

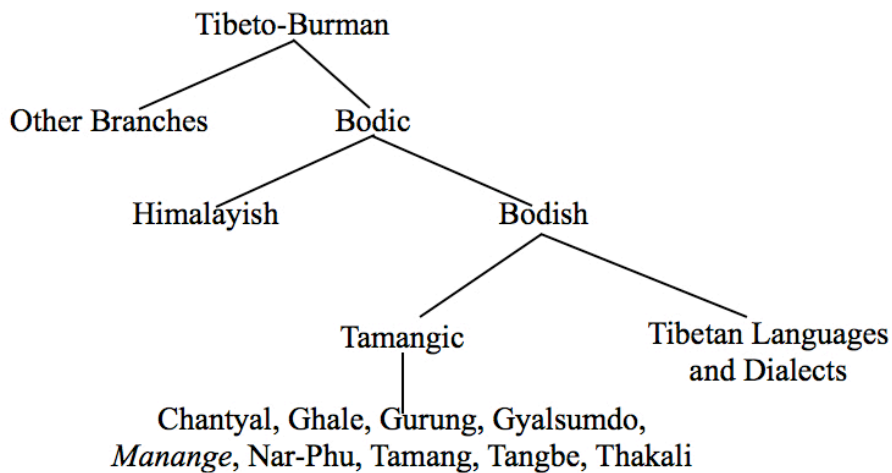
Manange, a Sino-Tibetan Language of Nepal

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1 Introduction

Manange is a Sino-Tibetan language spoken in Nepal. Sino-Tibetan is very large with over 360 languages, and is itself split into two “sub-families”: Sinitic, comprised of languages from (mainly) China, and Tibeto-Burman, comprised of over 350 languages from Nepal, India, Tibet, Bhutan, Myanmar, Pakistan, Thailand and Bangladesh. Manange belongs to the Bodish sub-grouping of Tibeto-Burman. This genealogical profile is given in more detail in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Genealogical Profile of Manange



Nepal ('The Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal' since 2007) is a landlocked country of approximately 57,000 square miles (similar in size to the U.S. state of Illinois) located in South Asia, with India bordering the south, east and west, and Tibet/China to the north. The official language of Nepal, and also its lingua-franca is Nepali, an Indo-European language. The

capital city of Kathmandu is located in the central part of the country, at an elevation of about 4,400 feet, while the Manang District, the traditional home of Manange speakers, is located to the north and west of Kathmandu. Map 1 gives a geographic perspective on the location of Manang.

Map 1. Map of Manang District



The average elevation of the thirteen Manange-speaking villages is higher than that of Kathmandu, at around 10,000 feet above sea level, with the highest point in Manang at 17,765 feet. The population of Manang is much sparser than the rest of Nepal, with under 10,000 people in a district of 867 square miles (the total population of Nepal is currently around 30 million, with over one million of them in the Kathmandu area). These geographic and human aspects factor in significantly with the linguistic situation in Manang.

The map also shows an important factor in the socio-economic organization of Manange speakers: The Annapurna Circuit (with a rough approximation via the dashed line). This is a foot path of approximately 185 miles in length which literally bisects the Manang District as it runs through central Nepal. Traditionally, the Annapurna Circuit was a route for trading

foodstuffs and other goods between the Manang region and the rest of Nepal, Tibet and India. Nowadays the Annapurna Circuit is famous as a trail for backpackers or trekkers. As a result, the nearer to the Circuit a Manange settlement is, the more that the settlement's economic practices will be tailored towards the tourist economy. Manange villages located right on the Circuit have houses converted into luxury –style lodges, some with German-style bakeries and electricity capabilities operated by small hydero-power schemes. There are also numerous small shops selling goods for trekkers. There is a growing predominance of Nepali bilingualism (and to some extent, English), as villagers interact with porters and trekking guide, or as city Mananges relocate to Manang to reap the rewards of the trekking industry, and as tourists interact with locals. Further away from the Circuit, the socio-economic situation for inhabitants is much different, where they engage mainly in shepherding yak and goats. They also engage in limited farming, including buckwheat, potatoes, cauliflower and garlic in the cooler, dryer climates, and corn, millet and wheat in the warmer southern portions of Manang.

Manange is not the only language spoken in Manang; it is one of four Bodish languages in the area, including also Gurung, Nar-Phu and Gyalsumdo. In addition to these languages, Tibetan speakers are represented in Manang, typically when migrants relocate to Manang due to the lucrative tourist season and better grazing conditions. Additionally, Thakali people, who inhabit the Mustang District to the northwest of Manang regularly travel through Manang with mule trains.

In recent generations, many Mananges have migrated to Kathmandu, or to lower elevations during winter, to benefit from longer growing seasons and better education and empolymnt opportunities. In winters, many women and children stay in low elevation villages

where Nepali is spoken, and men may travel to other regions for work. Although some Mananges do remain in Manang year-round, this number seems to be declining over the years.

Manange is considered small but relatively viable, with some prospect for endangerment. Although the speaker population is under 5,000, there is continued transmission of Manange to younger generations, despite displacement via emigration of some speakers to Kathmandu. Factors contributing to an observed small-scale shift away from Manange include the rise of access to formal education in Nepali for socio-economic advancement. Factors contributing to retention include positive within-ethnic group identity and prestige, including the comparative wealth of Mananges as entrepreneurs. In comparison to the viability of other nearby languages like Nar-Phu and Gurung, Manange is in the middle, with the Phu dialect at perhaps a couple of hundred speakers, and the Gurung dialects Nepal-wide totaling over 200,000 speakers.

2 Typological Overview of Manange

Because the Sino-Tibetan family has many languages covering such a large area, typological descriptions recognize two types of language from this family: languages of the ‘Sinosphere’ and languages of the ‘Indosphere.’ Languages in the ‘Sinosphere’ are located mainly in Southeast Asia, and they are analytic, with little inflectional and derivational morphology. This does not mean they lack such traits altogether, but they tend to show morphological alternations via phonological adjustments (e.g. tone) and by phrasal structures (e.g. serial verbs and compounds). Root morphemes in these languages are rarely bigger than one syllable. In contrast, are languages in the ‘Indosphere’, which extend through the Himalayas and into South Asia. These languages have synthetic and agglutinative morphological patterns, including affixes marking

case, honorifics, and extensive tense/aspect marking. Roots may be polysyllabic, and languages usually lack tone. However, complicating this division are languages like Manange, which geographically fits in an ‘Indospheric’ region, but which shares some features with ‘Sinospheric’ languages.

Turning first to phonology and morphology, Manange has thirty consonant phonemes, including voiceless and voiceless aspirated stops and affricates in bilabial, dental, retroflex, palatal, velar and glottal places of articulation. Manange also has four nasals /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/, and three fricatives, /s, ʂ, ʃ/. The consonants also include approximants (/l, j, w/) and an alveolar tap (/ɾ/). In addition, there is a labio-velarized series of consonants: p^w, p^{wh}, m^w, k^w, k^{wh}, ŋ^w. The six vowel phonemes include: /i, u, e, o, a, ʌ/, with all vowels except /ʌ/ having a nasalized counterpart. Manange has four tones: low level (*tu*²² ‘stay’), high level (*tu*⁴⁴ ‘thread’), very high falling (*tu*⁵² ‘cereal’), and mid-high falling (*t^hu*⁴² ‘six’). Some words, especially recent loanwords, do not carry a tone melody. While most stems and roots are monosyllabic, there are also some disyllabic noun roots and some compound verb stems. The basic syllable structure is: (C)(C)V(C), where the second onset consonant is a tap or an approximant. Almost all words have minimally an onset consonant, but there are a few vowel-only or vowel-initial words (e.g. *u*²² ‘that’, *ale*²² ‘boy’, *ukpʌ*⁴² ‘owl’). There are more phonotactic restrictions word-medially and finally than initially.

The morphological profile of Manange is largely analytic, with a small number of suffixes and clitics signaling inflectional and derivational operations. Some aspectual

distinctions are marked with serial verbs, and there is a small series of verbal morphemes that code evidentiality.

The structure of elements in the noun phrase is: (DEM) (REL) N (ADJ) (NUM) = (CLITIC), with optional elements in parentheses, and with relative clauses preceding and adjectives following the noun. This is covered in more detail in the section on word classes in Manange. Clitics in Manange are affix-like morphemes that indicate plurality and definiteness of nouns, as well as the case of nouns (sidebar 4). Unlike most other 'Indospheric' Tibeto-Burman languages, Manange lacks agreement marking in number, gender, case, honorific status of referents. Manange does have a system of case marking aligning along ergative-absolutive patterns. In particular, the =*tse* clitic marks the subject of a transitive clause, and =*ri* marks the semantic patient of a transitive clause. (sidebar 5).

Manange is a largely analytic language, and this is especially evident when comparing its verbal morphology to that of other 'Indospheric' languages. For example, there is no participant agreement marking on the verb in Manange, a trait that is found with many other Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. There is a small set of verbal suffixes that mark aspect and mood, and also which link clauses together in larger complex sentences. There is no grammatical tense in Manange. There is one prefix (negation *a-*) and a set of post-verbal morphemes marking evidentiality, as well as a copula *mo*²² 'be'.

Turning to clause and sentence structure, the word order of basic constituents is generally SOV for transitive clauses or SV for intransitive clauses. Finite clauses show a final marker indicating evidentiality, and many non-finite clauses show a nominalizer suffix *-pA*. This nominalizer suffix is multifunctional, marking relative clauses, complement clauses, purpose clauses and clauses that follow a sequential time ordering. Another common clause linking

suffix is the clause chainer *-tse*, which marks events that occur simultaneously as well as sequentially.

3 Lexical classes

One of the more interesting properties of Manange is its lexical classes, particularly the class of adjectives. Manange has syntactic and morphological evidence for two classes of adjectives, which are both, in their own ways, distinct from nouns and verbs. Nouns represent the largest, most productive lexical class in Manange. Although most words are monosyllabic and monomorphemic, new words may be added to the lexicon via derivation (compounding) and words may also be added via borrowing from languages like Nepali.

(1) Monomorphemic Nouns

<i>Monomorphemic</i>	<i>Compounds</i>	<i>Loans</i>
<i>pa</i> ⁵² ‘leaf’	<i>p^hem^wi</i> ⁴² ‘coin’ (metal + money)	<i>kot^ha</i> ‘pasture’ (< Nepali <i>gotha</i>)
<i>mi</i> ⁴⁴ ‘eye’	<i>meʃΛ</i> ⁴² ‘beef’ (cow + flesh)	<i>ʃi</i> ²² ‘cotton’ (< Nepali <i>ril</i>)
<i>tʃoktsu</i> ²² ‘table’	<i>kjep^hrΛ</i> ²² ‘buckwheat’ (barley + flour)	<i>tauli</i> ‘towel’ (< English <i>towel</i>)
<i>pΛle</i> ⁵² ‘leg’	<i>ʃiŋtuŋ</i> ⁴⁴ ‘tree’ (wood + grove)	<i>fon</i> ‘phone’ (< English <i>phone</i>)

Nouns in Manange show a variety of morphological and syntactic properties that do not apply to other lexical classes. Nouns may be plural marked with the clitic =*tse*, and they may take case enclitics. Nouns may also be marked with the definiteness enclitics =*ko* or =*ri*, which indicate the degree to which a referent (a noun) is already introduced or known in a discourse context. None of these operations is possible for verbs or adjectives in Manange.

(2) Plural Marking

*nʌkyu=tse*²² *nu*⁴² *mo*²²

dog=PLUR sleep COP

‘The dogs sleep.’

(3) Definiteness and Case Marking

*nʌkyu=ko=tse*²² *nokor=ri*²² *pyu*⁵² *mo*²²

dog=DEF=ERG cat=PAT chase COP

‘The dog chases the cat.’

Syntactically, nouns are the only lexical class required to form a minimal noun phrase, while neither verbs nor adjectives may perform this function. Therefore, the first example represents a possible minimal noun phrase in Manange, while the second and third examples do not.

(4) Acceptable and Unacceptable NP Heads

$[n\Delta kju^{22}]_{NP}$

[dog]_{NP}

‘a/the dog’

* $[mleŋkja^{22}]_{NP}$

*[black]_{NP}

‘a/the black one’

* $[nu-p\Delta^{42}]_{NP}$

*[sleep-NOM]_{NP}

‘the sleeper/the sleeping one’

Like nouns, verbs are also an also open class category, with additions via compounding or borrowing (although loan verbs in Manange are more infrequent than are loan nouns). (sidebar

6). Even if a verb hosts the nominalizer suffix $-p\Delta$, it is not a derived noun. That is, a nominalized verb cannot (now) stand as the single head of a noun phrase (like example 4 above). Rather, a nominalized verb can be part of a noun phrase in a larger dependent clause structure, like a relative clause. In example 5 the bracketed relative clause *the man who killed the goat* contains the verb se^{22} ‘kill’, which is suffixed with $-p\Delta$.

- (5) $\eta\Lambda = tse^{22}$ [$\text{\textcircled{S}}\Lambda^{22}$ $se-p\Lambda^{22}$ $mi = ko = ri^{52}$] $m^w r^{42}$ $p^h r\Lambda^{42}$
 1SG=ERG [goat kill-NOM person=DEF=LOC] money hundred
*pin-tsi*²²
 give-PERF
 ‘I gave one hundred rupees to the man who killed the goat.’

While verbs are clearly *not* nouns in Manange, there are morphological and syntactic properties that are unique to verbs. For example, verbs may inflect for aspect and mood distinctions.

- (6) Non-Past
 $n\Lambda kju = ko^{22}$ kju^{44} mo^{22}
 dog=DEF run COP
 ‘The dog runs.’

- (7) Perfective
 $n\Lambda kju = ko^{22}$ $kju-tsi^{44}$
 dog=DEF run-PERF
 ‘The dog ran.’

(8) Progressive

*nɔkju=ko*²² *toso*⁵² *kju-tse*⁵² *mo*²²

dog=DEF now run-PROG COP

‘The dog is running right now.’

Verbs also take negative via the prefix *a-*, (shown in 9) and they are also the last constituent in most clauses, directly preceding either the copula, which functions to mark aspect distinctions, or one of the evidential morphemes.

(9) *u*²² *ale=ko=tse*²² *nɔkju=ko=rɪ*²² *kje*²² *a-te-ro*⁴⁴

that boy = DEF = ERG dog = DEF = PAT voice NEG-take.out-IMPER

*pi-tse*⁵²

say-CC

‘The boy, saying to the dog, ‘*Be quiet/don’t make a sound.*’ ...’

In English, a noun may be realized formally as a verb simply by hosting verbal morphology (e.g. *He moved the table ~ They tabled the vote*), but this is not possible in Manange. Aspect/mood morphology, and the negative prefix, apply exclusively to verbs, and nouns cannot take these markers.

Unlike in many other languages, Manange has not one, but two types of adjectives: those that behave as what English speakers conceive of as stereotypical adjectives (called ‘simple

adjectives' here), and those that have some properties in common with verbs (called 'verb-like adjectives' here). These two types can be distinguished by their formal properties when they are in the noun phrase (attributive functions) and when they are in the predicate (predicative functions).

Simple adjectives in Manange constitute a small and closed class, meaning that it is unusual for new items to be introduced to this class. They include most color terms, and some words expressing semantic dimensions like human states, speed and value with some examples.

(10) Semantic Dimensions of Simple Adjectives

<i>Color Terms</i>	<i>Human States</i>	<i>Speed/Value</i>
<i>mleŋkja</i> ²² 'black'	<i>k^hjokro</i> ²² 'old'	<i>kini</i> ⁵² 'fast'
<i>olkja</i> ²² 'red'	<i>ŋoto</i> ⁵² 'true/honest'	<i>kole</i> ⁴² 'slow'
<i>tΛrkja</i> ²² 'white'		

In attributive functions, simple adjectives follow the head noun, so by initial appearances, they appear to be able to take inflectional morphology that identifies nouns, including plural, case and definiteness clitics.

(11) *k^hje*⁴² *tΛrkja=ri*²² *ŋΛ*²² *por*⁵² *jΛ*²² *mo*²²

road white=LOC 1SG take go COP

'I take (the prayer scarf) on the white road (to heaven).'

However, because these inflectional markers are clitics (not affixes), they have a freer distribution, attaching to any element that is final in the noun phrase, including adjectives. Unlike nouns (and similarly to verbs and verb-like adjectives), simple adjectives cannot be the single (head) element of a noun phrase, so a structure like **tΛrkja=ri²² ηΛ²² por⁵² jΛ²² mo²²*, where the color word *tΛrkja²²* ‘white’ is the head of the NP, is not acceptable.

In the predicate, simple adjectives may be the syntactic complement to the verb ‘be’ in a copular construction, and this is similar to nouns.

(12) *Noun as a Syntactic Complement to ‘be’*

[fiŋ⁴⁴ yalka]_{COMP} [a-hĩ²² mi²²]_{PREDICATE}, [sew⁴² su⁴²]_{COMP}

[tree branch]_{COMP} [NEG-COP EVID]_{PREDICATE}, [deer horn]_{COMP}

[hĩ²² mi²²]_{PREDICATE}

[COP EVID]_{PREDICATE}

‘It was not a branch, it was a deer horn.’

(13) *Simple Adjective as a Syntactic Complement to ‘be’*

p^holpΛ⁴² t^haŋ=ko⁴⁴ [t^hẽ²²]_{COMP} [mo²² mu²²]_{PREDICATE}

frog pot=DEF [empty]_{COMP} [COP EVID]_{PREDICATE}

‘The frog pot (pot where the frog lived) was empty.’

Like nouns, simple adjectives do not directly inflect for aspect or mood distinctions, nor do they occur directly before an evidential marker (unlike verbs). Instead, the verb $t\Lambda^{22}$ ‘become’ follows the adjective and hosts this morphology, also preceding any evidentials.

(14) Following a Noun

kju^{44} $tso=ko^{44}$ $[t^h i]_{COMP}$ $[t\Lambda-tsi^{22}]_{PREDICATE}$
 water this=DEF [lake]_{COMP} [become-PERF]_{PREDICATE}
 ‘This water became a lake.’

(15) Following a Simple Adjective

$k^h i^{22}$ $[kat^h e]_{COMP}$ $[t\Lambda-tsi^{22}]_{PREDICATE}$
 3SG [thin]_{COMP} [become-PERF]_{PREDICATE}
 ‘He became thin.’

In this sense, both adjectives and nouns are in the position of predicate complement, with the verb $t\Lambda^{22}$ ‘become’ functioning as the predicate (main verb). Similarly, both nouns and simple adjectives are not directly prefixed with the negative marker, but rather a suppletive form of the copula occurs in the predicate and is prefixed with the negative.

(16) Suppletive Copula Following Noun

*u*²² [*tore*⁵²]_{COMP} [*a-re*²² *mo*²²]_{PREDICATE}

that [graveyard]_{COMP} [NEG-COP COP]_{PREDICATE}

‘That (piece of land) was not a graveyard (back then).’

(17) Suppletive Copula Following Adjective

*u*²² *nAkju*²² [*mleŋkja*²²]_{COMP} [*a-re*²² *mo*²²]_{PREDICATE}

that dog [black]_{COMP} [NEG-COP COP]_{PREDICATE}

‘That dog is not black.’

In comparison to simple adjectives, the class of verb-like adjectives is larger and is open to new membership via compounding. Some examples are provided here, along with the semantic dimensions which they can express.

(18) Semantic Dimensions of Verb-like Adjectives

<i>Age</i>	<i>Value, Human State</i>	<i>Physical Property</i>	<i>Dimension</i>
<i>sẽ</i> ²² ‘young’	<i>kũ</i> ⁴⁴ ‘expensive’	<i>ʃa</i> ²² ‘cracked/broken’	<i>t^hja</i> ²² ‘big’
<i>taŋ</i> ⁵² ‘ancient’	<i>k^he</i> ⁴⁴ ‘cheap’	<i>tʃẽ</i> ⁵² ‘soft’	<i>tʃã</i> ²² ‘small’
<i>tʃã</i> ⁵² ‘new’	<i>nɿ</i> ⁴⁴ ‘ill’	<i>ki</i> ²² ‘bitter’	<i>ruŋ</i> ⁵² ‘long’
<i>ʃuŋ</i> ⁴⁴ ‘brief’	<i>tsaŋ</i> ⁴⁴ ‘clean’	<i>k^haŋ</i> ⁴⁴ ‘cold climate’	<i>p^hra</i> ⁴⁴ ‘thin/fine’

Not surprisingly, verb-like adjectives have some formal properties in common with verbs, but there are some crucial ways in which they are different. In attributive functions, verb-like adjectives follow the noun, and if they are the final element in the noun phrase, they may host the full range of clitics (plural, case, definiteness)

(19) *kju*⁴⁴ *t^hj_Λ-p_Λ=ri*²² *t^hẽ*²² *t_Λ-tsi*²²

water big-NOM=LOC throw become-PERF

‘The ashes were thrown in big water (like a river).’

Recall that based on the formal structure of verbs when they occur in a noun phrase (in a relative clause) this is one way that verb-like adjectives are different from verbs. The sentence from example (5) is repeated here in (20) for convenience.

(20) *ŋ_Λ = tse*²² [*ʃ_Λ*²² *se-p_Λ*²² *mi = ko = ri*⁵²] *m^wr*⁴² *p^hr_Λ*⁴²

1SG=ERG [goat kill-NOM person=DEF=LOC] money hundred

*pin-tsi*²²

give-PERF

‘I gave one hundred rupees to the man who killed the goat.’

In (19) the verb-like adjective *t^hj_Λ-p_Λ*²² ‘big-NOM’ follows the head noun *kju*⁴⁴ ‘water’, while in (20) the nominalized verb *se-p_Λ*²² ‘kill-NOM’ precedes the head noun *mi*⁵² ‘person’. So, even though both the verb-like adjective and verb are suffixed with the nominalizer *-p_Λ*, they are

structurally distinct in attributive functions, and in this sense, verb-like adjectives are more like simple adjectives than verbs in that they are both post-nominal, while verbs are pre-nominal.

In the predicate, verb-like adjectives show some, but not all, of the morphological properties that verbs show. Both lexical classes host the perfective suffix *-tsi*, shown in these examples.

(21) Suffixed to a Verb

k^{hi}22 *k^hΛ-tsi²²*

3SG come-PERF

‘He came.’

(22) Suffixed to a Verb-like Adjective

k^{hi}22 *t^{hj}Λ-tsi²²*

3SG big-PERF

‘He was big.’

So, in both of these examples, the verb and verb-like adjective are functioning as inflecting verbs in the predicate. However, while verbs occupy the predicate of the clause (along with *mo²²* and evidentials, and the progressive suffix *-tse*) in imperfective aspect, verb-like adjectives are suffixed with the nominalizer and occur as a complement to the copula verb *mo²²* ‘be’.

(23) Temporal Distinctions (Non-past, Progressive, Future) With a Verb

$k^h i^{22}$ $[k^h \Lambda^{22} mo^{22}]_{PREDICATE}$

3SG [come COP]_{PREDICATE}

‘He comes.’

$k^h i^{22}$ $[k^h \Lambda-tse^{22} mo^{22} mu^{22}]_{PREDICATE}$

3SG [come-PROG COP EVID]_{PREDICATE}

‘He is coming (now).’

$k^h i^{22}$ $[k^h \Lambda-p\Lambda^{22} a^{22}]_{PREDICATE}$

3SG [come-FUT EVID²²]_{PREDICATE}

‘He will come.’

(24) Temporal Distinctions (Non-past, Future) With a Verb-like Adjective

mi^{52} $mile=ko^{22}$ pe^{44} $su\eta-p\Lambda^{44}$ $[mo^{22}]_{PREDICATE}$

person life=DEF very short-NOM [COP]_{PREDICATE}

‘Man’s (human) life is very short.’

$kj\tilde{e}=ko^{22}$ $SA-p\Lambda^{52}$ $[t\Lambda-p\Lambda^{22}]_{PREDICATE}$

rice=DEF tasty-NOM [become-FUT]_{PREDICATE}

‘The rice will be tasty.’

In addition, while verbs can host the negative prefix *a-* directly, verb-like adjectives show negation via the suppletive negative copula *a-re*²², as in the following examples.

(25) Negation Marking on a Verb

*k^hi*²² *a-k^hΛ*²² (*mo*²²)

3SG NEG-come (COP)

‘He doesn’t come.’

(26) Negation Marked Via Suppletive Copula for Verb-like Adjective

*mi*⁵² *mile=ko*²² *suŋ-pΛ*⁴⁴ *a-re*²² *mo*²²

person life=DEF short-NOM NEG-COP COP

‘Man’s life is not short.’

So again, in some instances, verb-like adjectives are structurally identical to verbs and are in predicate position, but in other cases, they occupy the predicate complement position, while verbs occupy the predicate position. This again underscores both the similarities and differences between simple adjectives and verb-like adjectives. These main similarities and differences, along with similarities and differences with nouns and verbs, can be summarized in the following table.

<i>Property</i>	<i>Nouns</i>	<i>Verbs</i>	<i>Simple Adjectives</i>	<i>Verb-like Adjectives</i>
Position w/respect to noun in NP	N/A	Pre-	Post-	Post-
Single head of NP?	Y	N	N	N
Hosts perfective aspect?	N	Y	N	Y
Hosts imperfective or future?	N	Y	N	N
Hosts negative prefix <i>a-</i> ?	N	Y	N	N
Occurs in complement structures?	Y	N	Y	Some

Table 1. Properties of Nouns, Verbs, Simple Adjectives and Verb-like Adjectives

4 Final Notes

In English, adjectives can be placed in comparative and superlative constructions, either via suffixation, via a ‘more/most’ phrasal structure, or via suppletion of the root (e.g. *red/redder/reddest*, *delicious/more/most delicious*, *bad/worse/worst*), and this helps to distinguish them from other lexical classes, which cannot do this (e.g. **table/tabler/tablest*). In Manange, comparatives and superlatives are formed with one strategy, namely a phrasal structure that translates roughly as ‘say-comparative.’ Examples are shown here with *k^hjokro*²² ‘old (animates)’.

(28) Comparative and Superlative

*u*²² *nΛkju*²² *k^hjokro*²² *mo*²²

that dog old COP

‘That dog is old.’

*u*²² *nΛkju*²² *tsu*⁴⁴ *nΛkju*²² *pi-le*⁵² *k^hjokro*²² *mo*²²

that dog this dog say-COMPAR old COP

‘This dog is older than that dog.’ (lit. ‘Compared to that dog, this dog is old.’)

*tsu*⁴⁴ *nΛkju=ko*²² *ts^haraj*⁴⁴ *pi-le*⁵² *k^hjokro*²² *mo*²²

this dog=DEF all say-COMPAR old COP

‘This dog is the oldest of all.’ (lit. ‘Compared to all dogs, this dog is old.’)

This structure is not uncommon in languages of South Asia, both in the Tibeto-Burman and in Indo-European families.

As a final note, it is worth discussing the status of *adverbs* in Manange. There is no formal evidence for a lexical class of adverbs, *per sé*, however, adverbial modification of actions and events is frequently marked in discourse contexts via the suffixing of verbs (or else juxtaposing clauses) with one of several different adverbial morphemes, listed here, along with their specific manner/temporal functions.

<i>Function</i>	<i>Morpheme</i>
Conditional (if...then)	CLAUSE 1 <i>kjΛnΛ</i> CLAUSE 2
Concessive (despite)	<i>VERB-tʃaŋ, VERB-len</i>
Causation (because)	CLAUSE 1 <i>ta pi-nΛ</i> CLAUSE 2
Purpose (in order to)	<i>VERB-pΛ-ri</i>
Simultaneity (at the same time as)	<i>VERB-tse</i>
Sequential (before)	CLAUSE 1 <i>pili</i> CLAUSE 2
Sequential (after)	<i>VERB-tse, VERB-ni</i>

Table 2. Adverbial Structures

In addition to these structures, a couple of adjectives in Manange are multifunctional and can be used adverbially to modify a verb. Such adjectives are restricted to speed-type semantics like *kini*⁵² ‘fast’ and *kole*⁴² ‘slow’, as shown here.

(29) As an Adjective (Predicative Function)

*u*²² *nΛkju=ko*²² *kole*⁴² *mo*²² *mu*²²

that dog=DEF slow COP EVID

‘That dog is slow.’

(30) As an Adverb (Manner)

*nɔkju = ko*²² *kole.kole*⁴² *ʃiŋtuŋ*⁴⁴ *ʃi = ko = ri*⁴² *njo-pɔ-ni*⁵² ...

dog=DEF slow.slow tree one=DEF=LOC look-NOM-ADJ ...

‘The dog, after looking very slowly/carefully into a tree (said ‘he isn’t there.’).’

word count (including title, headings, examples & figures) = 3,686