them as genuine subjects in its entirety.

The speech verb *brjod* is used for the tongue of Myang mang po rje zhang snang, specifically how he was able to conquer Sumpa with his sorcery chanting done with his tongue. The speech verb is preceded by an allative particle *la* and followed by a converb *nas*.

This following statement is from the part where the *OTC* writer describes the greatness of the emperor Khri 'dus srong, his exceptional achievements as a ruler. The speech verb *brjod* is used both for kings of other kingdoms and subjects in this context.

(175)
*nyI ngog rgyal po thams chad dang / 'bangs mgo nag pyogs kyis // mtshan bla dags 'phrul gyi rgyal po zhes /btagste / bka' mchid kyi dper **brjod** do //* (PT 1287: 330-331)
All the kings under the sun and all the black-headed subjects called him with the name "the magical king" and stated as such in edicts.

The speech verb is preceded by a terminative marker *-r* and followed by a final particle *do*. The use of verbal phrase *bka' mchid* 'words; speech; conversation', which is an honorific compound noun made of *bka'* 'words; speech; conversation' and a plain noun *mchid* 'words; speech; conversation'.

3.2.12 *blod* 'to discuss, to counsel'

This speech verb is used for discussing and counselling political issues amongst councillors and ministers. It is attested as a duplicated verb once in the corpus as *blod blod* 'discussed and discussed', very likely to intensify the length of the action. This speech verb indicates the

involvement of several speakers, and the multiple speakers are explicitly mentioned in some of the attestations.

In the following example, it is used for the court discussing a plot after destroying a local lord, involving Khri do re snang tshab, who served as the prime minister for the emperor. Other participants for the discussion are not explicitly mentioned in this case.

(176)
*de 'i 'og du mong / khri do re snang tshab kyis byaste / / 'dzangs kyi tshad nI / rtsang bod kyi jo bo mar mun brlags [te?] / dku' ched po **blod** pa 'I tshe / /* (PT 1287: 74-75)
Thereupon Mong khri do re snang tshab acted as [the prime councillor]. The aptitude of his smartness is as follows: When [they] destroyed Jo bo Mar mun of Rtsang and discussed a grand plot.

Syntactically, it is preceded by a noun phrase *dku' ched po* 'grand plot' and followed by a nominaliser *pa*. The verb is part of a verbal noun phrase *blod pa'i tshe* 'when discussing'.

In the following example, this speech verb is used for the emperor and councillors discussing who should be the general to lead an army to attack Dags po lha de. It is noteworthy that the gendered nature of *kho bo*, the first-person pronoun Seng go myi chen used in this example.[114] In addition, it is used for closing a direct quotation here in this case.

(177)
*'ung gI rjes la dags po 'bangs su mnga' ba las log go / / 'ung nas rje blon yongs su 'dus te / / dags po lha de dgug pa 'I bka' gros mdzad nas / dmag pon sus bya zhes **blod** na / / seng go myi chen gyIs / / kho bos rngo thog ches khas blangs so / /* (PT 1287: 203-205)
Thereupon, Dags po, being subjects, revolted. Then lords and councillors gathered and discussed how to subjugate Dags po lha de. They discussed who should be the leading general and Seng go myi chen said, "I can do it!" and volunteered.

Syntactically, it is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a converb *na*. The verbal phrase *rje blon* here in this example means the lords and ministers, the example 214 also supports this interpretation. Whether the emperor is included or not is unclear, Beckwith and Walter's suggested that *rje blon* means '(feudal) lords and (high) ministers' (Beckwith & Walter, 2010, p. 546), we can tentatively accept their suggestion.

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[114] For a discussion of this pronoun and its contrasting pronoun *kho mo*, see Hill (2017, pp. 166-168).

The following example is the oath Dbyi tshab's brothers took for serving, Srong brtsan sgam po, the emperor and his scions. This speech verb is used when they are promising not to discuss anything with anyone who is disloyal to the emperor.[115]

(178)
gzhan myI 'o chog la rjo bo lhag pa tshol re // gzhan glo ba 'drIng bar sems pa dang **blod** *re /* (PT 1287: 290)
[The Dbyi tshab brothers took the following oath], "We shall never look for another lord. We shall never be discussing with someone who is planning disloyalty."

Syntactically, it is preceded by a connective marker *dang* and followed by a negation marking syllable *re*.[116]

In the following example, the speech verb *blod* is used twice as a duplication which intensifies the action of discussing that is occurred between the emperor and his ministers on the issue of attacking Zhang zhung after they have received intelligence from the emperor's sister.

(179)
rje blon **blod blod** *de // lIg myi rhya 'I srid brlag go //* (PT 1287: 432)
Lords and his ministers discussed and discussed, [then they] destroyed LIg myi rhya's rulership.

Syntactically, the duplicated verb is preceded by agents *rje blon* 'lords and ministers' and followed by a converb *ste*.

3.2.13 *blangs* 'to sing'

This verb is used for various characters performing *mchid*, *klu/glu*, and *mgur*, different types of antiphonal songs that people with various social statuses perform in the formal settings in

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[115] This part mentions a term *phu nu*, The verbal phrase *pu nu* etymologically consists of *pu* 'elder brother' and *nu* 'younger brother', but it should be understood as a social term inclusive of one's male blood-relations as a social group which is still surviving concept in Tibetan societies such as in Amdo under the allomorphic term /hə-nə/ (This is based on the native tongue of the present author). Sound change from OT initial /pʰ-/ to /h-/and vowel /u/ to /ə/ in Amdo is widespread; see Gong Xun (Gong, 2016). For this issue, Róna-Tas'(1955, pp. 250–256) and Dotson's (2009, n.96) analyses are also right on the point.

[116] This peculiar *re* needs some explanation; I read it as a particle used for expressing emphatic and exclamatory negation as Walter Simon observed in 1960s (1968, p. 562). A final particle /na/ in modern Amdo Tibetan sentence has a similar emphatic function, for instance, /ŋa ʱtɕəx ɟo **na**/ 'I will not go!'.

OTC. The different nouns for the songs are used for people with different social standings. However, the verb does not mark the social status of the person who is in question.

In the following example, speech verb *blangs* is used for Myang and Dba's, representatives of two powerful clans singing a *mchid* 'song' after destroying Dgu gri Zing po rje. This speech verb is used for opening a direct speech here.

> (180)
> *myang dba's kyis / / mchId **blangs** pa / /gzus nI lha bon to / slon mtshan slon kol / gzus nI lha bon to / / prin bya rgod kyis btagste / / tshes pong nag seng gis btags so / rje bden gyIs nI bkol to / sga bden gyIs ni bstad do / / myI smon rum du byung ngo / / mtshe gzugs rum du 'khrungs so / / (PT 1287: 185-187)*
> Myang and Dba's sang the song: "Justice invoked the gods, justice of the Slon tshan and Slon khol invoked the gods. The message was brought by an eagle and by Tshes pong nag seng. An honourable king has ruled [the subjects], a true saddle was put on [the horse]. The person we had hoped for has come into the womb; the ephedra we had planted has grown in the womb."

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a noun *mchid* 'song; words' and followed by a nominaliser *pa*, which is the strategy for opening a speech.

Speech verb *blangs* is used for Khyung po spung sad singing a *klu* 'song' at the banquet after Myi chen subjugated Dags po lha de. Where he uses various kinds of metaphors to convey that his achievements were ignored by the emperor, this speech verb is used both for opening and closing a direct quotation.

> (181)
> *'ung gI rjes la' / / btsan po rjes 'bangs dgyes skyems ston mo gsol lo / / 'ung gI tshe khyung po spung sad kyis klu **blangs** pa 'I / tshig la / / ……klu de zhes **blangs**o / / (PT 1287: 219-229)*
> Then the emperor and his vassals enjoyed the victory banquet, during which Khyung po spung sad sang the following song…… He sang the song in this way.

The first attestation is preceded by a noun *klu* 'song' and followed by a nominaliser *pa* while the second attestation is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a final particle *-o*.

Speech verb *blangs* is used twice for Zhang snang singing a *klu* 'song' in front of the emperor and vassals at a banquet. The speech verb is used for both opening and closing a direct quotation here.

> (182)
> *zhang snang gIs klu **blangs** pa / / kom tse nI nyid myi 'jo zhes glu **blangs** nas / / tshig des / btsan po thugs bnyeste / / myang zhang snang blon por bcug nas / blon po 'i mtshan mar yang rngul gyi pug bu chung stsalto / /* (PT 1287: 233)
> Zhang snang sang the [following] song "…… If it is not threaded with the sinew thread, the armour would not make itself." [He] sang this way which made the emperor pleased and [he] made Myang zhang snang a minister, granted the ministerial sign of a little silver slip.

Syntactically, the first attestation is preceded by a noun *klu* 'song' and followed by a nominaliser *pa*. The second attestation is preceded by a noun *glu* 'song' and followed by a converb *nas*.

In the following example, speech verb *blangs* is used for the emperor to sing a *mgur* 'song'. This verb is used only for opening of a direct quotation.

> (183)
> *btsan po zha snga nas / / mgur **blangs** pa' / / yar mo ni chu thungs kyis / / mdo nas nI rtsang du / bsring / yar mo ni zheng chungs kyis / lho nas nI byang du bskyed / / 'tham 'tham nI 'du 'du na / ngag rjes nI myis myI brjod / / 'gro 'gro ni 'cham 'cham na / / chags lham nI chus myI snang / da nas ni phan chad du / khyod [kyI?]s nI nga ma gtang / nga 'Is ni khyod myI gtang / / nga 'Is ni khyod btang na / / dgung mtha'I ni srung du rung / / khyod kyis nI [nga?] btang na / / ngas po nI rmad du rung zhes bka' stsal to / /* (PT 1287: 266-270)
> The emperor sang the following song: "Yar mo, although a small river, is stretched from Mdo to Rtsang. Yarmo, although a narrow river, is extended from south to north. After discussing and discussing, nobody speaks about the topic anymore. After going and going, boots are not wet from water anymore. From now on, you do not abandon me, and I will not abandon you. If I abandon you, I should go the edge of the sky and guard there. If you abandon me, Ngas po should be sacked."

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a noun *mgur* 'song' and followed by a nominaliser *pa'*.

Speech verb *blangs* is used twice for Dba's dbyi tshab singing a *mchid* 'song'. This speech verb is used both at the opening and closing of a direct quotation.

(184)
*de nas dba's dbyi tshab kyis mchId **blangs** pa /* (271) *btsan du nI bdag 'tshal na / chung na ni rje khur chig // pyug du nI bdag 'tshal na // lha rI ni g.yang skyong* (272) *shIg // rje 'Is ni bka' stsal na gzha' ma nI yun kyi srid // bya 'Is ni zhu pub na la pyi ni gdangs su dro //* (273) *zhes mchid **blangs** nas // spad mtshan bdun gyIs gtang rag ched po btang ngo //* (PT 1287: 270-273)

Then Dba's dbyi tshab sang the following song: "I seek mighty power; the lord, please carry it for me if it is too small. I seek riches; the mountain god, please protect my good fortune! When lord gives an order, [it is sign of] eternal ruling of the realm.[117] When the bird spread its wings, [it is a sign that] La pyi becomes warm."[118] And seven kinsmen offered great banquet.

Syntactically, the first attestation is preceded by a noun *mchid* 'song' and followed by a nominaliser *pa*. The second attestation is also preceded by a noun *mchid* 'song' and followed by a converb *nas*. Using of *nas* very likely suggest that Dba's dbyi tshab is one of the seven kinsmen, otherwise, a different converb would be used instead.

In the following example, speech verb *blangs* is used for the emperor and his vassals singing a *mgur* 'song' to Dvan cung kog, an envoy from the king of Mywa. This speech verb is used both for opening and closing a direct quotation.

(185)
'ung nas btsan po (350) *khrI lde gtsug brtsan gyi zha sngar // phang dang gI khang mo cher // kag la bong gi blon po / dvan cung kog /*(351) *pyag 'tshal ba 'I tshe // btsan po*

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[117] I have benefited tremendously from reading Dotson's note on the term *gzha ma* (2013c, p. 241, n. 17), I accept his translation of it as 'always', but probably "eternally" is a better translation. Term *gzha*['] *gsang* was given as an equivalent for *g.yung drung* 'eternity' in previous *brda gsar rning* 'old and new lexicons' texts written by Tibetans starting Dbus pa blo gsal in the 14th century, see an index made by Katsumi Mimaki (1992, p. 489). However, some of the attestations of the term *gzha' gsang* in Old Tibetan do not conform with this explanation. For instance, the attestation in the text known as Prayers for the foundation of the De ga yu tshal monastery does not seem to mean 'eternity' but a term with two opposite meanings for its two composites *gzha'* and *gsang*, probably meaning 'outside' and 'within' respectively.

> *chab srid mjal dum chen po mdzad pa 'dI yang / 'phral yun gnyis su legs shing bde ba nyI tser ma bste / / gzha' gsang gnyis* (37r1) *$ // su chab srId kyi phang mtho ba dang smos shIng brjod pa'I don kyang rab du zab /* (ITJ 0751: 36v4-37r1)
> [This] political agreement is beneficial for the long term and leads to everlasting peace, not a temporary one. The ruling power is strong both within and outside the realm, and the meaning of what has been said is profound.

[118] Don grub rgyal and Dotson (2013c, p. 341, n. 18) translate *la pyi* as 'chicks'. However, I am not convinced, and I find Bacot and Toussaint's reading of *la pyi* as a mountain range known as Lha phyi is more reasonable than a bird (J. Bacot et al., 1940, p. 145). I understand the description here as a bird stretching its wings is a sign of warm weather approaching. The primary reason is that we do not find any attestations where *la pyi* is used for birds. It is also in the usual form of OT proverbs where the first line conveys the main message while the second line is metaphorical. Secondly, it makes sense if the birds mentioned here are migratory birds such as black-necked cranes that fly north in the early spring when the weather is about to change, which is used as a metaphor for the lord giving orders as a sign of ruling the realm for eternity. It is also attested earlier, in the same text with minor differences, in Dba's dbyi tshab's song as: *rje 'Is ni bka' stsal na gzha' ma nI yun kyi srid// bya 'Is ni zhu pub na la pyi ni gdangs su dro//* (PT 1287:272-273).

*rjes 'bangs kyis mgur **blangs** pa 'I tshig la // …… snga bsus nI pyis bskyal zhIng / klu*
***blangs** nI bro brdungs pa' / dgos* (365) *kyis nI rim gro bgyi' // (*PT 1287: 349-365)
Thereupon Kag la bong's minister, Dvan cung kog paid respect to the emperor Khri lde
gtsug brtsan at the great house of Phang dang. The emperor and his vassals sang the
following song…… to welcome [Cung kog, the leader and his servants] and send them
off, it is necessary to sing songs and perform dances. Let us perform these rites."

In the following example, speech verb *blangs* is used for Sad mar kar, sister of the emperor to
sing a *mgur* 'song' to Rmang cung, an envoy sent by her brother, the emperor. The speech
verb is used both for opening and closing a direct quotation.

(186)
btsan mo zhal nas // rmang cung / btsan po dral (407) *gyi zhal dang 'dra' ste / mgron*
*kyis pyag la 'tshol chig ches pyag la stsal nas // btsan mos / mgur **blangs** pa' // ……*
*zhes / mgur **blangs** pa 'I rjes la / rmang cung mchid byag bgyis pa las // btsan po dral*
la / bka' lan yI ger (425) *gsol ba nI chang ma mchiso /* (PT 1287: 406-424)
The empress said, "Rmang cung is like the emperor and his queen. Show hospitality
and show respect!" [People] showed respect to him. The empress sang the [following]
song…… After thusly sang the song, except showing respect to Rmang cung, there was
not any written message for the emperor and the empress.

Syntactically, both attestations of the speech verb are preceded by a noun *mgur* and
followed a nominaliser *pa*.

In the following example, speech verb *blangs* is used in a direct quotation from Gyim brtsan
rmang cung, an envoy sent by the emperor to his sister, when addressing words of a song
sang by the emperor's sister when he returned to the emperor. The idiom *spyan snga* 'at the
presence of', displaying the high status, is used for the emperor with an allative case marker -
r.

(187)
gyim brtsan rmang cung slar // (428) *btsan po spyan sngar mchIs nas // btsan mos*
*bka' lan yI ger gsol pa nI chang ma mchis // mgur **blangs** pa* (429) *'I tshig nI 'dI zhes*
mchi / (PT 1287: 427-429)
Gyim brtsan rmang cung returned to the emperor and said, "the empress did not have
any reply in the form of a written letter. This is the words of the song she sang [to me]."

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a noun *mgur* 'song' and followed by a
nominaliser *pa*, which is part of a phrase *blangs pa 'I tshig* 'lyrics of the song'.

In the following example, speech verb *blangs* is used for the emperor Khri srong brtsan singing a *mgur* 'song' at the banquet where all the ministers and vassals are gathered. It is used at the opening of a direct quotation. For closing of the direct quotation, it uses the honorific speech verb *gsungs*.

> (188)
> *'ung gI rjes la // btsan po rjes 'bangs dgyes skyems ston mo gsol te /* (435) *btsan po khri srong brtsan gyis mgur **blangs** pa //……mgur* (440) *de zhes **gsungs** so //* (PT 1287: 434-440)
> Thereupon the emperor and his vassals enjoyed a victory banquet, and Khri srong brtsan, the emperor sang the following song…… [He] sang the song that way.

Syntactically, speech verb *blangs* is preceded by a noun *mgur* 'song' and followed by a nominaliser *pa* to introduce the song and closed the song with the speech verb *gsungs*.

Following example is a reply offered by Blon stong btsan to the previous song from the emperor. Contrasting to the emperor's *mgur*, the minister sings a *klu*. Speech verb *blangs* is used for closing of the direct quotation while a humilific speech verb *gsol* is used for opening the direct quotation.

> (189)
> *mgur gyi lan // blon stong rtsan gyis **gsol** pa /…… klu de zhes **blangs** so //* (PT 1287: 446)
> Minister Stong rtsan offered a reply to the song [from the emperor] … … sang the song that way.

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a final particle *so*.

In the following example, speech verb *blangs* is used for 'Dus srong, the emperor, singing a *mgur* 'song'. Speech verb *blangs* is used for opening a direct quotation.

> (190)
> *$ /:/ mgar glo ba rings pa'I tshe // btsan po 'dus srong gis mgur **blangs** pa' //* (PT 1287: 456)
>
> When Mgar [clan] was disloyal [to the court], the emperor, 'Dus srong, sang the following song.

This entire section in *OTC* is solely consisted of this song and Closing of the direct quotation is not marked with a speech verb.

In the following example, speech verb *blangs* is used for Khe rgad Rgyal to re mdo snang, a minister, singing a *mchid* 'song' in the presence of Khri 'dus srong, the emperor and Cog ro za, the queen to the emperor. The speech verb *blangs* is used for opening a direct quotation. The closing of the direct quotation is not marked.

(191)

*$ /:/ btsan po khri 'dus srong / / 'dam gyI cog ro za dang / 'bre mdzad pa 'I tshe / / khe rgad rgyal to re mdo snang gis mchid **blangs** [pa?]* (PT 1287: 482)
When Khri 'dus srong, the emperor, engaged in a fight with Lady Cog ro of 'Dam,[119] Khe rgad Rgyal to re mdo snang sang the following song.

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by noun *mchid* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*.

The following example is Cog ro za's reply to Khe rgad Rgyal to re mdo snang's song quoted in the previous example. Cog ro is singing a *mchid* and the speech verb *blangs* is used for opening a direct quotation.

(192)
*cog ro zas mchid **blangs** pa 'I tshig la / /* (PT 1287: 491)
Lyrics to the song that Cog ro za had sang are as follows.

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a noun *mchid* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*.

In the following example, speech verb *blangs* is used for Pa tshab Rgyal to re when he is singing a *klu* 'song'. The speech verb is used for opening a direct quotation. The closing of the direct quotation is not marked.

(193)
*mang po rje stag r[tsan dang pa] tshab rgyal to re rgya la bros pa 'I tshe / / pa tshab rgyal to res klu **blangs** pa' / /* (PT 1287: 526)
When Mang po rje Stag rtsan and Pa tshab Rgyal to re fled to China, Pa tshab Rgyal to re sang the following song.

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a noun *klu* and followed by a nominaliser *pa'*.

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[119] This lady *cog ro* is the very person who left the emperor and who later become the wife of disloyal Mgar Mang po rje Stag rtsan (PT 1287: 526-531).

Cog ro za, once the queen to the emperor, became Mgar Mang po rje stag rtsan's wife and fled to China with her husband. In the following example, Cog ro za is singing a *mchid* 'song' where the speech verb *blangs* is used for her. Since she is a royal family member, we should expect *mgur* used for her if she did not elope with Mgar Mang por rje stang rtsan. Mgar Mang po rje Stag rtsan, her husband is the audience here. The speech verb is used for opening a direct quotation. The closing of the quotation is not marked.

(194)
mgar mang po rje stag rtsan gyI mchis brang // cog ro [za?] khyo dang lhan chig rgya [la?] (531) *[---] mchid* **blangs** *pa' //* (PT 1287: 530-531)
When Mgar Mang po rje stag rtsan's wife, Cog ro za fled with [her] husband to China, [she] sang the following song.

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a noun *mchid* 'song' and followed by a nominaliser *pa'*.

3.2.14 *brdol* 'to burst out'

This verb is attested only once in *OTC*. It seems it has the connotation that the talking was done by someone unwittingly.
This speech verb is used for Spug Gyim thang rmang bu when he acted as a messenger and worried about exposing his secret by accident.

(195)
spung gyim (166) *tang rmang bu blo la btags na / gnyId log pa na* **brdol** *gyis dogs nas / /* (PT 1287: 165-166)
Spug gyim tang rmang bu held this [secret] on his mind, [he] was afraid that he would burst it out while he is asleep……

The usage here is unique compared to other speech verbs in *OTC*, it does not introduce or close any direct quotations. The word *lab brdol* 'babble' in CT is, etymologically, very likely related to this verb.

3.2.15 *btams* 'to advise'

This is another speech verb attested for only once in *OTC*, etymologically, this verb is closely related to the Tibetan noun *gtam* 'speech' and *gdams* 'to advise; to choose'.

This speech verb is used for Spug Gyim thang rmang bu when he is advising his wife to keep quiet about a secret. This is when Spug Gyim thang rmang bu acted as a messenger for three councillors who planned a plot against their lord. The speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation.

> (196)
> *khyo mo la yang [ngal (/nga la)] mtshar gyi yI dags shig bab kyis / / gsang thub par gyi shig ches **btams**o /* (PT 1287: 167-168)
> [He] also advised [his] wife, "I strange spirit again possessed me, please keep [this] secret".

This verb is used for Spug gyim tang rmang bu advising his wife to keep a secret from others. The verb is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and followed by a final particle -*o*.

3.2.16 *byas* 'to say; to ask; to do'

Like the verb *bgyis* 'to say' we have discussed, this speech verb is a rare one and another case where the verb for 'to do' is used as a speech verb. When Ngar-la-skyes questioned the whereabouts of his father, his mother tried to shut him off by using a proverbial statement. It is used around half a dozen times in *OTC* to refer to the mother of Ngar la skyes, Ngar las skyes, chief minister Khri sgra 'dzi rmun, Spug gyim tang rmang-bu's wife, Khyung po spung sad zu tse, Seng go myi chen.

Ngar-la-skyes, asks about whereabouts of his lord and father, his mother attempted to stop him by using the following proverbial epithet in a direct quotation. Speech verb *byas* is used for closing the direct quotation.

> (197)
> *ma 'I mchid nas / myI 'u chung kha ma che shig / rte 'u cung kha ma drag nga myI shes shes **byas** na /* (PT 1287: 29-30)
> The mother said "Little man, do not have a big mouth; little colt, do not have an arrogant mouth! I do not know [where they are]."

The speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *shes*, it is probably safe to say that the rule for using quotative *zhes* after suffix *-s* was not in use when the *OTC* was written. This speech verb is used for Ngar-la-skyes when he is talking to 'O der ring mo, who has the corpse of the emperor. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation.

> (198)
> *btsan* (37) *po 'i spur jI 'dod pas blu zhes **byas** na / gzhan jI yang myI 'dod / myi 'I myig bya myIg ltar 'dug pa 'og nas 'gebs* (38) *pa gchig 'dod ces zer nas //* (PT 1287: 36-38)
> When [Ngar-la-skyes] asked, "What [do you] want as a ransom for the emperor's corpse?" ['O de ring mo] said, "[I] want nothing else but a human with bird eyes closing upwards."

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a converb *na*.

The following example is from the episode introducing consecutive chief ministers in *OTC* where it recounts a story of Mgar khri sgra 'dzi rmun telling his friend what was on the mind of three different travellers.

> (199)
> *de 'i 'og tu // mgar khri sgra 'dzI rmun gyis byaste // 'dzangs rgya dang ltag brnyan nI // 'dron po myi / gsum 'grogs te 'gro na // 'dron po thog ma 'I snying la 'dI sems // bar ma 'i snying la 'dI // sems / tha ma 'I snying la 'dI sems shes // grogs po la gtam **byas** pa dang // bden nam brdzun / 'dron po gsum kha bkalte rmas na // khrI sgra 'dzI rmun mchi ba bzhin mad de // 'dzangs kyang // nI de tsam mo //* (PT 1287: 79-83)
> After him, Mgar Khri-sgra 'Dzi rmun [was the chief minister], and for his wisdom and intelligence, when [seeing] three people travelling together, he told his friend what the first person was thinking, what the middle person was thinking, and what the last person was thinking. When asked three travellers to check if [what 'Dzi rmun guessed] was true or false [it turned out that] they were just like what 'Dzi rmun said, it was the extent of his wisdom.

This usage is explicit in the use of the verb *byas* 'to do' by using it follow the noun *gtam* 'speech; words; conversation; talk' which basically means *doing the talking*. The speech verb is preceded by the noun *gtam* 'speech; words' and followed by *pa dang*.

After Spug gyim tang rmang-bu was hiding in the mountains to avoid exposing the secret of being a part of a plot. His wife complained about his weird actions and the speech verb *byas* is used for her when she is talking to her husband. It is used for closing a direct quotation.

(200)
'ung nas (169) *khyo mo na re // khyod lto bo che la / yI dags ma bab kyi // lto sbyor du nges so zhes **byas** so /* (PT 1287: 168-169)
Then the wife said, "with your big stomach, it does not show you are possessed by a spirit, it must be some misdeed you are part of."

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker and followed by a final particle *so*.

The following excerpt is from the part in *OTC* in which Takeuchi famously argued that it is a loose translation of an excerpt from Chinese *Shi Ji* by Sima Qian (Takeuchi, 1985). However, according to *OTC*, the following conversation allegedly took place between Khyung-po spung-sad zu-tse and Seng-go Myi-chen, two Tibetan ministers, competing for the role of general when they plan to subjugate Dags-po Lha-de. The speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation from in this context.

(201)
'ung nas khyung po spung sad na re // khyo 'da's / (206) *dmag pon 'ong ngam / myI 'dzangs pa go // sgye 'u nang du smyung bu bcug pa dang mtshungs shes bya na // khyo 'da' /* (207) *btsan po 'i snam pyI par bka' stsal nas // lo du ma zhig lon na // 'dzangs rngo thog go zhes // myI chig gIs /* (208) *bstod pa kho bos ma thos na // khyo 'da's myI 'ong ba la bsgre bsgre ste // 'bangs chab 'tshal bar mchi 'o //* (209) *zhes **byas** so //* (PT 1287: 208-209)
Then Khyung-po spung-sad said, "are you fit to be the general? To be a wise man, it is said, is like putting an awl in a bag. It has been a few years since you were appointed as an official to the emperor, yet I have not heard anyone praising you for being a wise man. You are not able to come out from churning and churning [in the bag], you would waste the subjects."

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker and followed by a final particle *so*.

The following example is also from the same passage. In this quote, Seng go myi chen defends himself while questioning Khyung po spung sad's fitness to be the general to subjugate Dags-po. This statement continues the situation of putting an awl into a bag. This speech verb is used for Seng go myi chen for closing a direct quotation.

(202)
*'ung gIs deng kho bos gsol ba yang //sngon ji 'i nang du yang ma zhugs pas // gdod 'jug par gsol ba yIn no zhes **byas** so //* (PT 1287: 211-212)

"The request I make today is that I did not enter into [the bag] in the past, so proposing to put me in [the bag] now", said [Seng go myi chen].

The verb *byas* is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and a final particle *sos*.

3.2.17 *bgyis* 'to say; to do'[120]

The speech verb *bgyis* is used for attendants of Dri-gum btsan-po, Ngar-la-skyes, ministers such as Tshes-pong nag-seng, and Spug Gyim-tang-rmang-bu, a slave of Tshes-pong nag-seng.

This is from the first part of the *OTC* where Ma-ma gave the name Dri-gum Bstan-po to the young prince. This speech verb is used for unnamed people who told Ma-ma that all the signs she asked about were not shown. The speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation.

(203)
*brag ma rnyIl / mtsho yang ma skams spang yang myes ma tshig ces **bgyis**na /* (PT 1287: 3)
[They] said, "the rock has not crumbled, and the meadow has not burned".

The text does not identify the speaker of the statement here, but it can be inferred that the message is probably from attendants of the young emperor who are asking for a name from Ma-ma. Since it is in the narrative past, it uses the stem *bgyis* preceded by quotative marker *ces* and followed by a converb *na*.

This speech is also used for Ngar-la-skyes when he told his mother if she does not show his lord and father to him, he would go and commit suicide. The speech verb is, again, used for closing a direct quotation.

(204)
*nga la myi bstan na shIr 'gro zhes **bgyis** pa dang /* (PT 1287: 30-31)
"If [you] do not show [them] to me, I will go [and] die", said [Ngar la skyes] and …

It is worth noting that negation marker *myi* was followed by the perfective stem *bstan* 'to show'. However, in Classical Tibetan, negation marker *mi* is usually followed by non-perfective stems. The speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by *pa dang*.

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[120] Li and Coblin gives a glossary for this as "future of bgyid-pa--to make, do, act" (1987, p. 384).

In the following example, the speech verb is used for describing Tshes pong nag seng delivering a message to Rgyal stag bu. The speech verb is used not for a quotation but to deliver an oral message.

(205)
*gdod ma rgyal stag bu 'i snyan du nI / prin tshes pong nag seng gis / **bgyis** so / /* (PT 1287: 164-165)
The message was delivered first by Tshes pong nag seng to the emperor Stag bu.

The speech verb is preceded by an ergative marker *gis* and followed by a final particle *so*.

In the following example, as a continuation of the previous example, the speech verb is used for Spug gyim tang rmang bu, who delivered oral messages. Again, this speech is used for describing someone delivering messages, not used for reporting quotations.

(206)
*de tshun chad nI tshes pong nag seng gi bran / / spug gyim tang rmang bus **bgyis** so / /* (PT 1287: 165)
Since then, Tshes pong nag seng's slave Spug Gyim-tang-rmang-bu delivered the [message].

The speech verb is preceded by an ergative marker *-s* and followed by a final particle *so*. The temporal adverbial phrase *de tshun chad* 'since then' used in this example is worth noting since it can also be used as a spatial adverbial.

3.2.18 *lan btab* 'make a reply' 'to reply'

A verbal phrase *lan btab*, composed of a noun *lan* 'answer' and verb *btab* 'to throw' is used in *OTC* instead of a monosyllabic *blan* 'reply' used in other OT texts (PT 1060).[121]
This verb phrase is used for Mgar Khri 'bring when he is in an exchange of messages with Weng ker zhang she, a Chinese general. The verbal phrase is used for opening a direct quotation.

(207)

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[121] Hill and Zadoks explored the verbal root *lan* 'reply' and come up with a suggestion of its tense paradigm as: *ldon/glon, blan, glan, lon* 'answer' (2015b).

*mgar khrI 'bring gIs **lan btab** pa' / / mang nyung gI khar myi dor ro / / bye 'u mang mang yang khra chig gI nyod pa' / /* (502) *nye 'u mang mang yang sram chIg gi nyod pa / sha ba rva mang ste 'gyen tam / g.yag ru thunge ste / 'gyen pa blta 'o / /*
(PT 1287: 501-502)
Replied by Mgar khri 'bring, "nothing is dependent on the quantity; although there are many sparrows; [they are] prey for a single hawk. Although there are many fishes; [they are] prey for a single otter. Let us see if many-horned deer or the short-horned yak win [from a fight]."

Syntactically, the verb phrase is preceded by an ergative marker *gis* while it is followed by a nominaliser *pa'*.

This verb phrase is also used for Weng ker zhang she, when he replied to Mgar Khri 'bring, his Tibetan opponent. The verb phrase is used for opening a direct quotation.

(208)
*weng ker zhang shes **lan btab** pa' / sgo nga chu ngu / rI ched po 'i ljid kyIs mnan na chogs krang / mye 'ba'r ba / mtsho ched po 'i rlabs kyis* (513) *bsad na sod krang / /* (PT 1287: 512-513)
Weng ker zhang she replied, "Would it be possible for big mountains to supress small eggs and break them? Would not it be possible to stop the fire by the waves of grand oceans?"[122]

Syntactically, this verb phrase is preceded by an ergative marker *-s* and followed by a nominaliser *pa'*.

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[122] Classical Tibetan term *grang*, which Denwood (1999, p. 248) mentions in passing is an allomorph of Old Tibetan *krang*. Following Denwood, Dotson does not go beyond the explanation that *krang* is an Old Tibetan sentence final auxiliary expressing question and doubt in his translation of the *OTC* (2013c, pp. 327, no, 12). However, to be precise, *krang* sometimes marks a rhetorical question rather than questions expecting answers here. It is interesting that PT 1287 is the only Old Tibetan texts on OTDO database where *krang* is attested. The first attestation is from the part in *OTC* on the chief councillors. In specific, it is when the famous minister Mgar stong rtsan passed away, various minor ministers had an estimation over who was the replacement but to their surprise, Bstan snya ldom bu, son of Mgar stong rtsan was appointed by the emperor and major councillors (*rje blon*).
   skyin bar zhang lon pra mo dang 'bangs kyis dpya'd pa nI / / dba's sum snang / (105) *bcug **krang** zhes dpyad do / /* (PT 1287: 104-105)
   For replacing [chief councillor Stong rtsan], the estimation of minor *zhang* ministers and subjects was that Dba's sum snang probably would be installed as [the chief councillor], thus [they] estimated.
In this example, *krang* is used as an auxiliary marking doubt, with a higher chance of happening; thus, I use adverb "probably" in the translation to indicate the doubt expressed in the original text. Hazod interpret *dpyad* as 'to propose' where minor escorts proposed Dba's sum snang as the next chief councillor (Hazod, 2019, p. 53); if this interpretation is correct, then *krang* probably mark a rhetorical question than doubt, but it could not be established with certainty yet. The speakers are not expecting answers for the questions they have asked with an auxiliary *krang*. Michael Hahn discussed this auxiliary in one of his essays, comparing the Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts with Sanskrit originals and concluded it was the translation of Sanskrit verb *arhati* 'should' (Hahn, 2003, p. 127).

In the following example, this verb phrase is used, again, for Mgar Khri 'bring replying to the Chinese general's message. This verb phrase is used again for opening a direct quotation. In the following reply, the Tibetan general gets into a wordplay to refute the seemingly straightforward statement from his opponent.

> (209)
> *mgar khrI 'bring gIs **lan btab** pa' / / rI ched po 'i steng na brag / brag gI kha na shIng / shing gI kha na tshang / tshang (514) gI kha na sgo nga ste / rI ma rnyil bar brag myI 'dral / brag ma ral bar shIng myi 'chag / shIng ma chag dang tshang myi zhig / tshang myi zhig (515) par sgo nga myI chag ste / / rIs sgo nga gchag du de ltar myi chogs so / / (PT 1287: 513)*
> Mgar khri 'bring replied, "rocks are [located] on the grand grassy mountains; tree grows on the rocks; nests are [located] on the trees; eggs are [placed] in the nests; rocks would not fall apart without demolishing the mountain; trees would not break without rocks falling apart; nests would not fall part without breaking the tree; eggs would not break without nests falling apart. Therefore, it is impossible for the mountain to break the eggs."

Syntactically, the verb phrase is preceded by an ergative marker *gis* and followed by a nominaliser *pa'*.

3.2.19 Direct speech introducer *na re*

Tibetan dictionaries unanimously list *na re* as an intransitive verb.[123] Tibetan dictionaries incorrectly include it as an intransitive verb which followed by the speaker just before the quote and with another speech verb at the end of the quote such as *mchi* 'to say; to ask', *bsgo* 'to say', and *byas* 'to say' with a quotative marker. However, several western scholars have raised issues against identifying it as a verb since the nineteenth century (M. J. Bacot, 1948, p. 65; Jäschke, 1881, p. 300; Simon, 1968). The most clearly stated explanation available so

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[123] *Dag yig gsar bsgrigs* [Newly compiled dictionary] by Bsam gtan defines *na re* as a *byed med las tshig* 'intransitive verb', if added after personal names, it shows the following is a direct speech from the person. For instance, "he says (*na re*), I will study hard, said [by him]. The teacher says (*na re*), "you shall come to school", said [by the teacher]" (Bsam Gtan, 1989, p. 425). Similarly, *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* [The Big Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary] defines it as "to say; he says, "listen, [I] have good news," said [by him]. Other people say (*na re*), "it is good to be done this way", said [by them] (Krang-dbyi-sun, 1985, p. 1496). The recently published Old Tibetan dictionary by Kha sgang et al. also has an entry on *na re* where it unconvincingly equates with *zer* 'to say'(Kha sgang et al., 2019, p. 218), although these two terms are syntactically very different in Old Tibetan. However, the newest edition of *dag yig gsar bsgrigs* [Newly compiled dictionary] updated the entry and deleted the note on the parts of speech *byed med las tshig* 'intransitive verb' in the earlier edition and just included the following entry: "*mi'i ming dang tshab tshig gi mthar sbyar na de'i rjes kyi tshig ni mi des bshad p'ai skad cha yin par ston te/ bkra shis na re/ nga yang 'gro bar 'dod zer/* 'Used after personal names and pronouns, it indicates the following part is a speech from that person. For instance, Bkra shis *na re*, "I also want to go", [he] said'" (bsam gtan et al., 2014, p. 435).

far is from Walter Simon, according to him, first constituent *na* may be identified as a case-suffix meaning 'in the case of' (= 'as far as… is concerned'), while *re* is an adverb with the meaning 'thus', "pointing forward to the direct speech which it introduces "(Simon, 1968, p. 557). Simon further discusses how *na re* cannot be a verb by listing four points of evidence: first, it introduces direct speech marked with quotative markers *ces*, *shes*, and *zhes* +a speech verb at the end. Second, when *na re* is used, speakers are not required to have instrumental markers. Third, the addressee of the speech always appears before the speaker and *na re* and never after. Fourth, the speaker is always followed by *na re* without any adverbs to describe the manner or time of the speech between the speaker and *na re* (Simon, 1968, pp. 555–556). Simon's analysis is a nuanced approach to the term, but not all criteria he listed are fulfilled by the existing examples of *na re* in OT texts. For instance, it seems having quotative markers *ces*, *shes*, and *zhes* after a direct speech quoted using *na re* is not a requirement. In the OT document known as "A Dialogue Between Two Brothers" (PT 1283), *na re* is used extensively without any quotative markers or speech verbs followed by direct speeches it introduced but merely for switching reference between the dialogue of brothers. Therefore, Simon's observation of *na re* always following the speaker is also not necessarily accurate. For instance, in the following example from an OT religious text, *na re* does not follow the speaker but the phrase *lha 'i tshig dang bka'* 'the words of gods':

> (210)
> *lha 'i tshig dang bka'* **na re** */ myi lus thob* (23r5) *pa shin tu dka' // yul gyI dbus su skye bar dkon* (23r6) *myi lus thob pa'i tshe dus la // bha la yid ches* (23r7) *chos byas na // // lha lam bzang por myur te thar /* (23v1) *sdig lam gsum las thar myi myong // lho phyogs* (23v2*) 'dzam grIng sdug yul na // so sha 'khor ba* (23v3) *ring myi thogs* (PT 0037: 23r4-23v1)
> In the words of gods: "it is extremely difficult to attain the human body, it is rare to be born in the centre of the country. When attained the human body, practicing Dharma with by believing in gods, one will be able to take the path of god quickly. If one holds false perceptions; he would not be liberated from the three paths of misdeeds. In southern Jambudvīpa,[124] a continent of misdeeds, it would not be long to return the sustenance."[125]

The term *na re* is used six times in *OTC* in total, in terms of the sociopragmatics of the usage, it is used for an unnamed woman, Lord Zing po, unnamed wife of a minister, ministers Khyung po spung sad and Seng go myi chen, and unnamed group of people. It is never used for an emperor, but we are not sure if it is significant. In the following example, the term *na*

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[124] Reading *'dzam grIng* here as *'dzam gling* 'the continent of Jambudvīpa'.
[125] Read *so sha* as *zho sha*.

re is used to the mother of the human boy who had bird eyes close eyelids upwards which Ngar-la-skyes was able to secure for the ransom.

> (211)
> *ma **na re** gzhan myI 'dod / nam nam zha zhar / btsan po rje dbyal zhig nongs na / thor to 'phren* (46) *mo ni bcings / ngo la mtshal gyis byugs / lus la ni bzhags / btsan po 'i spur la nI 'tshog / myI la 'phrog* (47) *[-]om / zas la nI za 'thung / de ltar bya 'am myi bya zhes mchi nas /* (PT 1287: 45-47)
> The mother said, "I do not want anything else except this: whenever the emperor and his consort die, will you allow [people] to tie the braids over [their] heads, rub vermillion on faces, decorate their own bodies, gather around the corpse of the emperor, rob and destroy the people, eat and drink the food?"

This term is followed by the request the boy's mother made to Ngar las skyes with a speech verb, *mchi* 'to ask' at the end of the quote. It seems the mother of this child is negotiating a change in the custom of the funeral of royal couple with Ngar las skyes, a royal emissary, in exchange for her son who is critical for recovering the royal throne.

The term is used to Zing-po-rje when a subject of his complained that the wife of his superior bullied him by revealing her vulva to him. Once the complaint was brought against the lady of Pa tsab, Zing po rje vehemently supported the lady by saying nothing could be done since she was a lady.

> (212)
> *zIng po rje **na re** / / mnyan 'dzI zung las nga la snying nye myed pa 'I bran du / / khyon 'da' ma* (141) *ran la myed do / / rjo mos sdig bsnol stu bstan ba bas / / khar glan yang rjo mo dbang gis / nyes pa* (142) *myed do zhes bsgo ste / gsol ba ma gnang ngo / / / /* (PT 1287: 140-142)
> Lord Zing po said, "There is no other person who is dear to me than 'Dzi zung, thus, you are not suitable for a servant. Not only the lady displayed her vulva to profane [you], had she patch it on your face, since she was a lady, it was not a crime", said [Zing po rje] and did not grant what was asked.

After the quote followed to this term, an honorific speech verb *bsgo* 'to say' was used with a quotative marker *zhes* to close the direct quotation.

The term *na re* used for the wife of Spug gyim thang rmang, she was suspicious of her husband for planning a plot against Zing po rje with three ministers, Myang, Dba's, and Mnon.

(213)

*'ung nas (169) khyo mo **na re** // khyod lto bo che la / yI dags ma bab kyi // lto sbyor du nges so zhes byas so /* (PT 1287: 168-169)

Then the wife said, "with your big stomach, it does not show you are possessed by a spirit, it must be some misdeed"

The term *na re* is preceded by the speaker. The quotation is directly followed by *na re* with a speech verb *byas* at the closing of the quote preceded with a quotative marker *zhes*. Once Dags po revolted, the emperor and councillors assembled for a council where Seng go myi chen volunteered to be the general to subjugate Dags po. Then Khyung po spung sad questions Seng go myi chen's ability. *Na re* is used after the speaker's name, Kyung po spung sad.

(214)

*'ung nas khyung po spung sad **na re** // khyo 'da's / (206) dmag pon 'ong ngam / myI 'dzangs pa go // sgye 'u nang du smyung bu bcug pa dang mtshungs shes bya na // khyo 'da' / (207) btsan po 'i snam pyI par bka' stsal nas // lo du ma zhig lon na // 'dzangs rngo thog go zhes // myI chig gIs / (208) bstod pa kho bos ma thos na // khyo 'da's myI 'ong ba la bsgre bsgre ste // 'bangs chab 'tshal bar mchi 'o // (209) zhes byas so //* (PT 1287: 205-209)

Then Khyung-po spung-sad said, "are you fit to be general? To be a wise man, it is said, is like putting an awl in a bag. It has been a few years since you were appointed as an official to the emperor, yet I have not heard anyone praising you for being a wise man. You are not able to come out from churning and churning [in the bag], you would waste the subjects."

The quote is preceded with the term *na re* and a speech verb *byas* was used to close the quotation with quotative marker *zhes*. Then Myi chen replies to Khyung po spung sad and *na re* is used in a similar fashion as the following excerpt shows.

(215)

*myI chen **na re** // myi yongs kyis kho bo la snyan du myi brjod pa yang bden no // kho bo sngon (210) sgye 'u nang du zhugs kyang ma zhugs / rtse mo pyir ma byung ba yang bden no // kho bo sngon sgye 'u nang du zhugs (211) su zin na // rtse mo bas yu ba phan chad pyung ste song zin no // 'ung gIs deng kho bos gsol ba yang // (212) sngon ji 'i nang du yang ma zhugs pas // gdod 'jug par gsol ba yIn no zhes byas so //*
(PT 1287: 209)

Myi chen said, "It is true that not everybody praises me. I have not gone into the the bag, and it is true that have not shown the tip [of the awl] out. If I have gone into the bag earlier, I have come out not only the tip, but also the handle [of the awl]. Then what I have said was I have not gone into anything before, so I am going into one now."

Unsurprisingly, a speech verb, *byas* 'to do/say' was used again at the end of this figuratively spoken quote, preceded by a quotative maker *zhes* and followed by a sentence final marker *so*.[126]

The following example is from a song sung by Sad-mar kar and interpretation of the *mu su ni gzhan* caused some disagreement amongst Tibetologists who studied *OTC*.[127] In this example, the term *na re* is used for this group of unknown people in a song from Sad mar kar.

(216)
*btsan mos / mgur blangs pa' / / (408) yul gyi skal pog pa / khyung lung nI rngul mkhar zhig / / mu su nI gzhan **na re** / pyi bltas nI ngam dang brag / / nang bltas nI gser dang dbyig / (409) bdagI ni g.yar snga ru mchis su nI ma tho 'am / / skya mo ni bseng bseng mo / / bran gyi nI skal pog pa / gu ge nI rkang pran zhig / (410) 'khol du nI ma tho 'am / / gu ge nI bdris shing sdang / / zas kyI ni skal pog pa / nya dang nI gro mchis te / 'tshal du nI ma tho 'aM (411) nya gro nI bcha' zhing kha' / / pyugs kyi nI skal pog pa / sha dang nI rkyang mchis ste / / 'tsho ru nI ma tho 'am / sha rkyang (412) nI btsa' zhing rgod / / [… …] zhes / mgur blangs pa 'I rjes la / rmang cung mchid byag bgyis pa las / / btsan po dral la / bka' lan yI ger (425) gsol ba nI chang ma mchiso /* (PT 1287: 407-425)

The empress sang the [following] song: "As a share of allotted land.
I was given the Khyung lung silver castle.
Everyone says: 'Looking from the outside, it is cliffs and rocks.
Looking from the inside, it is gold and jewels.'
Maybe because I have not gone to presence of [the castle] yet; it [looks] pale and airy.
As a share of bondservants allotted to me.
I was given a thin-legged Gu ge.[128]
I could not tame the person.
The servant is angrier when acquainted.
As the share of food allotted to me.
I was given fish and wheat.
I probably have not cooked them [well enough]; they are bitterer as chewed.
As the share of livestock allotted to me.
I was given deer and wild ass.
I could not tend them [properly].
Deer and wild ass are wilder as herded. [……]"

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[126] For a recent study on Old Tibetan final particle *-o*, see Shao Mingyuan (2021).

[127] Beyer argues that the first syllable should be rendered as *mi* 'man' (1992, p. 31), but Uray (1972, p. 8) was not satisfied with this interpretation, while Don grub rgyal (1997b, p. 593, n.109) and Btsan lha translate as beggar by citing usage of the term *mu su pa* and *mu to ba* for beggars (Btsan lha ngag dbang tshul khrims, 1997, p. 643). Bialek reconstructs it as "**mi su yaṅ > *mi su* (compounding) > *mu su* (regressive vowel assimilation)" (2018b, 374). I follow Bialek's interpretation here.

[128] Read *rkang pran* as *rkang phran*.

after thusly singing the song, except for showing respect to Rmang cung, there was not any written message for the emperor and the empress.

No other speech verbs are used for the direct quotation introduced by *na re* in this example. However, it is not rare in OT texts as it is the most common usage found in PT 1283.

3.2.20 Some observations

It is worth noting that rules for the usage of *verbum dicendi* markers *ces*, *shes*, and *zhes* with specific auslaut is consistent with the later grammatical rules presented in Classical Grammar texts, except the exchange between initial consonants *c-* and *ch-* as a feature of OT phonemically does not distinguish aspirated and unaspirated voiceless consonants.[129] Whenever you see any of the *verbum dicendi* markers, it usually closes a direct quotation. It is common in OT to use verbs for 'to do' as speech verbs such as *bgyi* and *byas*. Another observation that can be made from *OTC* is that it is common to see a sppech marker and verb sandwiching the quote, especially *na re*,[130] a speech marker at the beginning of the quotation and followed by a quotative with a speech verb such as *byas* when closing a quote. There are phrases with quotative marker *ches* such as *khar tor ches byung* literally translated as 'blurted out of mouth' functions as speech verbs, for instance when Tseng sku was walking behind and burst out what is on his mind as *snying la sems pa khar tor ches byung nas //* 'burst out what is held in [his] mind'.

Some speech verbs are with specific usages, for instance, *gsungs* is exclusively used for singing the *mgur* (opposing the verb *blangs* 'to sing' for *mchid*) and verb *brjod* intends to not specify the speaker, often used for unspecified plural speakers such as the public. It is also worth noting that speech verb *bshad* 'to say' is not attested in *OTC*, but it is attested once in the Sino-Tibetan treaty stele (insc_Treaty: w65). Therefore, it is safe to assume that it is not a later development but probably a rarely used verb during the Tibetan imperial period. Honorific terms such as *btsan po dral gyI zha snga nas* are used for the royal couple even by the sister of the emperor to show her respect.

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[129] For a discussion on this issue, see Hill (2007).
[130] Bialek explains that *na re* is marker derived from a non-controllable verb *nar* 'to become long' (2022, 165-166, n.2).

3.3 Speech verbs in OT Rāmāyaṇa

Social hierarchy in Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa is a window to see pragmatics in OT as language. While reading this type of text, some questions repeatedly emerge, whose politeness is shown in the text, speakers, or the narrators? What is the author's role in this text? How much of a role does the translator play? How much of it is true to the Tibetan Language? How much influence does the original text have on the Tibetan version? Of course, we cannot sufficiently answer all these questions.

We do not know how popular the *Rāmayāṇa* was amongst Tibetans during or after Tibetan adaptation, and what kind of influence it had on Tibetans is, if any, unclear. However, it is worth exploring the social hierarchy represented in the Tibetan version of the epic to understand the message conveyed by the text. *Rāmāyaṇa* scholars have already discussed diverse approaches taken by the epic to the issues such as hegemonic discourses of patriarchy and social hierarchy based on various Indian versions (Richman, 1991, 2001; Smith, 1988; Thiel-Horstmann, 1991). Robert P. Goldman, one of the leading *Rāmāyaṇa* scholars, once stated that *Rāmayāṇa* is "a paean to conformity, obedience, and [as] a handbook of social integration" (Goldman, 2004, p. 21), and with this in mind, taking a sociopragmatics perspective to understand a text known as "the family text par excellence and the ideal medium for the acculturation of children" (Goldman, 2004, p. 21) in South Asian Hindu contexts is extremely fitting even though the Tibetan version is slightly different from that of Vālmīki's both in form and content (de Jong, 1972). For our purpose here, we will mainly look at the speech verbs used for different characters in Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa* to understand how the translators presented the social hierarchy in their rendering of the epic. At the same time, we strive to understand how hierarchy can be represented in OT at the time of adapting it.

There are 15 speech verbs in the OT *Rāmāyaṇa* and all of them are monosyllabic except one verbal phrase *bka' stsal*, which is consisted of two parts *bka'* 'speech' and *stsal* 'to give'. Thus, the tense aspect of the verbs is also worth noting here. Like most of the verbs in *OT Chronicle*, almost all the speech verbs in OT *Rāmayāṇa* seem to be in their perfective forms. Only the verb *gsung* is attested both as *gsung* and *gsungs*, but both forms are apparently used for perfective purposes (see examples in 3.2.3). Compared to the non-perfective form of the

speech verb *smra* in *OTC*, it is unanimously *smras* in the *Rāmayāna* (see example number 275 to 283)：

(217)
*spre 'u rnams kyis(223) pyag 'tshal bar gsol pa las gnang ste / pyag bgyis // lha mo 'i zhal nas / gar 'gro zhes **rmas** /(224) drang por gsol pa dang / dmyIg tshums shes byung / (ITJ 0737-1: 222-224)*
Monkeys asked permission for making prostrations and it was given and they prostrated. The queen asked, "Where are you all going?" [monkeys] answered truthfully and [the queen asked them] to close [their] eyes.

(218)
*lag sha na gcen gyi grogs la /(159) bzhud pa 'I slad na // lha mos **smras** pa / kyi gud bud myed dagis **smras** pa la legs par gyur pa ga la yod //(160) phugs su myI rtog 'phral la lta // 'dod zhen che la srab la yang / yun kyI legs nyes myi shes par /(161) gnang bar bya ba 'I ga la rigs // (ITJ 0737-1: 158-161)*
After Lagshana went for assisting the elder brother, the queen said, "Alas! There is not one case where what women said became a good thing. [Women] do not consider the long-term goal but the immediate. [Women] are desirous and changeable. Without knowing the ultimate result, how can I give it [to you]."

Since speech verbs are rare in the *OTA*, only *OTC* and the *Rāmayāna* can be taken as sources for such an exploration amongst the three chosen texts. Compared with the *OTC*, there are fewer speech verbs in *Rāmayāna* (18 in *OTC* compared to 15 in *Rāmayāna*). Moreover, there are also some speech verbs that are distinctive to individual texts. For instance, *blangs*, *brdol*, *btams*, and *lan btabs* appeared only in *OTC* while *zhus*, *bos*, and *gleng* only appear in the *Rāmayāna*. Amongst 15 speech verbs in *Rāmayāna*, *gsol* is the most common speech verb with 30 occurrences in total and *zhus* and *gleng* as the least common verbs with only one occurrence for each.

Table 4:

Gloss	-pa (pa')/ -ba	-de/- te/- ste	-pa(ba) dang	-pa/ba las	-nas	-zhing	-na	-o	-Ø	-par	-la	Total occurrence
mchi	1	1	2	-	13	-	1	1	1	-	-	20

bsgo	3	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	7
bka' stsal	5	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	8
gsungs	-	1	1	-	3	1	-	1	1	-	8
gsol	8	-	12	3	6	-	1	-	-	-	30
zer	5	-	5	-	3	-	1	2	-	-	16
dris	-	-	3	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	6
rmas	-	-	2	1	-	-	4	-	1	-	8
smras	8	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	11
byas	-	-	13	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	15
bgyis	-	1	3	-	2	-	3	-	-	1	10
brjod	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3
zhus	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
bos	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
gleng	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
bgros	2	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	6

Speech verbs in OT *Rāmāyaṇa* can be divided into two categories in terms of their attestation in a direct quotation. Most of them can be used both at the opening and closing of a direct quotation, a nominalized form at the opening and with a quotative marker at the closing. However, there are handful of speech verbs can only be used at the closing of direct quotations with verbs such as *byas* and *bgyis*.

3.2.1 The *na re* question

As mentioned earlier, Tibetan dictionaries unanimously list it as an intransitive verb, but it is not considered as a verb by many western scholars (Simon, 1968). It is used six times in total in *OTC*. Tibetan dictionaries include it as an intransitive verb thus it does not necessitate an instrumental marker between the subject and this verb, however, due the very nature of the verb, in terms of the usage, this verb always has to be followed by the direct quote of the speaker and another speech verb at the end of the quote such as *mchi* 'to say; to ask', *bsgo* 'to say', and *byas* 'to say'.

With a close examination, we could find that unlike other speech verbs, *na re* is not preceded by an agentive marker +*s* or a quotative marker *zhes*/*shes*/*ches* and nor used as agent+*la*+*na re*, thus, it is not a speech verb as most of Tibetan dictionaries claim. In terms of its usage, although it is common, but it seems *na re* is not used for everyone. It only appears after a subject, but it is common with 16 occurrences in the ITJ 0731-1 alone. It occurs with characters such as Manlyapanta (ITJ 0731-1:13), Sons of gods (lha'i bu rnams) (ITJ 0731-1:21; 38; 44), minister Marutse (ITJ 0731-1:135), the animal (151), Lagshana (ITJ 0731-1:153; 156), the bird (ITJ 0731-1:227), Sin du (ITJ 0731-1:240), Pashu (ITJ 0731-1:240; 241), and Litsabyid (ITJ 0731-1:370) and his wife (ITJ 0731-1:372; 386). It is interesting to find that *na re* is never used for king Ramana and the queen, not even for other core characters such as Ha nu man ta or various gods. All the scenarios above have been considered by Simon to prove *na re* not being a speech verb and he is probably right to make such a conclusion.

3.2.2 Quotations in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*

Direct quotations are the most prevalent type of quotation in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. A direct quotation or *oratio recta* "evokes the original speech situation and conveys, or claims to convey, the exact words of the original speaker in direct discourse" (Coulmas, 1986, p. 2). In direct quotation, it is usually understood that the reporter supposedly reports the original speech of the speaker truthfully, not influenced by his or her point of view (Coulmas, 1986, p. 2). For this explanation, a trivial detail must be added that it is only true for the quotation itself but not how the reporter reports it. For instance, a direct quotation in English "Quine said, 'Quotation has a certain anomalous feature'" is not exactly the same as a direct quotation from OT *rgyal po zhal nas // ngas ri dags bsnyag gIs // lag sha na gar yang ma 'gro bar // lha mo srung shig ches **gsung*** "The king said, 'I will seek the deer, Lagshana, you guard the queen and do not go anywhere!'" not because of anything else but the speech verbs

used by the reporters. For English, the speech verb "said" which does not reveal anything about the speaker, listener, or the reporter while for OT it is *gsung* 'said' which is an honorific speech verb loaded with semantic significances. The honorific form is used either due to the deference from the perspective of the reporter and the person the quotation is addressed to or other reasons.[131] Therefore, it can be said that for the direct quotation, the reporter or the writer is free to provide his point of views outside of the quotations. However, in indirect discourse or *oratio obliqua*, the speaker is still quoted, but not with a word-by-word fashion but to fit the original quotation into the grammar and syntax of the reporter's sentence.

Not many studies are available on the direct and indirect discourse in Tibetan. Nicolas Tournadre and Sanda Dorje's textbook is the one deals with direct and "hybrid" reported speech (Tournadre & Sangda Dorje, 2003, pp. 213–215). Their analysis is solely based on Lhasa Tibetan (or standard Tibetan, in their terms) but it is applicable to OT to a certain extent. For instance, unlike Lhasa Tibetan, OT uses quotative markers before the speech verb. Nathan Hill, while studying indirect speech in Classical Mongolian, mentions Tibetan, by passing, and agrees with previous studies that Lhasa Tibetan does not have person agreement, but a suite of epistemic moods (N. W. Hill, 2013a, pp. 13–14) and Jacques all touch on it in passing while discussing Japhug Rgyalrong.

There are multiple ways to mark quotation in OT. One feature of quotations is the use of quotative markers *ches* (after suffixes *-g*, *-d*, and possibly *-b*), *zhes* (after suffixes *-ng, -n, -m, -r, -l*, and vowels), and *shes* (after suffix *-s*), usually before the speech verb at the closing of a quotation. When dealing with historical texts for linguistic purposes, there is concern that forms we find in texts such as OT *Rāmāyaṇa* probably do not accurately reflect how people speak at the time and it is very possible that the translations follow the original language of the texts. However, since as the previous studies have hinted (de Jong 197), OT *Rāmāyaṇa* is probably not a translation in the strict sense, but a paraphrase targeted to Tibetan speakers and written by people who were fluent in Tibetan. It is also conceivable that it should strictly follow the speech of Tibetan speakers by using elements such as the speech verbs and quotative markers in the spoken language. The original language of the text on which OT

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[131] Although it is unlikely in this situation, but honorific forms can be used sarcastically. For a case of sarcastic use of honorifics, see a study done Korean by Brown (2013).

Rāmāyaṇa was based on is still disputed, F. W. Thomas once suggested Central Asian languages or Nepalese sources but never directly from Sanskrit (Hill, 2013, pp. 13–14).

3.2.3 Honorific verbs

In OT texts, the status of the speakers has been indicated with the speech verbs used and the *Rāmayāṇa* text is no exception. There are few verbs used with the characters with social or political power in the context where they speak to characters with lower status while there are other speech verbs used for ordinary characters. The most important thing with pragmatics is to know the social status of everyone involved in the conversation in a certain speech context. Verbal phrase such as *bka' stsal* should be translated as 'to give an order', is used for characters with high social statuses, such as the Brahmā (example 217), Mahadeba (example 218), Sita (example 220), and Ramana (example 219) while they are encountering with characters with lower social status than themselves. Similarly, the speech verb *bsgo* is also used for someone to instruct another person to do something and it usually happens to be a person with higher status asking someone with lower status. For instance, it is used for Ramana, the elder brother, asking Lagshana, his younger brother, to guard the queen in example 204, queen Sita instructing monkeys to hide when the demon approached them (example 205), gods instructing the demon to keep Hanumanta tied with a rope (example 206), demons saying to Hanumanta that he should be killed (example 207), Ramana instructing monkeys not to be jealous of one another (example 208), and Ramana asking Sita to leave the royal court (example 209). Speech verb *gsungs* 'say' is used for Ramana, five hundred arhats in Mount Tise, and a goddess when they are speaking to their inferiors.

3.2.3.1 *mchi* 'to say'

In terms of its usage in a quotation, this speech verb is primarily used for closing of direct quotations.

In the following example, when Daśagrīva's sister Purpala speaks to Ramana with her affection, the speech verb *mchi* is used twice for her. Both attestations of this speech verb are employed for closing direct quotations. The second direct speech opens with the formula Type 3.

(219)

mkha' la dben gyI sprin tshogs 'krIgs pa la / (126) *gnyi dro snang shar gsal bar gyur pa'I // gzugs bzangs mchog 'dI // khyod kyi 'bangsu 'bul zhes* (127) **mchi** *nas / pyag byaste / drung du bsnyen kyang // rgyal po // btsun mo lha mo si ta byad kyis pul pyung la / de dang* (128) *yId 'chugs pas / srin mo la ltar ma bthub nas // srIn mos yang smras pa // dgyes pas lhun brtsegs*(129) *brtan ba 'I ri bo la / chab gang g.yung drung gnyI dro 'od 'char du // mkha' la dben ba 'I sprin tshogs 'khrIgs* (130) *pa 'is / gnyI dro gsal yang 'char ba 'i dus skabs myed ches* **mchi** *nas // bdag la ltar ma bthub pa snying na myed pas gnod pa zhig bya bar bsamste /* (ITJ 0737-1: 125-130)

"Sky is filled with beautiful clouds, the light of the sun shines, I offer to serve you with this beautiful body as your subject" [Purpala] said so and prostrated to him and approached him but since the king was attached to Sita so could not look at the demoness. The demoness said, "with joy on top of the firm mountain, where rivers are eternal and clouds are amassed, although the sun shines but never have the chance to rise" she said and thought to herself: he dared not to look at me and I am not in his mind, so I shall do some harm to him.

Syntactically, two attestations of the speech verb *mchi* are preceded by quotative markers *zhes* and *ches* and followed by coreferential marker *nas*.

In the following example, speech verb *mchi* is used for Sita and Marutse. The first attestation is in a direct quotation where Marutse is hypothetically foreseeing what Sita would say when she sees him in the body of a precious animal. The second attestation is used for Marutse at the closing of the direct quotation from him. For the first attestation, since Sita is speaking to Ramana, therefore, humilific *mchi* is appropriate here. The direct quotation itself follows a converb *nas* after a previous direct quotation from the same speaker, Marutse (ITJ 0737-1: 141),[132] therefore, none of the five formulae have been used here.

(220)
'o na bdag nI rin po che'i(141) *rI dags shIg du bgyiste / ra ma na dang sI ta gnyis kyi mdun na mar brgyugs tang //bud myed las 'dod zhen che ba myed*(142) *pas / 'u nI snyogs shes* **mchi** *ba 'I rigs / de nas rgyal pos ngan bu bsnyags pa dang / slad na jo bos lha mo rgus*(143) *shig / ngan bu nI mda's phog ste 'gum na / da rgyal po ra ma na 'i mda's phog pa lhar skye bas / gum yang bla zhes*(144) **mchi** *nas mchis pa dang / ra ma na dang lha mo si ta 'I mdun [na] mar / rIn po che 'i ri dags shig byung ba /* (ITJ 0737-1: 140-144)

"Then I will transform into a precious wild animal and run around in front of Ramana and Sita, since women are the greediest, so [Sita] would say 'you pursue that [animal]'. Then the king would follow me. I would die from an arrow, since dying from King Ramana's arrow, I would be reborn as a god. I would rather die." Said [Marutse] and a precious animal came to Ramana and Sita.

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[132] Due to the flow of the sentence, I have not cited the closing of the previous direct quotation from the same speaker here at the opening of this direct quotation.

Syntactically, the first attestation is preceded by a quotative marker *shes* and followed by a nominaliser *ba*; the second attestation is also preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a coreferential marker *nas*.

In the following example, the humilific speech verb *mchi* is used for Sita when she is speaking to Ramana. It is used for closing a direct quotation from Sita and for opening this direct quotation. Formula Type 2 is used, again, the genitive marker is missing.

> (221)
> *lha mo mchid nas ri dags (147) kyIs bslur jI mchis // lha rI spo mthon gnyan gyi rtser / rIn chen shel kyi sdong 'khrungs pa / klu gnyan (148) byIn kyI mthus bsrungs pas / dgung yar khva skegs tshang myi 'cha' zhes **mchi** ba dang/* (ITJ 0737-1: 146-148)
> The queen said, "how would an animal deceive [us]?" "On top of the high divine mountain, a precious crystal tree was born; it was guarded by the power of majestic nagas, crows would not make nests in the high sky" she said so and……

The speech verb *mchi* is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by *ba dang*.

The humilific speech verb *mchi* is also used for Mgrin bzang, a monkey, when it was speaking to Ramana and Lagshana. The speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation from Mgrin bzang. For the opening of this direct quotation, none of the formulae is used but there is *pa dang*, which is followed by another direct quotation from the Ramana brothers, the other party who is conversing with Mgrin bzang.

> (222)
> *spre'u khyod sus brdegs shes rmas pa dang // bdag nI spre'u gyI rgyal po'i bu lagste / bdag chag spun (177) gnyis mchis pa las / bdag nI nu bo lags te / bgrIn bzangs shes bgyi / bdagI pho bo ni 'ba' li zhes bgyi (178) ste / rgyal srId ltod pa las / pho bo stobs che bas / bdag brdegs te snad pa lags shes **mchi** //* (ITJ 0737-1: 177-178)
> "Monkey, who beat you?" asked by [Ramana brothers]. "I am [one of the] sons of monkey king, we have two brothers. My elder brother is known as 'Bali, fighting over the throne, my strong elder brother struck me" said [Mgrin bzang].

Syntactically, a quotative marker *shes* precedes the speech verb while the verb itself appearing at the end of a sentence.

The following example, again, is a case where the speech verb *mchi* is used for Mgrin bzang in the same context, speaking to Ramana and Lagshana. It is used, again, at the closing of a direct quotation which was opened with *pa las*.

(223)

*rgyal pos rmas pa las // bdag nI bro'tshal ba'I mye ngan gyis gdungs pa [s](180) ma mthong na / bdagI drung na // spre'u gsum mchis pa // khyed gda'ba dang bros nas / da ltar rI grod ya bi(181) na mchis te / de rnams kyis /de lta bu zhig mthong bar gleng zhing mchis pas / de rnams la rmar gsol(182) zhes **mchi** nas // rI grod du bltas pa dang / (ITJ 0737-1:181-182)*

When the king asked, [Mgrin bzang said], "I was suffering from the illness, so I have not seen anyone. However, [there were] three monkeys around me and escaped when you approached, and they are on the barren mountain up there now. [They] said they have seen such a woman, so go and ask them," said [Mgrin bzang] and he looked towards the barren mountain.

A quotative marker *zhes* precedes the humilific speech verb while it is followed by a converb *nas* to indicate that the subordinate clause shared the same agent with the primary clause.

Verb *mchi* is used for Sita in a reported speech of three monkeys where they describe how Sita was crying for help when Daśagrīva took her away. It is used for opening a direct speech from Sita quoted in a direct quotation from the monkeys. This a rare occasion where this speech verb is used for opening a quotation.

(224)

*spre 'u gsum yang der 'ong ste rmas na // gzhe ning snga mo zhig gi dus na // myi mgo bcu(184) tham ba la / mgo dang po rta mgor 'dug pa gchig gis // bud myed sman bzhin gchig / sa gzhI tha gi tsam gyi ste[---](185) du bzhag ste // lha mo zhal nas / 'dI skad **mchi** 'o //bdag nI rgyal po ra ma na 'I btsun mo dam pa sI ta lags [---](186) mthu ldan gang zhig / brtse bar myi dgongs sam // myI sdug gzugs chan 'dI las prog du gsol zhes(187) mchiste / nam ka la khyer te song ngo / zhes byas pa dang // (ITJ 0737-1: 183-187)*

Three monkeys came there and when asked them, they said "long time ago, someone with ten heads, among which the first a horse head, was carrying a woman on a plot of land and the queen said," I am Sita, the wife of King Ramana. Would not any powerful person want to show compassion to me and take me away from this ugly demon?" said so and was carried away in the sky".

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a demonstrative pronominal verbal phrase *'di skad* 'these [words]'[133] and followed by what is generally known as sentence-final particle *'o*.

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[133] As a matter of fact, this verbal phrase appears extensively in the opening phrase of the Tibetan translations of Buddhist *sūtras*: *'di skad bdag gis thos pa…*, 'Thus Have I Heard…'. This verbal phrase is believed to be a translation of the Sanskrit term *evam,* for discussions on different interpretations of this opening phrase, see John Brough (Brough, 1950) and Jonathan Silk (Silk, 1989).

The humilific speech verb *mchi* is used twice for 'Ba' li when he is speaking with his wife. The social hierarchy in this context is confusing since it is unusual to use humilifics to the husband when he is speaking to his wife. Thus, we are not sure if it is a scribal error or an intentional rendering. The uncertain readings of several terms in this example due to the damage to the manuscript should also be considered. The speech verb is used for closing direct quotations for both attestations and openings of these direct quotations do not follow any of five formulae we have but following converbs *na* and *nas*.

> (225)
> *de ring ma bzhud chig ches bgyisna // de bar rdud mar rgol yang nod byed pa myed (202) pa dang sbyar na / tshod sod ches* **mchi** *nas / dI ring nI [snad?] [rab?] chig bya'o zhes* **mchi** *nas chas te song ba dang /* (ITJ 0737-1: 201-202)
> "Do not go today" said ['Ba'li's wife], "Since there is no one to protect him even after attacking him continuously; so, he could be killed" said ['ba'li]. ['Ba'li], again, said "[I will] do a greater damage today" and went away.

In terms of syntax, both attestations are preceded by quotative markers *ches* and *zhes* respectively and followed by coreferential maker *nas*.

The speech verb *mchi* is, again, used for 'Ba'li's wife here in the following example. It is not clear who she is speaking to, but probably to Ramana since he was the person mentioned in the statement followed by this quote. This speech verb is used for closing a direct speech.

> (226)
> *'ba' lI lhag par jI ste dgum // yong(207) nI rgyal po ra ma na 'I mda' phog ste shi ba lhar 'grub pas / bla grang zhes* **mchi** *'o /* (ITJ 0737-1: 206-207)
> ['Bali's wife] said, "since 'Bali is superior, why would he be killed [by Mgrin bzang]? However, perhaps it is better to be hit by King Ramana's arrow and to be reborn as a god."

A quotative marker *zhes* precedes the speech verb while a sentence-final particle *'o* follows it.

Mgrin bzang speaks to Ramana in the following example, after ignoring their agreement for years, to help him take queen Sita back by sending three powerful monkeys. Again, this speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation from Mgrin bzang. For introducing the direct quotation, the formula Type 2 is used.

> (227)

mgrin bzangs mchid nas // bdag phongs pa na yang rogs bgyid bgyid (216) *de / glo ba de yang nye / mthu rtsal yang 'dI gsuM che zhes* **mchi** *nas // pag shu dang / sIn du dang / ha nu man ta gsum /*(217) *gtang bar chad nas //* (ITJ 0737-1:215-217)
Mgrin bzang said, "although I am miserable, I will surely offer my assistance. These three are loyal and powerful" and [they] decided to send Pagshu, Sindu, and Hanumanta, three of them.

A quotative marker *zhes* precedes the speech verb while it is followed by a converb *nas*.

In the following example, humilific speech verb *mchi* is used for an un-identified speaker when three monkeys entered a house. Given the pragmatics of the speech verb used here, it is very likely that a maid or a servant of the goddess is speaking here since an honorific speech verb *gsung* 'to say' is used for the goddess when speaking with these monkeys. The speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which was opened with a converb *na*.

(228)
'dI su 'i lags rmas na /(222) *dpal lha mo 'i sras mo / gtsug rgyal sgeg mo 'i khab yIn no zhes* **mchi** *nas // spre 'u rnams kyis*(223) *pyag 'tshal bar gsol pa las gnang ste / pyag bgyis //*(ITJ 0737-1: 221-223)
When [monkeys] asked "whose house is this?" and [someone] said, "it is Gtsugrgyalsgegmo, the daughter of Dpallhamo's house" and monkeys were granted for paying respect when they asked, and they paid respect to her.

A quotative marker *zhes* precedes the speech verb *mchi* and it is followed by a coreferential marker *nas*. This is a verbal phrase sentence with several clauses chained together using converbs. Converb *nas* and *pa las*, as well as *ste* are used in this verbal phrase sentence.

While discussing amongst monkeys who can travel to Langkapura, Hanumanta, probably the youngest of all, volunteered. Humilific speech verb *mchi* is used for him while speaking with senior monkeys. Here, the speech verb is also used for closing a direct quotation from Hanumanta. The direct quotation does not use any of our formulae to open, but a rare case using FP -*o*.

(229)
pag shu na re / ha nu man (242) *ta myi nus sam zhes dris so //rngo thog ches* **mchi** *nas // rgya mtsho la mchongste mchis nas /* (ITJ 0737-1: 241-242)
Pashu asked, "Can Hanumanta do it?" [Hanumanta] said, "I would be able to do it" and jumped over the ocean and went.

A quotative marker *ches* precedes the speech verb while followed by a converb *nas* to connect the subordinate clause to the agent who is speaking, in this case Hanumanta.

The following example is where the speech verb *mchi* is used for a letter that is from Ramana to Sita. It is not clear why a humilific verb is used here instead of an honorific, it probably has something to do with the fact that the speech verb is addressed to the letter but not to the person who sent it. Speech verb *mchi* is, again, used for closing a direct quote from Ramana's letter to Sita, for opening this direct quotation, a formula Type 5 is used as *'phrin yig blags na* 'when [she] read the letter'(ITJ 0737-1:246).[134] It is also worth mentioning the converb *na* used here since the agent changes from the queen to letter, taking a letter as an agent with the ability to deliver speech ITJ 0737-1:

> (230)
> *lhun po ri rtser rin chen byin* (254) *shar na / skar tshogs mkha' la rgyu ba 'I 'od dang bral // de bas bdag la dgongs ldan brtse ba 'i ngang nyId ni* (255) *dkyil yangs rgya mtsho 'i dkyil du gyur ltar yang // pu chab lte bu 'i yid kyi dba' rgal dag // rgya* (256) *bskyed dgongs pa 'i lhun nI tshim bar mdzod ches* **mchi** *nas //* (ITJ 0737-1:253-256)
> "When the precious sun shines on the top of the Mount Meru, the roaming stars in the sky lose their brilliance, so please keep me in your mind which resembles waves of the rivers and widen the centre of the vast ocean and satisfy the mountains of your mind" [Ramana] said in the letter [to the queen].

Syntax of the speech verb provides further evidence for the use of humilific form is justified. It is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* but interestingly followed by a converb *nas*, which again followed by a clause where the queen speaks again. Thus, the letter is taken as a piece of speech read by the queen rather than coming from Ramana, which probably is the reason for using humilific speech verb *mchi* here.

Speech verb *mchi* is used for a letter sent by Sita to Ramana, in the same syntactic environment with the previous example where humilific speech verb is denoting what the letter says when the reader is reading rather than in the voice of the sender. It is used for closing a direct quote from a letter sent by Sita to Ramana. The following phrase opens the

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[134] To present the opening of the direct quotation in full, it goes: *lha mo yang rab du dgyeste / prin yig blags na /* 'the queen was very happy and when she read the letter' (ITJ 0737-1-246).

direct quote from the letter: *[---] o 'i prin yIg plags na*,[135] 'when [the king] read the letter from the [queen]'

(231)
thugs (284) *rje 'i gzugs kyis / yun du myI gtang zhing / mnga' thang rkyen kyi 'khor tshogs mang po la / bdag(285) 'dra' 'I myi dpen / dman ba ma mchis kyang / chab gang 'khor rgyug re brtan ya rabs gzhung / thugs(286) la dgongs par gnang ba gthang rag 'tshal zhes* **mchi** *nas // de nas spre 'u dmag dang myi dmag(287) bslog ste* (ITJ 0737-1: 283-287)
Although there is no lowly person than me amongst the numerous followers in the kingdom, I thank you in my heart for kindly thinking of me and not abandoning me with your compassion forever." Then Ramana turned the army of monkeys and men around [and went to the country of Langkapura].

Syntactically, a quotative marker *zhes* precedes the speech verb while a converb *nas* followed by it.

In the following example, the speech verb *mchi* is used for Litsabyid's wife when she is speaking to Ramana when she seduced him to come to her. It is, again, used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced with the formula Type 5 at the beginning.

(232)
rgyal po ra ma na (382) *bzang zhing 'od chags par lug pas // mo dga' cheste // mjal du rung gis / sus* (383*) kyang ma tshor bar spyon chig ches* **mchi** *nas // rgyal po yang sus ma tshor bar gshegste* (384) *mo dang mjal bas gzims ste /* (ITJ 0737-1: 381-384)
King Ramana was handsome and splendid, she was excited, "you are allowed to meet me, come without anyone knowing" said [Litsabyid's wife] and the king went without letting anyone knowing, met with her, and slept with her.

Again, it is preceded by a quotative marker *ches*, and followed by a converb *nas*.

Humilific speech verb *mchi* is used twice in the following example with Sita, when she is speaking to Ramana to protest the unfair treatment she is receiving from him. Both attestations are used for closing direct quotes. The first direct quote starts with a formula Type 2 while the second direct quote is with a converb *ste* since both are from the same speaker.

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[135] Due to damage occurred to the original document, a term is unreadable in this phrase. However, with the genitive marker followed by it, we could guess with great certainty that it is the term *lha mo*, 'the queen' missing here. However, de Jong filled it in as *btsun mo* 'the queen', a rendition of the same term (de Jong, 1989, p. 126).

(233)

*lha mo 'i zhal nas // myI sdug gzugs chan dagis (398) lo zla mang po 'I sngon rol nas / bsten ching bsnyen pa dagI klags myed (399) de / sgo myed dgu rIm btsas pa ma gzIgs saM / nongs nI ma nongs na / rgyal po 'i(400) thugs tang myI 'thad par gyur na // bdag nI mchi bar 'tshal zhes / **mchi** ste / gcung gi(401) dmod pa lags shes **mchi** nas // nam ka la 'pur te 'gro bar bgyis na / sras la(402) ba dang ku sha gnyis kyis // nam ka dang sa gzhi thams shad rdo rjer byin(403) kyis brlabste / nam ka la ma thar nas //* (ITJ 0737-1: 397-403)

The queen said, "Have not you seen, for many years and months, the ugly being had no opportunity to approach me so I was kept in a deep [castle] without gate? If the king is troubled with it without any offence whatsoever, I wish to go" said [Sita] and [she continued], "it is a curse from [your] younger brother" and when she tried to go via flying to the sky, [her] two sons, Laba and Kusha blessed both the sky and earth with their power and a transformed them into diamond, so she could not go into the sky.

A quotative marker precedes the speech verb *mchi* in both cases while the first attestation is followed by, in this case, converb *ste* and the second attestation is followed by a converb *nas*.

3.2.3.2 *bsgo* 'to instruct'

This honorific verb is usually used when giving instructions to someone to perform a particular task, often takes place when someone with a higher social status making the request to a person with lower status. For instance, it is used for Ramana, Sita, gods, and Rakshasas. This speech verb is attested both for introducing and closing a direct speech In following example, honorific verb *bsgo* is used in a quote from Lagshana, when he is talking about following elder brother's instructions. The direct speech opens in formula Type 4.

(234)

*lag sha na na re // bdag nI gcen gyis **bsgo** ba nyan te / myi (157) 'gro zhes bgyis par bas kyi // sems la g.yo myed yang dag go //* (ITJ 0737-1: 156-157)

Lagshana said, "I will listen to what my elder brother instructed and [I am] not going to go [anywhere]", thusly said and truly did not change his mind.

This attestation is in a reported speech where Lagshana is reporting what Ramana had instructed him to do. The social hierarchy is marked with the verb, and it seems *bsgo* is the only form whether it is used for perfective or non-perfective tenses in OT.

The tense aspect of this speech verb is evidential in the following example, and it is logical to find the term in narrative past tense. In the following example, it is used for Sita

giving instructions to Lagshana when Hanumanta came as an envoy to deliver a message from Ramana. The direct speech is introduced with the formula Type 2.

(235)
*de nas lha mo 'i zhal nas / spre 'u (257) las gthogs 'dod che myed kyis / srIn pos bsad par 'ong ste / gob shig ches **bsgo** ba dang /* (ITJ 0737-1: 256-257)
Then Sita instructed, "there is no greater meddler than monkeys, the Rakshasa is coming to kill [us], hide [somewhere]!"

The social hierarchy in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, where Sita has higher status than Hanuman ta is shown with this speech verb, using the honorific form used for her while she is speaking. Gods also possess higher hierarchy than Ha nu man ta.

In the following example, honorific speech verb *bsgo* is used for gods giving instructions to Hanumanta to compromise his ability to escape from the Rakshasa's rope. This speech verb is used for introducing a direct speech with the formula Type 1.

(236)
*srin pos dngos (264) grub kyi lha rnams la gsol pa dang / dngos grub kyi lha rnams kyis // ha nu man ta la **bsgo** ba / srog [---](265) dbab par byas / re shig zhags pas zIn par gyi shig ches bgyis nas / ha nu man ta zhags pas (266) zin to //*(ITJ 0737-1: 263-266)
The Rakshasa said to the gods with power and these gods instructed Hanumanta [as following]: "[They would] not harm [your] life, make yourself to be able to catch with a rope for now" and Hanumanta was caught with the rope.

Not only gods, but even Rakshasas are also with higher status than Ha nu man ta.

As the following example shows, the honorific speech verb *bsgo* is also used for the Rakshasas when they are instructing Hanumanta. This speech verb is used at the closing of a direct speech and the direct speech was introduced with the formula Type 2.

(237)
*srin po rnams kyi mchid nas / spre 'u gthogs 'dod chan ma rungs pa 'di / gshis (267) ngan kho nar gsad do zhes **bsgo** ba dang / ha nu man tas gsol pa / khrI lan / myi dgum bar nI chang myi gsol (268) na // pha ltar dgum bar jI gnang zhes gsol ba dang /* (ITJ 0737-1: 266-268)
Rakshasas instructed, "this meddler monkey who has bad characteristics, we shall kill him right away" and Hanumanta said, "I am not begging even once in myriad times to

not to kill me; if you may, what about killing me in the same way as my father?" [They asked], "we shall do so, how was your father killed?"[136]

In this context, the verb *bsgo* probably does not exactly mean 'to instruct', but probably 'to say'. However, it is also possible that some high-ranking Rakshasas instructing low-ranking Rakshasas to kill Ha nu man ta and the verb indeed means 'to instruct'. Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by *ba dang*.

The following example is where the honorific verb *bsgo* is used for Ramana when talking to two monkeys. The speech verb *bsgo* both introduced and closed a direct speech here, for introducing the direct speech, formula Type 1 was used.

(238)
*rgyal po ra ma nas spre 'u gnyis (293) la **bsgo** ba // rtsal gyi drag shul rngam ba 'I mthu stobs dang // rang rig blo la mkhas pa 'I mkhan (294) bzo gnyis / yon tan so sor gnas pa 'I 'phrag dog gis / 'gran ching rtsod pa 'i gcugs ni ji(295) yang myed ches [b]sgo nas //* (ITJ 0737-1: 292-295)
King Ramana said to the two monkeys, "since the strength and power and the intellectual capacity are two different abilities, thus please avoid competing out of jealousy."

The second attestation at the closing of the direct speech, speech verb *bsgo* is preceded by a quotative marker and followed by a *nas*.

In the following example, the honorific speech verb *bsgo* is used for Ramana, when instructing Sita to leave him. The speech verb is used for closing a direct speech.

(239)
*lha mo yang (419) th[u]gs dang ma 'thad de // mtho btsun rgyal po 'i mnga' thang [rIs (/dris)] / skyon myed btsun mo (420) 'i sku la tsam / seng ge god kyi sha 'tshal ba / gzhan gyis dpya's par 'ongste / gar dga' (421) bar song shig ches **bsgo** ba las / sras la ba dang ku shas ma btang ste /* (ITJ 0737-1: 418-421)
It did not please the queen, [and the king] said, "no faults being done to the territory of the highly respected king but only to the body of queen, if a lion looks for the deer that separated [from the herd], others will laugh at it. So please go to where you prefer!" but [their] sons, Laba and Ku sha, did not let her go away.

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[136] The term *khri lan* used here begs for some discussion. Kha sgang et al. has an entry whehre equates it with the term *nyes can* 'felon', but this explanation is not convincing. It is used in a similar way with the term *brgya lan* 'hundred times', so 'for myriad times' is a more aproppriate interpretation.

The honorific speech verb *bsgo* is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and followed by *ba las*.

3.2.3.3 *gsungs* 'to say'

This honorific speech verb *gsungs* is used for five hundred arhats, Ramana, and a goddess in OT *Rāmāyaṇa* when they are speaking to characters with lower social status than themselves. Both the perfective form *gsungs* and the non-perfective form *gsung* are used in our text but it seems both are used for completed actions. This speech verb is primarily used for closing direct speeches.

The speech verb *gsungs* is used with Brahmā at the closing of the direct speech. For introducing the direct speech, a formula Type 1 is used.

> (240)
> *tshangs pas bka' stsald pa // srId gsum dbang byed nged las myed / stong khams myi [---](30) mda's 'phangs des myi phog / ches **gsungs** nas phyod ches gshegs pa dang //*(ITJ 0737-1: 29-30)
> The Brahmā said, "there is no one else except me who rules the three worlds, the empty space […], arrows shot would not hit [me]", he said [to the sons of gods] and went away swiftly.

A quotative marker *ches* precedes the speech verb *gsungs* and converb *nas* is used after it.

When king Daśaratha asked for a son to the five hundred arhats in Mount Tise, their message was delivered with a flower. It is evident that these arhats are socially ranked higher than the kings not only from using this honorific verb, but also from their power to grant an heir to the king. The opening of the direct quotation is introduced with a phrase *men tog gcig bskur te* 'sent a flower and……'. This phrase can be seen as a variant of the formula Type 5 where the ergative marker is omitted after *pa las*, since we can figure out who is the speaker in this context.

> (241)
> *bu bslangs pa las / men tog gchig bskur te // btsun mo la byin chig dang /*(68) *sras yod par 'gyur ro zhes **gsungs** nas // rgyal pos / btsun mo gnang chen la byin ba dang /*(ITJ 0737-1: 67-68)
> When asked for a son, [five hundred arhats] sent a flower and [said] "give it to the queen and [she] shall have a son", and the king gave it to [his] senior wife.

The perfective form of the honorific speech verb *gsungs* is used here in the example, preceded with a quotative marker *zhes*. A particle *nas* followed the verb, where the subject changes from the arhats to the *rgyal po* 'the king', which is mentioned right after *nas*.

The speech verb *gsung* is used for Ramana when speaking to Lagshana, his younger brother. It is used for closing the direct quotation and the direct is being introduced as slightly different version of the formula Type 2. The genitive marker is missing in the following phrase probably due to a scribal error; it is also possible that it can be omitted in OT.

(242)
rgyal po zhal (149) nas // ngas ri dags bsnyag gIs // lag sha na gar yang ma 'gro bar // lha mo srung shig ches **gsung** *ste / ri dags (150) bsnyagso //*(ITJ 0737-1: 148-150)

The king said, "I will seek the deer, Lagshana, you do not go anywhere but guard the queen!" and [he] followed the deer.

Clearly, a perfective form is needed here, but the suffix *-s* for marking perfective feature is omitted here, very likely due to what known as the sequential action particle *ste* with a superscript *s-* comes right after the speech verb.[137]

In the following example, *gsungs* is used twice for Ramana, when he woke up from a months-long sleep he fell into after searching for the abducted queen in all directions. No specific audience or speaker is mentioned here, but according to the details in the direct speech itself and the plot of the narrative, it is a direct quotation by Ramana to his younger brother. The speech verb *gsungs* is used both for the opening and closing of the direct speech supposedly from Ramana. This example does not follow any of the direct quotation formulae mentioned here but introduce the direct quotation with a phrase *'di skad gsungs so* 'said the following'.

(243)
dbyar dang po skyes pa 'I rtsva gzhi la khris pa snar zug pa dang sad de // yang rmad 'dor zhing 'di skad (169) **gsungs** *so // da tsam bzang mo yid 'ong gdung ba 'I mchi ma dkyus rings spyan bkra' nas // zla(170) mdangs mdzes pa 'I zhal la / dbab ltar 'drIl ba snyam // gnyI zer 'char pa lte bu 'I thugs ngan la(171) mtshan mo mun pa bzhIn du gyur pa snyam zhes* **gsung** *zhing bzhud pa las //* (ITJ 0737-1: 168-171)

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[137] The term sequential action particle is used by Roy Andrew Miller in his study of Tibetan grammar (Miller, 1970, p. 89).

[They] were awoken by the grass sprouted in the beginning of the summer which stung their noses, and [the king] said, "now the beautiful queen's tears of agony from her oblong eyes, rolling down the beautiful moonlight shining face like rolling stones. To the sunlight shining mind of hers must have obscured by the dark night." Said so and continued their journey.

Interestingly, a sentence-final particle *so* is followed by the first attestation of the verb. Usually, it is understood by the indigenous grammarians that the sentence-final particle takes place at the end of a statement, thus known as *rdzogs tshig* 'end-particle'.[138] However, it seems to anticipate the subsequent quote here in this example, by not indicating an end of the statement but to introduce the quote, a function that is not dissimilar to a colon used before a quote in English. This usage further supports the argument made by Shao that the sentence-final particle can be used for clause-chaining construction or coordinate construction in OT (Shao, 2021, p. 452). However, based on examining our example here, it seems one minor detail is missing from Shao's analysis regarding anaphoric referencing function of these sentence-final particles. He argues that "backwards-referring function of anaphora plays a key role" for the sentence-final particle and it is "used to focus the hearer's attention on entities in the preceding context" (Shao, 2021, p. 457). As our example suggests, it also has a forwards-referring function or cataphoric where it introduces or emphasizes the quote that follows, not just the one preceding it, unless it is backwards-referring the demonstrative pronoun *'di*, which again forwards to the quotation.

In the following example, honorific speech verb *gsung* is used for Ramana for a dialogue he has with his younger brother. This speech verb is used for closing a direct speech. For introducing the direct speech, formula Type 2 is used.

(244)
*(174) gcung gI mchid nas / jI ltar sems chan gyi khu ba lags shes zhus pa dang // bstan gyis 'dong zhes **gsung** (175) nas / lung pa 'I pur pyin na //* (ITJ 0737-1: 174-175)
The younger brother asked, "How come it is liquid from an animal?" "Let's go and I will show it to you" said [Ramana] and went to the innermost part of the valley.

In this case, the sociopragmatics is explicitly shown with different speech verbs used for characters with different social status when presenting a dialogue taken place between them.

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[138] Even some modern scholars argue sentence-final particles mark the end of a sentence or paragraph without any connection with the subsequent clause (Skal bzang 'gyur med & Skal bzang dbyangs can, 2002, p. 173). See Shao (Shao, 2021) for an enlightening study of the sentence-final particle *-o* in Old Tibetan and Classical Tibetan where he agrees with previous studies that the origin of this particle was a demonstrative pronoun *'o* 'that'.

A humilific speech verb *zhus* 'to say' is used for the younger brother while an honorific speech verb *gsung* 'to say' is used for Ramana, the elder brother who is also the king.

Honorific speech verb *gsung* is used for a goddess when she is speaking a group of monkeys. Again, a perfective form is expected here, but an unexplainable non-perfective form is found here. This speech verb is used at the closing of a direct speech and for introducing the direct speech, formula Type 2 is, again, used.

> (245)
> *lha mo 'i zhal nas / gar 'gro zhes rmas /(224) drang por gsol pa dang / dmyIg tshums shes byung / dmyig btsums pa dang / da dmyig pye zhes **gsung** /(225) ga shed kyi mtsho gram bye ltongs shig du pyin nas / phan tshun bltasna / rI nag po ched po zhig snang ste / brtags(226) na / 'gul ba snyam byed nas / drung du pyin na / bya nag po 'dab tshig chig yIn nas /* (ITJ 0737-1: 223-226)
> The goddess asked, "where are you going?" and when told her truthfully, [the monkeys] were told, "close your eyes!" When closed their eyes and then [she] said, "now open your eyes!" They are in a desert near a lake and when looked around; a big black mountain appeared to them. When examined, the mountain moves and when went closer to it; it was a black bird with burned wings.

Syntactically, it is attested at the end of a sentence preceded by a quotative marker *zhes*.

The speech verb *gsungs* is used for Ramana when he speaks to Sita in the following example. It is also used for closing a direct quotation and the introduction of the direct quotation is presented in the formula Type 1, the speaker is omitted here due to the sufficient information provided in the narrative and the speech verb.

> (246)
> *lha mo la bka' stsald pa // mtho (395) btsun rgyal po 'i mnga' thang ris // skyon myed btsun mo 'i sku la tsham // seng ge god(396) kyi sha 'tshal du // gzhan gyis dpyas par glo ba chung // de bas na lha mo gar dgyes par(397) bzhud chig ches **gsungs** pa dang //* (ITJ 0737-1: 394-397)
> [The king] said to the queen, "Not faults being done to the territory and power of the high and sacred king, but only to the body of the queen. If a lion looks for the lost meat, others will make fun of it, so please go wherever you pleases."

The perfective form of the verb is used here preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and followed by *pa dang*.

The speech verb *gsungs* is used for Sita when she is speaking to her sons. The speech verb is, again, used for closing the direct quotation; for introducing the direct quotation, formula Type 2 is used.

(247)
lha mo 'i zhal nas // lus dang yId la gnong (407) myed par // rgyal po 'i thugs dang ma 'thad pa / nI // gcung lag sha na 'I dmod pa sdig pa lta(408) ste // bu khyed spun gnyIs kyi rten byed ching 'dug go zhes **gsungs** *nas // lha mo sI(409) ta dang / sras la ba dang ku sha yum sras gsuM yang / sgyed mo tshal na / skyid ching bzhugso* (ITJ 0737-1: 406-409)
The queen said, "the king is not pleased even if I do not have any guilt in my mind and body, that is due to the curse from the younger brother Lagshana. I will support you two brothers and stay [with you]," and queen Sita, son Laba and Kusha, all three are staying happily in the garden.

Syntactically, a quotative marker *zhes* preceded the speech verb *gsungs*, followed by a converb *nas*. Converb *nas* is followed by a clause where Sita, the agent of the first clause was joined by her two sons, but she still is the main agent.[139]

3.2.3.4 *bka' stsal* 'to give order/say'

In this verbal phrase, *bka'* 'word' is a common honorific form used for the words of the Buddha in OT translations of the Buddhist texts. However, it is not confined to used merely for the Buddha, as we have seen earlier, but used for the emperor and other royal members delivering decrees. From these usages, we can probably conclude that it is a high honorific term reserved for the highest-ranking members of the social strata in OT. As expected, in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, it is used only for the highest-ranking gods, Ramana, Sita, and kings while they are speaking to inferior characters. The second syllable, or the verb in the verbal phrase, *stsal* 'to give' is another honorific verb used for between people in OT. This speech verb is used both for opening and closing direct quotations.

In the following example, verbal phrase *bka stsald* is used for Brahmā, the highest-ranking god in *Rāmāyaṇa*. This verbal phrase is used for introducing a direct quotation with formula Type 3 and another honorific speech verb *gsungs* is used for closing the direct quotation.

(248)

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[139] Co-referencing here needs some clarification that the agent of the second clause is the agent of the first clause plus two other agents, her two sons. However, similar co-referential structures can be found in modern Shigatse dialect as reported by Haller (Haller, 2009, p. 58).

*tshangs pas **bka' stsald** pa // srId gsum dbang byed nged las myed / stong khams myi [---](30) mda's 'phangs des myi phog / ches gsungs nas phyod ches gshegs pa dang //*(ITJ 0737-1: 29-30)
The Brahmā said, "there is no one else except me who rules the three worlds, the empty space […], arrows shot would not hit [me]", he said [to the sons of gods] and went away swiftly.

Syntactically, this verbal phrase is preceded by an ergative marker *-s* following the agent, Tshangspa, or the Brahmā and followed by a nominaliser *pa*.

In the following example, the speaker is not explicitly mentioned, however, with the verb *bka' stsal*, we could deduce it is someone with higher social status. If we examine the context closely, it is Mahadeba, a god who granted miraculous power to the sons of gods. The honorific verbal phrase is used for closing a direct quotation while a phrase *de nas* 'then' is used for opening of the exact direct quotation.

(249)
*de nas dngos grub 'dI rnams grub par gyur chig ches / **bka' stsal** to //* (ITJ 0737-1: 54)
Then [Mahadeba] said, "hope all these attainments would be accomplished!"

In this context, the verbal phrase *bka' stsal* is preceded by a quotative marker and followed by a sentence-final particle *to*.

For the next example, the verbal phrase *bka' stsald* is used in a reported speech where Mgrin bzang is referring to Ramana that he would follow what king Ramana says. Ramana is ranked higher than Mgrin bzang socially in *Rāmāyaṇa*, and this usage of honorifics with Ramana further confirms the fact. This honorific verbal phrase is used in a direct quotation and *pa las* introduced the direct quotation and closed with a humilific speech verb *gsol*.

(250)
rgyal po ra ma na 'I zhal nas // bgrIn bzangs kyi (188) *dan grogs byaste / rgyal srid du gzhug na // khyod kyis lha mo sI ta btsal ba 'I dan grogs bya na rung myI rung zhes byas* (189) *pa las / 'dI ltar bdagi dan gro[g]s mdzad par gnang na // bdag kyang rngo ji thog gis // **bka' stsald** pa nyan* (190) *zhes gsol nas / bro gtshIgs bgyis ste /* (ITJ 0737-1: 187-190)
King Ramana asked, "if [I] assist Mgrin bzang to become the ruler, will you assist to find Sita, the queen?" [then Mgrin bzang said], "if you assist me thusly, I will also do my best to follow your orders" and took an oath for it.

Syntactically, the verbal phrase is preceded by an ergative particle *gis* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*. Ramana uses the non-honorific perfective verb *byas* 'to do' and the imperfective verb *bya* 'to do' for himself. Mgrin bzang uses honorific *mdzad* 'to do' for Ramana and humilific *gsol* 'to say' for himself.

In the following example, verbal phrase *bka' stsal* is used for Sita in a reported speech in Hanumanta's quote. Queen Sita is a higher-ranking character than Hanumanta in *Rāmāyaṇa*. The direct quotation itself is introduced with the formula Type 3 and closed with a humilific speech verb *gsol*.

> (251)
> *ha nu man tas gsol pa // bdag la bdag stod legs ma [---](275) grogs la smod pa de bas thu // lha mos thugs nas //* **bka' stsal** *na / bdag tsam spyod pa spre 'u(276) la' dkon zhes gsol nas /* (ITJ 0737-1: 274-276)
> Hanumanta said, "it is [inappropriate] to praise myself [---] and it is worse to disparage a friend, if the queen speaks her mind, it is rare for monkeys to have my honourable behaviour."

Syntactically, *bka' stsal* is preceded by an elative marker *nas* and followed by converb *na* here.

The speech verbal phrase *bka' stsald* is again used with Ramana when giving an order to two monkeys on crossing the ocean to reach Langkapura. However, this is an interesting case where the formula Type 3, usually used for introducing a direct quotation, is being used for closing the direct quotation. For introducing the direct quotation, no formulae are being used but followed the natural flow of the narrative and started from a V+CONV.

> (252)
> *(288) spre 'u ma ku dang / dam sI gnyis zam pa thog shig ches / rgyal po ra ma nas* **bka' stsald** *pa [---]* (ITJ 0737-1: 288)
> King Ramana said, "'Umaku and Damsi, you two monkeys carry the bridge!'".

This verbal phrase is preceded by an ergative marker *-s* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*.

In the following example, the agent to whom the honorific verbal phrase *bka' stsald* is omitted. However, examining the preceding sentences, it is Ramana that the verbal phrase is used for. It is used for opening a direct quotation with a variant of the formula Type 1. For closing this direct quote, another honorific speech verb *gsungs* 'to say' is used.

(253)

*lha mo la **bka' stsald** pa // mtho (395) btsun rgyal po 'i mnga' thang ris // skyon myed btsun mo 'i sku la tsham // seng ge god (396) kyi sha 'tshal du // gzhan gyis dpyas par glo ba chung // de bas na lha mo gar dgyes par (397) bzhud chig ches gsungs pa dang // (ITJ 0737-1: 394-397)*

[The king Ramana] said to Sita, "in the king's territory, body of queen's is the only thing that is flawless, I would be unhappy if others make fun of it, so please go wherever you prefer."

Syntactically, this verbal phrase is preceded by an allative particle *la* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*. Predictably, the allative marker is used for *lha mo* or another reference used for Sita, therefore, we know that she is the one who was spoken to.

In the following example, the verbal phrase *bka' stsald* is again used for Ramana when speaking with Sita. It is used for introducing a direct quote in the formula Type 3.

(254)

*rgyal pos **bka' stsald** pa / lI ci byid kyi chung ma khyo dang 'thab (416) pa 'I tshe / bud myed kyi rang bzhin khyod la cha yod dam zhes zer ba dang / (ITJ 0737-1: 415-416)*

The king said, "when Li ci[tsa] byid's wife fought with her husband, [she] said to [her husband] 'are you familiar with women's nature?'"

Syntactically, it is preceded by an ergative marker *-s* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*.

In the following example, the speech verbal phrase *bka' stsal* is used for Ramana when speaking to Hanumanta for closing a direct speech.

(255)

*gzhan gyis dpya's par 'ongste / gar dga' (421) bar song shig ches bsgo ba las / sras la ba dang ku shas ma btang ste / da ltar sgyed mo (422) tshal na 'dug go zhes **bka' stsal** pa dang // (ITJ 0737-1: 420-422)*

"Others would make fun of it; you go wherever you prefer," said, and then prince Laba and Kusha would not let her go, and [the king] said, "she was in the garden just now."

The speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by *pa dang*.

3.2.4 Humilific Verbs

Several humilific speech verbs are used in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, including *gsol*, *mchi*, and *zhus*. The speech verb *gsol* 'say' is specifically used for the characters inferior in a speech context. For instance, it is used for sons of gods on three occasions when they were asking for special attainment from Mahadeba, the god; it is also used for Upade, wife of Mahadeba, when she pleaded with her husband to grant sons of gods the attainment as well as king Ramana when he is speaking to his father. Verb *zhus* 'say' is another verb used for inferiors to show humility in contexts where they are speaking with superiors; although there is only one occasion where the speech verb *zhus* is used, it seems it is used for people with lower status. It is used for the younger brother of the king Ramana when he was talking to his elder brother (example 248):

(256)
*(174) gcung gI mchid nas / jI ltar sems chan gyi khu ba lags shes **zhus** pa dang // bstan gyis 'dong zhes gsung (175) nas / lung pa 'I pur pyin na // spre 'u 'phags par che ba zhig snang nge nyal ba 'I / mchi ma dang kha chu dang sna chu yin bar gyu (176) nas //*
(ITJ 0737-1: 174-176)
The younger brother said, "How come it is liquids from beings?" "[Let us] go and [I will] show it you" When went to the inner most part of the valley, there was a super big monkey, [the liquid] was from its tears and saliva.

The verb *gsol* sometimes work as an adverb can be translated along the lines of 'please', as the attestation in the following example shows.

(257)
*lha mo zhal nas / 'dI skad mchi 'o // bdag nI rgyal po ra ma na 'I btsun mo dam pa sI ta lags [---] (186) mthu ldan gang zhig / brtse bar myi dgongs sam // myI sdug gzugs chan 'dI las prog du **gsol** zhes (187) mchiste / nam ka la khyer te song ngo /* (ITJ 037-1:185-187)
The goddess said, "I am the queen of king Ramana. Is there not a powerful person who has some sympathy for me? Please take me away from this ugly being." She was carried into the sky.

In this context, *gsol* is a weak verb assisting the main verb *phrog* 'take by force', to connote the pragmatics of pleading for help with a terminative marker *du* between them. Speech verb *mchi* is another humilific verb used in *Rāmāyaṇa* for Purpala when she is speaking to Ramana, Sita speaking to Ramana in a hypothetical situation, Sita speaking to Ramana, Mgrin bzang, the monkey, speaking to Ramana brothers, Sita when she was asking for help when Daśagrīva kidnapped her, 'Ba'li's wife when she is speaking to 'Ba'li, Mgrin bzang when speaking to Ramana, an unidentifiable character when

speaking to three monkeys, Hanumanta when speaking to some senior monkeys, the letter that Ramana sent to Sita, Sita's letter to Ramana, and Litsabyid's wife when speaking to Ramana.

3.2.4.1 *gsol* 'to say'

This humilific speech verb is used for Malyapanta when he is speaking to sons of gods, Ramana when he is speaking with his father, Upade when speaking to Mahadeba, Lagshana when speaking to Ramana, farmers when speaking to Ramana, a brahman when he is talking to Ramana, Purpala when she is speaking to her brother Daśagrīva, Sita when she is speaking to Ramana, Daśagrīva when speaking to Sita, Mgrin bzang when he is talking to Ramana, 'Ba'li's queen when stalkingto 'Ba'li, group of monkeys when they are speaking to a goddess, a Rakshasa when he is talking to the gods of fulfilment, Hanumanta when speaking to Rakshasas, monkey subjects when speaking to Hanumanta, Hanumanta when speaking with Ramana, and two sons when speaking with Sita, their mother.

In the following example, humilific speech verb *gsol* is used for Manlyapanta, when speaking with the sons of gods. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quote, the direct quote was opened with the formula Type 4.

(258)
Man lya pan ta na re// shI ba lta ga la na yang srid na // [---] (14) da yod pa las // bdagis / ma nus pa yId la gchag [---] (15) [---] myi bya 'am zhes **gsol** *pa dang / lha 'I bu [r]na[ms] [---](16) [---] zhes khas [bla]ngs nas //* (ITJ 0737-1: 13-16)
"Even Lta ga la would die, [---] remember that I was not capable of doing [---] would you not?" said Man lya pan ta, and the sons of gods [---] consented as such [---] [---]

The speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a *pa dang*.

The speech verb *gsol* is used for Manlyapanta, the demon, when he is speaking with the sons of gods. This verb of speaking, again, is used for closing a direct quotation. Unfortunately, the opening of the direct quotation cannot be analysed due to the damaged document.

(259)
lha rnams kyis (20) [---] / pud du bzhag pa nI bdag lags na // tsha bo khyed kyis (21) [---] [rnams] kha gdag par j[i] gnang zhes **gsol** *pa las // lha 'I bu rnams na re / nged kyis ji nus(22) [---] nas / dong ngo //* (ITJ 0737-1: 19-22)

The gods [---] "I was spared; do you, nephews, consent to [---] kill all of [---]?" said [Ma lya pan ta], and the sons of gods said, "we will do with our best ability [---]" and went away.

The syntax mirrors the previous example, where a quotative marker *zhes* precedes the speech verb followed by *pa las*.

Humilific speech verb *gsol* is used for the sons of gods when they ask for the blessing of miraculous power from Brahmā. This is also an occasion where this speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation. The opening of the direct quotation does not follow any of the common formulae, but it begins with a phrase specific to the situation *dngos grub gsol pa 'I [tshig la]* 'words of blessing requested [are]'.

(260)
dngos grub gsol pa 'I [tshig la] // gang la [---] '[pha]gs phog ching shi ba dang / gzha' pyir myI 'gum tshe (28) 'I g.yung drung dang / srid gsum dbang byed d[ng]os grub gsuM // gtso m[ch]og khyed kyIs // bdag chag rnams la stsol /(29) zhes **gsol** *pa dang /* (ITJ 0737-1: 27-29)
Words of blessing requested [are]: "Lord, please bestow on us with these three blessings: whoever when the shoot will die, [we] never to be killed or have the eternal perpetuity of life, achieve the ruling of the three realms," said [the sons of gods] and…

A quotative marker *zhes* precedes the speech verb while followed by *pa las*. It changes the sons of gods as agent in the primary clause to Brahmā in the subordinate clause.

The following example shows where the humilific speech verb *gsol* is used for Upade to plead for the sons of gods when she speaks to her husband, Mahadeba. This is used for closing a direct quotation. The direct quotation is introduced with the formula Type 1.

(261)
ma ha de ba 'I btsun mo / u pa de / shin du thugs rje ste / ma ha de ba la gsol pa [---](34) [---] bu rnams kyis bsnyen pa sna tshogs 'dI ltar bgyis pa la thugs myi rje 'am / gshegs pa 'I rigs she[---](35) **[g]sol** *pa dang /* (ITJ 0737-1: 33-35)
Mahadeba's consort, Upade, was moved and told Mahadeba, "these sons of [gods] offered various services in these manners, would not you pity them? You should agree to go [---]", said and…

Syntactically, a quotative marker *shes* precedes the speech verb *gsol*, while a converb *pa dang* follows it.

The humilific speech verb *gsol* is used twice for Ramana when describing his speaking to his father. This speech verb is used for both opening and closing a direct quotation. For opening the direct quotation, a formula Type 1 is used.

> (262)
> *ra ma nas tshor te / yab la **gsol** pa // bdag nI yab kyi (81) sku yon du bsngos te / rgyal srId long spyod dang / 'du 'dzI la ma chags par spangs nas // drang srong gi spyad pa [sp]yo[d](82) ching / dben ba 'I gnasu mchi 'o zhes **gsol** nas // drang srong gi gnasu song ba dang / yab dgyes nas /* (ITJ 0737-1: 80-82)
> Ramana knew [it] and said to his father, "I am offering to give up kingship, possessions, and bustle of worldly affairs to practice the practice of a divine seer and go to a quiet place" he said so and went to the place of the divine seer and the father was pleased.

At the first attestation, an allative particle *la* precedes the speech verb *gsol* and a nominaliser *pa* follows it. For the second attestation, the speech verb *gsol* is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a converb *nas*.

For Lagshana speaking to Ramana, the humilific speech verb *gsol* is used twice. This speech verb is used for both opening and closing direct quotation. The direct quotation opens with the formula Type 3.

> (263)
> *lag sha nas **gsol** pa //(88) dka' thub spyad par dam bchaste // rgyal srid mdzad par myI gnang na yang // khyod kyi chags ya chig rgyal po /(89) 'I gdan la bzhugste // bdag nI chags 'og gi blon po bgyid par ji gnang zhes **gsol** pa las / chags ya gchig(90) skur te / ra ma na 'I chags nI / rgyal po byed / lag sha na nI / chags 'og gi blon po byed do //* (ITJ 0737-1: 87-90)
> Lagshana said, "although committed to practice ascetism and do not take the kingship, [what if] one of your shoes be the king and I act as the minster under it?" When asked, [Ramana] sent one of his shoes, then the shoe became the king and Lagshana acted as the minster under it.

Syntactically, for the first attestation, an ergative particle *-s* precedes the speech verb and is followed by a nominaliser introducing the quote. As of the second attestation, it is preceded by a quotative particle *zhes* and followed by *pa las*.

In the following example, this humilific speech verb is also used for the farmers who presented a beautiful girl to Ramana as his queen. Therefore, the difference of social status is evident in this context, where when farmers talk, the humilific verb *gsol* is used. The subject

who is speaking is not explicitly mentioned, but based on the preceding narrative, farmers who found *rol rnyed ma*, or later known as Sita are the subjects who are speaking here. The speech verb *gsol* is used for opening a direct quotation in this example with the formula Type 1.

(264)
*bu mo cha byad kyIs brgyan te / khrid de 'ongs nas // ra ma na la **gsol** pa / skra nI(97) mthon ting g.yasu 'khyil / dmyig nI ud dpal la // tshangs pa 'I dbyangs ltar kha dog rnam par dag /* (ITJ 0737-1: 96-97)
[Farmers] dressed up the girl with ornaments and brought her to Ramana, and [they] said, "her hair is sky-blue and swirling right-ward, eyes [resemble] *upala* [flowers], pure like the sound of Brahma."

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by an allative particle *la* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*.

When Purpala is speaking to her brother, Daśagrīva, the humilific speech verb *gsol* is used. This is used for opening a direct quotation with the formula Type 1.

(265)
*(131) pyir yul du song nas // myIng po mda' sha grI ba la **gsol** pa // 'dzam bu glIng gI yul na // rgyal po ra ma na 'i btsun (132) mo // lha mo si ta zhes bya ba // rab du bzang la sdug ste /* (ITJ 0737-1: 131-132)
[Purpala] went back home and told [her] brother, Daśagrīva, "In the land of Jambudvīpa, [there is] king Ramana's queen, known as Sita, [is] the most beautiful [woman]."

An allative particle *la* precedes the speech verb and followed by a nominaliser *pa* which introduces the quote from Purpala.

For Queen Sita for asking Ramana to pursue the wild animal, humilific speech verb *gsol* is used. It is used for closing a direct quotation and for opening the very quote, a P+ERG, a variant of our formula Type 3. The nominalized speech verb in Type 3 had been omitted here probably due to the brevity of the quote allowed the closing speech verb in such a proximity, which permitted quotation for not to use a nominalized speech verb as opening.

(266)
*ra ma na dang lha mo si ta 'I mdun [na] mar / rIn po che 'i ri dags shig byung ba / (145) lha mos jo bo snyogs shes **gsol** pa dang / rgyal po zhal nas / 'u nI bzlu*[sic] *ba 'I ri dags yin bas / bsnyag (146) du myi rung ste /* (ITJ 0737-1: 144-146)

A precious wild animal appeared in front of Ramana and queen Sita; the queen said, "dear lord, please pursue it!" and the king said, "that wild animal is deceiving,[140] so [I] shall not follow it."

Speech verb *gsol* is preceded by a quotative particle *shes* and followed by *pa dang*.

For the following example, Daśagrīva, when kidnaping Sita, asked her to ride him. The humilific speech verb *gsol* is used for Daśagrīva when speaking to Sita. This speech verb is used for a non-quotative situation describing a situation where the speaker asked someone else to do something. Another key indicator that it is not a direct quotation is lack of quotative markers used for closing the quotation.

(267)
*klang po mchog du sprul te // bcibs par **gsol** na yang ma gnang / rtar sprul na yang (164) ma rung nas / ra ma na dag kyang slar log du nye ste // sa gzhi tha gI tsam dang thog ces blangs nas khyer te broso //* (ITJ 0737-1: 163-164)
[He] transformed himself into a magnificent elephant and asked [her] to ride it, but she did not, then transformed himself into a horse, and she still did not ride it, then Ramana and others were about to return, so he took her with a plot of ground.

Syntactically, it is preceded by a terminative case marker *-r* and followed by a converb *na*.

When he agrees to help him secure the throne, Mgrin bzang pledges to Ramana to help him pursue Queen Sita. The humilific speech verb *gsol* is used for him when speaking to Ramana. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation. The direct quote starts with *pa las*, a nominaliser and a converb.

(268)
*'dI ltar bdagi dan gros mdzad par gnang na //bdag kyang rngo ji thog gis // bka' stsald pa nyan (190) zhes **gsol** nas / bro gtshIgs bgyis ste /* (ITJ 0737-1: 189-190)
"If you agree to assist me in this manner, I shall do whatever I could to fulfil what you have asked," said [Mgrin bzang] and took an oath for it.

A quotative marker *zhes* precedes the speech verb while a converb *nas* follows it.

In the following example, speech verb *gsol* is used for 'Ba'li's wife when speaking to 'Ba'li, the monkey king. This speech verb is used for opening a direct quotation in this example with the formula Type 1. For closing the direct quotation, another speech verb *byas* is used.

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[140] *'u* here is a demonstrative pronoun similar to *de*.

(269)
'ba' li (195) *'I btsun mos // 'ba' lI la **gsol** pa // rgyal srid myI pog par nI // khyod kyis stobs kyis thub / mgrin(196) bzangs rgol yang / dme sdig pas ma gsad ches byas pas //* (ITJ 0737-1: 194-196)
'Ba'li's queen said to 'Ba'li, "[you] can defeat them without falling your [kingdom], even if Mgrin bzang attacks, since it is a great sin [to kill him], you shall not kill [him]."

An allative case particle *la* precedes the speech verb *gsol* and a nominaliser *pa* follows it.

In the following example, monkeys asked permission from a goddess to if they could pay respect to her and they have answered truthfully when asked them where they are headed. Speech verb *gsol* is used twice for monkeys when speaking to the goddess. Both attestations are used for non-quoting general descriptions.

(270)
*spre 'u rnams kyis (223) pyag 'tshal bar **gsol** pa las gnang ste / pyag bgyis // lha mo 'i zhal nas / gar 'gro zhes rmas /(224) drang por **gsol** pa dang / dmyIg tshums shes byung / dmyig btsums pa dang / da dmyig pye zhes gsung /* (ITJ 0737-1: 222-224)
Monkeys offered a prostration and [the goddess] accepted it; they prostrated. Then the goddess asked, "where are you going?" They answered truthfully, and [monkeys] were told to close their eyes; when they closed their eyes, and then [they were] told to open the eyes.

For the first attestation, a terminative case marker *-r* precedes the speech verb while *pa las* follows it. In the second attestation, again, preceded by a terminative case marker *-r* and followed by *pa dang*.

Here, the humilific speech verb *gsol* is used for Rakshasa when he is talking to the gods with the power to grant attainments. However, in this case, the actual speech from the Rakshasa is quoted neither fully nor partially with the speech verb *gsol*.

(271)
*srin pos dngos (264) grub kyi lha rnams la **gsol** pa dang / dngos grub kyi lha rnams kyis // ha nu man ta la bsgo ba / srog [---](265) dbab par byas / re shig zhags pas zIn par gyi shig ches bgyis nas / ha nu man ta zhags pas (266) zin to //* (ITJ 0737-1: 263-266)
The Rakshasa said to the gods with power and these gods instructed Hanumanta [as following]: "[They would] not harm [your] life, make yourself to be able to catch with a rope for now" and Hanumanta was caught with the rope.

Syntactically, an allative case particle *la* precedes the speech verb and it is followed by *pa dang*.

In the following example, humilific speech verb *gsol* is used for Hanumanta for seven times, when he is speaking to Rakshasas, Sita, and Ramana. An honorific verb *gsol* (underlined in the example) with the meaning 'to drink' is also attested for Rakshasas. Only the first attestation and fifth attestation of the speech verb are used for opening direct quotations in the formula Type 3. The second, third, fourth, and sixth attestations are used at the closing of direct quotations while the seventh attestation is used for non-quoting general use.

(272)
*ha nu man tas **gsol** pa / khrI lan / myi dgum bar nI chang myi <u>gsol</u>(268) na // pha ltar dgum bar jI gnang zhes **gsol** ba dang / de ltar gnang gis pha ji ltar bsad ches rmas pa(269) dang // bdagi pha gzhug ma la ras yug ston gis dkris / mar sran khrI 'i nang du bcug nas / mye btang(270) ste bkuM zhes **gsol** pa dang / ha nu man ta yang de bzhin bgyis nas / mye 'ba'r ba dang / mjug ma(271) yug ches byaste / srin po 'i mkhar dang khangs steng rgya skegs kyis g.yogs pa yang phal cher tshig [---](272) srin po yang mang du gum ste / mjug ma las ras pud de bor nas / slar lha mo 'i gan du mchiste(273) bdag mchi na prin yig brdzang du gsol zhes **gsol** pa dang // lha mos rmas pa / khyed spre 'u la(274) khyod tsam phod pa du yod ches rmas na / ha nu man tas **gsol** pa // bdag la bdag stod legs ma [---](275) grogs la smod pa de bas thu // lha mos thugs nas // bka' stsal na / bdag tsam spyod pa spre 'u(276) la' dkon zhes **gsol** nas / prin yig mnoste // slar mchis nas / rgyal po ra ma na 'i gan du(277) pyin nas // prin yig pul / bka' mchid zhib du **gsol** pa dang / rgyal po thugs dgyes nas /(278) [---]o 'i prin yIg plags na //* (ITJ 0737-1: 267-278)
Hanumanta said to [Rakshasas], "if you ever not kill me but would not let me drink wine, what about killing me in the same way as my father?" [they asked] "we shall do so, how was your father killed?" [Hanumanta said] "Thousand pieces of cloth were wrapped on my father's tail and dipped into ten thousand *sran* of butter, then burned and killed." The same [tactic] was performed on Hanumanta and caught on fire. [When] swung [his] tail, it burned most of the lac-covered walls and houses of Rakshasas and killed many Rakshasas as well. [Then he] dropped the cloth on the tail and escaped. [He] returned to the queen [Sita] and said, "since I am going [back], please entrust me with a letter." Then the queen asked, "how many of monkeys would be able to do what you are capable of?" Hanumanta said, "it is not appropriate for me to praise myself and it is worse to despise one's own friends. If the queen insists, [I will say this], it is rare among the monkeys what I am capable of." Received the letter, [Hanumanta] returned to the king Ramana, handed the letter, and offered all the details. The king was pleased; when read the letter, [it says] …...

With the first and fifth attestations, speech verb *gsol* is preceded by an ergative case marker *-s* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*. For the second attestation, the speech verb is

preceded by a quotative marker *zhes*, and followed by *ba dang*. With the third attestation, again, preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by *pa dang*. The fourth attestation is identical to the previous attestation, preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by *pa dang*. The sixth attestation, it is again preceded by a quotative marker *zhes*, but followed by a converb *nas*. For the seventh or the final attestation in this example, the speech verb *gsol* is preceded by a terminative case marker *-du* and followed by *pa dang*.

The speech verb *gsol* is used for Lagshana, it is clear from this verb that he is speaking to Ramana, or a superior.

(273)
*jI ltar bya zhes bgros pa dang // gcung lag sha nas (315) sngar brgal bar **gsol** nas // mda' dang po 'phangste phog pa 'I 'og du / de nas ra ma nas brgal bar byas pa dang /* (ITJ 0737-1: 314-315)
When discussing what should be done, Lagshana, the younger brother, said he will cross [the ocean] first. [He] shot the first arrow, and it hit [the goal], so Ramana agreed to cross [the ocean].

Syntactically, a terminative case marker *-r* precedes the speech verb *gsol* while followed by a *nas*.

When Hanumanta announced his disinterests in the throne, humilific speech verb *gsol* is used twice for monkey subjects when they beg him to take the throne. It is used once in the opening of the direct quotation and again in the closing of the direct quotation. The direct quotation starts in the formula Type 3.

(274)
*de pyir bdag nI rgyal po myi 'tshal lo zhes byas pa dang // spre 'u 'bangs rnams kyis **gsol** (336) pa / rgyal srid ltod pyir / spun yang dmes 'gyed na // gzhan gyis bstabs bzhin myI 'dod khyed lte bu / khri prag(337) 'grangs pa 'I spre 'u la gchig kyang myed // lha myi yongs la dkon no ya mtshan che // bran gyi bu yang rigs(338) kyi rgyal po ste / dud 'gro 'i lus kyang / lha 'I sems pas lhag / spre 'u gyi myingdu thogs kyang / seng ge 'i rtsal dang (339) chas / bdag chag sil bur lus pa 'I pha ma mdzod ches **gsol** pa dang / dngan dus [ngus?] kyis kyang gsol nas //(340) ha nu man tas kyang ngo ma zlogs te / rgyal srId lag du blangs so //* (ITJ 0737-1: 335-340)
"Therefore, I do not want to be the king," said [Hanumanta]. All the monkey subjects said, "to compete for the throne, even brothers would kill each other. There is not one single monkey among tens of thousands that would not want the throne when it was granted. It is rare in both humans and gods, and it is extraordinary. Although [he] is the son of a serf, [he] is the king of the race indeed. Although it is in the body of a bend-down animal, it is better than a divine mind. Although named as a monkey, he

competes with the crowd of lions. Please be the parent for us scattered ones!" They begged him with crying, so Hanumanta was not able to refuse and accepted the throne.

Syntactically, first usage is preceded by an ergative case marker *kyis* and followed by a nominaliser *pa* while with the second usage, it is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and followed by *pa dang*.

In the following example, humilific speech verb *gsol* is used when Hanumanta is speaking to Ramana via a letter. This speech verb is used for closing the direct speech and it was introduced with the formula Type 1 (ITJ 0737-1:344-345).[141]

> (275)
> *slad rjes su thugs myi nur // bka' myi 'bab par (352) jI gnang zhes **gsol** nas // snga lugs bzhin mdza' dgyes so //* (ITJ 0737-1: 351-352)
> "Hope the king do not change [your] mind and please do not scold," said [Hanumanta] and [they] become pleasant [to each other] and happy as before.

The speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes,* followed by a converb *nas*. Although it is hinted that both Hanumanta and Ramana are agents in the subordinate clause where they both become friendly to each other and happy as before, it is Ramana who is the primary agent. Therefore, a converb *nas* is used instead of *pa dang* or *pa las*.

In the following example, the humilific speech verb *gsol* is used twice when Sita's two sons speak to their mother. It is used both for opening and closing a direct speech and the opening was in the formula Type 1.

> (276)
> *sras gnyis kyis yum la **gsol** (404) pa // yum chig lha mos jI yang ma nongs par // khrel myed yab kyi thugs la ma (405) 'thad pa // spyi nI thugs chad khri lan na // bdag chag spun gnyis // yum gyis (406) jI pyir yal bar dor zhes **gsol** pa dang /* (ITJ 0737-1: 403-406)
> Two princes said to their mother, "if the shameless father is not happy when the mother did nothing wrong. [You are] totally disappointed, but why did the thought of abandoning us two brothers occur [to you] once in million times?"

An allative particle *la* precedes the first attestation while a nominaliser follows it. For the second attestation, it is a quotative marker *zhes* to precede the speech verb and *pa dang* follows it.

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[141] Since it is a long letter, I have not included it in full-length here.

When Hanumanta is speaking to Ramana, humilific speech verb *gsol* is used again in the following example. This speech verb is used at the closing of a direct quotation which was opened in the formula Type 2.

> (277)
> *ha nu man (412) ta 'I mchid nas // rgyal pos thugs pag mdzad de / pham babs nI gda'*
> *dgu' zhig gnang ste /(413) mnos kyang lags na /deng lha mo la pyag kyang ma 'tshal //*
> *lha mo 'i pyag nas // pham babs (414) yams re yang ma gnang ba glo ba la gchags na //*
> *lha mo la pyag 'tshal bar ji gnang zhes (415)* **gsol** *pa dang // rgyal pos bka' stsald pa*
> */* (ITJ 0737-1: 411-415)
> Hanumanta said, "The king is concerned with us and received enough food. But we
> have not paid our respect to the queen and have not received any food from the queen;
> would you give us permission to pay respect to the queen?" and the king said……

The speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a nominaliser and a associative marking particle *pa dang*.

Humilific speech verb *gsol* is used twice for Ha nu man ta when he is speaking to Ramana to plead for him to not to abandon Sita, his queen. Both attestations of the speech verb are used for a direct quotation, one at the opening and another at the closing. The direct quotation is introduced in the formula Type 3.

> (278)
> *ha nu man thas* **gsol** *pa // rgyal po bslu* (423) *[---]lha mos ma nongs bzhin du // nor*
> *'khrul ya(432) mtshan che zhes* **gsol** *pa dang // rgyal po yang dgongs [---] nas / ha nu*
> *man ta(433) zer ba bden bar dpyad nas // lha mo dang sras la ba dang ku sha sgyed mo*
> *tshal na(434) mchis pa yang bkug ste //* (ITJ 0737-1: 423-434)
> Hanumanta said [to Ramana] …… It is incredibly wrong to say the queen committed
> mistakes," said [Hanumanta], and the king reconsidered [---] and figured that what
> Hanumanta said was true and summoned the queen and princes Laba and Kusha, from
> the garden.

Syntactically, the first usage is preceded by an ergative case marker *-s* and followed by a nominaliser *pa* while quotative marker *zhes* precedes the second and followed by a nominaliser and an associative marking particle *pa dang*.

3.2.4.2 *zhus* 'to ask'

This humilific verb is attested only once in OT *Rāmāyaṇa* and it is used for Lagshana when asking a question to Ramana. In terms of the sociopragmatics, it works similar with *gsol* 'to say'. Although the data is scarce, it seems *zhus* is used for asking non-rhetorical questions by someone with lower status to a person with higher status.

In the following example, humilific speech verb *zhus* is used for Lagshana when he asked Ramana, his elder brother, a question. It is used for closing a direct quotation which was opened in the formula Type 2.

(279)
(*174) gcung gI mchid nas / jI ltar sems chan gyi khu ba lags shes **zhus** pa dang // bstan gyis 'dong zhes gsung (175) nas / lung pa 'I pur pyin na // spre 'u 'phags par che ba zhig snang nge nyal ba 'I / mchi ma dang kha chu dang sna chu yin bar gyu (176) nas //*
(ITJ 0737-1: 174-176)
The younger brother asked, "How come liquids are from beings?" "[Let us] go and [I will] show it to you" When [they] went to the innermost part of the valley, there was a super big monkey, [the liquid] was its tears and saliva.

A quotative marker *zhes* precedes the speech verb while a nominaliser and associative marker *pa dang* is used after the verb.

3.2.5 Plain verbs

Except for the speech verbs categorised as honorific and humilific ones, all the other speech verbs in OT Rāmayāna, such as *mchi* 'to say', *zer* 'to say', *dris* 'to ask', *rmas* 'to say/ask', *smras* 'to say', *byas* 'to do/say', *bgyis* 'to do/say', *brjod* 'to say', *bos* 'to yell/call out', *gleng* 'to say', and *bgros* 'to discuss' are indifferent with the speaker's social status. They are usually used when the speakers have similar statuses or in the context where the power relationship is not identified.

Speech verbs *byas* and *bgyis* are speech-verb-in-disguise, only allowed to appear at the closing of a quotation.

3.2.5.1 *zer* 'to say'

This speech verb seems to be a plain verb used between socially equal characters in the OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. When Marutse, the minister, speaking to Daśagrīva, Lagshana talking to Sita, a letter sent by Ramana to Mgrin bzang, and a bird speaking to Ramana brothers.

In the following example, speech verb *zer* is used for Marutse, a minister of Daśagrīva, is speaking to Daśagrīva, on his plot to steal Sita. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced with the formula Type 4. The second direct quotation is directly followed by a converb *nas*.

> (280)
> *ma ru tse na re / de ltar do gal ched po dang bsdos te / myI thob du myI rung na / re shig (140) nI thob par 'gyur te /skol kyi srid nI de kho nar myed pa lta zhes zer nas //*
> (ITJ 0737-1: 139-140)
> [Marutse] said, "If it is extremely important and could not be possible not to obtain her, then it might be possible to obtain her for a while. Although it seems our kingdom will be ruined just for that reason."

In terms of syntax, the speech verb *zer* is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a converb *nas* to continue his role of agent in the subsequent clause.

Speech verb *zer* is used for Lagshana, Ramana's younger brother, speaking to Sita when he protested her request go and find Ramana. This speech verb is also used for closing a direct quotation. Formula Type 4 is used for opening the direct quotation.

> (281)
> (153) *lag sha na na re // da ci gchen gyi zhal nas / gar yang ma 'gro bar // lha mo srung shig ches byung bas / bdag myi mchi (154) zhes zer ba dang / lha mo khroste // jo bo myed na // ngan bu bsrungste cha jI mchis /* (ITJ 0737-1: 153-154)
> Lagshana said, "earlier, the elder brother said to guard the queen without going anywhere, so I will not go." The queen got angry, [and said] "if the king is missing, what is the point to protect me?"

Syntactically, a quotative marker *zhes* preceded the speech verb and followed by a nominaliser+associative marker *ba dang*.

The speech verb *zer* is used for the letter from Ramana to Mgrin bzang. As discussed earlier, pragmatically, letters take a different form of verb than the sender, where it is taken as if the letter is speaking in these contexts. Therefore, a plain speech verb *zer* is used for Ramana's letter to Mgrin bzang instead of an honorific verb. This used for a direct quotation from a

letter which was began with a phrase *yi ge blags na* 'when [he] read the letter', a common introduction for quoting letters in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. Thus, content of letters quoted in OT *Rāmāyaṇa* can be taken as direct quotations, with the exact same syntactical features with other direct quotations.

(282)
*(209) dus btab pa 'I sar lo gsuM bsdad kyang // spre 'u gyi dmag ma 'ongs nas // mda' la yI ger bris te 'phangs pa /(210) mgrin bzangs kyI drung du 'ongs nas // rgyal po ra ma na 'I mda' yIn bar ngo shes nas / sngar rgyal srid la g.yengs ste(211) dam bchas pa gzod dran nas / skrag nas yi ge blags na // dam la gnas byas mgrin bzangs po / 'ba' li(212) lam du ma 'gro shig // gang du 'ba' lI bsad pa 'I lam // de ni legs pa ma yin no / zhes **zer** ba des /(213) de bas kyang skrag ste / spre 'u dmag ded nas // rgyal po ra ma na 'I gan du pyin pa dang /* (ITJ 0737-1: 209-213)
[Ramana] stayed at the chosen place for appointment for three years and the army of monkeys did not show up. So, he had written the message on the arrow and shot it and it arrived at Mgrin bzang's. [Mgrin bzang] recognized it was the arrow from King Ramana and remembered that he has been carried away by ruling the kingdom and forgot about the promise. When read the message with fear, it is said, "please keep the promise, Mgrin bzang! Do not follow the road taken by 'Ba' li. The road where 'Ba'li was killed; it is an undesirable one." [Mgrin bzang] became more scared and went to the King Ramana with the army of monkeys.

Syntactically, speech verb *zer* is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a nominalizer *ba*.

Speech verb *zer* is used for a bird when it is speaking to Ramana brothers. The speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced with the formula Type 4.

(283)
*bya na re nga 'I pha nI bya khyung gi rgyal po ste // a ga 'dza' ya zhes bya' / de la bu spun gnyis yod (228) pa la / nga nI pho bo pa da' zhes bya // nu bo ni sam pa da' zhes bya' // nged gnyis rgyal srid ltod pa / las / dam bchas pa' / (229) rI rab kyi rtse mo nas / 'phur te // gang mgyogs pas // rgyal srId bkur bar byas pa las / tha gI tsam gyis bdag (230) mgyogste // slar bltasna // nu bo 'i 'dab ma nyi mas tshIg la thug nas / slar log nas / nu bo rogs byas pa dang (231) bdag nyI mas tshig ste / bang bul nas // rgyal srid kyang ma thob ste // da ltar 'dI na 'dug pa yin no zhes **zer** ro //* (ITJ 0737-1: 227-231)
The bird said, "my father was Aga'dza'ya, the king of garudas. He had two sons and I am the elder one, named Pada', my younger brother is Sampada'. For competing for the throne, we decided to fly over the great mountain and the fastest could get the throne. I was ahead of him around the length of a rope. When I looked back, my younger brother caught on fire, and I went back to help my younger brother. But I was burnt by the sun and lost the ability to move fast. I lost the throne as well, so, now I am staying here."

In terms of syntax, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and a sentence-final particle *ro*.

Again, speech verb *zer* is used for the bird when it is speaking to Ramana brothers. The speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation. The speech verb is used at the closing of a direct speech which was opened with a nominaliser and an associative marker *pa dang*.

> (284)
> *srin pos lcags kyi thu lum (237) dmar po gchig 'phags pa dang // bdagI pha 'i snying lam na kha zas shig yin bar dpyad nas / zos pa (238) las / snying tshig nas shI ste // srin pos lha mo khrId de song ngo zhes **zer** ro //* (ITJ 0737-1: 236-238)
> "Rakshasa threw a red iron ball, and my father thought it was food. He consumed it and died from burning his heart. Then the Rakshasa took the queen away." Said [the bird].

Syntactically, speech verb *zer* is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a sentence-final particle *ro* here.

Speech verb *zer* is also used for Sindu, the monkey when discussing with fellow monkeys about their ability to travel to Langkapura. The speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation that is introduced with a formula Type 4.

> (285)
> *de nas spre 'u (239) gsuM gyis bgros pa' // lang ka pu ra nI rgya mtsho 'i kling na 'dug na / 'u bu su der 'gro nus shes byas pa dang /(240) sIn du na re ngas myi nus shes **zer** / pa shu na re ngas phar nI mchongsna / nas rgas pas pyir myi mchongs shes(241) byas pa dang //* (ITJ 0737-1: 238-241)
> Then three monkeys discussed, "Langkapura is in the ocean; who can go there among us?" and Sintu said, "I cannot do it". Pashu said, "I am too old, so I can jump too there but not back."

Syntactically it is preceded by a quotative marker *shes* and the sentence ends with it, so it is marked as an absolutive -Ø.

In the following example, speech verb *zer* is used for Ampakarna, Daśagrīva's younger brother, when speaking to Ramana. This is, again, used for closing a direct quotation that is opened with the formula Type 3.

(286)

*am pa kar nas smras pa // phan dang ldan na (299) gzhan yang gnyen / pha myed gnyen ni gzhan yIn te / myi phan ba nI lus kyi nad / phan ba dkon (300) ba sman yin no / zhes **zer** ba dang* (ITJ 0737-1: 298-300)

Ampakarna said, "if a stranger offers help, they can be your relative; relatives who do not offer help are strangers. Useless is the sickness to one's body; useful but rare are the medicine."

The speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and a nominaliser and associative marker *ba dang* follows it.

The speech verb *zer* is used for Ampakarna, Daśagrīva's younger brother, who is colluding with Ramana against his brother when he is speaking to Hanumanta. This speech verb is used for closing direct quotation which was introduced with the formula Type 2.

(287)
*am pa kar na 'i mchid nas / gangs tI se la sman 'brI ta sa 'dzi (309) ba yod de / dmag 'dI kun yang sos su rung ngo zhes **zer** nas / ha nu man ta len du btang ba dang / ngo ma shes ste /(310) gangs tI se lhan chig btegste 'ongs nas /* (ITJ 0737-1: 308-310)

Ampakarna said, "A medicine [known as] *'bri ta sa 'dzi* 'strawberry can be found in Mount Tise, and it can cure all these armies." Hanumanta was sent to bring it, but he could not recognize it and brought the Mount Tise altogether.

The speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a converb *nas*.

Speech verb *zer* is used for the five hundred sages, or one of the sages when speaking with Sita. This speech verb is also used for closing a direct quotation which is introduced with a nominaliser and associative marker *pa dang*.

(288)
*btsun mos 'di mying zhes dris pa dang / ku sha yin no (366) zhes **zer** nas // de nas thal byung mtshan yang ku shar btagso //* (ITJ 0737-1: 365-366)

The queen asked, "what is the name of it?" "This is Kusha." Said [the sages], and then he is named Kusha.

Syntactically, it is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a converb *nas*.

Speech verb *zer* is used for Li tsa byid when he is scolding his wife for having an affair with someone. The speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced with the formula Type 4.

(289)
*lI tsa byid dri ma dag pa dang / chung ma gnyis (370) 'thab ste // khyo na re spyar ma 'dI bud myed gzhan dang myI 'dra' bar / khyos myi chog ste / skyes (371) pa gzhan dang nyal ba 'I zla dpe' khyod lte bu su la yod / brtsog sdIg gis / gar dga' bar (372) song la pyin chad nga 'I yul pyogsu yang ma nye shig ches **zer** ba dang //* (ITJ 0737-1: 369-372)

Li tsa byid dri ma dag pa quarrelled with his wife. The husband said, "this harlot is different from all other women; she is not satisfied with her husband and sleeps with other men. Is there a second person who does this other than you? It is disgusting; you go wherever you prefer and do not get close to my country."

The speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and followed by a nominaliser and an associative marker *ba dang*.

Speech verb *zer* is used when Litsabyid's wife speaking to his husband. This is also used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced with the formula Type 4 (ITJ 0737-1:372).

(290)
*(376) bud myed kun kyi rang bzhin / khyod la cha yo dam zhes **zer** ba' // rgyal po ra ma nas /(377) gsan nas //* (ITJ 0737-1: 376-377)

"Are you familiar with the nature of all the women?" [Litsabyid's wife] asked [her husband], king Ramana heard it and……

Syntactically, the speech verb *zer* is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a nominaliser *ba*' with a suffix " " or ঽ which is interesting.

Speech verb *zer* is used for Litsabyid's wife in a reported speech from Ramana.

(291)
*rgyal po ra ma nas /(377) gsan nas // thugs la dgongs pa // ma la bdagI chung ma yang / srin po dang nyal(378) yang dag snyam nas // yId nyis bzheste myi dgyes pa 'I rjes la / bud myed kyi rang bzhin(379) shes sam zhes **zer** ba dang sbyar na / skyes pa dang myi 'dra ba zhig yod pa 'dra' ste //(380) lI tsha byid kyi chung ma la brtag go snyam nas //* (ITJ 0737-1: 376-380)

king Ramana heard it and thought to himself: Alas, it is possible that my wife slept with the demon. If I connect what [Litsabyid's wife] is saying, "if [Litsabyid] knows anything about the nature of women?" It seems there is a difference between the nature of the women and men. I should examine Litsabyid's wife.

The speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a nominaliser and associative marker *ba dang*.

In the following example, speech verb *zer* is used for Ramana when he is speaking to Litsabyid's wife.

(292)
*bzang mo bud (385) med kyi rang bzhin / skyes pa dang myI 'dra' ba zhig yod ches **zer** na // jI lta bu zhig lags (386) shes dris pa dang / mo na re / rIms nad tsha bas gdugs pa 'I myi // rgyun du gangs chab dran (387) ba bzhin // bud myed 'dod chags rgyun du g.yo / skyes pa bzang po rtag du dran /* (ITJ 0737-1: 384-387)
"The great lady, it has been said that women have a distinctive nature, so what is it like?" [Ramana] asked. Then she said, "it is like people with heat diseases always think about ice; women are always lustful and think of good men all the time."

Speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and followed by a particle *na*, which Beyer termed as a doubt particle (Beyer, 1992, p. 362) while DeLancey a locative case marker (DeLancey, 2006a, p. 382). However, *na* particle after a noun in OT usually works as converb meaning "if" or "when" while after a noun is a locative case marking particle. With speech verbs, converb *na* is follows them whenever found, thus, it is converb rather than a locative marker.

Speech verb *zer* is used twice referring to what Litsabyid's wife said about Sita.

(293)
*rgyal pos bka' stsald pa// lI ci byid kyi chung ma khyo dang 'thab (416) pa 'I tshe / bud myed kyi rang bzhin khyod la cha yod dam zhes **zer** ba dang / dper na rgyal (417) po ra ma na 'I btsun mo lha mo si ta / srIn po mda' sha grI ba dang lo du mar (418) 'dug pa las / da ltar mdza' khyad la ltos **zer** ba thos pa dang sbyar nas / lha mo yang (419) th[u]gs dang ma 'thad de //* (ITJ 0737-1:415-419)
King [Ramana] said, "When Li ci[tsa] byid's wife quarrelled with her husband, [she] said [to her husband] 'are you familiar with the nature of women? For instance, king Ramana's queen, Sita, was with Daśagrīva for several years; see how they get along well nowadays!'" The queen heard about it and was unhappy.

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a verb in its imperative form *ltos* 'look' and followed by a nominaliser *ba*.

In the following example, speech verb *zer* is used for Ha nu man ta when Ramana is referring to him. This is used for non-quotative descriptions.

(294)

*rgyal po yang dgongs [---] nas / ha nu man ta (433) **zer** ba bden bar dpyad nas // lha mo dang sras la ba dang ku sha sgyed mo tshal na (434) mchis pa yang bkug ste // ha nu man ta dang spre 'u rnams kyis p(h)yag (435) bgyis nas /* (ITJ 0737-1:432-435)
The king again [---] thought what Hanumanta said was true and summoned the queen and two princes, Laba and Kusha, from the garden. Hanumanta and monkeys paid homage.

Syntactically, it is preceded by the name of an agent, Hanumanta and followed by a nominaliser *ba*.

3.2.5.2 *dris* 'to ask'

This speech verb is used for several characters in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, including Marutse when asked by Daśagrīva, monkeys, Sita, the bird with burnt wings,

In the following example, speech verb *dris* is used for Daśagrīva asking his minister Marutse how the abduction of Sita should be performed. This is used for non-quotative descriptions.

(295)
*blon po ma ru tse la jI ltar prog (135) pa **dris** pa las // blon po na re // rgyal po ra ma na zhes bgyi ba 'di // mthu rtsal dang drag shul / lha 'dre (136) gang bas kyang lhag pa zhig ste // bdagI dmyig 'jor (*'chor* in Kha sgang bkra shis tshe ring et al. 2019, p.134) ba yang de lags so //* (ITJ 0737-1: 134-136)
When asked minister Marutse the procedures for capturing [Sita], the minister said, "king Ramana is someone with greater power and ferocity than gods and demons; that is what attracts my eyes."

It is preceded by a nominalized verb *prog pa* 'robbing' and followed by a nominaliser and converb *pa las*.

Speech verb *dris* is used for Ramana and Lagshana when they asked a wounded bird how he ended up in the situation. This is used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced with the formula Type 5.

(296)
*bya nag po 'dab tshig chig yIn nas // khyod ci ste 'dab ma tshig(227) 'dI na ji byed ches **drIs** na / bya na re nga 'I pha nI bya khyung gi rgyal po ste // a ga 'dza' ya zhes bya' / de la bu spun gnyis yod(228) pa la / nga nI pho bo pa da' zhes bya // nu bo ni sam pa da' zhes bya' // nged gnyis rgyal srid ltod pa / las / dam bchas pa' /(229) rI rab kyi rtse mo nas / 'phur te //* (ITJ 0737-1: 226-229)

It was a black bird with burned feather, when [Ramana brothers] asked "how did you manage to burn your feather and what are you doing here?" The bird said, "my father was Aga'dza'ya, the king of garudas. He had two sons, and I am the elder one named Pada', my younger brother is Sampada'. For competing for the throne, we decided to fly over the great mountain."

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and followed by a particle *na* with the meaning 'when'.

In the following example, speech verb *dris* is used for Ramana and Lagshana when they asked monkeys if they have seen Sita. This is used for closing a direct quotation which did not have any phrases or terms at the opening as an introduction.

(297)
*(232) bdag chag nI / rgyal po ra ma na 'I btsun mo tshol ba yin te / 'dI lte bu mthong ngam zhes **dris** pa dang // lha mo si(233) ta srIn gyi rgyal po mda' sha grI bas brkus te // da ltar yul lang ka pu ra na 'dug // dang po brku' nas / sa gzhi(234) dang khyer te 'gro ba 'I tshe //* (ITJ 0737-1: 232-234)
[Ramana brothers] asked, "We are looking for king Ramana's queen, have you seen such a person?" "When the queen Sita was stolen by king Daśagrīva of Rakshasas and now she is in Langkapura, when she was stolen with the piece of land……" [said the monkeys].

The speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a nominaliser and an associative marker *pa dang*.

In the following example, *dris* is used for Pagshu when he is asking Hanumanta if he can travel to Langkapura or not. This is also used for closing a direct quotation which was opened with formula Type 4.

(298)
*pag shu na re / ha nu man (242) ta myi nus sam zhes **dris** so //* (ITJ 0737-1: 241-242)
Pag shu asked, "Cannot Hanumanta [do] it?"

In this example, quotative marker *zhes* precedes the speech verb while a sentence-final particle *so* follows it.

Speech verb *dris* is used for Sita when she is asking sages the identity of a boy. This is used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced by a rare P+ERG.

(299)
*drang srong gi gam (365) na yang / la ba 'dra ba gchig lugste // btsun mos 'di mying zhes **dris** pa dang / ku sha yin no (366) zhes zer nas // de nas thal byung mtshan yang ku shar btagso //* (ITJ 0737-1: 364-366)
There is also a boy just like Laba next to divine seers; the queen asked his name, and [they] said, "this is Kusha", and then he was named Kusha spontaneously.

Syntactically, it is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by *pa dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker.

The speech verb *dris* is also used for Ramana when he asked Litsabyid's wife about the nature of women. This is used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced with a converb *nas*.

(300)
*rgyal po yang sus ma tshor bar gshegste (384) mo dang mjal bas gzims ste / sdug go byams par dgongs shIg ches brid nas /bzang mo bud (385) med kyi rang bzhin / skyes pa dang myI 'dra' ba zhig yod ches zer na // jI lta bu zhig lags (386) shes **dris** pa dang / mo na re / rIms nad tsha bas gdugs pa 'I myi // rgyun du gangs chab dran (387) ba bzhin // bud myed 'dod chags rgyun du g.yo / skyes pa bzang po rtag du dran /* (ITJ 0737-1: 384-387)
The king went to see her without being noticed by anyone and slept with her. He deceived her by saying he was pitiful and asked to be kind to him, and asked, "The great lady, it has been said that women have distinctive nature compared with men, so what is it like?" Then she said, "it is like people with diseases due to heat always think about ice, women are always lustful and think of good men all the time."

Again, it is preceded by a quotative marker *shes* and followed by *pa dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker.

3.2.5.3 *rmas* 'to ask'

Speech verb *rmas* is with two meanings in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, one as 'to ask' and another as 'to say'. It is used for Ramana brothers, Ramana, monkeys, Rakshasas, and Sita. This speech verb is very likely particular to OT since its meaning somehow changed to 'to be injured' in Classical Tibetan. This verb does not indicate any social status of the person it is used with; thus, it is very likely a plain speech verb.

This speech verb is used for Ramana and Lagshana when they asked a monkey who was the one beat him. This is used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced by a converb *nas*.

(301)
*lung pa 'I pur pyin na // spre 'u 'phags par che ba zhig snang nge nyal ba 'I / mchi ma dang kha chu dang sna chu yin bar gyu (176) nas // spre 'u khyod sus brdegs shes **rmas** pa dang // bdag nI spre 'u gyI rgyal po 'i bu lagste / bdag chag spun (177) gnyis mchis pa las / bdag nI nu bo lags te / bgrIn bzangs shes bgyi / bdagI pho bo ni 'ba' li zhes bgyi (178) ste /* (ITJ 0737-1: 176-178)
When [they] went to the innermost part of the valley, [the liquid] was from tears, saliva, and nasal mucus of an enormous monkey laying there. "Who was the person beat you?" asked [Ramana?] and "I am the son of king of the monkeys, Mgrin bzang, the younger one of two brothers. My elder brother is 'Ba'li."

Interestingly, the subject of this speech verb is not mentioned in the text. From this example, we can conclude that omitting the subject altogether, not even using a pronoun, is acceptable in OT. From the context, the speaker who is asking the question is one of the Ramana and Lagshana since the preceding narrative only mentions them, and they are the ones who encountered this monkey.

However, the following statement, which was directly followed the previous example, while using the speech verb *rmas*, it explicitly mentions the speaker. This is also used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced by a phrase *de nas* 'then'.

(302)
*de nas bud med (179) 'dI lta bu zhig mthong ngam zhes / rgyal pos **rmas** pa las // bdag nI bro 'tshal ba 'I mye ngan gyis gdungs pa[s](180) ma mthong na /* (ITJ 0737-1: 178-180)
Then the king asked, "have you seen such a woman?" and [the monkey said] "I was in pain, so I have not seen anyone."

Speech verb *rmas* is used for Ramana here, by addressing him as *rgyal po* 'king' when speaking to a monkey. The speech verb is preceded by an ergative case marker *-s* and followed by *pa las*, a nominaliser and a converb.

In the following example, *rma,* a non-perfective form of the speech verb *rmas* is used for Mgrin bzang and the perfective form *rmas* is used for Ramana and Lagshana when they

are asking monkeys if they have seen Sita. Both attestations are used for describing a situation.

(303)
*da ltar rI grod ya bi(181) na mchis te / de rnams kyis / de lta bu zhig mthong bar gleng zhing mchis pas / de rnams la **rmar** gsol(182) zhes mchi nas //nged gnod pa myi byed gyis / mar shog shi[g](183) ches bgyis pa dang // spre 'u gsum yang der 'ong ste **rmas** na // gzhe ning snga mo zhig gi dus na // myi mgo bcu(184) tham ba la / mgo dang po rta mgor 'dug pa gchig gis // bud myed sman bzhin gchig / sa gzhI tha gi tsam gyi ste[---](185) du bzhag ste //* (ITJ 0737-1: 180-185)
Mgrin bzang said, "[They are] on the wild mountain up there. They have been talking about seeing such a person; you [should] go and ask them." Then [they] went there and asked them, "we will not harm you, come down here!" Three monkeys came and when [Ramana] asked them, [they said], "a few years back, [we have seen] a ten-headed person with the first head as a horse head [carrying] a woman with a piece of land……"

Syntactically, the non-perfective form speech verb *rma* is preceded by an allative case particle *la* and followed by a terminative case marker *-r* while the perfective form *rmas* is preceded by a co- and connective case marker *ste* and followed by a converb *na*.

Speech verb *rmas* is used for Ramana when speaking a crowd of monkeys to pick the strongest amongst them. This is used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced with the formula Type 2.

(304)
*rgyal po ra ma na 'I zhal nas // spre 'u bdams pa dag chig //lha mo gang na 'dug pa tshol du gtang dgo[s](215) na // mthu rtsal su che zhes **rmas** sna / mgrin bzangs mchid nas // bdag phongs pa na yang rogs bgyid bgyid(216) de / glo ba de yang nye /* (ITJ 0737-1: 214-216)
Kin Ramana said, "Please pick the right one! Someone must be sent to look for the queen, so who is the most powerful here?" Mgrin bzang said, "Though I am weak, I would help; I am loyal."

Syntactically, a quotative marker *zhes* precedes the speech verb while followed by a converb *na*, written here as *sna*. I have taken it as a scribal error due to the influence from the *-s* final from the preceding verb *rmas* and read it as *na*.

In the following example, speech verb *rmas* is used for monkeys when they asked an unidentified character who is the owner of the house they saw.

(305)

*brag (221) la 'dzegs ste song nas / pugsu pyin na / khang pa rab du bzang ba zhig 'dug ste 'dI su 'i lags **rmas** na /(222) dpal lha mo 'i sras mo / gtsug rgyal sgeg mo 'i khab yIn no zhes mchi nas //* (ITJ 0737-1: 220-222)

[They] went there climbing the rocks, when went to the innermost part, there was a magnificent house. When they (monkeys) asked, "whose house is it?" [someone] said, "it is the house of Gtsugrgyalsgegmo, Dpallhamo's daughter."

The speech verb is preceded by *lags*, a particle usually used for polite reference, here it functions as the copular auxiliary verb;[142] and followed by a converb *na*.

Speech verb *rmas* is used for a goddess that monkeys encountered, for asking them where they were going. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced in formula Type 2.

(306)
*spre 'u rnams kyis (223) pyag 'tshal bar gsol pa las gnang ste / pyag bgyis // lha mo 'i zhal nas / gar 'gro zhes **rmas** /(224) drang por gsol pa dang / dmyIg tshums shes byung /* (ITJ 0737-1: 222-224)

Monkeys asked permission to pay respect [to the goddess], and it was granted, and they paid respect. The goddess asked, "Where are you going?" Answered truthfully and [asked them] to close [their] eyes.

Syntactically, speech verb *rmas* is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and the sentence ends with the speech verb.

(307)

spre'u-rnams=kyis	*pyag-'tshal-ba=r*	*gsol-pa*	*las*
monkey-PL=ERG	resepct-pay- NMLZ=TERM	ask- NMLZ	ABL

gnang	*ste*	*pyag-bgyis*
give	CONV	respect-perform

Monkeys asked permission for paying respect [to the goddess] and it was granted [by the goddess], and [they] paid respect.

Exploring the significance of syntax after a morpheme-by-morpheme translation, a nominaliser *pa* followed by an elative case particle *las*.

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[142] For usage of this copular verb and other auxiliary verbs in Tibetan, see Takeuchi (Takeuchi, 2014).

Speech verb *rmas* is used for Rakshasas when they asked Hanumanta how his father was killed. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which was opened with *ba dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker.

(308)
myi dgum bar nI chang myi gsol (268) na // pha ltar dgum bar jI gnang zhes gsol ba dang / de ltar gnang gis pha ji ltar bsad ches **rmas** *pa (269) dang // bdagi pha gzhug ma la ras yug ston gis dkris / mar sran khrI 'i nang du bcug nas / mye btang (270) ste bkuM zhes gsol pa dang /* (ITJ 0737-1: 267-270)
Hanumanta said, "if you ever not kill me but would not let me drink wine, what about killing me in the same way as my father?" [they asked] "we shall do so, how was your father killed?" [Hanumanta said] "Thousand pieces of cloth were wrapped on my father's tail and dipped into ten thousand *sran* of butter, then burned and killed."

Syntactically, it is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and followed by a nominaliser and associative marker *pa dang*.

In the following example, speech verb *rmas* is used for Sita when asking Hanumanta asking if there are other monkeys as brave as him. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation introduced by the formula Type 3.

(309)
slar lha mo 'i gan du mchiste (273) bdag mchi na prin yig brdzang du gsol zhes gsol pa dang // lha mos rmas pa / khyed spre 'u la (274) khyod tsam phod pa du yod ches **rmas** *na / ha nu man tas gsol pa // bdag la bdag stod legs ma [---](275) grogs la smod pa de bas thu //* (ITJ 0737-1: 272-275)
[Hanumanta] returned to the queen [Sita] and said, "since I am going [back], please entrust me with a letter." Then the queen asked, "how many of monkeys would be able to do what you are capable of doing?" Hanumanta said, "it is not appropriate for me to praise myself and it is worse to despise one's own friends……"

Syntactically, it is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and followed by a converb *na*.

Speech verb *rmas* is used for Ramana in a letter sent by Sita.

(310)
yon than yid bzhin mang po 'i 'phra tshogs kyis / mdzes par (279) brgyan pa 'I sgron ma lte bu sku gdung la // snyun kyi ser bus ma bskyod la me zhes / gus par **rmas** *(280) pa 'i lan tshigs snyan pa dang // brtse dgongs 'phrin yIg sems kyi don rig chig /* (ITJ 0737-1:278-280)
"Have the wind of illness move the body that resembles a bright lamp, which is beautifully decorated with numerous great qualities? As I heard the respectful answer for my questions, a love letter revealing what is on one's mind……"

The speech verb is preceded by a terminative case marker *-r* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*, which is part of a phrase *rmas pa'i lan* 'the replied answer'.

3.2.5.4 *smras* 'to say'

This speech verb is used for sons of gods, Prahaste, Purpala, Sita, Hanumanta, Ampakarna, and Litsabyid's wife when she is referring to men in general. It is attested both at the opening and closing of direct speeches. At the opening, it is usually followed by a nominaliser *pa/ba* while preceded by either an allative particle *la*, an ergative case marker *-s*, or a converb *nas*. At the closing of direct speeches, it is exclusively preceded by one of the quotative markers *ches, zhes,* and *shes* while followed by either a sentence final-marker *so* or converb *nas*, nominaliser and associative marker *pa dang*, and nominaliser and converb *pa las*. There are cases where this speech verb is not used for opening or closing a direct speech (Examples 349; 350; 353).

In the following example, speech verb *smras* is used for the sons of gods when speaking to Upade. In terms of the social hierarchy, it seems the sons of gods do not treat Upade as anyone higher than themselves, since they are rejecting the offer of attainment from him. Thus, it is safe to say that the speech verb pragmatically does not mark social hierarchy here. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced with formula Type 4.

> (311)
> *lha 'i bu rnams na re/ nged ma ha de ba 'I dngos grub 'dod par zad kyi / ngan pa bu[d]*
> *(39) kyI dngos grub myI 'dod ches* **smras** *so //* (ITJ 0737-1: 38-39)
> The sons of gods said, "we want the attainment from Mahadeba, but not the attainment from the worst person."

The speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and sentence-final marker *so*.

Speech verb *smras* is used for three times for both Prahaste, a minister of Mahadeba and sons of gods when they are conversing each other. In this example, Prahaste and sons of gods are depicted as social equals by equally using the speech verb *smras* to both parties. The first attestation of the speech verb is used for opening a direct quotation as part of the formula

Type 1 while the second attestation is used for closing this very direct quotation. The third attestation is used for another direct quotation which was introduced with the formula Type 4.

(312)
*ma ha de ba 'I blon po(42) pra ha stes mthong nas // lha 'I bu rnams la **smras** pa // khyed kyis nyon mongs pa bsnyen pa sna tshogs nyamsu blangste /(43) byas kyang / ma ha de ba nI gshegs su gnang ba yang myI 'dra' ste // snyIng rje ba 'i pyir / nga 'I dngos grub sbyin na myI 'dod dam(44) zhes **smras** pa dang // lha 'I bu rnams na re // <u>gjig</u> rten gyi gtso bo // ma ha de ba 'I dngos grub 'dod par zad gyi // ngan(45) [pa] spre 'u dang 'dra' ba'I dngos grub myI 'dod ches **smras** pa dang / pra ha ste khros nas / nga yang phan bar dga' ste dngos(46) grub byIn na myi 'dod na myI 'dod ches byas pas chog mod // ngan pa spre 'u <u>dang</u> 'dra' ba zhes skyon brjod ji(47) dgos // khyed nam chig na spre 'u gyIs brlag par gyur chig ches dmod pa bor ro //* (ITJ 0737-1: 41-47)

It was seen by Prahaste, Mahadeba's minister, and asked the sons of god, "even if you have endured a lot of hardships, it seems Mahadeba has no intention to come. I pity you; would not you want my attainment?" The sons of gods said, "we want the attainment from Mahadeba, the lord of the world, not the attainment of the ones as bad as monkeys." Prahaste got angry and cursed, "I meant well so if you did not want the attainment, you could have said so, what is the point for criticizing me that I was as bad as monkeys? One day, you shall be destroyed by the monkeys!"

The first attestation is preceded by an allative particle *la* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*. The second attestation is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by *pa dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker. The third attestation is, again, preceded by a quotative marker *smras* and followed by *pa dang*.

Speech verb *smras* is also used for Purpala, when speaking with Ramana. However, even by contextualizing the following excerpt in the text, Ramana does not give a reply to Purpala. Therefore, it is difficult to their social hierarchies in the text. From examining the usage this speech verb in other contexts, we could conclude that this is a plain speech verb primarily used between socially equal characters. Thus, we could probably take these two characters as social equals. This speech verb is used for opening a direct quotation opened with a converb *nas*.

(313)
*rgyal po 'phags par bzang la mdzes (123) pas // de la snying chagste / 'dI dang lhan chIg 'grogs na jI ma rung snyam nas / rab du bzang ba zhig du rdzus te / (124) rgyal po drung du 'ongs nas / **smras** pa / bdag nI 'jIg rten rnams kyis rtag du bsngags / bsod nams ldan bas / (125) kun du rnam par snang / 'jIg rten lta bus ngoms par myi / mkha' la dben gyI sprin tshogs 'krIgs pa la / (126) gnyi dro snang shar gsal bar gyur pa'I // gzugs bzangs mchog 'dI // khyod kyi 'bangsu 'bul zhes (127) mchi nas /* (ITJ 0737-1: 122-127)

[Purpala] was attracted to the king for his excellence and beauty and thought how wonderful it would be with him and transformed into a great [person] and came to the king. [She] said, "I have always been praised by people, possessed with merits and existed in various forms. The world does not dare to stare me. Beautiful clouds gather in the sky. The sun rises and shines clearly. [I] offer this great body for your service."

A converb *nas* precedes the speech verb *smras* and it is followed by a nominaliser *pa*.

In the following example, the speech verb *smras* is, again, used for Purpala when speaking to Ramana. This is a continuation of the previous example, when Ramana could not even look at Purpala, she spoke again without any replies from Ramana. This speech verb is used for opening a direct quotation, as part of the formula Type 3.

(314)
*rgyal po // btsun mo lha mo si ta byad kyis pul pyung la / de dang(128) yId 'chugs pas / srin mo la ltar ma bthub nas // srIn mos yang **smras** pa // dgyes pas lhun brtsegs(129) brtan ba 'I ri bo la / chab gang g.yung drung gnyI dro 'od 'char du // mkha' la dben ba 'I sprin tshogs 'khrIgs (130) pa 'is / gnyI dro gsal yang 'char ba 'i dus skabs myed ches mchi nas //* (ITJ 0737-1: 127-130)
The king, was attached to queen Sita due to [her] exceptional beauty, could not look at the female Rakshasa. Then the female Rakshasa, again, said, "on the steady and tall summit of the mountain, the sun would have joyously risen and shined its eternal light. However, as the beautiful clouds gather in the sky, it is bright, the sun does not have the chance to rise."

Syntactically, it is preceded by an adverbial term *yang* 'again/also' and followed by a nominaliser *pa*.

Speech verb *smras* is also used for Sita when she blames herself for sending Ramana after the animal. It is also used in Sita's direct speech when she is referring to women in general. There is no receiver for this direct speech since this is a scenario where Sita is blaming herself through self-talk. For talking to oneself and making general statement about women, it seems a logically sound choice to use plain speech verbs. The first attestation of this verb is used for opening a direct quotation in the formula Type 3 while the second attestation is used for a description of what women say in general.

(315)
*lag sha na gcen gyi grogs la /(159) bzhud pa 'I slad na // lha mos **smras** pa / kyi gud bud myed dagis **smras** pa la legs par gyur pa ga la yod //(160) phugs su myI rtog 'phral la lta // 'dod zhen che la srab la yang / yun kyI legs nyes myi shes par /(161) gnang bar*

bya ba 'I ga la rigs // snyIng dang 'dra' ba 'I rgyal po de // da tsam rmad chig ma nyes sam // (162) zhes ngu zhIng 'dug pa las //(ITJ 0737-1: 158-162)

After Lagshana went to assist the elder brother, the queen said, "alas! There is not a one case where what women said became a good thing. [Women] do not consider the long-term goal but the immediate one. [Women] are desirous and changeable. Without knowing the ultimate result, how can she be given [the authority]. My heart-like king, is not he hurt right now?" and [she] was crying……

Syntactically, both attestations are preceded by an ergative marker -*s* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*.

Speech verb *smras* is used for Hanumanta twice in a phrase *smras ni ma smras* 'though [he] did not say anything.' This is a scene describing Hanumanta's action of not speaking in front of a group of senior monkeys. Plain speech verbs such as *zer* and *byas* were used for other participants, thus it, seems, is a situation where social equals having a discussion. This speech verb is used for describing Hanumanta not saying anything.

(316)
*(240) sIn du na re ngas myi nus shes zer / pa shu na re ngas phar nI mchongsna / nas rgas pas pyir myi mchongs shes (241) byas pa dang // ha nu man ta **smras** nI ma **smras** / yid la nus snyam pa sams pa dang /* (ITJ 0737-1: 240-241)

Sindu said, "I am not able to do it." Pashu said, "Due to my old age, I am able to jump over there but not back." Hanumanta said nothing but he thought he can do it.

The usage here is syntactically interesting. The first attestation is preceded by a personal name or an agent while followed by a topicalizer *ni* while the second attestation is preceded by a negation marking morpheme *ma* without being followed any morphemes. It seems, from looking at other examples in the text, *smras* does require an ergative when it is followed by an agent, but it is not used in this case which blurs transitivity of the verb.

Speech verb *smras* is used for Ampakarna, Daśagrīva's younger brother when speaking to Ramana. Although Ramana does not give a reply to his direct speech, there are other indications that they are social equals in the story. For instance, this speech verb is used at the opening of a direct speech from Ampakarna, while another plain speech verb *zer* is used at the closing of the same direct speech. This speech verb is used for opening a direct quotation in formula Type 3.

(317)

*am pa kar nas **smras** pa // phan dang ldan na (299) gzhan yang gnyen / pha[n] myed gnyen ni gzhan yIn te / myi phan ba nI lus kyi nad / phan ba dkon (300) ba sman yin no / zhes zer ba dang / rgyal po ra ma nas gsan nas / yid cheste /* (ITJ 0737-1: 298-300) Ampakarna said, "if a stranger offers help, he/she can be your relative; relatives who do not offer help are strangers. Sickness of the body are harmful; beneficial but rare are medicines." King Ramana heard it and agreed.

The speech verb is preceded by an ergative marker *-s* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*.

Speech verb *smras* is used for Hanumanta when addressing the monkeys that he is not interested in the throne. Although another plain speech verb *byas* is used at the closing of the direct speech, for a direct speech from monkeys to this speech as a reply, a humilific speech verb *gsol* is used (ITJ 0737-1:335). It seems this situation can only be explained through the perspective from the writer's point of view, where the writer is viewing himself as socially equal to Hanumanta and higher than the monkeys, thus using a plain speech verb to Hanumanta and a humilific speech verb for the monkeys. This speech verb is used for opening a direct quotation in the formula Type 3.

(318)
*ha nu man ta la rgyal srid (333) bstabs pa / / dang / ha nu man tas **smras** pa // rI mtho dbab 'drIl shod kyi rdos myi bsab / gnyi 'dra's (334) mtshan kyi zla ba gsal yang 'od myI dro / rje skyin 'bangs kyis bsab pa lugs las 'gal / pur myi nang gis rgyal (335) byas 'o myI snyoms / de pyir bdag nI rgyal po myi 'tshal lo zhes byas pa dang //* (ITJ 0737-1: 332-335)
The throne was bestowed upon Hanumanta and Hanumanta said, "[The place of] the rolling stones from high mountains cannot be filled with stones in the lower land; moon in the night is as bright as the sun but it is not warm. It is against the rule to fill the lord's place with a subject; ordinary people acting as the king is not fair; therefore, I will not become the king."

It is preceded by an ergative marker *-s* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*.

In the following example, the speech verb *smras* is used in a direct speech from Litsabyid's wife when talking to Ramana, in a statement referring to men generally transpires with strangers. Since it is a general statement about men, therefore, using pragmatically overloaded speech verbs is inconceivable. This speech verb is used for describing the nature of men by the speaker in a direct quotation.

(319)

skyes pa (390) rnams nI khrel myed pas // prad dgu' gzhan la **smras** *na yang // dpyas bar dogs kyang (391) myI 'dzem par // da dung rgyug pa ma gzIgs sam // bud myed kun kyi rang bzhin de lta bu (392) lags shes byas pa dang //* (ITJ 0737-1: 389-392)
"Men are shameless and say everything to others; [I] was afraid of being laughed at, but have you not seen that I did not care and ran [with them] anyways? That is the nature of all the women," said [Litsabyid's wife] so and……

The speech verb is preceded by an allative particle *la* and followed by a converb *na*.

3.2.5.5 *byas* 'to say/do'

This speech verb usually comes at the closing of a quote, and it never introduces a direct speech. This speech verb also has the meaning 'to do', thus it might be confusing to introduce a direct speech which probably is the reason why it predominantly appears at the closing of direct speeches. Most of the time, the direct speeches closed with this speech verb do not require another speech verb at the opening of the direct speech (see examples). It is a plain speech verb used when speaking between social equals.

In the following example, the speech verb *byas* is used for Upade when speaking to the sons of gods. Sons of gods rejected her offering by saying they do not want attainment from her, the worst person of all. It shows they are equal in terms of social hierarchy. This direct speech does not use a speech verb at the opening, but an allative particle *la* followed by the receiver, *lha 'I bu rnams* 'sons of gods'. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which was opened in the formula Type 1.

(320)
de nas (36) [u] pa de // lha 'I bu rnams kyi drung du 'ongs nas // lha 'I bu rnams la / 'dI ltar bsnyen pa sna tshogs dang nyon mongs (37) [---] snyed chig byed pa / snyIng re rje // ma ha de ba nI gshegs su gnang ba yang myi ['dra'] na // nga 'I dngos grubs sbyin [na] (38) my[i] 'dod dam zhes **byas** *pa dang // lha 'i bu rnams na re / nged ma ha de ba 'I dngos grub 'dod par zad kyi / ngan pa bu[d](39) kyI dngos grub myI 'dod ches smras so //* (ITJ 0737-1: 35-39)
Then Upade went to the sons of gods and said to them "It is pitiful to see you perform all these services with passion. It does not look like Mahadeba is coming [anytime soon]. Thus, don't you want my attainment if I give you?" Sons of gods said, "we want the attainment from Mahadeba, but not you, the worst of all."

Syntactically, it is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by *pa dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker.

In the following example, the speech verb *byas* is used in a direct quote from Upade, when she complained that sons of gods could have *said* they did not want the attainment without chastising her. Therefore, the speech verb refers to sons of gods, a social equal to Upade here. The speech verb is used at the closing of a direct speech, a speech verb is not used for the opening of the direct speech. The phrase used for expressing 'cursing' *dmod pa bor* in this example is not exactly a speech verb, but a phrase combined a noun *dmod pa* 'curse' and *bor* 'throw; scatter', the phrase can be roughly translated as 'to propel a curse'. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation that is opened in the formula Type 5.

(321)
*de nas u pa de khros nas / dngos grub myi 'dod na myI 'dod ches **bya[s]** (40) pas chog mod / ngan pa bud myed ches skyon brjod ji dgos / khyed nam chig na bud myed kyis brlag par gyur (41) chig par dmod pa bor ro //* (ITJ 0737-1: 39-41)
Then Upade got angry and cursed, "it would be enough to say we do not want the attainment if you indeed did not want it. Why scold me that I was a wicked woman, one day you will be destroyed by women."

From examining the evidence here at the beginning of the example, syntactically, speech verb *byas* here is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and followed by a nominalizer *pa,* which is followed by an ergative marker *-s*.

In the following example, the speech verb *byas* is used in a quote from Prahaste, a minister of Mahadeba, when referring to sons of gods. Again, this speech verb is used at the closing of a direct speech and opening of the direct speech does not use any speech verbs. Sons of gods dismiss Prahaste and do not take him seriously, thus it is clear that they share the same scale of social hierarchy. This speech verb is used in a direct quotation where the speaker is complaining about what someone else had said.

(322)
*ngan (45) [pa] spre 'u dang 'dra' ba'I dngos grub myI 'dod ches smras pa dang / pra ha ste khros nas / nga yang phan bar dga' ste dngos (46) grub byIn na myi 'dod na myI 'dod ches **byas** pas chog mod // ngan pa spre 'u dang 'dra' ba zhes skyon brjod ji (47) dgos // khyed nam chig na spre 'u gyIs brlag par gyur chig ches dmod pa bor ro //* (ITJ 0737-1: 44-47)
[Sons of gods] said, "[we] do not want attainment from you, the one who is as wicked as a monkey." Prahaste got angry and cursed, "Since I meant well, but if you did not want the attainment, you could have said you did not want it, what is the point for criticizing me that I was as wicked as a monkey? One day, you shall be destroyed by the monkeys!"x

Exactly same as the previous example, syntactically, a quotative marker *ches* precedes the speech verb *byas* is followed by a nominaliser *pa* with an ergative marker *-s* as the suffix.

For the following example, speech verb *byas* is used for Ramana when he is speaking to his younger brother Lagshana. The speech verb *byas* is used at the closing of a direct speech and without using any speech verbs at the opening of the direct speech but a phrase *ra ma na'I zhal nas* 'from the mouth of Ramana'. In this situation, a humilific speech verb, *gsol,* is used for the reply from Lagshana, Ramana's younger brother, which can only be explained from the author's point of view. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced with the formula Type 2.

(323)
ra ma (86) na 'I zhal nas // yab kyis / nu bo khyod bskos pa 'I steng du // bdag nI 'du 'dzI dang rten 'brel spang (87) ste / dka' thub spyad par dam bchas pas // rgyal srId myi 'dod ches **byas** *pa dang // lag sha nas gsol pa //* (ITJ 0737-1: 85-87)
Ramana said, "father installed you to the throne, plus I have abandoned the worldly affairs and promised to practice asceticism, so I do not want the kingship." Then Lagshana said……

For the syntax of the speech verb *byas*, it is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and followed by *pa dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker.

Speech verb *byas* is used for Daśagrīva speaking with Marutse, his minister, about his decision to abduct Sita even with the worst consequences. It is, once again, used for closing a direct speech that does not have a speech verb at the opening. Marutse, as his minister, is supposedly not a social equal, but from the speech verb *zer* used in the subsequent direct speech from Marutse, it seems they can be taken as social equals here. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which was opened with the formula Type 5.

(324)
mda' sha gri ba ma bthub ste / pyis jIr gyur kyang blas / 'dI myi thob du (139) myI rung zhes **byas** *pa dang // ma ru tse na re / de ltar do gal ched po dang bsdos te / myI thob du myI rung na / re shig (140) nI thob par 'gyur te / skol kyi srid nI de kho nar myed pa lta zhes zer nas //* (ITJ 0737-1: 138-140)
Daśagrīva was uncontrollable [and said], "no matter what happens later, it is not allowed to not to obtain her." Then Marutse said, "it is that important and impossible not to obtain it, then [we] will eventually obtain [her]. It seems only our kingdom that he does not have."

A quotative marker *zhes* precedes the speech verb *byas* while *pa dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker follow it. Marutse uses a first-person plural inclusive pronoun *skol*, which probably is the abbreviation for *'o skol* 'we'.

Speech verb *byas* is also used for Sita when she asked Lagshana to help Ramana when an animal deceived her. It is also used at the closing of a direct speech without a speech verb at the opening. Again, from looking at the context, a plain speech verb *zer* is used for Lagshana when he is speaking to Sita. It shows these two characters are social equals and plain speech verbs are used for them. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which as introduced with the formula Type 5.

> (325)
> *ra ma na dang / lha mo 'i bar du tshub ma ched po zhig gis bchad nas / bltar myI(151) mngon bar byas pa dang // ra ma nas rI dags kyi klor mda' gchig brgyab ste / rI dags na re / snyIng rje lag sha na(152) zhes bos pa dang / lha mo si tas gsan nas / jo bo ma rung ba 'dra's / gcung grogs la bzhud ches* **byas** *na /(153) lag sha na na re // da ci gchen gyi zhal nas / gar yang ma 'gro bar // lha mo srung shig ches byung bas / bdag myi mchi (154) zhes zer ba dang/* (ITJ 0737-1: 150-154)
> A swirling wind came between Ramana, and the queen and they could not see each other. Ramana shot an arrow at the wild animal and the animal yelled, "sympathise me! Lagshana!" Called thusly, and it was heard by Sita [and said] "it seems the elder brother is in trouble, please go for help, young brother!" Lagshana said, "elder brother said earlier that guard you without going anywhere, therefore I shall not go."

Syntactically, speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and followed by a particle *na* which functions as an adverbial 'when'.

In the following example, speech verb *byas* is used twice. It is used for the monkeys to describe they had seen Daśagrīva carrying Sita in the sky, and it is also used for Ramana when he is speaking to Mgrin bzang. For both occasions, it is used at the closing of direct speeches with the opening of direct speeches with formulaic phrases following the formula Type 2.

> (326)
> *lha mo zhal nas / 'dI skad mchi 'o // bdag nI rgyal po ra ma na 'I btsun mo dam pa sI ta lags [---](186) mthu ldan gang zhig / brtse bar myi dgongs sam // myI sdug gzugs chan 'dI las prog du gsol zhes(187) mchiste / nam ka la khyer te song ngo / zhes* **byas** *pa dang // rgyal po ra ma na 'I zhal nas // bgrIn bzangs kyi(188) dan grogs byaste / rgyal srid du gzhug na // khyod kyis lha mo sI ta btsal ba 'I dan grogs bya na rung myI rung*

*zhes **byas** (189) pa las / 'dI ltar bdagi dan gros mdzad par gnang na // bdag kyang rngo ji thog gis // bka' stsald pa nyan(190) zhes gsol nas / bro gtshIgs bgyis ste /* (ITJ 0737-1: 185-190)

[Monkeys] said, "the queen said, I am the great queen of king Ramana, Sita, which powerful [being] would not show compassion to me? Please take me away from this ugly being and [we saw she had been] carried away in the sky." King Ramana asked, "if I help Mgrin bzang with the enthronement of himself [to be the king], would you help me to look for queen Sita?" [They] said, "if you would help us, we would also do whatever to help you and listen to your order" and [they] took an oath.

The nominaliser+converb forms *pa dang* and *pa las* are sometimes used to avoid repetition when two markers are necessary for consecutively used in clause chains. For the syntax of speech verb *byas*, both attestations of the verb are preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and the first is followed by *pa dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker while the second is followed by *pa las*, a nominaliser and a converb.

Speech verb *byas* is also used for Ramana when speaking to Mgrin bzang to request another appointment for a fight between him and 'Ba'li for the next day. This speech verb is again used at the closing of the direct speech and the opening of the direct speech follow the formula Type 2.

(327)
*rgyal po ltad mo la yengs nas / mda's ma 'phans ste / 'ba' lIs / bgrin bzangs(192) gthal 'thal te ma shi tsam bgyis so / rgyal po ra ma na 'I zhal nas / dI ring ltad mo la g.yengs kyis / sang /(193) spogs par dus thob shig ches **byas** nas / sang yang 'gyed dus btab pa las / yang dug ches bkye ba dang // spre 'u(194) 'dra' ba gnyIs gang la 'phang ba gthol myed nas // yang 'ba' lis gthal gthal te bzhag go //* (ITJ 0737-1: 191-194)

The king was carried away by the show and did not shoot an arrow. 'Ba'li beat Mgrin bzang and almost killed him. King Ramana said, "I was carried away by the show today, please make an appointment for tomorrow!" As [he] watched the fight next day and they had a severe fight, since two monkeys resemble each other, it was difficult [for him] to pick which one to hit. Again, 'Ba'li left [Mgrin bzang] after beating him badly.

Syntactically, speech verb *byas* is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and a converb *nas* here.

Speech verb *byas* is used twice in the following example: it is used for both 'Ba'li's wife when she is speaking to 'Ba'li and for Mgrin bzang when he is speaking to Ramana. The first attestation here is a rare occasion where a speech verb is used at the opening of a direct

speech closes with the speech verb *byas*. The second attestation is used at the closing of a direct speech without using a speech verb at the opening of the direct quotation.

(328)
*'ba' li(195) 'I btsun mos // 'ba' lI la gsol pa // rgyal srid myI pog par nI // khyod kyis stobs kyis thub / mgrin(196) bzangs rgol yang / dme sdig pas ma gsad ches **byas** pas // sngar de 'I pyir ma bsad do / mgrIn bzangs(197) rgyal po ra ma na la / 'khang ste // khyod ko bdag la mtho 'tsham mam / dku' byed pa 'dra' ste / bslu bslu nas /(198) bdag de 'u bsad ches **byas** pa dang // ngas ngo ma shes kyis / sang khyod kyi mjug ma la mye long gchig thog shig ces(199) bgyis nas / mye long gchig btagste / bkye bar / dus btab pa las / 'ba' lI 'i chung ma 'i mchid nas / mgrin (200) bzangs kyIs myi thub pa 'I steng du / de bar nyin chig bzhIn du rgol ba dang sbyar na / non skyabs byed pa 'ga' zhig yod pa(201) 'dras ste / bkrongs par mchis // de ring ma bzhud chig ches bgyisna //* (ITJ 0737-1: 194-201)
'Ba'li's wife said to 'Ba'li, "even without the throne, your strength would be enough to defeat him, however, do not kill him even if he attacks you." ['Ba'li said,] "that is why I did not kill him before." Mgrin bzang was angry at king Ramana and said, "you seem to be scorning or mocking me, deceived me again and again; I was almost killed." [King Ramana said,] "I did not recognise you; you attach a mirror to your tail tomorrow." [He] fixed a time for a fight with a mirror attached to the tail. 'Ba'li's wife said, "since Mgrin bzang is failing every day but keeping the fight every day. It seems he has a saviour. You would be killed, so do not go today."

Syntactically, the first usage is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and nominaliser *pa* with an ergative marker suffix *-s*. The second usage is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and followed by *pa dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker. Mgrin bzang uses the second-person pronoun *khyod* followed by a syllable *ko* which usually functions like the topicalizer *ni* in combinations such as *'di ko* 'as for this' and *de ko* 'as for that'.

Speech verb *byas* is used for several monkeys and an individual monkey Pashu when they are discussing who can jump to Langkapura amongst them. It is used at the closing of direct speeches, for the first attestation, a speech verb *bgros* is used at the opening of the direct speech while a formula Type 4 for opening a direct quotation is used for the second attestation. Since this discussion is taking place amongst fellow senior monkeys, it is reasonable that plain speech verbs are used here.

(329)
*de nas spre 'u(239) gsuM gyis bgros pa' // lang ka pu ra nI rgya mtsho 'i kling na 'dug na / 'u bu su der 'gro nus shes **byas** pa dang /(240) sIn du na re ngas myi nus shes zer / pa shu na re ngas phar nI mchongsna / nas rgas pas pyir myi mchongs shes(241) **byas** pa dang // ha nu man ta smras nI ma smras / yid la nus snyam pa sams pa dang / pag shu na re / ha nu man(242) ta myi nus sam zhes dris so //* (ITJ 0737-1: 238-242)

Then three monkeys discussed: Langkapura is in the ocean, who among us can go there? Sindu said, "I am not capable of [going there]". Pashu said, "I am able to jump to there, but too old to jump back." Hanumanta said nothing but thought to himself that he was able to do it. Pagshu asked, "Hanumanta, are you able to do it?"

For both attestations, speech verb *byas* is preceded by a quotative marker *shes* and a *pad dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker.

Speech verb *byas* is used for Maku when he is speaking to his rival, another monkey named Damsi. The speech verb is again used at the closing of a direct speech while the opening is without a speech verb but the formula Type 5 as *spre'u ma ku khroste* 'The monkey Maku is angry and……'.

> (330)
> *(291) spre 'u ma ku khroste / nga las stobs che myed pa / ri bteg ste khyer te 'ongs pa kun // khyod kyis pus mo(292) la blangs te bchag pa snying re na / khyod gsad do zhes **byas** pa dang // rgyal po ra ma nas spre 'u gnyis (293) la bsgo ba // rtsal gyi drag shul rngam ba 'I mthu stobs dang // rang rig blo la mkhas pa 'I mkhan(294) bzo gnyis / yon tan so sor gnas pa 'I 'phrag dog gis / 'gran ching rtsod pa 'i gcugs ni ji(295) yang myed ches [b]sgo nas //* (ITJ 0737-1:291-295)
> Monkey Maku got angry and said, "there is no one who is more powerful than me and if I could carry the mountain to the knee and break it into half, then I will kill you."
> King Ramana advised two monkeys: "The power of dexterity at strength and the craftmanship of professionalized in intelligence are two different sets of skills and there is no point for you to compete out of jealousy."

Syntactically, speech verb *byas* is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by *pa dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker here.

In the following example, speech verb *byas* is used for Ramana when he is speaking to Daśagrīva to show his toe. The speech verb is used for closing the direct speech and another nominalized speech *bos pa* is used at the opening of the quote. The opening of the quote is in the following formula Type 1.

> (331)
> *de nas rgyal po ra ma nas / mda' sha gri ba la bos pa / khyod mnyan cu phod ches na / de ltar(318) rkang pa 'I 'theb mo tsam yang 'byin myi phod dam zhes **byas** pa dang /* (ITJ 0737-1: 317-318)
> Then king Ramana called out to Daśagrīva, "how much do you dare to show? Can't you even dare to show only the toe?"

Syntactically, a quotative marker *zhes* precedes the speech verb and it is followed by *pa dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker.

Again, speech verb *byas* is used for Ramana when speaking to Daśagrīva. The speech verb is used at closing of the quote and the direct speech is introduced with the formula Type 2.

> (332)
> *rgyal po (321) ra ma na 'I zhal nas / khyod shI myi shes na / dgra lag du 'chi 'am zhes **byas** pa dang / snying ngan ngon dran te //(322) rang gI dmag steng du 'gyel pas / lus ched po de 'I 'og du / srin dmag kyang phal mo che zhig guM mo /* (ITJ 0737-1:320-322)
> King Ramana said, "if you do not know how to die, would you die in the hands of enemies?" and [Daśagrīva] was angry and attacked with his army, then most of the Rakshasa's army was destroyed under the big body of [Ramana's].

A quotative marker *zhes* precedes the speech verb while followed by *pa dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker.

In the following example, speech verb *byas* is used for Hanumanta when he is rejecting the throne offered by monkeys. The speech verb is used at the closing of a direct quotation for which a formula Type 3 was used at the opening.

> (333)
> *ha nu man tas smras pa // rI mtho dbab 'drIl shod kyi rdos myi bsab / gnyi 'dra's(334) mtshan kyi zla ba gsal yang 'od myI dro / rje skyin 'bangs kyis bsab pa lugs las 'gal / pur myi nang gis rgyal(335) byas 'o myI snyoms / de pyir bdag nI rgyal po myi 'tshal lo zhes **byas** pa dang // spre 'u 'bangs rnams kyis gsol(336) pa / rgyal srid ltod pyir / spun yang dmes 'gyed na // gzhan gyis bstabs bzhin myI 'dod khyed lte bu / khri prag(337) 'grangs pa 'I spre 'u la gchig kyang myed // lha myi yongs la dkon no ya mtshan che // bran gyi bu yang rigs(338) kyi rgyal po ste / dud 'gro 'i lus kyang / lha 'I sems pas lhag / spre 'u gyi myingdu thogs kyang / seng ge 'i rtsal dang(339) chas / bdag chag sil bur lus pa 'I pha ma mdzod ches gsol pa dang /* (ITJ 0737-1: 333-339)
> Hanumanta said, "rolling stones from the high mountains cannot be replaced by the stones in the lower valleys. Although the moon in the night is as bright as the sun, it is not as warm as the sun. It is against the discipline to replace the lord with a subject, a common person cannot be installed as the lord, so I am not going to be the king."[143] All the monkey subjects said, "for the throne, even brothers would kill each other, thus there is no one like you in tens of thousands of monkeys who do not accept the throne when it is offered. It is rare for both humans and gods; thus, it is marvellous. You were born as the son of serfs, but you are lord of the race. You were born as the bended-walking animal, but your mind is better than that of gods. Although you were named as

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[143] See Bialek (2018b, 255) for an entry on *pur myi*.

the monkey, you were with the power of a lion. Please be the parent of us scattered ones!"

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes*, and followed by *pa dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker.

The speech verb *byas* is used for Litsabyid's wife when she is speaking to Ramana. The speech verb is used for closing a direct speech and the formula Type 4 was used for the opening of the speech.

> (334)
> *mo na re / rIms nad tsha bas gdugs pa 'I myi // rgyun du gangs chab dran* (387) *ba bzhin // bud myed 'dod chags rgyun du g.yo / skyes pa bzang po rtag du dran / gzhan gyis* (388) *mthong zhing thos pa dang / dpya's par dogs pa ma mchis pa 'I // sa pyogs dben bar bstegs* (389) *slan chad / su yang 'khyig pa ma mchiste / pyis kyang 'dod pa 'I don sgrub bo // skyes pa* (390) *rnams nI khrel myed pas // prad dgu' gzhan la smras na yang // dpyas bar dogs kyang* (391) *myI 'dzem par // da dung rgyug pa ma gzIgs sam // bud myed kun kyi rang bzhin de lta bu*(392) *lags shes **byas** pa dang // rgyal po 'i thugs la yang bden no snyam nas* (ITJ 0737-1: 386-392)
> She (Litsabyid's wife) said, "how people who are suffering from the hot diseases missing cold water, women's desire is always boiling, and they miss good men all the time. There is no place where one should not be afraid of being seen or heard by others and being humiliated by others. Unless one goes to a remote place, no one can be controlled and would do what they prefer. Men are untrustworthy and tell everything they encounter, even though they are afraid of being laughed at by others. Don't you see they still do not care and run after them? That is women's nature." The king thought it was true and……

Syntactically, it is preceded by *shes*, a quotative marker and followed by *pa dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker.

3.2.5.6 *bgyis* **'to do/say'**

A similar speech verb to *byas*, *bgyis*, also appears at the closing of direct speeches. These are verbs with the meaning 'to do'.

In the following example, the speech verb *bgyis* is used for Marutse, a minister to Daśagrīva, when he suggested the king not abduct Sita from Ramana. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced with the formula Type 4.

> (335)

*blon po na re // rgyal po ra ma na zhes bgyi ba 'di // mthu rtsal dang drag shul / lha 'dre(136) gang bas kyang lhag pa zhig ste // bdagI dmyig 'jor ba yang de lags so // 'o skol gyis kho 'i chung ma / prog(137) du lta ga la thob kyi / brkur yang myI thob pa 'i steng du // brgya' la thob na yang / slad rjesu skol kyi srid nI brlag(138) par mchi bas myI rung zhes **bgyis**na / mda' sha gri ba ma bthub ste / pyis jIr gyur kyang blas / 'dI myi thob du(139) myI rung zhes byas pa dang //* (ITJ 0737-1: 135-139)

The minister said, "this king, known as Ramana, is with greater power and ferocity than both gods and ghosts, and that is why my eyes popped out.[144] Not to mention robbing his wife, we will not even be able to steal her. Even if we have attained her, our kingdom will be destroyed, so we should not do it." Daśagrīva would not agree and said, "no matter what comes after, there is no way not to obtain her."

The speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes*, due to the verb's function to close a quotation, and followed by converb *na*. Usage of *'o skol* and *skol* further confirms that they probably mean the same thing, an inclusive first-person plural pronoun.

In the following example, the speech verb *bgyis* is used for Ramana when speaking to Sita and Lagshana when they saw a wild animal. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which was opened with the formula Type 2.

(336)
*rgyal po zhal nas / 'u nI bzlu ba 'I ri dags yin bas / bsnyag (146) du myi rung ste /'dI snyegs pa 'I pyi na / khyod 'phrog pa 'ong zhes **bgyis** na / lha mo mchid nas ri dags (147) kyIs bslur jI mchis // lha rI spo mthon gnyan gyi rtser / rIn chen shel kyi sdong 'khrungs pa / klu gnyan (148) byIn kyI mthus bsrungs pas / dgung yar khva skegs tshang myi 'cha' zhes mchi ba dang /* (ITJ 0737-1: 145-148)

The king said, "that is a wild animal for deceiving [us], so we should not go after it. If we do, someone will come and abduct you." The queen said, "who would be deceived by an animal?" On top of the high divine mountain, a precious crystal tree was born; it was guarded by the power of majestic nagas, crows would not make nests in the high sky."

Syntactically, it is, again, preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a converb *na*.

The speech verb *bgyis* is used for Lagshana when he refers to something he said earlier when speaking with Sita. This speech verb is used for closing direct quotation which was introduced with the formula Type 4.

(337)
*lag sha na na re // bdag nI gcen gyis bsgo ba nyan te / myi (157) 'gro zhes **bgyis** par bas kyi // sems la g.yo myed yang dag go // bdagI sems la g.yo myed yang dag na'*

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[144] Read *'jir* for *'jor*.

/(158) nam chig na khyed spad shug mkhon par gyur chig par dmod pa bor ro // (ITJ 0737-1: 156-158)
Lagshana said, "I will listen to what my elder brother asked me to do and won't go anywhere. I do not have any dishonesty on my mind, and it should be cleared; once I am cleared [of the deed I have not accumulated], I curse you couple would quarrel."

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*.

In the following example, the speech verb *bgyis* is used for both Lagshana and Ramana when speaking to each other. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which was opened with the formula Type 5.

(338)
*gcung skyems te bthung zhes **bgyis** pa dang //gchen gyi zhal nas /(173) 'dI sems chan nyam thag pa zhig gI khu ba yin te / brtsog gis ma 'thung shig ches **bgyis** pa dang //*
(ITJ 0737-1: 172-173)
The younger brother was thirsty and said, 'I will drink it" The elder brother said, "this is liquid coming from a pathetic animal; this is impure, so do not drink it."

Both attestations are preceded by quotative markers *zhes* and *ches* while followed by *pa dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker.

The speech verb *bgyis* is used for Ramana when he is speaking to three monkeys. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced with the formula Type 5.

(339)
*spra bo che gsum gda' ste// nged gnod pa myi byed gyis / mar shog shi[g] (183) ches **bgyis** pa dang // spre 'u gsum yang der 'ong ste rmas na //* (ITJ 0737-1: 182-183)
There were three giant baboons, and Ramana [said], "we won't do any harm, [please] come down here." And three monkeys came.

Quotative marker *ches* precedes the speech verb and is followed by *pa dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker.

In the following example, speech verb *bgyis* is used for Mgrin bzang taking an oath to assist Ramana. This speech verb is used for describing a situation where a participant taking oath.

(340)

'dI ltar bdagi dan gro[g]s mdzad par gnang na // bdag kyang rngo ji thog gis // bka'
*stsald pa nyan (190) zhes gsol nas / bro gtshIgs **bgyis** ste / sang gI nyin par thab mo*
bgyid par dus btab nas // (ITJ 0737-1: 189-190)

[Mgring bzang] said, "if [you] assist me in this manner, I would also do whatever I could to follow your order" and [he] took an oath and agreed to have a fight on the next day.

The speech verb is preceded by a noun *brog gtshigs* 'oath' and followed by a converb *ste*.

Speech verb *bgyis* is used twice in the following example, once for Ramana speaking to Mgrin bzang and another case where 'Ba'li's wifie istalkingg to 'Ba'li to not fight with Mgrin bzang for that day. For the first attestation, this speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced by *pa dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker. The second attestation is also used for closing a direct quote which was opened with the formula Type 2.

(341)
sngar de 'I pyir ma bsad do/ mgrIn bzangs(197) rgyal po ra ma na la / 'khang ste //
khyod ko bdag la mtho 'tsham mam / dku' byed pa 'dra' ste / bslu bslu nas /(198) bdag
de 'u bsad ches <u>*byas*</u> *pa dang // ngas ngo ma shes kyis / sang khyod kyi mjug ma la mye*
*long gchig thog shig ces(199) **bgyis** nas / mye long gchig btagste / bkye* <u>*bar*</u> */ dus btab*
pa las / 'ba' lI 'i chung ma 'i mchid nas / mgrin(200) bzangs kyIs myi thub pa 'I steng du
/ de bar nyin chig bzhIn du rgol ba dang sbyar na / non skyabs byed pa 'ga' zhig yod
*pa(201) 'dras ste / bkrongs par mchis // de ring ma bzhud chig ches **bgyis**na // de bar*
rdud mar rgol yang nod byed pa myed(202) pa dang sbyar na / tshod sod ches mchi nas
/ dI ring nI [snad?] [rab?] chig bya'o zhes mchi nas cha ste song ba dang / (ITJ 0737-
1: 196-202)

['Ba'li said], "I have not killed him because of [the black deed]." Mgrin bzang was disappointed in the king Ramana, and he said, "is it appropriate for you to be proud? It seems you are stealing, being deceiving me again and again, are you going to make me killed?" [King Ramana] said, "I did not recognise you; you should attach a mirror to your tail tomorrow." [He] made an appointment to fight with a mirror attached [to his tail], 'Ba'li's wife said, "on top of the thing that Mgrin bzang would not be able to win the fight, from the fact that they are attacking every day, it seems there are some who are supporting them, so you are going to be killed, please do not go and fight today." ['Ba'li] said "From looking at there is no one to defend them when continuously attacked, they can be killed." And said, "Let's have a good fight today!" and went away.

In terms of syntax, the first attestation of the speech verb is preceded by a quotative marker *ces* and followed by a converb *nas* and the second attestation is preceded by, again, a quotative marker *ches* and converb *na*.

In the following example, the speech verb *bgyis* is used for gods of fulfilment when speaking to Hanumanta. This speech is used for closing a direct quotation which was opened with the formula Type 1.

(342)
*dngos grub kyi lha rnams kyis // ha nu man ta la bsgo ba / srog [---](265) dbab par byas / re shig zhags pas zIn par gyi shig ches **bgyis** nas / ha nu man ta zhags pas(266) zin to //* (ITJ 0737-1: 264-266)
The gods of fulfilment instructed Hanumanta [as following]: "[They would] not harm [your] life, make yourself to be able to catch with a rope for now", and Hanumanta was caught with the rope.

Syntactically, it is preceded by a quotative *ches* and followed by a converb *nas*.

3.2.5.7 *byung/'byung* 'to emerge/to say'

The usual meaning of this verb is 'to emerge' or 'to occur'. However, it gives the impression that the action is unintentional, it can be used as a speech verb in OT *Rāmāyaṇa* for closing direct quotes but is never used for introducing a quote. Two examples of this speech verb are attested in the OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the following example, the speech verb is used for Mahadeba, a highly ranked god in the narrative, when speaking to his wife about not agreeing to see the sons of gods. It is used for closing a quote as follows:

(343)
*[---] bu rnams kyis bsnyen pa sna tshogs 'dI ltar bgyis pa la thugs myi rje 'am / gshegs pa 'I rigs she[---] [g]sol pa dang / ma byI dag sems kyi rtog pa ngan pas myi 'gro 'o zhes **byung** nas // gshegsu ma gnang ngo //* (ITJ 0737-1: 34-35)
[Wife said], "[---] [---] The sons of the gods showed you respect, and you still do not have any pity for them? You should go." He said, "Those down there are full of evil intentions, so I shall not go." He did not consent to go.

As expected, the quote is followed by a quotative marker *zhes* which precedes the speech verb, and the verb is followed by a converb *nas*.

In the following example, speech verb *byung* is used by Lagshana for his brother referring to what Ramana told him–not to go anywhere else but guard the queen.

(344)

*lag sha na na re // da ci gchen gyi zhal nas / gar yang ma 'gro bar // lha mo srung shig ches **byung** bas / bdag myi mchi* (154) *zhes zer ba dang / lha mo khroste // jo bo myed na // ngan bu bsrungste cha jI mchis /* (ITJ 0737-1: 153-154)

Lagshana said, "since the elder brother said earlier to guard the queen without going anywhere, I will not go." The queen got angry [and said], "if the king is missing, what is the point of protecting me?"

This motion verb is also preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and a nominaliser *ba* followed by a particle *-s* indicating the reason, which can be best translated as "since" or "so".[145]

In the following example, this speech verb is attested in the form '*byung*, used by Byisnu for Daśagrīva when he came for a fight with Byisnu.

(345)
byI snu 'i zhal (r75) *nas // khyed yi bu cag gnyIs kyang zhan las 'phags pa yin bas // khyI phrad du 'thab par myi* (r76) *rigs pas // dIng ni nang du shog la zan yang zos ngal yang sos te / sang ni 'thab mo 'gyed* (r77) *do shes **byung** ba dang //* (PT 0981: r74-r77)

Byisny said, "you and I are greater than others, so we should not fight right after seeing each other. Come in first, eat the food, after getting rested, [we can] conduct fighting tomorrow."

The speech verb is used for closing a direct quote, preceded by a quotative marker *shes* and followed by *ba dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker.

3.2.5.8 *brjod* 'to speak'

It seems this verb cannot be used for opening and closing of the direct quotations but only to generally describe someone's action of saying something.

In the following example, this speech verb is used in a reported speech of Upade, when she is speaking to sons of gods for referring to what they have said about her. This speech verb is used in a direct quotation for describing criticisms the listener brought against the speaker.

(346)
*de nas u pa de khros nas / dngos grub myi 'dod na myI 'dod ches bya[s](40) pas chog mod / ngan pa bud myed ches skyon **brjod** ji dgos / khyed nam chig na bud myed kyis brlag par gyur (41) chig par dmod pa bor ro //* (ITJ 0737-1: 39-41)

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[145] For *-bas* and *-pas* used for comparison and their difference in semantics and syntax with *-las*, see Hill (N. W. Hill, 2012a), this study is exclusively focused on *-bas* followed by nouns and adverbs.

Then Upade got angry, "If you do not want the attainment, you just could have said it; you did not have to say things such as these bad women and say negative things." And [she] swore, "you all shall be destroyed by women one day!"

Syntactically, this speech verb is part of the phrase *skyon brjod* 'to criticize; speak about one's faults', thus it is preceded by noun *skyon* 'fault'. The verbal phrase is preceded by a quotative marker *ches* and followed by interrogative marking particle *ji*.

The verbal phrase *skyon brjod* is also used for Prahaste when he is speaking to sons of gods in the following example. This speech verb is also used in a direct quotation where the speaker dismissing the criticism brought against him.

(347)
*pra ha ste khros nas / nga yang phan bar dga' ste dngos (46) grub byIn na myi 'dod na myI 'dod ches byas pas chog mod // ngan pa spre 'u dang 'dra' ba zhes skyon **brjod** ji (47) dgos // khyed nam chig na spre 'u gyIs brlag par gyur chig ches dmod pa bor ro //* (ITJ 0737-1: 45-47)
Prahaste got angry and said, "I would be happy if it is beneficial, however, if you do not want the attainment, you just could have said so. Why did you have to say negative things such as [we are] as bad as those bad monkeys? You all shall be destroyed by monkeys one day!" She swore.

Syntactically, it exactly mirrors the previous example, preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by interrogative marker *ji*.

In the following example, the speech verb *brjod* is used for Sita, when farmers brought her to Ramana and they praised her excellence to the king in a verse. This speech verb is used in a direct quotation where people praising Sita that the fragrance of *upala* flower rises when she speaks.

(348)
*bu mo cha byad kyIs brgyan te / khrid de 'ongs nas // ra ma na la gsol pa / skra nI(97) mthon ting g.yasu 'khyil / dmyig nI ud dpal la // tshangs pa 'I dbyangs ltar kha dog rnam par dag / 'phra[l](98) ba rgyan mchog mdzes pa dbyisu shis // dpal ldan dri myed pad mo mchog las skyes / lus nI yan lag (99) yongs su tshang / gser gyi gzugs la / nor bu pyis pa 'dra' // pyogs kun 'od kyis rnam par(100) gsal bar gda' / lus la ca 'dan rgyal po spos kyi dri / 'gro ldan lha rdzas yid 'ong **brjod** pa 'i tshe /(101) g.yar nas ud dpal la 'i ngad kyang rgyun du ldang //* (ITJ 0737-1: 96-101)

[Farmers] dressed up the girl with ornaments and brought to Ramana, and [they] said "her hair is sky-blue and swirling right-ward, eyes [resemble] *upala* [flower], the [Her voice] is clear like the sound of Brahma.

Her forehead is adorned with ornaments and auspicious in form.
She is born out of the excellent and pure lotus.
Her body is perfect with all her limbs.
Like a golden body polished with precious jewels.
It is radiating to all the directions.
Her body has fragrance of incense [made of] the king of sandalwood.
[She] speaks pleasantly with the fragrance of *upala* [flower] always rise from her face.

Syntactically, the speech verb *brjod* is preceded by an adjectival verbal phrase *yid 'ongs* 'pleasant; pleasing to the mind' and followed by a nominaliser *pa*.

The speech verb *brjod* is also used for five hundred Brahmans saying wishful statements to Ramana once he helped them to gain attainments. This speech verb is used for describing Brahmans performed wishful chanting without quoting any of the chants.

(349)
*yang ma ru tse bgegs byed du(116) 'ongs pa las // ra ma nas so rdub chig 'phangs pas / dmyig ya chIg bchar te bro pa dang / bra mdze(117) lnga brgya' yang dus gchig du dngos grub thob nas // bra mdze rnams kyis shIs par **brjod** de / smon laM btab(118) pa // khyod rgyal po 'i long spyod kyis / sems chan gyI dmod mo myi sdIg pa 'I pyir / khyod kyi mda' phog ste shi ba'(119) thams chad // lhar skyes par gyur chig par smon laM btab bo //* (ITJ 0737-1: 115-119)
Again, Marutse came to interrupt and Ramana threw a ring and made one of [his] eyes blind. Five hundred Brahmans received attainment at once and they said wishful statements and prayed, "the wealth of you, the king, will be that defensive of others' sorcery and the ones who died from your arrows would be born again as gods!"

Syntactically, the speech verb is preceded by a terminative case marker *-r* and followed by a connective particle *de* functions as a converb.

3.2.5.9 *bos* 'to call out to/ to yell'

In written Tibetan, *bos* is often understood as a perfective form for *'bod* which we do not find in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. This is a speech verb indicates a certain physical distance between the participants for the conversation. This speech verb is used only when the speaker is at a great distance with the listener. In the following example, speech verb *bos* is used for the wild animal when it is deceiving Sita from afar, without revealing itself. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which was introduced with the formula Type 4.

(350)

*rI dags na re / snyIng rje lag sha na (152) zhes **bos** pa dang / lha mo si tas gsan nas / jo bo ma rung ba 'dra's / gcung grogs la bzhud ches byas na /* (ITJ 0737-1: 151-152)
The wild animal yelled, "please have pity on me! Lagshana." Queen Sita heard it and said, "it seems the king is in trouble, you, the younger brother, go for help."

It is preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by *pa dang*, a nominaliser and an associative marker.

The speech verb *bos* is also used for Ramana when he called out to Daśagrīva to show his toe. Since Daśagrīva is enormous and Ramana is also standing far away from him, so he had to yell when speaking with him. This speech verb is used for opening a direct quotation as part of the formula Type 1.

(351)
*de nas rgyal po ra ma nas / mda' sha gri ba la **bos** pa / khyod mnyan cu phod ches na / de ltar (318) rkang pa 'I 'theb mo tsam yang 'byin myi phod dam zhes byas pa dang / srin pos rkang pa 'I 'theb mo pyung ma thag du (319) sems kyi chag tshad kyis / btab nas / rta mgo ga la 'dug par mda' gchig 'phangs pa las /* (ITJ 0737-1: 317-319)
Then the king Ramana called out to Daśagrīva, "do you not even dare to show toe of your foot?" Once the devil showed his toe, [Ramana] calculated the distance in his mind and shot an arrow to the position where the head of the horse was.

Syntactically, the speech verb *bos* is preceded by an allative case marking phoneme *la* and a followed by a nominaliser *pa*.

3.2.5.10 *gleng* 'to say'

Though the attestation of this verb is rare in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, the only attestation is used for a reporting of a group of monkeys talking about seeing someone. This speech verb is used in a direct quotation where describing other people were saying about a particular topic that was being asked.

(352)
*bdagI drung na // spre 'u gsum mchis pa // khyed gda' ba dang bros nas / da ltar rI grod ya bi (181) na mchis te / de rnams kyis / de lta bu zhig mthong bar **gleng** zhing mchis pas / de rnams la rmar gsol (182) zhes mchi nas //* (ITJ 0737-1: 180-182)
"[There were] three monkeys with me and when you came, they escaped when you came, and they are on the mountain up there now. They were saying they have seen a such person, so please ask them."

Syntactically, it is preceded by a terminative marker *-r* and continuative case marker *zhing*.

3.2.5.11 *bgros* 'to discuss'

It is clear the verb *bgros* used here in the text is the perfective form and its non-perfective form is *bgro*, although we do not have any inter-textual evidence. This verb is used for the context where two or more speakers are in discussion on a particular topic to solve a problem rather than just having conversations. In other words, with this verb in a sentence, it implies that it is a speech act where more than two participants are involved in a dialogue on resolving an issue at hand. This verb is used for a group of gods, Ramana brothers, monkeys, and sages in the OT *Rāmāyaṇa*.

In the following example, it is used when various gods discussed their concerns over the possible conflicts that would take place amongst humans and Rakshasas due to the attainments possessed by gods. This speech verb is used for both opening and closing of a direct quotation here, with the introductory formula Type 3.

> (353)
> *srid pa gsuM la dbang pa 'I lha rnams (57) **bgros** pa // srin mo ['dI] gsuM dngos grub 'dI ltar thob ste / lha rnams la dbang bas // lha 'I srid dma' ste rgyun (58) [---] [g]chags na // dngos grub kyis / lha la dbang yang myi la myi dbang bas / myIs brlag par bya 'o zhes (59) **bgros** nas ///* (ITJ 0737-1: 56-59)
> Gods from three worlds discussed, "these female Rakshasas received the attainment thusly [……], since these attainments belonged to gods, the status of gods will be diminished. All the attainments belong to gods and not humans, therefore, humans would destroy them."

Verb *bgro* was nominalized by adding an affix *-pa* before the quote and the quote was followed by the verb *bgros* preceded by a quotative marker *zhes* and followed by a coreferential marker *nas*.

This speech verb is used for Ramana and Lagshana and the army of monkeys discussing what to do with attacking the Rakshasas and get the queen Sita back, since the first arrow from Daśagrīva is fatal. This speech verb is used for closing a direct quotation which opened without any introduction.

> (354)

srin po 'i dngos grub kyis / mda' dang po 'phangste shi bas / rgyal po ra ma (314) na sna la brgal na / shi phan chad lha mo khugs kyang cha myed pas // jI ltar bya zhes **bgros** *pa dang // gcung lag sha nas (315) sngar brgal bar gsol nas // mda' dang po 'phangste phog pa 'I 'og du / de nas ra ma nas brgal bar byas pa dang /* (ITJ 0737-1: 313-315)

They discussed, "Due to the power of Rakshasa, anyone shot by the first arrow will die. If Ramana attacks first and dies, there is no point to retake the queen, what shall we do?" Lagshana, the younger brother, said he will attack first. [He] shot the first arrow and it hit [the goal], so Ramana agreed.

Again, *bgros* is used as a verbal noun here for three monkeys discussing about who can jump to the continent of Langkapura. This speech verb is use for opening a direct quotation in the formula Type 3.

(355)
de nas spre 'u (239) gsuM gyis **bgros** *pa' // lang ka pu ra nI rgya mtsho 'i kling na 'dug na / 'u bu su der 'gro nus shes byas pa dang /(240) sIn du na re ngas myi nus shes zer / pa shu na re ngas phar nI mchongsna / nas rgas pas pyir myi mchongs shes(241) byas pa dang //* (ITJ 0737-1: 238-241)

Then three monkeys discussed, "Langkapura is in the ocean, who can go there among us?" and Sintu said, "I cannot do it". Pashu said, "I am too old, so, I am able to jump over there but not back."

Syntactically, it is preceded by an ergative particle *gyis* and followed by a nominaliser *pa*. Speech verb *bgros* is used for a group of sages twice when discussed amongst themselves what to do when the princess Laba was missing from entrusted them by Sita. This speech verb is used for both opening and closing a direct quotation here. For the opening, a peculiar form *bgros la* is used, but it seems an error made by the transcribers of the OTDO team.[146]

(356)
de nas drang srong rnams kyis / sras gar mchis gthol ma mchis (358) nas // sras btsal na yong ma rnyed de // **bgros** *la / sras la ba nI chur shi 'am / 'dres khyer (359) tam rmad chig nyes pa 'dra' ste // rgyal po sras la ba la byams pas / 'dI 'gyod pa cher 'ong na (360) jI ltar bya zhes* **bgros** *nas //* (ITJ 0737-1: 357-360)

Then divine seers were clueless about where the prince went and could not find the prince after searching; they discussed, "prince Laba probably is drowned in the water or taken by a ghost, [in any case], it seems something terrible had happened to him.[147]

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[146] de Jong has *bgros la* in his transcription (de Jong, 1989, p. 133), so I have to account for the resemblance of *la* and *pa* causing this scribal error until I have the chance to check it against the original document.

[147] This is comparable to the phrase in *OTC* regarding naming of Dri gum btsan po: *chu dgum sri dgum gyIs / dri gum btsan por mtshan thog shig* (PT 1287: 5) 'Since [he] shall kill water and *sri* demons, so call him 'the emperor who died by violence''. In the context of *OTC*, it is about the emperor killing the water and *sri* demons or killing the homophonous *chu srid* 'kingdom' (Dotson 2013b,162-163), but here it is about someon being killed by water or captured by demons.

Since the king is very kind to prince Laba, so he would regret it the most. What should we do?"

The first attestation is preceded by a connective morpheme *de* and followed by a morpheme *la*. However, it makes better sense if the morpheme *la* here changed to a nominalizer *ba* or *pa*, without access to the original text, it is difficult to determine if it is an error made by the original scribe or a modern copyist.

3.2.5.12 Conclusion

The use of common speech verbs in OT *Rāmāyaṇa* are mainly in conformity with the *OTC*. However, there are speech verbs attested only in one text and not in the other. For instance, verbs such as *bon* 'to say', *btams* 'to advise', *blod* 'to discuss', *brdol* 'to burst out', *blangs* 'to sing', and *lan btab* 'to reply' are only used in the *OTC*. Similarly, speech verbs such as *byung/'byung* 'to emerge/to say', *bos* 'to call out to', *gleng* 'to say', *bgros* 'to discuss', and *zhus* 'to ask' are only attested in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. Some differences in attestations are justifiable with the style while others are probably related to the historical change of the language in two texts. The *OTC* includes songs from different characters where the speech verb *blangs* 'to sing' is commonly used while OT *Rāmāyaṇa* does not have any songs per se. Therefore, it explains the nonexistence of these speech verbs in the latter text. However, there are also use of different meanings of a word in two texts, for instance, *byung* is merely used as 'to emerge/to appear' in its attestation in *OTC* while it is used both as a speech verb 'to say' and a verb meaning 'to emerge/to appear' in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Even for a speech verb used in both texts, there are, sometimes, differences in terms of the tenses of the same speech verb used in these two texts. The non-perfective form *smra* 'to say' is the form attested in the *OTC* for its rare two occurrences while in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, it is always attested as a perfective form *smras* with its more common occurrences.

There are other phrases expressing the meaning of delivering a speech in OT *Rāmāyaṇa* such as *dmod pa bor* 'to curse' and *smon lam btab* 'to pray', *bro bor* 'take an oath', since these are more of phrases than verbal phrases, therefore not included here for the present study. In addition, homophoric use of terms such as *lha mo* 'the goddess/the queen', *rgyal po* 'the king', *blon po* 'the minister', *gcen* 'the elder brother', *gcung* 'the younger brother', *kyo* 'the

husband', *chung ma* 'the wife', *bzang mo* 'the great lady' are prevalent in the OT *Rāmāyaṇa*. This is an area of its own in terms of pragmatics and syntax.

Chapter 4: Pragmatics in OT Epistolary writings

4.1 Introducing Old Tibetan letters

Old Tibetan letters consist of a substantial part of the non-Buddhist Tibetan texts recovered from Cave 17 at Dunhuang and contracts and historical texts. Old Tibetan letters are amongst the oldest texts written in Tibetan script. Although we have letter writers of diverse backgrounds, officials, monks, and rarely commoners, we must remember that Old Tibetan letter writing was an elite activity. Another issue with the Old Tibetan letters is that the sender and the scribe were not always the same person, which is demonstrated by the numerous exercises found on the *glegs tshas* 'writing boards' of scribes engaged with the sutra-copying project.[148] According to Takao Moriyasu, letters as a literary genre must be defined somewhere along the lines of a written message exchanged through intermediaries between the sender(s) and the recipient(s) separated by a certain distance with the inclusion of a formal greeting as a general rule (Moriyasu, 2011, p. 38). However, the use of the term in this chapter is a broader one which includes Old Tibetan official letters without a formal greeting. Thus, for this study, letters are communications written on tangible materials such as paper and wood slips and addressed to the historical person(s) or institution(s) by the historical person(s) or institution(s) which are physically distant from one another.[149] Moreover, official letters are significant for the exploration of pragmatics as a point of comparison to personal letters. According to their provenance, old Tibetan letters can be divided into two groups, those discovered in the Cave 17 of Dunhuang and those discovered in Mīrān, Mazār-Tāgh, and other Central Asian locations. These letters, written by people with different ethnicities, occupations, and social statuses, provide a vista of the society at the time and a database for exploring the sociolinguistics of Old Tibetan as a lingua franca for people of different ethnic groups in the town of Dunhuang and adjacent areas. Close to one hundred Old Tibetan letters in total appear among the Old Tibetan texts archived in Paris and London.[150] Amongst nearly a hundred Old Tibetan documents from Dunhuang classified

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[148] For the sūtra-copying project in Dunhuang, see Iwao (Iwao, 2012). We can probably conclude that these scribes were professional letter writers from reading through the letter exercises. See Takeuchi for more information on glegs tshas 'writing board' (Takeuchi, 2013a).

[149] For a definition based on an anthology of Greek and Latin letters, see Trapp (Trapp, 2003, p. 1).

[150] Bkra shis gives more than eighty letters that were found in the Paris collection of Old Tibetan texts (Bkra shis, 2012, p. 12). More Old Tibetan letters written on wood slips and birch bark were found from the Central Asian towns of Mīrān and Mazār-Tāgh. See Wang Yao and Chen Jian (Y. Wang & Chen, 1985) and F. W.

under the rubric of epistolary writings, a significant portion is scribal exercises, never intended for dispatching. Therefore, around thirty complete letters from different periods and categories were selected as the corpus for this study.

In later periods of Tibetan history, letters became an independent literary genre where authors displayed their artistic and poetic skills, especially after letter writing, known as the genre of *chab shog* and became prevalent amongst Geluk Tibetan lamas (Kilby 2015). Comparatively speaking, Old Tibetan letters are less poetic and more practical in their epistolary purpose than *chab shog*; however, both types are incredibly formulaic. The formulaic nature of the letters in general and non-Tibetan authorship of some of the letters probably pose some questions for exploring pragmatics in Old Tibetan letters. However, since there is ample evidence that Chinese scribes and scriveners in Dunhuang were experts in the Tibetan language (Takeuchi, 2013a), one can assume that all the Old Tibetan documents are sources worthy of studies like the current one. Therefore, it is worth comparing the language of different OT letters, such as official and personal ones. Moreover, for sources, it is sensible to work with complete and nearly complete letters since they are easier to work on and the bulk of letters is large enough to have the luxury of having a reasonably large corpus even if we focus on complete letters.

4.2 Previous Research on Old Tibetan Letters

Géza Uray worked on some aspects of three Old Tibetan letters (PT 1082; PT 1189; and PT 1284), and his work was probably the first Western scholarship on Tibetan letters from Dunhuang[151] Takeuchi is the first scholar who studied Old Tibetan letters more systematically; he had analysed Tibetan epistolary writings from the post-Tibetan imperial period discovered in Dunhuang in terms of their typology, date, and linguistic features which have been the most detailed study for a few decades (Takeuchi 1990). Except for Takeuchi's ground-breaking work on Old Tibetan letters, there are sporadic studies available in Tibetan,

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Thomas (Thomas, 1955) for transcriptions of Old Tibetan letters written on wood slips. See Padma tshe ring (Padma tshe ring 2017, 34–35) for an exhaustive list of the letters written on wood slips. There are other collections of Old Tibetan documents from Dunhuang and around the world, including a substantial number of collections in China (van Schaik, 2002); however, due to lack of access and systematic catalogue, it is not very clear how much epistolary writings there is among them.

[151] Uray, Géza. 1981. 'L'Emploi du tibétain dans les chancelleries des états du Kan sou et de Khosan postérieur à la domination tibétaine'. *Journal Asiatique* tome CCLXIX: 81-90. Cited in Tsuguhito Takeuchi. 1990. 'A Group of Old Tibetan Letters Written under Kuei-I-Chün: A Preliminary Study for the Classification of Old Tibetan Letters'. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 44 (1/2): 175–90

a doctoral dissertation (Padma tshe ring, 2017) and master's thesis that came out of two universities in China dealing with Old Tibetan letters (Bkra shis, 2012).[152] Bkra shis is more interested in interpreting some of the letters, mostly rendering Old Tibetan texts into understandable modern Tibetan form. Bkra shis discusses the earliest occurrence of the term *'phrin yig* in Old Tibetan. Although he does not give a specific date, he found that it is common to find the form *phrin* and *prin* in some Old Tibetan texts. Then he turns to the development of letter writing during the Classical Tibetan period by listing the letters written by religious masters such as Sakya Pandita (1182-1251) and Tsongkhapa (1357-1419) and finally, various manuals for letters authored during the Ganden Podrang by Geluk scholars (Bkra shis, 2012, pp. 4–12). In terms of the types of the letters, Bkra shis categorises Dunhuang letters into five types: Type I: official letters from Zhang ministers and Prime ministers or the empire; type II: correspondences amongst local officials and ministers; type III: correspondence between religious figures such as *mkhan po* and monks; Type IV: personal correspondence of ordinary people; Type V: miscellaneous letters (mostly exercises). With a lack of attention paid for dating these letters, unlike Takeuchi, Bkra shis lumps all the Old Tibetan letters together and categorises different letters by their completeness in terms of the different components compared to Takeuchi's chronology of the development of letter writing. One very annoying thing is that in Bkra shis' view, many of the archaic spellings that do not comply with Classical Tibetan are misspellings (Bkra shis, 2012, p. 61). Bkra shis is more interested in comparing Old Tibetan letters with the letters from the Classical Tibetan period, both in style and structure (Bkra shis, 2012, pp. 63–88). In Classical Tibetan, letters have become an independent literary genre later where authors display their artistic and poetic skills, especially as the genre of *chab shog* became prevalent amongst Geluk Tibetan lamas later.[153]

Although unpublished, Padma Tshe ring's recent doctoral thesis is the most comprehensive study of Old Tibetan letters available so far (Padma tshe ring 2017). He made good use of the academic resources available for Old Tibetan studies in Lanzhou by referencing the recent facsimile editions of Old Tibetan documents in Paris and London, some of the Old Tibetan

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[152] One major pitfall of this study is that the author had a misconception that all the letters from Dunhuang were somehow from the period of the Tibetan Empire and categorizes all the letters as "letters from the period of the Tibetan Empire" or *spu rgyal dus kyi 'phrin yig*. As Takeuchi's dating suggests, many of the Old Tibetan letters are from the 'Return-to-Allegiance Army' Guīyìjūn 歸義軍 period (851-1036?) and some of them post-date the Tibetan Empire.

[153] For studies on epistolary writing from the Classical Tibetan period and with a specific focus on the Geluk school, see studies by Schneider (H. Schneider, 2003) and Kilby (Kilby, 2015, 2019, 2020), for a study on letters between a tantric couple from the 20th century Tibet, see Gayley (Gayley, 2016, 2017).

documents still archived in various places in China, as well as wood slips in London and documents in Berlin. Padma tshe ring also examines how the postal system operated during the Tibetan Empire by looking at various official titles and offices associated with it, different types of messengers, and the postal routes between China and Tibet, as well as routes from Central Tibet to *li-yul* or Khotan (Padma tshe ring 2017, 49–103). Then he turns to the categorisation of Old Tibetan letters, fundamental forms of letters, and the material culture of the Old Tibetan letters (padma tshe ring, 2017, pp. 104–151). Finally, the dissertation includes philological studies of three major types: official letters, letters from ministers, and personal letters and their subtypes, selecting at least two letters designated to each subtype (Padma tshe ring 2017, 152–235). Surprisingly, unlike most of the doctoral dissertations written in the Tibetan language at various Nationalities universities in China, this dissertation extensively uses existing studies on Old Tibetan letters in western languages included in a literature review at the beginning.

Apart from the literature mentioned so far, there are studies of individual letters by scholars with relevant scholarly interests such as the history and politics of Uighurs in Central Asia.[154] Amongst all the Old Tibetan letters, PT 1189, a letter from the Guīyìjūn period, attracted considerable attention from scholars working on the history of the Uighur and Tatars. Bai Yudong includes a study of this letter in his scholarly work on the 8th to 11th-century history of nine tribes of Tatars (Bai, 2017a). Other works on the same letter were primarily translations (Rong & Zhu, 2013; Y. Wang & Chen, 1988). Scholars studied another letter from the post-Tibetan period, by a certain Uighur Khagan for the light it sheds on the political situation of the Uighurs and the Guīyìjūn in the Hexi Corridor (Chin. hé xī zǒu láng 河西走廊) (Ishikawa, 1990a; Iwao, 2018). Wang Yao and Chen Jian, in their study of Old Tibetan texts from Dunhuang, have made Chinese translations of some Old Tibetan letters (Y. Wang & Chen, 1988). Some official edicts-like letters were studied by Gendun Chophel in his well-known historical work *deb ther dkar po* to prove the grandiosity of the Empire and its extension of power to the central Asian territories such as, in his words, *Li-yul* 'Khotan' (Gendun Chophel, 2002).

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[154] In Old Tibetan sources, the oldest transcription we can find for the term Uighur is *ho yo hor*, attested in the inscription at the tomb of Khri lde srong brtsan (line 43). Nevertheless, it is to date mistakenly transcribed as *stod hor* by Richardson (1985, p. 90) and Pa tshab (2013, p. 137), and *lho hor* (F.-K. Li & Coblin, 1987, p. 242) by various scholars. In an Old Tibetan document from Dunhuang on various peoples in the north (PT 1283), three terms are used for Uighurs, *ho yo hor* (PT 1283:561; 620), *ho yo 'or* (PT 1283:558), *hor* (PT 1283:569; 576; 577; 579; 592; 593; 622), and *'u yi kor* (PT 1283:557). There are numerous studies on PT 1283, for Uighur names, see, for instance, Moriyasu (1980) and Erkoç (2018). In Old Tibetan texts for the post-imperial period, the Tibetan name for Uighurs is written as *hw'e hor* (PT 1188) and *hwe pur* (PT 1082).

Although Old Tibetan epistolary writing is a genre of its own with shared rubrics, every letter should also be treated as an individual text with its own stories to tell. Thus, there is a need to divide these letters into categories to generalize the characteristics these different types share and features that distinguish them from one another. Therefore, a table with the basic information of OT letters used in this chapter is included here.

4.3 Selection of corpus for study

For comparing the structure in a detailed manner, only the letters with a specific quality—complete and dispatched Old Tibetan letters from Dunhuang written on paper, are selected for this corpus. All the other types of the Old Tibetan letters that are either fictional or never intended for dispatch (i.e., "embedded" letters in narratives and chronicles)[155] and the Old Tibetan letters discovered from various locations outside of Dunhuang in Central Asia are not included in the corpus. In short, the corpus is solely composed of complete Old Tibetan letters written on paper from the Cave 17 of Dunhuang. Some complete OT letters were left out of the corpus intentionally, such as a series of petitions in PT 1077, due to its specific features as petitions.[156] This decision was made primarily due to the accessibility to the originals and facsimiles of these OT documents from the collections located in London and Paris. A comparative study of the OT letters from Dunhuang with the OT letters from other Central Asian locations would generate nuances about the genre itself and the social and historical realities of the people. However, it had to be pushed back to another project. The selected letters are mostly complete, only with minor fragmentary incompletions. Letter exercises do yield as much helpful information, if not more, as the complete letters. However, exercises are excluded from the corpus to keep the project manageable. For now, only occasional references are made when necessary. These letters cover centuries-long Tibetan usage in Dunhuang by people with different ethnic backgrounds. Therefore, it is a reductionist approach to lump them under the OT letters. Clarifications such as the letters from the Tibetan Empire and post-imperial periods are asserted whenever needed for analysing letters.

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[155] For different types of Greek and Latin letters, according to Trapp, there are (a) letters intended for private communications; (b) letters intended for private communications but ended up edited and made available for a broader readership; (c) letters initially intended for a broader readership; (d) letters purporting to be by historical persons, but in fact were literary works; and finally, (e) letters by invented characters in literature (Trapp, 2003, p. 3).

[156] For a study on these petitions, see Lu Li (2021).

4.4 Table of corpus used in this chapter

om. for omitted in the text
lac. for illegible due to text damage

	Shelf mark	Convoker/sender	Office	Addressee	**Literature**[157]	**Notes**
1	PT 1083 verso	blon chen po	'dun tsa long cu	om.	Takeuchi 1990; Gendun Chophel 2002	
2	PT 1217	Zhang lon chen po	Khrom chen po'i 'dun sa/ Tsong-ka rtsis skyang dgu	om. (ta rig bra sha)	Takeuchi 1990; Dotson 2013	An official recognition of Ta rig bra sha's political contribution
3	PT 1085	om. (zhang lon chen po)	Royal court Lhan kar	Rse-rje councillors in sha cu	Takeuchi 1990; Gendun Chophel 2002	
4	PT 1111	lac.	lac.	lac.	Takeuchi 1990; Iwao 2011	
5	ITJ 1126	Blon lha bzher and Zhang legs bzang	Council zha'i bde sum tshal	Zhang stag rma g.yu gong	Takeuchi 1990	
6	PT 1003	A+yi cu'I lI sIng je dpal ldan	om.	Sha cu lI sIng je	Takeuchi 1990	Takeuchi treats as an exercise, I disagree.
7	PT 2204C	Gtsang 'bog go ring lugs blon dge bzang and gstang sbyan	om.	Blon rma bzher	Takeuchi 1990	
8	PT 1081	Cang dze sheng	Khrom chen po'I 'dun sa sha cu	om.	Takeuchi 1990	

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[157] I have included the literature if the study mentioned the shelf number of the letter in question, whether it has done a thorough study.

			ku 'ig kun			
9	PT 1091	lac.	lac.	lac.	Takeuchi 1990	
10	PT 1089	om.	'dun sa zha	lac.	Takeuchi 1990	
11	PT 1189	Sug cu'i dbang po si to	om.	Ha se tser to th+yen the'i wong	Takeuchi 1990	
12	PT 1188 verso	om.	Dang ra hwea'i hor khA gan rje'i pho brang	Stong na dbang blon	Takeuchi 1990	Probably an exercise
13	PT 1201	Kim kang	om.	Mkhan po hong pen	Takeuchi 1990	
14	PT 1131	Cang am 'gram mang 'gu	om.	Chab srid blon che lI tshin sre	Takeuchi 1990	
15	PT 1202	lac.	om.	Mkhan po hong ben	Takeuchi 1990	
16	PT 1204	lac.	om.	Mkhan po hong pen	Takeuchi 1990	
17	PT 1212	Yon shan	om.	Btsun pa bya nu, btsun ba yo shan, btsun dbal chos	Takeuchi 1990	
18	PT 1220	Cas to di'u dzin sheng	om.	Sing tong ched po, cang sing je etc monks at Le tu zi	Takeuchi 1990;	
19	PT 1200	Dbyig gi rgyan	om.	Mkhan po hong pen	Takeuchi 1990	
20	PT 1129	Khug gong 'bug ser po	om.	Ha se to si lyog zhi legs	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
21	PT 1211	Rin cen gsal	om.	Sku btsun ched po sag btsun, 'bye shen yo shen, pwu sIng	Takeuchi 1990	

				ce, dgram btsunn ba etc.		
22	PT 1092	Ming phug wen	om.	Shi shug, shug shug, I ne, and shim shim etc.	Takeuchi 1990	
23	PT 1132	Dang khang sam	om.	lac.	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
24	PT 1184	Ci sun	om.	Nang rje po blon glu bzang and blon rtsa bzher	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
25	PT 1210	Se'u yam etc.	om.	Btsun ba dza ci'u	Takeuchi 1990	
26	PT 1082	Deng re hwe pur kha gan	om.	lac.	Takeuchi 1990	
27	ITJ 897	Lha 'brug brtan	om.	Jo cho blon gchug bzher and blon legs sgra	Takeuchi 1990	
28	PT 1125	Tshin ka kong yeng den etc.	om.	Tshing ka kong chen po Pye ['b]a shi	Takeuchi 1990	
29	PT 1142	'bun sin and tsan thong	om.	Jo co stag po rje, stag bzang, a nyang, jo co phug sad, lha bzher, sam ka, and dpal mo etc.		
30	PT 1187	g.yu [xx]	om.	khu bo chen po mched and ne ne mo		

4.5 OT terminology for 'letter'

There are a handful of different epistolary terminologies in Old Tibetan letters and here a discussion of them is in order. Some common terms used in the letters are: *mchid/mcid* 'message', *mchid yi ge* 'written message' (PT 1129; PT 1132; PT 1184; PT 1189; PT 1142; PT 1200; PT 1210), *mchid shog bu* 'message paper' (PT 1211), *bka' mchid* 'decree message', *phrin yig* 'written letter' (PT 1082),[158] *yi ge* 'writing(s)' (PT 1131), and *bka'* 'decree' (ITJ 0754(a)). In addition, a rare verbal phrase term *mchid shog bu* 'paper message' is also used in one of the OT personal letters (PT 1211). Etymologically, all the terms for letter in Old Tibetan are from four stems, namely *mchid* 'message', *phrin* 'letter', *yi ge* 'writing(s)', and *bka'* 'decree' or verbal phrases built up on these stems. Some of the terms are semantically ambiguous, for instance, *yi ge*, also attested as *yI gyI* (PT 1003:6) in some places, apart from meaning epistolary letters, means 'script" as well as various types of 'official insignias' or 'certificates', such as turquoise, silver, and golden insignias received from the royal court by officials of various ranks.[159] Moreover, terms such as *mchid* and *phrin* are, very likely, originally used for oral messages, since they must be combined with *yi ge* 'writing(s)' or its shortened form *-yig* to convey the meaning of 'letter' as a written message in Old Tibetan. In terms of their occurring frequency, *mchid* 'message' is the most used term, with almost one attestation in every OT letter, and without pragmatic distinction in official letters and personal letters, only the verbs such as *gsol* 'to give' and *stsal* 'to give' followed by it influences the pragmatics, we will turn to these verbs later in this chapter. In a sense, *gsol* is pragmatically very similar to the Chinese verbal phrases *shangshu* 上書 'submit a letter to a superior', however, without the formality attached to it.[160] Terms such as *bka'* 'decree' and *bka' mchid* 'decree message' are polite terms used by senders to refer to the words of superiors, and it can also be used by superiors for their own message (PT 1082).[161]

There is an OT term *than prin* (PT 1283; PT 1194), used in documents with the meaning 'message', however, it is not attested in our corpus. In addition, there is an etymologically perplexing term *kam cud* 'information' (PT 1189; PT 1129) used in the body of some OT letters from the post-Imperial Tibetan period meaning the message someone receives, but it seems *kam cud* cannot be used for letter per se. This term probably is a loan word, but the origin is unable to detect for now. Another term *sgo yig* 'open letter' is used in

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[158] This term is attested in versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story (PT 0981; ITJ 0737-1).

[159] For studies on the different royal insignias and certificates from the time of the Tibetan Imperium, see Dotson's description (2007b; 2009).
One OT official letter mentions granting of a 'minor silver insignia' (*dngul gyi yi ge chu ngu*) to the addressee from the council of the great *zhang* minister (PT 1217).

[160] For a discussion of Chinese epistolary terminologies, see Antje Richter (2013, pp. 34–36).

[161] Another possible explanation for using polite forms for themselves is that these superior senders have scribes who exercise their politeness while writing letters on behalf of their superiors and use honorifics.

several OT letters (PT 1212; PT 1092), this type of letters are usually addressed to several addressees, therefore, the term specifically

4.7 Structure of Old Tibetan letters

The structure of letters is relevant for exploring the politeness strategies employed in epistolary writings. For studying the structure of Old Tibetan letters, the universal tripartite components of letters: Opening, Body, and Closing parts is a valuable scheme to explore here. Recently, scholars further divided three-parts letters into a structure with multiple sub-parts of letters in Latin, as the following table shows (Dickey, 2016, pp. 17–42):

1.Letter Opening
- a) *Letter Prescript*
    1) *superscriptio* or superscription, sender's name in the nominative
    2) *adscriptio* or adscription, addressee's name in the dative
    3) *salutio* or salutation, greeting in the infinitive
- b) *Letter Proem* (prayer-wish, thanksgiving, remembrance, expression of joy)

2. Letter Body
- a) *Opening*
- b) *Middle*
- c) *Closing*

3. Letter Closing
- a) *Epilogue*
- b) *Postscript*

This section will follow the structural scheme presented here to determine how Old Tibetan letters include and exclude individual sub-parts by examples from our corpus. The date of individual letters is given roughly for letters from the Tibetan Empire and post-imperial periods whenever it is significant for the analysis. Letter Opening is the first part to be examined here.

Letter Opening

Prescript

Old Tibetan letters generally conform to the structure mentioned here, but minor differences are presented in Old Tibetan personal letters. For instance, the addressee's name comes before the sender's name in Old Tibetan personal letters for the prescript. The honorific phrases *zha snga nas* and *zha snga* are used for addressees in these letters. Prescripts are one of the most formulaic parts of Old Tibetan personal letters with the addressee(s) and sender(s) and the greetings. However, the exact date of sending is often missing, and only the season was mentioned occasionally, as in the following examples show:

(357)
$/:/ *jo cho* **blon gcug bzher** *dang* **legs sgra** *la/ /lha 'brug brtsan* (2) *gyi mchid gsol b'a// lha dpal mched kyi zha snga nas/ /thugs rtag du bde bar smon te// mchid* (**3**) *yi ge las/ snyun gsol zhing mchis na// bka' stsald pa tsam du chi gnang /* (ITJ 897: 1-3)
To minister Gtsug bzher and minister Legs sgar, Lha 'brug brtsan is offering the message to wish you, the glorious divine brother, eternal peace for the mind and inquiring about your health, so please do give me an answer.

The polite phrase *zha snga nas* is used when the addressee is mentioned by his glorified qualities as *lha dpal mched* 'the glorious divine brother'.

In the following example, the polite phrase *zha snga* is used at the beginning of the letter where the addressee is mentioned for the first time. A *prescript* with a seasonal greeting is attested in the following letter:

(358)
$/:/*sha cu na* **lI sIng je'I** *zha sngar//*   *// (2) a+yI cu'I* **lI sIng je dpal ldan** *gIs mchId g*(3)*sol pa//***ston tshIgs gI rtsI dog | mdog gyur ba'I skabs su/ cher nI the'I po'u gi rIm 'gro dang** (4) **sem cen mth[a] dag gI don du 'o brgyal de gdan bzhugs na sku la snyung myI bangs yang srI zhu 'I** (5) *tshul gIs snyung mchId yI gyI las gsol zhIng mchIs bka' spring bar gsol //* (PT 1003: 1-5)
To the presence of *lI sIng je* in Sha cu, this message is offered by LI sIng je Dpal ldan of a+yI cu. It came to the beginning of autumn, grasses changed their color.[162] [You] must be exhausted from performing religious ceremonies for the *Th'I po'u* 太保 and busy for all beings, but it is not likely to catch any illness with, however, [I am] inquiring your condition with this letter as a service, please do send a reply.

For the following example, the expression of eulogy comes at the beginning of the letter before the name of the addressee, and idiom *zha snga* is used right after the name.

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[162] Takeuchi reads *rtsi tog* as 'fruits' (Takeuchi, 1990b, p. 190); I read it as 'grass' here primarily due to its similarity with a term used as a general name for grass and plants in modern Amdo dialect, /ʰtsə tox/ 'grass'.

Moreover, phrase *zha snga nas* is used again later in the greetings part with the name of the addressee.

(359)
//khams gsum gyi ston pa'a / 'jig rten gyi sgron ma'a/ lha myi rnam nyis kyi re gnas/ **ha se to sing lyog zhi legs** *kyi zha sngar/* **khug gong 'bug ser po** *gis mchid gsol ba'/ ston pa dpal mgon sing lyog ched po zha snga nas/ /***dbyar tshigs dang po la bab ste// dgung tshad khad gyis g.yos pa dang lha myi rnam gnyis gyi sgo nas// sems can mang po don mdzad pa'I thugs khral gyis// rab tu 'o brgyal na// sku byang cub las snyun bzhengs sam ma bzhengs // mchid yi ge las snyun gsol zhing mchis/** (PT 1129: 1-7)

To the presence of the teacher to three realms, the lamp for the world, hope for all divine and human beings, [this] message is offered by Khug gong 'bug ser po. You teacher, the great super lord Sing lyog (*senglu* 僧錄), it is the beginning of the summer and the heat had been rising, extremely fatigued from doing things for both human and divine subjects. Have illness arisen from your pure body or not? I [am] inquiring via [this] written message.

For the Old Tibetan personal letters, the *salutio* is an indispensable part, as shown in the two examples above. Again, the greeting is a formulaic portion in the letters across epistolary writings from different periods included in our corpus. As Takeuchi contends, the seasonal greeting made its way into Old Tibetan letters dated after the fall of the Tibetan Empire in the mid-ninth century, probably modelled after Chinese letters (Takeuchi, 1990b, pp. 188–189). The greeting part is mainly concerned with the addressees' health, and it ends with a formulaic phrase in which the sender is asking about with this written message. A minimal number of verbs are used here in the *prescript* of letters. The *adscriptio* is followed by a dative or allative particle *la* or *-r*,[163] and the *superscriptio* is followed by a genitive marker *gi* or an agentive marker *gis* and honorific verb *stsal* 'to give, to grant' when the sender is higher, humilific verb *gsol* 'to give, offer, ask' when the sender is lower, and neutral verb *spring* 'to send' when the status of the sender is not marked.[164]

It is rare to have official letters addressed to the court or councils of the Tibetan Empire in the corpus, probably because the collection in Dunhuang are the letters from the receiving end of the official letters from the court and councils. The *prescript* of the Old Tibetan official letters, specifically those from the Tibetan Empire period, conform to the order presented in the table. However, it is the *salutio* that is missing from these letters. Another difference with

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[163] It seems *-r* and *la* allative markers have started to merge while writing these OT letters, since they can be used interchangeably. For studies of *la don*, see Hill (N. Hill, 2011; N. W. Hill, 2012b) and Tournadre (Tournadre, 2010).

[164] Takeuchi arrives at the same conclusion in his study of OT letters (1990, 183).

OT personal letters, these official letters from the imperial period include the date (usually only the zodiac sign of the year and the month without indicating the day).

The *superscriptio* is sometimes an office rather than an individual, and the *adscriptio* is always an individual (or individuals).

> (360)
> $/:/ **pho brang lhan kar** *nas //* **'brugI lo 'I dgun sla 'bring po**'I ngo la / bkye 'I phyag rgya phog ste/ (2) **sha cu 'I rtse rje** *la mcid stsal pa'a //* (PT 1085: 1-2)
> From the Court of Lhan dkar, in the mid-winter month of dragon year, this message is sealed for dispatch, and delivered to the head of Sha cu.[165]

This letter used the phrase *mchid stsal pa'a* 'to give a letter from someone higher to lower'. In addition, there are also representatives of the court and councils who are *superscriptio* in Old Tibetan official letters. For instance, two ministers are mentioned in the *superscriptio* of the following official letter:

> (361)
> $// **blon lha bhzer** *dang/* **zhang legs bzang** *gis/* **'dun tsa zha'i bde sum tshal** *nas* (2) **'brugI lo'I dbyard** */ bkye'I phyag rgya phog ste /* **zhang stag rma g.yu gong** *la mchid* (3) *stsald pa//* (ITJ 1126: 1-3)
> Ministers Lha bzher and Zhang legs bzang, sealed for dispatch from the council in Bde sum tshal of Zha, in the summer of dragon year, [this] message [is] delivered to Zhang stang rma g.yu gong.

For Old Tibetan official letters from the Tibetan Empire period, immediately after the *adscriptio*, is the body or the main content of the letter without a greeting as a transition to segue into the subject. However, some of the post-Tibetan imperial official letters, resembling the personal letters from the same period, include greetings in the *prescript*.

Proem

Followed to the prescript is the section known as *proem*. It is the section where the sender recollects the previous relationship with the addressee to reconnect with the person. Old Tibetan official letters from the imperial period are known for their brevity and are entirely devoid of the *proem* section. However, it seems Old Tibetan personal letters dating the post-

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[165] The word *ngo* in this context is difficult to decipher. It usually means 'face, surface, sign'. It is also used in Tibetan for the waxing (*yar ngo*) and waning (*mar ngo*) of the moon. In OT, waxing and waning moon are described with phrases *zla ba yar gyi myi ngo* 'moon with up human face' and *zla ba mar gyi nyi ngo* 'moon with down human face' (PT1042: 82-83). With these usages in mind, I take *ngo* here as the middle of the month or the 15th

imperial period tended to include the *proem*. The following example is from a post-imperial letter sent to a monk official:

(362)
rjes la ston pa dpal mgon zha snga nas/ /zhal mjal nas dgung lo grangs myi (9) *nyung ba zhig lon na yang // da ltar kam cud thos na/ / sing lyog mnga' tang che/ / ser chags* (10) *kyi dbu tshigs su mnga' tang che nas bzhugs bgyi bar kam cud 'od thos// bdag ngan pa yang* (11) *- 254 -lob a rab tu dg'a nas// gtang rgyang grags nas btshal// slad nas kyang skyes sna 'gra brdzang rgyu* (12) *lags na// snga pa byan mo ni 'das/ phyi ma byan mo cig blangs na// de 'I bu lon dang dbu tsha* (13) *mang po 'I bu lon gyis/ lag na sris kyang chung/ skyes blta rung ba ma mchis/ thugs* (14) *myi chad par gsol/ bka' myi 'bab par gsol/* (PT 1129: 8-14)
Though it has been many years since I have seen you, the supreme lord teacher. I am very happy to hear the message from others that "Sing lyog (*senglu* 僧錄) is powerful and powerfully leading the monks now". [I am] sending you gifts from many miles away and will send various kinds of gifts in the future. [My] previous wife passed away and [I am] in debt for taking another wife and children and grandchildren. Thus, [I] have no reserved grains thus no presentable gifts at hand.[166] Please do not be disappointed and do not scold me for [this].

A seasonal greeting precedes the proem quoted here at the beginning of the letter, and the *proem* readdresses the joy he felt from hearing the addressee's situation. It seems the *proem* is not referencing a previous letter from the addressee but hearsay of the situation from others. It is in a way reemphasising the relationship and express thanksgiving by mentioning the gifts sent with the letter. The last part of this *proem* is expressing apology for not having good enough gifts to be presented to the addressee by describing his misfortune of losing a wife and being in debt for taking another. Mentioning the gift sent along the letter is a common feature of the *proem* for Old Tibetan letters; for instance, another letter includes the following brief message as the *proem*:

(363)
ngan bu'i phra(6)*l chod gi skyes ni/ spor bre gang lhad dpal la rma ste bzhes par gsol//* (PT 1003: 5-6)

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[166] The term used for grains, *sris,* in this sentence, is given as a loan word for 食 in Kha sgang et al.'s dictionary without providing any evidence (Kha sgang et al. 2019, 467); it also gives that *srus* is a variant of the same term. The Middle Chinese reconstruction systems available now do not support this position of *sris* being a loanword for 食 since we know MC phonological reconstructions for this character end up somewhere along the lines of /zijH/or /zyik/. Therefore, instead of being a loanword, it is likely a noun formed from the verb *bsri*, *sri*, *bsris*, *sris* 'to reserve; to save', explicitly used for the reserved grain in this context. On the matter of *sri* being a variant of *srus* 'grain', it is not very likely for OT writers to mix up two distinct vowels /i/ and /u/, which had not yet been merged into /ə/ as it is in the case of modern Amdo Tibetan. However, there is, again, a word /ʂi/ 'grain' in Amdo Tibetan, which is phonologically deducible to WT *srus*, attested in many Classical Tibetan texts. Still, it seems the *sris* in our letter is not a variant.

Please ask Lhad dpal, and accept my momentarily reachable gift,[167] one *bre* of seasonings, from [him].[168]

The *proem* in the letter functions as a transition from the *salutio* to the letter body, and it is a common feature in OT personal letters. There are also *proem*s wishing joy for the addressees and expressing their yearning for meeting them soon. In another letter, very likely a subordinate writing to his superior, the following respectful *proem* is attested:

(364)
$//slan cad kyang yum sras mched dgung dang 'dra ba 'i zha snga nas/ thugs rtag tu bde// dgongs pa rgyas chen po las bar chad myi mnga'// chab srid che zhing dbu rmog brtsan/ sku tshe g.yung drung du bzhes pa 'i zhal nyi zla shar ba dang 'dra ba myur du mthong bar smon lam rgyun du gsol zhing mcis/ (PT 1132: 4-6)
I am always wishing the heaven-like you, your wife, children, and siblings have eternal peace of mind in the future, no hindrance for the great vision, have unwavering ruling power and eternal life, and [I hope] to see sun-moon-like faces of yours soon.

This letter, not particularly in a rush to communicate the subject at hand, conveys the subject matter only in the last paragraph. This is primarily due to the nature of the letter where the sender is sending a request, and extensive rhetoric of the courtesy for the letter hindered the subject. Unlike the previous *proem*, this one does not mention any gifts but wishes for the addressee and longs for the next reunion. The good wishes in the *proem* are directed to the addressees and their family members, which is also a characteristic of the *proem* of the medieval Chinese letters (Richter, 2013, p. 92).

Compound *zha snga* is commonly attested in OT texts, including in the *proem* of the OT letters. It takes both terminative marker *-r* 'towards' and ablative marker *nas* 'from' as *zha sngar* or *zha snga nas* when addressing the receiver of the letter. However, the function of ablative marker *nas* in this phrase is obsolete. This compounds *zha snga* 'the presence' and *zha snga nas* 'the presence' or simply used as polite suffixes to address the receiver, which can be treated as an honorific. It is usually attested as the following adjectives used for the addressees augment the status, for instance, *lha 'phrul gyi zha snga nas* 'the honourable

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[167] *'phral chod* is a difficult word to decipher in this context. Since *'phral* in OT is often used for 'temporary' and 'momentary' as attested in the phrase *'phral yun gnyis* 'both momentary and lasting' (ITJ0751: 36v4; insc_Treaty: w16), and *chod* is usually understood as the imperative and *potentialis* form for *gcod* 'to cross; to cut' (PT1287: 503; 511). Therefore, I understood the term as momentarily reachable. Zeisler is probably one of the first western scholars to discuss *potenialis* function of 'imperative' stem of Tibetan verbs (2004, 260; 688, n. 264; 850; 874). However, Tibetan traditional grammarians such as Tshe Tan Zhabs drung had already mentioneded the incompatibility of this form and its function with the traditional division of verbs into *dus gsum* 'three tenses' Tibetan grammar (2005 [1980s], 254-255).

[168] The sender of the letter uses a humilific term *ngan bu* 'wicked son' to address himself. *Bre,* a Tibetan volume measure, is used in the Old Tibetan period for measuring grains and seasonings.

divine magical one' (PT 1202; PT 1204) and *lha dpal sku btsun gyi zha snga nas* 'magical, glorious, and virtuous' (PT 1200). As discussed by Takeuchi, *nas* here is not an ablative marker in any sense since *zha snga nas* has already, in Old Tibetan, as suggested by Takeuchi (1990, 175, n.2), been idiomatically fixed as a noun phrase for high-ranking persons such as the emperor, high officials, and the religious persons in Classical Tibetan.[169]

The *proem* is missing from most Old Tibetan official letters but prevalent in personal letters, especially those written to the superiors. It can be seen as a pragmatic strategy for social relationship building and renewing the bond on the sender's part.

Letter Body

The letter body is the part in a letter where the main message is communicated. Official letters from the Tibetan Empire period are concise and straightforward in the letter body, with clear opening, middle, and closing parts. For some OT official letters, the primary purpose is to resolve an appeal sent by local officials from peripheral regions ruled by the empire, such as Sha cu. Thus, in the body of this type of letter, it is customary to mention the appeal first and then present a resolution for it, and finally, the mode of dissemination for the letter is stated. In other cases, it is not without any opening statement but straight to the point of the message.

> (365)
> *rgya sde gnyIs kyI dpon snas gsold pha/ rgya sha chu pa'I bu sring las/ sngon* (3) *chad/ bod sum dang zhang lon ya ya nas/ mchis brang du 'tshal ba skad du/ snyad bthags nas* (4) *'tshald de/ bran du bgyis pa yang mang / rgyal 'bangs las/ blar thabs gis/ gsold the/* (5) *'di 'dra bar/ phrogs pa tsam zhig // mthong khyab gyi bu sring lta bu/ gzhan du gnyen 'tshal* (6) *du myi gnang ba dang sbyar zhing // khrI sde'I nang du dga' gnyen 'tshal bar/ gthad du ci* (7) *gnang zhes gsol lo// bu bzangs lta bur phyag rgya dang gthad thogs the/ spus* (8) *'dzin du ni myi gnang / / dga' gnyen 'tshal bar gnang ste/ phyag rgya 'chang du/* (9) *stsald pa'/ /* (PT 1083: 2-9)
> Leaders of two Chinese tribes offered [the following message]: "Tibetans, Sum-pa, and some Zhang lon sought Chinese women of *Sha chu* in the name of wives, but many were, under false pretexts, enslaved. Such actions of taking away the king's subject by force is [unprecedented]. Like the women of Mthong khyab who are not allowed to find partners elsewhere, [can our women also] be granted to find partners only within the

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[169] For Classical Tibetan examples, such as *zhal snga nas kyi* with a genitive marker followed by it is very common in the titles of Classical Tibetan biographies (i.e., *Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa rgyal sras rgya mtsho'i 'jug ngogs* [The Harbour of the Sea for Bodhisattvas: The Biography of Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po] by Gung thang Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me (2000), which is a case where *nas* is without its grammatical significance.

myriads?"[170] Pretentious people are not allowed to carry seals and capture women. However, it is allowed for them to find [women of Sha cu] as partners. This [letter] is sent with a seal.

The opening of the body is a quotative statement mentioning a previous message, followed by a quotation as the middle of the body, and the closing part is an official reply to the questions raised in the quotation or middle of the body. Although not all the official letters are structured as the one above, there are other letters without explicit appeals but clarification on performing various official obligations. For instance, the following letter body is concerned with accounting for the taxed grain from farmers of a specific region known as *'a zha ste*g.

(366)
'a zha steg zhing (3) *pa'i/ stsang las/khal sum cu / jo co blon legs sgras/ pho brang nas gnang ba'i grangs dang/ bkum* (4) *nas// skyin ba sha cur 'bul bar//blon brtan bzher mchid gyis 'tsal nas// sha cu'i stsang mngan im ka* (5) *cin dang/ dze'u tsheng tsheng gi snon du yang btab// steg zhing sa yang / god stsal lags te// god kyi phyag rgya yang nos* (6) *lags// brgya la sngar phul te/ bul rgya mar thal na yang// stsang mngan dang/ blon brtan bzher du gdung cing /* (7) *slad kyis/ stsang rtsis gyi tshe// nyen du myi 'gyur bar mdzad par gsol//* (ITJ 897:3-8)
Comparing the grain of 'a zha steg farmers, thirty loads, with the amount [of grain] that is from minister Legs sgra's residence, Minister Brtan bzher sent a letter with instructions to deliver Sha cu for what is owed. Im ka cin and Dze'u tsheng tsheng, the grain officials of Sha cu made additional request. The farmers of Steg are also provided with the list of sealed receipt. Even if they offered [the grains] earlier and sealed, it should be checked with minister Brtan bzher and the grain officials. In the future, when the grain is brought to account, this should not become a shortcoming.[171]

Unlike official letters, the body of OT personal letters come in various forms. In terms of the message communicated, they deal with different personal business, such as requesting necessities and favours from the addressees. It is challenging to make a request mainly because the power dynamic is not in favour of the letter's sender. Like Medieval Chinese letters, OT letters from social inferiors to their superiors put forward the requests towards the very end of the letter after extensive rhetorical preparation.[172] The following letter requests

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[170] For studies on *mthong khyab* tribe, see Yang (1987) and Rong (1991).

[171] For a complete translation of this letter, see Thomas (F. W. Thomas, 1951, p. 17). Due to different interpretations, details in his translation may differ from my rendering here. This letter bears a seal with the inscription Tshar long lha 'brug brtsan sa 'Tshar long Lha 'brug btsan's residence' and according to Taenzer, Tshar long family, possibly a clan, produced several scribes occur on some manuscripts discovered at Dunhuang (2021, 245).

[172] For discussing such features in medieval Chinese letters, see Richter (Richter, 2013, p. 99).

ornaments and papers from a superior. The request comes at the end of the letter after a lengthy letter opening, especially the *proem* with one's misfortunes and other topics.

(367)
bdag ngan pa sing lyog la snyan du (15) *zhu ba// bdag ngan pa yang phung po ni bshugs/ pha rol gnas dang ni nye/ 'o na yang gson* (16) *gyi bar du lus brgyan dgos pas/ hre'i rgyan can legs cig tsam dang/ shog shog deb* (17) *cig tsam zhu bag sol/ bka' drin skyabs mi bskyab ni sing lyog mnga' che'/ de 'i drin* (18) *dang lan ni/ bdag ma gum na bsab par 'tshal/* (PT 1129: 12-18)

I have this to report to the ear of Sing lyog (*senglu* 僧錄): my body is sick and close to the other world. However, [one] must decorate one's body if alive, so, please do send me a decent ornament made of *hre* and bundle of papers.[173] It is up to you, the excellent Sing lyog, if you will provide the help or not. I offer you the gratitude and returning kindness before my death.

For the addressee, instead of idiom *zha snga nas* or *zha sngar*, it is *snyn du zhu ba* 'report to the ear' used in this letter, with *snyan* in honorific and *zhu* in humilific form. Moreover, the sender calls himself in humilific form *bdag ngan pa* 'wicked I' to show respect to the addressee.

Another personal letter between family members, a rare type among Dunhuang documents, shares the same feature with the example just mentioned. After rhetorical greetings and rambling about his own situation in the *proem* for two-thirds of the letter, the letter turns to the subject matter or the letter body, asking his uncle (the addressee) to perform recitations of Buddhist sutras for him.

(368)
khu bo chag kyang bka' drin gyis bskyang ste/ bdag [*la*] (8) *dar ma rdo rje gcod pa dang shes rab gyi snying po lan brgya' 'ga' zhig bzla bar thugs dpags tshang* […] (PT 1187: 7-8)

With the gratitude from uncle and others, please remember to have chanted *The Diamond Sūtra* and *The Heart Sūtra* several hundred times [each] for me.

The letter body is very brief, and the message is concise, but the rhetorical preparation is extensive. However, not all OT personal letters are written in this way; letters between equals and from the superiors to their inferiors are more straightforward when it comes to their requests. For instance, the following letter body is concerned with sending iron sheets and winnowing baskets. The opening is a clear statement requesting a message from the addressee to clarify how many iron sheets are needed and asking the addressee to send him

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[173] I am not able to decipher *hre* now, it is probably a kind of material for making ornaments.

several paper scrolls. The middle of the letter body continues in an instructional manner to ask the addressee what to do with sending various things. Finally, the closing part is also a continuation of instructions on the sender's preference of couriers used in the future.

(369)
lcags bags ci (7) *'dod pa yi gyi thong cig sta gon bya la bskur la btang/ ngan bu dar ma bri shog shog bzang po yod na* (8) *theb bzhi lnga skur/ kI lam dang zan*gs spyad *bskur na bteg myI btub/ rta gcIg dang lcags bag*(9)*s nI/ phrum pag shI lag du / bskur la btang// // rjes la ngan bu'I bu lon/ sha cu* (10) *pa rgya/ se ham zhI la yu stam gnyIs bskur bar byas ma 'ongs// yang sha cu pa kho' yen phu dang/ lung* (11) *bran nye gnyIs gI bar na/ kI lam lnga khyer nas dar rjen pa chig bzhI bcu la chig gang myI rang*(12)*s pa cIg bskung bar byas/ ma 'ongs kham snyogs la skur cIg // brgya la 'drul ba ma skungs na* (13) *sha cu pa su bong na bu phyog pa yIn/* (PT 1003: 6-13)
[Please] send a letter with how many iron sheets you need; I will prepare them and send them [to you]. Please send me four or five rolls of good paper for [copying] Dharma if you have any. They, [the couriers], cannot carry winnowing basket and copper utensils,[174] therefore do not send any. One horse and iron sheets will be sent with Prum pag shI lag. From now on, please do not send my debt through two Chinese [couriers] of Sha cu, Se ham zhi and La yu stam. Again, with Kho' ye phu and Lung bran nye, they have five winnowing baskets and sent forty rolls of raw silk that barely short of one *cheg* with them. Send them to Kham snyogs in the future, if there are no other couriers, [it is fine to send] with anyone from Sha cu.

Since both the sender and the addressee share the title *sing je* (sēngzhèng 僧政)[175], this letter is probably between socially equal parties. Moreover, the rhetoric is kept to a minimum level compared to the ones mentioned earlier, and the letter body occupies a bigger portion of the letter than the earlier examples of personal letters. The closing part is not a prevalent feature in most OT letters, but it is not entirely absent either.

Letter Closing

Epilogue

Most of the Old Tibetan letters do not set the letter closing apart from the letter body, and most of the letters end at the closing of the letter body without a proper *epilogue* and *postscript*. However, the letters that do include a closing part usually have wishes and expressions of one's longing for a reunion in this part. For instance, in

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[174] It seems *kI lam* is a loanword of Chinese jīlán 箕籃 'winnowing basket', based on the Old Tibetan transcription system for Chinese employed in the Dunhuang manuscripts (Zhou & Xie, 2006).
[175] This is a title of a high ranking religious official in Hexi during the Guiyijun period (Rong, 2013, 301).

the *epilogue* of a short thanks letter written to Hong Bian, a highly respected religious figure in Dunhuang, one finds:

(370)
slad kyis zhal ma mthong zhing phyag bu ma 'tshal gyi bar du// [xxx] (5) *zhing sku tshe chog du ring b'a'I smon [lam] 'ba' shig gsol zhing mchis*// (PT 1204: 4-5)
Until [next time] seeing you and prostrations to you, [I am] wishing you a very long life.

This short letter is without any postscript except this wishful *epilogue*. Although it is uncommon for OT personal letters to have *postscript*s, they are occasionally attested in official letters. Official letters are devoid of greetings and not concerned with wishful words in general. Thus, often they do not include any *proem*s. However, OT official letters sometimes have an *epilogue*. For example, an official letter dated to the Tibetan Empire period (PT 1085) consists of an *epilogue* where the individual ministers who were responsible for the sealed dispatch are mentioned as follows:

(371)
'dI bzhin du phyag rgya stsol cIg ches//*zhang lon chen po'I mcId*// *blon khrom bzher dang blon lha* (9) *bzang gsas mthong gI sug rgya 'og nas gthad kyis phyag rgya las 'byung ba bzhin 'tsol cig* // (PT 1085: 8-9)
The chief mister instructed to deliver the message like this, sealed by minister Khrom bzher and Lha bzang gsas mthong; please follow the [instructions on this] officially sealed copy.

In this *epilogue*, on the name of the office where this letter was dispatched, and the addressee are mentioned. The *epilogue* identifies the individual senders of this official letter; however, unlike the *prescript,* the name of the addressee is omitted here. Another official letter dated to the Tibetan Empire period also includes a very similar *epilogue* mentioning the senders.

(372)
zhang lon chen po dang/ zhang lon chen po yo(10)*gs 'chos pa tshogs pa'I mchid gyis*// *bcad de*// *blon btsan sgra 'dul* (11) *dpal dang / blon legs sum rje dpal 'dus kyi sug rgya 'og nas gthad de*// *bchad mdo* (12) *'og des phyag rgya 'cang du stsald* // (PT 1217: 9-12)
The great Zhang minister and the council of Zhang lon decided to deliver [this message], sealed by minister Btsan sgra 'dul dpal and Legs sum rje dpal 'dus and provided for official [purposes].

This *epilogue* is also concerned with the senders of the letter and validating the seals printed at the end of the letter.

Postscript

Old Tibetan letters were sent folded without envelopes. The names of the addressee(s) and sometimes even the sender(s) are written on the outermost fold of the paper.[176] The *postscript* usually consists of the addressee's name and the sender; for some official letters, the letter's main content is mentioned in two separate lines. The second line is written upside-down, but since the paper is folded in a rectangular shape, it can be read from either direction:

(373)
zhang klu btsan kris[kyis?] spad (PT 1083: v1)
Delivered by Zhang klu btsan
rgya dga' gnyen 'tshal ba'i phyag rgya (PT 1083: v2)
A sealed [decree] regarding finding Chinese partners.

This *postscript* from the Tibetan Empire period official letter contains two pieces of information: the person who delivered this official letter and the letter's subject matter. There are other letters where the *postscript* is even briefer than the one above, with a coded name of the addressee. For instance, a *postscript* goes:

(374)
$// *sha cu ban de gi 'gi la stsald/* (PT 1210: v1)
[This is] given to Gi 'gi*,* a monk in Sha-cu.

This *postscript* may need some decoding since it does not correspond to the name of the addressee in the letter, which is *btsun ba dza ci'u*, "Dza ci'u, the monk". This could very well be the name of a servant, or an attendant of the people addressed in the letter. There are brief *postscript*s such as the following one:

(375)
$// *sha cu na btsun ba ched po sag btsun phyag du* (3)*'bul ba/ sug cu na gser dka'i yI ge/*
(PT 1211)
[This is] a letter of Gser dka' in Sug-cu presented to the great monk *Sag btsun* in Sha-cu.

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[176] It is even clear from looking at the scanned image of the document that the outermost layer with its darkened colour from carrying it around by the courier, for an example, see PT 1083.

Unlike the previous *postscript*, this one present the names and locations of the sender and the addressee in full. This *postscript* is also written on the verso of the letter, but one line from the letter on the recto was too long and made it to the top of the verso.

4.8 Periodization of Old Tibetan letters

Takeuchi uses the appropriate technique for dating the letters by identifying specific personal names that appear in the letters and providing two charts with possible dates of the letters he deals with in the article (Takeuchi, 1990, pp. 180; 186). Takeuchi contends that some of the official letters (Type I) are from the period before the year 848 when Tibetans controlled Dunhuang, while other letters belong to the Guīyìjūn period (848-ca. 1050) (Takeuchi, 1990, p. 180). Most of the personal letters (Type II and Type III) were also from a period when different families of Guīyìjūn were in control of the area (Takeuchi, 1990, p. 186). It seems that some of the personal letters sent amongst officials are very likely from during the Tibetan Empire control of Dunhuang, for instance, such as ITJ 897, a letter with both sender and addressees as Tibetan and two round seals of red ink at the end of the letter which is a characteristic of Tibetan period compared to its square seals during the Guīyìjūn period. More than 300 Old Tibetan letters written on slips were discovered from Mīrān and Mazār-Tāgh, and these were from the period when the Tibetan Empire was playing an active role in Central Asia. In terms of the date, based on internal and external evidence, wood slips are older than the paper documents, and there is no dispute for dating them before the year 848. Therefore, it is logical that the dating of the letters should probably be dealt with individual letters whenever a letter is discussed in detail. Unfortunately, the exact dating of most of the letters is impossible to determine since these letters only occasionally mention the zodiac sign of the year, which is not extremely helpful.

4.9 Palaeography of Old Tibetan letters

Based on the date of Tibetan domination of Dunhuang and the sealing of the Cave 17 in Dunhuang, it is safe to conclude that Old Tibetan letters in our corpus cover the span of at least three centuries (from the 9th to 11th centuries) with different historical stages of the development of Tibetan writing system, with varying styles of script. According to Sam van Schaik's palaeographical study of Old Tibetan inscriptions and manuscripts from both imperial and post-imperial periods, he classifies it into seven types: the epigraphic style, the

square style, the sutra style, official style-headed, official style-headless, and monastic style from the imperial period and post-imperial epistolatory style and post-imperial Buddhist manuscripts from the post-imperial period (van Schaik, 2014, pp. 325–328). Therefore, in theory, letters should fall under the rubrics of two official styles--headed and headless from the imperial period and epistolatory style from the post-imperial period. However, as suggested by Dotson and Helman-Ważny, van Schaik's styles are still a work in progress needing further refinement and confirmation with greater precision (Dotson & Helman-Ważny, 2016, p. 91). Nevertheless, if van Schaik's classification is accurate, manuscripts included in our corpus should fall under the rubrics of official style-headed and official style-headless from the imperial period and epistolatory style from the post-imperial period since they are letters from the 9th to the 11th century.

All the OT letters in general can be divided into two types. Those written in *dbu can* "headed" and in *dbu med* "headless". Even the Old Tibetan letters written in "headless" are at various preliminary stages of becoming a style of its own can be included in van Schaik's category of "early *dbu med*" (van Schaik, 2012, p. 422). Those written both in *dbu can* "headed" and *dbu med* "headless" can be further divided into the Tibetan Empire period and post-imperial period, these varieties are also not in any conformity due to individual hands as well as regional styles.
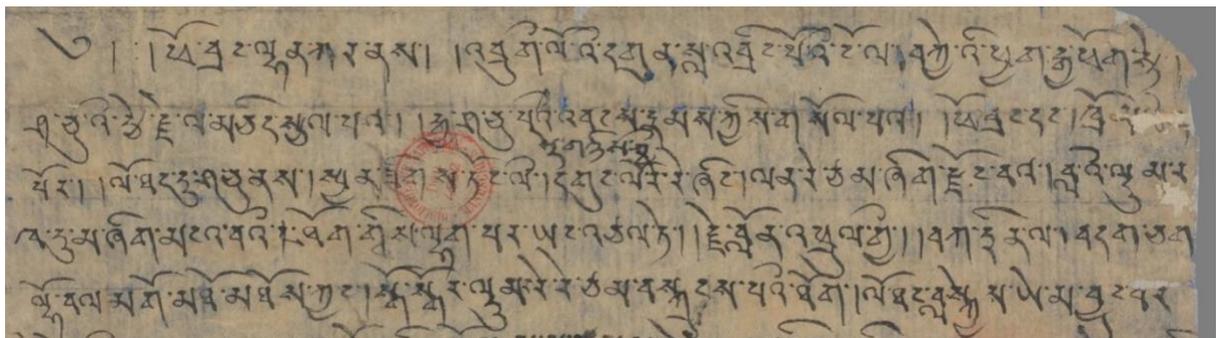

Figure. 02. The Tibetan Empire period *dbu can* (headed script) (PT 1085)
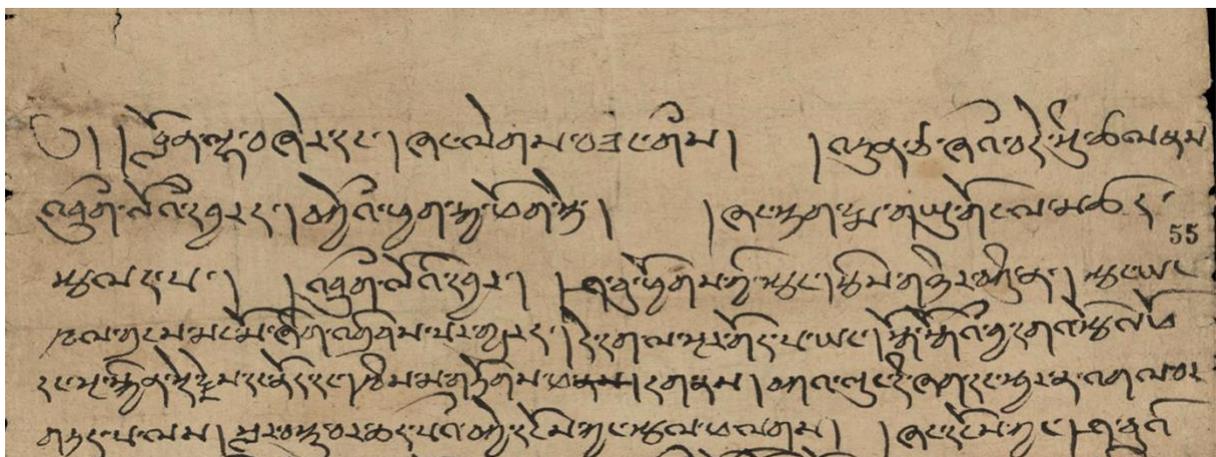
Figure. 03. The Tibetan Empire Period *dbu med* (headless script) (ITJ 1126)
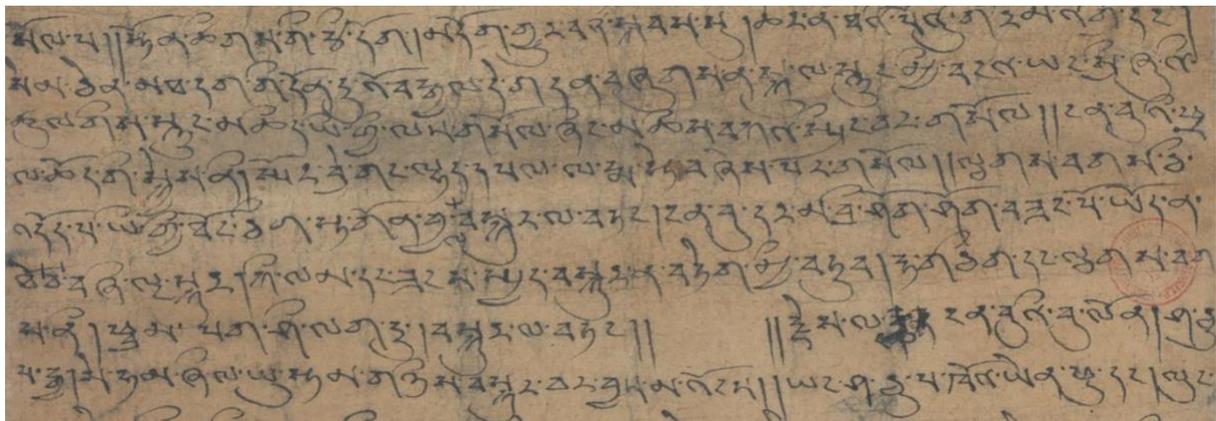
Figure. 04. Post-imperial *dbu can* (headed script) (PT 1003)
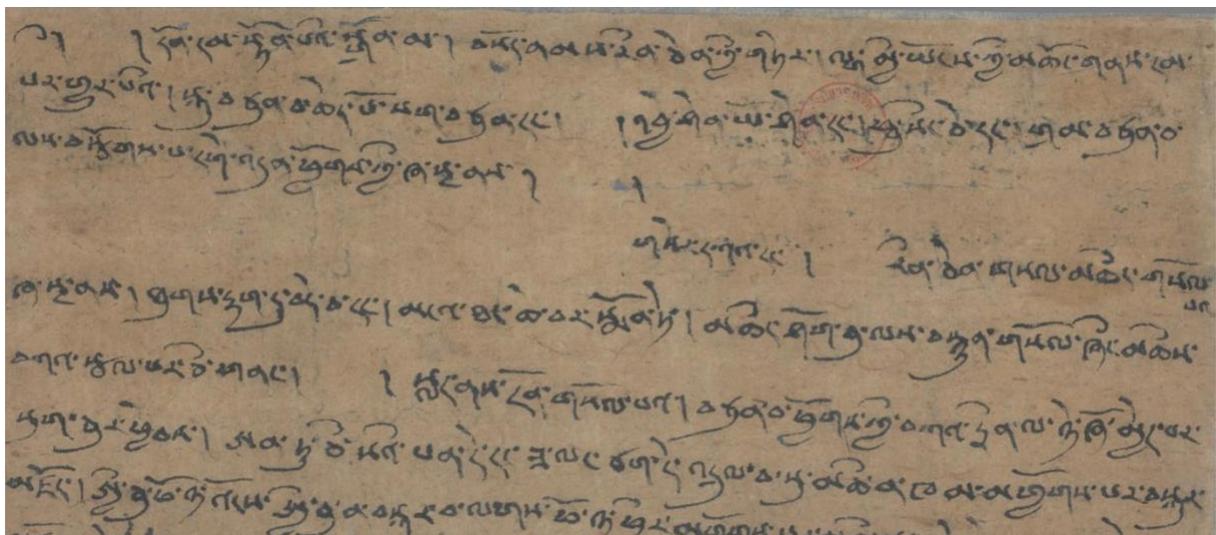
Figure. 05. Post-Imperial *dbu med* (headless script) (PT 1211)

Early medieval Chinese letters were once appreciated for their calligraphical value (Richter, 2013, pp. 24–25), however, it seems Old Tibetan epistolary writing had never achieved such artistic status by going beyond its role as a medium for communicating messages. Like other Old Tibetan social texts, such as the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, written on the verso of the Chinese texts, OT letters, occasionally, are written on the papers with vertically written Chinese texts on the recto (PT 1003)[177] and Tibetan texts (PT 1189), and sometimes Chinese

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[177] This is a letter from Dunhuang of the post-imperial period and the Chinese text on the recto is somehow an additional information of the letter written in Tibetan on verso, making it a bilingual letter. The Chinese text on the recto seems a common passage that is exchanged in Dunhuang for condolences sent after someone's father passed away. Comparing this to an almost identical passage from a Dunhuang text cited in Wang's study of various practical texts (S. Wang, 2003, p. 17), it is clear that the text included on our document is an excerpt from a commonly used text on sending condolences to someone when his or her father passes away. However, we are not sure if it is part of the letter since our letter does not mention the passing away of the addressee's father. If this Chinese was not intentionally written by the sender of the Tibetan letter, it is very likely an

texts are written even on the same side of the Tibetan letter, showing recycled paper use (PT 1131).

4.6 Classification of Old Tibetan letters

As mentioned earlier, Old Tibetan letters are one of the significant genres among the Dunhuang texts. In terms of dates, they span from the period when Dunhuang was under the control of the Tibetan Empire until the sealing of cave 17 in the 11th century. These letters were written by people with multiple ethnic backgrounds, primarily residing in Dunhuang and its adjacent areas. Bkra shis categorize Old Tibetan letters into five types: official letters or edicts, personal letters of officials, personal letters of religious people, other personal letters, and finally miscellaneous letters, including practices and incomplete pieces (Bkra shis, 2012, pp. 12–13). When it comes to the structure of the Old Tibetan letters, according to Takeuchi, there are three types of letters: Type I (formal official dispatches), Type II (informal official correspondences), and Type III (personal correspondences) with greeting pattern 1 and greeting pattern 2 (Takeuchi, 1990, p. 176).

For this study, it is helpful to use categories to a full extent since pragmatics in each type of letter is a crucial exploration area. For this purpose, it is helpful to adopt Padma Tshe ring's model. Modifying Takeuchi's typology, he also proposes a triad of types with two subtypes for each type as shown below (padma tshe ring, 2017, p. 109):

Type one	Official letters	Official letters from the court
		Official letters from councils
Type two	Letters from ministers	Letters from superiors
		Letters from inferiors
Type three	Personal letters	Letters of relatives
		Letters of monks

exercise from later since one would not write a letter on the verso of a passage intended to send condolences to someone, unless the sender does not read any Chinese.

Thomas argued in his article on politeness in ancient Hebrew letters that letters are more bound to the social milieu of a period than other genres of literature, which have often been passed down through tradition mediated by previous scholars (B. Thomas, 2009, p. 18).

To show the general picture of the different types of OT letters, at least one typical letter from each type is presented in full to show the language and structure with their similarities and differences. The corpus of Old Tibetan letters used for this chapter is written on paper with reed or wooden pens, unlike its Chinese counterparts written with brushes. Paper was one of the most common materials used for writing in Dunhuang in the relevant period (8th century to the 11th century) and adjacent areas, although it had not yet spread to Europe.[178] In terms of the script, both square and semi-cursive styles are used for writing Old Tibetan letters; the written styles do not provide much information for the periodisation (van Schaik, 2014).

4.6.1 Official letters

Official letters are more edicts than letters per se, being dispatched from the assembly *'dun tsa/sa* 'council' or the court *pho brang* 'court', local kings or sent by their underlings. There are, in total, eleven complete OT letters from Dunhuang fall under the rubric of official letters (ITJ 1126; PT 1083; PT 1085; PT 1188; PT 1081; PT 2204; PT 1217; PT 1082; PT 1089; PT 1091; PT 1111). These official letters can be further divided into two types according to their date, one group from Dunhuang under the Tibetan control (786-848) and another group from during the Guīyìjūn period (mid-9th to 11th century). The former type is usually dispatched from a court or the council of a minister while the second type is from various potentates such as Uighur kings and local Chinese military officials. It is challenging to pinpoint a typical Old Tibetan official letter, but most of the official letters from the Tibetan Empire usually consist of the following parts: (1) name of the dispatching office and officials who convoked the letter, the latter sometimes can be omitted, (2) date of the letter, at the bottom of the letter part, the paper is cut off in a rectangular shape, (3) addressee of the letter (it is sometimes also omitted), (4) main content of the letter, (5) oblique lines on the empty space, (6) a square vermilion seal with human or animal figure with the name of office for dispatching the letter is on the right bottom, (7) and receiver's name on the verso. It is evident from the creases that official letters were often folded. Official letters from the post-Tibetan

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[178] Official use of paper during the Tibetan Empire is mentioned in the *Old Tibetan Annals* and it falls on year 744 (ITJ 0750/1:248).

period are too scarce to generalise their shared features. However, the ones available have some distinctive styles compared to their counterparts during the Tibetan Empire period, with characteristics such as use of the empty spaces, Chinese seal, and without oblique lines and portions cut-offs. According to Dotson and Helman-Ważny's study of the Old Tibetan documents, form of official letters belong to the codicological category of "small sheet", "a sheet of paper that has been deliberately cut to a small format" (Dotson & Helman-Ważny, 2016, p. 39).
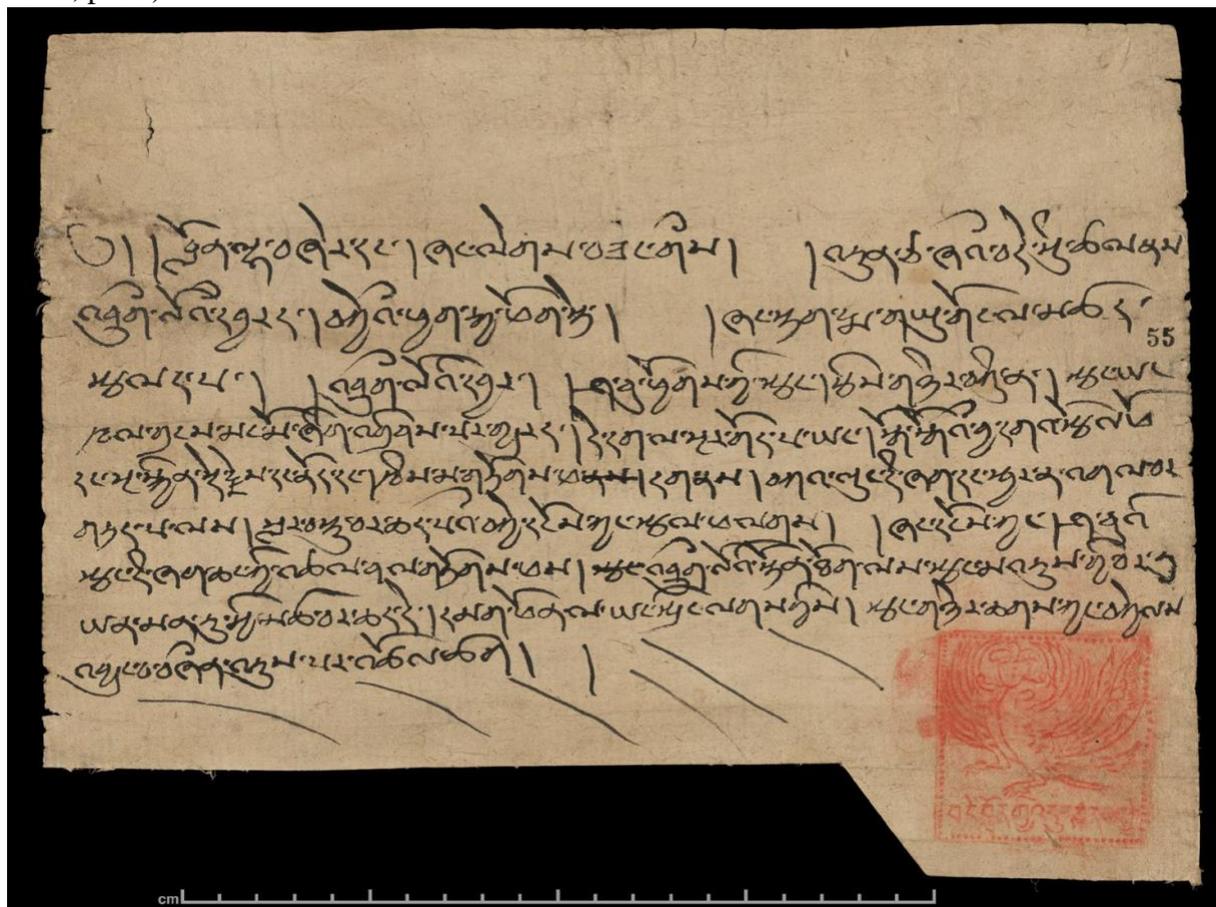
Figure. 01. The Old Tibetan official letter ITJ 1126 from the Tibetan Empire period; copyright British Library

Some official letters, not only from the imperial period but also from the post-imperial period are in the form of several adhesive panels, thus a red seal is applied for the purpose of marking "changeover" on either verso (PT 1089) or recto (PT 1082) which is ultimately for preventing forgery (Dotson & Helman-Ważny, 2016, pp. 43–44).

Ten official letters are used for this study, amongst them, seven are from the Tibetan-ruled Dunhuang while three are from the post-Tibetan era of the region, two of which are from Uighur kings (one of them is very likely an exercise). To grasp the general style and content

of Old Tibetan letters, translating some letters in full length will be helpful. The following example is an official letter from the period of Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang, where the court in *Lhan ka*r dispatched an official letter to an unnamed local official in *Sha cu*.[179]

(376)
$/:/ *pho brang lhan kar nas/ 'brug gi lo'I dgun sla 'bring po'i ngo la/ bkye 'i phyag rgya phog ste/* (2) *sha cu 'I rtse rje la mchid stsal pa'a/ rgya sha cu pa'I sde gnyis kyI 'bangs rnams kyis gsol pa'a/ pho brang dang / khrom chen* (3) *por/ lo thang du sha cu nas/ spyan zigs tong li/ dgung lor re zhing/ lan re tsam zhig rdzong ba'a/ bla 'I ldum ra* (4) *kha du ma zhig mgna' ba'I thog gyis lhag par yang 'tsal te/ rje blon 'phrul gyi/ bka' drin la bdag cag* (5) *lho bal mgo mtho mthos kyang/ sgo sgor ldum re re tsam bskrungs pa'I thog/ lo thang bla skyes ye ma byung bar* (6) *rtse rje dagIs rtag tu ra mar gnon cing phrogs pa stams las bchad cing mcis na/ slan chad 'bangs kyi* (7) *ldum ra 'phrog cing 'tsher myi gnang bar/ non thur gyI phyag rgya ci gnang zhes gsol pa las/*(8) *'dI bzhin du phyag rgya stsol cIg ches/ zhang lon chen po'I mcid/ blon khrom bzher dang blon lha (9) bzang gsas mthong gI sug rgya 'og nas gthad kyis phyag rgya las 'byung ba bzhin 'tsol cig/* (PT 1085)

From the Court of Lhan kar, in the mid-summer month of the dragon year, sealed for dispatch and delivered, this message, to Rtse rje 'head of city' in Sha cu.[180] In the message sent by two units of Chinese from Sha cu, [they have expressed] that, Sha cu is offering *tong li* 'winter-pears' as gifts to the court and great military council yearly and when we have a few *kha* of garden, [fruits] are more than sufficient for the offering.[181] Under the blessing from the lords and ministers, we weak barbarians have the honour to own gardens of individual households.[182] Since there is a no yearly tribute for these

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[179] Lhan kar, is probably the same royal palace in Yar lung widely known as Ldan dkar where a famous imperial catalogue of translated Buddhist canonical works in Tibetan titled *Ldan dkar ma Catalogue* (dkar chag ldan dkar ma) was compiled. It is clearly written as Lhan kar in our document, but Gendun Chophel somehow transcribed it as Ldan kar in his *White Annals* (*deb ther dkar po*) (Gendun Chophel, 2002, pp. 23–26). Sha cu is the Tibetan transliteration of the Chinese toponym Shāzhōu 沙州.

[180] Wang Yao argues that Rtse rje, an official title in Tibetan occupied Dunhuang, has a Chinese origin, which is Jiéér 節儿, which is again closely related to Jiédùshǐ 節度使 'viceroy' (Y. Wang, 1991, p. 527) while Rong Xinjiang accepts Uray's suggestion that *rtse rje* is 'head of city' of Shāzhōu 沙州 under Tibetan rule (Rong, 2013, p. 39). Bialek translates it as prefect and treats as a compound from **rtse'i rje blon* 'lord(s) and councillors of the hill fort' (2018b, 416–417).

[181] As Gendun Chophel suggested in his reading of this letter that *tong li* is probably a kind of fruit (Gendun Chophel, 2002, p. 24) and he is very likely correct. *tong li* seems is a type of pear known in Chinese as dōnglí 冬梨, 'winter-pear', a further point of evidence is provided in the Tibetan-Chinese phrase-book from Dunhuang that dōng 冬 'winter' is written as *tong* in Tibetan (Or.8210/S.2736), for the study of these bilingual phrasebooks, see F. W. Thomas and Giles (F. W. Thomas & Giles, 1948) and Apple and Apple (Apple & Apple, 2017).

[182] Gendun Chophel argues that the toponym *bal po* attested in the *Old Tibetan Annals* is, in fact, Nepal and also contends that *lho bal* here should be a community of Nepalese residing in the *Li-yul* area during the Tibetan

[gardens], head of city of Sha cu often oppresses us and threatens to plunder, for not plundering our gardens and harming us, and asked to provide a serious edict. Thus, the great *Zhang* minister ordered this decree and was dispatched by ministers *Khrom bzher* and *Lha bzang gsal mthong* with seals. Please follow the words in the edict accordingly.

This letter dates to sometime during the Tibetan rule of Dunhuang (786-848), we only know it dates before the year 848. However, it is not possible to confirm the exact dragon year for now.[183] On the verso of the letter, there is a partly illegible line that reads *sha chu sa'i* (*'bangs*?) 'Subjects in Sha chu region' as the receiver. This letter is cited in full in Gendun Chophel's famous work *The White Annals* (*deb ther dkar po*) and translated into modern written Tibetan (Gendun Chophel, 2002, pp. 23–26). From reading the Old Tibetan official letters, these letters rarely use honorifics. Moreover, official letters are usually devoid of personal greetings; thus, it is rare to find personal referential terms. However, one of the edicts from the Khagan lord of Uighur includes a seasonal greeting, a typical feature of the post-Tibetan period letters (PT 1082). It can probably be argued that this letter is personal; however, with the subject matter it covered and the terms such as *bka'* 'edict' used in the letter, I have categorised it as an official letter here.

(377)
(1) *$ /:/ deng re hve pur kha gan gI bka' / /* (2) *dbyar gI tshad pa la / / 'bangs mang po chIs la / / 'o brgyal thugs bde 'am my[I?] b[de?] [---]* (3) *$ / / spya ngar phrIn yIg zhu zhIn gsol pa gdas / / phrIn yIg nang nas nong zho ma* (4) *mchIs zhes thos / / glo ba dga' /* (5) *$ / / spya nga nas yang bka' stsal na / / chab srId gI bka' mchId cI yang myI gda' / /* (6) *bdag gI pho nya yang leng cu 'og mar mchIs / / slar yang mchIs / / rgya rje [---]* (7) *la phebs shag shIg ma mchIs / / keng shI 'I bka' mchI[d?] [-]I m[ch?]I[-] [---]* (8) *yar mchIs pa la re lta des gsol / / dbyar mo thang [tshun? chad? gI?] ['od 'bar] [la?] [---]* (9) *ba ma mchIs / / gog chu rma grom gI pho nya spya ngar mchIs / / rma grom khrI sde cIg zha* (10) *du blta zhes gsol / / bod gI pho nya jag rong du yang mchIs / / dbyar mo thang glIng du* (11) *yang mchIs pa las / / 'od 'bar tang nI ma dum / / khyed gI pho nya yang gsol par* (12) *mchI / / gzhan nI bka' mchId cI yang myI gda' / /* (13) *$ / / bod gI g.yar tshIgs las / / ston sla ra ba ngo la dmag drang zhes m[ch?]I[d?]*

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control of the area since it was common for the empire to relocate certain groups of people inside its territory (Gendun Chophel, 2002, pp. 24; 28). Based on comparing previous studies by other scholars, Dotson gives that Bal po, the popular court site for Tibetan emperors, is probably located near Yar 'brog Lake (2009, pp. 45–46) and lho bal is barbarians as in lho bal btson pa 'barbarian prisoners' (Dotson, 2009, 60). For identifying lho bal as barbarians, also see Richardson (1998, 103-105). Bialek's etymological hypothesis for this compound is *lho phal po 'a common traveler' (2018b, 606-607).

[183] Dotson contends that if we could date this letter accurately, it would be helpful for us to date the compilation year of the famous *Lhan dkar ma Catalogue* (dkar chag lhan dkar ma) with certainty since both dates fall on the same dragon year (Dotson 2007, 3). For a study on this catalogue, see Herrmann-Pfandt, 2008.

[---] (14) *sho nI cha ma mchIs // da dun nI dmag 'gul ba [ma? m?]chi[s?] [---]* (15) *rIm 'gro cher la 'tshol // ston gI dus la bab // leng kong sa nas ya[ng?] [---]* (16) *ba ma mchIs na // rIm 'gro cher mdzad //* (17) *$ // kam cu zhIg ral du gyur pa 'I mkhar pho brang bgyIs // bzo bo ma mchIs* (18) *bzo bo i pa las bzo bo brdzangs pa glo ba dga' // pho brang yang mgo chems* (19) *phran tshegs lus pa las // bog ya yang yang na yang du phrIn yIg nang* (20) *du zhu bzo bo yang brdzangs // bzo bo yang dgung lo khyId khor [bzo] [---]* (21) *mongs tshal ma 'ga' brtsal nas // zhang lon ['di?] [dag] [---]* (22) *nas brdzangs // rI mo mkhan nI las ma lags // ston sla ra ba nya [nas] [---]* (23) *brdzang bar 'tshal //* (seal) (24) *$ // gser mgar gI yan lag la gsol pa // gser mgar yang then pe kun gI* (25) *dmag dpon la // bdag gIs g.yar po bgyIs // de yang brdung nI myI 'tshal [---]* (26) *yang myi bzo // then poe kun dmag dpon yang rgyun du khor [---]* (27) *gI bzo bo sngun gI 'dra ba zhIg mchIs na sha cur brdzang ba lags // bzo bo bu[s]* (28) *ba zhIg mchIs pa nI nad pa // 'drul ba 'I pho nya rnams re lta mthong //* (29) *dmag dpon gser mgar yan lag la yang na yang du gsol pa 'I slad na //* (30) *rgya rje 'I gser mgar gcIg bdag cI ste myI dbang zhes bgyIs s[-]* (31) *then shI de phu la yang gser mgar 'dI bdag gIs bzung zh[-] [rgya? rje?]* (32) *la yang gsol zhes bgyIs // bzo bo rgad po de nang nyab bzo bgyid pa 'i* (33) *slad na ma brdzangs // ma brdzangs thugs ma gdung // bzo gzhan* (34) *ma mchIs // skyes sha le yug drug dang bnabs tog sgye gang yang* (35) *spya ngar mchIs // ston byung ston gI bnabs thog kham bkra da[ng]* (36) *dgun 'brum bdag ma myangs nas / lo mang lon // tshos nas* (37) *brdzang bar mdzad // ma brdzangs na bog ya la lto mdun can zhes kha* (38) *phyar btang bar mchI / / shIng bzo de rnam gnyis las la 'grus par* (39) *gyur // bog ya yang chIs mdzad pa la thug // 'dI dus su pho [nya?]* (40) *mchIs pa 'I slad na skyes ma brdzangs // sku ma mkhong // rgya rje sa nas* (41) *pho nya 'drul ba mchIs na // bdag gI pho nya brdzang bar bgyI //* (PT 1082: 1-41) (A red seal with indecipherable Chinese characters) [This is] words from the Heavenly Khagan of the Uighurs.[184] In the heat of summer, for ruling numerous subjects, is your mind peaceful or not?[185] I have sent you a letter and I am happy to hear that everything is well in the reply. You have sent an edict yet again, but there is nothing regarding politics to report on. My envoys had been to the lower *Leng cu* 涼州 and have returned. Chinese lord […] there are no allies going there. [I] will take a look at the edict from *Keng shi* 京師(=長安)[…] and then report on it. […]

[184] There are several full and partial translations of this letter available (Gaorui, 1995; Iwao, 2018; Y. Wang & Chen, 2008, p. 222), the Chinese translation by Wang and Chen is problematic with numerous mistranslations. I am aware of at least another translation in Japanese by Yamaguchi, which I cannot read (Yamaguchi 1985). The term *deng re* is a transliteration of the Uighur term *tängri*, which is usually translated as "god"; in Chinese, it is sometimes transliterated as Chēnglí 撑犁.

[185] Compared to most of the Old Tibetan words, there is a considerable amount of scholarship on the Tibetan word *chis* here, by examining the examples of the usage of *chis* in inscriptions and manuscripts from Dunhuang, Richardson concluded that "it appears to describe the treatment of subjects by those in authority" (Richardson, 1998, p. 25). Yoshiro Imaeda takes it to a next level by comparing lexical contexts in Tibetan translation of *Zhang-shu* (Shàngshū 尚書) (PT 0986）from Dunhuang with the original Chinese text and concluded that Tibetan word *chi* corresponds to Chinese yízhì 義治 'administration' which aligns with Richardson's interpretation (Imaeda, 1980).

had not gone to *'od 'bar* 嗢末,[186] which is next to *Dbyar mo thang* […].[187] Envoys from *gog chu* 廓州 *rma grom* arrived at my place and ten thousand troops from there, [I was] told, [they offered their] loyalty to me.[188] Tibetan envoys were in Jag rong[189] and again in the Gling of Dbyar-mo-thang, however, they have not yet come to terms with *'Od-'bar*. You, please, do send an envoy. I have no more messages. Based on the words of the Tibetans, they will move the troops in the first month of autumn, […] there is no reason […]. [They] have not moved the troops yet […]. Perform as much liturgical rituals as possible. It is the time of autumn, since there is no [words] from the *leng kong* 令公 'President of the Department of the Imperial Secretariat', please perform more liturgical rituals.

When [I] renovated the deteriorate court in *kam cu* 甘州. [I am] glad that you have sent me artisans [when I asked you] to lend me artisans. Only some small parts of the roof of the palace are left [for renovating]. I have also written again and again to *bog ya* 僕射 and then [he] sent [me] artisans.[190] For the whole year, I have [asked for] artisans; grains were delivered several times, so uncle councillors selected these artisans and sent [them to me]. I have not been able to acquire a painter, so please send one in the middle of the first autumn month.

Regarding the goldsmiths, I have also borrowed one from the general of *then pe kun* 天平軍, but he is not capable of performing any goldsmithing and does not do […].[191] Moreover, the general of *then pe kun* often […], the artisan is getting annoyed, so [I have] sent him to *sha chu*. The artisan has a boy, and he is ill. [I am] looking forward to envoys [from you]. [I have] asked for a goldsmith from the general again and again, I was told I would not get a goldsmith from the Chinese lord. It was also reported again

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[186] This reading was first offered by Géza Uray (1981b, p. 82) and accepted by others (Iwao 2018; Ishikawa 1990; Petech 1983); he provides the Middle Chinese reconstruction of the term /ʔuet-muât/ and Khotanese *hāttäbara* (Uray, 1981b, p. 82). According to the reconstruction of the North-western Middle Old Chinese (Luo, 2012), it should be /'wot-ᵐbar/. It is the name of a tribal alliance of mixed ethnic groups formed after the fall of the Tibetan Empire by the slaves and subjects of the empire in north-eastern borderland of the Tibetan Plateau. Kha sgang et al. does not include this term as an entry in their Old Tibetan dictionary (Kha sgang et al. 2019, 392). I discuss this term in detail elsewhere (Tsering Samdrup, 2021).

[187] Dbyar mo thang is a toponym for a plain on the eastern edge of Tibetan Plateau, based on Richardson's reading of the Zhol inscription, Géza Uray contends that Dbyar-mo-thang should be located east or north-east of Lake Kokonor (Uray, 1980, p. 313), however, Kapstein thinks it is somewhere in the Línxià 臨夏 region in present day Gansu province (Kapstein, 2009a, p. 36).

[188] Gog chu is very likely the transliteration of Chinese Kuòzhōu 廓州, an administrative division under the division Lǒngyòudào 隴右道 circuit during the Tang Dynasty. The Chinese term 州 is usually transliterated as *cu* in Old Tibetan texts, however, it is not at all surprising to find exchanging *c-* and *ch-*. Rma grom 'the military government of Rma [chu]' during the Tibetan Empire and it probably became an independent political entity during the final days of the Tibetan Empire, as suggested by this letter.

[189] *Jag rong* is probably somewhere in present day *dpa' ris* 天祝縣 in Gansu 甘肅 Province (Iwao, 2018, pp. 13–14).

[190] The term *bog ya* is the transliteration of Chinese term Púyè 僕射 which is an official title, and it is also attested in the Sino-Tibetan treaty in front of the Gtsug lag khang temple. For the text of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty, see Old Tibetan Documents Online (OTDO) and (Iwao et al., 2009, p. 41).

[191] Uray presents Then pe kun as a transliteration of Chinese Tiānpíngjūn 天平軍 (Uray, 1981b, p. 82), while Wang and Chen translate it as Tiānbǎojūn 天保軍 (Y. Wang & Chen, 2008, p. 292). The former is more plausible since Tiānpíngjūn 天平軍 is an elite military unit from Yùnzhōu 郓州 and 2,500 soldiers from this very unit were stationed in Liàngzhōu 涼州 by the Tang central government during Guīyìjūn rule of the Hexi Corridor (Tian, 2015, p. 134).

and again to the *then shi de 'bu* 天師大府 by [---] that I was controlling the goldsmith. The old craftsman has work to do, so I have not sent him to you, please do not feel displeased. There are no other craftsmen. For gifts, six pieces of *sha-le*, a bag of fruits are presented to you. I have not tasted fruits such as peaches and grapes for many years, so please send some when they are mature. If [you] do not send [fruits], [I will] mock you as "*bog ya* 仆射 the foodie". Two carpenters are getting familiarised with their works. It is also the time for *bog ya* 仆射 to do administration, thus even though there is an envoy; I have not sent any gifts. Please do not feel unsatisfied. Please send my envoy if there are any envoys coming from the Chinese lord.

Unlike those of the era of the Tibetan Empire, this letter is from a historically unique period when Guīyìjūn and Uighurs were competing powers ruling different parts of the Hexi Corridor. This letter is from Uighur Khagan of Ganzhou to the Chinese administration in Dunhuang. Unlike the letters with clear hierarchical order from the imperial courts and councils of the Tibetan Empire to the local lords and ministers in Dunhuang, this letter from the Khagan of Uighur is more personal. Although this letter is termed as the *bka'* 'words' of the Khagan, it probably should be taken as an honorific term rather than an official one, since it is also used for the message the Khagan received from the addressee (line 5). The structure of the letter also reveals the *un-officialness* of the letter, it contains a greeting where the health of the addressee is enquired about; this is exactly a characteristic lacking in the OT official letters from various offices from the Tibetan Empire as well as the official letters from the Guīyìjūn period (see PT 1188 and PT 1081). Other parts of the letter suggest that the sender and addressee are equals, especially the part towards the end of the letter where the Khagan mentions his craving for fruits and asking the addressee to send some in the autumn in a joking manner. The greeting part of the letter employs honorific *thugs* 'mind' and humilific *gsol* 'to ask, to send', but such expressions are few compared to other personal letters from the same era.

There are letters from a later period that share similarities both in terms of structure and content with the Tibetan Empire period letters. To see these similarities, it is useful to read an official OT letter from the Guīyìjūn ruled Dunhuang here.

(378)
$/:/ *deng re hwe hur kha'a gan rje'I pho brang nas/ bka' rtags kyi phyag rgya phog nas/* (2) *stong na dbang blon la stsald p'a/* (3) *nang po 'di pha mes pos kyang/ mdo mkhar bzung nas/ snga slad rje'I srid phyir dpen pa* (4) *cher phul ba'I yon dang/ dngos kyang rngo thog ste/ lho byang shar nub du myi rta* (5) *srog 'phong ma byas te/ dpen pa phul ba'I yon gyis/ spya nga nas kyang spu dang* (6) *yon du sbyar te// mdun sa'I mtha' la btags nas/ thabs kyang o gol a+ye nan ci u gar bskos nas/* (7) *then phug lo*

bdun// lcags mo yos bu'I lo'I dpyid sla ra ba tshes bco (8) *lnga la/ pho brang gser sgo nas / bka' rtags kyi phyag rgya phog nas/* (9) *stong na dbang blon la stsald p'a/* (PT 1188: 1-9)

From the court of the heavenly Kha'a gan king of the Uighur, sealed for dispatch, and given to the minister of *stong na*.[192] This close ally held fortresses since the time of his father and grandfather, for the payment of making contributions to the ruling of the king. Payment for being extremely effective and not wasting any soldiers and horses from [attacking] north, south, west, and east, his royal highness is granting titles and payment through the council, for the title, it is the *o gol a+ye nan ci u gar* that is granted.

This letter is sealed and dispatched from The Golden Gate Palace on the fifteenth day of the first month of the spring in the seventh year of tiānfú 天福, the year of female iron hare, and [it is] sent to the minister of *stong na*.[193]

This is a letter exercise, apparently from the court of the king of Uighurs. Since it deals with realistic situations, it probably is a copy of a real letter from the Khagan. Structurally, the letter has two parts, addressing and body. In the addressing part, it is explicit that the letter is sent (Tib. *stsald* 'to give, send', a pragmatically significant verb we will return to later in the chapter.) from the court of the Khagan to a certain official known as Stong na dbang blon, *dbang blon* here is very likely a title known as *dbang po blon* 'governing minister', probably an official who is acting as governor of a prefecture.[194] The first part of the addressee *stong na* probably is the name of a place or polity. Like the official letters from the Tibetan Empire period, this letter does immediately deal with the main issue of the letter from the beginning of the letter. The main body of the letter deals with recognising the minister in question and his contribution to the country with a military or political rank that is granted to him by the Khagan. The last part of the letter is a separate exercise with the name of office for dispatching, dispatching date, and the addressee's name. From looking at the Chinese reign title included in the addressing, it can be said with certainty that this exercise letter is from some time after the year 943.

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[192] *Stong na* must be the name of a polity or region at the time, but it could not be identified, except a group of Tibetans in Hexi Corridor still call themselves *stong na* or *mdung nag*. For a linguistic study of this group of Tibetans in Sunan Yugur Autonomous County 肅南裕固族自治縣, see Shao Mingyuan (2018).

[193] The Chinese niánhào 年號 'reign title' tiānfú 天福 is from the year 936 to 944 of the Later Jin (hòujìn 後晉) dynasty. Kha sgang et al.'s dictionary gives an entry where it was uncertain between two reign titles of tiānfú 天福 of Later Jin and tiānfù 天復 (901-904) of Tang 唐 dynasty (Kha sgang et al. 2019, 176). However, since the later reign title runs only for four years, we can eliminate that option since our text mentions the seventh year of a *tian-fu* period.

[194] In Uray's comprehensive examination of the term *dbang po*, he concluded that *dbang po* was a title for leaders of units that are larger than *khrom* during the second half of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century in the Tibetan Empire and the Guīyìjūn period it was used as the equivalent of the Chinese title fǔzhǔ 府主 (Uray, 1990, p. 429).

4.6.2 Personal letters of officials

Personal letters of officials take up a large portion of the Old Tibetan epistolary writings from Dunhuang. Especially the practice letters found on *glegs tshas* of various scribes are mostly personal letters to various *blon* 'minister' by the local officials in Dunhuang. There are at least eight full letters from Dunhuang that can be categorized as personal letters of officials (ITJ 897; PT 1003; PT 1092; PT 1125; PT 1131; PT 1132; PT 1184; PT 1189). There are at least two types within this category, those from the Tibetan imperial period and those from the Guīyìjūn period. These personal letters from the Guīyìjūn period have the following features: deferential titles of the addressee with name and respectful phrases such as *zha snga* and zha *snga nas*, official title and the personal name of the sender, formulaic seasonal greetings, and main subject of the letter.

(379)
ha se cer to thyen the'i 'wong gyi zha sngar/ (2) *sug cu 'i dbang po si to gyis mchid gsol ba'a/* (3)*thyen the'I 'wong gyi zha snga nas/ dgun tshigs mtha' ma la bab ste/ da cung dgung lhags che* (4) *ba dang/ byang ngos kyi btsan 'bangs mang po la mnga' mdzad pa'i thugs khral gyis rab du 'o brgyal* (5) *na/ rin po che sku gnyen po las snyun bzhengs sam ma bzhengs/ mchid yi ge las snyun* (6) *[g]sol zhing mchis/* (7) *thyen the'i 'wong gyi zha snga nas/ bdag cag ngan pa yang/ 'dir mchis na/ dar 'dos* (8) *a+yen 'jo rtag par yar sgra bgyid pa'i slad bzhin/ rgyal po la zhus pa las/ rgyal po* (9) *gyis kyang/ dar 'dos a+yen 'jo blon po byi rog/ stong sde 'i mgo rnams la lung sol* (10) *bgyis/ dar 'dos a+yen 'jo 'I blon po byi rog rnams kyang/ bzang ma lus par bcas/* (11) *sug cur mchis nas/ de'i yun zi 'i gtsug lag khang du/ da tar ju ngul hor* (12) *bcas/ gnam mtho mtha' tshigs bgos/ myi cig lcag cig du bgyis/ yar* (13) *sha cab phyogs su di ring phan cad/ rta mgo myi bstan sgra myi rgyug par bgyis/ gang zhig* (14) *rkog nas song 'am/ snga rgyugs byas te rta sga bstad de/ sha cu phyogs jag byi ba yod na/* (15) *bu byas na pha bsad par bgyis/ nu bo song na pho bo bsad par bgyis/ de ltar bgyis* (16) *nas dam zhag bzang por bgyis na/ sha cab phyogs kyi rkun byi myi bcad pa ci lags/ de bar yang* (17) *sha cab pa myi gnyis rkur mchis pa/ bdag cag gyis bzungs nas bdag cag gyi sar mchis pa'i sa na/* (18) *hor sde dgu ni bcas bzang ma lus par sug cur mchis/ rkun ma myi gnyis nged la khyo rog gi* (19) *mchi'/ bdag ngan pas bros myi lags bgyis nas/ ci tsam smra gleng bgyis nas hor la ma* (20) *stsal/ bdag gyi sar mchis pa'i sa nas/ bdag cag mkhar sgo 'i yag shi dang/ ra ba'i rta* (21) *tshun cad brkus nas/ bros la 'gro ba 'di/ bdag la smre ched po bor ba las lags sam/* (22) *da ltar yang myi 'di gnyis bdag smre bor ba dang/ yul mkhar gyi lde myig lta 'dra bar* (23) *btsan gyi mtha' dram dral ba 'di/ jo bo the'i 'wong gyi mkhar lags/ 'bangs chis ci* (24) *ltar bgyid pa de'i 'wong mnga' che/ myi 'di gnyis bdag la bsad mchis pa lags/* (25) *hor la ma byin ba bdag nyes/ slad nas sha cab gyi yo hong kwan gyi nu bo sgras khyer 'ongs* (26) *pa/ da ltar bdag cag gyi cang am 'gra lha la skyabs/ bskyal zhing spya nar brdzangs/* (27) *shar pʜɍan cad da lta kho na myi snyan ba'i kam cud ci yang ma mchis/ kam cud bye zhib ni/* (28) *cang am 'gra lha la skyabs la rma bar zhu/* (PT 1189: 1-28)
To the presence of *ha se cer to thyen the'i 'wong* 河西節度天大王, the lord of *Sug cu* 肅州 is offering this letter.

It came to the end of winter, and it is still cold; it must be mentally overwhelming to rule the aggressive northern subjects; with this letter, [I am] enquiring if any illness has arisen from the precious and conquering body of yours or not.

The great lord, we are constantly attacked by *Dar 'dos a+yen 'jo* here and when reported to the king, the king presented *Dar 'dos a+yen 'jo*'s (Tardos) ministers and generals of the thousand-soldiers with an edict.[195] The ministers of *Dar 'dos a+yen 'jo*, in good conscience, came to *Sug cu* (*suzhou* 肅州) and at the temple of *Da'i yun zi* (*da yunsi* 大雲寺) monastery, with the Hor of *ju ngul* Tatars,[196] [they] have taken an [oath to the] higher heaven, each person holding a whip and [took the oath] that from this day on, [they] would not ride horses towards us and would not attack from *Sha cab* (*shahe* 沙河).[197] Whoever goes there secretly or going *Sha-cu* by mounting on a horse to plunder, the father should be killed if the son does it, the elder brother should be killed if the younger brother does it. We have agreed on such terms, but why would the people of *Sha-cu* (*shazhou* 沙州) not stop stealing [from us]? Sometime ago, two people of *Sha-cab* came to steal [from us] and we captured them and when we brought them to our place, people from nine tribes of Hor came to *Sug-cu* with good intention and asked me to hand two thieves to them. They said, "I would not escape". I did not give [them] to Hor even though [they] begged. When we came to my place, they escaped with stealing our *yag-shi* of the gate and horses in the pen.[198] This is no other than a huge insult on me; these two people still are insulting me. The keys of the castles are lost and the bordering defence is broken — this is the castle of lord *the'i wong* (*dawang* 大王), the *de'i wong* 'lord' that executes subjects need is the one who rules a bigger kingdom. Please kill these two people for me. It was my own fault to not given them to *Hor* 'Uighurs'. Now we have sent, Yo hong kwan's younger brother who was brought by the enemy, with our Can am 'gra lha la skyabs to your presence; [I] have no other bad news. Please enquire all the detailed messages from Cang am 'gra lha la skyabs.

This letter is written in *dbu med* semi-cursive style on the verso of a Buddhist text of making offerings (*mchod sbyin*) that is written in *dbu can*. A sizable scholarship exists on this letter and Uray assumes that this is written after the year 950 comparing with Chinese mention of the Tatar tribe appeared in the letter (Uray, 1981b, p. 87).

4.6.3 Personal letters of religious people

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[195] *Dar 'dos* corresponds to *Tarduš* which is the Khotanese title of the head of the Right Wing of the Uighur kingdom and *A+yen 'jo* with *inčü* in Khotanese which is also an official who owns land (Bai, 2017a, p. 109).

[196] Bai states that *ju ngul* corresponds to Chinese *zhongyun* 仲雲 (Bai 2017, 109).

[197] *Sha-cab* had been previously read by Bai others as if it was a variant spelling of *Sha-cu* which appears a few lines down in the same document (Bai, 2017a, p. 108). Since there is no point to write two variant spellings in one document, therefore, it is not very likely, and I am aligned with Wang and Chen's reading *Sha-cab* (Shahe 沙河) here (Y. Wang & Chen, 1988, p. 192).

[198] *Yag shi* here was translated by Bai as "keys" *yaoshi* 钥匙 (Bai, 2017a, p. 108) while Wang and Chen as "door plank" *men ban* 門板 (Y. Wang & Chen, 1988, p. 192), since both translations are unconvincing mainly due to the lack of sources for their translations, so I have only included the Tibetan transcription of the term here. As expected, Kha sgang et al. does not have an entry in their dictionary.

Nine letters written by and to religious people found amongst Old Tibetan letters (PT 1129; PT 1142; PT 1200; PT 1201; PT 1202; PT 1204; PT 1210; PT 1211; PT 1212; PT 1220; ITJ 0754(a)) will be used in this chapter. This is probably the entire collection of Tibetan letters by and to religious persons discovered in Dunhuang. Since Hong Bian 洪辯 was a prominent religious figure in the Dunhuang area for a substantial period and with his association with the cave where these documents were found, it is unsurprising to find a handful of letters addressed to him.[199] Amongst the letters addressed to religious officials without personal names, it is possible that there are letters addressed to Hong Bian since he held the position of Buddhist Controller-in-Chief from 851 during the Guīyìjūn period (Imaeda, 2008, p. 86).

Letters to religious figures share the following features: a deferential title with the personal name of the addressee, the personal name of the sender, greetings, and the main subject. These letters are often apologetic for not sending any presentable gifts in terms of the content. Letter senders sometimes complain (PT 1210) the addressees for not sending them replies, while other times thank them for sending gifts (PT 1204). For example, the following letter is addressed to Hong Bian and sent by a person named Kim Kang.

(380)
mkhan po hong pen gyi zha sngar/ kim kang ki mchid gsol b'a/ bkas (2) *spring bas g.yar du mjal te/ mchid gyis rmas na// mkhan po'i zha snga nas// snyun rnying ma 'bred* (3) *thugs bde zhes g.yar du thoste/ glo ba dga' zhing mchis/ thugs pags mdzad de// bdag bkas rmas* (4) *gthang rag 'tshal/ bdag kyang bro 'tshal pa ni ma mchis//* (5) *lha ris la 'a zha nyam 'phyan rma ba'i slad nas// bka' stsal pas kyang g.yar du mjal te//* (6) *spyi ni sngar dbyangs pa'i rnams kyang gtan tshigs kyis bye brag dbye ba dang/ khri btsan ya glu 'tsho* (7) *bstsan yang dkar mar ldom bar bgyis pas/ bro dkar rngo thog na/ de 'i nang du 'dus shing mchis/* (8) *bdag gis gyang spyi gar legsu rngo chi thog du 'tshal/ yul skor mdzad pa'i slad nas kyang* (9) *bka' stsal pa bzhin/ dgra blon la stsogs pa la zhal ta par bskos shing mchis/ yon* (10) *gyi stsang dbog pa yang/ bka' stsal pa bzhin rme'u chi mchis pa las kyang dpog par* (11) *'tshal zhing mchis/* (PT 1201: 1-11)
To the honourable presence of *mkhan po* 'teacher' *hong pen*, Hong Bian 洪辯, *Kim kang* sent [this] message. I have met [the messenger] and delivered your [message]. It informed me and heard that the old ailment did not arise to your honour and your mind is at peace. Please send me your words and enquiry.[200] I did not also become ill.[201] As you have mentioned, I have also met the people of *'A zha* wandering on the monastic

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[199] On the role Hong Bian played in Dunhuang, see Imaeda (2008).
[200] *thugs pags mdzad* 'received attention' is a common term used in Old Tibetan letters; for instance, the very phrase is attested seven times in PT 1089, an official dispatch regarding the conflict between the Tibetan officials and the local Chinese officials in Dunhuang.
[201] OT phrase *bro 'thsal ba* 'to become ill' is also prevalent in OT medical texts ().

estate.[202] What [people] have been decided for the common later becoming for individuals, Khri btsan ya glu 'tsho bstan was asked to pick between the white and red oaths, and he is under the white oath if it is sufficient. I am trying my best to better benefit the common and inspecting by travel is also done according to [your] words and installed military generals and others as consultants. For distributing the grains [received] as donation, [I am] allocating from the barleys we have, following [your] words.

Unlike the few other letters to religious persons, ones addressed to Hong Bian are without too much flowery adjectives for his title, merely *mkhan po* 'teacher' is used.

4.6.4 Letters of family members

Letters written for and from family members are rare amongst Old Tibetan letters discovered in Dunhuang. Most of the letters are directed to highly ranked officials and monks in the Dunhuang area from people with lower status. Of course, some of the official letters are from higher-ranking offices such as the Council of the Great Minister (*blon chen po'i 'dun tsa*) of the Tibetan Empire. The following letter between family members consists of the following features: deferential titles of the addressee(s) with respectful terms, sender's name, greetings, the main subject of the letter, and final wishes.

(381)
$//*khu bo mched dang / ne ne mo'i zha sngar / g.yu* […] (2) *de bar du thugs bde 'am myi bde mchid yi ge las snyun gsol zhing mchis na/ bka' stsald pa tsham du ji* [*gnang*] …(3) *kva chur phyin ma thag du/ kva chu khrom nas bla spring mchi ste/ bdag cag kva chu'i gvan bo 'ga' zhig dru b*[…] (4) *blon dge bzang dpon yog gsum dang/ bdag ngan pa dang/ thsa bo dpal mtsho yang btu ste/ ston sla 'bring po tshes* […] (5) *zhug ste khrom du chas pa tsham na bdag cag la nong zho ma mchis shing mchis// slan chad kyang thugs rtag du b*[*de*] (6) *ba'i zhal myur du mthong ba re smon lam rgyun du gsol zhing mchis/ bdag kyang deng stsang chab srid kyi m*[…] (7) *ste/ g.yos pa'i du su ci ltar mchisu glo ba chung na/ khu bo chag kyang bka' drin gyis bskyang ste/ bdag* [*la*] (8) *dar ma rdo rje gcod pa dang shes rab gyi snying po lan brgya' 'ga' zhig bzla bar thugs dpags tshang* […] (PT 1187: 1-8)
To the presence of respectful brothers of great uncles and aunt, G.yu […] is [sending this message]. This letter is enquiring if your mind is peaceful or not nowadays, please bestow [me with] an answer. As soon as reach Ka chu, send the *bla* from the market of Ka cu. In the middle month of autumn, minister Dge bzang, his two attendants, and I picked nephew Dpal mtsho up and went to the town; everything went well with us. I wish you a peaceful mind in the future and always hope to see you all soon. Due to the time of political turmoil […], I am scared. With the care of [you, my] uncle and others, please

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[202] *'A zha*, also known as Tǔyùhún 吐谷渾 in Chinese, was a nomadic kingdom active in the modern Qinghai 青海 in the second half of the first millennium which was later subsumed under the Tibetan Empire, for studies on the language of Tǔyùhún, see Vovin (Vovin, 2015).

remember to chant *The Diamond Sūtra* and *The Heart Sūtra* several hundred times [each] for me.

This letter is written in a semi-cursive style, and part from top to the bottom on the right side of the document is missing due to its fragmentary nature, which, at times, obscures the sense of the letter. This letter probably is the only letter between family members among OT letters from Dunhuang. This letter is written during a political turmoil in Ka cu where the sender asks his uncle and others to chant sutras for him.

4.10 Politeness in Old Tibetan letters

For exploring the use of politeness strategies in these Old Tibetan letters, we look at the use of honorific and humilific terms, the use of verbs with deferential meaning, the use of deferential titles, and so on. Honorific is the first type of strategy I explore here; however, it is probably a philosophical question rather than a linguistics one to find out if honorifics are used in Old Tibetan letters. Since it is problematic to pick up honorific terms in Old Tibetan, however, with intra-textual comparison, we could conclude the following terms are honorific in their nature. Greeting part of the letters are usually concerned with the peacefulness of one's *thugs* 'mind' and *sku* 'body' due to the tiredness or *'o brgyal* 'fatigue' which is understood as an honorific term itself in modern dictionaries. Another challenge presented by these letters is that we do not have access to the replies written for these letters which could be an excellent source for comparison. This strategy of using honorifics and humilifics is usually performed in Old Tibetan via indexing pronouns, nouns, and verbs used for the speaker or the writer when referring to themselves.

The *proem* or *praescriptio* is a vital part of social indexing in Old Tibetan letters. The *praescriptio* part always precedes the main body of the OT letters. However, the blessing part of the formulae sometimes occurs towards the end of the letter in the *epilogue*, mirroring the *proem* of the letter (i.e., PT 1204). A textbook example of a *praescriptio* is available at the beginning of a personal letter addressed to an official (unfortunately, the addressing part of the letter is missing due to the fragmentary nature of the manuscript):

(382)
dang khang sam gyi mcid gsol ba'a/ yum sras mched 'phrul gyi zha snga nas/ de bar du thugs bde 'am myi bde/ mcid yi ge las snyun gsol zhing mchis na/'bangs 'drul ba 'I mdab las bka' lung gnyen po zhig thugs dpags ji re mdzad/ (PT 1132: 1-3)

[This] message is offered by Dang khang sam. Have you, your wife, children, and siblings had a peaceful mind since [the last letter]? With this letter, [I am] inquiring [about your] health, please do grant me a dear reply via travelling subjects [of yours].

Usually, it is through the sender's perspective that the addressee's social status is conveyed in these Old Tibetan letters. However, sometimes, both the addressee and the speaker are indexed in the same linguistic setting, most commonly by using honorifics to the addressee and humilifics to the speaker/sender. Common honorifics used in these letters are *sku* 'body'; *thugs* 'mind';[203] *bka'* 'words'; *snyun(g)* 'illness';[204] *bzhugs* 'to stay, sit down'; *bzhengs* 'arise'; [205] and *bzhes* 'to catch' as well as a verbal phrase honorific term *sku tshe* 'life'. Among these terms, *sku* 'body' is the most used honorific term in Old Tibetan letters.[206]

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[203] See footnote 21 for specific examples of honorific *thugs* 'mind' and plain form *yid* 'mind'.

[204] Two other plain terms used for the term "illness" in Old Tibetan are *nad* and *bro 'tshal*. For instance, in the Old Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa*, *bro 'tshal* is used for illness when 'Grin bzang, the monkey referring to himself being sick (PT 0981: r183; PT 0983: v3-2; ITJ 0731-1: 179) while *nad* 'illness' is commonly used for general purposes in OT divinations texts as well as for *nad pa* 'diseased person' (PT 1051; PT 1047; ITJ 0474).

[205] Honorific verbs *bzhugs* 'to stay, sit down' and *bzhengs* 'arise, to build' are most prevalent in Old Tibetan Buddhist texts and used mostly for the Buddha (PT 0016), deities (PT 0016; PT 0149), however, it is also used for the emperor and people with high status (PT 0149).

[206] Honorific status of *sku* 'body', *gsung* 'speech', and *thugs* 'mind' is well-attested in Old Tibetan Buddhist texts, the contrasting plain form is *lus* 'body' in the Buddhist concept of *sgo gsum* 'triad of media' (*lus ngag yid* 'body, speech, and mind') is usually used for the general use. For instance, in an Old Tibetan funeral ritual text from Dunhuang, *lus ngag yid* is used in the perspective of the patron who is performing the ritual for the dead:

> *$ / / tshe 'das pa mying 'di bzhis bgyi ba'i don du / / ring grar* [gur] *(21r2) dang / / rta do ma g.yag dang / / zhal zas dang / / dkor nor dang / (21r3) thams shad las bstsogs pa bsngo ba ni / / snga 'das dang da ldar phyir (21r4) byon ba dang / / dus gsum dkon mchog gsum thams shad la / (21r5)* **lus ngag yid** *dang / bas phyag bgyi 'o / /* (PT 0037: 21r1-21r5)
> For the dead person with this name, the way to dedicate the body-tent, horses, yaks, food, donation etc is — to all the past and now returned Three Jewels in the threefold time, pay homage to [you] with [my] body, speech, and mind faithfully.

In Old Tibetan Buddhist texts, when it comes to the Buddhas, deities, and highly achieved beings, *sku gsung thugs* 'body, mind, and speech' are used. In the document known as the *Prayer for the foundation of De ga g.yu tshal monastery*, these honorifics are used for the Buddha.

> *de bzhIn gshegs pa'I sku'I gzugs brnyan bzhugs su gsol ba'I bsod nams kyIs / bod rje blon 'khor dang bcas pha dang / blon chen po zhang khrI sum rje dang chen po zhang lha (30r2) bzang dang / sems can thams cad kyIs de bzhIn gshegs pa'I* **sku** *mtsan dang / dpe byad bzang pos brgyan pha /* **thugs** *ye shes rnam bzhI bsam kyIs myI khyab pa dang ldan ba /* **gsung** *tshangs pa'I dbyangs (30r3) drug cu rtsa gnyIs dang ldan bas kun tu sgrogs pa dang ldan bar shog shIg / /* (PT 0016: 30r1-30r3)
> By the merit of constructing a statue of *tathāgata*, the Tibetan lord and ministers, chief minister Zhang khri sum rje, the great Zhang lha bzang, and all the beings may recite loudly to the world that the body of *tathāgata* is ornamented with all the great signs and marks of excellence; the mind is embodied with four kinds of pristine cognition which is beyond the reach of human intellect; the speech encompassed with the sixty-two melodies of the Brahma!

4.10.1 Honorific nouns

Honorific nouns attested in OT letters are usually related to the physical and mental aspects of the persons addressed to maintain the proper social relationship between the communicative interactants. Although attestations of these honorific nouns are frequent in OT letters, due to the space, only one example for each is cited.

4.10.2.1 *sku* 'body'

This honorific noun is attested in the *proem* of OT personal letters for greeting the addressee.

> (383)
> *slad nang gyi bzhengs* [*bstor?*] *kyis// rab du 'o brgyal na/ **sku** gnyen po las snyun bzhes sam ma bzhes/ mchid yi ge las snyun gsol zhing mchis/* (PT 1125: 4-5)
> Must be tired due to the raise of […] inside, with this letter, [I am inquiring whether] any ailment had arisen from your dear body or not.

This is from the greeting part a Guīyìjūn period letter by an official named Tshin ka'a kong Yeng den (yíngtián 营田) to an official with the name of Great Tshin ka'a kong Pye ['b]a shi (bīngmǎshǐ 兵馬使).[207] An adjective *gnyen po*, 'dear' preceded by the honorific noun *sku* 'body' and the sender is concerned with the health of the addressee.

4.10.2.2 *bka'* 'word'

When asking for a reply from an addressee, the senders use a specific honorific noun bka' 'word' when writing to an equal or a superior. With the mindset in Classical Tibetan, another honorific noun, *gsung* 'speech' is the expected form. However, it is not to be found anywhere in Old Tibetan letters, although commonly used in other genres of Old Tibetan texts.[208]

> (384)
> *lha dpal sku btsun pa'i zha snga nas/ thugs myi bde ba'I snyun rnying slar ma 'bred de/ cung* (3) *zad thog zhes thos pa/ smon pa bzhin/ de'i bar du snyun rnying slar 'bred dam ma 'bred/ mchid yi ge las* (4) *gsol zhing mchis na/ **bka'** stsal pa tsam du ci gnang/* (PT 1200: 2-4)

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[207] Takeuchi ascribed this letter to the years 848-ca. 1050 (Takeuchi, 1990a, p. 186).
[208] It is widely attested in the Old Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa* texts, as discussed in a previous chapter.

As I wished, I have heard that the old ailment [of yours] had not struck [your] divine supreme virtuous body for some time, and with this letter [I am] inquiring if the old ailment had struck again since [the last communication]. Please inform [me with] an answer.

This an excerpt from towards the end of the *proem* in a letter to Hong Bian 洪辯, a very respected religious person in the Dunhuang area at the time. He was also probably closely related to the Cave 17.[209] There are at least four Old Tibetan letters addressed to Hong Bian available among the Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts, apart from one letter, PT 1202, which is missing part of the page; the other three letters (PT 1200; PT 1201; PT 1204) are in relatively good condition. To show politeness, two adjectival stems are added to the honorific term *sku* 'body': *lha dpal* 'divine supreme' before and *btsun pa* 'virtuous' after. The sender asks for a reply (*bka'*) with a formulaic expression frequently used in many of the OT letters, *bka' stsal pa tsam du ci gnang* literally means "Would you mind giving an answer?". However, it seems this interrogative nature is lost and can be understood as a request from the sender.

4.10.2.3 *thugs* 'mind'

In the *proem* of a personal letter from an official from Sug-cu (Sùzhoū 肃州) to a high-ranking official in Ha-se (Héxī 河西), honorific noun *thugs* is used.

(385)
*byang ngos kyi btsan 'bangs mang po la mnga' mdzad pa'i **thugs** khral gyis rab tu 'o brgyal* (5) *na/ rin po che sku gnyen po las snyun bzhengs sam ma bzhengs/ mchid yi ge las snyun* (6) *gsol zhing mchis/* (PT 1189: 4-6)
It must be overwhelming with the mental burden of ruling the aggressive northern subjects; with this letter, [I am] inquiring if any illness has arisen from your precious and dear body.

The honorific noun *thugs* 'mind' used in the *proem* of this letter for conveying the phrase *thugs khral* 'mental burden' of the addressee. Two adjectival ornaments are used for the term *sku* 'body' in this greeting, one (*rin po che* 'precious') before *sku* and another one after (*gnyen po* 'dear').

4.10.2.4 *phyag* 'hand'

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[209] For Hong Bian 洪辯 and, his role in Dunhuang and his connection with Cave 17, see Imaeda (2008) and Huntington (1986).

As honorifics are most often used with one's body parts, *phyag* is attested in OT letters in a metaphorical sense when a note is offered to the *hands* of the addressee.

> (386)
> $// *sha cu na btsun ba ched po sag btsun **phyag** du* (3)*'bul ba/ sug cu na gser dka'i yI ge* / (PT 1211: v2-v3)
> [This is] a letter of Gser dka' in Sug-cu presented to the great monk *Sag btsun* in Sha-cu.

This example is from the *postscript* of a letter addressed to a monk where the sender and addressee's names are written on the verso of the letter.

4.10.2.5 *snyung* 'ailment'

Two variants of this noun are attested in OT letters, *snyung* and *snyun*.[210] It seems enquiring one's health is an important etiquette, and there are texts covering *snyun rmed* 'asking [about] ailment' in *Deu Chronicle* (Mkhas pa lde'u, 1987, 188-190), which is very likely based on some Old Tibetan sources.

> (387)
> (4) *sem cen mth dag gi don du 'o brgyal de gdan bzhugs na sku la **snyung** myi bangs yang sri zhu 'i* (5) *tshul gis **snyung** mchid yi gyi las gsol zhing mchis bka' spring bar gsol/* (PT 1003: 4-5)
> Busy for all beings, it is not likely to catch any illness with your body, however, asking your health with this letter as a service, please do send a reply.

The addressee in this letter is an official in *sha cu* (Shāzhōu 沙州) while the sender is an official in *A+yi cu* (Yǐnzhōu 伊州), both of them have the official title *sin je* (僧政), they are probably social equals in terms of their rankings. In addition, the usage of verb *spring* 'send', a neutral term compared to honorific *stsal* 'give' used in many OT letters, also reveals the equality between sender and the addressee. The sender has a Tibetan given name Dpal-ldan. An honorific noun *snyung* 'illness' is used for the addressee.

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[210] It seems *snyun* is always the noun 'illness/ailment' in OT, however, *snyung* is sometimes the verbal noun form 'aching' as shown in the following OT example:

> *rgyal pho **snyung** ba la btab na nI ha chang zhal 'tho ches te myi bzang* / (PT 1047: 67)
> If [this divination] is performed for the aching king, then it is not good due to its extremely high stakes.

It is used as a verbal noun *snyung ba* in this context, still as an honorific form in a divination performed specifically for the king. For divination in Old Tibetan texts, see a recent study of van Schaik (Schaik, 2020) and in Maurer et al. ('Glimpses of Tibetan Divination', 2019).

4.10.2.6 *snyun nad* **'ailment'**

The following excerpt is from the *proem* of a letter addressed to Hong Bian and the sender's name is missing due to damage to the original.

> (388)
> *mkhan po lha 'phrul kyi zha snga* [*nas*] *sku 'phang*[*g?*]*s pa la* **snyun nad** *myi mnga' par smon te/ mchid yi ge* [*las gsol zhing mchis*] (PT 1204: 2)
> The divine magical teacher, hope [your] supreme body does not have any illness. With this letter, [I am inquiring it].

Another honorific verbal phrase noun is used here, morphologically it is composed of the plain noun *nad* 'ailment' as a filler added after the honorific verb *snyun* 'ache' to form a disyllabic noun.

4.10.2.7 *dgongs pa* **'thought/vision'**

In Old Tibetan, *dgongs* can be a verb for 'to think'.[211] The noun form *dgongs pa* 'thought/vision' is attested in OT letters as an honorific. The following excerpt is from a letter to a group of people including a religious figure (*mkhan po*) sent by two people (probably two monks). Other than the usual honorific nouns *thugs* 'mind', *bka'* 'word', and *snyun* 'illness', two other honorific nouns *dgongs pa* 'thought/vision' and a verbal phrase *sku tshe* 'one's life' are used for the addressees, a group of religious figures.

> (389)
> *jo co chag phyogs gyi zha snga nas/ thugs rtag du bde* **dgongs pa** *chen po lhun gyis grub/ sku tse ring ba 'ba' shig du smon te/ mchid yi ge las snyun gsol zhing mchis na/ 'd[r]ul ba'i 'dab las bka' stsal pa tsam du ji gnang/* (PT 1142: 3-5)
> Honourable brothers, [I hope your] minds are always peaceful; the great vision will be achieved, and long live [to you all]! [I am inquiring] you with the message, and please grant me with (replying) words via travellers.

It seems *dgongs pa* is a term specifically used for religious people in OT letters, so it connotes a religious vision rather than political or other types of visions.

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[211] The verb form is also honorific; it is attested in numerous Old Tibetan texts, for an example, see the document known as "Prayers for the foundation of the De ga yu tshal monastery" (PT 0016+ITJ 0751: 28v2).

4.10.2.8 *sku tshe* 'life'

In Old Tibetan letters, the verbal phrase noun *sku tshe* is usually used for addressees who are religious people, namely Buddhist monks.

> (390)
> *jo co chag phyogs gyi zha snga nas/ thugs rtag du bde* (4) *dgongs pa chen po lhun gyis grub/ **sku tse** ring ba 'ba' shig du smon te/ mchid yi ge las* (5) *snyun gsol zhing mchis na/ 'd[r]ul ba'i 'dab las bka' stsal pa tsam du ji gnang/* (PT 1142: 3-5)
> Honourable lords, [hope your] minds are always peaceful; the great vision will be achieved, and long live [to you all]! [I am inquiring] you with the message, and please grant me with (replying) words via travellers.

This is a letter addressed to a group of people including a prominent religious person. Honorific verbal phrase nouns are relatively rare in Old Tibetan letters and *sku tshe* 'life' is one of the rarely attested. The verbal phrase is composed of honorific syllable *sku* 'body' and plain syllable *tshe* 'life', which is the common morphological composition of honorific verbal phrase nouns in Tibetan.

4.10.2.9 *zhal* 'face; mouth'

The plain form of noun *ngo* 'face' in Old Tibetan can be used in many verbal phrases such as *ngo phrad* 'to meet' (PT 1283: 22), *ngo slog* 'to protest' (PT 1283: 376),[212] and *ngo shes* 'recognise' (ITJ 0737-1: 210). The honorific noun *zhal* is also used with the meaning 'mouth' in OT, for instance, the verbal phrase honorific noun *zhal zas* 'food' (PT 0016: 31r3) is used in other Old Tibetan documents from Dunhuang. The following example is from a letter addressed to a religious leader by another religious person, the sender very likely has lower status than the addressee since he uses idiom *zha snga* 'presence', *ston pa* 'teacher'

> (391)
> (8) *rjes la ston pa dpal 'gon zha snga nas/ **zhal** ma mjal nas dgung lo grangs myi* (9) *nyung ba zhig lon na yang/ da ltar kam cud thos na/ sing lyog mnga' tang che/ ser chags* (10) *kyi dbu tshigs su mnga' rung che nas bzhugs bgyi bar kam cud 'od thos/* (PT 1129: 8-10)

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[212] In OT Rāmāyana, a verbal phrase *ngo ma zlogs* '[was] not able to protest' is used for Hanumanta when he was not able to refuse when monkeys pled him to be the king (ITJ 0737-1: 340). Here, *zlogs* is the potentialis form for *log* 'to protest'.

[It] has been many years since [I] saw [your] face, the supreme lord teacher. I am very happy to hear the message from others that "Sing lyog is powerful and powerfully leading the monks now".

The honorific noun *zhal* is used here as part of a phrase, *zhal ma mjal* 'have not seen the face' meaning have not seen the person in question.[213]

4.10.3 Honorific verbs

4.10.3.1 *bzhengs* 'to arise'

The following greeting, again, uses adjectives such as dear and virtuous (*gnyen zhing btsun ba*) after the term "body", other honorific nouns *thugs* 'mind' and *snyun* 'illness', and honorific verb *bzhengs* 'arise' as well as humilific verb *gsol* 'ask, to send' are also used.

(392)
lha myi rnams gnyis gyi sgo nas/ byin gyi chab srid [ya?] btsa' ba'i thugs khral gyis/ rab tu 'o brgyal na/ sku gnyen zhing btsun ba las [snyun] **bzhengs** *sam ma* **bzhengs**/ *mchid yi ge las snyun gsol zhing mchis/* (PT 1220: 4-6)
Being mentally weary of the politics for both gods and humans, [you must be] extremely tired, with this letter, [I am] inquiring if any illness had arisen from your dear and virtuous body [of yours].

The following excerpt is from a letter by a monk to a group of three monks and it uses an adjectival expression genuine and virtuous (*bden zhing btsun*) for the term body. Other honorific noun *bsnyun* 'illnesses' and honorific verb *bzhengs* 'arise' are also used for the addressee.

(393)
sems can mang bo 'gro ba don 'dzad bas rab du yang 'o brgyal bas/ sku bden zhing btsun las bsnyun **bzhengs** *sam ma* **bzhengs**/ (PT 1212: 3-4)

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[213] The noun *zhal* 'face' as an honorific is not only used for people, but also to the holy structures such as temples, as evidenced in a text consecrating a temple:

$ / / *de ga gtsIgs kyi gtsug lag khang* **zhal** *bsro ba'I* (35r4) *tshe bde blon gyI smon lam du gsol ba'* / / (ITJ 0751: 35r3-35r4)
When consecrating *De ga gtsIgs kyi gtsug lag khang*, Bde blon minister offered [the following] prayer.

For a study on the location of this temple named *de ga g.yu tshal*, see Kapstein (2009).

Doing work for all the sentient beings, [you must be] extremely tired, have any illness arisen from your genuine and virtuous body or not?

In this greeting, *bzhengs* is used for inquiring if any ailment has arisen from the body of the addressee or not.

4.10.3.2 *bzhes* 'to catch; take'

This honorific verb is used in the greeting part of an OT letter addressed to a group of officials, with its seasonal greetings, the letter is dated to the post-Tibetan imperial period.

(394)
slad nang gyi bzhengs [*bstor?*] *kyis// rab du 'o brgyal na/ sku gnyen po las snyun **bzhes** sam ma **bzhes**/ mchid yi ge las snyun gsol zhing mchis/* (PT 1125: 4-5)
Being weary of the raise of […] inside, with this letter, [I am inquiring whether] any ailment had arisen from your dear body or not.

In other OT documents, this verb is also used for the meaning 'take', as in *khab du bzhes* 'take as wife' (ITJ 0737-1: 1) and *'bangs su bzhes* 'take as subjects' (PT 1287: 346; 383).

4.10.3.3 *bzhugs* 'to reside, to stay'

This honorific verb is used for an official in a letter written by another official. This verb is very commonly used in the *Old Tibetan Annals* (ITJ 0750; PT 1288) for Tibetan emperors every time mentioning the residence of the emperor in question; it is also used in OT inscriptions when mentioning emperors and their sons residing in various places (Inscription of Rkong po bde mo sa: 5; 6). This honorific verb is attested in the greeting part in OT personal letters.

(395)
*sem cen mth['a] dag gi don du 'o brgyal de gdan **bzhugs** na sku la snyung myi bangs yang sri zhu 'i tshul gis snyung mchid yi gyi las gsol zhing mchis bka' spring bar gsol/* (PT 1003: 4-5)
Busy for all beings, it is not likely to catch any illness with your body, however, asking your condition with this letter as a service, please do send a reply.

This honorific verb is used for an official when inquiring the health of the addressee by a letter written to a religious person.

4.10.3.4 *mdzad* 'to do'

This honorific verb is used for a religious person and *mdzad* here denotes the action that this religious person performs both for human and divine beings.

> (396)
> *lha myi rnam gnyis kyi sgo nas sems can mang po don **mdzad** pa'i thugs khral gyis/ rab du 'o brgyal na/ sku byang cub las snyun bzhengs sam ma bzhengs/ mchid yi ge las snyun gsol zhing mchis/* (PT 1129: 5-7)
> In both divine and human forms, by doing things for countless beings, [it must be] mentally overwhelming; so, with this letter, [I am asking] if any illness have arisen to the perfect body or not.

This greeting above is from a letter by *Khug gong 'bug ser po*, a monk from *sug cu* 肅州 to *Zhi legs*, a high-ranking monk official in *sha cu* 沙州. A buddhist term, *byang cub* 'perfect' is used as adjective for addressing the body of the addressee, a respected religious leader. Other honorific nouns such as *thugs* 'mind' and *snyun* 'illness', honorific verb *bzhengs* 'arise', and humilific verb *gsol* 'ask, to send' are also used in this greeting. This verb sometimes appears at sentence final as a verb preceded by a verbal noun with *-r* to express imperative meaning politely as seen in the following example:

> (397)
> (36) *dgun 'brum bdag ma myangs nas / lo mang lon / / tshos nas* (37) *brdzang bar **mdzad** /* (PT 1082: 36-37)
> [I] have not tasted grapes for many years, send [some] when they are ripe.

In this example, *mdzad* is preceded by a verbal noun *brdzang ba* 'sending' followed by a particle *-r*. The second half of the sentence literally should probably be translated along the lines of "please do the work of sending some when they are ripe".

4.10.3.5 *'o brgyal* 'exhaust'

This obscure verbal phrase is attested in OT letters and other OT documents, often preceded by adverbial *rab tu* 'very' (PT 0981: v5; v17; v19; PT 1225: 2; 4). In the following example, it is all the sentient beings that the addressee is *'o brgyal* 'exhausted' for.

> (398)

(4) *sem cen mth dag gi don du **'o brgyal** de gdan bzhugs na sku la snyung myi bangs yang sri zhu 'I* (5) *tshul gis snyung mchid yi gyi las gsol zhing mchis bka' spring bar gsol/* (PT 1003: 4-5)

Exhausted for all beings, it is not likely to catch any illness with your body, however, asking your condition with this letter as a service, please do send a reply.

This is from a letter to an official, morphologically, *'o brgyal* is a verbal phrase, with a noun *'o* 'demonstrative?' and verb *brgyal* 'to faint'. A further problem is that we do not know the plain form for this verbal phrase.

4.10.3.6 *stsal* 'to give'

This is verb is commonly used in the context of asking a superior or social equal to give a reply and when the official letters mentioning who the letter was given to, usually an inferior. Its correspondence to the humilific verb *gsol* 'to give' will be discussed below.

(399)
*lha dpal sku btsun pa'i zha snga nas/ thugs myi bde ba'I snyun rnying slar ma 'bred de/ cung zad thog zhes thos pa/ smon pa bzhin/ de'i bar du snyun rnying slar 'bred dam ma 'bred/ mchid yi ge las gsol zhing mchis na/ bka' **stsal** pa tsam du ci gnang/* (PT 1200: 2-4)

As I wished, I have heard that the old ailment [of yours] had not struck [your] divine supreme virtuous body for some time and with this letter [I am] inquiring if the old ailment had struck again since [the last communication]. Please do give [me] a reply.

The verb *stsal* is widely used in Old Tibetan letters, both those sent for personal and official purpose. Semantically, it goes with the honorific noun *bka'* 'message' used for socially equal and higher people in Old Tibetan.

4.10.3.7 *gnang* 'to give'[214]

This is an honorific verb used, again, in the formulaic *proem* where the sender asks for a reply from the addressee.

(400)
lha dpal sku btsun pa'i zha snga nas/ thugs myi bde ba'I snyun rnying slar ma 'bred de/ cung zad thog zhes thos pa/ smon pa bzhin/ de'i bar du snyun rnying slar 'bred dam

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[214] For a discussion on the Lhasa Tibetan usage of *gnang* 'to give', see a very recent study by Mélac and Tournadre (Mélac & Tournadre, 2021).

*ma 'bred/ mchid yi ge las gsol zhing mchis na/ bka' stsal pa tsam du ci **gnang**/* (PT 1200: 2-4)
As I wished, I have heard that the old ailment [of yours] had not struck [your] divine supreme virtuous body for some time and with this letter [I am] inquiring if the old ailment had struck again since [the last communication]. Please inform [me with] an answer.

In OT letters, *gnang* is often preceded by a phoneme *ci* which is usually used for interrogative purposes, however, in this case it is an idiomatised phrase can be used for politely making a request.

4.10.4 Honorific pronouns

Honorific pronouns are usually used for the second and third persons since it is uncommon to use honorifics to oneself. To one's surprise, honorific pronouns are rarely found in OT letters, instead, deferential titles are the most used for addressing the addressees when necessary. In the rare cases of using honorific pronouns, the second person plural pronoun *khyed* is used for both singular and plural addressees.

4.10.4.1 *khyed* 'you' (plural used for singular)

As Hill discussed, plural personal pronouns are used in Old Tibetan texts such as *Old Tibetan Chronicle* for singular subjects for polite purposes and it "emerged during the period in which the documents discovered at Dunhuang were composed"(2013d, p. 257) . It is the case here in an OT letter from the post-imperial period that second person plural is used for politeness purposes for the second person singular pronoun as shown in this example:

(401)
bod gI pho nya jag rong du yang mchIs// dbyar mo thang glIng du (11) *yang mchIs pa las/ 'od 'bar tang ni ma dum/ **khyed** gI pho nya yang gsol par* (12) *mchI// gzhan nI bka' mchId cI yang myI gda'/* (PT 1082:10-12)
Tibetan envoys went to Jag rong and again to the Gling of Dbyar mo thang, however, they have not yet come to terms with *'od-'bar*. Send your envoy again. I have no more messages.

Second person plural pronoun *khyed* is used as an honorific for the addressee, an individual in this case for the purpose of politeness. So, it can be seen as an honorific term if it is used for a single person. The second person singular pronoun *khyod* is not used in our corpus.

4.10.4.2 *khyed* **'you' (plural used for plural)**

There are also cases where the second person plural pronoun is used for plurals without politeness meaning.

(402)
khyed *rnams dgongs pa bdzad ba'I yon tan gyis/ bdag la yang myI bde ba lnam pa tsan ya ma bchIs/* (PT 1212: 5)
Due to the benefits of your caring, I do not have a single fault.

This letter is addressed to a group of monks named Bya nu, Yo shan, Dba' chos, and other monks, so *khyed* in this context is not necessarily an honorific pronoun, but a plain second person plural pronoun with its original usage.

4.10.5 Humilific verbs

4.10.5.1 *gsol* **'to offer; to give'**

The verb *gsol* is used for humilific purposes to lower one's status, usually by oneself, but it is also allowed for others to used it. The first type of attestation of *gsol* is from the part of the letters where the senders are identified, in the form this letter is *gsol* "offered" by so and so. The second type of attestation occurs in the *proem* of the letter where greetings are presented. Like the first case, the verb is used by a socially inferior person to his superiors or equal parties for the purpose of asking after the addressee's health situation. The last scenario is mentioning a socially inferior person's message in OT official letters, where a previous message from this inferior person is mentioned for the purpose of providing an official reply for it.

In the following examples, *gsol* 'to offer; to ask' is used for the sender to present a letter to a socially superior or equal to the sender. It is formulaic for OT personal letters to include the name of the sender, and it is often followed by a genitive marker *gi* or *gyi* (rarely an agentive marker *gis* or *gyis*) and the phrase *mchid gsol ba* 'offered [this] message'. This feature is commonly used across the letters from both the Tibetan Empire period and letters that date the post-imperial period.

(403)

$/:/ *jo cho blon gchug bzher dang blon legs sgra la/ /lha 'brug brtsan* (2) *gyi mchid* **gsol** *b'a//* (ITJ 897:1-2)
To *jo-cho* minister Gchug bzher and Legs sgar, [this] message offered by Lha 'brug brtsan.

The addressees, two ministers, in this personal letter from the Tibetan Empire is in control of *Sha-cu* and *gsol* 'to offer; to ask" is used by the sender in the *prescript* to lower his status. For someone with higher status as the sender, the letter uses *(b)stsal(d)* 'to give', as shown in ITJ 1126, PT 1083, PT 1085, and others. The following post-imperial letter uses *gsol* in an identical manner.

(404)
$/ /ha se tser to thyen the'i 'wong gyi zha sngar/ (2) sug cu 'i dbang po si to gyis mchid* **gsol** *b'a/* (PT 1189:1-2)
To the presence of *ha se cer to thyen the'i 'wong* 河西節度天大王, the lord of *sug-cu* 肅州 offered this letter.

Given the titles of the addressee and the writer, the sender is an inferior to the addressee. The verb *gsol* is used for the sender for humbling to extol the status of the addressee. The second type of usage is attested in the *proem* part of the letter when the sender is inquiring health of the addressee. For instance, in the greeting part of the letter just cited above, the *gsol* is appears in the following context:

(405)
rin po che sku gnyen po las snyun bzhengs sam ma bzhengs/ / mchid yi ge las snyun (6) **gsol** *zhing mchis//* (PT 1189: 5-6)
Has any illness arisen from [your] precious and dear body or not? [I am] inquiring it through this written message.

When *gsol* is attested in the greetings, it is more appropriate to be translated as "to ask" than "to offer" since it is inquiring the health of the addressee. Similarly, this greeting is also a formulaic pattern with its attestations in the letters both from the Tibetan Empire period and the post-imperial period. The following letter is from the Tibetan Empire period.

(406)
'phrul dang bzhugs pa'i zha snga nas/ / (2) thugs bde 'am myi bde mchid yi ge las snyun **gsol** *zhing mchis na/ bka' stsald pa tsam du ji gnang//* (PT 1184:1-2)
The magical one, is your mind at peace or not? [I am] enquiring your health with this written message, please do grant me a reply.

Another context where *gsol* is often attested is in official letters where an appeal from a lower ranking official or commoners is addressed. For instance, in a letter from the Tibetan Empire period concerned with Tibetan officials abducting the girls of Sha-cu Chinese communities opens the letter body in following way:

(407)
rgya sde gnyIs kyI dpon snas **gsold** *pha// rgya sha chu ba'I/ bu sring las/ sngon* (3) *chad/ bod sum dang/ zhang lon ya ya nas// mchis brang du 'tshal ba skad du/ snyad bthags nas* (4) *'tshald de// bran du bgyis pa yang mang//* (PT 1083:2-4)
Leaders of two Chinese tribes offered [the message and said]: "Tibetans, Sum-pa, and Zhang lon sought Chinese girls of *Sha chu* for wives, but many were, in fact, enslaved…."

In this letter, *gsold* is used for quoting the message from lower ranking people to the council of the chief minister who dispatched this epistolary document as a reply. Therefore, we need more than the frame of humilifics to explain this verb and I will try to explain it in a separate section later in this chapter.

4.10.5.2 *'bul* 'to give; to present' (PT 1092)

This humilific verb is usually attested on the verso of the documents with letters written on the recto of the letter.[215] It is the information equivalent to modern addressing on the envelope, since envelopes were not in use at the time of writing these OT letters.[216] I have used the term *postscript* for the piece of information regarding the sender(s) and receiver(s) added on the verso of the OT letters. The addressee's name with the humilific verb *'bul* 'given' with a dative or allative (N. Hill, 2011, p. 4) particle *la* and the sender's name are common features of the *postcritp*, as shown in the following examples.

(408)
$//mang phug 'wen gyi sgo yig/ shi shug la **'bul** *b'a* (PT 1092: v1)
Open letter from Mang phug 'wen, presented to Shi shug.

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[215] This is the non-perfective form of *phul* which is evident in an Old Tibetan contract (PT 1088/2) (Takeuchi, 1995, p. 65).

[216] Unfortunately, many of the scanned Dunhuang manuscripts available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/accueil/en/content/accueil-en?mode=desktop only include the recto or the main side of the document but do not include scans of the verso of documents.

The humilific verb *'bul* is used for the addressee preceded by an allative particle *la*. The use of *la* for dative case aligns with one of the scenarios Hill described in the *Old Tibetan Annals* where it is used with the recipients where the verb *phul* 'to give' is used (N. Hill, 2011, pp. 8–9), which is a perfective form for our verb *'bul* here.

(409)
$// *sha cu na btsun ba ched po sag btsun phyag du* (3)***'bul** ba/ sug cu na gser dka'i yI ge* / (PT 1211: v2-v3)
[This is] a letter of Gser dka' in Sug-cu presented to the great monk *Sag btsun* in Sha-cu.

This is another postscript where both the addressee's and sender's names are clearly mentioned. The humilific verb *'bul* is used for the addressee preceded by an allative marker *du*. The allative particle *la* in the previous example and *du* in this case are with minor semantic differences, the former is used after personal name Shi shug while the latter *du* is used after the honorific *phyag* 'hand' preceded by a personal name Sag btsun. It seems a genitive marker is missing between name of the person and his *phyag* 'hand', possibly abbreviated out of convenience. However, it is very well due to the brevity of the postscript where some grammatical particles can be eliminated.

4.10.5.3 *zhus* 'to inform'

This verb is not a commonly attested humilific, but its rare attestations in the OT letters are used for the inferiors when informing their superiors.

(410)
bdag cag ngan pa yang/ 'dir mchis na/ dar 'dos (8) *a+yen 'jo rtag par yar sgra bgyid pa'i slad bzhin/ rgyal po la **zhus** pa las/ rgyal po* (9) *gyis kyang/ dar 'dos a+yen 'jo blon po byi rog/ stong sde 'i mgo rnams la lung sol* (10) *bgyis/* (PT 1189:7-10)
We are constantly attacked by *Dar 'dos a+yen 'jo* here and when reported to the king, the king presented *Dar 'dos a+yen 'jo*'s (Tardos) ministers and generals of the thousand-soldiers with an edict.

This is a humilific form where *rgyal po* 'king' is the one who is informed, with an allative particle *la* followed by the title *rgyal po*. The sender is reporting on an occasion where he informed the king about his misfortune of being attacked by some intruders and how the king had resolved it for him. In this case, the humilific verb *zhus* is not directed towards the addressee, but a third person with higher status than both parties involved in the letter.

4.10.5.4 *mjal* 'to meet'

This is a common humilific verb still used in many modern dialects of Tibetan and it is also attested in OT letters when addressing a religious person here.

> (411)
> (8)*rjes la ston pa dpal 'gon zha snga nas/ zhal ma **mjal** nas dgung lo grangs myi*
> (9)*nyung ba zhig lon na yang/ da ltar kam cud thos na/ sing lyog mnga' tang che/ ser chags* (10) *kyi dbu tshigs su mnga' rung che nas bzhugs bgyi bar kam cud 'od thos/* (PT 1129:8-10)
> Although I have not seen [your] face for many years, the supreme lord teacher. I am very happy to hear the message from others that "Sing lyog is powerful and powerfully leading the monks now".

This is a letter addressed to a high-profile religious person. However, in OT documents, *mjal* as part of the verbal phrase verb and noun *mjal dum* 'meeting for reconciliation'[217] is also attested on the Sino-Tibetan treaty inscription on the stele erected in front of the Lhasa Gtsug lag khang temple in year 823.

4.10.6 Humilific pronouns and persons

In OT letters, several terms *bdag ngan pa* 'I', *bdgag cag ngan pa* 'we', *ngan bu* 'wicked son', and *'on* 'I' are used as first-person pronouns appear in the body of the letters where the senders talk about themselves. This case is an example where the social distancing occurs in the letters where the sender(s) extol the addressee and deprecate himself/themselves.

4.10.6.1 *bdag ngan pa* 'I'

Use of humilific suffix *-ngan pa* 'wicked' for the first-person pronoun *bdag* is a social indexing used in several Old Tibetan letters from the speaker's perspective (PT 1187; PT 1132; PT 1129; PT 1204; PT 1217). It can be shortened as *bdag* ngan. Suffixed pronoun *bdag ngan pa* is also used in a quotation from a high-ranking official to a low-ranking official while addressing a message conveyed by the lower ranking in a letter (PT 1217).

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[217] Bialek explains its etymology as "*mjald cing 'dum*, 'to reconcile while having met', > **mjal 'dum* (verbal phraseing) >*mjal dum* (elision of the word-internal *'a chung*: 'a > Ø/-l_d-)" (Bialek, 2018d, p. 44).

(412)

*bdag ngan pa*s snga slad chab srid kyi 'dab du dpen pa'I zho sha phul pa' I ngo 'phral stag gi zar cen gnang ba tsam zhig/ 'og dpe phyag rgya 'ga' 'cang bar chi gnang zhes gsol pa las (PT1217: 3-4)

I have previously contributed [my] power and strength to the kingdom, for which I have received the major tiger tassel.[218] [I] asked if copies of letter for holding could be granted.

In the letter above, *bdag ngan pa* was used by Ta rig bra sha, who is asking for an official letter for the recognition he received from the empire.

The following example is a letter sent to one's uncle and other family members to report that the sender is reporting his situation in a politically unstable location.

(413)

*blon dge bzang dpon yog gsum dang / **bdag ngan pa** dang/ tsha bo dpal mtso yang btu ste/ ston sla 'bring pa tshes hug ste khrom du chas pa tsham na bdag cag la nong zho ma mchis shing mchis/* (PT 1187: 4-5)

With minister Dge bzang, his two attendants and I, [we] picked up nephew Dpal mtsho and went to the city in the mid-month of autumn, and we did not encounter any problems.

First person pronoun *bdag* with an adjectival suffix *-ngan pa* 'bad/wicked' is used by the sender of the letter to lower his social status in humbleness. The verbal phrase *bdag ngan* is short for *bdag ngan pa*, it is also attested in a letter to a minister.

The following line is from a letter addressed to two ministers, written in semi-headless script. From examining the Tibetan names of addressees, *blon klu bzang* and *blon rtsa*[ng] *bzher*, it is probably from the Tibetan rule of Dunhuang.

(414)

bdag ngan *rngo thog pa'i zho sha ci yang ma mchis/* (PT 1184: 2)

I do not have any useful abilities.

In this letter, *bdag ngan*, a short form of *bdag ngan pa* is used by the sender to blame himself for not having any useful skills.

When the letter is from multiple senders or representing a group of people, the plural first pronoun *bdag c(h)ag ngan pa* is used in OT letters (PT 1125; PT 1142; PT 1189; PT 1202).

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[218] It seems *stag gi zar cen* 'major tiger[skin] tassel' is an emblem presented for recoganising somone's contribution to the kingdom. There is, apparently, a *stag gi zar cung* 'minor tiger[skin] tassel' as well. For a discussion and a proposal for a different translation, 'large tiger girdles', see Dotson (2009, 72).

(415)
bdag cag ngan pa *bu ts(h)a ngan pa shig mchis pa khyed gyi zham 'bring 'dab tu phul
ba'i thad kar nas/ ri rab lhun po la ni lnga bcad/ rgya mtsho che rnams la ni rka skrun/*
(PT 1125: 6-8)
Regarding sending a son we have [to you] as an attendant, [we have] passed five great
mountains and made a gutter to the great oceans.

This letter is from a group of people addressed to another group of receivers. Therefore, the
first-person plural pronoun *bdag cag* 'we' suffixed with *ngan pa* 'wicked' is used. However,
as Hill argued in his studies (2010; 2013; 2015; 2017), using grammatical plural pronouns
with singular person is a prevalent politeness strategy in Old Tibetan. Thus, *bdag cag ngan
pa* can very well be a humilific form used by a singular person for polite purposes in some
Old Tibetan documents. A derogatory or humilific term is also used for his son, *bu ts(h)a
ngan pa* 'wicked son' by the sender (PT 1125).

4.10.6.2 *ngan bu* 'wicked son'[219]

The literal meaning of this term is the "wicked son", but here it is used as a humilific first
person pronoun by the sender of the letter to lower his status while talking about himself.

(416)
ngan bu*'i phral chod gi skyes ni/ spor bre gang lhad dpal la rma ste bzhes par gsol//
lcags bags ci 'dod pa yi gyi thong cig stag on bya la bskur la btang/ **ngan bu** dar ma
bri shog shog bzang po yod na tho ba bzhi lnga skur/* (PT 1003: 5-8)
Ask Lhad dpal and take my gift of one *bre* of seasoning from [him]. [Please] send the
letter with how much iron sheets you need; I will prepare and send it [to you]. Please
send me four or five rolls of good paper for [copying] Dharma if you have any.

bdag nang bu and *ngan bu* are different in their usage, it seems *bdag ngan bu* used for its first
appearance and then *ngan bu* is used afterwards when it is obvious to the reader(s) that *ngan
bu* is referring to the writer himself.

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[219] Kha sgang's dictionary gives an entry to this term as *skye bo phal pa* 'ordinary person' and gives an example
from narrative of Rāmana and explains that it is not used as first-person pronoun but as an adjective to a second
person: *ngan bu bsrung ste cha ji mchis* (ITJ 0737A: 154) and Kha sgang's conversion in modern Tibetan is: *gal
te jo bo ste ra'a ma Na med par gyur tshe khyod lta bu skye bo phal pa zhig gis nga srung bas ci phan* 'If [we]
lose the lord Ramana, then what is point for you ordinary person to protect me?' However, I think this line
should be translated as 'What do [you] have from protecting me?' and "me" here in this context should be the
term *ngan bu* here, how Sita addressed herself as the first person.

4.10.6.3 *'on/ 'od* 'I'

Terms *'on* 'I' and *'od* 'I' are attested twice in the end of an OT letter to an official pleading for help from his superior.[220] It seems the term is a humilific used for expressing politeness from the speaker when he is expressing the extreme situation he is under, telling the addressees that they were the only people for him to be relied on and he was in an incredibly bad situation.

(417)
'on re ba 'i gnas kyang mched las myi bzhugs/ 'on rab tu phongs shing mchis/ (PT 1132: 11-12)
There is no one I rely on except you brothers, I am extremely deprived.

This term may be a Chinese loanword first-person pronoun ruǎn 阮 'I', which is usually reconstructed by historical linguists of Middle Chinese as /ŋiwon/.[221] The reconstruction does not perfectly fit our Tibetan transcription here. However, one should consider the regional dialect of Middle Chinese in Dunhuang for such studies since it is the speech of the people of Dunhuang, but we do not have any sources to turn our attention to now. Kha sgang's dictionary has an entry for *'on* as a first-person plural pronoun like *nga tsho* 'us'. However, from close examination of the usage in the Old Tibetan letter in question here, it is a letter with a single sender. Therefore, *'on* is very likely a first-person singular pronoun. This first-person pronoun is also attested as *'od* as shown in the following example:

(418)
ser chags (10) *kyi dbu tshigs su mnga' rung che nas bzhugs bgyi bar kam cud 'od thos/* (PT 1129: 9-10)
I heard the message [from others] that "Sing lyog is powerful and powerfully leading the monks now".

The only base for *'od* being a variant of *'on*, discussed above, is possible to explain through the common practice of exchanging coda *-n* and *-d* in Old Tibetan.[222] It is strange that the actor is not followed by an ergative marker.

4.10.6.4 *mchis brang ngna ma* 'wife'

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[220] For a study on Old Tibetan personal pronouns, see Hill (2010b), however, *'on* is not included in this study.
[221] Another evidence to support its Chinese origin is the identity of the sender of this letter here; he is very likely a Chinese person from examining the name *Dang khang sam*.
[222] See F. W. Thomas for some possible exchanges of these two coda in OT (1957, 23).

The humilific marker *ngan ma* 'wicked woman' can be used for one's wife as one of Old Tibetan letters uses *mchis brang ngan ma* 'wife', a humilific term deprecating his wife:[223]

(419)
*bdag gi **mchis brang ngan ma** zhig sha chu na mchis/ ston sla 'bring pho tsam (10) gyi bar du/ sha cu na stsang lo shas tsam mchis pa 'I thog tsam sdud lags par bgyid de/*
(PT 1132: 9-10)
I have my wife in *Sha cu* 沙州 and until around the mid-autumn month [I] have to harvest grains from a few fields I have in *Sha cu*.

This is from a personal letter where the sender is pleading for time off from his official duties for allowing him to visit his residence in Sha cu for the harvest.

4.10.7 Pragmatics in addressing

Besides honorifics and humilifics in the letters, social indexing also takes place in the addressing part of the *praescriptio* of Old Tibetan personal letters. Name(s) of the addressee(s) are *always* included as the first thing in the letters written in OT, followed by the name(s) of the sender(s). Since the form of addressing is social indexing, it is not used for everyone; for instance, in PT 1142, the first addressee is a *mkhan po* 'teacher' and two others *jo co* 'elder brother(s)' while five other people are addressed just with their plain names. Therefore, it is not random titles, but pragmatically appropriate ones used for social indexing by the speaker in the context. It is also possible that this a title used for specific role one plays in the Buddhist community.[224] Most of the titles are short without any epithets; however, there are, sometimes, sophisticated deferential epithets consisting of two or more lines used to address the person receiving the letter (PT 1129; PT 1211). For official letters, the addressee is not always named. However, the sender has often stated their official titles if it is from an individual such as *blon* (ITJ 1126; PT 2204c) and *blon chen po* (PT 1083). In the letters written in Sogdian and Old Uighur letters from the Silk Road around the same period, when addressed to an inferior, the greeting part of the letter is missing (Moriyasu, 2011, 38-

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[223] Interestingly, Bkra shis translates this term as *chung ma tha shal* 'wicked wife' (Bkra shis, 2012, p. 54) and Kha sgang Bkra shis tshe ring's dictionary gives two meanings for *mchis brang* and the first one is *pho brang*, *sdod khang* 'court, residence' while the second is *chung ma* 'wife' (Kha sgang et al., 2019b, p. 126). Although it is not entirely impossible for the writer to have several wives and this wife mentioned in the letter is in Sha cu, the sentence following by it is about going there and harvesting grains. In any case, it should be understood as humilific rather than a plain term.

[224] It is very likely this term corresponds to Chinese title *jiaoshou heshang* 教授和尚 'transmitter of the teachings' (Sørensen, 2019, 4) or *du jiaoshou* 都教授 'chief instructor' (Rong, 2013, 301).

39). Moreover, with the observations made from the OT official letters that they lack greetings, we could probably construe that the Tibetan letters also share the same characteristic that greeting is being omitted when addressed to an inferior. Although there is only one example, it seems Old Tibetan letters written for relatives include greetings (PT 1187).

4.10.7.1 *mkhan po* **'teacher'** (PT 1200; PT 1201; PT 1202; PT 1204; PT 1142)

This title is only used for high-ranking Buddhist monks. We do not exactly know if it is a term simply means teacher, an acquired title after achieving certain type of studies, or merely a deferential title. The following letter is addressed to such a Mkhan po and others. The monk here is not Hong Bian, a famous monk from Dunhuang in the 9th century.

> (420)
> ***mkhan po*** *sab sngang dang / jo co stag por je dang/ stag bzang dang / A nyang dang/ jo co phug su dang/ lha bzher dang sam ka dang / dpal mo la la stsogs pa'I zha sngar/ 'bun sin dang tsin thong gyi mchid gsol b'a/* (PT 1142: 1-3)
> To the presence of Mkhan po Sab sngnag, Jo co Stag por je, Stag bzang, A nyang, Jo co Phug su, Lha bzher, Sam ka, and Dpal mo la etc., [this] letter is offered by 'Bun sin and Tsin thong.

In OT letters, *mkhan po* 'teacher' is a title used for religious figures with a high status in the Dunhuang area. As mentioned earlier, the title *mkhan po* 'teacher' is used for the first addressee in the group of eight addressees of this letter which shows the highest social status of this religious figure amongst a group of people.

4.10.7.2 *khu bo chen po* **'the great uncle'**

The first part of this title is obviously a consanguineous reference to one's father's brother, we do not know if the kin term *khu bo* 'uncle' here is used in OT for all the elderly male relatives who belong to the generation of one's father or not at the time.

> (421)
> ***khu bo chen po*** *mched dang / ne ne mo'i zha sngar/ g.yu* [----] (PT 1187: 1)
> To the presence of great uncles and aunt, [hereby] G.yu [----]

This deferential term is attested only once in the only OT letter to a family member from Dunhuang and substantial part of the sender's name is missing due to the fragmentary nature of the document. For this type of usage, a difference between the lexical and deferential should be noted since the term *chen po* "great" can also be construed with a generational connotation as 'older uncle' amongst two or more uncles. However, it seems it should be interpreted as deferential here because the speaker is addressing to multiple uncles with the term *mched* 'brother'.

4.10.7.3 *jo cho* 'big brother'[225]

It is very likely that this term literally means 'big brother' or 'elder brother'; therefore, it is possible that the age difference of the addressee and the sender is not too big to use the previously mentioned term *khu bo* 'uncle'.

> (422)
> **jo cho** *blon gtsug bzher dang blong legs sgra la/ lha 'brug brtsan gyi mchid gsol ba'a/* (ITJ 897: 1-2)
> To *jo cho* minister Gtsug bzher, minister Legs sgra, [this] message is offered by Lha 'brug brtsan.

This title is used for a minister here, but it seems *jo cho/co* is a deferential term used by a speaker to men who are older and related by blood or otherwise.[226] Therefore, the sender of this letter is probably related to the first addressee Blon Gtsug bzher.

4.10.7.4 *nang rje po* 'the lord'

Previous scholarship often treats this term as an official title equivalent to *nang blon* 'inner minister' during the Tibetan ruling of the Central Asia (Rme ru Yul Lha Thar, 2010, p. 120).

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[225] This title is attested in the incomplete letters that are not fully used in this chapter including PT 1172 and PT 1236.

[226] Kha sgang's dictionary has an entry for *jo co/cho* as *a khu sogs rgan rabs la zhe sa sbyor tshul zhig* "an honorific used for maternal uncles, paternal-uncles, or uncles who are older [than the speaker]"(Kha sgang et al., 2019b, p. 131), since *zhang* is the prominently used term for maternal uncle in Old Tibetan, it is possible that *jo co/cho* is a deferential term for older male relatives of the speaker, but not maternal or paternal uncles. Some modern Tibetan dialects such as that of U-tsang has a term *jo jo* is used to address elder brothers and male cousins who are older than the speaker and they might share the same origin.

Since *nang rje po* is followed by official titles such as *blon* 'minister', therefore, this widely used term *nang rje po* is a deferential title with numerous usages attested in only letters.[227]

> (423)
> ***nang rje po*** *blon glu bzang dang / blon rtsa bzher gyi zha snagar/ cisun gi mchid gsol b'a/* (PT 1184: 1)
> The presence of *nang rje po* minister Glu bzang and minister Rtsa bzher, [this] message is offered by Cisum.

This title is exclusively used for ministers in the letters followed by *blon* + name(s) of the minister(s); therefore, it is also possible that this is an official title. A big portion of the exercises of letters appeared on *glegs tshas* 'writing board' of the scribes are intended for sending to the ministers with deferential title *nang rje po*. This title is also attested in Old Tibetan letters written on wood slips (Tib. *khram* or *byang bu*) from Central Asia (Y. Wang & Chen, 1985).

4.10.7.5 *btsun ba* 'monk' (PT 1210; PT 1212)

This term is used for ordained monks in CT. It is very likely not a translation of the Sanskrit term *bhikṣu* used for ordained monks since the latter term is attested as *byig shus* (PT 0126: 102-103) or *byig bshus* (PT 0037: 23rl) in OT documents from Dunhuang.

> (424)
> ***btsun ba*** *dza ci'u gi zha sngar/ se'u yam la stsogs pa'I mchid gsol ba/* (PT 1210: 1)
> To the presence of Dza ci'u, the monk, [this] message is offered by Se'u yam etc.

This title is used for monks; however, it should be differentiated from the adjective *btsun ba* 'virtuous' that is used in the greetings which is also exclusively used for monks.

4.10.7.6 *chab srid kyi blon che* 'the great political minister'

In the official system of the Tibetan Empire, *blon che* or *blon chen po* 'the chief minister' is a specific title ranked as the highest in the Tibetan court.[228] However, in OT letters, this title is

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[227] Exercises and incomplete letters PT 1205; PT 0113; PT 1135; PT 1139; PT 1147; PT 1152; PT 1154; PT 1155; PT 1156; PT 1157; PT 1159; PT 1166; PT 1169; PT 1177; PT 1180; PT 1207; PT 1214; PT 1235; PT 1244; PT 1552; and PT 2123 all use this deferential title and all of them are addressed to various *blon* 'minister'.
[228] For a study of different *blon chen po* 'chief ministers' during the Tibetan Empire and their graves recorded in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, see Guntram Hazod (Hazod, 2019).

found in post-Tibetan imperial period letters, therefore, this should be treated as a deferential title used for regular ministers than the official title *blon che* 'chief minister' (PT 1287) from the Tibetan Empire period.

> (425)
> *chab srid blon che la tshin sre zha sngar nas/ cang am 'gra mang 'gu mchid gsol zhing mchis/* (PT 1131: 1-3)
> To the presence of great political minister La tshin sre zha, this message is offered by Cang Am 'gra mang.

This title is used in a letter sent to a highly ranked minister, the *che* 'great' probably is an indication of the rank of the minister who is addressed here.

4.10.7.7 *sing tong ched po* 'the great Saṃgha Overseer' (PT 1220)

The adjectival suffix *ched po* 'the great' is after the official title *sing tong* (*sengtong* 僧統 or *du sengtong* 都僧統)[229] 'The Saṃgha Overseer' of ministers and officials to elevate the addressee in OT letters.

> (426)
> **sing tong ched po** *dang cang sing je la bstsogs pa/ / le tu zi'i dge 'dun 'phyogs/ cang to di'u dzin seng gyis mchid gsol* (PT 1220: 1-2)
> To the great Sing tong (*seng tong* 僧統) Cang sing je and other monks at the Le tu zi (*Lingtu si* 靈圖寺)[230], Cang do di'u (*Zhang dutou* 張都頭) is sending this message.

This is a title used for a monk official from Dunhuang area during the period of Guīyìjūn rule. Second part of the title is probably merely for courtesy rather than the rank of official position.

4.10.7.8 Other deferential expressions

Apart from using honorific and humilific nouns (including pronouns) and verbs, there are other strategies used in the greetings to pragmatically elevate the social status of the addressee, for instance, using multiple adjectives to describe the addressee.

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[229] The position known as *seng tong* 僧統 'The Saṃgha Overseer' is a high ranking religious official during the Guīyìjūn rule of Hexi (Rong, 1989, 70).
[230] This is the monastery where the Tibetan monk and translator Facheng 法成 or otherwise known as 'Gos chos grub once lived (Sørensen, 2019, 6).

lha dpal 'phrul dang mtshungs pa '[The one] resembling divine glorious magical [being]'

(427)
lha dpal 'phrul dang mtshungs pa'*i zha snga nas/ thugs* bde 'am myi bde / mchid yi
ge las/ snyun gsol zhing mchisna // bka' stsal pa/ tsam du ji gnang (PT 1210: 1-3)
The one resembling the divine glorious magical [being], is your mind at peace or not?
[I am] enquiring it with this message and please grant me with a reply.

This is from the greeting part of a letter addressed to Dzi ce'u, a monk by multiple
senders. The triple elaborative adjectives here is a pragmatical and, very likely, a
formulaic phrase used for monks in Old Tibetan letters.

In this letter, multiple poetic deferential titles are used for the addressee. The first one is
about the Buddhist concept of the 'triple world' of rebirth or three realms: the Desire Realm
(*'dod khams*), the Form Realm (*gzugs khams*), and the Formless Realm (*gzugs med khams*);
the addressee is praised as the teacher to all these three realms. Next, the following reference
is made the addressee as the lamp of the world (*'jig rten gyi sgron ma'*), the last reference is
made to the two types of sentient beings, gods (*lha*) and human beings (*myi*), praising the
addressee as the source of hope for these two types of beings. All in all, this deferential
passage skilfully employs a numerical technique of a three-one-two formula, three realms,
one world, and two types of sentient beings to glorify the addressee.

(428)
khams gsum gyi ston pa/ 'jig rten gyi sgron ma/ lha myi rnam nyis kyi re gnas/ *ha se
to sing lyog zhi legs kyi zha sngar/ khug gong 'bug ser po gis mchid gsol ba'/* (PT
1129: 1-2)
To the presence of Ha se to sing lyog (*Hexi du senglu* 河西都僧錄) Zhi legs, the
teacher to three realms, the lamp for the world, hope for all divine and human beings,
[this] message is offered by Khug gong 'bug ser po.

This is an elaborative epithet used for extolling a religious person, probably one's own guru,
thus, excessive use of rhetoric shows the extreme politeness from the sender of the letter.

For this type of letter, addressing is a ritual where the sender is making verbal offerings to
one's guru. It seems lamp is a popular metaphor used in OT letters for religious persons. This
set of epithets, again, is used for a group of religious persons to extol their status in a letter.

(429)
don dam ston pa'i sgron ma/ bsod nams rin cen gyi gter/ *lha myi yongs kyi mchod
gnas* **dam par gyur pa'i/ sku btsun ba ched po** *sag btsun dang/. 'bye shen yo shen dang*

pwu sing ce dang dgram btsun ba las bstsogs pa dge 'dun phyogs kyi zha snga nas/
gser dka' dang/ rin chen gsal mchid gsol p'a/ (PT 1211: 1-4)
To the presence of the great virtuous monks [who are] lamps that reveal the ultimate
[truth], the treasury for the precious merits, and object of worship for all divine and
human beings; this message is offered by Gser dka' and Rin cen gsal.

This type of elaborative addressing is only found in some of the post-imperial period OT
letters but never found in the Tibetan Empire period letters.

4.10.7.9 Contrasting verbs *stsald/gsol*, and *spring* 'to give; to report; to send'

The use of different verbs for a single action by different people is not merely a sign of
courtesy in letter writing, but it also shows the ranking of addressees and senders succinctly.
Takeuchi correctly contrasts the verbs *stsald* 'to give, send' and *gsol* 'to give, send', to
differentiate the social ranking of the addressee and sender in a letter. For humilific *gsol*, we
do not find other forms in Old Tibetan. However, for honorific *stsald* 'to give, send', an
imperative form *stsold* can be found in other OT texts.[231] The verb *gsol* is used for lower-
ranked person giving or offering something to a higher-ranking person while
honorific *stsald* is used for the higher-ranked person bestowing something to a person with
lower or the similar rank. However, in letters, the message passed between people is
usually known as plain *mchid* or honorific *bka'* 'message'. For pragmatic purposes, if the
letter is from a high-ranking official to a lower-ranked, the phrase is attested in the form
of *mchid stsald*, a plain noun and an honorific verb as seen in some official letters. Similarly,
when a low-ranking person requests the higher ranking to provide an answer for his
greetings, double honorific as in a verbal phrase *bka' stsal* (examples 436 and 437) is used
for the higher-ranking person. If the letter is from a lower-ranking person to a higher or
similar person, *mchid gsol*, a plain noun followed by a humilific verb, is used. This is attested
in all the Dunhuang OT personal letters of officials (PT 1003; PT 1092; PT 1131; PT 1125;
PT 1132; PT 1184; PT 1189; ITJ 897) and religious people (PT 1129; PT 1142; PT 1200; PT

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[231] It seems *stsald* 'to give, send' is not found in other forms; a form *bstsald* with a prefix b- is also found in Old
Tibetan, but it means 'to clear', for instance, *dkon mchog gsum la mchod de / sdIg pa thams cad **bstsald** nas/
bsod nams kyI rjes su yI rang ste* (ITJ 0751: 40v1) or 'from worshipping the Three Jewels, [one] cleared all the
evil deeds.' It seems like *bstsald* is an older form for *bsal* (pres. *sel*, past. *bsal,* fut. *bsal,* imp. *sol*) 'to remove, to
clear away', we do not know when *bstsald* changed to *bsal* since *bsal* is also widely attested in Old Tibetan texts
(ITJ 0737-2: r17; PT 0149: v5; PT 0986: 23). The stem *stsal* is also glossed in Hill for 'clear' and he argues that
a change *sts- > s-* had taken place sometime during Old Tibetan (N. Hill, 2012, pp. 18; 24; 25; 43; 44). If this
theory is proved to be correct, then we can probably say that Dunhuang documents with *bsal* can be dated later
than the ones with *bstsal* (only the ones with the meaning 'to remove, to clear away'). An intransitive form
for *bstsald, gtsald* 'clear' is also attested in OT (PT 0986: 24).

1201; PT 1202; PT 1210; PT 1211; PT 1212; PT 1220). The nature of *gsol* being associated with the action directed from lower-ranking people to the higher-ranking can be proven by official letters where appeals from the local officials to the court or councils are explicitly mentioned.

Moreover, there is another verb *spring* 'send' that is used in some letters sent between husband and wife (PT 1176) and high-ranking officials to low-ranking officials (PT 1113; PT 1552; PT 1131; PT 2204C) and high-ranking monks to low-ranking monks (PT 1201). There are official letters in which *mchid stsald* is omitted and only the sealing for dispatching in an office is mentioned, it usually takes place in the letters that do not mention an individual as the addressee. However, these official letters usually quote the previous message from the addressee by the form "addressee + *s* (agentive marker) *gsold p(h)a*" as following:

(430)
blon chen pos/ 'dun tsa long cu nas/ phagi lo'i dphyid bkye'I phyag rgya (2) *phog ste/ rgya sde gnyIs kyI dpon snas* **gsold** *pha/ rgya sha chu pa'I bu sring las/ sngon* (3) *chad/ bod sum dang zhang lon ya ya nas/ mchis brang du 'tshal ba skad du/ snyad bthags nas 'tshald de/ bran du bgyis pa yang mang* (PT 1083: 1-4)
Sealed for dispatch in the year of pig by the great minister's council in Long-cu 隴州.[232] Officials from two Chinese communities reported that Chinese ladies of Sha-cu 沙州 there have been many cases where they have been brought by Tibetans, Sumpa, and Zhang ministers in the guise of house wives and made them into slaves.[233]

The following letter is from the Guīyìjūn 歸義軍 period as the Tibetan transliteration of the Chinese term Guīyìjūn, Ku 'ig kun 'Return-to-Allegiance Army' reveals, and *mchid stsald* is also omitted, but *gsol* is used by the sender:

(431)
khrom chen po sha cu ku 'ig kun nas/ byi ba lo 'I ston sla 'bring (2) *po 'I ngo la bka' rtags gyi phyag rgya phog ste/ cang dze sheng gis* **gsold** *pa/* (PT 1081: 1-2)

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[232] Scholars previously raised the issue with the toponym Long cu (Lǒngzhōu 隴州). The primary argument was that this place was within the borders of Tang and was never controlled by Tibetans. Thus, it is inconceivable to have a Tibetan meeting there (Rong, 1991, p. 272), but this comment was made while reading another Old Tibetan document (PT 1113) dealing with the same council meeting claimed to have taken place in Long cu. Without any other possible candidate for Long cu than Lǒngzhōu 隴州, we have to probably conclude that the council is on the move and is a temporary council while the Tibetan troops were attacking Chinese fortresses in the area.

[233] This specific example complicates using *gsold* as a humilific form since the sender does not use it to himself but the subordinate addressee. It is also possible that the letter's writer is not the high officials but are scribes working for them and *gsold* is used in the third-person perspective of these socially low-ranking scribes.

Sealed for dispatch from Guīyìjūn of Khrom chen po Sha cu, Cang dze offered this letter in the middle of the mid-autumn month.

The use of *gsold* in this letter reveals that this is an official letter sealed for dispatch with a personal touch of a low-ranking official who acted as the sender. In contrast, only *stsald* is used when it is from a higher-ranking official to a lower-ranking official:

(432)
blon lha bzher dang/ zhang legs bzang gis/ 'dun tsa zha'I bde sum tshal nas (2) *'brug gi lo'I dbyard/ bkye'I phyag rgya phog ste/ zhang stag rma g.yu gong la* **mchid** (3) **stsald** *pa/* (ITJ 1126: 1-3)
Ministers Lha bzher and Zhang legs bzang sealed for dispatch, in the summer of the year of dragon, assembly at Bde sum sthal in Zha; giving this message to Zhang stag rma g.yu gong.

In this letter, Zhang stag rma g.yu gong is a subordinate to the senders, Minister Lha bzher and Zhang legs bzang. It is same for the letters sent from the imperial court in Central Tibet to the officials in the peripheral regions such as Sha-cu without identifying a sender:

(433)
$ /:/ *pho brang lhan kar nas/ 'brug gi lo'i dgun sla 'bring po'i ngo la bkye 'i phyag rgya phog ste/* (2) *sha cu 'I rtse rje la* **mchid stsal** *pa'a/* (PT 1085: 1-2)
From the Court of Lhan dkar, in the mid-summer month of the dragon year, sealed for dispatch and delivering this message to the head of city of Sha cu.

The same rule applies to the official letters from the post-Tibetan imperial period. The following letter is from the royal court of a Uighur king to a minister, and it uses *stsald* as follows:

(434)
dang ra hwi 'i hor kh'a gan rje'i pho brang nas/ bka' rtags kyi phyag rgya phog nas (2) *stong na dbang blon la* **stsald** *p'a/* (PT 1188: 1-2)
From the Royal Court of Tängri Uighur Kaghan, sealed for dispatch, delivered to Stong na dbang blon.

These letters mentioned above are official letters (Type I for Takeuchi) of a government office, the court, or an assembly, dispatching a folded letter or edict to an official. In the cases of personal correspondence between officials with similar ranking or from a lower ranking to a higher-ranking addressee, both *gsol* and *stsal* are attested in the greeting part of the letter. In these contexts, verb *gsol* is referenced with the sender and *stsald* with the addressee. The

contrasting of plain noun *mchid* 'message' and honorific noun *bka'* 'message' is also attested along the verbs accordingly.

For instance, in the following example, a letter exercise includes both *gsol* and *stsald* referenced to the sender and addressee respectively:

(435)
*thugs bde 'am myi bde **mchId** yi ge las **gsol** zhing mchIs na/ **bka'** (4) **stsald** pa tsam du ji gnang/* (PT 0113: 3-4)
[I am] here asking via written message if your mind is at peace or not and please do send a message in [response].

Again, in this letter exercise, *mchid gsol* and *bka' stsald* are used for the addressee, a religious person, and the sender, a monk.

(436)
*ban de shen 'do gi **mchid gsol** ba'/ lha dpal 'phrul dang* (2) *'dra ba'i zha snga nas/ thugs bde am myi bde mchid yi ge las snyun gsol zhing mchis na **bka' stsal** pa tsam du ci gnang/* (PT 1119: 1-2)
This is message is offered by monk Shen 'do to ask if the magic-like you [and your] mind is at peace or not and asking if you have anything to inform [me].

Similarly, *bka' stsald* is also used for two officials in a letter written by possibly a relative of one of the officials addressed. In this letter, *mchid gsol* is also used by the sender for himself.

(437)
jo cho blon gtsug bzher dang blon legs sgra la/ lha 'brug brtsan (2) *gyi **mchid gsol** ba'/ lha dpal mched kyi zha snga nas// thugs rtag tu bde bar smon te/ mchid* (3) *yi ge las snyun gsol zhing mchis na/ **bka' stsald** pa tsam du chi gnang/* (ITJ 897: 1-3)
To minister Gtsug bzher and minister Legs sgar, Lha 'brug brtsan is offering the message to wish you divine brothers with eternal peace for the mind and asking regarding your health, so please do give me an answer.

Interestingly, *gsol* starts to show its productivity in OT letters as more than an humilific verb. For instance, it is part of a phrase *bka' spring bar gsol* 'asking for sending a message'. In a letter probably sent to a social equal, the verb is attested for the second time in the following excerpt.

(438)

(4) *sem cen mtha dag gi don du 'o brgyal de gdan bzhugs na sku la snyung myi bangs yang sri zhu 'I* (5) *tshul gis snyung **mchid** yi gyi las **gsol** zhing mchis bka' spring bar **gsol**/* (PT 1003: 4-5)
Busy for all beings, it is not likely to catch any illness with your body, however, asking your condition with this letter as a service, and [please] send a reply.

It is obvious that the first attestation of *gsol* is a regular lexical verb meaning 'to ask' while the second is an humilific morpheme following the verbal noun *spring ba* 'sending', separated by a -*r*, an allative particle.

4.10.7.10 Other deferential techniques in OT letters

Use of empty space in the letter is a key deferential strategy in Classical Tibetan letters and it seems it was already in use in the Old Tibetan letters, at least when it comes to the personal ones.[234] There is an empty space, usually of two to five lines, after name(s) and title of the addressee at the beginning of the letter (usually one or two lines). At the end of the space, there is a line break with an indention followed by the name(s) of the sender; the body of the letter starts from next line from the left (PT 1082; PT 1129; PT 1220; PT 1125; PT 1131; PT 1189; PT 1188; PT 1212). Even the letters without the space, the line break with the indention followed by the name of sender(s) is a feature used for some of the Old Tibetan personal letters. There are letters without the indention or the line break, it probably more significant for exploring the periodisation than politeness of letters. It seems the letters with obvious empty space (see figure. 06) and indentions following the *prescript* are some of the personal letters from of the post-Tibetan imperial period (PT 1189; PT 1131; PT 1082; PT 1220), which probably indicates a style of letter writing developed during the time.

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[234] A specific term *'bebs* was used for the empty space between the addressee's name and the subject of the letter in Classical Tibetan, specifically during the time of Ganden Phodrang (1895-1959) and the size of the space is different for officials with different ranks (literature on the different ranks of officials during the Ganden Phodrang, see Petech (1973) and Travers (2011)). For instance, it is described by Bka' drung nor rgyas nang pa dbang 'dus tshe ring, a 19th century sectary of the Ganden Phodrang government, in his *Yig bskur rnam gzhag* [principles of letter writing] that for the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama, one *mtho* 'a span from the extended thumb to the tip of the middle finger' and four *sor* 'a finger's breadth' of the empty space should be employed while for ministers (*sa dbang*), if it is from people who are below the fourth rank officials (*rim pa bzhi pa*), one *mtho* of the empty space should be used (Bka' drung nor rgyas nang pa, 1990, pp. 3–5). For the fourth rank officials, if the letter is from the officials of 13 internal departments and regular sectaries of the district (*rdzong gzhis drung dkyus*), one *mkhyid* 'span of ' of the empty space should be employed for the letter (Bka' drung nor rgyas nang pa, 1990, p. 6).
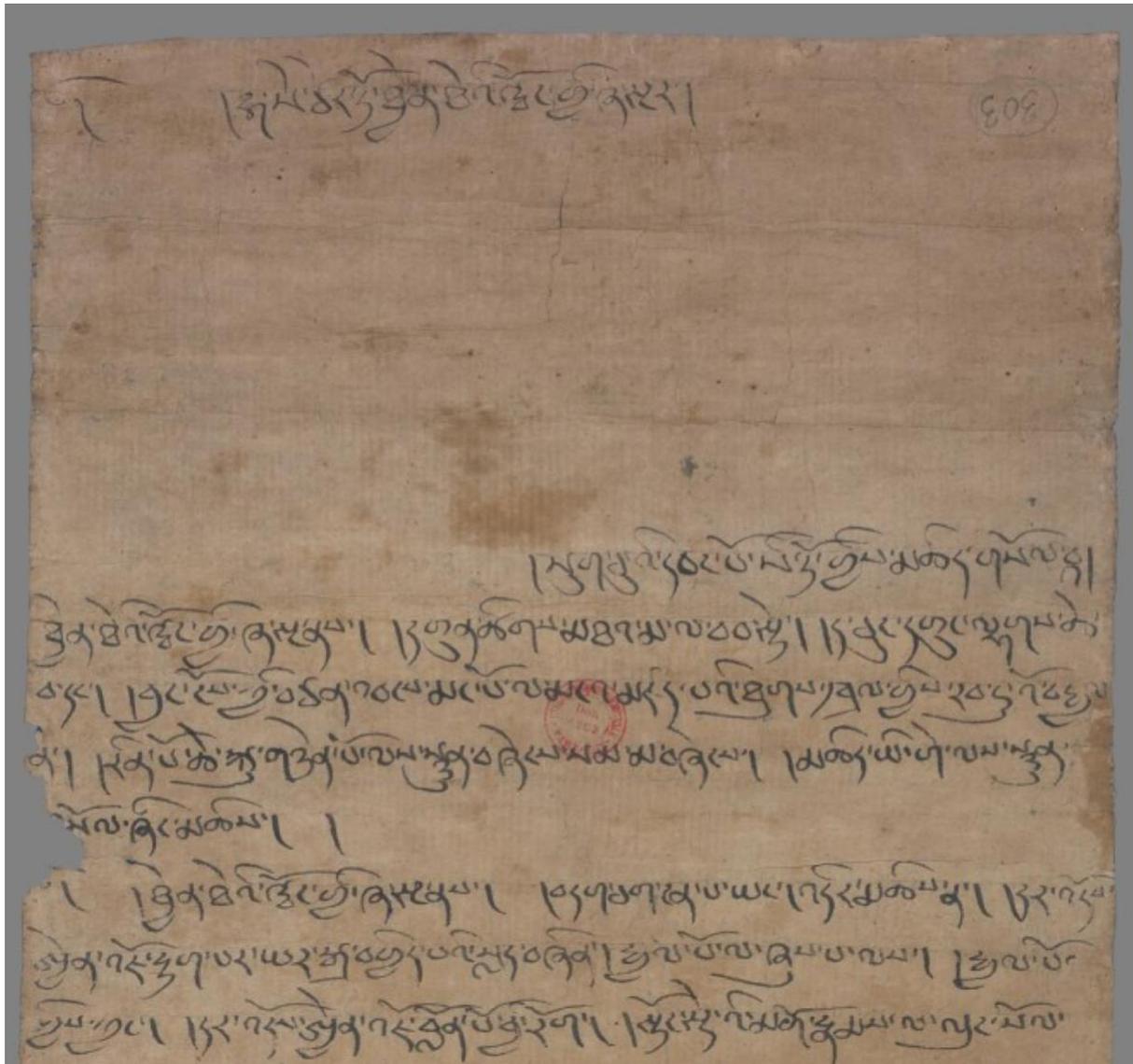
Figure. 06. Use of empty space in PT 1189, part of a personal letter from a post-Tibetan period official.

4.10.7.11 Conclusion

This chapter explored the pragmatics in Old Tibetan letters and how politeness is expressed through various strategies in the OT letters by studying the structure, categories, and the dates of the OT letters. More than three dozen Old Tibetan letters dated to the periods of the Tibetan Empire or the Tibetan control of Dunhuang (787-848) and post-Imperial Tibetan (9th-11th centuries) periods from Dunhuang are used as the corpus for this chapter. Old Tibetan letters can be categorised, comparing with previous studies, into two general types of official and personal letters, and the latter type is further categorised into three: personal letters of the officials, religious people, and family members. For surveying the structures of OT letters, a

scheme commonly used in western epistolary studies is employed to see what components of these elements are there and how come together in OT letters from different periods with different categories. Politeness aspects of the OT letters are investigated via looking at syntactical and morphological variations used, such as employment of the honorifics, humilifics, and deferential titles. A discovery of *'on*, a first-person pronoun is made in Old Tibetan letters which is probably a Chinese loanword. A pragmatically contrasting pair of verbs, honorific *stsald* and humilific *gsol* 'to give, to ask' are investigated with their attestations according to the social status of the persons they address. Other than honorifics and humilifics, OT letters use many deferential titles to show politeness and social etiquette. Issues such as dating the OT letters, terminology of the letter in OT, and palaeography of OT letters are also tackled to minor extent in this chapter to see a holistic picture of the OT epistolary writings and to situate the pragmatics of the letter writing as a social practice and the way in which it has gone through changes and been influenced by many factors such as cultural and linguistic contact as well as the historical epochs and social milieus in which they have been produced.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This dissertation is a voyage to understand the pragmatics and precisely how the social status of different people is expressed in Old Tibetan texts, exemplified in the use of varying plain, honorific, and humilific verbs and personal pronouns, and deferential titles and phrases. This exploration is done in textual sources by taking four groups of Old Tibetan texts unearthed in Dunhuang as the corpus. These texts are *OTA* and *OTC*, two well-known Tibetan historical documents, OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Tibetan rendering of an Indian epic, and personal and official Old Tibetan epistolary writings written by Tibetan and non-Tibetan writers with various occupations to various addressees. Regarding the focus of the linguistic features, verbs of motion and speech, pronouns, and phrases are selected and contextualised syntactically to understand the usage to understand their pragmatic significance. From the first throughout the third chapters, this dissertation explores the verbs of motion and speech in *OTA*, *OTC*, and OT *Rāmāyaṇa* to investigate how different characters take different verbs according to their social status and that of the speaker, narrator, and the listener in the context. Many scholars suggest that equating honorifics (or humilifics) with politeness is problematic. Still, honorifics (and humilifics) should be considered a critical area to be explored for politeness. It should never be ignored if one studies politeness in languages, primarily due to their socio-pragmatic information. For this purpose, this dissertation tries to untangle the mystery of using certain verbs to achieve specific goals in OT by examining honorific, humilific, and plain motion and speech verbs, pronouns, and other deferential expressions used in OT texts.

A disclaimer should be put forward that this dissertation usually employs the term OT on all the varieties of the language spanning from at least the 8th century to the early 11th century, the rough dates scholars assigned to the documents discovered from the Cave 17 of Dunhuang. Some of the findings of this dissertation are now in order here, and they should not be taken as comprehensive but as summaries of the key findings. Only three texts, OTA, OTC, and OT Rāmāyaṇa, are used for the verbs of motion and speech. The main areas explored in OT epistolary writings are honorific and humilific nouns/pronouns and deferential titles regarding pragmatics. To examine the semantics of OT verbs of motion and speech in *OTA*, *OTC*, and OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, all the existing examples are extracted from the corpus to study the usage as thoroughly as possible.

The motion verb *gshegs* 'to go' are used for emperors, the imperial court, and royal women in the *OTA*. It is used, again, for emperors, royal women, and Lde bla gung rgyal, a god in *OTC*. In OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, it is used for high-ranking gods, protagonists such as the King of Ten

Chariots, Ramana, and Sita. From this usage, it can be concluded that *gshegs* is a high honorific motion verb used for people and gods with high status. There is no sign that *gshegs* is an honorific verb only reserved for the emperors of the Tibetan Empire, but when it is paired with the destination, *dgung* 'heaven' as in *dgung du gshegs* 'go to heaven', it is only used for the death of emperors. No evidence is found in our corpus for a change in the usage of this motion verb during different periods of the OT except for the CT or MT meaning of the death of a high-ranking person. A possible precursor to this later meaning is an OT verbal phrase *dgung du gshegs* 'to go to heaven' used only for the emperors. However, in CT and MT, the destination *dgung* 'heaven' is not mentioned when using *gshegs* as an honorific verb for passing away of the high-ranking people but use the phrase *sku gshegs* 'the body goes' or *zhing du gshegs* 'to go to the realm'. In our corpus, *mchis* is an honorific motion verb used for chief ministers (*blon che*) and other court ministers of the Tibetan Empire in the *OTA*. In the *OTC*, this motion verb is used for various ministers and messengers, but ministers likely could be sent as messengers sometimes. In OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, *mchis* is used for high-ranking characters, Daśagrīva, Ramana, Lagshana, and Hanumanta. In conclusion, *mchi* is an honorific used for socially high-ranked people and personalities in OT. However, the people and characters who take *mchis* are usually socially lower ranked than those who take *gshegs,* except for Ramana and Lagshana in OT *Rāmāyaṇa,* who also, at the same time, take *gshegs*.

Motion verbs are generally monosyllabic in OT. Nonetheless, a handful of verbal phrases are also attested in our corpus. For example, *slar log* and *slar 'khor* 'to return', both attested in the *OTA*, are two such verbs with the adverbial *slar* 'again' as the first syllable in both verbal phrases. In *OTA*, the verbal phrase *slar 'khor* is used for the troops, while the slar log is used for the emperor and chief ministers to return to the original location where their journeys had ended. Another motion verb, *drangs* 'to lead/escort', is used in OT primarily for leading military expeditions with the object *dra ma* 'military' preceding it. "Leading military expedition" is the primary meaning of this motion verb since it can be attested as a monosyllabic *drangs* for leading military expeditions in OT. However, it can also be a verbal phrase with *spyan* 'eye'(honorific) as *spyan drangs* 'lead the way' or 'to invite', which is used for Mgar stong rtsan yul zung, the Tibetan chief minister escorting the Chinese princes Wénchéng Gōngzhǔ 文成公主 to Tibet.

OTC and OT *Rāmāyaṇa* include more motion verbs, primarily due to the contents as they are narratives involving plots and various characters compared to the annual brief entries of events

regarding the emperors, royal courts, and ministers in *OTA*. Moreover, in *OTC* and OT *Rāmāyaṇa*, characters have different social statuses: gods, emperors, queens, messengers, horse grooms, monkeys, demons, and birds with different roles to play in our narratives. Therefore, the semantic complexity of motion verbs is more pronounced in these narratives. In these narratives, one can have an in-depth understanding of the semantics of motion verbs by looking at verbs through the lens of Talmy's typological categorisation of languages into S(atellite)-framed and V(erb)-framed languages (Talmy, 1985). For this purpose, Slobin's supplementation of the "Equipollently-framed language" (Slobin, 2004) is also especially relevant for comprehending motion verbs in Old Tibetan since it exhibits a mixed pattern of S-framed and V-framed languages. For instance, the *song* 'to go' and *'ongs* 'to come' can be taken as a deictically contrasted pair where the figure moves "away" from the deictic centre in the first and "to" in the second case. However, as the research on these two motion verbs in English and other languages shows, these expressions are semantically more complicated than just two motion verbs manifesting a universal deictic opposition. For example, the motion verb *'ongs* 'to come' has a different meaning in OT that expresses a meaning along the lines of 'suitable' or 'to be able to become someone or perform a certain duty' (See example 51). Moreover, some imperative forms of motion verbs also appear in narratives in the corpus, *bzhud* 'to go' (Examples 99-102) and *shog* 'to come' (Examples 123-127), are two such verbs used in OT *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Speech verbs rarely appear in the *OTA*. Thus, *OTC* and OT *Rāmāyaṇa* are used as the corpus for this exploration. Speech verbs attested in OT are overwhelmingly monosyllabic except for a verbal phrase *lan btab* 'to answer; reply' (Examples 207-209) and numerous attestations of the verbal phrase *bka' stsal* 'to decree; to say; to give an order' (examples 248-255), especially in the *OTC*. Amongst speech verbs, there are a few honorifics used for the socially high persons and characters in narratives; for instance, *gsungs* 'to sing/to say' is used in *OTC* exclusively for people from the royal family for delivering *mgur*, type of a song in verses while another speech verb *blangs* 'to sing' is used for non-royal family people delivering such songs. Of course, the terms used for such songs are also different for people with different social rankings; *klu* and *mchid* are employed if the songs are from ministers and other non-royal people of the empire. Although *mgur* is a term specifically used for the royal family members, the verb blangs 'to sing' can sometimes be used for royal family members delivering *mgur* (See examples 220; 221; 222; 223; 225). From this observation, we can probably say that nouns are more stable when expressing pragmatics in OT. There are speech verbs such as *bgyis* and *byas*,

which can be interpreted as both speech verbs meaning 'to say' and verbs meaning 'to do'. As speech verbs, these are used for various people, including ministers in *OTC*, and characters including Ramana, Marutse, Lagshana, and Mgrin bzang, unclear which is the original meaning and which is the later acquired meaning. Another verb, *byung*, usually with the sense 'to occur; to emerge' in CT, is used as a speech verb in OT *Rāmāyaṇa* for Mahadeba, a highly ranked god in the narrative.

OT personal and official letters are a treasury of linguistic features. For the structure of OT letters, the universal tripartite components of letters: Opening, Body, and Closing, are helpful. In terms of dates, these were letters written by Tibetans and non-Tibetans spanned from the Tibetan-ruled Dunhuang (786-848) to the early 11th century. Honorific and humilific expressions are widely used in letters; nouns and verbs are common carriers of such meanings. For instance, a contrasting pair of verbs, honorific *stsald* 'to give' and humilific *gsol* 'to give', are used in OT letters for marking the social statuses of the sender and addressee. Usually, the sender takes *gsol* while the addressee takes *stsald*. In addition, deferential titles with flowery expressions and adjectives are another strategy used in OT letters to show respect for the addressee (examples 427-429). Finally, two contrasting nouns, an honorific *bka'* 'word' and plain noun *mchid* 'word', go with *stsald* and *gsol*, respectively (see examples 469-472). One exception is that combining a plain noun and an honorific verb, *mchid stsal* is possible.

In contrast, an honorific noun *bka'* and a humilific verb *gsol* as **bka' gsol* is impossible in OT. Verbs are not the only linguistic tokens in OT letters that show pragmatics. Pronouns come in honorifics, humilifics, and plain to mark the social status and relational hierarchy. Amongst those letters, the ones written post-Tibetan imperial period are particularly elaborative. Although this is one of the first attempts to dissect some aspects of socio-pragmatics in OT, the findings of this dissertation are premature and inconclusive in many ways. Further explorations based on various corpora and from different perspectives of pragmatics are necessary for further understanding OT, as represented in OT texts from Central Asia and Central Tibet.

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ZHOL The Zhol/Sri Stele Inscription
BPNP Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa (Varanasi edition: Edited by Dr. Penpa Dorjee, 2011)
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Appendix 1

A table with all the existing OT letters and shelf marks
om. for omitted in the text
lac. for illegible due to text damage

	Shelf mark	Convoker/sender	Office	Addressee	**Literature**[235]	**Notes**
1	PT 1083 verso	blon chen po	'dun tsa long cu	om.	Takeuchi 1990	
2	PT 1113i	xxx rje and blon khrom bzher	'dun tsa long cu	bde blon	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
3	PT 1113ii	xxx[b]zher	Zha'I bde sum tshal	Sha chu rgod stsang tshogs pa'i dpon snan	Takeuchi 1990	
4	PT 1552i	om.	Pho brang 'on cang do	bde blon	Takeuchi 1990	'Bdag ngan pa' this document includes several letter drafts
5	PT 1552ii	Zhang kong	om.	Nang rje pho blon btsan bzher	Takeuchi 1990	
6	PT 1552iii	Dge thub	om.	Ban de don grub		
7	PT 1552iv	'Phan bu steo	om.	Ban de mchog rab		

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[235] I have included the literature if it mentioned the shelf number of the concerning letter, no matter it has done a thorough study or not.

8	PT 1217	Zhang lon chen po	Khrom chen po'i 'dun sa/ Tsong-ka rtsis skyang dgu	om.	Takeuchi 1990	It is an official recognition of Ta rig bu sha's political contribution
9	PT 1085	om.	Royal court Lhan kar	Rse-rje councillors in sha cu	Takeuchi 1990	
10	PT 1111	lac.	lac.	lac.	Takeuchi 1990	
11	Ch. Fr. 67 (ITJ 1126)	Blon lha bzher and Zhang legs bzang	'Dun tsa zha'i bde sum tshal	Zhang stag rma g.yu gong	Takeuchi 1990	
12	Ch. Fr. 80				Takeuchi 1990	
13	M.I. 28, 0036				Takeuchi 1990	
14	M.I. 44, 0013				Takeuchi 1990	
15	PT 1173	Blon lha bzher and Zhang leg bzang	Bdun tsa Zha	lac.	Takeuchi 1990	
16	PT 1294				Takeuchi 1990	Zhang lon ched po zhang khri sum bzher, Blon btsan bzher, and Blon mdo brtsan etc. as convoker??
17	PT 2123	om.	Zha'i 'dun tsha	Khri ga phyogs kyi yul myi dra ma pa yul pon che phra	Takeuchi 1990	

18	PT 1081	Cang dze sheng	Khrom chen po'I 'dun sa sha cu ku 'ig kun	om.	Takeuchi 1990	
19	M.I. ii. 40				Takeuchi 1990	
20	M. Tagh. b. i. 0096				Takeuchi 1990	
21	PT 1089	om.	'dun sa zha	lac.	Takeuchi 1990	Maybe the longest edict of all
22	PT 1113ii				Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
23	Ch. 73 iv, 14				Takeuchi 1990	
24	PT 1188 verso	om.	Dang ra hwea'i hor khA gan rje'i pho brang	Stong na dbang blon	Takeuchi 1990	
25	M.I. xxi. 1,2A				Takeuchi 1990	
26	M.I. i. 27				Takeuchi 1990	
27	M. Tagh. a. iv. 0018				Takeuchi 1990	
28	PT 2204 pièce C			lac.	Takeuchi 1990	
29	BTT (Berliner Trufansamm lung) text 1				Takeuchi 1990	
30	BTT text 8				Takeuchi 1990	
31	PT 1222			'bring yas legs kong	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	exercise
32	TD (Lenningrad Malov				Takeuchi 1990;	

	Collection)25				
33	TD 28			Takeuchi 1990	
34	PT 1129	Khug gong 'bug ser po		Ha se to si lyog zhi legs	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	Personal letter
35	PT 1205	g.yu rmang brtsan		Nang rje po blon btsan bzang	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
36	I.O. vol. 53. 49 verso				Takeuchi 1990	
37	Ch. 86. ii. verso				Takeuchi 1990	
38	PT 1092	Phug wen?		Shi shug, shug shug, I ne, shim shim etc.	Takeuchi 1990	
39	PT 1132	Dang khar sam		Yum sras mched 'phrul	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
40	PT 1184	Ci sun?		Nang rje po blon glu bzang and blon rtsa bzher	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
41	PT 1210	Se'u yam etc.		Btsun ba dzi ci'u	Takeuchi 1990	
42	PT 1290				Takeuchi 1990	Not sure if this document has a letter
43	Ch. 77. xii				Takeuchi 1990	
44	MI. i. 23				Takeuchi 1990	
45	MI. xiv. 23				Takeuchi 1990	
46	I.O. vol. 54. f. 47				Takeuchi 1990	
47	BTT text 3				Takeuchi 1990	
48	BTT text 4				Takeuchi 1990	
49	BTT text 7				Takeuchi 1990	

50	BTT text 13				Takeuchi 1990	
51	PT 1119	lac.		lac.	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
52	PT 1202	Mkhan po lha 'phrul		Mkhan po hong ben	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
53	PT 1204	Mkhan po lha 'phrul		Mkhan po hong pen	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
54	PT 1172	Jo cho blon g.yu bzher		lac.	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
55	PT 1142	'bun sin and tsin thong		Mkhan po phab srang, jo co stag sor rje, stag bzang, A nyang, jo co phug sud, lha bzher, sam ka, dpal mo etc.	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
56	M.I. xxviii.005				Takeuchi 1990	
57	M.I.xiv.59				Takeuchi 1990	
58	PT 1200	Mkhan po hong pen		Dbyig gi rgyan	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
59	PT 1201	Mkhan po hong ben		Kim kang	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
60	M. Tagh. b. i. 0092				Takeuchi 1990	
61	M. Tagh 0512				Takeuchi 1990	
62	M.I. i. 23				Takeuchi 1990	
63	M.I. xxx. 8				Takeuchi 1990	
64	M.I. xxvii. 18				Takeuchi 1990	
65	M.I. xxxiv. 11				Takeuchi 1990	

66	I.O. vol 55. Fol. 20				Takeuchi 1990	
67	PT 1131	Chab srid blon che la tshin sre		Cang am 'gra mang 'gu	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
68	PT 1212	Yon shan		Btsun pa 'bye (shu)n, btsun pa yo shan, and btsun pa dbal chog	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
69	PT 1003	A+yI cu'I lI sIng je dpal ldan		Sha cu na lI sIng je	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
70	PT 1082	Deng re hwe hur kha gan		om.	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
71	PT 1125	Tshin kA kong yeng den		Tshin kA kong chen po pyi bA shi and blon phu shi	Takeuchi 1990	
72	PT 1189	Sug cu'i dbang po si to		Ha se tser to thyen the'I 'wong	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012; Bai 2017; Wang and Cheng 1988; Rong and Zhu 2013	The most studied letter of all, *wong* here is actually *' wong* (cite Hill on 'a)
73	PT 1220	Cas to di'u （张都头） dzin sheng		Sing tong ched po, cang sing je （张僧政）	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
74	PT 1225	om.		om.	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
75	PT 1284	Ha se byang ngos kyi tse ra to tshe 'u de'i po'u		Lha'i rgyal po ched po yab seng ge lI rje	Takeuchi 1990	

76	PT 1211	Gser dka' and Rin cen gsal		Sku btsun ba ched po sag btsun, 'Bye shen yo shen, Phub sing ce, Gram btsun pa etc	Takeuchi 1990; bkra shis 2012	
77	Ch. 77. ii				Takeuchi 1990	
78	Ch. Fr. 66 (ITJ 897)	Lha 'brug brtsan		Jo cho blon gchug bzher and Blon legs sgra	Takeuchi 1990	
79	PT 1103				Takeuchi 1990	Could not find the letter under this shelf mark
80	PT 1187	g.yu xxx		Khu bo chen po mched and Ne ne mo	bkra shis 2012	
81	PT 1152	Legs rtsan		Nang rje po blon btsan bzher	bkra shis 2012	Exercise with multiple drafts
82	PT 1244 verso	'dron la tor		Nang rje po zhang btsan bzang	bkra shis 2012	exercise
83	PT 1236	Zla brtsan and xxx		Jo co rgyal ta	bkra shis 2012	Incomplete
84	PT 1235	Cung cung		Nang rje po blon mdo bzang	bkra shis 2012	Exercise
85	PT 1232	xx [sam] khri		lac.	bkra shis 2012	incomplete
86	PT 1223	lac.		lac.	bkra shis 2012	Incomplete
87	PT 1219	lac.		xxx phug hye nyo, sam nyo cod, phug shing	bkra shis 2012	incomplete

88	PT 1218	lac.		lac.	bkra shis 2012	
89	PT 1215	lac.		lac.	bkra shis 2012	
90	PT 1214	Zhang zigs		Nang rje pho blon btsan bzang	bkra shis 2012	exercise
91	PT 1199	Mtha' yas, Hong ben, Lha 'tso, Lha brtan		Nang rje bo blon ldong bzang	bkra shis 2012	
92	PT 1193	xxx gsal		lac.	bkra shis 2012	
93	PT 1190	lac.		Nang rje po xxx	bkra shis 2012	
94	PT 1180 verso	Snyag rton		Nang rje pho blon rma bzher and Blon mtsho bzher	bkra shis 2012	Exercise
95	PT 1180				bkra shis 2012	Incomplete sentences with several names of ministers as exercise
96	PT 1177	om.		Nang rje pho blon btshan bzher	bkra shis 2012	exercise
97	PT 1176	'wang za zhib I nyang		Cang tse'I tshe'i	bkra shis 2012	Exercise; wife to husband
98	PT 1175	om.		Blon rgyal legs	bkra shis 2012	Exercise
99	PT 1174				bkra shis 2012	Does not include a letter per se, just two names
100	PT 1170	Zhan tsa		lac.	bkra shis 2012	

101	PT 1169i	Cang theng po'i		Nang rje po blon rma sgra and Blon rma bzher	bkra shis 2012	exercise
102	PT 1169ii	Rton kong		Nang rje po zhang legs bzang	bkra shis 2012	exercise
103	PT 1168 recto	Zhang brtan		Zhang zhang khri rma and Shar 'dus	bkra shis 2012	exercise
104	PT 1166	Li'u klu rton		Nang rje po blon rgyal tho re	bkra shis 2012	Exercise; multiple names as exercises for letters
105	PT 1163	Klu dpal		Nang rje po blond pal sum rje	bkra shis 2012	Exercise
106	PT 1160	[xxx] gal pon, A leg, A 'dus etc.		xxx Te ti'u ched po du ra to dog dag Am 'gra ched xxx	bkra shis 2012	incomplet e
107	PT 1159 verso	lac.		Nang rje po zhang btsan bzang	bkra shis 2012	Exercise
108	PT 1159	lac.		lac.	bkra shis 2012	Exercise
109	PT 1158	Klu 'tsho brtsan		lac.	bkra shis 2012	
110	PT 1157 verso	lac.		Nang rje po blon gzu sgra	bkra shis 2012	Exercise
111	PT 1156	Bung stag snya		Nang rje po blon rgyal bzang	bkra shis 2012	Multiple exercises with multiple names
112	PT 1155	om.		Nang rje po blon stag zigs	bkra shis 2012	Exercises with different names
113	PT 1154	Zhang brtan		Nang rje po blon	bkra shis 2012	Several exercises

				mdo brtsan		
114	PT 1147	Rma bzang		Nang rje po blon snyag bzang	bkra shis 2012	exercise
115	PT 1147 verso	Mdon bzang		Nang rje po blon snyan bzang	bkra shis 2012	Multiple exercises with several names
116	PT 1140	Klu slebs etc.		lac.	bkra shis 2012	Incomplet e
117	PT 1139	Dge legs		Nang rje po blon rtang bzher	bkra shis 2012	Probably exercise
118	PT 1135	Dpal sgra		Nang rje po blon dge bzher, Rma sgra, and Dpal sum etc.	bkra shis 2012	Exercise
119	PT 1126	Blon btsan sum bzher etc.		lac.	bkra shis 2012	Exercise
120	PT 1123A verso				bkra shis 2012	Could only find a prayer under PT 1123
121	PT 1123A				bkra shis 2012	Could only find a prayer under PT 1123
122	PT 1091	lac.		lac.	bkra shis 2012	Incomplet e, but has the features of an official letter
123	PT 919 verso	Ban de shen 'do		Nang rje po blon stag mang rtsan	bkra shis 2012	Exercise
124	PT 113 verso	Ceng gin, Shing En etc.		Nang rje pho blon btsan bzher	bkra shis 2012	Exercise

125	PT 150				bkra shis 2012	It's a bzang spyod, a Buddhist text, letter not found.
126	PT 142 recto verso				bkra shis 2012	Again, it is a bzang spyod text
127	PT 141 recto verso				bkra shis 2012	This is a Buddhist text and could not find any letters
128	PT 1207 verso	lac.		Nang rje po blon dge bzher	bkra s his 2012	Exercise
129	PT 1133				bkra shis 2012	
130	PT 184				bkra shis 2012	No letters found in this document
131	PT 981 verso	G.yon ru'i cang kun bag shIs		Ha se mnga' bdag thyen leng kong		There are several exercises
132	PT 982	Hwa'i kyim		om.		Exercise
133	PT 1087	lac.		lac.		Official letter (incomple te)
134	PT 1120	Sha cu'i dbangs po dzo shang shi		Yu than gyi she zhin then xxx		Exercise