An Introduction to Khengkha:
A Language of Central Bhutan*

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Summary

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

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

关键词：不丹国、喜马拉雅语东支、藏缅语、核心词、古貌遗留

1. Introduction

Kheng language, or Khengkha (*kha* means "oral speech"), is classified as an East Bodish language in Western Tibeto-Burman, spoken by about 40,000 people in the Sarpang, Trongsa, Zhemgang, and Mongar districts of south-central Bhutan. The main languages spoken in Central Bhutan are Kurtöp, Bumthap, and Khengkha. Bumthap is the most related language to Khengkha, sharing not a few common words and features between them. Kurthöp is rather different from Khengkha, being difficult to make conversation among them. Khengkha speakers had close contact with speakers of the Kurtöp and Bumthap languages, the nearby languages of Central Bhutan, to the extent that they may be considered part of a wider collection of "Bumthang languages," and some linguists recognize Khengkha as a dialect of Bumthap. These three languages in Central Bhutan all follow the same typology as Dzongkha, however, Khengkha is not a dialect of Dzongkha.
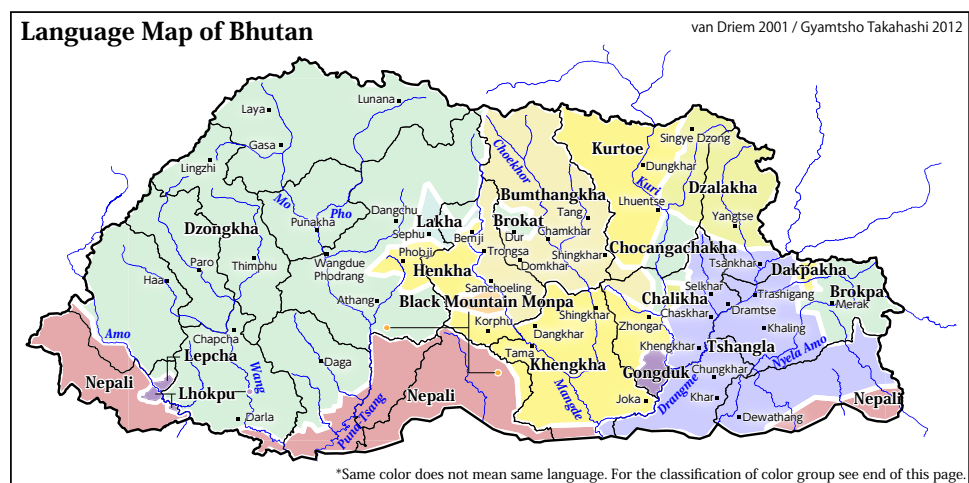
Khengkha is an oral language without a writing system, only spoken at home, for commerce, local politics, traditional religion. It is not an educational language taught in school, as opposed to Dzongkha and English. As there is no official romanization system of Khengkha, few texts are published in this language.

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

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

	Dzongkha		**Bumthap**		**Khengkha**	
I	/nga/	[ŋʌ²³]	/ngat/	[ŋɑtʳ²³]	/nga/	[ŋʌ²¹]
person	/'mi/	[mi⁴⁴]	/'mi/	[ʔmi⁴³]	/mi/	[mi²¹]
child	/'alu/	[ʔʌ⁴⁴lu⁴⁴]	/o nga/	[ʔo⁴⁴ŋʌ²²]	/o lo/	[ʔo⁴⁴lo²²]
hand/arm	/lap/	[lʌp²³]	/yak/	[jʌk⁴⁴]	/ya/	[jʌ⁴²]
foot/leg	/kam/	[kʌm⁴³]	/tawa/	[ʈʌ²²wʌ⁴⁴]	/dok pa/	[dok²²pʌ²²]
one [1]	/ci/	[tɕi⁴⁴]	/thek/	[tʰekʳ⁴⁴]	/thek/	[tʰeʔ⁴³]
two [2]	/'ni/	[n̠i⁴⁴]	/zon/	[ʐon²³]	/zong/	[zoŋ²¹]
three [3]	/sum/	[sum⁴⁴]	/sum/	[sum⁴³]	/sum/	[sum⁴³]
the sun	/'nim/	[n̠im⁴⁴]	/'ni/	[ʔni̠ʔ⁴⁴]	/nä/	[nɛˑ²¹]
the moon	/dau/	[dʌu²³]	/ladang/	[lʌ⁴⁴dʌ̃²²]	/'acu lala/	[ʔʌ⁴⁴tɕu⁴³lʌ²²lʌ²²]
snow	/khau/	[kʰʌu²³]	/ka/	[kʌʔ⁴⁴]	/ka/	[kʌʔ⁴²]
who	/gamo/	[gʌˑ²³mo²³]	/'e/	[ɛˑ⁴⁴]	/ai/	[ai⁴²]
eat	/za-ni/	[ʐʌ²³n̠i²²]	/zö-zang/	[ʐɵ²⁴-ʐʌ̃²²]	/zö-gem/	[ʐɵ²³-gem²¹]
laugh	/ga-ni/	[gʌ²³n̠i²²]	/ga-zang/	[gʌ²⁴-ʐʌ̃²²]	/ga-gem/	[gʌ²³-gem²¹]

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

　　　/-p/ → [-pʳ ~ -pʰ] ;　　/-t/ → [-tʳ ~ -tʰ] ;　　/-k/ → [-kʳ ~ -kʰ]

* The word for "moon" in Bumthap consists of /la/ 'moon' and /dang/ 'light'; this word indicates
   both 'the moon' and 'moonlight'.

2. Phonology

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

2.1　Consonants

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

Table 2   Khengkha Consonants

	Stops			**Affricates**		
Plain	p-	t-	k-	ts-	tɕ- ~ tʃ-	
Aspirated	pʰ-	tʰ-	kʰ-	tsʰ-	tɕʰ- ~ tʃʰ-	
Voiced	b-	d-	g-	dz-	dʑ- ~ dʒ-	
Nasals	m-	n-	ŋ-		(ɳ-)	
				Fricatives		
Voiceless				s-	ɕ- ~ ʃ-	h-
Voiced				z-	ʑ- ~ ʒ-	
	Approximant					
	w-	l-		ɹ- ~ r-	j-	ʔ-

2.2   Vowels

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

Table 3   Khengkha Vowels

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

2.3   Diphthongs and Codas

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

Table 4   The Diphthongs and Codas

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

3. Dialects

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

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

Table 5 Personal Pronouns in Nominative

1 sg.	I	1 pl.	we
	ŋɑ^{21} [Trs/Wml]		ŋɛ^{22} lʌ^{42} [Trs/Wml]
			ŋɛ˙^{21} =gʌm^{22}ho^{44} [Trs]
			ŋɛ˙^{21} =gɑm^{22}bo^{22} [Wml]
2 sg.	you	2 pl.	you
	wɛ^{21} ~weʔ^{21} ~weʈ^{21} [Trs/Wml]		weʔ^{23} =gʌm^{22}ho^{22} [Trs]
	wi^{44}tɕi^{42} [Trs/Wml]		weʔ^{23} =gɑm^{22}bo^{22} [Wml]
3 sg.	s/he	3 pl.	they
	gon^{21} [Trs/Wml]		gon^{21} =gʌm^{22}ho^{22} [Trs]
	bo^{22} 'he' [Trs]		gon^{21} =gɑm^{22}bo^{22} [Wml]
	bo^{22}mɛ˙^{42} 'she' [Trs]		

Table 6 Personal Pronouns in Genitive

1 sg.	my		
	ŋɑ²¹ = hai⁴⁴ ~ ŋai²² = hai⁴² [Trs]		
	ŋɑ²¹ = kʰai⁴⁴ [Wml]		
2 sg.	your	2 pl.	your
	weʔ²¹tɕi⁴⁴ = hai⁴⁴ [Trs]		weʔ²³ gɑm²²ho⁴⁴ = hai²² [Trs]
	weʔ²¹tɕʰi⁴⁴ = kʰai⁴⁴ [Wml]		n̠in²¹tɕʰi⁴⁴ = hai²² [Trs]
			n̠in²¹tɕʰi⁴⁴ = kʰai⁴⁴ [Wml]
3 sg.	his/her	3 pl.	their
	gon²¹ = kʰai⁴⁴ [Wml]		gon²¹ gɑm²²bo²² = kʰai⁴⁴ [Wml]
	bo²³ = hai²² 'his' [Trs]		bo²³gʌm²²ho⁴⁴ = hai²² m [Trs]
	bo²²mɛ·⁴⁴ = hai²² 'her' [Trs]		bo²²mɛ·⁴⁴gʌm²²ho⁴⁴ = hai²² fm [Trs]

The variations [= gʌm²²ho⁴⁴] (Trs) vs. [= gɑm²²bo²²] (Wml), and [= hai²²] (Trs) vs. [= kʰai²²] (Wml) are obvious in the pronoun system. It must have caused [b-] > [h-] in pl. suffix; [kh-] > [h-] in genitive suffix in Trongsa dialect.

Table 7 Demonstratives

Proximal			
sg.	this	pl.	these
	oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ [Trs/Wml]		oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ = gɑm²²bo²² [Wml]
			oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ = gʌm²²ho⁴⁴ [Trs]
Distal			
sg.	that	pl.	those
	ɑ²¹tʰu⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ [Wml]		ɑ²¹tʰu⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ = gɑm²²bo²² [Wml]
	u²²tʰi⁴⁴ [~ti⁴⁴] hai²² [Trs]		u²²tʰi⁴⁴ [~ti⁴⁴] hai²² = gʌm²²ho⁴⁴ [Trs]

Table 8 Demonstratives in the Attributive

Proximal			
sg.	this + n.	pl.	these + n.
	oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ + [n.] [Trs/Wml]		oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ + [n.] = gɑm²²bo²² [Wml]
Distal			
sg.	that + n.	pl.	those + n.
	ɑ²¹tʰu⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ + [n.] [Wml]		ɑ²¹tʰu⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ + [n.] = gɑm²²bo²² [Wml]
	u²²ti⁴⁴ + [n.] [Trs]		u²²tʰi⁴⁴ + [n.] = gʌm²²ho⁴⁴ [Trs]
			u²²tʰai⁴² + [n.] = gʌm²²ho⁴⁴ [Trs]

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

this flower
oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ mẽ²²to˙⁴² [Trs]

these flowers
oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ mẽ²²to˙⁴² gʌm²²ho²² [Trs]

that flower
u²²ti⁴⁴ mẽ²²to˙⁴² [Trs]

those flowers
u²²tʰi [~ti]⁴⁴ mẽ²²to˙⁴² gʌm²²ho⁴⁴ [Trs]

4. Preservation of Old Constituents

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

Table 9 Tibetan Core Words and Khengkha

English	WrT	Dzongkha	Khengkha	PTB
you	*kyhod*	/che ~ cho/	[wɛ²¹ ~ wɛt⁴⁴]	*na(ŋ) [STC#407]
blood	*khrag*	/trha/	[ka⁴²]	*s-hwiy [STC#222]
hair	*skra*	/ca/	[kra⁴²]	*s-kra [STC#115]
foot	*rkang pa*	/ka(ng)m/	[tɑ⁴⁴wɑ⁴⁴ ; dok²²pa²²]	*kriy [STC#038]
water	*chu*	/chu/	[kʰwɛ⁴³]	*twiy [STC#168],
				*m-tśril [STC p.30]
seven	*bdun*	/dün/	[n̠iʔ⁴³ ~ n̠it⁴⁴]	*s-nis [STC#005]
horse	*rta*	/ta/	[ta⁴⁴]	*s-raŋ ~
				*m-raŋ [STC#145]

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

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

Table 10   Dzongkha Basic Numerals

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

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

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

Table 11   Khengkha Basic Numerals

Number	1	2	3	4	5
WrT	*gcig*	*gnyis*	*gsum*	*bzhi*	*lnga*
Khengkha	[tʰeʔ⁴³]	[zoŋ²¹]	[sum⁴³]	[ble²²]	[jɑː²³ŋʌ²²]
PTB	*t(y)ik	*g-nis	*g-sum	*b-liy	*l-ŋa ~ *b- ŋa
Number	6	7	8	9	10
WrT	*drug*	*bdun*	*brgyad*	*dgu*	*bcu tham pa*
Khengkha	[groʔ²¹]	[ɲiʔ⁴³]	[dʑat²²]	[do²²go²¹]	[tɕʰe⁴³]
PTB	*d-ruk	*s-nis	*b-ryat	*d-kuw	*gip

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

The Khengkha numeral 'two' [zoŋ²¹] might be derived from PTB *zruŋ 'pair' (cognate to Chinese 雙). Khengkha appears to be an archaic language in which features older than WrT are preserved in numerals.

5. Numerals

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

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

5.1   Cardinal Numbers: 0 to 30

No.	**Dzongkha**		**Written Tibetan**	**Khengkha**
0	/lekor/	<	*klad kor*	le^{44}kor^{43} < Dzk
1	/ci/	<	*gcig*	t^{h}e$ʔ^{43}$
2	/'nyi/	<	*gnyis*	zoŋ^{21}
3	/sum/	<	*gsum*	sum^{43}
4	/zhi/	<	*bzhi*	ble^{22}
5	/'nga/	<	*lnga*	jɑː^{23}ŋɑ^{22}
6	/dru/	<	*drug*	gro$ʔ^{21}$
7	/dün/	<	*bdun*	ɳi$ʔ^{43}$
8	/gää/	<	*brgyad*	dʐat^{22}
9	/gu/	<	*dgu*	do^{22}go^{21}
10	/cutham/	<	*bcu tham pa*	tɕ^{h}e^{43}
11	/cuci/	<	*bcu gcig*	tɕ^{h}oˑ^{44} re^{21}
12	/cu-nyi/	<	*bcu gnyis*	tɕ^{h}oˑ^{44} zoŋ^{21}
13	/cusum/	<	*bcu gsum*	tɕ^{h}oˑ^{44} sum^{43}
14	/cuzhi/	<	*bcu bzhi*	tɕ^{h}eˑ^{44} ble^{42}

15	/ce'nga/	<	*bcu lga*	tɕʰai⁴⁴ ŋʌ⁴⁴
16	/cudru/	<	*bcu drug*	tɕʰeꞏ⁴⁴ groʔ⁴²
17	/cupdün/	<	*bcu bdun*	tɕʰer̥⁴⁴ ɲ̥iʔ⁴²
18	/copgää/	<	*bcu brgyad*	tɕʰer⁴⁴ dʑʌt⁴⁴
19	/cugu/	<	*bcu dgu*	tɕʰe⁴⁴ do²²go⁴⁴

20 /nyishu/ < *nyi shu (tham pa)* kʰai⁴⁴ tʰeʔ⁴³

                                                20 (×) 1

21 /(nyishu) tsaci/ < *nyi shu tsa gcig* kʰai⁴⁴de²²=ne²² tʰeʔ⁴⁴

                                                [ne ~ nɪ] 'plus/and'

22	/(nyishu) tsa-nyi/	<	*nyi shu tsa gnyis*	kʰai⁴⁴de²²=ne²² zoŋ²¹
23	/(nyishu) tsasum/	<	*nyi shu tsa gsum*	kʰai⁴⁴de²²=ne²² sum⁴³
24	/(nyishu) tsazhi/	<	*nyi shu tsa bzhi*	kʰai⁴⁴de²²=ne²² ble⁴²
25	/(nyishu) tsa-nga/	<	*nyi shu tsa lnga*	kʰai⁴⁴de²²=ne²² jʌ²²ŋʌ⁴⁴
26	/(nyishu) tsadru/	<	*nyi shu tsa drug*	kʰai⁴⁴de²²=ne²² groʔ⁴²
27	/(nyishu) tsadün/	<	*nyi shu tsa bdun*	kʰai⁴⁴de²²=ne²² ɲ̥iʔ⁴²
28	/(nyishu) tsagää/	<	*nyi shu tsa brgyad*	kʰai⁴⁴de²²=ne²² dʑʌt⁴⁴
29	/(nyishu) tsagu/	<	*nyi shu tsa dgu*	kʰai⁴⁴de²²=ne²² do²²go⁴⁴

30 /sumcu/ < *gsum bcu (tham pa)* kʰai⁴⁴tʰeʔ²²=ne²² tɕʰe⁴⁴

                                                20 (×) 1   plus/and 10

5.2 Numeral System: 20 to 30

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

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

	decimal system		date	vigesimal system	
20	/nyishu/	=	/nyishu/	/khe ci/ [khe = 20]	**Dzongkha**
			kʰai⁴⁴ tʰeʔ⁴³; kʰai⁴⁴ de⁴³	kʰai⁴⁴ tʰeʔ⁴³	**Khengkha**
21	/(nyishu) tsa-ci/		/nyerci/	/khe ci da ci/ (=20+1)	
			ɳer²² tʰeʔ⁴⁴	kʰai⁴⁴de²² = ne²² tʰeʔ⁴⁴	
22	/(nyishu) tsa-nyi/		/nyernyi/	/khe ci (da) 'nyi/	
			ɳer²² zoŋ²¹	kʰai⁴⁴de²² = ne²² zoŋ²¹	
23	/(nyishu) tsa-sum/		/nyersum/	/khe ci (da) sum/	
			ɳer²² sum⁴⁴	kʰai⁴⁴de²² = ne²² sum⁴⁴	
24	/(nyishu) tsa-zhi/		/nyerzhi/	/khe ci (da) zhi/	
			ɳer²² ble⁴⁴	ɳer²² ble⁴² kʰai⁴⁴de²² = ne²² ble⁴²	
25	/(nyishu) tsa-nga/		/nyer-nga/	/khe ci (da) 'nga/	
			ɳer²² jʌ²²ŋʌ⁴⁴	kʰai⁴⁴de²² = jʌ²²ŋʌ⁴⁴	
26	/(nyishu) tsa-dru/		/nyerdru/	/khe ci (da) dru/	
			ɳer²² groʔ⁴⁴	kʰai⁴⁴de²² = groʔ⁴²	
27	/(nyishu) tsa-dün/		/nyerdün/	/khe ci (da) dün/	
			ɳer²² ɳiʔ⁴⁴	kʰai⁴⁴de²² = ɳiʔ⁴⁴	
28	/(nyishu) tsa-gää/		/nyergää/	/khe ci (da) gää/	
			ɳer²² dʑʌt⁴⁴	kʰai⁴⁴de²² = dʑʌt⁴⁴	
29	/(nyishu) tsa-gu/		/nyergu/	/khe ci (da) gu/	
			ɳer²² do²²go⁴⁴	kʰai⁴⁴de²² = do²²go⁴⁴	

30 /sumcu/   =   /sumcu/   /khe pche da 'nyi/
                                      one half less than two(-score)

                nʌm^{22}gʌŋ^{42} kʰaɪ^{44}de^{22}＝ne^{22} tɕʰe^{44}
                                      one score and ten

5.3 Numeral System: over 30

	decimal system	vigesimal system

31 /(sumcu) so-ci/   /khe ci da cuci/ (=20×1+11)

                            kʰaɪ^{44}de^{22}＝ne^{22} tɕʰo·^{44} re^{21}

32 /(sumcu) so-nyi/   /khe ci (da) cu-nyi/ (=20×1+12)

                            kʰai^{44}de^{22}＝ne^{22} tɕʰo·^{44} zoŋ^{22}

33 /(sumcu) so-sum/   /khe ci (da) cusum/ (=20×1+13)

                            kʰai^{44}de^{22}＝ne^{22} tɕʰo·^{44} sum^{42}

34 /(sumcu) so-zhi/   /khe ci (da) cuzhi/ (=20×1+14)

                            kʰai^{44}de^{22}＝ne^{22} tɕʰe·^{44} ble^{42}

35 /(sumcu) so-nga/   /khe ko da 'nyi/
                            one fourth less than two(-score)

                            kʰai^{44}de^{22}＝ne^{22} tɕʰai^{44} ŋʌ^{42}
                            one score and fifteen

36 /(sumcu) so-dru/   /khe ci (da) cudru/ (=20×1+16)

                            kʰai^{44}de^{22}＝ne^{22} tɕʰe·^{44} groʔ^{42}

37 /(sumcu) so-dün/   /khe ci (da) cupdün/ (=20×1+17)

                            kʰai^{44}de^{22}＝ne^{22} tɕʰer^{44} ȵiʔ^{42}

38 /(sumcu) so-gää/   /khe ci (da) copgää/ (=20×1+18)

                            kʰai^{44}de^{22}＝ne^{22} tɕʰer^{44} dʑʌt^{22}

39 /(sumcu) so-gu/ /khe ci (da) cugu/ (=20×1+19)

$k^hai^{44}de^{22}=ne^{22}t\varphi^he^{44}do^{22}go^{22}$

40 /zhipcu/ /khe 'nyi/ (20×2)

$k^hai^{44}zoŋ^{22}$

41 /(zhipcu) zhe-ci/ /khe 'nyi da ci/ (=20×2+1)

$k^hai^{44}zoŋ^{44}=ne^{44}t^he?^{22}$

42 /(zhipcu) zhe-nyi/ /khe 'nyi da 'nyi/ (=20×2+2)

$k^hai^{44}zoŋ^{44}=ne^{22}zoŋ^{21}$

43 /(zhipcu) zhe-sum/ /khe 'nyi da sum/ (=20×2+3)

$k^hai^{44}zoŋ^{44}=ne^{22}sum^{44}$

44 /(zhipcu) zhe-zhi/ /khe 'nyi da zhi/ (=20×2+4)

$k^hai^{44}zoŋ^{44}=ne^{22}ble^{21}$

45 /(zhipcu) zhe-nga/ /khe 'nyi da 'nga/ (=20×2+5)

$k^hai^{44}zoŋ^{44}=ne^{22}jʌ^{22}ŋʌ^{44}$

46 /(zhipcu) zhe-dru/ /khe 'nyi da dru/ (=20×2+6)

$k^hai^{44}zoŋ^{44}=ne^{22}gro?^{44}$

47 /(zhipcu) zhe-dün/ /khe 'nyi da dün/ (=20×2+7)

$k^hai^{44}zoŋ^{44}=ne^{22}ɲi?^{42}$

48 /(zhipcu) zhe-gää/ /khe 'nyi da gää/ (=20×2+8)

$k^hai^{44}zoŋ^{44}=ne^{22}dʑʌt^{22}$

49 /(zhipcu) zhe-gu/ /khe 'nyi da gu/ (=20×2+9)

$k^hai^{44}zoŋ^{44}=ne^{22}do^{22}go^{44}$

50   /'ngapcu/

/khe pche da sum/
one half less than three(-score)

$k^hai^{44}zoŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^he^{22}$ (=20×2+10)
two score and ten

51   /('ngapcu) nga-ci/

/khe 'nyi da cuci/ (=20×2+11)

$k^haɹ^{44}zoŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^ho^{·44} re^{21}$

52   /('ngapcu) nga-nyii/

/khe 'nyi da cu-nyi/ (=20×2+12)

$k^haɹ^{44}zoŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^ho^{·44} zoŋ^{22}$

53   /('ngapcu) nga-sum/

/khe 'nyi da cusum/ (=20×2+13)

$k^haɹ^{44}zoŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^ho^{·44} sum^{42}$

54   /('ngapcu) nga-zhi/

/khe 'nyi da cuzhi/ (=20×2+14)

$k^haɹ^{44}zoŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^he^{·44} ble^{42}$

55   /('ngapcu) nga-nga/

/khe ko da sum/
one fourth less than three(-score)

$k^haɹ^{44}zoŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^hai^{44} ŋʌ^{42}$
two score and fifteen (=20×2+15)

56   /('ngapcu) nga-dru/

/khe 'nyi da cudru/ (=20×2+16)

$k^haɹ^{44}zoŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^he^{·44} groʔ^{42}$

57   /('ngapcu) nga-dün/

/khe 'nyi da cupdün/ (=20×2+17)

$k^haɹ^{44}zoŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^her^{44} n̠iʔ^{42}$

58   /('ngapcu) nga-gää/

/khe 'nyi da cupgää/ (=20×2+18)

$k^haɹ^{44}zoŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^her^{44} dʐʌt^{22}$

59   /('ngapcu) nga-gu/

/khe 'nyi da cugu/ (=20×2+19)

$k^haɹ^{44}zoŋ^{22} = ne^{44} tɕ^he^{44} do^{22}go^{44}$

60 /drukcu/ /khe sum/ (=20×3)

kʰai⁴⁴ sum⁴²

61 /(drukcu) re-ci/ /khe sum da ci/ (=20×3+1)

kʰai⁴⁴ sum⁴²＝ne²² tʰeʔ⁴⁴

62 /(drukcu) re-nyii/ /khe sum da 'nyi/ (=20×3+2)

kʰaɹ⁴⁴ sum⁴⁴＝ne²² zoŋ²²

63 /(drukcu) re-sum/ /khe sum da sum/ (=20×3+3)

kʰaɹ⁴⁴ sum⁴⁴＝ne²² sum⁴⁴

64 /(drukcu) re-zhi/ /khe sum da zhi/ (=20×3+4)

kʰaɹ⁴⁴ sum⁴⁴＝ne²² ble⁴²

65 /(drukcu) re-nga/ /khe sum da 'nga/ (=20×3+5)

kʰaɹ⁴⁴ sum⁴⁴＝ne²² jʌ²²ŋʌ²²

66 /(drukcu) re-dru/ /khe sum da dru/ (=20×3+6)

kʰaɹ⁴⁴ sum⁴⁴＝ne²² groʔ⁴⁴

67 /(drukcu) re-dün/ /khe sum da dün/ (=20×3+7)

kʰaɹ⁴⁴ sum⁴⁴＝ne²² ȵiʔ⁴⁴

68 /(drukcu) re-gää/ /khe sum da gää/ (=20×3+8)

kʰaɹ⁴⁴ sum⁴⁴＝ne²² dʑʌt²²

69 /(drukcu) re-gu/ /khe 'nyi da gu/ (=20×3+9)

kʰaɹ⁴⁴ sum⁴⁴＝ne²² do²²go²²

70   /düncu/

/khe pche da zhi/
half less than four(-score)

k^hai^{44} sum^{42} = ne^{22} $tɕ^he^{44}$
three-score and ten (=20×3+10)

71   /(düncu) dön-ci/

/khe sum da cuci/ (=20×3+11)

k^hai^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} $tɕ^ho·^{44}$ re^{21}

72   /(düncu) dön 'nyii/

/khe sum da cu-nyi/ (=20×3+12)

k^hai^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} $tɕ^ho·^{44}$ $zoŋ^{22}$

73   /(düncu) dön sum/

/khe sum da cusum/ (=20×3+13)

k^hai^{44} sum^{44} = ne^{22} $tɕ^ho·^{44}$ sum^{44}

74   /(düncu) dön zhi/

/khe sum da cuzhi/ (=20×3+14)

$k^haɹ^{44}$ sum^{44} = ne^{22} $tɕ^ho·^{44}$ ble^{42}

75   /(düncu) dön 'nga/

/khe ko da zhi/
one fourth less than four(-score)

$k^haɹ^{44}$ sum^{44} = ne^{22} $tɕ^hai^{44}$ $ŋʌ^{42}$
three-score and fifteen (=20×3+15)

76   /(düncu) dön druu/

/khe sum da cudru/ (=20×3+16)

$k^haɹ^{44}$ sum^{44} = ne^{22} $tɕ^he·^{44}$ $groʔ^{42}$

77   /(düncu) dön dün/

/khe sum da cupdün/ (=20×3+17)

$k^haɹ^{44}$ sum^{44} = ne^{22} $tɕ^heɹ̥^{44}$ $ɳiʔ^{42}$

78   /(düncu) dön gää/

/khe sum da cupgää/ (=20×3+18)

$k^haɹ^{44}$ sum^{44} = ne^{22} $tɕ^heɹ̥^{44}$ $dʐʌt^{22}$

79   /(düncu) dön gu/

/khe sum da cugu/ (=20×3+19)

$k^haɹ^{44}$ sum^{44} = ne^{22} $tɕ^he^{44}$ $do^{22}go^{44}$

| 80 | /gäpcu/ | /khe zhi/ (=20×4) |
| | | k^hai^{44} ble^{42} |

| 81 | /(gäpcu) jaa ci/ | /khe zhi da ci/ (=20×4+1) |
| | | k^hai^{44} ble^{42} = ne^{22} $t^he?^{44}$ |

| 82 | /(gäpcu) jaa 'nyii/ | /khe zhi da 'nyi/ (=20×4+2) |
| | | k^hai^{44} ble^{42} = ne^{22} $zoŋ^{22}$ |

| 83 | /(gäpcu) jaa sum/ | /khe zhi da sum/ (=20×4+3) |
| | | k^hai^{44} ble^{42} = ne^{22} sum^{44} |

| 84 | /(gäpcu) jaa zhi/ | /khe zhi da zhi/ (=20×4+4) |
| | | k^hai^{44} ble^{42} = ne^{22} ble^{22} |

| 85 | /(gäpcu) jaa 'nga/ | /khe zhi da 'nga/ (=20×4+5) |
| | | k^hai^{44} ble^{22} = ne^{22} $jʌ^{22}ŋʌ^{22}$ |

| 86 | /(gäpcu) jaa druu/ | /khe zhi da dru/ (=20×4+6) |
| | | k^hai^{44} ble^{22} = ne^{22} $gro?^{44}$ |

| 87 | /(gäpcu) jaa dün/ | /khe zhi da dün/ (=20×4+7) |
| | | k^hai^{44} ble^{22} = ne^{22} $ɳi?^{42}$ |

| 88 | /(gäpcu) jaa gää/ | /khe zhi da gää/ (=20×4+8) |
| | | k^hai^{44} ble^{22} = ne^{22} $dʑʌt^{22}$ |

| 89 | /(gäpcu) jaa gu/ | /khe zhi da gu/ (=20×4+9) |
| | | k^hai^{44} ble^{22} = ne^{22} $do^{22}go^{22}$ |

90   /gupcu/

/khe pche da 'nga/
half less than five(-score)

kʰai⁴⁴ ble⁴⁴＝ne²² tɕʰe⁴²
four-score and ten (=20×4+10)

91   /(gupcu) goci/

/khe zhi da cuci/ (=20×4+11)

kʰai⁴⁴ ble⁴⁴＝ne²² tɕʰoˑ²²re²¹

92   /(gupcu) go 'nyii/

/khe zhi da cu'nyi/ (=20×4+12)

kʰai⁴⁴ ble⁴⁴＝ne²² tɕʰoˑ⁴⁴ zoŋ²²

93   /(gupcu) go sum/

/khe zhi da cusum/ (=20×4+13)

kʰai⁴⁴ ble⁴⁴＝ne²² tɕʰoˑ⁴⁴ sum⁴²

94   /(gupcu) go zhi/

/khe zhi da cuzhi/ (=20×4+14)

kʰai⁴⁴ ble⁴⁴＝ne²² tɕʰoˑ⁴⁴ ble⁴²

95   /(gupcu) go 'nga/

/khe ko da 'nga/
one fourth less than five(-score)

kʰai⁴⁴ ble⁴⁴＝ne²² tɕʰai⁴⁴ ŋʌ⁴²
four-score and fifteen (=20×4+15)

96   /(gupcu) go druu/

/khe zhi da cudru/ (=20×4+16)

kʰai⁴⁴ ble⁴⁴＝ne²² tɕʰeˑ⁴⁴ groʔ⁴²

97   /(gupcu) go dün/

/khe zhi da cupdün/ (=20×4+17)

kʰai⁴⁴ ble⁴⁴＝ne²² tɕʰer⁴⁴ ȵiʔ⁴²

98   /(gupcu) go gää/

/khe zhi da cupgää/ (=20×4+18)

kʰai⁴⁴ ble⁴⁴＝ne²² tɕʰer⁴⁴ dʑʌt²²

99   /(gupcu) go gu/

/khe zhi da cugu/ (=20×4+19)

kʰai⁴⁴ ble⁴⁴＝ne²² tɕʰe⁴⁴ do²²go²²

100	/jatham(pa)/; /cikja/	/khe 'nga/ (=20×5)
		$k^hai^{44}j\Lambda^{22}\eta\Lambda^{33}$
200	/nyija/	/khe cutham/ (=20×10)
		$k^hai^{24} t\varsigma^he^{42}$
300	/sumja/	/khe ce'nga/ (=20×15)
		$k^hai^{22} t\varsigma^he^{22} \eta\Lambda^{42}$
400	/zhipja/	/'nyishu ci/ (=400×1)
		$\underset{\text{ȵ}}{}i^{22}\varsigma u^{44} t^hek^{22}$
500	/'ngapja/	/'nyishu ci da khä'nga/ (=400×1+20×5) twentyscore and five(-score)
		$\underset{\text{ȵ}}{}i^{22}\varsigma u^{44} t^hek^{22} = ne^{22} \; j\Lambda^{22}\eta\Lambda^{42}$
600	/drukja/	/'nyishu pche da 'nyi/ half less than fortyscore
		$\underset{\text{ȵ}}{}i^{22}\varsigma u^{44} t^hek^{22} = ne^{42} \; k^hai^{24} t\varsigma^he^{42}$
700	/dünja/	/'nyishu ko da 'nyi/ fourth less than fortyscore
		$\underset{\text{ȵ}}{}i^{22}\varsigma u^{44} t^hek^{22} = ne^{42} \; k^hai^{24} t\varsigma^he^{44}\eta\Lambda^{42}$
800	/gäpkja/	/'nyishu 'nyi/ (=400×2) fortyscore
		$\underset{\text{ȵ}}{}i^{22}\varsigma u^{44} zo\eta^{21}$
900	/gupja/	/'nyishu 'nyi da khe 'nga/ (=400×2+20×5)
		$\underset{\text{ȵ}}{}i^{22}\varsigma u^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} \; k^hai^{24} j\Lambda^{22}\eta\Lambda^{44}$
1000	/tongthra ci/	/nyishu pche da sum/ (=400×2.5) half less than three twentyscore
	/ciktong/	$\underset{\text{ȵ}}{}i^{22}\varsigma u^{44} zo\eta^{44} = ne^{22} \; k^hai^{24} t\varsigma^he^{44}$

6. Fundamental Words for Daily Life

This section presents the collected fundamental words in Khengkha, used for daily life. Khengkha has many words in common with Dzongkha, however, it is difficult to distinguish which are borrowings or cognates. Among all these words, generally speaking, cultural/social words of nouns such as 'teacher', 'student', 'hospital', and 'shop' are possible borrowings from Dzongkha. Furthermore, direction words, such as [l̥ʰo⁴²] 'south' and [(b) dʑɑŋ²¹] 'north' must be borrowings since their initial consonants are outside the list of Khengkha initials. Apart from those from daily life, I also collected 200 basic words based on the Matisoff 200-word list for comparative study, which are attached at the end of this report.

6.1   Nouns

English	Dzongkha	Khengkha
father/dad	/ 'apa / ; / yap / [H]	ʔʌ⁴⁴pʌ²²
husband	/ 'map / ; / phoja /	(ŋai²⁴) pʰo⁴⁴dʑʌ²²
male	/ pho / ; / phogee / ; / phoja /	pʰo²²dʑʌ⁴⁴; bo²⁴
mother/mom	/ 'ama / ; / yum / [H]	ʔʌ⁴⁴mʌ²²
wife	/ 'amtsu / ; / 'nem / ; / 'netsha /	(ŋai²⁴) mo⁴⁴dʑʌ²²
female	/ 'amtsu /	mo²²dʑʌ⁴⁴; bo²²mɛ⁴²

[bo²²mɛ⁴²] is not only used as a reference term, but also used as an address term to call a (young) lady. And the other address term [mɛ⁴⁴m²²] is used to call a not young lady.

English	Dzongkha	Khengkha
child	/ 'alu /	ʔo⁴⁴lo²²
son	/ bu / ; / sä / [H]	bo⁴⁴sɑ²²
daughter	/ bum / ; / seem / [H]	bo²²mɛ·⁴²
teacher	/ 'lopön /	lo⁴⁴pøn⁴²

[lo⁴⁴pøn⁴²] is also used as an address term to call a male person.

English	Dzongkha	Khengkha
student	/ 'lopthru /	lop⁴⁴tʂʰu⁴² ~ lop⁴⁴tʂu⁴²

There is no khengkha word for 'student', so they use the loan word from Dzongkha.

English	Dzongkha	Khengkha
monk	/ gelong /	ge²²loŋ⁴²
nun	/ 'ani(m) /	a²²mi⁴⁴mo²²

friend	/ charo / ; / totsha(ng) /	tɕʰʌ²²ro⁴²
farmer	/ minap /	mi²²nʌ²²pʰo⁴²
merchant	/ tshongpön /	tsʰoŋ⁴⁴pøn⁴²
Bhutanese	/ drup /	dʐuk²²pʌ⁴³
Indian	/ jagar /	d̥ʑʌ²²kʰʌɻ̊⁴²pʌ²²
Tibetan	/ böp /	bø²³pʌ⁴⁴
temple	/ lhakhang /	l̥ʌ⁴⁴kʰʌŋ⁴⁴
hospital	/ 'mänkhang /	mɛ̃⁴⁴kʰʌŋ⁴⁴
school	/ 'lopdra /	lop⁴⁴dzʌ⁴² < Dzk
shop	/ tshongkhang /	tsʰoŋ⁴⁴kʰʌŋ⁴⁴
tea house	/ jakhang /	tɕʰʌŋ⁴⁴kʰʌŋ⁴⁴ 'bar'
	There is no 'tea house' in the central Bhutan.	
house	/ chim /	mai⁴²
river	/ chu /	kʰwi⁴⁴li⁴⁴gaŋ²¹
juncture	/ chuzom /	kʰwe⁴⁴zom²²sʌ⁴²
bridge	/ zam /	zʌm²¹
road	/ lam /	jam²¹
mountain	/ (gang) ri /	pʰu⁴⁴ / poŋ⁴²
mountain pass	/ la /	jʌ²¹
market/town	/ throm /	tʂʰom⁴²
village	/ 'üü /	kroŋ⁴²
yesterday	/ khatsha /	daŋ²⁴lɑ²¹
today	/ dari /	dɑ²¹sum⁴³
tomorrow	/ naapa /	jɑm²¹bɑ⁴⁴
now	/ dato /	dɑi²¹nɑ⁴³ ∼ dʌ²²ji⁴⁴nʌŋ²²
morning	/ dropa /	ŋɑ⁴⁴zi²¹

noon	/ nyin-gung /	$ȵen^{22}tɕ^{h}ʌ^{42}$
night	/ numo / ; / zha(k) /	$su^{44}lɑ^{22}$
breakfast	/ drop(a)-ja /	$ŋɑ^{22}zi^{22}$ to^{42}
lunch	/ nyimä-to / ; / seu / [H]	$ȵen^{22}tɕ^{h}ʌ^{44}$ to^{44}
dinner	/ pchiru-to / ; / tsho / [H]	$su^{44}lʌ^{22}$ to^{44}
directions	/ sacho /	$tɕ^{h}o^{44}$
east	/ shaa /	$ɕɑɹ^{44}$
west	/ nup /	nup^{44}
south	/ lho /	$l̥^{h}o^{42}$
north	/ jang /	$(b)dʑɑŋ^{21}$
right	/ 'yä /	$ʔe˙^{44}pɑ^{22}$; $ɕʌ^{44}sʌ^{44}$
left	/ 'yön /	$ʔem^{44}pɑ^{22}$; $jum^{44}pʌ^{22}$

6.2   Adjectives

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

English	Dzongkha	Khengkha
delicious	/ zhim-to(k)to /	$ŋɑr^{44}$-$tɑ^{21}$
hot	/ kha tsharu /	$k^{h}ɑ^{44}$ $ts^{h}ɑ^{44}$-$tɑ^{44}$
many	/ lesha /	$tɕ^{h}ɑ˙^{44}tɕ^{h}ɑ^{21}$
few	/ 'atsi(tsi) /	$ȵuŋ^{44}wɑ^{21}$; $k^{h}ʌm^{44}tɛ^{42}$
big	/ boom /	$dʑik^{21}pɑ^{44}$-$lɑ^{21}$
small	/ chung-gu /	$tɕ^{h}iŋ^{24}ku^{44}$-$lɑ^{21}$
cheap	/ kä-toto /	$goŋ^{21}$ $ȵuŋ^{21}wɑ^{44}$-$lɑ^{44}$
expensive	/ gong boom /	$(goŋ^{21})$ $dʑik^{21}pɑ^{44}$-$lɑ^{44}$
hot	/ tshatom /	$ts^{h}ɑ^{44}$-$tɑ^{21}$

cold	/ si-trhötrhö /	kʰit⁴⁴-tɑ²¹
good	/ leshom /	kɑ⁴⁴tɕɑn²¹
bad	/ jang ning /	meʔ²²bɑ⁴² (thing, situation)
		kʌ⁴⁴tɕʌn⁴² mu²²se⁴² (person)
itchy	/ ya(w)u / ; / ya-ni /	dʑɑ²¹-tɑ²¹
painful/unwell	/ naome /	nɑ²¹-tɑ²¹

6.3 Verbs

The morphology of Khengkha verbs is not obvious either. The following table only presents the indefinite (= imperfect) form with verb suffixes [-gem²¹] or [-dem²¹]. These two types of suffixes form definite combinations with verb stems. The grammatical difference between them cannot be expounded yet.

English	Dzongkha	Khengkha
go	/ jo-ni / ; / jön-ni / [H]	gai²⁴-dem²¹
come	/ wong-ni / ; /jön-ni / [H]	rʌ²²-gem²¹
eat	/ za-ni ; zhe-ni / [H]	zɵ²³-gem²¹
drink	/ thung-ni / ; / zhe-ni / [H]	tʰoŋ⁴⁴-gem²¹
look at	/ ta-ni / ; / zi-ni / [H]	tʌ⁴⁴-gem²¹
see	/ thong-ni /	blɑŋ²² -tɑ⁴²
show	/ tön-ni /	tɕʰo⁴⁴ŋɛ⁴⁴-men⁴²
listen to	/ go-ni / ; / nyän-ni / [H]	nʌ⁴⁴ tʰu²²-dem²¹
hear	/ go-ni /	kat⁴⁴go²²-gem²¹
let hear	/ da tshön-ni /	ɲen⁴⁴lai⁴²
speak	/ kha 'lap-ni / ;	lʌp⁴⁴tɛ⁴⁴-men⁴²
	/ sung-ni / [H] ; / zhu-ni / [M]	
stand	/ long-ni / ; / zheng-ni / [H]	jɑŋ²⁴-gem²¹
sit	/ dö(p)-ni / ; / zhu-ni / [H]	ɲi²⁴-gem²¹
sick	/ na-ni / ; / nyung-ni / [H]	nɑ²⁴ -gem²¹

give	/ jin-ni / ; / trö-ni / ;	bi²⁴ -gem²¹
	/ 'nang-ni / [H]	
wait	/ ba-ni / ; / 'nam-ni / [H]	tɕʰʌr⁴⁴ -gem²¹
know	/ she-ni / ; / 'khen-ni / [H]	kʰɑŋ⁴⁴ -gem²¹
do	/ be-ni / ; / dʑä-ni / [H]	bu²⁴ -gem²¹
hand, carry	/ trö-ni / ; / 'nang-ni / [H]	bi²⁴ -gem²¹

7. Construction of the Noun Phrase

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

'these three red flowers'

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

oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ mẽ²¹to⁴² dʑin²¹tʰi [~ti]⁴⁴lɑ⁴⁴ sum⁴³ (/ gɑm²²bo²²)†

this   flower   red   3   (/ pl.)

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

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

u²²tʰi[~ti]⁴⁴   = (h)ai⁴⁴   bo·²²mɛ⁴⁴←[kʰen⁴⁴dʑʌ²²   ŋøn²²ti⁴⁴-lʌ²²

DP:dist   =GEN   girl   shirt   blue

gin²²]＝kʰʌn⁴⁴   zoŋ²¹ tʂʌ⁴⁴ʃi⁴⁴＝ki²²   no²²met⁴⁴ wen²¹.

wear   =NMLR   2   *bkra shis* =GEN   sister   AUX:stmt

8. Interrogative Pronouns/Adverbs

An interrogative sentence with interrogative pronouns/adverbs is the same as an affirmative sentence regarding word order. By inserting interrogatives into their position, the answer words will appear. The particle [jo²¹] will be added appear at the end of the sentence to express a wh-question. (cf. The interrogative particle [jʌ²¹] is used for yes/no questions contrastively.)

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

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

who ai^{42} / $ʔʌ^{44}$

(2)   Who is she?

   gon^{21} ai^{42} jo^{21} ?
   3 sg.   who   MOD:irg

   གོན་ཨའི་ཡོ།

   $oʔ^{44}kai^{44}$ bo^{42} $ʔʌ^{44}$ jo^{21} ?
   DP: prox   person   who   MOD:irg

   ཨོ་ཀའི་བོ་ཨ་ཡོ།

whose $a^{21}tɕi^{44}k^hai^{44}$

(3)   Whose house is this?

   $oʔ^{44}kai^{44}$ mai^{44} $a^{21}tɕi^{44}k^hai^{44}$ jo^{21} ?
   DP: prox   house   whose   MOD:irg

   ཨོ་ཀའི་མའི་ཨ་ཅི་ཁའི་ཡོ།

what $dʑai^{21}$/ $dʑʌ^{24}$

(4)   What is this?

   $oʔ^{44}kai^{44}$ $dʑai^{24}$ jo^{21} ?
   DP: prox   what   MOD:irg

   ཨོ་ཀའི་ཛའི་ཡོ།

where ao^{21} / $ʔʌu^{44}$

(5)   Where do you go?

      $weʔ^{24}$ ao^{21} gai^{24} -dem^{21} ?
      2 sg.   where   go   -SFX:indfnt

      ཁྱེད་ཨཝོ་གའི་དེམ།

why $dʐai^{24}bu^{21}zɪ^{22}$

(6)   Why did you come here?

      $weʔ^{24}$ $dʐai^{24}bu^{21}zɪ^{22}$ $he^{44}na^{21}$ ra^{24} sa^{21} ?
      2 sg.   why   here   come   MOD:pft

      ཁྱེད་ཛའི་བུ་ཟེ་ཧེ་ན་ར་ས།

how $a^{44}to^{21}$

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

      $weʔ^{24}$ $a^{44}to^{21}$ gai^{24} -dem^{21} ?
      2 sg.   how   go   -SFX:indfnt

      ཁྱེད་ཨ་ཏོ་གའི་དེམ།

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

      $dʐuk^{22}jɤl^{21}$ $a^{44}to^{21}$ nak^{22} se^{44} ?
      Bhutan   how   feel   MOD:pft

      འབྲུག་ཡུལ་ཨ་ཏོ་ནག་སེ།

how much $\alpha k^{44} p\alpha^{44}$

(9)   How much is this?

$o?^{44}kai^{44}$ $\alpha k^{44}p\alpha^{44}$ jo^{21} ?
Prox: sg.   how much   MOD:pft

ཨོ་ཀའི་ཨག་པ་ཡོ།

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

$lam^{44}ben^{44}d\alpha^{21}$ $k\varepsilon\cdot^{44}d\hat{z}i^{21}$ $t^h\varepsilon\cdot^{42}=n\alpha^{21}$ $\alpha k^{44}p\alpha^{44}$ jo^{21} ?
tomato   k   g   one   = par   how much   PCL:irg

བླམ་བེན་ད་ཀེ་ཇི་ཐེག་ན་ཨག་པ་ཡོ།

when $\alpha r^{44}w\alpha^{21}$

(11)   When does he come?

gon^{21} $\alpha r^{44}w\alpha^{44}$ $r\alpha^{24}$ jo^{21} ?
3 sg.   when   come   MOD:irg

གོན་ཨར་ལྷ་ར་ཡོ།

9. Sentences for Daily Conversation

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

(12)   Hello!

Dzk   / kuzu zangpo (-laa) !/   སྐུ་གཟུགས་བཟང་པོ་(ལགས)།

Khk $ku^{44}zu^{21}$ $z\Lambda\eta^{21}po\cdot^{44}$ $(l\Lambda^{21})$ སྐུ་གཟུགས་བཟང་པོ་(ལགས)།
         body [H].   good   MOD[H]

(13)   Welcome!

    Dzk   / jönpa lekso (yö)./   འབྱོན་པ་ལེགས་སོ།

    Khk $k\Lambda^{44}dz\tilde{\text{i}}^{44}t\text{ɕ}^h e^{43}$ $(l\Lambda^{21})$ བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ་ (ལགས)།
                gratitude   MOD[H]

(14)   I am so glad to see you.

    Dzk   /(chö da) pche de ’name-same sem ga-i./   ཁྱོད་དང་འཕྱེད་དེ་གཉམ་མེད་ས་མེད་དགའ་ཡི།

    Khk $\text{we?}^{24} = \text{ne}^{21}$ $\text{dom}^{44} = \text{ze}^{24}$ སྱེད་ནེ་དོན་ཟེ་གཉམ་མེད་ས་མེད་སེམས་དགའ་ས།
                2 sg.   =with   see   = CONJ

                $n\Lambda^{21}\text{me}^{44}s\Lambda^{21}\text{me}^{44}$ $\text{sem}^{44} g\Lambda^{24}$ $s\Lambda^{21}$
                very   happy   MOD:pft

(15)   Thank you (very much).

    Dzk   /(’name-same) kadrinche (-laa)./   (གཉམ་མེད་ས་མེད་) བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ་(ལགས)།

    Khk $k\Lambda^{44}dz\text{in}^{44}t\text{ɕ}^h e^{43}$ $(l\Lambda^{21})$ བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ་(ལགས)།
                gratitude   MOD[H]

(16)   What is your name?

    Dzk   /(chö-gi) ming gaci-mo?/   ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་མིང་ག་ཅི་སྨོ།

    Khk $\text{we?}^{24}t\text{ɕi}^{44}$ miŋ^{21} $dʑ\Lambda^{24}$ jo^{21} སྱེད་ཅི་མིང་དྲ་ཡོ།
                2 sg.: atrb   name   what   MOD:irg

(17)   May I have your name? [H]

    Dzk   /na-gi tshän laa?/ [H]   ན་གི་ཚོན་ལགས།

    Khk $\text{we}^{24}t\text{ɕi}^{44}$ $\text{ts}^h\text{en}^{41}$ $dʑ\Lambda^{24}$ jo^{21}. [H]   སྱེད་ཅི་ཚོན་དྲ་ཡོ།
                2 sg.: atrb   name [H]   what   MOD:irg

(18)   My name is Tandin.

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

   Khk   ŋai²¹   miŋ²¹   tʰʌn⁴⁴diː⁴⁴ wen²¹.   ངའི་མིང་བསྟན་འདུན་ཨྱེན།
          1 sg.: atrb   name   *bstan 'dun*   AUX:stmt

(19)   How are you?

   Dzk   /chö gade-be yö?/   ཁྱོད་ག་དེ་སྦེ་ཡོད།

   Khk   kʌ⁴⁴tɕen⁴⁴ ɕuk⁴⁴se²¹nʌ²¹   jʌ²¹ ?   ག་ཅེན་ཤུག་སེ་ན་ཡ།
          good   living   happy [H]   MOD:irg

          kʌ⁴⁴tɕen⁴⁴ nʌ¹²   jʌ²¹ ?   ག་ཅེན་ན་ཡ།
          good   happy   MOD:irg

(20)   I am fine.

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

   Khk   ŋʌ¹²   kʌ⁴⁴tɕen⁴²   rʌ²⁴   nʌ²¹.   ང་ག་ཅེན་རག་ན།
          1 sg.   good   come   AUX:exst

(21)   Where are you [H] from?

   Dzk   /na gade-le mo?/   ན་ག་དེ་ལེ་སྨོ།

   Khk   weʔ²⁴ (tʂʰuŋ⁴⁴jøˑ⁴²) ʔʌ⁴⁴ = ŋi⁴⁴†   jo²¹ ?   ཨྱེད་ཕྱུང་ཡུལ་ཨ་ཏི་ཡོ།
          2 sg.   home land   where=ABL   AUX:irg

(22)   I am from Japan.

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

   Khk   ŋʌ¹² dʑʌ²¹pʌ⁴⁴ = ni²¹   wen²¹.   ང་ཇ་པན་ནི་ཨྱེན།
          1 sg. Japan   =ABL   AUX

---

† [ʔʌ⁴⁴ = ŋi⁴⁴] might be a sound change of the phrase: *[ɑo²¹ = ni²¹] 'where =from'.

(23)   Yes. / No.

    Dzk   /'ing (-laa). / meng (-laa)./   ཨིང་(ལགས)། / མེན་(ལགས)།

    Khk $wen^{21}(l\Lambda^{21})$ / $min^{21}(l\Lambda^{21})$ ཧྤེན་(ལགས)། / མིན་(ལགས)།
              AUX:afm [H]   AUX:neg [H]

    Dzk   /'im-bä. / mem-bä./   ཨིན་པས། / མེན་པས།

    Khk $wen^{12}(dz\Lambda^{42})$ / $min^{12}(dz\Lambda^{42})$ ཧྤེན་(གགས)། / མིན་(གགས)།
              AUX:afm [F]   AUX:neg [F]

(24)   There is. / There is not.

    Dzk   /duu (-laa). / mindu (-laa)./   འདུག་(ལགས)། / མིན་འདུག་(ལགས)།

    Khk $n\Lambda k^{22}(se:^{42})$ / $mu^{21}(se:^{42})$ ནག་(སེ)། / སྨྱུད་(སེ)།
              Vb:afm [H]   Vb:neg [H]

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

    Dzk   /yö (-laa). / mee (-laa)./   ཡོད་(ལགས)། / མེད་(ལགས)།

    Khk $(\eta\Lambda^{24}$ $=n\Lambda^{21})$ $n\Lambda^{21}$. / mut^{44} (ང་ན་) ནག་ / སྨྱུད།
              1 sg.   =DAT   have   lack

(26)   I understood.

    Dzk   /ha go-i./   ཧ་གོ་ཡི།

    Khk $h\Lambda^{44} ko^{44} -s\Lambda^{42}$.   ཧ་གོ་ས།
              understand   -SFX:pft

(27)   I do not understand.

    Dzk   /ha mi-gö./   ཧ་མི་གོས།

    Khk $h\Lambda^{44}$ $m\Lambda^{22}$- go^{21}.   ཧ་མ་གོ
              under-   NEG   -stand

(28)   Please say it again.

Dzk   /daru tshaa ci 'lap 'nang./   ད་རུང་ཚར་གཅིག་སླབ་གནང་།

Khk   du^{22}ruŋ^{24} lʌp^{22} -lai^{42}.   དུ་རུང་སླབ་ལའི།
          again   speak   -SFX:imper

(29)   O.K. / All right.

Dzk   /tup (pe)./   བཏུབ་པས།

Khk   pʌ^{22} -tʌ:^{42}.   བ་ཏི།
          right -SFX

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

Dzk   /las (-laa)./   ལགས་སོ་(ལགས)།

Khk   lʌs^{42} lʌ^{44}. [H] < Dzk   ལགས་སོ་ལགས།

(31)   No problem.

Dzk   /khä me./   ཁྱད་མེད།

Khk   kʌ^{44}ŋel^{42} mut^{44}.   ག་ངེལ་སླུད།
          problem   lack

(32)   See you again.

Dzk   /las (-laa). / lokte jää-ge (laa)./   ལགས་སོ་(ལགས)། ལོག་སྟེ་མཇལ་གེ་(ལགས)།

Khk   lʌs^{42} lʌ^{44}. [H]   jʌŋ^{24}pe^{42} dom^{21}.   ལགས་སོ་ལགས། ཡང་པེགས་དོམ།
                      again   see

(33)   Where are you going?

Dzk   /(chö) gade jo(w)u mo?/   (ཁྱོད་)ག་དེ་འགྲོ་ས་སྨོ།

Khk   weʔ^{24} ʔʌu^{42} gai^{42} tʰʌŋ^{42} jo^{21} ?   བེད་ཨའོ་གའི་ཐང་ཡོ།
           2 sg.   where   go   over   MOD:irg

(34)   I'm going to Bumthang.

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

    Khk   ŋʌ²⁴ bum²²tʰʌŋ⁴² =ŋo²⁴ gai²⁴ -de⁴²me²⁴ wen²¹.   ང་བུམ་ཐང་ཏོ་གའི་དེ་མེ་ཝེན།
            1 sg. *Bumthang*   =ALT   go   -SFX:indfnt AUX

(35)   I want to go to Bumthang.

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

    Khk   ŋʌ²⁴ bum²²tʰʌŋ⁴² =ŋo²⁴ gai²⁴-do⁴²   n̥ʌm²² pʌ²².   ང་བུམ་ཐང་ཏོ་གའི་དོ་ཉམ་བ།
            1 sg. *Bumthang*   =ALT   go-SFX:indfnt think   MOD

(36)   Where is a rest room?

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

    Khk   sʌŋ⁴⁴tɕʰuŋ⁴² ʔʌu⁴⁴ lo⁴⁴ko⁴⁴ jo²¹ ?   གསང་ཆུང་ཨའི་ལྲོ་ཀོ་ཡོ
            restroom   where   locate   MOD:irg

    Dzk   /chapsang gate mo?/   ཆབ་གསང་ག་ཏེ་སྨོ

    Khk   tɕʰʌp⁴⁴sʌŋ⁴⁴ ʔʌu⁴⁴ lo⁴⁴ko⁴⁴ jo²¹ ?   ཆབ་གསང་ཨའི་ལྲོ་ཀོ་ཡོ
            restroom [H]   where   locate   MOD:irg

(37)   Let's go.

    Dzk   /(da) jo-ge./   (ད་) འཆྱུ་གེ

    Khk   dʌŋ²² gai²⁴-de²¹.   དང་གའི་དེ།
            together go-SFX:indfnt

(38)   Come here.

    Dzk   /na sho./   ན་ཤོགས།

    Khk   he⁴⁴nʌ²²   ɕʰʌ⁴⁴ ji²¹.   ཧེ་ན་ཤག་ཡི།
            here   come   MOD

(39)   How old are you?

Dzk   /(chö) lo gadem ci mo?/   (ཁྱོད་)ལོ་ག་དེམ་ཅིག་སྨོ།

Khk   weʔ²⁴ niŋ²² ʔʌk⁴⁴ pʌ⁴⁴ jo²¹ ?   ཁྱེ་ཞིང་ཨཡག་པ་ཡོ།
        2 sg.   age   how many   MOD:irg

(40)   I'm 20 years old.

Dzk   /(nga) lo kheci 'ing./   (ང་)ལོ་ཁལ་གཅིག་ཨིན།

Khk   ŋʌ²⁴ niŋ²² kʰai²⁴de⁴⁴ wen²¹.   ཁྱེ་ཞིང་ཁབའི་དེ་ཧྱེན།
        1 sg.   age   twenty   AUX

(41)   Congratulations!

Dzk   /trashi delek!/   བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས།

Khk   tʂʌ⁴⁴ɕi⁴⁴de²¹lek²² n̩in⁴⁴ gʌ²² -sʌ²¹.   བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས་སྙིན་དགའ་ས།
        congratulations   heart   happy -SFX:pft

(42)   What is this?

Dzk   /'ani gaci mo?/   ཨ་ནི་ག་ཅི་སྨོ།

Khk   oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ dʑʌ²⁴ jo²¹ ?   ཨོ་ཀའི་ཌྲ་ཡོ།
        DP: prox   what   MOD:irg

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

Dzk   /'ani momo 'ing./   ཨ་ནི་མོ་མོ་ཨིན།

Khk   oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴ mo²²mo⁴⁴ wen²¹(dzʌ²²) ?   ཨོ་ཀའི་མོ་མོ་ཧྱེན་(ག)
        DP: prox   dumpling   AUX: [F]

(44)   How much is this?

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

Khk   oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴⁴   ʌk⁴⁴pʌ⁴⁴   jo²¹ ?   ཚོ་གའི་ཨག་པ་ཡོ།
         DP: prox   how much   AUX

(45)   30 ngultrum for 1 plate.

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

Khk   thʌ⁴⁴li⁴⁴   thek⁴⁴ =nʌ²² [khai²⁴de²² =ne²² tɕhe⁴⁴ [/sum⁴⁴tɕu⁴⁴] wen²¹.
         plate   one   =DAT   twenty   =and   half (10) three ten   AUX
                                                      ཐ་ལི་ཐེག་ན་[ཁའི་དེ་ནེ་ཚེད་ [/གསུམ་བཅུ] ཝེན།

(46)   Do you have some butter tea?

Dzk   /suuja yö ga?/   སུ་ཇ་ཡོད་ག

Khk   suː⁴⁴dʑʌ⁴⁴   nʌ²⁴   jʌ²¹ ?   སུ་ཇ་ན་ཡ།
         butter tea   have   MOD:irg

(47)   (One more) beer, please.

Dzk   /(daru) biyaa ci, zhu ge (-laa)./   (ད་རུང་)བི་ཡར་གཅིག་ཞུ་གེ་(ལགས)།

Khk   do²²roŋ²⁴   bia²⁴   thek⁴⁴   wai²⁴   nʌ²⁴.   དོ་རོང་བི་ཡར་ཐེག་ཕའི་ན།
         more   beer   one   give   have

(48)   Is this yours?

Dzk   /'ani chö-gi 'ing na?/   ཨ་ནེ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཨིན་ན།

Khk   oʔ⁴⁴kai²⁴ we²²tɕi⁴⁴ =hai²⁴   wen²⁴ jʌ²¹ ?   ཚོ་གའི་ཝེ་ཅི་ཧའི་ཝེན་ཡ།
         DP: prox   you=GEN   AUX   MOD:irg

(49)   I am thirsty.

     Dzk   /nga kha kom ce./   ང་ཁ་སྐོམ་ཅིག

     Khk   ŋʌ²⁴ kʰʌ⁴⁴   kʌm⁴⁴ -pʌ²¹.   ང་ཁ་སྐམ་པ།
            1 sg. mouth   dry   -SFX

(50)   I am (very) hungry.

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

     Khk   ŋʌ²⁴ brʌ⁴⁴   nʌ²² -sʌ²².   ང་ཁ་བྲ་ན་ས།
            1 sg. hungry   have   -SFX

(51)   I have had enough.

     Dzk   /phou drangsi (-laa)./   ཕོཔ་འདྲངས་སི་(ལགས)།

     Khk   ŋʌ²⁴ dʑo²²mʌ⁴²   ŋrʌŋ²⁴ -pʌ⁴².   ང་ཀྱུ་མ་ཌྲང་པ།
            1 sg. belly   full   -SFX

(52)   It's delicious.

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

     Khk   (dek²²pʌ⁴⁴ tɕʌ²²ŋʌ⁴²)   ŋʌr²⁴ -tʌ⁴².   (དྒ་པ་ཅང་)ངར་ཏ།
            very   delicious -SFX

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

     Dzk   /zhe (-laa)./   བཞེས་(ལགས)།

     Khk   soi⁴⁴ -lɛ²²   (lʌ²¹).   སོའི་ལའི་(ལགས)།
            take   -SFX:imper   [H]

(54)   No, thank you.

    Dzk   /mi zhu (-la)./   མི་ཞུ་(ལགས)།

    Khk   lʌŋ²⁴ -pʌ⁴².   ལང་པ།
             enough -SFX

(55)   I do not feel well.

    Dzk   /zu de-toto me(ng)./   གཟུགས་བདེ་ཏོག་ཏོ་མེ(ང་)།

    Khk   ŋʌ²⁴ zu²⁴ mʌ²² -de²¹.   ང་གཟུགས་མ་བདེ།
             1 sg. body NEG   -good

(56)   I have a stomachache.

    Dzk   /(nga) phou na-de-'ing./   (ང་)ཕོཁ་ན་དེ་ཡིན།

           /(nga) phou na(wu)-mä./   (ང་)ཕོཁ་ནཁ་མས།

    Khk   ŋʌ²⁴   dʑo²²mʌ⁴² nʌ²⁴ -ze²¹.   ང་ཀྱཿམ་ན་ཟེག
             1 sg.   belly   sick   -SFX:pft

10. Noun Predicate Sentences

The auxiliary verb for statements [wen²¹], which works as a copula, connects two substantives. The negative counterpart is [min²¹], and the interrogative particle [jɑ²¹] will be affixed to the end of the sentence when needed. All the example sentences in chapters 10 to 13 were provided by a language consultant who speaks the Wamling dialect, and the pronunciation recorded here is based on his idiolect. The spelling in Tibetan script was also offered by him. The notation in Tibetan script does not reflect the grammatical alternation nor cognates of Tibetan/Dzongkha; it only spells out the actual pronunciation of Khengkha, one by one.

(57)   Are you a Bhutanese?

we$ʔ^{21}$ dzuk^{22}pa^{22} wen^{23} ja^{21} ?
2 sg.   Bhutanese   AUX:afm   IRG

ཁྱེད་འབྲུག་པ་ཡིན་ཡ།

(58)   I am a Bhutanese.

ŋa^{23} dzuk^{22}pa^{22} wen^{21}.
1 sg.   Bhutanese   AUX:afm

ང་འབྲུག་པ་ཡིན།

(59)   I am not a Bhutanese.

ŋa^{23} dzuk^{22}pa^{22} min^{21}.
1 sg.   Bhutanese   AUX:neg

ང་འབྲུག་པ་མེན།

(60)   Is he a Bhutanese?

gon^{21} dzuk^{22}pa^{22} wen^{23} ja^{21} ?
3 sg.   Bhutanese   AUX:afm   IRG

གོན་འབྲུག་པ་ཡིན་ཡ།

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

min^{21}.   gon^{21} dzuk^{22}pa^{22} min^{21},   dʑa^{22}pa^{22}nis^{21} wen^{21}.
No.   3 sg.   Bhutanese   AUX:neg   Japanese   AUX:afm

མེན།   གོན་འབྲུག་པ་མེན།   རྒྱ་པན་ནིས་ཡིན།

No, he is from Japan.

min^{21}.   gon^{21} dʑa^{22}pan^{21} = ni^{21} wen^{21}.
No.   3 sg.   Japan =ABL   AUX:afm

མེན།   གོན་རྒྱ་པན་ནི་ཡིན།

(62)   Where are you from?

we?²¹   ?ɑ⁴⁴ŋi⁴⁴   jo·²¹ ?
2 sg.   where from   MOD:irg

ཁྱེད་ཨ་ནི་ཡོ།

(63)   I am from Wamling.

ŋɑ²³   wɑm²³liŋ⁴¹ = ni²² wen²¹.
1 sg.   *Wamling* =ABL   AUX:afm

ང་ཝམ་ལིང་ནི་ཝེན།

11. Existential Sentences

The auxiliary verb for existence [nɑ²¹] and its negative counterpart [mut²¹] are used in existential or locational sentences. Further, the interrogative particle [jɑ²¹], or [jo²¹] for wh-questions, will be affixed to the end of the sentence.

(64)   There is a notebook on that table.

?ɑ⁴⁴tʰu²⁴ tɕok⁴⁴sen⁴² = gi²² nɑm²²do⁴⁴ dʐi·²⁴ʈep²² nɑ²¹.
there   table   =GEN   surface   notebook   AUX:exst

ཨ་ཐུ་ཚོག་ཤེང་གི་ནམ་དོ་ཞྲིས་ཏེབ་ན།

(65)   Here are three notebooks on the table.

he⁴⁴nɑ²² tɕok⁴⁴sen⁴² = gi²² nɑm²²do⁴⁴ dʐi·²⁴ʈep²² sum⁴³ nɑ²¹.
here   table   =GEN   surface   notebook   three   AUX:exst

ཧེ་ན་ཚོག་ཤེང་གི་ནམ་དོ་ཞྲིས་ཏེབ་གསུམ་ན།

(66)   I have two daughters.

ŋɑ²⁴ = nɑ²² ?o⁴⁴lo²²bo²²me⁴³ zon²⁴ nɑ²¹.
1 sg. =DAT   child   girl   two   AUX:have/exst

ང་ན་ཨོ་ལོ་བོ་མེ་ཟོན་ན།

(67)   I have no sons.

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

ང་ན་ཨོ་ལོ་པོ་སྨད།

(68)   S/he has three sons.

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

གོན་ན་ཨོ་ལོ་པོ་གསུམ་ན།

(69)   How many children do you have?

$\text{we?}^{21} = n\alpha^{22}$ $\text{?o}^{44}\text{lo}^{22}$ $\text{?ak}^{44}\text{pa}^{21}$ $n\alpha^{22}$ jo^{21} ?
2 sg. =DAT   child   how many   AUX:have   MOD:irg

ཞེད་ན་ཨོ་ལོ་ཨག་པ་ན་ཡོ།

12. Adjective Predicate Sentences

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

(70)   Is s/he young?

gon²¹   ʐon²³mɑ·³¹ nɑ·²²   jɑ³³ ?
3 sg.   young   AUX:exst IRG

གོན་གཱོཝན་མ་ན་ཡ།   'outer' statement

gon²¹   ʐon²³mɑ·³¹ wen²¹   jɑ³³ ?
3 sg.   young   AUX:stm IRG

གོན་གཱོཝན་མ་ཞེན་ཡ།   'inner' statement

(71)   No. S/he is old.

min²¹.   gon²¹ gɛt²² pu⁴⁴ wen²¹.
No.   3 sg.   old   AUX:stmt

མེན།   གོན་གུད་པུ་ཞེན།

(72)   I am old.

ŋɑ²³ gɛt²² pu⁴⁴   wen²¹.
1 sg. old   AUX:stmt

ང་གུད་པུ་ཞེན།

(73)   You are younger than him.

weʔ²¹ gon²¹ = ni·⁴⁴jɑŋ²¹   ʐon²³mɑ³¹ nɑ²¹.   'outer' statement
2.sg   3 sg.   = than   young   AUX:exst

ཞེད་གོན་ནི་ཡང་གཱོཝན་མ་ན།

*It is impossible to replace [nɑ²¹] from the "outer" statement with *[wen²¹]
representing an "inner" statement in this sentence.

(74)   S/he is tall.

gon²¹ kʰaŋ⁴⁴ba²²-la²² na²¹.
3.sg   tall-SFX   AUX:exst

གོན་ཁང་བ་ལ་ན།

(75)   S/he is pretty.

gon²¹ mop²²zaŋ⁴² na·²¹.
3.sg   pretty   AUX:exst

གོན་མོབ་བཟང་ན།

(76)   This book is red.

oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴² ki⁴⁴ʈɐp⁴⁴ dʑin²⁴ti⁴⁴-la²² wen²¹.
prx:sg.   book   red-SFX   AUX:stmt

ཨོ་ཀའི་གི་ཏྲབ་བྱིན་ཏི་ལ་ཝེན།

(77)   This notebook is blue.

oʔ⁴⁴kai⁴² dʑ̩·²⁴ʈep²² ɳun⁴⁴te²²-la²² wen²¹.
prx:sg.   notebook   red-SFX   AUX:stmt

ཨོ་ཀའི་བྲིས་སྟེབ་ཉུན་ཏི་ལ་ཝེན།

(78)   This dumpling tastes good.

oʔ⁴⁴kʰai⁴² mo²²mo²² ka·⁴⁴tɕan²¹ na²¹.
prx:sg.   dumpling   tasty   AUX:exst

ཨོ་ཀའི་མོ་མོ་ཀ་ཙན་ན།

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

weʔ²¹ sin⁴⁴tɕʰaŋ⁴⁴, baŋ²⁴tɕʰaŋ⁴⁴, ʔa⁴⁴ra²¹ = ni⁴⁴ dʑai²¹ ga¹² jo²¹ ?
2 sg. *sinchang*   *bangchnag*   *araq*   =ABL   what   like   MOD:irg

ཁྱེན་སིང་ཆང་བང་ཆང་ཨ་རག་ནི་ཇའི་དགའ་ཡོ།

13. Verb Predicate Sentences

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

(80)   Close the door!

ko^{42} dɑm^{24} -lai^{21}.   ཀོ་འདམ་ལའི།
door   close   -[imper]

(81)   Open the door!

ko^{42} pʰi·^{42} -lai^{21}.   ཀོ་ཕི་ལའི།
door   open   -[imper]

The imperative is formed by adding the suffix [-lai^{21}] to the verb stem.

(82)   Now the door is open.

dɑ^{44}ni^{24} ko^{42} pʰi·^{44} -sɑ^{21}.   ད་ནི་ཀོ་ཕི་ས།
now   door   open   -[pft]

dɑ^{44}ni^{24} ko^{42} pʰi·^{44} -zi^{23} nɑ^{21}.   ད་ནི་ཀོ་ཨི་ཟི་ན།
now   door   open   -[pft]   AUX:exst

The most general suffix expressing the perfect aspect is [-sɑ^{21}], and [-zi^{23}] must be an alternative to it, which appears before the auxiliary verb for "outer" statements [nɑ^{21}]. It might be a gerund of the suffix [-sɑ^{21}] to express state, as AUX [nɑ^{21}] is mainly used after adjectives (see Chapter 12).

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

(83) Who opened the door?

ko^{42} ʔa^{44}tɕi^{42} pʰi·^{22} -sa^{44} jo^{21} ? གོ་ཨ་ཅི་ཕི་ས་ཡོ།
door who open -[pft] MOD:irg

(84) I opened the door.

ko^{44} ŋa^{24}=ji·^{22} pʰi·^{44} -sa^{21}. གོ་ངའི་ཕི་ས།
door 1 sg. =ERG open -[pft]

ŋa^{24}=ji·^{22} ko^{44} pʰi·^{44} -sa^{21}. ངའི་གོ་ཕི་ས།
1 sg. =ERG door open -[pft]

(85) The wind opened [the door].

luŋ^{42}=gi^{22} (ko^{44}) pʰi·^{44} -sa^{21}. ལུང་གི་གོ་ཕི་ས།
wind =ERG door open -[pft]

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

(86) I will open the door.

ko^{44} ŋa^{24}=ji·^{22} pʰi·^{44} -ge^{21}. གོ་ངའི་ཕི་གེ
door 1sg. =ERG open -[impft]

(87) The water is boiled.

kʰwe^{44} tsʰa^{44} -zu^{24} -mu^{21}. ཕོས་ཚ་ཟུ་མུ།
water hot -[pft] AUX(?)

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

(88)   Who boiled the water?

kʰwe⁴⁴ tsʰɑn⁴²   ʔɑ⁴⁴tɕi⁴²   tʰek⁴⁴ -pɑ²²   jo²¹ ?   གློས་ཆན་ཨ་ཅི་ཐེག་པ་ཡོ།
water ← heated   who   boil   -[pft]   MOD:irg

(89)   I boiled the water.

kʰwe⁴⁴ tsʰɑn⁴²   ŋɑ²⁴=ji·²²   tʰek⁴⁴ -pɑ²².   གློས་ཆན་ང་འི་ཐེག་པ།
water ← heated   1 sg. =ERG   boil   -[pft]

kʰwe⁴⁴ tsʰɑn⁴²   ŋɑ²⁴=ji·²²   tʰek⁴⁴ -pɑm⁴²   wen²¹.   གློས་ཆན་ང་འི་ཐེག་པམ་མེན།
water ← heated   1 sg. =ERG   boil   -[pft]   AUX

The other general suffix [-pɑ²²] also expresses the perfect aspect, however, it is difficult
to grammatically explain the distribution and difference between suffixes [-sɑ²¹] and
[-pɑ²²], since there is not enough data to compare them. The suffix [-pɑm⁴²] appears pre-
ceding the position of the auxiliary verb for "inner" statements [wen²¹], and it must be a
derivation from suffix [-pɑ²²]. I think this is a phenomenon parallel with that of suffixes
[-ge²¹] and [-gem²¹] seen above in (86) and will be presented in (91) below.

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

kʰwe⁴⁴ tsʰɑn⁴²   ʔɑ⁴⁴tɕi⁴²   tʰek⁴⁴ -ke⁴⁴me²²   jo²¹ ?   གློས་ཆན་ཨ་ཅི་ཐེག་ཀེ་མེ་ཡོ།
water ← heated   who   boil   -[impft]   MOD:irg

(91)   I (will) boil the water.

kʰwe⁴⁴ tsʰɑn⁴²   ŋɑ²⁴=ji·²²   tʰek⁴⁴ -ke²².   གློས་ཆན་ང་འི་ཐེག་ཀེ།
water ← heated   1 sg. =ERG   boil   -[impft]

kʰwe⁴⁴ tsʰɑn⁴²   ŋɑ²⁴=ji·²²   tʰek⁴⁴ -kem⁴²   wen²¹.   གློས་ཆན་ང་འི་ཐེག་ཀེམ་མེན།
water ← heated   1 sg. =ERG   boil   -[impft]   AUX

The perfect suffix [-ke²²] must be an allophone of [-ge²¹] seen in (86) above. The initial
appears to be a voiceless [k-] as it is assimilated to the coda of the verb stem [tʰek⁴⁴]. The
suffix [-kem⁴²] must be a derivation from suffix [-ke²²], which appears in the preceding
position of the auxiliary verb for "inner" statements [wen²¹]. Here, a parallel derivation
phenomenon between the suffix [-ge²¹] and [-gem²¹] can also be seen.

(92)   I came from Thimphu yesterday.

ŋɑ²⁴   daŋ⁴⁴lɑ²²   tʰim⁴⁴pʰu⁴⁴ =ni²¹   rɑ²⁴ -sɑ²¹.   ང་དང་ལ་ཐིམ་ཕུག་ནི་ར་ས།
1 sg.   yesterday   *Thimphu*   =ABL   come -[pft]

(93)   I went to Bumthang.

ŋɑ²⁴   bum²⁴tʰɑŋ²¹ =nɑ²¹   gai²⁴ -pɑ²¹.   ང་བུམ་ཐང་ན་གའི་པ།
1 sg.   *Bumthang*   =ALT   go   -[pft]

Comparing (92) and (93), we see that the perfect suffixes are different, [rɑ²⁴ -sɑ²¹] '(have) come' and [gai²⁴ -pɑ²¹] '(have) gone', both expressing the perfect aspect, but opposite directions. This might be a hint to unravel the difference between them.

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

ŋɑ²⁴   bum²⁴tʰɑŋ²¹ =nɑ²¹   jam⁴⁴pɑ²²   gai²⁴ -dem²¹   (wen²¹).
1 sg.   *Bumthang*   = ALT   tomorrow   go   -[imdfnt]   AUX:stmt

ང་བུམ་ཐང་ན་ཡམ་པའི་གའི་དེམ་(ཝེན)།

The suffix [-dem²¹] is another general marker of the imperfect aspect and it expresses a volitional future, however, it is difficult to explain the distribution and difference between [-gem²¹] and [-dem²¹]. Our language consultant explained that these two kinds of suffixes take definite combinations with the verb stems. The grammatical difference between them cannot be expounded yet; it can only be pointed out that, so far, it does not concern ergative or transitive/intransitive aspects. See the Section 6.3 verbs. The suffix [-dem²¹] may appear in the preceding position of the auxiliary verb for "inner" statements [wen²¹]. I think this suffix also supports the hypothesis that verb suffixes add a final nasal consonant [-m] when they precede the auxiliary verb.

(95)   Did you eat rice?

to⁴⁴   zu²⁴ -sɑ⁴⁴   jɑ²¹ ?   ཐོ་ཟུ་ས་ཡ།
rice   eat   -[pft]   MOD:irg

(96)   I ate much rice.

     ŋɑ²⁴   to⁴⁴   tɕʰɑ·⁴⁴ tɕʰɑ²²   zu²⁴ -sɑ²¹.   ང་ཙྠ་ཆ་ཆ་ཟུ་ས།
     1 sg.   rice   much   eat   -[pft]

(97)   I am eating rice now.

     ŋɑ²⁴   to⁴⁴   dai²⁴nɑ²²   zu²⁴ -tɑ²¹.   ང་ཙྠ་དའི་ན་ཟུ་ཊ།
     1 sg.   rice   now   eat   -[prog]

The suffix [-tɑ²¹] expresses the progressive aspect. The tense is indicated by adverbs or nouns concerning time. See sentence (100).

(98)   I (will) eat tomorrow.

     ŋɑ²⁴   to⁴⁴   jam²²pɑ⁴⁴ zu²⁴ -gem²¹.   ང་ཙྠ་ཡམ་པ་ཟུ་གེམ།
     1 sg.   rice   tomorrow   eat   -[impft]

(99)   I wrote letters.

     ŋɑ²⁴＝ji⁴⁴ ji:²²gu⁴⁴ dʐʅ²⁴ -sɑ²¹.   ང་འི་ཡི་གུ་ཌྲི་ས།
     1 sg. =ERG   letters   write -[pft]

(100) I am writing letters now.

     ŋɑ²⁴   ji:²²gu⁴⁴ dai²⁴nɑ²²   dʐʅ²⁴ -tɑ²¹.   འི་ཡི་གུ་དའི་ན་ཌྲི་ཊ།
     1 sg.   letters   now   write -[prog]

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

(101) I will write (letters).

     ŋɑ²⁴＝ji²² ji:²²gu⁴⁴ dʐʅ²⁴ -gem²¹.   ང་འི་ཡི་གུ་ཌྲི་གེམ།
     1 sg. =ERG   letters   write -[impft]

(102) Do you drink *araq* ?

     weʔ²¹   ʔɑ⁴⁴rɑ⁴²   tʰoŋ⁴⁴   jɑ²¹ ?   སྱེད་ཨ་རག་མཐོང་ཡ།
     2 sg.   araq   drink   IRG

(103) I drink *araq*.

ŋa²⁴(=ji²²)   ʔa⁴⁴ra⁴²   tʰoŋ⁴².   ངའི་ཨ་རག་མཐོང་།
1 sg. (=ERG)   araq   drink

It is possible to add the verb suffix [-gem²¹] after the verb [tʰoŋ⁴²], however, it is impossible to add the auxiliary verb for "inner" statements [wen²¹] without any verb suffix to the final position of this sentence. The verb suffix [-ge²¹] or [-gem²¹] is similar to the Tibetan verb suffix /-ki/, which appears in the preceding position of the auxiliary verb /yin/ or /ree/ in the imperfect aspect, which means they may have common functions or origins.

(104) I do not drink *araq*.

ŋa²⁴(=ji²²)   ʔa⁴⁴ra⁴²   me²²- tʰoŋ⁴².   ངའི་ཨ་རག་མེ་མཐོང་།
1 sg. (=ERG)   araq   NEG- drink

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

If the subject takes ERG marker [=ji²²] in this sentence, it means "I do not drink alcohol" or "I am a nondrinker."

14. Conclusion

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

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

Abbreviation

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

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