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Languages and People of the Eastern Himalayan Region (LPEHR)

Aspects of the grammar of Mönpa (Bhutan)

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ABSTRACT

Despite several research projects that worked on the highly endangered Mönpa language, an unclassified language of the Tibeto-Burman, a.k.a. Trans-Himalayan, a.k.a. Sino-Tibetan language family, of central Bhutan between the early 1990s and the present, even a basic grammatical description of the language is lacking. This article aims to fill this void by presenting an initial synoptic overview of the main aspects of the grammar of the language, and lays the foundation for an exhaustive grammatical description in preparation.

This article gives a brief overview of the Mönpa people and their language, the available literature and ongoing research projects, and the methodology and data on which the present description is based. We then provide a short description of the phonology of Mönpa. The main focus of this article is on the description of several grammatical features of the Mönpa language: the case system, the parts of speech, the verbal morphology, the copula system, syntactic constructions, and discourse markers.

KEYWORDS Mönkha; Mönpa; Trans-Himalayan; Tibeto-Burman; Bhutan

Aspects of the grammar of Mönpa (Bhutan)[†]

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1 Introduction

The mountain ranges separating western Bhutan from central Bhutan are known in the English literature as the Black Mountains, a name presumably coined by the British explorers and military personell to reflect the dark green hues of these daunting, heavily forested ranges. On the western, southern, and eastern fringes of these ranges, small indigenous communities have persisted until the present that refer to themselves as Mönnang [mønnaŋ], in which *-nang* is the plural marker. They call their language Mönggok [møŋgok] ‘the Mönpa language’, with *ŋok* etymologically related to Tibetan *ngag* ‘speech, voice, verbal, words, talk, statement’ and Chinese 語 *ngjoX* < *ŋa? ‘speak’ or 講 *ngak* < *ŋʰak ‘speak frankly’, also reflected in, for example, Proto-Western Kho-Bwa *ŋaq ‘language’ (Bodt 2024: 277). The speakers of Khengkha, spoken to the East of the Mönpa speech area, call the people Monpa [mɔnpa] and their language Monkha [mɔnkʰa] or Mongi kha [mɔŋgi kʰa], while in Dzongkha, the national language of Bhutan, the people are called Mönpa *mon-pa* [mɔnpa] and their language Mönkha *mon-kha* [mɔnkʰa] or Mönbikha *mon-paʼi kha* [mɔnbi kʰa]. In this article, when we speak of Mönpa we refer to both the Mönpa people of Central Bhutan, and to the language that they speak. In doing so, we accommodate the wishes of the speakers themselves – who, as a linguistic group with three main speech communities, now reject the previously used name ‘Olep or ‘Olebkha (used by, e.g., Hyslop 2016) – and take into account the rounded vowel of the native pronunciation, while maintaining coherence with the earliest description of the language (van Driem 1994) without the specificity of “Black Mountain”. At the same time, we do acknowledge that, in both traditional usage across the Himalayan region, the Tibetan literature, and the subsequent English literature, the appellations Mon, Mön and Monpa, Mönpa can refer to different people at different points in time (cf. for example, Pommaret 1994: 2; van Driem 2001: 872; Bodt 2012: 3–9).

Mönpa is one of nineteen recognised languages of Bhutan. Except for Nepali, which belongs to Indo-European language family, all the other languages spoken in Bhutan are presumed to belong to the Sino-Tibetan (alternatively known as Tibeto-Burman and Trans-Himalayan) language family. Mönpa was first described to science by George van Driem (van Driem 1994), who came across the language while conducting the first linguistic survey of Bhutan in the early 1990s. Because of its unique lexical and grammatical features, van Driem called Mönpa one of the three linguistic gems of Bhutan, the other two being Gongduk and Lhokpu (van Driem 2004: 296). To differentiate between different ethnic groups and languages across the Himalayas that use Monpa as a autonym or are referred to as Monpa by others, van Driem (1995: 229) coined the name Black Mountain Mönpa. Van Driem published several articles introducing the language and describing its, for Bhutanese languages unique, biactantial verbal agreement system, both in a synchronic and a comparative perspective (van Driem 1994, 1995, 2001, 2004). While van Driem initially considered Mönpa an archaic East Bodish language (van Driem 1995; van Driem 2001: 918), he now presumes Mönpa to be a linguistic isolate within the Sino-Tibetan language family (van Driem 2011), while Gerber (2020) adduced possibly closer genetic links to Gongduk, another endangered language of Bhutan.

Van Driem recognized three varieties of Mönpa, a western one, a southern one, and a northern one (van Driem 2001: 919; van Driem 2004: 310). The southern variety was spoken in Berte village in Zhemgang district. It was already on the verge of disappearance in the early 1990s, having been replaced by Khengkha through mixed marriages, and now only a single elderly woman remembers fragments of the language. But this southern variety is still spoken by 27 middle-aged and elderly people ranging between 45 and 85 years old in the village of Cungseng in Sarpang district, where the younger generation mostly communicates in Khengkha and Nepali. The western variety, which was given the exonym ‘Ole kha *o-le kha* or Olebi kha *o-le-paʼi kha* by the Dzongkha

[†] We would like to express our deepest gratitude to Jampel and Dorji Wangmo from Jangbi, Mönpa community for sharing their knowledge of native language, Mönkha, and the two anonymous reviewers for providing constructive comments on the article. We would also like to acknowledge Kellen Parker van Dam for assistance in giving feedbacks, editing the paper, and preparing the manuscript for publication.

speakers of the district administration¹, was spoken in Rukha village of Wangduephodrang district, but was already largely replaced by Dzongkha by the turn of the century. In Rukha, two elderly people and a middle-aged man still know Mönpa, but hardly ever speak it, and modest efforts to revitalize the language are underway. The western variety is also spoken in Riti village of Sarpang district, an early 20th century offshoot of Rukha village (van Driem 2001: 924). While it is being replaced by Khengkha and Dzongkha, it is still spoken by around 50 people and it is still relatively vibrant. The most vibrant Mönpa speech community can be found on the eastern slopes of the Black Mountain ranges. This variety was referred to by van Driem as northern (van Driem 2001: 919) and is spoken in the villages of Wangling, Jangbi and Phumzur in Trongsa district. The northern variety was also spoken in the village of Pangzur in Zhemgang district until several decades ago. While no official account of the speaker population exists, we estimate that Mönpa is still spoken on a regular basis by around 250 people, against an earlier estimate of 500 speakers (van Driem 2001: 872). The Mönpa are thought to have been semi-nomadic until the 1980s, supplementing limited shifting cultivation with hunting and foraging (cf. van Driem 2001: 922; Hyslop 2016: 83). The location of the Mönpa speech communities is visualized in the map of Figure 1.

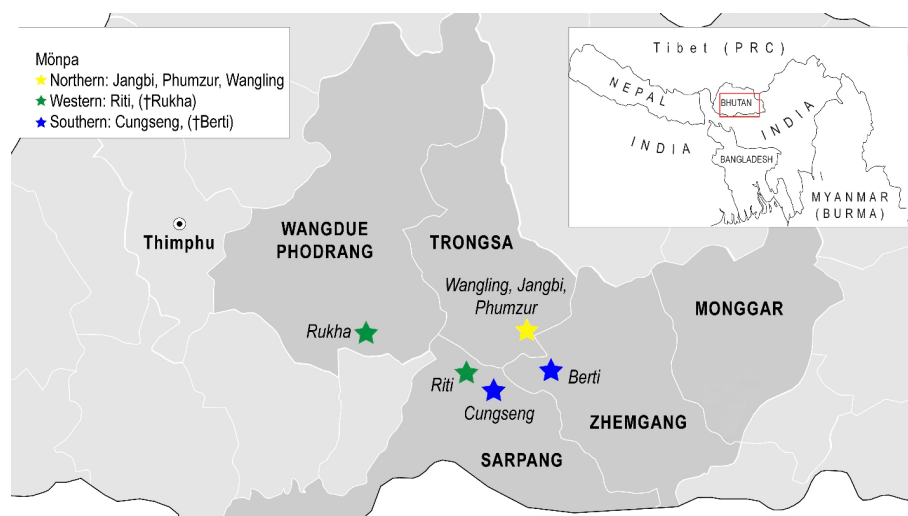


Figure 1 – The three Mönpa varieties and the villages where they were or are spoken.

After the groundbreaking work by van Driem, resulting in several publications (van Driem 1994, 1995, 2001, 2004), several other people and organisations have worked on Mönpa, but there have been only limited publications. The Tarayana Foundation collected some linguistic data on the western and northern varieties (Sonam Pem, p.c. 15-10-2024). Gwendolyn Hyslop conducted an Endangered Language Documentation Project-funded study on the western variety in Rukha (<https://www.elararchive.org/dk0173>), also collecting data from Riti and Jangbi, focusing on ethnobotanical knowledge and including a few observations on grammar in the appendix (Hyslop 2016). Pascal Gerber (2020) compared van Driem's phonological data on Mönpa to data from Gongduk and Bjokapa Tshangla. Local Bhutanese collaborators in the Bhutan Oral Literature Project (<https://www.bhutanoralliteratureproject.com/>) have collected a corpus of video-and audio recordings on a wide variety of ethnographic topics. The Tribal Trust Foundation (<https://tribaltrustfoundation.org/projects/monpas/>) aims to prepare publications for language revitalization among the speakers of the northern variety. Since 2023, Hyslop and Mareike Wulff have commenced an Endangered Language Documentation Project-funded study on nettle fiber production and weaving among the Mönpa (<https://www.elararchive.org/dk0752>), which they hope to convert into a linguistic description and language revitalization materials as well (Gwen Hyslop, p.c. 13-12-2023). In early 2025, the Language Research & Promotion Division of the Department of Culture and Dzongkha Development of Bhutan held a Mönpa language revitalization training in Rukha village. Tenzin Dorji, the first author of this paper, published an article in Tibetan on the basic grammar of Mönpa following the Sanskrit and Tibetan tradition of grammar writing (Dorji 2022). By 2030, the European Research Council-funded project Lo-Rig, hosted at Trinity College Dublin in Ireland, aims to produce an exhaustive grammar of Mönpa and language promotion materials.

Till date, the article by Dorji (2022) is the most extensive description of Mönpa. However, as this article is

¹ The speech community highly regrets that this exonym stuck as the name of the language as a whole in scientific circles, reflected in, for example, the Glottolog and Ethnologue codes and names.

written in Tibetan and closely follows traditional Sanskrit and Tibetan grammatical categories, it is less accessible to other, western-trained linguists. Therefore, the present article is not merely a translation into English, but also exhibits the data and analysis in a format that will enable typologists, historical linguists and others to access them. The article is based on the eastern variety of Mönpa as spoken in Jangbi village. The data were collected with informed consent from three native speakers who were consulted between August 2021 and January 2025: Jampel, Dorji Wangmo, and the co-author of this paper, Sangay Dema. They agreed for their personal information to be shared, and for the data they provided to be analysed and used for this and any subsequent publications. Jampel was 45 years old in 2024, while his wife Dorji Wangmo was 44. Both hail from Jangbi village, are uneducated, and speak Dzongkha and Khengkha in addition to their mother tongue Mönpa. Their daughter, Sangay Dema, aged 24 in 2024, was born and raised in Jangbi village, and is fluent in Dzongkha, Khengkha and English, in addition to her mother tongue Mönpa. Sangay Dema graduated from the College for Language and Culture Studies in Taktse, Trongsa, in 2024, and then followed the Postgraduate Diploma course in Education at the National Institute of Education in Paro. She is now a teacher at Arekha Middle Secondary School in Chukha district. Tenzin Dorji and Sangay Dema transcribed the Mönpa speech into the Joyik script and subsequently into the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), made the Dzongkha translations, the draft translations into English, and the initial parsed and glossed interlinear text. Tenzin Dorji and Tim Bodt refined the transcriptions and translations, further analysed the texts, and wrote this grammatical sketch. Doubts were clarified again with Sangay Dema and her parents.

We acknowledge two limitations to the present study. Our amount of analysed data was relatively limited, mainly consisting of direct elicitation of sample words and sentences from Dzongkha and Khengkha to Mönpa. We collected and analysed only a few examples of natural speech, including the short narrative presented in the Appendix. Moreover, the initial transcription of Mönpa was in the Joyik script, according to a relatively ad-hoc orthography that does not adequately represent the speech sounds of Mönpa. While we took great care to convert this Joyik orthography to the IPA, cross-checking any doubts that we had, we realise that any subsequent transcription should be in the IPA or a modified Roman or Joyik orthography that is specifically designed or adapted for Mönpa. Because of these two limitations, we are aware that the current study presents only a synoptic overview of some major grammatical features of the language. Future studies based on more data, more accurate transcriptions and more in-depth analysis will undoubtedly reveal further details, and refine the analysis we are making here.

2 Phonology and orthography

Reflecting the educational and professional background of the first author, this article is primarily based on data that were transcribed using the Joyik script. The Joyik orthography that this author uses for Mönpa has been heavily influenced by the sound system and spelling of Tibetan and Dzongkha. Some phonetic features of Mönpa can be correctly represented using the Joyik orthography, such as the high register tone onset. But without considerable orthographic innovations, other features, such as the glottal stop /ʔ/, breathy or murmured nasal onsets /nʰ, ŋʰ, mʰ/, and possibly distinctive vowel such as the open-mid front unrounded vowel /ɛ/ and the schwa /ə/, are more difficult to accommodate. We acknowledge this shortcoming in our analysis and will come up with a more detailed phonetic and phonological description of Mönpa in the near future. However, for the purpose of the present paper, which aims to present a first synoptic overview of some grammatical features of the language, we understand Mönpa to have the following consonants and vowels.

Mönpa has velar stops /k, kʰ, g/, dental stops /t, tʰ, d/, bilabial stops /p, pʰ, b/, nasal stops /ŋ, n, m, ɲ/, glottal stop /ʔ/, dental affricates /ts, tsʰ/, approximants /w, r, l, j/, dental fricatives /s, z/, glottal fricative /h/, and palatal fricatives /ç, ʒ/. The palatal affricates /tɕ, tɕʰ, dʒ/ appear to occur in Mönpa exclusively in naturalized loans. Whereas all the consonants can occur in onset position, only the consonants /k, t, p, ŋ, n, m/ have been attested in coda position as well. Like other languages of Bhutan, Mönpa distinguishes level nasal and approximant onsets /ŋ, n, m, ɲ, w, j, l/ and their high register tone counterparts, which, in keeping with Tshering and van Driem's romanization of this feature in Dzongkha (Tshering and van Driem 2019), are indicated with an apostrophe /', i.e., /'ŋ, 'n, 'm, 'ɲ, 'w, 'j, 'l/. Examples for each of these onsets are 'ŋɔm 'to feel proud' vs. ŋɔm 'to feel satisfied'; 'naŋ 'forest' vs. naŋ 'and'; 'miŋ 'to become drunk' vs. miŋ 'name'; 'ɲi 'seven' vs. ɲi 'fish'; 'wi 'to pour' vs. wi 'to buy'; 'jɔŋpɔ 'smart, intelligent' vs. jɔŋpɔ 'unmarried'; 'lɔm 'to hide' vs. lɔm 'to be sold out'.

The status of the glottal stop as a distinctive phoneme in our dataset is unclear. Whereas we do find a glottal constriction in forms such as hɔma [hɔʔma~hoʔma] 3SM and hiɔŋ [hiʔɔŋ~hiʔɔŋ] 3PANA, we feel that the distinctiveness in these cases is because of a short, glottal constricted syllable-final vowel /ɔ/ [ɔʔ] and the glottal constriction of the vocal onset /ɔ/ [ʔɔ]. The high register tone onsets, the alternation between syllables with long and short vowels, and perhaps even the occurrence of murmured onsets, glottal stops and the schwa (which we have not transcribed here) may partially explain the distinctive and highly characteristic melodious 'singing' tune for which the Mönpa language is known.

We found evidence for a few onset clusters in the present data, namely, /pr, pʰr, kʰr, kl/, for example, *prɔ* ‘macaque’, *pʰre* ‘write’, *kʰrit* ‘take along’, and *kley* ‘hit, beat’. We presume that additional rhotic onsets clusters /br, kr, gr, kʰl, gl/ exist as well.

From the present dataset, Mönpa appears to have a rich vocalism. Possible distinctive vowels are /a, a:, e, e:, ε, ε:, i, i:, y, y:, o, o:, ɔ, ɔ:, ø, ø:, ʌ, ʌ:, u, u:/, and the inherently short, central, unrounded vowel /ə/. Although allophony has to be examined in more detail, possible examples of the distinctiveness of vowels are -*ga* ‘3fut’, -*ga:* ‘1.NPST; adh’, *ge:ma* ‘who’, -*ge* ‘gen’, -*ge* n1 ⇒ n1.PST.q, -*gi* ‘2/3.NPST’, *gi:* ‘rain’, *dɔgo:* ‘nine’, *gɔ:ba* ‘when’, *gr* ‘wheat’, *gr:* ‘cry’, *guluj* ‘hair’, *gu:* ‘hear’, *gə* ‘like, love’, *gy* ‘walk, go’, *gø* ‘need’. Distinctiveness of long and short rounded vowels can be found in, for example, *dzo:ma* ‘summer’ vs. *dzoma* ‘stomach’. There appears to be a relatively high degree of variation in the individual speakers’ realization of vowels, even within the same variety. The schwa /ə/ sometimes occurs as the short variant of vowel /a/ in both open and closed syllables and the vowel /ɔ/ appears to be a short variant of the vowel /a/ in borrowed lexemes. But we also found some evidence of the schwa as distinctive phoneme, as well as evidence of a vowel length distinction in vowel /a/, for example, ‘*man*’ ‘lose’ vs. ‘*ma:n*’ ‘medicine’. Other vowel length distinctions are *mi* ‘person’ vs. *mi:* ‘house’. In syllable-initial position, Mönpa also has a back vowel (alternatively /o/ or /u/, depending on the speaker) with breathy phonation and low register onset which could be represented as [ʰio ~ ʰiu] or [ʰo ~ ʰu] in lexemes such as *ʰio:m* ‘bear’, *ʰokeala* ‘langur’, and *ʰio* ‘to ask’ (contrasting with *ho* ‘to wash’). However, because of the earlier mentioned transcription of the data in the Joyik orthography, vowel distinctions have not been properly recorded, and this warrants a more in-depth analysis and revision of the data.

3 Basic sentence structure

Like most other languages of Bhutan such as Dzongkha, Mönpa has a basic Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) word order, as the example (1) shows. The subject and (direct and indirect) object precede the predicate.

- (1) *kalasi: jigu pʰrega:*
 kala-si: jigu pʰre-ga:
 1s-ERG letter write-1s.PST
 ‘I wrote a letter.’

Notwithstanding this basic SOV pattern, like in many languages of Bhutan, the basic sentence structure in Mönpa is relatively flexible. For example, in (2), the alternative structure SVO does not impact the understanding of the sentence, because the agent is still marked with the ergative marker.

- (2) *iṅsi: tuŋ hima*
 iṅ-si: tuŋ- Ø1 hima
 2s-ERG see-N1 ⇒ N1.PST 3SM.ANA
 ‘You saw him.’

4 Case marking

Mönpa has seven cases: the unmarked absolutive, the ergative -*si:*, the dative -*na:* ~ -*ṅa:*, the ablative -*naŋ*, the genitive -*ge* ~ -*ke*, the locative -*wa:*, and the comparative -*wək*.

4.1. The absolutive

The subject of an intransitive verb is unmarked, i.e., in the absolutive case, as illustrated in examples (3) and (4).

- (3) *ke jigu pʰrekʰe:ṅa:*
 ke jigu pʰre-kʰe:-ṅa:
 1s letter write-PROG.S -1s.NPST
 ‘I am writing a letter.’

- (4) *hima ka:wa:ŋa: daŋma kek^hε:nək*
hima ka:wa:-ŋa: daŋma ke-k^hε:-nək
 3SM.ANA post-DAT1 beam put-PROG.S-3PRS
 'He is putting a beam on (lit. 'to') the post.'

4.2. The ergative -si: erg

The subject of a transitive verb is commonly marked with the ergative marker *-si:*, while an animate object of a transitive verb is commonly marked with the dative marker *-ŋa:*, as the example (5) shows. The first person singular pronoun *kala* is a suppletive form of the first person singular pronoun *ke*, only occurring when the pronoun is modified by the ergative or genitive marker.

- (5) *kalasi: himaŋa: ɛɛŋga:*
kala-si: hima-ŋa: ɛɛŋ-ga:
 1S-ERG 3SM.ANA-DAT1 tell-1S.PST
 'I told him.'

Inanimate objects and indirect objects of transitive verbs are generally unmarked, as the examples (6) and (7) show.

- (6) *kalasi: tɛa:la: wiga:*
kala-si: tɛa:la: wi-ga:
 1S-ERG thing buy-1S.PST
 'I bought things.'
- (7) *ɔgasi: mi: tɛo*
ɔga-si: mi: tɛo-∅1
 uncle-ERG house build-N1 ⇒ N1.PST
 'Uncle built a house.'

Mönpa does not differentiate between inanimate and animate or human agents. In other words, an inanimate agent of an action is also marked with the ergative marker *-si:*, as is illustrated in examples (8) and (9).²

- (8) *hɔɔŋ t^hɔkpasi: dadamnak*
hɔɔŋ t^hɔkpa-si: da-dam-nak-∅1
 these rope-ERG tie1-tie-N1.NS-N1 ⇒ N1.PST
 'These were tied by rope (lit. 'the rope tied these.')
- (9) *tɛø ŋɛkpasi: dzøma naga:*
tɛø ŋɛkpa-si: dzøma na-{ga:}
 water cold-ERG stomach pain-{1S.PST}
 'Cold water gave me a stomach ache.' (lit. 'The cold water pained [my] stomach.')

The instrument of an action is also marked by the ergative marker *-si:*, as the example (10) shows.

- (10) *ke tɔrisi: sɛŋ ek^hε:ŋa:*
ke tɔri-si: sɛŋ e-k^hε:-ŋa:
 1S axe-ERG wood chop-PROG.S-1S.NPST
 'I am chopping the log with an axe.'

² Curly brackets indicate a morpheme with undetermined meaning, or an unexpected occurrence of the morpheme.

4.3. The dative *-na:* DAT ~ *-ŋa:* DAT1

The dative case marker *-na:* DAT is used to mark the recipient of the action. The dative case marker *-na:* has an allomorph *-ŋa:* DAT1 which occurs after vowels and the velar nasal *-ŋ*. Examples are presented in (11) and (12)³.

- (11) *gympo nekts^hatsi: himetna: gympo jynək^hnak*
gympo nekts^hat-si: himet-na: gympo jy-nək-nak
 friend all-ERG 3SF.ANA-DAT friend do-3PRS-N1.NS
 'All the friends support her (lit. 'all the friends do friend to her').'

- (12) *hōmasi: keŋa pete^ha 'matwanək*
hōma-si: ke-ŋa: pete^ha 'mat-wa-nək
 3SM-ERG 1S-DAT1 text teach-N1 ⇒ 1.PST-3PRS
 'He teaches the text to me.'

In possessive constructions with an existential copula, the modified noun is also marked in the dative, as example (13) shows.

- (13) *kalage pε:ŋa: gulun nek*
kala-ge pε:-ŋa: gulun nek
 1S-GEN head-DAT1 hair COP.EX
 'I have hair on my head (lit. 'to my head there is hair').'

In the expression of time and date, Mönpa also uses the dative case marker, as in example (14).

- (14) *ke ts^həipo tε^holəŋəŋa: karmi p^hyŋa:mde*
ke ts^həipo tε^holəŋə-ŋa: karmi p^hy-ŋa:-m=de
 1S date fifteen-DAT1 butter.lamp offer-1S.NPST-FUT=COP.EQ
 'I will be offering a butter lamp on 15th day of Lunar Calendar.'

4.4. The ablative *-naŋ* ABL

The Mönpa ablative marker *-naŋ* indicates a starting point, like English 'from', Dzongkha *le* or *ne*. As such, the ablative marker can be used to indicate the spatial or temporal point of origin of a movement or action. The ablative marker *-naŋ* is formally the same as the coordinating conjunction *naŋ* 'and' (9.6).

A noun marked by the ablative *-naŋ* forms a spatial starting point, as is shown in examples (15), (16) and (17).

- (15) *hōŋsarnan bumdəŋwa dep^hat*
hōŋsar-naŋ bumdəŋ-wa dep^hat
 Trongsa-ABL Bumthang-LOC until
 'From Trongsa to Bumthang.'
- (16) *dzamdzi nuŋnan dzø zək^hε:nək*
dzamdzi nuŋ-naŋ dzø zək-k^hε:-nək
 kettle in-ABL tea leak-PROG.S-3PRS
 'Tea is leaking from (inside) the kettle.'

³ *wa* is possibly an inverse marker.

- (17) *teilanay petp^ha he:k^hε:nək*
 teila-nay petp^ha he:-k^hε:-nək
 dog-ABL fur shed-PROG.S-3PRS
 'The dog is shedding its fur. (lit. 'fur is shedding from the dog'))'

The ablative *-nay* can also indicate a temporal starting point, such as in the examples (18) and (19).

- (18) *pe:nay siawa: dep^hat*
 pe:-nay sia-wa: dep^hat
 beginning-ABL end-LOC until
 'From beginning (lit. 'top') to end.'

- (19) *'ηadanay dorewa: dep^hat*
 'ηada-nay dore-wa: dep^hat
 past-ABL now-LOC until
 'From the past to the present.'

- (20) *anakge nuηnay hɔma dək*
 anak-ge nuη-nay hɔma dək
 1PE-GEN in-ABL 3SM better
 'He is the best among us.'

A numeral marked by the ablative forms the starting point in enumeration, as in (21).

- (21) *teknay tɛ^hewa: dep^hat*
 tek-nay tɛ^he-wa: dep^hat
 one-ABL ten-LOC until
 'From one to ten.'

4.5. The genitive *-ge* GEN ~ *-ke* GEN1

The Mönpa genitive marker is *-ge* and indicates a possessive relationship. The allomorph *-ke* modifies roots with dental coda /t/, for example, *bomet-ke* 'girl-GEN1', whereas the allomorph *-ge* is found following all other coda, for example, *tək-ge* 'tiger-gen', *kolom-ge* 'door-GEN', *kala-ge* '1s-gen'. Examples of the genitive are presented in (22), (23), (24) and (25).

- (22) *hima kalage ɔpa dɛ*
 hima kala-ge ɔpa dɛ
 3SM.ANA 1S-GEN father COP.EQ
 'He is my father.'

- (23) *hɔma təkge pəkpa dɛtɛk*
 hɔma tək-ge pəkpa dɛ=tɛk
 this tiger-GEN skin COP.EQ=COP.EQ.AK
 'This is a tiger's skin.'

- (24) *hɔma bɔmɛtke ɔsa mintɛk*
hɔma bɔmɛt-ke ɔsa min=tɛk
 this daughter-GEN1 cloth NEG.COP.EQ=COP.EQ.AK
 'This is not the daughter's cloth.'

- (25) *hɔma kalage zɔmɛtke tɛa:la: dɛtɛk*
hɔma kala-ge zɔmɛt-ke tɛa:la: dɛ=tɛk
 this 1S-GEN sister-GEN1 thing COP.EQ=COP.EQ.AK
 'This is my sister's item.'

4.6. The locative *-wa* LOC

The locative *-wa* indicates a static location, as the examples (26) and (27) show.

- (26) *ke dɔm nuŋwa: tɛaŋ lykkʰɛ:ŋa:*
ke dɔm nuŋ-wa: tɛaŋ lyk-kʰɛ:-ŋa:
 1S box in-LOC rice pour-PROG.S-1S.NPST
 'I am putting the rice into the box.'

- (27) *anak bumdɔŋwa gywa*
anak bumdɔŋ-wa gy-wa
 1PE Bumthang-LOC go-1NS
 'We went to Bumthang.'

4.7. The comparative *-wɔk* COMP

The suffix *-wɔk* is used to mark the starting point of a comparison between two equivalent parts of speech, such as two nouns in (28) or two demonstratives in (29).

- (28) *tiruwɔk petɛʰa dɔk*
tiru-wɔk petɛʰa dɔk
 money-COM text better
 'Education is better than money.'

- (29) *tɔwɔk hɔwa: tɛattɛk*
tɔ-wɔk hɔ-wa: tɛat=tɛk
 there-COM here-LOC happy=COP.EQ.AK
 'It is better here than there.'

5 Parts of speech

In this section, we succinctly introduce the major parts of speech in Mönpa: the nouns, the pronouns, the adjectives, the adverbs, the numerals, and the verbs.

5.1. Nouns

This section presents examples of basic Mönpa nouns, representing, for example, bodyparts, kinship terms, animals, crops, household items, the natural environment, and time concepts.

<i>pɛ:</i>	head	<i>ɔga</i>	uncle (father's brother)	<i>bɔŋku</i>	donkey
<i>pɛ:tɔŋ</i>	forehead	<i>ɔɛuk</i>	uncle (mother's brother)	<i>'le'le</i>	goat
<i>guluŋ</i>	hair	<i>aŋi</i>	aunt	<i>pɔk</i>	pig
<i>mɛk</i>	eye	<i>amɛuk</i>	stepmother	<i>prɔ</i>	macaque
<i>mɛkpili</i>	tear	<i>bo:sʰa</i>	son	<i>hokeala</i>	langur
<i>'napʰɔŋ</i>	nose	<i>bo:mɛt</i>	daughter	<i>siŋge:</i>	lion
<i>'ɣatan</i>	ear	<i>tsʰakʰa</i>	nephew	<i>tɔk</i>	tiger
<i>ɛa:ba</i>	mouth	<i>tsʰamɛt</i>	niece	<i>zɛk</i>	leopard
<i>tɛʰimili</i>	lip	<i>do:mɛt</i>	granddaughter	<i>kaɛala</i>	barking deer
<i>'li</i>	tongue	<i>mɔ:ga</i>	groom	<i>hɔm</i>	bear
<i>'wa</i>	tooth	<i>nɔma</i>	bride	<i>kʰari</i>	cock
<i>dza:wa:</i>	moustache	<i>ɔsa</i>	cloth	<i>zɔma</i>	hen
<i>tɔkpa</i>	nape	<i>ɛam</i>	shoes	<i>ɲi</i>	fish
<i>'naŋpa</i>	throat	<i>mi</i>	person	<i>bibɔŋka</i>	frog
<i>'jɛt</i>	face	<i>mi:</i>	house	<i>tɔri</i>	axe
<i>dumɔŋ</i>	goitre	<i>ko:lɔm</i>	door	<i>kɔktse</i>	hoe
<i>pɔŋba</i>	shoulder	<i>tekala</i>	ladder	<i>patan</i>	knife
<i>lɔk</i>	hand	<i>tɔptɛʰa</i>	food	<i>tʰabuk</i>	earth
<i>tɛuba</i>	finger	<i>tobɔk</i>	curry	<i>tɛø</i>	water
<i>simpa</i>	nail	<i>sɛ</i>	alcohol	<i>amik</i>	fire
<i>heŋkatɔk</i>	chest	<i>dzu</i>	milk	<i>'lɔ:ŋ</i>	wind
<i>dzu</i>	breast	<i>bɛŋgala</i>	chili	<i>num</i>	sky
<i>dzɛp</i>	back	<i>tɛi</i>	potato	<i>nemla</i>	day
<i>sɔ</i>	waist	<i>lɔpʰola</i>	radish	<i>dzɔk</i>	night
<i>dzɔma</i>	belly, stomach	<i>kɔkpa</i>	garlic	<i>tɛʰutsʰot</i>	time
<i>'nɛŋ</i>	heart	<i>kɔkpila</i>	bean	<i>dɔre</i>	now
<i>tumpali</i>	navel	<i>tɛɔla</i>	banana	<i>da:sam</i>	today
<i>'laŋma</i>	buttock	<i>ɛakila</i>	mango	<i>ta:wa</i>	yesterday
<i>tɛɔk</i>	stool	<i>tʰalɛm</i>	pomegranate	<i>sa:nan</i>	tomorrow
<i>pymɔŋ</i>	knee	<i>'ɲo:ŋan</i>	cucumber	<i>'ɲada</i>	before
<i>tegeŋ</i>	leg	<i>zɔma</i>	unhulled rice	<i>patin</i>	behind/after
<i>pɛpʰa</i>	fur	<i>gu</i>	wheat	<i>dzɔ:ma</i>	summer
<i>ɔpa</i>	father	<i>'nakpʰa</i>	barley	<i>gynma</i>	winter, autumn
<i>ɔma</i>	mother	<i>dɔmba</i>	maize	<i>pʰɛa</i>	spring
<i>tana</i>	grandfather	<i>zimpala</i>	cat	<i>deniŋ</i>	this year
<i>apɛŋ</i>	grandmother	<i>tɛila</i>	dog	<i>dɔŋ</i>	last year
<i>ɔɛa</i>	elder brother	<i>boga</i>	bull	<i>deniŋba</i>	before last year
<i>ale:</i>	elder sister	<i>no</i>	cow	<i>'nanta</i>	next year
<i>zɔ:gɔ</i>	younger brother	<i>buila</i>	calf		
<i>zɔmɛt</i>	younger sister	<i>tɔ</i>	horse		

In Mönpa, nouns commonly follow the pronoun and precede the verbal or copular predicate, as exemplified by (30). All the attested case markers can modify nouns, and nouns can also be modified by numerals (31) and adjectives (32).

- (30) *himage* *pɛ:wa:* *guluŋ* *nɛktek*
hima-ge *pɛ:-wa:* *guluŋ* *nɛk=tɛk*
3SM.ANA-GEN head-LOC hair COP.EX=COP.EQ.AK
'He has hair on his head.'

- (31) *keŋa:* *mɛk* *ni* *nɛkeŋa:*
ke-ŋa: *mɛk* *ni* *nɛk-ŋa:*
1S-DAT1 eye two COP.EX-1S.NPST
'I have two eyes.'

- (32) *kəkpa tɛaŋkʰala nektek*
kəkpa tɛaŋkʰala nek=tɛk
 garlic green COP.EX=COP.EQ.AK
 'The garlic is green.'

Nouns that indicate time (or time adverbs) are most commonly the first syntactic element in a phrase or sentence, such as in (33).

- (33) *zəkpa teila hekkʰɛ:nək*
zəkpa teila hek-kʰɛ:-nək
 morning dog bark-PROG.S-3PRS
 'A dog is barking in the morning.'

- (34) *anaksi: pʰugunaŋŋa tɔpteʰa bewa*
anak-si: pʰugu-naŋ-ŋa tɔpteʰa be-wa
 1PE-ERG child-P-DAT1 food give1-1NS
 'We gave the children food.'

5.2. Personal pronouns

Mönpa makes a distinction between first, second and third person singular, dual and plural. Moreover, Mönpa makes a distinction between first person plural inclusive *ɔŋdat/ɔŋ* 'we (including addressee)' and exclusive *anak* 'we (excluding addressee)' and between first person dual inclusive *ɔŋdatni* 'the two of us (including addressee)' and exclusive *ani* 'the two of us (excluding addressee)'. We hypothesize that originally, Mönpa did not have a specific third person pronoun. Instead, the proximal demonstrative root *hɔ* 'this' also functioned to indicate third person singular subjects, with as anaphoric variant *hi*, the plural formed with the marker *-ɔŋ*, i.e., *hɔɔŋ* and *hiɔŋ*, and the dual formed with the additional dual suffix *-ni*, i.e., *hɔɔŋni* and *hiɔŋni*. The male and female third person singular pronouns are later formations with the additional morphemic material *-ma* for male and *-met* for female, resulting in *hɔma* and *hɔmet* as the regular third person singular male and female pronouns, and *hima* and *himet* as the third person singular male and female anaphoric pronouns.

person/ number	S		D		P	
			INC	EXC	INC	EXC
1st	<i>ke</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>ɔŋdatni</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>ɔŋ/ɔŋdat</i>	<i>anak</i>
2nd		<i>iŋ/iŋdat</i>	<i>iŋni/iŋdatni</i>		<i>iŋnak</i>	
3rd		<i>ana</i>	<i>ana</i>		<i>ana</i>	
M	<i>hɔma</i>	<i>hima</i>	<i>hɔɔŋni</i>	<i>hiɔŋni</i>	<i>hɔɔŋ</i>	<i>hiɔŋ</i>
F	<i>hɔmet</i>	<i>himet</i>				

Table 2 – Mönpa personal pronouns

While *ke* is the regular, unmarked form of the first person singular pronoun, when modified by the ergative case marker *-si* or the genitive case marker *-ge*, the first person singular pronoun has the form *kala*, as is shown in examples (35) and (36).

- (35) *kalasi: ɔsa tek wiga:*
kala-si: ɔsa tek wi-ga:
 1S-ERG cloth one buy-1S.PST
 'I bought a cloth.'

- (36) *kalage miŋ tenzan deŋa:*
 kala-ge miŋ tenzan de-ŋa:
 1S-GEN name Tenzin COP.EQ-1S.NPST
 'My name is Tenzin.'

The suppletive first person singular pronoun *kala* also occurs in the reflexive pronoun, although here what we presume to be the reflexive marker *-det* is infixed in the pronoun *kala* to form the first person singular reflexive pronoun *kadetla*, as the example (37) shows.

- (37) *kalasi: kadetla meloŋŋa: tuŋlaga:*
 kala-si: kadetla meloŋ-ŋa: tuŋ-la-ga:
 1S-ERG myself mirror-DAT1 see-REFL-1S.PST
 'I saw myself in (lit. 'to') the mirror.'

The first person plural inclusive pronoun refers to the 'we' including the addressee, whereas the first person plural exclusive pronoun excludes the addressee from the 'we', as in the examples (38) and (39).

- (38) *anak taktsewa: bōngk^howade*
 anak taktse-wa: bōng-k^ho-wa=de
 1PE Taktse-LOC stay-PROG.P-1NS=COP.EQ
 'We (excluding addressee) are staying at Taktse.'

- (39) *oŋ zək^haŋ tekwa: bōŋwa*
 oŋ zək^haŋ tek-wa: bōŋ-wa
 1pi hotel one-LOC stay-1NS
 'We (including addressee) stayed in a hotel.'

The anaphoric third person pronouns refer to third person agents that are not present at the moment of speaking, or that refer to a third person speech act participant that was mentioned at an earlier instance in the discourse. Examples for the third person plural pronoun can be found in (40) and (41). The Mönpa use of anaphoric pronouns is comparable to Khengkha, where *gon* is the regular third person singular pronoun while *khit* is the anaphoric third person singular pronoun, and where *gweh* is the regular third person plural pronoun and *bot* is the anaphoric third person plural pronoun (Dorji 2022: 75).

- (40) *hōwō parowa: tē^hōŋk^honakkija:*
 hōwō paro-wa: tē^hōŋ-k^ho-nak-ki=ja:
 3P Paro-LOC go2-PROG.P-N1.NS-2/3.NPST1=Q1
 'Are they going to Paro (when 'they' are present at the moment of speaking)?'

- (41) *hiōŋ hoŋsarwa: bōŋnak*
 hiōŋ hoŋsar-wa: bōŋ-nak-Ø3
 3PL.ANA Trongsa-LOC stay-N1.NS-N1D/P.PST
 'They stayed in Trongsa (when 'they' not present at the moment of speaking).'

5.3. Demonstratives

Mönpa has a proximal demonstrative root *hō* and a distal demonstrative root *de*. The singular is indicated with the suffix *-ma*, while the plural is indicated with the suffix *-oŋ*. As a demonstrative, *hōma* refers to proximal 'this', while as a pronoun, it denotes the third person singular male. Similarly, as a demonstrative *hōwō* refers to plural proximal 'these', whereas as a pronoun, it denotes the third person plural pronoun. The distal demonstratives are singular

dema ‘that’ and plural *deɲ* ‘those’. The basic Mönpa spatial demonstratives are *hɔ* ‘here’ and *tɔ* ‘there’. Examples of the demonstratives are provided in the next section, 5.4.

5.4. Interrogative pronouns

Mönpa has seven basic interrogative pronouns. *adetda/adet* ‘what’ and *adetna* ‘why’ are composed of a question word *a-* with the copula *de*. The other interrogatives are, like most Bodish languages, composed of the question word *gə-ge-gɔ*: (*ga* in Dzongkha and Tibetan) and additional morphemic material, such as the question marker *=ma* for *ge:ma* ‘who’ (cf. Dzongkha *ga mo?* ‘who is it?’), the genitive marker *-ge* for *gɔ:ge* ‘where’, and the copula *-de* for *gɔ:de* ‘how’. The interrogative *gɔ:tsʰɔt* ‘how much’ is identical to Tibetan *ga-tshod* and may be a loan. The Mönpa interrogative ‘where’ is *gɔ:ba*.

Examples of demonstratives and interrogative pronouns use are presented in (42), (175), (43), (44), (45), (46) and (47).

- (42) *hɔɲ adetsi: kʰerlibɛbo*
hɔɲ adet-si: kʰer-li-bɛ=bo
 these what-ERG make-SUB-DEF=Q2
 ‘What are these made of?’

- (43) *hɔmet ge:masi: zɔndi*
hɔmet ge:ma-si: zɔn{-di}
 3SF.ANA who-ERG send-{2/3.NPST3}
 ‘Who sent her?’

- (44) *hɔma gɔ:gewa: tɛʰɔŋkʰɛ:gibo*
hɔma gɔ:ge-wa: tɛʰɔŋ-kʰɛ:-gi=bo
 3SM where-LOC go2-PROG.S-2/3.NPST=Q2
 ‘Where is he going?’

- (45) *iŋ tɔ gɔ:ba ji:gimbo*
iŋ tɔ gɔ:ba ji:-gi-m=bo
 2s there when go1-2/3.NPST-FUT=Q2
 ‘When will you go there?’

- (46) *himasi: ke hɔwa: nɛkkɔ gɔ:de sisi*
hima-si: ke hɔ-wa: nɛk-kɔ⁴ gɔ:de si-si-∅1
 3SM.ANA-ERG 1s here-LOC COP.EX-that how know-know-N1 ⇒ N1.PST
 ‘How did he know that I am here?’

- (47) *iŋŋa: tiru gɔ:tsʰɔt nɛk*
iŋ-ŋa: tiru gɔ:tsʰɔt nɛk
 2S-DAT1 money how.much COP.EX
 ‘How much money do you have?’

5.5. Adjectives

Mönpa has adjectives that express certain qualities and attributes, including colour terms. Some examples are provided below. The morpheme *-la* is ubiquitous in Mönpa adjectives, as it also is in Khengkha adjectives.

Indeed, many of the Mönpa and Khengkha adjectives are so similar, that we may presume an early Mönpa substrate to Khengkha, or later borrowing from Khengkha into Mönpa.

Mönpa	gloss
<i>sɔːpa</i>	new
<i>mɛnpa</i>	old
<i>dzarima</i>	beautiful
<i>malekkʰali</i>	ugly, bad
<i>ɲekpa/ɲekpala</i>	cold
<i>preɲkala</i>	thin
<i>bɔmbola</i>	big
<i>katɛɛn ~ katɛɛnla</i>	good
<i>pʰatala</i>	suitable
<i>tɛittəla</i>	small
<i>heɲketla</i>	tall/long
<i>tantala</i>	short
<i>wambet</i>	warm
<i>kəkɛɔːla ~ kɔːkəla</i>	red
<i>ʼnuntila ~ ʼɲuntila</i>	blue
<i>teaykʰala</i>	green
<i>kətɛitla</i>	white
<i>sɔtola ~ sɔtəla</i>	yellow
<i>ʼnaktinla</i>	black
<i>liwan</i>	orange

Mönpa adjectives generally follow the noun they modify, as is shown in examples (48) and (49).

- (48) *kalasi: ɔsa sɔːpa tɛk wiga:*
kala-si: ɔsa sɔːpa tɛk wi-ga:
 1S-ERG cloth new one buy-1S.PST
 'I bought a new cloth.'

- (49) *bomet dzarima ni likninak*
bomet dzarima ni lik-ni-nak
 girl beautiful two come.NS-2/3D-N1.NS
 'Two beautiful girls are coming.'

Like a verb, a Mönpa adjective can be made negative with the negative prefix *ma-*, for example in *ma-lekkʰali* 'bad, ugly', lit. 'NEG-nice' (cf. Tibetan *legs-po* 'good, nice'), and *ma-pʰatala* 'unsuitable', lit. 'NEG-suitable' in (50).

- (50) *la: mapʰatala hɔma pekkʰewa*
la: ma-pʰatala hɔma pek-kʰe-wa
 work NEG-suitable this leave-OBL-1NS
 'We should be leaving out the work that is not suitable.'

5.6. Numerals

Like most indigenous languages of Bhutan, Mönpa has a basic vigesimal numeral system. Mönpa has unique numerals one to ten. Numerals beyond ten simply have the shape ten plus the numerals one to nine. The numeral *kʰei* 'twenty' is the basic unit of counting beyond twenty, with the ablative *-nan* indicating the starting point, and

every subsequent decimal number expressed as multiple of twenty. Above 20, Mönpa speakers are rapidly replacing the indigenous numerals with a decimal system borrowed from Tibetan which has largely replaced the vigesimal system in Dzongkha and other languages of Bhutan as well.

<i>tek</i>	one	<i>tɛ^hasam</i>	13	<i>k^heisam naŋ tɛ^hatek</i>	71
<i>ni</i>	two	<i>k^heitek</i>	20	<i>k^heible</i>	80
<i>sam</i>	three	<i>k^hitek naŋ tek</i>	21	<i>k^heible naŋ tek</i>	81
<i>ble</i>	four	<i>k^hitek naŋ tɛ^he</i>	30	<i>k^heible naŋ tɛ^he</i>	90
<i>lɔŋɔ</i>	five	<i>k^hitek naŋ tɛ^hatek</i>	31	<i>k^heible naŋ tɛ^hatek</i>	91
<i>wɔk</i>	six	<i>k^heni</i>	40	<i>k^heilɔŋɔ</i>	100
<i>'ni</i>	seven	<i>k^heine naŋ tek</i>	41	<i>k^heitɛ^he</i>	200
<i>dzat</i>	eight	<i>k^heine naŋ tɛ^he</i>	50	<i>k^heitɛ^helɔŋɔ</i>	300
<i>dogo</i>	nine	<i>k^heine naŋ tɛ^hatek</i>	51	<i>ɲicutek</i>	400
<i>tɛ^he</i>	ten	<i>k^heisam</i>	60	<i>ɲicutek naŋ tsatek</i>	500
<i>tɛ^hatek</i>	11	<i>k^heisam naŋ tek</i>	61		
<i>tɛ^hani</i>	12	<i>k^heisam naŋ tɛ^he</i>	70		

Numerals generally follow the noun they modify, as is shown in examples (51), (52), (53) and (54).

- (51) *kalasi: tɔ 'ni 'myga:*
kala-si: tɔ 'ni 'my-ga:
 1S-ERG horse seven sell-1S.PST
 'I sold seven horses.'
- (52) *prɔ lɔŋɔ tuŋŋa:m*
prɔ lɔŋɔ tuŋ-ŋa:-m
 monkey five chase-1S.NPST-FUT
 'I will chase five monkeys.'
- (53) *ke 'le'le k^hitek dyk^hɛ:ŋa:*
ke 'le'le k^hitek dy-k^hɛ:-ŋa:
 1s goat twenty herd-PROG.S-1S.NPST
 'I am herding twenty goats.'
- (54) *no tɛ^he likna*
no tɛ^he lik-{na}
 cow ten come.NS-{1S ⇒ 3S.PRS}
 'Ten cows are coming.'

5.7. Adverbs

Mönpa adverbs of manner are often morphologically complex forms that are partially analysable and often have borrowed materials, indicating that these adverbs may not belong to the inherited lexicon of the language. For example, the adverbs *tɛ^happ^hatrɔŋ* 'always' and *dzɔkparɔŋ* 'quickly' have an emphatic morpheme =*rɔŋ* (see section 11.3) and cognates in, for example, Dzongkha *mgvogs-ba-rang* 'fast, quickly'. While the origin of the morpheme *-k^hat* in adverbs such as *lektɔkk^hat* 'nicely', *gɔtɔkk^hat* 'happily' and *tsɔŋtɔkk^hat* 'neatly' is unknown, the basic forms have cognates in the Dzongkha adjectives *legs-tog-to* 'pretty', *dgah-tog-to* 'happy' and *gtsang-tog-to* 'clean, neat'. The adverbs *rep^hattekŋa* 'instantly' and *dɔraptetekŋa* 'suddenly' include the numeral *tek* 'one' and the locative marker *-ŋa*, with *rap* probably cognate with Dzongkha *rabs* 'times'. A less transparent adverb is *zɛppejusɔ* 'slowly', but the adverb *kateenjusa* 'properly', derived from the adjective *kateen* 'good', indicates that *-jusa* is an adverbial marker.

The Mönpa adverb syntactically directly precedes the verbal predicate that it modifies, as shown in the example (55).

- (55) *hōma tō gōtokk^hat bōŋk^hε:nōk*
hōma tō gōtokk^hat bōŋ-k^hε:-nōk
 3SM there happily stay-PROG.S-3PRS
 'He is living happily there.'

6 Verbs and the verbal complex

Most verbs in Mönpa are monomorphemic. The verbal predicate syntactically occurs at the end of a phrase or sentence. Some examples of verb roots are presented below.⁵

<i>le</i>	come	<i>'nap</i>	wait	<i>ku</i>	dig
<i>ji</i>	go	<i>se</i>	die	<i>sit</i>	kill
<i>ho</i>	wash	<i>zan</i>	listen	<i>luyk</i>	pour
<i>'jo</i>	cook	<i>wεŋ</i>	exchange	<i>'man</i>	lose
<i>am</i>	tie	<i>tap</i>	cut	<i>'jap</i>	scoop
<i>gy</i>	go	<i>kim</i>	cross	<i>wōt</i>	blow
<i>bōŋ</i>	stay	<i>dzi</i>	win	<i>kεk</i>	open
<i>gu</i>	hear	<i>dεk</i>	afraid	<i>'nōk</i>	meet
<i>pø</i>	sleep	<i>'juŋ</i>	hang	<i>p^hre</i>	write
<i>wi</i>	buy	<i>i</i>	think	<i>ba</i>	give
<i>hep</i>	break	<i>tap</i>	fight	<i>dzuk</i>	apply
<i>tεek</i>	bind	<i>tōŋ</i>	drink		

In sections 6.2 and 6.3 we present the Mönpa intransitive and transitive verbal agreement paradigms as we have been able to describe thus far. Unmarked Mönpa verbs may already encode agent, patient, and tense, as is shown in section 6.4. In section 6.5 we describe the Mönpa person markers, while in section 6.6 we describe the Mönpa verbal markers that encode both person and tense. Additionally, Mönpa marks the progressive aspect (6.7), a past participle (6.8), a subordinator (6.9), a reflexive (6.10), and several moods (6.11). We discuss the Mönpa serial verb constructions (6.12) and the stem extender (6.13), as well as verb stem reduplication (6.14) and verb stem alternation (6.15).

6.1. Mönpa verbal agreement

Mönpa is characterized by biactantial (or polypersonal) verbal agreement, in which there are unique verbal markers for the various person and number combinations in both the intransitive and transitive verbal paradigms, as well as in the copular system. Such complex verbal agreement systems are otherwise known from languages such as the Kiranti languages of eastern Nepal (e.g., DeLancey 2021: 163-164; Jacques 2012) and the Gyalrongic languages of southwestern China (e.g., Jacques 2012). Some historical linguists presume that the Proto-Sino-Tibetan protolanguage also had this grammatical feature (e.g., Bauman 1975; van Driem 1994, 1995; DeLancey 2010, 2021). The preservation of this unique feature in Mönpa, whereas it was lost in most other languages of Bhutan except Gongduk, is one of the reasons that Mönpa is referred to as one of the three linguistic gems of Bhutan in the first Linguistic Survey of Bhutan conducted by George van Driem and the Dzongkha Development Commission in 1990-1991.

The basic distinction that the Mönpa verb appears to make is one between the past and the non-past. For example, when expressing an action completed in the past, the marker for the first person singular in the affirmative is *-ga*, as shown in (56).

⁵ While *'man* below means 'to lose unintentionally and unknowingly', for example, when losing money on the street, the verb *tεōŋ* means 'to lose knowingly', for example, when losing money in gambling.

- (56) *kalasi: jigu p^hrega:*
kala-si: jigu p^hre-ga:
 1S-ERG letter write-1S.PST
 'I wrote a letter.'

While, when expressing an action that is not yet completed, for example, an action ongoing at the time of speaking, or an action that the speaker intends to do in the future, the first person singular affirmative marker is *-ŋa*, as the examples (57) and (58) show.

- (57) *kalasi: jigu p^hreŋa:*
kala-si: jigu p^hre-ŋa:
 1S-ERG letter write-1S.NPST
 'I write a letter.'

- (58) *kalasi: jigu p^hreŋa:m*
kala-si: jigu p^hre-ŋa:-m
 1S-ERG letter write-1S.NPST-fut
 'I will write a letter.'

The Mönpa verbal agreement markers occur in a maximum of five slots following the verb root that they modify. Some slots may be left empty, while in some cases all the slots are filled. Even an unmarked verb root, i.e., when all slots are empty, carries meaning, as is discussed in section 6.4. In slot 1, we most commonly find the progressive aspect marker of section 6.7, although we can also find markers of an infinite verbal form such as the past participle (section 6.8), subordinator (section 6.9), or mood markers (section 6.11) in that slot. In slot 2, we can find one of the three person markers of section 6.5, or this slot may be empty. In slot 3, we find one of the person/tense combinations of section 6.6; this is also the slot in which we would expect to find the elided person/tense markers of section 6.4. In slot 4 we can find the future marker of section 6.6.10. Finally, in slot 5, we can find a range of clitics attached to the verbal form, including the question markers of section 9, the syntactic clitics of section 10, and the discourse markers of section 10. An example of a verbal form filling all the slots is provided in Table 3.

verb root	s1	s2	s3	s4	s5
	aspect (6.7)	person (6.5)	person/tense (6.4, 6.6)	future	clitics
	mood (6.11)	<i>-wa</i> 1NS	$\emptyset$ (6.4)	<i>-m</i> (6.6.10)	= <i>ja</i> (9.1)
	etc.	<i>-nak</i> N1.NS	<i>-ŋa</i> 1S.NPST (6.6.2)		= <i>dek</i> (10.3)
		<i>-ni</i> 2/3d	<i>-gi</i> 2/3.NPST (6.6.6)		= <i>ma</i> (10.4)
			<i>-nɔk</i> 3PRS (6.6.8)		= <i>je</i> (11.2)
			etc.		etc.
<i>ji:</i>	<i>-k^ho</i>	<i>-nak</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-m</i>	= <i>ja</i>
go1	-PROG.P	-N1.NS	-2/3.NPST	-FUT	=Q1
			'will you/they be going?'		

Table 3 – The Mönpa verb

Some of the Mönpa verbal agreement markers exhibit allomorphy depending on phonotactic conditions. These are discussed in the next sections when applicable. In some cases, we were unable to describe the function of a verbal marker. These markers are placed between accolades {} with an X as gloss. In some cases, markers occur in unexpected contexts. These are also placed between accolades {}.

6.2. The intransitive verbal agreement paradigm

The intransitive markers and the sentences in which they occur are summarized in Table 4 with unattested morphemes shaded grey.

number/person	past	non-past	present	future
1s	<i>-ga:</i> 1S.PST	<i>-ŋa:</i> 1S.NPST		<i>-ŋa:-m</i> 1S.NPST-fut
2s	<i>-la</i> 2.PST	<i>-∅2</i> 2.NPST		<i>-gi-m</i> 2/3.NPST-fut
3s	<i>-k^{hi}</i> 2/3S.PST			
1d	<i>-wa</i> 1NS			
2d	<i>-ni-∅3</i> 2/3d-n1d/p.PST	<i>-ni-nak</i> 2/3d-N1.NS		
3d	<i>-ni-nak-∅3</i> 2/3d-N1.NS-n1d/p.PST			
1p	<i>-wa</i> 1NS			<i>-wa-m</i> 1NS-FUT
2p	<i>-∅3</i> N1D/P.PST	<i>-nak-ki</i> N1.NS-2/3.NPST		<i>-nak-ki-m</i> N1.NS-2/3.NPST-fut
3p	<i>-nak-∅3</i> N1.NS-n1d/p.PST			

Table 4 – The Mönpa intransitive verbal agreement paradigm (partial).

6.3. The transitive verbal agreement paradigm

The Mönpa transitive verbal agreement paradigm was earlier described in van Driem (1994, 1995, 2001: 928-933). Because of our limited dataset, we are unable to provide the complete paradigm yet, and we will augment the information provided in this article in the near future. Table 5 summarises the main markers we found in our data. The examples we found reflect the elicited sentences, which were greatly biased towards certain person and number combinations. Unattested fields are shaded grey, we have refrained from making inference of the most likely forms.

	PATIENT				
		1s	2s	3s	3p
AGT	1s	PST <i>la-ga</i> : REFL-1S.PST PRS <i>la-ŋa</i> :- <i>na</i> refl-1S.NPST-1S $\Rightarrow$ 3S.PRS	PST <i>ga</i> : 1S.PST FUT <i>ŋa</i> :- <i>m</i> 1S.NPST-FUT	PST <i>ga</i> : 1.PST PRS <i>ŋa</i> : 1S.NPST FUT <i>ŋa</i> :- <i>m</i> 1S.NPST-FUT PRS $\emptyset$ 4 1/2/3S $\Rightarrow$ 3.PRS PRS <i>ŋa</i> :- <i>na</i> 1S.NPST-1S $\Rightarrow$ 3S.PRS	
	1p	PST <i>wa</i> 1NS		PST <i>wa</i> 1NS PRS <i>wa</i> 1NS FUT <i>wa-m</i> 1NS-FUT PST $\emptyset$ 1 n1 $\Rightarrow$ n1.PST	PST <i>wa</i> 1NS
	2s	PST <i>wa</i> n1 $\Rightarrow$ 1.PST		NPST $\emptyset$ 2 2.NPST NPST <i>gi</i> 2/3.NPST FUT <i>gi-m</i> 2/3.NPST-FUT	
	3s	PST <i>wa</i> n1 $\Rightarrow$ 1.PST PRS <i>wa-nɔk</i> n1 $\Rightarrow$ 1.PST-3PRS		PST $\emptyset$ 1 n1 $\Rightarrow$ n1.PST PRS <i>nɔk</i> 3PRS FUT <i>ga</i> 3FUT	PST <i>nak</i> - $\emptyset$ 1 n1.NS-n1 $\Rightarrow$ n1.PST PRS - $\emptyset$ 4 1/2/3S $\Rightarrow$ 3.PRS
	3p				PST <i>nak</i> - $\emptyset$ 1 n1.NS-n1 $\Rightarrow$ n1.PST PRS <i>nɔk-nak</i> 3PRS-n1.NS FUT <i>nak-ga</i> n1.NS-3FUT

Table 5 – The Mönpa transitive verbal agreement paradigm (partial).

6.4. The unmarked verb root

In Mönpa, the unmodified verb root occurs in five distinct contexts: a third person agent acting on a non-first person patient in the past tense; a second person agent in the non-past tense; a second person dual or plural agent in the past tense; a third person patient in the present tense; and with a non-human agent. In the parsed and glossed example sentences, these five contexts have been marked with - $\emptyset$ 1 n1 $\Rightarrow$ n1.PST, - $\emptyset$ 2 2.NPST, - $\emptyset$ 3 2D/P.PST, - $\emptyset$ 4 1/2/3S $\Rightarrow$ 3.PRS and - $\emptyset$ 5 NHUM, because in these particular cases the absence of any marker is also an indication for specific

person and tense agreement.

6.4.1. Non-first person agent, non-first person patient past - $\emptyset 1$ n1 $\Rightarrow$ n1.PST

With a second or third person singular or plural agent acting on a second or third person patient, the verb root indicates a completed action in the past, as in examples (2), (7), (61), (207), (59), (60), and (212).

- (59) *ɔpasi: sɛŋ tʰan*
 ɔpa-si: sɛŋ tʰan- $\emptyset 1$
 father-ERG wood pull-N1
 'Father pulled the timber.'

- (60) *iŋsi: tuŋ hima*
 iŋ-si: tuŋ- $\emptyset 1$ hima
 2S-ERG see-N1 3SM.ANA
 'You saw him.'

- (61) *hɔmasi: tɛa:la: wi*
 hɔma-si: tɛa:la: wi- $\emptyset 1$
 3SM-ERG thing buy-N1
 'He bought things.'

An unmarked verb root can be marked with one of the person markers from section 6.5, such as the non-first person non-singular marker *-nak* in (62).

- (62) *hɔɔŋsi: tɛa:la: winak*
 hɔɔŋ-si: tɛa:la: wi-nak- $\emptyset 1$
 3P-ERG thing buy-N1.NS-N1
 'They bought things.'

There is evidence from questions that the unmarked non-first person past is the result of the elision of a marker *-ga*, possibly with allomorphs *-pa* (following a verb root with coda *-p*) and *-ta* (following a verb root with coda *-t*). In past questions with a second or first person subject, Mönpa has the verbal marker *-gɛ n1 $\Rightarrow$ n1.PST.q*, as is shown in the examples (63) and (64). The marker *-ga* likely elided in affirmative sentences because of the frequency of second and third person agents in natural speech and the short vowel /a/ in the marker, which would now be realized most commonly as [-gə~pə~tə].

- (63) *iŋsi: hima tuŋgɛ*
 iŋ-si: hima tuŋ-gɛ
 2S-ERG 3SM.ANA see-N1
 'Did you see him?'

- (64) *himasi: iŋ 'naŋwa tuŋgɛ*
 hima-si: iŋ 'naŋ-wa tuŋ-gɛ
 3SM.ANA-ERG 2S forest-LOC see-N1
 'Did he see you in the forest?'

6.4.2. Second person non-past - $\emptyset 2$ 2.NPST

With a second person subject of an intransitive verb, an unmodified verb root indicates a non-past, as in examples (65), (66), (124), (82) and (145).

- (65) *iŋ ji:kʰe*
iŋ ji:-kʰe-∅2
 2s go1-OBL-2.NPST
 'You must go.'

- (66) *iŋ denɛŋ adɛt jy:kʰe:*
iŋ denɛŋ adɛt jy-kʰe:-∅2
 2s this.year what do-PROG.S-2.NPST
 'What are you doing this year?'

6.4.3. Non-first person dual/plural past - ∅3 N1D/P.PST

With a second or third person dual or plural subject of an intransitive verb, an unmodified verb root indicates a past (in addition to a non-past), as in examples (67), (82) and (83).

- (67) *iŋnak tʰimpʰɔkwa ji:*
iŋnak tʰimpʰɔk-wa ji:-∅3
 2p Thimphu-LOC go1-N1D/P.PST
 'You went to Thimphu.'

6.4.4. Third person patient present - ∅4 1/2/3s ⇒ 3.PRS

An unmodified, unmarked verb root indicates a first, second or third person singular agent acting on a third person singular or plural patient of a transitive verb in the present tense. Examples are (68), (69), and (189).

- (68) *kalasi: himɛtna: ɔsa ba*
kala-si: himɛt-na: ɔsa ba-∅4
 1S-ERG 3SF-DAT cloth give-1/2/3s ⇒ 3.PRS
 'I give cloth to her.'
- (69) *hɔmasi: hɔɔŋŋa: tɔ tɛk ba*
hɔma-si: hɔɔŋ-ŋa: tɔ tɛk ba-∅4
 3SM-ERG 3P-DAT1 horse one give-1/2/3s ⇒ 3.PRS
 'He gives them a horse.'

As with the elision of the non-first person to third person patient marker in the past tense, there is some circumstantial evidence that the original third person patient marker in the non-past was *-ga* with an allomorph *-pa* (following a verb root with coda *-p*) and possibly an allomorph *-ta* (following a verb root with coda *-t*). The attested evidence for this is the question (70), with a second person agent acting on a third person subject, where Mönpa has the verbal marker *-pɛ* 1/2/3s ⇒ 3.prs.q.

- (70) *sɛŋ bɔmbola betʰappe*
sɛŋ bɔmbola be-tʰap-pɛ
 log big carry-able-1/2/3s
 'Can (you) carry a big log?'

6.4.5. Non-human agent - ∅5 NHUM

With intransitive verbs, an unmodified verb root can also describe an involuntary state or event, or a general factual state or action, something that 'just is' or 'just happens', with a non-human subject in the past and non-past, as in examples (71), (72), (117), (73), and (190).

- (71) *zimpala palan pe:wa: bɔŋ*
 zimpala palan pe:-wa: bɔŋ-Ø5
 cat bed top-LOC lie-NHUM
 'The cat lay on top of the bed.'
- (72) *num dzø:maŋa: gy le*
 num dzø:ma-ŋa: gy le-Ø5
 sky summer-DAT1 rain come-NHUM
 'It rains in summer (lit. rain comes to the summer sky).'
- (73) *mi: rama le*
 mi: rama le-Ø5
 house ruin come-NHUM
 'The house collapsed.'

6.5. Person markers

From our data, we have been able to distill three verbal markers that primarily identify person, more so than a combination of person and tense like the other markers in section 6.6.

6.5.1. Non-singular first person *-wa* 1NS

The Mönpa verbal marker *-wa* 1NS indicates a first person non-singular (dual or plural) agent in both intransitive and transitive verbs. Without any additional verbal marking, the non-singular first person marker *-wa* 1NS indicates a past tense, as in example (74), but also with the first person dual pronouns in (75) and (76).

- (74) *anaksi: tɛa:la: wiwa*
 anak-si: tɛa:la: wi-wa
 1PE-ERG thing buy-1NS
 'We bought things.'
- (75) *ɔŋdatni t^himp^hɔkwa gywa*
 ɔŋdatni t^himp^hɔk-wa gy-wa
 1DI Thimphu-LOC go-1NS
 'The two of us (inc) went to Thimphu.'
- (76) *ani t^himp^hɔkwa gywa*
 ani t^himp^hɔk-wa gy-wa
 1DE Thimphu-LOC go-1NS
 'The two of us (exc) went to Thimphu.'

But with additional marking, such as the obligatory mood marker *-k^{he}* OBL in (77) or the plural progressive marker *-k^{ho}* prog.p in (78), the first person non-singular marker indicates a non-past tense.

- (77) *ɔŋ gyk^{he}wa*
 ɔŋ gy-k^{he}-wa
 1PI go1-OBL-1NS
 'We must go.'

- (78) *anak tea:la: wik^howa*
anak tea:la: wi-k^ho-wa
 1PE thing buy-PROG.P-1NS
 'We are buying things.'

6.5.2. Non-singular non-first person *-nak* N1.NS

The person marker *-nak* N1.NS identifies a non-first person (second or third person) dual or plural agent. The person marker *-nak* is attested in past and non-past contexts and for both transitive and intransitive verbs, as in examples (79), (80) and (141).

- (79) *hiɔŋ hoŋsarwa: bɔŋnak*
hiɔŋ hoŋsar-wa: bɔŋ-nak-∅3
 3P.ANA Trongsa-LOC stay-N1.NS-N1D/P.PST
 'They stayed in Trongsa.'

- (80) *hɔɔŋsi: tea:la: winakga*
hɔɔŋ-si: tea:la: wi-nak-ga
 3P-ERG thing buy-N1.NS-3FUT
 'They will buy things.'

- (81) *hiɔŋsi hoɔma pete^ha jitoŋ te^holoŋaŋa* *par tapnak*
hiɔŋ-si hoɔma pete^ha jitoŋ te^holoŋa-ŋa *par tap-nak-∅1*
 3P-ERG this text two thousand fifteen-LOC picture print-N1.NS-N1
 'They printed this text in 2015.'

6.5.3. Second and third dual person *-ni* 2/3D

Second and third dual person in Mönpa is marked with *-ni* D on the verb root, in both past and non-past contexts, as in examples (124), (103), (145), (148), (210), (49), (82) and (83).

- (82) *iŋni t^himp^hɔkwa: ji:ni*
iŋni t^himp^hɔk-wa: ji:-ni-∅3
 2d Thimphu-LOC go1-2/3D-N1D/P.PST
 'The two of you went to Thimphu.'

- (83) *hiɔŋni t^himp^hɔkwa te^hɔŋni*
hiɔŋni t^himp^hɔk-wa te^hɔŋ-ni-∅3
 3d.ANA Thimphu-LOC go2-2/3D-N1D/P.PST
 'The two of them went to Thimphu.'

6.6. Person and tense markers

In addition to the markers that indicate person only, as mentioned in section 6.5, Mönpa also has markers that indicate both person and tense.

6.6.1. First person singular past *-ga:* 1S.PST

With a first person singular agent, the Mönpa verbal marker *-ga:* indicates a simple past tense for both intransitive and transitive verbs, as in examples (84) and (85).

- (84) *ke t^himp^hɔknaŋ leɡa:*
 ke t^himp^hɔk-naŋ le-ga:
 1s Thimphu-ABL come-1s.PST
 'I came from Thimphu.'

- (85) *kalasi: tɛa:la: wiɡa:*
 kala-si: tɛa:la: wi-ga:
 1s-ERG thing buy-1s.PST
 'I bought things.'

The first person singular past marker *-ga:* has an allomorph *-pa:* 1s.PST1 when following a verb root with bilabial coda *-p*, as in examples (87) and (86).

- (86) *tɕɔzaŋnaŋ tɕø 'jappa:*
 tɕɔzaŋ-naŋ tɕø 'jap-pa:
 water.tub-ABL water scoop-1s.PST1
 'I scooped water from the water tub.'
- (87) *kalasi: ɛa pa:taŋsi: ta:ppa:*
 kala-si: ɛa pa:taŋ-si: ta:p-pa:
 1s-ERG meat knife-ERG cut-1s.PST1
 'I cut the meat with a knife.'

6.6.2. First person singular non-past *-ŋa:* 1s.NPST

With a first person singular agent, the Mönpa verbal marker *-ŋa:* occurs in non-past contexts for both intransitive and transitive verbs, and in both affirmative and negative contexts, as in examples (88) and (89).

- (88) *kalasi: tɛa:la: wiŋa:*
 kala-si: tɛa:la: wi-ŋa:
 1s-ERG thing buy-1s.NPST
 'I buy things.'
- (89) *ke dɔre la: mojyŋa:*
 ke dɔre la: mɔ-jy-ŋa:
 1s now work NEG1-do-1s.NPST
 'I don't work right now.'

In addition to the first person singular non-past tense, the marker *-ŋa:* is also attested in the first person singular past tense in negative contexts, such as in (90), (170) and (169), which indicates that the marker may actually have an imperfective aspect with the negative action in the past having relevance at the moment of speaking.

- (90) *ke ta:waje la: majyŋa:*
 ke ta:wa=je la: ma-jy-ŋa:
 1s yesterday=ADD work NEG-do-1s.NPST
 'I didn't work yesterday either.'

We also find the marker *-ŋa:* in the third person singular past and present durative, continuous contexts with both transitive and intransitive verbs, as in (91), (213) and (216), which again may indicate that the marker encodes an imperfective aspect. Such irregular attestations have been placed between accolades .

- (91) *hɔma tea:la: wik^hɛ:ŋa:*
hɔma tea:la: wi-k^hɛ:-{ŋa}:
 3SM thing buy-PROG.S-{1S.NPST}
 'He is buying things.'

For the time being, all attestations of marker *-ŋa:* have been glossed as 1S.NPST, because that is by far its most widely attested function.

The marker *-ŋa:* and its derived future marker *-ŋa:-m* has the allomorphs *-ma:/-ma:-m* when following a verb root with coda *-m*, as in examples (92) and (197). Additional phonotactically conditioned allomorphs are likely to exist, but have not yet been attested in our data.

- (92) *ke tea:la: damma:mde*
ke tea:la: dam-ma:-m=de
 1S thing tie-1S.NPST-FUT=COP.EQ
 'I will be packing [my] things.'

6.6.3. First person agent, third person patient present *-na* 1S ⇒ 3S.PRS

The Mönpa marker *-na* 1S ⇒ 3S.PRS identifies a first person agent acting on a third person patient in the present tense, as in examples (93) and (94), but also in (123).

- (93) *ke po heŋketlaŋa: dekŋa:na*
ke po heŋketla-ŋa: dek-ŋa:-na
 1S snake long-DAT1 afraid-1S.NPST-1S
 'I am afraid of a long snake.'
- (94) *ke p^hugu preŋkalaŋa: mɔdekŋa:na*
ke p^hugu preŋkala-ŋa: mɔ-dek-ŋa:-na
 1S child thin-DAT1 NEG1-afraid-1S.NPST-1S
 'I am not afraid of a thin child.'

However, the marker *-na* has also been attested with third person agents in intransitive verbs in both the present in (95) and (54) and the past in (216). Like with the first person singular non-past marker *-ŋa:* 1S.NPST, it is not clear why this occurs, and more data will hopefully shed light on this.

- (95) *himet lɔm katɛenlanaŋ tɛ^hɔŋna*
himet lɔm katɛenla-naŋ tɛ^hɔŋ-{na}
 3SF.ANA path good-ABL go2-{1S}
 'She goes on the good path.'

6.6.4. Non-first person agent, first person patient past *-wa* N1 ⇒ 1.PST

A second or third person singular agent acting on a first person patient in the past tense is marked with *-wa*, as is shown in example (96).⁶

⁶ The distinction between Mönkha *tə* 'give' and *ba* 'give' is said to be the same as the distinction between Dzongkha *sprod* 'give' (the likely source lexeme of this borrowing) and *byin* 'give', i.e., the distinction between a more formal 'to hand over, to give in the hand' and a more general 'to give something to someone'.

- (96) *hɔmetsi:je keŋa: 'ma:n tɔwa*
hɔmet-si:=je ke-ŋa: 'ma:n tɔ-wa
 3SF-ERG=ADD 1S-DAT1 medicine give2-N1
 'She also gave me medicine.'

In questions, the marker *-wa* becomes *-wɛ n1* $\Rightarrow$ 1.PST.q, as is shown in example (97).

- (97) *iŋsi: keŋa adɛtna klɛŋwɛ*
iŋ-si: ke-ŋa adɛtna klɛŋ-wɛ
 2S-ERG 1S-DAT why beat-N1
 'Why did you beat me?'

The marker *-wa n1* $\Rightarrow$ 1.PST may be related to the inverse marker found in the Gyalrongic languages (Jacques 2010; Chen 2015). Another possible occurrence of the inverse marker can be found in (12).

6.6.5. Second person past *-la*: 2.PST

We have a single attestation (98) of a Mönpa second person past marker *-la*: 2.PST occurring with an intransitive verb in a context where the speaker has personally witnessed the event, distinguishing it from the allophoric marker *-kʰi* 2/3.PST in section 6.6.7, which can also be used in second person past contexts.

- (98) *iŋ sɛŋ pe:naŋ hela:*
iŋ sɛŋ pe:-naŋ he-la:
 2S tree top-ABL fall-2.PST
 'You fell from the tree.'

6.6.6. Second and third person non-past *-gi* 2/3.NPST

The second and third person (singular, dual and plural) agent of an intransitive or transitive verb in Mönpa is identified by the marker *-gi* and its allomorphs *-ki*, *-di* and *-ti*. It occurs non-past contexts, which is why it has been glossed as 2/3.NPST. The marker *-gi* 2/3.NPST occurs when following a verb root or verbal marker ending on a vowel or a velar nasal *-ŋ*, as in, for example (99), (177), (191), (44), (45), (176), (113), and (172).

- (99) *hɔmaje taktsawa: bɔŋkʰɛ:gitek*
hɔma=je taktsa-wa: bɔŋ-kʰɛ:-gi=tɛk
 3SM=ADD Taktse-LOC stay-PROG.S -2/3.NPST=COP.EQ.AK
 'He is staying at Taktse as well.'

The allomorph *-ki* 2/3.NPST1 occurs when preceded by a morpheme with a velar coda *-k*, as shown in examples (100), (114), (119) and (40).

- (100) *zɔma gɔ:ba tɛʰɛkkimbo*
zɔma gɔ:ba tɛʰɛk-ki-m=bo
 unhulled.rice when beat-2/3.NPST1-FUT=Q2
 'When will you (s) beat unhulled rice?'

The allomorph *-ti* 2/3.NPST2 occurs when modifying a verb root with dental coda *-t* (and perhaps, though not attested, *-n*) as in examples (154) and (101).

- (101) 'nakp^ha 'nanta tɛottimja:
 'nakp^ha 'nanta tɛot-ti-m=ja:
 barley next.year sow-2/3.NPST2-FUT=Q1
 'Will you (s) sow barley next year?'

Finally, the allomorph *-di* 2/3.NPST3 of the second and third person non-past marker occurs when modifying a verb root with a dental coda *-n*, as in examples (102), (43) and (178). However, in the examples (102) and (43), the marker occurs when referring to a past tense, possibly indicating it has an inherent imperfective aspect.

- (102) iŋ ge:masi: zɔndi
 iŋ ge:ma-si: zɔn-{di}
 2S who-ERG send-{2/3.NPST3}
 'Who sent you?'

In narratives, we also find the second and third person non-past marker, *even when it refers to an event in the past*. In such cases, a possible explanation is that the narrator takes the audience back into the past, and makes the events more realistic and lively by creating the impression that they occur at the moment of speaking. While formally still a present continuous form, the English translation is more correctly a past continuous, as the examples (213), (217), and (103) (all from narrative) show.

- (103) 'ɲada tots^hɔŋ ni 'naŋ tɛkwa: ji:nigiwa
 'ɲada tots^hɔŋ ni 'naŋ tɛk-wa: ji:-ni-gi-{wa}
 before friend two forest one-LOC go1-2/3D-2/3.NPST-{1NS}
 'Once upon a time, when two friends were walking in a forest, ...'

6.6.7. Second and third person singular past *-k^hi* 2/3s.PST

The Mönpa marker *-k^hi* 2/3.PST indicates a second or third person singular of an intransitive or transitive verb in the past tense, as in examples (104), (175), and (215). The occurrence of this marker indicates a completed event in the past that was not observed by the speaker.

- (104) haŋtomaŋa: ɸom tɛksi: 'nɔpa kek^hi tɛk
 haŋtoma-ŋa: ɸom tɛk-si: 'nɔpa ke-k^hi=tɛk
 suddenly-DAT1 bear one-ERG harm deliver-2/3.PST=COP.EQ.AK
 '... all of a sudden, a bear attacked [them].'

6.6.8. Third person present *.-nɔk* 3PRS

A third person plural or singular agent in the present tense is identified by the marker *-nɔk* 3PRS, and indicates an event or action ongoing at the moment of speaking and personally witnessed by the speaker, as the examples (105), (106), (107) and (108) show.

- (105) 'nɛ ditnɔk
 'nɛ dit-nɔk
 sun rise-3PRS
 'The sun rises.'
- (106) ɔmasi: dzø kɔk^hɛ:nɔk
 ɔma-si: dzø kɔ-k^hɛ:-nɔk
 mom-ERG tea boil-PROG.S-3PRS
 'Mom is making tea.'

- (107) *bumetsi: to 'jok^hε:nək*
 bumet-si: to 'jo-k^hε:-nək
 girl-ERG meal cook-PROG.S-3PRS
 'The girl is cooking a meal.'
- (108) *hɔɔŋ tɛa:la: wik^honəkna:k*
 hɔɔŋ tɛa:la: wi-k^ho-nək-nak
 3P thing buy-PROG.P-3PRS-N1.NS
 'They are buying things.'

6.6.9. Third person future *-ga* 3FUT

For third person agents singular and plural (and probably, though not attested, dual), the future tense for a transitive verb is most commonly formed with the marker *-ga* 3FUT, as shown in examples (109) and (110). When using the marker *-ga*, the speaker indicates that the speaker has absolutely no control or certainty over the likelihood of the event actually occurring.

- (109) *hɔmasi: tɛa:la: wiga*
 hɔma-si: tɛa:la: wi-ga
 3SM-ERG thing buy-3FUT
 'He will buy things.'
- (110) *hɔɔŋsi: tɛa:la: winakga*
 hɔɔŋ-si: tɛa:la: wi-nak-ga
 3P-ERG thing buy-N1.NS-3FUT
 'They will buy things.'

6.6.10. Future *-m* FUT

Mönpa has a future tense indicated with a monosyllabic *-m* FUT suffixed to the non-past markers. The future in *-m* indicates that the speaker has control over the likelihood that the event will take place (as in (111), (112)), asks a question to an addressee who will have control over the event taking place (113), or knows for sure that the event will take place (114).

- (111) *kalasi: ta:wa iŋ kleŋga: sa:nanje kleŋŋa:m*
 kala-si: ta:wa iŋ kleŋ-ga: sa:nan=je kleŋ-ŋa:-m
 1S-ERG yesterday 2s beat-1S.PST tomorrow=ADD beat-1S.NPST-FUT
 'I beat you yesterday, I will beat you again tomorrow.'
- (112) *anaksi: tɛa:la: wiwam*
 anak-si: tɛa:la: wi-wa-m
 1PE-ERG thing buy-1NS-FUT
 'We will buy things.'
- (113) *iŋ sa:nan bɔŋgimja: ja:n ji:gimja:*
 iŋ sa:nan bɔŋ-gi-m=ja: ja:n ji:-gi-m=ja:
 2s tomorrow stay-2/3.NPST-FUT=Q1 or go1-2/3.NPST-FUT=Q1
 'Will you stay or will you leave tomorrow?'

- (114) *hioŋ dzaŋbiwa ji:nakkimde*
 hioŋ dzaŋbi-wa ji:-nak-ki-m=de
 3P Jangbi-LOC go1-N1.NS-2/3.NPST-FUT=COP.EQ
 'They will be going to Jangbi.'

6.7. Progressive aspect *-k^hε:* PROG.S and *-k^ho* PROG.P

Mönpa has a progressive marker for the singular *-k^hε:* and a progressive marker for the plural *-k^ho*. The progressive marks an ongoing action or state, and is most commonly attested in the present tense. Examples of the regular form of the progressive, singular *-k^hε:* and plural *-k^ho*, are provided in (115) and (116).

- (115) *ke tea:la: wik^hε:ŋa:*
 ke tea:la: wi-k^hε:-ŋa:
 1s thing buy-PROG.S-1s.NPST
 'I am buying things.'

- (116) *anak tea:la: wik^howa*
 anak tea:la: wi-k^ho-wa
 1PE thing buy-PROG.P-1NS
 'We are buying things.'

The Mönpa progressive aspect marker exhibits allomorphy based on phonotactic conditions. When the verb root that precedes the progressive marker has a bilabial coda *-p* or *-m*, the singular progressive marker has the allomorph *-p^hε:*, as is shown in examples (117) and (118).

- (117) *num samp^hε:*
 num sam-p^hε:-Ø5
 sky get.dark-PROG.S-NHUM
 'It is getting dark (lit. the sky is getting dark).'

- (118) *mekŋa: t^hewa dupp^hε:nək*
 mek-ŋa: t^hewa dup-p^hε:-nək
 eye-DAT1 dust enter-PROG.S-3PRS
 'Dust is getting into the eyes.'

When the verb root that precedes the progressive marker has a dental coda *-n* or *-t*, the singular progressive marker has the allomorph *-t^hε:* and the plural progressive marker has the allomorph *-t^ho*, as is shown in examples (125) and (119), respectively. We similarly presume the existence of the plural progressive allomorph *-p^ho*, although this has not been attested in our data yet.

- (119) *iŋnak hŋsarnan dzønt^honakkija:*
 iŋnak hŋsar-nan dzøn-t^ho-nak-ki=ja:
 2p Trongsa-ABL come(H)-PROG.P-N1.NS-2/3.NPST1=Q1
 'Are you coming from Trongsa?'

6.8. Past participle *-sa:* PP

Mönpa has a past participle *-sa:*. PP is basically a non-finite or deverbalised verbal form, used to indicate an action or event that precedes the action of the main verbal predicate, as in (120). In this way, the Mönpa past participle is similar to the Dzongkha past participle in *-ste~te~de* (Tshering and van Driem 2019: 272-277).

- (120) *himasi: dzø kəsa: lulyk*
 hima-si: dzø kə-sa: lu-lyk-Ø1
 3SM.ANA-ERG tea boil-PP pour1-pour-N1
 'Making tea, he poured it (into flask).'

The past participle occurs particularly frequent to indicate sequences of events in narratives, as the text in the Appendix shows.

6.9. Subordinator *-li* SUB

Mönpa has a subordinator *-li*, which is suffixed directly to the verb stem and then converts the verb into a nominal part of speech. Examples are the adjectives *ma-dzi-li* NEG-move-SUB 'motionless' in (213) and *ma-se-li* NEG-die-SUB 'alive (lit. not-dead)' in (121).

- (121) *ɔŋ tɛ^happ^hatrɔŋ maseli məbɔŋwa*
 ɔŋ tɛ^happ^hat=rɔŋ ma-se-li mə-bɔŋ-wa
 1pi always=EMPH not-die-SUB NEG1-stay-1NS
 'We don't stay alive forever.'

This nominalised verb can be further modified with the definite determiner *bɛ* def to make a deverbal noun or *nomen agentis* that can act as a nominal head, such as *gə-li-bɛ* need-SUP-DEF 'the required thing' in (174), *təo-li-bɛ* build-SUP-DEF 'the built thing' in (122) and *k^her-li-bɛ* make-SUP-DEF 'the made thing' in (42).

- (122) *dɛɔŋ sɛŋsi: tɛolibɛja:*
 dɛɔŋ sɛŋ-si: tɛo-li-bɛ=ja:
 those wood-ERG build-SUB-DEF=Q1
 'Are those built of wood?'

The Mönpa subordinator *-li* is equivalent in function to Dzongkha subordinator *-mi* (Tshering and van Driem 2019: 385-389).

6.10. Reflexive *-la*

In addition to the reflexive pronoun marker *-det* (5.2), Mönpa also has a reflexive verb marker *-la*, which occupies the slot between the verb root and the agreement markers, as is shown in example (123), but also in example (37).

- (123) *kalasi: kadetla melɔŋŋa: tuŋlaŋa:na*
 kala-si: kadetla melɔŋ-ŋa: tuŋ-la-ŋa:-na
 1S-ERG myself mirror-DAT1 see-REFL-1S.NPST-1S
 'I see myself in (lit. 'to') the mirror.'

6.11. Moods

In our data, we have been able to identify four different mood markers: those expressing obligation (6.11.1), command (6.11.2), encouragement (6.11.3 and 6.11.4) and request (6.11.5).

6.11.1. Obligatory mood *-k^he*

Mönpa expresses the obligatory mood with the marker *-k^he*, as in example (124), but also in examples (50), (65), (193), (144), (145) and (146).

- (124) *iɲni gyk^heni*
iɲni gy-k^he-ni
 2d go1-OBL-2/3D
 'The two of you must go.'

The obligatory mood marker *-k^he* seems to be related to, and derived from, the verb *gø~ge* 'must, need' (e.g., (189)), and in this way is an example of a serial verb construction (see 6.12) that has grammaticalised into a mood.

Although, unlike the progressive aspect marker *-k^hε*, the obligatory mood marker *-k^he* does not have a separate form for the plural, it does share the progressive marker's feature of having at least one allomorph *-t^he* OBL1 occurring after verb stems with dental coda /t/ (and presumably, but not yet attested, /n/), as in example (125).

- (125) *zokpa 'ŋa satt^hewa*
zokpa 'ŋa sat-t^he-wa
 morning early get.up-OBL1-1NS
 'We should get up early in the morning.'

In (126), we find a possible allomorph *he*, although it is not clear which phonotactic condition triggers this variant.

- (126) *iɲ naɲ ke gihewanak*
iɲ naɲ ke gi-he-wa-nak
 2s and 1s go1-OBL2-1NS-N1.NS
 'You and I need to go.'

6.11.2. Imperative mood *-la*

Mönpa has an imperative form marked by *-la*. The imperative orders the addressee to do something, or to do something in a particular manner, and has also been attested with honorific verbal forms, as the examples (127) and (128) indicate.

- (127) *iɲ zɛppejusɔ dzɔnla*
iɲ zɛppejusɔ dzɔn-la
 2s slowly come(H)-IMP
 '[You] Come slowly!'
- (128) *petɛ^ha katɛɛnjusɔ 'lopla*
petɛ^ha katɛɛnjusɔ 'lop-la
 text properly study-IMP
 '[You] Study well!'

The negative adhortative is formed with the prefix *ma-* and the imperative marker *-la*, as in (129).

- (129) *iɲ hɔdɛ majyla*
iɲ hɔ=dɛ ma-jy-la
 2s this=COP.EQ NEG-do-IMP
 'Don't do like this.'

The suffix *-re* is added to an imperative to indicate a direct command to a junior or someone lower in rank, as is shown in example (130).

- (130) *ɔsa tsəŋtək^hat holare*
ɔsa tsəŋtək^hat ho-la-re
 cloth clean wash-IMP-AUTH
 'Wash the cloth neatly.'

6.11.3. Adhortative mood *-he* ADH

Mönpa has an adhortative, encouraging the addressee to do something, which is formed by suffixing *-he* to the verb root, as the example (131). It is always directed at a second person singular, dual or plural, although the number is often ambiguous.

- (131) *tɛ^huts^hət ləŋɔŋaː hɔwa lehe*
tɛ^huts^hət ləŋɔŋaː hɔ-wa le-he
 time five-DAT1 here-LOC come-ADH
 '[You all] Come here at five o'clock.'

The suffix *-sa* is added to an adhortative form to add extra encouragement and emphasis, as in (132), and it is similar to Dzongkha *'gyo-ge-sa*, making it a likely Dzongkha borrowing.

- (132) *amik wɔttaː lehesa*
amik wɔt-taː le-he-sa
 fire blow-ADH.1NS1 come-ADH-ENC
 'Come [you all] let [us] make (lit. 'blow') a fire.'

6.11.4. Adhortative mood *-gaː* ADH.1NS

With a verb root marked with *-gaː* ADH.1NS, the speaker encourages the addressees (first person dual or plural inclusive) to do something together with the addressee, as in examples (133), (134), and (179).

- (133) *ɔŋdatni gygaː*
ɔŋdatni gy-gaː
 1di go-ADH.1NS
 'Let's go (let the two of us go).'
- (134) *ɔŋ tɔptɛ^ha ʔjogaː minte*
ɔŋ tɔptɛ^ha ʔjo-gaː min=te
 1pi food cook-ADH.1NS NEG.COP.EQ=Q4
 'Let's cook food, okay?'

The adhortative *-gaː* ADH has an allophone *-taː* ADH.1NS1 when following a verb root with a coda /t/, as in (132).

6.11.5. Request *-ɛo*

A request to a second person in Mönpa is marked by the suffix *-ɛo* REQ as is shown in example (135).

- (135) *iŋ jima keje k^hritɛo*
iŋ ji=ma ke=je k^hrit-ɛo
 2s go=if 1s=ADD take-REQ
 'If you go, take me (with you) as well.'

A request can be made more polite and submissive when adding *-ho*, as in example (136).

- (136) *ke ji:daəofo*
 ke ji:-da-əo-fio
 1SG go1-release-REQ-POL
 'Please let me go.'

6.12. Serial verb constructions

From our data, it appears that Mönpa may also make use of serial verb constructions to express a wide variety of grammatical features, including changes in aspect and mood, as is commonly done in other languages of Bhutan. We have not analysed this in detail, but one examples is *tʰap* expressing ability in (70), *da* 'release' in (208) and (136), and *bit* 'to finish' expressing completed action in (137).

- (137) *himaŋa: tiru nektek haŋa tɛɔtɛŋbit*
 hima-ŋa: tiru nek=tek haŋa tɛɔ-tɛŋ-bit-Ø1
 3SM.ANA-DAT1 money COP.EX=COP.EQ.AK but lose1-lose-finish-N1
 'He had money, but he lost it.'

6.13. Verb stem extender -a -SE

In some cases, a verb stem is extended with a vowel /a/ if the modified verb root creates an impermissible consonant sequence, for example *dzur-a-le* to avoid /rl/ in (138) and in the adjective *pʰat-a-la* 'suitable' (from the verb *pʰat* 'to be okay, correct') to avoid /tl/ in (50). This appears to be simply a phonological modification in allegro speech without additional meaning or function.

- (138) *mɛk kəkɛɔ:la dzuralele*
 mɛk kəkɛɔ:la dzur-a-le-le-Ø1
 eye red turn-SE-come-come-N1
 'The eye(s) became red.'

6.14. Verb stem reduplication

Another phenomenon observed in Mönpa is the reduplication of verb stems. The repetition of verb stems indicates what we have provisionally called the allophoric past, describing a completed event, action or situation in the past where the speaker has no personal involvement in an event or information to which the speaker has no privileged access. The allophoric past is most commonly encountered with the third person. The Dzongkha equivalent of the Mönpa allophoric past is formed by the verb stem plus *nug*.

With open stems the verb stem is simply reduplicated. Examples are *le-le* 'come' (208), (138), *ho-ho* 'wash' (139), *ba-ba* 'give' (143), *si-si* 'know' (46), and its negated form *si-ma-si* (200). With closed stems, the first stem is usually phonologically reduced, and the second stem is in its full form. Examples are *tu-tuŋ* 'see' (140), *da-dam* 'tie' (8), *ta-tap* 'print' (141), *lu-lyk* 'pour' (120), and *tɛo-tɛŋ* 'lose' (137). The modified verb stems have been glossed with their meaning and an additional 1, to indicate they are phonologically distinct from the actual verb stem.

- (139) *himasi: ɛa tapsa: hoho*
 hima-si: ɛa tap-sa: ho-ho-Ø1
 3SM.ANA-ERG meat chop-PP wash-wash-N1
 'Chopping the meat, he washed it.'

Additional person markers can be found on the reduplicated stem, such as the non-first person plural marker *-nak* in (140), to differentiate singular from dual and plural third person.

- (140) *hɔɔŋsi: hɔmɛt skulwa: tutuŋnak*
hɔɔŋ-si: hɔmɛt skul-wa: tu-tuŋ-nak-Ø1
 3P-ERG 3SF school-LOC see1-see-N1.NS-N1
 'They saw her at school.'

In some cases, the allophoric past seems to obtain a passive voice, compare the example (141) to example (81).

- (141) *ho pete^ha jɪtɔŋte^hɛŋa* *par tatapnak*
ho pete^ha jɪtɔŋte^hɛŋa *par ta-tap-nak-Ø1*
 this text twothousandfifteen(<Dzo) picture print1-print-N1.NS-N1
 'This text was published in 2015.'

The unmarked Mönpa simple past with a second or third person agent acting on a third person patient in (142) differs from the Mönpa simple past indicated by a reduplicated verb stem in (143), in that the former is an egophoric past, witnessed by the speaker, while the latter is an allomorphic past, not witnessed by the speaker.

- (142) *himasi: himɛtna: ɔsa tɛk ba*
hima-si: himɛt-na: ɔsa tɛk ba-Ø1
 3SM.ANA-ERG 3SF.ANA-DAT cloth one give-N1
 'He gave her a cloth (I saw it).'
- (143) *himasi: hɔmɛtna: ɔsa tɛk baba*
hima-si: hɔmɛt-na: ɔsa tɛk ba-ba-Ø1
 3SM.ANA-ERG 3SF-DAT cloth one give-give-N1
 'He gave her a cloth (I infer it, or was told about it).'

More data will further clarify the encoding of evidentiality in Mönpa.

6.15. Verb stem alternation

We found limited evidence for verb stem alternation in Mönpa in our data. Most noted among these are the two stems *gy-* 'go' and *ji:-* 'go1' for the verb 'to go'. While both verb stems *gy-* and *ji:-* occur in past and non-past contexts and with singular and dual person, only the stem *gy-* additionally occurs with plural person. The stem *ji:-* is restricted to the singular and dual person. Examples are for the singular, dual and plural persons are provided in (144), (145) and (146).

- (144) *ke ji:kheŋa:*
ke ji:-khe-ŋa:
 1s go1-OBL-1S.NPST
 'I must go.'
- (145) *iŋni gykheni*
iŋni gy-khe-ni
 2d go-OBL-2/3D
 'The two of you must go.'
- (146) *ɔŋ gykhewa*
ɔŋ gy-khe-wa
 1pi go-OBL-1NS
 'We must go.'

Additionally, Mönpa has the verb *tɛʰɔŋ* ‘go2’ which also means ‘to go’, as in example (147). Notably, in the southern Mönpa variety of Cungseng, *tɛʰɔŋ* means ‘to run’. The exact semantics of the distinction between *gy~ji-* and *tɛʰɔŋ* remains to be described.

- (147) *ke* *'nanta* *'nekorŋa:* *tɛʰɔŋŋa:mɛ*
 ke *'nanta* *'nekor-ŋa:* *tɛʰɔŋ-ŋa:-m=dɛ*
 1s next.year pilgrimage-DAT1 go2-1s.NPST-FUT=COPEQ
 ‘Next year, I will be going for pilgrimage.’

Another example of verb stem alternation is the verb root *le-* ‘to come’, which occurs in singular, dual and plural contexts, versus the root *lik-* ‘to come’, which only occurs in non-singular (plural and dual) contexts, as in (148).

- (148) *hiɔŋni* *hoŋsarnaŋ* *likninak*
 hiɔŋni *hoŋsar-naŋ* *lik-ni-nak-Ø3*
 3du.ANA Trongsa-ABL come.NS-2/3D-N1.NS-N1D/P.PST
 ‘The two of them came from Trongsa.’

And finally, the verb ‘to give’ seems to have a distinct form for the first person plural. While it is *ba* ‘give’ for all persons in past and non-past contexts, it is *be* ‘give’ for first person plural, at least in past contexts, as in examples (34) and (149). However, this may simply be a phonotactically conditioned alternation, *ba-wa* becoming *be-wa*.

- (149) *anaksi:* *miŋa:* *tɔptɛʰa* *bewa*
 anak-si: *mi-ŋa:* *tɔptɛʰa* *be-wa*
 1PE-ERG man-DAT1 food give1-1NS
 ‘We gave the man food.’

7 The copula

In Mönpa, the copula exhibits distinctive features, particularly regarding person distinctions which are not observed in languages such as Dzongkha, Tibetan, and other languages of Bhutan. An overview of the Mönpa copula is provided in Table 6.

person/number	S	P	S	P
	equational		negative equational	
1st	<i>dɛ-ŋa:</i>	<i>dɛ-wa</i>	<i>min-na</i>	<i>min-wa</i>
2nd, 3rd	<i>dɛ</i>	<i>dɛ</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>mi-naŋ</i>
	existential		negative existential	
1st	<i>nek-ŋa:</i>	<i>nek-wa</i>	<i>mi-ŋa:</i>	<i>mi-wa</i>
2nd, 3rd	<i>nek</i>	<i>nek-nak</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi-nak</i>

Table 6 – The Mönpa copula

7.1. Equational copula *dɛ~min*

The basic affirmative equational copula is *dɛ*, which is the unmarked form for the second and third person singular and plural. The first person singular has the additional morpheme *-ŋa:*, equivalent to the first person singular non-past marker *-ŋa:* 1s.NPST, and the first person plural has the additional morpheme *-wa:* both morphemes can also be found in the verbal agreement paradigms. The basic negative equational copula is *min*, which is the unmarked form for the third and second person singular. The negative first person singular equational copula has the additional morpheme *-na* (while we would expect this to be *-ŋa:*, the dental onset is likely harmonisation with the coda *-n*

of the unmarked form), while the negative first person plural equational copula has the additional morpheme *-wa* and the negative second and third person plural equational copula has the additional morpheme *-naŋ* resulting in the form *mi-naŋ* (which we would have expected to be *min-nak*). The equational copula expresses the identity or a quality of a person, entity or thing. So, we find that the equational copula often connects two nouns, establishing a relationship between them, but they can also express an established fact about the location or quality of the subject of the sentence. In that way, the equational copula appears to be largely equivalent to the Dzongkha copula *in* and *men*. Examples of the affirmative and negative equational copula are presented in (150), (151), (152), (153) and (154).

- (150) *hɔma tenzan min,* *hɔma taɕi dɛ*
hɔma tenzan min, *hɔma taɕi dɛ*
 3SM Tenzin NEG.COP.EQ, 3SM Tashi COP.EQ
 'He is not Tenzin, he is Tashi.'

- (151) *ke dɔrji minna,* *ke tenzan deŋa:*
ke dɔrji min-na, *ke tenzan dɛ-ŋa:*
 1S Dorji NEG.COP.EQ-1S.NEG.COP, 1S Tenzin COP.EQ-1S.NPST
 'I am not Dorji, I am Tenzin.'

- (152) *anak lopeŋ minwa,* *anak jigduwa dɛwa*
anak lopeŋ min-wa, *anak jigduwa dɛ-wa*
 1PE teacher COP.EQ-1NS, 1PE student COP.EQ-1NS
 'We are not teachers, we are students.'

- (153) *hɔɔŋ 'mami minaŋ,* *hɔɔŋ gelɔŋ dɛ*
hɔɔŋ 'mami mi-naŋ, *hɔɔŋ gelɔŋ dɛ*
 3P soldier NEG.COP.EQ1-N1P.COP, 3P monk COP.EQ
 'They are not soldiers, they are monks.'

- (154) *gu denɛŋ tɛottim* *minja:*
gu denɛŋ tɛot-ti-m *min=ja:*
 wheat this.year sow-2/3.NPST2-FUT NEG.EQ.COP=Q1
 'Won't you (s) sow wheat this year?'

7.2. Equational copula *tek~mintek*

In Mönpa, the copula *tek* is an equational copula, like the copula *dɛ*. But whereas the copula *dɛ* expresses old, ingrained background knowledge which is part of the speaker's conception of reality, the copula *tek* expresses newly acquired knowledge. In that way, the difference between Mönpa copula *dɛ* and *tek* is similar to the difference between the Dzongkha copula *in* and *in-pas* as described in Tshering and van Driem (2019: 107-108). The copula *tek* has as negative form *mintek*. So, if the speaker has only just now found out that a person he presumed to be Tashi is indeed Tashi or not, he could say (155) or (156).

- (155) *hima taɕi tek*
hima taɕi tek
 3SM.ANA Tashi COP.EQ.AK
 'He is Tashi.'

- (156) *hima taɛi mintɛk*
hima taɛi mintɛk
 3SM.ANA Tashi NEG.COP.EQ.AK
 'He is not Tashi.'

Whereas, if the speaker already knew that the referent is or is not Tashi, but wants to make that fact known to the addressee, the speaker would use the general equational forms of the copula, as in (157) and (158).

- (157) *hima taɛi dɛ*
hima taɛi dɛ
 3SM.ANA Tashi COP.EQ.2/3
 'He is Tashi.'

- (158) *hima taɛi min*
hima taɛi min
 3SM.ANA Tashi NEG.COP.EQ.3
 'He is not Tashi.'

Unlike the copula *dɛ~min* and *nek~mi*, the copula *tek~mintɛk* does not specify number and person, as examples (159) and (160) show. In that way, it is kind of an 'unmarked', 'neutral' copula, and most likely represents the oldest Mönpa copula.

- (159) *kɔŋ tɛittɔla tɛk tɛk*
kɔŋ tɛittɔla tɛk tɛk
 insect small one COP.EQ.AK
 '(It) is a small insect.'

- (160) *hɔɔŋ bumdɔŋnaŋ tɛk*
hɔɔŋ bumdɔŋ-naŋ tɛk
 3P Bumthang-ABL COP.EQ.AK
 'They are from Bumthang.'

7.3. Existential copula *nek~mi*

The basic Mönpa affirmative existential copula is *nek*, which is the form for the second and third person singular. Similar to the formation of the affirmative equational copula, the first person singular form is *nekŋa* and the first person plural form is *nekwa*, but the second and third person plural form is *neknak*. The basic negative form of the existential copula is *mi*, which is also the form for the second and third person singular, with again the other forms formed with the morphemes *-ŋa*: (first person singular), *-wa* (first person plural) and *-nak* (non-first person plural, i.e., second and third person plural). The Mönpa existential copula expresses existential (e.g., (200)), locational (e.g., (161)), possessive (e.g., (47)) and attributive (e.g., (32)) properties, and in that way largely corresponds to the copula *yod* and *med* in Dzongkha. Other examples of the affirmative and negative existential copula are presented in (161), (162), (163), (164) and (165).

- (161) *kalage mi:wa: zimpala tɛk nek*
kala-ge mi:-wa: zimpala tɛk nek
 1S-GEN house-LOC cat one COP.EX
 'There is a cat in my house.'

- (162) *hɔma tɔ mi, hɔma hɔwa: nek*
hɔma tɔ mi, hɔma hɔ-wa: nek
 3SM there NEG.COP.EX, 3SM here-LOC COP.EX
 'He is not there, he is here.'
- (163) *ke tɔ miŋa:, ke hɔwa: nekŋa:*
ke tɔ mi-ŋa:, ke hɔ-wa: nek-ŋa:
 1S there NEG.COP.EX-1S.NPST, 1S here-LOC COP.EX-1S.NPST
 'I am not there, I am here.'
- (164) *anak tɔ miwa, anak hɔwa: nekwa*
anak tɔ mi-wa, anak hɔ-wa: nek-wa
 1PE there NEG.COP.EX-1NS, 1PE here-LOC COP.EX-1NS
 'We are not there, we are here.'
- (165) *hɔɔŋ tɔ minak, hɔɔŋ hɔwa: neknaɔ*
hɔɔŋ tɔ mi-nak, hɔɔŋ hɔ-wa: nek-nak
 3P there NEG.COP.EX-N1.NS, 3P here-LOC COP.EX-N1.NS
 'They are not there, they are here.'

7.4. Possession

Possession and negative possession is indicated with the existential copula and the negative existential copula. The third person singular copula are the unmarked form. The possessor is marked by the dative marker. Examples are provided in (166) and (167).

- (166) *da:sam kortek keŋa: teru miŋa:*
da:sam kortek ke-ŋa: teru mi-ŋa:
 today meantime 1S-DAT1 money NEG.COP.EX-1S.NPST
 'These days, I don't have money.'
- (167) *ta:wa himaŋa: 'jok mi*
ta:wa hima-ŋa: 'jok mi
 yesterday 3SM.ANA-DAT1 job NEG.COP.EX
 'Yesterday, he didn't have a job.'

8 Negation

The Mönpa negative prefix *mo* NEG1 is attached before verbs in the present and future tenses, as shown in sentence (168). In contrast, *ma* neg is attached before verbs in the past tense and imperative mood, as presented in sentences (169), (170)⁷ and (171).

- (168) *ke dɔre la: mɔjyŋa:*
ke dɔre la: mɔ-jy-ŋa:
 1S now work NEG1-do-1S.NPST
 'I don't work right now.'

⁷ While the negation marker is *ma* without high register tone onset, due to the high register tone onset of the modified verb root 'mü, the negation marker is realised as 'ma.

- (169) *ke ta:waje la: majyηa:*
ke ta:wa=je la: ma-jy-ηa:
 1s yesterday=ADD work NEG-do-{1s.NPST}
 'I didn't work yesterday either.'

- (170) *kalasi: kantei kəteitla 'ma'myηa:*
kala-si: kantei kəteitla 'ma-'my-ηa:
 1s-ERG pumpkin white NEG-sell-1s.NPST
 'I didn't sell the white pumpkin.'

- (171) *iη hɔde majyla*
iη hɔ=de ma-jy-la
 2s this=COP.EQ NEG-do-IMP
 'Don't do like this.'

9 Questions

In Mönpa, questions can be formed in three basic ways: with the question marker *ja:*, with an interrogative only, and with an interrogative and the question marker *bo*.

9.1. Questions with marker *ja:*

In questions without an interrogative but with a verbal predicate in the non-past (present or future) tense, Mönpa cliticizes the question marker *ja:* to the verbal form, as in the examples (172) and (173), but also in (122), (40), (113), (119), and (154).

- (172) *iη ɔsa hogimja:*
iη ɔsa ho-gi-m=ja:
 2s cloth wash-2/3.NPST-FUT=Q1
 'Do you (want to) wash cloth? (lit. 'Will you wash cloth?')'

- (173) *iη da:sam bəŋgimja:*
iη da:sam bəŋ-gi-m=ja:
 2s today stay-2/3.NPST-FUT=Q1
 'Will you stay (here) today?'

The question marker =*ja* is also found on 'either...or' questions, where it is cliticised to a nominal part of speech, in the case of (174), the demonstratives.

- (174) *iηηa: gəlibe hɔmaja: ja:n dəmaja:*
iη-ηa: gə-li-bə hɔma=ja: ja:n dəma=ja:
 2s-DAT1 need-SUB-DEF this=Q1 or that-Q1
 'Is this what you need, or is it that one?'

9.2. Questions with an interrogative

In questions with an interrogative and in the past tense or with a copula, Mönpa does not have a question marker, as in (216), (102), (175), (43), (46) and (47).

- (175) *iŋ hɔwa: adɛtna lek^{hi}*
iŋ hɔ-wa: adɛtna le-k^{hi}
 2s here-LOC why come-2/3.PST
 'Why did you come here?'

9.3. Questions with an interrogative and *bo*

In questions with an interrogative in the non-past (present or future) tense, Mönpa uses the question marker *bo* q2 at the end of the phrase or sentence, as in (176), (100), (42), (44), and (45).

- (176) *hɔma gɔ:gewa: bɔŋk^{he}gibo*
hɔma gɔ:ge-wa: bɔŋ-k^{he}:-gi=bo
 3SM where-LOC stay-PROG.S-2/3.NPST=Q2
 'Where is he staying?'

9.4. Other types of questions

We found a few occurrences of other question markers that may indicate other types of questions, although we could not yet analyse them exactly.

The question particle =*eu* indicates a doubt on the part of the speaker of whether the proposition is true or not, as shown in example (177).

- (177) *hɔmɛt moji:gimɛu*
hɔmɛt mɔ:ji:-gi-m=ɛu
 3SF NEG1-go1-2/3.NPST-FUT=Q3
 'She won't go, will she?'

The following example (178) has the Khengkha equational copula *wen* (Dorji 2022: 81) with some additional morphemic material *-dat-* which we are unable to analyse till now, and what may be a question particle =*te* q4. The copular question in *wendatte* is comparable to the Dzongkha construction *in-na* (Tshering and van Driem 2019: 190-192), and the copular question in *minte*, found in (179) and (134), is comparable to Dzongkha *men-na*, asking for someone's intent, rather than asking whether the activity is actually going to happen or not.

- (178) *iŋ tɔ dzɔkparɔŋ wandim wendatte*
iŋ tɔ dzɔkpa=rɔŋ wan-di-m wɛn-dat⁸=te
 2s there quickly=EMPH return-2/3.NPST3-FUT be-X=Q4
 'You will return soon, won't you?'

- (179) *sa:naŋ gyga: minte*
sa:naŋ gy-ga: min=te
 tomorrow go1-ADH.1NS not.be=Q4
 'Let's go tomorrow, okay?'

The particular forms of the marker *-wa n1* ⇒ 1.PST and the unmarked verbal agreement markers *-Ø4 1/2/3s* ⇒ 3.prs and *-Ø1 n1* ⇒ n1.PST, *-wɛ*, *-pɛ* and *-gɛ*, were mentioned with examples (97), (70) and (63) and (64) in sections 6.6.4, 6.4.3 and 6.4.1, respectively.

10 Syntax

This section presents a few initial observations regarding Mönpa syntax. In section 10.1, we describe periphrastic construction with the equational copula *dɛ*. In section 10.2, we describe the function of the clitic =*tek*, which

⁸ We have been unable to find a satisfactory explanation of this morpheme yet.

- (185) *ke par nuŋwa: miŋa:tək*
ke par nuŋ-wa: mi-ŋa:=tək
 1s picture in-LOC NEG.COP.EX-1s.NPST=COP.EQ.AK
 'I am not in the picture.'
- (186) *anak tʰoge nuŋwa: nəkwatek*
anak tʰo-ge nuŋ-wa: nək-wa=tək
 1PE list-GEN in-LOC COP.EX-1NS=COP.EQ.AK
 'We are on the list.'
- (187) *anak tʰoge nuŋwa: miwatek*
anak tʰo-ge nuŋ-wa: mi-wa=tək
 1PE list-GEN in-LOC NEG.COP.EX-1NS=COP.EQ.AK
 'We are not on the list.'
- (188) *hɔɔŋ hɔwa: minaktek* *hɔɔŋ tɔ nəknaktek*
hɔɔŋ hɔ-wa: mi-nak=tək *hɔɔŋ tɔ nək-nak=tək*
 3P here-LOC NEG.COP.EX-N1.NS=COP.EQ.AK 3P there COP.EX-N1.NS=COP.EQ.AK
 'They are not here, they are there.'

Similarly, while finite verbal forms without the clitic =*tek* describe something that the speaker knows to be a fact or is part of assimilated or general knowledge, finite verbal forms with the clitic =*tek* express a state or action that the speaker personally witnessed and which recently became part of the speaker's knowledge. In this way, the Mönpa clitic =*tek* appears to be similar in function, though not in form, to the Dzongkha suffix of acquired knowledge *-pas* (Tshering and van Driem 2019: 173-174), which is also reflected in the auxiliary copula *in-pas* (Tshering and van Driem 2019: 187). Sentences (189), (190) and (191) present examples of the clitic =*tek*.

- (189) *tɛnzanna:* *tiru* *gøtek*
 tɛnzən-na: *tiru* *gø-Ø4=tɛk*
 Tenzin-DAT money need-1/2/3S $\Rightarrow$ 3.PR.S=COP.EQ.AK
 'Tenzin needs money.'
- (190) *dzøwɔk* *sɛ:* *zimtek*
 dzø-wɔk *sɛ:* *zim-Ø5=tɛk*
 tea-COM liquor be.tasty-NHUM=COP.EQ.AK
 'Liquor is tastier than tea.'
- (191) *hɔmɛtje* *hɔŋsarwa:* *bɔŋkhɛ:gitɛk*
 hɔmɛt=je hɔŋsar-wa: bɔŋ-khɛ:-gi=tɛk
 3SF=ADD Trongsa-LOC stay-PROG.S-2/3.NPST=COP.EQ.AK
 'She also stays in Trongsa.'

10.3. Probability with $=d\epsilon k$ PROB

A verbal form modified with the clitic =*dek* prob indicates probability or uncertainty about the proposition it modifies, as in example (192), but also in (195) and (209).

- (192) *iŋ tɛ^happ^hatrɔŋ hɔwa bɔŋɛaŋ ɡɔŋaːdɛk*
iŋ tɛ^happ^hat=rɔŋ hɔ-wa bɔŋ=ɛaŋ ɡɔ-ŋaː=dɛk
 2S always=EMPH here-LOC stay=although happy-1S.NPST=PROB
 ‘I will likely be happy if you stay here forever.’

10.4. Conditional conjunction =*ma* ‘if’

The Mönpa conjunction *ma* is equivalent to *ba-cin/wa-cin* in Dzongkha, and ‘if’ in English is affixed to the verbal form it modifies. Examples are shown in (193)⁹ and (194).

- (193) *hima daːsam hɛtlama ke jiːk^hɛŋaː*
hima daːsam hɛt-la=ma ke jiː-k^he-ŋaː
 3SM.ANA today arrive-REFL=if 1S go1-OBL-1S.NPST
 ‘If he comes today, I have to go.’

- (194) *iŋsiː ɡɔwama kalasiːje ɡɔŋaː*
iŋ-siː ɡɔ-wa=ma kala-siː=je ɡɔ-ŋaː
 2S-ERG love-n1⇒1.PST=if 1S-ERG=ADD love-1S.NPST
 ‘If you love me (lit. ‘if you loved me’), I love you too.’

However, we also find the conditional conjunction =*ma* ‘if’ cliticised on nominal parts of speech, such as the pronouns in (195) and (209), in which it expresses something like ‘in [x]’s opinion’, ‘according to [x]’, like in Dzongkha [*x*]-*kyis hbad-ba-cin*.

- (195) *hiɔŋsiːma ke mage hadɛk*
hiɔŋ-siː=ma ke ma-ge ha=dɛk
 3P.ANA-ERG=if 1S NEG-need understand=PROB
 ‘They probably mean [to say] that they don’t want me
 (lit. ‘If its [according to] them, they probably understand that I’m not needed).’

10.5. Concessive conjunction =*ɛaŋ* ‘although’

The Mönpa concessive conjunction *ɛaŋ* ‘although, even if’ modifies a verb or copula in a subordinating clause that described a situation that contrasts with the one described in the main clause, e.g. (196), (197)¹⁰ and (198).

- (196) *iŋŋaː tiru nɛkɛaŋ keŋaː miŋaː*
iŋ-ŋaː tiru nɛk=ɛaŋ ke-ŋaː mi-ŋaː
 2S-DAT1 money COP.EX=although 1S-DAT1 NEG.COP.EX-1S.NPST
 ‘Although you have money, I don’t.’

- (197) *ke pɔŋaːɛaŋ mek maɲummaː*
ke pɔ-ŋaː=ɛaŋ mek ma-ɲum-maː
 1S sleep-1S.NPST=although eye NEG-sleep-1S.NPST
 ‘Even though I tried, I couldn’t fall asleep (lit. ‘I don’t
 rest (lit. ‘[my] eyes don’t fall asleep’), even though I sleep).’

⁹ We doubt this is indeed the reflexive marker *-la* here, and we are also not sure why the stem extender *-a-* is not added to avoid the cluster /tɬ/ (see 6.13), we would have expected *hɛt-a-la=ma*.

¹⁰ The verb *pɔ* means ‘to sleep, to be asleep’, whereas the verb *ɲum* means ‘to fall asleep’.

- (198) *zawaɛaŋ tɛy mi*
 za-wa=ɛaŋ tɛy mi
 eat-X=although taste NEG.COP.EX
 ‘There is no taste, even if you are having a meal.’

10.6. Coordinating conjunction *naŋ* ‘and’

In Mönpa, two words or two phrases can be connected with the coordinating conjunction *naŋ* ‘and’, equivalent to Dzongkha *dang*. The coordinating conjunction *naŋ* has the same in form as the ablative case marker *naŋ* (4.4) and is also structurally related to it, in that the modified noun or phrase forms the starting point, but it is morphosyntactically a separate word and does not suffix itself onto the noun or phrase that it modifies. In Mönpa, *naŋ* ‘and’ can be used to indicate association, similar to English ‘with’ or Dzongkha *dang* ‘and’, as is illustrated in examples (199) and (126).

- (199) *ke hima naŋ ’nokga:*
 ke hima naŋ ’nok-ga:
 1s 3SM.ANA and meet-1s.PST
 ‘I met him (lit. I met with him).’

As we saw in section 5.6, numerals beyond twenty are formed with *naŋ* ‘and’: *k^hei-tek naŋ dogo* ‘score-one and nine’ is 29, while *k^hei-ne naŋ tɛ^ha-tek* ‘score-two and ten-one’ is 51.

10.7. Contrastive conjunction *haŋa* ‘but’

In Mönpa, *haŋa* is the contrastive conjunction equivalent to ‘but’, as illustrated in sentences (200) and (201).¹¹ It is a morphological word and it is not cliticised to any part of speech because it modifies an entire subordinate clause.

- (200) *tɔ boɛa tɛk nek^htek haŋa hima ge:ma simasi*
 tɔ boɛa tɛk nek=tek haŋa hima ge:ma si-ma-si
 there boy one COP.EX=COP.EQ.AK but 3SM.ANA who know-NEG-know
 ‘There was a boy, but I didn’t know who he was.’

- (201) *hɔŋa: ɛam tɛ^ha tɛk nek^htek haŋa ge:mage simasi*
 hɔŋa: ɛam tɛ^ha tɛk nek=tek haŋa ge:ma-ge si-ma-si
 here-DAT1 shoes pair one COP.EX=COP.EQ.AK but who-GEN know-NEG-know
 ‘Here is (lit. ‘to here there is’) a pair of shoes, but I don’t know whose they are.’

10.8. Alternative conjunction *ja:n* ‘or’

The Mönpa word *ja:n* is used to connect two or more possibilities or alternatives equivalent to *yaŋ-cin* in Dzongkha and ‘or’ in English. Examples are given in sentences (202) and (203).

- (202) *keŋa: dzø ja:n sɛ: adetborɔŋ p^hat*
 keŋa: dzø ja:n sɛ: adet-borɔŋ p^hat
 1s-DAT tea or liquor what-ever(<Dzo) fine
 ‘I am fine with either tea or liquor.’

¹¹ According to the language consultants, this focuses on the specific pair of shoes in a specific location, and is therefore distinct from *hɔ-wa: ɛam tɛ^ha tɛk nek=tek* which simply means ‘there is a pair of shoes here.’

- (203) *ke da:sam ja:n sa:naŋ ji:ŋa:m*
ke da:sam ja:n sa:naŋ ji:-ŋa:-m
 1s today or tomorrow go1-1s.NPST-FUT
 ‘I will go either today or tomorrow.’

11 Discourse markers

In our data, we found evidence for three discourse markers: additive focus =*je*, general focus =*det* and emphatic focus =*ɽŋ*. We presume Mönpa will have more focus markers, which will occur in natural speech.

11.1. General focus =*det*

The marker =*det* FOC seems to imply some general focus on the modified noun, as example (204) shows: the implication here seems to be that of all the people present, the addressee is the one who may come.

- (204) *iŋdet zɛppejusɔ dzɔnla*
iŋ=det zɛppejusɔ dzɔn-la
 2s=FOC slowly come(H)-IMP
 ‘You come slowly.’

It is likely, that the general focus marker =*det* is also the morpheme we find in the interrogatives *adetda/adet* ‘what’ and *adetna* ‘why’.

11.2. Additive focus =*je* ADD

The Mönpa clitic =*je* is used to express additive focus in the meaning of English ‘also’ and Dzongkha *jaŋ*, as is illustrated in sentences (205), (206) and (207).

- (205) *keŋa:je miŋa:*
ke-ŋa:=je mi-ŋa:
 1s-DAT1=ADD NEG.COP.EX-1s.NPST
 ‘I don’t have one either.’

- (206) *hɔmetsi:je keŋa: ’ma:n tɔwa*
hɔmet-si:=je ke-ŋa: ’ma:n tɔ-wa
 3SF=-ERG=ADD 1s-DAT1 medicine give-N1⇒1.PST
 ‘She also gave me medicine.’

- (207) *himetsi:je himaŋa: ɛɔmo tɛk ba*
himet-si:=je hima-ŋa: ɛɔmo tɛk ba-Ø1
 3SE.ANA-ERG=ADD 3SM.ANA-DAT1 gift one give-N1⇒N1.PST
 ‘She also gave him a gift.’

11.3. Emphatic focus =*ɽŋ* EMPH

The emphatic focus particle =*ɽŋ* places emphasis on the word or phrase it modifies. The emphatic focus particle =*ɽŋ* has a direct cognate in Dzongkha *-rang*. In (208), the speaker emphasises that the water was cut off from the source, and not somewhere along the way to the tap, for example, because of a broken water pipe.

- (208) *təø kanəŋrəŋ tɛ^hatdalele*
təø ka-nəŋ=rəŋ tɛ^hat-da-le-le-Ø5
 water source-ABL=EMPH cut.off-release-come-come-NHUM
'The water got cut off from the source itself only.'

In (209), the speaker emphasises that it was probably the person they talk about only, and not someone else.

- (209) *kalasi:ma himarəŋ ledək*
kala-si:=ma hima=rəŋ le=dək
 1S-ERG=if 3SM.ANA=EMPH come=PROB
'I suppose it was him only.'

As was shown in section 5.7 and examples (121), (178) and (192), the emphatic particle =*rəŋ* is also commonly attested as integral part of adverbs, rather than being used to emphasise their meaning.

12 Conclusion

This article presents the first notes on the grammar of Bhutan's endangered Mönpa language. We realise that two major limitations of our study, the small amount of initial data and the transcription of the data in the Joyik script rather than the International Phonetic Alphabet means that the description presented here is far from complete. Nonetheless, we hope that this short overview will contribute to the existing knowledge on Mönpa, and that it will serve as a starting point for the more exhaustive documentation of the language.

Glossing abbreviations

⇒	'acting on' in a transitive relationship	M	male
{ }	uncertain or unexpected morphemes	N	non-
/	or	NEG	negative
<	derived from	NHUM	non-human
1	first person	NPST	non-past tense
2	second person	OBL	obligatory mood
3	third person	P	plural number
ABL	ablative case	POL	polite mood
ADD	additive focus	PP	past participle
ADH	adhortative mood	PROG	progressive aspect
AK	acquired knowledge	PRS	present tense
ANA	anaphoric pronoun	PST	past tense
AUTH	authoritative mood	Q	question
COM	comparative case	REFL	reflexive
COP	copula	REQ	request mood
D	dual number	S	singular
DAT	dative case	SE	stem extender
DEF	definite determiner	SUB	subordinator
		DZO	Dzongkha
		E	exclusive person
		ENC	encouragement mood
		EMPH	emphatic focus
		ERG	ergative case
		EQ	equational copula
		EX	existential copula
		F	female
		FOC	general focus
		FUT	future tense
		GEN	genitive case
		H	honorific
		I	inclusive person
		IMP	imperative mood
		INV	inverse
		LOC	locative case

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Appendix: Sample text “The fable of a bear and two friends”

(210) *hom naŋ tots^{hɔŋ} nige huŋ*
hom naŋ tots^{hɔŋ} ni-ge huŋ
 bear and friend two-GEN story
 ‘The story of a bear and two friends.’

(211) *'ŋada tots^{hɔŋ} ni 'naŋ tekwa: ji:nigiwa*
'ŋada tots^{hɔŋ} ni 'naŋ tek-wa: ji:-ni-gi-wa
 before friend two forest one-LOC go1-2/3D-2/3.NPST-1NS
 ‘Once upon a time, when two friends were walking in a forest, ...’

- (212) *hanptomaja: hom teksi: 'nopa kek^{hi}itek*
hanptoma-ηa: hom tek-si: 'nopa ke-k^{hi}=tek
 suddenly-DAT1 bear one-ERG harm deliver-2/3.PST=COP.EQ.AK
 '...a bear suddenly attacked [them].'
- (213) *tots^{hi}η teksi: seη pe:wa: hōηsa: 'namet tots^{hi}ηηa: gympo majytek*
tots^{hi}η tek-si: seη pe:-wa: hōη-sa: 'namet
 friend one-ERG tree top-LOC climb-PP his

tots^{hi}η-ηa: gympo ma-jy-∅l=tek
 friend-DAT1 friend NEG-do-n1⇒n1.PST=COP.EQ.AK
 'One friend, climbing up a tree, did not help his friend.'
- (214) *hanan tots^{hi}η asolana hawa: pōsa: madzili bōηgiηa:*
hanan tots^{hi}η asola na ha-wa:
 then friend other this ground-LOC

pō-sa: ma-dzi-li bōη-gi-ηa:
 lie-PP NEG-move-SUB stay-2/3.NPST-1S.NPST
 'Then this other friend was laying on the ground motionless.'
- (215) *homsī: siη 'pōsa: mōksa:*
hom-si: siη 'pō-sa: mōk-sa:
 bear-ERG smell sniff-PP see-PP
 'The bear, sniffing and having a look, ...'
- (216) *hima seseden ha isa: wansa: tē^{hi}ηk^{hi}itek*
hima se-se-den ha i-sa: wan-sa: tē^{hi}η-k^{hi}=tek
 3SM.ANA die-die-X that think-PP return-PP go2-2/3.PST=COP.EQ.AK
 '... went back, thinking that he was dead.'
- (217) *tots^{hi}η hōmasi: himaja: homsi: iηge 'ηataηηa: εa:ba paksa: adet εeηna ha hōgiηa:*
tots^{hi}η hōma-si: hima-ηa: hom-si: iη-ge 'ηataη-ηa: εa:ba
 friend 3SM-ERG 3SM.ANA-DAT1 bear-ERG 2S-GEN ear-DAT1 mouth

pak-sa: adet εeη-na ha hō-gi-ηa:
 whisper-PP what tell-1S⇒3S.PRS that ask-2/3.NPST-1S.NPST
 'When that friend asked him: "What did the bear tell you by whispering in (lit. 'to') your ear?", ...'
- (218) *tots^{hi}η ηanpanja: 'lo matek^{he}: ha εeηgi kornan εakk^{hi}itek*
tots^{hi}η ηanpa-ηa: 'lo ma-te-k^{he}: ha εeη-gi
 friend bad-DAT1 mind NEG-entrust-prog that tell-2/3.NPST

kor-nan εak-k^{hi}=tek
 about-ABL say-2/3.PST=COP.EQ.AK
 '... he said that he was telling about not trusting a false friend.'