We, a few socially conscious ladies from Kargil District wish therefore to solicit cooperation and assistance from progressive national and international organisations.

As this is the first time that representatives from Kargil District are participating in this series of colloquia, we would be grateful if special attention is given to this District, which is one of the most difficult and conservative regions of Ladakh. There is a real need for coordination and collaboration between local resourceful persons in the District and the members of the International Association for Ladakh Studies. If the purpose of the Association is related to Ladakh studies, then Kargil District, which comprises such a large part of the region, should not be ignored.

Tibetan Literary Language and Ladakhi Speech:
A Continuity

Anandamayee Ghosh

The phrase *gzhung bsrigs pa* in Tibetan means the compilation of a text or literary work. Tibetan *gzhung skad* (TZK), means the literary language. The Tibetan meaning of *gzhung lugs* suggests *shes yon zig rgyud rim dang ldan par bshad pa'i dpe cha*, which refers to *sman gzhung lugs* (medical literature), *rtsis gzhung lugs* (mathematical literature), and *mtshan nyid rig pa'i gzhung lugs* (philosophical literature). In general, the term *gzhung lugs* suggests the indigenous style of literary composition on various subjects other than *yig bsgyur*, the translated works from the Buddhist and Bonpo source materials. In fact, however, the translated works in Tibetan literature have played a major role in many aspects that are not always spiritual or ecclesiastical. The word *chos skad*, the religious scriptural language, covers a wide field in Tibetan literature, and in that respect *gzhung lugs* or *gzhung skad lugs* is frequently used in Tibetan for literary expression.

The question of the language of *Ge sar sgrungs*, with its account of his heroic deeds in Ladakh, is controversial. Many versions of the *Ge sar sgrungs* exist in different parts of the Himalayan regions and as far away as China, Mongolia, Buryat, and Tuva. Unquestionably, the Ladakhi version of the *sgrungs* is not in *chos skad*. But is it then a version of the common man's speech, *phal skad*? According to the lexicon, *phal skad* is a short form for *phal ba'i skad*, the speech used in everyday life. Yet the *Ge sar sgrungs* is not in *phal skad*. This raises the possibility that the inhabitants of Ladakh might...

1. Waddell, in *Buddhism in Tibet*, divided the Tibetan Buddhist literature into two classes, translated works and indigenous works. Traditionally the language of this religious literature is referred to as *chos skad*. In the present paper, *gzhung skad* refers to the language of any literary work, including religious texts.
have a distinct literary language that is represented in their version of the Ge
sar sgrungs. The language of the Gesar stories, whether in prose or in verse,
may be an early specimen of gzhiung skad.4

The Tibetan language, as it is maintained by the Buddhists in Ladakh, is
based on the grammatical treatises ascribed to Anu or Thonmi Sambhota (7th
century AD).5 Prior to that, the existing form of speech among the inhabitants
of transhimalayan Tibet was probably an early instance of phal skad, which
was subsequently adopted by Anu.6 He systematised his grammatical trea-
tises on the norms of the speech familiar to him in Tibet. In that respect the
Ladakhi version of Ge sar sgrungs preserves many irregular forms. A.H.
Francke, while editing the Gesar epic, already pointed out those irregular-
ities.7 The Buddhists preferred Thonmi Sambhota’s grammar and formulated
the dictions with morphological changes as enunciated by him in his sum
rtags. However, the Ladakhi Buddhists followed the dictions ofchos skad
based on Sanskrit morphology and syntax rules.

The Mahāvyutpatti (MVP) preserves the Tibetan dictions based on their
Sanskrit equivalents. For example, the English ‘manifestation, expression of
affection, love, inclination’; T. chags pa’i smra ba, S. ṛtvikaraṇa.8 Here, S. ṛtvis
+karaṇanti refers to ‘doing manifestation of that which is not manifested’,
while T. chags pa (love, affection) + smra ba (to speak, speech, expression).
The diction, in other words, tends to its symbolic translation. In modern
Indian language, ṛtvīkāra connotes exploration, discovery, innovation, etc.
In TZK dnyigs pa nas bzo la is used in the sense of invention. The Tibetan expres-
sion literally means ‘manufacture out of that which is contemplated in the mind’.9
Similarly, abstract terms like (i) comprehension and (ii) doubt or hesitation
are rendered in the MVP in seriatim. (i) nges par ’dzin pa dbye ba for S.
avadhāraṇa,10 (ii) as som nyi nem nur for S. kāngkṣa.11 In TZK the former is nges
par rtogs pa and the latter the tshom(s). The MVP, then, interprets the terms
with their spiritual reference intact: (i) nges par (thoroughly), ’dzin pa (grasping, to grasp),
dbye ba (division, to part, analyze). S. avadhāraṇa in the spiritual context suggests to grasp a concept or item and to analyse it
critically part by part. (ii) som derived from sem(s) pa (mind, spirit, to think),
nyi an old form of gnyis (two), nem (doubt, error; contemporary nem bu), nur
(to move a little). This intrinsic quality in the TZK translation is absent. rtogs
pa suggests both perceive and apperceive, but not ’dzin pa dbye pa exactly; (ii)
the (rtog) doubt, tshoms derived from tshon pa (to doubt, to hesitate) as an
instance of a cognitive verb with its cognated object.

The inhabitants of Ladakh did not overthrow thechos skad expressions by
ignoring their social applications. In addition to that, the indigenous pattern
of literary language (gzhiung lugs) continues in its speech genesis. The
following examples illustrate these points.

T. phran bu (insignificant). rgyal phran a small state like Bhutan or Nepal,
phran chung literary, humble, as used in the personal correspondence with a
senior person. Whereas phran in Ge sar sgrungs suggests the little finger
as contrast to the middle finger or the thumb, in TZK the middle finger is
referred to as se mo and thumbnail is mthe bo. T. mdzub mo phran mo; colloquial
mdzub gu phran mo is the complete form to refer to the middle finger in TZK.
In the TZK, phran mo becomes a simplified form to suggest the little finger.

A similar pattern applies to the old Tibetan form mangs (many), e.g. rgya’d
mangs for pi wang. In the TZK mang po is used in the sense of mangs e.g. ni
mang po (many people or crowd). In Ladakhi we also find the expression
mang che zer ’dug (people say). We also find the adverbial form mang por
(mostly) and the verb mang ba (to be most, having many). Here, mangs is rare
in the TZK except mang(s) yul which refers to a province in which an

12. Ibid.: 115.
ethnically mixed population resides, e.g., Ladakh. Jäschke also mentions a province of this name bordering Nepal, inhabited by Kyirongpa. The change of usage of mangs is noteworthy here.

The expression ltan mo (spectacle) is now obsolete. In TZK ltan mo has been replaced by ltad mo. Like the Sanskrit grammatical rule of the interchangeability of ra and la, a tendency of changing suffix letters n and d belonging to the same group (sde) of ming gzhi occurs here. Neither Jäschke nor Das mentions ltan mo. Das13 gives the word ltan pa in the sense of byor pa corresponding to S. yukta (joined together). Does this allow an inference belonging to the same group (sde) of ming gzhi occurs here. Neither Jaschke nor Das mentions ltan mo. Das'* gives the word Itan pa in the sense of byor pa in the verbal form for 'coming out'. In the TZK, S. dhatu, is what spectator and scene are joined together?

dbyings refers to the verbal root in a grammatical context. In the TZK such a connotation is rare. In the metaphysical context of chos skad, dbyings is used to signify the extent of land or a region. For instance chos kyi dbyings, S. dharmadhatu. Jäschke pointed out dbyings — with reference to Schröter, the editor of the first Tibetan dictionary — as a hidden root opposite to 'byings pa in the verbal form for 'coming out'. In the TZK, S. dhatu, is that which melts being equivalent to khams as it is observed in the expression zu ba'i khams.

In the course of the spread of Christianity in the Western Himalayas a new trend in the TZK was initiated by the Christian scholars of Tibetan/Ladakhi led by the Moravian missionaries. Their endeavours to translate the Bible opened a new vista for the generation of TZK in the nineteenth century.14 The translators accepted the help of local scholars who, with regard to the development of the language, were in possession of an open mind, sometimes at odds with the line followed by Buddhists.

For example the passage from John XVI.7 'If ye knew me ye would know my father also' is translated as (A) kyod rnam kyi nang ngo shes pa yin na nga'i yab kyang ngo shes pa yin no or 'dug go. Whereas in colloquial the translation is (B) khyod tshos nga ngo shes pa yin na nga'i yab kyang ngo shes pa 'dug or yod. Sentence A has a passive construction. T. kyi is equivalent to 'by' or 'with'. The sentence constructed in the Bible is in the active voice with conditional (subjunctive) mood. Tibetan translation into a passive voice is necessary in order to have the transitive verb. Here, ngo (face) is the object to the verb shes pa, as a conjoined verb ngo shes pa corresponding to 'to know'. In chos skad Thonmi Sambhota and his commentators divided the verb bya ba under two headings: (i) gzhan byrugrub: an act or action which becomes complete by (for/in) others. For instance, the verb skor ba is to travel. The act of travelling depends on a goer to travel. Past tense bskor(d) byas travelled; future bskor(d) bya will travel. (ii) bdag bsgrub refers to an act or action that will complete by (in/for) itself. For example, 'gyed bas byed to attack. The act of attacking commences as soon as an attacker acts. In contrast, the act of travelling requires some secondary agent other than the traveller. For example a travelling car is a secondary agent to complete the act of travelling. Similarly, 'it rains' is T. char pa 'bab ('dag); a fruit falls from a tree shing nas 'bras bu babs; see by the eyes mig gis mthong.

In the example A from the Bible, the verb shes pa or ngo shes pa has no prefix letters. Obviously it is a case of a common verb not having the character of being gzhan bsgrub because the act of knowing is always subjective. The same sentence in the colloquial expression B is alternatively constructed by using an auxiliary verb yod or ngo shes pa yod. Obviously, the Tibetan construction suggests a habitual present when ngo shes pa is subjective as explained above.

Mark XVI.12 reads 'after that, two of his disciples having set out on a journey, as they were going to a country' (?) in Tibetan reads de'i rjes su ne gnas rnam kyi nang nas gnys lam du zhugs nas yul zhig du 'gro ba las. The Biblical sentence in Tibetan translation is a typical TZK example. The ending of the sentence las appears to be a peculiar usage. However, it suggests the continuation of the idea while las, as a particle appended to the verb 'gro ba denotes past conditional action.

In her Ladakhi Grammar Sanyukta Koshal (1979) laid emphasis on the contemporary usage by the inhabitants of Ladakh. TZK, as found in writings such as the kha che pha lu or the Biblical works and more recent governmental circulars and documents, maintains a continuity with the earlier expressions with a tendency of being occasionally syncopated and compounded in Ladakhi literary works.

**Bibliography**


Twin Peaks: the Two Shi’ite Factions of the Suru Valley

Nicola Grist

Introduction

This article is about the yokma and goma-pa which are two Shi’ite factions in the upper part of the Suru valley between Kargil and Zanskar. The majority of the inhabitants of the valley are Shi’ahs and belong to one or other of the factions. The research for the article was mainly conducted in the early 1990s in and around the villages of Panikhar and Taisuru in Suru block at the top of the valley. Both factions have their centres in the village of Taisuru.

Both the yokma and goma-pa have at their core a lineage of sayyids (people who claim descent from the family of the Prophet Mohammed’s daughter Fatima and her husband Ali, the Prophet’s cousin). In Kargil tehsil, male Shi’ite sayyids have the title agha and women are called archo. In each faction there is a leading agha who is the local guide, called rehbar (Farsi) or lamstan (Ladakhi, literally ‘one who shows the way’). The agha is the head of the faction and the rest of the members are his followers, called murid (Farsi) or agha khrile yodkhan migun (Ladakhi, literally ‘those who follow the agha’). In Suru Block, all Shi’ite households are affiliated to one of the factions. They attend its major religious ceremonies, pay certain taxes to the leading aghas, and go to them for rulings on matters of inheritance and dispute settlement.

1. The research for this article was supported by the ESRC who funded my PhD and the Central Research Fund of the University of London which paid for an additional field trip in 1996.
3. This term was a title of honour or military distinction among the Turks (Glassé 1991: 26), and in Iran it is a title of respect both for an ordinary man and for someone of true authority (Fischer and Abedi 1990: 505). Archo seems to be a local term, as cho is a title of respect in this area.
4. Ayatollah Khomeini is called the rehbar of the Revolution (Momen 1985: 316).