The Grammar of Dzongkha

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This Grammar of Dzongka is the first attempt at a truly comprehensive and authoritative grammar in English of the national language of the Kingdom of Bhutan. This work is just one of the results of the Royal Government of Bhutan’s commitment to furthering the cause of scholarship and learning. The book is designed to meet the dual requirement of providing a reference grammar of the national language and furnishing a grammar textbook for serious students of Dzongkha who are not themselves native speakers of the language. This book has been written both for the linguist and the layman. Linguistic conventions incomprehensible to the layman are avoided in this book except where they may prove helpful to the intelligent reader. The book is a descriptive grammar of modern Dzongka, the living language as it is spoken in the Kingdom of Bhutan, not a normative grammar emulating Chökê, the ancient liturgical language.

As a grammar textbook, the Grammar of Dzongka is to be used in conjunction with the Dzongkha Language Workbook, to be made available both in English and Nepali. The chapters in the grammar correspond to the num-

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bered sections in the workbook. Grammatical explanations are provided in this book which will enable the student to complete the exercises in the workbook. The *Grammar of Dzongkha* is set up in the classical arrangement, beginning with the traditional orthography and the phonology and finishing up with the more complex syntactic structures of the language. The Dzongkha Development Commission is very pleased to present the first Dzongkha grammar with such a wide scope, and the Commission feels indebted to the author Geshé Jam'yang 'Ozer (George van Driem) for producing this fine work for the Royal Government of Bhutan. It is our hope that this linguistic study of our national language will be of service to linguists, instructors, students and laymen for many years to come.

17 April 1992
'Lönpo Doji Tshering, Chairman
Trashichō Dzong
Dzongkha Development Commission
Thimphu
Royal Government of Bhutan

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Author’s Preface

In 1961 His Late Majesty King Jimi Doji Wangchu decreed Dzongkha to be the official language of the Kingdom of Bhutan, thereby institutionalizing the status which spoken Dzongkha had acquired de facto in the course of Bhutanese history. In practice, however, the depth of tradition was so great that the from 1961 to 1971 the Classical Tibetan liturgical language Chökê was taught as the written language in the schools. His Late Majesty’s wise policy led to systematic efforts to modernize the national language as well as providing a firm linguistic foundation for ensuring the preservation of the kingdom’s traditional identity and cultural values. From 1971 onward, the living language Dzongkha has been used as a medium of instruction in the kingdom’s educational system, and Dzongkha has since been undergoing continuous development as a written language.

Previously many inspired individuals have undertaken to further the cause of the national language of Bhutan. In 1971 the New Method Dzongkha Hand Book appeared. This book was written at the behest of His Majesty by Lööbo 'Namdawepa, Lööbo 'Namdawepa, Lööbo Pemala and Lööbo Sanggä Tendzi and contains a study in Dzongkha of the differences between the liturgical language Chökê and written Dzongkha. Also at this time, upon the instigation of Foreign Minister Dawa Tshe-
ring, Lieutenant Rinchen Tshering of the Royal Bhutanese Army and Major A. Daiyir of the Indian Army produced a pamphlet entitled *A Guide to Dzongkha in Roman Alphabet* for the use of Indian army training personnel serving in the Kingdom of Bhutan.

In 1977, 'Lobö 'Nádo, assisted by Drōsho Rindzi Doji, Boyd Michailovsky and Martine Mazaudon produced the useful *Introduction to Dzongkha* in Delhi, and in 1986 'khyang 'Doji Chödrol wrote the highly useful *Dzongkha Handbook*. Both booklets contain a brief introduction to Dzongkha pronunciation and script in English, vocabulary and example sentences but neither attempts to provide any explanation of the grammar of the language.

Since 1960 the Dzongkha Development Section of the Royal Department of Education has been systematically producing Dzongkha language materials for the instruction of native speakers in primary and secondary schools. The beautiful *Dzongkha Dictionary* (1986), written by Künzang Thrinla and *Chöki Dönchosu* under the direction of the late 'Lobö 'Nádo, stands out amongst the other valuable works produced by the Royal Department of Education as a work of great scholarship. Since 1986 the work for the advancement of the national language of Bhutan has been set forth by the Dzongkha Development Commission of the Royal Government of Bhutan under the auspicious chairmanship of the Minister of Finance Doji Tshe-byung. The Dzongkha Development Commission has developed many excellent school textbooks and learning aids for the instruction of Dzongkha in the kingdom's schools.

Hap Tsentsen was the first to respond to the need of Dzongkha learning materials for speakers of Nepali. His *Miri Pinsum Integrated Dzongkha Language Book* (1986) was the first book intended to making the national language of Bhutan accessible to Nepali speakers in the south of the kingdom. In the near future the Dzongkha Development Commission hopes to produce a Nepali version of the Dzongkha Language Workbook.

Also in 1986 Boyd Michailovsky, at that time an external consultant in the Department of Education of the Royal Government of Bhutan, wrote a 'Report on Dzongkha Development', which included a useful, first study of Dzongkha phonology. In 1989 Boyd Michailovsky and Martine Mazaudon published the article ‘Lost syllables and tone contour in Dzongkha’, recapitulating their pioneering work in Dzongkha phonology and providing diachronic explanation for the Dzongkha contour tone.

In 1990 the Dzongkha Development Commission put out the *Dzongkha Rabsel Lamzang* (1990), which was a modernized and much expanded version of *An Introduction to Dzongkha* (1977), written in English for foreign learners of Dzongkha. In the same year Drōsho Sanggá Doji of the Dzongkha Development Commission published the excellent *Dzongkha*...
New Dzongkha Grammar, written in Dzongkha for native speaker education and explaining many points of Dzongkha grammar and orthography.

In the second half of 1990, the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers put out a Manual of Spoken Dzongkha by Imaeda Yoshio. This useful booklet contains original material but also incorporates, both literally and in simplified form, portions of a preliminary version of the present Grammar of Dzongkha, which was circulated in Thimphu in good faith in the winter of 1989 to 1990. The Dzongkha Development Commission interprets this gesture in the spirit of Japan’s ancient cultural tradition where imitation is held to be a sign of admiration. Imaeda’s contribution distinguishes itself from earlier work by virtue of its systematic character and lucid style.

In 1990 the author conducted preliminary linguistic survey activities in Bhutan with the assistance of Yangtsep Singge Doji, clerk at the High Court at Thimphu, who, in addition to his native Dzalakha, also speaks Dzongkha, Tshangla and Nepali. Dr.‘‘Asho Sanggā Doji of the Dzongkha Development Commission had already independently been conducting linguistic survey and toponymical research in Bhutan for years, and it was with great pleasure and enthusiasm that the we pooled our efforts to conduct the First Linguistic Survey of Bhutan on behalf of the Royal Government of Bhutan in May 1991. Some of the results of the First Survey are presented in Chapter One of this grammar. The Second Linguistic Survey of Bhutan was initiated this year under the auspices of the Dzongkha Development Commission. The Second Survey aims at producing in-depth descriptions of individual Bhutanese languages and toponymical studies, whereby the Dzongkha and Romanized spellings of place names throughout the kingdom are standardized and their local etymologies investigated.

On 26 September 1991, an official system for the rendering of Dzongkha in the Roman script was introduced by the Royal Government of Bhutan. This system, known as Roman Dzongkha, is based on the phonology of the modern spoken language and serves as a standard for representing Dzongkha terms, names and words in the international media and wherever the Roman script is required. The system is explained at length in the Guide to Official Dzongkha Romanization and concisely in the Brief Guide to Roman Dzongkha, both published by the Dzongkha Development Commission of the Royal Government of Bhutan.

The author gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to his two colleagues at the Dzongkha Development Commission, Dr.‘‘Asho Sanggā Doji and Hāp Tsentsen, for their shared expertise. The author thanks the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Tom Derksen in particular for his enthusiastic support of this undertaking, and the author also extends his gratitude to Professor Frederik Kortlandt of Leiden University for his valuable counsel.
Finally, the patient instruction and unfailing, devoted assistance of the author’s friend རྐད་ཡུལ་གྲེད་པར་ཆེན་པོ་ Gasęp Karma Tshering, former Dzongkha newscaster of the Bhutan Broadcasting Service, was of inestimable value to the whole of this grammar. Moreover, the exquisite calligraphy and beautiful Dzongkha handwriting in Chapter Two of this grammar was also provided by Gasęp Karma Tshering.

List of Abbreviations

When used in interlinear morpheme glosses, below abbreviations appear between square brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acc</td>
<td>rhematic accent particle རྩེ highlight-ing preceding higher-level order syntactic constituent, comparable to Nepali ཁ་; cf. the abbreviation Str.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adh</td>
<td>adhortative ending རྩེ བོད་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ak</td>
<td>suffix བགྲ / བགྲ / བགྲ / -བ་/ -བས, marking newly acquired knowledge or information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>art</td>
<td>article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auth</td>
<td>particle of authority རྨེ ’mare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aux</td>
<td>the verbs ‘to be’ སྣོ། ‘ing or སྣོ། ’imma used as an auxiliary of the factual or continuous present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>col</td>
<td>the collective ending དབུ་མཆོག châchap for nouns denoting human referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>con</td>
<td>the ending ལྷིན་ -bigang/-mi-gang or ལྷིན་ -wi-gang of the continuous present, used in conjunction with the auxiliary verbs སྣོ། ‘ing and སྣོ། ’imma.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the particle  onData expressing that the proposition is contrary to the speaker's expectations, similar to Nepali po.

def

definite article -d°i

dp

durative present gerund in -sara

ep

present tense ending -mā marking the present of just experienced perception

erg

ergative suffix -g°i

fe

particle of friendly entreaty mā

fp

future perfect auxiliary nyom

gen

genitive ending -g°i

hard

hard stem verb; cf. Chapter 5.

he

hearsay evidential particle lo

hon

honorific

inf

infinitive, infinitival ending -ni

ip

inferred past suffix -nu

n

noun

num

numeral

part

particle

pf

any of the several markers of the perfective aspect: the intransitive auxiliary song, the intransitive auxiliary chi, the transitive auxiliary dā, and the prefix yā used to mark the perfective of 'to go'

pg

present gerund in -d°a

pl

plural suffix -tshu

cło

polite sentence-final particle lā

postp

auxiliary of potentiality ong

pot

past participle in -di

pp

modal of probability drā

prb

the ending -d° marking the progressive tense

pr

pronoun

pt

witnessed past tense, marked by the suffix -ci

Q

interrogative particles g°, g° or nā

soft

soft stem verb; cf. Chapter 5.

str

stress particle highlighting preceding lower-level order syntactic constituent, comparable to Nepali nai; cf. the abbreviation ACC.

sub

subordinator suffix -mī

sup

supine marked by the suffix -ba or -wa

u

urging suffix -sh

vi

verbum intransitivum, intransitive verb

vt

verbum transitivum, transitive verb
CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1. The languages of Bhutan

Dzongkha is the national language of the kingdom of Bhutan. It is the native language of eight of the twenty districts of Bhutan, viz. Thimphu, Punakha, Gasa, Wangdi Phodrang, Paro, Ha, Dagana and Chukha in western Bhutan, but it is spoken as a lingua franca throughout Bhutan and is simultaneously the official language of the kingdom. It is hoped that the present book will help foreigners to acquire a mastery of Dzongkha and, in so doing, also help promote the use of the national language.

In addition to Dzongkha, there are twenty languages spoken in Bhutan. All of the languages of Bhutan are Tibeto-Burman languages, with the exception of Lhotshamkha. The languages of Bhutan can be divided into eight distinct groups: The Dzongkha group, the Bumthang group, Tshangla, Lhokpu, 'Olekha, Lepcha and Indo-Aryan. The Dzongkha group consists of Dzongkha and its closest relative Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha and of the languages Brokkat, Lakanakha, Lunakha and Bökha. The Bumthang group consists of Bumthangkha, Khengkha, Kurtökha, Chalikha, Dzalakha.
and the highly divergent 'Nyenkha. The remaining six groups, Tshangla, Lhokpu, Gongduk, 'Olekha, Lepcha and Indo-Aryan, though genetic groupings in their own right, contain only one language each.

The Lhokpu, Gongduk and 'Olekha groups in particular represent the remnants of ancient populations native to Bhutan, and Gongduk and 'Olekha have retained complex verbal agreement systems reflecting the ancient Tibeto-Burman verbal conjugation. This conjugation has also been preserved in the Kiranti languages in eastern Nepal, the extinct Tangut language once spoken in the area known today as Inner Mongolia, and in a number of other Tibeto-Burman languages in Asia spoken in small communities which have remained both isolated and stable for long periods of time. But first we shall turn to the national language of the country.

2. Dzongkha, national language of Bhutan

Dzongkha is the national language of Bhutan and the native language of western Bhutan, comprising eight of the twenty districts of the kingdom. Dzongkha furthermore serves as lingua franca and official language throughout the kingdom. In countries such as Thailand, Burma or Vietnam, where even more different languages are spoken than in Bhutan, only one of the many languages of the country serves as the national language. So too, in Bhutan the national language is Dzongkha. An essential trait which Dzongkha shares with the national languages of other modern countries is a rich literary tradition of great antiquity. Dzongkha derives from Classical Tibetan through many centuries of independent linguistic evolution on Bhutanese soil. Linguistically, Dzongkha can be qualified as the natural modern descendant of Classical Tibetan or བོད་ཡིག in Bhutan, the language in which sacred Buddhist texts, medical and scientific treatises and, indeed, all learned works have been written.

Literally, Dzongkha means the kha རབ་ or language spoken in the dzongs འཛིན་, the mighty fortresses which dominate the mountainous landscape of Bhutan from east to west. These fortresses have traditionally been both centres of military and political power as well as centres of learning. Dzongkha is thus the cultivated form of the native language of western Bhutan, the inhabitants of which as well as their language have traditionally been known as བོད་ 'Ngalong. A popular folk etymology for the term is that it means 'the first to rise' to the teachings of Buddhism in the land. Although the 'Ngalong were certainly amongst the first in Bhutan to be converted to the teachings of the Buddha, the term 'Ngalong probably derives from ཕྱན་ལྕོང་ 'Ngenlung 'ancient region', a term first recorded for the people of འབྲ། Shâ and རྒྱལ་་ Paro by the Tibetan sage ཁུན་ཆེན་རི་མ་ བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་སྐལ་མི་ གྲོ་ Longchen Ramjam (1308-1363) during his travels through central Bhutan. The term བོད་ 'Ngenkha, to be discussed below, almost certainly derives from the same source.

Because of its historical role Dzongkha has for centuries been the most important language in Bhutan. The
status of Dzongkha as the language of the royal court, the military elite, educated nobility, government and administration is firmly rooted in Bhutanese history at least as far back as the twelfth century. Because of the important role that the language has played throughout the country's history as well as its role in the emergence of Bhutan as a modern state, Dzongkha is recognized by Bhutan's indigenous peoples as the national language and constitutes a vital component of the national identity. This explains why so many of the staunch supporters of Dzongkha in Bhutan are native speakers of other languages of the kingdom.

Dzongkha is closely related to Dranjoke or, as it is more commonly known in Dzongkha, Dranjobi kha, the national language of the erstwhile Kingdom of Sikkim.

There are several different dialects of Dzongkha, particularly in the far north and far west, including the dialect of the alpine yakherd community of Lingzhi in the northernmost part of Thimphu district. Much of the couleur locale of these northern dialects results from structural and lexical similarities with Tibetan. The Dzongkha spoken in Ha has a character of its own. The standard dialect of Dzongkha is spoken in Wang, the traditional name for the Thimphu Valley, and Thê, as the Punakha Valley was traditionally known.

3. Other languages of the Dzongkha group

3a. Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha: Curiously, the most closely related language to Dzongkha in the kingdom is spoken in the east of the country along the Kurichu and represents an ancient 'Ngalong Einwanderung in the east. The name of the language, Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha, is derived for the way the pronouns chot 'you' and nga 'I' are pronounced in the language. The language is seldom called Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha by its speakers, who prefer to employ loconyms. The most common loconyms are Tsamangpai kha 'the language of Tsamang', Tsaka'lingpai kha 'the language of Tsaka', and Kur'metpai kha 'the language of Kurmet', both of which are villages where the language is spoken in Monggar district, and Kur'metpai kha 'the language of Kurmet', which is the Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha speaking area of Lhuntse district. The speakers of Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha are locally referred to as Matpa, meaning 'inhabitants of lower areas'.

Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha is more conservative in its pronunciation of many words than Dzongkha, e.g. 'monkey', 'cliff, crag, escarpment', 'snatch, grab'. Most verbal suffixes are cognate to their Dzongkha counterparts, but Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha has adopted the Bumthang infinitival ending -mala, e.g. song-mala 'to go, will go'. A separate study of the Cho-ca-nga-ca language would shed much light on the historical development of its sister language Dzongkha.
Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha is spoken in Lhüntsi districts all the way up the majestic and precipitous slopes overlooking the Kurichu. On the west bank of the Kurichu, Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha is spoken as far north as the village of Jare in Lhüntsi district, north of which is located the Kuröpkha speaking village of Tangmachu, and Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha is spoken as far south as the village of Lingmithang, beneath which the Threwenchu, a lateral tributary of the Kurichu, forms the boundary between the Cho-ca-nga-ca and Chali language areas. Major Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha speaking settlements on the west bank of the Kurichu include the villages of Tsamang and Thröangbi.

The vast, dense and uninhabited forests between Senggor and the villages of Thröangbi and Tsankhar Geo include Autsho, Karmashang-shang, Gorgan, Budur and Kupinyasa. Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha is spoken by quite a number of residents of the city of Monggar itself, where it is spoken alongside the indigenous Tshangla language, and there are Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha speaking settlements reported in neighbouring portions of Trashigang and Trashi ‘yangtse districts.

3b. Brokpake is what the Brokpas of Mera and Sakteng call their language. The Brokpas are yakherds in the east of Trashigang district. In Dzongkha the language is called Bjokha and its speakers are known as Bjiop. To speakers of Tshangla the language is known as Brami-lo ‘the Brami language’. Roerich (1961: 25) reports that the language of the Brokpa is an archaic dialect preserving many ancient phonetic and lexical features of Old Tibetan, a fact long recognized by native scholars in Tibet.

Brokpake is spoken in and around Mera, where there are approximately four hundred Brokpa households with an estimated two thousand inhabitants, and in and around Sakteng where there are approximately six hundred Brokpa households with an estimated three thousand inhabitants. This is why the language is also
known by the loconym 'the language of Mera and Sakteng'.

3c. D°akpakha is spoken in eastern Bhutan in the villages of Phongmê, Caleng, Yoböinang, D'angpholeng, and 'Lengkhar near Radi and on the Indian side of the frontier near Tawang in Arunachal Pradesh. D°akpakha appears to be a dialect of Brokpake. The D°akpas, like the Brokpas, are itinerant yakherds. Although otherwise similar, D°akpakha has adopted some loan words from Dzalakha which Brokpake has not done. Although D°akpas and Brokpas share the same characteristic hat, known as a zhamu, and outer garments, there are some differences between the native costumes of the Brokpas and D°akpas. For example, the D°akpas wear dorma 'trousers' and not the pishu 'leather leg guards' and the kanggo 'thick white woolen apron covering the loins' worn above the pishu, which Brokpas often wear instead of trousers.

3d. Brokkat is what the Brokpas of Sephu Geo call their language. In Dzongkha it is also known by the name 'language of the mountains' is what the Brokpas of Sephu Geo call their language. In Dzongkha the language might be termed 'the language of the Brokpas of D°ü in B°umtha'. The nomadic Brokpa yakherds in northern B°umtha have all been linguistically assimilated to the Bumthang speaking majority. Curiously, only the Brokpas who have taken up a sedentary lifestyle and live in the conglomeration of hamlets known as Dur in northern B°umtha have retained their language. There are an estimated seventy-odd households in Dur, roughly two thirds of which are Brokpa households and one third Bumthangpa households.

Brokkat is distinct from the Brokpakê of Mera and Sakteng, and the language does not seem to have been heavily infiltrated by loan words from Bumthangkha, although the term kar itself, meaning 'language', is a loan word from Bumthangkha. The Brokpas of Dur refer to Dzongkha as 'Ngalongkha, although the Bumthang term Mengkat [monkat] is also used. Interestingly, the Brokpas of Dur refer to their Bumthangkha speaking neighbours as Monpa [monpa] and to the Bumthang language as Monkat [monkat] 'Monpa language'.

3e. Lakha 'language of the mountains' is what the Brokpas of Sephu Geo call their language. In Dzongkha it is also known by the name Tshangkha, and the people are known as 'speakers of Lakha' or simply as 'inhabitants of the mountain passes'. Sephu Geo is situated in B°umtha-D°ü-g°i Bjobi-kha 'the language of the Brokpas of D°ü in B°umtha'. The nomadic Brokpa yakherds in northern B°umtha have all been linguistically assimilated to the Bumthang speaking majority. Curiously, only the Brokpas who have taken up a sedentary lifestyle and live in the conglomeration of hamlets known as Dur in northern B°umtha have retained their language. There are an estimated seventy-odd households in Dur, roughly two thirds of which are Brokpa households and one third Bumthangpa households.

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speaking households in the geo with some 8000 speakers. The geo also includes the villages of Longme, Longto, Bumpilo, Ribana and Rukkhubji, which speak the dialect of Nyenkha known as Chutobi kha. Lakha appears to be more closely related to Dzongkha than to Brokpaké and Brokkat.

3f. Layakha and 3g. Lunanakha are two closely related Dzongkha dialects spoken by the alpine yakherd communities, centred at Laya and Lunana respectively. Whereas the people of Lunana wear the same national Bhutanese dress as in most of the rest of the kingdom, the people of Laya have an indigenous costume, similar to that of the Brokpas of Mera and Sakteng. Because of their many divergent grammatical features, the intelligibility of these dialects to speakers of standard Dzongkha is limited.

3h. Böökha or Tibetan is spoken by many of the older generation of approximately four thousand refugees which settled in the Kingdom of Bhutan when Tibet was occupied by the Chinese in 1959. The younger generation, although many have learned Tibetan from their parents, are growing up as assimilated Dzongkha speaking Bhutanese citizens. Furthermore, in the extreme north of Trashiyangtse district, the Khampa dialect of Tibetan is spoken by a small number of Tibetans, who tend yaks owned by affluent Dzala families native to the area.

4. Languages of the Bumthang group

4a. Bumthangkha is the native language of Bumtha district with its ancient capital at Tango. In Dzongkha the language is known as Böumthapkha or Bumthabikha. Bumthangkha is spoken on either side of the lofty Trumshingla (The name of this pass is often spelt Thrumshing, but the indigenous Bumthangkha name Phrumsengya does not support this orthography), extending as far east as Senggor and as far west as Trongsa. Bumthangkha is most closely related to Khengkha and Kuropo. The two peaks which loom prominently to the south of Senggor mark the boundary between the Khengkha and Bumthangkha speaking areas. South of 'Ura, the village of Pangkhang is the last place where Bumthangkha is spoken. Beyond Pangkhang Khengkha is spoken, starting from the villages of Chogor and Thrisa and on to the south.

The four main Bumthangkha dialects are the dialect of 'Ura, the dialect of Tang, the dialect of Chogor and the dialect of Chunmat. The dialect spoken in Trongsa, called Nupbikha 'language of the west', is linguistically a dialect of Bumthangkha, although the speakers do not feel themselves to be Bumthangpas. Except for Nupbikha, all Bumthangkha dialects have preserved final /k/ which has disappeared in Khengkha and Kurtöpkha, e.g. ka ‘snow’ vs. kak ‘blood’. By contrast, the loss of final /k/ in Khengkha, Kurtöpkha
and Nupbikha has led to the rise of distinctive vowel length, a feature which Bumthangkha lacks, e.g. ka ‘snow’ vs. kā ‘blood’.

It could be argued that the two languages Khengkha and Kurtökha are actually dialects of Bumthangkha on grounds of mutual intelligibility. However, the essential differences between the phonologies of Khengkha and Kurtökha and the phonology of Bumthangkha and the fact that the speakers of these three languages identify strongly with their respective homelands in Bumtha, Kurtö and Kheng would appear to justify treating them here under separate headings. Whether the language spoken around Trongsa, known as Nupbikha is a dialect of Bumthangkha or of Khengkha is an academic question. For practical purposes, we shall treat it here as a dialect of Bumthangkha whilst pointing out its phonological similarities to Khengkha. Other members of the Bumthang group, ‘Nyenkha, Chalikha and Dzalakha, are quite distinct languages.

4b. Khengkha is the language of Kheng, modern Zhāmgang district (now sometimes spelt Zhāmgangkha). Khengkha is often spelt Zhāmgi, but the more phonetic spelling Zhāmgi is now preferred. The old capital of Kheng at Zhāmgi is traditionally pronounced Jamjong [jamxor] in Kheng and Tamrong [ramxor] in Bumthangkha. Within the vast area of Kheng there is quite a bit of dialect diversity, both lexically and in the way certain tenses are formed. The differences between the individual Kheng dialects are in some cases almost as great as the difference between any one of these and a given dialect of Bumthangkha. Near the district capital Zhāmgang, the northernmost Kheng speaking village is Wangdīgang on the Mangdechu. Around Zhāmgang the Mangdechu forms the boundary between the Khengkha and ‘Nyenkha speaking areas. South of the village of Ramlông Takma, however, Khengkha is spoken on both sides of the Mangdechu. In the east, the Kurichu forms the boundary between the Khengkha and Tshangla speaking areas. As one crosses the high mountain ridge travelling south from Zhāmgang on the main road, one enters Lhotshamkha speaking territory.

4c. Kurtökha or Kurtobi Zhake Zhāmgi is the language of Lhüntsi district spoken to the west of the mighty Kurichu all the way to the Tibetan border in the north. In Dzongkha the language is called Kurtopkha or Kurto Gaba Kurto­kha. In the south the Kurtö speaking area begins at the village of Tangma-chu, south of which Cho-ca­nga-ca-kha is spoken. The dialect of Tangmachu, located about 5 km south of Lhüntsi dzong, as the crow flies, differs somewhat from that of the rest of the language as it is spoken elsewhere in Kurtö (alternatively spelt Ngāmki). The Kurichu separates the Kurtö and the Dzala language areas in the east, and in the west the Bumthangkha area begins as one crosses the mountains via Rodungla.
4d. 'Nyenkha ཞེང་ or Henkha རོ་ཐོ་ ‘language of before’ comprises several related dialects. The name of the language is almost certainly derived from the older term ཇེང་ མདོ་ ‘Ngenlung, a term described above. The language is spoken primarily on the eastern slopes of the Black Mountains overlooking the མངདེ་ཆུ, Mangdechu, which is why the language is also known as མངདེ་ཆུ, Mangdekha. The speakers of the language call their language variously 'Nyenkha, Nyenkha, Henkha, Mangdekha or by any of various loconyms, naming the language after one of the villages where it is spoken. They refer to Dzongkha as 'Ngalongkha and to the Brokpas of Sephu Geo to the north as བཤེལ་ 'Lap ‘inhabitants of the mountain passes’, which is also what these Brokpas call themselves.

On the west bank of the Mangdechu the language is also spoken as far north as the village of ོུམ་ དུམ་ Simphu and as far south as the village of རྫུལ་ ལཀ་ Trongsa and རྫུལ་ ལཀ་ Zhāmgang, amongst which are རྩེ་ རྡེ་ Taktse, རྩེ་ རྡེ་ སྦྱེ་ Trashi-dingkha.

The language is also spoken on the western slopes of the Black mountains in the villages of རྫུལ་ རྲི་ Phobji, རྫུལ་ རྲི་ མོ།། Dōngang and རྫུལ་ རྲི་ མོ།། Dōngang and surrounding hamlets southeast of རྫུལ་ སྦྱེ་ Wangdi Phodrōa. This dialect of the language is called རྫུལ་ རྲི་ སྦྱེ་ Phobji-kha and differs from 'Nyenkha proper particularly in its lexicon. The 'Nyenkha speaking area is bounded to the

west by Dzongkha, to the east by the Nupbikha dialect of Bumthangkha, to the north by the Lakha speaking area, and to the south by Khengkha and Monkha. 'Nyenkha spoken in the area near ལྟེ་ སོི་ Sephu is also known by the loconym ལྟེ་ སོི་ Chutobikha.

In the writings of the fourteenth century Tibetan sage ཐུབ་ བོད་ ཆུབ་ སྐོད་། གྲོལ་། མོ་།། ཚུ་ Künkhon 'Longchen Ramjam, who travelled through Central Bhutan, the area where 'Nyenkha is now spoken was described as being part of རོ་ རོ་ Bumtha. Although 'Nyenkha linguistically most certainly belongs to the Bumthang group of languages, it is the most divergent member of the group.

4e. Chalihka རི་ཤི་ is limited to a small area north of རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ Monggar on the east bank of the རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ Kurichu. In the south, the Chali speaking area proper begins north of Monggar at the རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ Ganggola Pass, which is just five kilometres south of the village of རེ་ རེ་ Chali itself. The main Chali speaking villages are Chali itself and neighbouring རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ Wangmakhar, and the language is also spoken in the tiny hamlets surrounding these two villages. In the west the Chali speaking area is bound by the Kurichu and in the north by the རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ Threwenchu, a lateral tributary of the Kurichu. The easternmost Chali speaking hamlet is རི་ཤི་ ཚུ་ Gortshom high up on the ridge above Chali village. Outside of the Chali speaking area proper, in the immediate vicinity of རི་ཤི་ ཚུ་ Tormazhon village in the Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha speaking area north of the Threwenchu, approximately one third of the
households are also reported to be Chali speaking. The Chali call their language Chalipa kha. Olschak (1979: 25) lists the spelling Chalipa kha. The Chali speaking area is bound to the north and west by the Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha speaking area, and to the south and east by the Tshangla speaking area. Before the advent of the ancestors of modern Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha speakers to the Kurichu Valley, the Chali speaking area was probably still contiguous with the greater area of the Bumthang group languages.

4f. Dzalakha ཤལ་ཁ བ་ is the language of Trashi'yangtse district in the highlands along the upper course of the Khlongchu. It is also known as 'Yangtse' 'the language of Yangtse'. Olschak (1979: 25) lists the language as 'Salabe-kha', although the reference is unclear. The speakers of Dzalakha refer to their own language as Dzala mat, whereby mat means 'language'. The Dzalas refer to the Tshangla as Tsengmi and to their language as Tsengmi mat. The Brokpas are called Brokpa and their language Brokpa mat. Dzongkha is called Garkê, which means 'the language of the Garpas'. Garpa in Dzalakha means 'mandarin' or 'po'. The Dzala term for 'Dzongkha' therefore reflects the ancient status of Dzongkha as the language of government and administration even in the far northeast of the kingdom.

The Dzala speaking area extends beyond Trashi'yangtse District to west of the Kurichu and the Sipsipla as far as the Kurichu. The speakers of Dzala in Kurto district, however, do not refer to their language as Dzalakha, but as Khomakha. The Dzala dialect of Kurto district is spoken east of the Kurichu and north of its lateral tributary, the Pho-kha' Khomachu. The villages on the southern slopes overlooking the Khomachu are also Khomakha speaking. The most prominent Khomakha speaking village is the village of Khoma itself, located on the Khomachu about 8 km upstream from its confluence with the Kurichu. According to local lore, the village is named after a desirable one coveted by Padma Sambhava during his legendary peregrinations through Bhutan.

5. Tshangla (Sháchop)

Tshangla ཤོང་ཁ བ བ་ or Tshangla-lo ཤོང་ཁ བ བ་ 'Tshangla language' is better known in the west of the kingdom as Sháchobikha ཤོང་ཁ བ བ་པོ་, quite literally 'the language of those who dwell in the east' and its speakers as Sháchop ཤོང་ཁ བ བ་ 'Easterners'. Tshangla is the predominant language of eastern Bhutan, and many Bhutanese from other parts of the country pride themselves on having some rudimentary knowledge of Tshangla or Sháchobikha. Tshangla is one of the four languages of the Bhutan Broadcasting Service.

Tshangla is spoken in Trashigang and Pemagatshá districts and in the greater part of Samdru Jongkha and Monggar
districts. Tshangla is spoken to either side of the Korila Pass between Monggar and Trashigang. In the west, the Kurichu forms the boundary between the Khengkha and the Tshangla speaking areas. In the east, Tshangla is spoken all the way to the Indian border except for the small Brokpa speaking area. In the south, Tshangla is the native language of the hills all the way to the Indian border except for the small Brokpa speaking area. In the north, Tshangla borders on the Dzalakha speaking area of Trashi'yangtse district. The language may represent an ancient indigenous tongue of eastern Bhutan. Although to our present state of knowledge Tshangla appears to constitute a linguistic grouping in itself, future research in the mountainous areas to the east of Bhutan may shed more light on the genetic position of Tshangla within the Tibeto-Burman language family.

6. Other Tibeto-Burman Languages of Bhutan

6a. Lhokpu or, as it is known in Dzongkha, Lhobikhana is spoken in the hills of Samtsi District to the north and northeast of Samtsi itself and to the west of Phuntsho'ling. There are roughly one thousand speakers in the two villages of Taba and Dramding, situated in the hills several hours walking from Phuntsho'ling, and there are well over a thousand speakers in the four villages Loto Kucu, Sangloong, Sotaka and Loto'lk, which can be reached from Samtsi bazar on foot in a day. These two Lhokpu speaking areas are separated by a ridge and represent two distinct but closely related dialects of the same language. Taba-Dramding is a day's walk from Loto Kucu.

The speakers of Lhokpu, known in Dzongkha as Lhop 'southerners', although locally sometimes pronounced Lhup, represent the aboriginal Dung population of western Bhutan referred to by Aris (1979: xvi-xviii). They used to traditionally be administered by the Dung 'Nyêp of Paro, afterwards known as the Dung Ramjam. In fact, according to the popular lore of the Lhop, their forebears are the ones who invited Bhutanese from Lhop lands to Bhutan. In the seventeenth century. Presently, the Samtsi district administration of the Royal Government of Bhutan, currently under the direction of Dzongda Dr'asho Lhakpa Doji, is pledged to protect the interest of the native Bhutanese Lhop population. According to Bhutanese government records, Nepalese immigrants began to encroach upon Lhop lands as woodcutters during the first decade of this century at the instigation of Sir John Claude White, political officer in the British Indian government. The revenue generated from the timber thus acquired was intended to defray the expenses of educating young Bhutanese cadre in British India. The most elderly Lhokpu generation recalls the advent of the first Nepalese immigrants to the area.

In Nepali, the Lhop are known in are referred to as dôyâ. The Lhop call themselves Lhokpu, however, and
refer to their language as Lhokputtam [lokpu t`am] or as Ng`dttram [nyamtam], literally the ‘language’ [t`am] of ‘the people’ or of ‘Man’ [nyam]. Lhokpu is more closely related to the Eastern Kiranti languages of Nepal such as Lohorung or Limbu than to the Lepcha, and, in linguistic terms, Lhokpu seems to be the substrate language for Dzongkha in western Bhutan. Lhokpu lacks a Kiranti-type verbal agreement system but makes use of verbal auxiliaries or endings similar in meaning and, in many cases, cognate to those of Dzongkha. Linguistic evidence indicates that the Lhokpu were influenced by some older form of Dzongkha in the distant past, which suggests that the Lhokpu were probably the first aboriginal group encountered by the early 'Ngalongs during their southward expansion in ancient times.

The Lhokpu names for the villages of Taba and Dramding are Pake and Humca`it respectively. The villages names Loto Kucu and S`anglo`g are Nepali toponyms. The Lhokpu call these villages by the clan names of their inhabitants, Binca`it and Guca`it respectively. The villages Sa`taka and Loto`k are known only by their native Lhokpu toponyms. The native Lhokpu male dress consists of a white garb known in Lhobikha as a [pogwi], which is crossed over the chest and knotted at the shoulders, then tied around the waist with a sash called a [pojin]. This native dress closely resembles that of the Lepchas of Sikkim. The Lhokpu also practise an indigenous religion in which native deities such as Tenglha and Jipdak figure prominently. The Lhokpu are the only native Bhutanese who have not been converted to Buddhism and who bury their dead, well wrapped and encased, above ground in cylindrical stone tombs. The Lhokpu do not believe in reincarnation but in a hereafter called Simpu.

The Lhokpu language appears twice in Olschak’s listing (1979: 25) under the two separate headings of ‘the language of Takpa Dramding’ and as Dungdepai-kha, which Olschak qualifies as ‘an archaic language in the south’. Aris (1979: xviii) suggests that the inhabitants of the isolated village of Toktokha, just north of G`adu (also spelt Kwepk`) in Chukha district, are likewise direct descendants of the aboriginal Dung. Aris reports that the Toktop ‘males wear a peculiar garment woven from nettles called a ‘pakhi’, crossed over the chest and knotted at the shoulders very much like the dress of the Lepchas’. The similarity of what Aris describes with the native garb of the Lhokpu will not escape the reader. Aris’s contention that the Toktop may be descendants of the Dung could very well be true, and perhaps much of western Bhutan is of mixed Dung and 'Ngalong ancestry. Hap Tsentsen, who visited the area in 1986, reports that the Toktop and inhabitants of surrounding villages are now linguistically assimilated. The people speak a local variety of Dzongkha and consider themselves 'Ngalong.

The Lhokpu, who are mountain dwellers, are totally distinct from the Toto (Nepali: toto), known in Dzongkha as Trotrop, a semi-nomadic Tibeto-Burman tribe on the Deccan plain at the base of the Himalayan
foothills. The present-day Toto live in Madarhāş subdivision of Jalpāigūḍi district in West Bengal, and their settlements are currently located just on the Western Bengali side of the Indo-Bhutanese border between Samtsi and Phuntsho’ling. The many slaves formerly owned by wealthy Drukpas in ‘Wangdi Phodrāa and Punakha districts, who were of darker complexion and more diminutive stature than the Drukpas, were acquired during raids into the duars on the Brahmapūtran plain and are believed to have been taken from the Tibeto-Burman tribes such as the Meche (Nepali: Mece), Dhimal (Nepali: Dhimāl), and Toto or from related tribes inhabiting the once sparsely populated jungles which covered the Bhutanese duars before the modern influx of Bengalis and Nepalis. Neither the Lhokpu nor the ‘Ole Monpa, native to Bhutan, have ever been forced to perform slave labour in this way.

6b. Gongdubikha गोंडुबिक्षा is a language spoken in दिनागढ़ जिल्ला Gongduk Geo, located within the Kheng speaking area of Monggar district. The indigenous pronunciation of गोंडुबिक्षा is Gongduk, and the people call themselves Gongdukpa and their language Gongdukpa ‘Ang ‘the Gongduk language’ or Gongdukse ‘Ang ‘the language of Gongduk’. The villages of Gongduk include दक्षिण Daksa, नूरबंगा Damkhar, पश्चिम Pang-thang, पाम pronounced Pam (not Pām), यांग़बार Yangbāri, बाला Bālā, locally pronounced [Bālā], बंगबांग बंग bangbangla, मिँडन Miden, मिंड़रो Pikari and दंगकाली Dengkali. Gongduk is located in an inaccessible mountainous region just west of the Kurichu in Kheng District. Gongduk can be reached on foot from जेप्झिंग, from which it is two or three days journey to the south. It is also about a two days’ journey up from the plains.

There are currently over a thousand speakers of the Gongduk language. According to one legend Gongduk was once long ago a small independent kingdom. The Gongdukpa themselves report that they are of aboriginal Dung lineage (दुंगजित Dungjiit) and that their ancestors were semi-nomadic hunters. The Gongduk language is one of the two languages in Bhutan which has retained complex conjugations which appear to reflect the ancient Tibeto-Burman verbal agreement system.

6c. ‘Olekha ओळेक्खा is spoken in the southern foothills of the Black Mountains south of peak जोोङ-शिङ्घु Jōong-shingphu in an area wedged inbetween the Phobjikha and Mangdekha dialect areas of the ‘Nyenka language to the north, and recent Nepali settlements in the south. The people are commonly called Monpa by the speakers of Khengkha and ‘Nyenka language to the north, and recent Nepali settlements in the south. The people are commonly called Monpa by the speakers of Khengkha and ‘Nyenka, but the tribe is known in Dzongkha as मोङमा Mönpa or ओळे ‘Ole, which is actual name of the tribe, by speakers of Dzongkha, whereas the language is called Monkha by speakers of Khengkha and ‘Nyenka and is known in Dzongkha as मोङमा Mönkha or ओळे ‘Olekha. There are at two main dialects of ‘Olekha.

To the west of the watershed, the language is spoken in the village of गुंठ Rukha on the Western slopes of the Black Mountains, two or three days walking to the south
from Phobji, or one day’s walk to the east uphill after crossing the Punatschu at Gāūthang g’i Thangju, about 35 miles south of Gauth smuggling point. "Wangdi Phodr’u.

To the east of the Black Mountains around the headwaters of the Khyilichu, a tributary of the Mangdechu, is the Monpa settlement known variously as Reti or Bāēgang and, in Nepali, as Gong kholā, one and a half days’ walk beyond the larger villages of Nabi and Korphu. The Monpa settlement at Reti is reported to date from the reign of His Majesty Uga ‘Wangchu (imperabat 1907-1926), at which time the forefathers of the Reti Monpas, who fled from the Rukha area to escape the hard labour of carrying tea from the gardens at Devāngadhi near Dumsamkha to Amochu or Tursā Kholā. These Lepchas have resided in Bhutan much longer than the Nepalese settlers but how many generations the Lepchas have lived in Bhutan is still unknown. Unlike the Nepalese settlers, the Lepcha originate from Sikkim. The Bhutanese Lepchas do not wear the native Lepcha dress still worn in Sikkim but have adopted
Bhutanese dress. There are over a thousand speakers of Lepcha in southwestern Bhutan.

7. Indo-Aryan. Lhotshamkha ལོ་ཐོག་ཤམ་ཁང་ ‘southern border language’ or Nepali: Whereas the Lhokpu, Gongduk and 'Ole Monpa represent remnants of ancient population groups indigenous to the southern hills of Bhutan, Nepali is historically a newly arrived language in the south. Nepali is a newcomer not only to Bhutan, but also to Sikkim, Darjeeling and most of Nepal itself, and the history of this language is one of the most interesting in the Himalayan region. The position of this language in the kingdom of Bhutan can only be properly understood in the light of its historical background.

Khas Kurā 'the language of the Khas' or Parbatiya 'mountain dialect' was originally a dialect spoken by an Indo-Aryan minority in western Nepal. Most of western Nepal at the time was inhabited by Tibeto-Burman peoples native to the Himalayas, such as the Gurung, Magar, Khām, Rāj, Rāu, Bhrāmu and Thakāṭī. Under the leadership of the Shāh dynasty, the Khas ultimately conquered the tiny kingdom of Gorkhā situated in what today is central Nepal. Only in the middle of the eighteenth century did the Gorkhās set out to conquer the three Newari kingdoms of the Kathmandu Valley.

The Newaris are a Tibeto-Burman people with an ancient Hinduized civilisation and an ancient literary tradition in both Sanskrit and in their native Tibeto-Burman language Newari. Originally, the term Nepāl designated the Newari homeland in the Kathmandu Valley, and the term Nepāl-Bhāsā even today denotes the Tibeto-Burman language Newari, not the language which has nowadays become known as 'Nepali'. Although the Kathmandu Valley was conquered in 1768, the ancestral Tibeto-Burman homelands of the Kirantis in the east did not succumb to Gorkhā rule until 1786 after the Battle of Cainpur led to the conquest of the Rai communities and Limbu kingdoms in present-day eastern Nepal.

Only in the second half of the nineteenth century did Jaṅg Bahādur Rāṇā change the name of Khas Kurā to Gorkhālī. Under his rule the Nepalese government adopted a ruthless policy of repressing the native Tibeto-Burman languages of the newly established kingdom of Nepal, even suppressing the ancient literary tradition of the Newaris in the Kathmandu Valley and outlawing the possession of Buddhist writings in the native Limbu script of eastern Nepal. The Limbus who still practise a Himalayan form of shamanism related to the ancient Bon religion only began to be converted to Buddhism by missionaries from Sikkim in the eighteenth century, but Jaṅg Bahādur Rāṇā reversed this trend, proclaiming them Hindus by edict. In 1905 Candra Śamser Rāṇā changed the name of the Gorkhali language to Nepālī, although the British in particular had already begun using the term 'Nepali' in that sense, and he proclaimed it to be the national language of the kingdom.

The rise and spread of Nepali in Nepal has been rapid and sudden. In the 1950s Nepali was still spoken by less than half of the populace of the Kingdom of Nepal.
The language’s status as a newcomer is underscored by the unique circumstance that Nepali, although the national language of Nepal, is not even the native language of the nation’s capital and of the Kathmandu Valley. The terms *Nepāl* and *Nepāli* themselves have only in recent history acquired their current meanings, since originally they denote the Newari homeland in the Kathmandu Valley and the Tibeto-Burman language still spoken by the Newaris.

Large eastward migrations of peoples of greater Nepal began only at the end of the eighteenth century in the wake of the Gorkha conquest, resulting from changes in the socio-economic structure of eastern Nepal, massive deforestation of the thick jungles of both the Terai and hill areas, increasing population pressure, a massive influx of Nepali speaking Indo-Aryans (Brāhmans or bāhan, Kṣatriyās or chetraḥ as well as low castes) into ancestral Tibeto-Burman homelands and resultant dramatic changes in land ownership patterns.

The recent large-scale influx to Darjeeling and Sikkim by Nepalis who for the most part came as labourers to the world-famous tea plantations is well documented in the British census reports of the area. The greater part of the Nepali speaking populace of southern Bhutan began arriving in Bhutan during the first decade of this century at the instigation of Sir John Claude White, political officer in the British Indian government. Many of the ‘Nepalis’ who partook of this eastward migration were Limbu, Rai, Tamang, Gurung or Magar by origin, but in the process of abandoning their ancestral homelands and moving east they became linguistically and culturally assimilated to the dominant Indo-Aryan culture. It is a curious bit of irony that many, if not most, speakers of Nepali in southern Bhutan today are descendants of Tibeto-Burmans who have become Indo-Aryanized during the eastward migration and whose ancestors fought a losing battle against both the Nepali language and culture. The process of cultural and linguistic Indo-Aryanization in eastern Nepal is described in the author’s ‘Taal en identiteit: Indo-Arisch expansionisme in oostelijk Nepal’, and the most detailed account of the Gorkha Conquest in a single volume is Stiller’s masterpiece *The Rise of the House of Gorkha*.

The Nepali spoken in southern Bhutanese differs from standard or the Nepali in its highly simplified verbal conjugation, which generally lacks all but third person singular agreement endings, in the considerable Hindi influence on the vocabulary, and in a relatively poor knowledge of literary Nepali vocabulary (saḥityik saṭda). Notwithstanding these non-standard features, the Lhotshamkha of the Southern Bhutanese has a charming character of its own. Lhotshamkha is spoken primarily in Samtsi, Tśirang and Gelephu districts and in southern parts of the districts Thrumshingla, Chukha, Dōgana and Sambru Jongkha. Lhotshamkha is one of the four languages used in the transmissions of the Bhutan Broadcasting Service.
8. Dzongkha and Chökê

Whereas Dzongkha is the living, spoken language, the Classical Tibetan liturgical language known as Chökê མཁྲི་སྦྱེ་ has for centuries been the scholarly language in which sacred Buddhist texts, medical and scientific treatises and, indeed, all learned works have been written. The relationship between Dzongkha and Chökê in Bhutan is reminiscent of the role Latin used to play as the language of learning in mediaeval France where the spoken language had long since evolved into a language different from that spoken by the ancient Romans.

Just as Latin used to exercise and continues to exercise great influence on the vocabulary of French and English (e.g., video, multilateral, disinfectant, international, credit), so too Chökê, the language of learning and liturgy, continues to strongly influence modern spoken Dzongkha. This influence is manifest in the vocabulary where Dzongkha has acquired many words directly from Chökê. The liturgical Chökê pronunciation of some of these words differs from the modern pronunciation in the spoken language. It is important to keep this in mind when one encounters a pronunciation at variance with that which one has learnt. Roman Dzongkha is based on the pronunciation of spoken standard Dzongkha.

9. Transliteration and transcription

Transcription is a rendering of pronunciation. It indicates the speech sounds of modern spoken Dzongkha. The official system of transcription for the national language of Bhutan is known as Roman Dzongkha, described here in Chapter Three. More elaborate explanation of how Roman Dzongkha is used both to write Dzongkha as well as to write Chökê in the Bhutanese liturgical pronunciation is provided in the Guide to Official Dzongkha Romanization.

Just as the standard for proper English pronunciation has traditionally been known as the King’s English, so too the pronunciation of His Majesty, the king of Bhutan, defines the standard of pronunciation of modern Dzongkha. In practice, the standard dialect as spoken by native speakers from ལྷོ་ Wang, the traditional name for the རྨ་ Thimphu Valley, and ལྷ་ The, the traditional name for the རྨ་ Punakha Valley serves as the basis for the official Romanization. Roman Dzongkha is explained in Chapter Three.

Transliteration is an unambiguous rendering of the indigenous orthography of Dzongkha words in the Roman alphabet. Transliteration is an aid for those wishing to learn the native Dzongkha script and will only be used in Chapters Two and Three. Proper transliteration enables those familiar with the Tibetan script to ascertain precisely how a particular word is written in the native orthography. The transliteration system used in this book fol-
llows Western tibetological tradition and is explained in Chapter Two.

Recapitulating, whereas Roman Dzongkha is a transcription indicating the pronunciation of the modern spoken language, e.g. ས་ ga ‘eight’, བྲུང་来不及 lâmche ‘elephant’, བོད་ཁྲིམ་སྐྱེ་སྲིང་ Pende Dru Zhung ‘Royal Government of Bhutan’, transliteration is a faithful representation in roman script of the exact spelling in the Bhutanese script, e.g. སྲྭ་ brgyad ‘eight’, བོད་ཁྲིམ་སྐྱེ་སྲིང་ glangmo-che ‘elephant’, བོད་ཁྲིམ་སྐྱེ་སྲིང་ dpal-lDan hbrug gzhung ‘Royal Government of Bhutan’. The rules governing transcription and transliteration are different, and there is no systematic or consistent way of combining the two systems. Whenever any attempt is made deliberately or inadvertently to blend the two, there will be no end to confusion.

Because Roman Dzongkha is used in addition to the native script throughout the Grammar of Dzongkha and the Dzongkha Language Workbook, foreign students who wish to acquire a command of Dzongkha without learning the native Dzongkha script may skip Chapter Two of the workbook and grammar and begin immediately in Chapter Three.
CHAPTER TWO

Dzongkha Script

The native Dzongkha alphabet is identical to the Tibetan script. This chapter will explain both the longhand printed Dzongkha script and the Bhutanese cursive script. Once the reader has mastered the Dzongkha script, he will notice that in Dzongkha, as in Tibetan, the relationship between the spelling of the written language and the actual pronunciation in colloquial speech is not entirely straightforward. The reason for the complexity of the traditional spelling lies in the fact that the ancient Buddhist civilisation of the Drukpa people has for more than a millenium sustained a literary tradition. The remarkable continuity of this tradition has resulted in a relatively conservative orthography in modern times. Dzongkha orthography is to a large extent historical, so that the rationale underlying much of Dzongkha spelling is comparable to that of English words like laugh, ewe, knife, who, taught, island, enough, chamois and ache. In general, however, Dzongkha spelling is quite a bit more logical and reasonable than the English orthography in the examples given.

In the Chapter Three, the student will learn how the spelling of Dzongkha words in the official romanization, based on the pronunciation of the modern spoken language, correlates with traditional Dzongkha orthography and see how various traditional spellings may correspond to a single speech sound in the modern language and vice versa.

1. The Ucen Script

The script used in writing Dzongkha is the same as the one used for Tibetan and is known as the 'Ucen ཁ་ཐོདེ་གྲ' script. It was devised on the basis of the Sanskrit devanāgarī script in the middle of the seventh century by གཞན་ཐོན་པའི་ནམ་ཐབས་སྦྱིན་ཐོག མི་བོའི་སྦྱིན་ཐོག མི་བོ ཨེ། ཀྱིམུ་མི་ཕྲི་ལུག་ཞིིག་ཐོན་ལུག་ཞིིག་ཐོན་ལུག་ཞིིག་ཐོན་ལུག་ཞིིག་ཐོན་ལུག་ཞིིག་ཐོན་ལུག་ཞིིག་ཐོན་ལུག་ཞིིག་ཐོན

First the consonants will be introduced with the traditional Roman equivalent in transliteration. Observe the correct stroke order.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ҙ} & \quad \text{ka} & \quad \text{ɾ} & \quad \text{ɾ} \\
\text{་} & \quad \text{kha} & \quad \text{ɾ} & \quad \text{ɾ} & \quad \text{ɾ} \\
\text{ )); & \quad \text{ga} & \quad \text{ɾ} & \quad \text{ɾ} & \quad \text{ɾ} \\
\text{་} & \quad \text{nga} & \quad \text{ɾ} & \quad \text{ɾ} &
\end{align*}
\]
There are four vowel symbols in the Ucen script.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel Symbol</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Dzongkha Name</th>
<th>Roman Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>g@ig'u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>zh@apju</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>drengpo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>naro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When no vowel is indicated, the vowel in a syllable is automatically a. This is illustrated by the following examples.

ku  phi  ya  o  se

In the Ucen script, consonants representing glides are written as diacritics above or below another consonant symbol to represent consonant clusters which were pronounced as such in Old Tibetan.

The letter κᵢ, when it comes before another consonant, is written as a diacritic above the consonant it precedes, except before the letter θ y, where it retains its full form.

rga  rdzi  rngu  rnya  rbo

When κᵢ comes immediately after another consonant, it is written as a diacritic known as κₕrà-t(607,503),(801,572) below the consonant it follows.

bra  kro  dri
When (Border) comes immediately after another consonant, it is written as a diacritic known as "ya-ta below the consonant it follows.

When (Border) comes immediately after another consonant, it is written as a diacritic known as "wa-Zur below the consonant it follows.

Other consonants can be combined to form consonant clusters. For example the ཚ ལ can also be written as a diacritic under a consonant known as ས ས ཤ. The letters ཕ, བ, བ, ཝ ཝ and ལ ལ may be ‘prefixed’ to a syllable. Furthermore, consonants may be stacked up on on top of the other. However, none of these letters, other than the four glide symbols discussed above, change their shape in the process. They can therefore be easily recognized.

Marks of punctuation include the triangular dot which serves to separate syllables, called a ཁ ཤ ས ས. The Dzongkha equivalent to a comma, semicolon and full stop is a འ ས ས, which looks like this: འ. Two of these, འ འ, are used at the end of paragraphs, proverbs and significant quotations, especially in Chökê. The mark ཁ ཤ, called a ཁ ཤ ས ས ས, is often used before the first letter of a book, treatise or proclamation. In Chökê many ornamental punctuation marks with religious significance are also used, which one does not encounter in modern Dzongkha.
The printed longhand the reader has now learnt is known in Dzongkha as 'tshum. Now we shall turn to the Bhutanese cursive scripts.

2. Bhutanese Cursive

Study the way the Dzongkha alphabet is written in the Bhutanese cursive script, known as jointshum, and the Bhutanese rapid cursive, known as jointshum joyi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>jointshum</th>
<th>joyi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|ka| ga
|kha| nga
|ga| ma
|nga| tsha
da| tsha
|na| dza
|da| wa
|pa| tha
|ba| nya
|ma| ta
|tsa| thang
|dza| nga
|wa| nga
Note the special abbreviated way of writing the letter -m and the sequence -gs at the end of a syllable in rapid cursive script.

\begin{align*}
\text{hjam} & \quad \text{h\kern-.1667em\lower.5ex\hbox{\&}} \text{am} \\
\text{lags} & \quad \text{n\kern-.1667em\lower.5ex\hbox{\&}} \text{gs} \\
\text{gsum} & \quad \text{g\kern-.1667em\lower.5ex\hbox{\&}} \text{ms} \\
\text{byigs} & \quad \text{b\kern-.1667em\lower.5ex\hbox{\&}} \text{gs} \\
\end{align*}

Compare the following printed Dzongkha text in Ucen script with its formal longhand (tshum), Bhutanesse cursive (jotshum) and rapid cursive (joyi) versions.
CHAPTER THREE
Dzongkha Phonology

In this chapter on Dzongkha phonology, the speech sounds or phonemes of Dzongkha will be introduced. The symbols used to represent the pronunciation of modern spoken Dzongkha are those of the official romanization, known as Roman Dzongkha. This system uses twenty-four letters of the Roman alphabet (Q and X are not used) and four dia­critic marks: the diaeresis, apostrophe, circumflex accent and devoicing circlet. A detailed account of Roman Dzongkha can be found in the Guide to Official Dzongkha Romanization, published by the Dzongkha Development Commission of the Royal Government of Bhutan. The conventions of Roman Dzongkha will also be expounded in this chapter, albeit in an abbreviated form. In this chapter, phonetic descriptions of Dzongkha phonemes are also provided in International Phonetic Alphabet between square brackets.

1. Dzongkha Initials and Tones

Dzongkha is a tone language with two distinctive tones, a high register and a low register tone. In Roman Dzongkha, the high register tone is indicated by an apostrophe, known as the high tone apostrophe, preceding the word, e.g. high
register nga 'five' and lo 'cough' vs. low register nga 'I, me' and lo 'year, age'. The low register tone is unmarked in Roman Dzongkha.

If a syllable beginning with a voiced nasal, glide or a vowel is pronounced in the high register tone, this is indicated in Roman Dzongkha by an apostrophe at the beginning of the syllable. Dzongkha initial nasals, glides and vowels are listed below in both high and low register tones, as they are written in Roman Dzongkha.

### Nasals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High Register</th>
<th>Low Register</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Velar nasal</td>
<td>'nga ㅌ'</td>
<td>nga ㅌ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal nasal</td>
<td>'nya ;top'</td>
<td>nyla ʝ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental nasal</td>
<td>'na ʝ'</td>
<td>na ʝ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial nasal</td>
<td>'ma ʝ'</td>
<td>ma ʝ'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Glides

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High Register</th>
<th>Low Register</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Palatal glide</td>
<td>'ya ɡy'</td>
<td>ya ʝ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced lateral</td>
<td>'la ʝ'</td>
<td>la ʝ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labiovelar glide</td>
<td>'wa ɡy'</td>
<td>wa ʝ'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Vowels

- Front closed unrounded: 'i ɟi' (i इ)
- Front closed rounded: 'u ु' (u उ)
- Back closed rounded: 'e े' (e ए)
- Front half-open unrounded: 'o ो' (o ओ)
- Front half-open rounded: 'a ा' (a ए)
- Back half-open unrounded: 'a ा' (a ए)
- Front open: 'h ओ' (h ओ)
- Back open: 'a ऐ' (a ए)

Tone is not indicated in Roman Dzongkha whenever it can be predicted. Such is the case in syllables beginning with an occlusive, a sibilant, a voiceless liquid, with h or with r. The following table lists these initial consonants along with their inherent tone.
2. Dzongkha vowels

The following table provides an overview of the eight Dzongkha vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>open</th>
<th>front</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless aspirate</td>
<td>ĥa ʼ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilabial affricate</td>
<td>tsa ʼ</td>
<td>tsha ʼ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar affricate</td>
<td>tsa ʼ</td>
<td>tsha ʼ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palatal affricate</td>
<td>ca ʰ</td>
<td>cha ʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental plosive</td>
<td>ta ʰ</td>
<td>tha ʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex plosive</td>
<td>tra ʰ</td>
<td>thra ʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilabial plosive</td>
<td>pa ʰ</td>
<td>pha ʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar plosive</td>
<td>ka ʰ</td>
<td>kha ʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The equivalents provided in Dzongkha script are just representative examples. For example, the sound represented as j in Roman Dzongkha corresponds not only to ʃ, but also to ʧ, ʤ, ʧ̆, ʤ̆, ʧ̃, ʤ̃, ʧ̣, ʤ̣, and ʧ̬.

Taken together, the two above tables list all the initial phonemes which occur in Dzongkha, as they are rendered in the official Romanization. A phonetic description of the consonant initials follows in Section 4 of this chapter. First, we shall turn to the vowels.
The vowels ä, ö and ü are always long, and the circumflex accent or "chimto is therefore never used in conjunction with these vowels, a mistake easily avoided since these vowels are already marked by the diaeresis or "tshà 'nyì. Minimal pairs illustrating Dzongkha long and short vowels are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>å</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>è</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>î</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>ô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>û</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before final -łː -ŋ, a Dzongkha vowel is always long. In Roman Dzongkha therefore the circumflex accent is not used before final -łː -ŋ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʤ动人</td>
<td>glang</td>
<td>'lang</td>
<td>bull, ox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʤ动</td>
<td>chang</td>
<td>chang</td>
<td>beer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʤ动-Łː</td>
<td>tshong-khang</td>
<td>tshongkha</td>
<td>shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʤ动</td>
<td>ming</td>
<td>meng</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʤ动</td>
<td>hing</td>
<td>hing</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3. Phonetic description of Dzongkha vowels

In this section, the pronunciation of Dzongkha vowels will be explained, starting with the closed vowels.

The Dzongkha short vowel i is pronounced [i] like the vowel sound in English *eat*, but in closed syllables the vowel i may be heard to vary in pronunciation between the [i] in English *eat* and the [ɪ] in English *it*, e.g. in a word such as ʤ动 ‘tsip ‘stone wall’. The long vowel i is long in duration and pronounced [iː] as in English *ease*.
Note that the practice of using the inverted g"ig"u to represent an i sound in the high tone has largely been abandoned, although spellings such as  རིན་‘eye’ and རྒྱུན་‘man’ are still encountered.

The Dzongkha short vowel  སུ is pronounced [u] as in English *chew*, Dutch *boek*, German *Buch* or French *fou*. The Dzongkha long vowel  སུ is pronounced the same way as  སུ but is longer in duration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>རིན་</td>
<td>lug</td>
<td>lu</td>
<td>sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དྲུ་</td>
<td>glu</td>
<td>'lu</td>
<td>song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དབུམ་</td>
<td>hbum</td>
<td>bum</td>
<td>one lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཁྱུད་</td>
<td>bumo</td>
<td>b'um</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དོ་</td>
<td>chu</td>
<td>chu</td>
<td>water, urine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དབུས་</td>
<td>gsum</td>
<td>sum</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དབུག་</td>
<td>hugpa</td>
<td>ûp</td>
<td>owl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Dzongkha vowel  སུ does not occur in English. Dzongkha  སུ is pronounced [y] as German *Blüte*, French *cru* or Dutch *spuug*. The Dzongkha vowel  སུ is heard to vary in pronunciation between the vowel [y] in German *Fühle* and the vowel [v] in German *Fülle*. English speakers can learn to pronounce this vowel by rounding the lips as if to say the word *wooh* and, whilst keeping the mouth in exactly that position, saying *wee* instead.
The Dzongkha long vowel ē is pronounced [e:] as in German Käse, similar to the vowel in English aid, Dutch heer, French thé. The short vowel ē is sometimes shorter in duration and varies in pronunciation between the [e] in French thé or Dutch heer and the sound [e] in English set, Dutch pet, German Netz or French bête. The difference between Dzongkha ē and ē is more often one of timbre than of length.

Dzongkha transliteration Roman English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཨིོཞི་ི།</td>
<td>shes-ni</td>
<td>shêni</td>
<td>to know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཀེརཔོ</td>
<td>serpo</td>
<td>sép</td>
<td>yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཀེ་ཆོ་</td>
<td>ming</td>
<td>meng</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཁེ་དཔ་</td>
<td>rkaṭa</td>
<td>kep</td>
<td>waist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཀེ་སྨ</td>
<td>'ema</td>
<td>'ema</td>
<td>chilli pepper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཀྱི་ེ་</td>
<td>a-zhe</td>
<td>'azh'e</td>
<td>princess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གྲེི་ ཕྱི་</td>
<td>de-cig</td>
<td>dêeci</td>
<td>this much</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Dzongkha vowel ā is intermediate in pronunciation between the vowel sound [e] in English said and the vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཌྷོོཊྷ།</td>
<td>gyaspa</td>
<td>'yāp</td>
<td>right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཌྷོཊྷ ཊོ</td>
<td>gyeb</td>
<td>'yep</td>
<td>press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཌྷོཊྷྷ</td>
<td>bshal-ni</td>
<td>shêni</td>
<td>wander, roam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཌྷོཊྷ ཊོ</td>
<td>shes-ni</td>
<td>shêni</td>
<td>to know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཌྷོཊྷྷ</td>
<td>srasmo</td>
<td>sâm</td>
<td>princess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཌྷོཊྷ ཊོ</td>
<td>sems</td>
<td>sem</td>
<td>feelings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཌྷོཊྷྷ</td>
<td>sranma</td>
<td>sem</td>
<td>lentils, pulse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཌྷོཊྷྷ</td>
<td>gzedma</td>
<td>zêm</td>
<td>bamboo case</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Dzongkha long vowel ogh is pronounced [o] like the vowel in English go, Dutch boot, German Tod or French eau. The Dzongkha short vowel o is pronounced the same way but is shorter in duration [ɔ] and may occasionally be heard to approach the vowel sound [o] found in Dutch bot or French os.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>སོ་མ</td>
<td>om</td>
<td>'om</td>
<td>milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒོ་མ་</td>
<td>hongma</td>
<td>ɒm</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྒྲིག་</td>
<td>dbog-ni</td>
<td>'oni</td>
<td>to scoop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སོ</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སོརི</td>
<td>sor</td>
<td>sō</td>
<td>thumb’s breadth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྜྷོ</td>
<td>phob</td>
<td>phop</td>
<td>put down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྜྷོས</td>
<td>phorpa</td>
<td>phōp</td>
<td>cup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྜྷ</td>
<td>kho</td>
<td>kho</td>
<td>he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སོ</td>
<td>khub-</td>
<td>khō</td>
<td>gravy, juice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྦྔི་</td>
<td>changgi-</td>
<td>change^†iphō</td>
<td>brewer’s yeast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྤྦྔི་</td>
<td>mdah-phog</td>
<td>daphō</td>
<td>hit (the target)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྤི་</td>
<td>hgyo-ni</td>
<td>joni</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྤི་</td>
<td>lto</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>rice, food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྦི</td>
<td>sgogpa</td>
<td>gop</td>
<td>onion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྦྤི</td>
<td>jo-bdag</td>
<td>j̦oda</td>
<td>owner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Dzongkha short vowel ə is pronounced [a] as in Dutch kat and is close in pronunciation to the vowel sound [ʌ] in English cup. The Dzongkha vowel a is long in duration and pronounced like the sound [a:] in English father, German Sahne or French gars, and bears similarity to the vowel sound in Dutch kaas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
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<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>འབ་པ་</td>
<td>a-pa</td>
<td>'apa</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རེ་</td>
<td>rta</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལྷ་</td>
<td>stag</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>tiger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སེམས་</td>
<td>langma</td>
<td>lām</td>
<td>road, way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>འབུ་</td>
<td>thab</td>
<td>thap</td>
<td>oven, stove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རེ་</td>
<td>thagpa</td>
<td>thap</td>
<td>rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྨ་</td>
<td>sha</td>
<td>ša</td>
<td>meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>མུ་</td>
<td>shar</td>
<td>shā</td>
<td>east</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ས་</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ད་</td>
<td>mar</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>butter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉ ག�།</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>I, me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉ ཉ།</td>
<td>ngag</td>
<td>ngā</td>
<td>speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤ ཤ མ།</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>lā</td>
<td>mountain pass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤ ས ལ།</td>
<td>lha</td>
<td>lā</td>
<td>work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤ ར ེ།</td>
<td>rkyab</td>
<td>cap</td>
<td>do, perform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤ ས ཏ།</td>
<td>dgāh</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>love, like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤ ོ གྱ ཤུ།</td>
<td>gā-ci</td>
<td>gāaci</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤ ོ།</td>
<td>bya</td>
<td>bjā</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤ ོ།</td>
<td>byag</td>
<td>bjāa</td>
<td>cliff</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Dzongkha vowel ō has no English counterpart. The Dzongkha vowel ō is like the vowel [œ] in French oeuf, German plötzlich or Dutch lus. Dzongkha ō seldom approaches the vowel sound [ɔ] in Dutch neus or French oeufs. English speakers can learn to pronounce this vowel by rounding the lips as if to say the word woe and, whilst keeping the mouth in exactly that position, saying hay instead.
4. Phonetic description of Dzongkha initials

As pointed out in the first section of this chapter, certain Dzongkha consonants are automatically followed by the high register tone, whereas others are automatically followed by the low register tone. Syllables beginning with a glide, a nasal or a vowel may occur in either the low or the high register tone.

Special attention must be paid to the distinction between voiced and devoiced consonants in the low register. The standard dialect of modern Dzongkha distinguishes between VOICED and DEVOICED plosive and sibilant initials. Certain speakers of Dzongkha, particularly those originating from west of the Pêle La སྨ་ཐེ་ལ་, do not observe this distinction. This is why the distinction is represented by a diacritic. This diacritic symbol is known as the devolving circle or, in Dzongkha, simply as the བཞི་ thlī.

The devoiced consonants are called ‘devoiced’ because historically they derive from voiced consonants, a fact well established on the basis of comparative studies and in the traditional orthography. In articulatory terms, the devoiced consonants are unvoiced, but in contrast to the voiceless consonants, they are followed by a murmured or ‘breathy voiced’ vowel in the low register tone. The voiced consonants are followed by a clear vowel. Both devoiced and voiced initials are followed by the low register tone,
e.g. low register voiced झिं 'leopard' vs. low register devoiced झँ 'crest' vs. high register voiceless झि़ 'gold'; low register devoiced झँ 'Bhutanese male
garb' vs. low register voiced झो 'door'; low register
devoiced झ़ 'queue, row, line' vs. low register
voiced झ़ 'eight'; low register devoiced झ़ 'wool' vs. low register voiced झ़ 'pull out, extract'.

Paradoxically, in traditional Bhutanese phonology, the
devoiced plosives and sibilants as well as the low regis-
ter voiced liquids and nasals are
described by the
Choké
term झ्र्टम्रे 'tender sound',
whereas the voiced plosives and sibilants as well as the
high register voiced liquids and nasals are termed
d्र्ा 'hard' or 'severe sound'.

The pronunciation of the forty-four consonants
with which a Dzongkha syllable may begin are described
and illustrated below, beginning with the velar series.

The consonant क is pronounced like the sound [k] at
the beginning of the French word quatre or Dutch word
kaal, i.e. without aspiration. The consonant क is followed
by the high register tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>काँ</td>
<td>kawa</td>
<td>kao</td>
<td>pillar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कङ्गमा</td>
<td>rkangma</td>
<td>kām</td>
<td>leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुड्पा</td>
<td>skudpa</td>
<td>kū</td>
<td>thread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>को</td>
<td>kowa</td>
<td>kou</td>
<td>leather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>केक्पा</td>
<td>rkedpa</td>
<td>kep</td>
<td>waist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td>mouth, language; sharp edge of a blade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ख</td>
<td>khong</td>
<td>khong</td>
<td>they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खाब</td>
<td>hab</td>
<td>hab</td>
<td>needle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्ष्ठढ़</td>
<td>gdan-kheb</td>
<td>den-khep</td>
<td>bedsheets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खाम</td>
<td>kham</td>
<td>kham</td>
<td>peach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खाव</td>
<td>khawa</td>
<td>khau</td>
<td>snow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>म्खास्था</td>
<td>mkhaspa</td>
<td>khās</td>
<td>adept, expert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ह्खाम</td>
<td>ḫharwa</td>
<td>ḫhau</td>
<td>stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ख्य</td>
<td>khyal</td>
<td>khā</td>
<td>tax</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dzongkha ɡ° is pronounced [ɡ] or [k], followed by what, in articulatory phonetic terms, is described as a murmured or ‘breathy voiced’ low register vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɡ</td>
<td>sga</td>
<td>ɡa</td>
<td>saddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣ</td>
<td>rgaspa</td>
<td>gep</td>
<td>old (of people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣ</td>
<td>lgang-phu</td>
<td>gangphu</td>
<td>balloon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵃ</td>
<td>sgo</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᴥ</td>
<td>bsgug</td>
<td>ɡū</td>
<td>wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᶊ</td>
<td>dgu</td>
<td>gu</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵉ</td>
<td>mgarwa</td>
<td>ɡāu</td>
<td>smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᴥ</td>
<td>hgan-khag</td>
<td>genkha</td>
<td>responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵃ</td>
<td>hgyir</td>
<td>gi</td>
<td>turn a prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᶊ</td>
<td>rgyalpo</td>
<td>ĝāp</td>
<td>wheel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᶄ</td>
<td>rgal</td>
<td>ĝā</td>
<td>to cross (bridge or mountain pass), to ford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᶍ</td>
<td>brgyad</td>
<td>ɡā</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᶍ</td>
<td>rgedpo</td>
<td>gap</td>
<td>head of a geo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵉ</td>
<td>rged-hog</td>
<td>geo</td>
<td>block of villages as an administrative unit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dzongkha nɡ is pronounced [ŋ] like the final sound in English ring, Dutch ring or German Ring. When initial nɡ is followed by the high register tone, this is indicated by the high tone apostrophe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>I, me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṅ</td>
<td>ngag</td>
<td>ngā</td>
<td>speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td>rnga</td>
<td>'nga</td>
<td>drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᴥ</td>
<td>rngam-si-si</td>
<td>'ngamsisi</td>
<td>inept, sloppy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṅ</td>
<td>lnga</td>
<td>'unga</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᴥ</td>
<td>dngul</td>
<td>'ngū</td>
<td>silver</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dzongkha Ch is an aspirated sound [ʰ]. The difference between cu in cutham 'ten' and chu 'water' is the same as between ko 'leather' and kho 'he'. It is important to master the difference between C and Ch in order to acquire a proper Dzongkha pronunciation. Both initials C and Ch are followed by the high register tone. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ci</td>
<td>ci</td>
<td>past tense suffix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gcad</td>
<td>cé</td>
<td>cut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ice</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skya</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>hair</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lcags</td>
<td>cá</td>
<td>iron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bcar</td>
<td>cá</td>
<td>pay someone a visit [hon.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bcu-úam</td>
<td>cutham</td>
<td>ten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lcags-kyu</td>
<td>cácu</td>
<td>iron hook</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rkyab</td>
<td>cap</td>
<td>do, perform</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brkyang</td>
<td>cang</td>
<td>straighten out</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bskyab</td>
<td>cap</td>
<td>protect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dzongkha transliteration | Roman | English
---|---|---
charpa | châp | rain
meongs | chong | jump
charn | cham | mask dance; friendship
khyod | chö | you
ro-khyi | rochi | dog
khyim | chim | house
chu | chu | water
khyu | chu | flock, herd, swarm
hkhyu | chu | wash
phyag | châ | hand [hon.]; wipe clean
phyag-htshal-ni | châtshání | prostrate oneself

Dzongkha is an aspirated sound [ʰ]. The difference between cu in cutham 'ten' and chu 'water' is the same as between ko 'leather' and kho 'he'. It is important to master the difference between C and Ch in order to acquire a proper Dzongkha pronunciation. Both initials C and Ch are followed by the high register tone. Both initials C and Ch are followed by the high register tone.
The consonant \( j \) is pronounced \([fax]\) very similar to the first sound in English *juice*. The initial \( j \) is followed by the low register tone.

**Dzongkha** | **transliteration** | **Roman** | **English**
--- | --- | --- | ---
\( дźрж\) | \( rje- \) | \( jēkhembo, \) | abbot
\( мкхан-по\) | \( mkhan-po \) | \( jēkhem \) | 
\( бржед\) | \( brjed \) | \( jē \) | forget
\( лъд\) | \( ljid \) | \( ji \) | weight
\( жах-тшон\) | \( hjah-tshon \) | \( jatshön \) | rainbow
\( мжуг-ма\) | \( mjug-ma \) | \( juma \) | tail
\( дзун\) | \( rgyu-ma \) | \( juma \) | intestines
\( дзунг\) | \( rgyu \) | \( ju \) | property
\( дзунг-но\) | \( hgyo-ni \) | \( joni \) | to go
\( дзунг-ну\) | \( brgyugs \) | \( ju \) | running, racing
\( дзунг\) | \( bsgyur \) | \( ju \) | change, convert, beard, moustache
\( дзунг\) | \( rgya-bo \) | \( jao \) | 
\( дзунг-бдаг\) | \( sbyin-bdag \) | \( jinda \) | patron, philanthropist
\( дзунг-шом\) | \( rgya-sbom \) | \( jabōm \) | broad
\( дзунг-то\) | \( hjam-tog-to \) | \( jamtokto \) | easy
\( дзунг\) | \( rgyab \) | \( jap \) | behind
\( дзунг\) | \( ljid-can \) | \( jicen \) | heavy

Dzongkha \( j^0 \) is pronounced \([f斧]\) or \([?]\), followed by what, in articulatory phonetic terms, is described as a murmured low register vowel.

**Dzongkha** | **transliteration** | **Roman** | **English**
--- | --- | --- | ---
\( дэлж-рэш\) | \( hjah-rismo \) | \( j^0ārim \) | beautiful
\( дэл\) | \( ja-chang \) | \( j^0āchang \) | tea and drinks
\( мэл\) | \( byon \) | \( j^0ōn \) | come [honorific]
\( мэн\) | \( byams \) | \( j^0am \) | mercy, compassion
\( мэн-кэ\) | \( gyangs-kha \) | \( j^0angkha \) | counting,
\( мэн-кэ\) | \( gyangm-mas \) | \( j^0ammā \) | It’s cold.

Dzongkha \( ny\) is pronounced like the nasal sound \([n]\) in Dutch *oranje*, French *bagnole*, Italian *bagno*. When initial \( ny\) is followed by the high register tone, this is indicated by the high tone apostrophe.

**Dzongkha** | **transliteration** | **Roman** | **English**
--- | --- | --- | ---
\( мэл\) | \( nyo-ni \) | \( nyoni \) | buy
\( мэн\) | \( nyim \) | \( nyim \) | sun
\( мэнг-мэл\) | \( nyi-mahi-lto \) | \( nyimaito \) | midday meal
\( мэнг\) | \( gnyis \) | \( ‘ńyi \) | two
\( мэнг\) | \( nya-rogspa \) | \( nyarop \) | fisherman
\( мэнг\) | \( gnyen \) | \( ‘ńyen \) | relatives
\( мён\) | \( rnyingma \) | \( ‘ńyim \) | old (of inanimate things)
The Dzongkha sounds ts and tsh are similar to the first sound in German *zehn* or the final sound in English *lots*. However, Dzongkha ts is pronounced without aspiration [ts], i.e. without a profuse release of air.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>བཙཿ</td>
<td>tsa-ri</td>
<td>Tsari</td>
<td>Tsari (holy place in Tibet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཙམ་དཔལ་</td>
<td>tsan-dan</td>
<td>tsende</td>
<td>Bhutanese sandalwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཙབ་</td>
<td>tswa</td>
<td>tsa</td>
<td>grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཙོམ་བོག་Tamdro</td>
<td>tsamdro</td>
<td>tsh</td>
<td>pasture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཙོམ་སོཔ་</td>
<td>rtsisa</td>
<td>tsh</td>
<td>augurer, astrologer, numerologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཙང་</td>
<td>rtsang</td>
<td>tsang</td>
<td>thorn, splinter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཙང་ཙོག་ཙོག་</td>
<td>gtsang-tog-to</td>
<td>tsangtokto</td>
<td>clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཙོག་</td>
<td>tsop</td>
<td>tsh</td>
<td>nest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཙོག་པ་</td>
<td>btsogpa</td>
<td>tsh</td>
<td>measure, size, moderation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཙོག་པ་ཆེ་ར་</td>
<td>btsog-pa-ke</td>
<td>tsh</td>
<td>salt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཙོག་ཆེ་ར་</td>
<td>btsog-pa-ke</td>
<td>tsh</td>
<td>resting place, esp. for putting down one’s burden on a trail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཙོག་སྤེལ་</td>
<td>btsog-sel</td>
<td>tsh</td>
<td>border</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཙོག་གོ་</td>
<td>tshao</td>
<td>tsh</td>
<td>son-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཙོག་ལུ་</td>
<td>tshla-lo</td>
<td>tsh</td>
<td>orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཙོག་མ་</td>
<td>tshla-ma</td>
<td>tsh</td>
<td>jungle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dzongkha tsh is an aspirated sound [tsʰ]. A mastery of the difference between ts and tsʰ is important to the acquisition of a proper Dzongkha pronunciation. Both ts and tsʰ are followed by the high register tone.
Dzongkha dz is pronounced [dz] like a d quickly followed by a z. It is the first sound in the word Dzongkha. The consonant dz is followed by the low register tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dz'i</td>
<td>dza-ti</td>
<td>dzati</td>
<td>nutmeg used as a headache remedy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mdze-nad</td>
<td>dzenë</td>
<td></td>
<td>leprosy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rdzam-kha</td>
<td>Dzongkha</td>
<td>Dzongkha</td>
<td>earthenware pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nor-rdzipa</td>
<td>nôdzi</td>
<td></td>
<td>cowherd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hdzam-gling</td>
<td>dzam'ling</td>
<td></td>
<td>world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rdzas</td>
<td>dzä</td>
<td></td>
<td>gunpowder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Dzongkha sounds t, th, d and d⁰ are not pronounced quite like the t or d in English, Dutch or German. The Dzongkha sounds are dental in the true sense of the word, i.e. the tip of the tongue should actually touch the back of the teeth. The English, Dutch and German sounds are just slightly further back in the mouth with the tip of the tongue touching the alveolar ridge. Consistent effort at the outset to observe this difference in articulation will result in the cultivation of a good pronunciation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dz'i</td>
<td>ting</td>
<td>ting</td>
<td>offeratory vessel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzat'i</td>
<td>rtingma</td>
<td>tim</td>
<td>heel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tã</td>
<td>stag</td>
<td>tã</td>
<td>tiger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tang</td>
<td>gtang</td>
<td>tang</td>
<td>send, dispatch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tup</td>
<td>btub</td>
<td>tup</td>
<td>OK; mince, cut into pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toshëa</td>
<td>lto-tshang</td>
<td>toshëa</td>
<td>friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tewa</td>
<td>lte-ba</td>
<td>tewa</td>
<td>headquarters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tön</td>
<td>btub</td>
<td>tap</td>
<td>fold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>töba</td>
<td>bstod-pa</td>
<td>töba</td>
<td>ritual healer, shaman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navel</td>
<td>bstod-pa</td>
<td>töba</td>
<td>ritual healer, shaman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rice, food</td>
<td>bstod-pa</td>
<td>töba</td>
<td>ritual healer, shaman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lto</td>
<td>lto</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>inspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiu</td>
<td>lte-wa</td>
<td>tiu</td>
<td>navel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tap</td>
<td>ltadpa</td>
<td>tap</td>
<td>back of a blade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tém</td>
<td>ltadmo</td>
<td>tém</td>
<td>show</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dzongkha t is unaspirated [ʒ] like the sound in French tasse, whereas Dzongkha th is aspirated [ʃ] like the first sound in English tell or German Tal. Remember that both Dzongkha t and th are dental sounds pronounced with the
tip of the tongue against the back of the teeth. Both con-
sonants t and ðh are followed by the high register tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
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<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཞན་བ་</td>
<td>thal-ba</td>
<td>thiwa</td>
<td>dust, dirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དག་ལ་</td>
<td>go-thal</td>
<td>g'othä</td>
<td>ash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཞིང</td>
<td>mthong</td>
<td>thong</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཞིང</td>
<td>hthung</td>
<td>thung</td>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>མཐོ</td>
<td>mtho</td>
<td>tho</td>
<td>unit of measure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dzongkha ð is voiced [ð] like the sound in English *delicate*, Dutch *dak* or French *dur*. Recall that Dzongkha ð is a dental sound pronounced with the tip of the tongue against the back of the teeth. The consonants ð is followed by the low register tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ེེ་</td>
<td>rdo</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཤི</td>
<td>brdab</td>
<td>dap</td>
<td>fell, topple</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The sound ɴ is pronounce like the first sound in English Norwich, Dutch Nederland, German Niedersachsen and French Nice. When the Dzongkha initial ɴ is followed by the high register tone, this is indicated with the high tone apostrophe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཁེན་པ།</td>
<td>nangs-pa</td>
<td>nāba</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དཔ་</td>
<td>nadpa</td>
<td>nep</td>
<td>sick person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གནས་པོ་</td>
<td>gnagpo</td>
<td>'nap</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ས་</td>
<td>nha</td>
<td>nā</td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གནས་</td>
<td>rnag</td>
<td>'nā</td>
<td>pus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གནམ་</td>
<td>gnam</td>
<td>'nam</td>
<td>sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སརས་</td>
<td>nam</td>
<td>nam</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣག-ཤིས་</td>
<td>mnahma</td>
<td>'nam</td>
<td>sister-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཆེབ་</td>
<td>dngos</td>
<td>'nö</td>
<td>sharp (said of a blade)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གནང་</td>
<td>gnang</td>
<td>'nang</td>
<td>give [honorific]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཁྲ་པོ་</td>
<td>rnam-co</td>
<td>'namco</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཀྲ་ཤིས་</td>
<td>snag-tshi</td>
<td>'naktsi</td>
<td>ink</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Dzongkha sounds ʈ, ʈʰ, ɖ and ɖʰ may occasionally be heard to be released with a slight bit of friction. The retroflex sound ʈ is pronounced [ʈ] without aspiration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཆུས་འཁྲུལ་</td>
<td>dngul-kram</td>
<td>'ngülram</td>
<td>Bhutanese currency unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཁྱུག་འཁོར་</td>
<td>bkra-shis</td>
<td>trashi</td>
<td>good fortune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཆོས་འཁྲུལ་</td>
<td>dkrogs</td>
<td>tro</td>
<td>touch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཁྱིག་</td>
<td>krog</td>
<td>tro</td>
<td>knock, clack, rattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དཔར་ཤིས་</td>
<td>krem-ze</td>
<td>tremze</td>
<td>pretend to work whilst being idle, feign diligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཇུབ་</td>
<td>pra-mo</td>
<td>tramo</td>
<td>magic looking glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཆུས་འཁྲུལ་</td>
<td>spro-ston</td>
<td>trotön</td>
<td>flaunt, put on a display, merriment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཁྱིག་</td>
<td>bkrong</td>
<td>trong</td>
<td>kill [honorific]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཁྱིག་</td>
<td>sprod</td>
<td>trö</td>
<td>hand over</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dzongkha ध्र is an aspirated retroflex sound [ḍʰ]. Both त्र and ध्र are followed by the high register tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ख्रो-खा</td>
<td>khrom-kha</td>
<td>thromkha</td>
<td>bazar, market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>म्रिघ</td>
<td>mkhris-pa</td>
<td>thrip</td>
<td>bile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ह्र्ग-नु</td>
<td>hkrungs</td>
<td>thrung</td>
<td>be born [hon.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ह्रंग-नु</td>
<td>hphrang-</td>
<td>thrang-</td>
<td>straight, directly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ह्रंग</td>
<td>hphrang</td>
<td>thrang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ह्रो</td>
<td>hphrod</td>
<td>thrö</td>
<td>exert a salubrious effect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्रंग-खंग</td>
<td>khrus-khang</td>
<td>thrülkhang</td>
<td>bathroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ख्र</td>
<td>khrag</td>
<td>thrå</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The initial ध्र is a voiced retroflex consonant [ḍ] pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the roof of the mouth behind the alveolar ridge, i.e. further back in the mouth than with English d. The initial ध्र is followed by the low register tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ग्न-ब्रम</td>
<td>rgun-hbrum</td>
<td>gündrum</td>
<td>dried blackberries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्न-स्त्र</td>
<td>bgrospa</td>
<td>dröp</td>
<td>ex-, former</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्न</td>
<td>sgro</td>
<td>dro</td>
<td>feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्न-ट्र्य</td>
<td>sgrom</td>
<td>drom</td>
<td>box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्न-स्त्र्य</td>
<td>bsgrims</td>
<td>drim</td>
<td>concentrate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dzongkha ध्र is pronounced [ɖ] or [t̪], followed by a murmured low register vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ध्रा-ब्स्त्र</td>
<td>hdra-bshus</td>
<td>drashū</td>
<td>copy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रुग</td>
<td>hbrug</td>
<td>dru</td>
<td>dragon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्राम-ट्सी</td>
<td>sbram-tsi</td>
<td>dramtsi</td>
<td>jackfruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्लो-ग्र्वा</td>
<td>slob-grwa</td>
<td>'lopdra</td>
<td>school</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dzongkha ध्र is pronounced [ɖ] or [t̪], followed by a murmured low register vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
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<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ध्रा-पा</td>
<td>dro-pa</td>
<td>dröoba</td>
<td>morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रो-चिच</td>
<td>bkah-drin-</td>
<td>Kadröiche</td>
<td>Thank you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रो-स्थ</td>
<td>drag-shos</td>
<td>Dröåsho</td>
<td>Bhutanese nobleman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रो-ब्स्त्रू</td>
<td>drel</td>
<td>dröeng</td>
<td>mule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रो-ब्रंग</td>
<td>pho-brang</td>
<td>phodröang</td>
<td>palace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रो-ग्रु</td>
<td>gru</td>
<td>dröu</td>
<td>boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रो-ग्र्वा-थंश्ग</td>
<td>grwa-tshang</td>
<td>dröatshang</td>
<td>central monastery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रो-ग्रंग-नाड</td>
<td>drug</td>
<td>dröu</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रो-ड्रो</td>
<td>grang-nad</td>
<td>dröangne</td>
<td>incontinence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रो</td>
<td>drod</td>
<td>dröö</td>
<td>warmth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dzongkha ध्र is pronounced [ɖ] or [t̪], followed by a murmured low register vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>प्र-ब्रम</td>
<td>pbram</td>
<td>bram</td>
<td>dried blackberries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्र</td>
<td>pram</td>
<td>ram</td>
<td>feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्र-ट्र्य</td>
<td>predrom</td>
<td>drom</td>
<td>box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्र-स्त्र्य</td>
<td>bsgrims</td>
<td>drim</td>
<td>concentrate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dzongkha प is pronounced [p] without aspiration, like the sound in Dutch papier or French papier. Initial प is followed by the high register tone.
Dzongkha is pronounced [b], followed by the low register tone.

Dzongkha ph is an aspirated sound [pʰ], pronounced like the first sound in English paper or German Papier. Initial ph is followed by the high register tone.

Dzongkha bo is pronounced [b] or [p], followed by a murmured low register vowel.

Dzongkha m is the same sound as the sound in English marvellous, Dutch meesterlijk, French magnifique and German Malerei. When Dzongkha m is followed by the high register tone, this is indicated by the apostrophe.
Dzongkha transliteration | Roman | English
--- | --- | ---
mar | mà | butter
mar-khu | mākhu | oil
me | me | fire
rmagpa | 'map | husband
rma | 'ma | wound
sman | 'men | medicine
dmarpo | 'māp | red
dmag-mi | 'māmi | soldier

The Dzongkha sounds pc and pch are pronounced [pʰc] and [pʰch] like the Dzongkha consonants c and ch preceded by p. The consonant sound pc is unaspirated.

Dzongkha transliteration | Roman | English
--- | --- | ---
dpyalwa | pcāu | forehead
spa | pca | monkey
spyn | pcing | glue
spyang-ka | pcangka | poor
dpyi-smad | pcimi | hips

The sound pch is aspirated. Both initials pc and pch are followed by the high register tone.

Dzongkha transliteration | Roman | English
--- | --- | ---
phyagma | pchām | broom
dar-hphyar | dʰā pchā | hoist a prayer flag
hpheyenga | pchēm | rosary
phyugpo | pchup | rich
phyed | pchē | half
phye | pchi | flour
phyen | pchen | fart
phyed-kram | pchētra | pice

The sound bj is pronounced [bdʒ] like j preceded by b. Dzongkha bj is followed by the low register tone.

Dzongkha transliteration | Roman | English
--- | --- | ---
ser-sbyanma | sibjām | bees
ḥbya | bjā | paddy
sbyangma | bjām | flying insects
sbyang-nag | bjā'nā | houseflies
sbyang | bjāng | honey
ḥbyu | bju | grain
gnam-byha | 'nambjā | summer

Dzongkha bj is pronounced [bdʒ] or [pʰbj], followed by a murmured low register vowel.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>བྱིན་ཉི།</td>
<td>byin-ni</td>
<td>bj'ing-ni</td>
<td>give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བྱེམ</td>
<td>byem</td>
<td>bj'em</td>
<td>sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བྱམོ</td>
<td>byamo</td>
<td>bj'am</td>
<td>hen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བྱ</td>
<td>bya</td>
<td>bj'a</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བྱག</td>
<td>byag</td>
<td>bj'a</td>
<td>cliff, escarpment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བྱི་ིི</td>
<td>byi-li</td>
<td>bj'iili</td>
<td>cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བྱོ་་ཐོ</td>
<td>byo-ħo</td>
<td>bj'ō</td>
<td>tartary buckwheat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བྱི་ིས</td>
<td>byi-tsi</td>
<td>bj'itsi</td>
<td>rat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dzongkha Z is pronounced [z] like the first sound in English zoo, French zèle or German See. Dzongkha Z is followed by the low register tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>སྒུང་ཉི།</td>
<td>gzung-ni</td>
<td>zungni</td>
<td>to catch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བྲོང་མ་</td>
<td>bzangma</td>
<td>zām</td>
<td>well-bred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོག་</td>
<td>bzoa</td>
<td>zou</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དགིག</td>
<td>gzig</td>
<td>zi</td>
<td>leopard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དི</td>
<td>gzi</td>
<td>zi</td>
<td>onyx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དྱུག་སུས</td>
<td>gzugs</td>
<td>zū</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dzongkha S is pronounced [s] like the first sound in English sir, Dutch sap or French ceux. Dzongkha S is followed by the high register tone.
Dzongkha Žh is pronounced [ʐ] similar the first sound in English \textit{genre} or French \textit{geste}. Dzongkha Žh is followed by the low register tone.

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\textbf{Dzongkha} & \textbf{transliteration} & \textbf{Roman} & \textbf{English} \\
\hline
\vnlhuchung~ & hbrug- & Dru Zhung & Government of Bhutan \\
\vnlzhonma~ & bzhag & zhā & four \\
\vnlbhī~ & gshong & zhā & put, place, set \\
\vnlbzhag~ & gzhu & zhu & bow (archery) \\
\vnlbhēzhig~ & ghchar-gzhī & charzhi & to make a plan \\
\vnlbhīphō~ & gzhwa & zhephō & year after next. \\
\end{tabular}

Dzongkha Žh° is pronounced [ʂ] or [ç] similar to Dzongkha Žh but followed by a murmured vowel in the low register tone.

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\textbf{Dzongkha} & \textbf{transliteration} & \textbf{Roman} & \textbf{English} \\
\hline
\vnlshawā~ & zhawa & zh'ào & limp, lame \\
\vnlzhal~ & gshong & zhàng & face [honorific] \\
\vnlgshonma~ & zhabs-khra & zhāphra & dance \\
\vnlzhing~ & zhing & zh’àing & field \\
\vnlzhō~ & zhawā & zh’àm & hat, cap \\
\end{tabular}

Dzongkha Žl is pronounced like the first sound in English \textit{like}, Dutch \textit{lekker}, French \textit{lait} and German \textit{leicht}. When the initial Žl is followed by the high register tone, this is indicated by the high tone apostrophe.

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\textbf{Dzongkha} & \textbf{transliteration} & \textbf{Roman} & \textbf{English} \\
\hline
\vnlshhō~ & shwawa & shao & antlers \\
\vnlzhō~ & gshong & shōng & valley \\
\vnlzhō~ & bshal & shā & wander, roam \\
\vnlzhō~ & sha & sha & meat \\
\vnlzhō~ & shawā & shāu & leveller, toothless harrower \\
\end{tabular}
Dzongkha transliteration | Roman | English
---|---|---
 lh | la | work
 la | la | mountain pass
 lam | lam | lama
 blama | 'lam | road, way
 glu | 'lu | song
 lug | lu | sheep
 kladpa | 'lep | brain
 glangmo-che | 'lámche | elephant
 glang | 'lang | bull, ox
 blo | 'lo | heart, mind, spirit
 glo | 'lo | cough
 lo | lo | year, age
 rlung | 'lung | wind
 rlung-nad | 'lungle | disease of the aérous humour
 brlad-do | 'ledo | thigh
 slab | 'lap | say, tell
 bslab-byā | 'lapja | advice, counsel
 lhā-khag | lákha | difficult

A sound like Dzongkha lh does not occur in Dutch, French or German, but the sound lh will be familiar to speakers of Welsh. Dzongkha lh is pronounced [H] like the Welsh sound ll in llaeth 'milk'. Dzongkha lh is pronounced like l but without voicing. In learning to pronounce this sound, it may be helpful to keep in mind that the sound

Z is to S as the sound l is to lh. The initial lh is followed by the high register tone.

---

Dzongkha transliteration | Roman | English
---|---|---
 lhod | lhö, hö | arrive; be loose
 lha | lha | deity
 lhakha | lhakha | monastery
 lhab | lhap | learn
 Lhap | Lhap | Tuesday
 tshogs- lham | tsho lhamb | shoes
 lhag | lhâ | to read

In many Dzongkha dialects, especially in the capital city, the verb न्द्रे‘arrive’ is pronounced hö rather than lhö.

Dzongkha r is pronounced like Tibetan r. Sometimes it has a slightly fricative character vaguely reminiscent of Czech r, pronounced [ɾ], but its realization is usually [r], although with less trill than in Welsh or Italian. Dzongkha r is followed by the low register tone.

---

Dzongkha transliteration | Roman | English
---|---|---
 ra | ra | goat
 ru-tog | ruto | bone
 ri | ri | hill, mountain
 rwawo | rao | tip of a horn
A sound similar to Dzongkha hr does not occur in English, Dutch, French or German. It is the voiceless counterpart to r, pronounced [r]. The initial hr is followed by the high register tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hral</td>
<td>hrä</td>
<td>tear, rip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrilpo</td>
<td>hríp, hríbúu</td>
<td>whole, entire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dzongkha Y is pronounced [j] like the first sound in English yes or Dutch ja. If the initial Y is followed by the high register tone, this is indicated by the high tone apostrophe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yab</td>
<td>yap</td>
<td>father [hon.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yum</td>
<td>yum</td>
<td>mother [hon.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lhwm-ya-geg</td>
<td>lhanyaci</td>
<td>one shoe of a pair</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yii-tshang</td>
<td>yitsha</td>
<td>office</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gyag</td>
<td>'yãa</td>
<td>yak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hJam-</td>
<td>Jam'yang</td>
<td>Māñjuṣrī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dbyangs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dzongkha W is pronounced [w] like the first sound in English west or French ouest. If Dzongkha W is followed by the high register tone, this is indicated by the apostrophe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wang</td>
<td>Wang</td>
<td>Thimphu Valley (traditional name)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dbang</td>
<td>'wang</td>
<td>spiritual empowerment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyi-wang</td>
<td>pchiwang</td>
<td>Bhutanese fiddle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rang-dbang</td>
<td>rang'wang</td>
<td>independent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>tub</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa-gshong</td>
<td>woshO</td>
<td>blood gutters (on a blade)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lte-ba</td>
<td>tewa</td>
<td>headquarters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dzongkha h is pronounced [h] like the first sound in English hail, German Höhle or Dutch haast. Dzongkha h is followed by the high register tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>had, hha</td>
<td>Hā</td>
<td>Há (district)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-hing</td>
<td>nahing</td>
<td>last year</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hang</td>
<td>hang</td>
<td>pillow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-sag</td>
<td>hāsa</td>
<td>early</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hum</td>
<td>hum</td>
<td>oil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hab</td>
<td>hap</td>
<td>snot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Dzongkha finals

In spoken Dzongkha, only six consonants are regularly found to occur at the end of a syllable: These are न, म, ं, घ, प, ल and श. In addition, final ल and र are also occasionally heard but are limited to literary pronunciations.

Final न is pronounced like the final sound in English *fan*. The consonant न is sometimes found syllable-finally where it is not suggested by the traditional orthography.

Dzongkha transliteration Roman English

- bdun dün seven
- sman 'men medicine
- dpal-hbyor Pänjo Prosperity
- mkhab-hgro Khandru Skywalker

Final म is pronounced just like the final sound in English *whim*.

Dzongkha transliteration Roman English

- nam nam when
- gsnum sum three
- sgrom drom box
- buumo b'um girl, daughter
- btsunmo tsùm queen
- btsonma tsöm prisoner

Final घ in Roman Dzongkha may represent a syllable-final velar nasal consonant [ŋ] as in English *ring*, when followed by Dzongkha ग, but more often घ indicates that the preceding vowel is nasalized, as in French *bon* and *blanc* or Portuguese *bém* or *fim*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>गल्ल</td>
<td>glen-lkugs</td>
<td>'lenggo</td>
<td>stupid, foolish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गई</td>
<td>sangs-rgyas</td>
<td>Sanggā</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>द्रो</td>
<td>tshong-khang</td>
<td>tshongkha</td>
<td>shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वान</td>
<td>glang</td>
<td>'lang</td>
<td>ox, bullock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>धर</td>
<td>chang</td>
<td>chang</td>
<td>Tibetan beer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ल्यु</td>
<td>lcags-gzer</td>
<td>cangze</td>
<td>metal nail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>दिन</td>
<td>ming</td>
<td>meng</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आर</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>'ing</td>
<td>is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नग्न</td>
<td>gyon</td>
<td>'öng</td>
<td>left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नेर</td>
<td>drel</td>
<td>dr'eng</td>
<td>mule</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Final घ is pronounced like the final sound in English *dip*. The consonant घ is sometimes found at the end of a syllable in cases in which its presence is not suggested by the traditional orthography.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>घ्रा</td>
<td>sa-khra</td>
<td>saphra</td>
<td>map</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घ्रा</td>
<td>khab-tog</td>
<td>khapto</td>
<td>lid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घ्रा</td>
<td>chapda</td>
<td>chep</td>
<td>fine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzongkha</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
<td>Roman</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བབོད་</td>
<td>skyurpo</td>
<td>cup</td>
<td>sour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྫུ་</td>
<td>lhab</td>
<td>lhap</td>
<td>learn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| རྒྱ་ | zhabs           | zh'ap | leg [honorific];
| གནོད་ |                     |        | Majesty |

Final  kwargs pronounced like the final sound in English. Sometimes, a word has final  kwargs in a literary pronunciation, but lacks final  kwargs in colloquial Dzongkha. For example, the sacred monastery རྟ་ཐོན་པ་ 'Tiger’s Nest' has a literary pronunciation Taktshang, although in colloquial Dzongkha the name of this holy place is pronounced Tatshang.

Dzongkha transliteration Roman English

 Martinez tshig-mdzod tshikdzö dictionary
 Martinez tshig-slab-ni tshi 'lapni declare, say
 Martinez rdzong-khag dzongkhak district

Final sH occurs in Dzongkha at the end of the familiar form of the imperative form of verbs where it corresponds to the urging particle བོད་ in traditional orthography.

Dzongkha transliteration Roman English

 Martinez smo-shig 'Mosh? Isn’t it so?'
 Martinez ་བོས་། 'bāshosh!' Bring it here!

Strictly speaking, final -r and final -l occur in colloquial spoken Dzongkha only in literary pronunciations. Such reading pronunciations occur sporadically and reflect the profound extent to which the modern culture of Bhutan is influenced by the country’s rich and ancient literary tradition.

For example, in spoken Dzongkha the word for ‘flag’ འབྲུག་ is pronounced gad'a, without final -r. The proper name རླ་མ་ is pronounced Kama in colloquial speech, although the more literary pronunciation Karma is also heard. The title of the well-known history of Bhutan དྲ་ཐ་པ་, generally gets the literary pronunciation Dru Karpo, although ‘white dragon’ in colloquial Dzongkha is still pronounced dru kap, without final -r. Certain formal or literary terms like འཁྲལ་འཁྲི་ 'governmental, institutional plan' tend to retain final -r.

Similarly, final -l in དྲ་འཁྲལ་ 'Künsel ‘newspaper’ and རྟོལ་འཁྲལ་ 'Losel ‘journal, magazine’ are much heard literary pronunciations. Most cases of final -l in traditional orthography, however, are never pronounced in colloquial speech and are omitted in Roman Dzongkha spelling, e.g. ཝྱི་ 'wool', བོད་ 'neck', ཁ་ 'gākha 'winner'.
Michailovsky (1986) first reported the existence of contour tones in Dzongkha in addition to the high and low register tones discussed in Section 1 of this chapter. Mazaudon and Michailovsky’s (1989) experimental phonetic research on Dzongkha tonology with native speakers of Dzongkha from Capcha and Thimphu brought to light the existence of a contour tone distinction in a significant number of Dzongkha words. The authors provided interesting diachronic explanations of the tonogenetic mechanisms involved on the basis of what may be conjectured from the traditional orthography. The table below lists minimal pairs which illustrate this contour tone distinction, including the minimal pairs listed in Mazaudon and Michailovsky’s material which could be verified. The rising contour is glottalized. The falling contour is longer in duration, particularly in the low register. Diphthongs always exhibit a falling contour.

From a comparative linguistic perspective, the contour tones are indeed ‘the most original aspect of Dzongkha phonology’. However, the contour distinction does not exist in all dialects of Dzongkha. In those dialects in which it does exist, the opposition does not occur in short open syllables, diphthongs or in monosyllables in final -n and is not always made by all speakers consistently. In the examples below the rising glottalized contour is indicated by an asterisk. This asterisk is not employed elsewhere in the book, however, nor is it used in the Roman Dzongkha.

1 Some speakers say ’lī* ‘pear’.
low register examples

rising, glottalized

*dzim* tongs
*bjä* standing paddy
*dö* burden
*dö* sit, stay

slightly falling

*dzim* eyebrow
*bjä* summer
*dö* pair^2

^2 Only in the expression: *län-gö-ci* 'a pair of oxen'.

CHAPTER FOUR

Pronouns, postpositions, numerals and the verbs ‘to be’

The following chapters contain explanation of grammatical phenomena in Dzongkha. Whenever a word or expression in an example sentence occasions embarking upon discussion of lexical phenomena or the semantic particulars of Dzongkha idiom, these explanations are provided in medias res. This practice is for the benefit of readers using the book as a textbook for language acquisition.

1. Dzongkha pronouns

The following table lists the nine Dzongkha personal pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>ྙ ngā I</td>
<td>དབུག ngace we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>ཁོ chö you</td>
<td>ལོ cha you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>ཀྲ kho he</td>
<td>ཇོ khong they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ངོ mo she</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honorific</td>
<td>ངོ n་ he, she,</td>
<td>ངོ n་-b`u they, you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^2 Only in the expression: *län-gö-ci* 'a pair of oxen'.

The collective ending རྟེག་ཆེད་པ་ "chachap" may be added to any of the plural pronouns, e.g. རྟེག་ཆེད་པ་ "chachap" 'you all', or to any Dzongkha nouns denoting people, e.g. རྟོག་གཞི་ "amtshu-chachap" 'all the women'. The following two sentences illustrate the use of the collective ending རྟེག་ཆེད་པ་ "chachap".

(1) ཉང་དབང་ཆེན་བརྒྱུད་བཟང་བཞིན་དཔའ་བཟོ།
 Ngace-chachap-lu ya sora ci zhu
 We-[col]-[dat] also reward one request
 go-bi
 like-[ep]

 All of us would also like to request some
 recompense.

(2) སྣང་ཆོས་མ་ཤེས་པ།
 Bum-chachap ná sho-shi!
 Girl-[col] here come-[imp]

 Come here, girls!

The honorific pronouns བི་ "he, she, you" and plural བདོ་ "they, you" are used to show respect in formal situations with reference to either the second or third person. The proper form of reference to the king is དབང་རིས་པོ་ཆེན་"Mi'wang 'Ngada Rinpoche 'His Majesty', and the proper form of address is དབང་རིས་པོ་ཆེན་"'Ngada Rinpoche 'Your Majesty' and, in lieu

The Dzongkha demonstratives are listed in Table 2. The demonstratives bearing the prefix ར་ "a-", viz. ར་‘ani ‘this right here’, ར་‘aphi ‘that over yonder’, ར་‘ayi ‘that up over there’, ར་‘ami ‘that down over there’, are more emphatically deictic in nature than their counterparts lacking the prefix, viz. ར་ ‘ni ‘this here’, ར་‘phè ‘that over there’, ར་‘yè ‘that up there’, ར་‘mè ‘that down there'. All the demonstratives in the table below may be used as nominal heads, e.g. ར་‘ani ‘this right here', ར་‘ayi ‘that up over there', ར་‘ami ‘that down over there', ར་‘yè ‘that up there', ར་‘mè ‘that down there'.
Two of the demonstratives in the above table, viz. \( \text{d} \) and \( \text{d} \), serve as definite articles. Dzongkha articles follow the noun they modify. The definite article \( \text{d} \) translates into English as 'the' or 'that', e.g. \( \text{d} \) 'the dog'. The proximal definite article \( \text{d} \) translates into English as 'this', e.g. \( \text{d} \) 'this dog'. In certain Dzongkha dialects the form \( \text{d} \) is replaced by form \( \text{d} \) as the proximal definite article. In Dzongkha a possessive can be used together with or without the definite article, \( \text{d} \) 'my friend [def]' and \( \text{d} \) 'my friend'. The distinction is comparable to the Portuguese \textit{o meu amigo} 'my friend [def]' and \textit{meu amigo} 'my friend' or Limbu \textit{a-mdzum} 'my friend' and \textit{a-mdzum} 'my friend'. Both definite articles can be used independently as a nominal head, e.g. \( \text{d} \) \( \text{d} \) \( \text{d} \) 'my friend [def]' and \( \text{d} \) 'my friend'.

The plural suffix \( \text{tshu} \), when it occurs, follows the definite article, e.g. \( \text{d} \) \( \text{d} \) \( \text{d} \) \( \text{tshu} \) 'the clothes'. The Dzongkha plural is not equivalent to the European plural category in that, as in many of the world's languages, the Dzongkha plural is not a strictly obligatory category for any collection of items greater than one. Rather, the Dzongkha plural is used primarily in contexts where it is desirable to emphasize the plurality of the referents or to express manifoldness.

The remaining demonstratives shown in the preceding table may also be used adnominally. Used attributively,
tain words ending in a vowel take the genitive ending -i, e.g. ཏི་དར་ཁྲག་ནི་ཆིམ་གོའི་ད་མེ་‘the key to my house’, ཏི་དངོས་ཁ་འིས་ལེབ་‘Dzongkhai Datröbi Zhung ‘The Grammar of Dzongkha’, གཞི་གཞི་ག་བུར་གཞན་ཁོལ་‘his wife’s hand’, whereas others take the genitive ending ནི་, e.g. གི་སྦེ་དོ་‘the key to my house’. The genitive ending ནི་is occasionally used in combination with the genitive རེ་, particularly in the first singular possessive, e.g. གི་སྦེ་བུ་མོ་‘my daughter’. The combination ཏི་དངོས་‘my’ is increasingly written ཏི་དངོས་‘my’, and for the form ཏི་དངོས་‘my’, the spellings ཏི་དངོས་and ཏི་དངོས་are also found. Words ending in orthographic -ཐོ་either take the ending ནི་པར་or drop the final -ཐོ་and add ནི་. Furthermore, there is a special adjectival genitive -ཨོ་-ཐོ་, which expresses the genitive relationship as a quality or characteristic of the second element, e.g. འོ་ཨོ་-ཐོ་‘country bumpkin [literally: son of a pauper]’.

The locative suffix མ་-ཐོ་indicates location or destination, like English ‘in’, e.g. ལ་གང་སྟོན་ལ་དཀར་‘in our house’, ང་མ་ཙང་‘in the market’, མ་ཁ་བུ་‘in the office’, མ་སྣ་པ་‘on page ten’. Another locative suffix ཚེ་-ཐོ་occurs in combination with a limited set of nominals, e.g. ཞེ་ཐོ་‘at’ འོ་-ཐོ་‘there’, འོ་-ཐོ་‘in the village’.

The ablative suffix བ་- ན་-ཐོ་indicates the point of origin or departure, like English ‘from’, e.g. མ་-ཐོ་‘from’ འོ་-ཐོ་‘on a rock’ vs. ཡ་-ཐོ་-ཐོ་‘on us’, ཡ་-ཐོ་-ཐོ་‘upon the mouse’, འོ་-ཐོ་-ཐོ་‘on the face’.

Phuntsho‘ling-lä ‘from Phuntsho‘ling’, ཕུང་ ས་ ‘from, since yesterday’, རོ་-ཐོ་-ཐོ་‘from the heart’.

The dative suffix བ་- ན་-ཐོ་indicates the goal or site of an activity. When an activity expressed by a verb is directed ‘to’ or ‘for’ a someone or something, the goal is marked by the dative. The Dzongkha dative differs from a Slavic dative or Latin, for example, in that it may mark what in most Western languages would be the direct object of a sentence when the verb in Dzongkha expresses an activity seen as directed at the object, e.g. གི་སྦེ་དོ་‘to’ or ‘for his friend’ or simply ‘his friend’, བ་-ཐོ་‘me, to me’. The dative suffix also indicates location or direction, like English ‘to’ or ‘at’, and may even be combined with the locative suffix to indicate the site of an activity or situation, e.g. གི་སྦེ་‘in Thimphu’, འོ་-ཐོ་‘at the office’.

Other suffixes postpositions will be introduced in passing in the course of the present grammar. Many of these can be affixed directly to the noun they modify, e.g. བ་-ཐོ་-ཐོ་‘up as far as over there’. Some are complements of genitive constructions, e.g. གི་སྦེ་-ཐོ་འདོ་-ཐོ་‘on behalf of, in order to’. Yet others may both occur as complements of the genitive or be affixed directly to the noun they modify, e.g. བ་-ཐོ་-ཐོ་‘on me’, འོ་-ཐོ་-ཐོ་‘on a rock’ vs. བ་-ཐོ་-ཐོ་‘on us’, ཡ་-ཐོ་-ཐོ་‘upon the mouse’, འོ་-ཐོ་-ཐོ་‘on the face’.
3. The verbs ‘to be’ བོད་ ‘ing and བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma

In Dzongkha there are five forms of the verb ‘to be’. These are བོད་ ‘ing, བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma, བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma. བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ and བོད་ ‘mo. The verbs བོད་ ‘ing and བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma are equative forms of the verb ‘to be’ used to express the identity or inherent quality of a person, entity or thing. The verbs བོད་ ‘ing and བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma often function as a copula connecting two nouns, but are also used to express what in the mind of the speaker is simply an established fact about the location or quality of the subject. By contrast, the verbs བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma and བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma correspond to the existential, locational and attributive senses of the English verb ‘to be’. The verbs བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma and བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma form the topic Section 4, and the verb བོད་ ‘mo is discussed in Section 5.

As equative forms of the verb ‘to be’ the forms བོད་ ‘ing and བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma serve to identify by linking two nouns with each other. The form བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma contains the suffix བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma contains the suffix -པ་ བ་, which will be discussed in the next chapter. This suffix is pronounced བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma is also occasionally pronounced བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma, the more phonetic spelling བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma appears to be gaining ground in written Dzongkha. The hypercorrect spellings བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma, however, should be avoided.

(3) བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma, however, also connect a noun in the subject with a locative argument or with an attributive qualification in the predicate if the location or attribute indicated is seen as being an essential part of the subject’s identity or an inherent quality of the subject. As opposed to the verbs བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma and བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma discussed in the next section, the attributive usage of བོད་ ‘imma presents a quality of the subject as a factual situation.

(5) བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma, however, also connect a noun in the subject with a locative argument or with an attributive qualification in the predicate if the location or attribute indicated is seen as being an essential part of the subject’s identity or an inherent quality of the subject. As opposed to the verbs བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma and བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma discussed in the next section, the attributive usage of བོད་ ‘imma presents a quality of the subject as a factual situation.

(6) བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ ‘imma, however, also connect a noun in the subject with a locative argument or with an attributive qualification in the predicate if the location or attribute indicated is seen as being an essential part of the subject’s identity or an inherent quality of the subject. As opposed to the verbs བོད་ ‘imma and བོད་ ‘imma discussed in the next section, the attributive usage of བོད་ ‘imma presents a quality of the subject as a factual situation.
(7) Kho 'mi thrangtangta 'ing
He man straight be

He is a man of great integrity.

The difference between 'ing and 'immā is an important distinction in Dzongkha which has to do with assimilated versus acquired knowledge. The form 'ing expresses old, ingrained background knowledge which is or has become a firmly integrated part of one's conception of reality, whereas the form 'immā expresses knowledge which has been newly acquired. It is therefore usual for a listener in Dzongkha to use the form 'ing in the sense 'That is so/That's right' to punctuate someone else's narrative.

The difference therefore between sentence (8) and sentence (9) is that, in sentence (8), the speaker is stating what he knows to be a fact and of which he has certain knowledge, whereas, in sentence (9), the speaker is stating what he has come to know as a fact. This is why the form 'immā provides the most plausible reading for sentence (10).

(8) 'Aphi 'mi d'i drung-yi 'ing
That man the clerk be

That man is a clerk.

(9) 'Aphi 'mi d'i drung-yi 'immā
That man the clerk be

That man is a clerk [as I have come to know].

(10) NgI-g'i chazha-si-ra cho 'ing
My-[gen] to rely upon-place-[str] you be

You are someone I can rely on.

Because the form 'immā expresses acquired knowledge, it is generally used with respect to third person referents. The use of 'immā with second person referents is less common and is exceedingly rare with first person referents because it is unusual for a speaker to want to express a recently gained insight into the identity of the person to whom he is speaking, much less his own identity. However, there are situations in which 'immā could be used with a first or second person subject.

Whereas sentence (11) is a statement of fact with the form 'ing, the form 'immā is used in sentence (12) where the speaker has suddenly just realized that his long-time acquaintance has taken to stealing.

(11) 'Aphi 'mi d'i drung-yi 'immā
That man the clerk be

That man is a clerk.

(12) 'Aphi 'mi d'i drung-yi 'immā
That man the clerk be

That man is a clerk.
But in speaking about himself to a visitor, the same patient would simply say:

(14) ར་དཔེད་བཞི་
Nga nep 'ing
I patient be

I’m a patient.

When one is with a large group of friends and family, and one suddenly learns that it has been decided that one has been included in the group that is to go off to the market to do groceries, one might say:

(15) ར་པར་ཞེས་རབས་རེད་ལེ་བཞི
Nga ya thromkha jo-mi 'immā
I too bazar go-[sub] be

I am apparently also [included in the group that is] going to bazar.

Similarly, in (16) the speaker responds the the question with the form བཞི 'immā because the fact that he placed first in the class, although ultimately the result of the speaker’s own efforts, represents a recently announced result of the evaluation by the teachers.
One might also say दो दौर्गः ग्रिः ग्रिः if one has just recognized oneself on a fuzzy photograph. Similarly, if one overhears a conversation and suddenly realizes that they are talking about him, he may say दो दौर्गः ग्रिः ग्रिः निग्राणे ग्रिः, 'It’s me [they’re talking about]'. Keep in mind that the use of दो दौर्गः ग्रिः is extraordinary with respect to a second person and especially with respect to a first person referent. Both forms दो दौर्गः ग्रिः ग्रिः ग्रिः are used freely with respect to third person referents, depending on whether the knowledge expressed is ingrained or newly acquired.

In questions containing the verb दो दौर्गः ग्रिः, the special interrogative particle दो दौर्गः may be added. In contrast to the special interrogative particle दो दौर्गः, the particle दो दौर्गः is used only in yes-or-no questions. The difference between question (18) with दो दौर्गः ग्रिः and question (19) with दो दौर्गः ग्रिः ग्रिः is that the speaker in question (18) assumes that the person he is asking knows the answer to his question, whereas the speaker in question (19) is unsure as to whether the person knows the answer.

The form दो दौर्गः ग्रिः ग्रिः cannot be used in questions regarding the second person, such as question (17), because this would give the absurd meaning that the speaker assumes the person whom he is asking has at that very moment just discovered whether or not he is a student.

The negative form of दो दौर्गः ग्रिः is दो दौर्गः मः or emphatic मः, although the older spelling दो दौर्गः is at present
still more common, and the negative form of निंदा 'im-mā is निंदा membā. The difference in meaning between निंदा mā and निंदा membā is equivalent to the difference in meaning between निंदा 'ing and निंदा 'imma.

(20) निंदा जिम्मा
Di ngi-g'i chim mā
This I-[gen] house not be
This isn’t my house.

(21) निंदा जिम्मा
Kho ge’lo mā
He monk not be
He’s not a monk.

(22) निंदा जिम्मा
Kho Kâmai chāro membā. 'Mi zhenmi
He Karma-[gen] friend not be. Man other
d’i Kâmai chāro 'im-ong.
the Karma-[gen] friend be-[pot]
That guy is apparently not Karma’s friend.
That other fellow is probably Karma’s friend.

(23) निंदा जिम्मा
Nga-zumbe membā.
I-like not be.
He’s not like me.

The special interrogative particle ना na, used with निंदा 'ing, is also used with निंदा mā.

(24) निंदा जिम्मा
Di ya lāshom me-na
This too good not be-[Q]
Isn’t this a good one too?

(25) निंदा जिम्मा
Di chō-g’i me-na
This you-[gen] not be-[Q]
Isn’t this yours?

(26) निंदा जिम्मा
Nga-g’i 'lap-ci me-na
I-[erg] say-[pt], not be-[Q]
I told you so, didn’t I? (cf. French n’est-ce pas?)

The negative form निंदा membā takes the regular interrogative particle ना g’a to form a yes-or-no question. As with निंदा 'imma-g’a, with the use of निंदा 'imma-g’a.
membä-g°a the speaker is assuming that the person addressed may not have certain knowledge of the answer to what is being asked:

(27) བོད་པ་ཞྭ་ཞི་མཁས་
Kho cimi membä-g°a
He village headman not be-[Q]

[Don’t you think] he might be a village headman?

4. The verbs ‘to be’ ཤོ་ཡོ and ཤིན་དུ

The Dzongkha verbs ཤོ་ཡོ and ཤིན་དུ cover the cover the existential, locational and attributive meanings of English ‘to be’. The verbs ཤོ་ཡོ and ཤིན་དུ are used in a locational sense to indicate the whereabouts of the subject of the sentence, in an existential sense to indicate the availability or presence of a person, commodity or thing, and an attributive sense to ascribe a quality to someone or something.

The difference in meaning between ཤོ་ཡོ and ཤིན་དུ is the same as that which obtains between ིིང་ིམ་'immā. The form ཤོ་ཡོ is used to express assimilated or personal knowledge, whereas ཤིན་དུ is used to express something about which the speaker has only acquired or objective knowledge.

This difference in meaning between ཤོ་ཡོ and ཤིན་དུ applies in all the various uses of these verbs. For example, in the attributive sense, the verb ཤིན་དུ in sentences (28) and (29) expresses objective knowledge on the part of the speaker, acquired through observation, whereas the verb ཤོ་ཡོ in sentence (30) expresses personal knowledge by the speaker regarding his own son. It is true enough that the speaker must have at one point gained this knowledge too by observation, but it thereafter came to belong to the realm of the speaker’s personal knowledge.

(28) རྡུག་ཁྲི་ཐུབ་ངོ་ན།
Chö jëārim du
You beautiful be
You are beautiful.

(29) རྡུག་ཁྲི་ཐུབ་ངོ་ན།
Kho böm du
He big be
He is big.

(30) རྡུག་ཁྲི་ཐུབ་ངོ་ན།
Ngi b'u böm yö
My son big be
My son is big.
(31) Nga kheko yō
I strong be

I am strong.

In an attributive statement, either ㎒ du or ㎒ yō may be used with respect to a third person referent, depending on the type of knowledge expressed, as illustrated in sentences (29) and (30), but with respect to a second person referent only ㎒ du can be used because knowledge about a second person referent is by definition objective. Even a mother speaking to her own son whom she has raised and nurtured from birth cannot grammatically replace ㎒ du with ㎒ yō in sentence (28). Conversely, in an attributive statement with respect to a first person referent only the verb ㎒ yō can be used because knowledge about a first person referent is inherently personal, as in the boast of sentence (31)

Both verbs ㎒ yō and ㎒ du are used in the locational sense to express the whereabouts of the subject. Here again the difference in meaning between ㎒ yō and 鞴 du lies in the fact that the speaker's knowledge about his wife's whereabouts is personal, whereas his knowledge about the location of the cat is objective.

(32) Bjili d'i drom-na du
Cat the box-in be

The cat is in the box.

(33) Ngi 'amtshu nā chim-na yō
My wife here house-in be

My wife is here inside.

The verbs ㎒ yō and ㎒ du are used in an existential sense to indicate the presence or availability of a person, commodity or thing. In sentence (35) the form 鞴 du expresses objective knowledge on the part of the speaker about the presence of mud in the shoes, whereas the form ㎒ yō in the exchange in (34) has to do with the fact that a shopkeeper has personal knowledge of the ware he has in stock.

(34) - G°uram yō-g°a?
Sugar be-[Q]?
- G°uram yō.
Sugar be.
- Is there sugar? (Do you have sugar?)
- Yes, there is.
In this existential sense, the verbs གོ་ and དུ་ are used with the dative postposition དུ་ to indicate possession. This construction is known as the dative of possession and corresponds to the use of the English verb 'have' to indicate possession.

(36) སྐད་དཔོན་པརིད་པརིད།
Nga-lu pecha-ci yö
Me-[dat] book-a be
I have a book.

(37) སྐད་དཔོན་པརིད་པརིད།
Ngace-rere-lu gi-re yö
We-each-[dat] knife-each be
We each have a knife.

(38) དོན་དཔོན་པརིད་པརིད།
Kho-lu ra-’nyi du
He-[dat] goat-two be
He has two goats.

The dative of possession can also be used for inalienable possession, such as relatives and parts of the body:

(39) སྐད་དཔོན་པརིད་པརིད།
Chö-lu lhapa-bóm-ci du
You-[dat] nose-big-a be
You’ve got a big nose.

(40) སྐད་དཔོན་པརིད་པརིད།
Nga-lu sìn-sum yö
Me-[dat] younger sister-three be
I have three younger sisters.

Dzongkha uses other postpositions than དུ་ with the verbs གོ་ and དུ་ to express various senses of the English verb 'to have' other than possession. Such postpositions are ར་ na ‘at, in’, དྷ་བརིད་ dºacikha ‘with’ or བན་པའ་ gi-laba ‘in the hand of’.

(41) སྐད་དཔོན་པརིད་པརིད།
Ngi-b’ongku chö-na yö, ’mo?
My-donkey you-at be isn’t it?
You’ve got my donkey, don’t you?
Have you got my map?

My wife has my key.

To make a yes-or-no question of a sentence ending in either འཇིག་ཡོ་ or གཏིག་དུ, the regular interrogative particle འཇིན་གྱིས་be- is added. As we observed above, the choice of either འཇིག་ཡོ་ or གཏིག་དུ in attributive statements regarding third person referents depends on the nature of knowledge expressed. We learned that with respect to second person referents, only the form གཏིག་དུ is used, and that with respect to first person referents only འཇིག་ཡོ་ is used. This situation is reversed in questions, which is logical if the reader recalls the difference in meaning between the forms འཇིག་ཡོ་ and གཏིག་དུ.

In a question with respect to a second person referent, such as question (44), the speaker is inquiring about the health of the second person, the state of which the speaker necessarily assumes is a matter of personal knowledge to the second person. The speaker therefore uses the form འཇིག་ཡོ་ in his question. If a speaker poses a question concerning the first person, i.e. about himself, as in sentence (45), the speaker is inquiring after the second person's opinion, i.e. about the second person's objective knowledge based on this person's observations.

Are you in good health?

Let us turn to some more examples which illustrate the difference in meaning between the forms འཇིག་ཡོ་ and གཏིག་དུ in their existential and locational meanings. In talking about oneself, it is most natural to use the form འཇིག་ཡོ, as in sentence (46), whereas the choice of གཏིག་དུ in sentence (47) would be appropriate if the speaker had just found money in the pocket of a pair of trousers he has not worn for a long time.
(46) Nga-lu tiru lāsha yō
I-[dat] money much be
I have lots of money.

(47) Nga-lu tiru du
I-[dat] money be
I’ve got money.

The speaker of sentence (48), in which the form งำธุณ ดุ is used, had out of sheer curiosity just walked up the stairs of Norling Restaurant in downtown Thimphu the evening before to make a telephone call and seen the second person there, then went back down the stairs and left. The sentence, in effect, implies ‘I saw that you were there’. The use of the form งำธุณ ยō in sentence (49) is appropriate if the speaker had been there the evening before together with the person to whom he is speaking. Here shared experience constitutes personal knowledge.

(48) Khatsa chō-ya Nöling z'akha-na du
Yesterday you-too Norling Restaurant-at be
You were also there at Norling yesterday.

(49) Khatsa chō-ya yō
Yesterday you-too be
You were also there yesterday.

Note that in sentences (48) and (49) the verbs งำธุณ ดุ and งำธุณ ยō are readily used in readily in a past tense context. The difference between งำธุณ ดุ and งำธุณ ยō is exceptionally clear in the following two examples: The form งำธุณ ดุ is used in sentence (50) because the speaker is not privy to the secret, whereas the form งำธุณ ยō is used in sentence (51) where the speaker shares the secret.

(50) Khong-'nyi-lu sang'l9-ci du
They-two-[dat] secret-a be
They two have a secret.

(51) Ngace-lu sangtam-ci yō
We-[dat] secret-a be
We’ve got a secret.

Questions (52) and (53) are similar but have different implications. In question (52), the use of งำธุณ ดุ indicates that the speaker assumes that the person to whom he is
speaking may have come to know whether Sanggä has money or not. The person addressed may, for instance, have been with Sanggä that day and may have come to know something about Sanggä’s financial situation. The use of यो, as in question (53), is appropriate if the speaker knows that the person to whom he is speaking is a long-time friend of Sanggä’s who has personal knowledge of Sanggä’s financial situation.

(52) यो आदर्शाला सङ्ग्गा ललीगा
Sanggä-lu tiru du-g"a
Sanggä-[dat] money be-[Q]

Does Sanggä have money?

(53) यो आदर्शाला सङ्ग्गा ललीगा
Sanggä-lu tiru yö-g"a
Sanggä-[dat] money be-[Q]

Does Sanggä have money?

In sentence (54) the speaker uses the form दु to express the presence of people he has established by observation. In sentence (55), the speaker has come to Trashichö Dzong with Pänjo, who has is now standing at a distance talking to someone else; the speaker is responding to someone’s question as to whether Pänjo is present. The use of the form यो in (55) reflects the speaker’s personal knowledge.

(54) चो दु खो यो पौजो के उंग में
You be. He also be. Pänjo only not-come-[ep]

You’re here. He’s here. Now, Pänjo is the only one who hasn’t shown up yet.

(55) दु खो सङ्ग्गा यो
Pänjo na yō
Pänjo here be

Pänjo is here.

The negative of the form यो is में, and the negative of the form दु is धैर्यः minu or minu, sometimes spelt धैर्यः minu.

(56) हेमा नागु तिरु लाश दो-सी. दू
Hema nga-lu tiru lāsha dō-ci. D"a
Before I-[dat] money much sit-[pt]. Now
nga-lu g°aniya mē.
I-[dat] anything not be

I used to have a lot of money. Now I don’t have anything.
There's no difference whatsoever between the two.

There's no yak meat in the shop.

Similarly in sentence (61), the speaker is identifying the monastery's location as a matter of fact, whereas the speaker in (62) is pointing out the monastery's whereabouts.

The verb ག་ཏོག་དུ་ takes the special interrogative particle ལེ་ go in questions other than yes-or-no questions.
5. The comparative -ཐུ་-wa and superlative -ཐུ་-sho

The comparative is formed by means of the postposition -ཐུ་-wa 'than', which follows the noun it modifies, but precedes the definite article ཆོས་, e.g. (66). In this connexion it should be noted the Dzongkha equivalent to an English adjective may be an adjective, but is in some cases a verb expressing a state or condition. In sentence (64) the verb is སྣང་ 'to be old', whereas in sentence (65) the nominalized form རྣངས་ 'old' is the complement of the verb རྣམ་ 'ing 'to be'.

(64) སྣང་-པོ་ཐུ་ཁོང་ཉོན་-དཔོན་
Ngi-phogem-döi chö-gö phogem-wa
My-elder_brother-the you-[gen] elder_brother-than
be old

My elder brother is older than your elder brother.

(65) སྣང་-པོ་ཐུ་ཁོང་ཉོན་-དཔོན་
Ngi-phogem-döi chö-gö phogem-wa
My-elder_brother-the you-[gen] elder_brother-than
gep 'ing
old be

My elder brother is senior to your elder brother.

(66) སྣང་-པོ་ཐུ་ཁོང་ཉོན་-ཐུ་
Sé-wa-döi zi gong tho
Gold-than-the cat's eye onyx price be expensive

Cat's eye onyx is more costly than gold.

The superlative is formed by means of the postposition -ཐུ་-sho 'most', pronounced -ཐུ་ in some dialects.

(67) སྣང་-པོ་ཐུ་ཁོང་ཉོན་-ཐུ་
Gongtho-sho zi 'ing
Expensive-most cat's eye onyx be

Cat's eye onyx is the most expensive thing.

(68) སྣང་-པོ་ཐུ་ཁོང་ཉོན་-ཐུ་
Bangche-sho kho 'ing
Tough-most he be

He's the toughest.
6. The verb 'mo

The verb 'mo is a form of 'be' which expresses a nexus in Jespersen's sense of the term, whereby an additional logical argument is added to the sentence. The nature of the argument can approximately be rendered as 'it is the case that'. The difference between the following two pairs of Dzongkha sentences can be rendered more adequately in French than in English. The verb 'mo is only used in the interrogative.

(70) Chön gæti joo-nil
You whither go-[inf]

Where are you going? (cf. French Où vas-tu?)

(71) Chön gæti joo-nil 'mo
You whither go-[inf] be

Where are you going? (cf. French Où est-ce que tu vas?)

(72) 'Ani-gäi gong g'adpeci 'in-na
This-of price how much be-[Q]

How much does this cost? (cf. French Combien ça coûte?)

(73) 'Ani-gäi gong g'adpeci 'mo
This-of price how much be

How much does this cost? (cf. French Combien est-ce que ça coûte?)

The frequently heard expression 'mosh 'Isn't that so?' or 'Isn't that the case?' clearly reflect the meaning of this verb form as it is also used in larger syntagmas. When 'mo directly follows a verb, the stem of the verb is inflected, e.g. (75), (76). Inflected stems are discussed in Section 3 of Chapter 5.
7. Numerals: the decimal system

The following list gives Dzongkha numerals in their short forms, as they are used when counting.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ci</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>'nyi</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sum</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
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<td>four</td>
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<td>dr'u</td>
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<td>cügu</td>
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<td>nyishu</td>
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| ६१ जौटिंग |           | eighty-one  |
| ६२ जौटिंग |           | eighty-two  |
| ६३ जौटिंग |           | eighty-three|
| ६४ जौटिंग |           | eighty-four  |
| ६५ जौटिंग |           | eighty-five  |
| ६६ जौटिंग |           | eighty-six   |
| ६७ जौटिंग |           | eighty-seven |
| ६८ जौटिंग |           | eighty-eight |
| ६९ जौटिंग |           | eighty-nine  |
| ७० जौटिंग |           | ninety       |
| ७१ जौटिंग |           | ninety-one   |
| ७२ जौटिंग |           | ninety-two   |
| ७३ जौटिंग |           | ninety-three |
| ७४ जौटिंग |           | ninety-four  |
| ७५ जौटिंग |           | ninety-five  |
| ७६ जौटिंग |           | ninety-six   |
| ७७ जौटिंग |           | ninety-seven |
| ७८ जौटिंग |           | ninety-eight |
| ७९ जौटिंग |           | ninety-nine  |
| ८० जौटिंग |           | one hundred  |
| ८१ जौटिंग |           | one hundred  |
| ८२ जौटिंग |           | one hundred  |
| ८३ जौटिंग |           | one hundred  |
| ८४ जौटिंग |           | one hundred  |
| ८५ जौटिंग |           | one hundred  |
| ८६ जौटिंग |           | one hundred  |
| ८७ जौटिंग |           | one hundred  |
| ८८ जौटिंग |           | one hundred  |
| ८९ जौटिंग |           | one hundred  |
| ९० जौटिंग |           | one hundred  |
cikja ci  one hundred one

'nyi  one hundred two

sum  one hundred three

...  

cikja cügu  one hundred nineteen

cyishu  one hundred twenty

nyerci  one hundred twenty-one

...  etcetera

tyij  two hundred

sumja  three hundred

zhija  four hundred

'ngapja  five hundred

dr'ukja  six hundred

dünja  seven hundred

gäpja  eight hundred

gupja  nine hundred

ciktong  one thousand

tongthra ci  one thousand
	nyitong  two thousand

sumtong  three thousand

'ngaptong  four thousand

drüuktong  five thousand

dün'tong  six thousand

guptong  seven thousand

nyithri  eight thousand

...  etcetera

cyibum  one lakh

cyibum  two lakhs

...  etcetera

suya ci  one million

suya 'nyi  two million

...  etcetera
When counting, the suffix \textit{thampa} is often added to the whole tens and whole hundreds, e.g. \textit{nyishu-thampa} ‘twenty’, \textit{gapcu-thampa} ‘eighty’, \textit{cikja-thampa} ‘one hundred’, \textit{dünja-thampa} ‘seven hundred’. This suffix serves to punctuate the rounding off of a group of ten whilst counting or to accentuate the fact that the number is a round figure. Note that the tens suffix \textit{cu} is spelt \textit{d} after units ending in an orthographic consonant, even after \textit{ga} in \textit{gapcu} ‘eighty’ where this spelling is at variance with the pronunciation.

Furthermore, when stating an amount or a price to be paid which is over twenty and not a round number, the corresponding decade is prefixed to the counting number form. For example, when stating the price of an article as forty-five 'ngitram, a shopkeeper will say \textit{zhi pcu zh nga}, rather than use the abbreviated counting form \textit{zhi nga}. Similarly, a price or sum will be quoted as \textit{nyishu tsasum} ‘twenty-three’ rather than just as \textit{tsasum}, and as \textit{dr ukcu redru} ‘sixty-six’ rather than as \textit{redru}.

Moreover, in addition to the counting forms listed above for the numbers from twenty-one through twenty-nine, there is an alternative set of forms listed below. These forms are used in dates to designate days of the month after the twentieth, and they are also used by some people in counting instead of, or as an alternative to, the counting forms listed above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Alternative Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>\textit{nyerci}</td>
<td>twenty-one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>\textit{nyer'nyi}</td>
<td>twenty-two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>\textit{nyersum}</td>
<td>twenty-three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>\textit{nyer'd}</td>
<td>twenty-four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>\textit{nyer'nga}</td>
<td>twenty-five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>\textit{nyerdr'u}</td>
<td>twenty-six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>\textit{nyerdün}</td>
<td>twenty-seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>\textit{nyergä}</td>
<td>twenty-eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>\textit{nyergu}</td>
<td>twenty-nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>\textit{sumcu}</td>
<td>thirty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word for ‘zero’ is \textit{leko} or, in telephone numbers, \textit{thi}, and the word for ‘half’ is \textit{pche}. In expressions like ‘seven and a half’ the word \textit{pche} ‘half’ precedes the next higher numeral by means of the conjunction \textit{d a ‘and’, e.g.} \textit{zhi nga pche-d a-gä}, literally ‘half of eight’ or ‘half less than eight’, viz. ‘seven
and a half'. The same may be said as dün-dö-pchê 'seven and a half', although it is less common to express half numbers in this way.

Percentages are expressed by the word jacha 'percent' followed by the cardinal number, e.g. dö-pchê jacha gāpcu 'eighty percent'.

The word for 'pair' is lhama ci 'a pair of shoes'. The singulative for a single member of a pair is ya, e.g. lhama ya ci 'one shoe of a pair'. There is a special word dö-p 'pair' used only for oxen, e.g. lang-dö-ci 'a pair of oxen'. There is a word dö-o 'two' used with respect to any receptacle which can be filled, e.g. phop-dö o thung-yi 'I drank two cups [full] of beer', and a corresponding word göang, literally 'full', to express one receptacle of anything, e.g. chang dö-ämjöi-göang-lu göadöeci 'mo 'How much is one bottle of beer?'.

The word for 'time' in the sense of 'occasion' is tshā, which is followed by a cardinal number, e.g. tshā-PAY tshā-ci 'once', tshā-nyi 'twice', tshā-dröu 'six times', etc. The word for 'time' in the multiplicative sense is tap, which is preceded by the adverb lo 'back, again; return', e.g. dö-lo-tap 'double', and preceded by number greater than two, e.g. sum-tap 'triple, three times', cala-döi-tshu 'nga-tap-göi gong bōm 'These wares are five times the price'. Note the use of the ergative here: 'ngag-döi nga-tap-göi', literally 'by five times'.

Ordinal numbers are introduced in Chapter 7 under Section 5 on the Bhutanese calendar.

8. Numerals: the vigesimal system

In addition to the decimal system outlined above, Dzongkha, just like the other indigenous languages of Bhutan, has a vigesimal numeral system based on the score. Remnants of an older vigesimal system can be seen in French where, for example, the word for 'eighty' quatre-vingts, literally 'four twenties', forms a parallel to Dzongkha khazhi 'fourscore'. Use of the vigesimal system was once more common in English than it is today. Former American president Abraham Lincoln opened his Gettysburg Address with the words 'Fourscore and seven years ago', by which he meant eighty-seven years ago, just as in Dzongkha khazhi dö-a dün 'fourscore and seven'. In Dzongkha, the vigesimal system is still widely used in counting amounts of houses, dogs, boxes and crates and many commodities. The vigesimal system, of course, begins at twenty.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་</td>
<td>half less than two score and one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་ བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་</td>
<td>one score and eleven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་ བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་</td>
<td>one score and twelve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་ བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་</td>
<td>one score and thirteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་ བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་</td>
<td>one score and fourteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་ བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་</td>
<td>one fourth less than two score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་ བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་</td>
<td>one score and sixteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་ བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་</td>
<td>one score and seventeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་ བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་</td>
<td>one score and eighteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་ བཅིག་པ་དེ་བཅིག་པ་</td>
<td>one score and nineteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>西藏文</td>
<td>汉译</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi</td>
<td>两分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi d'o ci</td>
<td>两分一分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi d'o nyi</td>
<td>两分二分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi d'o sum</td>
<td>两分三分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi d'o zhi</td>
<td>两分四分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi d'o nga</td>
<td>两分五分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi d'o dr'u</td>
<td>两分六分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi d'o dun</td>
<td>两分七分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi d'o gä</td>
<td>两分八分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi d'o gu</td>
<td>两分九分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'phê-d'o-sum</td>
<td>半分少于三分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi d'o cucü</td>
<td>两分十分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi d'o cu'nyi</td>
<td>两分十一分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi d'o cüsum</td>
<td>两分十二分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi d'o cüzhi</td>
<td>两分十三分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'k'o-d'o-sum</td>
<td>一分四分少于三分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi d'o cüdr'u</td>
<td>两分十四分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi d'o cüdpü</td>
<td>两分十五分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi d'o cügä</td>
<td>两分十六分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham'nyi d'o cügu</td>
<td>两分十七分</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khāsum</td>
<td>threescore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 གས་གས་འབོད་གས</td>
<td>khāsum d'o ci</td>
<td>threescore and one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 གས་གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khāsum d'o 'nyi</td>
<td>threescore and two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 གས་གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khāsum d'o sum</td>
<td>threescore and three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khāsum d'o zhi</td>
<td>threescore and four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khāsum d'o 'nga</td>
<td>threescore and five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khāsum d'o dr'o</td>
<td>threescore and six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khāsum d'o dün</td>
<td>threescore and seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khāsum d'o gā</td>
<td>threescore and eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khāsum d'o gu</td>
<td>threescore and nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khā pchê-d'o-zhi</td>
<td>half less than four-score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khāsum d'o cui</td>
<td>threescore and ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khāsum d'o cu'nyi</td>
<td>threescore and eleven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khāsum d'o cusum</td>
<td>threescore and twelve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khāsum d'o czhi</td>
<td>threescore and thirteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khā ko-d'o-zi</td>
<td>one fourth less than four-score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khāsum d'o cu'dr'o</td>
<td>threescore and sixteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khāsum d'o cupdū</td>
<td>threescore and seventeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khāsum d'o copgā</td>
<td>threescore and eighteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 གས་གས་གས</td>
<td>khāsum d'o cūgu</td>
<td>threescore and nineteen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
khāzhi  fourscore
khāzhi d'ə ci  fourscore and one
khāzhi d'ə 'nyi  fourscore and two
khāzhi d'ə sum  fourscore and three
khāzhi d'ə zhi  fourscore and four
khāzhi d'ə 'nga  fourscore and five
khāzhi d'ə drəu  fourscore and six
khāzhi d'ə dün  fourscore and seven
khāzhi d'ə gä  fourscore and eight
khāzhi d'ə gu  fourscore and nine
khū pchē-d'ə-'nga  half less than fivescore
khāzhi d'ə cu  fourscore and eleven
khāzhi d'ə cu'nyi  fourscore and twelve
khāzhi d'ə cu'sum  fourscore and thirteen
khāzhi d'ə cu'zhi  fourscore and fourteen
khā ko-d'ə-'nga  one fourth less than fivescore
khāzhi d'ə cu'drəu  fourscore and sixteen
khāzhi d'ə cu'dü  fourscore and seventeen
khāzhi d'ə cu'gä  fourscore and eighteen
khāzhi d'ə cu'gu  fourscore and nineteen
The vigesimal system continues repeating this pattern in cycles of twenty until the 'twenty score' or four hundred is reached, which in Dzongkha is the same as the word for 'twenty' གླའ་ང་ nyishu.
This pattern repeats itself in cycles of four hundred or twentyscore until ‘twenty twentyscore’ or eight thousand is reached, which in Dzongkha is khäce, with unaspirated C notwithstanding the orthography.

4000 མཁྲེན་བཅུས།
khäceci
twenty-twentyscore

4010 མཁྲེན་བཅུས་འཕུལ་བསྐྱུབ།
khäceci d'o cuthâm
twenty-twentyscore and ten

4020 མཁྲེན་བཅུས་འཕུལ་འཕུལ།
khäceci d'o khäci
twenty-twentyscore and one score

4030 མཁྲེན་བཅུས་འཕུལ་འཕུལ་འཕུལ།
khäceci d'o khä phê-d'o-nyi
twenty-twentyscore and half less than twoscore

This pattern repeats itself in cycles of twenty-twentyscore or eight thousand until ‘twentyscore twentyscore’ or one hundred sixty thousand is reached, which in Dzongkha is འཇིག་ yangce, with unaspirated C.
9. Telling time

Dzongkha for ‘hour’ is ཞུ་ཁོ་ཞུ་ཐ་ འཐ་ 'chutshö', and ‘minute’ is རྒྱ་མཚན་ 'karrna'. To ask the time, one may say ཨ་ཐ་ འཐ་ 'Döato chutshö g'o-ad-eci 'mo? ‘What time [how many hours] is it now?’. Several roughly equivalent expressions are used for telling in whole hours, e.g. དོ་ འཐ་ 'Döa chutshö cutham 'imma 'It’s ten o’clock’, དོ་ འཐ་ 'Döa chutshö dtin dung-da-nu 'It has struck seven o’clock' or དོ་ འཐ་ 'Döa chutshö sum ya-so-nu ‘It has become three o’clock’. When telling time in half hours, Dzongkha follows the same practice as in Russian or Dutch. For example, ‘It’s half past three’ is expressed as དོ་ འཐ་ 'Döa chutshö pche-döa-zhi 'imma. ‘It’s half past six’ is དོ་ འཐ་ 'Döa chutshö pche-döa-dün 'imma.

In telling time in terms of minutes after the whole hour, the expression བོ་ཐ་ di 'having transpired' is used. This form is the past participle of the verb བོ་ 'to pass by', e.g. བོ་ འཐ་ 'Gārī bjoik ya-song-yi 'The bus has already passed by'. For example, in Dzongkha ‘It’s fifteen past nine’ is expressed as བོ་ འཐ་ 'Döato chutshö gu bjoik-di karma c’a-n'gä 'imma. To tell time in terms of minutes before the whole hour, one states how many minutes remain before the striking of the hour, e.g. བོ་ འཐ་ 'Döa chutshö gu dung-ba kar-

ma ' nga ḡu 'It’s five till nine', literally ‘There are five minutes left for it to strike nine’, whereby དང་ 'dung- ba is the supine of དོ་ 'dung ‘to strike’.

Adverbs expressing the time of day include དོ་ འཐ་ 'dröba ‘(in the) morning’, དོ་ འཐ་ 'nyima ‘(in the) afternoon’, དོ་ འཐ་ 'pchiru '(in the) evening' and དོ་ འཐ་ 'numo ‘(at) night'. The time of day denoted by དོ་ འཐ་ 'pchiru comprises both a portion of the late afternoon and the early evening. The period of day དོ་ འཐ་ 'numo comprises late evening and the night. For example, the Bhutanese expression དོ་ འཐ་ 'dröba-chutshö-ci-lu ‘one o’clock at night’ is in keeping with Continental practice. The period of day དོ་ འཐ་ 'dröba does start well before sunrise, however. The word དོ་ འཐ་ 'nyima ‘afternoon’ should not be confused with its cognate དོ་ འཐ་ 'nyim ‘sun’ or དོ་ འཐ་ 'nyim ‘day’. The words for ‘noon’ and ‘midnight’ are དོ་ འཐ་ 'nyingung and དོ་ འཐ་ 'numpche. The word དོ་ འཐ་ 'night', not དོ་ འཐ་ 'numo 'night', is used in expressions like དོ་ འཐ་ 'bā- བོ་ འཐ་ 'Ngačhe Nepal-lu zhā dün dō-ci ‘We spent seven nights in Nepal’.

Adverbs expressing days in the immediate future include ཟ་ འཐ་ 'nāba ‘tomorrow’, ཟ་ འཐ་ 'nātshe ‘the day after tomorrow' and ཟ་ འཐ་ 'zhetshe 'the day after the day after tomorrow’. Expressions for days in the immediate past include ཟ་ འཐ་ 'khatsa 'yesterday’, ཟ་ འཐ་ 'kha- nyim ‘the day before yesterday’ and ཟ་ འཐ་ 'zhenyim ‘the day before the day before yesterday’. Related expressions pertaining to present and near present time are ཟ་ འཐ་
In traditional reckoning, however, the Bhutanese day is divided into twelve segments known as 5ør ña - døútshö, each of which is associated with an animal of the Bhutanese zodiac (see Chapter 7) and has astrological and medical significance. The day starts at dawn at the moment the lines on the palm of one's hand can be distinguished in the twilight preceding daybreak. This moment marks the beginning of the first 5ør ña - døútshö, called Natnlang b. The twelve traditional 5ør ña - døútshö and their approximate equivalents are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bhutanese</th>
<th>English Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Namlang Ö</td>
<td>5.00 to 7.00 A.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyishà Dru</td>
<td>7.00 to 9.00 A.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyidró Drü</td>
<td>9.00 to 11.00 A.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyinpché Ta</td>
<td>11.00 A.M. to 1.00 P.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pchëo Lu</td>
<td>1.00 to 3.00 P.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyinyu Trë</td>
<td>3.00 to 5.00 P.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyinup Bjøa</td>
<td>5.00 to 7.00 P.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasö Chi</td>
<td>7.00 to 9.00 P.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sökhor Phâ</td>
<td>9.00 to 11.00 P.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namgung Jöiu</td>
<td>11.00 P.M. to 1.00 A.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gungyö 'Lang</td>
<td>1.00 to 3.00 A.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thorang Tâ</td>
<td>3.00 to 5.00 A.M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cases homophonous with the genitive ending, they are neither formally nor semantically identical, e.g. _rl-she nga-göi 'I [erg]' vs. rl-she ngi-göi 'my'.

The Dzongkha ergative differs from a classical ergative, which marks the subject or agent of a transitive verb, in that the Dzongkha ergative is used to highlight the agentive character of a subject which performs an activity, transitive or intransitive.

(1) rl-she-lgöi akhsangöi' Lhotshamkha she
Chimi-[erg] Nepali know

Chimi knows/can speak Nepali.

The ergative also marks the instrument whereby an activity is performed and to indicates the cause of an activity or state.

(2) rl-she-lgöi aklangsöi
'Àra-döi-göi lang-bá
'Àra-the-[erg] be sufficient-[ak]

The 'àra will be enough.

(3) ngi-göi-o-döi chang-göi böang-so-nu
My-göi-the beer-[erg] get-wet-[pf]-[ip]

My göö has gotten wet because of/by means of the beer.

(4) rl-she-lgöi aklangsöi
Gong tho-ni-döi-göi nga mi-nyo
Price expensive-[inf]-the-[erg] I not-buy

I won't buy it on account of it’s being expensive.

The ergative is generally used whenever an animate subject and an animate object are linked by a transitive verb to make clear who is doing what to whom.

(5) rl-she-lgöi aklangsöi
Mo-göi nga-lu ga
She-[erg] I-[dat] love

She loves me.

The ergative suffix is more likely to occur when the verb is transitive or the subject is animate because in these cases the agentive character of the subject is more pronounced. It is also more likely to occur in the past tense because the agentive meaning of the Dzongkha ergative is more likely to be appropriate in contexts where the activity expressed
has actually already taken place. Conversely, the ergative does not mark the subject when the main verb is one of the copulative verbs 墀二 'ing,墀四 'imma,墀五 yö,墀六 du or墀七 'mo. The semantics of the Dzongkha ergative category are subtle but not necessarily difficult to learn. Examples in the following chapters, as well as in the Dzongkha Language Workbook, will help illustrate the nuances of this grammatical category.

1. The steady state present and the suffix of acquired knowledge

The steady state present consists of the bare stem of the verb only. Strictly speaking, the steady state present is not a present tense but a tenseless verb form which also encompasses present time. This tense indicates an enduring, inherent or objective circumstance or an abiding state. Only verbs which denote a state or circumstance, e.g.墀四 'to know',墀五 bom 'to be big', are used in the steady state present, never verbs which denote an activity, e.g.墀 two 'to eat'.

(6) Kho-g'i mo-lu ga
He-[erg] she-[dat] love
He loves her.

Note that the word墀五 'same, alike' regularly collocates with the verb墀五 'to appear, to seem', as in example (7), but when used with墀四 'one', as in (8), it yields the meaning 'identical'.

In the previous chapter, we encountered the suffix墀五 -ba/-wa as part of the verb墀四 'imma. This ending is the suffix of acquired knowledge. The suffix墀五 -ba/-wa is attached to the regular stem of a verb denoting a state or condition and indicates that the information expressed in the sentence is newly acquired knowledge. Conversely, when the suffix is not used, as in examples (6) and (7) above, this implies that the situation expressed forms part of the ingrained knowledge of the speaker, something the speaker has known all along or which, at least, is not a recently acquired insight or not an only recently observed phenomenon. The difference therefore between sentence (6) and sentence (8) is that the spea-
ker in (8) has recently learned of the subject's affections, whereas the speaker in (1) has known about them all along. Likewise, the difference between sentences (7) and (9) is that the speaker in (9) has just recently observed the resemblance, whereas the speaker in (7), referring to twins he knows, is stating a resemblance of which he had already been aware.

(9)
Kho-dö-a nga cora the-bā
He-and-I just like seem-[ak]

He and I are just the same.

The suffix of acquired knowledge is written -ḥā after all verbs ending in a consonant in Roman Dzongkha:

(10)
Chum-dö-i-göi lang-bā
Rice-the-[erg] be sufficient-[ak]

This rice will be enough.

(11)
Tup-bā
be alright-[ak]

It's O.K.

(12) Thrim-döi gö-ani-wa dö'am-bā
Rules-the anything-than be strict-[ak]

These rules are the strictest.

(13)
Kho-göi 'apa-göi 'lap'lap mi-nyen-bā
He-[erg] father-[erg] say-say not-listen-[ak]

He doesn't listen to what father says.

(14) Chö-göi 'namdrö-u-göi shokdzin-döi thop-bā-gö-a
You-[erg] plane-[gen] ticket-the get-[ak]-[Q]

Did you [manage to] get the plane ticket?

Verbs with an open stem, i.e. verbs ending in a vowel in Roman Dzongkha, take either the ending -wā or -bā, depending on whether the verb has a so-called soft stem or a hard stem. The form of the suffix is -wā after a soft stem, e.g. gåwa 'loves', and -bā after a hard stem, e.g. goba 'needs'. Which open-stem verbs have a hard stem and which have a soft stem is lexically given and must be memorized, like gender in French or German. Verbs ending in a vowel will be marked as soft or hard in Dzongkha glossaries and dictionaries.
(15) དེ་ དེ་ ཁོའ་ དོག་ གྲོའ་ ཨོ་བ།
G'o d'i cho-gu pho-ba
Dress this you-on look good-[ak]

This dress suits you.

(16) ནི་ རི ཁོའ་ ཡོད་ རི རི བལ།
Kho-g'i mo-lu ga-wa
He-[erg] she-[dat] love-[ak]

He loves her.

(17) རུ་ ལེ ཁོའ་ དུམ་ ཀྲོའ་ ཨོ་བ།
Nga-lu tiru dumdr'a-ci go-ba
I-[dat] money little-a need-[ak]

I need a little money.

(18) རུ་ ལེ ཁོའ་ རི རི བལ།
Ch'o-g'i mito-d'i bjä-wa.
You-[gen] eye-the be beautiful-[ak]

You have beautiful eyes.

(19) ནི་ ཨོ་མི་ ལེ་ བ།
Khong shë-ba
They know-[ak]

It appears they know.

(20) སྣིད་ རི རི ཝོང་ རྒྱ་ རྒྱ་ སྣོ།
'Inda gahi-na-ra drö-che-wa
Month eighth[gen]-in-[str] be hot-[ak]

It is [as we have come to know] very hot in the eighth month.

(21) ནི་ རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི རི།
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(24) ཨ་དོ་མོ་དཽ་བོ་ས་
Pa-di cho mi-dra-wa
Picture-this you not-resemble-[ak]
This photograph doesn’t look like you.

(25) བ་ན་པ་མོ་ས་
Mo g'aniya mi-shê
She anything not-know
She doesn’t know a thing.

(26) བ་ན་པ་མོ་དོ་བོ་ས་
Nga chö-meba mi-châ-ba
I you-without not-love/yearn-[ak]
I cannot love without you. (lyrics of a poignant, popular song)

2. The progressive

The progressive tense in Dzongkha is formed by adding the ending -d'o to the stem of verbs denoting an activity, e.g. ང་མེ་ན། Nga to z'a-d'o ‘I am eating’, བ་ན་པ་མོ་ས་ Kho là be-d'o ‘He is working’, བ་ན་པ་མོ་ས་ Mo zh'aptra cap-d'o ‘She is dancing’, བ་ན་པ་མོ་ས་ བའི་ 'Namdru phu-d'o ‘The plane is flying’. The Dzong-

kha progressive expresses an activity which the speaker by his own observation knows to be going on in the present.

(27) སྟོབས་ཤེས་ན་ཕབ་པ་མི་མཐོང་།
Nga zhung-g'o chönju
I government-[gen] examination
kê-ni-d'o-lu jangwa be-d'o
take-[inf-gen]-so that-[dat] practice do-[pr]

I am preparing for the Common Exams.

(28) རྒྲ་འབྲི་འོ་ག་
Dr'a andri cap-d'o-g'a
Preparation perform-[pr]-[Q]

[Are they] getting everything ready?

(29) བ་ན་པ་མོ་ག་ཁ་ོ་
D'o-d'i-tshu dr'a andribe zhâ yö
Baggage-the-[pl] ready put be

The baggage is ready.

In the present, verbs denoting activity can be negated in two different ways. (1) The prefix རྗ ག་ is attached to the stem of the verb, as in the negative of the steady state present. This yields an immediate future reading, e.g. བ་ན་པ་མོ་ས་ Nga jangwa mi-be ‘I'm not going to prepare’. (2) The negative form of the verb ‘to be’ རྗ ག་
mā is used as an auxiliary with the inflected stem of the verb. This yields a present progressive reading, e.g. Nga jangwa beu mā ‘I’m not preparing [right now]’. How the inflected stem of a verb is formed is explained in Section 3 below.

The progressive ending can be augmented by the suffix of newly acquired information -wā, giving the composite ending -dōwā, which in allegro speech is often pronounced -dōeā or simply -dōā, and is also often spelt -dōwā -dōeā or -dōā accordingly. The element -dō expresses the notion of witnessed progressive activity, whereas the element -wā expresses recently acquired knowledge. The ending -dōwā expresses either (1) an activity which has already begun and which the speaker has only just recently observed or (2) an activity in progress which the speaker witnessed at some time in the recent past but does not observe at the moment of speaking. Note that the former case takes a present tense translation in English, whereas the latter takes a past tense translation. The progressive in -dōwā can therefore be used in combination with adverbs like khatsa ‘yesterday’ which denote a moment in past time, whereas the progressive in -dō cannot.

First, we shall study examples of verb forms in -dōwā which take present tense translations in English. The choice of -dōwā instead of -dō in sentences (30) and (31) has to do with the fact that the activities expressed had already begun by the time the speaker noticed them.

(30) Khong sum cala gopsha-cap-dō-wā
They three wares division-perform-[pr]-[ak]

The three of them were dividing up the wares amongst themselves.

(31) Chu-dōung-dō khace-go-bā Chu
Water-pipe-the close-must-[ak] Water
lū-dō-wā
overflow-[pr]-[ak]

The spigot has to be turned off. The water [in the bucket is overflowing.

Recall that the progressive in -dō expresses an activity which the speaker knows is going on through his own observation. In contrast to the use of the composite ending -dōwā, the use of -dō excludes by implication the observation of the person addressed. For example, one may say Dōato mo thaptsha-na lā be-dō ‘She is working in the kitchen right now’ to someone on the telephone or to someone who is
calling from another room in the house, but it is natural to use the form \textit{mo thaptsha-na là be-\textsuperscript{d}owā} ‘She is working in the kitchen right now’ if the person addressed is present and is in a position to observe the activity himself if he so desires. This accounts for the forms in \textit{tho} in sentences (32) and (33) where the person addressed is also, as it were, invited by the speaker to observe the activity at hand. However, for natural phenomena which are objective circumstances in nature, the progressive in \textit{dō} is used, as in (34) and (35).

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(32)] \textit{Bjagō-cī 'namkha-lā phā phu-\textsuperscript{d}owā}  
Eagle-an sky-from thither fly-[pr]-[ak]
An eagle has swooped down from the sky!

\item[(33)] \textit{Mō-gō 'mi gōyara-\textit{lū} 'lu-\textsuperscript{d}owā}  
She-[erg] man all-[dat] tea pour-[pr]-[ak]
She’s pouring everyone tea.

\item[(34)] \textit{Dō nyim šā-\textsuperscript{d}o}  
Now sun shine-[pr]
The sun is shining.
\end{enumerate}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(35)] \textit{Dō a dau dzū-\textsuperscript{d}o}  
Now moon enter-[pr]
The moon is setting.
\end{enumerate}

The word \textit{gōyara} ‘all’ in (33) is spelt more conservatively as \textit{gōyara} or less conservatively as \textit{gōyara} ‘all’.

Note that the verb \textit{lu-ni} ‘to pour’ in sentence (33) may be used with respect to liquids as well as solids, e.g. \textit{kang-ni} ‘chum ‘lu-ni ‘to pour rice’, \textit{chu} ‘lu-ni ‘to pour water’, in contrast to the verb \textit{kang-ni} ‘to fill’ which is used for liquids only, e.g. \textit{dop-na chu kang-ni ‘to fill a bucket with water’. The notion ‘to fill’ with respect to solid objects which cannot be poured can be rendered periphrastically by the expression \textit{ma-gōng-tshūntshō} \textit{tsu-ni} ‘to put in until full’.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(36)] \textit{Phecu-dōi ma-gōng-tshūntshō cala tsup}  
Bag-the not-full-until wares put in \textit{'immā}  
[aux]
He’s filling up the bag with wares.
The use of the negative ma- in expressions like ma-g-ang-tshuntsho tsu-ni 'to put in until full' will be familiar to speakers of Russian, French or Nepali. The logic of the negative is perhaps easier for English speakers to comprehend if understood in terms of 'to continue to put in for as long as it is not yet full'.

The combination of an infinitive with the verb be 'to do' with the ending -d°owā yields the meaning 'to be on the verge of doing something, be about to do something'.

(37) Bjöili-d°i bjöitsi-gu chong-ni be-d°o-wā
Cat-the mouse-upon jump-[inf] do-[pr]-[ak]

The cat is about to pounce on the mouse.

(38) Nga nāna jou-d°a khong-'nyi ükā-ni
I inside go-[pg] they-two kiss-[inf]
be-d°o-wā
do-[pr]-[ak]

The two of them were about to start kissing when I walked in.

In its past tense readings, the ending -d°owā resembles a classical aorist in that the activity is unbounded in time: It is not precluded that the activity is still going on, albeit unobserved by the speaker, at the moment of utterance. Nor can the speaker have witnessed the cessation of the event or its results because this would necessitate the use of one of the true past tenses to be discussed in the next chapter. For example, in sentence (39) the speaker observed the activity but not its cessation. He does not know whether the subject is still at work at the moment of speaking. Similarly, the speaker in (40) does not tell us what he does not know, viz. whether the person in question has now actually died.

(39) Kho lā be-d°o-wā
He work do-[pr]-[nk]

He was working.

(40) Kho shi-ni be-d°o-wā
He die-[inf] do-[pr]-[ak]

He was dying.

The speakers in sentence (41) and (42) express a progressive activity in past time. Although in both utterances the activities expressed have now ceased, the choice of the form in -d°owā is motivated by the speaker's intent to express a progressive activity which was going on at the
point of reference in past time, not to express the completion of this activity.

(41) **Mo-g⁰i nga-lu ga-d⁰o-wä**
    She-[erg] I-[dat] laugh-[pr]-[nk]

She was laughing at me.

(42) **Nga khatsa Paro-lä om-d⁰a chö là**
    I yesterday Paro-from come-[pg] you work be-d⁰o-wä
do-[pr]-[ak]

You were [still] working when I came back from Paro yesterday.

In sentences (43) and (44), the speaker reports speech acts performed by the subject which were going on in past time. In sentence (45), the speaker reports on a claim made by the subject at some point in the past, although the speaker cannot now vouch that the subject still holds to this claim.

(43) **Khong-'nyi-g⁰i b°äna**
    They-two-[gen] between 'lö-cap-d⁰o-wä conversation-perform-[pr]-[ak]

The two of them were conversing between themselves.

(44) **Kho-g⁰i g°aci 'lap-d⁰o-wä**
    He-[erg] what say-[pr]-[nk]

What was he saying?

(45) **Kho-g⁰i mi-ong z°e 'lap-d⁰o-wä**
    He-[erg] not-come that say-[pr]-[nk]

He was saying that he wouldn’t come.

Normally it is inappropriate to use a verb in -d°owä with respect to the first person because this would imply that the speaker was not there to see whether and when the activity in question ceased. The use of -d°owä in sentence (46) makes sense, however, because the event takes place in the context of a dream. The speaker was not consciously aware of whether or when the activity in question ceased or continued.
I was flying in my dream.

Answers to the question Կհոնգ լա բե-դուա-գա? ‘Were they working’ are Կհոնգ լա բե-դուա ‘They were working’ or Կհոնգ լա մա բե-ա-վա ‘They were not working’.

But there are two ways of negating the progressive in Դղա-դուա, depending on whether a past or present reading is intended. In Կհոնգ լա մա բե-ա-վա ‘They were not working’, the past tense negative prefix Կհո լո նյեմ իմմա ‘He is listening to the conversation’ from Կհո նյեն ‘listen’; Կհո չի դա սե իմմա ‘He is not listening’ from Կհո դա սե ‘listen’; Կհո չի թո մա իմմա ‘He is not coming out of the house’ from Կհո թո ‘come out’; Կհո չի սո չո իմմա ‘He is not closing the door’ from Կհո սո ‘close’; Կհո չի դո նա իմմա ‘The lama is teaching’ from Կհո դո նա ‘teach’. In verbs with a regular stem ending in -n or -ng, there is systematic lengthening of a short vowel before the -m of the inflected stem.

(1) Verb stems ending in the nasals -ng, -n or -m in Roman Dzongkha form their inflected stems by changing the final consonant to -m, e.g. Կհո կո թո ‘listen’; Կհո չի դա սե իմմա ‘He is not listening’ from Կհո դա սե ‘listen’; Կհո չի թո մա իմմա ‘He is not coming out of the house’ from Կհո թո ‘come out’; Կհո չի սո չո իմմա ‘He is not closing the door’ from Կհո սո ‘close’; Կհո չի դո նա իմմա ‘The lama is teaching’ from Կհո դո նա ‘teach’. In verbs with a regular stem ending in -n or -ng, there is systematic lengthening of a short vowel before the -m of the inflected stem.

(2) Verb stems ending in -p in Roman Dzongkha undergo no change in their inflected stem, e.g. Կհո չի թո
(3) Verbs with an open stem, i.e. verbs ending in a vowel in Roman Dzongkha, form their inflected stems either by adding -ु -u or by adding -प -p, depending on the verb. Which of these two endings an open-stem verb takes is a given which must be committed to memory. Open-stem verbs the inflected stems of which take the ending -ु -u will be called soft stem verbs, e.g. क्षरिङ्गक्रम क्षितिः Kho sha ्राँ 'immā 'He is eating meat' from ््राँ 'eat'; ््राँयुत्तनत्विल्कः Nga là beu 'ing 'I am working' from धावत्वः là be 'work'.

(4) Open-stem verbs the inflected stems of which take the ending -प -p will be called hard stem verbs, e.g. ््राँयुत्तनत्विल्कः Ngace ना धो 'ing 'We are sitting here' from धो धो 'sit'. Verbs ending in a vowel will be marked as soft or hard stem verbs in glossaries and dictionaries.

As we shall see later, these four categories of verbs also form their supine, present participle, present continuous etc. differently.

The factual present is used to express a fact which obtains in the present. The difference in meaning between the verbs द्रिः 'ing and द्रिः 'immā also holds when these verbs are used as auxiliaries of the factual present. For example, in sentences (48) to (51), containing the form द्रिः 'immā, the speaker states an observed phenomenon which, as such, belongs to the realm of his recently acquired knowledge, whereas with the form द्रिः 'ing in sentence (52) the speaker is stating what he knows to be a fact.

(48) लाङ स्रात्विद्य भिन्न 'Lang thap 'immā bull clash [aux]
The bulls are at loggerheads.

(49) नाग्चा पान्ग-ना धों धों 'imma dzap 'immā My-toilet-in-[gen] water-pipe-the leak [aux]
The water pipe in my toilet leaks.

(50) क्षोऽत्त्रविल्कः 'immā Khong-'न्यि ध्रिं 'immā They-two fight [aux]
The two of them are fighting.

(51) क्षोऽत्त्रविल्कः 'immā Kho 'लोबो मे-रुंग kho-g°i He teacher not be-although he-[erg] chोतोम 'immā teach [aux]
Although he is not a teacher, he appears to be giving instruction.
The use of the form 'ing with a first person subject in sentence (52) is not coincidental. The form 'ing is almost invariably used with a first person subject because in most natural situations the speaker has first-hand, personal knowledge regarding the first person referent. Similarly, the form 'ing is used in sentence (53) with respect to a second person referent because the speaker, in posing his question about the person addressed, must presume that this second person knows the answer.

The auxiliary 'ing in the factual present is used with respect to third person referents when the speaker can be absolutely certain of the fact expressed. The use of the adverbs hema-lā-ra 'from way back when', ̀atara 'always' and tabura 'always, ever' in sentences (54) to (56) reinforce the idea of well-established knowledge expressed by the form 'ing.
characteristic is not inherent, and the speaker has recently come to know about this propensity through observation.

(57) ' Löbô-g'i chô'nâm 'ing
Teacher-[erg] teach[hon] [aux]

The teacher instructs.

(58) Khandru-g'i gâri drôsisbe tâm 'immâ
Khandru-[erg] car recklessly dispatch [aux]

Khandru drives recklessly.

In general, the form 'immâ is used as the auxiliary of the factual present with respect to the third person:

(59) Pâsa dong-gu 'men 'ù 'immâ.
Pâsa face-on medicine rub [aux]

Pâsa is applying cream to her face.

(60) Khong-châchap lhakha-d'i-na
They-[col] monastery-the-in

painting-dispatch [aux]

They’re painting the inside of the monastery.

(61) Nga’wang-g'i yitsha-na shoku pêp 'immâ.
Nga’wang-[erg] office-in paper tear up [aux]

Nga’wang is tearing up papers in the office.

Note that the verb pê ‘tear, tear up’ in sentence (61) indicates an intentional activity, whereas Dzongkha hrâ ‘tear, rip’ indicates an inadvertent activity.

The factual present and the progressive can be used in many the same situations but with different implications. Whereas the factual present expresses a fact which obtains in present time, the progressive expresses an activity in progress. The present fact expressed in sentence (62) more readily suggests the implication ‘Is it all right if I interrupt?’, whereas the progressive in sentence (63) would, for example, be more appropriate to express the implication ‘Are you busy doing the work I gave you to do?’. Similarly, the use of the factual present in sentence (64) could in the appropriate situation convey the implication ‘I can’t
come downstairs to help you right now. The fact is: I'm busy in the kitchen.'

(62) Cho d'ato là beu 'in-na
You now work do [aux]-[Q]

Are you working now?

(63) Cho d'ato là be-d'o-g'a
You now work do-[pr]-[Q]

Are you working now?

(64) D'ato nga thaptsha-na là beu 'ing
Now I kitchen-in work do [aux]

I'm working in the kitchen now.

Sentence (65) is uttered when placing an order with a waiter in a restaurant. Here the factual present depicts present intent. The use of the progressive would clearly be unsuitable in this case because the speaker does not want to express an activity currently in progress.

(65) Kho 'ema-d'atshi z'aau 'ing
He 'ema-d'atshi eat [aux]

He will have 'ema-d'atshi.

Similarly, the factual present is apt in sentence (66) in which the speaker is inquiring about someone's intent, not whether said activity is now in progress.

(66) Cho jou 'in-na
You go [aux]-[Q]

Are you on your way?

Moreover, whereas the factual present in (67) states the fact of the speaker's current status as an employee in the Forestry Department, the progressive in (68) suggests the temporary nature of the speaker's employment.

(67) Nga d'are-nâba Nâtshe Lâkhung-na là
I nowadays forest department-in work
beu 'ing
do [aux]

Nowadays, I work in the Forestry Department.
Nowadays, I work in this office.

There are also allegro speech forms of the factual present with the auxiliary 「ing. These are formed by adding the endings -bi/-mi or -wi to the regular stem of the verb. The ending -bi/-mi is added to verbs with soft stems. The ending -bi is added to all other verbs, but is pronounced -mi after verb stems ending in a nasal. These forms are generally used in rapid speech, but there is some semantic differentiation between the allegro speech forms and the original factual present forms from which they derive. Sentence (69) would suggest that the original factual present form is used when the speaker wishes to stress intent or a present circumstance, whereas the allegro speech forms are preferred when a habitual reading is intended. Examples (70) to (79) illustrate that the allegro reading is less emphatic than the lento reading.
We always go to the Paro Tshêcu.

I kept on looking for you, but all along you’ve been here writing a letter.

Wow! I think he was going to kill that bull!

She always lies.

4. The present continuous

The present continuous is formed by adding the ending -'bigang/-migang, or -'imma, to the stem of the verb. The thus derived continuous stem of the verb is used in combination with the auxiliary verbs 'ing and 'imma. The ending -'bigang is written after verbs ending in -p or a nasal and after hard stem verbs. This suffix is pronounced -bigang after verbs ending in -p and after hard stem verbs and
pronounced -migang after verbs ending in a nasal, e.g.

Mo chimnálá thön-migang 'immá 'She is coming out of the house'; Ñé lo máp thön-migang 'imma 'He is dancing'; Ngace pchikha dö-bigang 'imma 'He is writing a letter now'. The ending -migang is written after soft stem verbs, e.g. Khö to z'a-wigang 'immá 'He is eating rice'; Ñé lo máp thön-migang Nga lá be-wigang 'imma 'I am working'.

The continuous present is similar to the progressive in -do in that it expresses an activity in progress in present time. The continuous present differs from the progressive tense in that it stresses the continuous nature of the activity and in that the activity must indeed be going on at the moment of speaking, which is not necessarily the case with the progressive tense; cf. sentence (68) above.

(80) Bhutshu-döi-tshu d'ato dögo cap-bigang 'imma
Boy-the-[pl] now discus perform-[con] be

The lads are out tossing the discus.

Note that dögo 'discus' refers to the Bhutanese stone discus which is tossed underhand, not for distance, but for accuracy with the aim of landing the projectile as close as possible to a stake in the ground. Etymologically the word consists of the elements dö 'discus' and go 'disk'. The latter, for example, occurs in the expression dö-atshi-gö-ci 'one disk of Bhutanese cheese'.

The continuous in -bigang/-migang/-wigang can be combined with the ablative suffix -lā to yield a continuous present participial construction.
As 'Namgä returned from the football field, he was sweating all over his body.

5. Experienced perceptions

The tense of just experienced perceptions is formed by adding the ending -अश -मा to the inflected stem of the verb. This tense expresses an activity or phenomenon going on at the moment of reference which the speaker has just observed or a feeling or sensation which the speaker has just experienced. The moment of reference is taken to be in the present, unless the context specifies otherwise, as in sentence (92) below.

This suffix is etymologically related to, but distinct from, the suffix of newly acquired knowledge -अश/-बा/-वा, introduced in Section 1 of this chapter. Where-as the suffix -अश/-बा/-वा is attached to the regular stem of verbs denoting a state or condition, the ending

-अश -मा is affixed to the inflected stem of verbs denoting an activity or feeling.
(88) Khong da cap-mî-gôa
They arrow perform-[ep]-[Q]
They’re playing archery.

(89) Kho ngi-gu tau-mâ
He my-upon look-[ep]
He’s watching me.

(90) Kho bakba tâm-mâ
He scooter drive-[ep]
He’s driving his scooter.

(91) Mo-gôi ngace-lu gau-mâ
She-[erg] we-[dat] laugh-[ep]
She’s laughing at us.

(92) Khatsa khong shing thû-mâ
Yesterday they wood gather-[ep]
Yesterday they were gathering wood.

(93) Semce-d’î pau-mâ
Animal-the shake-[ep]
That animal is shaking.

(94) Khong lam seu-mâ
They way clear-[ep]
They’re clearing a path.

(95) Khong go dam-mî-gôa
They door close-[ep]-[Q]
Are they closing up?

(96) Pangdri ’yu-kôu-mâ
Rice ball wave-throw-[ep]
He tossed his rice ball.

Note that the use of the verb ’yu ‘wave’ in combination with the verb kô ‘throw’ in sentence (96) suggests an overhand toss, and that a pangdri is the blackened rice ball which is rolled at the beginning of a meal as a traditional way of cleaning the hands before
eating. The term རྟ་བཤེས pangdri also denotes nice balls of rice or flour used in offerings.

Observe that in all the above examples, where the tense of perceived phenomena is used to express an activity, the subject is in the third person. Indeed the use of the tense of experienced perceptions with respect to a first person is ungrammatical in virtually every naturally occurring context, since a person's information about his own activities is personal knowledge, which he has not acquired through observing himself from outside. Therefore a phrase such as བུ་ལྡེ་དོན་དུས་Nga là beu-mā makes no sense except in the unusual situation such as that depicted in sentence (97) where the speaker discovers himself at work on a videotape.

(97) རྫ་གང་འགུ་ཕྱིར་བཏབ་པོ་དོན་ཏེ་མི་འགྱུར།
Khatsa-gi 'loknyen-na nga ya thön-ni
Yesterday-[gen] film-in I too appear-[inf]
du. D'gang nga là beu-mā
be That time I work do-[ep]

I also appear to be in yesterday’s video. At that time I appear to have been working.

The tense of experienced phenomena is used with respect to a second person on those rare occasions in which the speaker reports to a second person on an activity he observes this same second person performing, as in the following diagnostic observation:

(98) བུ་ལྡེ་དོན་དུས་D'ari chö 'atshi döéra cap-mā.
Today you sneeze repeatedly do-[ep]
G'aci be-dap-'mo
What happen[pf]-[be]

You are continuously sneezing today. What has happened?

Similarly, sentence (99) was uttered by someone who had been calling his friend but, upon receiving no answer, went to look for him. Upon finding him eating in the adjacent room, he said:

(99) བུ་ལྡེ་དོན་དུས་Eng, chö to zöu-mā bo te
Oh, you rice eat-[ep] [ctr] [acc]

Oh, I see you’re eating.

As the suffix -་མ་ used to express perceptions which the speaker has just experienced, this tense is appropriate to the expression of feelings, sensations and thoughts. This tense cannot be used to express the feelings of a third person subject because the sensations and emotions felt by a third person are not personally experienced by the
speaker, which is an essential aspect of the meaning of this tense. To express feelings, emotions and thoughts the tense of experienced perceptions can, in the interrogative, take a second person subject.

(100) Nga-gö'i chö-lu semshou-mä
       I-[erg] you-[dat] be_in-love-[ep]
       I'm in love with you.

(101) Kha ushman-mä 'Ema-dö'i khatshi du
       Mouth burn-[ep] Chillies-the spicy hot be
       My mouth is on fire. Those chillies are spicy.

(102) Nga hing-lä-rang chö-lu gau-mä
       I heart-from-[str] you-[dat] love-[ep]
       I love you with all my heart.

(103) Dö'a nga nau-mä
       Now I hurt-[ep]
       Now I feel ill.

(104) Drö' im láshom 'nam-mä
       Aroma good smell-[ep]
       I smell a sweet aroma.

(105) Nga chö drö'em-mä
       I you miss-[ep]
       I miss you.

(106) Nga chapsang chu-zumbe shau-mä
       I stool water-like excrete-[ep]
       I am passing wattery stool. I have terrible diarrhoea.

(107) Nga-gö'i kho-gö'i meng-dö'i-ra jëp-mä
       I-[erg] he-[gen] name-the-[str] forget-[ep]
       I keep forgetting his name.

(108) Chö-gö'i hing-lä-ra gau-mä-gö'a
       You-[erg] heart-from-[str] love-[ep]-[Q]
       Do you love me with all your heart?
Can you smell that fart really well [i.e. as well as I can]?

Are you really feeling so deeply depressed today?

Note that the tense of experienced perceptions is used specifically to express knowledge gained through observation. For example, after unsuccessfully trying to get six people into a Maruti Jeep, one might say, "Mi shong-mā 'Six people don't fit', but if asked the unlikely question whether twenty people would fit into a Maruti Jeep, the answer would be a confident steady state present Mi shong 'Twenty people don't fit' because the speaker already knows beforehand that such is the case. Note that the negative of the tense of experienced perceptions is formed by prefixing the present negative morpheme Mi- 'not' to the verb.

6. The adhortative and the optative

The adhortative is expressed in Dzongkha by adding the ending -go'e to the regular stem of the verb.

Let's make a plan for going to 'Lingzhi in order to collect medicinal herbs.

Note that the Dzongkha lārim 'programme' covers not only most senses of English programme but also of English 'plan' in the informal sense. The formal Dzongkha charzhi 'plan' is reserved for institutional or governmental schemes.

The negative adhortative is formed with the auxiliary verb shō 'refrain from', which takes the in-
flected stem of the verb, in combination with the adhortative suffix -go.

(113) **Döbe beu-shö-g°e**
Like that do-refrain-[adh]

Let's not behave like that / Let's not do it that way.

(114) **Läya-lu jou-shö-g°e**
Läya-to go-refrain-[adh]

Let's not go to Läya.

The optative, which expresses a wish or desire, is formed by adding the auxiliary go attached to the regular stem of the verb.

(115) **Döari cho nā yō-cu z°e 'mōnlam tap-ci**
Today you here be-[opt] that wish do-[pt]

Today I was wishing that you were here.

(116) **Bjöitsi-d°i-tshu bjöili-d°i-g°i z°a-cu-sh**
Mouse-the-[pl] cat-the-[erg] eat-[opt]-[u]

May the cat eat the mice!

The negative of the optative is formed by negating the optative auxiliary go with the prefix o· ma-.

(117) **Chö-g°i-lā-d°i-tshu lāshom jo-cu-sh**
You-[gen]-work-the-[pl] good go-[opt]-[u]

May all your work go well!

(118) **Döari chā gā-cu**
Today you win-[opt]

May you [pl] win today!

The supine is formed by adding -ba/-ma or -wa to the stem of the verb. The ending -wa is added to soft stem verbs, and the ending -ba/-ma is added to all other verbs. The verb stem remains unin-
flected before the suffix of the supine. The suffix -ла is pronounced -ма after verbs ending in a nasal.

(120) दा चा ता-वा ओंग-ना
Da cap sa ta-wa ong-na
Arrow perform place watch-[sup] come-[Q]

Are you coming to watch at the archery grounds?

(121) मो चु बंग-मा प्चिक्हा जो-निद-मा
Mo chu bang-ma pchikha jo-ni-'immä
She water get-in-[sup] outside go-[inf]-[aux]

She’s going outside to get in the water [of the hot tub]

(122) खो तेम ता-वा जो-निद ल्हान साप
Kho têm ta-wa jo-ni-be lham săp
He festivities see-[sup] go-[inf]-do shoe new
tsup-mä

He’s putting on new shoes in order to go watch the festivities.

Not to be confused with the supine is the postposition -ला, -göi-döön-lä ‘on behalf of, for; so that, in order to’, alternatively -लु, -göi-döön-lü, which can be
suffixed either to a noun or to the infinitive of a verb in -ni.

(125) སྦྱེ་ཐོན་ཡོང་སྦན་གྱི་ོ་དྲོང་རྗེས་རྒྱུན་།  ་ཐོག་ལྷ་བྱ་ ་
Nåba rimdro
Tomorrow prayer service
be-ni-gºi-dºönl-lu cha'nyam-lä
do-[inf]-[gen]-so that-[dat] everyone-from
chum du-go-bä.
rice collect-must-[ak]

Tomorrow rice will have to be collected from everyone in order to perform the prayer service.

(126) ཡ་དིའི་ཁྲོང་པོའི་དབྱིན་པོ་བདེ་སྦྱོང་།  ་ཐོག་ལྷ་བྱ་ ་
Né-dºi drºa-ni-gºi-dºönl-lu
Disease-the cure-[inf]-[gen]-so that-[dat]
'men läsha zºa-go-bä
medicine much eat-must-[ak]

One will have to take lots of medicine in order to cure the disease.

8. Modals expressing permission, ability, opportunity, exigency and probability

There are various ways in Dzongkha to express permission, ability or opportunity. To be able to do something in the sense of being physically capable or logistically in a position to do something is expressed by the verb དབྱུང་ tshu 'be able to'.
(129) चार्ज्ही-दो दो आ जा धे बाज़ार
Plan-the today make did not-can-[ak]
[They] were unable to make/finalize the plan today.

(130) चो जो दो सेलिंग चा दो आ जा धे बाज़ार
Chö jo mi-tshu gəci-im zewacin chö dəari
You go not-can why because you today kām ma-de-wā
leg not-be well-[ak]
You cannot go because you are [still]
limping today.

To be able to do something in the sense of knowing how to
perform said task or activity is expressed by the verb झें‘know how to’.

(131) चो टाप झेंगा
Chö tsā-cap shè-gəa
You swim-perform know-[Q]
Can you swim?/Do you know how to swim?

(132) चोध्रो-गो गोध्रो पुसबे लाप-शें-बाज़ार
Chödrö-gə gödrö pūtsabe 'lap-shē-bā
Chödrö-[erg] joke hilariously tell-know-[ak]
Chödrö can really tell witty jokes.

(133) क्ञोंग-दो ध्रोम्यो त्वो शेंगा
Khong-gəi dram'nye tro shè-gəa
They-[erg] Bhutanese lute pluck know-[Q]
Do they know how to play the Bhutanese lute?

(134) जम्यांग-गो टाई-जु
Jam'yang-gəi-ya tai-gu
Jam'yang-[erg]-too horse[gen]-upon zhōng-shē-bā
ride-know how to-[ak]
Jam'yang also knows how to ride a horse.

Note that the verb झें 'to play' in (133) is only used in the
meaning ‘to play’ with string instruments which must be
plucked; the meaning of the verb is ‘to agitate, rile up,
tease’, e.g. रोचि टो नी ‘goad a dog’, प्त्सा टो नी ‘goad a monkey’, त्स्कु टो नी
‘tease a woman’. The verb झेंग झोंम ‘ride’ in (134) can also be used with respect to a
motorcycle or similar vehicle which the rider must
straddle to operate.
To be permitted or allowed to do something is expressed by the verb cho 'be allowed', as in the following:

(135) བོད་ཡུལ་གཞི་ཐོག
Tamkhu thung mi cho
smoking drink/smoke not allowed

Smoking is prohibited.

The following sentence illustrates a special usage of the modal cho.

(136) ལྷ་ཁྲི་ཁྲི་ཐོག
Nga jo-chop-’ing
I go-allow-[aux]

I'm ready to go.

(137) རྣོ་ཞུ་བུ་ཁྲི་ཁྲི་ཐོག
Châ gâra jo-chop-’in-na
You all go-allow-[aux]-[Q]

Are you all ready to go?

To have the opportunity to do something in the sense of to get to perform an activity or task is expressed by the infinitive in བོད་ཡུལ་ in combination with the verbs 'to be'. For example, someone bemoaning the fact that there is no disco party to attend in Thimphu on a given weekend might say:

(138) སོགས་ལྡན་འཕེལ་པོ་བུ་ཚི་འི་ཐོག
We dance perform-[inf] not be

We won't get to dance.

Such constructions with the infinitive in combination with auxiliaries are dealt with in Chapter Seven.

The modal of exigency is the verb ཉོ་ go, for which a more conservative spelling ཛ�ོ also exists. Note that by itself the modal of exigency ཉོ go expresses well-established need or desire, whereas in combination with the suffix of acquired knowledge ད་བོ་-bâ it expresses a need or desire which has just recently made itself felt. The negative forms of the modal are ཉོ་ སུས་ niengo and ཉོ་ དང་ mengobâ ‘isn’t necessary; don’t want’.

(139) འབུམ་གཞི་དབང་ལྡན་པོ
Shamu kam drâng-go-bâ
Mushrooms dry add-must-[ak]

[We’ll] have to resort to flattery.
(140) Ngace chim tshö-go-bä
We house search-must-[ak]
[We] have to look for a house.

(141) Gö-tshê-di böm-go-bä
Gö-size-this big-must-[ak]
This gö should be large in size.

(142) Nga-lu gö-ci go-bä
I-[dat] knife-one need-[ak]
I need a knife.

(143) Da thrang-go-bä
Arrow straighten-must-[ak]
I have to straighten the arrow.

(144) Zö-apzö-ap be-go
Well-behaved do-must
One must observe proper conduct.

(145) Tshâ-ci ta-go-bä, me-na?
Time-one look-must-[ak] not be-Q
Well, we’ll have to try it once, won’t we?

(146) Nga-lu chö-gö tiri mengo
I-[dat] you-[gen] money not necessary
I don’t need your money.

(147) Döari là be mengo göaci’imzö ewacin
Today work do not necessary because
döari ngaso ‘ing
today holiday be
We don’t have to work today because
it’s a holiday.

Observe that in Dzongkha the verb ཀྱིབ་ ད་ མ་ བ་ ད་ 'to depend' tends to take the modal of exigency བ་ ད་ go. Furthermore, the verb ཀྱིབ་ ད་ མ་ 'to depend' governs a complement marked by the postposition བ་ 'with'.
It depends on him whether we will be able to go or not.

It depends on the condition of the road whether or not we will be able to take the car.

The modal դռա, expressing probability, follows the inflected stem of the verb. Etymologically this modal is derived from a contraction of the verb դռա ‘to resemble, to look like’ with the suffix of newly acquired knowledge -վա.

You’re just teasing me, aren’t you?

9. Rhetorical questions

A question is marked by the sentence-final particle ա  YA if the speaker expects that the answer to the question will be affirmative. Such questions sometimes echo a statement made by the second person which the speaker wishes to verify, or they may echo in the interrogative a proposition which the speaker infers to be the contention of the second person. In some cases, questions marked by the particle ա YA are genuinely rhetorical in the classical sense that the question is intended to demonstrate a point, not to elicit an answer. The particle ա YA may also mark a supposition or presumption inferred by the speaker from the context, as in the exchange in example (153) between someone looking for something under the bed in the morning and someone standing beside him getting dressed.

They’re going today, are they?
CHAPTER SIX

The past tenses, perfective aspect, present gerund, past participle, and conjunctions

1. The witnessed past

The witnessed past tense expresses an event or transition in past time which the speaker or, in the case of a question, the listener consciously experienced. The witnessed past tense is formed by adding the suffix -yi or -ci to the stem of the verb. The ending -yi is added to stems ending in a vowel or ending in ng in Roman Dzongkha. The ending -ci is added to verb stems ending in the consonants p, n or m.

(1) Gatön-d'goi kap-lu gatro bom
Party-the-[gen] period-[dat] enjoyment big
jung-yi
be_manifest-[pt]

[We] really enjoyed [ourselves] a lot during the party!
The negative of the witnessed past tense is formed by prefixing the past tense negative morpheme न- 'did not' to the last syllable of the verb stem. In the negative, the ending न- 'yi - न-'ci is dropped. The past tense negative prefix न- 'did not' is in and of itself specific for tense and distinct from the present tense negative prefix न- 'not'.

Note that a very small number of Dzongkha verbs exhibit suppletive stem alternation, like go - went in English. For example, the verb नो 'to go' becomes नो 'song' in the past and in the imperative. The verbs नो 'to come' and नो 'to bring' become नो 'sho' and नो 'sho' respectively in the imperative and first person interrogative, e.g. ना ना ना 'Shall I come in?', ना ना ना 'You carry this!'.
Nga-gɔi ba-ong-ni-'ing 'I will carry it', ᵇʰⁱʳʰᵃⁿRequestMapping ᵇʰⁱʳʰᵃⁿ Nga-gɔi  bà sho-gɔ a 'Shall I carry it'. Furthermore, the verb ᵇʰ‘ong 'to come' has the stem ᵇʰ‘ong 'to come' whenever the verb combines with the potential auxiliary ᵇʰ‘ong or the perfective suffix ᵇʰ‘ong, e.g. ᵇʰ‘ong-ra thong-ong. Kho dⁿato-ra thong-ong 'He'll come any minute now', ᵇʰ‘ong-ye ᵇʰ‘ong-ye Kho thong-ong-ye 'He has come'.

The combination of the auxiliary of potentiality ᵇʰ‘ong, to be introduced in the next chapter, with the suffix ᵇʰ‘ong of the experienced past tense ᵇʰ‘ong-ye expresses a recurrent event.

(9) ᵇʰ‘ong-ye ᵇʰ‘ong-ye ᵇʰ‘ong-ye ᵇʰ‘ong-ye
Kap-kap-ra zû sî-ni-ci
Time-time-[str] body shake-[inf]-one
thong-ong-ye
come-[pot]-[pt]

From time to time I suffer from tremors [literally: from a tremor].

2. The inferred past

The inferred past is formed by adding the suffix ᵇʰ‘nu to the stem of the verb. The inferred past expresses a past time event or past time transition which was not witnessed or consciously experienced by the speaker or, in the case

of a question, by the listener. Rather, the speaker infers from the resultant situation that a certain event or transition must have taken place in past time.

(10) ᵇʰ‘ong-ye ᵇʰ‘ong-ye ᵇʰ‘ong-ye ᵇʰ‘ong-ye
Ngî-gɔi ᵇʰ‘ong-ye ᵇʰ‘ong-ye ᵇʰ‘ong-ye ᵇʰ‘ong-ye
I-[gen] wound before-than big-like come out-[ip]

My wound has gotten even worse (even bigger).

The inferred past ending ᵇʰ‘nu is used in sentence (10) because the speaker did not observe the entire process of change in the state of his wound as it occurred. Rather, the speaker is stating that a past tense event has occurred upon having observed the result of that process. Similarly, in sentence (11), the speaker observes that a letter has arrived for him, he was not there when the letter entered the country or was deposited into his post office box. The speaker in (12) also uses the inferred past to express a result observed in the present of an activity which the speaker did not observe.

(11) ᵇʰ‘ong-ye ᵇʰ‘ong-ye ᵇʰ‘ong-ye ᵇʰ‘ong-ye
Dⁿari ᵇʰ‘ong-ye ᵇʰ‘ong-ye ᵇʰ‘ong-ye ᵇʰ‘ong-ye
Today Russia-from 1-[dat] letter this big
ho-nu
arrive-[ip]

Today a letter this big came for me from Russia.
The rice straw has been put in the stable under the house.

Observe that the older spelling of 'okha `stable underneath a house' has been replaced by the more phonetic spelling 'okha, as in (12).

In sentences (13) and (14) the use of nu is more or less lexically determined by the verbs themselves, i.e. the verbs bjang `to lose' and sem-la a-ni `to slip someone's mind'. The speaker in (13) was not aware of the fact that he was losing his money at the moment he was losing it. If he had been, he would probably not have lost it. The past tense auxiliary yi is inappropriate in sentence (13) because it would yield the nonsensical meaning that the speaker had consciously lost his money. Similarly, the act of forgetting in (14) obviously transpires without the person involved being aware of it.

(13) Nga tiru bjang-da-nu
I money lose-[pf]-[ip]
I lost my money.
Where did you put my book?

If one were to use नु in the same sentence, the sentence would acquire an odd meaning and would, indeed, only be appropriate in a special context. For example, the person addressed in sentence (17) had put the speaker’s book somewhere in a drunken stupor, totally unaware of what he was doing at the time. After the speaker has asked for his book back, the person who had misplaced it, looked for the book and, after finally having found it, shows up with the book. At this point, the speaker could pose the question as it stands in example (17). The use of the inferred past in नु is fitting only because both speaker and listener share the background knowledge that the listener, to whom the speaker is posing the question, did not know what he was doing at the moment he misplaced the speaker’s book.

The difference between sentence (18) and sentence (19) is likewise not a tense distinction, but has to do with whether or not the event was actually experienced by the person to whom the question is addressed. In question (18) the speaker is assuming that the speaker has, for example, been to Singge’s house and has been able to ascertain whether or not Singge has eaten, either by having talked with Singge or having noticed used plates lying about. In posing the question in sentence (19), on the other hand, the speaker is assuming that the person to whom he is speaking was actually there when Singge ate and that that person will therefore know the answer through personal observation of the event itself. Question (19) would be appropriate if, for instance, the speaker knew that the person to whom he is speaking was supposed to eat together with Singge or happened to share a flat with Singge.

(17)
चो-ग्रि न्गी-ग्रि पेचा गँटि झानु
You-[erg] I-[gen] book where put-[ip]

Where did you put my book?

(18)
शिंग्जे तो zो-नु-गोा
Singge to zo-na-ga

Has Singge eaten?

(19)
शिंग्जे तो zो-यी-गोा
Singge to zo-ya-ga

Has Singge eaten?
The past tense auxiliary े བན་ in sentence (20) is used to convey the fact that the speaker, whilst tossing and turning in his sleep, hit his bedmate. The speaker was not awake to consciously experience this event and therefore chooses the past tense auxiliary े བན་. But the inferred past must also be used for events which take place in a dream, even if, as in sentence (21), the speaker’s action in the dream was deliberate and, at least within the context of the dream state, conscious.

(20) ཉགས་ཀྱི་འདྲོ་ང་
   Nga-'nyigi-na kho dröang-nu
   I-[erg] sleep-in he hit-[if]

   I hit him when I was sleeping.

(21) ཉགས་ཀྱི་འདྲོ་ལམ་
   Nga-gi 'nyilam-na kho dröang-nu
   I-[erg] dream-in he hit-[ip]

   I hit him in my dream.

However, note the use of the experienced past in མི ཡི in the following sentences.

(22) ཉགས་ཀྱིས་ལོ་མོ་ཐོང་ཡི།
   Nga 'nyilam läshom thong-yi
   I dream nice see-[pt]

   I had a nice dream.

(23) དམ་ཐྱུགས་འདྲོ་ལམ་
   Damchiru ngi-'nyilam-na chö thong-yi
   Last night my-dream-in you see-[pt]

   I dreamt of you.

These examples illustrate that whereas events in a dream are not consciously experienced, at least not in terms of the grammar of the Dzongkha verb, a dream itself is a conscious experience.

The inferred past tense is also used to express an event which, although observed by the speaker, as in sentence (24), happens so suddenly that the resultant state is unexpected.

(24) དབྲག་
   Da ca-da-nu
   Arrow snap-[pf]-[ip]

   The arrow has broken in two!
When one expresses hunger or thirst, the experienced past is appropriate because the onset of the sensation is invariably experienced.

(25) ცྡོ་ཏུ་ཁི་ཡི་གཟོ་? ༡ང་ཁ་མས་ཀུན་ག་
You hungry-[pt]-[Q] You thirsty-not-thirsty-[Q]

Are you hungry? Aren’t you thirsty?

Likewise, one can say ངང་ཡི་‘It has turned cold’ if one had experienced a sudden drop in temperature, although the form ངམ་མས་‘It’s cold’ is more appropriate to expressing a sensation one is experiencing at present.

3. Perfective aspect and auxiliaries expressing Aktionsart

The perfective aspect expresses a past tense activity viewed as completed or a past tense event or transition the result of which has or had been attained. Perfective aspect is expressed by various means in Dzongkha. The past tense stem of the verb ‘to go’, སོང་, also spelt སོི་ and pronounced SO, is used with most intransitive verbs as the auxiliary of the perfective aspect.

(26) རིི་ཤི་ཤུ་
Shi-so-nu
Die-[pf]-[ip]

He died/He’s dead.

(27) དར་གི་ཁུ་ཅ་བི་བོང་གུང་ཤུ་。
Ngi-kitap-döi chu-göi böang-so-nu
My-book-the water-[erg] get-wet-[pf]-[ip]

My book has gotten wet.

(28) སྤྱི་ལེང་གཞི་གཞི་
To tsho-so-yi-göa
Rice be done-[pf]-[ip]

Is the rice done yet?

(29) དོ་པོ་སེང་ལེགས་དོ་མི་བོ་སེང་དབང་པོ་ཤེས་་
Chö pham-so-bacin nga chö-lu
You lose-[pf]-if I you-[dat]
tiru mi-bjöin
money not-give

If you lose, I won’t give you any money.

In this connexion it is relevant to note that the preterite stem སོང་ of the verb ‘to go’ also has the meaning ‘to become’:
Today moon full become-[ip]

The moon has turned full today.

The use of the inferred past ending -nu in the preceding sentence is motivated by the fact that the speaker did not observe at which point the moon became full. The process transpired in the course of a fortnight without it constantly being subject to the speaker’s scrutiny.

The perfective aspect of the verb song itself, in both the meaning ‘to go’ and ‘to become’, is formed by adding the the prefix ya-.

Da thrangtangta yâ-song-yi

Arrow straight [pf]-become-[pt]

The arrow has gotten straightend out.

Shing-döi me-göi tshi-so-yi

Wood-the fire-[erg] burn-[pf]-[ip]

The wood is all burnt up.

- Kho göâi yâ-söm?
  He where [pf]-went
- Kho dzong-na yâ-song-yi
  He dzong-to [pf]-went-[pt]

- Where has he gone?
  - He’s gone to the dzong.

The perfective aspect of the verb dzö́ong ‘to come’ is marked by the perfective suffix dzö́ong, in which combination the stem of the verb dzö́ong changes to dzöng. e.g. Kho thöng-ong-yi ‘He has come’.

The auxiliary chi, for which the more conservative spelling chö́ also exists, marks the perfective aspect of a subset of the intransitive verbs, particularly but not exclusively of verbs which express sensations or feelings.

Nga khakom-chi-yi

I be thirsty-[pf]-[pt]

I’m thirsty.
(35) Nga gu thom-chi-yi  
I head confuse-[pf]-[pt]  
I'm confused.

(36) Dºari ngi-totsha Pänjo-dºi drºen-chi-yi  
Today my-friend Pänjo-the miss-[pf]-[pt]  
Today I missed my friend Pänjo.

(37) Chöki dºoroya 'üp-chi-nu  
Chöki again hide-[pf]-[ip]  
Chöki has hidden himself somewhere again.

A special usage of the prefective auxiliary ~c::r song is its use in combination with the suffix of acquired knowledge -bä/-wä, which yields the meaning of a possibility, something which might be the case.

(38) Kho yá-song-bä-song  
He [pf]-went-[ak]-[pf]  
He might have gone [already].

The auxiliary ~c::r da, for which the more conservative spelling ~c::r da also exists, expresses the perfective aspect of transitive verbs and a small set of intransitive verbs. Compare the following two examples with an intransitive and a transitive verb respectively.

(39)  
- Dºato Drºâsho yitsha-na zhú-yō-bä-song  
  Now Drºâsho office-in sit[hon]-be-[ak]-[pf]  
  - Ma-zhup-ong, me-na?  
    Not-sit[hon]-[pot] not be-[Q]  
  - Drºâsho might be in the office now.  
    - He's probably not, don't you think?

(40) Khong lâ be-dºo-wä-song. Tshâ-ci  
They work do-[pr]-[ak]-[pf] Time-one  
  ta-wa jo-go-bä  
  look-[sup] go-must-[ak]  
They might be at work; I'll have to go check once.

The cup has broken into pieces.
Someone has broken the porcelain cup into pieces.

The perfective auxiliary  SqlConnectionString' da should not be confused with the cognate verb SqlConnectionString' - tij? '派遣' which occurs in quite a number of expressions, in which the combination of the verb SqlConnectionString' - tij? and its complement have become lexicalized.

We'll have to burn [vt.] this wood.

Now she's spilt the milk.

I have already taken my meal.

Observe how the auxiliary of the perfective SqlConnectionString' da inflects before the modal verb of probability SqlConnectionString' dra in (49). This inflection SqlConnectionString' dap of this auxiliary, e.g. sentence (98) in Chapter Five, indicates a diachronic process currently in progress in modern Dzongkha.
Dröim'nam-lu-döi-lu ta-wacin chö-gi
To smell-manner-the-[dat] look-if you-[erg]
'awa tang-dam-drä, me-na?
stool pass-[pf]-[prb] not be-[Q]

[To one’s infant son:] Judging by the way it smells, you must have done it in your diapers again, isn’t that so?

Use of the perfective auxiliary Ɪ da in combination with the suffix Ꞿ ba, which might be cognate to the suffix of the supine, yields the special meaning of an assurance, e.g. (50), somewhat similar to that of an adhortative, e.g. (51), or an instruction milder than an imperative, e.g. (52).

(50) Lâ döari be-ma-tshâ-ru nâba
Work today do-not-finish-although tomorrow be-da-ba
do-[pf]-[sup]

Even though we won’t be able to finish the work today, let’s get it done tomorrow.

(51) Khê mè. Nga lok zo-da-ba
Difference not be I back make-[pf]-[sup]

It doesn’t matter. I’ll fix it.

(52) Döari ngâso dö-da shing-döi nâba
Today holiday sit-[pf] wood-the tomorrow kâ-da-ba
split-[pf]-[sup]

Sit and take a respite for today. Split the wood tomorrow!

In both sentences (53) and (54), the perfective auxiliary Ɡ da expresses a completed transition from one state to another, but the difference in meaning between the verbs ꜑ nga ‘fall asleep’ and ꜐ ilo ‘be asleep’ accounts for the difference in meaning between the two sentences. The difference between sentences (54) and (55), on the other hand is one of tense and aspect.

(53) Päm nyä-da-nu
Päm fall_asleep-[pf]-[ip]

Päm has begun to fall asleep.
Pām 'nyilo-da-nu
Pām be asleep-[pf]-[ip]

Pām has fallen into a deep slumber.

Pām 'nyilo-d°o-wā
Pām be asleep-[pr]-[ak]

Pām has fallen asleep. / Pām was sleeping.

The verb  do 'to stay, sit, remain' is used as an auxiliary to express the notion 'to keep on doing something, persist in doing something'. In other words, it expresses a perseverative Aktionsart.

'Alu-d°i tsémse-ní-d°i-ra 'lap-döp-mà
Child-the play-[inf]-the-[str] say-keep on-[ep]

That child keeps on saying [it wants] to play.

The verb  tsha is the auxiliary of the terminative Aktionsart, viz. its expresses that an action has come to an end. Whereas perfective  Z°a-da-yī 'I ate' indicates that the speaker has already eaten, the sentence  Z°a-tshà-yi 'I ate' indicates that the speaker has finished eating. The latter is more appropriate if the speaker is refusing food somewhere on the pretext that he has already eaten his fill before coming.

'Lama-g°i chòshè-tshà-yì
Lama-[erg] preach-complete-[pt]

The lama has finished preaching.

Ngace-g°i chim-d°i chimto-d°i
We-[erg] house-the[gen] roof-the
khatsa nyim-ci-na-ra kap-tshà-yì
yesterday day-one-in-[str] place-complete-[pt]

Yesterday we completed re-roofing the house in one day.

D°a d°uci-g°i d°ön-lu là g°àra
Now this year-[gen] for-[dat] work all
be-tshà-yì
do-complete-[pt]

Now all this year's work has been completed.
The combination of the auxiliary རོ་ tshâ with the potential auxiliary རོ་ ong in sentence (60) corresponds to a future perfect rendering in English.

(60) རོ་ གྲོ་ མི་དྲི་ དེ་ རོ་ གྲོ་ མི་དྲི་ དེ་ རོ་ གྲོ་ མི་དྲི་ དེ་ རོ་ གྲོ་ མི་དྲི་ དེ་ རོ་ གྲོ་ མི་དྲི་ དེ་ རོ་ གྲོ་ མི་དྲི་ དེ
Chô Phüntsho'ling-lâ lo-hô-hô nga-gôi
You Phüntscho'ling back-arrive-arrive I-[erg]
kitap-dôi lhap-tshâ-ong Đôlâ
book-the read-complete-[pot] Then
chô-ra lo hôp-ci trô-ong
you-[str] back return-just as pay-[pot]

I’ll have finished reading this book by the time you get back from Phüntscho'ling. Then, when you’ve come back, I’ll return it to you.

It is opportune at this point it to introduce the approximative suffix བོ ཕི. As in sentence (60), this suffix may be attached to the inflected form of a verb in the meaning ‘just as, as soon as’. The element བོ ཕི as a derivational suffix is discussed in Chapter Seven. The phrase governed by བོ ཕི modifies a main clause, not only in the potential future, but also in any other tense, e.g. (61)-(62).

(61) རོ་ གྲོ་ མི་དྲི་ དེ་ རོ་ གྲོ་ མི་དྲི་ དེ
Kho jou-ci nga phâ thông-ong
He go-as soon as I thither come-[pot]

As soon as he goes, I’ll come [i.e., go] there [too].

(62) རོ་ གྲོ་ མི་དྲི་ དེ
Kho ’lap-ci nga zha-da-yi
He say-as soon as I put aside-[pf]-[pt]

I stopped as soon as he said so.

4. The present gerund

The ending -་-dôa is affixed to the inflected stem of a verb to give the present participle. The present participle marks an activity which is concurrent with the activity denoted by the main verb of the sentence. For example, if two friends are walking about the vegetable market loaded down with groceries, and one of them decides they should also buy twenty kg of rice, the other one may respond.
Let’s buy it later upon coming back [a second time].

In many instances, the Dzongkha present participle is best rendered by a temporal subordinate clause or some adverbal construction in English. In each case, the activity denoted by the present participle is contemporaneous with the event denoted by the main verb.

When I was conversing with that girl, he became very jealous.

A special durative present gerund is formed by suffixing -"sara" to the reduplicated stem of the verb. In the reduplicated verb, the first of the two stems is inflected. This present gerund expresses an incessant or long-lasting activity coetaneous with the event denoted by the main verb.

Just as I was sitting there [not going anywhere], a problem arose.
That child just [sits there and] keeps on crying.

I always have to sleep clutching the pillow.

5. The past participle

The past participle is formed by adding -di to the stem of the verb. The past participial ending is spelt -di after verbs ending in orthographic -d, -t, -n and -r, spelt -di after verbs ending in -r, and spelt -d after verbs ending in -r elsewhere. Used as a gerund, modifying a clause, the past participle expresses an event which precedes the event denoted by the main verb, e.g. (71)-(73). Used as a predicative adjective, the past participle is like an English past participle used the same way, e.g. (74)-(75).
(75) D’ari dremkhang go dam-di ‘in-na
Today post office door close-[pp] be-[Q]
Is the post office closed today?

In contrast to its usage as a gerund modifying a clause, e.g. (71)-(73), the past participle may also be used as a gerund modifying the main verb. In this usage, the past participle -‘di expresses the inception of a state, condition or activity which has come to obtain at the time of the activity denoted by the main verb. Therefore the Dzongkha past participle in this usage often translates more aptly into English as a present participle, e.g. (76)-(80).

(76) Lā-d’o a thri-di ‘la tro-ni-’ing
Work-with depend-[pp] salary pay-[inf]-[aux]
The salary is paid according to [the quality of] the work.

(77) Lap ‘yu-di jou-mā
Arm flail-[pp] go-[ep]
There he goes with his arms a-flailing.

(78) ‘Amshu-d’o-gi kho-gi tingshū da-di
Woman-that-[erg] he-[gen] track pass-[pp]
jou-mā
go-[ep]
That woman is following him. / That woman is hot on his trail.

(79) Kho tsā-cap-di tsangchu
He swimming-perform-[pp] river
cā-ba top-‘immā
traverse-[sup] cut across-[aux]
He is swimming across the river.

(80) Gang-d’o-i-gu d’āshing lāsha pchā-di du
Hill-that-on prayer flag many flutter-[pp] be
There are many prayer flags fluttering on that hill.

Verbs ending in -ā tend to lengthen their stem vowel to -ā before the past participial ending -‘di, e.g. .pag ‘eat’ vs. .pag-d’si ‘having eaten’. Conversely, verbs ending in -ā tend to shorten their stem to -ā before the suffix -si ‘place where’, e.g. zhā ‘put’ vs. zhā-si ‘place where something is put’.
The suffix -dī/-dī/-dī is also affixed to verbs in the indicative or imperative to indicate a sequence of activities, whereby the linear element order reflects the chronological order of the activities designated.

(81) Pādrol-gōi gōola-dōi-tshu do-i-gu
Pādrol-[erg] clothes-the-[pl] rock-[gen]-upon
’ū-di hrāu ’immā
scrape-[pp] rip [aux]

Pādrol scraped against a rock and tore his clothes.

(82) Gōola-dōi-tshu tap-di drom-na tsu-zhā
Clothes-the-[pl] fold-[pp] chest-in place-put

Fold the clothes up and put them away in the chest.

A construction similar in meaning to the past participle is obtained when the ablative suffix -lā is attached to the inflected stem of the auxiliary ʼi sā zhōing ‘to finish, complete’, e.g. (83). The verb ʼi sā zhōing ‘to complete, finish’ is also used as a main verb, e.g. (84).

(83) Kho-gōi phecu-di khajang-zhōim-lā cala
He-[gen] bag-the open-finish-[abl] wares
läsha tōn-di tsong-da-yi
many remove-[pp] sell-[pf]-[pt]

After he finished opening his bag, he took all his wares out and sold them.

(84) Lā zhōing-so-yi
Work finish-[pf]-[pt]

The work has been completed.

Occasionally the past participial ending -dī/-dī/-dī is omitted, as in the following sentence, although a prosodic rise indicates where the ending has been left out. In sentence (85), that position is after ʼlu ‘pour’.

(85) Mi-gep-di pala-na ōra ʼlu ba-jo-dō-o-wā
Man-old the pala-in ōra pour carry-go-[pr]-[ak]

The old man is carrying ōra in [having poured it into] a pala.

A pala is the traditional Bhutanese container for transporting ōra, indigenous Bhutanese brandy,
consisting of a very large internode of bamboo covered with a decorative coloured and delicately woven bamboo mesh.

The suffix -tendí is also used in a construction expressing cause or reason. This construction consists of a clause with the inflected stem of its verb marked by the ablative suffix and followed by the phrase tendí, literally ‘having sided with, having adhered to’.

Today electricity cannot adhere to work. I could not work.

On account of there being no electricity today, I could not work.

6. The conditional conjunction ‘if’

The Dzongkha conjunction -t-i-bacin or -t-i-wacin ‘if’ is added to the verb at the end of the clause specifying the condition. The ending -t-i-wacin is used after soft stem verbs and the ending -t-i-bacin after all other verbs. The verb stem remains uninflected before the conditional conjunction. However, the final consonant of nasal-final verbs assimilates to -m. Note the use of the past tense negative prefix ñí À in conditional clauses, e.g. (88).

(87) Gˆadºemcibe kangā j’un-wacin nga-lu
By chance problem arise-if I-[dat]
	ngiitram 500 need-[ak]
I shall require five hundred 'ngûtram for the event that by chance a problem should arise.

(88) Gºenja-dºi-gu sayi ma-cap-bacin dºontha
Agreement-the-on signature not-put-if validity

gºaniya mé
any at all not be
This agreement is not at all valid if it hasn’t been signed.

If the conditional clause marked by the conjunction ‘if’ specifies a hypothetical contingency, then the main clause may take an irrealis reading. If this is the case, as much will be evident from the context. The Dzongkha verb takes no special conditional or irrealis affix. The periphrastic tense of the main verbs in examples (91)-(92) will be explained in the next chapter.
If he had told us before that he wasn’t going to come today to eat, we wouldn’t have had to cook so much food.

If I were you, I wouldn’t lend the car to anyone.

If we were rich, we would be able to make a pilgrimage to the holy places of Tibet together.

I’d like it if she would send me a letter.

If you do it in this way, father will be angry.

The verb 'kā ‘send’ in sentence (92) may also be spelt 'kā'.
The conjunction -bacin/-wacin may be shortened to the ending -n affixed directly to the verb.

If you can think, this is the time to do it! / If you can think, do it now!

Note that the conjunction 'if' is used in the frequent expressions 'in my opinion', literally 'if I were to look [at the matter]', and 'for example':

An elephant is, for example, as big as a hill.

7. The concessive conjunction 'although'

The Dzongkha conjunction -ru 'although, even if, even when' is added to the verb at the end of the concessive clause. Note that the negative prefix used in a concessive clause is rather than -mi-, e.g. (99).
(99) ཉག་བ་ གཞི་བར་འོག་པའི་བོད་ལས་ཁ་
Nga näba chutshö-dr’u-lu

I tomorrow o’clock-six-at
ma-ong-rung tup-g’a
not-come-although be alright-[Q]

Will it be all right even if I don’t come tomorrow
at six o’clock?

(100) བོད་ཡུལ་བགོད་གཞི་བར་འོག་པའི་བོད་ལས་ཁ་
Kho ‘i Trashigang-la ’ing-di-be-rung
His village Trashigang-[abl] be-[pp]-do-although
kho-g’i Dzongkha ’lapthang-d’i
he-[gen] Dzongkha pronunciation-the
drad’atoto du.
euphonious be.

Even though he comes from Trashigang, his
pronunciation of Dzongkha is perfect.

(101) ཉག་ཅུག་གི་ གཞི་བར་འོག་པའི་བོད་ལས་ཁ་
Ngac-e-g’i rochi-d’i-g’i kho
We-[gen] dog-the-[erg] he
lo-läsha-g’i-japlä thöm ’ing-rung
year-many-[gen]-ago see [aux]-although
d’ethrölä ngoshë-bä
immediately recognize-[ak]

Even though it had been years since our dog had
seen him, it recognized him immediately.

(102) གོང་’ཉི་ལམ་འབྲུ་བྱ་ལ་བོད་ལས་ཁ་
Khong-’nyi lamjo-ru-ya lap thü-di
They-two walk-although-also hand hold-[pp]
jö-go-bä
go-must-[ak]

Even when the two of them are walking about,
they feel the need to hold hands as they go.

(103) ཆུ་བོ བ་ བ་པ་
Do chu-na kô-ru lásap ’ing
Stone water-in throw-although sin be

It is a sin even to throw a stone in the water.
8. The adversative conjunction ‘but’

In Dzongkha there are various ways to render the English adversative conjunction ‘but’, depending on the type of contrast expressed.

The Dzongkha conjunction ༼ོ་ིཿ་ལ་ ‘but, rather’ is added to the inflected stem of the verb, if any, at the end of the first proposition in the syntagma, whereby this verb is negated. The conjunction ༼ོ་ིཿ་ལ་ is used to render a specific contrast between two options: ‘not this, but rather’

(104) དལ་སོང་ལ་ བུ་ ལ་ བི་ འ མ བ ས་ དོ་ ‘but, rather’
D‘ato Sanggā lá beu memba to
Now Sanggā work do not but rice
z‘au ‘immā
eat [aux]

Sanggā is not working now, but eating.

(105) འེ་ བུ་ ལ་ བི་ འ མ བ ས་ དོ་
Mo ngi-b‘um memba ngi
She my-daughter not but my
s‘im-g‘i b‘um ‘ing
younger sister-[gen] daughter be

She’s not my daughter but my younger sister’s daughter.

The conjunction དིའི་མེ་ བི་ ལ་ ‘but’ expresses a categorical contrast. Literally the conjunction translates roughly as ‘this being the case’.

(106) ཨོ་ཉིང་ོ་ིཿ་ལ་’ ‘but’
Ngace mapa Punakha jo-ni-‘ing d‘i-beud‘a
We actually Punakha go-[inf]-be but
d‘angma-ra ’Wangdi Phodr‘a-lu tshā-ci
first-[str] ’Wangdi Phodr‘a-to time-one
jo-ni-‘ing.
go-[inf]-be

Actually we’re on our way to Punakha, but first of all we’re going to ’Wangdi Phodr‘a once.

(107) མི་ིཿ་ི་ བི་ ལ་ བི་ འ མ བ ས་ དོ་’ བི་ འ མ བ ས་ དོ་’
Kho-g‘i nga-lu drobji t‘on-mi
He-[erg] I-[dat] threat make-[nom-gen]
tsi-‘immā d‘i-beud‘a nga-g‘i
pretend-[aux] but I-[erg]
d‘i-lu dro-mi-tup
that-[dat] fear-not-fear

He is acting as if to threaten me, but I’m not afraid of him.
Strictly speaking, the expression नाबा मा-शें in the preceding sentence is grammatically past tense but has a present tense reading, just like English 'I haven’t got a clue'.

9. The alternative conjunction ‘or’

The many functions fulfilled by the English conjunction ‘or’ are expressed in Dzongkha by several different means. Dzongkha नाबा yangcin expresses some of the most common functions of English ‘either’ and ‘or’.

(108) नाबा त्सा-जांच ् लांप-मा
Kho-gi 'lö-di tshā-jaci 'lap-mā
He-[erg] speech-the time-one hundred say-[ep] d'beud'a nyen-mi g'ā-ya mindu but heed-[sub] who-also not be

He has been saying it a hundred times, but no one is listening to him.

Another less categorical contrast is expressed by the conjunction नाबा न्च चङ, which contains the supine of the verb ‘to do’ चङ be.

(109) नाबा त्सा-जांच ् लांप-मा
Da cap-ni-di nyim-zhi
Arrow perform-[inf]-the day-four
cap-ci d'bewa ba-gu perform-[pt] but target-upon
tshā-ci-ya ma-phō G'aci 'in-na time-one-also not-hit What be-[Q] ma-shē not-know

We have been playing at archery for four days now, but not once has there been a hit. I just don’t know what’s the matter.

(110) नाबा न्च चङ वापांग न्अ त्सा-जांच ् लांप-मा
Nga-lu pisi-ci go-bā yangcin 1-[dat] pencil-one require-[ak] or 'nyug-u-ci go-bā pen-one require-[ak]

I need a pen or a pencil.

(111) नाबा न्च चङ वापांग न्अ त्सा-जांच ् लांप-मा
Ngace yangcin nāba jo-ni-'ing yangcin We either tomorrow go-[inf]-[aux] or 'nātshe jo-ni-'ing.
day after tomorrow go-[inf]-[aux]

We are going either tomorrow or the day after.
When presenting two distinct alternatives, the verb མི་མེད is placed after both alternatives. Note that in this function, the verb མི་མེད is pronounced in the low register tone.

(112) གཞི་པ་ཉི་ཐོབ་བཞི་དོན་དུ་དོན་དུ
Chö-lu kitap hóm-dü go-ni-mo
You-[dat] book blue-the require-[inf]-or
'máp-dü go-ni-mo
red-the require-[inf]-or

Do you want the red book or the blue one?

When the choice is not between two alternatives but between two items expressed by a noun or demonstrative only, the conjunction ཉ་ཡ་ is used, although it deserves to be noted that Dzongkha exhibits a preference for the longer constructions with མི་མེད or ཆུའི་ཡང་ཆུང. The conjunction ཉ་ཡ་ is cognate with the clause-final particle ཉ་ཡ་ used in rhetorical questions.

(113) གཞི་པ་ཉི་ཐོབ་བཞི་དོན་དུ་དོན་དུ
Chö-güi 'lap-mi-dü: 'Ani ya 'aphi
You-[erg] say-[sub]-the This or that

Was it this or that to which you were referring?

When two alternatives are presented, the second of which takes effect if the first is not realized, either the expression

(114) ལོགས་པའི་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་རབ་བོད་ཅེས་ཤེས་དུ་
Nåba tiru trö-ba nga-ra thöng-ong
Tomorrow money pay-[sup] I-[str] come-[pot]
dömeru ngi-phogem thöng-ong
or else my elder brother come-[pot]

Tomorrow I’ll come myself in order to pay the money, or else my big brother will come.

(115) ལོགས་པའི་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་རབ་བོད་ཅེས་ཤེས་དུ་
Ngace tshanye tön-go-bä dömen
We haste make-must-[ak] otherwise
pchi-ni-'immä
be late-[inf]-[aux]

We must hurry, otherwise we’ll be late.

10. The causative conjunction ‘because’

The conjunction གཞི་པ་ཉི་ཐོབ་བཞི་ཉི་ཐོབ་མི་ལེགས་ཀྱི་
göaci'imz'ewacin
‘because’ introduces the cause or reason for a statement made in the preceding proposition.
Kho-lu chazha-ni mi-ong ɣaci’imz’ewacin
He-[dat] trust-[inf] not-should because
kho shopcap-’ing
he lie-[aux]

One should not trust him because he is a liar.

In addition to ɣaci’im-z’ewacin ‘because’, the two less frequent conjunctions ɣaci’im mo-z’ewacin and ɣaci-be-z’ewacin also express a causative relationship. The difference in meaning is illustrated by the following examples.

(117) Ngace là mi-be ɣaci’im z’ewacin ‘la
We work not-do because salary
nyung-bài
be insufficient-[ak]

[How is it that] we are not working because the pay isn’t enough.

Whereas ɣaci’im-z’ewacin ‘because’ expresses a straightforward causative relationship, ɣaci’im mo-z’ewacin has a rhetorical flavour, meaning ‘if I were to be asked why’, and ɣaci-be-z’ewacin has an explanatory flavour, stressing how something has come about. However, these Dzongkha conjunctions are used less frequently than their English counterparts ‘because, since, as’, for Dzongkha prefers ergative constructions to indicate cause, such as ɣaci’im-
11. The adverbializer

The stem of the verb ‘to do’ रेखा बे is used as a suffix to convert a part of speech or phrase into an adverb.

(120) भुजो पादी झुशु-गो ताजु लाठोम-बे
Brokpa-the-[pl]-[erg] horse race good-[adv]
cap-shē-bā
perform-know how-to-[ak]

The Brokpas know well how to race horses.

(121) बूस्तो जुस्तो चुडो जुस्तो चुडो नाग चुडो नाग
Boy-and-girl-the-[pl] river-[gen]-in
naked-[adv] bathe-[pr]-[ak]

The boys and girls are bathing naked in the river.
The adverbializer be is cognate to the suffix which occurs in a limited number of adjectives:

(125) Chö-göi yig°u-d°i-tshu triktribe yö You-[gen] paper-the-[pl] in order be

Your documents are in order.

To conclude this section, a number of frequent Dzongkha adverbs are introduced, which in some cases function rather differently from their English counterparts. First of all, the notion ‘before’ is expressed in Dzongkha by using the postposition hema ‘before’ with the negated genitive stem of the verb, whereas the notion ‘after’, as explained in Section 5 of this chapter, is expressed by adding the postposition zh°imlä to the regular stem of the verb.

(126) Dong ma-chu-wi-hema so chu-go Face not-wash-[gen]-before teeth wash-must

You should brush your teeth before you wash your face.

The notion of ‘only’ or ‘not until’ in a temporal sense is expressed in Dzongkha by the postposition ga affixed to an adverb or present participle in combination with a negated main verb. The notion ‘until, up as far as’ is expressed by the postposition tshüntshö.

(127) Lhakha-na ma-dzü-wi-hema lham Monastery-into not-enter-[gen]-before shoe phü-go take_off-must

You must take off your shoes before entering a monastery.

(128) Dzong-na ma-dzü-wi-hema kapni Dzong-into not-enter-[gen]-before scarf kap-go don-must

We must don our ceremonial scarves before entering the dzong.

(129) Chap-cap-zhiimlä lok nyim shä-yi Rain-fall-after back sun shine-[pt]

After the rain the sun shone again.
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(130) Nga-gi cho d'ari-ga ma-thong
I-[erg] you today-until did not-see
I haven't seen you till today.

(131) Dr'oba chutsho gu-lä pchiru
Morning o'clock nine-from afternoon
    chutsho 'nga-tshuntsho lä be-go-bä
    o'clock five-until work do-must-[ak]
I have to work from nine to five.

(132) D'ari nga pchip-d'ari-ga ma-long
Today I be late-[pg]-until did not-get up
Today I didn't get up till late.

(133) Khong to z'ari-tshâu-d'ari-ga kho ma-ong
They rice eat-finish-[pg]-until he not-come
He didn't come until they were [already] finishing up the meal.

This postposition ʷ-account ʷ is cognate with the verb ᵏACCOUNT ʷ ʷ traverse' in expressions such as ᵏACCOUNT ʷ ʷ chu ʷ ʷ 'ford a stream' and ᵏACCOUNT ʷ ʷ z'amo ʷ ʷ 'cross a bridge', and for both postposition and verb the alternative spelling ʷ may also be encountered.
Periphrastic constructions with the infinitive, the potential, the future, interrogative and indefinite pronouns and the Bhutanese calendar

1. The infinitive

The infinitive is formed by adding the ending -ni to the stem of the verb, e.g. khyi-khyi 'up-ni 'to hide', chong-ni 'to jump', thung-ni 'to drink, to smoke', thong-ni 'to see', be-ni 'to do'.

The infinitive is used as a verbal noun or in periphrastic constructions in combination with forms of the verb 'to be'.

The infinitive as a verbal noun can take the definite or indefinite article ཤ་ 'the' or ད་ 'a' or 'one' as well as postpositions and acts as a nominal constituent in the syntagma.

1. (1) རྣ་འབྲོ་བའི་ཚེ་འབྲི་ཁོང་ལ་
Dö-to la be-ni-meba to z'a-ni 'ing
Now work do-[inf]-without rice eat-[inf] be

Now we'll eat without having worked.

2. (2) གོ་བ་ས་བདག་པའི་མི་བཞི་མི་ག་པ།
Chö-göi ta-wacin kho-göi chöllhå
You-[erg] look-if he-[erg] read
shé-ni-zumci du-go
know-[inf]-like be-[Q]

Do you think he knows how to read?

3. (3) བོ་ན་ལུ་མི་མི་ལ་ལུ་སེང་དེ་ལ་ཆེ་འོ་མི་ལ་ལུ་སྒོ་རྒྱ་ོ་
Khong-'nyi 'nyen-cap-ni-döi phä
They-two marriage-perform-[inf]-the thither
be-zhå. Ci-göi-ci-lu kha-ra
do-put One-[erg]-one-[dat] speech-[str]
lashombe mi-'lap-ba
nicely not-say-[ak]

Put all thoughts of those two ever getting married out of your head. They don’t even talk to each other in a civil way.

4. (4) རོ་ཆོ་དེ་ོ་ལ་སཤ་འོ་མི་ལ་ལུ་སྒོ་རྒྱ་ོ་
Rochi-döi göi sotap-ni zumci du 'mä
Dog-that-[erg] bite-[inf] like be [fe]

Hey, that dog looks as if it’ll bite.
It's very difficult for me to learn Bhutanese mask dance. [literally: 'For me the learning of Bhutanese mask dance is very difficult'.]

You’re shortening your life expectancy from one hundred to less than twenty years. [literally: You yourself are making the attainment of a lifetime of one hundred years into attaining not even one score years. (said to an alcoholic)]

The verb གཅིག་ གྲོལ་ གཉིས་ chö lhâ ‘to read’ in sentence (2) incorporates the lexicalized complement གཅིག་ chö ‘learning, holy scriptures’ which is dropped when the verb takes an overt object, e.g. དཀ་ན་བཐོད་པ་ Nga Künsel lhâ-dö ‘I am reading the Künsel’.

The ergative suffix གོ་ can be attached to an infinitive to indicate a cause, as in the expression ‘therefore’ ཉི་ག་ དོ་ be-ni-dö-göi, literally ‘On account of it being enacted that way’, e.g. (7), or as in the phrase ཉི་ག་ ཉི་ག་ དོ་ འྱ་ འྱ་ འྱ་ འྱ་ འྱ་ Dö-ki-göi ‘because of the incessant barking of the dogs’ or ‘because of the fact that the dogs keep on barking’, e.g. (8). The ergative suffix may mark a verbal noun as the agentive subject of a sentence, e.g. (9).
I can’t sleep at all at night because the dogs keep on barking.

A cause can also be expressed by the ablative suffix -lä affixed to the inflected stem of the verb.

Because the goalkeeper caught the ball in the nick of time, they won the game.

The suffix -M can be added to the infinitive to form a *nomen concretum* with the meaning ‘that by means of which’:

How are we to open it without a tin-opener?

This glass cutter will cut any type of glass.
Note that the verb མཁོ་ིན་ཆ་པ་'to open', used in sentence (11), is used with respect to ཀྲི་འིན་'tins', བོད་འབྲེལ་'bottles' and similar vessels with an aperture which can be opened by removing a lid or cover. With གེ་'doors', ཁི་པོ་'lock', ཀུན་ལུས་སོ་'sheshem 'zipper' and the like, the verb མཁོ་ིན་པ་'to open' is used. By contrast, the verb མཁོ་ིན་ཆ་བར་བ་'to open the mouth of' is used for the opening orifices or objects which lack a lid or cover, e.g. ཀྲི་འགན་'bag, sack'. 'To open one’s mouth' is simply མཁོ་ིན་ཆ་བ་.

What we also observe in sentence (11) is the use of the infinitive in combination with the verb མོ་'to' as the main verb of the sentence. The infinitive can be used as the main verb in questions which are addressed to the second person or the first person plural and which contain the interrogatives ག་'who', ཁི་པོ་'how', ཁི་འགན་'where, where to', བོ་'when' and, as an object of the sentence only, ཁི་འགན་'what', e.g. (13)-(17). Similar questions with the interrogative ཁི་པོ་'why', however, take a verb in the supine as the main verb, e.g. (18)-(19). In questions with the infinitive as main verb, the overtly expressed or intended subject cannot be in the third person or the first person singular because the speaker uses the infinitive to inquire as to a matter at hand involving the person addressed.

(13) ག་པ་་ི་དེ་མ་
Gང་-gə- zə-a-ni
Who-[erg] eat-[inf]
Who is going to eat it? / Which of us is going to eat it?

(14) ཁི་པོ་བ་ན་ཆ་པ་
Dང་ ngace gə-aci zə-a-ni? Gəayara
Now we what eat-[inf] Everything
dzo-song-nu.
deplete-[pf]-[ip]
What are we to eat now? Everything has been used up.

(15) ཁི་པོ་་ས་
Chö gə-ātī jo-ni
You where go-[inf]
Where are you going?

(16) ཁི་པོ་བ་ན་
Dང་ gə-ātī be-ni
Now how do-[inf]
How are we to do this now?
2. Periphrastic constructions with the infinitive

A newspaper headline may consist of an infinitive only, e.g. "zhādzom 'nang-ni ‘meeting to be convened’, announcing an activity at hand. Similarly, the combination of an infinitive with the forms of the verb 'to be' यो, दु 'du, में or मिनु expresses an activity or event at hand.

(20) दोरो 'लो 'atsi cap-ni यो
Again converse little bit perform-[inf] be

Again there is some discussing to be done.

Note that the modern spelling दोरो 'again' in (20) corresponds to the older spelling दोरो, literally 'even now'.

(21) नग्गी चो 'ला 'ngūtram cuthām
I-[erg] you-from 'ngūtram ten
len-ni यो
take-[inf] be

I have to take back those ten rupees from you.
(22) Chö-g'i ngace-lu tiru bjöing-ni yö
You-[erg] we-[dat] money give-[inf] be
You are to give us money.

(23) Paro-tshécu-g'i kap-lu ba'nga tringtri
Paro-tshécu-[gen] time-at drum cymbals
dung-ni yö-g'a
strike-[inf] be-[Q]
Is there striking of drums and cymbals at the Paro Tshécu?

(24) 'Angdrang thong-ni minu
Number come-inf not be
My number isn’t coming up. [waiting for one’s number to be called out whilst waiting one’s turn in the bank].

(25) Di-na-lu ngi-meng thong-ni minu
this-in-at my-name come-inf not be
My name doesn’t appear to come up [on this list].

(26) Man-the think-[inf] anything at all not be
tsag 'immä
Fool be
That man does not think at all. He is a fool.

(27) Lhakha-na jou-d'a lham tsu-ni mè.
Monastery-in go-[pg] shoes wear-[inf] not be
Lhakha-na tamkhu thung-ni mè
Monastery-in tobacco smoke-[inf] not be
When going into the monastery, one is not to wear shoes. One is not to smoke inside a monastery.

The distinction between the auxiliaries yö and yö mè, expressing personal or assimilated knowledge, and dü and dü minu, expressing objective or acquired knowledge, applies in periphrastic constructions with the infinitive as well. The use of the auxiliary yö is usual in sentence (28), where the speaker is speaking with regard to himself, whereas the use of dü in (29) is appropriate if the speaker were to have just been told by his boss that he will have to work at the office the following day, even though it is officially a holiday.
(28) Nga naba yitsha-na la be-ni yö
I tomorrow office-in work do-[inf] be
I have work to do in the office tomorrow.

(29) Nga naba yitsha-na la be-ni du
I tomorrow office-in work do-[inf] be
I have work to do in the office tomorrow.

The infinitive may be combined with the auxiliaries ting, tingly, imma, maa and membaa to express a scheduled or intended future event or activity. The combination may, however, be used to express an established circumstance, e.g. (33)-(36).

(30) D°ari nga song-yi. Naba 'auku-wa
Today I went-[pl] Tomorrow steal-[sup]
cho jo-ni 'in-na
you go-[inf] be-[Q]

Today I went out. Are you going out to steal tomorrow? [one thief to another]

(31) 'Amtshu-d°i-tshu g°āti jo-ni 'in-na
Women-the-pl where to go-[inf] be-[Q]
Where are the women off to?

(32) D°i pe câmcì 'ing. Ngoma-d°i
This example only be real thing-the
shüma zo-ni 'ing
afterwards make-[inf] be

This is only a sample. The final product has yet to be made.

(33) This is only a sample. The final product has yet to be made.

(34) He is speaking Dzongkha.
Pork is very fat. [literally ‘the pig comes with lots of fat’].

If we go abroad, it ends up costing us lots of money.

The difference in meaning between the auxiliaries 'ing and 'mbā, expressing personal or assimilated knowledge, and 'immā and 'mbā, expressing objective or acquired knowledge, holds when these auxiliaries are used in combination with the infinitive as well. For example, speaking of the first person, one may say Ngace Thē jo-ni 'ing ‘We’re going to Punakha’ or 'ngu Ngā nāba là be-ni 'ing ‘I’m going to work tomorrow’ because one is cognizant of one’s own intentions. Speaking of a third person, one is inclined to use the form 'mbā 'immā, expressing acquired knowledge, e.g. Khong d’ato-ra to z’a-wa jo-ni 'imma ‘They’re going to have their meal right now’, although one might say Khong d’ato-ra to z’a-wa jo-ni 'ing ‘They’re going to have their meal right now’ if the speaker had been working together with the third person referents, in which case he shares personal knowledge of their plans. Similarly, in posing the question Pāsa ya jo-ni 'in-na ‘Is Pāsa going too?’, the speaker presumes that the second person has personal knowledge of Pāsa’s intentions, whereas in posing the question Khong d’ato-ra to z’a-wa jo-ni Pāsa ya jo-ni 'immā-g’o ‘Is Pāsa going too?’, the speaker is not assuming such personal knowledge on the part of the second person. In posing a question about the second person, e.g. Naba cho jo-ni 'in-na ‘Are you going tomorrow?’, the speaker uses the auxiliary 'ing because he must presume the second person knows the answer. However, note the use of the auxiliary 'mbā 'immā with a first person subject in (37). Here, the auxiliary 'mbā 'immā does not govern 'to go', but the modal of exigency 'must, to have to', and the need to go in (37) has arisen without having been foreseen by the speaker.

Ngace pchigā-lu  jo-wacin 'ngū
We foreign_country-to go-if silver
lāsha throla-jo-ni 'immā
much waste-go-[inf] be

If we go abroad, it ends up costing us lots of money.
(38) When is the programme going to begin?
Lārim nam gutsu-ni 'in-na
Programme when start-[inf] be-[Q]

(39) We’re going down as far as Phüntso’ling.
Ngace Phüntso’ling-tshünštshō jo-ni 'ing
We Phüntso’ling-until go-[inf] be

(40) Are you going to take a bath?
Chō zū chūchuni 'in-na
You body bathe-[inf] be-[Q]

(41) He will soon be resigning from this office.
Kho jobara yitsha-di-na-lā gōmzhū-u-ni
He soon office-this-in-from resign-[inf]
'immā be

(42) I promise.
Nga 'nabū-ni 'ing
I promise-[inf] be

The combination of infinitive with the auxiliary 'imma may translate into English as having a conditional reading, as we have seen in Section 6 of Chapter 6.

(43) I’d be very happy if she were here.
Ngī-totsha nā yō-bacin ga-ni-'immā
My-friend here be-if like-[inf]-[aux]

(44) If you would draw me a map, I’d be able to find the way.
Nga-lu sapthra-ci drī-nang-bacin nga-gū
I-[dat] map-a write-proffer-if I-[erg]
lam shē-ni-'immā
way know-[inf]-[aux]
An inspection of the town will have to be conducted.

A negative future event is expressed by the combination of the infinitive with the auxiliary བོད་མ། or བོད་ཐམས་

They’re not going to the village today.

The infinitive also combines with the negative of the verb བོད་ཐུང་‘to come’ in the meaning ‘should not’.

One should not believe what liars say.
He is working. Therefore, he should not be disturbed.

You should not touch poison with your hands.

You should not rile up that dangerous dog, nor should you lay hands on him.

Note that the verbs lapdoni ‘touch’ and lapkāni ‘lay hand on’ in sentences (53) and (54) both incorporate the lexicalized complement lap ‘hand’. The element lap ‘hand’ also occurs as part of other verbs, such as lapshēni ‘grab, hold fast’ and lapthūpni ‘shake hands, hold hands’.

Under no circumstances are you to touch that medicine.
3. The potential auxiliary

The verb ḏǝ́: ONG ‘to come’ is used as an auxiliary indicating potentiality. The potential in (57) expresses a future possibility, whereas sentence (58) expresses what its speaker imagines to be a virtual certainty.

(57) ḏǝ́: ONG
Khau cap-ong
Snow do-[pot]

It may snow.

(58) ḏǝ́: ONG
Khau cap-ni 'immā
Snow fall-[inf] be

It will snow.

The use of the potential auxiliary in (59) relates a presumption or conjecture on the part of the speaker, whereas the factual present in (60) expresses what the speaker knows to be a fact.

(59) ḏǝ́: ONG
'Nambjā’ chāp cap-ong
Summer rain fall-[pot]

It’ll rain in the summer.

(60) ḏǝ́: ONG
'Nambjā’ chāp cap-bi
Summer rain fall-[aux]

It rains in the summer.

The potential is not limited to future time and expresses an activity or event which may occur or might have occurred. The potential auxiliary ḏǝ́: ONG combines with the inflected stem of the verb to express a possibility in present or past time, e.g. (61)-(65), (67), (69), whereas the auxiliary combines with the uninflected stem to express future possibility, e.g. (66), (68), (70)-(73).

(61) ḏǝ́: ONG
Nga-g’i ta-wacin mo nā yōp-ong
I-[erg] look-if she here be-[pot]

I think she’s here somewhere.

(62) ḏǝ́: ONG
'im-ong
be-[pot]

It may be. / It’s possible.
(63) ར་དམག་པར་ཞི་ཅིང་ གི་ཐོམ་ཆུང་
Nga naba ong-ni 'im
tomorrow come-[inf] be
kho-goi shep-ong
he-[erg] know-[pot]

He probably knows that I'm coming tomorrow.

(64) སི་མིགའ་བོད་བོད་ཕྱི་ རི་དུ་བྱོར་
Ng'i-goi 'nosam-lä be-wacin kho nä
My-[gen] opinion-[abl] do-if he here
dzong-na yöp-ong
dzong-in be-[pot]

According to me, he should be here in the dzong.

(65) གིིས་དཔལ་དཔལ་
Mo-goi kho-lu gau-ong.
She-[erg] he-[dat] love-[pot]

She may love him. / It could be that she loves him.

(66) གིིས་དཔལ་དཔལ་ཟིན་
Mo-goi kho-lu ga-ong, me-na?
She-[erg] he-[dat] love-[pot] not be-[Q]

She’s probably going to like him, don’t you think?

(67) སི་ཐོབ་ཞི་བོང་
Nə hō-höp-ong
Here arrive-arrive-[pot]

It may have already arrived.

(68) སི་མིག་བོད་བོད་ཕྱི་ རི་དུ་བྱོར་
Chö-gi kā-wacin nā hō-ong
You-[erg] send-if here arrive-[pot]

If you send it, it’ll get here.

(69) སི་མིག་བོད་བོད་ཕྱི་ རི་དུ་བྱོར་
Kho khathen-dōi gō-di sem cou-ong
He message-the hear-[pp] mind be sad-[pot]

He might be sad, having heard the news.

(70) སི་མིག་བོད་བོད་ཕྱི་ རི་དུ་བྱོར་
Khathen-di-g'oi kōlā kho-g'oi g'o-wacin
Message-this-[gen] about he-[erg] hear-if
kho sem co-ong
he mind be sad-[pot]

If he hears this news, he will be crestfallen.
(71) Chö-gi kitap-d'i nga-g'i 'natshe
You-[gen] book-the I-[erg] day after tomorrow
lo-trö-ong
back-pay-[pot]

I’ll give you back your book the day after tomorrow.

(72) Thrinlä-g'i kho-lu 'ngütram tongthra-ci
Thrinlä-[erg] he-[dat] 'ngütram thousand-one
bjö'ing-ong
give-[pot]

Thrinlä may give him a thousand 'ngütram.

(73) Trö-tröp-ong
Pay-paid-[pot]

It’s probably already been paid for.

Progressive and perfective auxiliaries also inflect before the potential auxiliary 'ong, e.g. (74)-(78).

(74) Kho yig'u drö-dou-ong
He letter write-[pr]-[pot]

He’s probably writing a letter.

(75) Lä be-dou-ong
Work do-[pr]-[pot]

They’re probably working.

(76) Döato to zöa-dou-ong
Now rice eat-[pr]-[pot]

He’s probably eating now.

(77) Khatsa kho-g'i 'ema g'åra
Yesterday he-[erg] chillies all
tsong-dam-ong
sell-[pf]-[pot]

Yesterday he probably sold all the chillies.
They three day-ago-[abl]-[str] [pf]-go-[pot]

They probably already left three days ago.

The growing tendency in spoken Dzongkha to treat the form ནོང as a hard stem verb so in allegro speech accounts for the inflected form in (78).

The potential auxiliary ནོང in combination with the witnessed past ending ཡི expresses a recurrent phenomenon:

Kap-kap-ra gu na-ni-ci thong-ong-yi
Time-time-[str] head hurt-[inf]-one come-[pot]-[pt]

From time to time I get a headache.

When the verb ནོང ‘to come’ is combined with the potential auxiliary ནོང, the stem of the verb changes to བཟོང, e.g. བཟོང་བཟོང་ Thong Thong ‘He’ll come any minute now’, བཟོང་དོ་ ato-ra Thong-ong ‘I’ll be back in a just one minute’.

4. The autolalic future and future perfect

There is a special future form, the autolalic future, which expresses the intent of the first person subject. The autolalic future is only used when thinking to oneself in Dzongkha about what one intends to do. The form is never uttered, unless one is talking to oneself, and is always in the first person singular. The autolalic future also occurs in narrative, in direct quotations of someone’s thoughts, and is marked by the ending གོ་-gêno, which originally derives from the adhortative suffix. A speaker of Dzongkha might think examples (80) or (81) to himself.

(80) རྩ་ལ་སྙན་འགེནོ།
Tama nga z’a-gêno
Later I eat-[af]

I’ll eat later.

(81) སྐྱུན་འཕྲོག་ལྟའི་མ་བྱུང་པོ་
Naba la pûtsabe be-gêno
Tomorrow work enthusiastically do-[af]

Tomorrow I’m really going to work hard.

The future perfect is formed with the auxiliary verb བོད་ NyO, which expresses a future event which the speaker expects will have been completed by the time another future event has transpired.
The category expressed by གཉོ་ nyO, however, is not equivalent to the future perfect in European languages. Many functions expressed by European future perfects are expressed in Dzongkha by the potential future in conjunction with other means, as shown in the section on Aktionsart in Chapter Six.

In (82) a mother is urging her son to go to the market quickly to buy yak meat before it is all gone, using the potential auxiliary to express a future possibility, but his brother who has just returned from the market points out that it is of no use because he is sure, as he indicates with the future perfect auxiliary, that all the yak meat will be finished by the time his brother gets there. The future perfect is used in a similar situation in (83) where it is used in conjunction with the suffix of acquired knowledge.

(82) - དགོང་ཐོང་ སྱེ་ན སྐེ་བུ
  སྐེ་བུ་དགོང་ཐོང་
  - Shā dzo-ong. Joba song.
  Meat run_out-[pot] Quickly go
  - Kho ma hō-hō sha dzo-nyo
  He down arrive-arrive meat run_out-[fp]

- The meat will run out. Go quickly.
- [Don’t bother] It will all be gone by the time he gets down there.

(83) - བི་ཤི་ཤཱ་ གཉོ་ སྗེ་དོ་
  གཉོ་ སྗེ་དོ་
  - 'Mi shi-ong. Joba jo-g°e!
  Man die-[pot] Quickly go-[adh]
  - Chā phā hō-hō 'mi shi-nyo-wā
  YOu there arrive-arrive man die-[fp]-[ak]

- The man may die. Let’s go quickly!
- He will be dead by the time you get there.

5. Interrogative and indefinite pronouns

Most interrogative pronouns have already been introduced in the course of the book thus far. The present section presents an overview of these interrogatives and their deictic and relative counterparts.

The following are the Dzongkha interrogative pronoun of manner, its deictic counterparts and the corresponding relative zumbe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>g°ad°ebe</th>
<th>how</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dzongkha</td>
<td>d°ebe</td>
<td>like that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzongkha</td>
<td>'anebe</td>
<td>like this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzongkha</td>
<td>nebe</td>
<td>like this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzongkha</td>
<td>zumbe</td>
<td>like, as, in which manner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The element ཉི་ in these adverbs is also found spelt དབེ་, which spelling assumes a different etymology.
How am I to open the chest without the key?

What is the condition of the roads like?

[Do you think] it will be all right if we do it this way?

The following are the interrogative pronoun of quantity, its deictic counterparts and the corresponding relative. The sound m is optional in all the forms listed except for in the relative zumci. Each contains the element ci, which is the approximative suffix.

The relative is used in expressions like kho-gi guto-zumci 'as big as his head' and aphi-zumci 'as big as that', but also has a secondary meaning 'as if, as though', e.g. Chap mi-cap-ni zumci du 'It looks as if it's not going to rain'.

The postposition döeci suffixed to an amount indicates approximation, e.g. ca' nga-döeci 'about fifteen'.

How many months will you be staying?
Till what time does the film last? [literally: is the film being shown]

What’s the total?

Not to be confused with g°ad°e(m)ci ‘how much’ is the adverbialized form g°ad°em-ci ‘by chance, coincidentally’. In contrast to g°ad°e(m)ci ‘how much’, e.g. (90), the pronoun g°ad°ere, containing the distributive particle re, denotes ‘how much each’ or ‘how much per unit’, as the following examples illustrate:

How much for the g°ôs [i.e. all of them]?

How much are per g°ô?

How much per kilogramme?

How much are the fiddleheads (fern croziers) per bunch?

The Dzongkha interrogative for reason or cause is g°acibe ‘why’.

Why throw it away?
Kho g°acibe gau-'in-na
He why laugh-[aux]-[Q]

Why is he laughing?

Chö ngace-g°i chim-na g°acibe òm 'mo
You we-[gen] house-[loc] why come be

Why have you come to our house?

The Dzongkha interrogative for time and some of its deictic counterparts are:

dή nam when
dिध d°igang at that time, then
dग्युज d°angphu once upon a time, long ago
dिन्द्रियाध d°i-g°i kap-lu at that time, in that period
dिवल hema before
dित्रि tama later [a matter of hours or minutes]
dिखु shūma later [a matter of weeks or days]

The Dzongkha interrogative for place and its deictic counterparts are:

श्र soften g°äti where, whither
d्र nā here
d्हा phā there
d्र mā below, down there
d्र yā above, up there
d्र ध्याध्या phā-d°a-tshu there and back again, to and fro, back and forth

The interrogative pronoun श्र g°äti is used both in the sense of 'where' and of 'whither, whereto', e.g. (98), (99).

The interrogative श्र g°äti occurs in combination with the dative suffix only when used as an independent utterance, e.g. श्र g°äti-lu 'Where to?' The interrogative श्र g°äti is combined with the ablative suffix ध्याध्या in the sense 'whence, wherefrom', e.g. ध्याध्या g°äti-lä 'Which house is that one? Where are you from? In Dzongkha any ablative of place may be combined with the adverb ध्या phā 'there, thither' to indicate direction of movement,
e.g. ཨུགས་པ་འབྱུང་པོ་ 'namkha-lä pha 'down from the sky'. So too the combination གཤི་ལ་འབྱུང་པོ་ göati-lä pha conveys the meaning 'which way', e.g. (100).

(98) རྡོམ་འཛིན་གྱིས་ནི་དོན་དུ་སྟེ།
Drom-d'i-tshu göati bā-ni 'immä
Box-the-[pl] where carry-[inf] be-[ak]

Where are they taking the boxes to?

(99) གཤི་ལ་འབྱུང་པོ།
Göati yā-song-yi
Where [pf]-went-[pt]

Where did he go?

(100) གཤི་ལ་འབྱུང་པོ་ཡ་མ་འོན་
Göati-lä pha yā-söm-'in-na
Where-[abl] thither [pf]-went-[aux]-[Q]

Which way did he go?

The pronoun ས་ g'aci translates both as 'what' and, with respect to non-human referents, as 'which'. In (101) the form ས་ g'aci is used for 'which' because a རིག་ལམ། läkhung 'department' is manned by a human staff.

(101) བདག་ལྡན་གཞན་ལ་གཏིངས་པའི་འབྲེལ་པོ་འོན་པའི་ཐོབ་མི་རིག་
Zhödzom-d'i läkhung-g'aci-g'i
Meeting-the department-which-[gen]
godren-tholä beu-'in-na
organization-through do-[aux]-[Q]

Through which department is this meeting being organized?

The pronoun ས་ g'aci translates both as 'who' and, with respect to human referents, as 'which'.

(102) ས་མེ་སེམས་གཤི་འོན་
D'i semce g'aci 'in-na
That animal which be-[Q]

Which animal is that?

The interrogative pronouns, usually reinforced with རྒྱ་ yā 'too', are combined with a negative verb to convey the senses 'nowhere', 'never', 'no one', etc. The special form for 'nothing', however, is ས་ g'aniya 'anything' in combination with a negative verb, e.g. (107).
(103) Kho ḡaṭi-ya jo-si-meba dōp 'immā
He where-too go-place-without sit [aux]
He has no place to go. [literally: He sits there without a place to go.]

(104) Ngace-ḡī tshō-mi-dī ḡaṭi-ya mi-thop-bā
We-[erg] seek-[sub]-the where-too not-get-[ak]
What we are looking for doesn’t seem to be available anywhere.

(105) Kho nam-ya shop mi-cap
He when-also lie not-perform
He never lies.

(106) Nā chim-na ḡaṭa-ya mè
Here house-in who-also not be
There’s nobody here inside.

(107) Khong-ḡī tshongkha-dī-na ḡaniya
They-[gen] shop-the-in anything
mi-thop-bā Ḡaniya minu
not-get-[ak] Anything not be
You can’t get anything in the shop. There’s nothing there.

The adjective žen̄mi or žen̄ zhen express the meaning ‘other’, and the collocation žen̄mi žen̄i means ‘another person’. The notions ‘someone, someone else, anyone, whoever’ are expressed by the phrase žen̄na žen̄ mi žen̄i, consisting consecutively of the pronoun žen̄na, the adverbializer žen̄i and the concessive žen̄i ‘although, even’.

Dzongkha lacks the ambiguity of the English indefinite ‘another’. Dzongkha žen̄mi ci ‘another one’ has the sense of ‘a different one from the one at hand’, like French autre, Dutch ander or Russian дру́гой, e.g. (108), whereas Dzongkha žen̄mī d̄oro ya ci ‘another one’ conveys the meaning ‘yet another one, one more’, like French encore un, Dutch nog één or Russian eště о́дин, e.g. (109).
(108) Nga-lu zhenmi-ci 'nang-sh I-[dat] different-one give-[u]
Give me another one.

(109) Nga-lu d'o roya ci 'nang-sh I-[dat] again one give-[u]
Give me another one.

(10) Da-d'i thrangtangta-ci-ra mindu Arrow-the straight-like-[str] not be
D'o benid'i nga-lu da Therefore I-[dat] arrow
zhenmi-ci go-ba.
other-one need-[ak]
This arrow isn’t quite straight. So, I shall require another arrow.

(111) 'Mi zhenmi-d'i-lu-ya dr'i-yi-g'o a
Man other-the-[dat]-also ask-[pt]-[Q]
Did you ask that other guy too?

(112) Da-zhenmi-d'i-tshu d'ato-ya chim-na yô.
Arrow-other-the-[pl] now-too house-in be
G'o aberu-ci-g'i lemba jo-go-bâ
Whoever-one-[erg] get-[sup] go-must-[ak]
The other arrows are still in the house. Someone will have to go fetch them.

The adjective madrau means ‘different’, literally ma ‘not’ drau ‘resembling’, and is used much the same way as in English.

(113) Nga-lu-ya ci yô D'o beud d'i I-[dat]-too one be but that
madrau-ci 'ing
different-one be
I have one too, but it’s a different one.

(114) Bj'o a ri-d'i-zum madrau lâsha yô
Bird type-the-like different many be
There are many different kinds of birds like this one.
The adjective འབྲུག་ལུ། lalu means 'some'. With the approximative suffix དེ་ ci the adjective འབྲུག་ལུ། laluci takes on a more indefinite character, although the subtle distinction is difficult to render satisfactorily in English.

(115) དར་ལུ། རིག་ར་ ཡི་ལུ། Tari-lalu rikha-ra zha-nu
Ax-some jungle-[str] put-[ip]

Some of the axes have been left behind in the jungle.

(116) འབྲུག་ལུ། སྒྲ་མ་ Lalu-ci ong-ra ma-ong-ma
Some-like come-[str] not-come-[ak]

Some have not shown up at all.

(117) གཞི་ཞིང་ཞིང་ཨི་ལུ། 'Mi-lalu-ci chim-na-ra dö-nu
Man-some-like house-in-[str] stay-[ip]

Some of the people have stayed behind in the house.

6. The Bhutanese calendar

Several different calendar reckonings are in use in Bhutan. For international and a large number of official purposes the Gregorian calendar is used. In Bhutan, as in other parts of the Buddhist world, the year may be reckoned from the parinirvāṇa of Lord Buddha in the fifth century BC. In lamaseries of the བཀྲ་མ་དག་ཆུ་ Drukpa Kājū sect, the state religion of Bhutan, the year is often reckoned from the death of བཀྲ་མ་དག་ཆུ་ Drukpa Kājū himself in 1651 AD.

The most common common system in popular use, however, is the སྒྲ་བུ་ Rapjung system. The Rapjung system employs a sixty-year cycle and is based on the chronometry of the Kālacakrā astrological school introduced from India into Tibet in 1027 AD. Each of the sixty years in the cycle has a Sanskrit name, which we know today only by its ancient Tibetan translation. In conjunction with the Kālacakrā system, the sixty-year Chinese lunar calendar is used, so that each year in the cycle has both a Sanskrit Tibetan and a Chinese Tibetan designation. The Sanskrit Tibetan name of the year in which this system was introduced into Tibet is སྒྲ་བུ་ Rapjung, whence the system acquired its name. Accordingly, the designation of any year is known as the སྒྲ་བུ་ Rapjung-gő'i lo 'year of Rapjung' or simply སྒྲ་བུ་ Raplo. The year སྒྲ་བུ་ Rapjung, the first year of the Tibetan and Bhutanese (but not the Chinese) sixty-year cycle, corresponds to the Year of the Fire Hare in the Chinese lunar cycle.
A Bhutanese year in the Rapjung cycle is popularly known by its Chinese Tibetan designation rather than by its Sanskrit Tibetan name. The Chinese Tibetan designation of a Bhutanese year is based on a twelve-year bestiary cycle and a ten-year element cycle, both of which combine to give a sixty-year cycle. The names of the bestiary cycle are in Chökê:

1. J'iu, J'iwâ the Rat
2. 'Lang the Bull
3. Tâ the Hare
4. Ö the Dragon
5. Dru the Serpent
6. Drü the Horse
7. Lu the Sheep
8. Trê the Monkey
9. Bj'o a the Bird
10. Chi the Dog
11. Phâ the Pig

There are five elements, each of which has a masculine pho and a feminine mo aspect. Two consecutive years are designated by the same element, the first in its masculine aspect and the second in its feminine aspect. The five elements are:

1. Shing-pho-chi lo Year of the Wood Dog
2. Shing-mo-pha lo Year of the Wood Pig
3. Câ-pho-ta lo Year of the Iron Horse
4. Câ-mo-lu lo Year of the Iron Sheep
5. Year of the Fire Bull

The Rat, Tiger, Dragon, Horse, Monkey and Dog always combine with the male aspect of an element, whereas the Bull, Hare, Serpent, Sheep, Bird and Pig combine with the female aspect of an element. Therefore, in Dzongkha the designations pho ‘male’ and mo ‘female’ are omitted in common parlance, as they are in the English renderings of the names of the Bhutanese years. The years of the Rapjung cycle, divided into duodecades, are as follows:

1. Shing-pho-chi lo Year of the Fire Hare
2. Shing-mo-pha lo Year of the Fire Rat
3. Me-pho-j'iwâ lo Year of the Wood Dog
4. Me-mo-'lang lo Year of the Fire Bull
5. Me-mo-ö lo Year of the Earth Dog
6. Me-mo-pho-j'iwâ lo Year of the Earth Serpent
7. Sa-pho-drû lo Year of the Earth Dragon
8. Sa-mo-drû lo Year of the Earth Tiger
9. Câ-pho-ta lo Year of the Iron Horse
10. Câ-mo-lu lo Year of the Iron Sheep
11. Year of the Water Monkey
12. Chu-pho-tre lo Year of the Water Bird
13. Chu-mo-bj'o a lo Year of the Water Pig
14. Shing-pho-chi lo Year of the Wood Dog
15. Shing-mo-pha lo Year of the Wood Pig
16. Shing-pho-chi lo Year of the Wood Pig
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lo</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sa-mo-ö lo</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu-mo-ö lo</td>
<td>Year of the Iron Hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu-mo-dru lo</td>
<td>Year of the Iron Serpent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu-mo-lu lo</td>
<td>Year of the Water Horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shing-mo-pho-tre lo</td>
<td>Year of the Wood Monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shing-mo-bj'a lo</td>
<td>Year of the Wood Bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me-pho-chi lo</td>
<td>Year of the Fire Dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me-pho-phâ lo</td>
<td>Year of the Fire Pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa-pho-j'ĩwa lo</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa-mo-''lang lo</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu-pho-ta lo</td>
<td>Year of the Water Tiger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu-mo-dru lo</td>
<td>Year of the Iron Serpent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu-mo-lu lo</td>
<td>Year of the Water Horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shing-mo-pho-ta lo</td>
<td>Year of the Wood Monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shing-mo-bj'a lo</td>
<td>Year of the Wood Bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me-pho-chi lo</td>
<td>Year of the Fire Dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me-pho-phâ lo</td>
<td>Year of the Fire Pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa-pho-j'ĩwa lo</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa-mo-''lang lo</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu-pho-ta lo</td>
<td>Year of the Water Tiger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu-mo-ö lo</td>
<td>Year of the Water Hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu-mo-dru lo</td>
<td>Year of the Iron Serpent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu-mo-lu lo</td>
<td>Year of the Water Horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shing-mo-pho-ta lo</td>
<td>Year of the Wood Monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shing-mo-bj'a lo</td>
<td>Year of the Wood Bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me-pho-chi lo</td>
<td>Year of the Fire Dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me-pho-phâ lo</td>
<td>Year of the Fire Pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa-pho-j'ĩwa lo</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa-mo-''lang lo</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu-pho-ta lo</td>
<td>Year of the Water Tiger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Speaking of one's year of birth, one might say  Namgyal Ngā lo jöiu 'ing 'I was born in the year of the Rat' or  Namgyal Ngā lo jöiu kham shing 'ing 'I was born in the year of the Wood Rat', whereby kham means 'element'. In addition to Ngā lo 'year', the more complete expression namlo 'celestial year' is used, e.g. Namlo gaci-na 'mo 'In which year was that?'. 'This year' is döüci; 'next year' is sangphö; 'last year' is na­hing, and 'the year before last' is zhehing, e.g. Ngā nahing dau 'nyi-gö'i döön-ü Dru-lu ong-yi 'Last year I came to Bhutan for two months'.

The Sanskrit Tibetan names of the years of the Rap­jung cycle are listed on the following pages in their formal Chöké pronunciations. These Kalacakra terms are used only by astrologers and scholars of Bhutanese chronometery.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit Tibetan</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rapjung</td>
<td>Year of the Fire Hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Namjung</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Dragon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karpo</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Dragon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapnyö</td>
<td>Year of the Iron Serpent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēdak</td>
<td>Year of the Iron Horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Angg'ira</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Tiger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peldong</td>
<td>Year of the Water Bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ngöpo</td>
<td>Year of the Wood Dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natshötden</td>
<td>Year of the Wood Pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzinj'et</td>
<td>Year of the Fire Rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Wangchuk</td>
<td>Year of the Fire Bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drumangpo</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyöden</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Nam'mön</td>
<td>Year of the Iron Dragon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuchok</td>
<td>Year of the Iron Serpent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Natsbok</td>
<td>Year of the Water Horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyima</td>
<td>Year of the Water Sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyidröljöet</td>
<td>Year of the Wood Monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacong</td>
<td>Year of the Wood Bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mizöet</td>
<td>Year of the Fire Dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thamcetdüül</td>
<td>Year of the Fire Pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kündzin</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gelwa</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Namjur</td>
<td>Year of the Iron Tiger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Bhutanese lunar New Year, officially known as འབྲུག་འཛིན་ལོས་ བཀའ་ལོས་ གེ་ཤིན་ལོས་ བཀའ་ལོས་ ‘King’s New Year’ but popularly known only as ཁོང་ལོས་ བཀའ་ལོས་, is celebrated on the eve of the first day of the new lunar year and on the first day itself, corresponding to the new moon in February or the beginning of March. The traditional agricultural New Year, འབྲུག་འཛིན་ལོམ་པོ or ཁོང་ལོམ་པོ Lompo, is celebrated on the last day of the tenth lunar month and first two days of the eleventh lunar month in Ha and Paro districts. In Shà, i.e. ‘Wangdi Phodrə’a district, the new year is celebrated as ཁོང་ལོ་ ཁོང་ལོ་ Nyilo, which ostensibly corresponds with the winter solstice but in practice usually follows it by a number of days. The Eastern Bhutanese New Year or འབྲུག་འཛིན་ལོས་ བཀའ་ལོས་ Shāchop Losa, or ཁོང་ལོས་ལྷོ་ བཀའ་ལོས་, is

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B翁g⁶u</td>
<td>Year of the Iron Hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gawa</td>
<td>Year of the Water Dragon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Namgel</td>
<td>Year of the Water Serpent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gelwa</td>
<td>Year of the Wood Horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyöj⁶et</td>
<td>Year of the Wood Sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dongyen</td>
<td>Year of the Fire Monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serchang</td>
<td>Year of the Fire Bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Namchang</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jurj⁶et</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Künden</td>
<td>Year of the Iron Rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharwa</td>
<td>Year of the Iron Rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gej⁶et</td>
<td>Year of the Water Tiger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzej⁶et</td>
<td>Year of the Water Hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thromo</td>
<td>Year of the Wood Dragon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Natshok⁴ik</td>
<td>Year of the Wood Serpent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z⁳il'nön</td>
<td>Year of the Fire Horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treu</td>
<td>Year of the Fire Sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phurb⁶u</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zh⁶iwa</td>
<td>Year of the Earth Bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thünmong</td>
<td>Year of the Iron Dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gelj⁶et</td>
<td>Year of the Iron Pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yongdzin</td>
<td>Year of the Water Rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B⁶akmet</td>
<td>Year of the Water Bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kündga</td>
<td>Year of the Wood Tiger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Shachobi Losa, is, for religious reasons having to do with the chronometry of the Nyingmapa sect, celebrated on the first day of the twelfth month of the lunar year. Bhutanese chronometry distinguishes four seasons, as does Western chronometry. These are sôkha ‘spring’, bja ‘summer’, sekha ‘autumn’ and gun ‘winter’.

There are twelve months in the Bhutanese year, and these are generally designated simply as dau ‘moon’ or ‘lunar month’ with the corresponding ordinal number, e.g. d’angba ‘first’, nyiba ‘second’, etc.

The Bhutanese lunar months also have astrological names, which are not used in common parlance. Ostensibly, the astrological names derive from the constellation in which the full moon of a particular lunar month appears. Listed in the table on the following page are both the common ordinal names of the Bhutanese lunar months, in Dzongkha, and the scholarly names, given in the formal Chökê pronunciation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ordinal name</th>
<th>astrological name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dau d’angba</td>
<td>Ta da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau nyiba</td>
<td>’O da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau sumba</td>
<td>Nak da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau zhiba</td>
<td>Sag’a dawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau ‘ngaba</td>
<td>’Nön da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau dr’uaba</td>
<td>Chutö dawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau dünba</td>
<td>Dr’ozhin dawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau gäba</td>
<td>Thrum da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau guba</td>
<td>Thakar dawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau cuba</td>
<td>’Mindr’e dawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau cuciba</td>
<td>Go dawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau cunyiba</td>
<td>Gel dawa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the ordinal numbers are not used in combination with tshā ‘time’, introduced in Section 7 of Chapter 4, but with theng ‘time’, e.g. theng ‘Ani theng ’ngaba ’ing ‘This is the fifth time’, or with lenthe ‘time’, e.g. lenthe ‘Döa ’ani Lenthe ’nga jou ’ing ‘Now this is the fifth time going’. Some uses of the word tshā ‘time’, however, may prefer an ordinal translation in English, e.g. ni-göi tshā sum jou ’ing ‘This will be the third time that we have gone’ or ‘This makes the third time that we have gone’, literally ‘By means of this it will be three times that we have gone’.
The months of the Gregorian calendar are referred to as 'inda ‘English month’ and are also combined with the ordinal numbers. For example, 'inda guba ‘the ninth Gregorian month’ is September. There is increasing support for the use of the term 'inda ‘International month’ on one hand because the term 'inda is inaccurate, for the Western calendar is not of English origin any more than is the Roman alphabet, and on the other hand because the term might erroneously suggest that Bhutan was once a British colony, whereas Bhutan has in fact always remained fiercely independent.

Dates are indicated simply by the word 'tshê ‘date’ followed by the cardinal number of the day of the Bhutanese lunar month, e.g. 'tshê cuthām ‘the tenth’ or 'tshê gu ‘ing ‘Today is the ninth of the month’. A peculiarity of Bhutanese chronometry is that a lunar month may skip days, whereas conversely two consecutive days may bear the same date. For example, both the 25th and 26th of October 1990 were the 7th day of the ninth lunar month of the Iron Horse Year. On the other hand, the 28th and 29th of December 1990 were the 11th and 13th respectively of the eleventh lunar month of the Iron Horse Year, whereby the 12th was skipped. Gregorian dates are indicated by the 'intshê ‘English date’ followed by the cardinal number of the day or, alternatively and more accurately, by 'citshê ‘international date’.

In Dzongkhga, days of the week, dünthra ‘week’, are named after the same planetary deities as in the Romance, Germanic and Indo-Aryan languages. The Bhutanese system is identical to the ancient (but not the modern) Tibetan system in which the days of the week occur one day earlier with respect to the their counterparts in other languages. To illustrate this, in below table the literal translation in Latin for the Bhutanese days of the week is given in addition to the proper English translation. The modern Tibetan days of the week, however, coincide with those of other languages since the calendar reform introduced by Desi Sanggā Jatsho, disciple of the fifth Dalai Lama, in the seventeenth century. These reforms were not implemented in Bhutan, where the original Tibetan system is still in use.

The explanation usually offered for the deviation from international norm-of the ancient Tibetan week in use in Bhutan has to do with a difference in point of view. Whereas in colloquial British English ‘half six’ means ‘half past six’, the corresponding expressions in Dzongkha, Dutch, German and Russian mean ‘half of the sixth hour’, viz. ‘half past five’. (See Chapter Four on how to tell time in Dzongkha.) Similarly, upon attaining one’s thirtieth birthday, one commences his thirty-first year of life, throughout which one claims to be thirty years old. One might just as well say that one is completing his thirty-first year.

Such a forward-looking perspective about when the days of the week start is the original cause due to which
the ancient Tibetan week in use in Bhutan came to be one day earlier than its foreign counterparts. As explained in Chapter 4, the traditional Bhutanese day begins at dawn. It is conceivable, however, that in ancient times the Tibetans originally conceived the day as starting at dusk, as in the Classical system of the ancient Greeks whereby the night would, as a consequence, be considered as belonging to the following day. This is, for example, the reason why, although the Saint Nicholas’ Day is the 6th of December, the *pakjesavond* celebrated in Holland takes place on the evening of what we now consider to be the 5th of December. A change in the way the moment of inception of the day was defined may have been the original cause for the fact that the unreformed Old Tibetan week, still in use in Bhutan, is out of synch with the rest of the world.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Latin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>za-Dau</td>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>Lunae dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za-Mima</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Martis dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za-Lhap</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>Mercurii dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za-Phup</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Jovis dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za-Pasa</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>Veneris dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za-Pem</td>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>Saturnis dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za-Nyim</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Solis dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To ask the day of the week in Dzongkha, one says झञञञञ झञञञञ झञञञञ झञञ�ञ 'Which day of the week is it?'.
We knew beforehand that he was coming here.

It appears that he is someone who cheats.

I forgot he was coming.

The nominalized inflected stem of the verb in the subordinate clause may take a case ending indicating its role as a constituent in the main clause.

Because I haven’t written (i.e. practised calligraphy) for a long time, it’s not going so well.

Interrogative subordinate clauses introduced in English by ‘whether’ or by an interrogative pronoun are rendered in Dzongkha by subordinating unchanged a clause marked by the interrogative particle ལ་ or ད་ to the verb in the main clause.

I don’t know [i.e. have not come to know] whether or not Gātshā has come back from Phüntsho’ling.
I don’t know whether that is so. That may very well be.

She is weighing the rice. [literally ‘she is measuring out [to see] how much the weight of the rice is’].

I don’t know whether he’ll write a letter.

I don’t know what’s wrong with me.

Clauses which are complements of *verba sentiendi et dicendi* in the main clause may subordinated by the subor-
According to me, I think he might help you.

In (14) the auxiliary of the potential is used in the clause governed by नैःःः तेःः that’, whereas in sentences (15)-(17) the verbs of the subordinate clauses are in the optative and in (18) the subordinator नैःःः governs a clause introduced by the conditional conjunction नैःःः वैःः that ‘if’.

(15) नैःःः नैःःः
Nga cho na-ra yo-cu z'e 'nou-‘ing
I you here-[str] be-[opt] that think-[aux]
I wish you were here. [literally: ‘I think: ‘Would that you were here.” ‘]

(16) नैःःः नैःःः
Nga mo na yo-cu z'e 'mònlam tap-‘ing
I she here be-[opt] that prayer do-[aux]
I wish she were here.

(17) नैःःः नैःःः
Nga-ya cho-zumbe 'ing-cu z'e 'nou-mâ
I-too you-like be-[opt] that think-[ep]
I wish I were like you.

(18) नैःःः नैःःः
Nga kho nā yō-bacin z'e 'nou-mâ
I here be-if that think-[ep]
I’m thinking [what it would be like] if only he were here.

Used with verba dicendi the subordinator नैःःः is the means by which indirect speech is expressed in Dzongkha. Although in written narrative one encounters the use of the particle नैःःः to introduce a direct quote, in spoken Dzongkha this particle is only used to introduce indirect speech.

(19) पा-गःः
Pāsa-gōi dōari kho dzong-na mi-jo z'e
Pāsa-[erg] today he dzong-in not-go that
'lap-dō-o-wāi
say-[pr]-[ak]
Pāsa said that he wasn’t going to go to the dzong today.
(20) Ḿḥ农业大学�CategoryIdExceptionOccurred
Kho là beu 'ing z'e 'lap 'immã
He work do [aux] that say [aux]
He says he is working.

(21) Ḿḥ农业大学�CategoryIdExceptionOccurred
Dru-g'i chölu-d'i dzamling-g'i
Bhutan-[gen] religion-the world-[gen]
chölu-tshu-g'i drä-ä-lä
religion-[pl]-[gen] array-[abl]
tsache-sho-ci 'ing z'e 'lap-mä
principal-most-one be that say-[ep]

It is said that Bhutanese Buddhism is one of the most highly respected [from] amongst the religions of the world.

(22) Ḿḥ农业大学�CategoryIdExceptionOccurred
Kho hö-hö nā gu-dö z'e 'lap-zha-ci
He arrive-arrive here wait-stay that say-put-[pt]
He said [for you] to wait until he gets here.

(23) ṭʂʰᵋᵋɡᵋi kho-lu tiru bjᵋᵋin-ni 'immã
You-[erg] he-[dat] money give-[inf] be
z'e nga-g'i kho-lu 'lap-ci
that I-[erg] he-to tell-[pt]
I told him that you would give him the money.

Certain genitive constructions with words like ṭʂʰᵋ 'voice, language' or ṭsi 'word, phrase' may express meanings similar to those of indirect speech introduced by the subordinator Ḿḥжение z'e.

(24) Khong-g'i ngace b'o-bi kē nga-g'i
They-[erg] we call-[gen] voice I-[erg]
g'o-wä
hear-[ak]
I can hear that they are calling us.

(25) ṭʂʰᵋᵋɡᵋi kho to z'au-mä z'e-wi tshi-d'i g'aci
He rice eat-[ep] that-[gen] word-the what
beu-d'a 'lap-'mo
do-[pg] say-be
Under what circumstances does one say the phrase ‘He’s eating rice’?
Serving a similar function is the hearsay evidential लो, a sentence-final particle which indicates that the purport of the statement or question was learnt by hearsay. It forms part of the expression गो लो? ‘I beg your pardon. What did you say?’.

(26) अलकककायकरको इस्लामी इस्लामी माध्यम
Sanggā nāba jo-ni-'ing zē
tomorrow go-[inf]-[aux] that
'lap-mā lo
say-[ep] [he]

I hear that Sanggā says he’s going tomorrow.

(27) राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रताधिशक यूनियन आयुक्त
Zhung-gō-i-ra thrim-dō
Government-[erg]-[str] law-the
tsup-mā lo
introduce-[ep] [he]

We hear the government is introducing this law.

(28) क्या क्या अल्पकालीन अल्पकालीन विषयालय
Kho sangphō-ला-गा mi-hō zē
g Governments-
next year-from-until not-arrive that
'lap-mā lo
say-[ep] [he]

I hear he’s been saying that he won’t come back until next year.

(29) क्या क्या अल्पकालीन अल्पकालीन अल्पकालीन
g Gō-लो
What [he]

- 'Lome du-gō
Electricity be-[Q]
- Gō-लो
What [he]

- 'Lome du-gō zē ('lap-bi)
Electricity be-[Q] that (say-[aux])

- Is there electricity now?
- Beg your pardon?
- (I said:) Is there electricity?
Drø-pho-[erg] tell-[pr]-like-if we-too jo-ni‘ing lo go-[inf]-[aux] [he]

If it is to be as Drø-pho says, [they say] we will be going as well.

Drø-pho-[erg] say-[sub] I said: I'm enjoying myself.

English temporal subordinate clauses are expressed in Dzongkha either by genitive constructions with an expression of time, such as shes-dag kap-lu ‘at which time, when’, or by use of the present gerund or past participle discussed in the previous chapter.

(32) Tou ke-bi kap-lu trop-d’a tsip hunger feel-[gen] time-[dat] agitate-[pg] anger z’aau-mä be felt-[ep]

A man agitated whilst hungry will get angry.

2. The subordinator མི -mi

The suffix མི -mi is attached directly to the stem of the verb and converts this verb into a nominal constituent which can be used independently as a nominal head or attributively to modify a noun. When affixed to a transitive verb the nominalized constituent may be coreferential with or modify either the agent or the patient of the verb, a point made clear by the context. A nominalized subordinate clause in མི -mi may modify a noun representing either an animate or inanimate entity or, if used as a nominal head, be coreferential with an animate or inanimate entity.

(33) Tshem cap-mi d’akpa-ci du Sew perform-[sub] few-a be

There are a few Damais.
(34) Kho tramashép be-mi drö-kha membä
He mischief do-[ap-gen] group-at not be
He’s not amongst those who are being mischievous.

(35) Kho-lu dangzhö'ā 'lönbo-gö'i
He-[dat] the other day minister-[erg]
'nang-mi gö-döi dö-ari gön-dö-nu
give[hon]-[sub] gö-the today wear-sit-[ip]

Today he’s wearing the gö that the minister gave him the other day.

(36) Nga-gö'i thromkha-lā nyo-baong-mi
I-[erg] market-from buy-bring-[sub]
tshösö'-dö'-ishu mo-gö'i
vegetable-the-pl she-[erg]
ma-shè-ba tsong-da-nu
not-know-[sup] sell-[pf]-[ip]

By mistake she sold the vegetables that I had brought from the market.

(37) Nga-lu go-mi-dö'i mi-thop-bä
I-[dat] require-[sub]-the not-get-[ak]
I don’t ever get what I want.

(38) Drö'āsho-gö'i chapdra-ci
Drö'āsho-[erg] announcement-one
drö'-nang-mi-dö'i dö-are-gö'i
write-proffer-[sub]-the these days-[gen]
Künsel-na ma-tshū-bä
Künsel-in not-appear-[ak]
The announcement which Drö'āsho wrote did not appear in the last Künsel.

(39) Jap-lu tropda bā-mi-dö'i 'māmi 'im-bi
Back-[abl] rifle carry-[sub]-the soldier be-[gen]
tā 'immā
sign be
The sign of a soldier is that he carries a rifle on his back.
(40) Khasa Thimphu-chu-na tsacap-dö-mi
Yesterday Thimphu-river-in swim-stay-[sub]
'alu-tshu-g'o drö-lää ci ngace
child-[pl]-[gen] group-[ab] one we
japhi-žhunglää chu-na thim-di
leave-after river-in sink-[pp]
shi-so-nu
die-[pf]-[ip]

One of [literally: 'amongst'] the children swimming in the Thimphu River yesterday, appears to have drowned after we left.

(41) Hema-lää-ra ngace-g'o 'lome
Before-[abl]-[str] we-[gen] electricity
co-mi 'dö-di d'a nå
repair-[sub] man-the now here
Thimphu-lu döp-membā
Thimphu-at reside-not be

The man who always used to repair our electricity no longer lives in Thimphu.

(42) Kho-g'o pha-ma-g'o 'lap-mi-döi
He-[erg] father-mother-[erg] say-[sub]-the
tsallā mi-nyen-bā
adamantly not-listen-[ak]

He really won't listen to what mother and father say.

(43) Kho-g'o be-mi zhègo-döi zhö-im-bā
He-[erg] make-[sub] food-the be delicious-[ak]

The food he cooks is delicious.

(44) 'Lam zhöu-mi hô-nu. Döoro
Lama request-[sub] arrive-[ip] Again
kho-dö'nya ta-khi-mi-ci ya du
he-with horse-lead-[sub]-one also be

The man who has come to get the lama has arrived. Someone to lead his horse on a tether is also there.
They work do-[sub]-[pl] today
        ma-ong-mi-d³i 'la len-döp-ong
not-come-[sub]-the salary take-stay-[pot]

The workers who haven’t shown up today are probably picking up their salaries.

Nga rochi so-mi-d³i chim
I dog raise-[sub]-the house
        sung-ni-g³i-döön-lu 'ing
        guard-[inf]-[gen]-so that-[dat] be

The dog I have raised is for guarding the house.

Though similar in function, the nominalizing subordinator in -mi is distinct from the genitive of verbs in -mi/-bi/-wi, which may also modify a noun.

Chö 'loté-tup-bi ’mi-ci 'ing
You trust-be alright-[gen] man-one be

You are a trustworthy person.

Suffixed to the verb नेपाल ‘to call, name’, which in the previous section we have learnt serves as a subordinator with verba sentiendi et dicendi, the nominalizing subordi-
nator -mi may expresses the meaning ‘the fact that, namely, by name’.

(50) ་དེ་ཐོབ་དཔོན་དོན་དྲི་ེ་མ་འཇོག་
That animal what name-[sub]-the be-[Q]

What is that animal called?

(51) ལོ་མོ་ཝ་དོན་ད་ འོ་ད་དོན་དོན་ནོན་དོན་
He not-come name-[sub]-the he-[gen]

The fact that he’s not going means that his lover must have come.

In the preceding section the inflected stem of a verb was seen to convert the clause of which it is the head into a nominal constituent within a larger syntagma. The inflected form of a reduplicated stem is also a nominalized part of speech and may serve as an adjectival past participle, e.g. གཞལ་རང་གུ་ ‘torn clothes’. Only the second stem in the reduplication is an inflected form, and the adjectival form thus derived may be used adnominally, e.g. (52), or as a predicative adjective, e.g. (53).

(52) མི་དོན་ཐོམ་ཁུ་ཤ་ཕུ་རུ་ཏོང་ཉི་
That man is trying to sell rotten meat in the market.

(53) མི་དོན་ཉི་ད་ང་གུ་བུས་
My grandfather was killed whilst fighting in the war long ago. My grandmother, on the other hand, lived to very old.

3. The imperative

The imperative of a verb is simply its bare uninfl.ected stem, e.g. (54)-(62). The negative imperative is formed by adding the prefix མ་- to the verb, e.g. (63).
Fasten your seat belts.

Carry the child!

Stay here until the festivities are over.

Go straight ahead!

Count the cattle!

Various suffixes are often affixed to the imperative of a verb to express nuances of meaning or mood. One such suffix is -sh, which can be added to the imperative, as it can to other verb forms, e.g. Isn’t that so?’. The suffix -sh expresses urging on the part of the speaker vis-à-vis the listener.
(66) उपद्रव, चुराए अपनी ईश्वरीयता
Kadrāiche z’e ‘lap-sh
Thank you that say-[u]
Say ‘Thank you’!

(67) चोंकाया मृदुलता
Kho-gu sotap-sh
He-[upon] bite-[u]
Bite him!

(68) अपने दराजी विषय
tiru-ci tôn-sh
money-one remove-[u]
Get out [i.e. give me] one rupee!

(69) तुझे किसी तरुण-लिप
Kho chim-na-lā tôn-tang-sh
He house-in-from remove-dispatch-[u]
Get him out of the house!

Use of the suffix शै-Sh lends an air of urgency to an imperative, which may in some contexts be construed as familiar. However, note that in combination with the particle of politeness छात्र छात्र, the use of the suffix शै-Sh is by no means necessarily rude.

(70) आरागी----वायरमजगा
Sung-sh là
Tell-[u] [pol]
Yes, please!

Observe how in the following example the verb जहा Zhā ‘put, keep, place’ forms a compound with the main verb नांग प्याङ ‘to hang up’.

(71) जोधाराको गीत्युअनूप जाना
Gölà zâušīng-gu pcang-zhā
Clothes hanger-on hang-put
Hang up the clothes on the hanger.

The verb जहा नांग ‘proffer’, the honorific counterpart to बिजोंग ‘give’, is used virtually to the complete exclusion of the latter in imperative sentences and may also, as in the following example, be used as an auxiliary to convert a command into a polite request.

(72) नांग बिजोंग असल अदबात असल
gla lu dhōram ‘atsici be-’nang
I-[dat] assistance little bit do-proffer
Please help me out a little bit.
In addition to the expression མ་ dröram be-ni ‘help, assist’, used in the preceding example, the more colloquial མགྲོན་པས་ dröram be-ni ‘help, assist’ also exists.

The sentence-final particle of friendly entreaty ང་ ‘mā is used, although not solely in conjunction with the imperative, to convey both a sense of urgency and of friendliness or familiarity.

(73) བོ་ལྔ་ལུ་ དང་མ་. Nga-lu ma-drang ’mā

He’s beating up on me. Don’t beat me!

(74) གྲོ་ གོ་ ང་ ཏྣ་ མ་. Chchcht, ‘wae, Doji! Chö Dröšho-göi b’u ’ing
Psst, hey, Doji! You Dröšho-[gen] son be
zde kham-döi-ra ma-tsong ’mā!
that boast-the-[str] not-sell [fe]!
Tama-be-n pűtsabe
Later-[adv]-if nicely
lukbing-ong-g’o
give someone what for-[pot]-hey

Psst, hey, Doji! Don’t you boast about being the son of a Dröšho! Otherwise, I might teach you a lesson.

Observe the difference in meaning between the two Dzongkha verbs corresponding to English ‘lend’. The verb གྲོ་ ’nya’nang ‘let someone use something’ in (75) indicates that the speaker is going to use the second person’s pen and then return the same pen forthwith, whereas the verb གྲོ་ ’nang ‘lend’ in (76) indicates that, although the speaker intends to reimburse the second person, he will not do so with the same ten ’ngütram which he borrowed.

The particle མ་ ’mare expresses authority on the part of the speaker. Added to an imperative, the sentence acquires the air of an order or impersonal command.
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(77) ་དབང་བཙན་པ་
     གཏུ་མར་ཞིང་འདི་མི་མོ་།
     - Da thrang-'mare
       Arrow straighten-[auth]
     - Thrang-ma mi-thong-mä bo te
       Straighten-[sup] not-see-[ep] [ctr] [acc]

- Straighten the arrow!
- But I can’t see right in order to straighten it.

(78) གཏུ་མར་བོད་མོ་བོ་
     Dop-dö-na chu kang-'mare
     Bucket-the-in water fill-[auth]

Fill the bucket with water.

Like the sentence-final particles རིན་ལ་and སྤྱོད་ལ་, the particle རིན་ལ་'mare is not limited to the imperative. The particle རིན་ལ་'mare may also be used in the indicative where it authoritatively draws the listener’s attention to the purport of the statement.

(79) དབུ་ཁྲི་ཕ་ཞིག་མཁྱེན་མེད་པའི་དབང་ཕྱིར་།
     Chö-gö'i nyo-ni-'ing zö' 'lap-mi
     You-[erg] buy-[inf]-[aux] that say-[sub]
     bakba-dö'i kho-gö'i 'ing 'mare
     scooter-the he-[gen] be [auth]

The scooter you say you’re going to buy is his!

4. Honorific speech

Dzongkha, like Tibetan, has a special honorific lexicon. The speech habits of Dzongkha speakers in formal situations are highly cultivated and polite, and honorific speech is employed when addressing or referring to people of high rank to whom respect should be accorded. The honorific pronouns དུ་ ོབ་ 'he, she, you’ and དུ་ ོབ་-bö' 'they, you’ were already introduced in Chapter 4.

Honorific equivalents exist for many common verbs and nouns. For example, the verb གཏུ་ 'to speak, to say’ has the honorific equivalents གཏུ་ སུང་ and གཏུ་ དུ་. The verb གཏུ་ སུང་ is used when the subject of the verb is someone who should be accorded respect, e.g. གཏུ་ སུང་ གཏུ་ སུང་, Sungsh 1a! ‘Yes please!’ or on the telephone གཏུ་ སུང་ གཏུ་ སུང་. The verb གཏུ་ དུ་, on the other hand, is used to express humility on the part of the subject, usually the speaker, e.g. གཏུ་ དུ་ སུང་ གཏུ་ སུང་, Nga-gö'i Dröâsho-lu mi-zhö' 'I shan’t tell Dröâsho’. The verb གཏུ་ དུ་ has the connotation of ‘request, require’, and is therefore used in he expression གཏུ་ དུ་ སུང་ Mi-zhö'u to politely refuse food, rather than the familiar གཏུ་ སུང་ Menggo ‘I don’t want/need [anymore].’

The verb ཁྲི་ བུ་ ལ་ ཁུུ་ ཁྲུ་ བུ་ ལ་ is the honorific counterpart to the verbs ཁྲུ་ བུ་ ལ་ 'eat', ཁྲུ་ བུ་ ལ་ 'drink' and ཁྲུ་ བུ་ ལ་ 'wear, put on clothes’. So, whereas ཁྲི་ བུ་ ལ་ is a polite request to please take, drink or eat, the verb is also used in expressions like ཁྲི་ བུ་ ལ་ Namza Zhê ‘Please get
dressed' rather than the more familiar गोला गोन ‘Get dressed’. Note that the word लोज़ा नाम्जा is used with लोज खे as the honorific counterpart of गोला गोन ‘clothes’.

The verb जोन ‘come’ is the honorific counterpart to both the verbs ओङ ‘come’ and जो ‘go’, e.g. जोन ‘Please come’ and जो ‘go’. लशोम-बे जोन श ‘Have a good trip’ or ‘Go safely’. The verb जोन खु ‘is the honorific of जु ‘to sit, be seated, stay’. The verb अजोन जा जोन ‘to stand up’. The use of the honorific verbs जोन ‘to come, to go’, जोन खु ‘to sit, be seated, stay’ and अजोन जा जोन ‘to stand up’ shows deference on the part of the speaker with respect to the subject. These verbs are therefore not used by the speaker with respect to himself.

The verbs बिङ ‘give’ and कप ‘do, perform’ have the honorific counterpart नाङ ‘give’, used in polite requests such as नाङ नाङ ‘chanda बिङ ‘Shoot the arrow!’, as compared with the familiar form नाङ ‘chanda बिङ ‘Shoot the arrow!’.

The honorific verb बिङ ‘give, do, perform’ is also used as an auxiliary to yield honorific counterparts to verbs such as खेत ‘put, place’ and जाङ ‘put, keep’, which have no separate honorific form, and with virtually any verb to enhance the politeness of a request, e.g. अजोन जा जोन जा जोन जा जा जोन जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा जा...
What’s your name?

Whereas, whilst addressing a superior or a man of high status, it is polite and appropriate to ask:

Please tell me your good name.

What is your name please?

Here the word tshen ‘name, appellation’ or the phrase tshen ngoma ‘true name’ is used instead of the informal meng ‘name’, and formal name ‘you’ is used instead of familiar cho ‘you’. Similarly, whereas one would say of one’s friend sem ga-nu ‘he is happy’, of a high official one would say thu gê-nu, where both sem and thu are honorifics.

The honorific form of certain nouns is formed by adding a prefix, e.g. thu 'bone, stove'. The honorific of many body parts is formed by adding the prefix kuru.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular</th>
<th>honorific</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zû</td>
<td>kuzu</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sha</td>
<td>kusha</td>
<td>meat, flesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruto</td>
<td>kurû</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gap</td>
<td>kujap</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But sometimes the honorific is different from the regular form, even though it takes the prefix kuru.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular</th>
<th>honorific</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lap</td>
<td>châ</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâm</td>
<td>zhâp</td>
<td>leg</td>
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<td>namco</td>
<td>'nyen</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hapa</td>
<td>shang</td>
<td>nose</td>
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<td>cen</td>
<td>eye</td>
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<tr>
<td>ce</td>
<td>já</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha</td>
<td>zhâi</td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guto</td>
<td>'u</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Such honorific terms are also used in expressions which contain body part terms, e.g. honorific ་གནའ་ལགས་གཞི་ for ཁག་ལགས་གཞི་ 'glove', honorific མ་ལྟ་ཐམས་ for ཕྱི་ལྟ་ཐམས་ 'shoes', honorific བ་འགོ for བ་འགོ 'a headache', and honorific ལྷ་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་ན་ for ལྷ་ཐམས་ཅད་ 'with a headache', and honorific ལྷ་ཐམས་ཅད་ for ལྷ་ཐམས་ཅད་ 'He is mute'.

Honorific terms for the meals of the day, 'breakfast', 'lunch' and 'dinner' respectively, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular</th>
<th>honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>དྲོ་ཐོས་གོ་ི་ཞཛ་། དྲོ་ཐོས་ འོད་མཛ།</td>
<td>དྲོ་ཐོས་གོ་ི་ཞཛ་། ཡི་ཐོས་ འོད་མཛ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་མ་གོ་ི་ཏོ་ འོད་མཛ། འོད་མཛ།</td>
<td>ཉི་མ་གོ་ི་ཞཛ་་ འོད་མཛ། འོད་མཛ།</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| དྲོ་ཐོས་གོ་ི་ཞཛ་། འོད་མཛ། | དྲོ་ཐོས་གོ་ི་ཞཛ་། འོད་མཛ། 

The formulation ཁ་དྲོ་ཐོས་ཆེ་མངོན་ 'kadrøincang 'beseech' in requests is used whilst addressing high nobility, high placed clergy and members of the royal family. Note that the past participle ལ་, which often marks the verb in such requests, may be omitted.

(84) རྩེ་བྱུང་ནས་ཀར་སྤེལ་གྱིས་དབྱེ་བར་ཤེོས་གུང་། Ngì-gì chìmn tshâ-ci gøadøebe-ru My-[gen] house-in time-one how-even jøön-di kadrøincang come[hon]-[pp] beseech
I beseech you come to my house once in any event.

In this sentence, the phrase གོ་དངོས་བཙོད་鲁་鲁་鲁 ‘gøadøebe-ru means ‘no matter what, at any rate, in any event', and, far from being impolite, enhances the fervour with which the hospitality is extended. The spelling གོ་དངོས་བཙོད་鲁་鲁 ‘also found.

Certain high honorific terms are restricted in use to the most respected individuals in the country. For example, whereas the honorific of the verb བོད་鲁་鲁 'lap 'say' is ལུང་鲁་鲁 sung, the high honorific བོད་鲁་鲁 ka’nang is used only with respect to བོད་鲁་鲁 བསྙོམ་སྦྱོང་ ཚོད་ དྲུ་དག གནས་སྤེལ་ ཐོ་རོ་ཏོ་ དྲུ་དག གནས་སྤེལ་ ཐོ་རོ་ཏོ་ དྲུ་དག གནས་སྤེལ་ ཐོ་རོ་ཏོ་ 'Dru Ga 'Ngada Rinpoche 'His Majesty the King of Bhutan', བོད་鲁་鲁 བསྙོམ་སྦྱོང་ ཁ་དྲོ་ཐོས་ཆེ་མངོན་ 'Jekhembo and ཁ་དྲོ་ཐོས་ཆེ་མངོན་ ཡི་ཐོས་་ 'Azhøe Sönam Chödrol 'Wangmo Wangchu. Similarly, the noun ཐོ་鲁་鲁 len 'answer, response' has the honorific form ཐོ་鲁་鲁 zhøulen and the high honorific form ཐོ་鲁་鲁 kalen.

5. Fixed expressions

The following are some fixed expressions in Dzongkha. The greeting རྩེ་བྱུང་ནས་ཀར་སྤེལ་鲁་鲁 'Kuzu zangpo is used at all times of the day upon the first meeting of that day.

| རྩེ་བྱུང་ནས་ཀར་སྤེལ་鲁་鲁 | Kuzu zangpo! | Greetings! |
| ལུང་鲁་鲁 བསྙོམ་སྦྱོང་鲁་鲁 | Trashi Dele! | Good Luck! |
| བོད་鲁་鲁 བསྙོམ་སྦྱོང་鲁་鲁 | Kadrøiche! | Thank you! |
| བོད་鲁་鲁 བསྙོམ་སྦྱོང་鲁་鲁 | Jøönba Leso! | Welcome! |

If a child sneezes once, it is customary to wish him རི་鲁 'Tshering 'long life'. If he sneezes a second time, one
wishes him Tshosā ‘accrual of merit [for future incarnations]’, and if the child sneezes yet a third time, one may wish him Nényung ‘few illnesses’. Occasionally these wishes are used with respect to an adult. If someone sneezes violently, he may himself exclaim Shi! ‘Die!’ after his sneeze.

Numerous Dzongkha expressions are used only on the archery field. For example, one of the often heard cries is Kare yosa kāre ‘[Aim at] the spot where the target is, the target!’. Here the term kāre denotes the round painted target on the ba ‘target board’. The bull’s eye is the gothi. An expression of unknown etymology used to attract attention preliminary to some announcement is Thāwa la tangci! ‘It hit [literally: wasted] the dust!’, Ja chungku-be dr′ash! ‘Aim accurately! [literally: Shoot whilst taking narrow width of aim!]’, Cā hō-sa drō kā! ‘Send the feathers to the place the iron [arrowhead] has gone (i.e. shoot straight)’!’. Dzongkha expressions relating to archery, the traditional national sport, are manifold, it would be profitable to list them in a separate appendix in a future Dzongkha-English/English-Dzongkha dictionary.

Observe the difference in meaning between the frequently used adverbs mapa-lā ‘truly, really’ and tsa-lā ‘definitely, adamantly, strictly’

Dzongkha is rich in interjections, such as ‘adzāi or dzāi, expressing surprise or being caught off-guard, pāo ‘wow’, expressing amazement at the nature of an observed phenomenon, and wāe ‘wow’, expressing astonishment at something sudden. The variant wāe can also be heard expressing astonishment at a sudden phenomenon. The interjection ya ‘there it goes, there you have it’ is used when one has been observing a process which suddenly culminates in an event, calamity or transition, e.g. an inexperienced child falling off a bicycle after a wobbly attempt to ride it or a goal scored during a football match. The interjection yā expresses mild or understated amazement. The interjection ya ‘there it goes, there you have it’ is used when one has been observing a process which suddenly culminates in an event, calamity or transition, e.g. an inexperienced child falling off a bicycle after a wobbly attempt to ride it or a goal scored during a football match. The interjection yā expresses mild or understated amazement. The interjection ya also expresses surprise or dismay at something one has just heard or learnt.

The interjection achu is uttered when cold, chill or wetness are experienced, the interjection yā...
'atsa when a cutting or pinching sensation is felt as well as heat, 保驾 'alā when pain is felt upon being struck, bumping one’s head or stubbing one’s toe. The interjection 保驾 'akha expresses dismay, whereas ḍun-ḍun ṭs-ṭs, pronounced as two consecutive alveolar clicks, expresses dismay and resignation, 阳ī khāi expresses disgust or revulsion, खु द्रī phui expresses disgust at a stench or odour, and गु वी shsh expresses annoyance with and anger toward an individual. Whereas व्यान 'aO expresses annoyance and disappointment, a low and prolonged crescendo गु 'aaaa with a slowly rising intonation expresses irritation. The interjection व्य 'āē is uttered when one hears about or observes a situation evoking pity or sympathy.

To address or attract the attention of one’s peers, one may use the term of address व्यिः khore for a contemporary and the term व्य 'āu for someone who is slightly older than oneself. Both to one’s younger peers and to children, one may use the term of address व्य व 'a10. To elderly people one encounters, for example, on a mountain path and wishes to address, the more polite terms 保驾 'azhā 'uncle’ or व्य व 'āma are appropriate. To attract someone’s attention, the interjection व्य 'chchch 'pssst’ is common amongst friends and familiars. If one has not heard the last thing someone has just said, then the interjection व्य 'ā ‘say what’ is a familiar request that the utterance be repeated, whereas the courteous particle भक्तां लā is used instead in any context in which the speaker chooses to be polite.

The low, legato interjections नै '0-0 and निः तिः 'eng-eng are uttered when one is conceding a point or following an explanation. The interjection व्य 'eng accompanies an insight, and with a low, falling intonation व्य या-या ‘all right, OK’ expresses agreement or concession. The interjection व्य 'drōdrō means ‘at last’ or ‘finally’. The specific intonation is an important component of each of these interjections, and can best be illustrated by a native speaker or acquired by using the sound track accompanying the Dzongkha Language Workbook.

6. Some Dzongkha proverbs

Dzongkha is a language rich in proverbs. In daily life, an apt proverb appropriate to a particular situation is often heard quoted by a knowledgeable speaker of Dzongkha. Just a small sampling of common proverbs is provided in this section.
Philanthropy dispatch here dog-[dat] dispatch
Chi-g"i pang-g"i tsa mi-z"a
Dog-[erg] bog-[gen] grass not-eat
Philanthropist, give here to this lowly dog.
For a dog does not live on marsh grass.

In other words, if one is playing at being a philanthropist, one should not give mere trinkets.

Indoors tiger
Pchi bj"ili
Outdoors cat

Indoors a tiger, outdoors a pussy cat.

This expression is said of an idle braggart or boaster, whose bark is worse than his bite.

If the bow is not drawn, the target will not be hit.
If the matter is not explained, neither will it be understood.

In other words, one cannot expect to be understood if one does not take the trouble to explain the matter in detail, one cannot attain one's goal if no measures are undertaken to realize it. The following proverb is in a similar vein.

There is no water clearer than winter water.
No one's thoughts are as lucid [to oneself] as one's own.
If you look after your belongings, none will reproach you.

Your lament at the loss of your belongings, however, will be a nuisance to others.

In other words, there is no shame in being careful about your own belongings. The following two proverbs are variations on the theme of admonishing one not to mimic another’s example blindly. There is nothing wrong with following a good example, but creativity and individuality are called for, not slavish imitation.

The following is a reprimand to castigate those who would be idle.

For "*ltip ‘testicle’ in the preceding proverb, the alternative spelling and pronunciation "*ltip* may also be encountered.

The following saying reproaches ingratitude.
To give white rice, and to be looked at with the whites of the eyes in return.

The white rice in the above saying is Bhutanese white rice, which was traditionally valued more highly than Bhutanese red rice. Bhutanese red rice is in turn more highly valued, more popular and more expensive than Indian white rice. The Dzongkha expression 'Mito kāp tā-ni 'to look with the whites of one’s eyes' is to look with suspicion or animosity.

Pha-ū-lu ta jathampa yō
Father-village-at horse one hundred be
Ra jou-dā kang thang-mā
Self go-[pg] leg strain-[ep]

In my father’s village we have one hundred horses, But as I go, I must walk.

In other words, it’s there when you don’t need it, and it’s not when you do.

The following emphasizes the impermanence of personality and self, as evinced by the different person one becomes through the vicissitudes of life.
Alphabetical Order of Roman Dzongkha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>å</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td>'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'a</td>
<td>d°</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>'o</td>
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<tr>
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