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ТРУДЫ ОРХОНСКОЙ ЭКСПЕДИЦИИ.

АТЛАСЪ
ДРЕВНОСТЕЙ МОНГОЛИИ.

ИЗДАНО ПО ПОРУЧЕНИЮ ИМПЕРАТОРСКОЙ АКАДЕМИИ НАУКЪ

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ВЫПУСКЪ ЧЕТВЕРТЫЙ.

Томъ CV—CXVIII.



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ATLAS
DER
ALTERTHÜMER DER MONGOLEI.

IM AUFTRAGE DER KAISERLICHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN

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George van Driem (Leiden)

THE PHONOLOGIES OF DZONGKHA AND THE BHUTANESE LITURGICAL LANGUAGE

Classical Tibetan is the liturgical language of Bhutan. The language is referred to in Bhutan as རྫོག་སྐད་ Chöke ‘language of the dharma.’ The main factor determining the pronunciation of Chöke in Bhutan is the phonology of Dzongkha, the national language of Bhutan. Dzongkha is the native language of most of western Bhutan and represents the direct descendant of Old Tibetan on Bhutanese soil. Dzongkha is the །ཀ་ kha ‘language’ of the རྫོང་ dzong ‘citadel,’ military strongholds throughout Bhutan which housed the ruling élite. The differences between the phonologies of Dzongkha and Chöke are best understood in terms of the phonology of Dzongkha. Traditional Chöke grammar still exerts a strong normative influence on the way Bhutanese literati perceive Dzongkha. The phonology of the liturgical language also influences the way educated native speakers of Dzongkha think about the phonology of their own language and determines the literary pronunciations of learned words in formal registers of speech. Since many, if not most, speakers of Dzongkha are Bhutanese whose native tongue happens to be one of the country’s seventeen other indigenous languages, the Dzongkha pronunciation of these speakers is furthermore coloured by their respective native phonologies.

Dzongkha and Chöke are given both in the native Bhutanese འུ་ཅན་ ’Ucen script and in the official romanization known as ‘Roman Dzongkha.’ This system of transcription, devised by the author, was adopted by the Royal Government of Bhutan in 1991. This romanization is not a transliteration of the indigenous orthography in ’Ucen script, but a phonemic representation based on the standard dialect of the national language. Phonetic transcriptions are given between square brackets in International Phonetic Alphabet with the superscripts (^H) and (^L) indicating the high and low tones respectively.

1. The phonology of Dzongkha

There are two register tones in Dzongkha, and these are to some extent predictable in ways which will be explained below. Dzongkha has eight vowels:

i ü u
e ö o
ä a

Vowel length is distinctive. The vowels ä [æː], ö [œː] and ü [yː] marked by a diaeresis or ཚགས་གཉིས་ tshâ 'nyí, are inherently long. Vowels before final -ང -ng are long, e.g. ལང་ 'lang [lãː]H 'bull, ox,' རང་ chang [tɕʰãː]H 'beer,' རྩམ་ཁང་ tshongkha [tsʰõːkha]H 'shop,' མང་ meng [mɛː]L 'name,' རྩིང་ hing [hĩː]H 'heart.' Elsewhere vowel length is indicated by an *accent circonflexe* or རྩིང་ལྷོག་ chimto, e.g. a vs. â. The phonetic difference between short vowels and their long counterparts is not only one of duration, but also of timbre, e.g. མཁམ་ 'map [mɔp]H 'husband' vs. རམ་མམ་ 'mâp [maːp]H 'red,' རམ་མམ་ sep [sɛp]H 'stallion' vs. རམ་མམ་ sêp [sɛːp]H 'yellow,' རམ་མམ་ tsip [tsɪp]H 'stone wall' vs. རམ་མམ་ tsîp [tsiːp]H 'astrologer,' རམ་མམ་ phop [pʰɔp]H 'put something down' vs. རམ་མམ་ phôp [pʰoːp]H 'cup,' རམ་མམ་ ku [ku]H 'honorific prefix for parts of the body' vs. རམ་མམ་ kû [kuː]H 'gourd used as a scoop.' The short vowels /e/ and /o/, in particular, tend to be somewhat more open in closed syllables. The diachronic factors conditioning lengthening give every appearance of being complex.

Dzongkha distinguishes voiceless, aspirated, voiced and devoiced plosives and affricates. Devoiced initials are indicated by a circular diacritic called a རྩིག་ thi, e.g., g°, d°, j°, bj°, zh°. Devoiced initials historically derive from voiced initials and, in phonetic terms, are accompanied by the low tone and followed by breathy phonation in the following vowel, e.g. རྩིག་ kou [kou]H 'leather,' རྩིག་ kho [kʰo]H 'he,' རྩིག་ go [go]L 'door,' རྩིག་ g°ô [kɔː]L 'Bhutanese male garb.'

velar plosives	k	kh	g	g°
palatal plosives	c	ch	j	j°
bilabial-palatal affricates	pc	pch	bj	bj°
alveolar affricates	ts	tsh	dz	
dental plosives	t	th	d	d°
retroflex plosives	tr	thr	dr	dr°
bilabial plosives	p	ph	b	b°

Sibilants can be voiceless, voiced or devoiced, e.g. རྩིག་ sum [sum]H 'amulet, talisman,' རྩིག་ z°am [sɔ̃m]L 'bridge,' རྩིག་ zâm [zaːm]L 'well bred.'

palatal sibilants	sh	zh	zh°
alveolar sibilants	s	z	z°

Syllables beginning with a voiceless or aspirated plosive, affricate or sibilant, a voiceless liquid or /h/ are pronounced in the high tone, རྩིག་ tiu [tiu]H 'navel,' རྩིག་ phap [pʰɔp]H 'pig,' རྩིག་ pchâm [ptɕʰaːm]H 'broom,' རྩིག་ shau [ʃau]H 'antlers,' རྩིག་ Lhap [lʃɔp]H 'Tuesday,' རྩིག་ hrä [r̥æː]H 'tear, rip,' རྩིག་ hang [hãː]H 'pillow,' whereas syllables with a voiced or devoiced plosive, affricate or

sibilant initial or initial /r/ are in the low tone, e. g. བླ་བ་ bau [bau]^L ‘goitre,’ འྲོང་ dr°eng [tʃɛː]^L ‘mule,’ འཇམ་མཚོ་ dzâu [dzaxu]^L ‘crunchy puffed rice (served with Bhutanese tea),’ རྩེ་ bj°em [ptʃɛm]^L ‘sand,’ གཞོན་མ་ zhöm [zœːm]^L ‘young,’ ཞོ་མ་ z°ou [soʊ]^L ‘sickle,’ ར་ ra [ra]^L ‘goat.’ Syllables beginning with a vowel, a nasal or voiced liquid other than /r/ can be either high or low tone. In these syllables, high tone is indicated with an apostrophe at the beginning of the syllable, e. g. འ་ nga [ŋa]^L ‘I, me’ vs. ལྔ་ nga [ŋa]^H ‘five,’ ལྟོ་ lo [lo]^L ‘year, age’ vs. ལྟོ་ lo [lo]^H ‘cough,’ ཡ་འ་ yâ [jaː]^L ‘above’ vs. གཡག་ 'yâ [jaː]^H ‘yak,’ མང་ wang [wãː]^L ‘Thimphu Valley’ vs. དབང་ 'wang [wãː]^H ‘spiritual empowerment,’ འོང་ ong [õː]^L ‘come’ vs. ཞོ་མ་ 'om [om]^H ‘milk,’ མི་ mi [mi]^L ‘fire’ vs. མི་གོ་ 'migö [migœː]^{HL} ‘yeti.’ Elsewhere, tone is left unmarked. The Dzongkha continuant initials are:

	high	low
velar nasal	'ng	ng
palatal nasal	'ny	ny
dental nasal	'n	n
bilabial nasal	'm	m
palatal glide	'y	y
apical continuant	hr	r
voiced lateral	'l	l
lateral continuant	lh	
labiovelar glide	'w	w
voiceless aspirate	h	
vowels		
closed front vowel	'i	i
closed rounded front vowel	'ü	ü
closed rounded back vowel	'u	u
half-open front vowel	'e	e
half-open rounded front vowel	'ö	ö
half-open back vowel	'o	o
open front vowel	'ä	ä
open back vowel	'a	a

The diæresis above the letters ä, ö and ü in Roman Dzongkha is used to distinguish the vowel in བགཡ་ shä [ʃæː]^H ‘wander’ from the vowel in གཤེ་ shê [ʃeː]^H ‘know,’ the vowel in ཐོ་ dö [dœː]^L ‘sit’ from the vowel in ཏོ་ do [do]^L ‘stone,’ and the vowel in ལུག་ lu [lu]^L ‘sheep’ from the vowel in ལུ་ lü [lyː]^L ‘compost.’

The vowels ä, ö and ü in Dzongkha arose, as in modern Tibetan, through apophony conditioned by old syllable-final - ད' -d, - ལ' -l, - ར' -n and - ས' -s, still represented in modern orthography. Whereas all four finals resulted in apophonic ö [<o] and ü [<u], apophony of original a variously yielded e, ê and ä. Old final - ད' -d in Dzongkha usually gave rise to ê, e. g., ལྟད་མོ་ tēm [te:ɪm]^H 'show,' བཟླ་བ་ལྟོན་ takcê [taktçæ:ɪ]^H 'inspect,' བརྗེད་ jê [dze:ɪ]^L 'forget,' ཚད་ tshê [tsʰe:ɪ]^H 'measure, size, moderation,' seldom to ä or e, e. g. བརྒྱད་ gä [gæ:ɪ]^L 'eight,' འབད་ be [be]^L 'do,' མཛེ་ནད་ dzêne [dze:ne]^L 'leprosy' (however, ནད་ nê [ne:ɪ]^L 'illness'). Old final - ར' -n, in most cases retained in the modern pronunciation, has given rise to the vowel e, e. g., མྱ་ན་ 'men [mɛn]^H 'medicine,' ཚན་དན་ tsende [tsɛnde]^H 'Bhutanese sandalwood,' འགན་ཁག་ genkha [gɛnkʰa]^L 'responsibility.' Old final - ས' -s and - ལ' -l have given rise to the vowel ä, e. g. ཇས་ dzä [dzæ:ɪ]^L 'gunpowder,' གཡས་ཡས་ 'yäp [jæ:p]^H 'right (as opposed to left),' སྤུལ་ sä [sæ:ɪ]^H 'prince,' མཁས་པ་ khäp [kʰæ:p]^H 'adept, expert,' སྐལ་ bap [bæ:p]^L 'frog,' ཐལ་མ་ thäu [tʰæ:ɪ]^H 'dust,' ཅལ་ gä [gæ:ɪ]^L 'to cross, to ford,' བལ་པོ་ ä [pæ:ɪ]^L 'wool,' བཤལ་ shä [ʃæ:ɪ]^H 'wander, roam.' In some cases final - ས' -s has not led to an apophonic vowel, e. g., Dzongkha བཞོ་ [< Tib. ཞོས་] g^oö [kçö:ɪ]^L 'Bhutanese male garb,' Dzongkha ནས་ nâ [na:ɪ]^L 'barley' vs. Chöke ནས་ nâ [næ:ɪ]^L, Dzongkha འཇམ་ལོ་མ་ Dr^oâsho [tʰa:ʃo]^L 'Bhutanese nobleman,' Dzongkha ལྟུ་ [< Tib. ལས་] lâ [la:ɪ]^L 'work,' Dzongkha དགོ་ [< Tib. དགོས་] go [go]^L 'must.' There are vowel harmonic forms involving the vowel ö, e. g. མཚན་ཉེན་ chötö 'stupa,' སློབ་དཔོན་ 'lobö 'teacher.' There are cases in which the modern vowel has yet to be explained, e. g., ཞེད་པོ་ gap 'head of a ཞེད་འོག་ geo, or block of villages,' Dzongkha བཞོས་པ་ dröp [dçæ:p]^L 'ex-, former, retired,' alongside formal Chöke བཞོས་པ་ drep [dçep]^L.

2. The phonology of Bhutanese Chöke

The phonology of Chöke as spoken by native speakers of Dzongkha differs from that of Dzongkha in several respects.

The Old Tibetan post-consonantal glide /r/, or *ra-ta*, which in modern Tibetan gave rise to retroflex initials has in Dzongkha in some cases led to palatalization of initials other than velars, e. g. Dzongkha མྱ་ ca [tçɑ]^H 'hair (on scalp)' vs. Chöke མྱ་ tra [tʃɑ]^H, Dzongkha ཁལ་ khä [kʰæ:ɪ]^H 'tax, duty' vs. Chöke ཁལ་ threl [tʰel]^H, Dzongkha ཁལ་ཉེ་ khadj^oe [kʰaptçɛ]^{HL} 'divorce' vs. Chöke ཁལ་ཉེ་ khadr^oel [kʰaʃɛ]^{HL}. As a result, the Dzongkha bilabial-palatal series, which arose from the palatalization of bilabials under certain circumstances, is lacking in Bhutanese Chöke, e. g. Dzongkha བྱ་ལུ་འཇམ་ལོ་ bj^oâlu ûp [ptçɑ:lu u:p]^{LL} 'cliff owl' vs. Chöke བྱ་ལུ་འཇམ་ལོ་ dr^oâkla ukpa [tʃakla ukpa]^{LL} or dr^oâla upa [tʃa:la upa]^{LL}, Dzongkha འབྲུ་ bju [bju]^L 'wealth, resources' vs. Chöke འབྲུ་ dru [dru]^L

‘paddy, grain, corn,’ Dzongkha འབྲེང་མ་ pchem [ptʂ^hem]^H ‘rosary’ vs. Chöke འབྲེང་བ་ threngwa [t^hɛːu]^H, Dzongkha ལྷོ་པ་ pca [ptʂa]^H ‘monkey’ and ལྷོ་དཀར་ pcaka [ptʂaka]^H ‘golden langur’ vs. Chöke ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ treu [tʂeu]^H and ལྷོ་དཀར་ trakar [tʂa-kaɾ]^H. It has not been determined what factor or factors determined whether an Old Tibetan initial with post-consonantal /r/ gave rise to a palatal or a retroflex initial in Dzongkha.

The consonants -t, -l and -k are retained as finals in Chöke and correspond to orthographic final -ད་ -d, -ལ་ -l and -ག་ -g. The vowel ä occurs in Chöke only before orthographic final -ས་ s. Otherwise, apophony of original a gives rise to e, and the vowel ê only arises from lengthening of original e.

These differences are illustrated by the sample text below. This text is the Zh°elthün, a sacred prayer reserved for certain members of the Bhutanese Royal Family to whom the prayer was given by His Holiness the late དེལ་མགོ་མཐུན་བཟུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ D°ilgo Khentse Rinpoche. The interlinear transcription in Roman Dzongkha represents the Western Bhutanese pronunciation of the liturgical language. This prayer contains mantras the very sound of which is held to have magical power. A translation of the prayer, which is Tantric in content, is not provided here. A proper translation with the required philological and buddhological interpretation and commentary falls beyond the scope of the present article.

In view of the recent introduction of the authors’s system of romanization which was only adopted as the official romanization by the Royal Government of Bhutan in September, 1991, there appears to be some consensus amongst Bhutanese who have started using the romanization as to what constitutes a word. They apply their native speaker intuitions to the liturgical language as well, and this is reflected in the way certain syllables below are written as a single word, whereas others are not.

The liturgical pronunciations indicated are those of དགལ་མེང་པ་ཀལྷ་ཆེ་རིང་ Gasep Karma Tshering, formerly Dzongkha newsreader of the Bhutan Broadcasting Service, well known for his exemplary pronunciation of Dzongkha. Karma Tshering was educated in the Bhutanese liturgical tradition in the prestigious lamasery school at མེམ་ས་རྟོག་ཁ་ Semtokha¹ near the Bhutanese capital Thimphu, where he received his schooling in Classical Tibetan and a wide variety of Buddhist disciplines. The author was first asked to provide a romanization of this prayer in 1990

1 The name may be translated as ‘place of gleaning by the mind,’ but the original toponym is allegedly སྤྱིན་མོ་ལྷོ་ཁ་སེམ་མཐུ་མ་ Sinmotokha which means ‘upon the devil’s belly’ and is tied to a legend about འཕྲུང་ངལ་དབང་རྣམ་གུ་ཡུ་མ་ apdrung Nga’wang ’Namgä having slain a powerful demon at the site in the early seventeenth century and built his fortress on its belly. ARIS (1979), however, gives the spelling Srin-mo rDo-kha.

for use at the royal palace at བདེ་ཆེན་ཚོས་སྒྲིང་ Dechechö'ling just outside Thimphu. This he did with the kind assistance of Karma Tshering who patiently and conscientiously narrated the text numerous times for the author.

Zh°elthün
ཞལ་གྲུབ།

Dün g°i namkhar 'lama d°ang.
ལྷ་མཚན་གྱི་ནམ་མཁའ་ལྷ་མ་དང་།

Yeshê khandro 'êrmet pa.
ཡེ་ཤེས་མཁའ་འགྲོ་དབྱེར་མེད་པ་།

Cap yül kündü ngo ôr zh°uk.
སྐྱབས་ལུལ་ཀྱན་འདུས་ངོ་བོར་བཞུགས་པ་།

Du drel metpar capsu chi.
འདྲུ་འབྲལ་མེད་པར་སྐྱབས་སུ་མཆེ་།

Nâmo. Rangrik yeshê khandro mar.
ན་མོ་ རང་ཤིག་ཡེ་ཤེས་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མར་།

Rangrd°öl chenpor semket d°o.
རང་གྲོལ་ཆེན་པོར་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་དོ།

Matok 'nyîdzin thrülpi 'lo.
མ་རྟོགས་གཉིས་འཛིན་འབྲལ་པའི་སློ།

Rikpa hriyi thro d°u lä.
ཤིག་པ་རྫི་ཡེ་འགྲོ་འདྲུ་ལས་།

'A. Rangsem macö tongpi tsel.
ཨ་ རང་སེམས་མ་བརྩོས་སྟོང་པའི་རྩལ་།

Rangnyit 'wang dzet dâkini.²
རང་ཉིད་དབང་མཛད་རྣལ་ལྷན་།

'Mar sêr nyima charkhi dok.
དམར་སེར་ཉི་མ་འཆར་ཁའི་མདོག་།

Cu dr°uk langtsho dzê chak nyam.
བརྩུ་དྲུག་ལང་ཚོ་མཛེས་ཆགས་ཉམས་།

Petmi cakcu zh°akpa dzin.
པརྫའི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་པ་འཛིན་།

Cermo 'upel³ retne gen.
གཅེར་མོ་ཞུའལ་རྣམས་བརྩམ་།

Petnyi⁴ g°arg°i jur b°akcä.
པད་ཉིར་གར་གྱི་འགྲུར་བག་བཅས་།

2 The subscript ḥ འ་ which appears twice in ལྷ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ represents the long vowels in Sanskrit dâkinî. The same convention is used on occasion to represent a long vowel in modern Dzongkha. The subscript h ཧ་, however, appears to be spurious.

3 Contrary to what one might expect, the pronunciation is 'upel, and not 'utpel. A possible explanation for such instances is that certain liturgical terms very familiar to speakers in their colloquial or Dzongkha form might be felt to be overly artificial in a strict liturgical pronunciation. In fervent prayer the modern Dzongkha form འཕགས་པ་སྐུན་རས་གཟིགས་ Phâp Cerezî 'Divine Avalokiteśvara' may on occasion be heard to replace the proper liturgical pronunciation Phakpa Cenrezik.

4 Here too, the pronunciation petnyi rather than petnyir is contrary to expectation. See footnote 3.

De dr^ot ötphung 'longd^ou röl.
བདེ་དྲོད་འོད་ལྷང་སློང་དུ་རྩོལ་མེད།

Thukkar nyiteng hri 'mar thar.
ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཉི་སློང་རྩི་དམར་མཐར་མེད།

Pakmet zh^ongkün chappar thrö.
དཔག་མེད་ཞིང་ཀྱམ་ཐུབ་པར་འཕྲོས་མེད།

Thuksok hrira thim zij^oin ket.
ཐུགས་སྲིབ་རྩི་ར་ཐིམ་གཟི་བྱིན་བསྐྱེད་མེད།

Rangdr^ol rang' wang thoppar j^our.
རང་གྲོལ་རང་དབང་ཐོབ་པར་གུར་མེད།

Thukkai ötmar cackcuyi.
ཐུགས་ཀའི་འོད་དམར་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཡིས་མེད།

Rap kül dakla chak dungg^oi.
རབ་བསྐྱལ་བདག་ལ་ཚགས་གདུང་གིས་མེད།

Özh^ou⁵ thikle 'marpo ni.
འོད་ལྷོ་ཐིག་ལེ་དམར་པོ་ནི་མེད།

Thimpä 'nyîsu metpar j^our.
ཐིམ་པས་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པར་གུར་མེད།

'Om kuru kulle gel'lön bangkhor sarwawasham kuru hri sowa hâ.
ཨོྲ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལ་གྱི་ལྷོ་ན་འབངས་འཁོར་སམ་ལྷོ་གྱི་རུ་རྩི་སྲུ་རྩི་མེད།

Rikpa rang shar tshenmai lha.
རིག་པ་རང་ཤར་མཚན་མའི་ལྷ་མོ།

'Laryang z^oung juk jumai tsel.
སྲར་ཡང་བྱང་འཇུག་སྐྱེ་མའི་ཕྱལ་མོ།

'Ngâki korlä barwei öt.
སྲགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱར་ལས་འབར་བའི་འོད་མེད།

Ten 'yoi 'ngökün 'wang dü nä.
བརྟན་གཡོའི་དངོས་ཀྱམ་དབང་བསྐྱུས་ནས་མེད།

Detong jurmet lhencikkê.
བདེ་སློང་འབྱར་མེད་ལྷན་ཅིག་སྐྱེས་མེད།

'Om kuru kulle hri sowa hâ.
ཨོྲ་ཀུ་རུ་ཀུལ་རྩི་སྲུ་རྩི་མེད།

'Mikj^oai semyit 'wangmet d^ou.
དམིགས་བྱའི་སེམས་ཡིད་དབང་མེད་དུ་མེད།

Ketcik dünd^ou lhakpai möt.
སྐད་ཅིག་མདུན་དུ་ལྷགས་པའི་མོད་མེད།

Yungdru tsam j^our 'nyingg^oa ru.
ཡུངས་འབྲུ་ཙམ་གུར་རྩིང་ག་རུ་མེད།

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5 Here one would have expected the pronunciation ötzh^ou. See footnote 3.

Hô. D^oüsum sakpi getshok kün. 'Mikmet tha dr^oel 'long d^ou 'ngo.
 ཧོ་ ཏུས་གསུམ་སཀཔི་གེའཤོག་ཀུན་ འུ་མི་མེའུ་ལོང་དུ་འངོ་

Kham sum khorwai semcen kün. D^oak 'nyam chenpor Sanggä shok.
 ཁམས་གསུམ་འཁོར་ཤིང་སེམ་ཅན་ཀུན་ དཀ་མཉམ་ཚེན་པོར་སངས་རྒྱལ་ཤོག་

Tsa sum khandroi j^oin'lap thü. Dâkcaḥ drup chok khorcä ki.
 ཅ་གསུམ་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་བྱིན་རླབས་མཐུས་ བདག་ཅག་རླུབ་མཚོག་འཁོར་བཅས་ཀྱི་

Gelken künzh^oi samd^oön drup. Dro kham d^oongtruk trashi shok.
 འགལ་རྒྱན་ཀྱང་ཞི་བསམ་དོན་རླབས་ འགྲོ་ཁམས་དོང་སྤྲུགས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག་

3. Liturgical pronunciations in the spoken language

There are also numerous differences in pronunciation between Dzongkha and Chöke, of which many examples have been provided above. As we have seen, these differences may result from palatalization, e. g., Dzongkha འགྲོ་ jo 'go' vs. Chöke འགྲོ་ dro, or from the different results of apophony and the loss of finals, e. g., Dzongkha བསང་ sê 'kill' vs. Chöke བསང་ set, Dzongkha བཀལ་ kâ 'send' vs. Chöke བཀལ་ kel. A systematic correspondence not yet mentioned is that of a voiced initial in Chöke corresponding to a voiceless or aspirate initial in Dzongkha, e. g., Dzongkha མདའ་རྒྱབ་ da cap 'shoot arrows' vs. Chöke མདའ་རྒྱབ་ da jap, Dzongkha འཕུལ་ phü 'give, proffer [honorific]' vs. Chöke འཕུལ་ büil. Often the differences between Dzongkha and Chöke are lexical in nature, e. g., Dzongkha འབད་ be 'do' vs. Chöke རེད་ j^oet, Dzongkha ལྟམ་ 'lap 'tell, say' [< Tib. བསྟམ་ 'teach'] vs. Chöke རྫོད་ jot.

Another salient difference is that many originally bisyllabic words in Old Tibetan and Chöke have collapsed into monosyllables in Dzongkha, e. g., Dzongkha རྒྱལ་པོ་ gäp 'king' vs. Chöke རྒྱལ་པོ་ gelpo, Dzongkha ཐག་པ་ thap 'rope' vs. Chöke ཐག་པ་ thakpa. Examples have already been presented above, and the phenomenon has been extensively discussed in the literature (MAZAUDON and MICHAÏLOVSKY 1989, VAN DRIEM 1992 a: 100–102). This phenomenon appears to be connected to the rise – in some Dzongkha dialects and restricted to certain syllable types – of a contour tone distinction in addition to the register tone distinction already discussed, but, as with vowel lengthening, the complex factors conditioning this secondary tonal distinction are not yet understood.

Many Chöke pronunciations are widely used in spoken Dzongkha, particularly in learned discourse. The prescribed pronunciation taught in lamaseries and traditional Bhutanese schools has until recently been the Chöke pronuncia-

tion, and in the case of the many students who are native speakers of a Bhutanese language other than Dzongkha the Chöke pronunciation is often the only one they have learnt, whereas native speakers of Dzongkha may also often cultivate the more erudite Chöke pronunciation. In certain cases, the Chöke pronunciation is the only one in use, e.g. ཀུན་གསལ་ Künsel, Bhutan's national weekly, or བལ་བའལ་མེ་ཚན་ Tashel Detshen 'Bhutan Tourism Corporation.' The Dzongkha pronunciation 'Tashä Detshe' is currently considered boorish, although it might one day become standard.

In many cases, both the Chöke and the Dzongkha pronunciations are acceptable and used in the appropriate style register. The colloquial འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ Dru Gäkhap 'Bhutan,' སྤ་རོ་སྤྲུག་ཚང་ Paro Tâtsha 'Tiger's Nest Sanctuary of Paro' and དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་གཞུང་ Pende Druzhung 'Royal Government of Bhutan' are equally as acceptable as the more formal འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ Druk Gelkhap, སྤ་རོ་སྤྲུག་ཚང་ Padr'o Taktshang and དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་གཞུང་ Pelden Drukzhung. Sometimes the Chöke and Dzongkha pronunciations are the same, e.g. བསོད་ནམས་ལས་ཁུངས་ Sönam Läkhang 'Agriculture Department' or རྒྱུང་ས་འབྲིན་ལས་ཁུངས་ Jangthrin Läkhang 'Bhutan Broadcasting Service.'

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