

# An Introduction to Khengkha: A Language of Central Bhutan\*

IKEDA Takumi

*Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University*

## Summary

The Kheng Language (also known as Khengkha in Bhutan) is one of the major languages in Central Bhutan, belonging to the East Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman languages. The main languages spoken in Bhutan are Dzongkha in the western, Bumthap in the central, and Tsangla (a.k.a. Shar chop) in the eastern areas. Dzongkha is the national language of Bhutan, and it is spoken as the mother tongue around Thimphu, the nation's capital. It is classified as a southern dialect of Tibetan. Tsangla in eastern Bhutan is also distributed in Arunachal Pradesh in India and *metog rdzong* in South Tibet, China, spoken by Mon people. Bumthap, in Central Bhutan, has the Mangdep and Kurtöp dialects beside Khengkha, but they have not been studied in detail yet except for Kurtöp. Khengkha is considered a major dialect of Bumthap and it is obvious that the appearance of the language is influenced by Dzongkha, however, they also preserve old constituents, such as the numeral system, that date back to before the formation of written Tibetan. As there is a lack in sufficient data for a historical study on Khengkha, this paper aims to provide a basic vocabulary and grammatical sketch based on the Matisoff 200 Word List, which was designed for the historical study of Tibeto-Burman languages. This list includes written Tibetan and reconstructed Proto-Tibeto-Burman words equated to English items. Through field research, I recorded language data of Dzongkha, Bumthap, and Tsangla. By cross-referencing and comparing Khengkha words to the data collected, we may be able to see and indicate which words are preserving old forms, corresponding to written Tibetan, or borrowing from Dzongkha or surrounding languages. I hope this introductory work containing the word list will contribute to the investigation of the historical development of Khengkha and further field research.

**Key words:** Bhutan, East-Bodic, Tibeto-Burman, Matisoff 200 Word List, old constituent

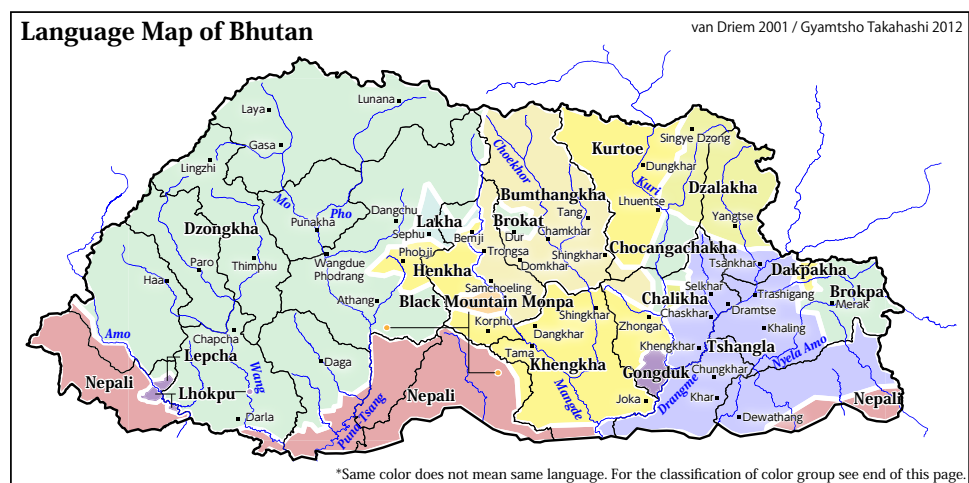
关键词：不丹国、喜马拉雅语东支、藏缅语、核心词、古貌遗留

---

\*My field research in Bhutan was supported by two Grants-in-Aid of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science: Formation of the Oldest Layer of Tibetan and Its Historical Transition (headed by TAKEUCHI Tsuguhiro: 24242015), and the International Field Survey of Tibeto-Burman Link Languages (headed by NAGANO Yasuhiko: 16H02722). The descriptive study of Khengkha and comparative analysis with related languages were also supported by a Grant-in-Aid of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science: A Study on the Historical Development of the Sino-Tibetan Languages and their Typological Geography (headed by IKEDA Takumi: 18H05219)

## 1. Introduction

Kheng language, or Khengkha (*kha* means “oral speech”), is classified as an East Bodish language in Western Tibeto-Burman, spoken by about 40,000 people in the Sarpang, Trongsa, Zhemgang, and Mongar districts of south-central Bhutan. The main languages spoken in Central Bhutan are Kurtöp, Bumthap, and Khengkha. Bumthap is the most related language to Khengkha, sharing not a few common words and features between them. Kurtöp is rather different from Khengkha, being difficult to make conversation among them. Khengkha speakers had close contact with speakers of the Kurtöp and Bumthap languages, the nearby languages of Central Bhutan, to the extent that they may be considered part of a wider collection of “Bumthang languages,” and some linguists recognize Khengkha as a dialect of Bumthap. These three languages in Central Bhutan all follow the same typology as Dzongkha, however, Khengkha is not a dialect of Dzongkha.



Khengkha is an oral language without a writing system, only spoken at home, for commerce, local politics, traditional religion. It is not an educational language taught in school, as opposed to Dzongkha and English. As there is no official romanization system of Khengkha, few texts are published in this language.

First, a general view on some basic words of Dzongkha, Bumthap, and Khengkha should be taken, for comparison.

**Table 1** A word list of Dzongkha, Bumthap, and Khengkha

	Dzongkha	Bumthap	Khengkha
I	/nga/ [ŋΛ <sup>23</sup> ]	/ngat/ [ŋat <sup>r23</sup> ]	/nga/ [ŋΛ <sup>21</sup> ]
person	/mi/ [mi <sup>44</sup> ]	/mi/ [ʔmi <sup>43</sup> ]	/mi/ [mi <sup>21</sup> ]
child	/alu/ [ʔΛ <sup>44</sup> lu <sup>44</sup> ]	/o nga/ [ʔo <sup>44</sup> ŋΛ <sup>22</sup> ]	/o lo/ [ʔo <sup>44</sup> lo <sup>22</sup> ]
hand/arm	/lap/ [lΛp <sup>23</sup> ]	/yak/ [jΛk <sup>44</sup> ]	/ya/ [jΛ <sup>42</sup> ]
foot/leg	/kam/ [kΛm <sup>43</sup> ]	/tawa/ [tΛ <sup>22</sup> wΛ <sup>44</sup> ]	/dok pa/ [dok <sup>22</sup> pΛ <sup>22</sup> ]
one [1]	/ci/ [tci <sup>44</sup> ]	/thek/ [t <sup>h</sup> ek <sup>r44</sup> ]	/thek/ [t <sup>h</sup> eʔ <sup>43</sup> ]
two [2]	/ni/ [ni <sup>44</sup> ]	/zon/ [zon <sup>23</sup> ]	/zong/ [zon <sup>21</sup> ]
three [3]	/sum/ [sum <sup>44</sup> ]	/sum/ [sum <sup>43</sup> ]	/sum/ [sum <sup>43</sup> ]
the sun	/nim/ [nim <sup>44</sup> ]	/ni/ [ʔniʔ <sup>44</sup> ]	/nä/ [nɛ <sup>21</sup> ]
the moon	/dau/ [dΛu <sup>23</sup> ]	/ladang/ [lΛ <sup>44</sup> dΛ <sup>22</sup> ]	/acu lala/ [ʔΛ <sup>44</sup> tɕu <sup>43</sup> lΛ <sup>22</sup> lΛ <sup>22</sup> ]
snow	/khau/ [k <sup>h</sup> Λu <sup>23</sup> ]	/ka/ [kΛʔ <sup>44</sup> ]	/ka/ [kΛʔ <sup>42</sup> ]
who	/gamo/ [gΛ <sup>23</sup> mo <sup>23</sup> ]	/e/ [ɛ <sup>44</sup> ]	/ai/ [ai <sup>42</sup> ]
eat	/za-ni/ [zΛ <sup>23</sup> ni <sup>22</sup> ]	/zö-zang/ [zø <sup>24</sup> -zΛ <sup>22</sup> ]	/zö-gem/ [zø <sup>23</sup> -gem <sup>21</sup> ]
laugh	/ga-ni/ [gΛ <sup>23</sup> ni <sup>22</sup> ]	/ga-zang/ [gΛ <sup>24</sup> -zΛ <sup>22</sup> ]	/ga-gem/ [gΛ <sup>23</sup> -gem <sup>21</sup> ]

\* Coda stops / -p , -t , -k / in Bumthap could be released.

/-p/ → [-p<sup>r</sup> ~ -p<sup>h</sup>] ; /-t/ → [-t<sup>r</sup> ~ -t<sup>h</sup>] ; /-k/ → [-k<sup>r</sup> ~ -k<sup>h</sup>]

\* The word for “moon” in Bumthap consists of /la/ ‘moon’ and /dang/ ‘light’; this word indicates both ‘the moon’ and ‘moonlight’.

## 2. Phonology

The common phonological features observed over the sub-dialects of Khengkha consist of a five main vowel system, pitch accent systems, a restricted set of final consonants, and a restricted set of consonant clusters in initials. It is still premature to describe the phonological system and features in detail; this report can only provide first-hand data and a preliminary analysis. The Khengkha phonological system has not been established yet, therefore, I tried to use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to record and describe the phonetic appearance in detail. I think it will be better than using the provisional phonemic system in the Roman Alphabet, which would be an unstable scheme inductively made of restricted data.

### 2.1 Consonants

Onset consonants in Khengkha can be divided into three series: plain, aspirated, and voiced. In wordinitial position, aspirated consonants are less common than those plain or voiced. The full inventory of Khengkha consonants that surface as initials of main syllables can be seen below.

**Table 2** Khengkha Consonants

Stops			Affricates		
Plain	p-	t-	k-	ts-	tʃ- ~ tʃ̥-
Aspirated	p <sup>h</sup> -	t <sup>h</sup> -	k <sup>h</sup> -	ts <sup>h</sup> -	tʃ <sup>h</sup> - ~ tʃ <sup>h</sup> ̥-
Voiced	b-	d-	g-	dz-	dʒ- ~ dʒ̥-
Nasals	m-	n-	ŋ-		(ŋ̃-)
Approximant			Fricatives		
Voiceless				s-	ʃ- ~ ʃ̥-    h-
Voiced				z-	ʒ- ~ ʒ̥-
	w-	l-		ɹ- ~ r-	j-    ʔ-

## 2.2 Vowels

Khengkha has only one low vowel /a/, which is distinctive from high vowels such as /i/, /u/, /e/, and /o/, contrastively. They construct a 5-vowel system similar to written Tibetan. The low vowel /a/ appears slightly back as [ɑ] or [ʌ] and sometimes [a] in diphthongs or with codas. However, so far, I am not sure these varieties in phonetic realization arise due to an areal feature, personal tendency, or caused by any other phonetic environment. Until we grasp the principal factor for the variety of timbre, the phonetic description should be adopted. Furthermore, sometimes, the central rounded vowel [ø] appears, however, it may not be an independent vowel phoneme in Khengkha, since it is encountered in borrowed or common words from Dzongkha.

**Table 3** Khengkha Vowels

i		u	i → [i] ~ [ɪ]
e	(ø)	o	e → [e] ~ [ɛ]
	a		a → [a] ~ [ʌ] ~ [ɑ]

## 2.3 Diphthongs and Codas

Only one type of diphthongs, [ai], can be found in Khengkha. Coda consonants consist of a small subset of the initial consonants above, which are very restricted, as shown in Table 4.

**Table 4** The Diphthongs and Codas

Diphthong	ai						
Coda	-p	-t	-k	-ʔ	-r	(-l)	(-s)
	-m	-n	-ŋ				

### 3. Dialects

van Driem (2001: 908–911) considered Khengkha a dialect of Bumthap. While it is true that they share not a few common features and possibly cognate words, the Bhutanese people who speak both Bumthap and Khengkha generally recognize these as two different languages. This report focuses on the description of the Khengkha language, referring to the dialectal variation among its subdialects.

I collected Khengkha-related data from three different districts: Trongsa city, Trong village (about 40 km away from Zhemgang city), and Wamling village (on the bank of Bumthang Chhu in eastern Zhemgang Dzong). Among these three areas, the dialectal differences are not so obvious. Nevertheless, I am clearly aware of the dialectal variation in their pronoun system. Language-related data with a [Trs] note indicate expressions used in the Trongsa dialect, while the [Wml] note indicates expressions used in the Wamling dialect.

**Table 5** Personal Pronouns in Nominative

1 sg.	I	1 pl.	we
	ŋa <sup>21</sup> [Trs/Wml]		ŋe <sup>22</sup> la <sup>42</sup> [Trs/Wml]
			ŋe <sup>21</sup> = gam <sup>22</sup> ho <sup>44</sup> [Trs]
			ŋe <sup>21</sup> = gam <sup>22</sup> bo <sup>22</sup> [Wml]
2 sg.	you	2 pl.	you
	we <sup>21</sup> ~ weʔ <sup>21</sup> ~ weɰ <sup>21</sup> [Trs/Wml]		weʔ <sup>23</sup> = gam <sup>22</sup> ho <sup>22</sup> [Trs]
	wi <sup>44</sup> tɕi <sup>42</sup> [Trs/Wml]		weʔ <sup>23</sup> = gam <sup>22</sup> bo <sup>22</sup> [Wml]
3 sg.	s/he	3 pl.	they
	gon <sup>21</sup> [Trs/Wml]		gon <sup>21</sup> = gam <sup>22</sup> ho <sup>22</sup> [Trs]
	bo <sup>22</sup> ‘he’ [Trs]		gon <sup>21</sup> = gam <sup>22</sup> bo <sup>22</sup> [Wml]
	bo <sup>22</sup> me <sup>42</sup> ‘she’ [Trs]		

**Table 6** Personal Pronouns in Genitive

1 sg.	my ŋɑ <sup>21</sup> = hai <sup>44</sup> ~ ŋai <sup>22</sup> = hai <sup>42</sup> [Trs] ŋɑ <sup>21</sup> = k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> [Wml]		
2 sg.	your weʔ <sup>21</sup> tɕi <sup>44</sup> = hai <sup>44</sup> [Trs] weʔ <sup>21</sup> tɕ <sup>h</sup> i <sup>44</sup> = k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> [Wml]	2 pl.	your weʔ <sup>23</sup> gam <sup>22</sup> ho <sup>44</sup> = hai <sup>22</sup> [Trs] n̄in <sup>21</sup> tɕ <sup>h</sup> i <sup>44</sup> = hai <sup>22</sup> [Trs] n̄in <sup>21</sup> tɕ <sup>h</sup> i <sup>44</sup> = k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> [Wml]
3 sg.	his/her gon <sup>21</sup> = k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> [Wml] bo <sup>23</sup> = hai <sup>22</sup> 'his' [Trs] bo <sup>22</sup> mɛ <sup>44</sup> = hai <sup>22</sup> 'her' [Trs]	3 pl.	their gon <sup>21</sup> gam <sup>22</sup> bo <sup>22</sup> = k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> [Wml] bo <sup>23</sup> gam <sup>22</sup> ho <sup>44</sup> = hai <sup>22</sup> m [Trs] bo <sup>22</sup> mɛ <sup>44</sup> gam <sup>22</sup> ho <sup>44</sup> = hai <sup>22</sup> fm [Trs]

The variations [=gam<sup>22</sup>ho<sup>44</sup>] (Trs) vs. [=gam<sup>22</sup>bo<sup>22</sup>] (Wml), and [=hai<sup>22</sup>] (Trs) vs. [=k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>22</sup>] (Wml) are obvious in the pronoun system. It must have caused [b-] > [h-] in pl. suffix; [kh-] > [h-] in genitive suffix in Trongsa dialect.

**Table 7** Demonstratives

<b>Proximal</b>			
sg.	this oʔ <sup>44</sup> kai <sup>44</sup> [Trs/Wml]	pl.	these oʔ <sup>44</sup> kai <sup>44</sup> = gam <sup>22</sup> bo <sup>22</sup> [Wml] oʔ <sup>44</sup> kai <sup>44</sup> = gam <sup>22</sup> ho <sup>44</sup> [Trs]
<b>Distal</b>			
sg.	that ɑ <sup>21</sup> t <sup>h</sup> u <sup>44</sup> kai <sup>44</sup> [Wml] u <sup>22</sup> t <sup>h</sup> i <sup>44</sup> [~ti <sup>44</sup> ] hai <sup>22</sup> [Trs]	pl.	those ɑ <sup>21</sup> t <sup>h</sup> u <sup>44</sup> kai <sup>44</sup> = gam <sup>22</sup> bo <sup>22</sup> [Wml] u <sup>22</sup> t <sup>h</sup> i <sup>44</sup> [~ti <sup>44</sup> ] hai <sup>22</sup> = gam <sup>22</sup> ho <sup>44</sup> [Trs]

**Table 8** Demonstratives in the Attributive

<b>Proximal</b>			
sg.	this + n. oʔ <sup>44</sup> kai <sup>44</sup> + [n.] [Trs/Wml]	pl.	these + n. oʔ <sup>44</sup> kai <sup>44</sup> + [n.] = gam <sup>22</sup> bo <sup>22</sup> [Wml]
<b>Distal</b>			
sg.	that + n. ɑ <sup>21</sup> t <sup>h</sup> u <sup>44</sup> kai <sup>44</sup> + [n.] [Wml] u <sup>22</sup> ti <sup>44</sup> + [n.] [Trs]	pl.	those + n. ɑ <sup>21</sup> t <sup>h</sup> u <sup>44</sup> kai <sup>44</sup> + [n.] = gam <sup>22</sup> bo <sup>22</sup> [Wml] u <sup>22</sup> t <sup>h</sup> i <sup>44</sup> + [n.] = gam <sup>22</sup> ho <sup>44</sup> [Trs] u <sup>22</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>42</sup> + [n.] = gam <sup>22</sup> ho <sup>44</sup> [Trs]

The example below demonstrates an attributive construction of demonstratives. When the demonstratives combine with a noun to specify something, the suffix /hai/ attached in distal demonstratives is deleted in the Trongsa dialect.

this flower	these flowers
oʔ <sup>44</sup> kai <sup>44</sup> mē <sup>22</sup> to <sup>42</sup> [Trs]	oʔ <sup>44</sup> kai <sup>44</sup> mē <sup>22</sup> to <sup>42</sup> gΔm <sup>22</sup> ho <sup>22</sup> [Trs]
that flower	those flowers
u <sup>22</sup> ti <sup>44</sup> mē <sup>22</sup> to <sup>42</sup> [Trs]	u <sup>22</sup> t <sup>h</sup> i [~ti] <sup>44</sup> mē <sup>22</sup> to <sup>42</sup> gΔm <sup>22</sup> ho <sup>44</sup> [Trs]

#### 4. Preservation of Old Constituents

The East Bodish languages, which comprise the Dakpa and Bumthap groups, are considered more conservative in some respects than Old Tibetan (represented in the written Tibetan). Let us examine some core words to identify the Tibetan language pointed out by Nishi (1986), comparing it with Written Tibetan and Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

**Table 9** Tibetan Core Words and Khengkha

English	WrT	Dzongkha	Khengkha	PTB
you	<i>kyhod</i>	/che ~ cho/	[wε <sup>21</sup> ~ wεt <sup>44</sup> ]	*na(ŋ) [STC#407]
blood	<i>khrag</i>	/trha/	[ka <sup>42</sup> ]	*s-hwiy [STC#222]
hair	<i>skra</i>	/ca/	[kra <sup>42</sup> ]	*s-kra [STC#115]
foot	<i>rkang pa</i>	/ka(ng)m/	[ta <sup>44</sup> wa <sup>44</sup> ; dok <sup>22</sup> pa <sup>22</sup> ]	*kriy [STC#038]
water	<i>chu</i>	/chu/	[k <sup>h</sup> wε <sup>43</sup> ]	*twiy [STC#168], *m-tsril [STC p.30]
seven	<i>bdun</i>	/dün/	[ŋiʔ <sup>43</sup> ~ ŋit <sup>44</sup> ]	*s-nis [STC#005]
horse	<i>rta</i>	/ta/	[ta <sup>44</sup> ]	*s-raŋ ~ *m-raŋ [STC#145]

All the Dzongkha words correspond to WrT, making it no doubt that Dzongkha belongs to Tibetan dialects. The ‘hair’ in Dzongkha /ca/ can be spelled out as *skya* in Tibetan script; a reasonable sound change as /ca/ < \*kya < \*skya < *skra* (WrT) might be traced. However, it is difficult to explain if the Khengkha words are derived from Dzongkha or WrT except for ‘blood’ and ‘horse’. The Khengkha words for ‘you’, ‘blood’, ‘foot’, and ‘water’ do not correspond to WrT nor PTB. The last word, ‘horse’ may be a borrowing from Dzongkha as it is a social/cultural word in Bhutan (see 6.1 Nouns).

It is noteworthy that the numeral ‘seven’ in Khengkha is very close to PTB; it may preserve the archaic form, older than WrT. Now, let us see the Dzongkha basic numerals before examining those of Khengkha.

**Table 10** Dzongkha Basic Numerals

<b>Number</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>WrT</b>	<i>gcig</i>	<i>gnyis</i>	<i>gsum</i>	<i>bzhi</i>	<i>lnga</i>
<b>Dzongkha</b>	/ci/	/nyi/	/sum/	/zhi/	/nga/
<b>Number</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>WrT</b>	<i>drug</i>	<i>bdun</i>	<i>brgyad</i>	<i>dgu</i>	<i>bcu tham pa</i>
<b>Dzongkha</b>	/dru/	/dün/	/gää/	/gu/	/cutam/

It is obvious that Dzongkha numerals well-orderly correspond to written Tibetan. Furthermore, we should pay attention to ‘seven’ /dün/ (< WrT. *bdun*) in Dzongkha, which is one of the core words in Tibetan.

The Khenkha basic numerals are quite different from Dzongkha. Khengkha cannot be considered a dialect of Dzongkha, nor does it belong to Tibetan dialects.

**Table 11** Khengkha Basic Numerals

<b>Number</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>WrT</b>	<i>gcig</i>	<i>gnyis</i>	<i>gsum</i>	<i>bzhi</i>	<i>lnga</i>
<b>Khengkha</b>	[t <sup>h</sup> eʔ <sup>43</sup> ]	[zoŋ <sup>21</sup> ]	[sum <sup>43</sup> ]	[ble <sup>22</sup> ]	[ja: <sup>23</sup> ŋa <sup>22</sup> ]
<b>PTB</b>	*t(y)ik	*g-nis	*g-sum	*b-liy	*l-ŋa ~ *b- ŋa
<b>Number</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>WrT</b>	<i>drug</i>	<i>bdun</i>	<i>brgyad</i>	<i>dgu</i>	<i>bcu tham pa</i>
<b>Khengkha</b>	[groʔ <sup>21</sup> ]	[ŋiʔ <sup>43</sup> ]	[dʒat <sup>22</sup> ]	[do <sup>22</sup> go <sup>21</sup> ]	[tɕ <sup>h</sup> e <sup>43</sup> ]
<b>PTB</b>	*d-ruk	*s-nis	*b-ryat	*d-kuw	*gip

\*Khengkha data in this table is recorded in Trongsa pronunciation.

The Khengkha numeral ‘two’ [zoŋ<sup>21</sup>] might be derived from PTB \*zruŋ ‘pair’ (cognate to Chinese 雙). Khengkha appears to be an archaic language in which features older than WrT are preserved in numerals.



## 5. Numerals

As Mazaudon (1985) reported, the Dzongkha numeral system is compounded of a decimal and vigesimal system, and in addition to them, another numeral series is used for dates: 21 to 30. The Khengkha numeral system is a single vigesimal system, rather simple compared to Dzongkha's. In addition, the Dzongkha vigesimal system is somewhat difficult to understand as it grammatically uses 'half' and 'quarter' to calculate through division and subtraction, such as /khe pche da sum/ 'one half less than three (-score)' for 50 in Dzongkha, while Khengkha grammatically uses only multiplication and addition to calculate, such as [k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>44</sup>zoŋ<sup>22</sup> = ne<sup>44</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>22</sup>] 'two-score and ten'.

All the numerals in this chapter were provided by a language consultant who speaks the Trongsa dialect, and the pronunciation recorded here is based on her idiolect.

### 5.1 Cardinal Numbers: 0 to 30

No.	Dzongkha	Written Tibetan	Khengkha
0	/lekor/	< <i>klad kor</i>	le <sup>44</sup> kor <sup>43</sup> < Dzk
1	/ci/	< <i>gcig</i>	t <sup>h</sup> eɽ <sup>43</sup>
2	/nyi/	< <i>gnyis</i>	zoŋ <sup>21</sup>
3	/sum/	< <i>gsum</i>	sum <sup>43</sup>
4	/zhi/	< <i>bzhi</i>	ble <sup>22</sup>
5	/nga/	< <i>lnga</i>	ja: <sup>23</sup> ŋa <sup>22</sup>
6	/dru/	< <i>drug</i>	groɽ <sup>21</sup>
7	/dün/	< <i>bdun</i>	niɽ <sup>43</sup>
8	/gää/	< <i>brgyad</i>	dza <sup>22</sup> t <sup>22</sup>
9	/gu/	< <i>dgu</i>	do <sup>22</sup> go <sup>21</sup>
10	/cutham/	< <i>bcu tham pa</i>	tɕ <sup>h</sup> e <sup>43</sup>
11	/cuci/	< <i>bcu gcig</i>	tɕ <sup>h</sup> o <sup>44</sup> re <sup>21</sup>
12	/cu-ny/	< <i>bcu gnyis</i>	tɕ <sup>h</sup> o <sup>44</sup> zoŋ <sup>21</sup>
13	/cusum/	< <i>bcu gsum</i>	tɕ <sup>h</sup> o <sup>44</sup> sum <sup>43</sup>
14	/cuzhi/	< <i>bcu bzhi</i>	tɕ <sup>h</sup> e <sup>44</sup> ble <sup>42</sup>

15	/ce'nga/	< <i>bcu lga</i>	t <sup>h</sup> e <sup>44</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> ɲΛ <sup>44</sup>
16	/cudru/	< <i>bcu drug</i>	t <sup>h</sup> e <sup>44</sup> groʔ <sup>42</sup>
17	/cupdün/	< <i>bcu bdun</i>	t <sup>h</sup> e <sup>44</sup> er <sup>44</sup> ɲiʔ <sup>42</sup>
18	/copgää/	< <i>bcu bryad</i>	t <sup>h</sup> e <sup>44</sup> er <sup>44</sup> dzΛt <sup>44</sup>
19	/cugu/	< <i>bcu dgu</i>	t <sup>h</sup> e <sup>44</sup> do <sup>22</sup> go <sup>44</sup>
20	/nyishu/	< <i>nyi shu (tham pa)</i>	k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> t <sup>h</sup> e <sup>43</sup> 20 (×) 1
21	/(nyishu) tsaci/	< <i>nyi shu tsa gcig</i>	k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> t <sup>h</sup> e <sup>44</sup> [ne ~ ni] 'plus/and'
22	/(nyishu) tsa-nyi/	< <i>nyi shu tsa gnyis</i>	k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> zoŋ <sup>21</sup>
23	/(nyishu) tsasum/	< <i>nyi shu tsa gsum</i>	k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> sum <sup>43</sup>
24	/(nyishu) tsazhi/	< <i>nyi shu tsa bzhi</i>	k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> ble <sup>42</sup>
25	/(nyishu) tsa-nga/	< <i>nyi shu tsa lnga</i>	k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> jΛ <sup>22</sup> ɲΛ <sup>44</sup>
26	/(nyishu) tsadru/	< <i>nyi shu tsa drug</i>	k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> groʔ <sup>42</sup>
27	/(nyishu) tsadün/	< <i>nyi shu tsa bdun</i>	k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> ɲiʔ <sup>42</sup>
28	/(nyishu) tsagää/	< <i>nyi shu tsa bryad</i>	k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> dzΛt <sup>44</sup>
29	/(nyishu) tsagu/	< <i>nyi shu tsa dgu</i>	k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> do <sup>22</sup> go <sup>44</sup>
30	/sumcu/	< <i>gsum bcu (tham pa)</i>	k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> t <sup>h</sup> e <sup>44</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> t <sup>h</sup> e <sup>44</sup> 20 (×) 1 plus/and 10

## 5.2 Numeral System: 20 to 30

The Dzongkha numeral system uses two series for counting: the decimal system and vigesimal system over 20; Khengkha only uses the vigesimal system.

The first line for every numeral from 20 to 30 shows the Dzongkha numeral system: decimal system, date, and vigesimal system contrastively in phonemic description with //, and on the second lines, the corresponding Khengkha expressions are recorded in phonetic notation without //.

	<b>decimal system</b>	<b>date</b>	<b>vigesimal system</b>	
20	/nyishu/ =	/nyishu/ k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> t <sup>h</sup> eŋ <sup>43</sup> ; k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>43</sup>	/khe ci/ [khe = 20] k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> t <sup>h</sup> eŋ <sup>43</sup>	<b>Dzongkha</b> <b>Khengkha</b>
21	/(nyishu) tsa-ci/	/nyerci/ n <sup>er</sup> <sup>22</sup> t <sup>h</sup> eŋ <sup>44</sup>	/khe ci da ci/ (=20+1) k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> t <sup>h</sup> eŋ <sup>44</sup>	
22	/(nyishu) tsa-nyi/	/nyernyi/ n <sup>er</sup> <sup>22</sup> zoŋ <sup>21</sup>	/khe ci (da) `nyi/ k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> zoŋ <sup>21</sup>	
23	/(nyishu) tsa-sum/	/nyersum/ n <sup>er</sup> <sup>22</sup> sum <sup>44</sup>	/khe ci (da) sum/ k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> sum <sup>44</sup>	
24	/(nyishu) tsa-zhi/	/nyerzhi/ n <sup>er</sup> <sup>22</sup> ble <sup>44</sup>	/khe ci (da) zhi/ n <sup>er</sup> <sup>22</sup> ble <sup>42</sup> k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> ble <sup>42</sup>	
25	/(nyishu) tsa-nga/	/nyer-nga/ n <sup>er</sup> <sup>22</sup> j <sup>Λ</sup> <sup>22</sup> ŋ <sup>Λ</sup> <sup>44</sup>	/khe ci (da) `nga/ k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = j <sup>Λ</sup> <sup>22</sup> ŋ <sup>Λ</sup> <sup>44</sup>	
26	/(nyishu) tsa-dru/	/nyerdru/ n <sup>er</sup> <sup>22</sup> groŋ <sup>44</sup>	/khe ci (da) dru/ k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = groŋ <sup>42</sup>	
27	/(nyishu) tsa-dün/	/nyerdün/ n <sup>er</sup> <sup>22</sup> n <sup>i</sup> <sup>44</sup>	/khe ci (da) d <sup>u</sup> n/ k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = n <sup>i</sup> <sup>44</sup>	
28	/(nyishu) tsa-gää/	/nyergää/ n <sup>er</sup> <sup>22</sup> dz <sup>Λ</sup> t <sup>44</sup>	/khe ci (da) gää/ k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = dz <sup>Λ</sup> t <sup>44</sup>	
29	/(nyishu) tsa-gu/	/nyergu/ n <sup>er</sup> <sup>22</sup> do <sup>22</sup> go <sup>44</sup>	/khe ci (da) gu/ k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> de <sup>22</sup> = do <sup>22</sup> go <sup>44</sup>	

30	/sumcu/ = /sumcu/	/khe pche da 'nyi/ one half less than two(-score)
	$n\lambda m^{22} g\Delta\eta^{42}$	$k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\check{c}^h e^{44}$ one score and ten

### 5.3 Numeral System: over 30

	decimal system	vigesimal system
31	/(sumcu) so-ci/	/khe ci da cuci/ (=20×1+11) $k^h ar^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\check{c}^h o^{44} re^{21}$
32	/(sumcu) so-nyi/	/khe ci (da) cu-nyi/ (=20×1+12) $k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\check{c}^h o^{44} zo\eta^{22}$
33	/(sumcu) so-sum/	/khe ci (da) cusum/ (=20×1+13) $k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\check{c}^h o^{44} sum^{42}$
34	/(sumcu) so-zhi/	/khe ci (da) cuzhi/ (=20×1+14) $k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\check{c}^h e^{44} ble^{42}$
35	/(sumcu) so-nga/	/khe ko da 'nyi/ one fourth less than two(-score) $k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\check{c}^h ai^{44} \eta\Lambda^{42}$ one score and fifteen
36	/(sumcu) so-dru/	/khe ci (da) cudru/ (=20×1+16) $k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\check{c}^h e^{44} gro\eta^{42}$
37	/(sumcu) so-dün/	/khe ci (da) cupdün/ (=20×1+17) $k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\check{c}^h er^{44} \eta i\eta^{42}$
38	/(sumcu) so-gää/	/khe ci (da) copgää/ (=20×1+18) $k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\check{c}^h er^{44} dz\Delta t^{22}$

- 39 /((sumcu) so-gu/ /khe ci (da) cugu/ (=20×1+19)  
 $k^h ai^{44} de^{22} = ne^{22} t\phi^h e^{44} do^{22} go^{22}$
- 40 /zhipcu/ /khe 'nyi/ (20×2)  
 $k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{22}$
- 41 /(zhipcu) zhe-ci/ /khe 'nyi da ci/ (=20×2+1)  
 $k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{44} t^h e\eta^{22}$
- 42 /(zhipcu) zhe-nyi/ /khe 'nyi da 'nyi/ (=20×2+2)  
 $k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} zo\eta^{21}$
- 43 /(zhipcu) zhe-sum/ /khe 'nyi da sum/ (=20×2+3)  
 $k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} sum^{44}$
- 44 /(zhipcu) zhe-zhi/ /khe 'nyi da zhi/ (=20×2+4)  
 $k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} ble^{21}$
- 45 /(zhipcu) zhe-nga/ /khe 'nyi da 'nga/ (=20×2+5)  
 $k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} ja^{22} \eta\Lambda^{44}$
- 46 /(zhipcu) zhe-dru/ /khe 'nyi da dru/ (=20×2+6)  
 $k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} gro\eta^{44}$
- 47 /(zhipcu) zhe-dün/ /khe 'nyi da dün/ (=20×2+7)  
 $k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} \eta i\eta^{42}$
- 48 /(zhipcu) zhe-gää/ /khe 'nyi da gää/ (=20×2+8)  
 $k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} dz\Lambda t^{22}$
- 49 /(zhipcu) zhe-gu/ /khe 'nyi da gu/ (=20×2+9)  
 $k^h ai^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} do^{22} go^{44}$

- 50 /'ngapcu/  
/khe pche da sum/  
one half less than three(-score)  
 $k^h ai^{44} z\text{on}^{22} = ne^{44} t\check{c}^h e^{22}$  (=20×2+10)  
two score and ten
- 51 /('ngapcu) nga-ci/  
/khe 'nyi da cuci/ (=20×2+11)  
 $k^h ar^{44} z\text{on}^{22} = ne^{44} t\check{c}^h o^{44} re^{21}$
- 52 /('ngapcu) nga-nyii/  
/khe 'nyi da cu-nyi/ (=20×2+12)  
 $k^h ar^{44} z\text{on}^{22} = ne^{44} t\check{c}^h o^{44} z\text{on}^{22}$
- 53 /('ngapcu) nga-sum/  
/khe 'nyi da cusum/ (=20×2+13)  
 $k^h ar^{44} z\text{on}^{22} = ne^{44} t\check{c}^h o^{44} sum^{42}$
- 54 /('ngapcu) nga-zhi/  
/khe 'nyi da cuzhi/ (=20×2+14)  
 $k^h ar^{44} z\text{on}^{22} = ne^{44} t\check{c}^h e^{44} ble^{42}$
- 55 /('ngapcu) nga-nga/  
/khe ko da sum/  
one fourth less than three(-score)  
 $k^h ar^{44} z\text{on}^{22} = ne^{44} t\check{c}^h ai^{44} \eta\Lambda^{42}$   
two score and fifteen (=20×2+15)
- 56 /('ngapcu) nga-dru/  
/khe 'nyi da cudru/ (=20×2+16)  
 $k^h ar^{44} z\text{on}^{22} = ne^{44} t\check{c}^h e^{44} gro\gamma^{42}$
- 57 /('ngapcu) nga-dün/  
/khe 'nyi da cupdün/ (=20×2+17)  
 $k^h ar^{44} z\text{on}^{22} = ne^{44} t\check{c}^h er^{44} \eta i\gamma^{42}$
- 58 /('ngapcu) nga-gää/  
/khe 'nyi da cupgää/ (=20×2+18)  
 $k^h ar^{44} z\text{on}^{22} = ne^{44} t\check{c}^h er^{44} dz\Lambda t^{22}$
- 59 /('ngapcu) nga-gu/  
/khe 'nyi da cugu/ (=20×2+19)  
 $k^h ar^{44} z\text{on}^{22} = ne^{44} t\check{c}^h e^{44} do^{22} go^{44}$

60	/drukcu/	/khe sum/ (=20×3) k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> sum <sup>42</sup>
61	/(drukcu) re-ci/	/khe sum da ci/ (=20×3+1) k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> sum <sup>42</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> t <sup>h</sup> eʔ <sup>44</sup>
62	/(drukcu) re-nyii/	/khe sum da 'nyi/ (=20×3+2) k <sup>h</sup> ar <sup>44</sup> sum <sup>44</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> zoŋ <sup>22</sup>
63	/(drukcu) re-sum/	/khe sum da sum/ (=20×3+3) k <sup>h</sup> ar <sup>44</sup> sum <sup>44</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> sum <sup>44</sup>
64	/(drukcu) re-zhi/	/khe sum da zhi/ (=20×3+4) k <sup>h</sup> ar <sup>44</sup> sum <sup>44</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> ble <sup>42</sup>
65	/(drukcu) re-nga/	/khe sum da 'nga/ (=20×3+5) k <sup>h</sup> ar <sup>44</sup> sum <sup>44</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> ja <sup>22</sup> ŋa <sup>22</sup>
66	/(drukcu) re-dru/	/khe sum da dru/ (=20×3+6) k <sup>h</sup> ar <sup>44</sup> sum <sup>44</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> groʔ <sup>44</sup>
67	/(drukcu) re-dün/	/khe sum da dün/ (=20×3+7) k <sup>h</sup> ar <sup>44</sup> sum <sup>44</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> ŋiʔ <sup>44</sup>
68	/(drukcu) re-gää/	/khe sum da gää/ (=20×3+8) k <sup>h</sup> ar <sup>44</sup> sum <sup>44</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> dzɛt <sup>22</sup>
69	/(drukcu) re-gu/	/khe 'nyi da gu/ (=20×3+9) k <sup>h</sup> ar <sup>44</sup> sum <sup>44</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> do <sup>22</sup> go <sup>22</sup>

- 70 /düncu/ /khe pche da zhi/  
half less than four(-score)  
 $k^h ai^{44} sum^{42} = ne^{22} t\phi^h e^{44}$   
three-score and ten (=20×3+10)
- 71 /(düncu) dön-ci/ /khe sum da cuci/ (=20×3+11)  
 $k^h ai^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h o^{44} re^{21}$
- 72 /(düncu) dön 'nyii/ /khe sum da cu-nyi/ (=20×3+12)  
 $k^h ai^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h o^{44} zoŋ^{22}$
- 73 /(düncu) dön sum/ /khe sum da cusum/ (=20×3+13)  
 $k^h ai^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h o^{44} sum^{44}$
- 74 /(düncu) dön zhi/ /khe sum da cuzhi/ (=20×3+14)  
 $k^h ar^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h o^{44} ble^{42}$
- 75 /(düncu) dön 'nga/ /khe ko da zhi/  
one fourth less than four(-score)  
 $k^h ar^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h ai^{44} \eta\Lambda^{42}$   
three-score and fifteen (=20×3+15)
- 76 /(düncu) dön druu/ /khe sum da cudru/ (=20×3+16)  
 $k^h ar^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h e^{44} gro\gamma^{42}$
- 77 /(düncu) dön dön/ /khe sum da cupdün/ (=20×3+17)  
 $k^h ar^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h er^{44} \eta i\gamma^{42}$
- 78 /(düncu) dön gää/ /khe sum da cupgää/ (=20×3+18)  
 $k^h ar^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h er^{44} d\zeta\Lambda t^{22}$
- 79 /(düncu) dön gu/ /khe sum da cugu/ (=20×3+19)  
 $k^h ar^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} t\phi^h e^{44} do^{22} go^{44}$



80	/gäpcu/	/khe zhi/ (=20×4) k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> ble <sup>42</sup>
81	/(gäpcu) jaa ci/	/khe zhi da ci/ (=20×4+1) k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> ble <sup>42</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> t <sup>h</sup> eʔ <sup>44</sup>
82	/(gäpcu) jaa 'nyii/	/khe zhi da 'nyi/ (=20×4+2) k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> ble <sup>42</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> zoŋ <sup>22</sup>
83	/(gäpcu) jaa sum/	/khe zhi da sum/ (=20×4+3) k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> ble <sup>42</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> sum <sup>44</sup>
84	/(gäpcu) jaa zhi/	/khe zhi da zhi/ (=20×4+4) k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> ble <sup>42</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> ble <sup>22</sup>
85	/(gäpcu) jaa 'nga/	/khe zhi da 'nga/ (=20×4+5) k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> ble <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> j <sup>Λ</sup> 22ŋ <sup>Λ</sup> 22
86	/(gäpcu) jaa druu/	/khe zhi da dru/ (=20×4+6) k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> ble <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> groʔ <sup>44</sup>
87	/(gäpcu) jaa dün/	/khe zhi da dün/ (=20×4+7) k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> ble <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> ŋiʔ <sup>42</sup>
88	/(gäpcu) jaa gää/	/khe zhi da gää/ (=20×4+8) k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> ble <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> dz <sup>Λ</sup> t <sup>22</sup>
89	/(gäpcu) jaa gu/	/khe zhi da gu/ (=20×4+9) k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> ble <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> do <sup>22</sup> go <sup>22</sup>

- 90 /gupcu/  
/khe pche da 'nga/  
half less than five(-score)  
k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>44</sup> ble<sup>44</sup> = ne<sup>22</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>42</sup>  
four-score and ten (=20×4+10)
- 91 /(gupcu) goci/  
/khe zhi da cuci/ (=20×4+11)  
k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>44</sup> ble<sup>44</sup> = ne<sup>22</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>22</sup>re<sup>21</sup>
- 92 /(gupcu) go 'nyii/  
/khe zhi da cu'nyi/ (=20×4+12)  
k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>44</sup> ble<sup>44</sup> = ne<sup>22</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>44</sup> zoŋ<sup>22</sup>
- 93 /(gupcu) go sum/  
/khe zhi da cusum/ (=20×4+13)  
k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>44</sup> ble<sup>44</sup> = ne<sup>22</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>44</sup> sum<sup>42</sup>
- 94 /(gupcu) go zhi/  
/khe zhi da cuzhi/ (=20×4+14)  
k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>44</sup> ble<sup>44</sup> = ne<sup>22</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>44</sup> ble<sup>42</sup>
- 95 /(gupcu) go 'nga/  
/khe ko da 'nga/  
one fourth less than five(-score)  
k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>44</sup> ble<sup>44</sup> = ne<sup>22</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>44</sup> ŋΛ<sup>42</sup>  
four-score and fifteen (=20×4+15)
- 96 /(gupcu) go druu/  
/khe zhi da cudru/ (=20×4+16)  
k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>44</sup> ble<sup>44</sup> = ne<sup>22</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>44</sup> groʔ<sup>42</sup>
- 97 /(gupcu) go dūn/  
/khe zhi da cupdūn/ (=20×4+17)  
k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>44</sup> ble<sup>44</sup> = ne<sup>22</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>er<sup>44</sup> ŋiʔ<sup>42</sup>
- 98 /(gupcu) go gää/  
/khe zhi da cupgää/ (=20×4+18)  
k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>44</sup> ble<sup>44</sup> = ne<sup>22</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>er<sup>44</sup> dʒΛt<sup>22</sup>
- 99 /(gupcu) go gu/  
/khe zhi da cugu/ (=20×4+19)  
k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>44</sup> ble<sup>44</sup> = ne<sup>22</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>44</sup> do<sup>22</sup>go<sup>22</sup>

100	/jatham(pa)/; /cikja/	/khe 'nga/ (=20×5) k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>44</sup> j <sup>22</sup> η <sup>33</sup>
200	/nyija/	/khe cutham/ (=20×10) k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>24</sup> t <sup>ç</sup> e <sup>42</sup>
300	/sumja/	/khe ce'nga/ (=20×15) k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>22</sup> t <sup>ç</sup> e <sup>22</sup> η <sup>42</sup>
400	/zhipja/	/'nyishu ci/ (=400×1) n <sup>i</sup> <sup>22</sup> çu <sup>44</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ek <sup>22</sup>
500	/'ngapja/	/'nyishu ci da khä'nga/ (=400×1+20×5) twentyscore and five(-score) n <sup>i</sup> <sup>22</sup> çu <sup>44</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ek <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> j <sup>22</sup> η <sup>42</sup>
600	/drukja/	/'nyishu pche da 'nyi/ half less than fortyscore n <sup>i</sup> <sup>22</sup> çu <sup>44</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ek <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>42</sup> k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>24</sup> t <sup>ç</sup> e <sup>42</sup>
700	/dünja/	/'nyishu ko da 'nyi/ fourth less than fortyscore n <sup>i</sup> <sup>22</sup> çu <sup>44</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ek <sup>22</sup> = ne <sup>42</sup> k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>24</sup> t <sup>ç</sup> e <sup>44</sup> η <sup>42</sup>
800	/gäpkja/	/'nyishu 'nyi/ (=400×2) fortyscore n <sup>i</sup> <sup>22</sup> çu <sup>44</sup> zon <sup>21</sup>
900	/gupja/	/'nyishu 'nyi da khe 'nga/ (=400×2+20×5) n <sup>i</sup> <sup>22</sup> çu <sup>44</sup> zon <sup>44</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>24</sup> j <sup>22</sup> η <sup>44</sup>
1000	/tongthra ci/  /ciktong/	/nyishu pche da sum/ (=400×2.5) half less than three twentyscore  n <sup>i</sup> <sup>22</sup> çu <sup>44</sup> zon <sup>44</sup> = ne <sup>22</sup> k <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>24</sup> t <sup>ç</sup> e <sup>44</sup>

## 6. Fundamental Words for Daily Life

This section presents the collected fundamental words in Khengkha, used for daily life. Khengkha has many words in common with Dzongkha, however, it is difficult to distinguish which are borrowings or cognates. Among all these words, generally speaking, cultural/social words of nouns such as ‘teacher’, ‘student’, ‘hospital’, and ‘shop’ are possible borrowings from Dzongkha. Furthermore, direction words, such as [l<sup>h</sup>o<sup>42</sup>] ‘south’ and [(b) dʒaŋ<sup>21</sup>] ‘north’ must be borrowings since their initial consonants are outside the list of Khengkha initials. Apart from those from daily life, I also collected 200 basic words based on the Matisoff 200-word list for comparative study, which are attached at the end of this report.

### 6.1 Nouns

English	Dzongkha	Khengkha
father/dad	/ 'apa / ; / yap / [H]	ʔΛ <sup>44</sup> pΛ <sup>22</sup>
husband	/ 'map / ; / phoja /	(ŋai <sup>24</sup> ) p <sup>h</sup> o <sup>44</sup> dʒΛ <sup>22</sup>
male	/ pho / ; / phogee / ; / phoja /	p <sup>h</sup> o <sup>22</sup> dʒΛ <sup>44</sup> ; bo <sup>24</sup>
mother/mom	/ 'ama / ; / yum / [H]	ʔΛ <sup>44</sup> mΛ <sup>22</sup>
wife	/ 'amtsu / ; / 'nem / ; / 'netsha /	(ŋai <sup>24</sup> ) mo <sup>44</sup> dʒΛ <sup>22</sup>
female	/ 'amtsu /	mo <sup>22</sup> dʒΛ <sup>44</sup> ; bo <sup>22</sup> mε <sup>42</sup>
	[bo <sup>22</sup> mε <sup>42</sup> ] is not only used as a reference term, but also used as an address term to call a (young) lady. And the other address term [mε <sup>44</sup> m <sup>22</sup> ] is used to call a not young lady.	
child	/ 'alu /	ʔo <sup>44</sup> lo <sup>22</sup>
son	/ bu / ; / sä / [H]	bo <sup>44</sup> sq <sup>22</sup>
daughter	/ bum / ; / seem / [H]	bo <sup>22</sup> mε <sup>42</sup>
teacher	/ 'lopön /	lo <sup>44</sup> pøn <sup>42</sup>
	[lo <sup>44</sup> pøn <sup>42</sup> ] is also used as an address term to call a male person.	
student	/ 'lopthru /	lop <sup>44</sup> tʂ <sup>h</sup> u <sup>42</sup> ~ lop <sup>44</sup> tʂu <sup>42</sup>
	There is no khengkha word for ‘student’, so they use the loan word from Dzongkha.	
monk	/ gelong /	ge <sup>22</sup> loŋ <sup>42</sup>
nun	/ 'ani(m) /	a <sup>22</sup> mi <sup>44</sup> mo <sup>22</sup>

friend	/ charo / ; / totsha(ng) /	tʃʰΛ <sup>22</sup> ro <sup>42</sup>
farmer	/ minap /	mi <sup>22</sup> nΛ <sup>22</sup> pʰo <sup>42</sup>
merchant	/ tshongpön /	tsʰoŋ <sup>44</sup> pøn <sup>42</sup>
Bhutanese	/ drup /	dzuk <sup>22</sup> pΛ <sup>43</sup>
Indian	/ jagar /	ɟʒΛ <sup>22</sup> kʰΛ <sup>42</sup> pΛ <sup>22</sup>
Tibetan	/ böp /	bø <sup>23</sup> pΛ <sup>44</sup>
temple	/ lhakhang /	l̥Λ <sup>44</sup> kʰΛŋ <sup>44</sup>
hospital	/ 'mämkhang /	mɛ̃ <sup>44</sup> kʰΛŋ <sup>44</sup>
school	/ 'lopdra /	lop <sup>44</sup> dzΛ <sup>42</sup> < Dzk
shop	/ tshongkhang /	tsʰoŋ <sup>44</sup> kʰΛŋ <sup>44</sup>
tea house	/ jakhang /	tʃʰΛŋ <sup>44</sup> kʰΛŋ <sup>44</sup> 'bar'
	There is no 'tea house' in the central Bhutan.	
house	/ chim /	mai <sup>42</sup>
river	/ chu /	kʰwi <sup>44</sup> li <sup>44</sup> gaŋ <sup>21</sup>
juncture	/ chuzom /	kʰwe <sup>44</sup> zom <sup>22</sup> sΛ <sup>42</sup>
bridge	/ zam /	zΛm <sup>21</sup>
road	/ lam /	jam <sup>21</sup>
mountain	/ (gang) ri /	pʰu <sup>44</sup> / poŋ <sup>42</sup>
mountain pass	/ la /	jΛ <sup>21</sup>
market/town	/ throm /	tʃʰom <sup>42</sup>
village	/ 'üü /	kroŋ <sup>42</sup>
yesterday	/ khatsha /	daŋ <sup>24</sup> la <sup>21</sup>
today	/ dari /	da <sup>21</sup> sum <sup>43</sup>
tomorrow	/ naapa /	jam <sup>21</sup> ba <sup>44</sup>
now	/ dato /	dai <sup>21</sup> na <sup>43</sup> ~ dΛ <sup>22</sup> ji <sup>44</sup> nΛŋ <sup>22</sup>
morning	/ dropa /	ŋa <sup>44</sup> zi <sup>21</sup>

noon	/ nyin-gung /	nɛn <sup>22</sup> tɕ <sup>h</sup> Λ <sup>42</sup>
night	/ numo / ; / zha(k) /	su <sup>44</sup> lɑ <sup>22</sup>
breakfast	/ drop(a)-ja /	ŋɑ <sup>22</sup> zi <sup>22</sup> to <sup>42</sup>
lunch	/ nyimā-to / ; / seu / [H]	nɛn <sup>22</sup> tɕ <sup>h</sup> Λ <sup>44</sup> to <sup>44</sup>
dinner	/ pchiru-to / ; / tsho / [H]	su <sup>44</sup> lɑ <sup>22</sup> to <sup>44</sup>
directions	/ sachō /	tɕ <sup>h</sup> o <sup>44</sup>
east	/ shaa /	ɕɑɪ <sup>44</sup>
west	/ nup /	nup <sup>44</sup>
south	/ lho /	l <sup>h</sup> o <sup>42</sup>
north	/ jang /	(b)dʒɑŋ <sup>21</sup>
right	/ 'yā /	ʔe <sup>44</sup> pɑ <sup>22</sup> ; ɕΛ <sup>44</sup> sΛ <sup>44</sup>
left	/ 'yön /	ʔem <sup>44</sup> pɑ <sup>22</sup> ; jum <sup>44</sup> pΛ <sup>22</sup>

## 6.2 Adjectives

The morphology of Khengkha adjectives is still not obvious. The table below shows the recorded “basic form” given by language consultants. We need further investigation and grammatical analyses.

English	Dzongkha	Khengkha
delicious	/ zhim-to(k)to /	ŋɑr <sup>44</sup> -tɑ <sup>21</sup>
hot	/ kha tsharu /	k <sup>h</sup> ɑ <sup>44</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɑ <sup>44</sup> -tɑ <sup>44</sup>
many	/ lesha /	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ɑ <sup>44</sup> tɕ <sup>h</sup> ɑ <sup>21</sup>
few	/ 'atsi(tsi) /	nɯŋ <sup>44</sup> wa <sup>21</sup> ; k <sup>h</sup> Λm <sup>44</sup> tɛ <sup>42</sup>
big	/ boom /	dʒik <sup>21</sup> pɑ <sup>44</sup> -lɑ <sup>21</sup>
small	/ chung-gu /	tɕ <sup>h</sup> iŋ <sup>24</sup> ku <sup>44</sup> -lɑ <sup>21</sup>
cheap	/ kǎ-toto /	goŋ <sup>21</sup> nɯŋ <sup>21</sup> wa <sup>44</sup> -lɑ <sup>44</sup>
expensive	/ gong boom /	(goŋ <sup>21</sup> ) dʒik <sup>21</sup> pɑ <sup>44</sup> -lɑ <sup>44</sup>
hot	/ tshatom /	ts <sup>h</sup> ɑ <sup>44</sup> -tɑ <sup>21</sup>

cold	/ si-trhötrhö /	k <sup>h</sup> it <sup>44</sup> -ta <sup>21</sup>
good	/ leshom /	ka <sup>44</sup> tɕan <sup>21</sup>
bad	/ jang ning /	meɽ <sup>22</sup> ba <sup>42</sup> (thing, situation) ka <sup>44</sup> tɕan <sup>42</sup> mu <sup>22</sup> se <sup>42</sup> (person)
itchy	/ ya(w)u / ; / ya-ni /	dza <sup>21</sup> -ta <sup>21</sup>
painful/unwell	/ naome /	na <sup>21</sup> -ta <sup>21</sup>

### 6.3 Verbs

The morphology of Khengkha verbs is not obvious either. The following table only presents the indefinite (= imperfect) form with verb suffixes [-gem<sup>21</sup>] or [-dem<sup>21</sup>]. These two types of suffixes form definite combinations with verb stems. The grammatical difference between them cannot be expounded yet.

English	Dzongkha	Khengkha
go	/ jo-ni / ; / jön-ni / [H]	gai <sup>24</sup> -dem <sup>21</sup>
come	/ wong-ni / ; / jön-ni / [H]	rɿ <sup>22</sup> -gem <sup>21</sup>
eat	/ za-ni ; zhe-ni / [H]	zø <sup>23</sup> -gem <sup>21</sup>
drink	/ thung-ni / ; / zhe-ni / [H]	t <sup>h</sup> oŋ <sup>44</sup> -gem <sup>21</sup>
look at	/ ta-ni / ; / zi-ni / [H]	tɿ <sup>44</sup> -gem <sup>21</sup>
see	/ thong-ni /	blaŋ <sup>22</sup> -ta <sup>42</sup>
show	/ tön-ni /	tɕ <sup>h</sup> o <sup>44</sup> ŋe <sup>44</sup> -men <sup>42</sup>
listen to	/ go-ni / ; / nyän-ni / [H]	na <sup>44</sup> t <sup>h</sup> u <sup>22</sup> -dem <sup>21</sup>
hear	/ go-ni /	kat <sup>44</sup> go <sup>22</sup> -gem <sup>21</sup>
let hear	/ da tshön-ni /	ŋen <sup>44</sup> lai <sup>42</sup>
speak	/ kha 'lap-ni / ; / sung-ni / [H] ; / zhu-ni / [M]	lap <sup>44</sup> te <sup>44</sup> -men <sup>42</sup>
stand	/ long-ni / ; / zheng-ni / [H]	jaŋ <sup>24</sup> -gem <sup>21</sup>
sit	/ dö(p)-ni / ; / zhu-ni / [H]	ni <sup>24</sup> -gem <sup>21</sup>
sick	/ na-ni / ; / nyung-ni / [H]	na <sup>24</sup> -gem <sup>21</sup>

give	/jin-ni / ; / trö-ni / ; / 'nang-ni / [H]	bi <sup>24</sup> -gem <sup>21</sup>
wait	/ba-ni / ; / 'nam-ni / [H]	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ʌr <sup>44</sup> -gem <sup>21</sup>
know	/she-ni / ; / 'khen-ni / [H]	k <sup>h</sup> ʌŋ <sup>44</sup> -gem <sup>21</sup>
do	/be-ni / ; / dzä-ni / [H]	bu <sup>24</sup> -gem <sup>21</sup>
hand, carry	/trö-ni / ; / 'nang-ni / [H]	bi <sup>24</sup> -gem <sup>21</sup>

## 7. Construction of the Noun Phrase

The basic construction of the noun phrase and the word order modifying it is as follows:

‘these three red flowers’

**[d.pn] → [noun] ← [adj] + num (/ pl. sfx)**

oʔ<sup>44</sup>kai<sup>44</sup> mē<sup>21</sup>to<sup>42</sup> dzin<sup>21</sup>t<sup>h</sup>i [~ti]<sup>44</sup>lɑ<sup>44</sup> sum<sup>43</sup> (/ gam<sup>22</sup>bo<sup>22</sup>)<sup>†</sup>  
 this flower red 3 (/ pl.)

† It is impossible to use a plural suffix and a numeral together; one of them should be selected.

- (1) Those two girls wearing blue shirts are *bkra shis*'s sisters.

u<sup>22</sup>t<sup>h</sup>i[~ti]<sup>44</sup> = (h)ai<sup>44</sup> bo<sup>22</sup>mē<sup>44</sup>←[k<sup>h</sup>en<sup>44</sup>dʒʌ<sup>22</sup> ɲøn<sup>22</sup>ti<sup>44</sup>-lʌ<sup>22</sup>  
 DP:dist =GEN girl shirt blue

gin<sup>22</sup>] = k<sup>h</sup>ʌn<sup>44</sup> zoŋ<sup>21</sup> tʂʌ<sup>44</sup>ʃi<sup>44</sup> = ki<sup>22</sup> no<sup>22</sup>met<sup>44</sup> wen<sup>21</sup>.  
 wear =NMLR 2 *bkra shis* =GEN sister AUX:stmt

## 8. Interrogative Pronouns/Adverbs

An interrogative sentence with interrogative pronouns/adverbs is the same as an affirmative sentence regarding word order. By inserting interrogatives into their position, the answer words will appear. The particle [jo<sup>21</sup>] will be added appear at the end of the sentence to express a wh-question. (cf. The interrogative particle [jʌ<sup>21</sup>] is used for yes/no questions contrastively.)

The following contain the Tibetan writing assigned for Khengkha as a trial, which is not an official orthography but merely a proposal designed under the suggestion of language



consultants. The aim for spelling each sentence using the Tibetan Script is to suggest an approach for further phonological study and for creating a writing system of Khengkha.

**who** ai<sup>42</sup> / ʔΛ<sup>44</sup>

(2) Who is she?

gon<sup>21</sup> ai<sup>42</sup> jo<sup>21</sup> ?  
3 sg. who MOD:irg

གོན་མའི་ཡོ།

oʔ<sup>44</sup>kai<sup>44</sup> bo<sup>42</sup> ʔΛ<sup>44</sup> jo<sup>21</sup> ?  
DP: prox person who MOD:irg

ཨ་ཀའི་བོ་ཨ་ཡོ།

**whose** a<sup>21</sup>tʃi<sup>44</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>44</sup>

(3) Whose house is this?

oʔ<sup>44</sup>kai<sup>44</sup> mai<sup>44</sup> a<sup>21</sup>tʃi<sup>44</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>44</sup> jo<sup>21</sup> ?  
DP: prox house whose MOD:irg

ཨ་ཀའི་མའི་ཨ་ཅི་ཁའི་ཡོ།

**what** dzai<sup>21</sup> / dzΛ<sup>24</sup>

(4) What is this?

oʔ<sup>44</sup>kai<sup>44</sup> dzai<sup>24</sup> jo<sup>21</sup> ?  
DP: prox what MOD:irg

ཨ་ཀའི་ཇའི་ཡོ།

**where**       $\text{ao}^{21} / \text{ɿ}\Delta\text{u}^{44}$

(5) Where do you go?

$\text{we}\text{ɿ}^{24}$      $\text{ao}^{21}$      $\text{gai}^{24}$  -dem<sup>21</sup> ?  
2 sg.        where    go        -SFX:indfnt

མེད་ཨོ་གའི་དེས།

**why**             $\text{dzai}^{24}\text{bu}^{21}\text{zi}^{22}$

(6) Why did you come here?

$\text{we}\text{ɿ}^{24}$      $\text{dzai}^{24}\text{bu}^{21}\text{zi}^{22}$      $\text{he}^{44}\text{na}^{21}$      $\text{ra}^{24}$      $\text{sa}^{21}$  ?  
2 sg.        why                    here        come    MOD:pft

མེད་ཇའི་བྱ་བེ་ཉི་ན་ར་ས།

**how**             $\text{a}^{44}\text{to}^{21}$

(7) How do you go? [to ask means]

$\text{we}\text{ɿ}^{24}$      $\text{a}^{44}\text{to}^{21}$      $\text{gai}^{24}$  -dem<sup>21</sup> ?  
2 sg.        how        go        -SFX:indfnt

མེད་ཨོ་ཉི་གའི་དེས།

(8) How do you feel Bhutan? [to ask for impressions from visitor]

$\text{dzuk}^{22}\text{jy}\text{l}^{21}$      $\text{a}^{44}\text{to}^{21}$      $\text{nak}^{22}$      $\text{se}^{44}$  ?  
Bhutan        how        feel        MOD:pft

འབྲུག་ཡུལ་ཨོ་ཉི་ན་ག་ས།

**how much** ak<sup>44</sup>pa<sup>44</sup>

(9) How much is this?

o?<sup>44</sup>kai<sup>44</sup> ak<sup>44</sup>pa<sup>44</sup> jo<sup>21</sup> ?  
 Prox: sg. how much MOD:pft

ཨ་ཀའི་ཨག་པ་ཡོ།

(10) How much is 1 kg of tomatoes? [to ask for a unit price]

lam<sup>44</sup>ben<sup>44</sup>da<sup>21</sup> ke<sup>44</sup>dzi<sup>21</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ε.<sup>42</sup>=na<sup>21</sup> ak<sup>44</sup>pa<sup>44</sup> jo<sup>21</sup> ?  
 tomato k g one = par how much PCL:irg

ལམ་བན་ད་ཀའི་ཐེག་ན་ཨག་པ་ཡོ།

**when** ar<sup>44</sup>wa<sup>21</sup>

(11) When does he come?

gon<sup>21</sup> ar<sup>44</sup>wa<sup>44</sup> ra<sup>24</sup> jo<sup>21</sup> ?  
 3 sg. when come MOD:irg

གོན་ཨར་མ་ར་ཡོ།

## 9. Sentences for Daily Conversation

This chapter exemplifies collected basic sentences and expressions in Khengkha used in daily life. Khengkha has many expressions in common with Dzongkha; they are possibly borrowed from Dzongkha, see, for example, (12) ‘Hello’ and (15) ‘Thank you’. Each daily expression is given in English, Dzongkha in phonemic transcription with Tibetan orthography, and Khengkha in the phonetic description. The examples also submit Tibetan spelling for the Khengkha sentence as a trial, hoping it will be a basis to create an adequate writing system for the latter.

(12) Hello!

Dzk / kuzu zangpo (-laa) !/

ལྷུ་གཟུགས་བཟང་པོ་(ལགས)།

Khk ku<sup>44</sup>zu<sup>21</sup> zaŋ<sup>21</sup>po<sup>44</sup> (la<sup>21</sup>)  
 body [H]. good MOD[H]

ལྷུ་གཟུགས་བཟང་པོ་(ལགས)།

- (13) Welcome!
- Dzk / jönpa lekso (yö)./ འགྲེན་པ་ལགས་སོ།
- Khk kΛ<sup>44</sup>dz̥<sup>44</sup>tɕ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>43</sup> (lΛ<sup>21</sup>) བཀའ་དྲིན་ཚེ་ (ལགས།)  
gratitude MOD[H]
- (14) I am so glad to see you.
- Dzk /(chö da) pche de 'name-same sem ga-i./ ཁྱོད་དང་འབྲེད་དེ་གནམ་མེད་ས་མེད་དགའ་ཡི།
- Khk weʔ<sup>24</sup> = ne<sup>21</sup> dom<sup>44</sup> = ze<sup>24</sup> མེད་ནི་དོམ་ཟེ་གནམ་མེད་ས་མེད་སེམས་དགའ་ས།  
2 sg. =with see = CONJ
- nΛ<sup>21</sup>me<sup>44</sup>sΛ<sup>21</sup>me<sup>44</sup> sem<sup>44</sup> gΛ<sup>24</sup> sΛ<sup>21</sup>  
very happy MOD:pft
- (15) Thank you (very much).
- Dzk /( 'name-same) kadrinche (-laa)./ (གནམ་མེད་ས་མེད་) བཀའ་དྲིན་ཚེ་(ལགས།)
- Khk kΛ<sup>44</sup>dz̥jɪn<sup>44</sup>tɕ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>43</sup> (lΛ<sup>21</sup>) བཀའ་དྲིན་ཚེ་(ལགས།)  
gratitude MOD[H]
- (16) What is your name?
- Dzk /(chö-gi) ming gaci-mo?/ ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་མིང་ག་ཅི་སྟོ།
- Khk weʔ<sup>24</sup>tɕi<sup>44</sup> miŋ<sup>21</sup> dʒΛ<sup>24</sup> jo<sup>21</sup> མེད་ཅི་མིང་རྒྱ་ཡོ།  
2 sg.: atrb name what MOD:irg
- (17) May I have your name? [H]
- Dzk /na-gi tshän laa? [H] ན་གི་ཚེན་ལགས།
- Khk we<sup>24</sup>tɕi<sup>44</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>en<sup>41</sup> dʒΛ<sup>24</sup> jo<sup>21</sup>. [H] མེད་ཅི་ཚེན་རྒྱ་ཡོ།  
2 sg.: atrb name [H] what MOD:irg

(18) My name is Tandin.

Dzk /nyi-gi ming Tandin 'ing (-laa)./ ངའི་གི་མིང་བཟླན་འདུན་ཨིན་(ལགས།)

Khk  $\eta ai^{21}$   $miŋ^{21}$   $t^h\Lambda n^{44}di:^{44}$   $wen^{21}$ . ངའི་མིང་བཟླན་འདུན་མེན།  
1 sg.: atrb name *bstan 'dun* AUX:stmt

(19) How are you?

Dzk /chö gade-be yö?/ ལྷོད་ག་དེ་ཟླེ་ཡོད།

Khk  $k\Lambda^{44}t\zeta en^{44}$   $\zeta uk^{44}se^{21}n\Lambda^{21}$   $j\Lambda^{21}?$  ཀ་ཅེན་ཤུག་སེ་ན་ཡ།  
good living happy [H] MOD:irg

$k\Lambda^{44}t\zeta en^{44}$   $n\Lambda^{12}$   $j\Lambda^{21}?$  ཀ་ཅེན་ན་ཡ།  
good happy MOD:irg

(20) I am fine.

Dzk /le(k)shom-be yö./ ལེགས་ཤོམ་ཟླེ་ཡོད།  
/lek zhim yö (laa)./ ལེགས་ཞིམ་ཡོད་(ལགས།)

Khk  $\eta\Lambda^{12}$   $k\Lambda^{44}t\zeta en^{42}$   $r\Lambda^{24}$   $n\Lambda^{21}$ . ང་ཀ་ཅེན་རག་ན།  
1 sg. good come AUX:exst

(21) Where are you [H] from?

Dzk /na gade-le mo?/ ན་ག་དེ་ལེ་མྱོ།

Khk  $we?^{24}$  ( $t\zeta^h uŋ^{44}j\theta^{42}$ )  $? \Lambda^{44} = \eta i^{44\dagger}$   $j\theta^{21}?$  མེད་སྤུང་ཡུལ་ཨ་ངའི་ཡོ།  
2 sg. home land where=ABL AUX:irg

(22) I am from Japan.

Dzk /nga Japan-le 'ing (laa)./ ང་ཇ་པན་ལས་ཨིན་(ལགས།)

Khk  $\eta\Lambda^{12}$   $d\zeta\Lambda^{21}p\Lambda^{44}$  =  $ni^{21}$   $wen^{21}$ . ང་ཇ་པན་ནི་མེན།  
1 sg. Japan =ABL AUX

† [ $\eta\Lambda^{44} = \eta i^{44}$ ] might be a sound change of the phrase: \*[ $ao^{21} = ni^{21}$ ] 'where =from'.

(23) Yes. / No.

Dzk /'ing (-laa). / meng (-laa)/

མིང་(ལགས།) / མེན་(ལགས།)

Khk wen<sup>21</sup>(lɿ<sup>21</sup>) / min<sup>21</sup>(lɿ<sup>21</sup>)  
AUX:afm [H] AUX:neg [H]

མེན་(ལགས།) / མིན་(ལགས།)

Dzk /'im-bä. / mem-bä./

མིན་བས། / མེན་བས།

Khk wen<sup>12</sup>(dzɿ<sup>42</sup>) / min<sup>12</sup>(dzɿ<sup>42</sup>)  
AUX:afm [F] AUX:neg [F]

མེན་(གཤགས།) / མིན་(གཤགས།)

(24) There is. / There is not.

Dzk /duu (-laa). / mindu (-laa)/

འདུག་(ལགས།) / མིན་འདུག་(ལགས།)

Khk nɿk<sup>22</sup>(se:<sup>42</sup>) / mu<sup>21</sup>(se:<sup>42</sup>)  
Vb:afm [H] Vb:neg [H]

ནག་(སེ།) / ལྷོད་(སེ།)

(25) I have. / I do not have.

Dzk /yö (-laa). / mee (-laa)/

ཡོད་(ལགས།) / མེད་(ལགས།)

Khk (ŋɿ<sup>24</sup> = nɿ<sup>21</sup>) nɿ<sup>21</sup>. / mut<sup>44</sup>  
I sg. =DAT have lack

(ང་ན་)ནག་ / ལྷོད།

(26) I understood.

Dzk /ha go-i./

ཉ་གོ་ཡི།

Khk hɿ<sup>44</sup> ko<sup>44</sup> -sɿ<sup>42</sup>.  
understand -SFX:pft

ཉ་གོ་ས།

(27) I do not understand.

Dzk /ha mi-gö./

ཉ་མི་གོ་ས།

Khk hɿ<sup>44</sup> mɿ<sup>22</sup>- go<sup>21</sup>.  
under- NEG -stand

ཉ་མ་གོ།

(28) Please say it again.

Dzk /daru tshaa ci 'lap 'nang./

ད་རུང་ཚེར་གཅིག་སྐབ་གནང་།

Khk du<sup>22</sup>ruŋ<sup>24</sup> lɔp<sup>22</sup> -lai<sup>42</sup>.  
again speak -SFX:imper

དུ་རུང་སྐབ་ལའི།

(29) O.K. / All right.

Dzk /tup (pe)./

བཏུབ་བས།

Khk pɔ<sup>22</sup> -tɔ<sup>42</sup>.  
right -SFX

བ་ཏ།

(30) O.K. / Yes. / All right.

Dzk /las (-laa)./

ལགས་སོ་(ལགས།)

Khk las<sup>42</sup> la<sup>44</sup>. [H] < Dzk

ལགས་སོ་ལགས།

(31) No problem.

Dzk /khä me./

ཚུད་མེད།

Khk kɔ<sup>44</sup>ŋel<sup>42</sup> mut<sup>44</sup>.  
problem lack

ཀ་དེལ་སྤྱད།

(32) See you again.

Dzk /las (-laa). / lokte jää-ge (laa)./

ལགས་སོ་(ལགས།) འོག་སྟེ་མཇུག་གོ་(ལགས།)

Khk las<sup>42</sup> la<sup>44</sup>. [H] jɔŋ<sup>24</sup>pe<sup>42</sup> dom<sup>21</sup>.  
again see

ལགས་སོ་ལགས། ཡང་བེགས་དོན།

(33) Where are you going?

Dzk /(chö) gade jo(w)u mo?/

(ཚྱོད་)ག་དེ་འགྲོ་མ་མོ།

Khk weɽ<sup>24</sup> ʔlu<sup>42</sup> gai<sup>42</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ<sup>42</sup> jo<sup>21</sup> ?  
2 sg. where go over MOD:irg

མེད་ཨའོ་གའི་ཐང་ཡོ།

(34) I'm going to Bumthang.

Dzk //(nga) Bumthang-lu jo(w)u 'ing./ (ང་)བུམ་ཐང་ལུ་འཇུག་ཡིན།

Khk  $\eta\Lambda^{24}$   $\text{bum}^{22}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\Lambda\eta^{42}$  =  $\eta\text{o}^{24}$   $\text{gai}^{24}$  - $\text{de}^{42}$   $\text{me}^{24}$   $\text{wen}^{21}$ .  
1 sg. Bumthang =ALT go -SFX:indfnt AUX ང་བུམ་ཐང་དོ་གཤི་དེ་མེ་མེན།

(35) I want to go to Bumthang.

Dzk //(nga) Bumthang-lu jo go 'no-i./ (ང་)བུམ་ཐང་ལུ་འཇུག་དགོ་མཚོ་ཡི།

Khk  $\eta\Lambda^{24}$   $\text{bum}^{22}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\Lambda\eta^{42}$  =  $\eta\text{o}^{24}$   $\text{gai}^{24}$ - $\text{do}^{42}$   $\eta\Lambda\text{m}^{22}$   $\text{p}\Lambda^{22}$ .  
1 sg. Bumthang =ALT go-SFX:indfnt think MOD ང་བུམ་ཐང་དོ་གཤི་དོ་ཉམ་བ།

(36) Where is a rest room?

Dzk /chapsang gate yö-ga?/ ཆབ་གསང་ག་ཉི་ཡོད་ག།

Khk  $\text{s}\Lambda\eta^{44}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}\eta^{42}$   $\eta\Lambda\text{u}^{44}$   $\text{lo}^{44}\text{ko}^{44}$   $\text{jo}^{21}$  ?  
restroom where locate MOD:irg གསང་རྒྱང་ཨའོ་རྫོ་གོ་ཡོ།

Dzk /chapsang gate mo?/ ཆབ་གསང་ག་ཉི་མོ།

Khk  $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\Lambda\text{p}^{44}\text{s}\Lambda\eta^{44}$   $\eta\Lambda\text{u}^{44}$   $\text{lo}^{44}\text{ko}^{44}$   $\text{jo}^{21}$  ?  
restroom [H] where locate MOD:irg ཆབ་གསང་ཨའོ་རྫོ་གོ་ཡོ།

(37) Let's go.

Dzk //(da) jo-ge./ (ད་) འཇུག་གེ།

Khk  $\text{d}\Lambda\eta^{22}$   $\text{gai}^{24}$ - $\text{de}^{21}$ .  
together go-SFX:indfnt དང་གཤི་དེ།

(38) Come here.

Dzk /na sho./ ར་ཤོགས།

Khk  $\text{he}^{44}\text{n}\Lambda^{22}$   $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\Lambda^{44}$   $\text{ji}^{21}$ .  
here come MOD ཉེ་ན་ཤག་ཡི།



(39) How old are you?

Dzk /ʎ(chö) lo gadem ci mo?/

(ཁྱེད་)ལོ་ག་དམ་ཅེག་མོ།

Khk weʔ<sup>24</sup> niŋ<sup>22</sup> ʎΛk<sup>44</sup> pΛ<sup>44</sup> jo<sup>21</sup> ?  
 2 sg. age how many MOD:irg

མེ་ནིང་ཨག་པ་ཡོ།

(40) I'm 20 years old.

Dzk /ʎ(nga) lo kheci 'ing./

(ང་)ལོ་ལལ་གཅེག་ཨིན།

Khk ŋΛ<sup>24</sup> niŋ<sup>22</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>24</sup>de<sup>44</sup> wen<sup>21</sup>.  
 1 sg. age twenty AUX

མེ་ནིང་ལའི་དེ་མེན།

(41) Congratulations!

Dzk /trashi delek!/  
 1 sg. age

བགྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས།

Khk tʂΛ<sup>44</sup>ci<sup>44</sup>de<sup>21</sup>lek<sup>22</sup> ŋin<sup>44</sup> gΛ<sup>22</sup> -sΛ<sup>21</sup>.  
 congratulations heart happy -SFX:pft

བགྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས་སྐྱིན་དགའ་ས།

(42) What is this?

Dzk /'ani gaci mo?/

ཨ་ནི་ག་ཅི་མོ།

Khk oʔ<sup>44</sup>kai<sup>44</sup> dzΛ<sup>24</sup> jo<sup>21</sup> ?  
 DP: prox what MOD:irg

ཨོ་ཀའི་རྩ་ཡོ།

(43) This is a *momo* (dumpling).

Dzk /'ani momo 'ing./

ཨ་ནི་མོ་མོ་ཨིན།

Khk oʔ<sup>44</sup>kai<sup>44</sup> mo<sup>22</sup>mo<sup>44</sup> wen<sup>21</sup>(dzΛ<sup>22</sup>) ?  
 DP: prox dumpling AUX: [F]

ཨོ་ཀའི་མོ་མོ་མེན་(ག།)

(44) How much is this?

Dzk /('ani) gong gadem ci mo?/ (ཨ་ནཱི་)གོང་ག་དམ་ཅིག་མོ།

Khk oʔ<sup>44</sup>kai<sup>44</sup> ʌk<sup>44</sup>pʌ<sup>44</sup> jo<sup>21</sup> ? ཨོ་ཀའི་ཨག་པ་ཡོ།  
DP: prox how much AUX

(45) 30 ngultrum for 1 plate.

Dzk /tha le 1 [ci] lu tiru sumcu 'ing./ ཐ་ལེ་གཅིག་ལུ་ཉི་ཅུ་གསུམ་བུ་ཨིན།

Khk t<sup>h</sup>ʌ<sup>44</sup>li<sup>44</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>44</sup> = nʌ<sup>22</sup> [ k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>24</sup>de<sup>22</sup> = ne<sup>22</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>44</sup> [/sum<sup>44</sup>tɕu<sup>44</sup>] wen<sup>21</sup>.  
plate one =DAT twenty =and half (10) three ten AUX  
ཐ་ལི་ཐེག་ན་[ལའི་དེ་ནེ་ཕྱེད་ [གསུམ་བུ་] ཨིན།

(46) Do you have some butter tea?

Dzk /suuja yö ga?/ སུ་ཇ་ཡོད་ག

Khk su.<sup>44</sup>dʒʌ<sup>44</sup> nʌ<sup>24</sup> jʌ<sup>21</sup> ? སུ་ཇ་ན་ཡ།  
butter tea have MOD:irg

(47) (One more) beer, please.

Dzk /((daru) biyaa ci, zhu ge (-laa)./ (ད་རུང་)བི་ཡམ་གཅིག་(ལུ་གོ་(ལགས།)

Khk do<sup>22</sup>ronj<sup>24</sup> bia<sup>24</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>44</sup> wai<sup>24</sup> nʌ<sup>24</sup>. དོ་རོང་བི་ཡམ་ཐེག་མའི་ན།  
more beer one give have

(48) Is this yours?

Dzk /'ani chö-gi 'ing na?/ ཨ་ནཱི་ཚྱོད་གྱི་ཨིན་ན།

Khk oʔ<sup>44</sup>kai<sup>24</sup> we<sup>22</sup>tɕi<sup>44</sup> = hai<sup>24</sup> wen<sup>24</sup> jʌ<sup>21</sup> ? ཨོ་ཀའི་མེ་ཅི་ཉི་ཨིན་ཡ།  
DP: prox you=GEN AUX MOD:irg

(49) I am thirsty.

Dzk /nga kha kom ce./ ང་ཁ་སྐྱམ་ཅིག

Khk  $\eta\Lambda^{24} k^h\Lambda^{44} k\Lambda m^{44} -p\Lambda^{21}$ . ང་ཁ་སྐྱམ་པ།  
1 sg. mouth dry -SFX

(50) I am (very) hungry.

Dzk /nga ('name-same) tou ke-ci./ ང་(གནམ་མེད་ས་མེད་)སྐྱམ་བཞེས་ཅིག

Khk  $\eta\Lambda^{24} br\Lambda^{44} n\Lambda^{22} -s\Lambda^{22}$ . ང་ཁ་བྲ་ན་ལ།  
1 sg. hungry have -SFX

(51) I have had enough.

Dzk /phou drangsi (-laa)/ མོམ་འགྲངས་སེ་(ལགས།)

Khk  $\eta\Lambda^{24} dzo^{22} m\Lambda^{42} \eta r\Lambda \eta^{24} -p\Lambda^{42}$ . ང་རྩུ་མ་ངང་པ།  
1 sg. belly full -SFX

(52) It's delicious.

Dzk /('name-same) zhim be./ (གནམ་མེད་ས་མེད་)ཞིམ་བཟེ།

Khk (dek<sup>22</sup>p<sup>44</sup> t<sup>22</sup>η<sup>42</sup>) η<sup>24</sup>Λ<sup>42</sup> -t<sup>42</sup>. (དེག་པ་ཅ་ང་)ངར་ཉ།  
very delicious -SFX

(53) Please take (eat/drink) it.

Dzk /zhe (-laa)/ བཞེས་(ལགས།)

Khk  $soi^{44} -l\epsilon^{22} (\Lambda^{21})$ . སོའི་ལའི་(ལགས།)  
take -SFX:imper [H]

(54) No, thank you.

Dzk /mi zhu (-la)./

མི་ལྷ་(ལགས།)

Khk lɒŋ<sup>24</sup> -pɒ<sup>42</sup>.  
enough -SFX

ལང་བ།

(55) I do not feel well.

Dzk /zu de-toto me(ng)./

གཟུགས་བདེ་ཏོག་ཏོ་མི(ང་)།

Khk ŋɒ<sup>24</sup> zu<sup>24</sup> mɒ<sup>22</sup> -de<sup>21</sup>.  
1 sg. body NEG -good

ང་གཟུགས་མ་བདེ།

(56) I have a stomachache.

Dzk /(nga) phou na-de-'ing./

(ང་)ཕོ་མ་ན་དེ་ཡིན།

/(nga) phou na(wu)-mä./

(ང་)ཕོ་མ་ན་མ་མཐ།

Khk ŋɒ<sup>24</sup> dzo<sup>22</sup>mɒ<sup>42</sup> nɒ<sup>24</sup> -ze<sup>21</sup>.  
1 sg. belly sick -SFX:pft

ང་ལྷུ་མ་ན་བྲེག།

## 10. Noun Predicate Sentences

The auxiliary verb for statements [wen<sup>21</sup>], which works as a copula, connects two substantives. The negative counterpart is [min<sup>21</sup>], and the interrogative particle [ja<sup>21</sup>] will be affixed to the end of the sentence when needed. All the example sentences in chapters 10 to 13 were provided by a language consultant who speaks the Wamling dialect, and the pronunciation recorded here is based on his idiolect. The spelling in Tibetan script was also offered by him. The notation in Tibetan script does not reflect the grammatical alternation nor cognates of Tibetan/Dzongkha; it only spells out the actual pronunciation of Khengkha, one by one.

(57) Are you a Bhutanese?

weŋ<sup>21</sup> dzuk<sup>22</sup>pa<sup>22</sup> wen<sup>23</sup> ja<sup>21</sup> ?  
 2 sg. Bhutanese AUX:afm IRG

མེད་འབྲུག་པ་མེན་ཡ།

(58) I am a Bhutanese.

ŋa<sup>23</sup> dzuk<sup>22</sup>pa<sup>22</sup> wen<sup>21</sup>.  
 1 sg. Bhutanese AUX:afm

ང་འབྲུག་པ་མེན།

(59) I am not a Bhutanese.

ŋa<sup>23</sup> dzuk<sup>22</sup>pa<sup>22</sup> min<sup>21</sup>.  
 1 sg. Bhutanese AUX:neg

ང་འབྲུག་པ་མིན།

(60) Is he a Bhutanese?

gon<sup>21</sup> dzuk<sup>22</sup>pa<sup>22</sup> wen<sup>23</sup> ja<sup>21</sup> ?  
 3 sg. Bhutanese AUX:afm IRG

གོན་འབྲུག་པ་མེན་ཡ།

(61) No, he is not a Bhutanese, but a Japanese.

min<sup>21</sup>. gon<sup>21</sup> dzuk<sup>22</sup>pa<sup>22</sup> min<sup>21</sup>, dza<sup>22</sup>pa<sup>22</sup>nis<sup>21</sup> wen<sup>21</sup>.  
 No. 3 sg. Bhutanese AUX:neg Japanese AUX:afm

མིན། གོན་འབྲུག་པ་མིན། རྒྱ་ལྗོངས་ནིས་མེན།

No, he is from Japan.

min<sup>21</sup>. gon<sup>21</sup> dza<sup>22</sup>pan<sup>21</sup> = ni<sup>21</sup> wen<sup>21</sup>.  
 No. 3 sg. Japan =ABL AUX:afm

མིན། གོན་རྒྱ་ལྗོངས་ནི་མེན།

- (62) Where are you from?

weŋ<sup>21</sup>    ʔɑ<sup>44</sup>ŋi<sup>44</sup>    jo<sup>21</sup> ?  
 2 sg.        where from    MOD:irg

མེད་ཨ་ཉི་ཡོ།

- (63) I am from Wamling.

ŋɑ<sup>23</sup>    wam<sup>23</sup>liŋ<sup>41</sup> = ni<sup>22</sup>    wen<sup>21</sup>.  
 1 sg.    Wamling =ABL        AUX:afm

ང་ལྷམ་ལིང་ནི་མེན།

## 11. Existential Sentences

The auxiliary verb for existence [na<sup>21</sup>] and its negative counterpart [mut<sup>21</sup>] are used in existential or locational sentences. Further, the interrogative particle [ja<sup>21</sup>], or [jo<sup>21</sup>] for wh-questions, will be affixed to the end of the sentence.

- (64) There is a notebook on that table.

ʔɑ<sup>44</sup>t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>24</sup> tɕok<sup>44</sup>sen<sup>42</sup> = gi<sup>22</sup> nam<sup>22</sup>do<sup>44</sup>    dʒi<sup>24</sup>tɕep<sup>22</sup>    na<sup>21</sup>.  
 there        table            =GEN surface        notebook        AUX:exst

ཨ་ཐུ་ཚོག་ཤེང་གི་ནམ་དོ་བྱིས་དེ་བ་ན།

- (65) Here are three notebooks on the table.

he<sup>44</sup>na<sup>22</sup> tɕok<sup>44</sup>sen<sup>42</sup> = gi<sup>22</sup> nam<sup>22</sup>do<sup>44</sup>    dʒi<sup>24</sup>tɕep<sup>22</sup>    sum<sup>43</sup>    na<sup>21</sup>.  
 here        table            =GEN surface        notebook        three        AUX:exst

ཉི་ན་ཚོག་ཤེང་གི་ནམ་དོ་བྱིས་དེ་བ་གསུམ་ན།

- (66) I have two daughters.

ŋɑ<sup>24</sup> = na<sup>22</sup> ʔo<sup>44</sup>lo<sup>22</sup>bo<sup>22</sup>me<sup>43</sup>    zon<sup>24</sup>    na<sup>21</sup>.  
 1 sg. =DAT    child        girl            two        AUX:have/exst

ང་ན་ཨོ་ལོ་བོ་མེ་ཟོན་ན།

(67) I have no sons.

$\eta\alpha^{24} = \text{na}^{22} \text{ʔo}^{44}\text{lo}^{22}\text{bo}^{23} \text{mut}^{21}$ .  
 1 sg. =DAT child boy AUX:not have/lack

ང་ན་ཚོ་ལོ་བོ་སྲུང།

(68) S/he has three sons.

$\text{gon}^{21} = \text{na}^{22} \text{ʔo}^{44}\text{lo}^{22}\text{bo}^{23} \text{sum}^{44} \text{na}^{21}$ .  
 3 sg. =DAT child boy three AUX:have/exst

གོན་ན་ཚོ་ལོ་བོ་གསུམ་ན།

(69) How many children do you have?

$\text{we}\text{ʔ}^{21} = \text{na}^{22} \text{ʔo}^{44}\text{lo}^{22} \text{ʔak}^{44}\text{pa}^{21} \text{na}^{22} \text{jo}^{21} ?$   
 2 sg. =DAT child how many AUX:have MOD:irg

ཞེད་ན་ཚོ་ལོ་མག་བ་ན་ཡོ།

## 12. Adjective Predicate Sentences

Interestingly, the auxiliary verb set for statements [ $\text{wen}^{21}$ ] and its negative [ $\text{min}^{21}$ ], as well as the one to express existence [ $\text{na}^{21}$ ] and its negative [ $\text{mut}^{21}$ ] are both used in adjective predicate sentences. Their distribution and function are as follows: the former set represents a statement for the “inner” circle of speech, and the latter set represents a statement for the “outer” circle of speech, similar to /yin/ and /ree/ in the Tibetan Lhasa dialect. The “inner” statements often refer to the 1st and 2nd person subjects, and the “outer” statements often refer to the 3rd person subjects. The interrogative particle [ $\text{ja}^{21}$ ], or [ $\text{jo}^{21}$ ] for wh-questions, will appear at the end of the sentence.

(70) Is s/he young?

gon<sup>21</sup> zɔn<sup>23</sup>ma<sup>31</sup> na<sup>22</sup> ja<sup>33</sup> ?  
3 sg. young AUX:exst IRG

གོན་གཞོན་མ་ན་ཡ།

‘outer’ statement

gon<sup>21</sup> zɔn<sup>23</sup>ma<sup>31</sup> wen<sup>21</sup> ja<sup>33</sup> ?  
3 sg. young AUX:stm IRG

གོན་གཞོན་མ་མེན་ཡ།

‘inner’ statement

(71) No. S/he is old.

min<sup>21</sup>. gon<sup>21</sup> get<sup>22</sup> pu<sup>44</sup> wen<sup>21</sup>.  
No. 3 sg. old AUX:stmt

མིན། གོན་གྲོང་ཕུ་མེན།

(72) I am old.

ŋa<sup>23</sup> get<sup>22</sup> pu<sup>44</sup> wen<sup>21</sup>.  
1 sg. old AUX:stmt

ང་གྲོང་ཕུ་མེན།

(73) You are younger than him.

weɿ<sup>21</sup> gon<sup>21</sup> = ni<sup>44</sup>jaŋ<sup>21</sup> zɔn<sup>23</sup>ma<sup>31</sup> na<sup>21</sup>. ‘outer’ statement  
2.sg 3 sg. = than young AUX:exst

མེད་གོན་ནི་ཡང་གཞོན་མ་ན།

\*It is impossible to replace [na<sup>21</sup>] from the “outer” statement with \*[wen<sup>21</sup>] representing an “inner” statement in this sentence.



- (74) S/he is tall.

gon<sup>21</sup> k<sup>h</sup>aj<sup>44</sup>ba<sup>22</sup>-la<sup>22</sup> na<sup>21</sup>.  
 3.sg tall-SFX AUX:exst

གོན་ཁང་བ་ལ་ན།

- (75) S/he is pretty.

gon<sup>21</sup> mop<sup>22</sup>zaj<sup>42</sup> na<sup>21</sup>.  
 3.sg pretty AUX:exst

གོན་ཚོབ་བཟང་ན།

- (76) This book is red.

oɽ<sup>44</sup>kai<sup>42</sup> ki<sup>44</sup>tep<sup>44</sup> dzin<sup>24</sup>ti<sup>44</sup>-la<sup>22</sup> wen<sup>21</sup>.  
 prx:sg. book red-SFX AUX:stmt

ཨོ་ཀའི་ཀི་ཏེབ་ཉི་ལ་ལེན།

- (77) This notebook is blue.

oɽ<sup>44</sup>kai<sup>42</sup> dzi<sup>24</sup>tep<sup>22</sup> nun<sup>44</sup>te<sup>22</sup>-la<sup>22</sup> wen<sup>21</sup>.  
 prx:sg. notebook red-SFX AUX:stmt

ཨོ་ཀའི་བྲིས་ཟེབ་ལུན་ཉི་ལ་ལེན།

- (78) This dumpling tastes good.

oɽ<sup>44</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>42</sup> mo<sup>22</sup>mo<sup>22</sup> ka<sup>44</sup>tɕan<sup>21</sup> na<sup>21</sup>.  
 prx:sg. dumpling tasty AUX:exst

ཨོ་ཀའི་ཚོ་ཚོ་ཀ་ཅན་ན།

- (79) Which do you like,
- sinchang*
- ,
- bangchang*
- , or
- araq*
- ?

weɽ<sup>21</sup> sin<sup>44</sup>tɕ<sup>h</sup>aj<sup>44</sup>, baj<sup>24</sup>tɕ<sup>h</sup>aj<sup>44</sup>, ʔa<sup>44</sup>ra<sup>21</sup> = ni<sup>44</sup> dzai<sup>21</sup> ga<sup>12</sup> jo<sup>21</sup> ?  
 2 sg. *sinchang* *bangchnag* *araq* =ABL what like MOD:irg

མེན་སིང་ཆང་བང་ཆང་ཨ་རག་ནི་ཇའི་དགའ་ཡོ།

### 13. Verb Predicate Sentences

A Khengkha verb is not conjugated for the person or number of the subject or other actants. The basic verb predicate structure is Vstem-SFX (AUX)(MOD), in which the suffix represents aspects such as imperfect (including present/future tense), perfect (related to past tense), progressive, and imperative. The verb suffixes are expressed with hyphen and brackets, such as ‘-[aspect]’, in the gloss for each sentence, and ‘SFX’ is omitted, that is, -SFX:imperative → -[imper] henceforth. These verb suffixes have morphological alternates, however, the grammatical background causing the alternation is not obvious yet as there is not enough data to discuss upon. Here, we can only point out the possible alternations, needing further research on Khengkha grammar to expound these phenomena.

(80) Close the door!

ko <sup>42</sup>	dam <sup>24</sup>	-lai <sup>21</sup> .		ཀོ་འདམ་ལའི།
door	close	-[imper]		

(81) Open the door!

ko <sup>42</sup>	p <sup>hi</sup> . <sup>42</sup>	-lai <sup>21</sup> .		ཀོ་ཕི་ལའི།
door	open	-[imper]		

The imperative is formed by adding the suffix [-lai<sup>21</sup>] to the verb stem.

(82) Now the door is open.

da <sup>44</sup> ni <sup>24</sup>	ko <sup>42</sup>	p <sup>hi</sup> . <sup>44</sup>	-sa <sup>21</sup> .		ད་ནི་ཀོ་ཕི་ས།
now	door	open	-[pft]		
da <sup>44</sup> ni <sup>24</sup>	ko <sup>42</sup>	p <sup>hi</sup> . <sup>44</sup>	-zi <sup>23</sup>	na <sup>21</sup> .	ད་ནི་ཀོ་ཕི་ཟེ་ན།
now	door	open	-[pft]	AUX:exst	

The most general suffix expressing the perfect aspect is [-sa<sup>21</sup>], and [-zi<sup>23</sup>] must be an alternative to it, which appears before the auxiliary verb for “outer” statements [na<sup>21</sup>]. It might be a gerund of the suffix [-sa<sup>21</sup>] to express state, as AUX [na<sup>21</sup>] is mainly used after adjectives (see Chapter 12).

Another noteworthy grammatical phenomenon is that the subject is a bare noun without a case-marker in these intransitive verb predicate sentences in (82).

(83) Who opened the door?

ko <sup>42</sup>	ʔa <sup>44</sup> tɕi <sup>42</sup>	p <sup>hi</sup> · <sup>22</sup>	-sa <sup>44</sup>	jo <sup>21</sup> ?	ཀོ་ཨ་ཅི་སྐ་སྐ་ཡོ
door	who	open	[-pft]	MOD:irg	

(84) I opened the door.

ko <sup>44</sup>	ŋa <sup>24</sup> = ji <sup>22</sup>	p <sup>hi</sup> · <sup>44</sup>	-sa <sup>21</sup> .	ཀོ་ངའི་ཐེ་སྐ
door	1 sg. =ERG	open	[-pft]	

ŋa <sup>24</sup> = ji <sup>22</sup>	ko <sup>44</sup>	p <sup>hi</sup> · <sup>44</sup>	-sa <sup>21</sup> .	ངའི་ཀོ་ཐེ་སྐ
1 sg. =ERG	door	open	[-pft]	

(85) The wind opened [the door].

luŋ <sup>42</sup> = gi <sup>22</sup>	(ko <sup>44</sup> )	p <sup>hi</sup> · <sup>44</sup>	-sa <sup>21</sup> .	ལུང་གི་ཀོ་ཐེ་སྐ
wind =ERG	door	open	[-pft]	

The subjects in transitive verb predicate sentences are marked with case particles [= ji<sup>22</sup>], compared to intransitive verb predicate sentences (82), concluding that Khengkha is an ergative-type language. The ERG particle [= ji<sup>22</sup>] appears with an open syllable subject, and the altered form [= gi<sup>22</sup>] appears instead after a closed syllable subject with coda.

(86) I will open the door.

ko <sup>44</sup>	ŋa <sup>24</sup> = ji <sup>22</sup>	p <sup>hi</sup> · <sup>44</sup>	-ge <sup>21</sup> .	ཀོ་ངའི་ཐེ་གེ
door	1sg. =ERG	open	[-impft]	

(87) The water is boiled.

k <sup>h</sup> we <sup>44</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup> a <sup>44</sup>	-zu <sup>24</sup>	-mu <sup>21</sup> .	ཁྲིས་ཚ་བུ་མུ
water	hot	[-pft]	AUX(?)	

The suffix [-ge<sup>21</sup>] is a general marker of the imperfect and expresses a volitional future. While the indefinite suffix [-gem<sup>21</sup>] must be a derivative of the former, I doubt [-zu<sup>24</sup>] being another gerund-indicating suffix [-sa<sup>21</sup>] to express a state before the auxiliary verb. See (82) above. However, we are not yet sure of the meaning and function of AUX(?) [mu<sup>21</sup>].

(88) Who boiled the water?

k<sup>h</sup>we<sup>44</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>an<sup>42</sup> ʔa<sup>44</sup>tɕi<sup>42</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>44</sup> -pa<sup>22</sup> jo<sup>21</sup> ?      ཁྱོད་ཚན་མ་ཅི་ཐེག་པ་ཡོ།  
 water ← heated      who      boil      -[pft]      MOD:irg

(89) I boiled the water.

k<sup>h</sup>we<sup>44</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>an<sup>42</sup> ŋa<sup>24</sup> = ji<sup>22</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>44</sup> -pa<sup>22</sup>.      ཁྱོད་ཚན་པ་འི་ཐེག་པ།  
 water ← heated      1 sg. =ERG      boil      -[pft]

k<sup>h</sup>we<sup>44</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>an<sup>42</sup> ŋa<sup>24</sup> = ji<sup>22</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>44</sup> -pam<sup>42</sup> wen<sup>21</sup>.      ཁྱོད་ཚན་པ་འི་ཐེག་པ་མེན།  
 water ← heated      1 sg. =ERG      boil      -[pft]      AUX

The other general suffix [-pa<sup>22</sup>] also expresses the perfect aspect, however, it is difficult to grammatically explain the distribution and difference between suffixes [-sa<sup>21</sup>] and [-pa<sup>22</sup>], since there is not enough data to compare them. The suffix [-pam<sup>42</sup>] appears preceding the position of the auxiliary verb for “inner” statements [wen<sup>21</sup>], and it must be a derivation from suffix [-pa<sup>22</sup>]. I think this is a phenomenon parallel with that of suffixes [-ge<sup>21</sup>] and [-gem<sup>21</sup>] seen above in (86) and will be presented in (91) below.

(90) Who [is going to] boil the water?

k<sup>h</sup>we<sup>44</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>an<sup>42</sup> ʔa<sup>44</sup>tɕi<sup>42</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>44</sup> -ke<sup>44</sup>me<sup>22</sup> jo<sup>21</sup> ?      ཁྱོད་ཚན་མ་ཅི་ཐེག་གེ་མེན།  
 water ← heated      who      boil      -[impft]      MOD:irg

(91) I (will) boil the water.

k<sup>h</sup>we<sup>44</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>an<sup>42</sup> ŋa<sup>24</sup> = ji<sup>22</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>44</sup> -ke<sup>22</sup>.      ཁྱོད་ཚན་པ་འི་ཐེག་གེ།  
 water ← heated      1 sg. =ERG      boil      -[impft]

k<sup>h</sup>we<sup>44</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>an<sup>42</sup> ŋa<sup>24</sup> = ji<sup>22</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>44</sup> -kem<sup>42</sup> wen<sup>21</sup>.      ཁྱོད་ཚན་པ་འི་ཐེག་གེ་མེན།  
 water ← heated      1 sg. =ERG      boil      -[impft]      AUX

The perfect suffix [-ke<sup>22</sup>] must be an allophone of [-ge<sup>21</sup>] seen in (86) above. The initial appears to be a voiceless [k-] as it is assimilated to the coda of the verb stem [t<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>44</sup>]. The suffix [-kem<sup>42</sup>] must be a derivation from suffix [-ke<sup>22</sup>], which appears in the preceding position of the auxiliary verb for “inner” statements [wen<sup>21</sup>]. Here, a parallel derivation phenomenon between the suffix [-ge<sup>21</sup>] and [-gem<sup>21</sup>] can also be seen.

(92) I came from Thimphu yesterday.

ŋa<sup>24</sup> daŋ<sup>44</sup>la<sup>22</sup> t<sup>h</sup>im<sup>44</sup>p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>44</sup> = ni<sup>21</sup> ra<sup>24</sup> -sa<sup>21</sup>.      ང་དང་ལ་ཐིམ་ཕུག་ནི་ར་ས།  
 1 sg. yesterday Thimphu =ABL come -[pft]

(93) I went to Bumthang.

ŋa<sup>24</sup> bum<sup>24</sup>t<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>21</sup> = na<sup>21</sup> gai<sup>24</sup> -pa<sup>21</sup>.      ང་བུམ་ཐང་ན་གའི་པ།  
 1 sg. Bumthang =ALT go -[pft]

Comparing (92) and (93), we see that the perfect suffixes are different, [ra<sup>24</sup> -sa<sup>21</sup>] ‘(have) come’ and [gai<sup>24</sup> -pa<sup>21</sup>] ‘(have) gone’, both expressing the perfect aspect, but opposite directions. This might be a hint to unravel the difference between them.

(94) I (will) go to Bumthang tomorrow.

ŋa<sup>24</sup> bum<sup>24</sup>t<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>21</sup> = na<sup>21</sup> jam<sup>44</sup>pa<sup>22</sup> gai<sup>24</sup> -dem<sup>21</sup> (wen<sup>21</sup>).  
 1 sg. Bumthang =ALT tomorrow go -[imdfnt] AUX:stmt

ང་བུམ་ཐང་ན་ཡམ་པ་གའི་དེམ་(མེན།)

The suffix [-dem<sup>21</sup>] is another general marker of the imperfect aspect and it expresses a volitional future, however, it is difficult to explain the distribution and difference between [-gem<sup>21</sup>] and [-dem<sup>21</sup>]. Our language consultant explained that these two kinds of suffixes take definite combinations with the verb stems. The grammatical difference between them cannot be expounded yet; it can only be pointed out that, so far, it does not concern ergative or transitive/intransitive aspects. See the Section 6.3 verbs. The suffix [-dem<sup>21</sup>] may appear in the preceding position of the auxiliary verb for “inner” statements [wen<sup>21</sup>]. I think this suffix also supports the hypothesis that verb suffixes add a final nasal consonant [-m] when they precede the auxiliary verb.

(95) Did you eat rice?

to<sup>44</sup> zu<sup>24</sup> -sa<sup>44</sup> ja<sup>21</sup> ?      ལྷོ་བུ་ས་ཡ།  
 rice eat -[pft] MOD:irg

(96) I ate much rice.

ŋa<sup>24</sup> to<sup>44</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>44</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>22</sup> zu<sup>24</sup> -sa<sup>21</sup>.      ང་སྟོ་ཚ་ཚ་བྱ་ས།  
1 sg. rice much eat -[pft]

(97) I am eating rice now.

ŋa<sup>24</sup> to<sup>44</sup> dai<sup>24</sup>na<sup>22</sup> zu<sup>24</sup> -ta<sup>21</sup>.      ང་སྟོ་དེ་ན་བྱ་ཏ།  
1 sg. rice now eat -[prog]

The suffix [-ta<sup>21</sup>] expresses the progressive aspect. The tense is indicated by adverbs or nouns concerning time. See sentence (100).

(98) I (will) eat tomorrow.

ŋa<sup>24</sup> to<sup>44</sup> jam<sup>22</sup>pa<sup>44</sup> zu<sup>24</sup> -gem<sup>21</sup>.      ང་སྟོ་ཡམ་པ་བྱ་གེས།  
1 sg. rice tomorrow eat -[impft]

(99) I wrote letters.

ŋa<sup>24</sup> = ji<sup>44</sup> ji:<sup>22</sup>gu<sup>44</sup> dzi<sup>24</sup> -sa<sup>21</sup>.      ང་འི་ཡི་གུ་བྲི་ས།  
1 sg. =ERG letters write -[pft]

(100) I am writing letters now.

ŋa<sup>24</sup> ji:<sup>22</sup>gu<sup>44</sup> dai<sup>24</sup>na<sup>22</sup> dzi<sup>24</sup> -ta<sup>21</sup>.      ང་འི་ཡི་གུ་དེ་ན་བྲི་ཏ།  
1 sg. letters now write -[prog]

In sentences in the progressive aspect, the subject does not take any ERG markers, even though the predicate includes a transitive verb (and an object). See sentences (97) and (100).

(101) I will write (letters).

ŋa<sup>24</sup> = ji<sup>22</sup> ji:<sup>22</sup>gu<sup>44</sup> dzi<sup>24</sup> -gem<sup>21</sup>.      ང་འི་ཡི་གུ་བྲི་གེས།  
1 sg. =ERG letters write -[impft]

(102) Do you drink *araq* ?

weŋ<sup>21</sup> ʔa<sup>44</sup>ra<sup>42</sup> t<sup>h</sup>oŋ<sup>44</sup> ja<sup>21</sup> ?      མེད་ཨ་རག་མཐོང་ཡ།  
2 sg. araq drink IRG

(103) I drink *araq*.

ŋɑ<sup>24</sup>(=ji<sup>22</sup>) ʔɑ<sup>44</sup>ra<sup>42</sup> t<sup>h</sup>oŋ<sup>42</sup>.                      དེ་མི་ཨ་རག་མཐོང་།  
 1 sg. (=ERG)      araq                      drink

It is possible to add the verb suffix [-gem<sup>21</sup>] after the verb [t<sup>h</sup>oŋ<sup>42</sup>], however, it is impossible to add the auxiliary verb for “inner” statements [wen<sup>21</sup>] without any verb suffix to the final position of this sentence. The verb suffix [-ge<sup>21</sup>] or [-gem<sup>21</sup>] is similar to the Tibetan verb suffix /-ki/, which appears in the preceding position of the auxiliary verb /yin/ or /ree/ in the imperfect aspect, which means they may have common functions or origins.

(104) I do not drink *araq*.

ŋɑ<sup>24</sup>(=ji<sup>22</sup>) ʔɑ<sup>44</sup>ra<sup>42</sup> me<sup>22</sup>- t<sup>h</sup>oŋ<sup>42</sup>.                      དེ་མི་ཨ་རག་མེ་མཐོང་།  
 1 sg. (=ERG)      araq                      NEG- drink

The NEG + Vstem construction without either a verb suffix or auxiliary verb expresses negation in the imperfect or a volitional future.

If the subject takes ERG marker [=ji<sup>22</sup>] in this sentence, it means “I do not drink alcohol” or “I am a nondrinker.”

## 14. Conclusion

This article was proposed as a preliminary report on the Khengkha language, including phonological, lexical, and grammatical sketches based on the current available data, which were collected through my field research. Although I recorded the pronunciation of Khengkha in detail, I only had three Khengkha consultants from three different areas, therefore it was premature to inductively analyze the phonological structure of each dialect, due to a lack of enough data. That is why it is not easy to distinguish which phonological features belong to personal idiolect or areal dialect, needing more reliable descriptive data on Khengkha dialects.

I hope this report will be a first step in the descriptive study on the Khengkha language. A deeper analysis should be made regarding all aspects of phonological, lexical, and grammatical studies, through field research. By improving the descriptive study on Khengkha, we can set about the next task of comparing studies on East Bodish languages with their relatives in Sino-Tibetan languages.

## Abbreviation

1	1st Person	irg	interrogative
2	2nd Person	IRG	Interrogative AUX
3	3rd Person	MOD	Modal Particle
ABL	Ablative	neg	negative
afm	affirmative	NEG	Negative PFX
ALT	Allative	pft	perfect
AUX	Auxiliary verb	PFX	Prefix
CONJ	Conjunctive	pl.	plural
DAT	Dative	prog	progressive
ERG	Ergative	prox	proximal DP
dist	distal DP	PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
DP	Demonstrative Pronoun	SFX	Suffix
Dzk	Dzongkha	sg.	singular
GEN	Genitive	stmt	statement
exst	existence	WrT	Written Tibetan
imper	imperative	[F]	Friendly
impft	imperfect	[H]	Honorable
indfnt	indefinite	[M]	Modest

### Special thanks to my friends and language consultants in Bhutan:

Kinley Dorji, Tshering Palden, Ugyan Wangdi, Karma Chopel,  
Sonam Lhamo, Sonam Pelmo, and Aoki Kaoru

## References

### [English]

Hyslop, Gwendolyn

- 2013 On the internal phylogeny of East Bodish. In Hyslop, Gwendolyn; Morey, Stephen; Post, Mark W. (eds.) *North East Indian Linguistics*. 5: 91–109.

Mazaudon, Martine

- 1985 Dzongkha Number System. In Suriya Ratanakul, David Thomas, Suwilai Premsrirat (eds.) *Southeast Asian Linguistic Studies presented to Andre-G. Haudricourt*. Bangkok: Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development, Mahidol University.

Michailovsky, Boyd and Mazaudon, Martine

- 1994 Preliminary notes on languages of the Bumthang group. In *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, Fagernes 1992. The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture. vol. 2: 545–557.



Yangdzom, Deki and Arkesteijn, Marten

- 1996 *Khengkha Lessonbook: Khengkha-English/English-Khengkha Wordlist*. Thimphu: SNV, Bhutan.  
(Unpublished Manuscript. It is very difficult to access this book, I have not referred yet.)

van Driem, George

- 1995 *Een eerste grammaticale verkenning van het Bumthang, een taal van midden-Bhutan, met een overzicht van de talen en volkeren van Bhutan*. Leiden: Onderzoeksschool Centrum voor niet-Westerse Studies van de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden.

- 2001 *Languages of the Himalayas: An Ethnolinguistic Handbook of the Greater Himalayan Region: Containing an Introduction to the Symbiotic Theory of Language*. Brill.

van Driem, George L and Karma Tshering

- 1998 *Dzongkha. Languages of the Greater Himalayan Region*. Research School CNWS, School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies. Leiden: The Netherland.

**[Japanese]**

武内紹人 (Takeuchi, Tsuguhito)

- 2014 BumthangkhaとBrokkat—中央ブータン(ブムタン地域)における言語調査報告—。『神戸外大論叢』 64 : 53–68.