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The Honorifics in Tibetan*

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I. Honorifics in Tibetan.

The use of honorifics is perhaps a phenomenon that can be observed in the literary language throughout its historical development, as well as in the modern colloquial language, of Tibetan.¹⁾ However, the usage and form of honorifics are quite varied. Thus, the honorifics in Literary Tibetan differ according to the styles of writing and the change of the times.²⁾ In Modern Colloquial Tibetan their difference from dialect to dialect is among others conspicuous. For instance, Lhasa Tibetan has developed the most complicated usage and form of honorifics, with a rich stock of honorific forms for various parts of speech, such as verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs. On the other hand, the Balti dialect of Kashmir has a very limited number of honorific forms for verbs and pronouns only.³⁾ We notice that the use of honorifics differ according to the styles of speech, such as the conversational and narrative styles, in the Lhasa dialect. Further, Tibetans say that there are also differences in accordance with social classes and occupations.⁴⁾ Without an adequate knowledge of the honorifics in Tibetan, we, as foreigners, would find it difficult not only to understand the spoken language of Lhasa rightly but also to read the Tibetan documents correctly.

In this paper I shall describe the usage and form of honorifics in Lhasa Tibetan, which may be considered as the standard dialect and is the most interesting one for the study of Tibetan honorifics, on the data furnished mainly by my Tibetan informant from Lhasa, who is of aristocratic origin.⁵⁾

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1) Biren Bonnerjea: 'Morphology of Some Tibeto-Burman Dialects of the Himalayan Region,' (*T'oung Pao* ser. 2, vol. 33 1937, 301-360), p. 351: § 42. HONORIFIC LANGUAGE.

2) For the honorifics in correspondence, cf. J. Bacot: *Grammaire du tibétain littéraire*. Paris, 1946, pp. 67-70: Langage honorifique, p. 70.

3) A. F. C. Read: *Balti Grammar*. London, 1934, p. 12 and pp. 47-48.

4) Hajime Kitamura: "Chibettogo Rasahōgen tekisuto (Lhasa Tibetan Texts): /'drum/sdrung (1)," (*Nisho-Gakusha University Essays and Reports of Studies*, 1936, pp. 1-16), p. 2.

5) Mrs. Tsering Dorna (tserin 'dröma tshe ring sgrol ma), born in 1935. The investigation of her Tibetan was made at the Center for Tibetan Studies of the Tōyō Bunko during her stay in Japan in 1961-67. For the details of her personal history and the characteristics of her language, cf. Hajime Kitamura, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

It is hoped that the study will contribute to some extent to the understanding of the honorifics in the literary language, and the dialects, of Tibetan.

In the following, the 'Lhasa' dialect refers to the speech of the said informant. Thus, the examples given below are cited from her dialect unless mentioned otherwise. The meaning of a word or a phrase is enclosed in « », and that of a sentence in ' '. The phonemic forms⁶⁾ are printed in Roman letters, and the italicized forms indicate the literary transliteration of Written Tibetan forms.⁷⁾

II. Ordinary and Honorific Forms.

In Lhasa Tibetan the speaker has to select a form from among a set of forms with the same lexico-semantic and grammatical meanings⁸⁾ when he considers the hearer or the third person (referred to by them) as his superior (in social stratification) in comparison with himself, the hearer or the third person, but another when no such consideration is involved. I shall call the former 'honorific' [=Hon.] and the latter 'ordinary' [=Ord.]. Thus, the honorific form may well be defined as the form whose stylistic meaning is 'to be selected when the hearer or the third person is considered to be superior to the speaker himself.' It corresponds to Tibetan 'shesa zhe sa' «respectful speech», while the ordinary form does to Tibetan 'pätsii phal tshig' «ordinary word», 'päggää phal skad' «ordinary speech», or *mnyam gtam*⁹⁾ «speech to the equal» in the literary language, of which 'pätsii' and 'päggää' are also used in the sense of the 'colloquial' language as against the literary one. The ordinary form stands in contrast both to the honorific form and to the forms with various other stylistic meanings in that it is neutral to all such meanings. In other words, the ordinary form is 'unmarked' as to these stylistic meanings.

E.g. «breast» Ord.: 'oma 'o ma <Hon.: -cabsho chab zho
Nursery word: 'jiijii cis cis

The speaker's consciousness of social stratification that affects his selection

6) For the phonemic notations, cf. Hajime Kitamura, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7; Yasutoshi Yukawa: *Gengogaku no Kihonmondai* (Fundamental Problems in Linguistics), Tokyo: Taishūkan, 1971, Ch. 5; Hajime Kitamura: *Gendai-Chibettogo no Hatsuon* (The pronunciation of Modern Tibetan), Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1974.

7) The spellings of WRT forms in this paper are in principle those given by my informant.

8) For the lexico-semantic, grammatical and stylistic meanings, cf. Shirō Hattori: "Descriptive Linguistics in Japan," (Thomas A. Sebeok, ed.: *Current Trends in Linguistics*, Vol. 2, *Linguistics in East Asia and South East Asia*, The Hague: Mouton, 1967, pp. 530-584), p. 570.

9) A. Csoma de Kőrös: *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language*. Calcutta, 1843, p. 32; A list of honorifics given on pp. 32-36 is very useful.

of honorific forms is rooted in the social structure of the traditional Tibetan community,¹⁰⁾ where class, occupation, kinship, age and sex are stratified as if all these were of the same quality, the order of the strata being clear-cut and fixed. The order of seating at the meetings where the attendants represent different social strata of the community or the use of honorifics as the exponents of such social stratification, has attracted the attention of scholars of various branches of learning.¹¹⁾ In Tibetan the speaker uses honorifics even when he talks to others about the superiors of his own family, for instance, his parents. This may be considered due to the fact that the relationship between the speaker himself and the superiors of his own family in the social stratification is the most decisive factor in the selection of honorifics.

Apart from the numerals and the connectives, honorific forms can be found perhaps in all the other parts of speech.

1. *Verbs and Adjectives*: It is conceivable that all the verbs and adjectives may have the honorific forms as in contrast to the ordinary forms. With the exception of the composite adjectives,¹²⁾ generally speaking, the honorific forms of the following adjectives are most frequently used. (Only the stems of adjectives are given below.)

E.g.	Ord.	Hon.
《fond of》	'ga dga'	—'nyee mnyes
《pleasant, happy》	'gyib skyid }	—'dro spro
《tasty》	'shim zhim }	
《aged》	'gän rgan	—'dree bgres
《quick》	'gyog~'gyoo mgyogs	—'dzöo rtsol

There is a type of honorifics for the comparative degree, regularly formed by adding 'nango gnan po¹³⁾ to the adjectives, the use of which, however, differs from individual to individual, and hence it is considered by some Tibetans as the *overuse of honorifics*.

2. *Adverbs*: Apart from the adjectives in adverbial use, the following honorifics are commonly found.

E.g.	Ord.	Hon.
《together》	'nyamdoo mnyam du	—'hlängyää lhan rgyas
《alone》	'jigoo gcig por	—'gugyan sku kyang
《on foot》	'gantän•nga rkang thang nga	—'shabtan•nga zhabs thang nga

10) R. A. Stein: *La civilization tibétaine*. Paris, 1962, Ch. III, La société.

11) Chie Nakane: *Tateshakai no ningenkankei* (Human Relations in Vertical Society), Tokyo, Kodan-sha's New Library of Knowledge No. 105, 1967, pp. 84-85.

12) The honorific forms of the adjectives with tied verbs/nouns are made by changing their verbs/nouns to the corresponding honorific forms.

13) p. , p. : 'nän gnan.

3. *Nouns*: Examined by semantic areas,¹⁴⁾ relatively many of the nouns related to the actions and states of human beings, such as those classified under 'Human Body,' 'Clothing,' 'Food,' 'Dwelling,' 'Instruments,' 'Human Relationships (such as Kinship)' and 'Mental Activities' have their honorific forms. Much less are the honorific forms for the nouns under 'Astronomy,' 'Geography,' 'Minerals,' 'Animals' and 'Plants.' The following examples are the commoner ones of these.

E.g.	Ord.	Hon.
《sky, heaven》	'nam gnam	—'shuunam zhugs gnam
《sun》	'nyima nyi ma	—'shuunyi zhugs nyi
《moon》	'dawa zla ba	—'shunda zhugs zla
《rain》	'caaba char pa	—'shuucāa zhugs char
《wind》	'hlagba lhags pa	—'shuulaa zhugs lhags
《dog》	'kyi khyi	—'simkyi gzim khyi

Hon. 'shuu-~'shuN- is the same morpheme with the 'shuu- of Hon. 'shuume zhugs me of 'me me 《fire》, which is derived from WrT zhugs 《fire》.¹⁵⁾ Hon. 'sim-, derivative of the verb stem 'sim- 《to sleep》, is commonly employed to compose the honorific forms of the nouns related to 'Dwelling'.¹⁶⁾

4. *Pronouns*: The honorific forms are found for the first person plural, the second person, and the third person pronouns.

5. *Particles and Auxiliary Verbs*: Only the forms made up of the copulative or <existence> auxiliary verb plus the interrogative particle have the corresponding honorifics.¹⁷⁾

6. *Interjections*: Honorific forms are found among the responsive words (such as 'echoing, giving a consent and asking again for confirmation) and the salutations.¹⁸⁾

In the majority of cases the ordinary form has only one contrasting honorific form. However, as exemplified below, there are also cases where we find one ordinary form with more than two contrasting honorific forms. In such cases the speaker's selection of one or the other honorific form depends upon his estimate of the disparity in social stratification between the hearer or the third person and the one compared with them. In principle the serial numbers in

14) The investigation of the vocabulary of the informant was conducted on the basis of *Test-List of Basic Vocabulary*, ed. by Shirô Hattori (Dept. of Linguistics, Univ. of Tokyo, 1957), and the results were arranged according to the semantic areas given there. Here I shall follow this classification of semantic areas.

15) p. 29, *Nouns*: 1.1.2.

16) p. 32: 14.

17) pp. 22-23.

18) pp. 24-25.

the following examples show the grading of honorific forms. Thus, [Hon. 2] is selected for the person superior to the one for whom [Hon. 1] is used. By and large the superior the person addressed to or referred to, the higher the grading of the honorific form selected. (The verbs are given in their perfect stem in the examples below.)

- E.g.
1. «to go»
[Ord.] 'cin *phyin* — [Hon. 1] 'täa *thas*~'pee *phebs*
[Hon. 2] 'cibgyu 'nan *chibs bsgyur gnang*
 2. «to die»
[Ord.] 'shi *shi* — [Hon. 1] 'shaa *gshags*
[Hon. 2] 'gongba 'dzoo *dgongs pa rdzogs*
[Hon. 2] 'gushin *la 'pee sku zhing la phebs*
 3. «father»
[Ord.] 'bapa *pa pha* — [Hon. 1] 'baa·laa *pā lags*
[Hon. 2] 'yab *yab*
 4. «mother»
[Ord.] 'ama *a ma* — [Hon. 1] 'ama·laa *a ma lags*
[Hon. 2] 'yum *yum*
[Hon. 3] 'hlayum 'gushoo *lha yum sku gzhogs*
[Hon. 4] 'gyayum 'gushoo *rgyal yum sku gzhogs*

Where there are more than two honorific forms to select, among them may be included those used only for specific persons of high rank. Thus, in Example 4, [Hon. 3] is applied to such personages as the King of Sikkim and the Queen Mother of Bhutan, while [Hon. 4] to the Mother of the Dalai; in Example 2, the use of both [Hon. 2]'s are restricted to religious dignitaries (lamas). Besides these, only a limited number of verbs and nouns, such as «to come», «to sit, stay, live», «to wait» and «wife», have more than two honorific forms.

III. Classification of Honorifics.

The (Lhasa) Tibetan honorifics may be classified according to their usages as follows.

A. 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.

a. The form selected as to the action or state of the hearer or the third person, and hence as to the verbs, the adjectives and the adverbs. This corresponds to the so-called 'respectful' form [=Rsp.].

E.g.	Ord.	Rsp.
«to meet»	'tuu <i>thugs</i>	—'tuu 'nan <i>thugs gnang</i>
«to speak»	'lab <i>lab</i>	—'sun <i>gsung</i>
«happy»	'ga <i>dga'</i>	—'dro <i>spro</i>
«together»	'nyamdoo <i>mnyam du</i>	—'hlängyää <i>lhan rgyas</i>

The participation of the speaker, the hearer or the third person in the action or state of the superior hearer or third person would not change the selection.

E.g. 'Let's go.'

[Ord.] 'nyamdoo 'dro *tu. mnyam du 'gro du.*

[Rsp.] 'hlängyää 'täa *tu. lhan rgyas thas du.*

«together» «let's go»

Cf. 'dro is the imperfect stem of the verb «to go», and 'täa is the corresponding honorific form.

b. The form selected as to the action of the speaker, the hearer or the third person in relation to the hearer or the third person, and hence as to the verbs. This corresponds to the so-called 'humilitating' form [=Hum.].

E.g.	Ord.	Hon.
«to meet»	'tuu <i>thugs</i>	—'jää <i>mjal</i>
«to give»	'dee <i>ster</i>	—'piü <i>phul</i>
«to speak»	'lab <i>lab</i>	—'shüü <i>zhus</i>

Since there is also the (b+a) form, «to meet», for instance, has the following four forms.

[Hon.]	[Hum.]	
	0 → +	
0	'tuu	'jää
+	'tuu 'nan	'jää 'nan

c. The form selected as to the person, thing or event (such as the owner, the property and the experience) related to the hearer or the third person,

and hence selected as to the nouns and the pronouns.

Examples of a, b, b+a and c. (The honorific forms of A are underlined.)

- (about the speaker's friend.)

'nga	-ko tan	'tuu cu.
<i>nga</i>	<i>kho dang</i>	<i>thugs byung.</i>
«I»	«(with) him»	«met»
- (To a teacher about his pupil.)

'gän·laa	'labdraa te tan	'tuu -nan cungää.
<i>rgan lags</i>	<i>slab grwag de dang</i>	<i>thugs gnang byung ngas.</i>
«Teacher!»	«(with) that pupil»	«a. met?»
- (About his mother.)

'nga	-'ama·laa tan	'jää cu.
<i>nga</i>	<i>a ma lags dang</i>	<i>mjal byung.</i>
«I»	«(with) c. mother»	«b. met»
- (About his father and the Dalai.)

'baa·laa	-gündün tan	'jää -nan so.
<i>pā lags</i>	<i>sku mdun dang</i>	<i>mjal gnang song.</i>
«c. father»	«(with) the Dalai»	«b+a. met»
- (To his mother.)

'shäälää te	-drobo dugää?	'la duu.	'shinbo duu.
<i>zhal lags de</i>	<i>spro po 'dug gas.</i>	<i>lags 'dug.</i>	<i>zhim po 'dug.</i>
«c. that food»	«a. is tasty?»	«yes»	«is tasty»
- (About his uncle and friend.)

'ashan·laa ki	'simshaa -köö	'kangba tan 'taa 'nyebo ree.
<i>a zhang lags gi</i>	<i>gzim shag kho'i</i>	<i>khang pa dang thag nye po red.</i>
«c. uncle's»	«c. house»	«(to) house» «is close»
	«his friend's»	
- (To the elder brother of his friend.)

'kyeran la	-tuudree yöbää?
<i>khyed rang la</i>	<i>thugs brel yod pas.</i>
«c. to you»	«c. is (there) business?»
(In answer.)	
'ngaa	'trewa mäa.
<i>ngar</i>	<i>brel ba med.</i>
«to me»	«(there) is not business.»
- (A servant to a guest.)

'gushoo·laa	-sööja	'gyaa gaa?
<i>sku gzhogs lags</i>	<i>gsol ja</i>	<i>skyag ga.</i>
«Sir!»	«c. tea»	«b. shall (I) pour?»

(The guest to the servant.)

'laa.	'nga	-sööja	'shugi yin.
<i>lags.</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>gsol ja</i>	<i>zhu gi yin.</i>
«yes»	«I»	«c. tea»	«b. will take»

(The guest to the host.)

'How good the tea is!'

'dindrää	-sööja te	'droo la 'aa!
<i>'di 'dras</i>	<i>gsol ja de</i>	<i>spro ba la ā.</i>
«like this»	«c. the tea»	«a. (indeed) is tasty!»

9. (A guest to a host.)

'This is just a petty present. Please accept this.'

'caadaa	-cüncün ci	yin tee,	-püügi yin.
<i>phyag rtags</i>	<i>chung chung jig</i>	<i>yin de,</i>	<i>phul giyin.</i>
«c. present»	«a small»	«is, and»	«b. will give»

(The host to the guest.)

'Thank you so much for your present.'

'söörää	'shedraa	'shöö so.	-la -tu·ce.
<i>gsol ras</i>	<i>zhe drag</i>	<i>zhus song.</i>	<i>lags thus aje.</i>
«c. what is given»	«so much»	«b. have accepted»	«thank you»

So far I have explained the usage of honorifics on the assumption that the speaker's consciousness of social stratification constitutes the basic factor that determine his selection of them. In reality, however, we may also refer to the degrees of intimacy, situations, topics and the like as other factors involved there. Among the people of the upper classes of society in Lhasa, especially among those of the 'gudraa sku drag (nobility)¹⁹⁾ class, is observed a tendency to adopt honorifics in their speech to the coordinates and inferiors. This seems to have emerged from their recognition that the use of honorifics would make their speech more refined and better. Anyhow, we frequently find instances where the selection of honorifics cannot be explained just by the speaker's consciousness of social stratification. For example, the use of honorifics, as in a conversation between a host and a guest in Examples 8 and 9 above, could be seen even if they were coordinates or there were a small degree of difference in social strata between them. Or as in Example 8 where the humiliating form 'shugi yin is selected by the guest to the servant, such use of humiliating forms is common if the host is present in the situation. Again, it has been said that though honorifics are not employed for the servants of the speaker's own house, they may be used for those of the other's according

19) H. R. H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark: *The Aristocracy of Central Tibet*. Kalimpong, 1954.

to the social stratum to which the latter belongs.²⁰⁾ Nevertheless, I have observed cases where honorifics are used for the servants of the speaker's own house. Needless to say, the one in the highest social stratum of the Tibetan society is the Dalai. Even he, it seems, refers to himself in ordinary forms but uses honorifics for others.

B. The form selected as to the 'judgement' 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. Since the **A** honorifics are selected as to things or events, they cannot be classified into the same class with the **B** honorifics. The use of the **B** honorifics in a sentence may indicate that the hearer is considered as the superior even if no **A** honorifics occur therein. Thus, the speaker's selection of a **B** honorific in a sentence where some **A** honorifics are already used may be considered to doubly express his consciousness of the hearer as his superior.

1. Selection as to the interrogative sentences: The speaker selects as to the hearer's judgement. (? indicates the intonation pattern of the interrogative sentences.)

- a. <Affirmative Copulative Auxiliary Verb+Interrogative Particle+?>
—**B:** yin 'nan bää? yin gnang pas.~yin 'nan baa? yin gnang pa., yin·ba noo? yin pa nam.
- b. <Negative Copulative Auxiliary Verb+Interrogative Particle+?>
—**B:** män 'nan bää? man gnang pas.~män 'nan baa? man gnang pa., män·ba noo? man pa nam.
- c. <Affirmative (Existence) Auxiliary Verb+Interrogative Particle+?>
—**B:** yöö 'nan bää? yod gnang pas.~yöö 'nan baa? yod gnang pa., yöö·ba noo? yod gnang pa nam.
- d. <Negative (Existence) Auxiliary Verb+Interrogative Particle+?>
—**B:** mää 'nan bää? med gnang pas.~mää 'nan baa? med gnang pa., mää·ba noo? med pa nam.

E.g.

1. 'Are you [Hon.] a Tibetan?'
kyeran 'pöba yin bää? khyed rang bod pa yin pas.—**B:** kyeran 'pöba yin·ba noo?, kyeran 'pöba yin 'nan bää?
2. 'Is he [Ord.] a Tibetan?'
ko 'pöba rebää? kho bod pa red pas.—**B:** ko 'pöba yin 'nan bää?, ko 'pöba yin·ba noo?
3. 'Is he [Hon.] a Tibetan?'

20) Bacot: *op. cit.* p. 69.

kyeran 'pöba rebää? khyed rang bod pa red pas.—**B:** kyon 'pöba yin 'nan bää?, kyon 'pöba yin·ba noo?

4. 'What are you [Hon.] doing [Hon.]?'

kyeran 'kare 'nangi yoo? khyed rang ga re gnang gi yö.—**B:** kyeran 'nangi yöö·ba noo?

5. 'Did he [Ord.] go to the market?'

ko 'trom la 'cin·ba rebää? kho khrom la phyin pa red pas.—**B:** ko 'trom la 'cin·ba yin·ba noo?

Example 4 shows a doubly-expressed honorific form. As it is felt as an instance of the 'overuse of honorifics,' it is actually seldom used. Further, the honorific expressions with b or d (that includes the negative auxiliary verb), too, are rarely used.

2. Selection as to the Narrative Sentences: The speaker selects as to his own judgement.

In the literary language are found such forms as the *lags* substitutable for the copulative auxiliary verb *yin* «to be» and the *lags* placed immediately after *yin*, *gda'*, etc. The *lags* in the following sentence of Classical Tibetan (9C-10C) is an instance of the former.

... sa bon gyi rnam pa gang ci lags pa dag dang, ... nags tshal de dag thams cad kyang tshig cing zhig la mi dga' bar 'gyur zhing ma mchis par 'gyur lags so. '... whatever seeds ... whatever forests they may be, they all will burn, perish and become extinct.'

The above passage, quoted from the 'phags pa lha mo dpal 'phreng gi seng ge'i sgra zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo. in the bKa' 'gyur of the Tibetan Tripitaka²¹⁾ is found in lha mo dpal 'phreng's words to Gotama. This *lags* is frequently used in her speech to him, but never in his to her. Which of the two is the superior is obvious, and their relationship is reflected by the use of the *lags*. In Lhasa Tibetan no such use of honorifics is observed. The *lags* placed after such auxiliary verbs as *yin* and *gda'* is, for instance, found in the sentence: khyed kyis slob ma yin lags. 'I am your disciple.'²²⁾ Though this use of *lags* appears to be similar to that of 'laa, which occurs sentence-final as in the following example of Lhasa Tibetan,²³⁾ I would rather consider it as an interjection.

21) Cited from the text in Kenryû Tsukinowa, ed.: *Zô-Kan-Wa sanyaku gappeki: Shômangyô-Hôgetsudôji-shomongyô* (Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese Translations of Arya-Srîmalâdevîsimhanâda-nâma-mahâyânasûtra and Arya-Ratnacandraparipîcchâ-nâma-mahâyânasûtra) (Kyoto: Kôkyô-shoin, 1940), pp. 102-103.

22) Marcelle Lalou: *Manuel élémentaire de tibétain classique*. Paris, 1950, p. 80.

23) George N. Roerich and Tse-ring Lopsang Phuntshok: *Textbook of Colloquial Tibetan* (Dialect of Central Tibet.) Calcutta, 1957, p. 154. But the citation here is based on the texts amended by the informant. Many honorific forms are found on pp. 75-83 of the book.

E.g. (A high lama to a devotee from afar.)

<u>kyeraN</u>	<u>kanää</u>	<u>pee baa?</u>
<i>khyed rang</i>	<i>ga nas</i>	<i>phebs pä.</i>
«you»	«from where»	«did come?»
(The devotee to the lama.)		
<u>rinboce</u>	<u>nga</u>	<u>'amdo nää yin, 'laa!</u>
<i>rin po che</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>a mdo nas yin lags.</i>
«address to a lama»	«I»	«am from Amdo»

3. Interjections:

a. When answering the yes-or-no questions: 'la lags «yes/no».

E.g. kyeraN 'pöba yinbää? 'Are you a Tibetan?'—'la yin. 'Yes, I am,' or 'la män. 'No, I am not.'

These are in contrast to the answers without 'la: yin. or män.

b. When acknowledging the meaning of the other's utterance, as when an order is given: 'laa!, 'loo! lags; 'laa lä•se!, 'loo lä•se lags las se. In both the sets of expressions the latter answer is politer than the former.

E.g. 1. 'cu 'göö shi! *chu skol shig.* 'Boil water!'—'loo lä•se! 'Yes, certainly.'

2. 'di 'kong 'katsää rää? *'di gong ga tshad ras.* 'How much is this?'—'loo! *'gormo 'sum ree. lags, sgor mo gsum red.* 'Three rupees, sir.'

c. When asking again for confirmation: 'laa?, 'loo? lags. 'Beg your pardon?'

The difference between the two is the same with that between 'laa and 'loo. In the above cases, the **B** honorifics, particularly those of the interjections, are similar to the non-linguistic expressions of respect in that they directly express the speaker's judgement of the hearer as his superior.²⁴⁾ Thus, to say 'loo lä•se in answer to the order: 'cu 'göö shi! 'Boil water!' is comparable with making a bow. (Making a bow in such a situation does not seem to be part of the customs of Tibetans, though.) 'loo tends to start at the slightly higher register than the ordinary high-tone syllables. Where 'loo would be used, we often hear a sequence of voiceless sounds, articulated in the same manner with 'loo, but by inhalation in stead of exhalation. This, I think, is probably related to the following non-linguistic—or probably slightly linguistic—behavior of Tibetans. In the presence of high personages (such as high lamas, high officials and nobilities) Tibetans of the lower classes generally speak the last necessary in a low voice when answering the questions of the former, as if overwhelmed by reverence. While listening to their superiors'

24) Hatsutarô Ôishi: *Hanashikotoba-ron* (On Spoken Japanese), Tokyo: Shuei-shuppan, 1971, pp. 282-296.

(talk, they, instead of chiming in by words, just open the mouth from time to time, with the tip of the tongue slightly put out, and then draw it back in—halation.²⁵⁾ At that moment a voiceless lateral or something like that, produced by inhalation can be heard. Since we frequently observe the voiceless [la:] or [lo:] produced by inhalation at the sentence-final position where 'laa occurs as in the sentence cited in **B. 2.** above, they may be regarded as interjections. **WrT lags** will be further examined on some other occasion. Incidentally, **Lhasa Tibetan** has the ordinary voiceless lateral.

The **A** honorifics are selected at various structural positions of the sentence. We can thus recognize different gradings of sentences according to whether the selection of honorifics is made at the respective positions and the gradings of the honorifics used there.²⁶⁾ Further, a selection may sometimes produce a sentence, not well formed from the standpoint of honorifics.

For instance, in the sentences below, (where the **A** honorifics are underlined,)

	a	b	c	d
1.	<u>'kyörää</u>	'pu la	'yige	'dan bää?
2.	<u>kyeraN</u> ki	'pu la	'yige	'nan bää?
3.	<u>kyeraN</u> ki	'sää la	'yige	'nan bää?
4.	<u>kyeraN</u> ki	'sää la	'caarii	'nan bää?
5.	<u>kyeraN</u> ki	'sää la	'caarii	'dan 'nan bää?
6.	<u>kyeraN</u> ki	'sää la	'caarii	'dan 'nan•ba yin•ba noo?
	«by you»	«to (your) son»	«a letter»	«did send?»

we have four structural positions (a, b, c and d) where the **A** honorifics may occur. In addition to these, the selection of the **B** honorifics may be further made. In Sentence 1 only ordinary forms are selected. Sentence 2 is slightly improper because the ordinary form is selected for the hearer's son. Sentences 3, 4, 5 and 6 in this order have the higher gradings. Sentence 6 may give an impression of the 'overuse of honorifics' on some Tibetans since to the selection of an **A** honorific at each structural position is further added that of a **B** honorific. Of the selections of **A** honorifics the most important one is that at the position d, as to the verbs.

25) This behavior may be considered to be related to the Tibetan manner of salutation (still observed by some Tibetans) with the tongue stuck out while the mouth being opened wide. See also Bukyô Aoki: *Himitsu no kuni Chibetto-yûki* (Accounts of Journey to Tibet, the Land of Mysteries), Tokyo & Kyoto: Naigai-shuppan, 1920, p. 338: '... It is when the highest respect is to be paid to the others that the tongue is stuck out. They cannot utter words unless they are spoken to and have to keep silence. They keep silence because in the presence of the noble personage no words suffice to express their reverence to him though they have the tongue to speak. Such is said to be the motive that started this strange custom. However, even Tibetans themselves do not know if there were some other reasons for it...'

26) pp. 26-28, 1.1-2.

4. As the morphological characteristics of the honorific forms of (Lhasa) Tibetan we may mention, first of all, that the honorific forms of some of those nouns, verbs and adjectives which belong to the most basic part of its vocabulary have their own stems, different from the stems of the corresponding ordinary forms, and, secondly, that these honorific stems in their turn function as 'honorific' markers when prefixed to a majority of the remaining ordinary forms, especially those of the nouns, to form their honorific counterparts. The relationship between these honorific stems and the ordinary forms conjoined with them is analogous to that between the classifiers which have developed in Chinese, Tai and most of the Tibeto-Burman languages, with the exclusion of Tibetan and Kachin, and the words used in connection with them, and as such has drawn the attention of some scholars.²⁷⁾

In this section, I shall list the main structural types of the honorific forms of the nouns and the verbs. For simplicity's sake, the elements that constitute honorific forms will be referred to by the following symbols.

Verb Stems:	[Ord.] VB	[Hon.] HVB	Prefixes: P
Supplementary Verb Stems:	vB	HvB	Suffixes: S
Noun Stems:	NB	HNB	(Written forms: WrT)
Nouns:	N	HN	

Honorific Stems conjoined with the stems of ordinary forms as 'honorific' markers: HP

When there are more than two stems for a set of ordinary and honorific forms, these are distinguished as NB₁, NB₂, etc. A sequence of two forms that share an accent is indicated by + in between. The forms to the left of an arrow are ordinary forms and those to the right honorific forms.

There are still many problems to solve concerning the morphology of Tibetan, and the classification of words into simple, derived and compound words given below, too, needs our further examination.

Verbs:

1. When ordinary forms are simple verbs:

1.1. VB→HVB: Under this category fall verbs with the most basic meanings in each semantic area, but they are not so many in number. I shall give some examples representative of them according to their semantic areas below.

27) J. Bacot: *op. cit.*, p. 68, n. 2; Tatsuo Nishida: "Chibetto Birumago-kei no gengo to Taigo-kei no gengo," (Tibeto-Burman and Tai Languages)," *Kotoba to Ningen* (Speech and Men), (Tokyo: Nakayama-shoten, 1958, pp. 238-254), pp. 249-251.

'Human Body'			
«to look at»	'dää <i>ltas</i>	}	→ 'sii <i>gzigs</i>
«to see»	-ton <i>mthong</i>		
«to listen to»	'nyän <i>nyan</i>	}	→ -säN <i>gsan</i>
«to hear»	'ko <i>go</i>		
'Clothing'			
«to wear»	'kÖN <i>gon</i>	}	→ {'cöö <i>mchod</i> -shee <i>bzhes</i>
'Food'			
«to eat»	'sää <i>bzas</i>	}	→ {'cöö <i>mchod</i> -shee <i>bzhes</i>
«to drink»	'duN <i>btung</i>		
'Dwelling'			
«to sit, dwell»	'dää <i>sdad</i>		→ 'shuu <i>bzhugs</i>
«to sleep»	'nyää <i>nyal</i>		→ 'sim <i>gzim</i>
«to get up»	'lan <i>langs</i>		→ 'shan <i>zhangs</i>
'Life'			
«to be born»	'gyee <i>skyes</i>		→ 'truN 'khrungs
«to be sick»	'na <i>na</i>		→ -nyuN <i>snyung</i>
«to die»	-shi <i>shi</i>		→ 'shaa <i>gshags</i>
'Movement, Transport'			
«to go»	'ciN <i>phyin</i>	}	→ {'täa <i>thas</i> -pee <i>phebs</i>
«to come»	'yon <i>yongs</i>		
«to carry»	-kyee 'khyer		→ 'nam <i>sname</i>
'Language, Communication'			
«to speak»	'lab <i>lab</i>	}	→ {'suN <i>gsung</i> [[Hum.] 'shüü <i>zhus</i>
'Giving and Receiving'			
«to hand over»	'drää <i>sprad</i>	}	→ {'-naN <i>gnang</i> [[Hum.] -püü <i>phul</i>
«to give»	-dee <i>ster</i>		
«to send»	-daN <i>btang</i>		
«to buy»	'nyöö <i>nyos</i>		
'Actions directed to human beings'			
«to meet»	'tuu <i>thugs</i>		→ [Hum.] 'jää <i>mjal</i>
'Actions directed to non-human objects'			
«to throw»	'gyab <i>rgyab</i>		→ -gyÖN <i>skyon</i>
«to take»	'len <i>bleng</i>		→ 'shee <i>bzhes</i>
'General Actions'			
«to do»	'cää <i>byas</i>		→ -naN <i>gnang</i>

'Knowledge, Mind'

《to think》 `sam *bsam* → `gom *dgongs*
 《to know》 `shen *shen* → `kyen *mkhyen*

1. 2. VB→VB $\bar{n}an$: Verbs under this category are most numerous. $\bar{n}an$ is also used as the honorific forms for 《to give》, 《to do》, etc. given in 1. 1.
 E.g. 《to make》 `söo *bzos*→`söo $\bar{n}an$.
1. 3. VB→N $\bar{n}an$: The verb $\bar{n}an$ is added to a noun whose meaning is related to the VB.
 E.g. 《to sell》 `dzon *btson*→`büüga $\bar{n}an$ *spus ka gnang*.
1. 4. VB→HNB+VB $\bar{n}an$: The HNB and the VB are related in meaning.
 E.g. 《to read》 `loo *klog*→`jaaloo $\bar{n}an$ *ljags klog anang*, cf. `je *lce*→`jaa 《tongue》.
1. 5. VB→HVB+VB $\bar{n}an$: The HVB and the VB are related in meaning.
 E.g. 《to wait for》 `guu *sgug*→`peeguu $\bar{n}an$ *phebs sgyg gnang*, cf. [Hon.] `pee 《to come》 in 1. 1.

The honorific forms under 1. 3.~1. 5. can be made the corresponding Humilitating form by replacing $\bar{n}an$ with $\hat{sh}üü$ or $\bar{p}üü$ in 1. 1.

E.g. 《to wait for》 `guu→[Hum.] `peeguu $\hat{sh}üü$
 《to sell》 `dzon→[Hum.] `büüga $\bar{p}üü$.

2. When ordinary forms are verbs with tied noun:

2. 1. N VB→HN VB:
 E.g. 《to be thirty》 `ka₃ `gom *kha skom*→`shää `gom *zhal skom*, cf. `ka→`shää 《mouth》.
2. 2. N vB→HN HvB:
 E.g. 《to sleep》 `nyii `nyää *gnyid nyal*→`nyää `sim *mnyal gzim*.
 cf. `nyii 《a sleep》, `nyää 《to sleep》 (1. 1.)
2. 3. N vB→N HvB:
 E.g. 《to repair》 `sojöö `gyab *bzo bcos rgyab*→`sojöö $\bar{g}yöN$ *skyon*,
 cf. `gyab 《to throw》 (1. 1.)
2. 4. N vB→HN HvB:
 E.g. 《to hurry》 `trewa `cää *bräl ba byas*→`tuudree $\bar{n}an$ *thugs bräl gnang*, cf. `trewa 《busyness》, `cää 《to do》 (1. 1.)
2. 5. N VB→HN $\bar{n}an$:
 E.g. 《to play》 `dzeemo `dze *rtsed mo rtsed*→`gudzee $\bar{n}an$ *sku rtsed gnang*.

The forms under 2. 1. may be added to by $\bar{n}an$. Those under 2. 5. can be changed to the humilitating forms by replacing $\bar{n}an$ with $\hat{sh}üü$ or $\bar{p}üü$. Among the members of HvB are included $\hat{sh}üü$ and $\bar{p}üü$, by which

some humilitating forms are produced.

Nouns:

1. Honorific forms with the stems differing from those of the corresponding ordinary forms.
1. 1. When ordinary forms are monosyllabic simple words:
1. 1. 1. NB→HNB: In this category the basic words concerning 'Human body' are many.
 E.g. 《head》 `go *mgo*→`u *dbu*.
1. 1. 2. NB→HNB+NB:
 E.g. 《fire》 `me *me*→`shuume *zhugs me*, cf. *me*→*zhugs* 《fire》 [WrT] (1. 1. 1.)
1. 2. When ordinary forms are dissyllabic derived words:
1. 2. 1. NB+S→HNB:
 E.g. 《hand》 `lagba *lag pa*→`caa *phyag*.
1. 2. 2. NB+S→HNB+S:
 E.g. 《girl》 `pumo *bu mo*→`säamo *sräs mo*, cf. `pu→`sää 《boy》.
1. 3. When ordinary forms are dissyllabic compound words:
1. 3. 1. NB₁+NB₂→HNB₁+NB₂:
 E.g. 《spittle》 `kacu *kha chu*→`shääcu *zhal chu*, cf. `ka 《mouth》, `cu 《water》.
1. 3. 2. NB₁+NB₂→HNB₁+NB₃:
 E.g. 《nasal mucus》 `nabtuu *sna thug*→`shanuu *shangs snug*, cf. *sna*→[WrT] *shangs* 《nose》.
1. 3. 3. NB₁+NB₂→HNB₁:
 E.g. 《nose》 `nakuu *sna khug*→`shan *shangs*, cf. `kuu 《bag》.
1. 3. 4. VB+NB→HVB+NB:
 E.g. 《bedstead》 `nyäätri *nyal khri*→`simtri *gzim khri*, cf. `nyää 《to sleep》 `tri 《pedestal》.
1. 3. 5. VB+NB₁→HVB+NB₂:
 E.g. 《sickness》 `natsa *na tsha*→`nyungshi *snyung gzhi*, cf. `na 《to become sick》.
2. Honorific forms consisting of a HP (a noun or a verb) plus a stem of an ordinary form.
2. 1. When ordinary forms are monosyllabic simple words:
2. 1. 1. NB→HP+NB:
 E.g. 《hair of the head》 `dra *skra*→`udra *dbu skra*, cf. [Hon.] `u 《head》 (1. 1. 1.)

«liquor» $\bar{c}an\ chang \rightarrow \bar{c}öcan\ mchod\ chang$, cf. [Hon.] $\bar{c}öo$
 «to drink» (Verbs: 1. 1.)

2. 1. 2. $NB_1 \rightarrow HP + NB_2$:

E.g. «barley» $\bar{n}ää\ nas \rightarrow \bar{c}andru\ phyag\ 'bru$, cf. 1. 2. 1., 'dru
 «cereals, barley».

«food, feed» $\bar{d}o\ lto \rightarrow \bar{s}öcää\ gsol\ chas$, cf. [Hon., WrT] $gsol$
 «to eat», $\bar{c}ää$ «thing».

2. 2. When ordinary forms are dissyllabic derived words:

2. 2. 1. $NB + S \rightarrow HP + NB$:

E.g. «hat» $\bar{s}hamo\ zhwa\ mo \rightarrow \bar{u}sha\ dbu\ zhwa$, cf. [Hon.] \bar{u}
 «head» (1. 1. 1.)

«potage» $\bar{t}ugba\ thug\ pa \rightarrow \bar{s}heetuu\ bzhes\ thug$, cf. [Hon.]
 $\bar{s}hee$ «to eat, drink» (Verbs: 1. 1.)

2. 2. 2. $NB_1 + S \rightarrow HP + NB_2$:

E.g. «roast-flour» $\bar{d}zanba\ rtsam\ pa \rightarrow \bar{s}öoshii\ gsol\ zhib$, cf. (2. 1. 2.),
 $\bar{s}hib$ «fine».

2. 3. When ordinary forms are dissyllabic compound words:

2. 3. 1. $NB_1 + NB_2 \rightarrow HP + NB_1$:

E.g. «cup, bowl» $\bar{g}yayöo\ dkar\ yol \rightarrow \bar{s}hääгаа\ zhal\ dkar$, cf. (1. 3. 1.)
 «kitchen» $\bar{t}absan\ thab\ tshang \rightarrow \bar{s}öotab\ gsol\ thab$, cf. (2. 1. 2.)

2. 3. 2. $NB_1 + NB_2 \rightarrow HP + NB_2$:

E.g. «window curtain» $\bar{t}rayöo\ khra\ yol \rightarrow \bar{s}hääyöo\ zhal\ yol$, cf.
 [Hon.] $\bar{s}hääraa$ «face».

«lantern» $\bar{g}anshu\ sgang\ bzhu \rightarrow \bar{p}ebshu\ phebs\ bzhu$, cf. [Hon.]
 $\bar{p}ee\ phebs$ «to go» (Verbs: 1. 1.)

2. 3. 3. $NB_1 + NB_2 \rightarrow HP + NB_3$:

E.g. «clasp-knife» $\bar{d}abdi\ ltab\ gri \rightarrow \bar{c}aashän\ phyag\ shan$, cf.
 (1. 2. 1.)

«meal» $\bar{k}alaa\ kha\ lag \rightarrow \bar{s}öotsi\ gsol\ tshig$, cf. (2. 1. 2.)

2. 3. 4. $NB_1 + NB_2 \rightarrow HP + a$ fused form (?) of NB_1 and NB_2 :

E.g. «sleeve» $\bar{p}utun\ phu\ thung \rightarrow \bar{c}aapun\ phyag\ phung$, cf.
 (1. 2. 1.)

3. Among the residues instances of honorifics with an ordinary form preceded by an honorific form semantically related to it.

E.g. «Tibetan tea» $\bar{p}öoja\ bod\ ja \rightarrow \bar{s}öoja\ 'pöoja\ gsol\ ja\ bod\ ja$, cf. 'ca
 $\rightarrow \bar{s}öoja$ «tea» (2. 1. 2.)

As will be learned from the above examples, the relationship between the ordinary stem (NB) and the preposed honorific stem (HP) in the honorific forms of these nouns are purely semantic. The examples of some of the

commoner HP's below will show the meanings of the NB's with which they are conjoined.

1. $\bar{u}\ dbu \leftarrow$ [Ord.] 'go mgo «head», which forms compounds with the NB's whose meanings are related to <head, upper part, higher rank, and the like>, e.g. «brains», «hair of the head», «forehead», «pillow», «hat», «comb», «umbrella», «tent», «rank».
2. $\bar{s}hää\ zhal \leftarrow$ [Ord.] $\bar{k}a\ kha$ 'mouth', which forms compounds with the NB's whose meanings are related to <mouth, movements of the mouth, face, and the like>, e.g. «lip», «jaw», «face», «whiskers», «yawn», «sneeze», «laugh», «food», «mirror», «towel», «lie».
3. $\bar{j}aa\ ljags \leftarrow$ [Ord.] $\bar{j}e\ lce$ «tongue», e.g. «breath», «taste», «salt», «number», «calculation», «answer».
4. $\bar{g}üü\ mgul \leftarrow$ [Ord.] $\bar{g}e\ ske$ «neck», e.g. «throat», «nape», «cough», «collar», «cold».
5. $\bar{c}aa\ phyag \leftarrow$ [Ord.] 'lagba $lag\ pa$ «hand», which forms compounds with the NB's whose meanings are related to <part of the hand, functions of the hand, and the like>, e.g. «shoulder», «finger», «fingernail», «needle», «thread», «scissors», «cotton cloth», «woolen cloth», «sewing», «bag», «box», «key», «lid», «money», «pen», «book», «paper», «letter», «knife», «bow», «arrow», «sleeve», «work», «aid», «watch, clock, hour», «barley», and many others.
6. $\bar{s}hab\ zhabs \leftarrow$ [Ord.] $\bar{g}angba\ rkang\ pa$ «foot», e.g. «toenail», «knee», «hips», «trousers», «shoes», «socks», «chair», «attendant».
7. $\bar{g}u\ sku$ ('gusuu $sku\ gzugs$) \leftarrow [Ord.] 'sogo $gzugs\ po$ «body», which forms compounds with the NB's with a wide range of meanings, and is thus most frequently used (even in the formation of the honorific forms of adjectives and adverbs), e.g. «back», «breast», «navel», «stomach», «flesh», «pus», «blood», «waist», «corpse», «wound», «pain», «fever», «intoxication», «poison», «life», «underwear», «belt», «husband», «wife», «brothers and sisters», «bride», «bridegroom», «guest», «photo», «article», «play», «trading», «profit», «loss», «front», «back (space/time)».
8. $\bar{g}a\ bka' \leftarrow$ [Ord.] $\bar{g}ää\ skad$ «speech», e.g. «answer», «question», «announcement», «counsel», «conference», «reproach», «punishment», «advice», «kindness».
9. $\bar{t}uu\ thugs \leftarrow$ [Ord.] $\bar{s}em\ sems$ «mind», e.g. «understanding», «affliction», «hope», «prayer», «responsibility», «business», «suspicion», «trust».
10. $\bar{s}hee\ bzhes \leftarrow$ [Ord.] $\bar{s}ää\ bzas$ «to eat», $\bar{d}uN\ btung$ «to drink», which forms compounds with those nouns which are related in meaning with these verbs, hence being used for the nouns connected with food, table-

ware, and the like.

11. *ṅcöo mchod*←[Ord.] the same with (10) above. The same comment as above applies here.
12. *ṅsöo gsol*←[Ord.] the same with (10) above. The same comment as above applies here. In Lhasa Tibetan *ṅsöo* is not used as a verb, but it is used as such in Literary Tibetan.
13. *ṅshuu bzhuḡs*→[Ord.] *ṅdää sdad* «to sit, dwell», which forms compounds with the NB's whose meanings are related to ⟨house, dwelling, and the like⟩.
14. *ṅsim gzim*→[Ord.] *ṅnyää nyal* «to sleep». The same comment as above applies here.

An ordinary form may have more than two distinct honorific forms according to the contexts.

E.g.

[Ord.] *'ma mar* «butter»→[Hon.] $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ṅsöömaa gsol mar} \text{ «butter use for food} \\ \text{ṅcöömaa mchod mar} \text{ «butter used for} \\ \text{lights} \end{array} \right.$

C.f. *ṅcöö* is also used as a verb in the sense of «to offer».

Apart from the study of their historical development and the comparative study of them in dialects or in the literary language, the honorifics in Tibetan offer many other problems to deal with, such as the honorific forms that have no contrasting ordinary forms and their relationships with the titles of honor, the salutations, the words of depreciation, self-importance and affection, which I shall explore on some other occasions.

The data that I have utilized in this paper were mostly obtained from my Tibetan informant while she was staying in Japan, mainly by questioning. However, there is a limit to what we can study about the usage of honorifics by such a method since it is a matter that is deeply concerned with the social stratification of the Tibetan community, Tibetans' consciousness of it, the psychology of the speaker, situations, and so forth. Thus, the description of their usage and form in this paper must be amended by our observation of the language activities of the Tibetan people in their own society.

A Note on the *Ārya-Laṅkāvatāra-vṛtti* by Jñānaśrībhadra, Toh. 4018

HADANO Hakuyū

I

The *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* is one of the more important scriptures of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It was widely circulated, and imparted many influences.

A number of Sanscrit manuscripts of this Sūtra have already been gathered together, edited, and published. The various commentaries and explanatory works of Chinese and Japanese compilation are too numerous to enumerate here. Nevertheless, if one is searching for an understanding of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* not confined to the Chinese, and Japanese traditions alone, but for the possibility of an extra-traditional, that is, more basic, Indian one, it is absolutely necessary to utilize the Tibetan translations.

Two commentaries of the sūtra (No. 107) are extant in Tibetan translation. Of them, we would like to deal with the "*Ārya-Laṅkāvatāra-vṛtti*" (*Hphags-pa Lan-kar gsegs-pa'i ḡgrel-pa*, Toh. 4018) by Jñānaśrībhadra (*Ye-śes dpal-bzañ-po*).

Fortunately, we were also able to make use of the Tibetan Old Translation of the Sūtra in the Pelliot Collection of Tun Huang Manuscripts, and the Chinese Translation from Tun Huang kept in Peking.

It is thought that the above Tibetan translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (No. 107) is the revised translation following the new authorized methods of translation. The Commentary we are dealing with generally agrees with this version. But strictly speaking, this goes only as far as the Sixth Paṭala of the Commentary, inclusive of the "Nairmāṇika" Paṭala, and then it continues without division and simply discusses the "Māṃsabhakṣaṇa" Paṭala. Here the Commentary ends. It does not deal with the "Dhāraṇi" Paṭala and as for the "Sagāthakam, all explanation is omitted in the Commentary, but it is stated that it will be given in the part of the commentary on the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra* dealing with the explanation of the "Ārya-paramārtha-samudgata-bodhisattva-praśna-parivarta Paṭala." The author says that the "Sagāthakam" Paṭala may be placed before or after the "Māṃsabhakṣaṇa" Paṭala.