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Languages and Peoples of the Eastern Himalayan Region (LPEHR)

Case-marking in Khengkha, a language of central Bhutan

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the case-marking system of Khengkha, an East Bodish language spoken in Bhutan, which employs case markers for a variety of functions. A monologue, a conversation among three native Khengkha speakers (two males, aged 27 and 41, and one female, aged 58) and an interview were audio recorded to gather data. The study found that the A argument is primarily marked with ergative markers while the S argument is unmarked. But some S arguments which are associated with emphasis and contrastive focus are seen marked. With regard to the O argument, there is one set of bivalent verbs that requires the O argument to be unmarked and there is another set of verbs which always mark the O argument. Similarly, the case marker of the instrumental, genitive, locative, allative and ablative are also discussed, followed by a detailed discussion on the case marking of the dative subject, which follows a similar process to Indo-Aryan languages. The translation of Khengkha examples into Dzongkha is intended for Bhutanese readers, and to facilitate the comparative study of Dzongkha and Khengkha.

KEYWORDS

Khengkha, eargative, object marking, East Bodish language, Bhutan

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Case-marking in Khengkha, a language of Central Bhutan¹

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1. Introduction

Khengkha is one of nineteen recognised languages spoken in Bhutan. Except for Indo-Aryan Nepali, all languages spoken in Bhutan belong to the Tibeto-Burman (Trans-Himalayan) language family. Khengkha means the language (*kha*) spoken in the Kheng region, which is located in the Zhemgang district of central Bhutan. Beyond Zhemgang, Khengkha speakers, who are called Khengpa, can be found in parts of Trongsa (Langthil, Dragkteng, and Korphu blocks) and Monggar district (Silambi and Saleng blocks). There are also Khengpa migrant communities in several villages of the Trashigang (Radhi Tongling), Dagana (Drujegang), Sarpang, Samtse, and Tsirang districts. In Tibetan script the Kheng region is often spelt *khan* (འཕག་རེས་རྣམ་གསུམ་) (Tshewang 2004:179) and its language is spelt *'khankha* (འཕག་ཁ་) or *khyenkha* (ཁྱེན་ཁ་), with *khengskha* (ཁེངས་ཁ་) being preferable as it is the most widely used and accepted spelling. The language is spoken by 40,000 people (van Driem 2001: 871), and there are various dialects (Phuntsho 2013: 56). Bumthangkha is considered to be a distinct language in Bhutan, but it shares most of its features with Khengkha (Phuntsho 2013: 56).

This study explores the case-marking system of Khengkha based on the variety spoken in the author's hometown of Bayling Village, Langthil Gewog, Trongsa. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Khengkha has a small number of case-markers that perform multiple functions.¹ The data used in this article were collected between January and April 2020 from native speakers (two males, aged 27 and 41, and one female, aged 58). The data include monologues, interactional conversations, and elicitations. Notably, this article makes use of spontaneous and casual speech in its analysis.

Here within, Khengkha is written with Tibetan script to provide easier access of information to those familiar with Dzongkha, the national language of Bhutan, which

¹ For languages related to Khengkha with similar case marking systems, see van Driem and Dorji (2015) for Bumthangkha, Hyslop (2017) for Kurtöp, Bosch (2016) for Upper Mangdep, van Driem and Tshering (1998) and Watters (2018) for Dzongkha, Tournadre and Rigzin (2015) for Chocha-ngachakha, and Tournadre and Dorje (2003) for Standard Tibetan. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Timotheus Adrianus Bodt, Lauren Gawne, Jigme Dorji, Sonam Wangchuk and the two anonymous reviewers for making valuable comments on the article. I would also like to acknowledge Gerald Roche and Stephen Morey for their guidance and help, and to Holly Sellers and Kellen Parker van Dam for assistance in preparing the manuscript for publication. Finally, I would like to thank Nathaniel Sims for giving constructive comments and editing the paper.

makes uses of Tibetan orthography. The translation of Khengkha examples into Dzongkha is intended for Bhutanese readers, and is intended to facilitate the comparative study of Dzongkha and Khengkha.

Section 2 describes the ergative and absolutive cases, indicating how their marking depends on the grammatical role and valency of the verb. This section also discusses the instrumental case. Section 3 offers a description of the genitive case. Sections 4, 5, and 6 focus on the locative, the allative and the dative, respectively. Section 7 is dedicated to the ablative. Section 8 ends with a short conclusion.

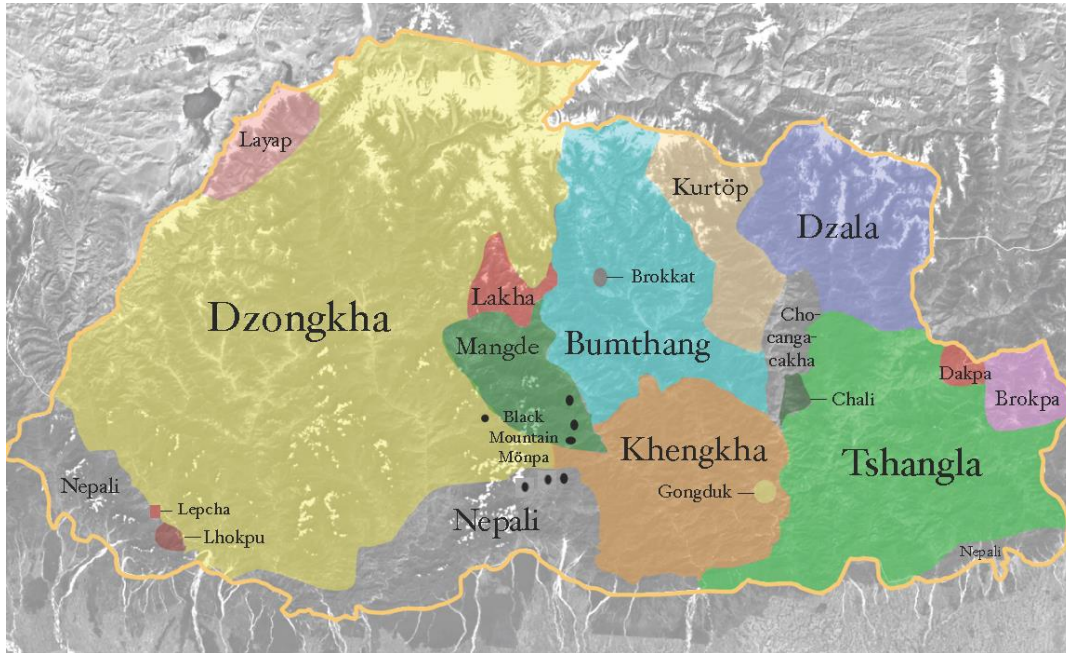


Figure 1. 1: Linguistic map of Bhutan. (van Driem 2019)



Figure 1. 2: Bayling Village, Langthil, Trongsa.

2. The ergative and absolutive

Verbs in Khengkha can be divided into two categories: monovalent verbs and bivalent verbs. Monovalent verbs can take up to one argument, and bivalent verbs can take up to two arguments. Here, I refer to the sole argument of a monovalent verb as S, to the most agent-like argument of a bivalent verb as A, and to the most patient-like argument of a bivalent verb as O. I have considered the O argument of a bivalent verb to be marked if it serves as an indirect object, while a direct object takes no marking. In general, the A argument of a bivalent verb is marked with the ergative marker, but we can find several examples, such as (49), where the agent (I) of a bivalent verb (to wash) is left unmarked because there is no ambiguity as to what the A argument is ('the clothes' cannot be the agent of 'to wash', so the agent must be 'I'). Likewise, the S argument of a monovalent verb normally takes no marking, but in examples (28), (49), and (50) the S argument is marked with the ergative marker to emphatically contrast it with other possible referents. Hence, like in many other Bodic languages, the marking of the ergative case in Khengkha is pragmatically motivated. Individual sample sentences are thus not often illustrative of this pragmatic marking as it is highly context-dependent. Research on Khengkha is still in its initial stages. Therefore, for the time being, I will use the term 'ergative' to refer to what, after more in-depth analysis, may also turn out to be considered 'agentive' uses, in the sense of Morey (2012). While a full analysis of ergative marking is beyond the scope of the current paper, I have made some initial comments on the agentive and pragmatic uses of the ergative marker.

Like in Bumthangkha and Kurtöp, Khengkha personal pronouns take different forms in the ergative and absolutive case, as shown in Table 1. Khengkha makes a distinction between the first person plural inclusive and exclusive. In the fourth column the first person plural exclusive pronoun is shown on the left and the first person plural

inclusive pronoun is shown on the right. Khengkha also has two third person singular and two third person plural pronouns: while *gon* and *gweh* are regular third person pronouns, *khit* and *bot* are third person anaphoric pronouns.

Person	Singular		Plural	
	Absolutive	Ergative	Absolutive	Ergative
1 st	<i>ngat</i>	<i>ngai</i>	<i>nget/ngera</i>	<i>ngei/ngeci</i>
2 nd	<i>wet</i>	<i>wi/wici²</i>	<i>'win³</i>	<i>'winci</i>
3 rd	<i>gon/khit</i>	<i>goni/khi/khici</i>	<i>gweh/bot</i>	<i>gwehgi/boi/boci</i>

Table 1: Khengkha absolutive and ergative personal pronouns

Generally speaking, the ergative marker is expressed as a series of coda-dependent allomorphs, as shown in Table 2. Khengkha nouns and pronouns are always unmarked in the absolutive case, whereas the ergative case is marked by forms ending with the vowel *-i*, as Table 2 shows. In Tibetan grammar, such ergative markers are called *byed-sgra* རྟེན་སྒྲིག་ meaning 'agent-marker' (lit. 'agent-sound') (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 142).

Phonological context	Form of ergative	Example
After /a, e, n, o, u/	<i>-i</i>	<i>ama-i</i> 'ama-ERG', <i>dorje-i</i> 'Dorje-ERG', <i>gon-i</i> '3SG-ERG', <i>lhamo-i</i> 'Lhamo-ERG', <i>chunku-i</i> 'Chunku-ERG'.
After /i, n/	<i>-ci</i>	<i>wi-ci</i> '2SG-ERG' <i>'win-ci</i> '2PL-ERG'
After /k, ng, t, p, m, n, r, l/	<i>-gi</i>	<i>tak-gi</i> 'tiger-ERG', <i>tshering-gi</i> 'Tshering-ERG', <i>pat-gi</i> 'leech-ERG', <i>bap-gi</i> 'mask-ERG', <i>wam-gi</i> 'bear-ERG', <i>tenzin-gi</i> 'Tenzin-ERG', <i>tar-gi</i> 'scarf-ERG', <i>'losel-gi</i> "'Losel-ERG'

Table 2: The allomorphs of the ergative marker

A comparison of Tables 1 and 2 shows that the Khengkha personal pronouns do not follow the morphological alternations shown in Table 2. For example, for ergative form of the first person singular pronoun *ngat* we would expect *ngat-gi*, not *ngai*. This indicates that the ergative forms of most of the personal pronouns are either unique formations, for example based on a different base form (i.e. *nga-i*) or that they have undergone distinct phonological processes (i.e., *ngat + gi > ngat-gi > nga-i*), perhaps as a result of high usage frequency.

² (c) indicates an alveopalatal affricate in Khengkha.

³ (') indicates a high register tone onset.

2.1 Case marking on A and S Arguments

This section describes and discusses the case marking of agentive and absolutive arguments. Speech and perception verbs require an ergative marker on the A argument. Example (1) illustrates an ergative first-person A argument with the speech verb *lab* ‘say’.

- (1) Kh: མདུན་ལ་དེས་བྱེད་ན་ལབ་པ། (Dz: ཁ་ཚ་ད་གིས་ ཁོ་ལུ་སྐབ་ཅི།)
dangla ngai khitna lappa
dangla nga-i khit-na lap-pa
 yesterday 1SG-ERG 3SG-ABS-DAT say-PST:E
 ‘I told him yesterday.’

Example (2) shows the perceptual verb *thung* ‘see’ with a second-person ergative-marked A argument.

- (2) Kh: དབའེ། ད་སྐུམ་མི་དེ་བོ་ཚ་མ་མཐུང་ཡ། (Dz: དབའེ། ད་རིས་ཚྱེད་ཀྱིས་ ད་གི་བུ་ཚ་མ་མཐོང་ག།)
'wai dasum wi ngai botsha ma thung ya
'wai dasum wi nga-i botsha ma thung ya
 EXCLAM today 2SG-ERG 1SG-GEN1 son PST-NEG -see QP
 ‘Hey, have you not seen my son today?’

Example (3) presents an ergative third-person A argument with the perceptual verb *ko* ‘hear’.

- (3) Kh: དེད་ཅིས་ལབ་མོ་བྱིད་མོ་གོ་ནག། (Dz: ད་བཅས་ཀྱིས་སྐབ་ད་ ཁོ་གིས་གོ་ནག།)
ngeci lap-mo khi kona
nge=ci lap-mo khi ko-na
 1PL-ERG say-PG 3SG-ERG hear-PST:A
 ‘He heard us when we were speaking.’

Cognitive verbs require an ergative marker on the A argument. Consider examples (4)–(7).

- (4) Kh: གོ་ནི་དང་སློབ་དཔོན་མེན་ཏ་ཡིད་ནག། (Dz: ཁོ་གིས་ད་ལུ་ སློབ་དཔོན་ཨིན་པས་མཚོ་ནག།)
goni ngat 'lopon wenta yina
gon-i ngat 'lopon wen-ta yi-na
 3SG-ERG 1SG teacher AUX-AK think-PST:A
 ‘He thought that I was a teacher.’

- (5) Kh: གོ་གིས་མེད་ཨའེ་མེན་མེ་བྲན། (Dz: ཁོ་ཚུ་གིས་ རྒྱུད་ག་ཨིན་མེ་མེ་ཤེས།)
gwehgi wet ai wen me bran
gweh-gi wet ai wen me-bran
 3PL-ERG 2SG-ABS who AUX PRES-NEG-know
 ‘They will not know who you are.’

- (6) Kh: ད་ངའི་བོ་མེད་གྱིས་ཚོམ་འབྲི་རོ་མཁན། (Dz: ད་ངའི་བུ་མོ་གིས་ཚོམ་འབྲི་ཤིས།)
da ngai bometgi tsom diro khan
da nga-i bomet-gi tsom di-ro khan
 now 1SG-GEN⁴ daughter-ERG poem write-SUP know
 ‘Now, my daughter knows how to compose a poem.’

- (7) Kh: ངའིས་མེད་ན་དགའ་ཟེ་དེ་ནི་ང་ཡང་ཡི་གུ་ཚོན་པ། (Dz: ང་གིས་ལྷོད་ལུ་དགའ་ཟེ་དུས་ཅེ་ཡང་ཡི་གུ་བསྐྱུལ་ཡི།)
ngai wetna gaze daninyang yigu zonpa
nga-i wet-na ga-ze daning yang yigu zon-pa
 1SG-ERG 2SG-DAT love-PP this.year also letter send-PST:E
 ‘Even this year, I sent you a letter because I love you.’

Unlike example (7) above, the A argument of the verb *ga* ‘like’ in example (8), in which the speaker is describing his reason for not responding to the letters, does not require a case marker.

- (8) Kh: ངད་བྱིད་ན་མི་དགའ། (Dz: ང་ཁོ་ལུ་མི་དགའ།)
ngat khitna me ga
ngat khit-na me-ga
 1SG-ABS 3SG-DAT PRES-NEG-like
 ‘I do not like him.’

Until now, the verbs presented have been those of perception, cognition, and utterance. In example (9), the A argument is a semantic experiencer and it is marked with the ergative case.

- (9) Kh: མེས་མེས་རྒན་ཟེ་གའེ་མོ་ངའིས་མཐུང་པ། (Dz: ཨ་རྒན་ཚོལ་རིལ་འགྲོམ་ད་ང་གིས་མཚོང་ཡི།)
meme ganze gaimo ngai thungpa
meme gan-ze gai-mo nga-i thung-pa
 grandfather fall-PP go-PG 1SG-ERG see-PST:E
 ‘I saw when the grandfather was falling down.’

In example (10), the A argument is a semantic recipient, and it is also marked with an ergative marker.

- (10) Kh: ལྷོལ་མའིས་གཞུང་ནས་ཉི་ཅུ་མུང་ནག། (Dz: ལྷོལ་མ་གིས་གཞུང་ལས་ཉི་ཅུ་ཚོབ་ལུག།)
dolmai chungne tiru myangna
dolma-i chung-ne tiru myang-na
 dolma-ERG government-ABL money receive-PST:A
 ‘Dolma received money from the government.’

⁴ If *-i* is followed by a verb, it is an ergative marker. If it is followed by a noun, it is a genitive marker.

Examples (11)–(15) illustrate another type of verb which uses the ergative marker to distinguish potential agents. In example (11) the verb *ke* has two core arguments: *ama* ‘mom’ and *nomet* ‘younger sister’. Here the ergative case distinguishes the agent *ama* from the theme *nomet*.

- (11) Kh: ན་ཉིང་ངའི་ཨ་མའི་ས་མོ་མེད་ལྷོས་ས། (Dz: ན་ཉིང་ངའི་ཨ་མའི་ས་མོ་མེད་ལྷོས་ཡི།)
naning ngai amai nomet thek kesa
naning nga-i ama-i nomet thek ke-sa
 last.year 1SG-GEN mother-ERG younger.sister one birth-PST:E
 ‘Last year, my mother gave birth to a younger sister.’

Example (12) is interpreted as an S argument because the verb *ke* has one core argument, *no*, which is unmarked. Mother is treated as an oblique argument and is marked with the dative *-na*.

- (12) Kh: ད་ཉིང་ཡང་ངའི་ཨ་མ་ན་ནོ་མེད་ལྷོས་ཟེ་སེམས་དགའ་ནག། (Dz: དུས་ཅི་ཡང་ངའི་ཨ་མ་ན་ནོ་མེད་ལྷོས་ཟེ་སེམས་དགའ་ནག།)
daningyang ngai amana no thek keze sem gana
daning-yang nga-i ama-na no thek ke-ze
 this.year-also 1SG-GEN mother-DAT younger.brother one birth-PP
sem ga-na
 mind please-PST:A
 ‘My mother was pleased to give birth to a younger brother this year also.’

The verb *pok* ‘beat’ always has human O and A arguments, as demonstrated in examples (13) and (14). Without case marking it would be difficult to differentiate between A and O arguments in this example. In (13) the three referents *apa* ‘father’, Pema, and Dorji are together understood to be O arguments, while A is not mentioned. Yet if *apa* is marked with the ergative case as in (14), then *apa* must be understood as the A argument.

- (13) Kh: ཨ་པ་བརྗེ་ནོ་རྗེ་པོག་ནག། (Dz: ཨ་པ་བརྗེ་དང་རྗེ་རྗེ་བྲངས་ནག།)
apa Pemane Dorjina pokna
apa Pemane Dorji pok-na
 father Pema-ASSO Dorji beat-PST:A
 ‘The father, Pema and Dorji were beaten.’
- (14) Kh: ཨ་པའི་ས་བརྗེ་ནོ་རྗེ་རྟས་འེ་ཐག་གིས་པོག་ནག། (Dz: ཨ་པ་གིས་ས་བརྗེ་དང་རྗེ་རྗེ་རྟས་འེ་ཐག་གིས་བྲངས་ནག།)
apai Pemane Dorjina teithagi pokna
apa-i Pemane Dorji teitha-gi pok-na
 father-ERG Pema-ASSO Dorji stick-INS beat-PST:A
 ‘The father beat Pema and Dorji with a stick.’

A similar situation is presented in (15) and (16).

- (15) Kh: ལྷག་ཚོར་ནེ་བ་རི་གསུང་ནག། (Dz: ལྷག་བ་དང་སྐང་བསང་ལུག།)
tak norne bari sutna
tak nor-ne bari sut-na
 tiger cow-ASSO ox kill-PST:A
 ‘The tiger, cow and ox were killed.’
- (16) Kh: ལྷག་གིས་ཚོར་ནེ་བ་རི་གསུང་ནག། (Dz: ལྷག་གིས་བ་དང་སྐང་བསང་ལུག།)
takgi norne bari sutna
tak-gi nor-ne bari sut-na
 tiger-ERG cow-ASSO ox kill-PST:A
 ‘The tiger killed a cow and an ox.’

Examples (17) and (18) illustrate how to disambiguate an A from a potential O argument. The only overt argument of clause (17) is in the absolutive case and is therefore interpreted as the O argument. If the same argument were marked with the ergative case, as in (18), then the argument would need to be interpreted as the A argument.

- (17) Kh: ཇམ་བ་དགའ་ཟེ། (Dz: ཇམ་བ་དགའ་ཟླེ།)
apa gaze
apa ga-ze
 father love-PP
 ‘Father was loved...’
- (18) Kh: ཇམ་བའིས་བོ་ཚ་མ་ཏ་བོ་མེད་ན་དགའ་ཏ། (Dz: ཇམ་གིས་བུ་ཚ་བ་བུ་མ་ལྟ་དགའ་མ་མས།)
apai botsha wata bometna gata
apa-i botsha-wata bomet-na ga-ta
 father-ERG son-COMP daughter-DAT love-PRES
 ‘Father loves his daughter more than his son.’

With the exception of *ga* ‘like’, the verbs described so far consistently use the ergative to mark A arguments, while leaving S and O arguments unmarked. Delving even deeper, there are bivalent verbs with two overt noun phrases yet no ergative morphemes (see Hyslop 2017: 176). Consider the examples in (19) and (20) which are quoted from Yangzom and Arkestijn (1996: 25).

⁵ Van Driem (2019) mentioned only ལྷོ་རྟེ་དེ། as the Dzongkha past participle but ལྷོ་ is mentioned in Tashi 2013 “ས་ཁར་ཚོང་དེ་ལྷོ་བ། ལ་ཁར་ཚོང་ལྷོ་བ།” (Sit on the ground and eat the food) (134). Usually, ལྷོ་ is more common than ལྷོ་རྟེ་དེ། in both spoken and written Dzongkha.

- (19) Kh: ང་ཡི་གུ་འབྲི་ལོ། (Dz: ང་ཡི་གུ་འབྲི་དོ།)
*Nga*⁶ *yigu dilo*
nga yigu di-lo
 1SG letter write-PRES
 'I am writing a letter.'
- (20) Kh: ང་སློབ་གྲྭ་ན་ཁེངས་ཁ་སྤྱོད་ཏ། (Dz: ང་སློབ་གྲྭ་ལུ་ཁེངས་ཁ་སྤྱོད་དོ།)
nga 'lopdana khengkha 'lupta
nga 'lopdana khengkha 'lup-ta
 1SG school-LOC kheng.language study-PRES
 'At school, I study Khengkha.'

Similar examples are demonstrated in (21)–(26).

- (21) Kh: བཟུང་འཛོན་ད་ར་མའེ་ཁེར་ཏ། (Dz: བཟུང་འཛོན་ད་སྟོ་ཁྱིམ་རྒྱབ་དེས།)
tenzin dara mai kherta
tenzin dara mai kher-ta
 tenzin right.now house build-PRES
 'Tenzin is building a house right now.'
- (22) Kh: ཚེ་རིང་ཡི་གུ་བྲིས་ཟེ་སྤྲོད་ནས། (Dz: ཚེ་རིང་ཡི་གུ་བྲིས་སྟེ་ཉལ་རུས།)
tsering yigu dize dotna
tsering yigu di-ze dot-na
 tshering letter write-PP sleep-PST:A
 'Tshering has slept after writing a letter.'
- (23) Kh: པེ་མ་ཡི་གུ་འབྲི་ཏ། (Dz: པེ་མ་ཡི་གུ་འབྲི་མ་མས།)
pema yigu dita
pema yigu di-ta
 pema letter write-PRES
 'Pema is writing a letter.'

⁶ Throughout Yangzom and Arkesteijn's work, we can find example sentences with both the 1sg pronoun *nga* and the 1sg pronoun *ngat* shown in Table 1 of the current work. Ikeda (2021b: 143) has only *nga* for both the Wamling and the Trong dialect. I presume that in most varieties of Khengkha, the pronoun *ngat* has been replaced by *nga* under the influence of Dzongkha, especially among educated speakers, who may have been the main source for the Yangzom & Arkesteijn's and Ikeda's data. Further sociolinguistic study could shed more light on this discrepancy.

- (24) Kh: དེད་གང་པོ་མའི་དོ་བསྐྱེན་གྲོས་བྱ་ས། (Dz: ང་བཅས་ཆ་ཁྱབ་ ཁྱིམ་ནང་བསྐྱེན་གྲོས་འབད་ཡི།)
nget gangpo maido tuendu busa
*nget gangpo mai-do tuendu bu-sa*⁷
 1PL.ABS PL.FOC home-LOC discussion do-PST:E
 ‘We discussed at home.’

- (25) Kh: ཐང་ན་བོལ་བློང་ཏ་ངའི་ཆ་རྟོགས་གང་སྟེ། (Dz: ཐང་ན་རྒྱང་རིལ་རྩེ་དེས་ང་གི་ཆ་རྟོགས་ཆ་ཁྱབ།)
Thangna bol plengta ngai charo gangpo
thang-na bol pleng-ta nga-i charo gangpo
 ground-LOC football play-PRES 1SG-GEN friend PL.FOC
 ‘My friends are playing football at the ground.’

- (26) Kh: གོན་བཞེས་སློབ་ལྷན་ལྟེ་ལྟེ་བཞུགས་མེད་ཏེ། (Dz: ཁོ་སློབ་འབད་བསྐྱེད་ ཡིན་པས།)
gon zhego zugigang wenta
gon zhego zugi-gang wen-ta
 3SG-ABS meal eat-CON AUX-AK
 ‘He is having a meal at the moment.’

For a large number of Khengkha verbs the ergative marker has a pragmatic, emphatic function irrespective of valency. This is similar to the case in Kurtöp (Hyslop 2017:177). Consider the instances in (27) and (28). In (27) the speaker tells his friend that his mother wakes up early in the morning in order to perform prostrations before having breakfast. This instance is unmarked. In (28), the speaker employs the ergative enclitic with the same verb used in (27), *yang* ‘wake’, to highlight the S argument in contrast to other possible referents.

- (27) Kh: ཇམ་མ་ལྷ་བེ་ལྷན་མན་ཡང་ཏ། (Dz: ཇམ་འི་ལྷ་བེ་ཏ་སྐྱེད་ འོང་མས།)
ama 'ngazi 'nganman yangta
ama 'ngazi 'nganman yang-ta
 mother morning early wake-PRES
 ‘Mother wakes up early in the morning.’

- (28) Kh: ཇམ་མའིས་ལྷ་བེ་ལྷན་མན་ཡང་པ། (Dz: ཇམ་འི་གིས་ ལྷ་བེ་ཏ་སྐྱེད་འོང་ཡི།)
amai 'ngazi 'nganman yangpa
ama-i 'ngazi 'nganman yang-pa
 mother-ERG morning early wake-PST:3
 ‘Mother woke up early in the morning (but children are still sleeping).’

⁷ Both *-pa* and *-sa* are egophoric past particles. *-pa* comes mainly after codas as in, *dot-pa* ‘sleep-PST:E’, *kher-pa* ‘make-PST:E’, *bran-pa* ‘know-PST:E’. *-sa* comes mainly after open syllables as in, *tsha-sa* ‘heat-PST:E’, *di-sa* ‘write-PST:E’, *zu-sa* ‘eat-PST:E’, *de-sa* ‘comfort-PST:E’, and *ngo-sa* ‘cry-PST:E’.

For another example in which an S argument which is not being emphasized appears in the absolutive form because, see (29).

- (29) Kh: མདུག་ལ་ཡབ་ཐུ་ལྷ་ཁང་ནང་དོ་ཕྱག་འཚའི་ནག་ལགས། (Dz: ཁ་ཚ་ཡབ་པར་ལྷ་ཁང་ནང་ལུ་ ཕྱག་འཚའ་རྒྱག་ལགས།)
dangla yap thau lhakhang nangngo chag tshaina la
dangla yap thau lhakhang
 yesterday father.HON DIR:there temple
nang-ngo chag tshai-na la
 POSTP:in-LOC prostration do-PST:A POL
 ‘Yesterday, father prostrated there in the temple.’

In contrast, example (30) was uttered in stressing that the father, in particular, would be pleased to repeat prostrations for physical and spiritual purposes.

- (30) Kh: ད་སྐུམ་ཡང་ཡབ་ཀྱིས་ཐུ་ཕྱག་འཚའི་མས་མེན་ཏེ་ལགས། (Dz: ད་རིས་ཡང་ཡབ་ཀྱིས་ བ་ལུ་ཕྱག་འཚའ་ནི་མིན་པས་ལགས།)
dasumyang yapgi thau chag tshaima wenta la
dasum-yang yap-gi thau chag
 today-also father.HON-ERG DIR:there prostration
tshai-me wen-ta la
 do-INF AUX-AK POL
 ‘Father is going to prostrate there today again.’

Even a prototypical intransitive, monovalent verb like *ra* ‘come’ may mark its S argument as ergative, as illustrated in (31) and (32). The speaker is relating his trip home to attend the annual prayer and describes how he struggled this year to drive on a snowy road during the winter. Not wanting to repeat the experience, he has decided not to go home for the next annual ritual. To emphasise this contrast, the speaker uses the ergative with the verb *ra* ‘come’ to highlight the NP *nge-ci* ‘we’ in (32).

- (31) Kh: ད་ནིང་ལོ་ཚོགས་ཐུང་མོ་དེ་མའི་དོ་ར་ས། (Dz: དུས་ཅི་ལོ་ཚོགས་གཏང་མ་ད་ ང་བཅས་བྱིམ་ན་འོངས་ཡི།)
daning locho thungmo nget maido rasa
daning locho thung-mo nget mai-do ra-sa
 this.year annual.ritual do-PG 1PL.ABS home-LOC come-PST:E
 ‘We came home this year for the annual ritual.’

- (32) Kh: ན་མུང་ལྷ་ངེད་ཅིས་ལོ་ཚོགས་ཐུང་མོ་མེ་ར། (Dz: མང་ལོད་འདི་ ང་བཅས་ཀྱིས་ ལོ་ཚོགས་གཏང་མ་ད་མི་འོང།)
namung ta ngeci locho thungmo me ra
namung-ta nge-ci locho thung-mo me-ra
 next.year-STR 1PL-ERG annual.ritual do-PG FUT.NEG-come
 ‘We will not come next year for the annual ritual.’

A similar situation is illustrated in (33) and (34) with the verb *dot* ‘sleep’.

- (33) Kh: མདང་ལ་ཉེན་ཕྱ་གོན་མའེ་དོ་ཚྱོད་སེ་ནག་ཏ། (DZ: ལ་ཚ་ཉེན་མར་ ཁོ་བྱིམ་ན་ཉལ་སྤེ་འདུག།)
dangla nyencha gon maida dotse nakta
dangla nyencha gon mai-do dot-se nak-ta
 yesterday midday 3SG.ABS home-LOC sleep-PP exist-PRES
 ‘Yesterday, s/he was sleeping at home at the midday.’

- (34) Kh: གོན་ན་ཡམ་པ་ནས་མ་ཚྱོད་ལའེ་ལབ་ཤང་གོན་ཚྱོད་སེ་ནིག་ནག། (DZ: ཁོ་ལུ་ནངས་པ་ལས་ ཉལ་མ་ཚྱོད་སྤབ་ཅང་ ཉལ་སྤེ་ཚྱོད་ ལུག།)
gonna yampane ma dotlai lapshang goni dotse nikna
gon-na yampa-ne ma-dot-lai lap-shang gon-i dot-se
 3SG-LOC tomorrow-ABL NEG-sleep-U tell-CNCV 3SG-ERG sleep-PP
nik-na
 stay-PST:A
 ‘Even though (I) told him not to sleep from tomorrow on, he was sleeping.’

Sentences (35) and (36) give examples of the monovalent verb ‘go’ used with an ergative-marked S-argument. In these examples, the speaker wants to stress that ‘he’ and ‘some’ are the ones going to drink alcohol, in contrast to the ‘I’ in (37). Similar pragmatic situations where topic, focus, stress and emphasis have implications for ergative case marking have been described for Duhumbi (see Bodt 2020: 263-264).

- (35) Kh: གོན་ཉི་གའེ་ཏ་ལྷ་ཟེ་ནས་རང་རྒྱུ་མ་འཚོང་དོ། (DZ: ཁོ་གིས་འགྲུ་མ་མས་ ལྷོ་པ་ལས་ར་ ཆང་འཐུང་པར།)
goni gaita 'ngazinerang churma thongngo
gon-i gai-ta 'ngazi-ne-rang churma thong-ngo
 3.ERG go-PRES morning-ABL-STR alcohol drink-SUP
 ‘He goes to drink alcohol from early in the morning.’

- (36) Kh: ལུན་ལ་གའེ་ཏ་ཕྱེད་ཉི་གིས། (DZ: ཕྱི་ལྷ་འགྲུ་མ་མས་ ལ་ལུ་ཅིག་གིས།)
sunla gaita phetegi
sunla gai-ta phete-gi
 evening go-PRES some-ERG
 ‘Some go in the evening.’

- (37) Kh: བར་བར་ཉི་ངད་ཡང་རྒྱུ་མ་འཚོང་དོ་གའེ་དོ་སྤྱམ་ཏ། (DZ: འཕྲལ་འཕྲལ་སྐབས་ ང་ཡང་ཆང་འཐུང་པར་ འགྲོ་དགོ་མཚོ་མ་མས།)
barbarte ngatyang churma thongngo gaido 'nyamta
barbarte ngat-yang churma thong-ngo gai-do 'nyam-ta
 sometimes 1SG.ABS-also alcohol drink-SUP go-SUP wish-PRES
 ‘Sometimes, I also wish to go to drink.’

The pragmatic ergative may also be employed with inanimate arguments, as illustrated in (38), where a cliticized to *thru* ‘lang’ ‘power tiller’.

- (38) Kh: འཕུལ་སྒྲང་གིས་ཐེག་བྱ་དྲ། (Dz: འཕུལ་སྒྲང་གིས་གཅིག་འབད་དོ།)
thru'e langgi thek buta
thru'e lang-gi thek bu-ta
 power.tiller-ERG one do-PRES
 'Power tiller does something.'

For some monovalent verbs, the argument usually appears in the absolutive case, such as with the weather verbs illustrated in (39)–(42).

- (39) Kh: ཞེ་ཀླ་ནས་རང་སྐྱམ་དྲ། (Dz: ཟུ་ཀླ་ལས་ར་སྐྱམ་མས།)
khwe kanerang kamta
khwe ka-ne-rang kam-ta
 water source-ABL-STR dry-PRES
 '(The) water is drying up from the source itself.'

- (40) Kh: བོ་ཚ་གང་པོ་འཕེག་དྲ། (Dz: ལུ་ཚ་ཚུ་ཕྱོག་མས།)
olo gangpo pheкта
olo gangpo phek-ta
 child PL.FOC grow-PRES
 '(The) children are growing.'

- (41) Kh: ཉེ་སུན་ལ་དེ་བ་མིག་དྲ། (Dz: ཉེ་མ་ཕྱི་ཚུ་ཚྲོ་ཚོད་ཤར་མ་མས།)
nyi sunla depa jikta
nyi sunla depa jik-ta
 sun evening till shine-PRES
 '(The) sun is shining till the late evening.'

- (42) Kh: རྣ་སར་ང་སྐྱུད་དྲ། (Dz: གན་མ་ས་སྐྱུག་སྐྱབ་མས།)
nam sarja putta
nam sarja put-ta
 sky cloud cover-PRES
 '(The) sky is getting cloudy.' (lit. 'cloud covers sky')

Yet here again, the speaker can employ the ergative when they wish to articulate an observation or complain about a situation, as in (43)–(46).

- (43) Kh: ཞེ་གིས་ཀླ་ནས་རང་སྐྱམ་དྲ། (Dz: ཟུ་གིས་ཀླ་ལས་ར་སྐྱམ་མས།)
khwegi kanerang kamta
khwe-gi ka-ne-rang kam-ta
 water-ERG source-ABL-STR dry-PRES
 '(The) water is drying up from the source itself.'

- (44) Kh: མོ་ལོ་གང་པོས་མགྱོགས་པ་རང་འབྲེག་ཏུ། (Dz: ཨ་ལུ་ཚུ་གིས་ མགྱོགས་པ་ར་ཚོམ་མས།)
olo gangpoi jopara phekta
olo gangpo-i jopara phek-ta
 child PL.FOC-ERG quickly grow-PRES
 '(The) children are growing quickly.'
- (45) Kh: ཉི་གིས་སུན་ལ་དེབ་པ་ཇིག་ཏུ། (Dz: ཉིམ་གིས་བྱི་ཅུ་ཚུན་ཚོང་གསལ་མས།)
nyigi sunla depa jikta
nyi-gi sunla depa jik-ta
 sun-ERG evening till shine-PRES
 '(The) sun is shining till the late evening.'
- (46) Kh: རྣམ་སར་ང་གིས་སྤུང་ལོ་ནིག་ཏུ། (Dz: གནམ་ས་སྤྱུག་གིས་ སྤུབ་ཚོང་མས།)
nam sarjagi putse nikta
nam sarja-gi put-se nik-ta
 sky cloud-ERG cover-PP exist-PRES
 '(The) sky is getting cloudy.' (lit. 'sky is covered by cloud')

Regardless, there are certain verbs, like *'blo pham* 'disappoint', which seem to always take an unmarked S argument, as demonstrated in (47). Thus, if we mark *ama* 'mother' with the ergative as illustrated in (48), it would be an awkward expression.

- (47) Kh: ཨའོ། དང་ཚོན་ན་ལྷ་ཟེ་ཨ་མ་སློ་ཕམ་ནག། (Dz: ཨའོ། ང་བཅས་གཉིས་ལུ་ལྷ་ཟེ་ ཨའི་སེམས་ཕམ་རུག།)
ai nget zonna taze ama 'blo phamna
ai nget zon-na ta-ze ama 'blo pham-na
 EXCLA 1PL two-LOC look-PP mother mind lose-PST:A
 'Oh, mother was disappointed with the two of us.'
- (48) Kh: དང་ཚོན་ན་ལྷ་ཟེ་ཨ་མའིས་སློ་ཕམ་ནག། (Dz: ང་བཅས་གཉིས་ལུ་ལྷ་ཟེ་ ཨའི་གིས་སེམས་ཕམ་རུག།)
nget zonna taze amai 'blo phamna
nget zon-na ta-ze ama-i 'blo pham-na
 1PL two-LOC look-PP mother-ERG mind lose-PST:A
 'Mother was disappointed with the two of us.'

Up to this point, we have only seen the pragmatic ergative employed with monovalent verbs. However, there are also examples of bivalent verbs which use the pragmatic ergative. Example (49) presents the unmarked example for the verb *khro* 'wash', which takes an absolutive marked A argument. The speaker could utter (50), though, if he wanted to stress that *he* had washed the clothes (in contrast to those who did not wash them).

(49) Kh: ང་སློག་པ་དང་སློག་པ་ལ་ལྷོ་སློག་ (Dz: ང་གོ་ལ་གར་ འཇུ་ཡི།)
ngat 'lokpa dangtsangnga khrosa
ngat 'lokpa dangtsangnga khro-sa
 1SG-ABS cloth all wash-PST:E
 'I washed all the clothes.'

(50) Kh: ངའི་སློག་པ་དང་སློག་པ་ལ་ལྷོ་སློག་ (Dz: ང་གིས་གོ་ལ་གར་ འཇུ་ཡི།)
ngai 'lokpa dangtsangnga khro-sa
nga-i 'lokpa dangtsangnga khro-sa
 1SG-ERG cloth entire wash-PST:E
 'I washed all the clothes.'

2.2 Case Marking on O Arguments

In Khengkha, as in Kurtöp (see Hyslop 2017:187), indirect objects are marked, while direct objects are unmarked. See (51)–(54).

(51) Kh: མོ་ནི་ང་ལ་རྒྱ་ཐུབ་སློག་ (Dz: མོ་གིས་ང་ལ་ ཉི་ཐུབ་སློག་ཡི།)
[goni]A ngatna [tiru]O bisa
gon-i ngat-na tiru bi-sa
 3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT money give-PST:E
 'He gave me money.'

(52) Kh: ངའི་ལོ་སློག་པ་ལ་ལྷོ་སློག་ (Dz: ང་བཅས་ ལྷོ་སློག་པ་ལ་ལྷོ་སློག་ཡི།)
[nget]A [zhego]O grendo gaipa
nget zhego gren-do gai-pa
 3PL-ABS food beg-SUP go-PST:3
 'We went to beg for food.'

(53) Kh: མི་མེད་ལ་ལྷོ་སློག་པ་ལ་ལྷོ་སློག་ (Dz: མོ་གིས་མེད་ དེ་ལ་ལྷོ་སློག་ཡི།)
[khit]A maido [pechatshai]O 'lupta
khit mai-do pecha tshai 'lup-ta
 3SG home-LOC book DEM study-PRES
 'He is studying this book at home.'

(54) Kh: མེས་མེས་གིས་ངའི་རྒྱ་ཐུབ་ཐོག་ལ་ལྷོ་སློག་ (Dz: མེས་མེས་ཀྱིས་ང་བཅས་ལ་ལྷོ་སློག་ཡི།)
[memegi]A ngetna [krung thek]O shikpa
meme-gi nget-na krung thek shik-pa
 grandfather-ERG 1PL-DAT story one untie-PST:E
 'Grandfather told us a story.'

The marking of indirect objects is illustrated in (55) and (58). Note that the use of a dative on an O argument is reserved for human referents.

- (55) Kh: བཟུང་འཛིན་གྱིས་བཟུང་གིས་ལམ་སྟོན་དེས། (Dz: བཟུང་འཛིན་གྱིས་བཟུང་གིས་ལམ་སྟོན་དེས།)
 [tenzingi]A [tashina]O yam tun-ta
 tenzin-gi tashi-na yam tun-ta
 tenzin-ERG tashi-DAT way show-PRES
 'Tenzin is showing the way to Tashi.'
- (56) Kh: སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་དེད་ན་ཡོན་ཏན་སྟོན་པ། (Dz: སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་ད་བཅས་ལུ་ཡོན་ཏན་སྟོན་ཡི།)
 ['lopongi]A [ngetna]O yonten 'matpa
 'lopon-gi nget-na yonten 'mat-pa
 teacher-ERG 1PL-DAT education teach-PST:E
 '[The] teacher educated us.'
- (57) Kh: མཉེ་ལ་གེས་དང་ན་གསང་གཏམ་ཐེག་ལབ་ཏ། (Dz: མཉེ་མཉེ་གྱིས་ད་ལུ་གསང་གཏམ་ཅིག་སྟོན་དེས།)
 [ailagi]A [ngatna]O sangtam thek lap-ta
 aila-gi ngat-na sangtam thek lap-ta
 grandmother-ERG 3SG-DAT secret one tell-PRES
 'Grandmother is telling me a secret.'
- (58) Kh: མ་མཉེས་དེ་མོ་མེད་ན་བལམ་པ། (Dz: མཉེ་གེས་དེ་སྲིང་མོ་ལུ་ཚོགས་བརྗེ་བཏང་ཡི།)
 [amai]A ngai[nometna]O blampa
 ama-i nga-i nomet-na blam-pa
 mother-ERG 1SG-GEN younger.sister-DAT scold-PST:E
 'Mother scolded my younger sister.'

However, indirect objects are not always marked with the dative case marker, as in (59) and (60). In both sentence (55) and (56), the agent of the action is clearly identified with the ergative marker, hence there is no ambiguity as to who is the agent and who is the object of the action of the verb. While in theory the object could be marked with the object marker *-na*, in actual speech this is not commonly encountered.

- (59) Kh: བཟུང་འཛིན་གྱིས་པེམ་པོ་ཟུག། (Dz: བཟུང་འཛིན་གྱིས་པེམ་པོ་ཟུག།)
 [tenzingi]A [pema]O pokna
 tenzin-gi pema pok-na
 tenzin-ERG pema beat-PST:A
 'Tenzin has beat Pema.'
- (60) Kh: མ་པེས་དང་ཡང་བལམ་པ། (Dz: མ་པེ་གེས་དང་ཡང་ཚོགས་བརྗེ་བཏང་ཡི།)
 [apai]A [ngatyang]O blampa
 apa-i ngat-yang blam-pa
 father-ERG 1SG.ABS-also scold-PST:E
 'Father scolded me too.'

2.3 Instrumental use of the ergative

In Khengkha, both the base ergative marker and the instrumental marker are *-gi*. The Khengkha ergative and genitive case markers are related to the Tibetan ergative markers (*-gis*, *-kyis*, *-gyis*), and the genitive markers (*-gi*, *-gyi*, *-kyi*, *-’i*). Note that in its instrumental use the case marker *-gi* does not have phonotactically conditioned allomorphs, as it does in its ergative use in Khenkha.⁸ Diachronically speaking, in Khengkha, there has been a merger between the ergative marker and the genitive marker. In Khengkha, like in Tibetan, the instrumental use of the ergative marker *-gis* may occur with or without an overtly specified agent. Consider the examples from Tibetan in (61), and (62) which are quoted from Tournadre and Dorje (2003: 145). The ergative in 61 is *pas* (པས་) and *gyis* (གྱིས་) in 62.

(61) Tib: ལྷག་རྗེས་ཀྱི་དབྱུག་པས་བརྟུངས་སོང་།
The shepherd hit the dog with a stick.

(62) Tib: ཁོ་ལྷན་གྱིས་དྲག་སོང་།
He got better thanks to medicine.

Examples from Khengkha are presented in (63) and (64).

(63) Kh: བཟུན་འཛོན་གྱིས་གྲོབ་མདའ་གིས་མི་གསུང་ནག། (DZ: བཟུན་འཛོན་གྱིས་གྲོབ་མདའ་གིས་མི་བསང་ནག།)
tenzingi topdagi mi sutna
tenzin-gi topda-gi mi sut-na
tenzin-ERG gun-INS man kill-PST:A
'Tenzin killed the man with a gun.'

(64) Kh: ངང་ན་ལྷན་གྱིས་ཕན་ཏེ་མེན། (DZ: ང་ལྷན་གྱིས་ཕན་ཏེ་མེན།)
ngatna 'mangi phanta wen
ngat-na 'man-gi phan-ta wen
1SG-DAT medicine-INS benefit-PRES AUX
'Medicine helps me.'

By examining the examples illustrated in (63)–(64), we learn that the instrumental case maker *-gi* is only used with inanimate referents.

3. The genitive

-i, *ci-* and *-gi* are used to mark a possessive relationship (genitive).

⁸ It is my impression that the instrumental use of the marker *-gi* postdates its ergative use.

Phonological context	Genitive	Example
After /a, e, n, o, u/	-i	<i>nga-i</i> '1SG-GEN', <i>dorje-i</i> 'Dorje-GEN', <i>gon-i</i> '3SG-GEN', <i>lhamo-i</i> 'Lhamo-GEN', <i>chunku-i</i> 'Chunku-GEN'.
After /i, n/	-ci	<i>wi-ci</i> '2SG-GEN', <i>'win-ci</i> '2PL-GEN'
After /k, ng, t, p, m,n, r, l /	-gi	<i>yak-gi</i> 'hand-GEN', <i>pasang-gi</i> 'Pasang-GEN', <i>dut-gi</i> 'demon-GEN', <i>khap-gi</i> 'neddle-GEN', <i>wam-gi</i> 'bear-GEN', <i>palden-gi</i> 'Palden-GEN', <i>khor-gi</i> 'load-GEN', <i>loasel-gi</i> 'Losel-GEN'

Table 3: The allomorphs of the genitive maker

Examples of the genitive use are presented in (65)–(68).

- (65) Kh: ཚདི་གོ་ནི་ཨ་པ་ལེན། (Dz: འདི་ཁོ་གི་ཨ་པ་ཨིན།)
tshai goni apa wen
tshai gon-i apa wen
 DEM 3SG-GEN father AUX
 'This is his father.'

- (66) Kh: གོན་དེའི་ཨ་མ་ལྗེ་རེ་མའེ་དོ་གའེ་ནག། (Dz: ཁོ་དེ་ཨའི་དང་གཅིག་ཁར་བྱིམ་ནང་འགྱོ་རུག།)
Gon ngai ama dere maido gaina
gon nga-i ama dere mai-do gai-na
 3SG 1SG-GEN mother with home-LOC go-PST:A
 'He went home with my mother.'

- (67) Kh: ཚདི་སློག་པ་སྟོ་ཚང་གི་ལེན། (Dz: གོ་ལ་འདི་སྟོ་ཚང་གི་ཨིན།)
tshai'lokpa totshanggi wen
tshai 'lokpa totshang-gi wen
 DEM cloth Friend-GEN AUX
 'This is friend's cloth.'

- (68) Kh: ཚདི་འབྲུལ་གླང་གི་ཅ་ལ་ལེན། (Dz: འདི་འབྲུལ་གླང་གི་ཅ་ལ་ཨིན།)
tshaigangpo thruelanggi cala wen
tshai-gangpo thruelang-gi cala wen
 DEM-PL.FOC power.tiller-GEN things AUX
 'These are the power tiller's things.'

4. The locative

The allomorphs *-ko*, *-ngo*, *-to*, *-ro* and *-do* are used to mark spatial and temporal relations (locative).

Phonological context	Locative	Example
After /k/	-ko	<i>thimphuk-ko</i> ‘Thimphuk-LOC’
After /ng/	-ngo	<i>mai nang-ngo</i> ‘house-LOC’
After /t, p, r, n/	-to	<i>bot-to</i> ‘Tibet-LOC’, <i>nup-to</i> ‘west-LOC’, <i>trongsar-to</i> ‘Trongsar-LOC’, <i>bjar-to</i> ‘summer-LOC’, <i>gun-to</i> ‘winter-LOC’
After /a/	-ro	<i>sa-ro</i> ‘ground-LOC’
After /ai, m/	-do	<i>mai-do</i> ‘house-LOC’, <i>nam-do</i> ‘sky-LOC’.

Table 4: The allomorphs of the locative maker

Examples of the locative are presented in (69)–(73).

- (69) Kh: གོན་ཐིམ་ཕུག་གོ་གའི་ནག། (Dz: ཁོ་ཐིམ་ཕུག་ལུ་འགྱོ་རུག།)
gon thimphukko gaina
gon thimphuk-ko gai-na
 1SG Thimphug-LOC go-PST:A
 ‘He went to Thimphu.’
- (70) Kh: ངའི་སྤུན་ལག་གྲོང་ངོ་ར་ས། (Dz: ངེ་སྤུན་ཆ་གཡུས་ཁར་ འོངས་ཡི།)
ngai punla krongngo rasa
ngai punla krong-ngo ra-sa
 1SG-GEN relative hometome-LOC come- PST:E
 ‘My relative has come to the hometown.’
- (71) Kh: ཡ་མ་གྲོང་གསར་ཉོ་ཐག་ནག། (Dz: ཡའི་གྲོང་གསར་ལུ་ རྫོད་རུག།)
ama trongsarto khrakna
ama trongsar-to khrak-na
 mother trongsar-LOC reach- PST:A
 ‘Mother has reached Trongsar.’
- (72) Kh: ཡའི་ལ་མའི་ངོ་ར་ང་ནག། (Dz: ཡང་ཆས་ གྲིམ་ནང་ར་ཡོད།)
aila madorang na
aila mai-do-rang na
 grandmother home-LOC-STR exist
 ‘Grandmother is at home only.’

- (73) Kh: རྫོག་མའི་དོ་གའེ་ཏ། (Dz: རྫོག་ཁྱིམ་ནང་འགྱོ་དེས།)
dorji maido gaita
dorji mai-do gai-ta
 dorji house-LOC go-PRES
 'Dorji is going home.'

5. The Allative

The case marker *-hato* is used to mark movement towards a goal (allative). Examples are presented in (74) and (75).

- (74) Kh: ཨ་པ་གྲོང་ནས་བོ་ཚ་ཉ་རྟོ་ར་ནག། (Dz: ཨ་པ་གཡུས་ཁ་ལས་ ལུ་ཚ་འབད་སར་འོངས་རུག།)
apa krongne botshahato rana
apa krong-ne botsha-hato ra-na
 father hometown-ABL son-ALL come-PST:A
 'Father came to son from the hometown.'
- (75) Kh: ད་ར་དབ་པ་བེད་ཉ་ཉེ་ཨ་ཡང་མ་ར། (Dz: ད་ལྟོ་ཚུན་ཚོད་ ང་བཅས་འབད་ས་ལུ་ནི་ ག་ཡང་མ་འོངས།)
dara depa ngethato ayang mara
dara depa nget-hato-ne a-yang ma-ra
 now till 1PL-ALL-STR who-also PST-NEG-come
 'Until now, no one came to us.'

6. The Dative

The case marker *-na* is used to mark the recipient of the action of a bivalent verb (dative). Examples are presented in (76) and (77). As illustrated in (76) and (77), the main function of the dative is to indicate the goal of an event (Zemp 2018: 299).

- (76) Kh: མེ་ཅེས་རྫོང་མེ་ན་གི་ཉལ་ཐེག་སྒྲིའི་ནག་ཡ། (Dz: ལྷོད་ཀྱིས་རྫོང་མེ་ལུ་ གི་དབ་ཅེག་སྒྲོད་རུག་ག།)
wici dorjena kitap thek toina ya
wi-ci dorje-na kitap thek toi-na ya
 2SG-ERG dorje-DAT book one handover-PST:A QP
 'Did you handover a book to Dorje?'
- (77) Kh: ལྷུག་པོ་གིས་སྤང་བོ་ན་ཉི་ཅ་བྱེ་ཏ། (Dz: ལྷུག་པོ་གིས་སྤང་ཀ་ལུ་ ཉི་ཅ་བྱེན་དེས།)
phyukpogi prangpona tiru bita
phyukpo-gi prangpo-na tiru bi-ta
 rich.man-ERG poor-DAT money give-PRES
 '[The] rich man is giving money to [the] poor man.'

It is possible for the form *taze* to follow the dative given in (78). This indicates the meaning of the preposition ‘for’ or ‘to’ in English, as is also shown for the Tibetic variety Chocha-ngachakha in Tournadre and Rigzin (2015: 79).

- (78) Kh: མི་ལོ་མེད་ལ་མེད་ལ་མེད་ལ་ (Dz: མོ་གིས་མེད་ལ་འདི་ ང་ལ་སྤྲེལ་གྱིན་དེས།)
khi tshai' mento ngatnataze bita
kh-i tshai 'mento ngat-na-taze bi-ta
 3SG-ERG DEM flower 1SG-DAT-to give-PRES
 ‘He is giving me this flower.’

Dative *-na* also marks the experiencer subject with a small set of monovalent and bivalent verbs. Examples are given in (79)–(85).

- (79) Kh: མེད་ལ་ཇི་དགོ་མས་ཡོ། (Dz: ལྷོད་ལ་ ག་ཅི་དགོ་ནི་སྒྲི།)
wetna ji gome yo
wet-na ji go-me yo
 2SG-DAT what want-INF QP
 ‘What do you want?’ (lit. ‘to you what is needed.’)
- (80) Kh: ངད་ན་སྒྲིག་པ་དགོ་ག། (Dz: ང་ལ་ གོ་ལ་དགོ་པས།)
ngatna 'lokpa gota
ngat-na 'lokpa go-ta
 1SG-DAT cloth want-PRES
 ‘I want cloth.’ (lit. ‘to me cloth is needed.’)
- (81) Kh: ལ་ལུང་ཟེ་གོན་ན་ཕམ་པ། (Dz: ལྷ་ལུང་མ་ལས་ ལོ་ལུ་རྒྱུད་ཕོག་ཅི།)
la nyungze gonna phampa
la nyung-ze gon-na pham-pa
 wage little-PP 3SG-DAT lose-PST:E
 ‘He is making a loss due to the low wage.’ (lit. ‘due to the low wage, to him loss is got.’)
- (82) Kh: ན་ནིང་མི་ཤུགས་ར་ཟེ་རྒྱོང་པ་ན་རྒྱུད་པ། (Dz: ན་ཉིང་ཆར་པ་ཤུགས་རྒྱུབ་སྤེ་ གཡུས་མེ་ལུ་རྒྱུད་ཕོག་ཅི།)
naning wi shuk raze krongpana gutpa
naning wi shuk ra-ze krongpa-na gut-pa
 last.year rain heavy come-PP villagers-DAT lose-PST:E
 ‘Due to the heavy rain last year, loss was incurred to farmer/villagers.’
 (lit. ‘due to the heavy rain last year, to villagers loss was incurred.’)

- (83) Kh: སེམས་ཅན་གསུང་ན་ནི་ལན་ཆགས་རང་ན་རང་འཁོར། (Dz: སེམས་ཅན་བསང་པ་ཅིན་ལན་ཆགས་རང་ལུ་ར་འཁོར།)
semcan sutnane lancha rangnarang khor
semcan sut-nane lancha rang-na-rang kho
 animal kill-COND result self-DAT-STR turn
 'If you kill an animal, you will reap the consequences of the sin.' (lit. 'If you kill an animal, results will turn to you.')
- (84) Kh: ངང་ན་རྩོ་ཐེག་གིས་ཕད། (Dz: ང་ལུ་རྩོ་རྒྱུང་ཅིག་གིས་བཏུབ།)
ngatna to thekgi phat
ngat-na to thek-gi phat
 1SG-DAT rice one-ERG okay
 'I only want rice.' (lit. 'to me only rice is fine.')
- (85) Kh: མེད་ན་སྒོག་པ་ཚའི་བྱར་ཉ། (Dz: ལྷོད་ལུ་གོ་ལ་འདི་ལོག་པས།)
wetna 'lokpa tshai bjarta
wet-na 'lokpa tshai bjar-ta
 2SG-DAT cloth DEM suit-PRES
 'This cloth suits you.' (lit. 'to you this cloth is suited.')

Experiencer subjects are marked in the dative case. Examples from Tibetan and Dzongkha are given in (86) and (87), respectively.

- (86) Tib: ང་ལ་རྩོ་སྒོག་བྱོང་བྱེད་ཡག་ལས་ཉལ་ཡག་གྱིད་པོ་འདུག། (Dz: ང་ལུ་འདི་དཔེ་ཆ་རྩལ་ནི་བ་ཉལ་ནི་གྱིད་པས།)
ngalata 'lojong jeyale nyalya kipo duk
nga-la-ta 'lojong je-ya-le nyal-ya kipo duk
 1SG-DAT-STR study do-INF-COMP sleep-INF pleasure exist
 'I prefer to sleep than study.' (lit. 'to me sleep is preferred than study.')
- (87) Dz: ཨ་པ་ལུ་དགོད་བ་འགྱོ་བཏུབ། (Kh: ཨ་པ་ན་དགོད་བ་གའེ་ཕད།)
apalu goeda jo tub
apa-lu goeda jo tup
 father-DAT joke go-PRES okay
 'Father likes jokes.' (lit. 'to father joke is liked.')

Similar examples are also found in many Indo-Aryan languages, such as Sanskrit, Hindi, and Nepali, as presented in (88), (89), and (90), respectively. In (88), the subject *balaka* 'child' is marked with dative case marker. For more Sanskrit examples see Divvedi (2016: 22).

- (88) Skt: बालकाय दुग्धम् रोचते। (Kh: མོ་ལོ་ན་འཇུ་དགའ། Dz: མ་ལུ་ལུ་ མོ་མ་དགའ།)
bālakāya dugdham rocate
bālaka-nye dugdham rocate
 child-DAT milk-ABS like-PRES
 ‘The child likes milk.’ (lit. ‘to child milk is liked.’)

In (89), the verb is *acchālagṇā* is equivalent to *ruc* in Sanskrit, ‘like’, with *balak* ‘child’ as its subject marked with the dative case marker. For more Hindi examples see (Adhikārī 2011: 58).

- (89) Hin: बालक को फल अच्छा लगता है। (Kh: མོ་ལོ་ན་མེན་འབྲེ་དགའ། Dz: མ་ལུ་ལུ་ མེང་འབྲས་དགའ།)
bālak ko phal acchā lagtā hai
bālak-ko phal acchā lagtā hai
 child-DAT fruit-ABS please-PRES AUX
 ‘The child likes fruit.’ (lit. ‘to child fruit is liked.’)

Consider Nepali, as shown in (90), and see Krishna for further examples (2004: 358).

- (90) Nep: मलाई थाहा छ। (Kh: ངང་ན་རྒྱུད་ནག། Dz: ང་ལུ་རྒྱུ་ཡོད།)
malāi thāhā cha
ma-laī thāhā cha
 1SG-DAT knowledge exist
 ‘I know.’ (lit. ‘to me knowledge is there.’)

The verbs given as examples from Sanskrit, Hindi, and Nepali express the same sense of personal experience that is found in dative subject verbs in Khengkha, and in languages such as the Tibetic Yolmo (Gawne 2016: 71).

Finally, in the expression of time and date, Khengkha uses the dative case on numerals and postpositions that express time-related concepts. Examples are given in (91) and (92).

- (91) Kh: མུ་ཚོ་དོ་གོ་ན་དོ་མཇར་རུ་ཏ་མེན། (Dz: མུ་ཚོ་ད་དགུ་ལུ་ དོ་མཇར་བཟའ་མ་ཞིན།)
chutsho dogona domzar zuta wen
chutsho dogo-na domzar zu-ta wen
 time nine-DAT breakfast eat-PRES AUX
 ‘(We) eat breakfast at 9 o’clock.’

- (92) Kh: ནམ་བྱར་ན་མེ་ར་ཏ་མེན། (Dz: གནམ་བྱར་ལུ་ ཆར་བ་རྒྱབ་ཞིན།)
nam bjarna wi rata wen
nam bjar-na wi ra-ta wen
 season summer-DAT rain come-PRES AUX
 ‘It rains in summer.’

7. The ablative

The case marker *-ne* is used to mark the provenance or location away from which something is moving. Examples are given in (93)–(95).

- (93) Kh: བསྐྱེད་འཛོལ་ཐིམ་ཕུ་ནས་ར་ས། (Dz: བསྐྱེད་འཛོལ་ཐིམ་ཕུ་ལས་འོངས་ཡི།)
tenzin thimphukne rasa
tenzin thimphuk-ne ra-sa
 tenzin thimphu-ABL come-PST:E
 ‘Tenzin has come from Thimphu.’
- (94) Kh: གོན་སེང་ཇའི་ནས་དར་ཟེ་ནད་པ་བྱོང་ནག། (Dz: ཁོ་ཤིང་གུ་ལས་བྱང་དེ་ནད་པ་ཐོན་རུག།)
gon seng jaine darze natpa jongna
gon seng jai-ne dar-ze natpa jong-na
 3SG tree up-ABL fall-PP sick become-PST:A
 ‘He fell from a tree and got injured.’
- (95) Kh: ངའི་ས་ཆ་རྒྱུ་ནས་ཉི་འུ་བསྐྱེད་ས། (Dz: ང་གི་ས་ཆ་རྒྱུ་ལས་ཉི་འུ་བསྐྱེད་ཡི།)
ngai charone teru kisa
nga-i charo-ne teru ki-sa
 1SG-ERG friend-ABL money borrow-PST:E
 ‘I borrowed money from my friend.’

From examples (96) and (97), it is clear that *-ne* is also used to express the comparative case (see Dorji 2021: 104).

- (96) Kh: རེད་ནད་ནས་དཔེ་ཆ་གོན་རང་དྲག། (Dz: ང་བཅས་ནད་ལས་ཡོན་ཏན་ཁོ་ར་དྲག།)
nget nangne pecha gonrang dak
nget nang-ne pecha gon-rang dak
 1PL POSTP:in-ABL education 3SG-STR better
 ‘He is the most knowledgeable among us.’
- (97) Kh: རེད་ནད་ནས་གོན་རང་ལེགས། (Dz: ང་བཅས་ནད་ལས་ཁོ་ར་ལེགས།)
nget nangne gonrang lek
nget nang-ne gon-rang lek
 1PL POSTP:in-ABL 3SG-STR handsome
 ‘He is the most handsome among us.’

8. Conclusion

The analysis of the Khengkha case-marking system presented here reveals broad patterns. Namely, A arguments are marked with the ergative case marker, direct objects are unmarked, indirect objects are marked with dative case markers, and O locations are

marked with locative case markers. Introductory descriptions of the instrumental, genitive, allative, and ablative cases have also been provided.

Though brief, this is perhaps the first work of descriptive depth on case-marking in Khengkha, and it is the author’s hope that it will contribute to the field of Tibeto-Burman linguistics in Bhutan, as well as offer thought-provoking data to researchers interested in the further research and documentation of Khengkha.

ABBREVIATIONS

1	First person	INS	Instrument
2	Second person	KH	Khengkha
3	Third person	LOC	Locative
AK	Newly acquired knowledge	NEG	Negative
ABL	Ablative	NEP	Nepali
ABS	Absolute	NF	Non-final
ALL	Allative	PG	Present/durative gerund
ASSO	Associative	PL	Plural
AUX	Auxiliary	POL	Polite
COMP	Comparative	POST	Postposition
CON	Present continuous	PP	Past participle
CNCV	Concessive	PRES	Present
DIR	Direction	PST	Past tense
DEM	Demonstrative	PST:A	Allophoric past
DZ	Dzongkha	PST:E	Egophoric past
EXCLA	Exclamation	QP	Question particle
EXIST	Existential	SEQ	Sequential
FOC	Focus	SG	Singular
FUT	Future	SKT	Sanskrit
HIN	Hindi	STR	Stress particle
GEN	Genitive	SUP	Supine
HON	Honorific	TIB	Tibetan
INF	Infinitive	U	Urging suffix

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APPENDIX: SAMPLE TEXT

Text type: Personal experience narrative
 Speaker: TT
 Date: 10.04.2020
 Location: Taktse, Trongsa, Bhutan
 Summary: This is a short description about his personal experience of attending the annual ritual held in his hometown the year before.

(98) *Kh:* ན་ནིང་ངེད་ཐེམ་ཕུ་ནས་རྒྱང་ངོ་ལོ་ཚོགས་ན་གཤེ་པ་གི་སྐོར་ནེ་ཕོ་ལབ་སོ་ན་ནེ། (*DZ:* ན་ནིང་ང་བཅས་ཐེམ་ཕུ་ལས་གཡུས་ཁ་ལུ་ལོ་ཚོགས་སྐབས་འགྲོ་ཡོད་མི་སྐོར་ལས་སྐབས་པ་ཅིན།)

naning nget Thimphuk-ne krong-ngo locho-na
 last.year nget.ABS Thimphuk-ABL village-LOC annual.ritual-DAT
gai-pa-gi korne pholap so-nane
 go-PST:E-GEN about conversation talk-COND

'If (I) tell about our last year's travel from Thimphu to our hometown for the annual ritual.'

(99) *Kh:* ལྷ་རོ་རང་ལོ་ཚོགས་ན་གཤེ་མ་ལ་གི་སྐོར་ནེ། (*DZ:* དང་པ་ར་ཚོགས་བཟང་པར་འགྲོ་ནི་གི་སྐོར་ལས།)

'na-ro-rang locho-na gai-mela-gi korne
 first-LOC-STR annual.ritual-DAT go-INF-GEN about
 'Firstly, about our travel for the annual ritual.'

(100) *Kh:* རེད་གང་ཕོ་མེད་དོ་བསྐྱེད་གོས་བྱ་ས། (*DZ:* ང་བཅས་ཆ་ཁྱབ་ཁྱིམ་ནང་བསྐྱེད་གོས་འབད་ཡི།)

nget gangpo mai-do tuendu bu-sa
 1PL.ABS PL.FOC home-LOC discussion do-PST:E
 'we discussed at home.'

(101) *Kh:* ཚེ་ཅི་སྐོར་ནེ་འདིས་ཆ་རོགས་ན་ལབ་མོ། (*DZ:* འདི་གི་སྐོར་ལས་ང་གིས་ཆ་རོགས་ལུ་སྐབས་ད།)

Tshai-ci korne nga-i charo-na lap-mo
 DEM-GEN about 1SG-ERG friend-DAT tell-PG
 'When I told about this to a friend.'

(102) *Kh:* གོ་ནི་ངད་ན་ཉི་ཅུ་བི་ས། (*DZ:* ཁོ་གིས་ང་ལུ་ཉི་ཅུ་བྱིན་ཡི།)

Gon-i ngat-na tiru bi-sa
 3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT money give-PST:E
 'He gave me money.'

(103) *Kh:* ཉེ་ནིང་ཐེམ་ཕུ་ནས་རྒྱང་ངོ་ར་མོ། (*DZ:* དེ་ལས་ཐེམ་ཕུ་ལས་གཡུས་ཁར་འོང་མ་ད།)

hening Thimphuk-ne krong-ngo ra-mo
 SEQ Thimphuk-ABL hometown-LOC come-PG
 'While we were coming from Thimphu to hometown,

- (104) Kh: མམ་དགུན་དྲོ་ཚོ་ལ་ནས་ཚོར་ཡམ་དོ་ཀ་ཚགས་སེ། (Dz: གནམ་དགུན་དྲོ་ཚོ་ལ་ལས་རྒྱར་ ལམ་ཁར་ལམ་ཚགས་ནི་འདི་གིས།)
namgun-to Dochula-ne tshoro yam-do ka chag-se
 winter-LOC Dochula-ABL DIR:to.here road-LOC snow stay-PP
 ‘In winter, due to snowy road from Dochula,’
- (105) Kh: ག་རི་མེ་ཐར་ཏྲོ་དེད་གང་པོ་དཀའ་བ་རང་རྒྱུད་པ། (Dz: ལྷུ་མ་འཁོར་མ་ཐར་བར་ ང་བཅས་ཚ་བྱུང་དཀའ་མ་ར་རྒྱུད་ཡི།)
gari me thar-to nget gangpo kawa-rang chut-pa
 car NEG-free-SUP 1PL.ABS PL.FOC hardship-STR experience-PST:E
 ‘The car could not go through; thus, we suffered.’
- (106) Kh: མེན་ཤང་ལྷ་མ་ནེ་དཀོན་མཚོག་གཉམ་གྱིས་སྐབས་གཟིགས་སེ། (Dz: ཨིན་ཅུང་ལྷམ་དང་དཀོན་མཚོག་གཉམ་གྱིས་སྐབས་གཟིགས་སྟེ།)
wen-shang 'lama-ne koncho sum-gi cap zik-se
 COP-CNCV 'lama-ASSO kencho three-ERG protection see.HON-PP
 ‘Nevertheless, with the blessing of lama and three jewels,’
- (107) Kh: རྐྱེན་ངན་བར་ཚད་ཇི་ཡང་མུད་ཏྲོ་མའེ་དོ་ཞུག་པ། (Dz: རྐྱེན་ངན་བར་ཚད་ག་ནི་ཡང་མེད་པར་བྱིན་ནང་ཏྲོ་ཅི།)
kenngan barche sha-yang mut-to mai-do khrak-pa
 bad.condition obstacle what-ever NEG-SUP house-LOC reach-PST:E
 ‘We reached home safely without any obstacles.’
- (108) Kh: ཞ་པ་ནེ་ཞ་མ་ནོ་མེད་གང་པོ་དེད་ར་ཟེ་སེམས་དགའ་ནག། (Dz: ཞ་པ་དང་ཨའི་སྲིང་མོ་ཚ་བྱུང་ ང་བཅས་འོང་ནི་འདི་གིས་ སེམས་དགའ་རུག།)
apa-ne ama nomet gangpo nget ra-ze sem ga-na
 father-ASSO mother younger.sister PL.FOC 1PL.ABS come-PP mind please-PST:A
 ‘Father, mother, and younger sister were pleased to have us home.’
- (109) Kh: མའེ་དོ་ཇ་འཚོང་མོ་ངའིས་ཞ་མ་ན་ལྷ་ཟེ་ལབ་པ། (Dz: བྱིན་ནང་ཇ་འཚུངས་ད་ ང་གིས་ཨའི་ལུ་ལྷ་ཟེ་སྟེ་སྟེ་བ་ཅི།)
mai-do ja thong-mo ngai ama-na ta-ze lap-pa
 home-LOC tea drink-PG 1SG-ERG mother-LOC look-PP tell-PST:E
 ‘While having a tea at home, looking at mother, I said,’
- (110) Kh: ད་ནིང་ལོ་ཚོག་ཐུང་མོ་དེད་མའེ་དོ་ར་ས། (Dz: དུས་ཅི་ལོ་ཚོག་གཏང་མ་ད་ ང་བཅས་བྱིན་ནང་འོངས་ཡི།)
daning locho thung-mo nget mai-do ra-sa
 this.year annual.ritual do-PG 1PL.ABS home-LOC come-PST:E
 ‘We came home this year for the annual ritual.’
- (111) Kh: མ་ལུང་ཏ་དེད་ཅིས་ལོ་ཚོག་ཐུང་མོ་མེ་ར། (Dz: སང་མོད་འདི་ ང་བཅས་བྱིས་ཚོ་གཏང་མ་ད་མེ་འོང་།)
namung-ta nge-ci locho thung-mo me-ra
 next.year-STR 1PL-ERG annual.ritual do-PG FUT.NEG-come
 ‘We will not be coming next year for the annual ritual.’

- (112) Kh: ད་སྐྱུལ་གཞི་ཡམ་ཀ་ཅན་སྐྱུང་ཉོ་ལྷ་ཁག་རང་ལྷུང་བ། (Dz: ད་རིས་སྐྱུལ་འཁོར་ལམ་ ལེགས་ཤོམ་མེད་པར་ ལྷ་ཁག་ར་རྒྱབ་ཅི།)
dasum gari yam kacan mut-to lakha-rang thung-pa
 today vehicle-road good NEG-SUP difficult-STR feel-PST:E
 ‘It was gruesome today due to the bad road condition.’
- (113) Kh: ཇམ་མཉེས་ན་སྐྱུང་ཡང་དཀའ་བ་ཚོར་ཚུད་སེ་ལྷ་ར་མེ་དགོ། (Dz: ཇམ་མཉེས་སང་མོད་ཡང་ དཀའ་ལམ་འདི་བཟུམ་སྐྱུང་དེ་འདི་ འོང་མེ་དགོ།)
ama-i naming-yang kawa tshoro chut-se-ta ra mi-go
 ama-ERG next.year-also hardship like.this experience-PP-STR come FUT.NEG-need
 ‘Mother said, it is not necessary to come next year owing to such difficulties.’
- (114) Kh: ཚོ་ལོ་ཚོག་གནང་མོ་ལྷ་འོའི་ནས་སློན་ལམ་བཏབ་ཤང་ཕད་བྱ་བེ་ལབ་བ། (Dz: ལྷ་ཚོ་གྲུ་གནང་མ་ད་ བ་ལས་སློན་ལམ་བཏབ་བྱང་ བཏབ་བེར་སྐབ་ཅི།)
tsho locho 'nang-mo thungoi-ne 'monlam tab-shang
 DIR:here annual.ritual do.HON-PG DIR:there-ABL prayer pray-CNCV
phat bu-ze lap-pa
 okay do-PP tell-PST:E
 ‘She said, we can pray from there when the annual ritual is being held here.’
- (115) Kh: ཡམ་པ་སྐྱུར་ལ་མེས་མེས་གིས་དེད་ན་ཀྱང་ཐེག་བཞིག་བ། (Dz: རངས་པ་ཕྱི་ཅུ་ ཇམ་ཀས་ཀྱིས་ང་བཅས་ལུ་ སྐྱུང་ཅིག་བཏང་ཡི།)
yampa sunla meme-gi nget-na krung thek shik-pa
 tomorrow evening grandfather-ERG 1PL-DAT story one untie-PST:E
 ‘In the evening of the following day, grandfather told us a story.’
- (116) Kh: ཇམ་ལ་གིས་ངད་ན་གསང་གཏམ་ཐེག་ལབ་ཏ། (Dz: ཇམ་ཀས་ཀྱིས་ང་ལུ་ གསང་གཏམ་ཅིག་སྐབ་དེས།)
aila-gi ngat-na sangtam thek lap-ta
 grandmother-ERG 3SG-DAT secret one tell-PRES
 ‘Grandmother was telling me a secret.’
- (117) Kh: ངའིས་གསང་གཏམ་ཚའི་གཞན་ཇམ་ལེ་ན་ཡང་མ་ལབ། (Dz: ང་གིས་གསང་གཏམ་འདི་ གཞན་ག་ལུ་ཡང་མ་སྐབ།)
nga-i sangtam tshai zhan ai-na-yang ma-lap
 1SG-ERG secret-ABS DEM other who-DAT-also PST-NEG-tell
 ‘I didn’t disclose the secret to anyone.’
- (118) Kh: ཐེམ་ཕུ་ནས་ངའི་ཆ་རོགས་ཐེག་གྲོང་གསར་ཉོ་ཡང་ཐེག་བྱོང་བེ་ར་ནག། (Dz: ཐེམ་ཕུ་ལས་ངའི་ཆ་རོགས་ཅིག་ གྲོང་གསར་ལུ་ལྷ་ཅིག་ཐོན་སྐྱེ་འོང་རུག།)
Thimphuk-ne charo thek Trongsa-to yat thek jong-ze ra-na
 Thimphuk-ABL friend one Trongsa-LOC work one originate-PP come-PST:A
 ‘One of my friends from Thimphu came to Trongsa for some work.’
- (119) Kh: ངད་ནེ་ཐོན་དོ་སྐྱུལ་བེ། (Dz: ང་དང་གཅིག་ཁར་ཕྱད་དགོ་མཚོ་སྐྱེ།)
ngat-ne dom-do 'nyam-ze
 1SG-ASSO meet-SUP wish-PP
 ‘Wishing to meet me,’

- (120) Kh: ལྷིའིས་ངའི་མའེ་འཚུའི་ནག། (Dz: ལོ་གིས་ ང་གི་ལྷིམ་འཚོལ་ནུག།)
kh-i nga-i mai tshui-na
 3SG-ERG 1SG-GEN house look-PST:A
 'He looked for my house.'
- (121) Kh: ངད་ན་ཡང་འཚུའི་ནག། (Dz: ང་ལུ་ཡང་ འཚོལ་ནུག།)
ngat-na-yang tshui-na
 1SG.ABS-DAT-also look-PST:A
 '(He) also looked for me.'
- (122) Kh: མཇུག་ཀྱང་ཚོན་ལ་པར་ནང་ངོ་ངའི་མའེ་དོ་ཚྲོམ་མས་ལ་གི་ལ་ལབ་སེ། (Dz: མཇུག་ལུ་ང་བཅས་གཉིས་ རྒྱུད་འཕྲིན་ནང་ངེ་ལྷིམ་ནང་ཕྱད་ནི་གི་ལ་
 སླབ་ཟེ།)
ju-ku nget zon khapar nang-ngo nga-i mai-do
 last-LOC 1SG.ABS two call POSTP:in-LOC 1SG-GEN home-LOC
dom-mela-gi kha lap-se
 meet-INF-GEN mouth talk-PP
 'Finally, we talked over the phone to meet at my home.'
- (123) Kh: གོན་ལྷན་ལ་ག་རི་ཐུང་ཟེ་ཚོ་རོ་ར་ས། (Dz: ལོ་ཕྱི་ཏུ་ལྷུམ་འཁོར་བཏང་ཟེ་ ཚུར་འོངས་ཡི།)
gon sunla gari thung-ze tshoro ra-sa
 3SG.ABS evening car drive-PP DIR:here come-PST:E
 'He drove here in the evening.'
- (124) Kh: ཏེ་ནིང་ངེད་ཚོན་གྱིས་གཞན་ལོ་ཚོག་ཐུང་ས་རོ་གའེ་མས་ལ་གི་གནས་སྐབས་ཐེག་འགྲིགས་པ། (Dz: དེ་ལས་ང་བཅས་གཉིས་གྱིས་ གཞན་ཚོ་གུ་གཏང་ས་
 ལུ་ འགྲོ་ནི་གི་གནས་སྐབས་ཅིག་འགྲིགས་ཡི།)
hening nget zon-gi zhan locho thung-sa-ro gai-mela-gi
 SEQ:then 1PL two-ERG other annual.ritual do-NMZ-LOC go-INF-GEN
'nekap thek dik-pa
 method one prepare-PST:E
 'Then we made a plan to attend the annual ritual at other homes.'
- (125) Kh: རོ་མེད་ཐེག་ན་མའེ་ལབ་སེ་ཨ་བ་ནེ་ཨ་མ་ན་མེ་ལབ་ཏོ་གསང་ང་བུ་བེ་ཡར་པ། (Dz: སྲིང་ཚོ་རྒྱུང་མ་ཅིག་ལུ་སླབ་ཟེ་ ཨ་བ་དང་ཨའེ་ལུ་མ་སླབ་པར་
 གསང་སྟེ་འགྲོ་ཡི།)
nomet thek-na-wai lap-se apa-ne ama-na me-lap-to
 younger.sister one-LOC-STR tell-PP apa-ASSO ama-DAT NEG.PRES-say-SUP
sangnga bu-ze yar-pa
 silence do-PP jump-PST:E
 'We left quietly without informing parents, but [our] sister only.'

- (126) Kh: ཐུ་ལོ་ཚོག་གནང་ས་རོ་སྐྱུན་ལ་འབས་བྱོ་མཚོང་ཆུར་མ་ས་མ་འཕྱོང་བེ། (Dz: ཕར་ཚོ་གྲུ་གནང་ས་ལུ་བྱི་ཅུ་འབས་ཁྲ་རྒྱབ་ ཚང་ལེ་ག་འབྱུང་ལྟེ།)
thau locho 'nang-sa-ro sunla zhapdo chong
 DIR:there annual.ritual do:HON-NMLZ-LOC evening dance show
churma sama thong-ze
 alcohol much drink-PP
 'At the ritual-held place, we danced and drank a lot.'
- (127) Kh: སན་མའེ་དོ་ལོག་སེ་ར་མོ། (Dz: ལུབ་མོ་ཁྱིམ་ནང་ལོག་འོང་མ་ད།)
san mai-do lok-se ra-mo
 night home-LOC return-PP come-PG
 'While returning home at night.'
- (128) Kh: ཡམ་དོ་ཚ་རོགས་དེད་ཐོན་ཆ་ར་བསྐྱུགས་པ། (Dz: ལམ་ཁར་ཚ་རོགས་ང་བཅས་གཉིས་དོ་ཆ་ར་བསྐྱུགས་ཡི།)
yam-do charo nget zon chara cuk-pa
 way-LOC friend 1PL.ABS two both vomit-PST:E
 'both of us vomited on the way.'
- (129) Kh: འདམ་ཚང་ནང་དོ་ཡང་རྐྱན་མཚོང་བེ། (Dz: འདམ་ཚང་ནང་ལུ་ཡང་ རྐྱབ་རིལ་སྟེ།)
damtshang nang-ngo-yang gan chong-ze
 swamp POSTP:in-LOC-also stumble show-PP
 'we also fell down in a swamp.'
- (130) Kh: དེད་ཅི་སྟོག་པ་དང་ས་གཙང་ང་འདམ་སྐྱེས་ནག། (Dz: ང་བཅས་ཀྱི་གོ་ལ་ག་ར་ འདམ་སྐྱེས་ལུག།)
nge-ci 'lokpa dangtshangnga dam ge-na
 1PL-GEN cloth entire mud mix-PST:A
 'Our clothes got muddy.'
- (131) Kh: ཡམ་མེ་ཟླ་ཟླ་མན་ཡང་ཉ། (Dz: ཡའི་རྩོ་བ་ཉ་སག་འོང་མས།)
ama 'ngazi 'nganman yang-ta
 mother morning early wake-PRES
 'Mother wakes up early in the morning.'
- (132) Kh: ཡམ་འའིས་དེད་ཅི་སྟོག་པ་མཐུང་བེ། (Dz: ཡའི་གིས་ ང་བཅས་ཀྱི་གོ་ལ་མཐོང་སྟེ།)
ama-i nge-ci 'lokpa thung-ze
 mother-ERG 1PL-GEN cloth see-PP
 'When mother saw our muddy clothes,'
- (133) Kh: ཡའེ། དེད་ཐོན་ན་ལྷ་བེ་ཡམ་སྟོ་ཕམ་ནག། (Dz: ཡའེ། ང་བཅས་གཉིས་ལུ་ལྷ་སྟེ་ ཡའི་སེམས་ཕམ་ལུག།)
ai nget zon-na ta-ze ama 'blo pham-na
 EXCLAM 1PL two-DAT look-PP mother mind lose-PST:A
 'Oh! Mother was disappointed with two of us.'

- (134) Kh: ཇམ་མའི་ས་ངའི་ནོ་མེད་ན་བལམ་པ། (Dz: ཇམ་གི་ས་ངའི་སྤྱིང་མོ་ལུ་ ཚློགས་བརྟེན་བཏང་ཡི།)
ama-i nga-i nomet-na blam-pa
 mother-ERG 1SG-GEN younger.sister-DAT scold-PST:E
 'Mother scolded my younger sister.'
- (135) Kh: ཇམ་བའི་ས་ངའི་ཡང་བལམ་པ། (Dz: ཇམ་བ་གི་ས་ངའི་ཡང་ ཚློགས་བརྟེན་བཏང་ཡི།)
apa-i ngat-yang blam-pa
 father-ERG 1SG.ABS-also scold-PST:E
 'Father also scolded me.'
- (136) Kh: ལྷ་ཚེད་དོ་གོ་སྟོར་ཐེག་ན་དེད་ཐོན་ཡང་ཟེ་དྲོམ་མཛར་བྱས། (Dz: ལྷ་ཚེད་དགུ་དེ་ཅིག་ན་ ང་བཅས་ཡར་ལོང་སྤེ་ དྲོ་མཛར་བཟུང་ཡི།)
chutshoe dogo kor thek-na nget zon yang-ze domzar zu-sa
 time nine around around-LOC 1PL.ABS two wake-PP breakfast eat-PST:E
 'Around 9 o'clock, we woke up and ate breakfast.'
- (137) Kh: ངའི་ས་སྟོག་པ་དང་ས་གཙང་ང་འཁོ་ས། (Dz: ང་གི་ས་ གོ་ལ་ག་ར་འཁྲུ་ཡི།)
nga-i lokpa dangtsangnga khro-sa
 1SG-ERG cloth entire wash-PST:E
 'I washed all the clothes.'
- (138) Kh: ཉེན་ཕྱི་གི་བཞེས་སྟོང་དེད་གང་པོ་ལྷེ་རེ་བྱས། (Dz: ཉེན་མ་གི་སྟོང་ ང་བཅས་ག་ར་གཅིག་ཁར་བཟུང་ཡི།)
nyencha-gi zhego nget gangpo dere zu-sa
 midday-GEN food 1PL.ABS PL.FOC together eat-PST:E
 'We had lunch together.'
- (139) Kh: ཉེ་ནིང་ཆ་རྟོགས་བྱིད་ར་མའེ་དོ་ལོག་གའེ་པ། (Dz: དེ་ལས་ཆ་རྟོགས་ཁོ་ར་ བྱིམ་ནང་ལོག་སོང་ཡི།)
hening charo khi-ra mai-do lok-se gai-pa
 SEQ:then friend 3SG.ABS-STR home-LOC return-PP go-PST:E
 'Then my friend left for his home.'
- (140) Kh: ཚའི་ཅི་ཡམས་པ་མའེ་དོ་ལོ་ཚློག་གནང་པ། (Dz: འདི་གི་ནངས་པ་ བྱིམ་ནང་ཚོ་གུ་གནང་ཡི།)
tshai-ci yampa mai-do locho 'nang-pa
 DEM-GEN tomorrow home-LOC annual.ritual do.HON-PST:E
 'In the following day, annual ritual was held at home.'
- (141) Kh: ཚའི་ཅི་ཡམས་པ་དེད་གང་པོ་ལོ་ལའ་བ་ཀ་ཅན་སོ་བུ་བྱེ་ནིག་པ། (Dz: འདི་གི་ནངས་པ་ ང་བཅས་ཆ་ལྷོ་བ་ སློ་ལེགས་ཤོམ་སྐབ་སྤེ་སྤོང་ཡི།)
tshai-ci yampa nget gangpo pholap kacan so bu-ze
 DEM-GEN tomorrow 1PL.ABS PL.FOC conversation well talk do-PP
nig-pa
 stay-PST:E
 'In the following day, we sat in a good conversation.'

(142) Kh: ཉེ་ནིང་ནན་མུང་བུ་མོ་དང་ཐིམ་ཕུ་གོ་ལོག་པ། (Dz: དེ་ལས་གནངས་ཚེ་འབདམ་ད་ ང་བཅས་ཐིམ་ཕུ་ལུ་ལོག་ཡི།)
hening nanmung bu-mo nget Thimphuk-ko lok-pa
SEQ:then day after tomorrow do-PG 1PL.ABS Thimphu-LOC return-PST:E
'The day after that, we left for Thimphu.'

(143) Kh: ལགས་སོ། །བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ་ས། (Dz: ལགས་སོ། །བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ་ཡི།)
Laso kadinca-sa
okay.HON thank.you-PST:E
'Okay, thank you!'