

འདྲེང་ཁྱིམ་བཅུ་སྟོན་པའི་གཞུང་།

The Grammar of Dzongkha

卐

དགེ་བཤེས་འཇམ་དབྱངས་འདྲ་ཟེར་

Dr. George van Driem

卐

དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་གཞུང་འདྲེང་ཁྱིམ་འཕེལ་ལྷན་ཚོགས།

Dzongkha Development Commission

Royal Government of Bhutan

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དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་གཞུང་ཚོང་ཁ་གོང་འཕེལ་ལྷན་ཚོགས།

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Introductory Letter

This *Grammar of Dzongkha* 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 Dzongkha, the living language as it is spoken in the Kingdom of Bhutan, not a normative grammar emulating Chö-kê, the ancient liturgical language.

As a grammar textbook, the *Grammar of Dzongkha* 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-

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 Geshê Jam'yang Öz'er (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
Trashichö Dzong Dzongkha Development Commission
Thimphu Royal Government of Bhutan

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ring རྒྱ་འབྲེལ་སློན་པོ་སྤྲ་བ་ཆེ་ཤིང་, Lieutenant Rinchen Tshering
 རིན་ཆེན་ཆེ་ཤིང་ of the Royal Bhutanese Army and Major A.
 Daityar 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 ལྷོབ་དཔོན་གནག་མདོག་ 'Löbö 'Nâdo, assisted by དྲག་ཤོས་རིག་འཛིན་རྡོ་རྗེ་ Dr°âsho Rindzi Doji, Boyd Michailovsky and Martine Mazaudon produced the useful རྫོང་ཁའི་སླབ་སྤྱོད། *Introduction to Dzongkha* in Delhi, and in 1986 རྡོ་རྗེ་ཆོས་སྒྲོན་ Doji Chödrö wrote the highly useful རྫོང་ཁ་ལག་དེབ། *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 རྩོད་ཁྱེད་ཆེན་མཛོད་། *Dzongkha Dictionary* (1986), written by ཀུན་བཟང་ཐྲིན་ལས་ Künzang Thrinlā and ཆོས་སྒྲིད་ རོན་གྲུབ་ Chöki D'öndr'o'u under the direction of the late རློབ་དཔོན་གཞན་མཛོད་ 'Löbö 'Nâdo, 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-

ring དངུལ་རྩིས་སློན་པོ་དོན་ཆེ་རེ། The Dzongkha Development Commission has developed many excellent school textbooks and learning aids for the instruction of Dzongkha in the kingdom's schools.

ཏད་པ་བཅན་བཅན་ Hâp Tsentsen was the first to respond to the need of Dzongkha learning materials for speakers of Nepali. His མི་རི་ཁྱིན་གསུམ་ཞིན་དྲི་གེ་རི་ཀྱེད་ཚྲང་ཁ་ལེན་གྱ་ཡིེ་ཐུག། *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* རྩོད་ཁ་རབ་གསལ་ལམ་བཟང་, 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 གྲག་ཤེས་སངས་རྒྱལ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ Dr°asho Sanggä Doji of the Dzongkha Development Commission published the excellent རྩོད་ཁ་འདི་

བདེའ་གཞུང་གསར་པ། *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 Yoshiro. 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 གཡང་ཕེལ་ སང་གེ་རྩེ་ 'Yangtsep Singge Doji, clerk at the High Court at Thimphu, who, in addition to his native Dzalakha, also speaks Dzongkha, Tshangla and Nepali. དྲ་ཤོ་སང་ས་རྒྱ་རྩེ་ Dr°âsho Sanggä 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 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* གཞུང་འབྲེལ་ཨྲོང་ཁ་རྩ་མུན་ (འཛམ་གླིང་རྒྱལ་ཁྱེད་ལྟན་པའི་ཡིག་ཐོག་) འབྲི་ལུགས་ལམ་སྟན་ and concisely in the *Brief Guide to Roman Dzongkha* གཞུང་འབྲེལ་ཨྲོང་ཁ་རྩ་མུན་འབྲི་ལུགས་ལམ་སྟན་མདོར་བསྟན་, 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, དྲ་ཤོ་སང་ས་རྒྱ་རྩེ་ Dr°âsho Sanggä Doji and ཏདཔ་བཙན་བཙན་ Hâp 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 དགའ་སངས་ཀླུ་ཆེ་ཤིང་ Gasêp Karma Tshering, former Dzongkha newsreader 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 Gasêp Karma Tshering.

དགེ་བཤེས་འཇམ་དབྱངས་འོད་ཟེར
དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་གཞུང་ཨྲིང་ཁ་གོང་འཕེལ་ལྷན་ཆོགས་
འབྲུག་མིམ་ཕུག
ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༩༣ ལྷ་ ར་ ཆེས་ ༡༧ ལ།

List of Abbreviations

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

acc	rhematic accent particle ཞེ་ te highlighting preceding higher-level order syntactic constituent, comparable to Nepali <i>ta.</i> ; cf. the abbreviation STR.
adh	adhortative ending -གེ་ -g'e
adj	adjective ཅ
adv	adverb
ak	suffix -པས་/-བས་ -bä/-wä, marking newly acquired knowledge or information
art	article
auth	particle of authority ལྟ་རེ་ 'mare
aux	the verbs 'to be' ཞིན་ 'ing or ཞིན་པས་ 'immä used as an auxiliary of the factual or continuous present.
col	the collective ending ཆ་ཁུབ་ châchap for nouns denoting human referents
con	the ending -པའི་གང་ -bigang/-mi-gang or -བའི་གང་ -wi-gang of the continuous present, used in conjunction with the auxiliary verbs ཞིན་ 'ing and ཞིན་པས་ 'immä

ctr	the particle བློ་ bO expressing that the proposition is contrary to the speaker's expectations, similar to Nepali <i>po</i> .
dat	dative
def	definite article དེ་ -d°i
dpg	durative present gerund in -ས་ར་ -sara
ep	present tense ending -མས་ -mä marking the present of just experienced perception
erg	ergative suffix -གྱིས་/-གྱིས་/-གིས་ -g°i
fe	particle of friendly entreaty བློ་ 'mä
fp	future perfect auxiliary ཚོ་ nyO
gen	genitive ending -ཀྱི་/-ཀྱི་/-གི་ -g°i
hard	hard stem verb; cf. Chapter 5.
he	hearsay evidential particle ལྟོ་ lo
hon	honorific
inf	infinitive, infinitival ending -ནི་ -ni
ip	inferred past suffix -ནྟལ་ -nu
n	noun
num	numeral
part	particle
pf	any of the several markers of the perfective aspect: the intransitive auxiliary མྱོང་ song, the intransitive auxiliary མཆིས་ chi, the transitive auxiliary བཏང་ da, and the prefix ཡས་ yâ used to mark the perfective of 'to go'
pg	present gerund in -ད་ -d°a
pl	plural suffix -ཚུ་ -tshu

pol	polite sentence-final particle ལགས་ lâ
postp	postposition
pot	auxiliary of potentiality འང་ ong
pp	past participle in -ལྟོ་/-དེ་/-དི་ -di
prb	modal of probability འདྲ་བས་ drä
pr	the ending -དོ་ -dO marking the progressive tense
pro	pronoun
pt	witnessed past tense, marked by the suffix -ཡི་ -yi/-ཅི་ -ci
Q	interrogative particles ག་ g°a, མོ་ g°o or ན་ na
soft	soft stem verb; cf. Chapter 5.
str	stress particle རང་ ra highlighting preceding lower-level order syntactic constituent, comparable to Nepali <i>nai</i> ; cf. the abbreviation ACC.
sub	subordinator suffix -མི་ -mi
sup	supine marked by the suffix -པ་ -ba or -པས་ -wa
u	urging suffix -ཤིག་ -sh
vi	<i>verbum intransitivum</i> , intransitive verb
vt	<i>verbum transitivum</i> , 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. ཐིམ་ཕུག་ Thimphu, ལྷ་ན་ཁ་ Punakha, ག་ས་ Gâsa, འབང་འདྲམ་ཕོ་བྲང་ 'Wangdi Phodr°a, ལྷ་ཁྲོ་ (now spelt ལྷ་རྩ་) Paro, ཧྲ་ (now spelt ཧུ་) Hâ, དར་དཀར་ནང་ D°agana and ལྷ་ཁ་ 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, Gongduk, 'Olekha, Lepcha and Indo-Aryan. The Dzongkha group consists of Dzongkha and its closest relative Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha and of the languages Brokpakê, D°akpakha, Brokkat, Lakha, Lâyakha, Lunanakha and B°ökha. The Bumthang group consists of Bumthangkha, Khengkha, Kurtötkha, Chalikhka, 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 mod-

ern 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 རྒྱལ་སྐད་ 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* ཁ་ or language spoken in the *dzongs* རྫོང་, 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 རྫོང་ལྗང་ '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 རྫོང་ལྗང་ 'Ngenlung 'ancient region', a term first recorded for the people of ཤ་ཁ་ Shâ and རྫོང་ལྗང་ Paro by the Tibetan sage ཀུན་མཁྱེན་ཤེང་ཆེན་རབ་འབྱམས་ Künkhen 'Longchen Ramjam (1308-1363) during his travels through central Bhutan. The term རྫོང་ཁ་ '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 élite, 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 འབྲས་ལྗོངས་སྐད་ Dränjokê or, as it is more commonly known in Dzongkha, འབྲས་ལྗོངས་པའི་ཁ་ Dränjobi 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 ལྷིང་བཞི་ '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 ཧྲ་ Hâ has a character of its own. The standard dialect of Dzongkha is spoken in རང་ Wang, the traditional name for the ཐིམ་ཕུག་ Thimphu Valley, and ཐེ་ Thê, as the ཡུ་མ་ཁ་ Punakha Valley was traditionally known.

3. Other languages of the Dzongkha group

3a. Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha རྩ་ཅང་ཅུ་ཁ་: 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 ཅུ་མང་པའི་ཁ་ Tsamangpai kha 'the language of Tsamang', ཅུ་ག་ལྷིང་པའི་ཁ་ Tsaka'lingpai kha 'the language of Tsaka'ling', both of which are villages where the language is spoken in Monggar district, and ཀུ་ར་མེ་ཏུ་པའི་ཁ་ Kur'metpai kha 'the language of Kur'met', which is the Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha speaking area of ལྷུང་ཅི་ Lhüntsi district. The speakers of Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha are locally referred to as མེ་ཏུ་པ་ 'Matpa, meaning 'inhabitants of lower areas'.

Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha is more conservative in its pronunciation of many words than Dzongkha, e.g. རྩ་ [pra] 'monkey', བྲ་ [bra?] 'cliff, crag, escarpment', འཕྲོག་ [phrok] '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 མོང་ག་ Monggar and ལུང་ཁྱེ་ Lhüntsi districts all the way up the majestic and precipitous slopes overlooking the ཀུ་རི་ཆུ་ Kurichu. On the west bank of the Kurichu, Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha is spoken as far north as the village of ཇུ་རེ་ Jare in ལུང་ཁྱེ་ Lhüntsi district, north of which is located the Kurtöpka speaking village of ལྷག་མོ་ཆུ་ Tangmachu, and Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha is spoken as far south as the village of སྒྲིང་མའི་ཐང་ 'Lingmithang, beneath which the གུ་ཕ་ཐོབ་ཟམ་པ་ཆུ་ Dr°upthop-z°ampachu, a lateral tributary of the Kurichu, forms the border between the Cho-ca-nga-ca and Kheng language areas. Major Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha speaking settlements on the west bank of the Kurichu include the villages of ཅུ་མང་ Tsamang and ཐྲིད་འཇམ་ Thrid°angbi.

The vast, dense and uninhabited forests between སེང་ག་ Senggor and the villages of ཐྲིད་འཇམ་ Thrid°angbi and སྒྲིང་མའི་ཐང་ 'Lingmithang form the border between the Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha and Bumthangkha speaking areas. On the east bank of the Kurichu, the Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha is spoken up as far north the village of མིན་རྩ་ 'Minje in སྒྲིང་རྩ་ཆེད་འོག་ 'Lingje Geo, facing the Kurtö village of ལྷག་མོ་ཆུ་ Tangmachu on the west bank. North of མིན་རྩ་ 'Minje, along the east bank of the Kurichu extends the Dzala language area. On the east bank of the Kurichu, Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha is spoken as far south as the village of བརྟ་ར་མ་གཞོང་ Tormazhong, beneath which the ཐྲི་ཕན་ཆུ་ Threwenchu, a lateral tributary of the ཀུ་རི་ཆུ་ Kurichu, marks the boundary between the Cho-ca-nga-ca and Chali language areas.

Major Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha speaking settlements under བཙན་མཁར་ཆེད་འོག་ Tsankhar Geo include ཨུ་ཤོ་ 'Autsho, ཀམ་ཤང་ཤང་ Karmashang-shang, གོ་རོ་གན་ Gorgan, འབྲུ་དྲུ་ Budur and ཀུ་པི་ཉལ་ས་ Kupinyäsa. 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 བཀྲ་ཤིས་གླང་ Trashigang and བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་ཆེ་ Trashi'yangtse districts.

3b. Brokpakê འབྲུག་པ་སྐད་ is what the འབྲུག་པ་ Brokpas of མེ་རག་ Mera and སག་རྒྱེད་ Sakteng call their language. The Brokpas are yakherds in the ཅེ་ of བཀྲ་ཤིས་གླང་ Trashigang district. In Dzongkha the language is called འབྲུག་ཁ་ Bjokha and its speakers are known as འབྲུག་པ་ Bjop. To speakers of Tshangla the language is known as བྲ་མི་ལོ་ 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.

Brokpakê is spoken in and around མེ་རག་ Mera, where there are approximately four hundred Brokpa households with an estimated two thousand inhabitants, and in and around སག་རྒྱེད་ 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 མེ་རག་སཀ་མྱེང་ཁ་ Mera-Sakteng-kha 'the language of Mera and Sakteng'.

3c. D°akpakha དཀཔ་ཕ་ཁ་ is spoken in eastern Bhutan in the villages of ཕོང་མ་མེད་ Phongmê, རྒྱ་ལིང་ Caleng, ཡོ་བེ་ རྩང་ Yob°inang, དང་ཕོ་ལིང་ D°angpholeng, and རྒྱེང་མཁར་ 'Lengkhar near ར་རྩི་ Râdi and on the Indian side of the frontier near ཏྲ་ཤང་ Tawang in Arunācal Pradesh. D°akpakha དཀཔ་ཕ་ཁ་ appears to be a dialect of Brokpakê. The དཀཔ་ཕ་ D°akpas, like the Brokpas, are itinerant yakherds. Although otherwise similar, D°akpakha has adopted some loan words from Dzalakha which Brokpakê 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 རྩར་ མ་ *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 ཏུར་ Dur call their language. In Dzongkha the language might be termed B°umtha-D°û-g°i Bjobi-kha བུམ་ཐ་དུ་ར་གྱི་འབྲུག་ཕའི་ཁ་ 'the language of the Brokpas of D°û 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 *kat* itself, meaning 'language', is a loan word from Bumthangkha. The Brokpas of Dur refer to Dzongkha as 'Ngalongkha, although the Bumthang term *Mengkat* [menkat] 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 ལ་ཁ་ 'language of the mountains' is what the Brokpas of སུཕུ་གེ་ལྷོ་ཁ་ Sephu Geo call their language. In Dzongkha it is also known by the name རྩམ་ཁ་ Tshangkha, and the people are known as ལ་ཁ་པ་ La-khapa 'speakers of Lakha' or simply as ལ་པ་ Lap 'inhabitants of the mountain passes'. Sephu Geo is situated in དབང་འབྲུག་ཕོ་བྲང་ 'Wangdi Phodr°a district in the north of the Black Mountains, south of the lofty white peaks of གང་མ་དཀར་ཀུན་བཟང་ Gangkar Künzang which separate Bhutan from Tibet. Lakha speaking villages of Sephu are ཏུ་གསོ་ B°uso, རྒྱང་རྩིས་ 'Langbji, བྲ་བུག་ Brabrak, མེའིས་ཅི་ Dzeri, དཀཔ་ཅི་ལོགས་ Dârilo, དབང་འབྲུག་དགོན་པ་ 'Wangdigö, ར་སུག་ Rabu, རྒྱུ་བུ་ Kumbu, བག་ཏི་ Bati, རྩང་ཁ་ Nâkha, སེཀ་ཏི་ Sekta and མཐའ་ཉལ་ Thanyä. There are an estimated 250 Lakha

speaking households in the geo with some 8000 speakers. The geo also includes the villages of གློང་མེ་ 'Longme, གློང་མོ་ 'Longtö, བུམ་པའི་ལོགས་ B°umpilo, རི་བར་ནང་ Ribana and རུག་ཁུ་རྩེ་ Rukkhubi, which speak the dialect of 'Nyenkha known as Chutöbi kha. Lakha appears to be more closely related to Dzongkha than to Brokpakê and Brokkat.

3f. Lâyakha ལ་ཡག་ཁ་ and 3g. Lunanakha ལུང་ནག་ཁ་ are two closely related Dzongkha dialects spoken by the alpine yakherd communities, centred at Lâyakha ལ་ཡག་ and Lunana ལུང་ནག་ན་ respectively. Whereas the people of Lunana wear the same national Bhutanese dress as in most of the rest of the kingdom, the people of Lâyakha 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. B°ökha བོད་ཁ་ 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 བརྒྱ་ཤིས་གཡང་ཅེ་ Trashi'yangtse district, the ཁམས་པ་ 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 བུམ་ཐང་ཁ་ is the native language of བུམ་ཐང་ B°umtha district with its ancient capital at གུ་དག་ཁ་ J°aga. In Dzongkha the language is known as B°um-thapkha བུམ་ཐང་པ་ཁ་ or Bumthabikha བུམ་ཐང་པའི་ཁ་. Bumthangkha is spoken on either side of the lofty ཐུམ་ཤིང་ལ་ Thrumshingla (The name of this pass is often spelt ཐུམ་ཤིང་ལ་, but the indigenous Bumthangkha name ཐུམ་སེང་ཡ་ Phrumsengya does not support this orthography), extending as far east as སེང་གོ་ར་ Senggor and as far west as གྲོང་གསར་ Trongsa. Bumthangkha is most closely related to Khengkha and Kurtöpka. The two peaks which loom prominently to the south of Senggor mark the boundary between the Khengkha and Bumthangkha speaking areas. South of ཨུ་ར་ 'Ura, the village of སྤང་ཁང་ Pangkhang is the last place where Bumthangkha is spoken. Beyond Pangkhang Khengkha is spoken, starting from the villages of ཁར་སང་ Kharsang and ཐུའི་ས་ Thrisa and on to the south.

The four main Bumthangkha dialects are the dialect of ཨུ་ར་ 'Ura, the dialect of ཐང་ Tang, the dialect of རྩོ་མ་ རྩོ་མ་ Chogor and the dialect of ཆུ་མེད་ Chunmat. The dialect spoken in གྲོང་གསར་ Trongsa, called རུབ་པའི་ཁ་ 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 Kurtöpka, e.g. *ka* 'snow' vs. *kak* 'blood'. By contrast, the loss of final /k/ in Khengkha, Kurtöpka

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 B^oumtha, 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 གཞུང་ཁུང་ Zh^oängang district (now sometimes spelt གཞུང་ཁུང་). Khengkha is often spelt འཕམ་ཁུང་ or འཕམ་ཁུང་, but the more phonetic spelling འཕམ་ཁུང་ is now preferred. The old capital of Kheng at གཞུང་ཁུང་ Zh^oängang is traditionally pronounced Jamjong [jamjon] in Kheng and řamřon [řamřon] 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 Zh^oängang, the northernmost Kheng speaking village is གཞུང་ཁུང་ཁུང་ 'Wangdugang on the འཕམ་ཁུང་ Mangdechu. Around Zh^oängang the Mangdechu forms the boundary between the Khengkha and 'Nyenkha speaking areas. South of the village of གཞུང་ཁུང་ Takma, however, Khengkha is spoken on both sides of the Mangdechu. In the east, the གཞུང་ཁུང་ Kurichu forms the boundary between the Khengkha and Tshangla speaking areas. As one crosses the high mountain ridge travelling south from Zh^oängang on the main road, one enters Lhotshamkha speaking territory.

4c. Kurtötka གཞུང་ཁུང་ or Kurtöbi Zhakê གཞུང་ཁུང་ གཞུང་ཁུང་ is the language of གཞུང་ཁུང་ Lhüntsi district spoken to the west of the mighty གཞུང་ཁུང་ Kurichu all the way to the Tibetan border in the north. In Dzongkha the language is called གཞུང་ཁུང་ Kurtöpkha or གཞུང་ཁུང་ Kurtöbikha. In the south the Kurtöp speaking area begins at the village of གཞུང་ཁུང་ Tangma-chu, south of which Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha is spoken. The dialect of གཞུང་ཁུང་ Tangmachu, located about 5 km south of གཞུང་ཁུང་ Lhüntsi dzong, as the crow flies, differs somewhat from that of the rest of the language as it is spoken elsewhere in Kurtö གཞུང་ཁུང་ (alternatively spelt གཞུང་ཁུང་). 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 གཞུང་ཁུང་ Rodunglä.

4d. 'Nyenkha རྩམ་ཁ་ or Henkha རྩམ་ཁ་ 'language of before' comprises several related dialects. The name of the language is almost certainly derived from the older term རྩམ་ལུང་ 'Ngenlung, a term described above. The language is spoken primarily on the eastern slopes of the Black Mountains overlooking the མང་ཕྱེ་ཆུ་ Mangdechü, which is why the language is also known as མང་ཕྱེ་ཁ་ 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 ལཔ་ Lap 'inhabitants of the mountain passes', which is also what these Brokpas call themselves.

On the west bank of the Mangdechü the language is spoken as far north as the village of སྤྱིན་ཕུག་ Simphu and as far south as the village of སྐལ་ལ་ Kälä across the river from ཅམ་གཤམ་ལྷང་ Zh'äm-gang. The language is also spoken in several villages to the east of the Mangdechü between རྩམ་ཁ་ Trongsa and ཅམ་གཤམ་ལྷང་ Zh'äm-gang, amongst which are རྩམ་ཁ་ Taktse, དུས་ཁ་ 'Üsa and བརྩ་ཤེས་ཁ་ Trashi-dingkha.

The language is also spoken on the western slopes of the Black mountains in the villages of ཕོབ་ཕྱེས་ Phobji, རྩམ་ཁ་ Rid'ang and དྲང་ཁ་ D'angchu and surrounding hamlets southeast of དབང་འབྲས་ཕོ་བྲང་ 'Wangdi Phodr'öa. This dialect of the language is called ཕོབ་ཕྱེས་ཁ་ Phobjikha 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 སྤུ་ཕུ་ Sephu is also known by the loconym ཆུ་ཕྱེ་ཁ་ Chutöbikha.

In the writings of the fourteenth century Tibetan sage ཀུན་མཁྱེན་རྒྱུ་ཆེན་རབ་འབྱམས་ Künkhen 'Longchen Ramjam, who travelled through Central Bhutan, the area where 'Nyenkha is now spoken was described as being part of བུམ་ཐ་ B'umtha. Although 'Nyenkha linguistically most certainly belongs to the Bumthang group of languages, it is the most divergent member of the group.

4e. Chalikha ཕུ་ལི་ཁ་ is limited to a small area north of མང་ཕྱེ་ཁ་ Monggar on the east bank of the ཀུ་རི་ཆུ་ Kurichü. In the south, the Chali speaking area proper begins north of Monggar at the གང་གོ་ལ་ Gangg'öla Pass, which is just five kilometres south of the village of ཕུ་ལི་ Chali itself. The main Chali speaking villages are Chali itself and neighbouring བང་མ་མཁར་ 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 Kurichü and in the north by the ཐྲེ་མཁ་ཆུ་ Threwenchü, a lateral tributary of the Kurichü. The easternmost Chali speaking hamlet is གོ་ར་མོ་མ་ G'ortshom high up on the ridge above Chali village. Outside of the Chali speaking area proper, in the immediate vicinity of བརྩ་མ་གཤེང་ Torma-zhong village in the Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha speaking area north of the Threwenchü, approximately one third of the

households are also reported to be Chali speaking. The Chali call their language ལྷ་ལི་པ་མ་ *Chalipa kha*. Olschak (1979: 25) lists the spelling ལྷ་ལི་པ་. 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 ཇ་ལ་མ་ is the language of བརྒྱ་ཤེས་གཡང་ཆེ་ Trashi'yangtse district in the highlands along the upper course of the ཁོ་ལོང་ཆུ་ Kholongchu. It is also known as གཡང་ཆེ་པའི་མ་ 'Yangtsebikha '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 mean 'the language of the Garpas'. *Garpa* in Dzalakha means 'mandarin' or དཔོན་ pön. 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 བརྒྱ་ཤེས་གཡང་ཆེ་ Trashi'yangtse District to west of the གཏོང་ལ་

Dongla and the སྤོལ་སྤོལ་ལ་ Sipsipla as far as the ཀུ་རི་ཆུ་ Kurichu. The speakers of Dzala in ཀུ་རི་ཆུ་ Kurtö district, however, do not refer to their language as Dzalakha, but as མཐོ་མ་མ་ Khomakha. The Dzala dialect of Kurtö district is spoken east of the Kurichu and north of its lateral tributary, the མཐོ་མ་ཆུ་ Khomachu. The villages on the southern slopes overlooking the Khomachu are also Khomakha speaking. The most prominent Khomakha speaking village is the village of མཐོ་མ་ 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 མཐོ་མ་ 'desirable one' coveted by Padma Sambhava during his legendary peregrinations through Bhutan.

5. Tshangla (Shâchop)

Tshangla རང་ས་ལ་ or Tshangla-lo རང་ས་ལ་ལོ་ 'Tshangla language' is better known in the west of the kingdom as Shâchobikha གས་ཕྱོགས་པའི་མ་, quite literally 'the language of those who dwell in the east' and its speakers as Shâchop གས་ཕྱོགས་པ་ '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 Shâchobikha. Tshangla is one of the four languages of the Bhutan Broadcasting Service.

Tshangla is spoken in བརྒྱ་ཤེས་གླང་ Trashingang and པལ་དགའ་ཆལ་ Pemagatshä districts and in the greater part of བསྐྱ་གུ་ཁྱེང་ས་མཁར་ Samdru Jongkha and མོང་གར་ Monggar

districts. Tshangla is spoken to either side of the བསྐྱར་རི་ལ་ Korila Pass between Monggar and Trashigang. In the west, the ཀུ་རི་ཆུ་ 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 where the plains of the Brahmaputra commence at the southern border of Samdru Jongkha district. To the north Tshangla borders on the Dzalakha speaking area of བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་ཆེ་ 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, Lhobikha ལྷོ་པའི་ཁ་ is spoken in the hills of བསམ་ཆེ་ Samtsi District to the north and northeast of Samtsi itself and to the west of ཕུན་ཚོགས་སྒྲིང་ Phüntsho'ling. There are roughly one thousand speakers in the two villages of ལྷག་པ་ Tâba and འགྲམ་ཁྲིང་ Dramding, situated in the hills several hours walking from Phüntsho'ling, and there are well over a thousand speakers in the four villages Loto Kucu, Sāng-long, Saṭaka and Lotoṭk, 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. Tâba-Dramding is a day's walk from Loto Kucu.

The speakers of Lhokpu, known in Dzongkha as ལྷོ་པ་ Lhop 'southerners', although locally sometimes pronounced ལྷུ་ Lhup, represent the aboriginal འབྲང་ Dung population of western Bhutan referred to by Aris (1979: xvii-xviii). They used to traditionally be administered by the འབྲང་གཉེན་པ་ Dung 'Nyêp of སྤ་གྲོ་ Paro, afterwards known as the འབྲང་རབ་འབྱམས་ Dung Ramjam. In fact, according to the popular lore of the Lhop, their forebears are the ones who invited འབས་དྲུང་པ་འདབ་རྩམ་བྱུང་ Zh'apdrung Nga-'wang 'Namgä to Bhutan in the seventeenth century. Presently, the Samtsi district administration of the Royal Government of Bhutan, currently under the direction of རྫོང་པདག་དྲུག་ཤོས་ལྷག་པ་རྗེ་ཤེ་ Dzongda Dr'âsho 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 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 dōyā. The Lhop call themselves *Lhokpu*, however, and

refer to their language as Lhokputram [lɔkpu tɔm] or as *Ngântram* [ŋamtɔm], literally the 'language' [tɔm] of 'the people' or of 'Man' [ŋam]. 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 Tâba and Dramding are Pake and Humca?t respectively. The villages names Loto Kucu and Sânglong are Nepali toponyms. The Lhokpu call these villages by the clan names of their inhabitants, Bimca?t and Guca?t respectively. The villages Saṭaka 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 རྩེང་ལྷ་ Tengliha 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 ལྷག་པ་ འབྲུམ་སྤེང་པའི་ཁ་ 'the language of Takpa Dramding' and as བདུང་སྤེང་པའི་ཁ་ Dungdepai-kha, which Olschak qualifies as 'an archaic language in the south'. Aris (1979: xviii) suggests that the inhabitants of the isolated village of ཏོག་རྟེན་ཁང་ Toktokha, just north of གཤུ་ Gädu (also spelt གུས་བཟུ་) in Chukha district, are likewise direct descendants of the aboriginal Dung. Aris reports that the Toktop ཏོག་རྟེན་ '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. ཏཱ་པ་བཙན་བཙན་ Hâp 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: *ṭoṭo*), known in Dzongkha as རྟོ་པ་ *Trotrop*, a semi-nomadic Tibeto-Burman tribe on the Deccan plain at the base of the Himalayan

foothills. The present-day Toto live in Mādārthāṭ subdi-
vision of Jalpāigudī district in West Bengal, and their set-
tlements are currently located just on the Western Bengali
side of the Indo-Bhutanese border between Samtsi and
Phüntsho'ling. The many slaves formerly owned by weal-
thy Drukpas in 'Wangdi Phodr°a and Punakha districts,
who were of darker complexion and more diminutive sta-
ture 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 popu-
lated jungles which covered the Bhutanese duars before the
modern influx of Bengalis and Nepalis. Neither the Lhok-
pu nor the 'Ole Monpa, native to Bhutan, have ever been
forced to perform slave labour in this way.

6b. Gongdubikha དགོངས་འདུས་པའི་ཁ་ is a language
spoken in དགོངས་འདུས་ཆེན་འོག་ Gongduk Geo, located within
the Kheng speaking area of Monggar district. The indi-
genous pronunciation of དགོངས་འདུས་ 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 དཀས་ཁ་ Daksa, འདམ་མཁར་ Damkhar, རྩང་ཐང་ Pang-
thang, རྩམ་ pronounced Pam (not Pâm), ཡང་ལྷ་རི་ Yangbâri,
བ་ལ་ B°ala, locally pronounced [Byly], རང་ལྷ་རི་ Bang-
bangla, མི་ལྷ་རི་ Miden, ཕི་ཀ་རི་ Pikari and བདན་ཀ་ལི་ Dengkali.
Gongduk is located in an inaccessible mountainous region

just west of the Kurichu in Kheng District. Gongduk can
be reached on foot from རྩམ་ཁ་ Jephzh°ing, 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 Gong-
dukpa themselves report that they are of aboriginal Dung
lineage (གཏུང་བཟུང་ Dungjüt) 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 ཨོ་ལེ་ཁ་ is spoken in the southern foothills
of the Black Mountains south of peak ཇོ་ཤ་རྩ་ཤིང་ལྷ་ Jôd°u-
shingphu in an area wedged inbetween the Phobjikha and
Mangdekha dialect areas of the 'Nyenkha language to the
north, and recent Nepali settlements in the south. The
people are commonly called *Monpa* by the speakers of
Khengkha and 'Nyenkha and མོན་པ་ Mönpa or ཨོ་ལེ་
'Ole, which is actual name of the tribe, by speakers of
Dzongkha, whereas the language is called *Monkha* by spea-
kers of Khengkha and 'Nyenkha and is known in Dzongkha
as མོན་ཁ་ Mönkha or ཨོ་ལེ་ཁ་ 'Olekha. There are at two
main dialects of 'Olekha.

To the west of the watershed, the language is spoken
in the village of རུ་ཁ་ Rukha on the Western slopes of the
Black Mountains, two or three days walking to the south

from ཕོག་ཕྱི་ Phobji, or one day's walk to the east uphill after crossing the ཕུ་ན་གཙང་ཆུ་ Punatsachu at ཕུ་ལ་མ་ཐང་གི་ཐང་ Gäuthang g'i Thangju, about 35 miles south of དབང་འབྲས་པོ་འབྲང་ 'Wangdi Phodr°a.

To the east of the Black Mountains around the headwaters of the ཁྱི་ལི་ཆུ་ Khyilichu, a tributary of the Mangdechu, is the Monpa settlement known variously as རེ་རི་ Reti or རྩལ་ཡུལ་ཐང་ Bägang and, in Nepali, as Goṅg kholā, one and a half days' walk beyond the larger villages of མན་འ་ཕྱི་ 'Nabi and རྩལ་ཕུ་ Korphu. The Monpa settlement at Reti is reported to date from the reign of His Majesty ཡོ་ཁྱེན་དབང་ཕུ་ Ugä '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 Devāṅgaḍhī near གཏུང་བསམ་ཁ་ Dumsamkha to དབང་འབྲས་པོ་འབྲང་ 'Wangdi Phodr°a. 'Olekha is also spoken in the village of རུང་མེང་ Cungseng in the Black Mountains, separated from Zh°āmgang by the Mangdechu and the རྩལ་མ་ལ་ Takmala. The dialect of Reti and Cungseng is virtually the same as that of Rukha, and together they represent the more conservative dialect of 'Olekha, having retained a more complete conjugation.

To the east of the watershed, the other, eastern 'Ole dialect is spoken in three villages in ལྷང་མ་ཐིལ་ཐེང་འོག་ 'Langthi Geo on the eastern slopes of the Black Mountains overlooking the Mangdechu halfway between རྩལ་གཙང་ Trongsa and རྩལ་ཐང་ Zh°āmgang. These villages are མང་ལྷིང་ Wangling, རྩལ་ཕྱི་ Jangji and ཕུ་མ་ཕུར་ Phumz°ur. The village of ཐེར་བདེ་ Berdi between the Mangdechu and the Takmala is

also a Monpa village, but here the language has been lost in favour of Khengkha.

The term མོན་པ་ Mönpa is of Classical Tibetan provenance and originally refers to the ancient Tibeto-Burman inhabitants of what is now Bhutan in the time of darkness which preceded the advent of Buddhism. In Classical Tibetan, the term was in fact used variously for many groups of people in the highlands of Central Asia who were described as clothing themselves in hides, practising little or no agriculture, not having been civilised or converted to Buddhism. The term did not originally refer exclusively to the ancestors of the present-day Monpas. Even today there are groups called 'Monpa' in Tibet, especially beyond the Bhutanese frontier in the northeast. As pointed out above, the Bumthangpas too are called *Monpa* by the Brokpas of Dur. Although originally a derogatory term, in the modern Bhutanese context the term has no offensive connotations and is applied by the 'Ole Monpas to themselves.

6d. Lepcha is spoken in a number of villages in བསམ་ཁ་ཁྱེ་ Samtsi District in གདན་ཆུ་ཁ་ Denchukha north of the ཨ་མོ་ཆུ་ '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 ལྷོ་ཤམ་ཁ་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ '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 Guruṅg, Magar, Khām, Rājī, Rāuṭe, Bhrāmu and Thakālī. 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-Bhāṣā* 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 Śamśer 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 *Nepālī* 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 *bāhun*, Kṣatriyas or *chetri* 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 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 (*sāhityik śabda*). Notwithstanding these non-standard features, the Lhotshamkha of the Southern Bhutanese has a charming character of its own. Lhotshamkha is spoken primarily in བསམ་རྩེ་ Samtsi, རྩེ་རང་ Tsirang and དཔེ་ལེགས་ལྷན་ Gelephu districts and in southern parts of the districts རྩེ་ཁ་ Chukha, དར་དཀར་ནང་ D'agana and བསྐྱེད་ལྷན་མཐར་ Samdru 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 རྩོམ་སྐད་ 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*.

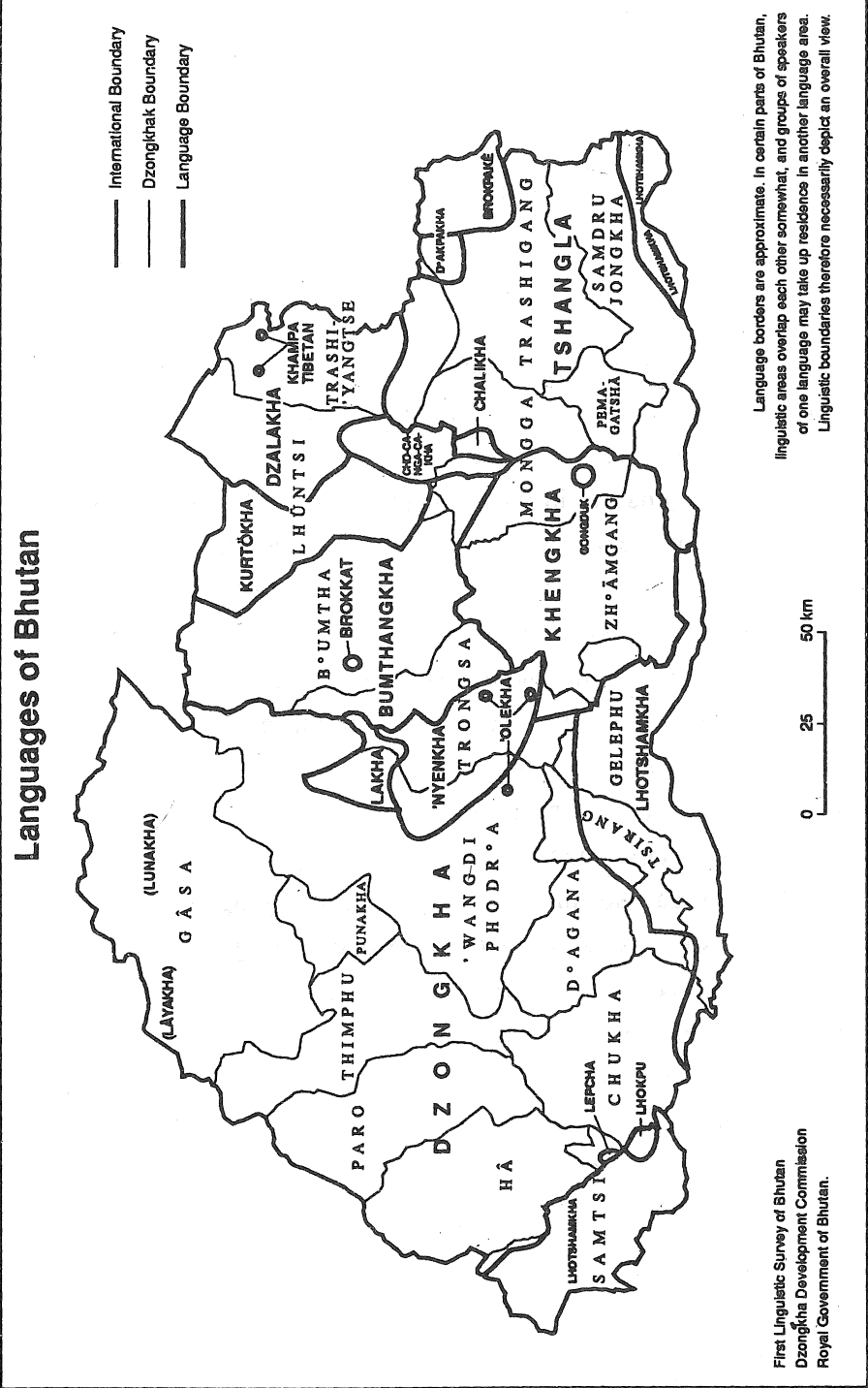
Just as the standard for proper English pronunciation has traditionally been known as the King's English, so too the pronunciation of His Majesty, the king of Bhutan, defines the standard of pronunciation of modern Dzongkha. In practice, the standard dialect as spoken by native speakers from ཨང་ལྷོ་ Wang, the traditional name for the ཨེལ་ལྷོ་ Thimphu Valley, and ཨེལ་ལྷོ་ Thê, the traditional name for the ཨེལ་ལྷོ་ 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-

lows 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. གཅིད་ gä ‘eight’, ལྷ་མོ་ཆེ་ lāmche ‘elephant’, དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་གཞུང་ 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. གཅིད་ brgyad ‘eight’, ལྷ་མོ་ཆེ་ glangmo-che ‘elephant’, དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་གཞུང་ dpal-ldan ḥbrug 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 དབུ་ཅན་' script. It was devised on the basis of the Sanskrit devanāgarī script in the middle of the seventh century by ཐུམ་མི་སམ་བློ་བྲུ་ Thumi Sambhoṭa, also known as ཐོན་མི་སམ་བློ་བྲུ་ Thönn Sambhoṭa, minister of the Tibetan king རྒྱལ་བཙན་ལྷན་པོ་ Songtsen Gampo.

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

ཀ	ka	—	┌	└	ཀ	ཀ་
ཁ	kha	—	┌	└	ཁ	ཁ་
ག	ga	—	┌	└	ག	ག་
ང	nga	—	┌	└	ང	ང་

ཅ་ ca - ཅ ཅ་

ཆ་ cha - ཆ ཆ་

ཇ་ ja - ཇ ཇ་

ཉ་ nya ག ཉ་

ཏ་ ta - ཏ ཏ་

ཐ་ tha - ཐ ཐ་

ད་ da - ད ད་

ན་ na - ན་

པ་ pa - པ པ་

ཕ་ pha - ཕ ཕ་

བ་ ba - བ བ་

མ་ ma - མ མ་

ཙ་ tsa - ཙ ཙ་

ཙ་ tsha - ཙ ཙ་

ཙ་ dza - ཙ ཙ་

ཙ་ wa ག ཙ ཙ་

ཙ་ zha - ཙ ཙ་

ཙ་ za - ཙ ཙ་

ཙ་ ḥa - ཙ ཙ་

ཙ་ ya - ཙ ཙ་

ཙ་ ra - ཙ ཙ་

ཙ་ la ག ཙ ཙ་

ཙ་ sha ག ཙ ཙ་

ཙ་ sa - ཙ ཙ་

ཧ་ ha ཨ་ ས་ ར་ ལ་
 ཅ་ a ས་ ར་ ལ་ ཅ་ ས་ ར་ ལ་ ཅ་

There are four vowel symbols in the Ucen script.

vowel symbol	sound value	Dzongkha name	Roman Dzongkha
ཨ་	i	གི་གུ་	g°ig°u
ཨ་	u	འབས་ཀུ་	zh°apju
ཨ་	e	འབྱང་པོ་	drengpo
ཨ་	o	ན་རོ་	naro

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

ཀ་ ku ཀ་ ཀ་
 ཕ་ phi ཕ་ ཕ་
 ར་ ya ར་
 ལ་ o ལ་ ལ་
 ས་ se ས་ ས་

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

The letter ར་ r, when it comes before another consonant, is written as a diacritic above the consonant it precedes, except before the letter ཉ་ ny, where it retains its full form.

ར་ rga ར་ ར་
 ར་ rdzi ར་ ར་
 ར་ rgu ར་ ར་
 ར་ rnya ར་ ར་
 ར་ rbo ར་ ར་

When ར་ r comes immediately after another consonant, it is written as a diacritic known as ར་ ra-ta below the consonant it follows.

ར་ bra ར་ ར་
 ར་ kro ར་ ར་
 ར་ dri ར་ ར་

ལྷོ་	sru	ས	ལྷོ་	ལྷོ་
ལྷོ་	mre	མ	ལྷོ་	ལྷོ་

When ལྷོ་ y comes immediately after another consonant, it is written as a diacritic known as ལྷོ་ ya-ta below the consonant it follows.

ཀྱ་	kya	ཀ	ལྷོ་	
གྱི་	gyi	ག	ལྷོ་	ལྷོ་
ཕྱོ་	phyo	ཕ	ལྷོ་	ལྷོ་
མྱོ་	myu	མ	ལྷོ་	ལྷོ་
མྱེ་	khye	མ	ལྷོ་	ལྷོ་

When མྱོ་ W comes immediately after another consonant, it is written as a diacritic known as མྱོ་ wa-z^our below the consonant it follows.

ཀྱ་	kwa	ཀ	ལྷོ་	
མྱོ་	grwa	ག	ལྷོ་	ལྷོ་

Other consonants can be combined to form consonant clusters. For example the ལྷོ་ h can also be written as a diacritic under a consonant known as ལྷོ་ ha-z^our. The letters བ་ b, ཀ་ g, ལྷོ་ h, ད་ d and མ་ m 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.

སྡོ་	sdod	ས	སྡོ་	སྡོ་
ལྷོ་	lto	ལ	ལྷོ་	ལྷོ་

བརྒྱད་	brgyad	བ	བ་	བརྒྱད་	བརྒྱད་
--------	--------	---	----	--------	--------

Marks of punctuation include the triangular dot which serves to separate syllables, called a མཁྱ་ tshâ. The Dzongkha equivalent to a comma, semicolon and full stop is a མཁྱ་ shê, which looks like this: | . Two of these, མཁྱ་ shê 'nyî, are used at the end of paragraphs, proverbs and significant quotations, especially in Chökê. The mark མཁྱ་ gojen, 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 རྩམ་མ་ tshûm. 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 རྩམ་མ་ jo-tshûm, and the Bhutanese rapid cursive, known as རྩམ་མ་ joyi.

		jotshûm	joyi
ཀ	ka	ཀ'	ཀ'
ཁ	kha	ཁ'	ཁ'
ག	ga	ག'	ག'
ང	nga	ང'	ང'
ཅ	ca	ཅ'	ཅ'
ཆ	cha	ཆ'	ཆ'
ཇ	ja	ཇ'	ཇ'
ཉ	nya	ཉ'	ཉ'

ད	ta	ད'	ད'
ཐ	tha	ཐ'	ཐ'
ད	da	ད'	ད'
ན	na	ན'	ན'
པ	pa	པ'	པ'
ཕ	pha	ཕ'	ཕ'
བ	ba	བ'	བ'
མ	ma	མ'	མ'
ཅ	tsa	ཅ'	ཅ'
ཆ	tsha	ཆ'	ཆ'
ཇ	dza	ཇ'	ཇ'
མ	wa	མ'	མ'

ཞ'	zha	ཞ'	ཞ'
ཟ'	za	ཟ'	ཟ'
མ'	ha	མ'	མ'
ཡ'	ya	ཡ'	ཡ'
ར'	ra	ར'	ར'
ལ'	la	ལ'	ལ'
ཤ'	sha	ཤ'	ཤ'
ས'	sa	ས'	ས'
ཏ'	ha	ཏ'	ཏ'
ཨ'	a	ཨ'	ཨ'

ཀ'	ku	ཀ'	ཀ'
ཕ'	phi	ཕ'	ཕ'
ཨ'	o	ཨ'	ཨ'
ཨ'	se	ཨ'	ཨ'
ག'	rga	ག'	ག'
རྩ'	rdzi	རྩ'	རྩ'
རྩ'	ngu	རྩ'	རྩ'
རྩ'	rnya	རྩ'	རྩ'
རྩ'	rbo	རྩ'	རྩ'
ཀ'	kwa	ཀ'	ཀ'
ཀ'	grwa	ཀ'	ཀ'

ཚུགས་མ་ tshûm

ར་བཅས་རང་གི་དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འདི་དུས་
དང་ཕུགས་ལོ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ཐུག་གིས་ཡང་མ་དོ་བའི་ཉི་མ་ལས་རང་
རང་དབང་རང་བཅོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གཅིག་འབད་དེ་རང་སྤྱོད་
བྱུག།

མཁྱེགས་ཚུགས་མ་ jotshûm

ར་བཅས་རང་གི་དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འདི་དུས་དྲུག་
ཕུགས་ལོ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ཐུག་གིས་ཡང་མ་དོ་བའི་ཉི་མ་ལས་རང་རང་
དབང་རང་བཅོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གཅིག་འབད་དེ་རང་སྤྱོད་བྱུག།

མཁྱེགས་ཡིག་ joyi

ར་བཅས་རང་གི་དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འདི་དུས་དྲུག་
ཕུགས་ལོ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ཐུག་གིས་ཡང་མ་དོ་བའི་ཉི་མ་ལས་རང་རང་
དབང་རང་བཅོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གཅིག་འབད་དེ་རང་སྤྱོད་བྱུག།

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 བཞུང་འབྲུག་ཡོང་ཁ་རྩིས་ལྟར་ (འཛམ་གླིང་རྒྱལ་
ཁྱེགས་པའི་ཡིག་ཐོག་) འབྲི་ལུགས་ལམ་སྟོན། *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 ལྷ་ 'nga 'five' and ལྷོ་ 'lo 'cough' vs. low register ལྷ་ nga 'I, me' and ལྷོ་ 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.

	high register	low register
nasals		
velar nasal	'nga ལྷ་	nga ལྷ་
palatal nasal	'nya ལྷ་	nya ལྷ་
dental nasal	'na ལྷ་	na ལྷ་
bilabial nasal	'ma ལྷ་	ma ལྷ་

glides

palatal glide	'ya ལྷ་	ya ལྷ་
voiced lateral	'la ལྷ་	la ལྷ་
labiovelar glide	'wa ལྷ་	wa ལྷ་

vowels

front closed unrounded	'i ལྷ་	i ལྷ་
front closed rounded	'ü ལྷ་	ü ལྷ་
back closed rounded	'u ལྷ་	u ལྷ་
front half-open unrounded	'e ལྷ་	e ལྷ་
front half-open rounded	'ö ལྷ་	ö ལྷ་
back half-open unrounded	'o ལྷ་	o ལྷ་
front open	'ä ལྷ་	ä ལྷ་
back open	'a ལྷ་	a ལྷ་

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.

high register low register

	unvoiced	aspirated	voiced	devoiced
velar plosive	ka ཀ	kha ཁ	ga ག	g°a ག°
palatal affricate	ca ཅ	cha ཅཱ	ja ཇ	j°a ཇ°
dental plosive	ta ཏ	tha ཏཱ	da ཏ	d°a ཏ°
retroflex plosive	tra ཏྱ	thra ཏྱཱ	dra ཏྱ	dr°a ཏྱ°
bilabial plosive	pa པ	pha པཱ	ba པ	b°a པ°
alveolar affricate	tza ཅཾ	tsha ཅཾཱ	dza ཅཾ	
bilabial palatal affricate	pca ཏྱཾ	pcha ཏྱཾཱ	bja ཏྱཾ	bj°a ཏྱཾ°
palatal sibilant	sha ཤ		zha ཤཾ	zh°a ཤཾ°
alveolar sibilant	sa ས		za སཾ	z°a སཾ°
apical continuant	hra ཏྱ		ra ཏྱ	
lateral continuant	lha ལྷ			
voiceless aspirate	ha ཏྱ			

The equivalents provided in Dzongkha script are just representative examples. For example, the sound represented as *j* in Roman Dzongkha corresponds not only to ཇ, but also to ཏྱ, ཏྱཾ, ཏྱཾཱ, ཏྱཾ, ཏྱཾཱ, ཏྱཾ, ཏྱཾཱ and ཏྱཾ.

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.

2. Dzongkha vowels

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

	closed			
	i	ü	u	
front	e	ö	o	back
	ä	a		
	open			

Note that the use of the two dots above the letters ä, ö and ü in Roman Dzongkha. These dots are a diacritic mark known as a diaeresis or ཅཾཱ་གཏེས་ tshâ 'nyî. The diaeresis in Roman Dzongkha is used in accordance with tibetological tradition to distinguish the vowel in བཤལ་ shä 'wander' from the vowel in ཤེས་ shê 'know', the vowel in ཐོན་ dö 'sit' from the vowel in རྩོ་ do 'stone', and the vowel in ལུག་ lu 'sheep' from the vowel in ལུད་ lü 'com-post'.

Five of the eight Dzongkha vowels may be either short or long. In Roman Dzongkha vowel length is indicated by a circumflex accent or རྩིམ་རྟག་ chimto. The difference between the long and short vowels is one of duration and timbre or vowel quality.

short long

a	â
e	ê
i	î
o	ô
u	û

The vowels ä, ö and ü are always long, and the circumflex accent or ཁྱིམ་རྟོག་ chimto is therefore never used in conjunction with these vowels, a mistake easily avoided since these vowels are already marked by the diaeresis or ཅག་གཉིས་ tshâ 'nyî. Minimal pairs illustrating Dzongkha long and short vowels are the following:

མེགས་	'map	husband
དམར་པོ་	'mâp	red
གསེབ་	sep	stallion
སེར་པོ་	sêp	yellow
ཅིགས་	tsip	stone wall
ཅིས་པ་	tsîp	astrologer
ཕོབ་	phop	put something down
ཕོར་པ་	phôp	cup
ཀྱི་	ku	honorific prefix for body parts
ཀྱུ་	kû	gourd used as a scoop

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

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
གླང་	glang	'lang	bull, ox
ཆང་	chang	chang	beer
ཆོང་ཁང་	tshong-khang	tshongkha	shop
མིང་	ming	meng	name
ཉིང་	hing	hing	heart

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 ཅིགས་ tsip 'stone wall'. The long vowel *î* is long in duration and pronounced [i:] as in English *ease*.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ལི་	li	li	bell-metal
མིག་རྟོ་	mig-to	'mito	eye
ཤིང་	shing	shing	wood

སྤྱན་མོ་	srinmo	sim	devil, demon
སྤྱང་མོ་	sringmo	sîm	younger sister (of a man)
རྩེགས་	rtsigpa	tsip	stone wall
རྩེས་པ་	rtsispa	tsîp	astrologer
གཉིས་	gnyis	'nyî	two
གཉིད་ལམ་	gnyid-lam	'nyilam	dream
སྤྱི་ཅན་	sdig-can	dikceng	sinful
མཁའི་	ahi	'ai	mother

Note that the practice of using the inverted g°ig°u to represent an î sound in the high tone has largely been abandoned, although spellings such as མིག་རྟོ་ 'eye' and མི་ 'man' are still encountered.

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

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ལུག་	lug	lu	sheep
གླུ་	glu	'lu	song
འུམ་	hbum	bum	one lakh
བུམ་	bumo	b°um	daughter
ཆུ་	chu	chu	water, urine
གསུམ་	gsum	sum	three
འུགས་	hugpa	ûp	owl

འུབ་	hub	up	swarming to gether, conver- ging [adverb]
སྤྱུ་	sku	ku	honorific prefix for parts of the body
ཀུ་	kuwa	kû	gourd used as a scoop
ཁྱུ་ཚུགས་ཅན་	u-tshugs-can	'utshucen	persistent indi- vidual

The Dzongkha vowel ü does not occur in English. Dzongkha ü is pronounced [y] as German *Blüte*, French *cru* or Dutch *spuug*. The Dzongkha vowel ü is heard to vary in pronunciation between the vowel [y] in German *Fühle* and the vowel [ʏ] 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.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
སྦུལ་	sbul	bü	snake
བདུན་	bdun	dün	seven
གཡུས་	gyus	'ü	village
འབྲུག་ཡུལ་	hbrug-yul	Dru Ü	Kingdom of Bhutan
ལུད་	lud	lû	compost
གུས་ཞབས་	gus-zhabs	g°üzh°ap	respect

གནམ་དགུན་	gnam-dgun	'namgüŋ	winter
གུད་	glud	'lū	dough effigy of a person or ani- mal offered as a ransom to divert and appease ma- levolent spirits

The Dzongkha long vowel Ê is pronounced [e:] as in German *Käse*, similar to the vowel in English *aid*, Dutch *heet*, French *thé*. The short vowel Ɛ is sometimes shorter in duration and varies in pronunciation between the [e] in French *thé* or Dutch *heet* and the sound [ɛ] in English *set*, Dutch *pet*, German *Netz* or French *bête*. The difference between Dzongkha Ɛ and Ê is more often one of timbre than of length.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཤེས་ནི་	shes-ni	shêni	to know
ཤེས་པ་	serpo	sêp	yellow
མིང་	ming	meng	name
རྒྱུད་	rkadpa	kep	waist
ཞིང་མ་	er-ma	'ema	chilli pepper
མ་ཞི་	a-zhe	'azh°e	princess
དེ་ཅིག་	de-cig	d°eci	this much

The Dzongkha vowel ä is intermediate in pronunciation between the vowel sound [ɛ] in English *said* and the vowel

[æ] in English *sad*. Recall that the vowel ä, like the vowels Ö and Ü, is inherently long.

བརྒྱད་	brgyad	gä	eight
གུལ་	gyal	g°ä	queue, line, row
འབད་	hbad	be	to do
བལ་	bal	b°ä	wool
ཡལ་	yal	ä	slip one's mind
དཔར་ཆས་	dpar-chas	pächä	camera

The student should be careful not to confuse Dzongkha ä, which is a long vowel, with the long vowel Ê or with the short vowel Ɛ, which to a foreign ear may on occasion sound similar to Dzongkha ä. The following examples may serve to illustrate the difference in pronunciation.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
གཡས་པ་	gyaspa	'yäp	right
གཡེབ་	gyeb	'yep	press
བཤལ་ནི་	bshal-ni	shäni	wander, roam
ཤེས་ནི་	shes-ni	shêni	to know
སྤྲམ་མོ་	srasmo	säm	princess
སེམས་	sems	sem	feelings
སྤྲམ་	sranma	sem	lentils, pulse
གཟེད་མ་	gzedma	zêm	bamboo case borne on back

བཟུམ་སྒྲེ	bzum-sbe	zumbe	like, as
དེ་སྒྲེ	de-sbe	d°ebe	in this way
འབད་	hbad	be	do
བད་	rbad	bê	festive dance at the Puna Drom- chö རྩུ་ན་སྒྲེམ་ མཚན་ at which the dancers, clad in red g°ôs བཞོ་, shout and bran- dish knives pull out, extract
འབལ་	hbal	bä	
མས་	mas	mä	a tense suffix
མེ་འབར་	me-hbar	me-bâ	fire, light up!
མེད་	med	mê	isn't
སྤྲུམ་	sras	sä	prince
གསེར་	gser	sê	gold
བསད་	bsad	sê	kill
བེད་སྤྱོད་འབད་	bed-spyod- hbad	b°ecöbe	use, employ, utilize
བལ་	bal	b°ä	wool
བཀའ་ན་	bkaln	kän	if ... send (same as བཀའ་བ་ཅིན་)
ཀན་	rkan	ken	paiaie, roof of the mouth

གྲས་པ་	rgaspa	gep	old (of people)
རྒྱལ་པོ་	rgyalpo	gäp	king

The Dzongkha long vowel Ô 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 [o] and may occasionally be heard to approach the vowel sound [ɔ] found in Dutch *bot* or French *os*.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཚོམ་	om	'om	milk
འོང་མ་	hongma	ôm	come
དབོག་ནི་	dbog-ni	'oni	to scoop
སོ་	so	so	tooth
སོར་	sor	sô	thumb's breadth
ཕོབ་	phob	phop	put down
ཕོར་པ་	phorpa	phôp	cup
ཁོ་	kho	kho	he
ཁུ་བ་	khu-ba	khô	gravy, juice
ཆང་གི་ཕོའོ་	chang-gi- phoho	changg°iphô	brewer's yeast
མདའ་ཕོག་	mdaḥ-phog	daphô	hit (the target)
འགྱེ་ནི་	hgyo-ni	joni	go
ལྗོ་	lto	to	rice, food
སྒོག་པ་	sgogpa	gop	onion
རྩོ་བདག་	jo-bdag	j°oda	owner

The Dzongkha vowel *Ö* has no English counterpart. The Dzongkha vowel *Ö* is like the vowel [œ] in French *oeuf*, German *plötzlich* or Dutch *lus*. Dzongkha *Ö* seldom approaches the vowel sound [ø] 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.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
བོད་པ་	bodpa	B'öp	Tibetan
གོན་	gon	g'ön	cucumber
སློབ་དཔོན་	slop-dpon	'löbö	teacher
སློབ་	sdod	dö	sit
མགྲོན་མ་	mgyonma	g'öm	guest
མགྲོན་ཁྱིམ་	mgyon-khyim	g'önchim	guest house
ལག་པ་གཡོན་མ་	lagpa-gyonma	lap 'öm	left hand
འོད་ཟེར་	hod-zer	öz'e	shining, glittering
འོད་ཆེམ་ཆེམ་	hod-chem-chem	öchemche	flashing, flickering
སྒྲིན་	skyon	kön	blemish, imperfection
ཞེལ་ལྗོན་	ol-lkog	'öko	neck

The Dzongkha short vowel *a* is pronounced [a] as in Dutch *kat* and is close in pronunciation to the vowel sound [ʌ] in English *cup*. The Dzongkha vowel *â* 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*.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཁ་པ་	a-pa	'apa	father
རྟ་	rta	ta	horse
སྟག་	stag	tâ	tiger
ལམ་	lam	lam	road, way
ལང་མ་	langma	lâm	sufficient
ཐབ་	thab	thap	oven, stove
ཐག་པ་	thagpa	thap	rope
ཤ་	sha	sha	meat
ཤར་	shar	shâ	east
མ་	ma	ma	not
མར་	mar	mâ	butter
ང་	nga	nga	I, me
ངག་	ngag	ngâ	speech
ལ་	la	lâ	mountain pass
ལྷ་	lha	lâ	work
རྟེན་	rkyab	cap	do, perform
དགེ་ལ་	dgah	ga	love, like
ག་ཅི་	ga-ci	g'aci	what
བྱ་	bya	bj'a	bird
བྱག་	byag	bj'â	cliff

མཁམ་	rmagpa	'map	husband
དམར་པོ་	dmarpo	'mâp	red
འ་དོམ་	ha-dom	âd°ôm	jackal (Canis aureus)
ལག་པ་	lagpa	lap	hand
གསར་པ་	gsarpo	sâp	new
ཆར་པ་	char-pa	châp	rain
གྲ་	gha	g°â	who
ཁ་རམ་	arwa	'âu	thief
འཆའ་སྒམ་	hchah-sgam	châgam	cupboard
མག་རམ་	mgarwa	gâu	smith
འར་རི་ཁུར་རི་	har-ri-hur-ri	âri ûri	crowdedness, tumult, confusion, business

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 origi-

nating from west of the Pêlê La དཔལ་ལུ་ལ་, do not observe this distinction. This is why the distinction is represented by a diacritic. This diacritic symbol is known as the devoicing circlet or, in Dzongkha, simply as the ཐིག་ thi.

low register

	voiced	devoiced
velar plosive	ga ཀ་	g°a ཀ°
palatal affricate	ja ཇ་	j°a ཇ°
dental plosive	da ཌ་	d°a ཌ°
retroflex plosive	dra ཌྭ་	dr°a ཌྭ°
bilabial plosive	ba བ་	b°a བ°
bilabial palatal affricate	bja བྟ་	bj°a བྟ°
palatal sibilant	zha ཟཀ་	zh°a ཟཀ°
alveolar sibilant	za ཟཐ་	z°a ཟཐ°

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 ཇེ་ཇེ་ Zĭ 'leopard' vs. low register devoiced ཇེ་ Z^o 'crest' vs. high register voiceless ཇེ་མེ་ Sĕ 'gold'; low register devoiced ཇེ་ ག་ G^o 'Bhutanese male garb' vs. low register voiced ཇེ་ ག་ GO 'door'; low register devoiced ཇེ་ ག་ G^o 'queue, row, line' vs. low register voiced ཇེ་ ག་ G^o 'eight'; low register devoiced ཇེ་ ག་ b^o 'wool' vs. low register voiced ཇེ་ ག་ bā 'pull out, extract'.

Paradoxically, in traditional Bhutanese phonology, the devoiced plosives and sibilants as well as the low register voiced liquids and nasals are described by the Chökê term ཇེ་ཇེ་མེ་ dra jampa 'soft' or 'tender sound', whereas the voiced plosives and sibilants as well as the high register voiced liquids and nasals are termed ཇེ་དྲ་མེ་ dra dr^oakpa '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 k is pronounced like the sound [k] at the beginning of the French word *quatre* or Dutch word *kaal*, i.e. without aspiration. The consonant k is followed by the high register tone.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཀམ་	kawa	kao	pillar
ཀང་མ་	rkangma	kâm	leg
སྐད་པ་	skudpa	küp	thread
ཀོམ་	kowa	kou	leather
ཀེད་པ་	rkedpa	kep	waist

ཀུག་པ་	lkugs-pa	kukpa	fool, foolish
སྐམ་	skam	kam	dry
དཀར་པོ་	dkarpo	kâp	white
བཀྲལ་པ་	bkugpa	kup	bent, crooked
རྐྱེན་	rkyen	ken	reason, cause
སྐྱིད་	skyid	ki	peace
དཀྱིས་	dkyis	ki	put on, don women's clothes
བཀྱིག་	bkyig	ki	tighten, wind up
བསྐྱིས་	bskyis	ki	lend

Dzongkha kh is pronounced like the consonant sound [k^h] at the beginning of the English word *kill* or German *Katze*, i.e. with aspiration. Dzongkha kh is followed by the high register tone.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཁ་	kha	kha	mouth, language; sharp edge of a blade
ཁོང་	khong	khong	they
ཁམ་	khap	khap	needle
གདན་ཁེབ་	gdan-kheb	den-khep	bedspread
ཁམ་	kham	kham	peach
ཁམ་	khawa	khau	snow
མཁམ་པ་	mkhaspa	khäp	adept, expert
ཁམ་རམ་	hkharwa	khâu	stick
ཁྱལ་	khyal	khä	tax

ཁྱིད་	hkhyid	khi	lead, guide, escort
མཐུན་	mkhyen	khen	know [hon.]

Dzongkha *g* is pronounced like the sound [g] in English *goat*, German *gegen* or French *gauche*. Dzongkha *g* is followed by the low register tone.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
སྐྱའ་	sga	ga	saddle
གྲས་པ་	rgaspa	gep	old (of people)
ལྗང་ཕུ་	lgang-phu	gangphu	balloon
སྒྲ་	sgo	go	door
བསྐྱུག་	bsgug	gû	wait
དུ་	dgu	gu	nine
མག་རམ་	mgarwa	gâu	smith
འགན་ཁམ་	hgan-khag	genkha	responsibility
འཁྱིར་	hgyir	gi	turn a prayer wheel
རྒྱལ་པོ་	rgyalpo	gäp	king
བཅའ་	rgal	gä	to cross (bridge or mountain pass), to ford
བརྒྱཅ་	brgyad	gä	eight
རྗེད་པོ་	rgedpo	gap	head of a geo
རྗེད་འོག་	rged-hog	geo	block of villages as an admini- strative unit

Dzongkha *g*^o is pronounced [g̊] or [k], followed by what, in articulatory phonetic terms, is described as a murmured or 'breathy voiced' low register vowel.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
གྲལ་	gyal	g ^o ä	row, queue, line
ག་ཅི་	gaci	g ^o aci	what
གྲ་	gha	g ^o â	who
གུར་	gur	g ^o û	tent
གང་མ་རི་	gangs-ri	g ^o angri	snow-capped mountain
བགོ་	bgo	g ^o ô	Bhutanese male garb
གོན་	gon	g ^o ön	cucumber

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

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ང་	nga	nga	I, me
ངག་	ngag	ngâ	speech
ང་	rnga	'nga	drum
ངམ་སི་སི་	rngam-si-si	'ngamsisi	inept, sloppy
ལྔ་	lnga	'nga	five
དངུལ་	dngul	'ngü	silver

མང་རམ་	mngarmo	'ngâm	sweet
སྒྲུག་པ་	sngags-pa	'ngakpa	shaman, ritual healer
བསྐྱེད་	bsngowa	'ngou	blessing, good wish
བརྩ་	brngo	'ngo	fry
རྩོ་གེས་	ngo-shes	ngoshê	recognize
སྒྲུ་	sngu	'ngu	weep

The Dzongkha consonants C and Ch are both similar to the initial sound in English *church*. However, Dzongkha C is pronounced [tɕ] without aspiration, i.e. without a profuse release of air.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཅི་	ci	ci	past tense suffix
གཅད་	gcad	cê	cut
ཁྲེ་	lce	ce	tongue
སྒྲི་	skya	ca	hair
ལྷག་ས་	lcags	câ	iron
བཅར་	bcar	câ	pay someone a visit [honorific]
བཅུ་ཐམ་	bcu-tñam	cuthâm	ten
ལྷག་ས་ཀྲུ་	lcags-kyu	câcu	iron hook
རྒྱལ་	rkyab	cap	do, perform
བརྒྱུང་	brkyang	cang	straighten out
བསྐྱེད་	bskyab	cap	protect

དཀྱུས་རིང་	dkyus-ring	cüring	length
སྤྱོད་པ་	spyod-pa	cöba	behaviour
གཅིག་	gcig	ci	one
སྤྱི་མི་	spyimi	cimi	village elector

Dzongkha Ch is an aspirated sound [tɕʰ]. The difference between *cu* in *cuthâm* '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.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཆར་པ་	charpa	châp	rain
མཆོང་ས་	mchongs	chong	jump
འཆམ་	cham	cham	mask dance; friendship
ཁྱེད་	khyod	chö	you
རོ་ཁྱི་	ro-khyi	rochi	dog
ཁྱིམ་	khyim	chim	house
ཆུ་	chu	chu	water
ཁྱུ་	khyu	chu	flock, herd, swarm
འཁྱུ་	hkhyu	chu	wash
ཕྱག་	phyag	châ	hand [hon.]; wipe clean
ཕྱག་འཆལ་ནི་	phyag- htshal-ni	châtshäni	prostrate oneself in obeisance

The consonant *j* is pronounced [ɟ] very similar to the first sound in English *juice*. The initial *j* is followed by the low register tone.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
རྗེ་མཁན་པོ་	rje- mkhan-po	jêkhembo, jêkhem	abbot
བརྗེད་	brjed	jê	forget
ལྗིད་	ljid	ji	weight
འཇའ་ཚོན་	hjah-tshon	jatshön	rainbow
མཛུག་མ་	mjug-ma	juma	tail
རྩུ་མ་	rgyu-ma	juma	intestines
རྩུ་	rgyu	ju	property
འགྱོ་ནི་	hgyo-ni	joni	to go
བརྒྱུགས་	brgyugs	ju	running, racing
བསྐྱུར་	bsgyur	ju	change, convert,
རྩུ་པ་	rgya-bo	jao	beard, mous- tache
སྤྱིན་བདག་	sbyin-bdag	jinda	patron, philan- thropist
རྩུ་སྤོམ་	rgya-sbom	jabôm	broad
འཇམ་ཏོག་ཏོ་	hjam-tog-to	jamtokto	easy
རྩུབ་	rgyab	jap	behind
ལྗིད་ཅན་	ljid-can	jicen	heavy

Dzongkha *j*^o is pronounced [ɟ] or [tɕ], followed by what, in articulatory phonetic terms, is described as a murmured low register vowel.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
འཇའ་རིས་མོ་	hjah-rismo	j ^o ârim	beautiful
ཇ་ཆང་	ja-chang	j ^o achang	tea and drinks
བྱོན་	byon	j ^o ön	come [honorific]
བྱམས་	byams	j ^o am	mercy, compas- sion
གྱང་ས་ཁ་	gyangs-kha	j ^o angkha	counting,
གྱང་མ་མས་	gyangm-mas	j ^o âmmä	It's cold.

Dzongkha *ny* is pronounced like the nasal sound [ɲ] 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
ཉི་ནི་	nyo-ni	nyoni	buy
ཉི་མ་	nyim	nyim	sun
ཉི་མའི་ལྗོ་	nyi-mahi-lto	nyimaito	midday meal
གཉིས་	gnyis	'nyî	two
ཉ་རོགས་པ་	nya-rogsa	nyarop	fisherman
གཉིན་	gnyen	'nyen	relatives
རྩིང་མ་	rnyingma	'nyim	old (of inani- mate things)

མཉམ་གཅིག་	mnyam-gcig	'nyamci	together
སྙིང་རྗེ་	snying-rje	'nyingjê	mercy, pity
མཉམ་	mmyam	'nyam	same, equal
བཏོ་	brnya	'nya	borrow
ཉམས་མྱོང་	nyams-myong	nyamnyong	experience
དམྱལ་བ་	dmyal-ba	'nyäwa	hell
སྟུག་	smyu-gu	'nyug°u	pen
སྔོན་འདྲུག་	sngon-hjug	'nyönju	prefixed letter

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.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཅ་རི་	tsa-ri	Tsari	Tsari (holy place in Tibet)
ཅན་དན་	tsan-dan	tsende	Bhutanese sandalwood
ཅ་	tswa	tsa	grass
ཅམ་འབྲོག་	tswam-hbrog	tsamdro	pasture
ཅུ་སཔ་	rtsispa	tsíp	augurer, astrologer, numerologist
ཅང་	rtsang	tsang	thorn, splinter
གཅང་ཏོག་ཏོ་	gtsang-tog-to	tsangtokto	clean

བཅའ་	btsah	tsâ	rust
བཅོག་པ་	btsogpa	tsop	dirty
བཅོན་ཁང་	btson-khang	tsönkhang	prison, gaol
བཅིག་	brtsig	tsi	make a wall, pile up
བཅུ་མ་	brtsam	tsam	make a plan
རྩ་མ་	rtsawa	tsau	sponsor of a religious ritual, host of a party

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	transliteration	Roman	English
ཆང་	tshang	tshang	nest
ཆད་	tshad	tshê	measure, size, moderation
ཆ་	tshwa	tsha	salt
ངལ་འཛོ་	ngal-htsho	ngätsho	resting place, esp. for putting down one's burden on a trail
མཆམས་	mtshams	tsham	border
ཆཔོ་	tsha-bo	tshao	son-in-law
ཆལ་ལྷ་	tshal-lu	tshelu	orange
ཆལ་མ་	tshal-ma	tshema	jungle

ཚེ་རིང་	tshe-ring	tsheri	Tsheri
ཚད་པའི་ནད་	tshad-pahi-	tshebinê	malaria
	nad		

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.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ངའ་ཉི་	dza-ti	dzati	nutrneg used as a headache remedy
མཛེ་ནད་	mdze-nad	dzenê	leprosy
རྩོང་ཁ་	rdzong-kha	Dzongkha	Dzongkha
རྩམ་	rdzam	dzam	earthenware pot
ནོར་རྩམ་	nor-rdzipa	nôdzi	cowherd
འཛམ་གླིང་	ḥdzam-gling	dzam'ling	world
འཛར་མ་	ḥdzarwa	dzâu	crunchy puffed rice served with Bhutanese tea.
རྩམ་	rdzas	dzä	gunpowder

The Dzongkha sounds *t*, *th*, *d* and *d*^o 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.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཉིང་	ting	ting	offeratory vessel
རྩིང་མ་	rtingma	tîm	heel
སྟག་	stag	tâ	tiger
གྲང་	gtang	tang	send, dispatch
བཏུབ་	btub	tup	OK; mince, cut into pieces
ལྟོ་ཚང་	lto-tshang	totsha	friend
ལྟེ་བ་	lte-ba	tewa	headquarters
བལྟབ་	bltab	tap	fold
སྟོན་	ston	tön	teach, instruct
བསྟོན་པ་	bstod-pa	töba	ritual healer, shaman
བརྟག་དཔྱད་	brtag-dpyad	takcê	inspect
ལྟོ་	lto	to	rice, food
ལྟེ་མ་	ltewa	tiu	navel
ལྟག་པ་	ltagpa	tap	back of a blade
ལྟད་མོ་	ltadmo	têm	show

Dzongkha *t* is unaspirated [t] like the sound in French *tasse*, whereas Dzongkha *th* is aspirated [tʰ] 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 consonants *t* and *th* are followed by the high register tone.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཐལ་བ་	thal-ba	thäwa	dust, dirt
གོ་ཐལ་	go-thal	g ^o othä	ash
མཐོང་	mthong	thong	see
འཐུང་	hthung	thung	drink
མཐོ་	mtho	tho	unit of measure spanning the distance between outstretched thumb and index finger
ཐབ་ཤིང་	thab-shing	thapshing	firewood
ཐིའུ་	thihu	thiu	seal, imprint
འཐོབ་	hthob	thop	get, be available

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

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
རྩ་	rdo	do	stone
བརྩ་	brdab	dap	fell, topple

ལྡེ་མིག་	lde-mig	demi	key
བལྟགས་	bldags	dâ	lick
གདོང་	gdong	dong	face
བདུན་	bdun	dün	seven
མདེའུ་	mdehu	diu	bullet
སྐྱོད་	sdod	dö	sit
བཙམ་	bsdam	dam	tie up, close
འདམ་	hdam	dam	mud
ལྷ་བ་	zla-ba	dau	moon, month
བཟོག་ཐབས་	bzlog-thabs	dokthap	preventive measures
འདུག་	hdug	du	be

Dzongkha *d*^o is pronounced [ɖ] or [t], followed by what, in articulatory phonetic terms, is described as a murmured low register vowel.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
དུག་	dug	d ^o u	poison
རྩམ་	dom	d ^o ôm	bear
དྲོམ་	dorma	d ^o ôm	trousers
དར་ཤིང་	dar-shing	d ^o âshing	prayer flag
དོང་	dong	d ^o ong	hole
དར་བ་	dar-ba	d ^o âu	buttermilk
ད་ལྟོ་	da-lto	d ^o ato	now
ད་རིས་	da-ris	d ^o ari	today
སྤྱིའུ་ལྟགས་	spyihu- ltagpa	ciud ^o âp	grasshopper, cricket

The sound *n* is pronounced like the first sound in English *Norwich*, Dutch *Nederland*, German *Niedersachsen* and French *Nice*. When the Dzongkha initial *n* is followed by the high register tone, this is indicated with the high tone apostrophe.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ནང་པ་	nangs-pa	nâba	tomorrow
ནད་	nadpa	nep	sick person
གནག་པོ་	gnagpo	'nap	black
ནྟ་	nha	nâ	here
ནག་	rnag	'nâ	pus
གནམ་	gnam	'nam	sky
ནམ་	nam	nam	when
མནའམ་	mnaḥma	'nam	sister-in-law (brother's wife)
དངོས་	dngos	'nö	sharp (said of a blade)
གནང་	gnang	'nang	give [honorific]
ནམ་ཙེ་	nam-co	'namco	ear
སྐག་ཙེ་	snag-tshi	'naktsi	ink

The Dzongkha sounds *tr*, *thr*, *dr* and *dr*^o are retroflex consonants. Retroflex consonants are sounds pronounced with the tip of the tongue behind the alveolar ridge, i.e. the tip of the tongue touches the roof of the mouth at a point slightly further back than is the case with the *t* and *d* sounds of English, German or Dutch. The Dzongkha

retroflex sounds *tr*, *thr*, *dr* and *dr*^o may occasionally be heard to be released with a slight bit of friction. The retroflex sound *tr* is pronounced [ʈ] without aspiration.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
དངུལ་ཀླམ་	dngul-kram	'ngütram	Bhutanese currency unit
བཀྲ་ཤིས་	bkra-shis	trashî	good fortune
དྲྭེགས་	dkrogs	tro	touch
ཀྲོག་	krog	tro	knock, clack, rattle
ཀྲམ་ཟེ་	krem-ze	tremze	pretend to work whilst being idle, feign diligence
པྱ་མོ་	pra-mo	tramo	magic looking glass
སྤྲོ་སྟོན་	spro-ston	trotön	flaunt, put on a display, merri- ment
བརྒྱུད་	bkrong	trong	kill [honorific]
སྤྲོད་	sprod	trö	hand over

Dzongkha thr is an aspirated retroflex sound [tʰ]. Both tr and thr are followed by the high register tone.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཁྲོམ་ཁ་	khrom-kha	thromkha	bazar, market
མཁྲིས་པ་	mkhris-pa	thrîp	bile
འཁྲུང་ས་	hkrungs	thrung	be born [hon.]
འཕྲང་འཕྲང་	hphrang-	thrang-	straight, directly
	hphrang	thrang	
འཕྲོད་	hphrod	thrö	exert a salu- brious effect
ཁྲུས་ཁང་	khrus-khang	thrükhang	bathroom
ཁྲག་	khrag	thrâ	blood

The initial dr is a voiced retroflex consonant [ɖ] 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 dr is followed by the low register tone.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
རྒྱུན་འབྲུམ་	rgun-hbrum	gündrum	dried black- berries
བཅོས་པ་	bgrospa	dröp	ex-, former
སྒོ་	sgro	dro	feather
སྒོམ་	sgrom	drom	box
བསྐྱེད་སྒོམ་	bsgrims	drim	concentrate

འདྲ་བསྐྱེད་	hdra-bshus	drashü	copy
འབྲུག་	hbrug	dru	dragon
སྒྲུམ་ཅི་	sbram-tsi	dramtsi	jackfruit
སྒྲུབ་ལྷ་	slob-grwa	'lopdra	school

Dzongkha dr° is pronounced [ɖ] or [ʈ], followed by a murmured low register vowel.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
རྩ་པ་	dro-pa	dr°oba	morning
བཀའ་རྩིན་ཅི་	bkaḥ-drin- che	Kadr°iche	Thank you
རྩ་གཤོས་	drag-shos	Dr°âsho	Bhutanese nobleman
རྩེའ་	drel	dr°eng	mule
ཕོ་བྲང་	pho-brang	phodr°ang	palace
གུ་	gru	dr°u	boat
ལྷ་ཆང་	grwa-tshang	dr°atshang	central monas- tery
དྲུག་	drug	dr°u	six
གྲང་ནད་	grang-nad	dr°angne	incontinence
དྲོད་	drod	dr°ö	warmth

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

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
པག་ས་ཀོ་	pags-ko	pako	skin
དཔའ་བོ་	dpah-bo	pao	hero
སྒྲུ་འོ་	dpahbo	pâo	wow!
དཔའ་བོ་	dpaho	pao	shaman, healer
སྒྲུ་པག་ས་	stag-lpags	tâpa	tiger skin
སྒྲུ་པག་ས་	spags	pâ	slice of meat as a side dish
དཔོན་	dpon	pön	important per- sonage
སྒྲུ་	spu	pu	body hair
སྒྲུ་པག་ས་	spos	pö	incense
དཔར་	dpar	pâ	picture

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

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཕོ་རཔ་	phor-pa	phôp	bowl, cup
འཕར་མ་	hpharwa	phâu	wolf
ཕག་པ་	phagpa	phap	pig
འཕོ་མ་	hphowa	phou	stomach
ཕོ་རུང་མ་	pho-cungma	phocum	belly, abdomen

Dzongkha b is identical to the first sound [b] in English *bill*, Dutch *bast*, French *beau* and German *bezahlen*. The initial b is followed by the low register tone.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
བོ་སྒྲུ་པག་ས་	rba-rlabs	ba'lap	rapids, surf
ལྷ་བ་	lba-ba	bau	goitre
སྒྲུ་ལ་པ་	sbalpa	bäp	frog
འབར་	hbaḥ	ba	target
འབུ་པ་	hbup	bup	worm
སྒྲུ་ལུ་	sbug-lu	bulu	in the middle
སྒྲུ་མ་	sbom	bôm	big

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

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
བོ་དཔ་	bodpa	B ^o öp	Tibetan
བུ་	bu	b ^o u	son, lad
བར་ན་	bar-na	b ^o âna	between
བ་	ba	b ^o a	cow

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
མར་	mar	mâ	butter
མར་ཁུ་	mar-khu	mâkhu	oil
མེ་	me	me	fire
མཁལ་	rmagpa	'map	husband
མེ་	rma	'ma	wound
མེན་	sman	'men	medicine
དམར་པོ་	dmarpo	'mâp	red
དམག་མི་	dmag-mi	'mâmi	soldier

The Dzongkha sounds pc and pch are pronounced [pt̚] and [pt̚ʰ] like the Dzongkha consonants C and Ch preceded by p. The consonant sound pc is unaspirated.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
དཔལ་ལྔ་	dpyalwa	pcâu	forehead
སྟེ་	spya	pca	monkey
སྟེན་	spyin	pcing	glue
སྟང་ཀ་	spyang-ka	pcangka	poor
དཔེ་སྒྲ་	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
ཕྱག་མ་	phyagma	pchâm	broom
དར་འཕྱར་	dar-hphyar	d°â pchâ	hoist a prayer flag
འཕྱེང་མ་	hphyengma	pchêm	rosary
ཕྱག་པོ་	phyugpo	pchup	rich
ཕྱེད་	phyed	pchê	half
ཕྱི་	phye	pchi	flour
ཕྱེན་	phyen	pchen	fart
ཕྱེད་ཀླམ་	phyed-kram	pchêtra	pice

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

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
མེར་སྟེང་མ་	ser-sbyanma	sibjâm	bees
འབྱུ་	hbyha	bjâ	paddy
སྟེང་མ་	sbyangma	bjâm	flying insects
སྟེང་ནག་	sbyang-nag	bjâ'nâ	houseflies
སྟེང་	sbyang	bjang	honey
འབྱུ་	hbyu	bju	grain
གནམ་གྲུ་	gnam-byha	'nambjâ	summer

Dzongkha bj° is pronounced [bd̚ʝ°] or [pt̚ʝ°], followed by a murmured low register vowel.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
བྱིན་ནི་	byin-ni	bj ^o ing-ni	give
བྱེམ་	byem	bj ^o em	sand
བྱམོ་	byamo	bj ^o am	hen
བྱ་	bya	bj ^o a	bird
བྱག་	byag	bj ^o â	cliff, escarp- ment
བྱི་ལི་	byi-li	bj ^o ili	cat
བྱོ་འོ་	byo-ḥo	bj ^o ô	tartary buck- wheat
བྱི་ཅི་	byi-tsi	bj ^o itsi	rat

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.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
གཟུང་ནི་	gzung-ni	zungni	to catch
བཟང་མ་	bzangma	zâm	well-bred
བཟོམ་	bzowa	zou	carpenter
གཟིག་	gzig	zî	leopard
གཟི་	gzi	zi	onyx
གཟུགས་	gzugs	zû	body

Dzongkha S is pronounced [s] like the first sound in English *sit*, Dutch *sap* or French *ceux*. Dzongkha S is followed by the high register tone.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
གསོབ་	gsob	sop	pierce, soft
གསེར་	gser	sê	gold
བསད་	bsad	sê	kill
སྲས་	sras	sä	prince
སོ་	so	so	tooth
སྲུང་མ་	srungma	sum	amulet, talisman
གསུམ་	gsum	sum	three
སྲིང་མོ་	sringmo	sîm	younger sister (of a man)
སྲ་ཀླག་ཀླ་	sra-krag-kra	satraktra	hard
མནོ་བསམ་	mno-bsam	'nosam	thought, opinion
ས་	sa	sa	earth
གསེབ་	gseb	sep	stallion
བསེལ་	bsil	sî	cold

Dzongkha Z^o is pronounced [z̥] or [s] similar to Dzongkha S but followed by a murmured vowel in the low register tone.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཟམ་	zam	z ^o am	bridge
ཟོགཔ་	zogpa	z ^o op	bad
ཟེ་	ze	z ^o e	crest (of bird or wild boar)
ཟེར་	zer	z ^o e	ray, beam
ཟུག་	zug	z ^o û	pain

ཟ་	za	z ^o a	eat
ཟ་ཁང་	za-khang	z ^o akha	restaurant
ཟོར་ཤ་	zorwa	z ^o ou	sickle

Dzongkha Zh is pronounced [ʒ] similar the first sound in English *genre* or French *geste*. Dzongkha Zh is followed by the low register tone.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
འབྲུག་གཞུང་	ḥbrug-gzhung	Dru Zhung	Government of Bhutan
གཞིན་མ་	gzhonma	zhöm	young
བཞི་	bzhi	zhi	four
བཞག་	bzhag	zhâ	put, place, set
གཞུ་	gzhu	zhu	bow (archery)
འཆར་གཞི་	ḥchar-gzhi	charzhi	to make a plan
བཞི་པོ་	bzhi-phod	zhephö	year after next.

Dzongkha Sh is pronounced [ʃ] similar the first sound in English *shell*, Dutch *sjaal*, French *chèvre* or German *Schinken*. Dzongkha Sh is followed by the high register tone.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཤིང་	shing	shing	wood, log
ཤོ་	sho	sho	dice
ཤོག་	shog	shô	come

ཤལ་	shwawa	shao	antlers
གཤོང་	gshong	shong	valley
བཤལ་	bshal	shä	wander, roam
ཤ་	sha	sha	meat
ཤལ་ཤ་	shalwa	shäu	leveller, tooth-less harrower

Dzongkha Zh^o is pronounced [ʒ̥] or [ç] similar to Dzongkha Sh but followed by a murmured vowel in the low register tone.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཞལ་	zhawa	zh ^o ao	limping, lame
ཞལ་	zhal	zh ^o ä	face [honorific]
གུས་ཞབས་	gus-zhabs	g ^o üz ^h ap	respect
ཞབས་ཀྲ་	zhabs-khra	zh ^o apthra	dance
ཞིང་	zhing	zh ^o ing	field
ཞོ་	zho	zh ^o o	yoghurt, curd
ཞལ་མོ་	zhwamo	zh ^o am	hat, cap

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

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ལྔ་	lha	lâ	work
ལ་	la	la	mountain pass
ལམ་	lam	lam	road, way
བལ་	blama	'lam	lama
ལུ་	glu	'lu	song
ལུག་	lug	lu	sheep
ལྔ་པ་	kladpa	'lep	brain
གླང་མ་ཆེ་	glangmo-che	'lâmche	elephant
གླང་	glang	'lang	bull, ox
ལོ་	blo	'lo	heart, mind, spirit
ལོ་	glo	'lo	cough
ལོ་	lo	lo	year, age
ལུང་	rlung	'lung	wind
ལུང་ནད་	rlung-nad	'lungne	disease of the aerous humour
བཤྩད་དོ་	brlad-do	'led°o	thigh
ལཔ་	slab	'lap	say, tell
བསྟེན་བྱ་	bslab-bya	'lapj°a	advice, counsel
ལཱ་ཁག་	lha-khag	lâkha	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 [ɬ] 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
ལྟོད་	lhod	lhö, hö	arrive; be loose
ལྟ་	lha	lha	deity
ལྟ་ཁང་	lha-khang	lhakha	monastery
ལྟ་བ་	lhab	lhap	learn
ལྟ་གཤམ་	lhagpa	Lhap	Tuesday
ཚོགས་ལྟ་མ་	tshogs- lhwam	tshô·lham	shoes
ལྟ་ག་	lhag	lhâ	to read

In many Dzongkha dialects, especially in the capital city, the verb ལྟོད་ '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 ř, pronounced [r̝], 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
ར་	ra	ra	goat
རུ་རྟག་	ru-tog	ruto	bone
རི་	ri	ri	hill, mountain below tree line
རྩ་མོ་	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 [ɾ]. The initial hr is followed by the high register tone.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཧྲལ་	hral	hrä	tear, rip
ཧྲིལ་པོ་	hriipo	hrîp, hrib°u	whole, entire

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.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཡཔ་	yab	yap	father [hon.]
ཡམ་	yum	yum	mother [hon.]
ལྷམ་ཡ་གཅིག་	lhwam-ya-gcig	lhamyaci	one shoe of a pair
ཡིག་ཚང་	yig-tshang	yitsha	office
གཡག་	gyag	'yâ	yak
འཇམ་དབྱངས་	ḥJam-dbyangs	Jam'yang	Mañjuśrī

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.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཕང་	wang	Wang	Thimphu Valley (traditional name)
དབང་	dbang	'wang	spiritual empowerment
ཕྱི་ཕང་	pyi-wang	pciwang	Bhutanese fiddle
རང་དབང་	rang-dbang	rang'wang	independent
ཕ་	wa	wa	tub
ཕ་གཤོང་	wa-gshong	wosho	blood gutters (on a blade)
ལྷེ་བ་	lte-ba	tewa	headquarters

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.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཧད་ / ཧྱ་	had, hḥa	Hâ	Hâ (district)
ན་ཧིང་	na-hing	nahing	last year
ཧང་	hang	hang	pillow
ཧ་སག་	ha-sag	hâsa	early
ཧུམ་	hum	hum	oil
ཧབ་	hab	hap	snot

5. Dzongkha finals

In spoken Dzongkha, only six consonants are regularly found to occur at the end of a syllable: These are *n*, *m*, *ng*, *p*, *k* and *sh*. In addition, final *l* and *r* are also occasionally heard but are limited to literary pronunciations.

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

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
བདུན་	bdun	dün	seven
སྨན་	sman	'men	medicine
དཔལ་འབྱོར་	dpal-hbyor	Pänjo	Prosperity
མཁའ་འགྲོ་	mkhañ-hgro	Khandru	Skywalker

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

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ནམ་	nam	nam	when
གསུམ་	gsum	sum	three
སྒྲོམ་	sgrom	drom	box
བུམ་	bumo	b°um	girl, daughter
བཙུན་མོ་	btsunmo	tsüm	queen
བཙོན་མ་	btsonma	tsöm	prisoner

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

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
སྒྲིན་ལུགས་	glen-lkugs	'lenggo	stupid, foolish
སངས་རྒྱལ་	sangs-rgyas	Sanggä	Buddha
ཚོང་ཁང་	tshong-khang	tshongkha	shop
གླང་	glang	'lang	ox, bullock
ཆང་	chang	chang	Tibetan beer
ལུགས་གཞིར་	lcags-gzer	cangze	metal nail
མིང་	ming	meng	name
ཅིན་	in	'ing	is
གཡོན་	gyon	'öng	left
དྲེལ་	drel	dr°eng	mule

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

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ས་ཁྲ་	sa-khra	sapthra	map
ཁམ་རྟག་	khav-tog	khapto	lid
ཆདཔ་	chadpa	chep	fine

སྤྲུལ་པ་	sbalpo	bäp	frog
སྤྲུལ་རྩ་	skyurpo	cûp	sour
ལྟ་བུ་	lhab	lhap	learn
ལྗང་པ་	zhabs	zh°ap	leg [honorific]; majesty

Final *k* is pronounced like the final sound in English lick. Sometimes, a word has final *k* in a literary pronunciation, but lacks final *k* in colloquial Dzongkha. For example, the sacred monastery རྟམ་ཆང་ 'Tiger's Nest' has a literary pronunciation Taktshang, although in colloquial Dzongkha the name of this holy place is pronounced Tâtshang.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
ཆེན་མཛོད་	tshig-mdzod	tshikdzö	dictionary
ཆེན་སྒྲུབ་ནི་	tshig-slab-ni	tshî 'lapni	declare, say
རྫོང་ཁག་	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 གིག་ in traditional orthography.

Dzongkha	transliteration	Roman	English
སྒོ་གིག་	smo-shig	'Mosh?	Isn't it so?
འབག་གིག་གིག་	hbag-shog-shig	Bâshosh!	Bring it here!

སྒོང་གིག་	sdod-shig	Dösh!	Sit down!
བལྟ་གིག་	blta-shig	Tash!	Have a look!

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' རྒྱལ་དར་ is pronounced gäd°a, without final *-r*. The proper name ཀཾ་མ་ is pronounced Kâma in colloquial speech, although the more literary pronunciation Karma is also heard. The title of the well-known history of Bhutan འབྲུག་དཀར་པོ་ generally gets the literary pronunciation Dru Karpo, although 'white dragon' in colloquial Dzongkha is still pronounced dru kâp, without final *-r*. Certain formal or literary terms like འཆར་གཞི་ charzhi '[governmental, institutional] plan' tend to retain final *-r*.

Similarly, final *-l* in ཀུན་གསལ་ Künsel 'newspaper' and སྒོ་གསལ་ '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. བལ་ b°ä 'wool', ཚེལ་གློག་ 'öko 'neck', རྒྱལ་ཁ་ gäkha 'winner'.

6. Contour tones

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 རྒྱལ་ཆ་ Capcha and རྡོ་ལྷ་ཁ། 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.

high register examples

rising, glottalized

slightly falling

ཤོབ་	shop*	lie	གཤོགས་	shop	wing
གསུམ་	sum*	three	སྤང་མ་	sum	amulet
སེམས་	sem*	mind, feelings	སྤྲུམ་	sem	lentils
ཀང་མ་	kâm*	leg	ཀླར་མ་	kâm	star
ཤལ་ས་	pâ*	slice of meat	དཔར་	pâ	picture
ཐབ་	thap*	stove, kitchen	ཐགས་	thap	rope
ཤེས་	shê*	know	ཤེལ་	shê	glass
ཀང་	kang*	marrow	བཀང་	kang	fill (fluid)
མཆིན་པ་	chim*	liver	ཁྱིམ་	chim	house
ཚམ་	tsham*	niece	མཚམས་	tsham	border
བསལ་	sê*	kill	གསེར་	sê	gold
ལྷི་	'lü*	pear ¹	ལྷུང་	'lü	dough
					effigy

¹ Some speakers say ལྷི་ 'li* 'pear'.

low register examples

rising, glottalized

འཛིན་མ་	dzim*	tongs
འབྱ་	bjâ*	standing paddy
དོ་ས་	d°ô*	burden
སྡོ་	dö*	sit, stay

slightly falling

ཇི་མ་	dzim	eyebrow
བྱ་	bjâ	summer
དོ་ར་	d°ô	pair ²
མདོ་ས་	dö	ritual spirit
		palace made
		of coloured
		thread

² Only in the expression: སྐང་དོ་ར་གཅིག་ 'lang-d°ô-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.

	singular	plural
1st person	ང་ nga I	ང་གཅིག་ ngace we
2nd person	ཅུ་ chö you	ཅུ་ chä you
3rd person	ཁོ་ kho he	ཁོང་ khong they
	མོ་ mo she	
honorific	འུ་ ná he, she, you	འུ་ཕྱ་ ná-b°u they, you

The collective ending ཚ་ཁུབ་ *châchap* may be added to any of the plural pronouns, e.g. ཁྱེད་ཚ་ཁུབ་ *chä-châchap* 'you all', or to any Dzongkha nouns denoting people, e.g. ཨམ་ཚུ་ཚ་ཁུབ་ 'amtshu-*châchap* 'all the women'. The following two sentences illustrate the use of the collective ending ཚ་ཁུབ་ *châchap*.

- (1) ང་བཅས་ཚ་ཁུབ་ལུ་ཡང་གསོལ་རས་གཅིག་ཁྱེད་གོ་པས།
 Ngace-*châchap*-lu ya söra ci zh'u
 We-[col]-[dat] also reward one request
 go-bä
 like-[ep]

All of us would also like to request some recompense.

- (2) བུ་མོ་ཚ་ཁུབ་ ཁྱ་ཤོག་གིས།
 B°um-*châchap* nâ sho-sh!
 Girl-[col] here come-[imp]

Come here, girls!

The honorific pronouns ཁྱ་ nâ 'he, she, you' and plural ཁྱ་ བུ་ nâ-b°u '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 མི་དབང་མངའ་བདག་པོ་ཆེ། Mi'wang 'Ngada Rinpoche 'His Majesty', and the proper form of address is མངའ་བདག་

མི་པོ་ཆེ། 'Ngada Rinpoche 'Your Majesty' and, in lieu of a pronoun, ཁབ་པ། Zh°ap 'Your Majesty'.

The Dzongkha demonstrative pronouns are listed in Table 2. The demonstratives bearing the prefix ཨ་ 'a-, viz. ཨ་ནི་ 'ani 'this right here', ཨ་ཐི་ 'aphi 'that over yonder', ཨ་ཡི་ 'ayi 'that up over there', ཨ་མི་ 'ami 'that down over there', are more emphatically deictic in nature than their counterparts lacking the prefix, viz. ནི་ ni 'this here', ཐེ་ phê 'that over there', ཡེ་ yê 'that up there', མེ་ mê 'that down there'. All the demonstratives in the table below may be used as nominal heads, e.g. ཨ་ཐི་ངེ་གི་ཡིན། 'Aphi ngi-g°i 'ing 'That over there is mine', ཡེ་ཁྱེད་གྱི་ཡིན་ན། Yê chö-g°i 'in-na 'Is that yours up there?'

very proximal	ཨ་ནི་	'ani	this right here
	ནི་	ni	this here
proximal	འདི་	di	this
neutral	དེ་	d°i	that
distal	ཨ་ཐི་	'aphi	that over yonder
	ཐེ་	phê	that over there
	ཨ་ཡི་	'ayi	that up over there
	ཡེ་	yê	that up there
	ཨ་མི་	'ami	that down over there
	མི་	mê	that down there

Two of the demonstratives in the above table, viz. དེ་ d°i and འདི་ di, serve as definite articles. Dzongkha articles *follow* the noun they modify. The definite article དེ་ d°i translates into English as 'the' or 'that', e.g. རོ་ཁྱི་དེ་ rochi-d°i 'the dog' or 'that dog'. The proximal definite article འདི་ di translates into English as 'this', e.g. རོ་ཁྱི་འདི་ rochi-di 'this dog'. In certain Dzongkha dialects the form འདི་ di is replaced by the form ནི་ ni as the proximal definite article. In Dzongkha a possessive pronoun can be used together with or without the definite article, འདི་ཆ་རྩམས་དེ་ ngi-châro-d°i 'my friend [def]' and འདི་ཆ་རྩམས་ ngi-châro 'my friend'. The distinction is comparable to the Portuguese *o meu amigo* 'my friend [def]' and *meu amigo* 'my friend' or Limbu *a-ndzum-in* 'my friend [def]' and *a-ndzum* 'my friend'. Both definite articles can be used independently as a nominal head, e.g. དེ་དྲི་གི་མི་ན། D°i ngi-g°i 'ing 'That's mine'. The numeral 'one' ཅི་ ci also serves as an indefinite article.

The plural suffix ཚུ་ tshu, when it occurs, follows the definite article, e.g. བཞོ་ལ་དེ་ཚུ་ g°ola-d°i-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 attributive-

ly, these demonstratives *precede* the noun they modify and are used in conjunction with the definite articles དེ་ d°i 'the, that' and འདི་ di 'this' respectively, e.g. ཞེ་མི་དེ་ phê-'mi-d°i 'that man', ཨ་ནི་ཨམ་ཚུ་འདི་ 'ani-'amtshu-di 'this woman'. The monosyllabic demonstratives, i.e. the demonstratives lacking the prefix ཨ་ 'a-, are occasionally encountered in colloquial speech as articles *following* the noun they modify, e.g. མི་ཞེ་ 'mi-phê 'that man'.

2. Suffixes and postpositions

The relationships expressed by prepositions in languages like English, Russian or Chinese are expressed by postpositions in many of the world's languages like Dzongkha, Burmese or Hindi. Whereas prepositions precede the noun or pronoun they modify, postpositions follow them. Throughout the course of this book, many Dzongkha suffixes and postpositions will be introduced. In this section, the genitive, locative, ablative and dative suffixes are presented.

The genitive suffix indicates possession or a part-to-whole relationship, like English 'of'. In accordance with Classical Tibetan spelling conventions, the genitive suffix is written as གི་ -g°i after words ending in -མ་, -ན་, -ར་ and -ལ་, e.g. ཁྱི་མ་གི་ཕྱེ་མིག་ chim-g°i demi 'the key to the house', as གི་ -g°i after words ending in orthographic -ག་ and -ང་, e.g. ཁོང་གི་རོ་ཁྱི་ khong-g°i rochi 'their dog', as གི་ -g°i after words ending in orthographic -བ་, -ད་ and -ས་, e.g. ང་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཁྱི་ ngace-g°i chim 'our house'. Cer-

tain words ending in a vowel take the genitive ending འི་ -i, e.g. ངོའི་ཁྱི་མ་གྱི་ཕྱེ་མིག་ ngi chim-g^oi demi 'the key to my house', རྫོང་ཁའི་བད་སྤྱོད་པའི་གཞུང་ Dzongkhai Datröbi Zhung 'The Grammar of Dzongkha', ཁོའི་མཚམ་རྩའི་ལག་པ་ khoi amtshui-lap 'his wife's hand', whereas others take the genitive ending གི་ g^oi, e.g. ཁོ་གི་མིང་ kho-g^oi meng 'his name', བྱི་ལི་གི་མུག་མ་ bj^oili-g^oi juma 'the cat's tail'. The genitive ending འི་ -i is occasionally used in combination with the genitive གི་ g^oi, particularly in the first singular possessive, e.g. ངོའི་གི་བུ་མ་ ngig^oi b^oum 'my daughter'. The combination ངོའི་གི་ ngig^oi 'my' is increasingly written ངོའི་ ngig^oi 'my', and for the form ངོའི་ ngi 'my', the spellings ངོའི་ ངོའི་ and ངོའི་ are also found. Words ending in orthographic འ་ either take the ending གི་ -g^oi or drop the final འ་ and add འི་ -i. Furthermore, there is a special adjectival genitive བའི་ -bi, which expresses the genitive relationship as a quality or characteristic of the second element, e.g. དབུལ་པའི་བུ་ 'ü-bi-b^ou 'country bumpkin [literally: son of a pauper]',

The locative suffix ནང་ na indicates location or destination, like English 'in', e.g. ང་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཁྱིམ་ནང་ ngace-g^oi chim-na 'in our house', ཁྲོམ་ནང་ throm-na 'in the market', ཡིག་ཆང་ནང་ yitsha-na 'in the office', ཤོག་ལེབ་བརྩ་མ་ནང་ shôlep-cuthâm-na 'on page ten'. Another locative suffix ཁ་ kha occurs in combination with a limited set of nominals, e.g. དེ་ཁ་ d^oikha 'there', གཡུལ་ཁ་ 'ü-kha 'in/to the village'.

The ablative suffix ལས་ lä indicates the point of origin or departure, like English 'from', e.g. ཡུན་ཚེགས་སྤྱིང་ལས་

Phüntsho'ling-lä 'from Phüntsho'ling', ཁ་ཉིང་ལས་ kha-tsa-lä 'from, since yesterday', ཉིང་ལས་ hing-lä 'from the heart'.

The dative suffix ལུ་ lu 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. ཁོ་གི་ཆ་རྒྱལ་ལུ་ kho-g^oi chârô-lu 'to' or 'for his friend' or simply 'his friend', ང་ལུ་ nga-lu '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. ཐིམ་ཕུག་ལུ་ Thimphu-lu 'in Thimphu', ཡིག་ཆང་ནང་ལུ་ yitsha-na-lu '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. ཡར་ཚུན་ཚོད་ phâ-tshüntshö 'up as far as over there'. Some are complements of genitive constructions, e.g. གྱི་དོན་ལུ་ -g^oi-d^oön-lu '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. ངོའི་འགྱུར་ ngi-gu 'on me', དོའི་འགྱུར་ doi-gu 'on a rock' vs. ང་བཅས་འགྱུར་ ngace-gu 'on us', བྱི་ཙི་འགྱུར་ bj^oitsi-gu 'upon the mouse', གདོང་འགྱུར་ dong-gu 'on the face'.

3. The verbs 'to be' ཡིན་ 'ing and ཡིན་པས་ 'immä

In Dzongkha there are five forms of the verb 'to be'. These are ཡིན་ 'ing, ཡིན་པས་ 'immä, ཡོད་ yö, འདུག་ du and མྱོ་ 'mo. The verbs ཡིན་ 'ing and ཡིན་པས་ 'immä are equative forms of the verb 'to be' used to express the *identity or inherent quality* of a person, entity or thing. The verbs ཡིན་ 'ing and ཡིན་པས་ 'immä 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 ཡོད་ yö and འདུག་ du correspond to the *existential, locational* and *attributive* senses of the English verb 'to be'. The verbs ཡོད་ yö and འདུག་ du form the topic Section 4, and the verb མྱོ་ 'mo is discussed in Section 5.

As equative forms of the verb 'to be' the forms ཡིན་ 'ing and ཡིན་པས་ 'immä serve to identify by linking two nouns with each other. The form ཡིན་པས་ 'immä contains the suffix -པས་ -bä, which will be discussed in the next chapter. This suffix is pronounced -mä after final -ng, but the form ཡིན་པས་ 'immä is also occasionally pronounced 'imbä. The more phonetic spelling ཡིན་མས་ appears to be gaining ground in written Dzongkha. The hypercorrect spellings ཡིན་མ་པས་ and ཡིན་མ་མས་, however, should be avoided.

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| (3) ཁོ་སློབ་ཕྱག་པ་ཡིན། | (4) ང་དག་སློང་ཡིན། |
| Kho 'lopthrup 'ing | Nga ge'lo 'ing |
| He pupil be | I monk be |

He is a pupil.

I am a monk.

The verbs ཡིན་ 'ing and ཡིན་པས་ 'immä, 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 ཡོད་ yö and འདུག་ du discussed in the next section, the attributive usage of ཡིན་ 'ing and ཡིན་པས་ 'immä presents a quality of the subject as a factual situation.

- (5) བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚོས་ཐོང་དེ་གིས་ཕུག་ལུ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན།
- Trashichö Dzong d'i Thimphu-lu yöb 'ing
- Trashichö Dzong the Thimphu-at situated be

The Trashichö Dzong is at Thimphu.

- (6) ཁོ་ག་ཉམས་ལྗགས་རིལ་རི་ཡིན་པས།
- Kho shanyam jä riri 'immä
- He physique fat completely be

He is quite fat.

- (7) ཁོ་མི་འཕྲང་དང་ཏ་ཨིན།
 Kho 'mi thrangtangta 'ing
 He man straight be

He is a man of great integrity.

The difference between ཨིན་ 'ing and ཨིན་པས་ 'immä is an important distinction in Dzongkha which has to do with *assimilated* versus *acquired* knowledge. The form ཨིན་ 'ing expresses old, ingrained background knowledge which is or has become a firmly integrated part of one's conception of reality, whereas the form ཨིན་པས་ 'immä expresses knowledge which has been newly acquired. It is therefore usual for a listener in Dzongkha to use the form ཨིན་པས་ 'immä 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 ཨིན་ 'ing provides the most plausible reading for sentence (10).

- (8) ཁོ་མི་མི་དེ་དྲུང་ཡིག་ཨིན།
 'Aphi 'mi d'oi dr'ung-yi 'ing
 That man the clerk be

That man is a clerk.

- (9) ཁོ་མི་མི་དེ་དྲུང་ཡིག་ཨིན་པས།
 'Aphi 'mi d'oi dr'ungyi 'immä
 That man the clerk be

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

- (10) ངི་གི་ཆ་བཞག་སི་རང་ཁྱོད་ཨིན།
 Ngi-g'oi chazha-si-ra chö 'ing
 My-[gen] to rely upon-place-[str] you be

You are someone I can rely on.

Because the form ཨིན་པས་ 'immä expresses acquired knowledge, it is generally used with respect to third person referents. The use of ཨིན་པས་ 'immä 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 ཨིན་པས་ 'immä could be used with a first or second person subject.

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

- (11) ཁྱོད་ངི་གི་ཆ་རྒྱལ་ཞིན།
 Chö ngi-g'i châro 'ing
 You me-[gen] friend be

You are my friend.

- (12) ཞུང་ཁྱོད་ཨ་རམ་ཞིན་པས་སྟོན།
 'Eng, Chö 'âu 'immä bo te
 Oh, You thief be [ctr] [acc]

Oh... So, you are a thief.

As pointed out, use of the form ཞིན་པས་ 'immä, which expresses a recently acquired insight, is exceedingly rare with a first person referent. For example, if a person is involved in a traffic accident in which he is catapulted from his vehicle, immediately losing consciousness, and wakes up days later in the hospital, much to his amazement, he might think to himself:

- (13) ང་ནད་པ་ཞིན་པས་སྟོན། ང་ཤེས་རང་མ་ཤེས།
 Nga nep 'immä bo te. Nga shê-ra
 I patient be [ctr] [acc] I know-[str]
 ma-shê
 not-know

So, I'm a patient! I had no idea.

But in speaking about himself to a visitor, the same patient would simply say:

- (14) ང་ནད་པ་ཞིན།
 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) ང་ཡང་ཁྲོམ་ཁ་འགྱུ་མི་ཞིན་པས།
 Nga ya thromkha jo-mi 'immä
 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 to the question with the form ཞིན་པས་ 'immä 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.

- (16) ཨང་དང་པ་གྲུ་ཞིན་ན།
ང་ཞིན་པས།

- 'Ang d'angpa g^oâ 'in-na?

Number first who be-[Q]

- Nga 'immä.

I be

- Who's first [in the class]?

- I am.

One might also say ང་ཞིན་པས། Nga 'immä 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 ངའི་སྐོར་ལས་ཞིན་པས། ngi-kôlä 'immä, 'It's me [they're talking about]'. Keep in mind that the use of ཞིན་པས་ 'immä is extraordinary with respect to a second person and especially with respect to a first person referent. Both forms ཞིན་ 'ing and ཞིན་པས་ 'immä 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 ཞིན་ 'ing, the special interrogative particle ན་ na is suffixed to the verb.

- (17) ཟླ་སྤྱོད་གྲུ་ཞིན་ན།
Chö 'lopdrap 'in-na
You student be-[Q]

Are you a student?

- (18) ཁོ་མི་ཕུག་པོ་ཞིན་ན།
Kho 'mi pchup 'in-na
He man rich be-[Q]

Is he a rich man?

In questions containing the form ཞིན་པས་ 'immä, the regular interrogative particle གྲུ་ g^oa may be added. In contrast to the special interrogative particle ན་ na, the particle གྲུ་ g^oa is used only in yes-or-no questions. The difference between question (18) with ཞིན་ན་ 'in-na and question (19) with ཞིན་པས་གྲུ་ 'immä-g^oa 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.

- (19) ཟླ་སྤྱོད་ཁོ་མི་ཕུག་པོ་ཞིན་པས་གྲུ་
Chö-g^oi ta-wacin kho 'mi pchup 'immä-g^oa
You-[erg] see-if he man rich be-[Q]

Do you think he is a rich man?

The form ཞིན་པས་གྲུ་ 'immä-g^oa 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 ཞིན་ 'ing is མིན་ m^ä or emphatic men, although the older spelling མིན་ is at present

still more common, and the negative form of ཡིན་པས་ 'im-mä is མིན་པས་ membä. The difference in meaning between མིན་ mä and མིན་པས་ membä is equivalent to the difference in meaning between ཡིན་ 'ing and ཡིན་པས་ 'immä.

- (20) འདི་ངི་གི་ཁྱིམ་མེན།
Di ngi-g°i chim mä
This I-[gen] house not be

This isn't my house.

- (21) ཁོ་དགེ་སློང་མེན།
Kho ge'lo mä
He monk not be

He's not a monk.

- (22) ཁོ་ཀ་མའི་ཆ་རྒྱལ་མིན་པས། མི་གཞན་མི་དེ་ཀ་མའི་ཆ་རྒྱལ་
ཡིན་མ་འོང།
Kho Kâmai châro membä. 'Mi zhenmi
He Karma-[gen] friend not be. Man other
d°i Kâmai châro '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) ང་བཟུམ་སྤྱེ་མིན་པས།
Nga-zumbe membä.
I-like not be.

He's not like me.

The special interrogative particle ན་ na, used with ཡིན་ 'ing, is also used with མིན་ mä.

- (24) འདི་ཡང་ལེགས་ཤོམ་མེན་ན།
Di ya läshom me-na
This too good not be-[Q]

Isn't this a good one too?

- (25) འདི་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་མིན་ན།
Di chö-g°i me-na
This you-[gen] not be-[Q]

Isn't this yours?

- (26) ང་གིས་སྒྲུབ་ཅི་མིན་ན།
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 མིན་པས་ membä takes the regular interrogative particle ག་ g°a to form a yes-or-no question. As with ཡིན་པས་ག་ 'immä-g°a, with the use of མིན་པས་ག་

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) ཁོ་རྒྱུ་མི་མེན་པས་གྲ།

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' ཡོད་ yö and འདུག་ du

The Dzongkha verbs ཡོད་ yö and འདུག་ du cover the cover the existential, locational and attributive meanings of English 'to be'. The verbs ཡོད་ yö and འདུག་ du 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 ཡོད་ yö and འདུག་ du is the same as that which obtains between ཡོད་ 'ing and ཡོད་པས་ 'immä. The form ཡོད་ yö is used to express *assimilated* or *personal* knowledge, whereas འདུག་ du is used to express something about which the speaker has only *acquired* or *objective* knowledge.

This difference in meaning between ཡོད་ yö and འདུག་ du applies in all the various uses of these verbs. For

example, in the attributive sense, the verb འདུག་ du in sentences (28) and (29) expresses objective knowledge on the part of the speaker, acquired through observation, whereas the verb ཡོད་ yö 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) ཁྱོད་འཇའ་རིས་མོ་འདུག།

Chö j°ârim du

You beautiful be

You are beautiful.

(29) ཁོ་རྒྱུ་མི་འདུག།

Kho bôm du

He big be

He is big.

(30) ངའི་བུ་རྒྱུ་མི་ཡོད།

Ngi b°u bôm yö

My son big be

My son is big.

(31) ང་ཁི་ཁོད་ཡོད།

Nga kheko yö

I strong be

I am strong.

In an attributive statement, either འདྲག་ du or ཡོད་ yö 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 འདྲག་ 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 འདྲག་ du with ཡོད་ yö in sentence (28). Conversely, in an attributive statement with respect to a first person referent only the verb ཡོད་ yö can be used because knowledge about a first person referent is inherently personal, as in the boast of sentence (31)

Both verbs ཡོད་ yö and འདྲག་ du are used in the locational sense to express the whereabouts of the subject. Here again the difference in meaning between ཡོད་ yö and འདྲག་ 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) བྱ་ལི་དེ་སྤྱོད་ནང་འདྲག།

Bj°ili d°i drom-na du

Cat the box-in be

The cat is in the box.

(33) ངི་ཁི་ཨམ་ཚུ་ནུ་བྱིམ་ནང་ཡོད།

Ngi 'amtshu nâ chim-na yö

My wife here house-in be

My wife is here inside.

The verbs ཡོད་ yö and འདྲག་ du are used in an existential sense to indicate the presence or availability of a person, commodity or thing. In sentence (35) the form འདྲག་ du expresses objective knowledge on the part of the speaker about the presence of mud in the shoes, whereas the form ཡོད་ yö 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) - བྱ་རམ་ཡོད་ག།

- བྱ་རམ་ཡོད།

- G°uram yö-g°a?

Sugar be-[Q]?

- G°uram yö.

Sugar be.

- Is there sugar? (Do you have sugar?)

- Yes, there is.

- (35) ལྷོ་གྲོ་ལྷ་མ་འགྲུར་འདམ་འདྲག།
 Chö-g°i lham-gu dam du
 You-[gen] shoe-in mud be

There's mud in your shoes.

In this existential sense, the verbs ཡོད་ yö and འདྲག་ du are used with the dative postposition ལུ་ lu 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) ང་ལུ་དཔེ་ཆ་གཅིག་ཡོད།
 Nga-lu pecha-ci yö
 Me-[dat] book-a be

I have a book.

- (37) ང་བཅས་རེ་རེ་ལུ་གྱི་རེ་ཡོད།
 Ngace-rere-lu g°i-re yö
 We-each-[dat] knife-each be

We each have a knife.

- (38) ཁོ་ལུ་ར་གཉིས་འདྲག།
 Kho-lu ra-'nyî 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) ལྷོ་ལུ་ལྷ་པ་སྒྲོམ་གཅིག་འདྲག།
 Chö-lu lhapa-bôm-ci du
 You-[dat] nose-big-a be

You've got a big nose.

- (40) ང་ལུ་སྒྲིང་མོ་གསུམ་ཡོད།
 Nga-lu sîm-sum yö
 Me-[dat] younger sister-three be

I have three younger sisters.

Dzongkha uses other postpositions than ལུ་ lu with the verbs ཡོད་ yö and འདྲག་ du to express various senses of the English verb 'to have' other than possession. Such postpositions are ནང་ na 'at, in', དང་གཅིག་ཁྱད་ d°acikha 'with' or ལྷོ་ལུ་པ་ལ་ g°i-laba 'in the hand of'.

- (41) ངའི་བོང་གྲ་ལྷོ་ནང་ཡོད་ མྱོ།
 Ngi-b°ongku chö-na yö, 'mo?
 My-donkey you-at be isn't it?

You've got my donkey, don't you?

- (42) ངའི་གྲི་མ་ཁ་ཁྱད་དང་གཅིག་ཁ་ཡོད་ག།
 Ngi-g°i saphtra chö-d°acikha yö-g°a?
 Me-[gen] map you-with be-[Q]?

Have you got my map?

- (43) ངའི་ཁྱེ་མིག་དེ་ང་སྤྱི་མཉམ་ཚུའི་ལག་པར་ཡོད།
 Ngi-demi-d°i nga-ri-amtshui-la-ba yö
 My-key-the I-[str-gen]-wife's-hand-on be

My wife has my key.

To make a yes-or-no question of a sentence ending in either ཡོད་ yö and འདྲག་ du, the regular interrogative particle ག་ g°a is added. As we observed above, the choice of either ཡོད་ yö or འདྲག་ du 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 འདྲག་ du is used, and that with respect to first person referents only ཡོད་ yö is used. This situation is reversed in questions, which is logical if the reader recalls the difference in meaning between the forms ཡོད་ yö and འདྲག་ du.

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 ཡོད་ yö 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 this second person's objective knowledge based on this person's observations.

- (44) ཁྱོད་གཟུགས་ཁམས་བཟང་ཉླག་ཉླ་ཡོད་ག།
 Chö zukham zangtoto yö-g°a
 You constitution healthy be-[Q]

Are you in good health?

- (45) ང་དོད་ཤིལ་ཤི་འདྲག་ག།
 Nga d°öriri du-g°a
 I handsome be-[Q]

Am I handsome [do you think]?

Let us turn to some more examples which illustrate the difference in meaning between the forms ཡོད་ yö and འདྲག་ du in their existential and locational meanings. In talking about oneself, it is most natural to use the form ཡོད་ yö, as in sentence (46), whereas the choice of འདྲག་ du 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) ང་ལུ་ནིག་རུབ་ལེ་ཤ་ཡོད།
 Nga-lu tiru lasha yö
 I-[dat] money much be

I have lots of money.

- (47) ང་ལུ་ནིག་རུབ་འདུག།
 Nga-lu tiru du
 I-[dat] money be

I've got money.

The speaker of sentence (48), in which the form འདུག་ du 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 ཡོད་ yö 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) ཁ་ཙ་ཁྱོད་ཡང་མོ་སྒོང་ཟ་ཁང་ནང་འདུག།
 Khatsa chö-ya Nöling z'akha-na du
 Yesterday you-too Norling Restaurant-at be

You were also there at Norling yesterday.

- (49) ཁ་ཙ་ཁྱོད་ཡང་ཡོད།
 Khatsa chö-ya yö
 Yesterday you-too be

You were also there yesterday.

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

- (50) ཁོང་གཉིས་ལུ་གསང་སློའོ་གཅིག་འདུག།
 Khong-'nyi-lu sang'lô-ci du
 They-two-[dat] secret-a be

They two have a secret.

- (51) ང་བཅས་ལུ་གསང་གཏམ་གཅིག་ཡོད།
 Ngace-lu sangtam-ci yö
 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 འདུག་ du 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 ཡོད་ yÖ, 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) མངས་རྒྱལ་ལུ་ཉིག་རུབ་འདུག་ག།
Sanggä-lu tiru du-g°a
Sanggä-[dat] money be-[Q]

Does Sanggä have money?

- (53) མངས་རྒྱལ་ལུ་ཉིག་རུབ་ཡོད་ག།
Sanggä-lu tiru yÖ-g°a
Sanggä-[dat] money be-[Q]

Does Sanggä have money?

In sentence (54) the speaker uses the form འདུག་ du 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 ཡོད་ yÖ in (55) reflects the speaker's personal knowledge.

- (54) ཁྱོད་འདུག། ཁོ་ཡང་འདུག། དཔལ་འབྱོར་རྒྱུ་མ་གཅིག་མ་འོང་མས།
Chö du. Kho ya du. Pänjo cânci ma-ong-mä
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) དཔལ་འབྱོར་ན་ཡོད།
Pänjo nâ yö
Pänjo here be

Pänjo is here.

The negative of the form ཡོད་ yÖ is མེད་ mÊ, and the negative of the form འདུག་ du is མིན་འདུག་ minu or minu, sometimes spelt མིན་རུབ་ minu.

- (56) ཉི་མ་ང་ལུ་ཉིག་རུབ་ལེ་ག་ཚེད་ཅི། ད་ང་ལུ་ག་ནི་ཡང་མེད།
Hema nga-lu tiru läsha dö-ci. D°a
Before I-[dat] money much sit-[pt]. Now
nga-lu g°aniya mÊ.
I-[dat] anything not be

I used to have a lot of money. Now I don't have anything.

(57) དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་ན་ཁུང་པར་ག་ནི་ཡང་མེད།

D°i-'nyî-g°i b°âna khäba g°aniya mē.
This-two-[gen] between difference any_{at}all not_{be}

There's no difference whatsoever between the two.

(58) ཚོང་ཁང་དེ་ནང་གཡག་ག་མིན་འདྲག།

Tshongkha-d°i-na 'yasha mindu.
Shop-the-in yak_{meat} not_{be}

There's no yak meat in the shop.

Quality or location of the subject are typically expressed by the forms ཡོད་ yÖ and འདྲག་ du. However, whenever the speaker wishes to depict a quality or location of the subject *as a factual situation* or one which defines the *identity* of the subject, he may use the forms ཡིན་ 'ing and ཡིན་པས་ 'immä instead, as we have seen in examples provided in the preceding section. Observe the distinction in meaning between the use of the verb ཡིན་ 'ing in sentence (59) where a quality is presented as a simple fact which specifies the *identity* of the subject in terms of a quality, and the use of འདྲག་ du in sentence (60) where a *quality* of the subject is expressed.

(59) འདི་ལེགས་ཤོམ་ཡིན།

Di läshom 'ing
This good be

This is a good one./This is good.

(60) འདི་ལེགས་ཤོམ་འདྲག།

Di läshom du
This good is

This is good.

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.

(61) ལྷ་ཁང་དེ་གཡུས་ཀྱི་ལྷག་ལུ་ཡིན་པས།

Lhakha-d°i 'ü-g°i tâ-lu 'immä
Monastery-the village-[gen] above-[dat] be

The monastery is above the village.

(62) ལྷ་ཁང་དེ་གཡུས་ཀྱི་ལྷག་ལུ་འདྲག།

Lhakha-d°i 'ü-g°i. tâ-lu du
Monastery-the village-[gen] above-[dat] be

The monastery is above the village.

The verb འདྲག་ du takes the special interrogative particle གོ་ gO in questions other than yes-or-no questions.

- (63) བོང་ཆུང་ག་དེམ་ཅིག་འདྲག་གོ།
 Bongchung g°ad°emci du-g°o
 Size how much be-[Q]

How big is it?

5. The comparative -བས་ -wa and superlative -ཤོས་ -sho

The comparative is formed by means of the postposition -བ་ -wa 'than', which follows the noun it modifies, but precedes the definite article དེ་ d°i, 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 གེ་ gê 'to be old', whereas in sentence (65) the nominalized form གསཔ་ gep 'old' is the complement of the verb ཡིན་ 'ing 'to be'.

- (64) ངའི་ཕ་གཞན་དེ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཕ་གཞན་བ་གསཔ།
 Ngi-phogem-d°i chö-g°i phogem-wa
 My-elder brother-the you-[gen] elder brother-than
 gê
 be old

My elder brother is older than your elder brother.

- (65) ངའི་ཕ་གཞན་དེ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཕ་གཞན་བ་གསཔ་ཡིན།
 Ngi-phogem-d°i chö-g°i 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) གསེར་པ་དེ་གཞི་གོང་མཐོ།
 Sê-wa-d°i 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 -ཤོས་ -sho 'most', pronounced -shö in some dialects.

- (67) གོང་མཐོ་ཤོས་གཞི་ཡིན།
 Gongtho-sho zi 'ing
 Expensive-most cat's eye onyx be

Cat's eye onyx is the most expensive thing.

- (68) བང་ཆེ་ཤོས་ཁོ་ཡིན།
 Bangche-sho kho 'ing
 Tough-most he be

He's the toughest.

- (69) ཁེ་ཤོན་ཆེ་ཤོས་དེ་གཞན་མི་གཅིག་ཡོད།
 Kheko-che-sho-d°i zhenmi-ci yö
 strong-great-most-the another-one be

The strongest one is someone else (i.e. not the person you have in mind).

6. The verb ལྟོ་ 'mo

The verb ལྟོ་ '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 ལྟོ་ 'mo is only used in the interrogative.

- (70) ལྟོ་ག་དེ་འགྱུ་ནི།
 Chö g°âti jo-ni
 You whither go-[inf]

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

- (71) ལྟོ་ག་དེ་འགྱུ་ནི་ལྟོ།
 Chö g°âti jo-ni 'mo
 You whither go-[inf] be

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

- (72) ལ་ནི་གི་གོང་ག་དེ་ཅིག་ཡིན་ན།
 'Ani-g°i gong g°ad°eci 'in-na
 This-of price how much be-[Q]

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

- (73) ལ་ནི་གི་གོང་ག་དེ་ཅིག་ལྟོ།
 'Ani-g°i gong g°ad°eci 'mo
 This-of price how much be

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

The frequently heard expression ལྟོ་ 'mo and ལྟོ་གིག་ '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 ལྟོ་ '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.

(74) ཁྱོད་གཡུས་གལས་སྒྲི།

Chö 'ü-g°a-lä 'mo

You village-which-from be

From which village do you hale?

(75) ག་དེ་སྒྲི་ཙྰ་འབད་པ་སྒྲི།

G°ad°ebe cô thêp 'mo

How alike seem be

What is it like?

(76) ག་དེ་མ་ཙྰ་འབད་འོང་མ་སྒྲི།

G°ad°emcibe ôm 'mo

Coincidentally come be

You've come on the offchance, have you? / What brings you here?

7. Numerals: the decimal system

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

༡	གཅིག་	ci	one
༢	གཉིས་	'nyî	two
༣	གསུམ་	sum	three
༤	བཞི་	zhi	four
༥	ལྔ་	'nga	five
༦	དྲུག་	dr°u	six
༧	བདུན་	dün	seven
༨	བརྒྱད་	gä	eight
༩	དགུ་	gu	nine
༡༠	བརྒྱ་མམ་	cuthâm	ten
༡༡	བརྒྱ་གཅིག་	cuci	eleven
༡༢	བརྒྱ་གཉིས་	cu'nyî	twelve
༡༣	བརྒྱ་གསུམ་	cusum	thirteen
༡༤	བརྒྱ་བཞི་	cüzhi	fourteen
༡༥	བརྒྱ་ལྔ་	cä'nga	fifteen
༡༦	བརྒྱ་དྲུག་	cudr°u	sixteen
༡༧	བརྒྱ་བདུན་	cupdü	seventeen
༡༨	བརྒྱ་བརྒྱད་	copgä	eighteen
༡༩	བརྒྱ་དགུ་	cügu	nineteen
༢༠	ཉི་ཤུ་	nyishu	twenty

31	ཙ་གཅིག་	tsaci	twenty-one
32	ཙ་གཉིས་	tsa'nyi	twenty-two
33	ཙ་གསུམ་	tsasum	twenty-three
34	ཙ་བཞི་	tsazhi	twenty-four
35	ཙ་ལྔ་	tsa'nga	twenty-five
36	ཙ་དྲག་	tsadr°u	twenty-six
37	ཙ་བདུན་	tsadün	twenty-seven
38	ཙ་བརྒྱད་	tsagä	twenty-eight
39	ཙ་དགུ་	tsagu	twenty-nine
40	སྟུང་ཙ་	sumcu	thirty

31	སྟུང་གཅིག་	sôci	thirty-one
32	སྟུང་གཉིས་	sô'nyi	thirty-two
33	སྟུང་གསུམ་	sôsum	thirty-three
34	སྟུང་བཞི་	sôzhi	thirty-four
35	སྟུང་ལྔ་	sô'nga	thirty-five
36	སྟུང་དྲག་	sôdr°u	thirty-six
37	སྟུང་བདུན་	södün	thirty-seven
38	སྟུང་བརྒྱད་	sôgä	thirty-eight
39	སྟུང་དགུ་	sôgu	thirty-nine
40	བཞི་བརྒྱ་	zhipcu	fourty

41	ཞེ་གཅིག་	zh°eci	fourty-one
42	ཞེ་གཉིས་	zh°e'nyi	fourty-two
43	ཞེ་གསུམ་	zh°esum	fourty-three
44	ཞེ་བཞི་	zh°ezhi	fourty-four
45	ཞེ་ལྔ་	zh°e'nga	fourty-five
46	ཞེ་དྲག་	zh°edr°u	fourty-six
47	ཞེ་བདུན་	zh°edün	fourty-seven
48	ཞེ་བརྒྱད་	zh°egä	fourty-eight
49	ཞེ་དགུ་	zh°egu	fourty-nine
50	ལྔ་བརྒྱ་	'ngapcu	fifty

51	ང་གཅིག་	ngaci	fifty-one
52	ང་གཉིས་	nga'nyi	fifty-two
53	ང་གསུམ་	ngasum	fifty-three
54	ང་བཞི་	ngazhi	fifty-four
55	ང་ལྔ་	nga'nga	fifty-five
56	ང་དྲག་	ngadr°u	fifty-six
57	ང་བདུན་	ngadün	fifty-seven
58	ང་བརྒྱད་	ngagä	fifty-eight
59	ང་དགུ་	ngagu	fifty-nine
60	དྲག་ཙ་	dr°ukcu	sixty

61	རེ་གཅིག་	reci	sixty-one
62	རེ་གཉིས་	re'nyî	sixty-two
63	རེ་གསུམ་	resum	sixty-three
64	རེ་བཞི་	rezhi	sixty-four
65	རེ་ལྔ་	re'nga	sixty-five
66	རེ་དྲག་	redr°u	sixty-six
67	རེ་བདུན་	redün	sixty-seven
68	རེ་བརྒྱད་	regä	sixty-eight
69	རེ་དགུ་	regu	sixty-nine
70	བདུན་ཅུ་	düncu	seventy
71	དོན་གཅིག་	d°önci	seventy-one
72	དོན་གཉིས་	d°ön'nyî	seventy-two
73	དོན་གསུམ་	d°önsum	seventy-three
74	དོན་བཞི་	d°önzhi	seventy-four
75	དོན་ལྔ་	d°ön'nga	seventy-five
76	དོན་དྲག་	d°öndr°u	seventy-six
77	དོན་བདུན་	d°öndün	seventy-seven
78	དོན་བརྒྱད་	d°öngä	seventy-eight
79	དོན་དགུ་	d°öngu	seventy-nine
80	བརྒྱད་ཅུ་	gäpcu	eighty

81	གུ་གཅིག་	j°âci	eighty-one
82	གུ་གཉིས་	j°â'nyî	eighty-two
83	གུ་གསུམ་	j°âsum	eighty-three
84	གུ་བཞི་	j°âzhi	eighty-four
85	གུ་ལྔ་	j°â'nga	eighty-five
86	གུ་དྲག་	j°âdr°u	eighty-six
87	གུ་བདུན་	j°ädün	eighty-seven
88	གུ་བརྒྱད་	j°ägä	eighty-eight
89	གུ་དགུ་	j°âgu	eighty-nine
90	དགུ་བརྒྱ་	gupcu	ninety
91	གོ་གཅིག་	g°oci	ninety-one
92	གོ་གཉིས་	g°o'nyî	ninety-two
93	གོ་གསུམ་	g°osum	ninety-three
94	གོ་བཞི་	g°ozhi	ninety-four
95	གོ་ལྔ་	g°o'nga	ninety-five
96	གོ་དྲག་	g°odr°u	ninety-six
97	གོ་བདུན་	g°odün	ninety-seven
98	གོ་བརྒྱད་	g°ogä	ninety-eight
99	གོ་དགུ་	g°ogu	ninety-nine
100	གཅིག་བརྒྱ་	cikja	one hundred
	བརྒྱ་མཁའ་པ་	jathampa	one hundred

༡༠༡	གཅིག་བརྒྱ་གཅིག་	cikja ci	one hundred one
༡༠༢	གཅིག་བརྒྱ་གཉིས་	cikja 'nyi	one hundred two
༡༠༣	གཅིག་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་	cikja sum	one hundred three

...

༡༡༩	གཅིག་བརྒྱ་བརྒྱ་དགུ་	cikja cügu	one hundred nineteen
༡༢༠	གཅིག་བརྒྱ་ཉི་ཤུ་	cikja nyishu	one hundred twenty
༡༢༡	གཅིག་བརྒྱ་ཉི་ཤ་གཅིག་	cikja nyerci	one hundred twenty-one

...

etcetera

༢༠༠	ཉིས་བརྒྱ་	nyija	two hundred
༣༠༠	གསུམ་བརྒྱ་	sumja	three hundred
༤༠༠	བཞི་བརྒྱ་	zhija	four hundred
༥༠༠	ལྔ་བརྒྱ་	'ngapja	five hundred
༦༠༠	དྲུག་བརྒྱ་	dr'ukja	six hundred
༧༠༠	བདུན་བརྒྱ་	dünja	seven hundred
༨༠༠	བརྒྱ་དྲུག་	gäpja	eight hundred
༩༠༠	དགུ་བརྒྱ་	gupja	nine hundred
༡༠༠༠	གཅིག་སྟེང་	ciktong	one thousand
༡༠༠༠	སྟེང་ལྷག་གཅིག་	tongthra ci	one thousand

༢༠༠༠	ཉིས་སྟེང་	nyitong	two thousand
༣༠༠༠	གསུམ་སྟེང་	sumtong	three thousand
༤༠༠༠	བཞི་སྟེང་	zhiptong	four thousand
༥༠༠༠	ལྔ་སྟེང་	'ngaptong	five thousand
༦༠༠༠	དྲུག་སྟེང་	dr'uktong	six thousand
༧༠༠༠	བདུན་སྟེང་	düntong	seven thousand
༨༠༠༠	བརྒྱ་དྲུག་སྟེང་	geptong	eight thousand
༩༠༠༠	དགུ་སྟེང་	guptong	nine thousand

༡༠ ༠༠༠	གཅིག་ཁྲི་	cikthri	one myriad
༢༠ ༠༠༠	ཉིས་ཁྲི་	nyithri	two myriads

...

etcetera

༡ ༠༠ ༠༠༠	གཅིག་འབུམ་	cikbum	one lakh
༢ ༠༠ ༠༠༠	ཉིས་འབུམ་	nyibum	two lakhs

...

etcetera

༡༠ ༠༠ ༠༠༠	ས་ཡ་གཅིག་	saya ci	one million
༢༠ ༠༠ ༠༠༠	ས་ཡ་གཉིས་	saya 'nyi	two million

...

etcetera

༡ ༠༠ ༠༠ ༠༠༠	ཉི་པ་གཅིག་	j°iwa ci	one crore
༢ ༠༠ ༠༠ ༠༠༠	ཉི་པ་གཉིས་	j°iwa 'nyî	two crores

...
etcetera

༡༠ ༠༠ ༠༠ ༠༠༠	དྲུག་པ་གཅིག་	d°ungjur ci	ten crores
༢༠ ༠༠ ༠༠ ༠༠༠	དྲུག་པ་གཉིས་	d°ungjur 'nyî	twenty crores

...
etcetera

When counting, the suffix ཐམ་པ་ *thampa* is often added to the whole tens and whole hundreds, e.g. ཉི་ཤུ་ཐམ་པ་ *nyishu-thampa* 'twenty', བརྒྱ་ལྔ་ཐམ་པ་ *gäpcu-thampa* 'eighty', གཅིག་ལ་ཐམ་པ་ *cikja-thampa* 'one hundred', བདུན་ལ་ཐམ་པ་ *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 བརྒྱ་ *cu* is spelt ཅུ་ after units ending in an orthographic consonant, even after བརྒྱ་ in བརྒྱ་ཅུ་ *gäpcu* '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 'ngütram, a shopkeeper will say བཞི་པ་ཅུ་ཞེ་ལྔ་ *zhipcu zh°e'nga*, rather than use the abbreviated coun-

ting form ཞེ་ལྔ་ *zh°e'nga*. Similarly, a price or sum will be quoted as ཉི་ཤུ་ཅུ་གསུམ་ *nyishu tsasum* 'twenty-three' rather than just as ཅུ་གསུམ་ *tsasum*, and as དྲུག་ཅུ་ཤེ་དྲུག་ *dr°ukcu redr°u* 'sixty-six' rather than as ཤེ་དྲུག་ *redr°u*.

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.

༢༡	ཉི་ཤུ་གཅིག་	nyerci	twenty-one
༢༢	ཉི་ཤུ་གཉིས་	nyer'nyî	twenty-two
༢༣	ཉི་ཤུ་གསུམ་	nyersum	twenty-three
༢༤	ཉི་ཤུ་བཞི་	nyerzhi	twenty-four
༢༥	ཉི་ཤུ་ལྔ་	nyer'nga	twenty-five
༢༦	ཉི་ཤུ་དྲུག་	nyerdr°u	twenty-six
༢༧	ཉི་ཤུ་བདུན་	nyerdün	twenty-seven
༢༨	ཉི་ཤུ་བརྒྱད་	nyergä	twenty-eight
༢༩	ཉི་ཤུ་དགུ་	nyergu	twenty-nine
༣༠	སུམ་ཅུ་	sumcu	thirty

The word for 'zero' is ལྔ་ཀོར་ *'leko* or, in telephone numbers, ཐིག་ *thi*, and the word for 'half' is ཐུང་ *pchê*. In expressions like 'seven and a half' the word ཐུང་ *pchê* 'half' precedes the next higher numeral by means of the conjunction དང་ *d°a* 'and', e.g. ཐུང་དང་བརྒྱད་ *pchê-d°a-gä*, literally 'half of eight' or 'half less than eight', viz. 'seven

and a half'. The same may be said as བདུན་དང་ཕྱེད་ *dün-d°a-pchê* 'seven and a half', although it is less common to express half numbers in this way.

Percentages are expressed by the word བརྒྱ་ཆ་ *jacha* 'percent' followed by the cardinal number, e.g. བརྒྱ་ཆ་བརྒྱད་ ཅུ་ *jacha gäpcu* 'eighty percent'.

The word for 'pair' is ཆ་ *cha*, e.g. ལྷ་མ་ཆ་གཅིག་ *lham-cha-ci* 'a pair of shoes'. The singulative for a single member of a pair is ཡ་ *ya*, e.g. ལྷ་མ་ཡ་གཅིག་ *lham-ya-ci* 'one shoe of a pair'. There is a special word རྩ་ *d°ô* 'pair' used only for oxen, e.g. ལྷ་རྩ་གཅིག་ *'lang-d°ô-ci* 'a pair of oxen'. There is a word རྩ་ *d°o* 'two' used with respect to any receptacle which can be filled, e.g. ལྷ་མ་ཕྱེད་དུ་འཐུང་ཡི། *'Om phôp-d°o thung-yi* 'I drank two cups [full] of beer', and a corresponding word གང་ *g°ang*, literally 'full', to express one receptacle of anything, e.g. ཆང་དམ་ཇི་གང་ལུ་ག་དེ་ཅིག་སྟོ། *Chang d°amj°i-g°ang-lu g°ad°eci* 'mo 'How much is one bottle of beer?'

The word for 'time' in the sense of 'occasion' is ཆར་ *tshâ*, which is followed by a cardinal number, e.g. ཆར་གཅིག་ *tshâ-ci* 'once', ཆར་གཉིས་ *tshâ-'nyî* 'twice', ཆར་དྲུག་ *tshâ-dr°u* 'six times', etc. The word for 'time' in the multiplicative sense is བཞུག་ *tap*, which is preceded by the adverb ལྷག་ *lo* 'back, again; return', e.g. ལྷག་བཞུག་ *lo-tap* 'double', and preceded by number greater than two, e.g. གསུམ་བཞུག་ *sum-tap* 'triple, three times', ཅ་ལ་དེ་ཙྨ་བཞུག་ *ཀྲིས་གོང་སྟོམ།* *Cala-d°i-tshu 'nga-tap-g°i gong bôm* 'These wares are five times the price'. Note the use of the

ergative here: ལྷ་བཞུག་ཀྲིས་ *'nga-tap-g°i*, 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 ཁམ་བཞི་ *khäzhi* '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 ཁམ་བཞི་དང་བདུན་ *khäzhi d°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.

30	ཁལ་གཅིག་	khäci	one score
31	ཁལ་གཅིག་དང་གཅིག་	khäci d°a ci	one score and one
32	ཁལ་གཅིག་དང་གཉིས་	khäci d°a 'nyî	one score and two
33	ཁལ་གཅིག་དང་གསུམ་	khäci d°a sum	one score and three
34	ཁལ་གཅིག་དང་བཞི་	khäci d°a zhi	one score and four
35	ཁལ་གཅིག་དང་ལྔ་	khäci d°a 'nga	one score and five
36	ཁལ་གཅིག་དང་དྲུག་	khäci d°a dr°u	one score and six
37	ཁལ་གཅིག་དང་བདུན་	khäci d°a dün	one score and seven
38	ཁལ་གཅིག་དང་བརྒྱད་	khäci d°a Gä	one score and eight
39	ཁལ་གཅིག་དང་དགུ་	khäci d°a gu	one score and nine

30	ཁལ་ཕྱིད་དང་གཉིས་	khä pchê-d°a-'nyî	half less than twoscore
31	ཁལ་གཅིག་དང་བརྒྱ་གཅིག་	khäci d°a cuci	one score and eleven
32	ཁལ་གཅིག་དང་བརྒྱ་གཉིས་	khäci d°a cu'nyî	one score and twelve
33	ཁལ་གཅིག་དང་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་	khäci d°a cusum	one score and thirteen
34	ཁལ་གཅིག་དང་བརྒྱ་བཞི་	khäci d°a cüzhi	one score and fourteen
35	ཁལ་ཀོ་དང་གཉིས་	khä ko-d°a-'nyî	one fourth less than twoscore
36	ཁལ་གཅིག་དང་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་	khäci d°a cudr°u	one score and sixteen
37	ཁལ་གཅིག་དང་བརྒྱ་བདུན་	khäci d°a cupdü	one score and seven- teen
38	ཁལ་གཅིག་དང་བཙུ་བརྒྱད་	khäci d°a copgä	one score and eighteen
39	ཁལ་གཅིག་དང་བརྒྱ་དགུ་	khäci d°a cügu	one score and nineteen

༤༠	ཁལ་གཉིས་	khä'nyî	twoscore
༤༡	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་གཅིག་	khä'nyî d°a ci	twoscore and one
༤༢	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་གཉིས་	khä'nyî d°a 'nyî	twoscore and two
༤༣	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་གསུམ་	khä'nyî d°a sum	twoscore and three
༤༤	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་བཞི་	khä'nyî d°a zhi	twoscore and four
༤༥	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་ལྔ་	khä'nyî d°a 'nga	twoscore and five
༤༦	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་དྲུག་	khä'nyî d°a dr°u	twoscore and six
༤༧	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་བདུན་	khä'nyî d°a dün	twoscore and seven
༤༨	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་བརྒྱད་	khä'nyî d°a gä	twoscore and eight
༤༩	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་དགུ་	khä'nyî d°a gu	twoscore and nine

༥༠	ཁལ་ཕྱིད་དང་གསུམ་	khä pchê-d°a-sum	half less than three- score
༥༡	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་བརྒྱ་གཅིག་	khä'nyî d°a cuci	twoscore and eleven
༥༢	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་བརྒྱ་གཉིས་	khä'nyî d°a cu'nyî	twoscore and twelve
༥༣	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་	khä'nyî d°a cusum	twoscore and thirteen
༥༤	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་བརྒྱ་བཞི་	khä'nyî d°a cüzhi	twoscore and four- teen
༥༥	ཁལ་ཀོ་དང་གསུམ་	khä ko-d°a-sum	one fourth less than threescore
༥༦	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་	khä'nyî d°a cudr°u	twoscore and sixteen
༥༧	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་བརྒྱ་བདུན་	khä'nyî d°a cupdü	twoscore and seven- teen
༥༨	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་བཙོ་བརྒྱད་	khä'nyî d°a copgä	twoscore and eigh- teen
༥༩	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་བརྒྱ་དགུ་	khä'nyî d°a cügu	twoscore and nine- teen

༤༠ ཁལ་གསུམ་	khäsum	threescore
༤༡ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་གཅིག་	khäsum d°a ci	threescore and one
༤༢ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་གཉིས་	khäsum d°a 'nyî	threescore and two
༤༣ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་གསུམ་	khäsum d°a sum	threescore and three
༤༤ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་བཞི་	khäsum d°a zhi	threescore and four
༤༥ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་ལྔ་	khäsum d°a 'nga	threescore and five
༤༦ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་དྲུག་	khäsum d°a dr°u	threescore and six
༤༧ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་བདུན་	khäsum d°a dün	threescore and seven
༤༨ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་བརྒྱད་	khäsum d°a gä	threescore and eight
༤༩ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་དགུ་	khäsum d°a gu	threescore and nine

༧༠ ཁལ་ཕྱེད་དང་བཞི་	khä pchê-d°a-zhi	half less than four- score
༧༡ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་བརྒྱ་གཅིག་	khäsum d°a cuci	threescore and eleven
༧༢ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་བརྒྱ་གཉིས་	khäsum d°a cu'nyî	threescore and twelve
༧༣ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་	khäsum d°a cusum	threescore and thirteen
༧༤ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་བརྒྱ་བཞི་	khäsum d°a cüzhi	threescore and fourteen
༧༥ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་	khä ko-d°a-zhi	one fourth less than fourscore
༧༦ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་	khäsum d°a cudr°u	threescore and sixteen
༧༧ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་བརྒྱ་བདུན་	khäsum d°a cupdü	threescore and seven- teen
༧༨ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་བརྒྱ་བརྒྱད་	khäsum d°a copgä	threescore and eighteen
༧༩ ཁལ་གསུམ་དང་བརྒྱ་དགུ་	khäsum d°a cügu	threescore and nineteen

༡༠ ཁལ་བཞི་	khäzhi	fourscore
༡༡ ཁལ་བཞི་དང་གཅིག་	khäzhi d°a ci	fourscore and one
༡༢ ཁལ་བཞི་དང་གཉིས་	khäzhi d°a 'nyî	fourscore and two
༡༣ ཁལ་བཞི་དང་གསུམ་	khäzhi d°a sum	fourscore and three
༡༤ ཁལ་བཞི་དང་བཞི་	khäzhi d°a zhi	fourscore and four
༡༥ ཁལ་བཞི་དང་ལྔ་	khäzhi d°a 'nga	fourscore and five
༡༦ ཁལ་བཞི་དང་དྲུག་	khäzhi d°a dr°u	fourscore and six
༡༧ ཁལ་བཞི་དང་བདུན་	khäzhi d°a dün	fourscore and seven
༡༨ ཁལ་བཞི་དང་བརྒྱད་	khäzhi d°a Gä	fourscore and eight
༡༩ ཁལ་བཞི་དང་དགུ་	khäzhi d°a gu	fourscore and nine

༢༠ ཁལ་ཕྱེད་དང་ལྔ་	khä pchê-d°a-'nga	half less than fivescore
༢༡ ཁལ་བཞི་དང་བརྩ་གཅིག་	khäzhi d°a cuci	fourscore and eleven
༢༢ ཁལ་བཞི་དང་བརྩ་གཉིས་	khäzhi d°a cu'nyî	fourscore and twelve
༢༣ ཁལ་བཞི་དང་བརྩ་གསུམ་	khäzhi d°a cusum	fourscore and thirteen
༢༤ ཁལ་བཞི་དང་བརྩ་བཞི་	khäzhi d°a cüzhi	fourscore and fourteen
༢༥ ཁལ་གོ་དང་ལྔ་	khä ko-d°a-'nga	one fourth less than fivescore
༢༦ ཁལ་བཞི་དང་བརྩ་དྲུག་	khäzhi d°a cudr°u	fourscore and sixteen
༢༧ ཁལ་བཞི་དང་བརྩ་བདུན་	khäzhi d°a cupdü	fourscore and seven- teen
༢༨ ཁལ་བཞི་དང་བརྩ་བརྒྱད་	khäzhi d°a copgä	fourscore and eighteen
༢༩ ཁལ་བཞི་དང་བརྩ་དགུ་	khäzhi d°a cügu	fourscore and nineteen

༡༠༠	ཁལ་ལྔ་	khä'nga	fivescore
༡༠༡	ཁལ་ལྔ་དང་གཅིག་	khä'nga d°a ci	fivescore and one
༡༠༢	ཁལ་ལྔ་དང་གཉིས་	khä'nga d°a 'nyî	fivescore and two
༡༠༣	ཁལ་ལྔ་དང་གསུམ་	khä'nga d°a sum	fivescore and three
༡༠༤	ཁལ་ལྔ་དང་བཞི་	khä'nga d°a zhi	fivescore and four
༡༠༥	ཁལ་ལྔ་དང་ལྔ་	khä'nga d°a 'nga	fivescore and five
༡༠༦	ཁལ་ལྔ་དང་དྲུག་	khä'nga d°a dr°u	fivescore and six
༡༠༧	ཁལ་ལྔ་དང་བདུན་	khä'nga d°a dün	fivescore and seven
༡༠༨	ཁལ་ལྔ་དང་བརྒྱད་	khä'nga d°a Gä	fivescore and eight
༡༠༩	ཁལ་ལྔ་དང་དགུ་	khä'nga d°a gu	fivescore and nine

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' ཉི་ཤུ nyishu.

༢༠༠	ཉི་ཤུ་གཅིག་	nyishuci	twentyscore
༢༠༡	ཉི་ཤུ་གཅིག་དང་གཅིག་	nyishuci d°a ci	twentyscore and one
༢༠༢	ཉི་ཤུ་གཅིག་དང་གཉིས་	nyishuci d°a 'nyî	twentyscore and two

...
etcetera

༢༡༩	ཉི་ཤུ་གཅིག་དང་བརྒྱ་དགུ་	nyishuci d°a cügu	twentyscore and nineteen
༢༢༠	ཉི་ཤུ་གཅིག་དང་ཁལ་གཅིག་	nyishuci d°a khäci	twentyscore and one score
or	ཉི་ཤུ་གཅིག་དང་རྩ་གཅིག་	nyishuci d°a tsaci	twentyscore and one score

...
etcetera

༤༠༠	ཉི་ཤུ་གཅིག་དང་ཁལ་ལྔ་	nyishuci d°a khä'nga	twentyscore and fivescore
or	ཉི་ཤུ་གཅིག་དང་རྩ་ལྔ་	nyishuci d°a tsa'nga	twentyscore and fivescore
༤༠༠	ཉི་ཤུ་ཕྱིད་དང་གཉིས་	nyishu pchê-d°a-'nyî	half less than fortyscore
༧༠༠	ཉི་ཤུ་ཀོ་དང་གཉིས་	nyishu pchê-d°a-'nyî	fourth less than fortyscore
༩༠༠	ཉི་ཤུ་གཉིས་	nyishu'nyî	fortyscore

༡༠༧	ཁལ་ལྔ་དང་བདུན་	khä'nga d°a dün fivescore and seven
༡༠༨	ཁལ་ལྔ་དང་བརྒྱད་	khä'nga d°a gä fivescore and eight
༡༠༩	ཁལ་ལྔ་དང་དགུ་	khä'nga d°a gu fivescore and nine

This pattern repeats itself in cycles of four hundred or twentyscore until 'twenty twentyscore' or eight thousand is reached, which in Dzongkha is ཁལ་ཆེན་ khäce, with unaspirated C notwithstanding the orthography.

༤༠༠༠	ཁལ་ཆེན་གཅིག་	khäceci twenty-twentyscore
༤༠༡༠	ཁལ་ཆེན་གཅིག་དང་བརྒྱ་ཐམས་	khäceci d°a cuthâm twenty-twentyscore and ten
༤༠༢༠	ཁལ་ཆེན་གཅིག་དང་ཁལ་གཅིག་	khäceci d°a khäci twenty-twentyscore and one score
༤༠༣༠	ཁལ་ཆེན་གཅིག་དང་ཁལ་ཕྱེད་དང་གཉིས་	khäceci d°a khä pchê-d°a-'nyî twenty-twentyscore and half less than twoscore

༤༠༠༠	ཁལ་ཆེན་གཅིག་དང་ཉི་ཤུ་གཅིག་	khäceci d°a nyishuci twenty-twentyscore and one twentyscore
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༩༠༠༠	ཁལ་ཆེན་གཅིག་དང་ཉི་ཤུ་ཕྱེད་དང་གསུམ་	khäceci d°a nyishu pchê-d°a-sum twenty-twentyscore and half less than three twentyscore
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༡༢༠༠༠	ཁལ་ཆེན་ཕྱེད་དང་གཉིས་	khäce pchê-d°a-'nyî half less than two twenty-twentyscore
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༡༤༠༠༠	ཁལ་ཆེན་ཀོ་དང་གཉིས་	khäce ko-d°a-'nyî fourth less than two twenty-twentyscore
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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 ཡང་ཆེན་ yangce, with unaspirated C.

༡༦༠༠༠	ཡང་ཆེན་ yangce	twentyscore-twentyscore
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9. Telling time

Dzongkha for 'hour' is ཚུ་ཚད་ chutshö, and 'minute' is སྐར་མ་ karma. To ask the time, one may say ད་ལྟ་ཚུ་ཚད་ག་དེ་ ཅིག་སྟེ། D°ato chutshö g°ad°eci 'mo? 'What time [how many hours] is it now?'. Several roughly equivalent expressions are used for telling in whole hours, e.g. ད་ལྟ་ཚུ་ ཚད་བརྒྱ་མའི་ཨིན་པས། D°ato chutshö cuthâm 'immä 'It's ten o'clock', ད་ཚུ་ཚད་བདུན་བརྒྱུ་བདང་ཟུག། D°a chutshö dün dung-da-nu 'It has struck seven o'clock' or ད་ཚུ་ཚད་གསུམ་ཡེ་མོ་ཟུག། D°a chutshö sum yâ-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 'It's half of the fourth hour', ཚུ་ཚད་ཕྱེད་དང་བཞི་ཨིན་པས། Chutshö pchê-d°a-zhi 'immä. 'It's half past six' is ཚུ་ཚད་ཕྱེད་དང་བདུན་ཨིན་པས། Chutshö pchê-d°a-dün 'immä.

In telling time in terms of minutes after the whole hour, the expression འབྱིག་ཞེ་ bj°ik-di 'having transpired' is used. This form is the past participle of the verb འབྱིག་ bj°ik 'to pass by', e.g. གླ་རི་འབྱིག་ཡེ་མོ་ཡི། Gâri bj°ik yâ-song-yi 'The bus has already passed by'. For example, in Dzongkha 'It's fifteen past nine' is expressed as ད་ལྟ་ ཚུ་ཚད་དགུ་འབྱིག་ཞེ་སྐར་མ་བཅོ་ལྔ་ཨིན་པས། D°ato chutshö gu bj°ik-di karma cä'nga 'immä. 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. ཚུ་ཚད་ དགུ་བརྒྱུ་པར་སྐར་མ་ལྔ་འདུག། Chutshö gu dung-ba kar-

ma 'nga dü 'It's five till nine', literally 'There are five minutes left for it to strike nine', whereby བརྒྱུ་པར་ dung-ba is the supine of བརྒྱུ་ dung 'to strike'.

Adverbs expressing the time of day include རྫོ་པ་ dr°oba '(in the) morning', ཉི་མ་ nyima '(in the) afternoon', ཕྱི་རུ་ pchiru '(in the) evening' and ཟུ་མོ་ numo '(at) night'. The time of day denoted by ཕྱི་རུ་ pchiru comprises both a portion of the late afternoon and the early evening. The period of day ཟུ་མོ་ numo comprises late evening and the night. For example, the Bhutanese expression ཟུ་མོ་ཚུ་ཚད་གཅིག་ལུ་ numo chutshö-ci-lu 'one o'clock at night' is in keeping with Continental practice. The period of day རྫོ་པ་ dr°oba does start well before sunrise, however. The word ཉི་མ་ nyima 'afternoon' should not be confused with its cognate ཉི་མ་ nyim 'sun' or ཉིན་མོ་ nyim 'day'. The words for 'noon' and 'midnight' are ཉིན་དགུང་ nyingung and ཟུ་མོ་ཕྱེད་ numpchê. The word ཞག་ zh°â 'night', not ཟུ་མོ་ numo 'night', is used in expressions like ང་བཅས་ནི་ཡུ་ལུ་ཞག་བདུན་ཟླ་དེ་ཅི། Ngace Nepâl-lu zh°â dün dö-ci 'We spent seven nights in Nepal'.

Adverbs expressing days in the immediate future include མངས་པ་ nâba 'tomorrow', གམངས་ཆེ་ 'nâtshe 'the day after tomorrow' and བཞི་ཆེ་ zhetshe 'the day after the day after tomorrow'. Expressions for days in the immediate past include ཁ་ཙ་ khatsa 'yesterday', ཁ་ཉིན་མོ་ kha-nyim 'the day before yesterday' and བཞི་ཉིན་མོ་ zhenyim 'the day before the day before yesterday'. Related expressions pertaining to present and near present time are ད་རིས་

d°ari 'today', ད་རེས་ནངས་པ་ d°are-nâba 'nowadays',
ནངས་པ་གནངས་ཆེ་ nâba-'nâtshe 'one of these days', གནང་
ཁག་ dangzh°â 'the other day, already, previously' and ཁ་
ཅུ་ཁ་ཅི་ཁ་ཅི་ khatsa-khanyim 'just the other day, a few
days ago, just recently'.

In traditional reckoning, however, the Bhutanese day is divided into twelve segments known as དུས་ཚོད་ d°ütshö, 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 དུས་ཚོད་ d°ütshö, called ནམ་ལངས་ཡོས་ Namlang Ö. The twelve traditional དུས་ཚོད་ d°ütshö and their approximate equivalents are:

ནམ་ལངས་ཡོས་	Namlang Ö	5.00 to 7.00 A.M.
ཉི་ཤར་འབྲུག་	Nyishâ Dru	7.00 to 9.00 A.M.
ཉི་དྲོ་སྐྱུ་	Nyidrö Drü	9.00 to 11.00 A.M.
ཉི་མཁའ་ལྷ་	Nyinpchê Ta	11.00 A.M. to 1.00 P.M.
ཕྱེད་ཡོས་ལྷ་	Pchêö Lu	1.00 to 3.00 P.M.
ཉི་མུ་རྩེ་	Nyinyu Trê	3.00 to 5.00 P.M.
ཉི་ལྷ་པ་	Nyinup Bj°a	5.00 to 7.00 P.M.
ས་སྤྱི་	Sasö Chi	7.00 to 9.00 P.M.
སྤྱི་འཁོར་མག་	Sökhör Phâ	9.00 to 11.00 P.M.
ནམ་དགུང་བྱི་བ་	Namgung J°iu	11.00 P.M. to 1.00 A.M.
དགུང་ཡོས་སྤང་	Gungyö 'Lang	1.00 to 3.00 A.M.
ཐོ་རངས་ལྷ་	Thorang Tâ	3.00 to 5.00 A.M.

CHAPTER FIVE

The present tenses, the ergative, negation, the adhortative, optative, supine and modal verbs

This chapter deals with the ergative cases and the present tenses or, more accurately, with Dzongkha verb forms which generally take present tense translations in English as well as related verb forms. In addition, the adhortative, optative and supine will be explained, and the modal verbs will be introduced.

The Dzongkha verb does not conjugate to show agreement for person and number. Instead tense, aspect and other shades of meaning are expressed by the use of endings and of auxiliary verbs.

1. The ergative case

In Chapter Four, a number of cases were introduced, such as the genitive, locative, ablative and dative. Dzongkha also has an ergative case marked by the suffix -གིས་/-གྱིས་/-གྱིས་ - g°i. The rules for which spelling of the ergative ending is to be used in a particular word are the same as those explained for the genitive ending -གི་/-གྱི་/-གྱི་ - g°i in the preceding chapter. Although the ergative suffix is in most

cases homophonous with the genitive ending, they are neither formally nor semantically identical, e.g. ང་གིས་ nga-g^oi 'I [erg]' vs. ངི་གི་ ngi-g^oi '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) འཆི་མེད་ཀྱིས་ལྷོ་མཚམས་ཁ་ཤེས།
Chimi-g^oi Lhotshamkha shê
Chimi-[erg] Nepali know

Chimi knows/can speak Nepali.

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

- (2) ཨ་རག་དེ་གིས་ལང་པས།
'Āra-d^oi-g^oi lang-bä
'Āra-the-[erg] be sufficient-[ak]

The 'āra will be enough.

- (3) ངའི་བགོ་དེ་ཆང་གིས་བངས་སོ་བྱས།
Ngi-g^oô-d^oi chang-g^oi b^oang-so-nu
My-g^oô-the beer-[erg] get wet-[pf]-[ip]

My g^oô has gotten wet because of/by means of the beer.

- (4) གོང་མཐོ་ནི་དེ་གིས་ང་མི་ཉོ།
Gong tho-ni-d^oi-g^oi 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) མོ་གིས་ང་ལུ་དགའ།
Mo-g^oi 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 ཡིན་ 'ing, ཡིན་པས་ 'immä, ཡོད་ yö, འདྲ་ du or མྱོ་ '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. ཤེས་ shê 'to know', སྤྲོམ་ bôm 'to be big', are used in the steady state present, never verbs which denote an activity, e.g. ཟ་ z'a 'to eat'.

- (6) ཁོ་གིས་མོ་ལུ་དགའ།
 Kho-g°i mo-lu ga
 He-[erg] she-[dat] love

He loves her.

- (7) གཉིས་ཆ་ར་ཙེག་རང་འཕྲད།
 'Nyî-chara cōra thê
 Two-both alike seem
 They're both alike/the same
- (8) ཡི་གུ་དེ་གཉིས་ཙེག་རང་གཅིག།
 Yig°u-d°i-'nyî cōra-ci
 Document-the-two alike-one

The two documents are identical.

Note that the word ཙེག་རང་ cōra 'same, alike' regularly collocates with the verb འཕྲད་ thê 'to appear, to seem', as in example (7), but when used with གཅིག་ Ci 'one', as in (8), it yields the meaning 'identical'.

In the previous chapter, we encountered the suffix -པས་/-བས་ -bä/-wä as part of the verb ཡིན་པས་ 'immä. This ending is the suffix of acquired knowledge. The suffix -པས་/-བས་ -bä/-wä 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) ཁོ་དང་ང་ཙམ་རང་འཕྲད་པས།
 Kho-d°a-nga cōra the-bä
 He-and-I just like seem-[ak]

He and I are just the same.

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

- (10) ལུ་མ་དེ་གིས་ལང་པས།
 Chum-d°i-g°i lang-bä
 Rice-the-[erg] be_sufficient-[ak]

This rice will be enough.

- (11) བཏུབ་པས།
 Tup-bä
 be_alright-[ak]

It's O.K.

- (12) ཁྲིམས་དེ་ག་ནི་བ་དམ་པས།
 Thrim-d°i g°ani-wa d°am-bä
 Rules-the anything-than be_strict-[ak]

These rules are the strictest.

- (13) ཁོ་གིས་ཨ་པ་གིས་སླབ་སླབ་མི་ཉན་པས།
 Kho-g°i 'apa-g°i 'lap'lap mi-nyen-bä
 He-[erg] father-[erg] say-say not-listen-[ak]

He doesn't listen to what father says.

- (14) ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་གནམ་གྲུ་གི་ཕྱག་འཛིན་དེ་འཕྲོབ་པས་ག།
 Chö-g°i 'namdr°u-g°i shokdzin-d°i thop-bä-g°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 ་བས་ -wä or ་པས་ -bä, depending on whether the verb has a so-called *soft stem* or a *hard stem*. The form of the suffix is ་བས་ -wä after a soft stem, e.g. དགའ་བས་ gawä 'loves', and ་པས་ -bä after a hard stem, e.g. དགོ་པས་ gobä '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) བཞོ་དེ་ཁྱོད་འགྱུར་ཤོག་པས།
 G°ô d°i chö-gu pho-bä
 Dress this you-on look good-[ak]

This dress suits you.

- (16) ཁོ་གིས་མོ་ལུ་དགའ་བས།
 Kho-g°i mo-lu ga-wä
 He-[erg] she-[dat] love-[ak]

He loves her.

- (17) ང་ལུ་དྲིམ་རྩམ་གྱ་གཅིག་དགོ་པས།
 Nga-lu tiru dumdr°a-ci go-bä
 I-[dat] money little-a need-[ak]

I need a little money.

- (18) ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་མིག་དྲིམ་དེ་བྱ་བས།
 Chö-g°i mito-d°i bjâ-wä.
 You-[gen] eye-the be beautiful-[ak]

You have beautiful eyes.

- (19) ཁོང་གིས་ཤེས་པས།
 Khong shê-bä
 They know-[ak]

It appears they know.

- (20) དྲིམ་ཟླ་བཅུད་པའི་ནང་རང་དྲོད་ཆེ་བས།
 'Inda gäbi-na-ra dr°öche-wä
 Month eighth[gen]-in-[str] be hot-[ak]

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

- (21) ཁོ་སྤྱོད་བདེ་བས།
 Kho 'lode-wä
 He be at peace-[ak]

He is at peace/content.

- (22) ཟླ་བ་ཉ་གང་གང་མ། དེ་ག་ནི་བ་ལེགས་པས་ སྤྱོད།
 Dau nyag°ang g°am D°i g°ani-wa
 Moon full round It anything-than
 lä-bä 'mo
 beautiful-[ak] be

The moon is completely full. It is most beautiful, isn't it?

The negative of the steady state present is formed by adding the prefix མི་ *mi-* to the last syllable of the verb.

- (23) ངའི་འགྱུར་བཞོ་འདི་མི་ཤོག་པས།
 Ngi-gu g°ô-di mi-pho-bä
 My-upon g°ô-this not-suit-[ak]

This g°ô doesn't suit/flatter me.

- (24) དཔར་འདི་ཁྱོད་མི་འདྲ་བས།
 Pâ-di chö mi-dra-wä
 Picture-this you not-resemble-[ak]
 This photograph doesn't look like you.
- (25) མོ་ག་ནི་ཡང་མི་ཤེས།
 Mo g°aniya mi-shê
 She anything not-know
 She doesn't know a thing.
- (26) ང་ཁྱོད་མེད་པར་མི་ཆགས་པས།
 Nga chö-meba mi-châ-bä
 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 རྩོད་ -d°o to the stem of verbs denoting an *activity*, e.g. ང་ལྟེ་ཟ་དོ། Nga to z°a-d°o 'I am eating', ཁོ་ལྟེ་ཁྲུ་བ་དོ། Kho lâ be-d°o 'He is working', མོ་ཞབས་ཁྲུ་བ་དོ། Mo zh°apthra cap-d°o 'She is dancing', གན་མ་གྲུ་འཕུར་དོ། '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) ང་གཞུང་གི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྤྱོད་མཁོ་ལྟོ་བ་འབད་དོ།
 Nga zhung-g°i chönju
 I government-[gen] examination
 kê-nî-d°ön-lu jangwa be-d°o
 take-[inf-gen]-so that-[dat] practice do-[pr]
 I am preparing for the Common Exams.
- (28) གྲ་ཞིགས་ཀྱི་ཁོ་གྲ་
 Dr°andri cap-d°o-g°a
 Preparation perform-[pr]-[Q]
 [Are they] getting everything ready?
- (29) དོས་དེ་ཚུ་གྲ་ཞིགས་འབད་བཞག་ཡོད།
 D°ô-d°i-tshu dr°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 མི་ mi- 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. ང་སྤྱད་བམི་འབད། Nga jangwa mi-be 'I'm not going to prepare'. (2) The negative form of the verb 'to be' མེན་

mä is used as an auxiliary with the inflected stem of the verb. This yields a present progressive reading, e.g. ང་ཟུང་བའབདམ་མེན། Nga jangwa beu mä¹ '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 -བས་ -wä, giving the composite ending -རྟོ་བས་ -d°owä, which in allegro speech is often pronounced -d°eä or simply -d°ä, and is also often spelt -རྟོ་བས་ -d°eä or -རྟོ་ས་ -d°ä accordingly. The element -རྟོ་ -d°o expresses the notion of witnessed progressive activity, whereas the element -བས་ -wä expresses recently acquired knowledge. The ending -རྟོ་བས་ -d°owä 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 -རྟོ་བས་ -d°owä can therefore be used in combination with adverbs like མ་ཅན་ khatsa 'yesterday' which denote a moment in past time, whereas the progressive in -རྟོ་ -d°o cannot.

First, we shall study examples of verb forms in -རྟོ་བས་ -d°owä which take present tense translations in Eng-

¹ The difference in pronunciation with ང་ཟུང་བའབདམ་མེན། Nga jangwa beu mä 'I am preparing' is one of intonation, or use of the alternative pronunciation men for མེན།

lish. The choice of -རྟོ་བས་ -d°owä instead of -རྟོ་ -d°o 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) ཁོང་གསུམ་ཅ་ལ་བགོ་བཤའ་རྒྱབ་རྟོ་བས།
Khong sum cala gopsha-cap-d°o-wä
They three wares division-perform-[pr]-[ak]

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

- (31) རྒྱ་དྲུང་དེ་ཁ་གཅན་དགོ་པས། རྒྱ་ལྷན་རྟོ་བས།
Chu-d°ung-d°i khacê-go-bä Chu
Water-pipe-the close-must-[ak] Water
lül-d°o-wä
overflow-[pr]-[ak]

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

Recall that the progressive in -རྟོ་ -d°o expresses an activity which the speaker knows is going on through his own observation. In contrast to the use of the composite ending -རྟོ་བས་ -d°owä, the use of -རྟོ་ -d°o excludes by implication the observation of the person addressed. For example, one may say ད་ལྟོ་མོ་ཐབ་ཆང་ནང་ལྷ་འབད་རྟོ། D°ato mo thap-tsha-na lâ be-d°o '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 ད་ལྟ་མི་ཐབ་ཆང་ནང་ལུ་འབད་དོ་བས། D°ato mo thaptsha-na lâ be-d°owä '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 དོ་བས་ -d°owä 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 དོ་ -d°o is used, as in (34) and (35).

- (32) གུ་མོ་དྲ་གཅིག་གན་མ་ཁ་ལས་ཕར་འཕུར་དོ་བས།
Bj°agö-ci 'namkha-lä phâ phu-d°o-wä
Eagle-an sky-from thither fly-[pr]-[ak]

An eagle has swooped down from the sky!

- (33) མོ་གིས་མི་ག་ཡ་ར་ལུ་ཇ་སྒྲུག་དོ་བས།
Mo-g°i 'mi g°ayara-lu j°a 'lu-d°o-wä
She-[erg] man all-[dat] tea pour-[pr]-[ak]

She's pouring everyone tea.

- (34) ད་ཉི་མ་གར་དོ།
D°a nyim shâ-d°o
Now sun shine-[pr]

The sun is shining.

- (35) ད་ཟླ་འདུལ་དོ།
D°a dau dzü-d°o
Now moon enter-[pr]

The moon is setting.

The word ག་ཡ་ར་ g°ayara 'all' in (33) is spelt more conservatively as ག་ཡང་རང་ g°ayara or less conservatively as ག་ར་ g°âra 'all'.

Note that the verb སྒྲུག་ནི་ 'lu-ni 'to pour' in sentence (33) may be used with respect to liquids as well as solids, e.g. ཚུམ་སྒྲུག་ནི་ chum 'lu-ni 'to pour rice', ཚུ་སྒྲུག་ནི་ chu 'lu-ni 'to pour water', in contrast to the verb བཀང་ནི་ kang-ni 'to fill' which is used for liquids only, e.g. རྫོང་ཚུ་བཀང་ནི་ 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 མ་གང་ཚུན་ཚེད་བཅུག་ནི་ ma-g°ang-tshüntshö tsu-ni 'to put in until full'.

- (36) ཕད་རུང་དེ་མ་གང་ཚུན་ཚེད་ཅ་ལ་བཅུག་པ་ཅིན་པས།
Phecu-d°i ma-g°ang-tshüntshö cala tsup
Bag-the not-full-until wares put in
'immä
[aux]

He's filling up the bag with wares.

The use of the negative མ་ *ma-* in expressions like མ་གང་
ཚུན་ཚད་བཅུག་ནི་ *ma-g°ang-tshüntshö 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 འབད་
be 'to do' with the ending ི་བས་ *-d°owä* yields the
meaning 'to be on the verge of doing something, be about
to do something'.

- (37) ཁྱི་ལི་དེ་ཁྱི་ཅི་འགྱར་མཚང་ནི་འབད་དོ་བས།
Bj°ili-d°i bj°itsi-gu chong-ni be-d°o-wä
Cat-the mouse-upon jump-[inf] do-[pr]-[ak]

The cat is about to pounce on the mouse.

- (38) ང་ནང་ན་འགྱུ་ད་ཁོང་གཉིས་ཁྱེ་བཀལ་ནི་འབད་དོ་བས།
Nga nâna jou-d°a khong-'nyî ûkä-ni
I inside go-[pg] they-two kiss-[inf]
be-d°o-wä
do-[pr]-[ak]

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

In its past tense readings, the ending ི་བས་ *-d°owä* re-
sembles 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 obser-
ved 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) ཁོ་ལཱ་འབད་དོ་བས།
Kho lâ be-d°o-wä
He work do-[pr]-[nk]

He was working.

- (40) ཁོ་ཤི་ནི་འབད་དོ་བས།
Kho shi-ni be-d°o-wä
He die-[inf] do-[pr]-[ak]

He was dying.

The speakers in sentence (41) and (42) express a pro-
gressive activity in past time. Although in both utterances
the activities expressed have now ceased, the choice of the
form in ི་བས་ *-dowä* 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) མོ་གིས་ང་ལུ་དགའ་དོ་བས།

Mo-g°i nga-lu ga-d°o-wä

She-[erg] I-[dat] laugh-[pr]-[nk]

She was laughing at me.

(42) ང་ཁ་ཙ་སྤྱོད་ལས་འོང་མ་ད་ཁྱོད་ལུ་འབད་དོ་བས།

Nga khatsa Paro-lä ôm-d°a chö lâ

I yesterday Paro-from come-[pg] you work

be-d°o-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) ཁོང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་ན་སློའ་རྒྱུ་དོ་བས།

Khong-'nyî-g°i b°âna

They-two-[gen] between

'lô-cap-d°o-wä

conversation-perform-[pr]-[ak]

The two of them were conversing
between themselves.

(44) ཁོ་གིས་ག་ཅི་སྟབ་དོ་བས།

Kho-g°i g°aci 'lap-d°o-wä

He-[erg] what say-[pr]-[nk]

What was he saying?

(45) ཁོ་གིས་མི་འོང་ཟེར་སྟབ་དོ་བས།

Kho-g°i mi-ong z°e 'lap-d°o-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 འོང་བས་ -d°o-wä 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 འོང་བས་ -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.

- (46) ང་གིས་གཉིད་ལམ་ནང་འཕུར་དོ་བས།
 Nga-g°i 'nyilam-na phu-d°o-wä
 I-[erg] dream-in fly-[pr]-[nk]

I was flying in my dream.

Answers to the question ཁོང་ལུ་འབད་དོ་བས་ག། Khong lâ be-dowä-g°a? 'Were they working' are ལུ་འབད་དོ་བས། Lâ be-dowä 'They were working' or ལུ་མ་འབད་བས། Lâ ma be-wä 'They were not working'.

But there are two ways of negating the progressive in དོ་བས་ -dowä, depending on whether a past or present reading is intended. In ལུ་མ་འབད་བས། Lâ ma be-wä '[They] were not working', the past tense negative prefix མ་ ma- has been used. If a present tense reading is required, the present tense negative prefix མི་ mi- is used, as in:

- (47) མི་དེ་གིས་ལུ་མི་འབད་བས། དེ་འབད་ནི་དེ་གིས་ཁོ་བདོན་བདང་
 དགོ་པས།
 'Mi-d°i-g°i lâ mi-be-wä D°i
 Man-the-[erg] work not-do-[ak] That
 be-ni-d°i-g°i kho
 do-[inf]-the-[erg] he
 tön-tang-go-bä
 remove-dispatch-must-[ak]

That man doesn't work. So, he should be fired.

So, whereas the progressive is not strictly speaking tensed, the prefixes of negation are specific for tense.

3. The factual present and inflected stems

The factual present tense is formed by adding the auxiliary verbs ཡིན་ 'ing or ཡིན་པས་ 'immä to the inflected stem of the verb, e.g. ཁོ་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན་པས་ Kho to z°au 'immä 'He is eating'. The inflected stem of the verb is formed in one of four different ways, depending on the verb.

(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. ཁོ་སྒྲོལ་ཡིན་པས་ Kho 'lô nyêm 'immä 'He is listening to the conversation' from ཡིན་ nyen 'listen'; མོ་བྱིས་ནང་ལས་ཐོན་པས་ Mo chimnalä thöm 'immä 'She is coming out of the house' from ཐོན་ thön 'listen'; ང་ཕུ་འཕུང་པས་ Nga chu thüm 'ing 'I am drinking some water' from འཕུང་ thung 'drink'; ང་སྒྲོ་བཟུང་པས་ Nga go dam 'ing 'I am closing the door' from བཟུང་ dam 'close'; སྐུ་བྱིས་ཆས་ གནང་པས་ Lam-g°i chô'nâm 'ing 'The lama is teaching' from ཆས་གནང་ chô'nang '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. མོ་ཤོབ་ཀྱང་

ཡིན་པས། Mo shop cap 'immä 'She is lying' from རྟོག་པ་ shop cap 'lie'.

(3) Verbs with an open stem, i.e. verbs ending in a vowel in Roman Dzongkha, form their inflected stems either by adding -མ་ -u or by adding -པ་ -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 -མ་ -u will be called *soft stem* verbs, e.g. ཁོ་ག་ཟས་ ཡིན་པས། Kho sha z^oau 'immä 'He is eating meat' from ཟ་ z^oa 'eat'; འུ་འབད་ཡིན། Nga lâ beu 'ing 'I am working' from འུ་འབད་ lâ be 'work'.

(4) Open-stem verbs the inflected stems of which take the ending -པ་ -p will be called *hard stem* verbs, e.g. ང་བཅས་ནྟ་སྟེད་ཡིན། Ngace nâ döp 'ing 'We are sitting here' from སྟེད་ dō '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 ཡིན་ 'ing and ཡིན་པས་ 'immä also holds when these verbs are used as auxiliaries of the factual present. For example, in sentences (48) to (51), containing the form ཡིན་པས་ 'immä, the speaker states an observed phenomenon which, as such, belongs to the realm of his recently acquired knowledge, whereas with the form ཡིན་

'ing in sentence (52) the speaker is stating what he knows to be a fact.

- (48) ལྷང་འཕམ་ཡིན་པས།
'Lang thap 'immä
bull clash [aux]

The bulls are at loggerheads.

- (49) ངའི་ཆས་གསང་ནང་གི་ཕྱུང་དེ་འཇགས་ཡིན་པས།
Ngi-chapsang-na-g^oi chu-d^oung-d^oi dzap 'immä
My-toilet-in-[gen] water-pipe-the leak [aux]

The water pipe in my toilet leaks.

- (50) ཁོང་གཉིས་འཛིང་མ་ཡིན་པས།
Khong-'nyî dzîm 'immä
They-two fight [aux]

The two of them are fighting.

- (51) ཁོ་སྟོབ་དཔོན་མེན་རུང་ཁོ་གིས་ཚོས་སྟོན་མ་ཡིན་པས།
Kho 'löbö me-rung kho-g^oi
He teacher not be-although he-[erg]
chôtöm 'immä
teach [aux]

Although he is not a teacher, he appears to be giving instruction.

- (52) ང་བཅས་གནམ་གྱི་ཐོག་ལས་འབད་འགྱུ་ཨིན།
 Ngace 'namdru-g°i tholäbe jou 'ing
 We airplane-[gen] by means of go [aux]

We're going by plane.

The use of the form ཨིན་ 'ing with a first person subject in sentence (52) is not coincidental. The form ཨིན་ '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 ཨིན་ '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.

- (53) ཁྱོད་ད་ཅིས་སྤྱིན་པ་བཏང་མ་ཨིན་ན།
 Chö d°ari jinba tâm 'in-na
 You today philanthropy dispatch [aux]-[Q]

Are you playing the benefactor today?

The auxiliary ཨིན་ '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 ཉེ་མ་ལས་རང་ hema-lä-ra 'from way back when', ཨ་དྲག་རང་ 'âtara 'always' and ཉག་བྱ་རང་ tabura 'always, ever' in sentences (54) to (56) reinforce the idea of well-established knowledge expressed by the form ཨིན་ 'ing.

- (54) ཁོ་དྲི་མ་ལས་རང་ཤེས་ཅིག་ལས་བྱངས་ནང་ལཱ་འབད་མ་ཨིན།
 Kho hema-lä-ra Shêri Lăkhung-na
 He before-from-[str] Education Ministry-in
 lâ beu 'ing
 work do [aux]

He has worked in the Ministry of Education
 from way back when.

- (55) ཁོང་ཨ་དྲག་རང་ཁྱོད་བཅས་ཀྱི་ནང་ལས་ཟམ་ཨིན།
 Khong 'âtara to ngace-g°i-na-lä z°au 'ing
 They always rice we-[gen]-[loc]-[abl] eat [aux]

They always take their meals at [literally: from]
 our place.

- (56) ངའི་ཕོ་གནམ་གྱིས་ཉག་བྱ་རང་ངའི་འགྱུར་ཚོགས་བད་བཏང་མ་ཨིན།
 Ngi phogem-g°i tabura ngi-gu tshoda
 My elder brother-[erg] always my-upon scolding
 tâm 'ing
 dispatch [aux]

My elder brother is always upbraiding me.

The form ཨིན་ 'ing is also used with respect to third person in order to express an inherent characteristic, as in sentence (57). In sentence (58), however, the form ཨིན་པས་ 'immä expresses a characteristic of the subject, but this

characteristic is not inherent, and the speaker has recently come to know about this propensity through observation.

- (57) ལྷོབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་ཚོས་གནང་མ་ཞིན།
 'Löbö-g°i chô'nâm 'ing
 Teacher-[erg] teach[hon] [aux]

The teacher instructs.

- (58) མཁའ་འགྲོ་གིས་གུ་རི་འདྲོགས་སི་སི་འབད་བདང་མ་ཞིན་པས།
 Khandru-g°i gâri drôsisibe tâm 'immä
 Khandru-[erg] car recklessly dispatch [aux]

Khandru drives recklessly.

In general, the form ཞིན་པས་ 'immä is used as the auxiliary of the factual present with respect to the third person:

- (59) པ་སངས་གདོང་འགུར་སྒྲན་དབུ་རམ་ཞིན་པས།
 Pâsa dong-gu 'men 'û 'immä.
 Pâsa face-on medicine rub [aux]

Pâsa is applying cream to her face.

- (60) ཁོང་ཆ་ཁྱབ་ལྷ་ཁང་དེ་ནང་ཚོན་བདང་མ་ཞིན་པས།
 Khong-châchap lhakha-d°i-na
 They-[col] monastery-the-in
 tshön-tâm 'immä.
 painting-dispatch [aux]

They're painting the inside of the monastery.

- (61) ངག་དབང་གིས་ཡིག་ཆ་ནང་ཤོག་ཀྱི་སྒྲིད་པ་ཞིན་པས།
 Nga'wang-g°i yitsha-na shoku pêp 'immä.
 Nga'wang-[erg] office-in paper tear up [aux]

Nga'wang is tearing up papers in the office.

Note that the verb བད་ pê 'tear, tear up' in sentence (61) indicates an intentional activity, whereas Dzongkha རྩལ་ hrä '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) ཁྱོད་ད་ལྟ་ལུ་འབདམ་ཨིན་ན།

Chö d°ato lâ beu 'in-na
You now work do [aux]-[Q]

Are you working now?

(63) ཁྱོད་ད་ལྟ་ལུ་འབད་དོ་ག།

Chö d°ato lâ be-d°o-g°a
You now work do-[pr]-[Q]

Are you working now?

(64) ད་ལྟ་ང་ཐབ་ཚང་ནང་ལུ་འབདམ་ཨིན།

D°ato nga thaptsha-na lâ 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) ཁོ་ཨིན་མ་དང་རྩིལ་ཟམ་ཨིན།

Kho 'ema-d°âtshi z°au 'ing
He 'ema-d°âtshi eat [aux]

He will have 'ema-d°âtshi.

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) ཁྱོད་འགྱུ་ཨིན་ན།

Chö 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) ང་ད་རེས་ནངས་པ་ནགས་ཚལ་ལས་ཁུངས་ནང་ལུ་འབདམ་ཨིན།

Nga d°are-nâba Nâtshe Lâkhung-na lâ
I nowadays forest department-in work
beu 'ing
do [aux]

Nowadays, I work in the Forestry Department.

- (68) ང་ད་རེས་ནངས་པ་ཡིག་ཚང་འདི་ནང་ལུ་འབད་དོ།
 Nga d°are-nâba yitsha-di-na lâ be-d°o
 I nowadays office-this-in work do-[pr]

Nowadays, I work in this office.

There are also allegro speech forms of the factual present with the auxiliary ཡིན་ 'ing. These are formed by adding the endings -པའི་ -bi/-mi or -བའི་ -wi to the regular stem of the verb. The ending -བའི་ -wi is added to verbs with soft stems. The ending -པའི་ -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.

- (69) - ཁྱོད་ཏམ་ཁུ་འབྱང་མ་ཡིན་ན།
 - ང་ཉི་མ་ལས་རང་ཏམ་ཁུ་འབྱང་པའི།
 - Chö tamkhu thûm 'in-na
 You smoking drink [aux]-[Q]
 - Nga hema-lä-ra tamkhu thung-mi
 I before-since-[str] smoking drink-[aux]

- Do you smoke?

- I have always smoked.

- (70) ང་བཅས་སྤྱོད་ཆེས་བརྩུ་འགྱུ་ཡིན།
 Ngace Paro-Tshêcu jou-'ing
 We Paro-Tshêcu go-[aux]

We are going to the Paro Tshêcu.

- (71) ཁོ་ཐིམ་ཕུ་ལུ་བློ་སྤྲོད་པ་ཡིན།
 Kho Thimphu-lu döp-'ing
 He Thimphu-at live-[aux]

He lives in Thimphu.

- (72) ང་ད་ལྟོ་ཏམ་ཁུ་འབྱང་མ་ཡིན།
 Nga d°ato tamkhu thûm 'ing
 I now smoking drink [aux]

I am smoking at the moment.

- (73) ང་བཅས་ཨ་ཏྱ་རང་སྤྱོད་ཆེས་བཅུ་འགྱུ་བའི།
 Ngace 'âtara Paro-Tshêcu jo-wi
 We always Paro-Tshêcu go-[aux]

We always go to the Paro Tshêcu.

- (74) ང་ཁྱོད་རང་འཚོལ་སྤྱོད་པའི་ ཁྱོད་ལྷ་ཡི་གྲུ་འབྲིས་མ་མས་སྤྱོད་སྟེ།
 Nga chö-ra tshö dö-bi chö nâ
 I you-[str] search keep on-[aux] you here
 yig°u dr°iu-mä bo te
 letter write-[ep] [ctr] [acc]

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

- (75) དབའི། ཁོ་གིས་སྤང་གསལ་ནི་ཨིན་མ་འདྲ་བས་ཟེར་མཚན་བའི།
 'Wae! Kho-g°i 'lang sê-ni-'im-drä
 Wow! He-[erg] bull kill-[inf]-[aux]-[prb]
 z°e 'no-wi
 that think-[aux]

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

- (76) མོ་ཨ་ཏྱ་རང་ཤོབ་ཏུབ་པའི།
 Mo 'âtara shop cap-bi
 She always lie perform-[aux]

She always lies.

- (77) བཟླན་འཛིན་ཕག་ག་བྱ་བའི།
 Tendzi phasha z°a-wi
 Tendzi pork eat-[aux]

Tendzi eats pork.

- (78) ང་དེ་ནང་རང་སྤྱོད་པའི།
 Nga d°i-na-ra dö-bi
 I that-[loc]-[str] sit-[aux]

I [always] sit there.

- (79) ང་ཁོ་ལུ་ཆ་བཞག་པའི།
 Nga kho-lu chazha-bi
 I he-[dat] rely-[aux]

I rely on him./I [always] count on him.

4. The present continuous

The present continuous is formed by adding the ending -པའི་སྤང་, pronounced -bigang/-migang, or -བའི་སྤང་ -wigang to the stem of the verb. The thus derived continuous stem of the verb is used in combination with the auxiliary verbs ཨིན་ 'ing and ཨིན་པས་ 'immä. The ending -པའི་སྤང་ 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. མོ་ཁྱིམ་ནང་ལས་འཁོན་པའི་སྒང་ཨིན་པས། Mo chimnalä thön-migang 'immä 'She is coming out of the house'; ང་ཆང་སྤང་པའི་སྒང་ཨིན། Nga chang thum-migang 'ing 'I am drinking beer'; ང་སྒྲོ་བཟུང་པའི་སྒང་ཨིན། Nga go dam-migang 'ing 'I am closing the door'; ཁོ་ཁབས་ཁྲ་རྒྱབ་པའི་སྒང་ཨིན་པས། Kho zh^oapthra cap-bigang 'immä 'He is dancing'; ང་བཅས་ཕྱི་ཁ་སྒྲོང་པའི་སྒང་ཨིན། Ngace pchikha dö-bigang 'ing 'We are sitting outside'. The ending -བའི་སྒང་ -wigang is written after soft stem verbs, e.g. ཁོ་ལྟ་ཟ་བའི་སྒང་ཨིན་པས། Kho to z^oa-wigang 'immä 'He is eating rice'; ང་ལཱ་འབད་བའི་སྒང་ཨིན། Nga lâ be-wigang 'ing 'I am working'.

The continuous present is similar to the progressive in འོ་ -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) ཨ་ཅི་སྒྲོང་གིས། ང་ད་ལྟ་ཟ་བའི་སྒང་ཨིན།
 'Atsi dö-sh Nga d^oato to z^oa-wigang 'ing
 little bit sit-[u] I now rice eat-[con] be

Sit [and wait] a bit. I'm eating just now.

- (81) ད་ལྟ་ཆོས་སྒྲིང་ཡི་གུ་འབྲི་བའི་སྒང་ཨིན་པས།
 D^oato Chöki yig^ou dr^oi-wigang 'immä
 Now Chöki letter write-[con] be

Chöki is writing a letter now.

- (82) བུ་ཚུ་དེ་ཚུ་ད་ལྟ་དོ་སྒྲོ་སྒྲོ་རྒྱབ་པའི་སྒང་ཨིན་པས།
 B^outshu-d^oi-tshu d^oato dögo cap-bigang 'immä
 Boy-the-[pl] now discus perform-[con] be

The lads are out tossing the discus.

Note that དོ་སྒྲོ་ dōgo '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 དོ་ dō 'discus' and སྒྲོ་ gō 'disk'. The latter, for example, occurs in the expression དར་ཆེན་སྒྲོ་གཅིག་ d^oâtshi-gō-ci 'one disk of Bhutanese cheese'.

The continuous in -བའི་སྒང་ -bigang/-migang/-བའི་སྒང་ -wigang can be combined with the ablative suffix -ལས་ -lä to yield a continuous present participial construction.

- (83) རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱང་རིལ་རྟེག་ཅིང་རྒྱལ་ས་ལས་འོང་པའི་སྤང་ལས་
ཁོ་གི་གཟུགས་ལས་མར་རྩལ་ནག་གནམ་མེད་ས་མེད་འཕྲོན་དོ་བས།
'Namgä kangri-detse-cap-sa-lä
'Namgä ball-kickgame-perform-place-from
ong-migang-lä kho-g^oi zû-lä mâ
come-[con]-[abl] he-[gen] body-from down
'ngüna 'nammêsamê thön-d^oo-wä
sweat very exude-[pr]-[ak]

As 'Namgā 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 -མཁ -mä 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 -ႁႃႃ'/-ႁႃႃ' -bǎ/-wǎ, introduced in Section 1 of this chapter. Whereas the suffix -ႁႃႃ'/-ႁႃႃ' -bǎ/-wǎ is attached to the regular stem of verbs denoting a *state or condition*, the ending

-म -mä is affixed to the inflected stem of verbs denoting an *activity or feeling*.

- (84) ཁོ་ཅེར་མ་དར་ཆེལ་བཤ་མམ།
Kho 'erna-d^oâtsi z^oau-mä
He 'erna-d^oâtsi eat-[ep]

He is eating 'ema-d°âtsi.

- (85) ཚོམ་ཤི་ཡུལ་མཐ།
Tshozhi yäu-mä
Colour run/fade-[ep]

The colour is fading/running.

- (86) ཁོང་ཐྲོམ་ཁ་ལུ་འགྱུ་ཤ་མཁ།
 Khong thromkha-lu jou-mä
 They bazar-in-to go-[ep]

They are on their way to the bazar.

- (87) ཁོང་དྲོ་རྩ་ཡང་ཁ་གཤམ་རྒྱུ་མཁས།
 Khong d'oro^oya khashâ-cap-mä
 They again altercation-perform [ep]

They're arguing again.

- (88) ཁོང་མདའ་རྒྱུ་མས་ག།
 Khong da cap-mä-g°a
 They arrow perform-[ep]-[Q]

They're playing archery.

- (89) ཁོང་ཁོ་འགྲུ་ར་བལྟ་མས་ག།
 Kho ngi-gu tau-mä
 He my-upon look-[ep]

He's watching me.

- (90) ཁོ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་བདང་མ་མས་ག།
 Kho bakba tâm-mä
 He scooter drive-[ep]

He's driving his scooter.

- (91) མོ་གིས་ང་བཅས་ལུ་དག་འཇ་མས་ག།
 Mo-g°i ngace-lu gau-mä
 She-[erg] we-[dat] laugh-[ep]

She's laughing at us.

- (92) ཁ་རྩ་ཁོང་གིང་འཁྱུ་མས་ག།
 Khatsa khong shing thû-mä
 Yesterday they wood gather-[ep]

Yesterday they were gathering wood.

- (93) སེམ་ཅན་དེ་སྤྱར་མས་ག།
 Semce-d°i pâu-mä
 Animal-the shake-[ep]

That animal is shaking.

- (94) ཁོང་ལམ་སེལ་མས་ག།
 Khong lam seu-mä
 They way clear-[ep]

They're clearing a path.

- (95) ཁོང་སྒྲོ་བཟུ་མས་ག།
 Khong go dam-mä-g°a
 They door close-[ep]-[Q]

Are they closing up?

- (96) སྤང་དྲིལ་གཡུག་བཞོག་མས་ག།
 Pangdri 'yu-kôu-mä
 Rice ball wave-throw-[ep]

He tossed his rice ball.

Note that the use of the verb གཡུག་ 'yu 'wave' in combination with the verb བཞོག་ kô 'throw' in sentence (96) suggests an overhand toss, and that a སྤང་དྲིལ་ 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 རྩལ་ 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 ང་ལྟ་འབདཝ་མས། Nga lâ beu-mä 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) ལ་ཙ་གི་སློབ་བརྩན་ནང་ཀ་ཡང་འབྱོན་ནི་འདྲུག་དེ་སྤང་ང་ལྟ་
འབདཝ་མས།

Khatsa-g°i 'loknyen-na nga ya thön-ni
Yesterday-[gen] film-in I too appear-[inf]
du. D°i gang nga lâ beu-mä
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 obser-

ves this same second person performing, as in the following diagnostic observation:

(98) ང་ཤིས་ཁྱོད་ཨ་ཆིག་དེས་རང་རྒྱབ་མས།ག་ཅི་འབད་དཔ་སྟོ།
D°ari chö 'atshi d°êra cap-mä.
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) འོང་ ཁྱོད་ལྟ་ཟས་མས་སྟོ།
Eng, chö to z°âu-mä bo te
Oh, you rice eat-[ep] [ctr] [acc]

Oh, I see you're eating.

As the suffix -མས་ -mä 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) ང་གིས་ཁྱོད་ལུ་སེམས་ཤོར་མ་མས།

Nga-g^oi chö-lu semshou-mä
I-[erg] you-[dat] be_{in}love-[ep]

I'm in love with you.

(101) ཁ་ཚམ་མས། ཞེར་མ་དེ་ཁ་ཚིག་འདྲག།

Kha tshau-mä 'Ema-d^oi khatshi du
Mouth burn-[ep] Chillies-the spicy hot be

My mouth is on fire. Those chillies are spicy.

(102) ང་ཉིང་ལས་རང་ཁྱོད་ལུ་དགའ་མས།

Nga hing-lä-rang chö-lu gau-mä
I heart-from-[str] you-[dat] love-[ep]

I love you with all my heart.

(103) ད་ང་ན་མས།

D^oa nga nau-mä
Now I hurt-[ep]

Now I feel ill.

(104) ངྲིམ་ལེགས་ཤོམ་མནམ་མས།

Dr^oim läshom 'nam-mä
Aroma good smell-[ep]

I smell a sweet aroma.

(105) ང་ཁྱོད་དྲན་མ་མས།

Nga chö dr^oem-mä
I you miss-[ep]

I miss you.

(106) ང་ཆབ་གསང་ཚུ་བཟུམ་སྒྲིབ་གཤལ་མས།

Nga chapsang chu-zumbe shâu-mä
I stool water-like excrete-[ep]

I am passing wattery stool./I have terrible diarrhoea.

(107) ང་གིས་ཁོ་གི་མིང་དེ་རང་བརྟེན་པ་མས།

Nga-g^oi kho-g^oi meng-d^oi-ra jêp-mä
I-[erg] he-[gen] name-the-[str] forget-[ep]

I keep forgetting his name.

(108) ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཉིང་ལས་རང་དགའ་མས་ག།

Chö-g^oi hing-lä-ra gau-mä-g^oa
You-[erg] heart-from-[str] love-[ep]-[Q]

Do you love me with all your heart?

- (109) ཟྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཕྱིན་དྲི་དེ་ལེགས་ཤོམ་འབད་རང་ཚོ་རལ་མས་ག།
 Chö-g°i pchen dr°i-d°i läshom-be-ra
 You-[erg] fart aroma-the good-[adv]-[str]
 tshou-mä-g°a
 smell-[ep]-[Q]

Can you smell that fart really well [i.e. as well as I can]?

- (110) ཟྱོད་ད་རིས་སེམས་གདིང་ལས་རང་སྤྱོད་མས་ག།
 Chö d°ari sem ding-lä-ra
 You today feelings deep within-from-[str]
 cou-mä-g°a
 be sad-[ep]-[Q]

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, མི་ཤོང་མས། *Mi shong-mä* '[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 མི་ཤོང། *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 མི་ *mi-* 'not' to the verb.

- (111) ང་ད་ལྟ་ན་ཅི་མི་ཁོམ་མས།
 Nga d°ato 'atsi mi-khom-mä
 I now little bit not-be free-[ep]

I'm really not free [to come] right now.

6. The adhortative and the optative

The adhortative is expressed in Dzongkha by adding the ending -ག་ -g°e to the regular stem of the verb.

- (112) གླིང་བཞི་ལུ་ཐྱོ་སྒྲན་འབྲུ་བར་འགྱུ་ནི་གི་ལས་རིམ་བཟོ་ག།
 'Lingzhi-lu 'ngo'men thu-wa
 'Lingzhi-to medicinal herbs collect-[sup]
 jo-ni-g°i lärim zo-g°e
 go-[inf]-[gen] programme make-[adh]

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

Note that the Dzongkha ལས་རིམ་ *lärim* 'programme' covers not only most senses of English programme but also of English 'plan' in the informal sense. The formal Dzongkha འཆར་གཞི་ *charzhi* 'plan' is reserved for institutional or governmental schemes.

The negative adhortative is formed with the auxiliary verb བཞོལ་ *shö* 'refrain from', which takes the in-

flected stem of the verb, in combination with the adhortative suffix -ག -g°e.

- (113) དེ་ཐེ་འབདམ་བཤོལ་ག།
D°ebe beu-shö-g°e
Like that do-refrain-[adh]

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

- (114) ལ་ཡག་ལུ་འགྱུ་བཤོལ་ག།
Lâya-lu jou-shö-g°e
Lâya-to go-refrain-[adh]

Let's not go to Lâya.

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

- (115) ད་རིས་ཁྱོད་ནྟ་ཡོད་བཅུག་ཟེར་སྟོན་ལམ་བདབ་ཅི།
D°ari chö nâ yö-cu z°e 'mönlam tap-ci
Today you here be-[opt] that wish do-[pt]

Today I was wishing that you were here.

- (116) བྱི་ཅི་དེ་ཚུ་བྱི་ལི་དེ་གིས་ཟ་བཅུག་གིག།
Bj°itsi-d°i-tshu bj°ili-d°i-g°i z°a-cu-sh
Mouse-the-[pl] cat-the-[erg] eat-[opt]-[u]

May the cat eat the mice!

- (117) ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ལུ་དེ་ཚུ་ལེགས་ཤོམ་འགྱུ་བཅུག་གིག།
Chö-g°i-lâ-d°i-tshu läshom jo-cu-sh
You-[gen]-work-the-[pl] good go-[opt]-[u]

May all your work go well!

- (118) ད་རིས་ཁྱོད་རྒྱལ་བཅུག།
D°ari chä gä-cu
Today you win-[opt]

May you [pl] win today!

The negative of the optative is formed by negating the optative auxiliary བཅུག་ CU with the prefix མ་ ma-.

- (119) ཁོང་གིས་ཁྱོད་བཟུང་མ་བཅུག།
Khong-g°i chö zung-ma-cu
They-[erg] you catch-not-[opt]

May they not catch you!

7. The supine

The supine is formed by adding -པར་ -ba/-ma or -བར་ -wa to the stem of the verb. The ending -བར་ -wa is added to soft stem verbs, and the ending -པར་ -ba/-ma is added to all other verbs. The verb stem remains unin-

flected before the suffix of the supine. The suffix -པར་ is pronounced -ma after verbs ending in a nasal.

- (120) མདའ་རྒྱུ་སར་བཞུ་བར་འོང་ན།

Da cap sa ta-wa ong-na
Arrow perform place watch-[sup] come-[Q]

Are you coming to watch at the archery grounds?

- (121) མོ་ཆུ་རྒྱང་པར་ཕྱི་ཁ་འགྱུ་ནི་མིན་པས།

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) ཁྱོད་ལུ་དྲིལ་རྩལ་བསྐྱི་བར་བྱིན་ནི་དེ་མར་འབད་བཞག།
ང་རང་རྒྱ་བཞེས་སྒོ་བེ་ནི་ཡང་མེད།

Chö-lu tiru ki-wa bj°in-ni-d°i
You-[dat] money borrow-[sup] give-[inf]-the
phâ-be-zhâ Nga-ra nâ zhêgo
thither-do-put I-[str] here food
z°a-ni-ya mê
eat-[inf]-too not be

Put the thought of my lending you money far from your mind. I don't even have [enough] here for food to eat.

- (123) ཀྲིང་ཀྲིང་བརྟུང་པར་སོང།

Tringtri dung-ma song
Bell strike-[sup] go

Go ring the bell!

The Dzongkha expression used in sentence (123) as the equivalent for English 'lend' is a supine construction, the literal meaning of which is 'to give in order to borrow'. In addition to the supine in -པར་ -ba/-ma ~ -བར་ -wa, the post-position འབད་ be 'do' may be suffixed to an infinitive to yield the meaning 'in order to'. Sentence (124) contains both constructions. A separate section in the next chapter is devoted to other uses of the postposition འབད་ be as an adverbializer.

- (124) ཁོ་ལྟང་མོ་བཞུ་བར་འགྱུ་ནི་འབད་ལྟམ་གསར་པ་བཙུགས་པ་མས།

Kho tēm ta-wa jo-ni-be lham sâp
He festivities see-[sup] go-[inf]-do shoe new
tsup-mä
put on-[ep]

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

Not to be confused with the supine is the postposition -གྱི་རྟོག་ལུ་ -g°i-d°ön-lu 'on behalf of, for; so that, in order to', alternatively -གྱི་རྟོག་ལས་ -g°i-d°ön-lä, which can be

suffixed either to a noun or to the infinitive of a verb in
-ནི -ni.

- (125) ནངས་པ་རིམ་འགྲོ་འབད་ནི་གི་དོན་ལུ་ཆ་མཉམ་ལས་
ཚུམ་བསྐྱ་དགོ་པས།

Nâba rimdro

Tomorrow prayer service

be-ni-g^oi-d^oön-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) ནད་དེ་དྲག་ནི་གི་དོན་ལུ་སྒྲན་ལེ་ཤ་བཟ་དགོ་པས།

Nê-d^oi dr^oâ-ni-g^oi-d^oön-lu

Disease-the cure-[inf]-[gen]-so that-[dat]

'men läsha z^oa-go-bä

medicine much eat-must-[ak]

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

- (127) དིག་ནང་བྱི་ཅི་མི་འཇུ་ལ་ནི་འི་དོན་ལུ་ཁབ་དོག་བཅད་
དགོས་པ་དེ་ཁག་ཆེ།

Dî-na bj^oitsi mi-dzü-nî-d^oön-lu

Jug-into mouse not-enter-[inf-gen]-so that-[dat]

khapto cê-gop-d^oi khâche

lid close-must-the important

It's important to put the lid on so that mice will
not get into the jug.

- (128) རང་གི་དོན་དག་འགྲུབ་ནི་གི་དོན་ལས་གཞན་ལུ་བསྟོད་པ་རྒྱབ་དགོ།

Rang-g^oi d^oöntha drup-ni-g^oi-d^oönlä

Self-[gen] aims realize-[inf]-[gen]-so that-[abl]

zhen-lu töp-cap-go

other-[dat] praise-perform-must

In order to realize one's goals, one must shower
praise on others.

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

There are various ways in Dzongkha to express per-
mission, 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 ཚུགས་
tshu 'be able to'.

- (129) འཆར་གཞི་དེ་ད་རིས་བཟོ་མ་ཚུགས་པས།
 Charzhi-d°i d°ari zo ma-tshu-bä
 Plan-the today make did-not-can-[ak]

[They] were unable to make/finalize the plan today.

- (130) ཁྱོད་འགྱོ་མི་ཚུགས་ ག་ཅི་ཞིན་མ་ཟེར་བ་ཅིན་ ཁྱོད་ད་རིས་
 ཀྱང་མ་མ་བདེ་བས།
 Chö jo mi-tshu g°aci'im z°ewacin chö d°ari
 You go not-can why because you today
 kâm ma-de-wä
 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 ཤེས་ shê 'know how to'.

- (131) ཁྱོད་རྩལ་རྒྱ་བ་ཤེས་ག།
 Chö tsä-cap shê-g°a
 You swim-perform know-[Q]

Can you swim?/Do you know how to swim?

- (132) ཆོས་སྒྲོན་གྱིས་དགོང་བྲ་སྤྱུས་ཅ་འབད་སྤབ་ཤེས་པས།
 Chödrö-g°i gödr°o pütsabe 'lap-shê-bä
 Chödrö-[erg] joke hilariously tell-know-[ak]

Chödrö can really tell witty jokes.

- (133) ཁོང་གིས་སྒྲ་སྟན་དགྲོགས་ཤས་ག།
 Khong-g°i dram'nye tro shê-g°a
 They-[erg] Bhutanese lute pluck know-[Q]

Do they know how to play the Bhutanese lute?

- (134) འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཀྱིས་ཡང་རྟ་འབྲུར་ཞོན་ཤེས་པས།
 Jam'yang-g°i-ya tai-gu
 Jam'yang-[erg]-too horse[gen]-upon
 zh°öng-shê-bä
 ride-know how to-[ak]

Jam'yang also knows how to ride a horse.

Note that the verb དགྲོགས་ tro 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. རོའི་དགྲོགས་ནི་ rochi tro-ni 'goad a dog', སྤྱུ་དགྲོགས་ནི་ pca tro-ni 'goad a monkey', ཨམ་ཚུ་དགྲོགས་ནི་ 'amtshu tro-ni 'tease a woman'. The verb ཞོན་ zh°öm '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 ཚོག་ CHO 'be allowed', as in the following:

- (135) ཏམ་ཁུ་འཐུང་མི་ཚོག།
 Tamkhu thung mi cho
 smoking drink/smoke not allowed

Smoking is prohibited.

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

- (136) ང་འགྱུ་ཚོགས་ཞིན།
 Nga jo-chop-'ing
 I go-allow-[aux]

I'm ready to go.

- (137) ཁྱེད་ག་ར་འགྱུ་ཚོགས་ཞིན་ན།
 Chä g°âra 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 རྟོ་ ni 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) ང་བཅས་ཞབས་ཁྲ་རྒྱུ་ནི་མེད།
 Ngace zh°apthra cap-ni mê
 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 དགོ་ go, for which a more conservative spelling དགོས་ also exists. Note that by itself the modal of exigency དགོ་ go expresses well-established need or desire, whereas in combination with the suffix of acquired knowledge -པས་ -bä it expresses a need or desire which has just recently made itself felt. The negative forms of the modal are མི་དགོ་ niengo and མི་དགོ་པས་ mengobä 'isn't necessary; don't want'.

- (139) ག་སྤ་སྐམ་དྲང་དགོ་པས།
 Shamu kam dr°ang-go-bä
 Mushrooms dry add-must-[ak]

[We'll] have to resort to flattery.

- (140) ང་བཅས་ཁྱིམ་འཚོལ་དགོ་པས།
 Ngace chim tshö-go-bä
 We house search-must-[ak]

[We] have to look for a house.

- (141) བགོ་ཚད་འདི་སློམ་དགོ་པས།
 G°ô-tshê-di bôm-go-bä
 G°ô-size-this big-must-[ak]

This g°ô should be large in size.

- (142) ང་ལུ་གྱི་གཅིག་དགོ་པས།
 Nga-lu g°i-ci go-bä
 I-[dat] knife-one need-[ak]

I need a knife.

- (143) མདའ་འཕྲང་དགོ་པས།
 Da thrang-go-bä
 Arrow straighten-must-[ak]

I have to straighten the arrow.

- (144) གཟབ་གཟབ་འབད་དགོ།
 Z°apz°ap be-go
 Well-behaved do-must

One must observe proper conduct.

- (145) ཚར་གཅིག་བལྟ་དགོ་པས་ མེན་ན།
 Tshâ-ci ta-go-bä, me-na?
 Time-one look-must-[ak] not_Q be-Q

Well, we'll have to try it once, won't we?

- (146) ང་ལུ་ཁྱེད་གྱི་དྲི་རྩལ་མི་དགོ།
 Nga-lu chö-g°i tiru mengo
 I-[dat] you-[gen] money not_Q necessary

I don't need your money.

- (147) ད་རིས་ལུ་འབད་མི་དགོ་ག་ཅི་ཨིན་མ་ཟེར་བ་ཅིན་ད་རིས་
 ངལ་གསོ་ཨིན།
 D°ari lâ be mengo g°aci'imz°ewacin
 Today work do not_Q necessary because
 d°ari ngäso 'ing
 today holiday be

We don't have to work today because
 it's a holiday.

Observe that in Dzongkha the verb འཁྱེལ་ thri 'to depend' tends to take the modal of exigency དགོ་ gO. Furthermore, the verb འཁྱེལ་ thri 'to depend' governs a complement marked by the postposition དང་ d°a 'with'.

- (148) ང་བཅས་འགྱུ་ཚུགས་ག་མི་ཚུགས་དེ་ཁོ་དང་འབྲེལ་དགོ།
 Ngace jo-tshu-g°a mi-tshu-d°i kho-d°a
 We go-can-[Q] not-can-the he-with
 thri-go
 depend-must

It depends on him whether we will be able to go or not.

- (149) གཡ་རི་འགྱུ་ཚུགས་ག་མི་ཚུགས་དེ་ལམ་ལེགས་ཉིང་དང་འབྲེལ་དགོ།
 Gâri jo-tshu-g°a mi-tshu-d°i
 Car go-can-[Q] not-can-the
 lam-lähi-d°a thri-go
 road-condition-with depend-must

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

The modal འདྲ་བས་ *drä*, expressing probability, follows the inflected stem of the verb. Etymologically this modal is derived from a contraction of the verb འདྲ་ *dra* 'to resemble, to look like' with the suffix of newly acquired knowledge -བས་ *wä*.

- (150) ཁྱོད་ཚོ་ད་བཟུམ་འདྲ་བས་ མེན་ན།
 Chö tshötau-drä me-na
 You tease-[prb] not be-[Q]

You're just teasing me, aren't you?

- (151) ཁྱོད་དཔལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་བྱ་མིན་མ་འདྲ་བས་ སྟོ།
 Chö Pänjo-g°i b°u 'im-drä bo
 You Pänjo-[gen] son be-[prb] [ctr]

So, you must be Pänjo's son.

9. Rhetorical questions

A question is marked by the sentence-final particle ཡ་ *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 ཡ་ *ya* are genuinely rhetorical in the classical sense that the question is intended to demonstrate a point, not to elicit an answer. The particle ཡ་ *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.

- (152) ད་རིས་འགྱུ་ནི་མིན་ཡ།
 D°ari jo-ni-'ing ya?
 Today go-[inf]-[aux] [Q]

They're going today, are they?

(153) - ག་ནི་མོ།
- ལྷ་མ་ཡ།

- G°âti 'mo?

Where be

- Lham ya?

shoes [Q]

- Where are they?

- You mean your shoes?

(154) - ཁོ་མ་འོང་།
- མ་འོང་ཡ།

- Kho ma-ong.

He not-come

- Ma-ong ya?

not-come [Q]

- He hasn't come.

- He hasn't?

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 -ཡི་ -yi or -ཅི་ -ci to the stem of the verb. The ending -ཡི་ -yi is added to stems ending in a vowel or ending in ng in Roman Dzongkha. The ending -ཅི་ -ci is added to verb stems ending in the consonants p, n or m.

(1) དགའ་སྟོན་དེ་གི་སྐབས་ལུ་དགའ་སྟོན་མ་བྱུང་ཡི།

Gatön-d°i-g°i kap-lu gatro bôm

Party-the-[gen] period-[dat] enjoyment big

j°ung-yi

be manifest-[pt]

[We] really enjoyed [ourselves] alot during
the party!

- (2) ང་བཅས་ཐེན་ཁར་འབད་ལྷན་ཅི།
 Ngace thêkhabe pche-ci
 We face-to-face meet-[pt]
 We met face-to-face.
- (3) ང་དུས་ཚེད་ཁར་ཐོན་ཅི།
 Nga d°ütshökha hö-ci
 I in time arrive-[pt]
 I arrived just in time.
- (4) ད་བཞོལ་བྱེན་རན་ཆི་ཡི་མེན་ན།
 D°a g°ola g°ön ren-chi-yi, me-na?
 Now clothes don be time-feel-[pt] not be-[Q]
 Now it's about time we got dressed, isn't it?
- (5) སྒྲོལ་དེ་ན་མ་གོ་ཡི་ག།
 'Lô-d°i 'nawag°o-yi-g°a
 Conversation-the hear-[pt]-[Q]
 Did you hear that?
- (6) བན་མ་གུ་འཕུར་རན་ཆི་ཡི།
 'Namdru phu ren-chi-yi
 Airplane fly be time-feel-[pt]
 It's about time for the plane to leave.

The negative of the witnessed past tense is formed by prefixing the past tense negative morpheme མ་- *ma-* 'did not' to the last syllable of the verb stem. In the negative, the ending -ཡི་ -*yi* ~ -ཅི་ -*ci* is dropped. The past tense negative prefix མ་- *ma-* 'did not' is in and of itself specific for tense and distinct from the present tense negative prefix མི་- *mi-* 'not'.

- (7) ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ང་ལུ་སྨོན་མ་བྱིན།
 Chö-g°i nga-lu tön-ma-bj°in
 You-[erg] I-[dat] instruction-did not-give
 You didn't teach me how to do it.
- (8) རོ་མ་ཉེ་མ་མ་བྲ།
 Doma hema ma-z°a
 betel before did not-eat
 [I've] never chewed betel nut before.

Note that a very small number of Dzongkha verbs exhibit suppletive stem alternation, like *go ~ went* in English. For example, the verb འགྱུ་ *jo* 'to go' becomes སོང་ *song* in the past and in the imperative. The verbs འོང་ *ong* 'to come' and འབག་འོང་ *ba-ong* 'to bring' become ཤོག་ *shô* and འབག་ཤོག་ *bâ-sho* respectively in the imperative and first person interrogative, e.g. ང་ནང་ན་ཤོག་ག། *Nga nâna shog°a* 'Shall I come in?', རེ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་འབག་ཤོག་གི། *D°i chö-g°i bâshosh!* 'You carry this!', ང་གིས་འབག་འོང་ནི་ཡིན།

Nga-g^oi ba-ong-ni-'ing 'I will carry it', ང་གིས་འབག་
 ཤིག་ག། Nga-g^oi bâsho-g^oa 'Shall I carry it'. Further-
 more, the verb འོང་ ong 'to come' has the stem འཇོན་
 thöng 'to come' whenever the verb combines with the
 potential auxiliary འོང་ ong or the perfective suffix འོང་
 ong, e.g. ཁོ་ད་ལྟ་རང་འཇོན་འོང། Kho d^oato-ra thöng-ong
 'He'll come any minute now', ཁོ་འཇོན་འོང་ཡི། Kho thöng-
 ong-yi 'He has come'.

The combination of the auxiliary of potentiality འོང་
 ong, to be introduced in the next chapter, with the suffix
 of the experienced past tense ཡི་ -yi expresses a recurrent
 event.

- (9) ཀཔ་ཀཔ་ར་ རུ་ སི་ལི་ཅི།
 Kap-kap-ra zû sî-ni-ci
 Time-time-[str] body shake-[inf]-one
 thöng-ong-yi
 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 ནུ་ -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 transi-
 tion must have taken place in past time.

- (10) ངི་གི་མ་དེ་མ་བ་སྐྱམ་སྤྱོད་ཐོན་ལ།
 Ngi-g^oi 'ma hema-wa bôm-be thön-nu
 I-[gen] wound before-than big-like come-out-[ip]

My wound has gotten even worse (even bigger).

The inferred past ending ནུ་ 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) ད་རིས་ཁྱ་རུ་སུ་ལས་ང་ལུ་ཡི་གུ་ཨ་མ་ཅིག་ལྟོད་ལ།
 D^oari 'Urusu-lä nga-lu yig^ou 'ad'emci
 Today Russia-from I-[dat] letter this big
 hö-nu
 arrive-[ip]

Today a letter this big came for me from Russia.

- (12) ཨོཀ་ཁང་ནང་སུག་མ་བཞག་ཏུག།
 'Okha-na suma zhâ-nu
 stable-in rice straw put-[ip]

The rice straw has been put in the stable
 under the house.

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

In sentences (13) and (14) the use of ཏུག་ nu is more or less lexically determined by the verbs themselves, i.e. the verbs འབྱུང་ནི་ bjang 'to lose' and སེམ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ sem-lä ä-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 ཡི་ 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) ང་ཏིག་རྩལ་འབྱུང་ད་ཏུག།
 Nga tiru bjang-da-nu
 I money lose-[pf]-[ip]

I lost my money.

- (14) སེམ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཡལ་ཡར་སྤྱོད་ཏུག། སེམ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཡལ་སྤྱོད་ཏུག།
 Sem-lä ä-yâ-so-nu Sem-lä
 Mind-from slip-up-[pf]-[ip] Mind-from
 ö-so-nu
 escape-[pf]-[ip]

It has totally slipped my mind. It has totally
 escaped me.

The moment at which the subject of sentence (15) sat down and commenced his eavesdropping was an event which went unobserved by the speaker.

- (15) ཁོ་གིས་ང་བཅས་ལུ་བཞུགས་ཐོད་ཏུག།
 Kho-g°i ngace-lu ta-dö-nu
 I-[erg] us-upon look-sit-[ip]

He appears to have been sitting there watching us
 [for some time now].

In a sentence such as (16) the use of the witnessed past in ཡི་ yi is fitting and appropriate because the speaker must assume that the listener he is addressing was consciously present and could therefore observe where he had put the book.

(16) ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ངེ་གི་དཔེ་ཆ་ག་དེ་བཞག་ཅི།

Chö-g^oi ngi-g^oi pecha g^oâti zha-ci
You-[erg] I-[gen] book where put-[pt]

Where did you put my book?

If one were to use ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་NU 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 ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་NU 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.

(17) ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ངེ་གི་དཔེ་ཆ་ག་དེ་བཞག་ཅི།

Chö-g^oi ngi-g^oi pecha g^oâti zhâ-nu
You-[erg] I-[gen] book where put-[ip]

Where did you put my 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.

(18) སིང་གེ་ལྟོ་བ་ཅུག་ག།

Singge to z^oâ-nu-g^oa
Singge rice eat-[ip]-[Q]

Has Singge eaten?

(19) སིང་གེ་ལྟོ་བ་ཡི་ག།

Singge to z^oa-yi-g^oa
Singge rice eat-[pt]-[Q]

Has Singge eaten?

The past tense auxiliary ནུག་ nu 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 ནུག་ nu. 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) ང་གིས་གཉིད་ཀྱི་ནང་ཁོ་དང་ས་ནུག།
 Ngag°i 'nyigi-na kho dr°ang-nu
 I-[erg] sleep-in he hit-[if]

I hit him when I was sleeping.

- (21) ང་གིས་གཉིད་ལམ་ནང་ཁོ་དང་ས་ནུག།
 Nga-g°i 'nyilam-na kho dr°ang-nu
 I-[erg] dream-in he hit-[ip]

I hit him in my dream.

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

- (22) ང་གཉིད་ལམ་ལེགས་ཤོམ་མཐོང་ཡི།
 Nga 'nyilam läshom thong-yi
 I dream nice see-[pt]

I had a nice dream.

- (23) མདང་མོ་ཕྱི་རུ་ངའི་གཉིད་ལམ་ནང་ཁྱོད་མཐོང་ཡི།
 Dâmchiru 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) མདང་འགཅག་ད་ནུག།
 Da câ-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) ལྷོ་ཕྱི་བུམ་ཡི་ག། ལྷོ་ཁ་མ་སྐམ་ག།
Chö toukê-yi-g°a? Chö kha-ma-kom-g°a
You hungry-[pt]-[Q] You thirsty-not-thirsty-[Q]

Are you hungry? Aren't you thirsty?

Likewise, one can say གྲང་ཡི། J°ang-yi ‘It has turned cold’ if one had experienced a sudden drop in temperature, although the form གྲང་མ་མས། J°âm-mä ‘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', མྱོང་ SONG, also spelt མྱོ and pronounced SO, is used with most intransitive verbs as the auxiliary of the perfective aspect.

- (26) ཤི་སོ་ནུ་ག།
Shi-so-nu
Die-[pf]-[ip]

He died./He's dead.

- (27) ངའི་ཀི་ལྷ་པ་དེ་ཕུ་ཐིག་པ་བངས་སོ་བྱལ།
 Ngi-kitap-d^oi chu-g^oi b^oang-so-nu
 My-book-the water-[erg] get wet-[pf]-[ip]

My book has gotten wet.

- (28) ལྷོ་འཛོ་སྤེ་ག།
To tsho-so-yi-g^oa
Rice be done-[pf]-[ip]

Is the rice done yet?

- (29) ཁྱོད་ཕམ་སོང་པ་ཅིན་ང་ཁྱོད་ལུ་ཉིག་རུབ་མི་བྱིན།
 Chö pham-so-bacin nga chö-lu
 You lose-[pf]-if I you-[dat]
 tiru mi-bj°in
 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 རྟོག་ *SONg* of the verb 'to go' also has the meaning 'to become':

(30) ད་རིས་ཀྱི་ཐུག་སྒྲིལ་ལྟོགས་ཀྱི་ལྟོགས་

D°ari dau nyag°ang so-nu

Today moon full become-[ip]

The moon has turned full today.

The use of the inferred past ending -ལྟོགས་ -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 འགྱུར་ ~ སྒྲིལ་ jo ~ song itself, in both the meaning 'to go' and 'to become', is formed by adding the prefix ཡར་ yâ-.

(31) མདའ་འཕྲང་ཏང་ཏ་ཡར་སྒྲིལ་ལྟོགས་

Da thrangtangta yâ-song-yi

Arrow straight [pf]-become-[pt]

The arrow has gotten straightend out.

(32) ཤིང་དེ་མེ་གིས་འཛིག་སྒྲིལ་ལྟོགས་

Shing-d°i me-g°i tshi-so-yi

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

The wood is all burnt up.

(33) - ཁོ་ག་དེ་ཡར་སྒྲིལ་ལྟོགས་

- ཁོ་རྫོང་ནང་ཡར་སྒྲིལ་ལྟོགས་

- Kho g°âti yâ-sôm?

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 འོང་ ong 'to come' is marked by the perfective suffix འོང་ ong, in which combination the stem of the verb འོང་ ong changes to འཁྱོང་ thöng, e.g. ཁོ་འཁྱོང་འོང་ལྟོགས་ Kho thöng-ong-yi 'He has come'.

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

(34) ང་ཁ་སྐྱུ་ཆི་ལྟོགས་

Nga khakom-chi-yi

I be thirsty-[pf]-[pt]

I'm thirsty.

- (35) ང་མག་འཐོམ་ཆི་ཡི།

Nga gu thom-chi-yi

I head confuse-[pf]-[pt]

I'm confused.

- (36) ད་རིས་ངའི་ལྷོ་ཆང་དཔལ་འབྱོར་དེ་དྲན་ཆི་ཡི།

D°ari ngi-totsha Pänjo-d°i dr°en-chi-yi

Today my-friend Pänjo-the miss-[pf]-[pt]

Today I missed my friend Pänjo.

- (37) ཆོས་སྒྲིད་དོ་འོ་ཡང་གཡིབ་ཆི་བྱག།

Chöki d°oroya 'üp-chi-nu

Chöki again hide-[pf]-[ip]

Chöki has hidden himself somewhere again.

A special usage of the prefactive auxiliary སྤང་ SONG is its use in combination with the suffix of acquired knowledge -པས་/-བས་ -bä/-wä, which yields the meaning of a possibility, something which might be the case.

- (38) ཁོ་ཡར་སྤང་པས་སྤང།

Kho yâ-song-bä-song

He [pf]-went-[ak]-[pf]

He might have gone [already].

- (39) - ད་ལྷོ་དྲག་ཤོས་ཡིག་ཆང་ནང་བཞུགས་ཡོད་པས་སྤང།

- མ་བཞུགས་པ་འོང་མེན་ན།

- D°ato Dr°âsho yitsha-na zhû-yö-bä-song

Now Dr°âsho office-in sit[hon]-be-[ak]-[pf]

- Ma-zhup-ong, me-na?

Not-sit[hon]-[pot] not be-[Q]

- Dr°âsho might be in the office now.

- He's probably not, don't you think?

- (40) ཁོང་ལུ་འབད་དོ་བས་སྤང་ ཆར་གཅིག་བཟུ་བར་འགྱུ་དགོ་པས།

Khong lâ be-d°o-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 auxiliary ད་ da, for which the more conservative spelling བད་ 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.

- (41) ཕོ་རལ་གྲུ་སྤང་བྱག།

Phôp dr°um-song-nu

Cup break-[pf]-[ip]

The cup has broken into pieces.

- (42) དཀར་ཡོལ་ཕོར་པ་དཀའ་མས་ད་ཅུག།
 Kâyö phôp trum-da-nu
 Porcelain cup break-[pf]-[ip]

Someone has broken the porcelain cup into pieces.

The perfective auxiliary ད་ (བཏང་) *da* should not be confused with the cognate verb བཏང་ ~ གཏང་ *tang* 'dispatch' which occurs in quite a number of expressions, in which the combination of the verb བཏང་ ~ གཏང་ *tang* and its complement have become lexicalized.

- (43) ཤིང་དེ་མེར་བཏང་དགོ་པས།
 Shing-d°i me-tang-go-bä
 Wood-the fire-dispatch-must-[ak]

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

- (44) དབང་མོ་གིས་ངའི་ཕད་ཅུང་དེ་སྤུ་བཞག་ད་ཅུག།
 'Wâm-g°i ngi-phecu-d°i bâ-zha-da-nu
 'Wâm-[erg] my-bag-the hide-put-[pf]-[ip]

'Wâm has hidden my bag somewhere.

- (45) ང་བཅས་ཀྱིས་སྒྲིལ་ཁྱེ་མིག་བརྒྱབས་ད་ཡི།
 Ngace-g°i go demi cap-da-yi
 We-[erg] door lock close-[pf]-[pt]

We've locked the door.

- (46) ད་ཅི་ལས་མཇུག་བསྐྱེད་ཅུག།
 D°aci-lä jûdu-da-nu
 Before-from finish-[pf]-[ip]

It appears that it had already finished earlier.

- (47) ད་མོ་གིས་ཨོམ་དེ་འཛོད་ཡི།
 D°a mo-g°i 'om-d°i b°o-da-yi
 Now she-[erg] milk-the spill-[pf]-[pt]

Now she's spilt the milk.

- (48) ང་ལྟ་ད་ཅི་ལས་བ་ད་ཡི།
 Nga to d°acilä z°a-da-yi
 I rice already eat-[pf]-[pt]

I have already taken my meal.

Observe how the auxiliary of the perfective ད་ (བཏང་) *da* inflects before the modal verb of probability འདྲ་བས་ *drä* in (49). This inflection དམ་ (བཏང་མ་) *dam* is regular from the point of view of the more conservative orthography, but the existence of the alternative inflected stem དཔ་ *dap* of this auxiliary, e.g. sentence (98) in Chapter Five, indicates a diachronic process currently in progress in modern Dzongkha.

- (49) གྲིམ་མནམ་ལུགས་དེ་ལུ་བལྟ་བ་ཅིན་ཚུད་ཀྱིས་
ཨ་བ་བདང་དམ་འདྲ་བས་ མེན་ན།

Dr°im'nam-lu-d°i-lu ta-wacin chö-g°i
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 ད་ da in combination with the suffix བས་ 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) ལཱ་ད་རིས་འབད་མ་ཆར་རུང་ནངས་པ་འབད་ད་པས།
Lâ d°ari 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) ལུད་མེད། ང་ལོག་བཟོ་ད་པས།
Khê mê. Nga lok zo-da-ba
Difference not be I back make-[pf]-[sup]

It doesn't matter. I'll fix it.

- (52) ད་རིས་ངལ་གསོ་ཚུད་ད་ ཤིང་དེ་ནངས་པ་བཀག་ད་པས།
D°ari ngäso dö-da shing-d°i 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 ད་ da expresses a completed transition from one state to another, but the difference in meaning between the verbs ཉལ་ nyä 'fall asleep' and གཉིད་ལོག་ 'nyilo '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) དཔལ་ཚུ་ཉལ་ད་བྱུག།
Päm nyä-da-nu
Päm fall asleep-[pf]-[ip]

Päm has begun to fall asleep.

- (54) དཔལ་མོ་གཉིད་ལྷག་ད་བྱས།

Päm 'nyilo-da-nu

Päm be asleep-[pf]-[ip]

Päm has fallen into a deep slumber.

- (55) དཔལ་མོ་གཉིད་ལྷག་དོ་བས།

Päm 'nyilo-d°o-wä

Päm be asleep-[pr]-[ak]

Päm has fallen asleep. / Päm was sleeping.

The verb གློ་ dō '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*.

- (56) ཨ་ལུ་དེ་ཅིང་མོ་ཅི་ནི་དེ་རང་སྐབ་སྒྲོན་པ་མས།

'Alu-d°i tsêmtse-ni-d°i-ra 'lap-döp-mä

Child-the play-[inf]-the-[str] say-keep on-[ep]

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

The verb ཚར་ tshâ is the auxiliary of the terminative *Aktionsart*, viz. its ex-presses that an action has come to an end. Whereas perfective ཟ་དུ་ཡི། z°a-da-yi 'I ate' indicates that the speaker has already eaten, the sentence ཟ་ཚར་ཡི། z°â-tshâ-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.

- (57) ལྷ་མ་གྲིས་ཚུལ་བཤད་ཚར་ཡི།

'Lama-g°i chôshê-tshâ-yi

Lama-[erg] preach-complete-[pt]

The lama has finished preaching.

- (58) ང་བཅས་ཀྱིས་བྱིམ་དེའི་བྱིམ་དོག་དེ་ཁ་ཅ་ཉིན་མོ་གཅིག་ནང་རང་

བཀའ་ཚར་ཡི།

Ngace-g°i chim-d°i chimto-d°i

We-[erg] house-the[gen] roof-the

khatsa nyim-ci-na-ra kap-tshâ-yi

yesterday day-one-in-[str] place-complete-[pt]

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

- (59) ད་དུས་ཅི་གི་དོན་ལུ་ལྷ་ག་ར་འབད་ཚར་ཡི།

D°a d°üci-g°i d°ön-lu lâ g°âra

Now this year-[gen] for-[dat] work all

be-tshâ-yi

do-complete-[pt]

Now all this year's work has been completed.

The combination of the auxiliary ཚ་ tshâ with the potential auxiliary འང་ ong in sentence (60) corresponds to a future perfect rendering in English.

- (60) ཁྱོད་ཕུན་ཚླ་མ་སྒྲིང་ལས་ལོག་ཕྱིན་ཕྱིན་ང་གིས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་བ་དེ་
 ལྷ་བ་ཚ་འང་དེ་ལས་ཁྱོད་རང་ལོག་ཕྱིན་པ་ཅི་སྒྲིང་འང་།
 Chö Phüntsho'ling-lä lo-hö-hö nga-g^oi
 You Phüntsho'ling back-arrive-arrive I-[erg]
 kitap-d^oi lhap-tshâ-ong D^oelä
 book-the read-complete-[pot] Then
 chö-ra lo höp-ci trö-ong
 you-[str] back return-just as pay-[pot]

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

It is opportune at this point to introduce the approximative suffix ཅིག་ Ci. 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 ཅིག་ Ci as a derivational suffix is discussed in Chapter Seven. The phrase governed by ཅིག་ Ci modifies a main clause, not only in the potential future, but also in any other tense, e.g. (61)-(62).

- (61) ཁོ་འགྱུ་མ་ཅིག་ང་ཡར་འཕྲོན་འང་།
 Kho jou-ci nga phâ thöng-ong
 He go-as soon as I thither come-[pot]
 As soon as he goes, I'll come [i.e., go] there [too].
 (62) ཁོ་སྒྲུབ་ཅིག་ང་བཞག་ད་ཡི།
 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 -ད་ -d^oa 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.

- (63) ལྟ་མ་ལོག་པ་ད་ཉི་མ།
Tama lop-d°a nyo-g°e
Later return-[pg] buy-[adh]

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 adverbial construction in English. In each case, the activity denoted by the present participle is contemporaneous with the event denoted by the main verb.

- (64) ང་བུམ་དེ་དང་གཅིག་ཁར་སློའ་ཀྱབ་ད་ཁོ་གནམ་མེད་ས་མེད་
སེམས་བྱུག་ཀྱབ་ཅིན་པས།
Nga b°um-d°i d°acikha 'lô cap-d°a
I girl-that with converse perform-[pg]
kho 'nammêsamê semz°û cap-'immä
he very jealousy perform-[aux]

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

- (65) ཁྱོད་བཞོལ་དེ་ཁྱོད་མ་ད་བྱ་ཆེ་ཆེ་འདྲག་སྐས།
Chö g°ô-di g°öm-d°a bjâchichi du 'mä
You g°ô-this wear-[pg] handsome be [fe]

Hey, you look handsome in this g°ô.
[literally: 'wearing this g°ô']

- (66) ང་བཅས་ལ་ཡག་ལུ་འགྱུར་ད་ཀྱུགས་ཀྱལ་ང་བཅས་རང་གིས་
འབག་དགོ།
Ngace Lâya-lu jou-d°a jâkê ngace-ra-g°i
We Lâya-to go-[pg] provisions we-[str]-[erg]
bâ-go
carry-must

When we go to Lâya, we shall have to carry [all our]
provisions ourselves.

- (67) ང་འགྱུར་ད་ཁོང་ལག་པ་གཡུག་དོ་བས།
Nga jou-d°a khong lap 'yu-d°owä
I go-[pg] they hand wave-[pr]-[ak]

They waved as I left.

A special durative present gerund is formed by suffixing -ས་རང་ -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.

- (68) ང་སྒྲོན་པ་སྒྲོན་ས་རང་དཀའ་ངལ་བྱུང་ཡི།
Nga döp-dö-sara kangä j°ung-yi
I sit-sit-[dpg] problem be manifest-[pt]

Just as I was sitting there [not going anywhere],
a problem arose.

- (69) ཨ་ལུ་དེ་སྒྲུལ་སྒྲུལ་ས་རང་སྒྲོད་པ་མས།
 'Alu-d°i 'ngû-'ngu-sara döp-mä
 Child-the cry-cry-[dpg] keep on-[ep]

That child just [sits there and] keeps on crying.

- (70) ང་ཉང་མང་མར་བཏབ་བཏབ་ས་རང་ཉལ་དགོ།
 Nga hang phama tap-tap-sara nyä-go
 I pillow hug clutch-clutch-[dpg] sleep-must

I always have to sleep clutching the pillow.

5. The past participle

The past participle is formed by adding -སྟེ་/-དེ་/-དེ་ -di to the stem of the verb. The past participial ending is spelt -དེ་ -di after verbs ending in orthographic -ན་, -ར་, -ལ་ and -ས་, spelt -དེ་ -di after verbs ending in -ད་, and spelt -སྟེ་ -di 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).

- (71) ང་དབང་འདུས་ལུ་སང་སྟེ་དཀའ་ངལ་སྐྱབ་ཅི།
 Nga 'Wangdi-lu song-di kangä thop-ci
 I 'Wangdi-to go-[pp] problem get-[pt]

Having gone to 'Wangdi, I ran into a problem.

- (72) ད་རིས་ཁྱོད་དང་ཕུད་ཚུགས་དེ་སེམས་ཀྱི་གདིང་ལས་རང་དགའ་ཡི།
 D°ari chö-d°a pche-tshu-di sem-g°i
 Today you-with meet-can-[pp] feelings-[gen]
 ding-lä-ra ga-yi
 depths-from-[str] be happy-[pt]

I'm so happy I could meet with you today
 [literally 'having met with you today']

- (73) ང་ཉིང་ལས་རང་ཁྱོད་ལུ་བཟྭ་སྟེ་དགོད་བྲམ་མས།
 Nga hing-lä-ra chö-lu ta-di
 I heart-from-[str] you-[dat] see-[pp]
 gödr°ou-mä
 joke/laugh-[ep]

Looking at you, I am laughing heartily.
 [literally 'having looked at you']

- (74) ཚོང་ཁང་སྒྲོ་བཟུམ་སྟེ་ཨིན་པས།
 Tshongkha go dam-di 'immä
 Shop door close-[pp] be

The shops were closed.

- (75) ད་རིས་འགྲེམ་ཁང་གླ་བཟུམ་སྒྲིལ་ན།

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 -སྒྲི/-དྲི/-དྲི -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) ལཱ་དང་འབྲེལ་དྲི་སྒྲིལ་ནི་ཡིན།

Lâ-d°a thri-di 'la trö-ni-'ing
Work-with depend-[pp] salary pay-[inf]-[aux]

The salary is paid according to [the quality of]
the work.

- (77) ལག་པ་གཡུག་སྒྲིལ་འགྲུལ་མས།

Lap 'yu-di jou-mä
Arm flail-[pp] go-[ep]

There he goes with his arms a-flailing.

- (78) ཡམ་ཚུ་དེ་གིས་ཁོ་གི་དྲིང་གྲུལ་འདའ་སྒྲིལ་མས།

'Amtshu-d°i-g°i kho-g°i tingshü da-di
Woman-that-[erg] he-[gen] track pass-[pp]
jou-mä
go-[ep]

That woman is following him. / That woman is hot
on his trail.

- (79) ཁོ་རྩལ་བརྒྱབས་དྲི་གཙང་ཚུ་ཞེད་པར་བརྟོགས་ཡིན་པས།

Kho tsä-cap-di tsangchu
He swimming-perform-[pp] river
kä-ba top-'immä
traverse-[sup] cut across-[aux]

He is swimming across the river.

- (80) སྒང་དེ་འགྲུར་དར་གིང་ལེ་ག་འཕུར་དྲི་འདུག།

Gang-d°i-gu d°âshing läsha pchâ-di du
Hill-that-on prayer flag many flutter-[pp] be

There are many prayer flags fluttering on that hill.

Verbs ending in -a tend to lengthen their stem vowel to -â before the past participial ending -སྒྲི/-དྲི/-དྲི -di, e.g. ཟ་ Z°a 'eat' vs. ཟ་སྒྲི Z°âdi 'having eaten'. Conversely, verbs ending in -â tend to shorten their stem to -a before the suffix སི་ -si 'place where', e.g. བཞག་ zhâ 'put' vs. བཞག་སི་ zha-si 'place where something is put'.

The suffix *-ལྟོ་ཏི་ཏི་* -di 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) དཔལ་སྒྲོན་གྱིས་བཞོལ་དེ་ཚུ་དྲིའི་འགུར་དབུར་དྲི་དྲུལ་ཨིན་པས།
 Pädrö-g°i g°ola-d°i-tshu do-i-gu
 Pädrö-[erg] clothes-the-[pl] rock-[gen]-upon
 'û-di hräu 'immä
 scrape-[pp] rip [aux]

Pädrö scraped against a rock and tore his clothes.

- (82) བཞོལ་དེ་ཚུ་བལྟ་བས་དྲི་སྒྲོམ་ནང་བཙུག་བཞག།
 G°ola-d°i-tshu tap-di drom-na tsu-zhâ
 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 *-ལས་* -lä is attached to the inflected stem of the auxiliary *ཁྱིན་* zh°ing 'to finish, complete', e.g. (83). The verb *ཁྱིན་* zh°ing 'to complete, finish' is also used as a main verb, e.g. (84).

- (83) ཁོ་གི་ཕང་ཅུང་དེ་ཁ་བརྒྱུང་ཁྱིན་མ་ལས་ཅ་ལ་ལེ་ག་བཏོན་དྲི་བཙོང་ད་ཡི།
 Kho-g°i phecu-d°i khajang-zh°im-lä cala
 He-[gen] bag-the open-finish-[abl] wares
 läsha tön-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) ལཱ་ཁྱིན་སོ་ཡི།
 Lâ zh°ing-so-yi
 Work finish-[pf]-[pt]

The work has been completed.

Occasionally the past participial ending *-ལྟོ་ཏི་ཏི་* -di 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 *ལྷགས་* 'lu 'pour'.

- (85) མི་གསལ་དེ་པ་ལང་ནང་ཨ་རག་ལྷགས་འབག་འབྱོར་བས།
 'Mi-gep-d°i pala-na 'âra 'lu ba-jo-d°o-wä
 Man-old the pala-in 'âra pour carry-go-[pr]-[ak]

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

A *པ་ལང་* pala is the traditional Bhutanese container for transporting *ཨ་རག་* 'âra, indigenous Bhutanese brandy,

consisting of a very large internode of bamboo covered with a decorative coloured and delicately woven bamboo mesh.

The suffix -ཏི/-དེ/-དེ -di 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 བདེན་ཏི tendi , literally 'having sided with, having adhered to'.

- (86) $\text{ད་རིས་སྒོག་མེ་མེད་པ་ལས་བདེན་ཏི་ང་ལཱ་འབད་མ་ཚུགས།}$
 $\text{D}^{\circ}\text{ari}$ 'lome mēp-lä ten-di nga
 Today electricity not be-[abl] adhere-[pp] I
 lâ be ma-tshu
 work do did not-be able to

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

6. The conditional conjunction 'if'

The Dzongkha conjunction -པ་ཅིན་ -bacin or -བ་ཅིན་ -wacin 'if' is added to the verb at the end of the clause specifying the condition. The ending -བ་ཅིན་ -wacin is used after soft stem verbs and the ending -པ་ཅིན་ -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 མ་ ma- in conditional clauses, e.g. (88).

- (87) $\text{ག་དེམ་ཅིག་འབད་དགའ་ངལ་བྱུང་བ་ཅིན་ང་ལཱ་དྲིལ་རུབ་ལྟ་བུ་}$
 དགོ་པས།

$\text{G}^{\circ}\text{ad}^{\circ}\text{emcibe}$ kangä j^oung-wacin nga-lu
 By chance problem arise-if I-[dat]
 tiru 'ngapja go-bä
 'ngütram 500 need-[ak]

I shall require five hundred 'ngütram for the event
 that by chance a problem should arise.

- (88) $\text{འགན་གྱི་དེ་འགྲུར་ས་ཡིག་མ་རྒྱབ་པ་ཅིན་དོན་དག་གི་ཡང་མེད།}$
 $\text{G}^{\circ}\text{enja-d}^{\circ}\text{i-gu}$ sayi ma-cap-bacin d^oontha
 Agreement-the-on signature not-put-if validity
 g^oaniya mê
 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.

- (89) ཁོ་གིས་ཏེ་མ་ལས་ང་བཅས་ལུ་ད་རིས་བཞིས་སྒོ་བ་བར་
 མི་ལྟོད་པས་ཟེར་སྐབ་བཏང་པ་ཅིན་ང་བཅས་བཞིས་སྒོ་དེ་
 ཚུན་ཚོད་འབད་མི་དགོ་པས།

Kho-g'i hema-lä ngace-lu d°ari zhêgo
 He-[erg] before-[abl] we-[dat] today food
 z°a-wa mi-hö-bä z°e
 eat-[sup] not-arrive-[ak] that
 'lap-da-bacin ngace zhêgo
 say-dispatch-if we food
 d°ä-tshüntshö be-mi-go-bä
 that-until make-not-must-[ak]

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.

- (90) ང་ཁྱོད་ཨིན་པ་ཅིན་ང་གིས་སྐུམ་འཁོར་དེ་ག་ལུ་ཡང་བརྟ་བར་མི་བྱིན།
 Nga chö 'ing-bacin nga-g°i 'numkho-d°i
 I you be-if I-[erg] vehicle-the
 g°ä-lu-ya 'nya-wa mi-bj°ing
 who-to-also borrow-[sup] not-give

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

- (91) ང་བཅས་ཕུག་པོ་ཨིན་པ་ཅིན་བོད་ཀྱི་གནས་དེ་ཚུ་ནང་གནས་བསྐྱར་
 བར་མཉམ་གཅིག་འབྱོར་ཚུགས་ནི་ཨིན་པས།

Ngace pciup 'ing-bacin B°ö-g°i
 We rich be-if Tibet-[gen]
 'nä-d°i-tshui-na
 holy place-the-[pl-gen]-in
 'näkö-wa 'nyamci
 make a pilgrimage-[sup] together
 jo-tshu-ni 'im-mä
 go-be able-[inf] be-[ak]

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

- (92) མོ་གིས་ཡི་བྱ་བཀལ་བ་ཅིན་དགའ་ནི་ཨིན་པས།
 Mo-g°i yig°u kä-wacin ga-ni 'im-mä
 She-[erg] letter send-if like-[inf] be-[ak]

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

- (93) དེ་སྒྲེ་འབད་བ་ཅིན་ཨ་པ་ཅིག་པ་ཟམ་ཨིན།
 D°e-be be-wacin 'apa tsip z°au 'ing
 This-like do-if father anger eat be

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

The verb བཀལ་ kä 'send' in sentence (92) may also be spelt བསྐྱལ།

- (94) འབྲུག་བསད་པ་ཅིན་ལས་བསག་པ་ཞིན།

Bup se-bacin läsap 'ing
Insect kill-if sin be

It is a sin to kill [even] an insect. (literally: If [you] kill an insect, it is a sin.)

The conjunction -པ་ཅིན་/-བ་ཅིན་ -bacin/-wacin may be shortened to the ending -ན་ -n affixed directly to the verb.

- (95) མན་བསམ་བཏང་ནི་ཡོད་ན་ད་བཏང་དགོ་པས་སྒྲུལ།

'Nosam tang-ni yö-n d°a
Reason dispatch-[inf] be-if now
tang-go-bä 'mä
dispatch-must-[ak] [fe]

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 ང་གིས་བཟླ་བ་ཅིན་ nga-g°i ta-wacin 'in my opinion', literally 'if I were to look [at the matter]', and དེའི་འབད་བ་ཅིན་ pe be-wacin 'for example':

- (96) ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་བཟླ་བ་ཅིན་ཁོ་ག་དེ་སྟེ་འདྲག་གོ།

Chö-g°i ta-wacin kho g°ad°ebe du-g°o
You-[erg] look-if he how be-[Q]

What do you think he's like?

- (97) ང་གིས་བཟླ་བ་ཅིན་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཏ་མི་གོ་བས་མིན་ན།

Nga-g°i ta-wacin chö-g°i
I-[erg] look-if you-[erg]
ha-mi-g°o-wä me-na
understand-not-understand-[ak] not be-[Q]

According to me, you haven't understood. Is that so?

- (98) གྲང་མ་ཆེ་དེ་དེའི་འབད་བ་ཅིན་ སྒྲུལ་རྒྱུ་འདྲ་བའི་བཟུམ་ཅིག་
ཡོད་པ་ཞིན།

'Lâmche-d°i pe be-wacin bomchu
Elephant-the example do-if size
ri-zumci yöp 'ing
hill-as big as be be

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

7. The concessive conjunction 'although'

The Dzongkha conjunction -རུ་ -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 མ་- ma- rather than མི་- mi-, e.g. (99).

- (99) ང་ནངས་པ་ཚུ་ཚེད་དུག་ལུ་མ་འོང་ཅུང་བདུབ་ག།
 Nga nâba 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) ཁོ་གཡུས་བརྒྱ་ཤིས་སྒང་ལས་ཞིན་ཏེ་འབད་ཅུང་ཁོ་གི་
 རྗེང་ཁ་སྒྲུབ་ཐངས་དེ་སྒྲ་དག་ཏོག་ཏོ་འདུག།
 Kho 'ü Trashigang-lä '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°âtoto du.
 euphonious be.

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

- (101) ང་བཅས་ཀྱི་རྩ་བྱི་དེ་གིས་ཁོ་ལོ་ལེ་ག་གི་རྒྱབ་ལས་མཐོང་མ་ཞིན་ཅུང་
 དེ་འཕྲོད་ལས་ངོ་ཤེས་པས།
 Ngace-g°i rochi-d°i-g°i kho
 We-[gen] dog-the-[erg] he
 lo-läsha-g°i-japlä thôm 'ing-rung
 year-many-[gen]-ago see [aux]-although
 d°ethrölä ngoshê-bä
 immediately recognize-[ak]

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

- (102) ཁོང་གཉིས་ལམ་འགྱུ་ཅུང་ཡང་ལག་པ་མཐུད་དེ་འགྱུ་དགོ་པས།
 Khong-'nyî lamjo-ru-ya lap thü-di
 They-two walk-although-also hand hold-[pp]
 jo-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) རྩ་ཚུ་ནང་བཞོག་ཅུང་ལས་བསག་པ་ཞིན།
 Do chu-na kô-ru läsap '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 *མེན་པར་* *memba* '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 *མེན་པར་* *memba* is used to render a specific contrast between two options: 'not this, but rather'

(104) ད་ལྟ་སངས་ཀྱིས་ལཱ་འབད་མེན་པར་ལྟོ་བཟ་ཞིན་པས།

D^cato Sanggä lâ beu memba to
Now Sanggä work do not but rice
z^oau 'immä
eat [aux]

Sanggä is not working now, but eating.

(105) མོ་ངའི་བུ་མོ་མེན་པར་ངའི་སྲིང་མོ་གི་བུ་མོ་ཞིན།

Mo ngi-b^oum memba ngi
She my-daughter not but my
sîm-g^oi b^oum 'ing
younger sister-[gen] daughter be

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

The conjunction *དེ་འབད་མ་ད་* *d^oi beud^oa* 'but' expresses a categorical contrast. Literally the conjunction translates roughly as 'this being the case'.

(106) ང་བཅས་མ་པ་སྤྱོད་ཁ་འགྱུར་ཞིན་དེ་འབད་མ་ད་དང་པ་རང་

དབང་འདུས་ཐོ་བྱང་ལུ་ཚར་གཅིག་འགྱུར་ཞིན།

Ngace mapa Punakha jo-ni-'ing d^oibeud^oa
We actually Punakha go-[inf]-be but
d^oangma-ra 'Wangdi Phodr^oa-lu tshâ-ci
first-[str] 'Wangdi Phodr^oa-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^oa once.

(107) ཁོ་གིས་ང་ལུ་འདྲོགས་སྤྱིས་སྤྱོད་པའི་ཕྱིས་ཞིན་པས་དེ་འབད་མ་ད་
ང་གིས་དེ་ལུ་འདྲོགས་མི་བདུག།

Kho-g^oi nga-lu drobji tön-mi
He-[erg] I-[dat] threat make-[nom-gen]
tsi-'immä d^oibeud^oa nga-g^oi
pretend-[aux] but I-[erg]
d^oi-lu dro-mi-tup
that-[dat] fear-not-fear

He is acting as if to threaten me, but I'm not
afraid of him.

- (108) ཁོ་གིས་སྤོའ་དེ་ཙམ་བརྒྱ་གཅིག་སྐབ་མས་དེ་འབདཝ་ད་
ཉན་མི་སྡུ་ཡང་མིན་ལྷག།

Kho-g'i 'lô-d'i tshâ-jaci 'lap-mă
He-[erg] speech-the time-one hundred say-[ep]
d'ibeud'a nyen-mi g'â-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 con-
junction དེ་འབད་བར་ d'i bewa 'but', which contains the
supine of the verb 'to do' འབད་ be.

- (109) མདའ་རྒྱབ་ནི་དེ་ཉིན་མོ་བཞི་རྒྱབ་ཅི་ དེ་འབད་བར་འབའ་འགྱར་
ཙམ་གཅིག་ཡང་མ་ཤོག། ག་ཅི་ཞིན་ན་མ་ཤེས།

Da cap-ni-d'i nyim-zhi
Arrow perform-[inf]-the day-four
cap-ci d'i bewa ba-gu
perform-[pt] but target-upon
tshâ-ci-ya ma-phô G'aci 'in-na
time-one-also not-hit What be-[Q]
ma-shê
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.

Strictly speaking, the expression མ་ཤེས་ ma-shê 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 ཡང་ཅིན་ yangcin expresses some of the most
common functions of English 'either' and 'or'.

- (110) ང་ལུ་པི་སི་གཅིག་དགོ་པས་ ཡང་ཅིན་ལྷུ་གུ་གཅིག་དགོ་པས།
Nga-lu pisi-ci go-bă yangcin
I-[dat] pencil-one require-[ak] or
'nyug'u-ci go-bă
pen-one .require-[ak]

I need a pen or a pencil.

- (111) ང་བཅས་ཡང་ཅིན་ནང་ས་པ་འགྱུ་ནི་ཞིན་ ཡང་ཅིན་གནང་ས་ཆེ་
འགྱུ་ནི་ཞིན།
Ngace yangcin nâba jo-ni-'ing yangcin
We either tomorrow go-[inf]-[aux] or
'nâtshe 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 མོ་ *mo* is placed after both alternatives. Note that in this function, the verb མོ་ *mo* is pronounced in the low register tone.

- (112) ཁྱོད་ལུ་ཀི་ལྷ་བ་ཉོན་མ་དེ་དགོ་ནི་མོ་དམར་པོ་དེ་དགོ་ནི་མོ།
 Chö-lu kitap höm-d^oi go-ni-mo
 You-[dat] book blue-the require-[inf]-or
 'mâp-d^oi 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 ཡ་ *ya* is used, although it deserves to be noted that Dzongkha exhibits a preference for the longer constructions with མོ་ *mo* or ཡང་ཅིན་ *yangcin*. The conjunction ཡ་ *ya* is cognate with the clause-final particle ཡ་ *ya* used in rhetorical questions.

- (113) ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་སྐབ་མི་དེ་ ཡ་ནི་ཡ་ཨ་ཡི།
 Chö-g^oi 'lap-mi-d^oi: '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

དེ་མེན་ *d^oimä*, *d^oimen* 'otherwise, lest' or དེ་མེན་རུང་ *d^oimeru* 'or else' is used.

- (114) ནངས་པ་དྲིལ་རུབ་སྤྱོད་པར་ང་རང་འཕྱོན་འོང་དེ་མེན་རུང་།
 ངའི་ཕོ་གཞན་མ་འཕྱོན་འོང།
 Nâba tiru trö-ba nga-ra thöng-ong
 Tomorrow money pay-[sup] I-[str] come-[pot]
 d^oimeru 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) ང་བཅས་ཚ་གཉེར་བཏོན་དགོ་པས་དེ་མེན་ཕྱིས་ནི་ཨིན་མས།
 Ngace tshanye tön-go-bä d^oimen
 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 ག་ཅི་ཨིན་མ་ཟེར་བ་ཅིན་ *g^oaci'imz^oewacin* 'because' introduces the cause or reason for a statement made in the preceding proposition.

- (116) ཁོ་ལུ་ཆ་བཞག་ནི་མི་འོང་ག་ཅི་ཞིན་མ་ཟེར་བ་ཅིན་ཁོ་
ཤོབ་ཀྱི་ཞིན།

Kho-lu chazhâ-ni mi-ong g°aci'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 ག་ཅི་ཞིན་མ་ཟེར་བ་ཅིན་ g°aci'im-z°ewacin 'because', the two less frequent conjunctions ག་ཅི་སྟོན་ཟེར་བ་ཅིན་ g°aci'mo-z°ewacin and ག་ཅི་འབད་ཟེར་བ་ཅིན་ g°aci-be-z°ewacin also express a causative relationship. The difference in meaning is illustrated by the following examples.

- (117) ང་བཅས་ལུ་མི་འབད་ག་ཅི་ཞིན་མ་ཟེར་བ་ཅིན་སྟོང་པས།
Ngace lâ mi-be g°aci'imz°ewacin 'la
We work not-do because salary
nyung-bä
be insufficient-[ak]

We are not working because the pay isn't enough.

- (118) ང་བཅས་ལུ་མི་འབད་ག་ཅི་སྟོན་ཟེར་བ་ཅིན་སྟོང་པས་ཟེར་
སྟབ་ནི་ཞིན།
Ngace lâ mi-be g°aci'moz°ewacin 'la
We work not-do if asked why salary
nyung-bä z°e 'lap-ni-'ing
be insufficient-[ak] that say-[inf]-[aux]

If asked why we are not working, we'd have to say it's because the pay isn't enough.

- (119) ང་བཅས་ལུ་མི་འབད་ག་ཅི་འབད་ཟེར་བ་ཅིན་
སྟོང་པས་ནི་དེ་གིས་ཞིན།
Ngace lâ mi-be g°acibez°ewacin 'la
We work not-do because salary
nyung-ni-d°i-g°i 'ing
be insufficient-[inf]-the-[erg] be

[How is it that] we are not working [it's] on account of the fact that the pay isn't enough.

Whereas ག་ཅི་ཞིན་མ་ཟེར་བ་ཅིན་ g°aci'im-z°ewacin 'because' expresses a straightforward causative relationship, ག་ཅི་སྟོན་ཟེར་བ་ཅིན་ g°aci'mo-z°ewacin has a rhetorical flavour, meaning 'if I were to be asked why', and ག་ཅི་འབད་ཟེར་བ་ཅིན་ g°acibe-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 ཉེང་

ནི་དེ་གིས་ nyung-ni-d°i-g°i 'on account of it not being enough' in sentence (119). Such constructions are treated in Chapter Seven.

11. The adverbializer

The stem of the verb 'to do' འབད་ be is used as a suffix to convert a part of speech or phrase into an adverb.

- (120) འབྲུག་པ་དེ་ཚུ་གིས་རྩ་རྒྱལ་ལེགས་ཤོམ་འབད་རྒྱུ་ཤེས་པས།
 Bjop-d°i-tshu-g°i tâju läshom-be
 Brokpa-the-[pl]-[erg] horse race good-[adv]
 cap-shê-bä
 perform-know how to-[ak]

The Brokpas know well how to race horses.

- (121) བྱ་ཚུ་དང་བུ་མོ་དེ་ཚུ་ཆུ་ལི་ནང་བྱེན་མོ་འབད་ཆུ་འཁྱུ་དོ་བས།
 B°utshu-d°a-b°um-d°i-tshu chu-i-nang
 Boy-and-girl-the-[pl] river-[gen]-in
 gêmo-be chuchu-d°o-wä
 naked-[adv] bathe-[pr]-[ak]

The boys and girls are bathing naked in the river.

- (122) ཀེ་ཇི་གང་ལུ་དྲི་ཤ་རུབ་བརྒྱད་འབད་མི་བྱིན་ག།
 Kej°i-g°ang-lu tiru gä-be
 kilogramme-full-[dat] money eight-at
 mi-bj°ing-g°a
 not-give-[Q]

Won't you give [viz. sell] it for eight 'ngütram
 a kilo?

- (123) ཟམ་ཆུང་ཀྱ་དེ་ བཞལ་འཁྱོམ་ད་ལག་པ་སྤྱིང་སྤྱིང་འབད་བ་ཤེད་དགོ།
 Z°am-chungku-d°i gä-jou-d°a lap
 bridge-small-that cross-go-[pg] hand
 dringdri-be shê-go
 tight-[adv] grab-must

When crossing that small bridge, you have to
 hold on tight.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, the combination of the suffix འབད་ be with an infinitive is similar in meaning to the supine.

- (124) ཁོ་ཐག་པ་མདུད་མོད་ཁྱོལ་ནི་འབད་ཐྱིད་བྱག།
 Kho thap düphö khö-ni-be dö-nu.
 He rope untangle untie-[inf]-[adv] sit-[ip]

He has sat down to untangle the rope.

The adverbializer འབད་ be is cognate to the suffix which occurs in a limited number of adjectives:

- (125) ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་དེ་ཚུ་གྲིག་གྲི་འབད་ཡོད།
 Chö-g°i 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 ཉི་མ་ 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 ཞིང་མ་ལས་ zh°imlā to the regular stem of the verb.

- (126) བཞེང་མ་འཁྱུ་བའི་ཉི་མ་སོ་འཁྱུ་དགོ།
 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.

- (127) ལྷ་ཁང་ནང་མ་འཇུལ་བའི་ཉི་མ་ལྷ་མ་ཕུད་དགོ།
 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) རྫོང་ནང་མ་འཇུལ་བའི་ཉི་མ་བཀའ་ནི་བཀའ་དགོ།
 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) ཆར་པ་རྒྱབ་ཞིན་མ་ལས་ལོག་ཉི་མ་གར་ཡི།
 Châp-cap-zh°imlā lok nyim shâ-yi
 Rain-fall-after back sun shine-[pt]

After the rain the sun shone again.

The notion of 'only' or 'not until' in a temporal sense is expressed in Dzongkha by the postposition བཞེལ་ gä 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 ཚུན་ཚེད་ tshüntshö.

- (130) ང་གིས་ཁྱོད་ད་ཅིས་བཞུག་མ་མཐོང།

Nga-g°i chö d°ari-gä ma-thong
I-[erg] you today-until did-not-see

I haven't seen you till today.

- (131) ཁྱོད་པ་ཚུ་ཚོད་དགུ་ལས་ཕྱི་ལྔ་ཚུ་ཚོད་ལྔ་ལྷན་དགོ་པས།

Dr°oba chutshö gu-lä pchiru
Morning o'clock nine-from afternoon
chutshö 'nga-tshüntshö lâ be-go-bä
o'clock five-until work do-must-[ak]

I have to work from nine to five.

- (132) ད་ཅིས་ང་ཕྱིས་པ་ད་བཞུག་མ་ལོང།

D°ari nga pchip-d°a-gä ma-long
Today I be-late-[pg]-until did-not-get-up

Today I didn't get up till late.

- (133) ཁོང་ལྟ་ན་ཚ་ལས་ད་བཞུག་ཁོ་མ་འོང།

Khong to z°â-tshâu-d°a-gä kho ma-ong
They rice eat-finish-[pg]-until he not-come

He didn't come until they were [already] finishing
up the meal.

- (134) ལྷ་འབད་ཚ་ར་ཞིན་མ་ལས་བཞུག་ལྟ་མ་བ།

Lâ be-tshâ-zh°imlâ-gä to ma-z°a
Work do-finish-after-until rice not-eat

[We] didn't eat until after we had finished
the work.

This postposition བཞུག་ gä is cognate with the verb བཞུག་ gä 'traverse' in expressions such as ཚུ་བཞུག་ chu gä 'ford a stream' and ཟམ་བཞུག་ z°am gä 'cross a bridge', and for both postposition and verb the alternative spelling ཞུག་ 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 -ནི -ni to the stem of the verb, e.g. གཞིབ་ནི 'üp-ni 'to hide', མཚོང་ནི chong-ni 'to jump', འཐུང་ནི thung-ni 'to drink, to smoke', མཐོང་ནི thong-ni 'to see', འབད་ནི 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 དེ d°i 'the' or གཅིག ci 'a' or 'one' as well as postpositions and acts as a nominal constituent in the syntagma.

- (1) ད་ལྟ་ལྟ་འབད་ནི་མེད་པར་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིན།
D°ato lâ 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) ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་བཟྭ་བ་ཅིན་ཁོ་གིས་ཚོས་ལྟ་ག་གེས་ནི་བཟུམ་ཅིག་འདུག་ག།
Chö-g°i ta-wacin kho-g°i chôlhâ
You-[erg] look-if he-[erg] read
shê-ni-zumci du-g°a
know-[inf]-like be-[Q]

Do you think he knows how to read?

- (3) ཁོང་གཉིས་གཉིན་རྒྱབ་ནི་དེ་ཕར་འབད་བཞག་གཅིག་གིས་
གཅིག་ལུ་ཁ་རང་ལེགས་ཤོམ་འབད་མི་སྐབ་པས།
Khong-'nyî 'nyen-cap-ni-d°i phâ
They-two marriage-perform-[inf]-the thither
be-zhâ. Ci-g°i-ci-lu kha-ra
do-put One-[erg]-one-[dat] speech-[str]
läshombe mi-'lap-bä
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) རོ་བྱི་དེ་གིས་སོ་བདེ་བའི་བཟུམ་ཅིག་འདུག་སྟེ།
Rochi-d°i-g°i sotap-ni zumci du 'mä
Dog-that-[erg] bite-[inf] like be [fe]

Hey, that dog looks as if it'll bite.

- (5) ང་བོད་འཆམ་ལྷ་བ་ནི་དེ་གནམ་མེད་ས་མེད་ལཱ་ཁག་འདུག།
 Nga b°öcham lhap-ni-d°i
 I Bhutanese mask dance learn-[inf]-the
 'nammêsamê lâkha du
 very difficult be

It's very difficult for me to learn Bhutanese mask dance. [literally: 'For me the learning of Bhutanese mask dance is very difficult'.]

- (6) རྩོད་རྩོད་རང་གིས་ཆེ་ལོ་བྱ་གཅིག་ཐུབ་ནི་དེ་ཁོ་གཅིག་ཡང་
 མ་ཐུབ་བཅོམ་ཞིན་པས།
 Chö chö-ra-g°i tshe lo-ja-ci
 You you-[str]-[erg] life year-hundred-one
 thup-ni-d°i khä-ci-ya ma-thup
 attain-[inf]-the score-one-too not-attain
 zou 'immä.
 make [aux]

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 རྩོད་ལྷ་ chölhâ 'to read' in sentence (2) incorporates the lexicalized complement རྩོད་ chö 'learning, holy scriptures' which is dropped when the verb takes an

overt object, e.g. ང་ཀུན་གསལ་ལྷ་བ་དྲི། Nga Künsel lhâ-d°o 'I am reading the Künsel'.

The ergative suffix -གིས་ g°i can be attached to an infinitive to indicate a cause, as in the expression 'therefore' དེ་འབད་ནི་དེ་གིས་ D°i be-ni-d°i-g°i, literally 'On account of it being enacted that way', e.g. (7), or as in the phrase ཉལ་ཉལ་ས་རང་སྤྲོད་ནི་དེ་གིས་ hap-hap-sara dö-ni-d°i-g°i '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).

- (7) ད་ལྟ་མདའ་རྒྱལ་པའི་སྒྲུང་ཞིན་དེ་འབད་ནི་དེ་གིས་གྲུ་
 རྩལ་ནི་ཞིན་ན་སྤྲོད་མི་ཤེས་པས།
 D°ato da cap-bigang 'ing. D°i
 Now arrow perform-[con] be That
 be-ni-d°i-g°i g°â gä-ni 'in-na
 do-[inf]-the-[erg] who win-[inf] be-[Q]
 'lap mi-shê-bä
 say not-know-[ak]

We are now playing archery. Therefore, we can't yet say who's going to win.

- (8) ལུམོ་རོམ་ཉལ་ཉལ་ས་རང་ཐོད་ནི་དེ་གིས་ང་ཙ་ལས་རང་
གཉིད་ལོག་མི་ཐུགས་པས།

Numo rochi hap-hap-sara

Night dog bark-bark-[dpg]

dö-ni-d°i-g°i nga tsalä-ra

keep on-[inf]-the-[erg] I at all-[str]

'nyilo mi-tshu-bä

sleep not-can-[ak]

I can't sleep at all at night because the dogs keep on barking.

- (9) ལྡན་ལྷག་དྲང་ནི་དེ་གིས་རྒྱམ་ཙཱ་མེད་པ་བདང་མ་ཞིན།
Denca dr°ang-ni-d°i-g°i 'namco meptâm 'ing
Slap strike-[inf]-the-[erg] ear spoil [aux]

Slapping damages the ear.

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

- (10) ཀེ་པར་དེ་གིས་སྒྲོ་ལི་དུས་ཚོད་ཁར་བབུང་ཆིཔ་ལས་
ཁོང་རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐོབ་ཀྱིས།

Kipar-d°i-g°i boli d°ütshökha zung-chip-lä

Goalie-the-[erg] ball in time catch-feel-[abl]

khong gäkha thop-nu

they victory get-[ip]

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

The suffix -མ་ -m can be added to the infinitive to form a *nomen concretum* with the meaning 'that by means of which':

- (11) ལྷགས་ཀྱིན་ཁ་ཕྱི་ནིམ་དེ་མེད་པར་ག་དེ་སྒྲེ་ཁ་ཕྱི་ནི་སྒྲོ།
Câtri khapchi-nim-d°i-meba g°ad°ebe
Tin open-er-the-without how
khapchi-ni 'mo
open-[inf] be

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

- (12) ཤེལ་དྲ་ནིམ་དེ་གིས་ཤེལ་གྱི་རིགས་ག་ཅི་ཡང་དྲ་བདུབ་པས།
She dr°a-nim-d°i-g°i she-g°i ri-g°aci-ya
Glass cut-ter-the-[erg] glass-[gen] type-which-too
dr°a-tup-bä
cut-be alright-[ak]

This glass cutter will cut any type of glass.

Note that the verb ཁ་ཕྱི་ནི་ *kha pchi-ni* 'to open', used in sentence (11), is used with respect to ལྕགས་གྲིན་ *câtri* 'tins', སྟོལ་ *botöl* 'bottles' and similar vessels with an aperture which can be opened by removing a lid or cover. With གོ་ *go* 'doors', རྒྱ་མཐག་ *demi* 'lock', བཤེད་བཤེད་མ་ *sheshêm* 'zipper' and the like, the verb ཕྱི་ནི་ *pchi-ni* 'to open' is used. By contrast, the verb ཁ་བརྒྱུང་ནི་ *kha jang-ni* 'to open the mouth of' is used for the opening orifices or objects which lack a lid or cover, e.g. ཕེད་ཅུང་ *phecu* 'bag, sack'. 'To open one's mouth' is simply ཁ་བརྒྱུང་ནི་ *kha jang-ni*.

What we also observe in sentence (11) is the use of the infinitive in combination with the verb གློ་ *'mo* 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 གློ་འི་ *'who*', གློ་འདྲེ་ *g°ad°ebe* 'how', གློ་འདྲེ་ *g°âti* 'where, whereto', ནམ་ *nam* 'when' and, as an object of the sentence only, གློ་འདྲེ་ *g°aci* 'what', e.g. (13)-(17). Similar questions with the interrogative གློ་འདྲེ་ *g°acibe* '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) གློ་འདྲེ་ཅི་ནི་

G°â-g°i z°a-ni

Who-[erg] eat-[inf]

Who is going to eat it? / Which of us is going to eat it?

(14) ད་ལ་ངེས་ཅི་ནི་གློ་འདྲེ་ཅི་ནི་གློ་འདྲེ་

D°a ngace g°aci z°a-ni? G°ayara

Now we what eat-[inf] Everything

dzo-song-nu.

deplete-[pf]-[ip]

What are we to eat now? Everything has been used up.

(15) གློ་འདྲེ་ཅི་ནི་

Chö g°âti jo-ni

You where go-[inf]

Where are you going?

(16) ད་ལ་ངེས་ཅི་ནི་

D°a g°ad°ebe be-ni

Now how do-[inf]

How are we to do this now?

(17) ཁྱད་ལཱ་ནམ་འབད་ནི།

Chä lâ nam be-ni
You work when do-[inf]

When are you going to do the work?

(18) ག་ཅི་འབད་བཞོག་བས།

G°acibe kô-wa
Why throw-[sup]

Why throw it away?

(19) ད་ང་བཅས་ལཱ་འདི་ག་ཅི་འབད་འབད་བས།

D°a ngace lâ-di g°acibe be-wa
Now we work-this why do-[sup]

Why should we do this work?

In questions such as those in (13)-(17), the infinitive cannot be combined with the auxiliaries ཡིན་ 'ing or ཡིན་པས་ 'immä. Such constructions are dealt with in the following section.

2. Periphrastic constructions with the infinitive

A newspaper headline may consist of an infinitive only, e.g. རལ་འཛོམས་ zh°ädzom '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' ཡོད་ yö, འདུག་ du, མེད་ mē or མིན་འདུག་ minu expresses an activity or event at hand.

(20) དྲོ་རྩོམ་ཨ་ཅི་ཁྱད་ནི་ཡོད།

D°oro 'lô 'atsi cap-ni yö
Again converse little bit perform-[inf] be

Again there is some discussing to be done.

Note that the modern spelling དྲོ་རྩོམ་ d°oro 'again' in (20) corresponds to the older spelling ད་རྩོམ་, literally 'even now'.

(21) ང་གིས་ཁྱོད་ལས་དངུལ་ཀྲམ་བཅུ་ཐམ་ལེན་ནི་ཡོད།

Nga-g°i chö-lä 'ngütram cuthâm
I-[erg] you-from 'ngütram ten
len-ni yö
take-[inf] be

I have to take back those ten rupees from you.

- (22) ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ང་ལ་ཕུག་ཕྱིན་ནི་ཡོད།
 Chö-g^oi ngace-lu tiru bj^oing-ni yö
 You-[erg] we-[dat] money give-[inf] be

You are to give us money.

- (23) སྔ་གྲོ་ཆེས་བརྩ་གི་སྐབས་ལུ་བང་རྩ་གྲི་བརྩུང་ནི་ཡོད་ག།
 Paro-tshêcu-g^oi kap-lu ba'nga tringtri
 Paro-tshêcu-[gen] time-at drum cymbals
 dung-ni yö-g^oa
 strike-[inf] be-[Q]

Is there striking of drums and cymbals
 at the Paro Tshêcu?

- (24) ཡང་གྲངས་འཕྲོན་ནི་མིན་འདྲག།
 'Angdrang thöng-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) འདི་ནང་ལུ་ངའི་མིང་འཕྲོན་ནི་མིན་འདྲག།
 Di-na-lu ngi-meng thöng-ni minu
 this-in-at my-name come-inf not be

My name doesn't appear to come up [on this list].

- (26) མི་དེ་མཚོན་ནི་ག་ནི་ཡང་མིན་ཅུག། ཅུ་གས་ཨིན་པས།
 'Mi-d^oi 'no-ni g^oaniya minu
 Man-the think-[inf] anything_{at} all not be
 Tsagä 'immä
 Fool be

That man does not think at all. He is a fool.

- (27) ལྷ་ཁང་ནང་འགྱུ་ཤ་དུ་ལྷ་མ་བརྩུག་ནི་མེད། ལྷ་ཁང་ནང་
 ཏམ་ཁ་འཕྱང་ནི་མེད།

Lhakha-na jou-d^oa lham tsu-ni mê.
 Monastery-in go-[pg] shoes wear-[inf] not be
 Lhakha-na tamkhu thung-ni mê
 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 ཡོད་ yö and མེད་ mê, expressing personal or assimilated knowledge, and འདྲག་ du and མིན་འདྲག་ minu, expressing objective or acquired knowledge, applies in periphrastic constructions with the infinitive as well. The use of the auxiliary ཡོད་ yö is usual in sentence (28), where the speaker is speaking with regard to himself, whereas the use of འདྲག་ du 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) ང་ནངས་པ་ཡིག་ཚང་ནང་ལཱ་འབད་ནི་ཡོད།
 Nga nâba yitsha-na lâ be-ni yö
 I tomorrow office-in work do-[inf] be

I have work to do in the office tomorrow.

- (29) ང་ནངས་པ་ཡིག་ཚང་ནང་ལཱ་འབད་ནི་འདྲག།
 Nga nâba yitsha-na lâ 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 ཡིན་ 'ing, ཡིན་པས་ 'immä, མེན་ mä and མེན་པས་ membä 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) ད་རིས་ང་སོང་ཡི། ང་ནངས་པ་ཨ་རཱ་ཀྱ་བར་ཁྱེད་འགྱུ་ནི་ཡིན་ན།
 D°ari nga song-yi. Nâba 'âuku-wa
 Today I went-[pt] Tomorrow steal-[sup]
 chö 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) ཨ་མ་ཚུ་དེ་ཚུ་ག་དྲེ་འགྱུ་ནི་ཡིན་ན།
 'Amtshu-d°i-tshu g°âti jo-ni 'in-na
 Women-the-pl whereto go-[inf] be-[Q]

Where are the women off to?

- (32) དེ་དཔྱེ་རྒྱུ་མ་གཅིག་ཡིན། རྩ་མ་དེ་གྲལ་མ་བཟོ་ནི་ཡིན།
 D°i pe cânci '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) བསྟན་ཀྱིས་ལྷན་ཁང་གིས་འགོ་འདྲན་འཐབ་ནི་ཡིན་པས།
 Tengä Lhenkha-g°i godren
 Ministry of Trade and Industry-[erg] organization
 thap-ni 'immä
 carry out-[inf] be

It's being organized by the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

- (34) རྩ་མ་གྱི་ཐོག་ལས་འབད་སྟབ་ནི་ཡིན།
 Dzongkha-g°i tholä-be 'lap-ni 'ing
 Dzongkha-[gen] through-[adv] speak-[inf] [be]

He is speaking Dzongkha.

- (35) ཕགས་དེ་ཆེལ་ལུ་ལེ་ག་འོང་ནི་ཡིན་པས།
 Phap-d°i tshilu läsha ong-ni 'immä.
 Pig-the fat lots come-[inf] be

Pork is very fat. [literally 'the pig comes with lots of fat'].

- (36) ང་བཅས་ཕྱི་ཁྱེལ་ལུ་འགྱོ་བ་ཅིན་དངུལ་ལེ་ག་
 འཕྲོ་བསྐྱལ་འགྱོ་ནི་ཡིན་པས།
 Ngace pchigä-lu jo-wacin 'ngü
 We foreign country-to go-if silver
 läsha throla-jo-ni 'immä
 much waste-go-[inf] be

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

The difference in meaning between the auxiliaries ཡིན་ 'ing and ཡིན་ mǎ, expressing personal or assimilated knowledge, and ཡིན་པས་ 'immä and ཡིན་པས་ membä, 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 ང་བཅས་ཕྱི་ཁྱེལ་ལུ་འགྱོ་ནི་ཡིན། Ngace Thê jo-ni 'ing 'We're going to Punakha' or ང་ནངས་པ་ལུ་འབད་ནི་ཡིན། Nga nâba lâ 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 ཡིན་པས་ 'immä, expressing acquired knowledge, e.g. ཁོང་ད་ལྟ་རང་ལྟོ་བ་བར་འགྱོ་ནི་ཡིན་པས། Khong d°ato-ra to z°a-wa jo-ni

'immä 'They're going to have their meal right now', although one might say ཁོང་ད་ལྟ་རང་ལྟོ་བ་བར་འགྱོ་ནི་ཡིན། 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 པ་སངས་ཡང་འགྱོ་ནི་ཡིན། Pâsa ya jo-ni 'in-na 'Is Pâsa going too?', the speaker presumes that the second person has personal knowledge of Pâsa's intentions, whereas in posing the question པ་སངས་ཡང་འགྱོ་ནི་ཡིན་པས་ག། Pâsa ya jo-ni 'immä-g°a 'Is Pâsa 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. ནངས་པ་ཁྱོད་འགྱོ་ནི་ཡིན་པས་ག། Nâba chö jo-ni 'in-na 'Are you going tomorrow?', the speaker uses the auxiliary ཡིན་ 'ing because he must presume the second person knows the answer. However, note the use of the auxiliary ཡིན་པས་ 'immä with a first person subject in (37). Here, the auxiliary ཡིན་པས་ 'immä does not govern འགྱོ་ jo 'to go', but the modal of exigency དགོ་ go 'must, to have to', and the need to go in (37) has arisen without having been foreseen by the speaker.

- (37) ང་ནངས་པ་གཡུས་ཁར་འགྱོ་དགོ་ནི་ཡིན་པས།
 Nga nâba 'ü-kha jo-go-ni-'immä
 I tomorrow village-to go-must-[inf]-[aux]

I'll have to go to the village tomorrow.

- (38) ལམ་རིམ་ནམ་འགོ་བཅུགས་ནི་ཨིན་ན།

Lärim nam gutsu-ni 'in-na
Programme when start-[inf] be-[Q]

When is the programme going to begin?

- (39) ང་བཅས་ཕུན་ཚོགས་སྤང་ཚུན་ཚོད་འགྱུ་ནི་ཨིན།

Ngace Phüntsho'ling-tshüntshö jo-ni 'ing
We Phüntsho'ling-until go-[inf] be

We're going down as far as Phüntsho'ling.

- (40) ཁྱོད་གཟུགས་ཚུ་འཕུ་ནི་ཨིན་ན།

Chö zû chûchu-ni 'in-na
You body bathe-[inf] be-[Q]

Are you going to take a bath?

- (41) ཁོ་མཆོགས་པ་རང་ཡིག་ཚང་འདི་ནང་ལས་དགོངས་མ་ཁྱུ་ནི་ཨིན་པས།

Kho jobara yitsha-di-na-lä gômzh'u-ni
He soon office-this-in-from resign-[inf]
'immä
be

He will soon be resigning from this office.

- (42) ང་མནའ་འབོ་ནི་ཨིན།

Nga 'nab°ô-ni 'ing
I promise-[inf] be

I promise.

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

- (43) ངའི་ལྟོ་ཚང་ནུ་ཡོད་པ་ཅིན་དགའ་ནི་ཨིན་པས།

Ngi-totsha nâ yö-bacin ga-ni-'immä
My-friend here be-if like-[inf]-[aux]

I'd be very happy if she were here.

- (44) ང་ལུ་ས་ཁྲ་གཅིག་འབྲི་གནང་པ་ཅིན་ང་གིས་ལམ་ཤེས་ནི་ཨིན་པས།

Nga-lu saphra-ci dr°i-'nang-bacin nga-g°i
I-[dat] map-a write-proffer-if I-[erg]
lam shê-ni-'immä
way know-[inf]-[aux]

If you would draw me a map, I'd be able to find the way.

- (45) ཁྲོམ་དེ་ཞིབ་དཔྱད་འབད་ནི་ཨིན་པས།

Throm-d°i zh°ipce be-ni 'immä.

Town-the inspection do-[inf] be

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 ཨིན་ mä or ཨིན་པས་ mem-bä.

- (46) ཁོང་ད་རིས་གཡུས་ཁར་འགྱུ་ནི་ཨིན་པས།

Khong d°ari 'ü-kha jo-ni membä

They today village-to go-[inf] not be

They're not going to the village today.

- (47) ང་བཅས་ཐྱོད་ནི་ཨིན།

Ngace dö-ni mä

We sit-inf not be

We won't stay.

- (48) ང་ཚོ་དང་གཅིག་ཁར་འགྱུ་ནི་ཨིན།

Nga mo-d°acikha jo-ni mä

I she-with go-[inf] not be

I'm not going with her.

- (49) ད་རིས་ཁལ་འཛམ་གནང་ནི་ཨིན་པས།

D°ari zh°ädzom 'nang-ni membä

Today meeting hold-[inf] not be

Today no meeting will be held.

As pointed out in Section 2 of Chapter 5, the combination of an infinitive with the form འབད་དོ་བསས་ bed°owä yields the meaning 'to be on the verge of', 'to be about to'.

- (50) ཕུ་ཁོལ་ནི་འབད་དོ་བས།

Chu khö-ni be-d°o-wä

Water boil-[inf] do-[pr]-[ak]

The water is about to boil.

The infinitive also combines with the negative of the verb འོང་ ong 'to come' in the meaning 'should not'.

- (51) ཤོབ་རྒྱུ་མི་ཚུ་གི་ཁ་ལུ་བདེན་འདིན་རེ་ནི་མི་འོང།

Shopcap-mi-tshu-g°i kha-lu dendzi

Lie-[sub]-[pl]-[gen] word-[dat] credence

ri-ni mi-ong.

accord-[inf] not-should.

One should not believe what liars say.

- (52) ཁོ་ལཱ་འབད་བའི་སྒང་ཨིན་པས། དེ་འབད་ནི་དེ་གིས་
དགྲོགས་ནི་མི་འོང།

Kho lâ be-wigang 'immä. D°i
He work do-[con] [aux] This
be-ni-d°i-g°i tro-ni mi-ong.
do-[inf]-the-[erg] disturb-[inf] not-should

He is working. Therefore, he should not
be disturbed.

- (53) དུག་འབྱར་ལགས་འདྲགས་ནི་མི་འོང།

D°u-gu lapdo-ni mi-ong
Poison-upon touch-[inf] not-should

You should not touch poison with your hands.

- (54) རོ་ཁྱི་འདྲོགས་སི་སི་དེ་དགྲོགས་ནི་མི་འོང། ལགས་བཀལ་ནི་མི་འོང།

Rochi-drosisi-d°i tro-ni mi-ong.
Dog-dangerous-the stir-up-[inf] not-should
Lapkä-ni mi-ong
Lay hands on-[inf] not-should

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

Note that the verbs ལགས་འདྲགས་ནི་ lapdoni 'touch' and
ལགས་བཀལ་ནི་ lapkäni 'lay hand on' in sentences (53) and
(54) both incorporate the lexicalized complement ལགས་
lap 'hand'. The element ལགས་ lap 'hand' also occurs as

part of other verbs, such as ལགས་ཤེལ་ནི་ lapshêni 'grab,
hold fast' and ལགས་མཐུད་ནི་ lapthüpnî 'shake hands, hold
hands'. Although an integral part of the verb, the comple-
ment ལགས་ lap 'hand' can be separated from the verb stem
within the sentence, as the following two examples illus-
trate:

- (55) ཁོ་གི་ལགས་དེ་ཁོ་གི་ལྗང་འབྱར་པཀལ་འབད་གཉིས་ཆ་ར་
སྤྱོད་ཅུག།

Kho-g°i lap-d°i kho-g°i totsha-gu
He-[gen] hand-the he-[gen] friend-upon
kä-be 'nyî-chara 'ngu-dö-nu
lay-[adv] two-both cry-sit-[ip]

Having laid his arm across his friend's shoulder,
they both sat there crying.

- (56) སྒྲན་དེ་འབྱར་ལགས་ཅུ་ལས་འདྲགས་ནི་མི་འོང།

'Men-d°i-gu lap tsalä do-ni
Medicine-the-upon hand absolutely touch-[inf]
mi-ong
not-should

Under no circumstances are you to touch
that medicine.

3. The potential auxiliary

The verb འོང་ '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) ཁམ་རྒྱ་འོང།

Khau cap-ong

Snow do-[pot]

It may snow.

(58) ཁམ་རྒྱ་ནི་ཡིན་པས།

Khau cap-ni 'immä

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) གནམ་གྱ་ཆ་རལ་རྒྱ་འོང།

'Nambjâ châp cap-ong

Summer rain fall-[pot]

It'll rain in the summer.

(60) གནམ་གྱ་ཆ་རལ་རྒྱ་པའི།

'Nambjâ châp 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 འོང་ '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) ང་གིས་བཟུ་བ་ཅིན་མ་རྒྱ་ཡོད་པ་འོང།

Nga-g'i ta-wacin mo nâ yöp-ong

I-[erg] look-if she here be-[pot]

I think she's here somewhere.

(62) ཡིན་པ་འོང།

'im-ong

be-[pot]

It may be. / It's possible.

- (63) ང་ནངས་པ་འོང་ནི་ཨིནམ་ ཁོ་གིས་ཤེས་པ་འོང།

Nga nâba ong-ni 'im
I tomorrow come-[inf] be
kho-g°i shêp-ong
he-[erg] know-[pot]

He probably knows that I'm coming tomorrow.

- (64) ངི་གི་མཚོ་བསམ་ལས་འབད་བ་ཅིན་ཁོ་རྒྱ་ཁྲོད་ནང་ཡོད་པ་འོང།

Ngi-g°i 'nosam-lä be-wacin kho nâ
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) མོ་གིས་ཁོ་ལུ་དགའ་མ་འོང།

Mo-g°i kho-lu gau-ong.
She-[erg] he-[dat] love-[pot]

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

- (66) མོ་གིས་ཁོ་ལུ་དགའ་འོང་ མེན་ན།

Mo-g°i 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) རྒྱ་ཁྲོད་ཡོད་པ་འོང།

Nâ hö-höp-ong
Here arrive-arrive-[pot]

It may have already arrived.

- (68) ཟྱོད་ཀྱིས་བཀལ་བ་ཅིན་རྒྱ་ཁྲོད་འོང།

Chö-gi kä-wacin nâ hö-ong
You-[erg] send-if here arrive-[pot]

If you send it, it'll get here.

- (69) ཁོ་ཁ་འཐེན་དེ་གོ་སྟེ་སེམས་སྒྲིལ་འོང།

Kho khathen-d°i g°ô-di sem cou-ong
He message-the hear-[pp] mind be sad-[pot]

He might be sad, having heard the news.

- (70) ཁ་འཐེན་འདི་གི་སྒྲོལ་ལས་ཁོ་གིས་གོ་བ་ཅིན་ཁོ་སེམས་སྒྲིལ་འོང།

Khathen-di-g°i kôlä kho-g°i 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) ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཀློང་དེ་ང་གིས་གནང་ས་ཆེས་ལོག་སྟོན་འོང།
 Chö-gi kitap-d°i nga-g°i 'nâtshe
 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) འཕྲིན་ལས་ཀྱིས་ཁོ་ལུ་དངུལ་ཀླམ་སྟོང་ཕྲག་གཅིག་བྱིན་འོང།
 Thrinlā-g°i kho-lu 'ngütram tongthra-ci
 Thrinlā-[erg] he-[dat] 'ngütram thousand-one
 bj°ing-ong
 give-[pot]

Thrinlā may give him a thousand 'ngütram.

- (73) སྟོན་སྟོན་པ་འོང།
 Trö-tröp-ong
 Pay-paid-[pot]

It's probably already been paid for.

Progressive and perfective auxiliaries also inflect before
 the potential auxiliary འོང་ ong, e.g. (74)-(78).

- (74) ཁོ་ཡི་གུ་འབྲི་དོམ་འོང།
 Kho yig°u dr°i-d°ou-ong
 He letter write-[pr]-[pot]
 He's probably writing a letter.

- (75) ལཱ་འབད་དོམ་འོང།
 Lâ be-d°ou-ong
 Work do-[pr]-[pot]
 They're probably working.

- (76) ད་ལྟ་ལྟ་ཟ་དོམ་འོང།
 D°ato to z°a-d°ou-ong
 Now rice eat-[pr]-[pot]
 He's probably eating now.

- (77) ཁ་རྩ་ཁོ་གིས་ཞེར་མ་ག་ར་བཙོང་དམ་འོང།
 Khatsa kho-g°i 'ema g°âra
 Yesterday he-[erg] chillies all
 tsong-dam-ong
 sell-[pf]-[pot]

Yesterday he probably sold all the chillies.

(78) ཁོང་བཞི་ཉིན་མོ་ལས་རང་ཡར་སོང་མ་འོང།

Khong zhenyim-lä-ra yâ-sop-ong
They three days ago-[abl]-[str] [pf]-go-[pot]

They probably already left three days ago.

The growing tendency in spoken Dzongkha to treat the form སོང་ SONG as a hard stem verb SO in allegro speech accounts for the inflected form in (78).

The potential auxiliary འོང་ ong in combination with the witnessed past ending ཡི་ -yi expresses a recurrent phenomenon:

(79) ཀཔ་ཀཔ་རང་མག་ན་ནི་གཅིག་འཕྱོར་འོང་ཡི།

Kap-kap-ra gu na-ni-ci thöng-ong-yi
Time-time-[str] head hurt-[inf]-one come-[pot]-[pt]

From time to time I get a headache.

When the verb འོང་ ong 'to come' is combined with the potential auxiliary འོང་ ong, the stem of the verb changes to འཕྱོར་ thöng, e.g. ཁོ་ད་ལྟ་རང་འཕྱོར་འོང། Kho d°ato-ra thöng-ong 'He'll come any minute now', ང་ཨ་ཅི་གཅིག་ལས་མཐོན་འོང། Nga atsicilä thöng-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 གེ་ནོ་ -g°eno, which originally derives from the adhortative suffix. A speaker of Dzongkha might think examples (80) or (81) to himself.

(80) ལྟ་མ་ང་བ་གེ་ནོ།

Tama nga z°a-g°eno
Later I eat-[af]

I'll eat later.

(81) མ་ལ་ལཱ་གྲུས་ཅ་འབད་འབད་གེ་ནོ།

Nâba lâ pütsabe be-g°eno
Tomorrow work enthusiastically do-[af]

Tomorrow I'm really going to work hard.

The future perfect is formed with the auxiliary verb ལྟོ་ 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 མྱོ་ 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 *Aktions-art* 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) - གཞིག་པར་ལོང་། མཐུག་པར་སོང་།
- ཁོ་མར་ལྟོད་ལྟོད་གཞིག་མེད་ཅོ།

- Sha dzo-ong. Joba song.

Meat run out-[pot] Quickly go

- Kho mâ hö-hö 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) - མི་གི་འོང་། མཐུག་པར་འགྱུག།
- ཁྱེད་པར་ལྟོད་ལྟོད་མི་གི་མེད་ཅས།

- 'Mi shi-ong. Joba jo-g°e!

Man die-[pot] Quickly go-[adh]

- Chä phâ hö-hö 'mi shi-nyo-wä

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.

ག་དེ་ཞེ་	g°ad°ebe	how
དེ་ཞེ་	d°ebe	like that
ཨ་ནེ་ཞེ་	'anebe	like this
ནེ་ཞེ་	nebe	like this
བཟུམ་ཞེ་	zumbe	like, as, in which manner

The element ཞེ་ in these adverbs is also found spelt འབད་, which spelling assumes a different etymology.

- (84) སྒོམ་གྱི་ཁྱེ་མིག་བྱ་མེད་པར་ང་གིས་སྒོམ་དེ་ག་དེ་སྒྲེལ་ཁྱི་ནི་སྒོ།
 Drom-g^oi demib^ou-meba nga-g^oi drom-d^oi
 Chest-[gen] key-without I-[erg] chest-the
 g^oad^oebe kha-pchi-ni 'mo
 how open-[inf] be

How am I to open the chest without the key?

- (85) ལམ་ལེགས་ཉིང་དེ་ག་དེ་སྒྲེལ་འདྲག་གོ།
 Lam-lähi g^oad^oebe du-g^oo
 Road-condition how be-[Q]

What is the condition of the roads like?

- (86) ཨ་ནི་སྒྲེལ་བདད་བ་ཅིན་བདུབ་པས་ག།
 'Anebe be-wacin tup-bä-g^oa
 Like this do-if be alright-[ak]-[Q]

[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 བཟུམ་ཅིག་ zumci. Each contains the element ཅིག ci, which is the approximative suffix.

- | | | |
|------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| ག་དམ་ཅིག་ | g ^o ad ^o e(m)ci | how much, how many,
how big |
| ཨ་ནིམ་ཅིག་ | 'ane(m)ci | this much, this many,
this big |
| ཨ་ཡིམ་ཅིག་ | 'aphe(m)ci | that much, that many,
that big |
| དེམ་ཅིག་ | d ^o e(m)ci | about; as big as that |
| ནིམ་ཅིག་ | ne(m)ci | about; as big as this |
| བཟུམ་ཅིག་ | zumci | as much as, as many as,
as big as; as if, as though,
like |

The relative is used in expressions like ཁོ་གི་མགུ་དྲིག་བཟུམ་ཅིག་ kho-g^oi guto-zumci 'as big as his head' and ཨ་ཡི་བཟུམ་ཅིག་ 'aphi-zumci 'as big as that', but also has a secondary meaning 'as if, as though', e.g. ཆར་པ་མི་རྒྱུ་ནི་བཟུམ་ཅིག་ འདྲག། Châp mi-cap-ni zumci du 'It looks as if it's not going to rain'.

The postposition དེ་ཅིག་ d^oeci suffixed to an amount indicates approximation, e.g. བཅོ་ལྔ་དེ་ཅིག་ cä'nga-d^oeci 'about fifteen'.

- (87) ཁྱོད་ཟླ་ག་དེ་ཅིག་ཐོད་ནི་སྒོ།
 Chö dau g^oad^oeci dö-ni 'mo
 You month how many stay-[inf] [aux]

How many months will you be staying?

- (88) སློག་བརྒན་དེ་ཕྱི་ཚེན་ག་དམ་ཅིག་ཚུན་ཚེན་སྟོན་མ་ཞིན་ན།
 'Loknyen-d'i chutshö-g°ad°emci-tshüntshö
 Film-the o'clock-how much-until
 töm-'in-na
 show-[aux]-[Q]

Till what time does the film last? [literally: is the film being shown]

- (89) བསྐྱེད་མ་ག་དམ་ཅིག་སྟོ།
 Dom g°ad°emci 'mo
 Total how much be

What's the total?

Not to be confused with ག་དམ་ཅིག་ g°ad°e(m)ci 'how much' is the adverbialized form ག་དམ་ཅིག་འབད་ g°ad°em-cibe 'by chance, coincidentally'. In contrast to ག་དམ་ཅིག་ g°ad°e(m)ci 'how much', e.g. (90), the pronoun ག་དེ་རེ་ g°ad°ere, containing the distributive particle རེ་ re, denotes 'how much each' or 'how much per unit', as the following examples illustrate:

- (90) བཞོ་ག་རང་འབདམ་ད་ལུ་ག་དམ་ཅིག་སྟོ།
 G°ô-g°âra-beu-d'a g°ad°emci mo
 G°ô-all-do-[pg] how much be

How much for the g°ô's [i.e. all of them]?

- (91) བཞོ་རེ་ལུ་ག་དེ་རེ་སྟོ།
 G°ô-re-lu g°ad°ere 'mo
 G°ô-each-[dat] how much each be

How much are per g°ô?

- (92) ཀེ་ཇི་ལུ་ག་དེ་རེ་སྟོ།
 Kej°i-lu g°ad°ere 'mo
 Kg-[dat] how much each be

How much per kilogramme?

- (93) ནགས་སྐྱེས་ཆག་པ་རེ་ལུ་ག་དེ་རེ་སྟོ།
 Nâkê chapa-re-lu g°ad°ere 'mo
 Fiddleheads bunch-each-[dat] how much each be

How much are the fiddleheads (fern croziers) per bunch?

The Dzongkha interrogative for reason or cause is ག་ཅི་འབད་ g°acibe 'why'.

- (94) ག་ཅི་འབད་བཞོག་མ་སྟོ།
 G°acibe kôu 'mo
 Why throw be

Why throw it away?

- (95) ཁོ་ག་ཅི་འབད་དགའམ་ཨིན་ན།
 Kho g°acibe gau-'in-na
 He why laugh-[aux]-[Q]

Why is he laughing?

- (96) ཁྱོད་ང་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཁྱིམ་ནང་ག་ཅི་འབད་འོང་མ་སྟེ།
 Chö ngace-g°i chim-na g°acibe ôm '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:

ནམ་	nam	when
དེ་སྐད་	d°igang	at that time, then
དང་ཕྱགས་	d°angphu	once upon a time, long ago
དེ་གི་སྐབས་ལུ་	d°i-g°i kap-lu	at that time, in that period
ཉི་མ་	hema	before
ལྗམ་	tama	later [a matter of hours or minutes]
གྲལ་མ་	shüma	later [a matter of weeks or days]

- (97) དབྱངས་སྟོན་ནམ་ལས་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་ང་ནང་ལུ་འབདམ་སྟེ།
 'Yangdrö nam-lä chä-g°i yitsha-na
 'Yangdrö when-[abl] you-[gen] office-in
 lâ beu 'mo
 work do be

Since when does 'Yangdrö work in your office?

The Dzongkha interrogative for place and its deictic counterparts are:

ག་དེ་	g°âti	where, whither
ནྟེ་	nâ	here
ཕར་	phâ	there
མར་	mâ	below, down there
ཡར་	yâ	above, up there
ཕར་དང་ཕྱར་	phâ-d°a-tshu	there and back again, to and fro, back and forth

The interrogative pronoun ག་དེ་ g°âti is used both in the sense of 'where' and of 'whither, whereto', e.g. (98), (99). The interrogative ག་དེ་ g°âti occurs in combination with the dative suffix only when used as an independent utterance, e.g. ག་དེ་ལུ་ g°âti-lu 'Whereto?' The interrogative ག་དེ་ g°âti is combined with the ablative suffix ལས་ lä in the sense 'whence, wherefrom', e.g. ཁྱོད་ག་དེ་ལས་སྟེ། Chö g°âti-lä 'mo? 'Where are you from?' In Dzongkha any ablative of place may be combined with the adverb ཕར་ phâ 'there, thither' to indicate direction of movement,

e.g. གནམ་ཁ་ལས་པར་ 'namkha-lä phâ 'down from the sky'. So too the combination གཏེ་ལས་པར་ g°âti-lä phâ conveys the meaning 'which way', e.g. (100).

- (98) ལྷོ་མ་དེ་ཚུ་གཏེ་འབག་ནི་ཡིན་པས།
 Drom-d°i-tshu g°âti bâ-ni 'immä
 Box-the-[pl] where carry-[inf] be-[ak]

Where are they taking the boxes to?

- (99) གཏེ་ཡར་སོང་ཡི།
 G°âti yâ-song-yi
 Where [pf]-went-[pt]

Where did he go?

- (100) གཏེ་ལས་པར་ཡར་སོང་མ་ཡིན་ན།
 G°âti-lä phâ yâ-sôm-'in-na
 Where-[abl] thither [pf]-went-[aux]-[Q]

Which way did he go?

The pronoun གྲླ་ g°â translates both as 'who' and, with respect to human referents, as 'which'. In (101) the form གྲླ་ g°â is used for 'which' because a ལས་ཁུངས་ läkhung 'department' is manned by a human staff.

- (101) ཞལ་འཛོམས་དེ་ ལས་ཁུངས་གྲུའི་གི་འགོ་འདྲིན་ཐོག་ལས་
 འབདམ་ཡིན་ན།

Zh°ädzom-d°i läkhung-g°ai-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 གཏེ་ g°aci translates both as 'what' and, with respect to non-human referents, as 'which'.

- (102) དེ་སེམས་ཅན་གཏེ་ཡིན་ན།
 D°i semce g°aci 'in-na
 That animal which be-[Q]

Which animal is that?

The interrogative pronouns, usually reinforced with ཡང་ ya 'too', are combined with a negative verb to convey the senses 'nowhere', 'never', 'no one', etc. The special form for 'nothing', however, is གཏེ་ཡང་ g°aniya 'anything' in combination with a negative verb, e.g. (107).

- (103) ཁོ་ག་དེ་ཡང་འགྱུ་མི་མེད་པར་སྡོད་པ་ཅིན་པས།
 Kho g°âti-ya jo-si-meba döb 'immä
 He where-too go-place-without sit [aux]

He has no place to go. [literally: He sits there without a place to go.]

- (104) ང་བཅས་ཀྱི་འཚོལ་མི་དེ་ག་དེ་ཡང་མི་འཕྲོག་པས།
 Ngace-g°i tshö-mi-d°i g°âti-ya mi-thop-bä
 We-[erg] seek-[sub]-the where-too not-get-[ak]

What we are looking for doesn't seem to be available anywhere.

- (105) ཁོ་ནམ་ཡང་ཤོག་མི་ཏུག།
 Kho nam-ya shop mi-cap
 He when-also lie not-perform

He never lies.

- (106) ལྷ་ཁྱིམ་ནང་གྲྲ་ཡང་མེད།
 Nâ chim-na g°â-ya mê
 Here house-in who-also not be

There's nobody here inside.

- (107) ཁོང་གི་ཚོང་ཁང་དེ་ནང་ག་ནི་ཡང་མི་འཕྲོག་པས།
 ག་ནི་ཡང་མིན་འདུག།
 Khong-g°i tshongkha-d°i-na g°aniya
 They-[gen] shop-the-in anything
 mi-thop-bä G°aniya minu
 not-get-[ak] Anything not be

You can't get anything in the shop. There's nothing there.

The adjective གཞན་མི་ *zhenmi* or གཞན་ *zhen* express the meaning 'other', and the collocation མི་གཞན་མི་ 'mi zhen-mi means 'another person'. The notions 'someone, someone else, anyone, whoever' are expressed by the phrase ལྟ་བུ་རུ་ *g°âberu*, consisting consecutively of the pronoun ལྟ་ *g°â* 'who', the adverbializer ལྟ་བུ་ *be* and the concessive ལྟ་བུ་ *ru* 'although, even'.

Dzongkha lacks the ambiguity of the English indefinite 'another'. Dzongkha གཞན་མི་གཅིག་ *zhenmi ci* 'another one' has the sense of 'a different one from the one at hand', like French *autre*, Dutch *ander* or Russian *другой*, e.g. (108), whereas Dzongkha ལྟ་མི་ཡང་གཅིག་ *d°oroya ci* 'another one' conveys the meaning 'yet another one, one more', like French *encore un*, Dutch *nog één* or Russian *ещё один*, e.g. (109).

- (108) ང་ལུ་གཞན་མི་གཅིག་གནང་གིག།

Nga-lu zhenmi-ci 'nang-sh
I-[dat] different-one give-[u]

Give me another one.

- (109) ང་ལུ་དོ་རོ་ཡང་གཅིག་གནང་གིག།

Nga-lu d'oroya ci 'nang-sh
I-[dat] again one give-[u]

Give me another one.

- (110) མདའ་དེ་འཕྲང་ཏང་བཏང་ཅིག་རང་མིན་འདྲག་དེ་འབད་ནི་དེ་གིས་
ང་ལུ་མདའ་གཞན་མི་གཅིག་དགོ་པས།

Da-d°i thrangtangta-ci-ra mindu
Arrow-the straight-like-[str] not be

D°ibenid°ig°i nga-lu da
Therefore I-[dat] arrow

zhenmi-ci go-bä.

other-one need-[ak]

This arrow isn't quite straight. So, I shall require another arrow.

- (111) མི་གཞན་མི་དེ་ལུ་ཡང་དྲི་ཡི་ག།

'Mi zhenmi-d°i-lu-ya dr°i-yi-g°a
Man other-the-[dat]-also ask-[pt]-[Q]

Did you ask that other guy too?

- (112) མདའ་གཞན་མི་དེ་ཚུ་ད་ལྟོ་ཡང་བྱིམ་ནང་ཡོད། ལྷོ་འབད་རུང་
གཅིག་གིས་ལེན་པར་འགྱོད་གོ་པས།

Da-zhenmi-d°i-tshu d°ato-ya chim-na yö.

Arrow-other-the-[pl] now-too house-in be

G°âberu-ci-g°i lem-ba jo-go-bä

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 མ་འདྲམ་ madrau means 'different', literally མ་ ma 'not' འདྲམ་ drau 'resembling', and is used much the same way as in English.

- (113) ང་ལུ་ཡང་གཅིག་ཡོད། དེ་འབདམ་དེ་དེ་མ་འདྲམ་གཅིག་ཡིན།

Nga-lu-ya ci yö D°ibeud°a 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) བྱ་རིགས་དེ་བཅུ་མ་མ་འདྲམ་ལེ་ག་ཡོད།

Bj°a ri-d°i-zum madrau läsha yö

Bird type-the-like different many be

There are many different kinds of birds like this one.

The adjective ལ་ལུ་ *lalu* means 'some'. With the approximative suffix ཅིག་ *ci* the adjective ལ་ལུ་ཅིག་ *laluci* takes on a more indefinite character, although the subtle distinction is difficult to render satisfactorily in English.

- (115) ལྷ་རེ་ལ་ལུ་རི་ཁར་རང་བཞག་རྩལ།
 Tari-lalu rikha-ra zhâ-nu
 Ax-some jungle-[str] put-[ip]

Some of the axes have been left behind
 in the jungle.

- (116) ལ་ལུ་ཅིག་འོང་རང་མ་འོང་པས།
 Lalu-ci ong-ra ma-ong-mä
 Some-like come-[str] not-come-[ak]

Some have not shown up at all.

- (117) མི་ལ་ལུ་ཅིག་ཁྱིམ་ནང་རང་ཐྱོད་རྩལ།
 '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 འབྲུག་པ་བཀའ་རྒྱུད་ Drukpa Kâjü sect, the state religion of Bhutan, the year is often reckoned from the death of འབམས་དྲུང་པ་དབང་རྒྱལ་མ་རྒྱལ་ Zh'apdrung Nga-'wang 'Namgä in 1651 AD.

The most common common system in popular use, however, is the རབ་བྱུང་ Rapjung system. The Rapjung system employs a sixty-year cycle and is based on the chronometry of the Kālācakra 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 Kālācakra system, the sixty-year Chinese lunary 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 རབ་བྱུང་ Rapjung, whence the system acquired its name. Accordingly, the designation of any year is known as the རབ་བྱུང་གི་ལོ་ Rapjung-g'i lo 'year of Rapjung' or simply རབ་ལོ་ Raplo. The year རབ་བྱུང་ 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 lunary 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:

༡	རྩི་བ་	J°iu, J°iwa	the Rat
༢	གྲང་	'Lang	the Bull
༣	སྒྲག་	Tâ	the Tiger
༤	ཡེ་ས་	Ö	the Hare
༥	འབྲུག་	Dru	the Dragon
༦	སྒྲེལ་	Drü	the Serpent
༧	ཏ་	Ta	the Horse
༨	ལུག་	Lu	the Sheep
༩	སྒྲེལ་	Trê	the Monkey
༡༠	ཕྱ	Bj°a	the Bird
༡༡	ཁྱི	Chi	the Dog
༡༢	ཕག་	Phâ	the Pig

There are five elements, each of which has a masculine ཕྱ pho and a feminine མོ 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:

༡	ཤིང་	Shing	Wood
༢	མེ	Me	Fire
༣	ས་	Sa	Earth
༤	ལྷགས་	Câ	Iron
༥	ཆུ་	Chu	Water

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 ཕྱ pho 'male' and མོ 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:

མེ་མོ་ཡེ་ས་ལྷོ་	Me-mo-ö lo	Year of the Fire Hare
ས་ཕྱོ་འབྲུག་ལྷོ་	Sa-pho-dru lo	Year of the Earth Dragon
ས་མོ་སྒྲེལ་ལྷོ་	Sa-mo-drü lo	Year of the Earth Serpent
ལྷགས་ཕྱོ་ཏ་ལྷོ་	Câ-pho-ta lo	Year of the Iron Horse
ལྷགས་མོ་ལུག་ལྷོ་	Câ-mo-lu lo	Year of the Iron Sheep
ཆུ་ཕྱོ་སྒྲེལ་ལྷོ་	Chu-pho-trê lo	Year of the Water Monkey
ཆུ་མོ་ཕྱ་ལྷོ་	Chu-mo-bj°a lo	Year of the Water Bird
ཤིང་ཕྱོ་ཁྱི་ལྷོ་	Shing-pho-chi lo	Year of the Wood Dog
ཤིང་མོ་ཕག་ལྷོ་	Shing-mo-phâ lo	Year of the Wood Pig
མེ་ཕྱོ་རྩི་བ་ལྷོ་	Me-pho-j°iwa lo	Year of the Fire Rat
མེ་མོ་གྲང་ལྷོ་	Me-mo-'lang lo	Year of the Fire Bull
ས་ཕྱོ་སྒྲག་ལྷོ་	Sa-pho-tâ lo	Year of the Earth Tiger

ས་མོ་ཡོས་ལོ་	Sa-mo-ö lo	Year of the Earth Hare
ལྷགས་པོ་འབྲུག་ལོ་	Câ-pho-dru lo	Year of the Iron Dragon
ལྷགས་མོ་སྦྲུལ་ལོ་	Câ-mo-drü lo	Year of the Iron Serpent
རྒྱ་པོ་རྩ་ལོ་	Chu-pho-ta lo	Year of the Water Horse
རྒྱ་མོ་ལུག་ལོ་	Chu-mo-lu lo	Year of the Water Sheep
ཤིང་པོ་སྦྲེལ་ལོ་	Shing-pho-trê lo	Year of the Wood Monkey
ཤིང་མོ་བྱ་ལོ་	Shing-mo-bj°a lo	Year of the Wood Bird
མེ་པོ་བྱི་ལོ་	Me-pho-chi lo	Year of the Fire Dog
མེ་མོ་ཕག་ལོ་	Me-mo-phâ lo	Year of the Fire Pig
ས་པོ་བྱི་བ་ལོ་	Sa-pho-j°iwa lo	Year of the Earth Rat
ས་མོ་སྤང་ལོ་	Sa-mo-'lang lo	Year of the Earth Bull
ལྷགས་པོ་སྦྲུག་ལོ་	Câ-pho-tâ lo	Year of the Iron Tiger

ལྷགས་མོ་ཡོས་ལོ་	Câ-mo-ö lo	Year of the Iron Hare
རྒྱ་པོ་འབྲུག་ལོ་	Chu-pho-dru lo	Year of the Water Dragon
རྒྱ་མོ་སྦྲུལ་ལོ་	Chu-mo-drü lo	Year of the Water Serpent
ཤིང་པོ་རྩ་ལོ་	Shing-pho-ta lo	Year of the Wood Horse
ཤིང་མོ་ལུག་ལོ་	Shing-mo-lu lo	Year of the Wood Sheep
མེ་པོ་སྦྲེལ་ལོ་	Me-pho-trê lo	Year of the Fire Monkey
མེ་མོ་བྱ་ལོ་	Me-mo-bj°a lo	Year of the Fire Bird
ས་པོ་བྱི་ལོ་	Sa-pho-chi lo	Year of the Earth Dog
ས་མོ་ཕག་ལོ་	Sa-mo-phâ lo	Year of the Earth Pig
ལྷགས་པོ་བྱི་བ་ལོ་	Câ-pho-j°iwa lo	Year of the Iron Rat
ལྷགས་མོ་སྤང་ལོ་	Câ-mo-'lang lo	Year of the Iron Bull
རྒྱ་པོ་སྦྲུག་ལོ་	Chu-pho-tâ lo	Year of the Water Tiger

རྒྱ་པོ་ཡོས་ལོ་	Chu-mo-ö lo	Year of the Water Hare
ཤིང་པོ་འབྲུག་ལོ་	Shing-pho-dru lo	Year of the Wood Dragon
ཤིང་མོ་སྦྲུལ་ལོ་	Shing-mo-drü lo	Year of the Wood Serpent
མེ་པོ་རྩ་ལོ་	Me-pho-ta lo	Year of the Fire Horse
མེ་མོ་ལུག་ལོ་	Me-mo-lu lo	Year of the Fire Sheep
ས་པོ་སྦྲེལ་ལོ་	Sa-pho-trê lo	Year of the Earth Monkey
ས་མོ་བྱ་ལོ་	Sa-mo-bj°a lo	Year of the Earth Bird
ལྷགས་པོ་བྱི་ལོ་	Câ-pho-chi lo	Year of the Iron Dog
ལྷགས་མོ་ཕག་ལོ་	Câ-mo-phâ lo	Year of the Iron Pig
རྒྱ་པོ་བྱི་བ་ལོ་	Chu-pho-j°iwa lo	Year of the Water Rat
རྒྱ་མོ་སྤང་ལོ་	Chu-mo-'lang lo	Year of the Water Bull
ཤིང་པོ་སྦྲུག་ལོ་	Shing-pho-tâ lo	Year of the Wood Tiger

ཤིང་མོ་ཡོས་ལོ་	Shing-mo-ö lo	Year of the Wood Hare
མེ་པོ་འབྲུག་ལོ་	Me-pho-dru lo	Year of the Fire Dragon
མེ་མོ་སྦྲུལ་ལོ་	Me-mo-drü lo	Year of the Fire Serpent
ས་པོ་རྩ་ལོ་	Sa-pho-ta lo	Year of the Earth Horse
ས་མོ་ལུག་ལོ་	Sa-mo-lu lo	Year of the Earth Sheep
ལྷགས་པོ་སྦྲེལ་ལོ་	Câ-pho-trê lo	Year of the Iron Monkey
ལྷགས་མོ་བྱ་ལོ་	Câ-mo-bj°a lo	Year of the Iron Bird
རྒྱ་པོ་བྱི་ལོ་	Chu-pho-chi lo	Year of the Water Dog
རྒྱ་མོ་ཕག་ལོ་	Chu-mo-phâ lo	Year of the Water Pig
ཤིང་པོ་བྱི་བ་ལོ་	Shing-pho-j°iwa lo	Year of the Wood Rat
ཤིང་མོ་སྤང་ལོ་	Shing-mo-'lang lo	Year of the Wood Bull
མེ་པོ་སྦྲུག་ལོ་	Me-pho-tâ lo	Year of the Fire Tiger

Speaking of one's year of birth, one might say ང་ལོ་བྱི་བ་ཞིན། Nga lo j°iu 'ing 'I was born in the year of the Rat' or ང་ལོ་བྱི་བ་ཁམས་ཤིང་ཞིན། Nga lo j°iu kham shing 'ing 'I was born in the year of the Wood Rat', whereby ཁམས་ kham means 'element'. In addition to ལོ་ lo 'year', the more complete expression བཞུགས་ལོ་ 'namlo 'celestial year' is used, e.g. བཞུགས་ལོ་ག་ཅི་ནང་སྟེ། 'Namlo g°aci-na 'mo 'In which year was that?'. 'This year' is དུས་ཅི་ d°üci; 'next year' is སང་ཕོད་ sangphö; 'last year' is ན་རྟིང་ na-hing, and 'the year before last' is བཞི་རྟིང་ zhehing, e.g. ང་ན་རྟིང་ཟླ་མ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དོན་ལུ་འབྲུག་ལུ་འོང་ཡི། Nga nahing dau 'nyî-g°i d°ön-'u 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 Chökê pronunciations. These Kālācakra terms are used only by astrologers and scholars of Bhutanese chronometry.

རབ་བྱུང་	Rapjung	Year of the Fire Hare
ནམ་བྱུང་	'Namjung	Year of the Earth Dragon
དཀར་པོ་	Karpo	Year of the Earth Serpent
རབ་ཕྱིས་	Rapnyö	Year of the Iron Horse
སྟེན་པ་དག་	Kêdak	Year of the Iron Sheep
ཨང་གི་ར་	'Angg°ira	Year of the Water Monkey
དཔལ་གདོང་	Peldong	Year of the Water Bird
དངོས་པོ་	'Ngöpo	Year of the Wood Dog
ན་ཚོད་ལྷན་	Natshötden	Year of the Wood Pig
འཛིན་བྱེད་	Dzinj°et	Year of the Fire Rat
དབང་ཕྱུག་	'Wangchuk	Year of the Fire Bull
འབྲུ་མང་པོ་	Drumangpo	Year of the Earth Tiger
ཕྱིས་ལྷན་	Nyöden	Year of the Earth Hare
ནམ་གཞོན་	'Nam'nön	Year of the Iron Dragon
ཁྱུ་མཚོག་	Chuchok	Year of the Iron Serpent
སྟེ་ཚོ་པས་	'Natshok	Year of the Water Horse
ཉི་མ་	Nyima	Year of the Water Sheep
ཉི་སྟེན་ལུ་བྱེད་	Nyidrolj°et	Year of the Wood Monkey
ས་སྟེང་	Sacong	Year of the Wood Bird
མི་བད་	Miz°et	Year of the Fire Dog
ཐམས་ཅད་འབྲུལ་	Thamcetdül	Year of the Fire Pig
ཀུན་འཛིན་	Kündzin	Year of the Earth Rat
འགལ་བ་	Gelwa	Year of the Earth Bull
ནམ་འབྲུར་	'Namjur	Year of the Iron Tiger

བོང་བ་	B°ongb°u	Year of the Iron Hare
དགའ་བ་	Gawa	Year of the Water Dragon
ནམ་རྒྱལ་	'Namgel	Year of the Water Serpent
རྒྱལ་བ་	Gelwa	Year of the Wood Horse
སྟོན་ཕྱེད་	Nyöj°et	Year of the Wood Sheep
གདོང་ངན་	Dongnyen	Year of the Fire Monkey
གསེར་འཕྲང་	Serchang	Year of the Fire Bird
ནམ་འཕྲང་	'Namchang	Year of the Earth Dog
སྤུང་ཕྱེད་	Jurj°et	Year of the Earth Pig
ཀྱུན་ལྷན་	Künden	Year of the Iron Rat
འཕར་བ་	Pharwa	Year of the Iron Bull
དགེ་ཕྱེད་	Gej°et	Year of the Water Tiger
མཛེས་ཕྱེད་	Dzej°et	Year of the Water Hare
ཁྲོ་མོ་	Thromo	Year of the Wood Dragon
སྤྱོད་ཆོག་པ་དཔྱིག་	'Natshok'ik	Year of the Wood Serpent
ཟེལ་གཞོན་	Z°il'nön	Year of the Fire Horse
སྟོན་ཕྱེད་	Treu	Year of the Fire Sheep
ཕུར་བ་	Phurb°u	Year of the Earth Monkey
ཞི་བ་	Zh°iwa	Year of the Earth Bird
སྤྱན་མོང་	Thünmong	Year of the Iron Dog
འགལ་ཕྱེད་	Gelj°et	Year of the Iron Pig
ཡོང་ས་འཛིན་	Yongdzin	Year of the Water Rat
བག་མེད་	B°akmet	Year of the Water Bull
ཀྱུན་དགའ་	Künga	Year of the Wood Tiger

སྟོན་ཕྱེད་	Sinb°u	Year of the Wood Hare
མོ་	Me	Year of the Fire Dragon
དམར་སེར་	Marser	Year of the Fire Serpent
དུས་ཀྱི་ཕོ་ཉ་	D°ükiphonya	Year of the Earth Horse
དོན་གྲུབ་	D°öndr°up	Year of the Earth Sheep
དྲག་པོ་	Dr°akpo	Year of the Iron Monkey
སྟོང་ན་	'Lonyen	Year of the Iron Bird
ང་ཆེན་	'Ngachen	Year of the Water Dog
ཐག་སྒྲུབ་	Thrakcuk	Year of the Water Pig
མིག་དྲམ་ར་	Mikmar	Year of the Wood Rat
ཁྲོ་བོ་	Throwo	Year of the Wood Bull
ཟད་པ་	Z°etpa	Year of the Fire Tiger

The Bhutanese lunar New Year, officially known as རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལོ་གསར་ **Gäbi Losa** 'King's New Year' but popularly known only as ལོ་གསར་ **LOSA**, 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, ལོ་མཁའ་བག་ **Lomba** or ལོ་མཁའ་སྒྲོ་ **Lompo**, is celebrated on the last day of the tenth lunar month and first two days of the eleventh lunar month in Hâ and Paro districts. In Shâ, i.e. 'Wangdi Phodr°a district, the new year is celebrated as ཉིན་ལོག་ **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 བར་ཕྱོགས་པ་ལོ་གསར་ **Shâchop Losa**, or བར་ཕྱོགས་པ་ལོ་

གསར་ Shâchobi Losa, is, for religious reasons having to do with the chronometry of the རྟེན་མ་པ་ '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 སོ་ཁ་ sôkha 'spring', གུ་ bjâ 'summer', སེ་ཁ་ sêkha 'autumn' and དབྱན་ gñin 'winter'.

There are twelve months in the Bhutanese year, and these are generally designated simply as ལྷམ་ dau 'moon' or 'lunar month' with the corresponding ordinal number, e.g. དང་པ་ d°angba 'first', གཉིས་པ་ 'nyîba '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.

lunar months

ordinal name		astrological name	
ལྷམ་དང་པ་	dau d°angba	རྟ་ལྷམ་	Ta da
ལྷམ་གཉིས་པ་	dau 'nyîba	དཔོ་ལྷམ་	'O da
ལྷམ་གསུམ་པ་	dau sumba	ནག་ལྷམ་	Nak da
ལྷམ་བཞི་པ་	dau zhiba	ས་ག་ལྷམ་པ་	Sag°a dawa
ལྷམ་ལྔ་པ་	dau 'ngaba	སྟོན་ལྷམ་	'Nön da
ལྷམ་དྲུག་པ་	dau dr°uba	ཚུ་སྟོན་ལྷམ་པ་	Chutö dawa
ལྷམ་བདུན་པ་	dau dünba	གྲོ་བཞིན་ལྷམ་པ་	Dr°ozhin dawa
ལྷམ་དབུ་པ་	dau gäba	ཁྲུམ་ས་ལྷམ་	Thrum da
ལྷམ་དབྱ་པ་	dau guba	ཐ་སྐར་ལྷམ་པ་	Thakar dawa
ལྷམ་བརྩ་པ་	dau cuba	མིན་དྲུག་ལྷམ་པ་	'Mindr°u dawa
ལྷམ་བརྩ་གཅིག་པ་	dau cuciba	མགོ་ལྷམ་པ་	Go dawa
ལྷམ་བརྩ་གཉིས་པ་	dau cunyiba	གྲུ་ལྷམ་པ་	Gel dawa

Note that the ordinal numbers are not used in combination with ཚར་ tshâ 'time', introduced in Section 7 of Chapter 4, but with ཐེངས་ theng 'time', e.g. ཨ་ནི་ཐེངས་ལྔ་པ་ཡིན། 'Ani theng 'ngaba 'ing 'This is the fifth time', or with ལན་ཐེངས་ lenthe 'time', e.g. ད་ཨ་ནི་གི་ལན་ཐེངས་ལྔ་པ་འགྱུར་ ཡིན། D°a 'ani Lenthe 'nga jou 'ing 'Now this is the fifth time going'. Some uses of the word ཚར་ tshâ 'time', however, may prefer an ordinal translation in English, e.g. ཉི་གིས་ཚར་གསུམ་པ་འགྱུར་ཡིན། Ni-g°i tshâ 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 དབྱིན་ལྷོ་ 'inda 'English month' and are also combined with the ordinal numbers. For example, དབྱིན་ལྷོ་དགུ་པ་ 'inda guba 'the ninth Gregorian month' is September. There is increasing support for the use of the term རྒྱ་ལྷོ་ cida 'International month' on one hand because the term དབྱིན་ལྷོ་ '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 རེས་ tshê 'date' followed by the cardinal number of the day of the Bhutanese lunar month, e.g. རེས་བརྒྱ་ཐམ་ tshê cuthâm 'the tenth' or ད་རིས་རེས་དགུ་མིན། D°ari 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 དབྱིན་རེས་ 'intshê 'English date' followed by the cardinal number of the day or, alternatively and more accurately, by རྒྱ་རེས་ citshê 'international date'.

In Dzongkha, days of the week, བདུན་ཕྱག་ dñnthra '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 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 རྩེ་སྤྲིད་སངས་རྒྱལ་མཚོ་ Desi Sanggä 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 ancients 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.

Dzongkha	Roman Dzongkha	English equivalent	Latin translation
གཟའ་ཉི་མ་	za-Dau	Sunday	Lunae dies
གཟའ་མིག་དམར་	za-Mima	Monday	Martis dies
གཟའ་ལྷགས་	za-Lhap	Tuesday	Mercurii dies
གཟའ་པ་སངས་	za-Phup	Wednesday	Jovis dies
གཟའ་པ་སངས་	za-Pâsa	Thursday	Veneris dies
གཟའ་ཕྱིན་པ་	za-Pêm	Friday	Saturnis dies
གཟའ་ཉི་མ་	za-Nyim	Saturday	Solis dies

To ask the day of the week in Dzongkha, one says གཟའ་ག་ཅི་
ཡིན་ན། *Za g°aci 'in-na* 'Which day of the week is it?'.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Subordinate clauses, indirect speech, the imperative, honorifics, fixed expressions and proverbs

1. Subordinate clauses, indirect speech and the hearsay evidential

There are several ways of forming a subordinate clause in Dzongkha. One of these is that the inflected stem of the verb nominalizes of a clause in the sense of 'the fact that' which then becomes a complement of the verb in the main clause.

- (1) ང་བཅས་ད་མིས་དྲག་ཤོས་བསོད་ནམས་རབ་བྱུང་གི་ཁྱིམ་ནང་
འགྱོད་གོས་པ་ ང་གིས་བརྗོད་སོང་བྱ།
 Ngace d°ari Dr°âsho Sönam Rabgä-g°i
 We today Dr°âsho Sönam Rabgä-[gen]
 chim-na jo-gop nga-g°i
 house-[loc] go-must I-[erg]
 jê-song-nu
 forget-[pf]-[ip]

I forgot we had to go to Dr°âsho Sönam Rabgä's
house today.

- (2) ཁོ་མྱ་ངེ་ནི་ཞིན་མ་ ང་བཅས་ཀྱིས་དེ་མ་ལས་རང་གིས།

Kho nâ ong-ni-'im ngace

He here come-[inf]-aux we

hema-lä-ra shê

before-from-[str] know

We knew beforehand that he was coming here.

- (3) མི་དེ་གིས་མགྲོན་རྒྱུ་ནི་ཞིན་མ་བཟུམ་ཅིག་འདྲག།

'Mi-d°i-g°i guko cap-ni

Man-the-[erg] cheating perform-[inf]

'im-zumci du

be-like be

It appears that he is someone who cheats.

- (4) ཁོ་ངེ་ནི་ཞིན་མ་ ང་གིས་བརྗོད་སྟབས་ཀྱིས།

Kho ong-ni-'im nga-g°i jê-so-nu

He come-[inf]-[aux] I-[erg] forget-[pf]-[ip]

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.

- (5) ཡི་གུ་མ་བྲིས་བར་ཡུན་རིང་མ་ཡར་སོང་མ་ལས་

ལེགས་ཤོམ་མི་འགྱུ་བས།

Yig°u ma-dr°i-wa ün-rîm

Letter not-write-[sup] period-long

yâsôm-lä läshom mi-jo-wä

transpire-[abl] good not-go-[ak]

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 ག°a or ན°a to the verb in the main clause.

- (6) རྩུལ་མཆན་ཕུན་ཆོག་སྤྱིང་ལས་འཕྱོན་འོང་ཡི་ག་

མ་འོང་ག་ང་མ་གས།

Gätshä Phüntsho'ling-lä thön-ong-yi-g°a

Gätshä Phüntsho'ling-from appear-come-[pt]-[Q]

ma-ong-g°a nga ma-shê

not-come-[Q] I not-know

I don't know [i.e. have not come to know] whether or not Gätshä has come back from Phüntsho'ling.

- (14) ཇི་གི་མན་བསམ་ལས་འབད་བ་ཅིན་ཁོ་གིས་ཁྱོད་ལུ་གྲོགས་རམ་
 འབད་འོང་བེད་མན་མས།
 Ngi-g^oi 'nosam-lä be-wacin kho-g^oi
 My-[gen] opinion-[abl] do-if he-[erg]
 chö-lu dr^ooram be-ong z^oe 'nou-mä
 you-[dat] help do-[pot] that think-[ep]

According to me, I think he might help you.

In (14) the auxiliary of the potential is used in the clause governed by བེད་ Z^oe 'that', whereas in sentences (15)-(17) the verbs of the subordinate clauses are in the optative and in (18) the subordinator བེད་ Z^oe governs a clause introduced by the conditional conjunction བ་ཅིན་ -wacin 'if'.

- (15) ང་ཁྱོད་ན་རང་ཡོད་བཅུག་བེད་མན་མས།
 Nga chö nâ-ra yö-cu z^oe '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) ང་མོ་ན་ཡོད་བཅུག་བེད་སྟོན་ལམ་བད་པ་ཨིན།
 Nga mo nâ yö-cu z^oe 'mönlam tap-'ing
 I she here be-[opt] that prayer do-[aux]

I wish she were here.

- (17) ང་ཡང་ཁྱོད་བཟུམ་སྟེ་ཨིན་བཅུག་བེད་མན་མས།
 Nga-ya chö-zumbe 'ing-cu z^oe 'nou-mä
 I-too you-like be-[opt] that think-[ep]

I wish I were like you.

- (18) ང་ཁོ་ན་ཡོད་པ་ཅིན་བེད་མན་མས།
 Nga kho nâ yö-bacin z^oe 'nou-mä
 I he 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 བེད་ Z^oe is the means by which indirect speech is expressed in Dzongkha. Although in written narrative one encounters the use of the particle བེད་ Z^oe to introduce a direct quote, in spoken Dzongkha this particle is only used to introduce indirect speech.

- (19) པ་སངས་ཀྱིས་ད་ལིས་ཁོ་རྩང་ནང་མི་འགྱུ་བེད་སྐབ་དོ་བས།
 Pâsa-g^oi d^oari kho dzong-na mi-jo z^oe
 Pâsa-[erg] today he dzong-in not-go that
 'lap-d^oo-wä
 say-[pr]-[ak]

Pâsa said that he wasn't going to go to the dzong today.

- (20) ཁོ་ལཱ་འབདཝ་ཨིན་ཟེར་སྐབ་ཨིན་པས།
 Kho lâ beu 'ing z°e 'lap 'immä
 He work do [aux] that say [aux]

He says he is working.

- (21) འབྲུག་གི་ཚོས་ལུགས་དེ་འཇམ་གླིང་གི་ཚོས་ལུགས་ཚུ་གི་
 གྲུལ་ལས་རྩ་ཆེ་ཤོས་གཅིག་ཨིན་ཟེར་སྐབ་མས།
 Dru-g°i chölu-d°i dzamling-g°i
 Bhutan-[gen] religion-the world-[gen]
 chölu-tshu-g°i dr°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) ཁོ་ལྟོད་ལྟོད་ནུ་བསྐྱགས་སྟོད་ཟེར་སྐབ་བཞག་ཅི།
 Kho hö-hö nâ 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) ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཁོ་ལཱ་དྲིག་རུབ་བྱིན་ནི་ཨིན་པས་ཟེར་ང་གིས་ཁོ་ལཱ་སྐབ་ཅི།
 Chö-g°i kho-lu tiru bj°in-ni 'immä
 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 སྐད་ kê 'voice, language' or ཚིག་ tshi 'word, phrase' may express meanings similar to those of indirect speech introduced by the subordinator ཟེར་ z°e.

- (24) ཁོང་གིས་ང་བཅས་འཁོ་པའི་སྐད་ང་གིས་ག་བས།
 Khong-g°i ngace b°o-bi kê 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) ཁོ་ལྟོ་ཟས་མས་ཟེར་བའི་ཚིག་དེ་ག་ཅི་འབདཝ་ད་སྐབ་སྟོ།
 Kho to z°au-mä z°e-wi tshî-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 ལོ་ lo, a sentence-final par-ticle which indicates that the purport of the statement or question was learnt by hearsay. It forms part of the expression ག་ཅི་ལོ་ g°aci lo? 'I beg your pardon. / What did you say?'.
 (26) སངས་རྒྱས་ནངས་པ་འགྱུ་ནི་ཨིན་ཟེར་སྐབ་མས་ལོ།
 Sanggä nâba jo-ni-'ing z°e
 Sanggä tomorrow go-[inf]-[aux] that
 'lap-mä lo
 say-[ep] [he]

I hear that Sanggä says he's going tomorrow.

- (27) གཞུང་གིས་རང་གྲིམས་དེ་བཙུག་པ་མས་ལོ།
 Zhung-g°i-ra thrim-d°i
 Government-[erg]-[str] law-the
 tsup-mä lo
 introduce-[ep] [he]

We hear the government is introducing this law.

- (28) ཁོ་སང་ཕོད་ལས་བཞུལ་མི་ལྟོད་ཟེར་སྐབ་མས་ལོ།

Kho sangphö-lä-gä mi-hö z°e
 He next year-from-until not-arrive that
 'lap-mä lo
 say-[ep] [he]

I hear he's been saying that he won't come back until next year.

- (29) - གློག་མེ་འདུག་ག།

- ག་ཅི་ལོ།
 - གློག་མེ་ཡོད་ག་ཟེར།

- 'Lome du-g°a
 Electricity be-[Q]

- G°aci lo
 What [he]

- 'Lome du-g°a z°e ('lap-bi)
 Electricity be-[Q] that (say-[aux])

- Is there electricity now?
 - Beg your pardon?
 - (I said:) Is there electricity?

- (30) དྲ་ཤོ་གིས་གསུངས་དོ་བཟུམ་སྟེ་བ་ཅིན་ང་བཅས་ཡང་
འགྱུ་ནི་ཡིན་ལོ།

Dr°asho-g°i sung-d°o-zumbe-wacin ngace-ya
Dr°asho-[erg] tell-[pr]-like-if we-too
jo-ni-'ing lo
go-[inf]-[aux] [he]

If it is to be as Dr°asho says, [they say] we will
be going as well.

- (31) -ག་ཅི་ལོ།
-སེམས་དགའ་བས་བྱེད་སྟབ་པའི།

- G°aci lo?

What [he]

- Sem ga-wä z°e 'lap-bi

Mind be happy-[ak] that say-[aux]

- Beg your pardon?

- 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 གློ་ལུ་ kap-lu 'at which time, when', or by use of the present gerund or past participle discussed in the previous chapter.

- (32) ལྟོམ་བཞེས་པའི་སྐབས་ལུ་དགྲོགས་པ་ད་ ཅིག་པ་ཟམ་མཁ།

Tou kê-bi kap-lu trop-d°a tsip
hunger feel-[gen] time-[dat] agitate-[pg] anger
z°au-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) ཆེམས་རྒྱུ་མི་དག་པ་གཅིག་འདུག།

Tshem cap-mi d°akpa-ci du
Sew perform-[sub] few-a be

There are a few Damāis.

- (34) ཁོ་བླ་མ་གྲིས་པ་འབད་མི་འི་གྲུ་ཁར་མེན་པས།
 Kho tramashêp be-mî dr°ä-kha membä
 He mischief do-[ap-gen] group-at not_{be}

He's not amongst those who are being mischievous.

- (35) ཁོ་ལུ་མདང་ཞག་སྟོན་པོ་གིས་གནང་མི་བཞོ་དེ་ ད་རེས་བྱོན་ཚེད་ཅུག།
 Kho-lu dangzh°ä 'lönbo-g°i
 He-[dat] the_{other} day minister-[erg]
 'nang-mi g°ô-d°i d°ari g°ön-dö-nu
 give[hon]-[sub] g°ô-the today wear-sit-[ip]

Today he's wearing the g°ô that the minister gave him the other day.

- (36) ང་གིས་སྒྲོམ་ཁ་ལས་ཉེ་འབག་འོང་མི་ཚོད་བསྐྱེས་དེ་ཚུ་
 མོ་གིས་མ་གྲིས་པར་བཙོང་ད་ཅུག།
 Nga-g°i thromkha-lä nyo-baong-mi
 I-[erg] market-from buy-bring-[sub]
 tshösê-d°i-tshu mo-g°i
 vegetable-the-pl she-[erg]
 ma-shê-ba tsong-da-nu
 not-know-[sup] sell-[pf]-[ip]

By mistake she sold the vegetables that I had brought from the market.

- (37) ང་ལུ་དགོ་མི་དེ་མི་འཐོབ་པས།
 Nga-lu go-mi-d°i mi-thop-bä
 I-[dat] require-[sub]-the not-get-[ak]

I don't ever get what I want.

- (38) དྲ་ཤོ་གིས་བྲབ་བསྐྱབས་གཅིག་བྲིས་གནང་མི་དེ་
 ད་རེས་ཀྱི་ཀུན་གསལ་ནང་མ་ཚུད་པས།
 Dr°âsho-g°i chapdra-ci
 Dr°âsho-[erg] announcement-one
 dr°i-'nang-mi-d°i d°are-g°i
 write-proffer-[sub]-the these_{days}-[gen]
 Künsel-na ma-tshü-bä
 Künsel-in not-appear-[ak]

The announcement which Dr°âsho wrote did not appear in the last Künsel.

- (39) ལྷ་ལུ་རྒྱུ་མདང་འབག་མི་དེ་ དམག་མི་ཨིན་པའི་
 ཉག་ས་ཨིན་པས།
 Jap-lu tropda bâ-mi-d°i 'mâmi 'im-bi
 Back-[abl] rifle carry-[sub]-the soldier be-[gen]
 tâ 'immä
 sign be

The sign of a soldier is that he carries a rifle on his back.

- (40) ཁ་ཅ་ཐིམ་ཕུག་ཆུ་ནང་ཅལ་ཁྱབ་ཚྱད་མི་ཙམ་ལུ་ཆུ་གི་གལ་ལས་གཅིག་
 ང་བཅས་ཁྱབ་ཐལ་ཞིན་མ་ལས་ཆུ་ནང་ཐིམ་སྟེ་གི་སོ་ཅུག།
 Khatsa Thimphu-chu-na tsäcap-dö-mi
 Yesterday Thimphu-river-in swim-stay-[sub]
 'alu-tshu-g°i dr°ä-lä ci ngace
 child-[pl]-[gen] group-[ab] one we
 japthä-zh°imlā 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) ཉི་མ་ལས་རང་ང་བཅས་ཀྱི་སྟོག་མི་བཅོ་མི་མི་དེ་ད་རྒྱ་ཐིམ་ཕུག་ལུ་
 ཚྱད་པ་མེན་པས།
 Hema-lä-ra ngace-g°i 'lome
 Before-[abl]-[str] we-[gen] electricity
 co-mi 'mi-d°i d°a nâ
 repair-[sub] man-the now here
 Thimphu-lu dö-p-membä
 Thimphu-at reside-not be

The man who always used to repair our electricity
 no longer lives in Thimphu.

- (42) ཁོ་གིས་པ་མ་གིས་སྐབ་མི་དེ་ལུ་ཅ་ལས་མི་ཉན་པས།
 Kho-g°i pha-ma-g°i 'lap-mi-d°i
 He-[erg] father-mother-[erg] say-[sub]-the
 tsalä mi-nyen-bä
 adamantly not-listen-[ak]

He really won't listen to what mother and father say.

- (43) ཁོ་གིས་འབད་མི་བཞེས་སྟོ་དེ་ཞིམ་པས།
 Kho-g°i be-mi zhêgo-d°i zh°im-bä
 He-[erg] make-[sub] food-the be delicious-[ak]

The food he cooks is delicious.

- (44) སྐམ་ཁྱུ་མི་ལྟོད་ཅུག། རོ་རོ་ཁོ་དང་མཉམ་དུ་འབྱེད་མི་གཅིག་
 ཡང་འདུག།
 'Lam zh°u-mi hö-nu. D°oro
 Lama request-[sub] arrive-[ip] Again
 kho-d°a'nyam 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.

- (45) ཁོང་ལཱ་འབད་མི་ཚུ་ད་རིས་མ་འོང་མི་དེ་ སྐྱེལ་ཚེད་པ་འོང།
 Khong lâ be-mi-tshu d°ari
 They work do-[sub]-[pl] today
 ma-ong-mi-d°i '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.

- (46) ང་རྩི་གསོ་མི་དེ་ བྱིས་བསྐྱང་ནི་གི་དོན་ལཱ་ཞིན།
 Nga rochi so-mi-d°i chim
 I dog raise-[sub]-the house
 sung-ni-g°i-d°ön-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 -མི་ -mi is distinct from the genitive of verbs in -པའི་ /-བའི་ -bi/-wi, which may also modify a noun.

- (47) ཁྱེད་སློ་གཏད་བདུབ་པའི་མི་གཅིག་ཞིན།
 Chö 'lotê-tup-bi 'mi-ci 'ing
 You trust-be alright-[gen] man-one be

You are a trustworthy person.

Used as a nominal head, a nominalized clause in མི་ -mi need not necessarily read as a *nomen concretum* but may

also denote the fact itself expressed by the subordinate clause.

- (48) ཉི་མ་ང་བཅས་ནི་ཕུལ་ལཱ་འགྱུ་མི་དེ་ད་ལྟོ་ང་གིས་
 དཔུང་རེག་བདང་མ་མས།

Hema ngace Nepâl-lu jo-mi-d°i d°ato nga-g°i
 Before we Nepal-to go-[sub]-the now I-[erg]
 pcere tâm-mä
 remembrance dispatch-[ep]

Now I can remember the time we were in Nepal together.

- (49) ང་གིས་བཞུ་བ་ཅིན་ ཁྱེད་ནངས་པ་རང་ལོག་འཕྲིན་འོང་བེས་
 སྐབ་མི་དེ་ མི་གིས་ཏ་མ་གོ་བས། མེན་ན།
 Nga-g°i ta-wacin chö nâba-ra lok
 I-[gen] see-if you tomorrow-[str] back
 thöng-ong z°e 'lap-mi-d°i mo-g°i
 come-[pot] that say-[sub]-the she-[erg]
 ha-ma-g°o-wä, me-na?
 understand-did not-understand-[ak] not be-[Q]

I don't think she understood you when you said that you wouldn't be coming back until tomorrow, isn't that so?

Suffixed to the verb ཟེས་ z°e '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* -*mi* may express the meaning 'the fact that, namely, by name'.

- (50) དེ་སེམས་ཅན་ག་ཅི་ཟེར་མི་དེ་ཡིན་ན།
D°i semce g°aci z°e-mi-d°i 'in-na
 That animal what name-[sub]-the be-[Q]

What is that animal called?

- (51) ཁོ་མི་འགྱུ་ཟེར་མི་དེ་ ཁོ་གི་ཨ་རྒྱལ་དགའ་རྒྱལ་དེ་
 འཁྱོན་འོང་ཅུག་སྟེ།
Kho mi-ong z°e-mi-d°i kho-g°i
 He not-come name-[sub]-the he-[gen]
'arogaro-d°i thön-ong-nu bo
 lover-the appear-come-[ip] [ctr]

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. བཞོལ་རལ་རལ་མ་ *G°ola räräu* '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་དེ་ཁྲོམ་ཁ་ལུ་ག་རུལ་རུལ་མ་བཙོང་ནི་འབད་མ་ས།
'Mi-d°i thromkha-lu sha-rü-rüu tsong-ni
 Man-the market-at meat-rot-rotten sell-[inf]
beu-mä
do-[ep]

That man is trying to sell rotten meat in the market.

- (53) ངའི་ཨ་ཁ་དེ་དང་ཕུགས་ཕུད་སྤང་རྒྱུ་པའི་སྐབས་བསད་བསད་པ་
 ཡིན་པས། ཟླ་ཨང་ཁ་དེ་ལོ་ན་རང་ཁ་དེ་གི་གཤམ་ཡིན་པས།
Ngi 'age-d°i d°angphu chäda
 My grandfather-the before war
cab-bi kap se-sêp 'immä Te
 perform-[gen] time kill-killed be Then
'ange-d°i lo-na-ra gê-di
 grandmother-the year-in-[str] grow old-[pp]
shi-shiu 'immä
 die-died be

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 uninflected stem, e.g. (54)-(62). The negative imperative is formed by adding the prefix མ་ - *ma-* to the verb, e.g. (63)

- (54) རྩོད་སའི་ཐག་པ་བཟུང་།
Dö-sa-i thap dam
sit-place-[gen] rope close

Fasten your seat belts.

- (55) མ་ལུ་འབག།
'Alu bâ
Child carry

Carry the child!

- (56) དགའ་སྟོན་དེ་མཇུག་མ་བསྐྱེ་ཚུན་ཚོད་སྟོན།
Gatön-d°i jû-ma-du-tshüntshö dö
festivities-the finish-not-finish-until stay

Stay here until the festivities are over.

- (57) ལམ་འཕྲང་སྟེ་སོང།
Lam thrang-di song
road straight-[pp] go

Go straight ahead!

- (58) རྩོད་གྲངས་ཁ་རྒྱུ།
Nô j°angkha-cap
Cow enumeration-perform

Count the cattle!

- (59) དྲོམ་བརྟོན། (60) ཡར་ལོང།
Dr°em tön Yâ long
Attention show up stand

Watch out!

Stand up!

- (61) ཁོ་ལུ་འདྲི། (62) ཁོ་ལུ་ཡི་གུ་འབྲི།
Kho-lu dr°i Kho-lu yig°u dr°i
He-[dat] ask He-[dat] letter write

Ask him.

Write him a letter.

- (63) འགྲང་སྐད་མ་རྒྱུ་སྟེ་སྟོན།
Drangkê ma-cap 'mä
Burp not-perform [fe]

Hey, don't burp!

Various suffixes are often affixed to the imperative of a verb to express nuances of meaning or mood. One such suffix is རྟོན་ -sh, which can be added to the imperative, as it can to other verb forms, e.g. རྩོད་རྟོན་ 'mosh? 'Isn't that so?'. The suffix རྟོན་ -sh expresses urging on the part of the speaker vis-à-vis the listener.

- (64) བརྟོན་ཞིག། (65) སྟོ་ཕྱེ་མིག་ཕྱི་ཞིག།
Tön-sh Go demi pchi-sh
show-[u] Door key open-[u]

Show [it to me]!

Unlock the door!

- (66) བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ་བེད་སྐབ་ཤིག།
Kadr°iche z°e 'lap-sh
Thank you that say-[u]

Say 'Thank you'!

- (67) ཁོ་འགྱུར་སྟོབ་ཤིག།
Kho-gu sotap-sh
He-[upon] bite-[u]

Bite him!

- (68) ཁྱིམ་རྩལ་གཅིག་བཏོན་ཤིག།
Tiru-ci tön-sh
money-one remove-[u]

Get out [i.e. give me] one rupee!

- (69) ཁོ་ཁྱིམ་ནང་ལས་བཏོན་བཏང་ཤིག།
Kho chim-na-lä tön-tang-sh
He house-in-from remove-dispatch-[u]

Get him out of the house!

Use of the suffix ཤིག -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 ལགས་ lâ, the use of the suffix ཤིག -sh is by no means necessarily rude.

- (70) བསྐྱུང་ཤིག་ལགས།
Sung-sh lâ
Tell-[u] [pol]

Yes, please!

Observe how in the following example the verb བཞག་ zhâ 'put, keep, place' forms a compound with the main verb དུང་ pcang 'to hang up'.

- (71) བསྟོལ་གཟར་ཤིང་འགྱུར་དུང་བཞག།
G°ola z°âshing-gu pcang-zhâ
Clothes hanger-on hang-put

Hang up the clothes on the hanger.

The verb གནང་ 'nang 'proffer', the honorific counterpart to བྱིན་ bj°ing '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) ང་ལུ་གྲོགས་རམ་ཨ་ཅི་ཅིག་འབད་གནང།
Nga-lu dr°oram 'atsici be-'nang
I-[dat] assistance little bit do-proffer

Please help me out a little bit.

In addition to the expression རྒྱལ་མ་ dr°oram be-ni 'help, assist', used in the preceding example, the more colloquial རྒྱལ་མ་ roram be-ni 'help, assist' also exists.

The sentence-final particle of friendly entreaty རྒྱལ་ 'mä is used, although not solely in conjunction with the imperative, to convey both a sense of urgency and of friendliness or familiarity.

- (73) ཁོ་གིས་ང་ལུ་དྲང་མ་མས། ང་ལུ་མ་དྲང་སྟེ།
Kho-g°i nga-lu drang-mä. Nga-lu ma-drang 'mä
He-[erg] I-[acc] beat-[ep] I-[acc] not-beat [fe]

He's beating up on me. Don't beat me!

- (74) ཆེད་དབའི་ རྩི། ཁྱེད་དྲག་ཤོས་ཀྱི་བྱ་ཞིན་ཟེར་ཁམ་དེ་རང་
མ་བཅོང་སྟེ། ལཱ་མ་འབདན་སྟེ། ཅུ་མ་འབད་བྱུག་བྱིན་འོང་གོ།
Chchcht, 'wae, Doji! Chö Dr°âsho-g°i b°u 'ing
Psst, hey, Doji! You Dr°âsho-[gen] son be
z°e kham-d°i-ra ma-tsong 'mä!
that boast-the-[str] not-sell [fe]!
Tama-be-n pütsabe
Later-[adv]-if nicely
'lukbjing-ong-g°o
give someone what for-[pot]-hey

Psst, hey, Doji! Don't you boast about being the son of a Dr°âsho! Otherwise, I might teach you a lesson.

- (75) ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྟེ་གུ་གུ་དེ་ང་ལུ་ཨ་ཙི་བརྟ་གནང་སྟེ།
Chö-g°i 'nyug°u-d°i nga-lu atsi 'nyâ-'nang 'mä
You-[gen] pen-the I-[dat] a bit lend [fe]

Lend me you pen for a minute.

- (76) ད་རིས་ང་ལུ་དངུལ་ཀྱམ་བརྟ་ཐམ་དེ་ཅིག་བརྟུ་གནང་སྟེ།
D°ari nga-lu 'ngütram cuthâm-d°eci
Today I-[dat] 'ngütram ten-about
ki'nang 'mä
lend [fe]

Please lend me ten 'ngütram today.

Observe the difference in meaning between the two Dzongkha verbs corresponding to English 'lend'. The verb བརྟ་གནང་ 'nyâ'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 བརྟུ་གནང་ ki'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 རྒྱ་ཅི་ 'mare expresses authority on the part of the speaker. Added to an imperative, the sentence acquires the air of an order or impersonal command.

- (77) - མདའ་འཕྲང་སྒྲ་ཅེ།
 - འཕྲང་པར་མི་མཐོང་མས་སྒྲ་ ཞྭ།
 - 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) ཇོབ་དེ་ནང་ཆུ་བཀང་སྒྲ་ཅེ།
 Dop-d°i-na chu kang-'mare
 Bucket-the-in water fill-[auth]

Fill the bucket with water.

Like the sentence-final particles ཇེག་ -sh and མས་ 'mä, the particle མྲ་ཅེ 'mare is not limited to the imperative. The particle མྲ་ཅེ 'mare may also be used in the indicative where it authoritatively draws the listener's attention to the purport of the statement.

- (79) ལྷོང་གྱིས་ཉོ་ནི་ཨིན་ཟེར་སྒྲ་མི་སྒྲ་སྒྲ་དེ་ཁོ་གི་ཨིན་སྒྲ་ཅེ།
 Chö-g°i nyo-ni-'ing z°e 'lap-mi
 You-[erg] buy-[inf]-[aux] that say-[sub]
 bakba-d°i kho-g°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 ལྷ་ nâ 'he, she, you' and ལྷ་བྱ་ nâ-b°u 'they, you' were already introduced in Chapter 4.

Honorific equivalents exist for many common verbs and nouns. For example, the verb ལྟ་ 'lap 'to speak, to say' has the honorific equivalents བསྐྱེད་ sung and ལྟ་ zh°u. The verb བསྐྱེད་ sung is used when the subject of the verb is someone who should be accorded respect, e.g. བསྐྱེད་ཤིག་ལགས། Sungsh lâ! 'Yes please!', or on the telephone ལྟ་བསྐྱེད་མ་སྒྲ། G°â süm 'mo? 'Who is speaking, please?'. The verb ལྟ་ zh°u, on the other hand, is used to express humility on the part of the subject, usually the speaker, e.g. ང་གིས་དྲ་ག་ཤོ་མི་ལྟ། Nga-g°i Dr°âsho-lu mi-zh°u 'I shan't tell Dr°âsho'. The verb ལྟ་ zh°u has the connotation of 'request, require', and is therefore used in the expression མི་ལྟ། Mi-zh°u to politely refuse food, rather than the familiar མི་དགོ། Menggo 'I don't want/need [anymore]'. The verb བཞེས་ zhê is the honorific counterpart to the verbs ཟ་ Z°a 'eat', འཕྲང་ thung 'drink' and སྒྱུ་ g°ön 'wear, put on clothes'. So, whereas བཞེས། Zhê is a polite request to please take, drink or eat, the verb is also used in expressions like སྐྱེད་པའ་བཞེས། Namza zhê 'Please get

dressed' rather than the more familiar བཞིལ་གྱིན། *G°ola gön* 'Get dressed'. Note that the word ན་བཟའ་ *namza* is used with བཞིལ་ *zhê* as the honorific counterpart of བཞིལ་ *g°ola* 'clothes'.

The verb གྱིན་ *j°ön* is the honorific counterpart to both the verbs འོང་ *ong* 'come' and འགྱུ་ *jo* 'go', e.g. གྱིན་ ཞིག། *J°önsh* 'Please come' and ལེགས་ཤོམ་འབད་རང་གྱིན་ ཞིག། *Läshom-be ra j°önsh* 'Have a good trip' or 'Go safely'. The verb བཞུགས་ *zhû* is the honorific of རྫོང་ *dö* 'sit, be seated, stay'. The verb ཡར་བཞེངས་ *yâ zheng* is the honorific of ཡར་ཡོང་ *yâ long* 'to stand up'. The use of the honorific verbs གྱིན་ *j°ön* 'to come, to go', བཞུགས་ *zhû* 'sit, be seated, stay' and ཡར་བཞེངས་ *yâ zheng* '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 གྱིན་ *bj°ing* 'give' and རྩལ་ *cap* 'do, perform' have the honorific counterpart གནང་ *'nang*, used in polite requests such as ཕྱག་མདའ་གནང་ཞིག། *Chânda 'nangsh* 'Shoot the arrow!', as compared with the familiar form མདའ་རྩལ་ཞིག། *Da capsh* 'Shoot the arrow!'. The honorific verb གནང་ *'nang* 'give, do, perform' is also used as an auxiliary to yield honorific counterparts to verbs such as བཅུག་ *tsu* 'put, place' and བཞག་ *zhâ* 'put, keep', which have no separate honorific form, and with virtually any verb to enhance the politeness of a request, e.g. ཡར་བཞེངས་གནང། *Yâ zheng 'nang* 'Please stand up'. Whereas གནང་ *'nang* is the honorific of གྱིན་ *bj°ing* 'give' indicating deference to the subject, the verb ཕུལ་ *phü*

'give' expresses humility on the part of the subject, just as the verb གྱུ་ *zh°u* 'tell, say, request' does as compared with གསུང་ *sung* 'tell'. The honorific བསད་ *sê* 'kill' is བཞོང་ *trong*, and the honorific of ཤི་ *shi* 'die' is གཤགས་ *shâ* 'pass away'.

The particle ལགས་ *lâ* at the end of a sentence is a sign of courteousness, used in polite parlance, even in Bhutanese English, and also forms part of Dzongkha honorific speech.

- (80) ང་ལུ་དངུལ་ཀྲམ་གཅིག་བརྒྱ་དེ་ཅིག་ལྷང་གནང་ལགས།
 Nga-lu 'ngütram cikja-d°eci lhang-'nang
 I-[dat] 'ngütram one hundred-about proffer-give
 lâ
 [pol]

Please give me one hundred 'ngütram.

As some of the preceding examples have shown, nouns also have honorific counterparts, e.g. honorific ཕྱག་མདའ་ *chânda* 'arrow' alongside the more usual མདའ་ *da*. In elevated speech, the common term is replaced by its honorific counterpart. For example, when asking some lad's name in the street, it is appropriate to say:

(81) ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་མིང་ག་ཅི་སྟོན།

Chö-g^oi meng g^oaci 'mo

You-[gen] name what be

What's your name?

Whereas, whilst addressing a superior or a man of high status, it is polite and appropriate to ask:

(82) ལྷ་གི་མཚན་དོ་མ་གསུང་གནང།

Nâ-g^oi tshen ngoma sung-'nang

You-[gen] name true tell-proffer

Please tell me your good name.

(83) ལྷ་གི་མཚན་ག་ཅི་ཞུས་སྟོན་ལགས།

Nâ-g^oi tshen g^oaci zh^oû 'mo lâ

You-[gen] name what say be [pol]

What is your name please?

Here the word མཚན་ tshen 'name, appellation' or the phrase མཚན་དོ་མ་ tshen ngoma 'true name' is used instead of the informal མིང་ meng 'name', and formal ལྷ་ nâ 'you' is used instead of familiar ཁྱོད་ chö 'you'. Similarly, whereas one would say of one's friend སེམས་དགའ་བྱུག་ Sem ga-nu 'he is happy', of a high official one would say ཐུགས་དགའ་བྱུག་ Thû gê-nu, where both སེམས་ sem

'mind, feelings' is replaced with honorific ཐུགས་ thû, and དགའ་ ga 'be happy' is replaced with honorific དགའ་ལྡན་ gê.

The honorific form of certain nouns is formed by adding a prefix, e.g. ཐུགས་ཐུགས་ sôthap, the honorific of ཐུགས་ thap 'oven, stove'. The honorific of many body parts is formed by adding the prefix ལྷ་ ku.

regular	honorific	meaning
གཟུགས་ zû	ལྷ་གཟུགས་ kuzu	body
ག་ sha	ལྷ་ག་ kusha	meat, flesh

But sometimes the honorific is different from the regular form, even though it takes the prefix ལྷ་ ku.

རྩ་རྩ་ ruto	ལྷ་རྩ་ kurü	bone
སྒུལ་ gäp	ལྷ་སྒུལ་ kujap	back

Often, however, the honorific counterpart of a term, such as a part of the body, is simply another word altogether.

ལག་ lap	ཕྱག་ châ	hand
ཀླུ་ kâm	ཞབས་ zh ^o ap	leg
རྩ་མ་ 'namco	སྙན་ 'nyen	ear
ལྷ་ hapa	ཤང་ shang	nose
མིག་ 'mito	སྤྱན་ cen	eye
ལྷ་ ce	ལྷ་ལྷ་ jâ	tongue
ཁ་ kha	ཞལ་ zh ^o ä	mouth
མག་ guto	དབུ་ 'u	head

Such honorific terms are also used in expressions which contain body part terms, e.g. honorific རྩལ་ཤུབ་ *châshup* for ལལ་ཤུབ་ *lashup* ‘glove’, honorific འབས་ལྷམ་ *zh°ap-lham* for ལྷམ་ *lham* ‘shoes’, honorific དབུ་བསྐྱེད་སྟེ་འུ་ *’nyu-di* for མག་རྟོ་ན་སྟེ་ *guto nâ-di* ‘with a headache’, and honorific འལ་གསུང་ནི་མིན་འདུག། *Zh°ä sung-ni minu* for ཁ་སྤྲུབ་ནི་མིན་འདུག། *Kha ’lap-ni minu* ‘He is mute’. Honorific terms for the meals of the day, ‘breakfast’, ‘lunch’ and ‘dinner’ respectively, are as follows:

regular	honorific
དྲོ་པ་གི་མཇེ་རམ་ <i>dr°oba-g°i dzâu</i>	དྲོ་མ་མཇེ་ར་ <i>dr°omdzâ</i>
ཉི་མ་གི་ལྟོ་ <i>nyima-g°i to</i>	གསོལ་མ་ <i>söu</i>
ཕྱི་ཟླ་གི་ལྟོ་ <i>pchiru-g°i to</i>	ཚོགས་ <i>tsho</i>

The formulation བཀའ་དྲིན་བསྐྱེད་ *kadr°incang* ‘beseech’ in requests is used whilst addressing high nobility, high placed clergy and members of the royal family. Note that the past participle སྟེ་ *dî*, which often marks the verb in such requests, may be omitted.

- (84) ངི་གི་ཁྱིམ་ནང་ཆ་ར་གཅིག་ག་དེ་སྟེ་རུང་བྱོན་དེ་བཀའ་དྲིན་བསྐྱེད།
Ngi-g°i chim-na tshâ-ci g°ad°ebe-ru
My-[gen] house-in time-one how-even
j°ön-di kadr°incang
come[hon]-[pp] beseech
I beseech you come to my house once in any event.

In this sentence, the phrase ག་དེ་སྟེ་རུང་ *g°ad°ebe-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 ག་དེ་འབད་རུང་ is 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 སྤྲུབ་ *’lap* ‘say’ is གསུང་ *sung*, the high honorific བཀའ་གནང་ *ka’ nang* is used only with respect to འབུལ་རྒྱལ་མངའ་བདག་པོ་ཆེ་ *Dru Gä ’Ngada Rinpoche* ‘His Majesty the King of Bhutan’, ཇེ་མཁན་པོ་ *the Jêkhembo* and ཨ་ཞེ་བསོད་ནམས་ཚས་སྟོན་ *དབང་མོ་དབང་ཕྱུག་ ’Azh°e Sönam Chödrö ’Wangmo ’Wangchu*. Similarly, the noun ལན་ *len* ‘answer, response’ has the honorific form ལྟུ་ལན་ *zh°ulen* and the high honorific form བཀའ་ལན་ *kalen*.

5. Fixed expressions

The following are some fixed expressions in Dzongkha. The greeting སྐུ་གཟུགས་བཟང་པོ། *Kuzu zangpo* is used at all times of the day upon the first meeting of that day.

སྐུ་གཟུགས་བཟང་པོ།	Kuzu zangpo!	Greetings!
བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས།	Trashi Dele!	Good Luck!
བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ།	Kadr°iche!	Thank you!
བྱོན་པ་ལེགས་སོ།	J°önba Leso!	Welcome!

If a child sneezes once, it is customary to wish him ཆེ་རིང་། *Tshering* ‘long life’. If he sneezes a second time, one

wishes him ཚོགས་བསགས། Tshôsa 'accrual of merit [for future incarnations]', and if the child sneezes yet a third time, one may wish him ཉན་ཉུ། Nēnyung 'few illnesses'. Occasionally these wishes are used with respect to an adult. If someone sneezes violently, he may himself exclaim ཤི། Shi! 'Die!' after his sneeze.

Numerous Dzongkha expressions are used only on the archery field. For example, one of the often heard cries is བཀག་རེག་ཡོད་ས་བཀག་རེག་དབེ། Kâre yösa kâre 'wae! '[Aim at] the spot where the target is, the target!'. Here the term བཀག་རེག་ kâre denotes the round painted target on the འབའ་ ba 'target board'. The bull's eye is the གོའི་གྲིག་ gôthi. An expression of unknown etymology used to attract attention preliminary to some announcement is ཨ་ཚོ་སྒོ། 'Â-chö-g°o! Other archer's cries include ལྷོད་རང་སྟོབས། Chö-ra cowä! 'You are the worst!', ཐལ་བ་བསྐྱུ་བཏང་ཅི། Thäwa 'la tangci! 'It hit [literally: wasted] the dust!', རྒྱ་ཆུང་ཀྱའབད་དྲང་ཤིག། Ja chungku-be dr°ash! 'Aim accurately! [literally: Shoot whilst taking narrow width of aim!]', ལུགས་ལྷོད་སར་སྒྲོ་བཀལ། Câ hö-sa dro kä! '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-lä 'truly, really' and tsa-lä 'definitely, adamantly, strictly'

(85) ཡོད་རང་མིད། མ་པ་ལས་རང་མིད།

Yö-ra mê mapalä-ra mê
be-[str] not be really-[str] not be

There just isn't any. There really isn't any.

(86) ཅ་ལས་མི་བྱིན།

Tsalä mi-bj°in
Strictly not-give

He really won't give it.

Dzongkha is rich in interjections, such as ཨ་ཇའི་ 'adzai or ཇའི་ dzai, expressing surprise or being caught off-guard, སྒྲུ་འོ་ pāo 'wow', expressing amazement at the nature of an observed phenomenon, and དབེ་ 'wae 'wow', expressing astonishment at something sudden. The variant ཐལི་ wae can also be heard expressing astonishment at a sudden phenomenon. The interjection རྒྱ་ pa 'gee' expresses mild or understated amazement. The interjection ཡ་ 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 unexperienced child falling off a bicycle after a wobbly attempt to ride it or a goal scored during a football match. The interjection གཡའ་ 'yâ expresses surprise or dismay at something one has just heard or learnt.

The interjection ཨ་ཆུ་ 'achu is uttered when cold, chill or wetness are experienced, the interjection ཨ་ཅ་

'atsa when a cutting or pinching sensation is felt as well as heat, ཨ་ལ་ 'ala when pain is felt upon being struck, bumping one's head or stubbing one's toe. The interjection ཨ་ཁ་ 'akha expresses dismay, whereas ཅུག་ཅུག་ ts-ts, pronounced as two consecutive alveolar clicks, expresses dismay and resignation, ཁའི་ khai expresses disgust or revulsion, ཕུའི་ phui expresses disgust at a stench or odour, and ཤཤ་ shsh expresses annoyance with and anger toward an individual. Whereas ཨ་འོ་ 'âo expresses annoyance and disappointment, a low and prolonged crescendo ཨྱ་ 'aaaa with a slowly rising intonation expresses irritation. The interjection ཨ་འེ་ 'ae 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 ཁོ་རེ་ khore for a contemporary and the term ཨ་འུ་ 'au for someone who is slightly older than oneself. Both to one's younger peers and to children, one may use the term of address ཨ་ལོ་ 'alo. To elderly people one encounters, for example, on a mountain path and wishes to address, the more polite terms ཨ་ཁང་ 'azhâ 'uncle' or ཨ་མ་ 'ama are appropriate. To attract someone's attention, the interjection ཆེན་ chchcht 'psst' is common amongst friends and familiars. If one has not heard the last thing someone has just said, then the interjection ཨ་ 'â 'say what' is a familiar request that the utterance be repeated, whereas the courteous particle ལགས་ lâ is used instead in any context in which the speaker chooses to be polite.

The low, legato interjections འོ་འོ་ o-o and འེང་འེང་ eng-eng are uttered when one is conceding a point or following an explanation. The interjection ཨེང་ 'eng accompanies an insight, and with a low, falling intonation ཡ་ཡ་ ya-ya 'all right, OK' expresses agreement or concession. The interjection དྲ་འདྲ་ dr°âdr°â 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.

- (87) སྤྱིན་པ་བཏང་ན་ཕྱི་ལུ་བཏང།
ཕྱི་གིས་སྤང་གི་ཅ་མི་བ།

Jinba tang nâ chi-lu tang

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.

- (88) ནང་ན་སྦྱ།
ཕྱི་ཕྱི་ལི།

Nâna tâ

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.

- (89) མ་རྒྱབ་ན་མི་ཤོ།
མ་སྒྲབ་ན་མི་གོ།

Ma-cam mi-phô

Not-draw/if not-strike

Ma-'lam mi-g°o

Not-say/if not-understand

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.

- (90) རྒྱ་ཁྱུ་རྒྱ་ལས་དྲུག་སྦ་མེད།
སེམས་རང་སེམས་ལས་གསལ་མེད།

Chu gün-chu-lä d°âm mê

Water winter-water-than clear not be

Sem rang-sem-lä säu mê

Mind own-mind-than explicit not be

There is no water clearer than winter water.

No one's thoughts are as lucid [to oneself] as one's own.

- (91) བདག་འཛིན་འབད་བར་སྐབ་མི་མེད།
 འབྲུང་སྐད་ཀྱི་བ་པ་འཇམ་འཇམ་མེད།
 D°ândzi be-wa 'lap-mi mê
 vigilant do-[sup] say-[sub] not be
 Bjang-kê cap-ba jamjam mê
 Lose-voice do-[sup] charming not be

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.

- (92) མི་གིས་འབདན་བྱི་གིས་འབད།
 བྱི་འཇུག་མ་དར་འཕུར།
 'Mi-g°i ben chi-g°i be
 Man-[erg] do-if dog-[erg] do
 Chî juma d°â pchâ
 Dog[gen] tail flag flutter

As a man does, so does a dog.

The dog's tail is like a fluttering flag.

- (93) མི་གིས་གྲུ་འབད་སྐྱ་གིས་འབད།
 སྐྱ་འཇུག་མ་མི་གིས་འཆིག།
 'Mi-g°i g°â be pca-g°i be
 Man-[erg] who do monkey-[erg] do
 Pcai juma me-g°i tshî
 Monkey[gen] tail fire-[erg] singe

As a man does, so does a monkey.

The monkey gets his tail burnt.

The following is a reprimand to castigate those who would
 be idle.

- (94) སྐྱ་ལྷ་མེད་པར།
 ལྷ་དཔ་རྩོ་སྒྲུལ།
 Pca lâ-meba
 Monkey work-without
 Lhüp do-drä
 Testicle stone-rub

Like a monkey without work,
 rubbing one's testicles on a stone.

For ལྷ་དཔ་ lhüp 'testicle' in the preceding proverb, the
 alternative spelling and pronunciation ལྷིག་པ་ lhîp may also
 be encountered.

The following saying reproaches ingratitude.

- (95) ལྷོ་དཀར་པོ་ཕར་བྱིན།
མིག་རྟོ་དཀར་པོ་ཚུར་བཟ།

To kâp phâ bj°ing
Rice white thither give
'Mito kâp tshu ta
Eye white hither look

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 མིག་རྟོ་དཀར་པོ་བཟ་ནི་ 'Mito kâp ta-ni 'to look with the whites of one's eyes' is to look with suspicion or animosity.

- (96) ཕ་གཡུས་ལུ་རྟ་བརྒྱ་ཐམ་པ་ཡོད།
རང་འགྱེས་ད་རྒྱང་ཐང་མས།

Pha-'ü-lu ta jathampa yö
Father-village-at horse one hundred be
Ra jou-d°a kang thang-mä
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.

- (97) མི་ཚེ་གཅིག་ལུ་བསྐྱེད་པ་དགུ།
དགུ་གྱིས་མི་དོ་བཙོ་བརྒྱད་ཡོད།

'Mi-tshe-ci-lu kâp gu
Man-life-one-in transformation nine
Gu-g°i mi-d°o copgä yö
Nine-[erg] not-[pg] eighteen be

There are nine transformations in a man's life.
If it isn't nine, it's eighteen.

Alphabetical Order of Roman Dzongkha

a	ch	g ^o	'l	ô	s	'û
â	d	h	lh	'o	sh	ü
'a	d ^o	i	m	'ô	t	'ü
'â	dr	î	'm	ö	th	w
ä	dr ^o	'i	n	'ö	tr	'w
'ä	dz	'î	'n	p	thr	y
b	e	j	ng	ph	ts	'y
b ^o	ê	j ^o	'ng	pc	tsh	z
bj	'e	k	ny	pch	u	z ^o
bj ^o	'ê	kh	'ny	r	û	zh
c	g	l	o	hr	'u	zh ^o

ཨྲཱེ་མཁའ་མཁའ་།

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