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Author(s): Walter Simon

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 30, No. 1, Fiftieth Anniversary Volume (1967), pp. 117-126

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](http://www.cambridge.org) on behalf of [School of Oriental and African Studies](http://www.soas.ac.uk)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/611820>

Accessed: 11/10/2012 11:49

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THE TIBETAN PARTICLE *RE*

By WALTER SIMON

I

The Tibetan particle *re* occurs at the end of sentences, where it is either preceded by *a* or followed by *skan* (sometimes spelled *kan*). When preceded by *a* it has coalesced with it to a final particle which has so far only been observed after verb forms ending in a consonant (including *da-drag*) which is then repeated before the *a* (*da-re*, *sa-re*, *ta-re*, etc.). In accordance with the etymology proposed at the end of this paper, we may expect it as *ha-re* after a verb form ending in a vowel. But unable to find suitable examples of the latter kind, I have asterisked **ha-re* throughout this paper. The particle is entered as *re* in our dictionaries. In the first instance I shall quote the relevant part of the entry *re* in A. H. Jäschke's *Tibetan-English dictionary*.¹

' 4. In such forms as *mor-ra-re* [misprint for *nor-ra-re*], *gyur-ta-re* (Dzl. [= *mDzañs-blum*], 78, 1; 109, 9; 191, 2) it may be rendered by an adverb, as: certainly, undoubtedly.'

The original German version is much fuller.²

' 4. (Verb oder Partikel?) hinter Verbwurzeln mit vorhergehendem *a* und wiederholtem Endconsonant des Stammes, oder nach *da drag* mit *t*, hat es, nach ausdrücklicher Erklärung³ sowie nach dem Zusammenhang der wenigen Stellen in welchen es bis jetzt beobachtet worden ist, den Sinn unseres: wird gewiss, oder würde gewiss (nicht nur 'vielleicht' Sch. unter *nor ra re* im Lex.). Die Stellen sind Dzl. 78, 1; 109, 9; 191, 2, alle mit *gyur-ta-re*, und die von Fouc. Gram., p. 86 angeführten (unter welchen nur die aus *gyatch*.⁴ *ñan hgror ma mchis sa re* der Streichung des *ma* bedürfte, um ebenfalls übersetzt werden zu können: "Sie kämen gewiss ins Verderben (wenn sie)"; ferner, mit etwas abweichender Form: *p'og la re* Pth.⁵ wird (sogleich u. gewiss) treffen.'

This may be followed by the quotation in Ph. Éd. Foucaux's *Grammaire de la langue tibétaine* (Paris, 1858), referred to in Jäschke's German version, which consists in fact of a note (p. 86, n. 1) to the entry ཨ་རེ 'oh! oui! certes!' in a list of interjections.

' Cette particule est mise par Csoma⁶ parmi celles qui indiquent le vocatif, et c'est en effet, d'après Wilson, le sens du mot sanscrit अरे *aré*, dont elle n'est que la transcription. Mais, en se naturalisant en tibétain, la particule

¹ London, 1881 (or its various reprints), 533b.

² *Tibetisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, Gnadau, 1871, 552-3.

³ See below, p. 118, n. 11.

⁴ Abbreviation of *rgya-c'er-rol-pa* (*Lalitavistara*). The quotation is in fact from the *Saddharmapundarika*. See below, ex. 18.

⁵ Abbreviation of *Padma Thang Yig*.

⁶ See his *Grammar of the Tibetan language in English*, Calcutta, 1834, § 189, p. 105, and also I. J. Schmidt, *Grammatik der tibetischen Sprache*, St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1839, 175.

ལ་རྩེ་ seems to have changed a little in meaning at the same time as it has been subjected to the rule which governs the particles ལ་མ and ལ་ (voy. nos 10 et 11), i.e. to say that it takes, in doubling, the letter of the word which precedes, and an ལ་ after the preterites in ལ་ and in ལ་. EXAMPLES: ལ་རྩེ་ལ་མ་མཚོ་ལ་རྩེ་ *ngan hgor ma mtch'is sa rê* "Qu'ils n'aillent pas dans la mauvaise voie!" (*Lotus de la bonne loi*, chap. xiv, st. 54.)—ལ་རྩེ་ནི་མོ་ལ་རྩེ་ *hdi ni chor ta rê* "Il s'échapperait, oh, oui!" (*Lalita-vistara*, chap. xv, texte tibétain, édition de Paris, p. 177.)'

Sarat Chandra Das ⁷ reproduces Jäschke's English version, adding, as usual, Tibetan script to his examples (but leaving out the romanization in the case of *mor-ra-re*, which, as we have seen, is simply a printer's error for *nor-ra-re*) and inserting—for no apparent reason—'indeed' between Jäschke's two meanings 'certainly' and 'undoubtedly'.

The first—and as far as I can see—the only scholar to contradict Jäschke was the late Professor J. Nobel. He did so in the 'dictionaries' or rather glossaries which constitute the second volume (part) of his edition of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* ⁸ on the one hand and of his *Udrāyana, König von Roruka* ⁹ on the other. The two entries are as follows.

(1) 'In der Verbindung *gyur-ta-re* (vgl. auch *mor-ra-re*, *mchis-sa-re* bei Jäschke, a.a.O., Z.16 ff.) scheint *re* samt dem vorangehenden Affix betont verneinenden Sinn zu haben, *phyogs-su ltun-bar gyur-ta-re*, keinesfalls soll (der König) in Partei verfallen, *mā pakṣapatito bhavet* 112, 22.'

(2) 'In Verbindungen wie *gyur-ta-re* betont verneinend, *tshul-ma-yin-pas rdug-bsñal-bar gyur-ta-re*, *mā anayena vyasanam āpatsyate*, möge er keinesfalls durch unrechtes Benehmen (oder durch Missgeschick?) Nöte erleiden, GMs (J.A.) [=S. Lévi, 'Note sur des manuscrits sanscrits . . . de Gilgit', *Journal Asiatique*, ccxx, jan.-mars 1932], pp. 27, 38.'

The position arising from the quotations may be summarized as follows. Foucaux, basing himself on the assumption that **ha-re* is a modification of the Sanskrit vocative particle *a-re* ¹⁰ suggests a translation 'oui! certes!', of which perhaps the exclamation marks may have established a link with the 'vocative' element; Jäschke, while, at least in the first version, stressing the tentative character of his interpretation ¹¹ and pointing to the paucity of examples, ¹² retains some of Foucaux's interpretation in the 'certainly'. Nobel,

⁷ *Tibetan-English dictionary*, Calcutta, 1902, 1189.

⁸ Vol. II, Leiden, 1950, 209.

⁹ Pt. II, *Wörterbuch*, Wiesbaden, 1955, 74.

¹⁰ 'ho!', 'sirrah'.

¹¹ The words 'nach ausdrücklicher Erklärung' seem to refer to explanations by his Tibetan informants.

¹² With amazing acumen he suggests the deletion of *ma* in the example from the 'Lotus sūtra' (mistakenly referred to as *Lalitavistara*). There is in fact no *ma* in the Tibetan translation. See here below ex. 18.

realizing by comparison with the Sanskrit original the obvious negative character of the particle, may on his part have been under Jäschke's influence when stressing the emphasis¹³ of the negation ('betonte Verneinung: keinesfalls').

II

It must be borne in mind that Nobel dealt only quite incidentally with our particle adducing, as he did so, one example each in his two glossaries, the second of which did not even occur in his *Divyāvadāna* text itself but was apparently merely noted by him in passing when engaged in a comparison of the *Pravrajyāvastu*¹⁴ in the Gilgit manuscripts and its translation in the Tibetan Canon. While he was undoubtedly right in identifying **ḥa-re* with Skt. *mā*, this identification raises immediately the problem of the difference between Tib. *ma* as the usual negative particle before a verb in the imperative on the one hand and final **ḥa-re* after a verb on the other. According to Nobel the difference would lie in the greater emphasis conveyed by **ḥa-re*. While this explanation might perhaps be justifiable as far as the Tibetan translation of his example from the *Swarnāprabhāsa* is concerned,¹⁵ it is, I believe, untenable in the case of the passage from the *Pravrajyāvastu*.

Re-examining the occurrence of the particle in a considerable number of examples, it soon became clear that the Tibetan sentences ending in **ḥa-re* were generally preceded by sentences ending in an imperative, and that the two kinds of sentences had to be considered (and translated) together.

With the addition of the preceding sentence in both the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, Nobel's example from the *Pravrajyāvastu*, or rather the first of two practically identical passages of which Nobel quoted the second,¹⁶ reads as follows.¹⁷

Ex. 1 (a) *vayasya viṣamam etad gṛhaṃ mā pravekṣyasi mā anayena vyasanam āpatsyāma.*¹⁸

(b) ¹⁹ *grog-s-po k'yim ḥdi yañ-ba* ²⁰ *yin-gyis. ma ḥjug-śig. ts'ul-ma-yin-pas sdug-bsñal-bar gyur-ta-re.*

After a careful study of ch. xlii (constructions with *mā*) and particularly paragraph 42.7, which bears the heading 'Lest, in order that not' clauses, of Vol. I (*Grammar*) of F. Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit grammar and*

¹³ See below, under II and p. 123.

¹⁴ cf. his preface.

¹⁵ See below, ex. 17.

¹⁶ N. Dutt (ed.), *Gilgit manuscripts*, III, 4, p. 54, ll. 10 and 13, and S. Lévi, *JA*, CCXX, jan.-mars 1932, 27, 38.

¹⁷ To be numbered as 1 in our list of examples.

¹⁸ This was translated as follows by S. Lévi, 'MSS de Gilgit', 38: 'C'est une maison suspecte; n'y entre pas; n'allons pas par imprudence avoir un accident'.

¹⁹ *Ti(betan) T(ripitaka)*, XLI, 49d⁸ and 49e¹⁻²; 51a⁵ (*gyur-te-re!*) and 51a⁶ = N(ar-thang Kanjur), *ḥDul, Ka*, 177A⁷ and 177B¹; 182B⁷ and 183A¹. The story of the matricide (and parricide) was translated first by L. Feer from the Tibetan version (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, v, 1883, 94, etc.)

²⁰ *yañ-ba* = *ya-ñā-ba*.

dictionary, whose publication (in 1953) fell between that of Nobel's two glossaries, there can be little doubt that in the Skt. original we are dealing with *mā* in a 'negative purpose clause'. Accordingly the Tibetan version may be rendered as :

'Oh friend, as this is a terrible house do not enter lest through improper behaviour misfortune should befall us'.²¹

While a clause introduced by 'lest' would appear to be the translation of the passage required by English idiom, it must be noted that on the Tibetan side—as opposed to Sanskrit—there is nothing to mark the second sentence as a subordinate clause. As further examples will confirm, the two sentences are in fact co-ordinated. This is obvious in the case of ex. 3 where we witness *dañ legs-so* after the imperative *byos* (see note 23 below). The sentences in **ha-re* express merely a wish and an anxiety on the part of the speaker that something may not happen ('May you, he, we, etc. not . . . !').

The first group of further examples has resulted from a comparison of the Tibetan versions (as far as available) of the Sanskrit passages listed by Edgerton in the paragraph just quoted. Of his many illustrative examples only four use **ha-re* (exx. 2-5). I am setting them out below together with the Sanskrit text (sometimes slightly extended), borrowing Edgerton's translations and adopting his emendations.

Ex. 2 (a) *dge-slon-dag k'yed de-bzin-gsegs-pa la ts'e-dañ-ldan-pa zes ma rjod-cig/ k'yed-la yun-rin-por mi-p'an-pa dañ gnod-pa dañ/ mi-bde-bar gyur-ta-re* (*Ti. T.*, xxvii, 242d⁷⁻⁸ = N, *mDo*, *Kha*, 296A⁶⁻⁷).

(b) *mā yūyaṃ bhikṣavas tathāgatam āyusmadvādena samudācariṣṭa/ mā vo bhūḍ dīrgharātram anarthāya ahitāya asukhāya*²² (*Lalitavistara*, ed. Lefmann, I, p. 409, ll. 6-7).

(c) 'Do not address the Tathāgata with *āyusmant* lest it result in harm, disadvantage, and unhappiness for you for a long time.'

Ex. 3 (a) *hdi las kyañ śi-nas sems-can dmyal-ba-rnams-su skye-sta-re*²³ (*Ti. T.*, xl, 184d¹ = N, *mDo*, *Ha*, 192A⁷).

(b) *mā haivetaḥ kālaṃ kṛtvā narakeṣūpapatsyasa*²⁴ (*Avadānaśataka*, ed. Speyer, I, p. 272, l. 12).

(c) 'lest dying from this life you be reborn in (one of) the hells'.

²¹ Note the remarkable parallel to the above passage in Proverbs v, 8-9, where a person is warned off a house of ill fame in similar terms: 'Remove thy way far from her, and come not nigh the door of her house: Lest thou give thine honour unto others, and thy years unto the cruel'.

²² I have left Edgerton's emendation of the text without sandhi, as set out by him.

²³ *skye-sta-re* instead of *skyes-sa-re* apparently after *gyur-ta-re* (cf. also ex. 16 and *byuñ-ta-re* [p. 124, n. 36]). The Narthang print and the manuscript Kanjur of the British Museum (Or. 6724, *mDo*, xxvii, 181A³ [cf. L. Barnett, *Asia Major*, vii, 1-2, 1931, 157-78]) have *skye-ba-re*. Note also that the preceding sentence has *dañ legs-so* after the imperative: *da yañ ña-la sems dga-bar gyis la yo-byad hdi-la yañ sems ma c'ag-par byos dañ legs-so* (*sādhu mamāntike cittaṃ prasādayāsmāc ca pariṣkāraḥ cittaṃ virāgaya*). See also below, p. 122.

²⁴ Edgerton's emendation. Professor J. C. Wright, to whom I am indebted for going over the Sanskrit versions of my examples, remarks: Speyer's emendation °*syase*, MS °*syate* as passive is preferable.

- Ex. 4 (a) *c'os-bz'in ma yin-pas rgyal-srid ma byed-cig/ sems-can dmyal-bar gzol-bar gyur-ta-re z'es* (*Ti. T.*, xli, 131d¹ = N, *hDul, Kha*, 103B³⁻⁴).
- (b) *mādharmeṇa rājyaṃ kāraya, mā narakaparāyaṇo bhaviṣyasīti* (*Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 59, l. 5).
- (c) 'do not rule unjustly lest you become headed for hell'.
- Ex. 5 (a) *hod-maḥi myu-gu sño ltar do-mod bcad-da-re* (*Ti. T.*, xxvii, 228b⁷ = N, *mDo, Kha*, 246A⁵).
- (b) *mā veṇuyaṣṭi haritām va chinadmi te 'dya* (*Lalitavistara*, ed. Lefmann, i, p. 338, l. 14).
- (c) 'lest I cut you off to-day like a green bamboo stalk'.

III

The general picture of this type of sentence clearly emerges from the above five examples. A person is asked to act in a certain way or to refrain from taking a certain action and in the second sentence, which is the *mā* clause in Sanskrit, corresponding to a sentence ending in **ha-re* in Tibetan, he is warned of the consequences which are bound to arise if he were to ignore the command or the prohibition. I have arranged a further set of examples (exx. 6–14) according to the consequences threatened, which range from simple repentance through harm and misfortune generally to death and, as we have witnessed already in exx. 3 and 4, rebirth in hell. A special group, richly represented in ch. xv of the *Lalitavistara*, is concerned with precaution against escape.

While limiting myself to reproducing the second sentence (which ends in **ha-re*) I shall deal under IV with cases where the **ha-re* sentence is not preceded by a sentence expressing a command or prohibition.

A. REPENTANCE (*hgyod*)

- Ex. 6 (a) *bcom-ldan-hdas yoṅs-su mya-ñan-las hdas-paḥi hog-tu hgyod-par gyur-ta-re* (*Mahākaruṇīkapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*; *Ti. T.*, xxix, 165b⁷ = N, *mDo, Cha*, 101A³⁻⁴).
- (b) 'lest you repent after the Bhagavānt has gone into Nirvāṇa'.
- Ex. 7 (a) *p'yis hgyod-par hgyur-ta-re* (*Mahākaruṇīkapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*; *Ti. T.*, xxix, 165e⁷ = N, *mDo, Cha*, 102B⁷–103A¹, and *Ti. T.*, xxix, 191d⁷⁻⁸ = N, *mDo, Cha*, 187A⁷; also in the *mDzañs-blun* (ed. Schmidt, p. 191, l. 2 = *Ti. T.*, xl, 95a⁸).
- (b) 'lest you later repent'.

B. HARM (*gnod*)

- Ex. 8 (a) *K'o-moḥi k'yo hoṅs-nas gnod-par gyur-ta-re* (*mDzañs-blun*, ed. Schmidt, p. 78, l. 1 = *Ti. T.*, xl, 70e⁸).
- (b) 'lest my husband harm (you) when he comes (back)'.
- Ex. 9 (a) *gnod-par t'ob-par gyur-ta-re* (*Vinayavibhaṅga*; *Ti. T.*, xlili, 198d² = N, *hDul, Nya*, 236A¹⁻²).
- (b) 'lest you get harmed'.

C. MISFORTUNE (*sdug-bsñal*)

(cf. ex. 1.)

Ex. 10 (a) *t'ams-cad sdug-bsñal-bar gyur-ta-re* (*Vinayavastu* ; *Ti. T.*, xli, 237a¹ = N, *hDul, Kha*, 559A⁴⁻⁵).

(b) 'lest misfortune should befall us all'.

Ex. 11 (a) *k'yod hk'or-ba-na hk'or-ziñ sdug-bsñal c'en-po rnyed-da-re* (*Karmaśa-taka* ; *Ti. T.*, xxxix, 138d⁴⁻⁵ = N, *mDo, Sa*, 16A⁴⁻⁵).

(b) 'lest you should wander about in the orb of transmigration and meet with misfortune'.

D. DEATH

(cf. exx. 5 and 15.)

Ex. 12 (a) *k'o-bos kyañ hdihi gnas-skabs lta-bur byas-par gyur-ta-re* (*Vinaya-vibhaṅga* ; *Ti. T.*, xlIII, 165c⁵ = N, *hDul, Nya*, p. 99a⁵).

(b) 'lest I reduce you to the same state'.²⁵

E. ESCAPE (*hc'or-ba, hbyuñ-ba*)(See also below, exx. 19 and 21.²⁶)

Ex. 13 (a) *sems-can dam-pa hdi ni śor-ta-re* (*Ti. T.*, xxvII, 201b¹ = N, *mDo, Kha*, 150A⁵).

(b) *mā agrasattva itu na vrajeyā* (*Lalitavistara*, ch. xv, śl. 14, ed. Lefmann, I, 201 ; for *na* read *ni < niñ*).

(c) 'lest this sacred being should escape'.

Ex. 14 (a) *rgyal-srid danñ ni yul-hk'or spañs-nas-su k'yim-nas mñon-du hbyuñ-bar gyur-ta-re* (*Ti. T.*, xxvII, 201b⁵ = N, *mDo, Kha*, 150B²⁻³).

(b) *mā hu abhiniṣkrameyā vijahya rāṣṭram ca rāḷyam ca* (*Lalitavistara*, ch. xv, śl. 19, ed. Lefmann, I, 202).

(c) 'lest abandoning the kingdom and the realm he should leave his home'.

IV

Ignoring the special case of ex. 3, where the imperative is followed by *danñ legs-so*, we have observed the sentences ending in **ha-re* being immediately preceded by a sentence ending in an imperative. While this structure represents the most frequent usage, I shall conclude our list of examples with a few cases of different type. Though still reflecting the co-ordination of the two kinds of sentences to be found on the Tibetan side,²⁷ we witness them in reversed order in ex. 15. In ex. 17 the normal order is preserved, but the suffix *-yi* (*-kyi, -gyi*)

²⁵ The threat is made by the murderer of *hC'ar-ka* (*Udāyin*) and addressed to an old woman who has seen his dead body.

²⁶ As was pointed out above, there are quite a number of examples concerned with escape, as might be expected in the case of a chapter entitled *Abhiniṣkramaṇaparivarta* (ch. xv of the *Lalitavistara*). I limit myself here to two. Example 13 (a) was already quoted by Foucaux in his grammar (see above, p. 118). The emendation in the Sanskrit version (ex. 13 (b)) is Professor Wright's.

²⁷ See above, p. 120.

is used to mark the contrast between them. In ex. 16 a similar contrast is brought about by simple opposition (or repetition) of certain words of the two sentences.

In exx. 18 and 19 the sentences ending in **ha-re* are preceded by clauses ending in *yin-gyis*. In ex. 20 we witness an isolated sentence ending in **ha-re* which clearly indicates a command instead of a wish. In all examples a strong emotional involvement on the part of the speaker (registering hope, desire, or fear) is apparent. This is particularly evident in our last example (ex. 21) where **ha-re* occurs at the end of a conditional clause (reflecting a Skt. conditional clause *without mā*) and may perhaps be rendered by a parenthetic exclamatory sentence like 'may this never be the case!' or 'perish the very thought!'.
Ex. 15 (a) *K'yod bsad-da-re sgra ma hbyin-cig (Vinayavastu ; Ti. T, XLII, 79e⁶ = N, hDul, Nga, 212B⁶).*

(b) 'Lest I kill you. Do not utter a sound.'²⁸

Ex. 16 (a) *Wa skyes groñ-pa brdzun-du smra-ba byed-pa//
mdza-bśes hbyed-par byed-pa skyes-ta-re//*²⁹

(*Vinayavibhāṅga*³⁰ ; *Ti. T, XLIII, 11d³ = N, hDul, Cha, 366A⁶).*

(b) 'The fox is born to cause people to tell lies. Oh that he were not born as an alienator of friends.'

Ex. 17 (a) *rgyal-pos p'yogs kyañ gcig bya-yi p'yogs-su ltuñ-bar gyur-ta-re
(Suvarṇaprabhāsa³¹ ; Ti. T, VII, 92c⁵).*

(b) *ekapakṣo bhavet rājā mā pakṣapatito bhavet.*³²

(c) 'the king should belong to one party only lest he become party-addicted' [Nobel: 'in Partei verfallen', II, 209, and 'parteiisch', pp. 84 and 139 of his glossary].

Ex. 18³³ (a) *gnas hdi-la ni t'e-ts'om hts'al-ba-yis/ byañ-c'ub sems-dpa ñan-hgror
mc'is-sa-re (Saddharmapundarīka ; Ti. T, xxx, 56c⁴ = N, mDo, Ja, 180B⁵).*

(b) *vicikitsaṃ kṛtvāna imasmi sthāne gaccheyu mā durgati bodhisattvāḥ.*³⁴

(c) Kern³⁵: 'May Bodhisattvas never come to grief by having doubt on this head'.

²⁸ See F. A. Schiefner, *Tibetan tales*, transl. by W. R. S. Ralston, new ed., with a preface by C. A. F. Rhys Davids, London, [1926], 41: 'If you utter a single cry you shall die'. I am greatly indebted to Professor H. Franke for making accessible to me Schiefner's original German version (*Bull. Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, Sér. III, Tom. XIV, 1870), where (col. 303) the passage is rendered as: 'Wenn du einen Laut von dir giebst, bist du des Todes'.

²⁹ Note *skyes-ta-re* (after *gyur-ta-re*?) for *skyes-sa-re*. *skyes-ta-re* occurs also in ex. 3, there written *skye-sta-re*. Cf. also *byuñ-ta-re*, p. 124, n. 36.

³⁰ The verse occurs as one of the final ślokas of the story 'How slanderers and those who listen to them are punished', reprinted in Lobzang Mingyur and E. Denison [later, Sir Denison] Ross, *Matriculation course in classical Tibetan*, Calcutta, 1911, 23-9.

³¹ Nobel, *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-Sūtra. I. Die tibetischen Übersetzungen*, Leiden, 1944, p. 112, ll. 21-2.

³² Nobel, *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, Leipzig, 1937, p. 143, l. 9 (ch. xii, śl. 63).

³³ See above, pp. 117, n. 4, and 118, n. 12.

³⁴ See, e.g., the edition by N. Dutt (Bibl. Indica), Calcutta, 1952, 205 (ch. xiv, śl. 54).

³⁵ Sacred Books of the East, XXI, 297.

- Ex. 19 (a) *hp'ags-pahi bu hdi ni k'yod-la med-pahi sa-p'yogs yin-gyis/ gnas hdi-nas p'yi-rol-tu byuñ-ña-re*³⁶ (*Karmavibhaṅga*; *Ti. T.*, xxxix, 120a⁵⁻⁶ = N, *mDo, La*, 444A⁷).
- (b) *āryaputra tavāyam pṛthivīpradeśo 'pūrvaḥ asmād viharāt tena na nirgantavyam*.³⁷
- (c) Lévi³⁸: 'Notre beau sire, tu ne connais pas ce pays-ci. Il ne faut pas en sortir sans nous avertir'.³⁹
- Ex. 20 (a) (*de-dag-gis dehi sruñ-ma c'om-rkun-pa mi bzi b'zag-ste*)/ *hdi bros-par gyur-ta-re* [*Ti. T.*: *hgyur-te-re*] (*žes bsgo-nas*) (*Vinayavibhaṅga*; *Ti. T.*, XLIII, 128c² = N, *hDul, Ja*, 410A⁶).
- (b) ' (posting four robbers to guard him they commanded :) Look out that he does not escape'.⁴⁰
- Ex. 21 (a) *gal-te blo-bur mñon-par byuñ-ña-re* (*Ti. T.*, xxvii, 201b² = N, *mDo, Kha*, 150A⁶⁻⁷).
- (b) *yadi sahasa niškrameyā . . .* (*Lalitavistara*, ch. xv, śl. 16, ed. Lefmann, I, 201).
- (c) ' if—perish the very thought!—he were suddenly to escape . . . '.

V

The interpretation of **ha-re* will thus have to vary according to the context, as does indeed that of Skt. *mā*.⁴¹ It must therefore remain undecided whether *nor-ra-re* (mis-spelt as *mor-ra-re* by Jäschke, Das, and Nobel) means 'lest I (you, he, we, etc.) be mistaken' or 'may I (etc.) not be mistaken'. Nor can its Mongolian equivalent, on which it must be assumed Schmidt relied, be any guidance. As we have seen we owe the inclusion of *nor-ra-re* to Jäschke, who on his part has quoted it from Schmidt.⁴² The latter undoubtedly had found it in one of his Mongolian sources.⁴³ The gloss itself is now easily accessible in Sumatiratna's Tibetan-Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary,⁴⁴ (*nor-ra-re* = *ende-güregüŋei*), and Schmidt's interpretation 'er irrt vielleicht, möchte sich vielleicht irren', challenged, as we have seen already, by Jäschke, seems to have been in accordance with his time since Kovalevski, whose dictionary was published

³⁶ In a preceding version of the passage (443B⁷) Narthang has *byuñ-ta-re* (cf. *skyes-ta-re* in exx. 3 and 16), which was corrupted to *gyur-ta-re* in the Peking print (*Ti. T.*, xxxix, 120 a¹).

³⁷ S. Lévi, *Mahākarmavibhaṅga*, Paris, 1932, p. 52, ll. 30-1 (repeated p. 53, ll. 5-6).

³⁸ *ibid.*, 124-5.

³⁹ The Sanskrit text has *asmākam aviditam*, p. 52, l. 18. I have included the later passages as nearer to the Tibetan version.

⁴⁰ cf. German 'Dass der nicht entwischt!' (see D. Sanders, *Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, I, Leipzig, 1860, 268, s.v. 'dass': '(5) in scheinbar unabhängigen Sätzen elliptisch: "Dass du dich nicht muckst!"').

⁴¹ See Edgerton, *BHSGD*, I, ch. xlii.

⁴² *Tibetisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, St. Petersburg, 1841, 307.

⁴³ See 'Tibetan lexicography and etymological research', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1965, 88.

⁴⁴ *Boḍ-Hor-gyi brda-yig miñ-tsi'ig don-gsum gsal-bar byed-pa mun-sel agron-me*, I, Ulan Bator, 1959, 1195.

almost contemporaneously, explains *boluyujai* (which is formed with the alternant of the suffix *-güjei* just observed and corresponds to Tibetan *gyur-ta-re*), as ‘*možet byt’, možet stat’sya—peut-être*’.⁴⁵ The suffix *-yujai/güjei* was in fact most aptly chosen by the Mongolian scholars to render Tibetan *ha-re* in their translations from Tibetan texts, though neither Schmidt nor Kovalevski were quite correct in its interpretation. In modern ‘Grammars’ of literary Mongolian the suffix is listed among the imperatives and termed ‘dubitative’⁴⁶ or ‘timetive⁴⁷ imperative’. It expresses, to quote Professor Poppe,⁴⁸ ‘the fear that someone might perform an action which is considered undesirable (But what if he, nevertheless, does?)’. As such it forms indeed a striking parallel to **ha-re*, without, as pointed out above, enabling us to distinguish between its various meanings without the context.

I have checked the Mongolian version of a few passages in the Mongolian Kanjur.⁴⁹ In listing them below I shall refer briefly to them by simply quoting the number of our examples. It will be seen that in all cases the suffix is not appended directly to the verb proper but a periphrasis with *boluyujai* is used.

- Ex. 1. *ene ger kemebesü ayuqu metü buyu. buu oroytun (4) yosu(n) busu ber žobalang boluyujai (Vinayavastu : F(onds) M(ongol), XCIII, 165B³⁻⁴ [and 165B¹⁰⁻¹¹]).*
- Ex. 6. *qoin-a kemiriküi [for kömüriküi instead of gemsiküi?] boluyujai (Mahākaruṇapundarīka : FM, LXV, 185B¹⁸⁻²⁰).*
- Ex. 13. *ene dededü saduva aldayulqui boluyujai (Lalitavistara : FM, LXI, 247A⁹⁻¹¹).*
- Ex. 14. *yeke oron kiged ulus irgen i ber tebčüi. ene ger-ece ilegte yarqu boluyujai (ibid. : FM, LXI, 247A²⁹⁻³¹).*
- Ex. 18. *ene oron-dur sešig bariγsan iyer bodhisaduva-nar mayui žayayan-dur odqu boluyujai (Saddharmapundarīka : FM, LXVI, 156B⁹⁻¹¹).*
- Ex. 19. *qutuy-tu köbegün kemebesü ci busu oron (7) žüg düir büged. ene oron ača cinadu yadagši yarqu boluyujai (Karmavibhaṅga : FM, LXXXVIII, 379B⁶⁻⁷).*
- Ex. 21. *ker ber genedte ilegte yarqui boluyujai (Lalitavistara : FM, LXI, 147A¹⁸).*

⁴⁵ O. Kovalevski (Kowalewski), *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, II, Kazan, 1846, 1190.

⁴⁶ N. Poppe, *Grammar of written Mongolian*, Wiesbaden, 1954, 91, 166. See also F. D. Lessing, *Mongolian dictionary*, Univ. of California Press, 1960, 118, s.v. *boluyuzai* [= *boluyujai*]: [= *boluyuzin* (older form)] ‘dubitative form of *bol-*’ What if it will be or become? I am afraid or worried that . . .’. G. D. Sanzheev, *Sravnitel’naya grammatika mongol’skikhazykov. Glagol*, Moscow, 1964, 111, etc., lists interesting usage in modern dialects.

⁴⁷ K. Grønbech and J. R. Krueger, *An introduction to classical (literary) Mongolian*, p. 51, §47, e.

⁴⁸ *op. cit.*, 91.

⁴⁹ I should like to express my gratitude to Madame M.-R. Guignard of the Service des Manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale for most generously placing at my disposal at short notice the relevant volumes of the Paris copy of the Mongolian Kanjur, so conveniently analysed by Professor L. Ligeti (*Catalogue du Kanjur mongol imprimé*, Budapest, 1942).

VI

The justification on etymological grounds of the disyllabic **ha-re* instead of *re* has been left to the end of this paper. The occurrence of **ha-re* as *da-re*, *sa-re*, *ta-re*, etc., after verb forms ending in *d*, *s*, *t*, etc., is identical with the occurrence as *dam*, *sam*, *tam*, *do*, *so*, *to*, etc., of the final particles *ham* and *ho* after verb forms ending in *d*, *s*, *t*, etc. The pronominal character of *ho* and of the initial part of *ham* (the final *-m* being a shortened negative particle, either *ma* or *mi*) has been suggested before.⁵⁰

Making allowance for the fact that **ha-re* has so far not been observed after vowels,⁵¹ I should like to explain **ha-re* as a combination of the pronominal element *ha*, which occurs in *ham*, with a particle *re* which indicates preponderately a negative wish. The latter function of *re* may be confirmed by its occurrence as the first element of the final particle *re-skan*. The latter occurs in the meaning of 'to say nothing of, how much less',⁵² as will be illustrated by a few examples, and would appear to be followed by a verb **skan* 'to say', belonging with *skad* 'speech'. *re-skan* would therefore literally mean 'may you not say'.

A passage from the *Divyāvādāna*, reproduced in Nobel's *Udrāyana*, shows *re-skan* as equivalent of Skt. *kutas* in the meaning of 'how much less':

- (1) (a) *deva na santi arhantaḥ kuto 'rhadvadhaḥ* (*Divyāvādāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 572, l. 13).
 (b) *lha/ dgra-bcom-pa-dag ma mc'is-na/ dgra-bcom-pa-dag bkum-pa mc'is re-skan* (Nobel, op. cit., p. 35, ll. 13–14 [repeated, with *ma mc'is-ma* replaced by *med-ma*, ll. 18–19] = *Ti. T.*, XLIII, 188c² and 188c³⁻⁴).
 (c) Nobel: 'Majestät, wenn es keine Arhats gibt, wie sollte es da Arhatmorde geben!' (Nobel, op. cit., 92).
- (2) (a) *rgyal-byed-kyi ts'al gnod-sbyin gos sñon-po gyon-pa lña-brgya rtag-tu mi stoñ-pas hdi-na mi-ma-yin-pa yod re skan* (*Vinayavibhaṅga*; *Ti. T.*, XLIII, 131b³ = N, *hDul, Ja*, 421B¹).
 (b) 'As the Jeta grove is always shunned by the five hundred ghosts in blue clothes, how much less can there be a ghost here.'
- (3) (a) *skal-c'ad-ma sti-gnasu na-bar byed-pa de yañ re-sig k'o-bo bdag-gir mi byed-na/ k'yod-kyi k'yim-du hoñ-bar hgyur re-skan* (*Vinayavibhaṅga*; *Ti. T.*, XLII 158d⁶ = N, *hDul, Ca*, 66A^{7-66B}¹).
 (b) 'Unfortunate woman, if I were lying unwell in the rest house I would not gratify my desire for a moment let alone going to your home.'

⁵⁰ See *HJAS*, v, 1941, 391, and *BSOAS*, x, 4, 1942, 972–5.

⁵¹ Note, however, in this connexion the alternative reading *skye-ba-re* in ex. 3.

⁵² = *lta ci smos*. Cf. also Chinese 豈 *chii*. In the entry *re-skan* in the Tibetan–Tibetan dictionary, with a Chinese translation, by dGe-bśes Ch'os-grags, Peking, 1957, 836, *yod re-skan* is rendered in Chinese as: 稀少, 决不, 如說: '豈能有' '決不能有'.