

About Chaurasia¹

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The Kiranti languages are members of the Tibeto-Burman (or Sino-Tibetan) language family. The ethnolinguistic term “Kiranti” applies to the Limbu and Rai groups of eastern Nepal. The Limbu are the easternmost group. The ethnonym “Rai” is used to denote different groups speaking closely related languages, i.e. Āṭhpahariyā, Bahing, Bantawa, Chiling, Chamling, Chintang, Dumi, Dungmali, Hayu, Jero, Khaling, Kohi, Kulung, Lohorung, Mewahang, Nachiring, Puma, Sām, Sampang, Sunwar, Thulung, Tilung, Wambule, Yakkha and Yamphu.

Hanßon (1991) classifies Wambule (“Umbule”) and Jero (“Jerung”) as members of the Western group of Kiranti languages. He points out that the differences in phonology and lexicon between Wambule and Jero plead in favour of a definition of the latter as a language of its own. The Wambule and Jero communities also insist on differentiating between two distinct groups, but they acknowledge the intimate relationship between their ethnicities and speeches.

The present comparative study, which discusses a number of major phonological and morphological features of Wambule and Jero, aims at quantifying and qualifying the similarities and differences between the two languages. It will become apparent that Wambule and Jero have many grammatical features in common. The additional fact that the two speeches are mutually intelligible pleads in favour of the view that Wambule and Jero constitute two separate sets of dialects of a single language. A suitable name for the language combining the Wambule and Jero dialect groups may well be “Chaurasia”. This name is a slight modification of Hodgson’s (1857) “Chouras’ya”, which is an anglicised version of the historical Nepali name *Caurāsiyā* or “Eighty-Four” counties. The Chaurasia language is spoken by 7,000 or more people living around the confluence of the Sunkosī and Dūdhkosī rivers in eastern Nepal. The following dialects can be distinguished:

- (a) The “Wāmdyāl” dialect of Wambule is spoken in the Mānebhanjyāñ Village Development Committee of Okhalḍhuṅgā district.

- (b) The “Udaipure” dialect of Wambule is spoken in Okhalḍhuṅgā district in a small area along the upper course of the Rūmdū Kholā.
- (c) The “Hilepāne” dialect of Wambule is spoken in Okhalḍhuṅgā and Udaypur districts.
- (d) The “Jhāppālī” dialect of Wambule is spoken in Khoṭāñ district.
- (e) The northern dialect of Jero is spoken around the Mauluñ Kholā in Okhalḍhuṅgā district.
- (f) The southern dialect of Jero is spoken in Sindhulī district in several villages along the west bank of the Bahādur Kholā.

The data presented here reflect the southern Jero dialect spoken in the village of Mohaṅṭār and the Wambule dialect of Hilepānī. The data were collected during several field trips which I undertook personally in the Chaurasia-speaking area from 1996 to 2000. Jero forms are generally given in the left-hand column, and Wambule forms in the middle column.

1. Phonology

The most striking phonological difference between Wambule and Jero is the opposition between the Wambule implosive stops /*b*, *d*/ and the Jero homorganic nasal consonants /*m*, *n*/. These correspondences have turned out to furnish important clues about the genesis of implosive stops in Wambule, many of which can be traced back to clusters of stops plus nasals. However, not every implosive stop in Wambule corresponds to a homorganic nasal in Jero, e.g. ^j *bipcam* ~ ^w *bipcam* ‘to suck’ and ^j *daṅma* ~ ^w *daṅma* ‘self’.

<i>macam</i>	<i>bacam</i>	‘to eat, bite’
<i>mayan̄ga</i>	<i>baban̄ge</i>	‘egg’
<i>maphlem</i>	<i>baphlyam</i>	‘wing’
<i>me pacap</i>	<i>be pacam</i>	‘to make cold’
<i>mɔkɔm</i>	<i>bo</i>	‘chicken, fowl’
<i>ni</i>	<i>di</i>	‘name’
<i>nucam</i>	<i>ducam</i>	‘to be well’
<i>nusum</i>	<i>dusum</i>	‘nose’
<i>nɔbu</i>	<i>dwabu</i>	‘ear’
<i>nemki</i>	<i>dyamki</i>	‘spittle, saliva’

Note also that post-consonantal Wambule /ya/ [jæ] and /wa/ [wʌ] regularly correspond to Jero /ɛ/ and /ɔ/.

2. Nominal morphology

This section deals with former elements of noun classification and gender marking, nominal number markers, case markers, discourse markers and the group of nominals.

2.1. Unproductive nominal suffixes

Several words in Jero and Wambule incorporate bound elements with a more or less clear meaning. These noun-classifying formatives represent former or non-productive nominal suffixes. Wambule and Jero also show traces of an unproductive grammatical device to mark gender distinctions. The gender distinctions are related to the sex distinction between male and female.

<-cu> <i>cacu</i> <i>jɔmɕu</i>	<-co> <i>caco</i> <i>jwamco</i>	‘person’ ‘grandson’ ‘shaman’
<-ji> <i>carji</i> <i>garji</i>	<-ja> <i>carja</i> <i>garja</i>	‘grain’ ‘ <i>Eleusine coracana</i> ’ ‘rice plant’
<-ku> <i>Glɔku</i> <i>ka:ku</i>	<-ku> <i>Glwaku</i> <i>ka:ku</i>	‘water’ ‘the Dūdhkosī river’ ‘water’
<-si> <i>kuksi</i> <i>mesi</i>	<-si> <i>kuksi</i> <i>byasi</i>	‘tree, wood’ ‘ <i>Ficus cunii</i> ’ ‘ <i>Elaeagnus parvifolia</i> ’
<-si> <i>tɔksi</i>	<-si> <i>twaksi</i>	‘fruit’ ‘mango’
<-si ~ -ci> <i>yaksi</i> <i>bremci</i>	<-si ~ -ci> <i>ywaksi</i> <i>bryamci</i>	‘small object’ ‘salt’ ‘finger’

<-so> <i>nuso</i> <i>saiso</i>	<-so> <i>nusso</i> <i>saiso</i>	'day' 'day after tomorrow' 'yesterday'
<-su> <i>gumsu</i> <i>gupsu</i>	<-so> <i>gumsu</i> <i>gupsu</i>	'flesh, meat' 'tooth' 'tiger'
<-pa ~ -pu ~ -?u> <i>papa</i> <i>hupu</i> <i>ka?u</i>	<-pa ~ -po ~ -wa> <i>papa</i> <i>upo</i> <i>kawa</i>	masculine marker 'father' 'grandfather' 'friend'
<-ma ~ -mu ~ -me> <i>mama</i> <i>humu</i> <i>salme</i>	<-ma ~ -mo ~ -me> <i>mama</i> <i>umo</i> <i>salme</i>	feminine marker 'mother' 'grandmother' 'young woman'

2.2. Number markers

The Chaurasia nominal number markers are morphologically unbound but syntactically restricted morphemes, i.e. these markers cannot be used on their own as a clause. The number markers appear after the nominal head and precede case suffixes and other nominal markers, with which they show no morphophonological interaction.

< <i>nimpha</i> ~ <i>nim</i> >	< <i>nimpha</i> ~ <i>nim</i> >	dual marker
< <i>ticu</i> ~ <i>tit</i> >	< <i>ticu</i> ~ <i>tiq</i> >	plural marker

Wambule and Jero nominal number marking is analysed here as the expression of an intended or additional meaning. For instance, the pronoun ^{jw} *uŋgu* ~ *uŋ* 'I, we' without overtly expressed nominal number markers can have singular, dual or plural reference. The basic meaning expressed by the number markers relates to the pluriformity of referents, and the number markers are commonly used to specify the exact number of referents. The dual marker marks exactly two referents, e.g. ^w *uŋ nimpha* 'the two of us'. The plural marker stresses three or more referents, e.g. ^j *in ticu* 'you^p'. An additional part of the meaning expressed by the number markers involves the concept of manifoldness, e.g. ^w *hepa tico* (cooked.grain PL) translates as 'several varieties of cooked grain'.

2.3. Case markers

Case markers constitute a class of bound morphemes which are used to distinguish different grammatical roles from one another. In certain morphosyntactic environments, the Jero and Wambule case markers can be analysed as phrasal affixes, i.e. morphosyntactically bound forms which are structurally dependent upon the preceding full word with which they show limited morphophonological interaction. In other environments, by contrast, case markers are best analysed as lexical suffixes, which are attached to other morphemes with which the suffixes form a phonological and grammatical word. For instance, the locative case marker can be identified in the adverbs ^j *alu* ‘here’ (see Section 2.7.2.) and ^w *thalo* ‘where, somewhere’ (see Section 2.8.). Phrasal case markers have abbreviated morphs that show a contraction with the lexeme to which they are attached.

<-ku ~ -k>	<-kho ~ -k>	source marker
<-l>	<-la ~ -l>	directive marker
<-lu ~ -l ~ -no>	<-lo ~ -l ~ -no ~ -n>	locative marker
<-n>	<-no ~ -n>	comitative marker
<-ŋo ~ -ŋ>	<-ŋwa ~ -ŋ>	ablative marker
<-ŋaŋ>	<-ŋaŋ ~ -ŋ>	genitive marker
<-se ~ -s>	<-se ~ -s>	similaritive marker

The source suffix marks the source of an action. This morpheme is generally used in relation to instrumental and agent arguments.

- (1) ^w *Kubja-kho* *tup-ca-m*
 stick-SRC hit-PUR-RES
 ‘(something) to hit with a stick’

The directive marker indicates the direction of the verbal event. This marker is generally found as a lexical suffix in adverbs of direction (see Section 2.7.2.). The locative case marker indicates the place or time of the event, e.g. ^w *im byala-no* (that time-LOC) ‘at that time’ and ^j *kul-no* ‘at the house’ in example (2).

- (2) ^j *Uŋ* *kul-no* *ba-ŋ-ma.*
 I/we house-LOC be/sit-1s-AFF
 ‘I will be home.’

The comitative suffix serves as a coordinator of arguments and as the comitative case marker, e.g. ^j *inne-n ungu* (you-COM I/we) ‘you and I’ and ^w *ungu-no* ‘with us’ in example (3).

- (3) ^w ... *ungu-no blak-si a-capt-u-Ø*.
 I/we-COM come-INF NEG-can-3npA-23s
 ‘... (he) could not come with us.’

The ablative suffix marks a starting point of the verbal event or action, e.g. ^w *bhana-la-ŋ* (beside-DIR-ABL) ‘from quite some distance’. The genitive marker indicates possession, e.g. ^j *ai-ŋaŋ kul* (this-GEN house) ‘the house of this (one)’ and ^w *rod-ŋaŋ kha:ci-n* (road-GEN middle-LOC) ‘in the middle of the road’. The similaritive case marker expresses the meaning of sameness, likeness or equality. This marker is commonly used as a lexical suffix in adverbs of direction and demonstratives of manner (see Sections 2.7.2. and 2.7.3.).

2.4. Discourse markers

Discourse markers are morphemes that mark relationships between elements of different sentences. The Chaurasia discourse markers are attached to the final constituent of a phrase. These morphemes generally follow the nominal number markers and the grammatical role marking case suffixes. The following forms have been recorded:

<-i>	<-ya ~ -i>	‘also, too, even’
<na?a>	<ŋa ~ ŋa?a>	‘only’

The phrasal suffix ‘also, too, even’ indicates inclusivity or additivity with another element of the discourse. A constituent that is modified by the particle ‘only’ marks one alternative to the exclusion of others.

- (4) ^j *Ungu-i lo-ŋ-ma*.
 I/we-also go-1s-AFF
 ‘I too will go.’
- (5) ^w ... *angu-i is ŋa de-Ø-m, dyam*.
 he/they-also in.that.way only say-23s-AFF HRS
 ‘... they say that he too said the same.’

2.5. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are unbound nominals that are used to refer to the speaker, the addressee and another person or human-like entity, whose referents are presumed to be clear from the context. Pronouns need not be overtly expressed if the referents are known from the context or from verbal morphology. The use of personal pronouns in Chaurasia does not automatically trigger emphasising or contrastive functions.

<uŋgu ~ uŋ>	<uŋgu ~ uŋ>	‘I, we’
<inne ~ in>	<unu ~ un>	‘you’
<aŋgu ~ aŋ>	<aŋgu ~ aŋ>	‘he, she, they’

The personal pronouns are only distinguished for person, but not for number. Duality or plurality may be expressed by adding the two nominal number markers to the abbreviated morphs of the personal pronouns.

2.6. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are syntactically restricted morphemes which show no morphophonological interaction with the word they precede. Jero and Wambule make a formal distinction between three numbers, three persons, and forms including and excluding the person addressed. A first person dual inclusive possessor and a second person dual possessor are marked by means of the same pronoun.

<am>	<a>	‘my’
<incim>	<inci>	‘our ^{di} ; your ^d ’
<ancum>	<ancuk>	‘our ^{de} ’
<ikkim>	<ik>	‘our ^{pi} ’
<akkum>	<ak>	‘our ^{pe} ’
<im>	<i>	‘your ^s ’
<inim>	<in>	‘your ^p ’
<aŋ>	<aŋ>	‘his, her’
<ancim>	<anci>	‘their ^d ’
<anim>	<an>	‘their ^p ’

2.7. Demonstratives

The group of demonstratives comprises nominals and adverbials. The demonstrative system is based on five bound morphemes, which indicate a location relative to the point of orientation given by the context.

<a->	<a->	'near (near speaker)'
<u->	<i->	'distal (near hearer)'
<nɔ->	<hwa->	'yonder (same level)'
<tɔ->	<twa->	'yonder (up)'
<yɔ->	<ywa->	'yonder (down)'

The morphemes ^{jw}<a-> 'near (near speaker)' and ^j<u-> ~ ^w<i-> 'distal (near hearer)' do not only refer to the strict spatial location of the event, but also mark temporal settings. These morphemes can also be used anaphorically and derive their interpretation from a previously expressed element in the context.

2.7.1. Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are fixed combinations of the five demonstrative morphemes plus a nominalising element ^j<-i> or the reifying morpheme ^w<-me ~ -m>.

<ai>	<ame ~ am>	'this (near speaker)'
(no data)	<ime ~ im>	'that (near hearer)'
<nɔi>	<hwame ~ hwam>	'that (same level)'
<tɔi>	<twame ~ twam>	'that (up)'
<yɔi>	<ywame ~ ywam>	'that (down)'

2.7.2. Demonstrative adverbs of place and direction

The adverbs of place consist of the five bound demonstrative morphemes to which the locative case markers or the vertical locative morphemes ^j<-no> ~ ^w<-na ~ -n> 'at the same level', ^j<-to> ~ ^w<-ta ~ -t> 'at a higher level' and ^j<-yo> ~ ^w<-ya ~ -i> are attached.

<alu ~ al>	<alo ~ al>	'here'
<ulu>	<ilo ~ il>	'there'

<nɔno>	<hwana ~ hwan>	‘there (same level)’
<tɔto>	<twata ~ twat>	‘up there’
<yɔyo>	<ywaya ~ ywai>	‘down there’

The Chaurasia adverbs of direction incorporate the lexicalised instances j <-sɛ> ~ w <-sya> and j <-l> ~ w <-la ~ -l> of the similaritive and directive case markers.

(no data)	<amsyala ~ amsyal>	‘here’
(no data)	<imsyala ~ imsyal>	‘there’
<nɔsɛl>	<hwamsyala ~ hwamsyal>	‘there (same level)’
<tɔsɛl>	<twamsyala ~ twamsyal>	‘up there’
<yɔsɛl>	<ywamsyala ~ ywamsyal>	‘down there’

The following series of deictic adverbs point to the vertical level of or the vertical motion towards a place indicated by the context.

<petthu>	<pyattho ~ pyaɖ>	‘at the same level’
<gatthu>	<gaththo ~ gaɖ>	‘at a higher level’
<hetthu>	<hyattho ~ hyaɖ>	‘at a lower level’

2.7.3. Demonstratives of manner

The Chaurasia demonstrative adverbs of manner consist of the five bound demonstrative morphemes to which the similaritive case marker is added. The following forms are frequently used anaphorically:

<ase ~ as>	<ase ~ as>	‘in this way’
<use ~ us>	<ise ~ is>	‘in that way’

The adverbs of manner have nominal counterparts which end in the reifying morpheme jw <-me ~ -m>. Such nominalised forms can be used in adnominal noun-modifying position, e.g. j *asem kul* ‘a house like this’ and w *imsyam muyo* ‘a person like that’.

<asem>	<amsyame ~ amsyam>	‘like this’
<usem>	<imsyame ~ imsyam>	‘like that’

2.8. Indefinite and interrogative words

Indefinite and interrogative words are unbound nominals and adverbials. Note that Jero regularly has initial /h/ where Wambule has an initial vowel.

<hai>	<ama ~ am>	'what, something'
<haiŋa>	<asyaŋwa ~ asyaŋ>	'why'
<hukɔl>	<akwalo ~ akwal>	'how many/much'
<hus>	<as>	'how, as'
<huseɪ>	<asyalo ~ asyal>	'when, ever'
<munu ~ mundo>	<acu>	'who, somebody'
<thalu ~ thal>	<thalo ~ thaɪ>	'where, somewhere'
<thamal>	<thamsyal>	'whereto, whither'

2.9. Adjectives and numerals

The majority of indigenous Chaurasia words that denote qualities and attributes are deverbative forms. However, not all adjectival meanings are expressed by words that are derived from verbs. Wambule and Jero possess true adjectives. Most of these adjectives are common loans from Nepali. The group of native adjectives also comprises polymorphemic words of colour, which can be used in adnominal noun modifying position without additional modification.

<daŋma>	<daŋma>	'self'
<kha:ma>	<kha:ma>	'alone'
<yɔkko>	<ywakka>	'small, little'
<khuceɪm>	<khucyam>	'black'
<waʔɔmjimo>	<waʔwamjwam>	'yellow'

With the general exception of the word for 'one', the Chaurasia numerals are loans from Nepali.

<kwal>	<kwalo ~ kwal>	'one'
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2.10. Reification

Nominalisation is the derivational process of forming nominals from different types of word classes and the result of such a process. A common

way of deriving nominals in Wambule and Jero is by suffixation of the reifying morpheme to the final constituent of a phrase.

<-me ~ -m> <-me ~ -m> reifying morpheme

The term “reify” is derived from the Latin word *res* ‘thing’ and can be defined as “transforming into a thing” or “giving the character of a thing”. In the following example, the similaritive adverb *saiso-se* (yesterday-SIM) ‘like yesterday’ is turned into the nominal *saiso-se-m* ‘the one like yesterday’ by suffixation of the reifying suffix.

- (6) ^j *Lapphu Dalse lo-ŋ-mai saiso-se-m*
 before Dalse go-1s-FCT yesterday-SIM-RES
mɔ-ŋ-ma.
 sense-1s-AFF
 ‘It seems like yesterday that I went to Dalse.’

Words that are marked with case suffixes can only be used as an ad-nominal modifier after these words have been turned into a nominal by means of suffixation of the reifying morpheme.

- (7) ^w *Im-sya-m kwal Wambule Rai bak-co,*
 that-SIM-RES one Wambule Rai be/sit-ACT
dyame.
 HRS
 ‘There was a Wambule Rai like that, it is said.’

3. Finite verbal morphology

With the general exception of imperative forms, Wambule and Jero finite verbal morphology can be resumed in terms of simplicia and their formal elaborations. Simplicia, or simplex verbs, are verbs that consist of a root and one or more suffixes that provide limited information about the person and number of the core arguments.

3.1. Conjugations

Chaurasia verbs can be classified into three main types on the basis of formal and semantic criteria that involve the inflectional category of transitivity. The notion of transitivity has bearing on the core arguments that are cross-referenced in the finite verb, and involves a conceptualisation of the way in which the arguments initiate the verbal action or are affected by it. A distinction can be made between intransitive, transitive and middle verbs.

– Intransitive verbs show agreement with one argument, which functions as the intransitive subject. The intransitive subject can be conceived of as the argument which by either its own free will or through lack of volition initiates the action expressed by the verb.

<di->	<di->	‘to go (come back)’
<lo->	<lwa->	‘to go (away)’
<si->	<si->	‘to die, be dead’
<ya->	<ywa->	‘to come down’
<gle->	<glwam->	‘to lie down’
<khram->	<khram->	‘to cry, weep’
<bak- ~ ba:->	<bak- ~ ba:->	‘to be, sit’

– Transitive verbs show agreement with two arguments, which function as the agent and the patient. The agent initiates the action. The patient is affected by the action.

<ja- ~ jo->	<ja- ~ ju->	‘to eat’
<ki->	<kwa- ~ ku->	‘to dig’
<tu:t- ~ tu:->	<tu:(s)->	‘to drink’
<hipt- ~ him->	<hipt- ~ him->	‘to see’
<sett- ~ sen->	<syat- ~ syan->	‘to kill’
<makt- ~ ma:->	<mwakt- ~ mo->	‘to catch, capture’
<phuyt- ~ phuy->	<phuyt- ~ phuy->	‘to dig, root’
<kurt- ~ kur->	<kur(s)->	‘to carry’
<melt- ~ mel->	<myalt- ~ myal->	‘to fall asleep (by some agentive outer force)’

– Middle verbs show person and number agreement with one argument, which functions as the middle subject. Self-benefactive, reflexive and passive readings can be ascribed to the meaning of middle verbs. The middle

subject can be identified as the entity which undergoes the effect of the action expressed by the verb.

<ni:->	<ni:->	'to sit down'
<po->	<pu->	reciprocal auxiliary
<tum->	<tum->	'to hit oneself'
<mer->	<mwar->	'to wash oneself'

Wambule and Jero verbs may have one or more different roots and can be classified in various conjugations on the basis of paradigmatically conditioned root alternation. A conjugation therefore represents a fixed pattern of paradigmatically conditioned root alternation. A distinction is made between the different roots of a single verb morpheme and the different forms of a single root. Different roots are distributed according to a fixed pattern of paradigmatically conditioned root alternation. By contrast, different root forms are forms of a single root which are morphophonemically conditioned by the presence or absence of suffixes which form their environment. The different forms of a verb cannot be accounted for in terms of the modification of a single verbal base. For instance, the second person agreement morpheme <-ni> is suffixed to the primary verb root in <mak-> (catch) + <-ni> (2) + <-∅> (23s) + <-me> (AFF) → /mak-ni-∅-me/ '(you^s) caught (it)', whereas this agreement morpheme is suffixed to the secondary verb root in <ma:-> (catch) + <-ni> (2) + <-im> (ns) + <-me> (AFF) → *ma:nimme* '(you^p) caught (it)'.

The most striking difference between Jero and Wambule transitive morphology is the absence of Jero transitive verbs that end in the post-final segment /s/. Wambule transitive verbs that end in the long vowels <a, e, i, o, u:> and in the consonants <m, ŋ, y, r, l> generally exhibit the presence of a segment /s/ before the third person non-plural agent agreement morpheme <-u>, e.g. *tus-u-∅-me* '(he) drank (it)', but not in other finite forms. By contrast, the Jero cognate form *tut-i-∅-me* '(he) drank (it)', in which the verb root <tut-> is followed by the third person non-plural agent agreement morpheme <-i>, illustrates that the Jero cognates of these Wambule verbs commonly end in post-final <t>. In Wambule, post-final <t> is only found after root-final <p, k, m, y, r, l>. The post-final segments /s/ and <t> can be traced back to the Tibeto-Burman "causative" suffix *<-s> and the "directive" or "applied" suffix *<-t>.

II	<-ci>	(d)	=	II	<-ci>	(d)
	<-cu>	(1deAS)	=		<-cu>	(1deAS)
	<-ni>	(2)	=		<-ni>	(2p)
					<-∅>	(1peAS)
					<-∅>	(23s)
III	<-im>	(ns)	=	III	<-mi>	(3/ns)
	<-∅>	(23s)			<-ku>	(1nseAS)
	<-k>	(3dA)				

Intransitive and middle verbs use the same set of simplex agreement suffixes, which mark the person and number of the grammatical subject. Dual forms require the presence of the dual subject morpheme <-ŋ> (dS). From the point of view of the verbal suffixes, the formal difference between intransitive and middle conjugations involves the presence of the middle marker <-si> before the second and third person singular morpheme <-∅> in middle forms. The distribution of the simplex agreement morphemes in intransitive and middle verbs is given in table 2.

Table 2. Simplex intransitive and middle morphology

Jero		Wambule	
1s	<Σ-ŋo>	1s	<Σ-ŋu>
2s	<Σ-ni-∅>	2s	<Σ-nu>
3s vi	<Σ-∅>	3s vi	<Σ-∅>
3s vm	<Σ-si-∅>	3s vm	<Σ-si-∅>
1di/2d/3d	<Σ-ŋ-ci>	1di/2d/3d	<Σ-ŋ-ci>
1de	<Σ-ŋ-cu>	1de	<Σ-ŋ-cu-ku>
1pi	<Σ-ki>	1pi	<Σ-ki>
1pe	<Σ-ku>	1pe	<Σ-∅-ku>
2p	<Σ-ni-im>	2p	<Σ-ni>
3p	<Σ-im>	3p	<Σ-mi>

In transitive verbs, by contrast, the simplex agreement suffixes mark the person and number of the agent or the patient, a transitive relationship between the agent and the patient, or a combination of both. Unfortunately, the information on Jero transitive verb morphology has some qualitative and quantitative shortcomings. Only forms of which the morphology is understood are listed in table 3.

Table 3. Simplex transitive morphology

Jero		Wambule	
1s→2s	<Σ-ni-Ø>	1s→2s	<Σ-ni-Ø>
1s→2d	<Σ-ni-ci>	1s→2d	<Σ-ni-ci>
1s→2p	<Σ-ni-ni>	1s→2p	<Σ-ni-ni>
1s→3s	<Σ-ŋo>	1s→3s	<Σ-ŋu>
1s→3d	<Σ-ŋo-ci-im>	1s↔3d	<Σ-ŋu-ci-mi>
1s→3p	<Σ-ŋo-im>	1s↔3p	<Σ-ŋu-mi>
1di/2d→3s	<Σ-ci>	1diA/2dA	<Σ-ci>
1de→3s	<Σ-cu>	1de→3	<Σ-cu-ku>
1pi→3s	<Σ-ki>	1pi→3	<Σ-i>
1pe→3s	<Σ-ku>	1pe→3	<Σ-Ø-ku>
2s→1s	<Σ-iŋ-Ø>	2s→1s	<Σ-ŋi-Ø>
2d→1s	<Σ-iŋ-ci>	2d→1s	<Σ-ŋi-ci>
2s→1e	<Σ-su pa-ni-Ø>	2s→1e/3s	<Σ-nu>
2s→3s	<Σ-ni-Ø>	2p→1e/3	<Σ-ni>
2p→3s	<Σ-ni-im>	3s→1s	<Σ-ŋati>
3s→1s	<Σ-aŋti>	3s→2s	<Σ-nati>
3s→2s	<Σ-nati>	3s→1i/3s	<Σ-u-Ø>
3s→3s	<Σ-i-Ø>	3d→1i/3sp	<Σ-u-ci>
3d→3s	<Σ-i-ci-k>	3p→1i/3sp	<Σ-mi>
3p→3s	<Σ-im>		

A more detailed discussion on the Wambule and Jero person and number agreement systems can be found in Opgenort (2002) and my forthcoming grammar of Jero.

First person dual and plural inclusive simplex verbs and their negatives commonly serve as exhortatives. In questions, simplicia and their negatives are used to elicit the hearer's advice or assent.

- (9) ^{jw} *Mi tha-ŋ-ci!*
 fire warm.self-dS-d
 'Let us^{di} warm ourselves near the fire!'

- (10) ^j *Uŋ pi-ŋo?*
 I/we come.hrz-1s
 'Am I to come (across a horizontal plane)?'

3.4. The imperative verb

Imperatives are second person subject and agent verb forms. Imperatives contain a set of person and number agreement suffixes that is paradigmatically distinct but formally and semantically often related to the agreement morphemes used in simplicia. The imperative person and number agreement suffixes are listed in table 4. The agreement morphemes are found in four functional positions. The distribution of the imperative person and number agreement morphemes in intransitive, middle verbs and transitive verbs is given in tables 5 and 6.

Table 4. Imperative person and number agreement morphemes

Jero			Wambule		
I	<-no>	(IMP+NEG.sAS)	=	I <-no>	(IMP+NEG.sAS)
	<-n>	(pS)		<-mi>	(s→3ns)
	<-ŋ>	(dS)		<-sa>	(IMP+1eP)
	<-s>	(sS)			
II	<-ha>	(IMP)	=	II <-ka>	(IMP)
III	<-ŋ>	(1sP)	=	III <-ŋ>	(1sP)
	<-m>	(s→3ns)		<-ŋ>	(dS)
				<-ta>	(sAS)
IV	<-ci>	(23d)	=	IV <-ce>	(23d)
	<-ni>	(23p)	=	<-ne>	(23p)
	<-∅>	(sAS)			

Table 5. Imperative intransitive and middle morphology

Jero			Wambule	
2s	<-s-ha-∅>		2s	<∑(-s)-ka-ta>
2s NEG	<a-∑-no>		2s NEG	<a-∑-no>
2d	<∑-ŋ-ha-ci>		2d	<∑-ŋ-ka-ŋ-ce>
2p	<∑-n-ha-ni>		2p	<∑-ka-ne>

Table 6. Imperative transitive morphology

Jero			Wambule	
2s→1s	<∑-ha-ŋ-∅>		2s→1s	<∑-ka>
2d→1s	<∑-ha-ŋ-ci>		2d→1s	<∑-ka-ŋ-ce>
2p→1s	<∑-ha-ŋ-ni>		2p→1s	<∑-ka-ŋ-ne>
2s→1e	<∑-su pa-ha-∅>			

2d→1e	<Σ -su pa-ha-ci>	2→1e	<Σ -sa>
2p→1e	<Σ -su pa-ha-ni>		
2s→3s	<Σ -ha-Ø>	2s→3s	<Σ -ka-ta>
2s→3s NEG	<a-Σ -no>	2s→3s NEG	<a-Σ -no>
2s→3d	<Σ -ha-m-ci>	2s→3d	<Σ -mi-ka-ce>
2s→3p	<Σ -ha-m-ni>	2s→3p	<Σ -mi-ka-ne>
2d→3	<Σ -ha-ci>	2d→3	<Σ -ka-ce>
2p→3	<Σ -ha-ni>	2p→3	<Σ -ka-ne>

Chaurasia imperatives are generally used to express requests, entreaties, commands, orders and permission. Negative imperatives are used to express prohibition, negative advice and denial of permission. Negative imperatives are formed by prefixation of the negative marker.

- (11) ^w *Ilwa-ŋ-qa,* “*Lu, ca-s-Ø-ta!*
 there-ABL-THM all.right climb-DETR-IMP-sAS
Ca:ka-ne!” *waŋ-ki-m-me.*
 climb-IMP-23p say.to-1nsPS-3/ns-AFF
 ‘And then he said to us^{pe}, “Well, get^s in! Get^p in!’”
- (12) ^j *Am ma:la tho-n-Ø-ku lo-s-a-Ø!*
 my word hear-2-23s-SRC go-sS-IMP-sAS
 ‘Listen^s to what I say and go!’

3.5. The factual verbal adjective

<-mei ~ -mai> <-meya ~ -mei> factual marker

Suffixation of the morpheme ^j <-mei ~ -mai> ~ ^w <-meya ~ -mei> to a simplex verb form yields a factual verbal adjective with imperfective aspectualising capacities. Factual verbal adjectives indicate statements of fact concerning the event expressed by the modified verb. For instance, the phrase *I do it* is turned into *that which I do* or *the fact that I do it*. Factual verbal adjectives can be used as adnominal modifiers like ordinary adjectives, as nominal arguments which take case markers like nouns, and as main predicators of a clause. In (13), the factual morpheme is realised with initial /n/.

- (13) ^j *Inne saiso lo-n-Ø-nei kul.*
 you yesterday go-2-23s-FCT house
 'The house to which you^s went yesterday.'
- (14) ^w *Uŋ pa:Ø-meī-syaŋ pa-ka-t!*
 I/we do-1s-FCT-SIM.EMPH do-IMP-sAS
 'Do^s it just like I was / am doing!'

Factual verbal adjectives that are used as the main predicator of a clause are aspectually marked in the sense that the event described by the verb is presented without making reference to the inceptive and terminative boundedness of the event within the time interval selected by the speaker. A factual verbal adjective relates to the background of another event, rather than to a dynamic action. The events expressed in example (15) are presented as over and done with rather than closely linked up to the moment of speech. Dynamic actions are often expressed by affirmative verb forms and their negatives, which are morphologically negated simplicia.

- (15) ^w *Un na maκai ja-nu-meī?*
 you previously maize eat-2s-FCT
Āhā, a-ja:Ø-meī.
 no NEG-eat-1s-FCT
 'Did you^s eat maize previously? No, I did not.'

3.6. The affirmative verb

<-me ~ -m> <-me ~ -m> affirmative marker

Finite verbs in positive statements and questions generally require the suffix ^{jw} <-me ~ -m> of the affirmative. The affirmative verb does not generally appear in negative statements and in polar questions. The suffix of the affirmative verbs is analysed as a grammaticalised instance of the reifying suffix ^{jw} <-me ~ -m> introduced in Section 2.10. The affirmative marks past events which are closely linked up to the moment of speech or some other moment chosen as point of reference, imminent or future events, ongoing events, and omnitemporal events. The affirmative in example (16) marks an event that is already taking place, but has a past inception.

- (16) ^j *Uŋ khokhu si-ŋ-ma.*
 I/we cold die-1s-AFF
 'I am cold.'
- (17) ^w *Un ciya tu-nu-m? Āhā, a-tu-ŋu.*
 you tea drink-2s-AFF no NEG-drink-1s
 'Do you^s drink tea (habitually or now)? No, I do not.'

4. Conclusion

The lexical and morphological data presented in this study illustrate that Wambule and Jero are very closely related. Wambule and Jero share many more grammatical features than the ones presented here. For instance, different types of non-finite deverbatives are formed by suffixation of cognate morphemes to bare verb roots, e.g. ^{jw} <-si> of the infinitive, ^{jw} <-phu> of the supine and ^{jw} <-ca> of the verbal adjective of purpose. Different types of gerunds are formed by lexical suffixation of source and locative case markers. Jero and Wambule commonly use periphrastic constructions that consist of a main verbal element plus an unbound auxiliary verb which adds a dimension of some kind to the meaning expressed by the main constituent, e.g. the inceptive auxiliaries ^j *necam* ~ ^w *decam* 'to say' and ^{jw} *rakcam* 'to influence', the ingressive auxiliary ^j *jekcam* ~ ^w *jakcam* 'to start', the continuous auxiliary ^{jw} *bakcam* 'to be, sit' and the auxiliary ^j *gokcam* ~ ^w *gwakcam* 'to give' to stress that the action is performed on behalf of someone else. These and more morphosyntactic similarities, in addition to the fact that the two speeches are mutually intelligible, plead in favour of the view that Wambule and Jero constitute two separate sets of dialects of a single language, which may well be called "Chaurasia".

Notes

1. Abbreviations and conventions: 1 (first person); 2 (second person); 3 (third person); I (first suffixal slot); II (second suffixal slot); III (third suffixal slot); IV (fourth suffixal slot); A (agent); ABL (ablative marker); ACT (active verbal adjective marker); AFF (affirmative marker); COM (comitative marker); d / ^d (dual); DETR (detransitivising marker); DIR (directive marker); e / ^e (exclusive); EMPH (emphatic); FCT (factual verbal adjective marker); GEN (genitive marker); HRS (particle of hearsay); hrz (horizon-

tally); i / ⁱ (inclusive); IMP (imperative marker); INF (infinitival marker); ^j (Jero); LOC (locative marker); MID (middle marker); n (non-); NEG (negative marker); Ø (zero morph or morpheme); p / ^p (plural); P (patient); PL (plural number marker); PUR (marker of the verbal adjective of purpose); RES (reifying marker); s / ^s (singular); S (subject); SIM (similaritive marker); SRC (source marker); THM (theme marker); vi (intransitive verb); vm (middle verb); ^w (Wambule); Σ (verb root); [] (phonetic transcription); // (phonological transcription); < > (morphological transcription); ~ (alternates); + (components of a *portmanteau* morpheme); * (reconstructed form); - (word-internal morpheme boundary); → (yields / direction of a transitive relationship); ↔ (reciprocal transitive relationship); = (cognate form); ... (unquoted part).

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