Dumi verb index by rime. Appendix to: Internal reconstruction of the Dumi verb: lexical bases and stem formation.
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INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DUMI VERB:
LEXICAL BASES AND STEM FORMATION

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APPENDIX: DUMI VERB INDEX BY RIME

This appendix proposes reconstructed roots, classed by reconstructed rime (V(C)(T)) and transitivity (vi, vt, vtt), for essentially all of the verbs listed in the glossary of van Driem 1993 (D). The list is ordered by reconstructed final consonant (K, D, P, M, R, L, T, D, N, ⌀), reconstructed vowel (I, E, A, O, U), and transitivity (vi, vt, vtt).

Each entry below includes, after my reconstruction and my notation of transitivity, the infinitive, conjugation class, stems (between curly brackets), and definition (sometimes shortened) from van Driem 1993.

Word-family cross-references are almost all as in the source. Almost all relate intransitives to transitives. D distinguishes vi-vt pairs, which he remarks could be considered as forms of a single “labile” verb (218), from vi-vtt pairs, considered as representing causative derivation. The semantic relation between the members of these two types of pairs appears to be largely the same. (There is one applicative vtt derived from a vt verb: see YOKT below.) Morphologically, the vtt “causative” forms in general share as many forms (the “general” stems and suffixes, §6.4) with their vi partners as do vt transitive forms. (The exception here is CVD and CVT transitives, which differ throughout the paradigm from related CV intransitives.)

Notes between square brackets include irregularities [irr.], related underived roots of causatives [caus. of —], derived causatives [caus: —], related transitive [tr. —] or intransitive roots [itr. —], page numbers of paradigm listings in van Driem 1993 [nnn], and other remarks, with page references (nnn) to the source.

-K

-IK vi (1)
   RIK vi rikni vi-1 {rik} ‘sway, rock’ [irr: no stem in -kh]

-IKT vtt (4)
   RIKT vtt rikni vt-2a {rikt/rikt-rikh/rik} ‘scatter’
   SIKT vtt sikni vt-2a {sikt/sikt-sikh/sik} ‘string (e.g. beads, flowers)’
   PHIKT vtt phikni vt-2a {phiikt/phikk-phikh/phik} ‘sweep (with a broom)’
   HIKT vtt hi:kni vt-2a {hiikt/hikt-hikh/hik} ‘turn (one’s head)’

-EK vi (without mid/close apophony) (1)
   DHEK vi dhyakni vi-1 {dhyakh/dhyak} ‘be plugged up’ [caus: DHEKT vtt]

-EK vt (mid/close apophony) (1)
   LEK vt lyakni vt-3 {likh/lik-lyak} ‘lick’

-EK vt (without mid/close apophony) (1)
   TSEK vt tsyakni vt-1 {tsyakh/tsyak} ‘pinch, nip, squeeze’

-EKT (without mid/close apophony) (3)

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1 The reconstruction presented here in §§1, 2, 4, and 5 was presented and circulated at the first European symposium on Himalayan languages in Leiden in 1995. The author thanks Martine Mazaudon, Guillaume Jacques, and an LTBA reviewer for their suggestions.
DHEKT vtt dhyəkni vt-2a {dhyəkt/dhyək-dhyək/dhyək} ‘plug up (e.g. one’s ears, a hole)’ [caus. of DHEK vi]
KHEKT vtt khyokin vt-2a {khyokt/khyok-khyokh/khyok} ‘hang up, hitch up (livestock to a post)’ [itrr. the only Cyò- in the glossary!]
PEKT vtt pyəkni vt-2a {pyəkt/pyək-pyək/pyək} ‘braid, plait’

-AK vi (1)
HAK vi hakni vi-1 {hakh/hak} ‘open up (intr.)’ [tr. HAK vt]

-AK vt (2)
HAK vt hakni vt-1 {hakh/hak} ‘open (e.g. a door), unplug’ [itr. HAK vi]
PHAK vt phakni vt-1 {phakh/phak} ‘scratch (the ground, as a chicken); purify (by mourning rituals), cleanse’

-OK vi (mid/close apophony) (3)
BOK vi bokni vi-3 {bukh/buk-bok} ‘be smashed, break, burst’ [tr. BOK vt]
ŋOK vi ŋokni vi-3 {ŋukh/ŋuk-ŋok} ‘cry, weep’
SOK vi sam sokni vi-3 {su:kh/su-k-sok} ‘be disgusted, have a bad experience’ (‘{sam} ‘spirit, soul’) [tr. SOK vt]

-OK vi (without mid/close apophony) (1)
BOK vi bokni vi-1 {bokh/bok} ‘be arranged, be placed; [ASPECT: perseverative with intr. vbs]’ [caus: BHOKT vtt] [Van Driem 217n) remarks on the unique correspondence between plain and aspirated initials in this pair.]

-OK vt (mid/close apophony) (5)
BOK vt bokni vt-3 {bukh/buk-bok} ‘split (bamboo); cause to burst’ [itr. BOK vi]
KOK vt kokni vt-3 {kukh/kuk-kok} ‘know how, see through so.’
THOK vt thokni vt-3 {thukh/thuk-thok} ‘pour out (gradually)’
YOK vt yokni vt-3 {yukh/yuk-yok} ‘portion out, divide up; distribute’ [caus: YOKT vtt]
SOK vt sam sokni vt-3 {su:kh/su-k-sok} ‘disgust so., give someone a bad experience’ (‘{sam} ‘spirit’) [itr. SOK vi]

-OKT vtt (mid/close apophony) (2)
DOKT vtt dokni vt-2a {dokt/dok-dukh/duk} ‘get, receive, be allowed to’
KOKT vtt kokni vt-2a {kokt/kok-kukh/kuk} ‘cut’

-OKT vt (without mid/close apophony) (5)
BHOKT vtt bhokni vt-2a {bhokt/bhok-bhok/bhok} ‘put, put together, arrange; [ASPECT: tr. perseverative]’ [caus. of BHOK vi]
KOKT vtt kokni vt-2a {kokt/kok-kokh/kok} ‘dig, till, strike, peck’
SOKT vtt sokni vt-2a {sokt/sok-sokh/sok} ‘cleanse, scour, clear out, sweep’
THOKT vtt thokni vt-2a {thokt/thok-thok/thok} ‘build (a wall, a house)’
YOKT vtt yokni vt-2a {yokt/yok-yokk/yok} ‘serve out to, feed’ [caus. of YOK vt] [the non-alternating central vowel is unexplained] [This is a rare case (for Dumi) of a vtt related to a vt, not a vi, and having a properly applicative sense.]

-UK vi (6)
DUK vi dukni vi-1 {duhk/duk} ‘stub, knock’ [caus: DUKT vtt] [330]
HUK vi hukni vi-1 {hu:k/huk} ‘bark (of dog)’
UK vi ukni vi-1 {ukh/uk} ‘crow, emit a cry (esp. of fowl)’
BUK vi biki vi-1 {bik/hik} ‘bear young (not of humans)’
PHUK vi phikni vi-1 {phik/phik} ‘get up, arise’ [caus. PHUKT vtt] [97]
TSUK vi tsikni vi-1 {tsikh/tsik} ‘be, become, inchoative “to be”’ [tr. TSUK vt]

-UK vt (1)
TSUK vt tsikni vt-1 {tsikh/tsik} ‘happen to someone, be felt unto someone’ [itr. TSUK vi]
DUKT vtt dukni vt-2a {dukt/duk-dukh/duk} ‘bump or knock something against something’ [caus. of DUK vi]
LUKT vtt lukni vt-2a {lukt/luk-lukh/luk} ‘gore, strike with the horns, kick with the hind legs’
TSUKT vtt tsukni vt-2a {tsukt/tsuk-tsukh/tsuk} ‘point out’ [vowel unexplained (cf. Khaling)]
PUKT vtt pɨknɨ vt-2a {pɨkt/pɨk-pɨk/pɨk} ‘heap up, pile up’
TSUKT vtt tsɨknɨ vt-2a {tsɨkt/tsɨk-tsukh/tsɨk} ‘understand (sth.), know (sth.)’
YUKT vtt yɨknɨ vt-2a {yɨkt/yɨk-yɨk/yɨk} ‘turn around, grind, mill’
PHUKT vtt* phɨkɨn vt-1 {phɨkt/phɨk-phɨk} ‘get up, arouse’ [Van Driem uses the paradigm of this verb to illustrate the conjugation vt-1 (p. 106). But the paradigm shows that the verb is a T-transitive: vt-2a {phɨkt/phɨk-phɨk}. Unaspirated -k in the prevocalic general stem (unlike PHUK ‘arise’) is irregular.] [caus. of PHUK vi] [106]

[106]

-T-transitives almost absent; some verbs in -ŋ have T-transitives in -NT

-ŋ vt (3)
SİLJ vt siŋni vt-1 {siŋ} ‘ask, inquire’
RĲJ vt riŋni vt-1 {riŋ} ‘surround’
TSİLJ vt tsıŋni vt-1 {tsıŋ} ‘hate’
PHĲJ vt* phiŋni vt-2a {phiŋ-phiŋ} ‘to send (so. (obj) or sth. to so.(obj))’ [irr: -ŋ stem final is unique—on the way to –nts?]  

-ŋ vt (mid/close apophony) (1)
LEĲJ vt leŋni vt-3 {liŋ-lem} ‘plaster, smear on (mud or clay)’

-ŋ vi (4)
HAĲJ vi haŋni vi-1 {haŋ} ‘dry out’
SAĲJ vi saŋŋi vi-1 {saŋ} ‘prosper’
SAĲJ vi saŋni vi-1 {saŋ} ‘suffer insomnia’  
THAIJ vi thaŋni vi-1 {thaŋ} ‘fall, drop’ [itr. THAIJ vt]

-ŋ vt (1)
THAIJ vt thaŋni vt-1 {thaŋ} ‘drop, allow to fall’ [itr. THAIJ vi]

-ŋ vi (mid/close apophony) (2)
KHOĲJ vi khoŋni vi-3 {kuŋ-koŋ} ‘come up’ [caus: KHOD vtt] [333]
OĲJ vi oŋni vi-3 {uŋ-oŋ} ‘enter’ [caus: ONT vtt]

-ŋ vt (mid/close apophony) (1)
ROĲJ vt roŋni vt-3 {roŋ-roŋ} ‘hold, manipulate, play with’

-ŋ vi (1)
PHĲJ vi phiŋni vi-1 {phiŋ} ‘spread, emerge (of clouds), arise, manifest oneself’ [caus: PHĲJ vtt]

-ŋ vt (3)
HUĲJ vt hiŋni vt-1 {hiŋ} ‘wait, await’
SUĲJ vt siŋni vt-1 {siŋ} ‘pick, pluck, pick up’
TUĲJ vt tiŋni vt-1 {tiŋ} ‘drink’

-ŋ vt (1)
PHĲJ vt phiŋni vt-2a {phiŋd/phiŋ-phiŋ} ‘cause to grow, cause something to manifest itself’ [caus. of PHĲJ vi]

-P [the three verbs marked vt-2c are T-transitives (like vt-2a) which use the stem without postfinal in the 3 > 3(p) form]

-ŋ vi (1)
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PIP vi pipni vi-1 {pipph/piph} ‘topple, fall’

- IPT vtt (7)
  HIP vtt hipni vt-2a {hipht/hiph-hip/hip} ‘reap (with a sickle)’
  KHIPT vtt khihni vt-2a {khihph/khihph-khihph/khihph} ‘cook’
  PIPT vtt pipni vt-2a {pipt/pip-ph/piph/pip} ‘pierce, insert lengthwise into’
  PHIPT vtt phipni vt-2a {phipt/phip-hiph/phip} ‘suck, draw (through a straw)’
  RIPT vtt ripni vt-2a {ript/riph-riph/riph} ‘cut down, fell’
  RIPT vtt ripni vt-2a {ript/riph-riph/riph} ‘braid, twist, wring out (water), wind’
  IPT vtt ipni vt-2c {ipt/ip-iph/ip} ‘put to bed, put to sleep’ ['sleep, go to bed']

- EP vi (mid/close apophony) (2)
  KEP vi kepni vi-3 {kiph/kip-kep} ‘stick to, adhere’ [caus: KEPT] [332]
  REP vi repni vi-3 {riph/riph-riph/riph} ‘stand’ [caus: REPT vtt]

- EP vt (mid/close apophony) (1)
  KHEP vt khepn vt-3 {kheph/kheph-khep} ‘chop up, mince’

MEP(T) (?) vt(t) mepni vt-2a {mep/ph-mepph/mep} ‘destroy, obliterate, ruin, spoil’ [irr: Stem-1 of vt-2a should end in -pt (107). No paradigm is available.

- EPT vtt (mid/close apophony) (6)
  DEPT vtt depni vt-2a {dept/dep-dipt/di-ph/dep} ‘cover’
  KEPT vtt kepni vt-2a {kept/kep-kiph/kip} ‘stick, attach’ [caus. of KEPT vtt]
  KEPT vtt kepni vt-2a {kept/kep-kiph/kip} ‘sting’
  LEPT vtt lepn vt-2a {lept/lep-liph/lip} ‘glue, stick, mend, patch’
  REPT vtt repni vt-2a {rept/riph-riph/riph} ‘obey, agree (takes {-bi} locative)’ [caus. of REP vi (D suggests as possible)]
 𝙉ÈPT vtt nyepni vt-2a {nyep/nyep-nyiph/nyip} ‘sow (seed)’

- AP vi (1)
  THAP vi tha:pn vi-1 {tha-ph/thap} ‘be torn or perforated’ [tr. THAP vt]

- AP vt (1)
  THAP vt tha:pn vi-1 {tha-ph/thap} ‘rip, tear’ [itr. THAP vi]

- APT vtt (7)
  DAPT vtt dapni vt-2a {dapht/dap-da-da-ph/dap} ‘beat, pound (clothes, in washing)’
  DAPT vtt dapni vt-2a {dapht/dap-da-da-ph/dap} ‘experience, taste, feel’
  RAPT vtt rapni vt-2a {rapht/rap-raph/rap} ‘fence off’
  THAP vtt tha:pn vt-2a {tha-ph-tha-ph-thap} ‘measure’ [D presents as caus. of THAP vi (??)]
  YAPT vtt yapni vt-2a {yaapht/yap-yaaph/yaap} ‘serve (food), present (food)’
  BAPT vtt ba:pn vt-2c {ba:pht/ba-pba-ph/bap} ‘bump into, disturb, upset’
  TSAPT vtt tspni vt-2c {tspht/tsp-tsp-thap/tsp} ‘be able to’

- OP vt (mid/close apophony) (4)
  KHOP vt khopni vt-3 {khoph/khopph-khop} ‘winnnow’
  LOP vt lopni vt-3 {luph/lup-lup} ‘catch, seize, grab’ [109]
  MOP vt mopni vt-3 {moph/moph-moph} ‘grope, feel one’s way’ (with non-referential third singular patient)
  OP vt opni vt-3 {uph/up-op} ‘throw, cast (esp. a net)’ [caus: OP vtt]

- OPT vtt (mid/close apophony) (4)
  KOPT vtt kopni vt-2a {kopht/kop-koph/kop} ‘thatch, cover (causative forms)’
  KHOPT vtt khopni vt-2a {khoph/khop-koph/khop} ‘plug up, cover’
  OPT vtt opni vt-2a {opt/op-oph/op} ‘spark, strike sparks, bounce, hop, pop, shine (of sun), catch fire (non-referential 3rd person patient agreement)’ [D suggests as possible caus. of OP vtt ‘toss’”] [if this verb is impersonal, raised-vowel forms would not occur, therefore its alternation status is undetermined.]
Internal reconstruction of the Dumi verb: APPENDIX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TSOPT</th>
<th>vtt</th>
<th>tsəpni</th>
<th>vt-2a</th>
<th>{tsəpt/tsəp-tsəph/tsəp} ‘write’ [ə-u for o-u perhaps because of ts-]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-UP vi (1)</td>
<td>BUP vi</td>
<td>bipni</td>
<td>vi-1</td>
<td>{bip/h/bip} ‘be short’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-UPT vtt (5)</td>
<td>PUP vtt</td>
<td>pipni</td>
<td>vt-2a</td>
<td>{pɪpt/pɪp-pɪph/pɪp} ‘squeeze out (liquid), wring, filter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TUPT vtt</td>
<td>tipni</td>
<td>vt-2a</td>
<td>{tɪpt/tɪp-tɪph/tɪp} ‘play (an instrument), ring, sound’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TUPT vtt</td>
<td>tipni</td>
<td>vt-2a</td>
<td>{tɪpt/tɪp-tɪph/tɪp} ‘keep, save, accrue (wealth)’ [116]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>THUPT vtt</td>
<td>thipni</td>
<td>vt-2a</td>
<td>{thɪpt/thɪp-thɪph/thɪp} ‘sew’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TSUPT vtt</td>
<td>tsipni</td>
<td>vt-2a</td>
<td>{tsɪpt/tsɪp-tsɪph/tsɪp} ‘drench sth by dumping water on it’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-M vi (1)  
| GIM vi | giːmni | vi-1  | {giːm} ‘set (of sun)’ |

-IM vt (1)  
| TIM vt | timni | vi-1  | {tim} ‘press (for juice or oil)’ |

-EM vi (mid/close apophony) (3)  
| LEM vi | lemnρi | vi-3  | {lɪm-lem} ‘be sweet’ |
| LEM vi | lemnρi | vi-3  | {lɪm-lem} ‘grow, sprout, spring (of water)’ |
| REM vi | remni | vi-3  | {rɪm-rem} ‘cool off’ |

-EMT vtt (without mid/close apophony) (1)  
| TSEMρ vt | tsemni | vt-2a  | {tsemd/tsem-tsem} ‘play’ |

-AM vi (3)  
| NAM vi | namnρi | vi-1  | {namph/nam} ‘stink’ [cf NOM vi, vt] [itr. stem in -mph] |
| NAM vi | namnρi | vi-1  | {nam} ‘sink, be dunked’ [tr. NAM vt] |
| TSAM vt | tsamnρi | vi-1  | {tsam} ‘be lost’ [tr. TSAM vt] |
| WAM vt | wamnρi | vi-1  | {wam} ‘lose one’s wits, be bewildered’ [tr. WAM vt] |

-AM vt (4)  
| NAM vt | namnρi | vi-1  | {nam} ‘dunk underwater, cause to sink’ [itr. NAM vi] |
| TAM vt | tamnρi | vi-1  | {tam} ‘dunk under, dip, sink’ [cf. NAM vi, vt (?)] |
| TSAM vt | tsamnρi | vi-1  | {tsam} ‘lose’ [itr. TSAM vi] |
| WAM vt | wamnρi | imp.vi-1  | {wam} ‘become insane (with unexpressed 3s agent)’ [i.e. O-agreement with the insane person] [itr. WAM vi-1] |

-OM vi (mid/close apophony) (2)  
| NOM vt | namnρi | vi-3  | {num-nam} ‘smell, be odoriferous’ [tr. NOM vt-3] [cf. NAM vi] |
| TSOM vt | tsamnρi | vi-3  | {tsum-tsəm} ‘dance’ |

-OM vt (mid/close apophony) (3)  
| LOM vt | lamnρi | vi-3  | {lum-lam} ‘look for’ |
| NOM vt | namnρi | vi-3  | {num-nam} ‘smell, Nep. su₃ghnu [‘sniff’]’ [itr. NOM vi-3] |
| TSOM vt | tsamnρi | vi-3  | {tsum-tsəm} ‘split (wood, bamboo)’ |

-OMT vtt (mid/close apophony) (1)  
| YOMT vtt | yəmnρi | vt-2a  | {yəmd/yəm-yum} ‘hit’ |

-UM vi (1)  
| DUM vi | dimnρi | vi-1  | {dim} ‘meet’ [tr. DUM vt] |

-UM vt (5)  
| DUM vt | dimnρi | vt-1  | {dim} ‘blow’ |
| DUM vt | dimnρi | vt-1  | {dim} ‘meet’ [itr. DUM vi] |
| GUM vt | gimnρi | vt-1  | {gɪm} ‘brood (eggs)’ |
| LUM vt | limnρi | vt-1  | {lim} ‘boil something in water’ |
| SUM vt | simnρi | vt-1  | {sim} ‘allow to ripen or ferment; brood (eggs)’ |
-R [Final -r induces vowel anomalies]
-IR vi (1)
  TSIR vi tsirni vi-1 {tsir} ‘urinate’
-IR vt (2)
  SIR vt sirni vt-1 {sir} ‘wash, bathe’
  IJR vt njirni vt-1 {njir} ‘finish, complete’
-ER vi (mid/close apophony) (1)
  BER vi byerni vi-3 {byir-byer} ‘fly’ [y glide because of -r] [332]
-ER vt (mid/close apophony) (1)
  DER vt derni vt-1 {dir-der} ‘suit someone’ [vt-1 is an error for vt-3]
-ER vtt (mid/close apophony) (1)
  PER vtt pyerni vt-2a {pyerd/pyer-pir} ‘pinch with tweezers’ [y glide because of -r]
-AR vi (1)
  BAR vi barni vi-1 {bar} ‘grow, swell’
  TAR vi tærni vi-1 {teer} ‘snap, break’ [irr. vowel; note lack of alternation; possibly TOR or TUR; [D suggests possible caus. of TAT vtt (?)]
-AR vt (1)
  KHR vt kharni vt-1 {khar} ‘scratch, scrape off, rout in the soil (of a bull)’
-ART vtt (2)
  DZART vtt dzarni vt-2a {dzaard/dzær-dzær} ‘be disgusted at’
  WART vtt warni vt-2a {ward/war-war} ‘throw overhand, toss far’
-OR vt (mid/close apophony) (2)
  KHOR vt kharani vt-3 {khur-khar} ‘pop (maize), sear (meat)’ [unique u~a alternation in a closed root]
  TSOR vt tsarni vt-3 {tsur-tsar} ‘pay (so.)’ [u~a alternation as in -OM and -OL categories]
-UR vi (1)
  TSUR vi tsirni vi-1 {tsir} ‘be sour’
-UR vt (1)
  KUR vt kiri vt-1 {kir} ‘carry’
-URT vtt (1)
  HURT vtt hirni vt-2a {hirid/hir-hir} ‘fan’
-L
-IL vi (1)
  BIL vi bilni vi-1 {bil} ‘spoil’
-IL vt (2)
  PIL vt pilni vt-1 {pil} ‘hold, squeeze, milk’
  TSIL vt tsilni vt-1 {tsil} ‘break open’
-AL vt (3)
  HAL vt halni vt-1 {hal} ‘prepare and offer a small sacrifice’
  AL vt alni vt-1 {al} ‘unstick, separate, remove (e.g. a scab)’
  SAL vt salni vt-1 {sal} ‘arrange, order, protect’
-OL vt (mid/close apophony) (3)
  HOL vt halni vt-3 {hul-hal} ‘ruin, wreck, spoil’
  PHOL vt phalni vt-3 {phul-phal} ‘spread out, move about (esp. drying grain)’
  ROL vt ralni vt-3 {rul-ral} ‘shell (maize)’
-UL vi (3)
  BUL vi bilni vi-1 {bil} ‘run’ [330]
  HUL vi hilni vi-1 {hil} ‘cough’
Internal reconstruction of the Dumi verb: APPENDIX

HUL vi hilni vi-1 {hil} ‘get mixed’ [tr: vt-1]
HUL vt hilni vt-1 {hil} ‘mix’ [intr: vi-1]
SUL vt silni vt-1 {sil} ‘hide, conceal’
TUL vt tilni vt-1 {til} ‘raise, bring up (livestock, children)’

-T
-IT vi (2)
DZIT vi dzitn vi-3 {dzits/dzis-dzit} ‘get wet’ [caus: DZIT vtt]
MIT vi mitn vi-3 {mits/mis-mit} ‘die’

-IT vtt (7)
DHIT vtt dhitn vt-2a {dhit-dhits/dhis} ‘follow’
LIT vtt litn vt-2a {lit-lits/lis} ‘turn around, overturn’
DZIT vtt dzitni vt-2a {dzit-dzits/dzis} ‘make wet’ [caus. of DZIT vi] [note length]
KHIT vtt khi vt-2a {khi-khi:ts/khi-s} ‘comb’
KHIT vtt khi vt-2a {khi-khi:ts/khi-s} ‘count’
KHIT vtt khi vt-2a {khi-khi:ts/khi-s} ‘obey, listen’
PHIT vtt phitn vt-2a {phit-phis/phis} ‘ask for, request’

-ET vi (mid/close apophony) (5)
SET vi setn vi-3 {sits/sis-set} ‘be killed’ [caus: SED vtt]
LET vi letn vi-3 {li:ts/li:s-let} ‘survive’
 đựng vi nietn vi-3 {nyits/nyis-nyet} ‘hurt, be ill’
BET vi betn vi-3 {bits/bis-bet} ‘tear, break due to wear and tear’
TSET vi tsetn vi-3 {tsits/tsis-tset} ‘tear, split (intr.)’ [caus: TSED vtt]

-ET vtt (mid/close apophony) (3)
-ET vtt nietn imp. vt-3 {nyits/nyis-nyet} ‘ache, hurt’ (with non-referential 3s agent; patient agreement with the person affected) [paradigm uncertain; see Van Driem 227-236]
LET vtt letn vt-2a {let-li:ts/lis} ‘plant, sow’
DZET vtt dzetn vt-2a {dzet-dzits/dzis} ‘call, address so.’ [caus. of DZE vi-2 ‘speak’]

-AT vi (3)
AT vi atn vi-3 {ats/ats-at} ‘say; [ASPECT: impendent pseudo-asp.]’ (takes ergatively marked subject) [332]
SAT vi satn vi-3 {sats/sats-sat} ‘be stopped up’ [caus: SAT vtt]
THAT vi thatn vi-3 {tha:ts/thas-that} ‘be ripped or snapped, come undone, break loose’ [caus: TAT vtt (?)]

-AT vtt (7)
LAT vtt latn vt-2a {lat-lats/las} ‘take out, remove, extract, hatch’ [note length pair vs ‘be enough for, reach’]
BAT vtt batn vt-2a {bat-bats/bas} ‘say; [ASPECT: inceptive pseudo-asp.]’ to begin’
LAT vtt latn vt-2a {lat-lats/las} ‘be enough for, reach someone or something’ [note length pair vs ‘take out’]
PAT vtt patn vt-2a {pat-pats/pas} ‘wrap, bind, wind up, patch, mend’
SAT vtt satn vt-2a {sat-sats/sas} ‘plug up, fill in’ [caus. of SAT vi]
TAT vtt tatn vt-2a {tats-tats/tas} ‘dig up, poke loose, extract’ [D. improbably identifies this as the caus. of {tœrn} ‘snap, break’. A relation with THAT vi seems more likely, but the initial correspondence is unique.] [caus. of THAT (?)]
TSAT vtt tsatn vt-2a {tsats-tsats/tsas} ‘propagate, spread (e.g. plants, disease)’
BOT vi botni vi-3 {buts/bus-bot} ‘shout, cry, crow (of a cockerel)’ [98]
BOT vi -tsili botni vi-3 {buts/bus-bot} ‘get riled up, be angry, get angry’
[“pron.-anger be-roused (impers.)]
KHT vi khotni vi-3 {khuts/khus-khot} ‘go, go away; [ASPECT: itive intr.]’
[caus: KHT vtt] [333]
KHT vi khotni vi-3 {khuts/khus-khot} ‘go, go away; [ASPECT: itive intr.]’
[caus: KHT vtt] [333]
HOT vi hotni vi-3 {huts/hus-hot} ‘cave in, collapse’

-OT vtt (mid/close apophony) (8)

[the difference between verbs in ə~u and those in o~u is unexplained]

DOT vtt datni vt-2a {dot-duts/dus} ‘fetch (e.g. water); warm up by the fire; set (a trap)’
KHT vtt khotni vt-2a {khot-khuts/khus} ‘take, take up accept, receive’ [caus. of KHOJ vi: i.e. to accept from “below”, thus “cause to come up”? BM’s etymology). Van Driem considers this to be the same etymon as the aspctual KHOJ.] KHOJ vtt khotni vt-2a {khot-khuts/khus} ‘take away’ (219), [ASPECT: itive tr.]’
[caus. of KHOT vi]
LOT vtt namlnni vt-2a {lat-luts/lus} ‘dry out in the sun’ [< {na} ‘sun’ + allofam of { latn} vt-2a {lat-lats/las} ‘remove’
POT vtt potni vt-2a {pat-pats/pas} ‘bloom’ (with non-ref. 3s agent agreement)
[< {na} ‘sun’ + allofam] POT vtt potni vt-2a {pot-puts/pus} ‘trade, exchange, change’

-UT vi (2)
TUT vi tutni vi-3 {tuts/tuss-tut} ‘be visible’ [? why vowel i?]
THUT vi thutthiti vi-3 {thits/this-thit} ‘stretch, become elongated’ [caus: THUD vtt] (with {tanamri} ‘elongated’)

-UT vtt (1)
HUT vtt hitni vt-2a {hit-hits/his} ‘burn (+ inedible, e.g. firewood)’ [caus. of UD ‘roast’]
MA/O/MUT vtt minni vt-7 {ma-mits/mis-mit-mi-muy/mu-mo} ‘do sth. (o); do sth. to so. (o.)’ [caus. of {mini} ‘do’ in {sisi} {mini}] [irr: “anomalous conjugation”] [mixed MUT and MA/O (?)] [115]

-I
-D
-ID vtt (3)
PID vtt pitni vt-2a {pid/pit-pits/pis} ‘bring (on level)’ [caus. of PI vi-1]
LID vtt litni vt-2a {lid/lit-lits/lis} ‘cut’
KID vtt kiti vt-2a {ki:d/kii-kits/ki:s} ‘buy’

-ED vtt (mid/close apophony) (4)
SED vtt setni vt-4 {sid/sit-sits/sis-set} ‘kill’ [caus. of SET vi]
LED vtt letni vt-4 {lid/li:ts/lis-li:ts} ‘release, let loose’ [110] [erroneously glossed ‘catch’ (110); infinitive {litni} in the expression {som litni} ‘exhale’ (419)?]
PED vtt petni vt-4 {pid/pit-pits/pis-pet} ‘pick (fruits, flowers), pick up’
TSED vtt tsetni vt-4 {tsid/tsi:t-tsits/tsi:s-tset} ‘tear’ [caus of TSET vi]
Van Driem’s vt-2b (3 verbs) and vt-5b (3 verbs) differ from vt-2a in the 3–N (much variety, especially in 1st plural forms).

Van Driem’s vt-2a (9 verbs in NT): the pre-consonantal general stem may end in s (7 verbs) or ns (2 verbs).

-INT vtt (3)
  MINT vtt manin vtt-2a {mind/min-mints/mins} ‘think, remember’ [irr: pre-c.
  general stem -ns]
  INT vtt inni vtt-2b {ind/in-ints/is} ‘sell sth. (o.) to so.’ [108]
  TNT vtt benni vtt-2a {bind/bien-bints/bs} ‘fill’ [344]

-ENT vtt (without mid/close apophony) (6)
  LENT vtt lenni vtt-2a {lend/len-lents/les} ‘swallow’
  LEN vtt lenni vtt-2a {lend/len-lents/les} ‘move, spill (liquid)’
  THENT vtt thenni vtt-2a {thend/then-thents/thes} ‘pick up, lift’
  SEYNT vtt syenni vtt-4 {syend/syen-syents/syes-syet} ‘look at, discern’ [350]
  TSENT vtt tsenni vtt-5b {tsend/tsen-tsents/tses-tse-ten} ‘recognize, choose’ [“<
  {syenni} vtt-4” (?)]
  TSENT vtt tsenni vtt-5b {tsend/tsen-tsents/tses-tse-ten} ‘teach’ [112]

-AN vi (1)
  TAN vi tani vi-3 {tants/tas-tat} ‘come down’ [caus: TANT vtt]

-ANT vi (3)
  PANT vtt amini vtt-2a {amn/am-ants/as} ‘return, bring back, take back’
  KANT vtt kanni vtt-2a {kanb/kam-kants/kas} ‘pour out, spill; dump’ (341)
  TANT vtt tami vtt-5a {tand/tan-tants/tas-tat-tan} ‘bring down’ [caus. of TAN
  vi] [351]

-ON vi (without mid/close apophony) (2)
  LON vi lanni vi-5 {lants/las-lo-la-ln} ‘come out, emerge’ [caus: LONT vtt]
  [99]
TSON  vi  tsənni  vi-5  {tsənts/tsəs-tsər-tsən-tsən} ‘jump, hop forward’ [caus: TSON vtt] [334] [no form listed in the paradigm (except the infinitive) has the stem tson]

-ONT vtt (without mid/close apophony) (4)

PONT vtt pɔnni  vt-2a  {pɔnd/pən-pənts/pəns} ‘spin (thread)’ [irr: pre-consonantal general stem -ns]

LONT vtt lɔnni  vt-4  {lənd/lən-lənts/ləs-lat} ‘bring out, take out, remove’ [caus. of LON vi’]

ONT vtt wɔnni  vt-5a  {wond/won-wonts/wos-wo-won} ‘bring inside, carry inside’ [caus. of ONI vi] [<**ond] [351]

BONT vtt bɔnni  vt-5b  {bɔnd/bən-bənts/bəs-ən-bot} ‘feel, touch’ [caus. of BOT vi (?)] [353]

-UN vi (3)

UN vi  inni  vi-3  {ints/is-it} ‘be felled, topple’ [caus: UNT vtt]

LUN vi  linni  vi-3  {lnts/lis-lit} ‘go under, set (of sun)’

MUN vi  minni  vi-3  {mints/mis-mit} ‘be conceived (of a child)’

-UNT vt (3)

MUN vtt wa:lɔ  minni  vt-3  {mins/mis-mit} ‘tell (a lie)’ ({wa:lɔ} ‘a lie’) [irr: steml -ns]

UNT vtt inni  vt-2a  {ind/in-ints/is} ‘fell’ [caus. of UN vi]

PHUNT vtt phinni  vt-2a  {phind/phin-phints/phis} ‘dig, dig up (by hand), root (of pig)’

PUNT vtt pinni  vt-2b  {pind/pin-pints/pis} ‘pound, mill (e.g. paddy)’ [344]

Open bases

-i vi (10)

KI vi  ki:ni  vi-1  {ki:y/ki:} ‘fight, quarrel’

DI vi  nji:ni  vi-1  {nji:yi/njii} ‘hear, not be deaf’ [tr. DI vi] [irr. Is -n-] [330]

[2sg., 3sg., 3pl. past (pfx-)]nji:]

PI vi  pi:ni  vi-1  {pi:y/pi:} ‘come (horizontal)’ [caus: PID vtt] [331] [2sg., 3sg., 3pl. past (pfx-)]pi:ya:]

PI vi  pi:ni  vi-1  {pi:y/pi:} ‘fart’

SI vi  si:ni  vi-1  {si:y/si:} ‘bear fruit, bear flower’

RI vi  -ni  ri:ni  vi-1  {ri:y/ri:} ‘be dizzy’ (-{n} ‘mind, consciousness’) [3ps. past i-ni ri:ya ‘he became dizzy’ (412)]

THI vi  thi:ni  vi-1  {thi:y/thi:} ‘stumble and fall, trip’ [tr. THI vi]

I vi  ts:ai:ni  vi-1  {i/y/i:} ‘be bad-tasting’ [DZA ‘to eat’, I ‘to be bad’ (?)]

-i vt (2)

DI vt  njii:n  vt-1  {njii:y} ‘hear, listen to (sth.)’ [itr. DI vi] [njii:y-stem] [336]

THI vt  thi:ni  vt-1  {thii} ‘trip someone, cause to fall over’ [itr. THI vi] [thii-stem] [338]

-E vi (without mid/close apophony) (1)

TSE vi  tsam  tsem  vi-1  {tse:y/tse;} ‘be happy, be content’

-E vi (mid/close apophony) (5)

DZE vi  dzeni  vi-2  {dze:-dziy/dzi:} ‘speak, talk’ [caus: DZET] [97]

E vi  emi  vi-2  {e:-iy/ir;} ‘defecate’

KHE vi  khei  vi-2  {khe:-khiy/khi:} ‘steal’

RE vi  ri:ni  vi-2  {ri:ri:yi:} ‘laugh’ [331]

YE vi  yi:ni  vi-2  {ye:-yi:y/i:} ‘descend, come down’ [tr: YE vi]

-E vt (without mid/close apophony) (1)

NE vt  nenii  vt-1  {nɛ} ‘put, place; wear (clothes)’

-E vt (mid/close apophony) (3)
BE vt bin'i vt-6b {bi:y/bi:-be;} ‘give so. (o.) sth., endow’ O agreement with recipient [113]

KHE vt khii'n'i vt-6b {khiiy/khh:-khe;} ‘steal’

YE vt yii'n'i vt-6b {yii:yii:-ye;} ‘take down, carry downhill, bring down'[itr. YE vi-2]

-A vi (1)

KHA vi khani vi-1 {kha:} ‘be bitter’

GA/GAT (?) vi ga:ni vi-1 {ga/ga:} ‘burn (of lamps)’ [the only infinitive in -ʔ; GA or possibly GAT?]

-O vi (mid/close apophony) (8)

HO vi huni vi-2 {ho:-huy/hu;} ‘come, appear’ [caus. HOD vtt] [331] (differs from vi-4 in having u: rather than i in infinitive and 1p forms)

In all of the following verbs except nin'i, the stem in i is listed before the stem in u in D’s lexical entries, although it is explicitly stated that stem-2 has the vowel u and stem-3 the vowel ɨ in vi-4 (1993:98). The forms are cited as listed by D.

TO vi gini vi-4 {go:-gi:-gu} ‘be, exist [inan.]’

LO vi lini vi-4 {lo:-li:-lu} ‘begin; feel (imps or ps); do (in composition)’ [luy/lu in D’s example paradigm 1993:99] [99]

NO vi nin'i vi-4 {no:-nu-ni} ‘be good, be all right’

TA/O vt tuni vi-4 {ta-tuy/tu-ti-to} ‘put, place; [ASPECT: ponent tr.]’ [itr. TO vi]

PA/O vt pin'i vi-4 {pa-pu/puy-pi-po} ‘weave’

MA/O vt mi'n'i vi-6a {ma-muy/mu-mi-mo} ‘(auxiliary) do’ [caus: MA/O/MUT vt-7 (?)]

MA/O/MUT vtt minni vt-7 {ma-mits/mis-mit-mi-muy/mu-mo} ‘do sth. (o); do sth. to so. (O)’ [caus. of MA/O ‘do’ (?)] [“anomalous conjugation” (115)] [mixed MUT and MA/O (?)] [115]

IRREGULAR aspectivizers

LIJ (?) vi lini vi-3 {liŋ-li} ‘[ASPECT: frolicsome ‘prance about’]’

LUD vtt litni vi-2a {lid/lit-lits/lis} ‘[ASPECT: frolicsome tr.]’ (this verb is regular in itself)

(lini vi-3 is irregular in the alternation in;i; the relation to litni is also irregular.)

?? vi thoni vi-3 {thin-tho} ‘[ASPECT: continuous intr.]’

?? vtt thotni vi-2a {thot-thiŋ} ‘[ASPECT: continuous tr.]’

(Both members of this pair show irregular alternation -in/-o(t).)

PAT vi pani vi-3 {pats/pas-pa} ‘[ASPECT allative intr.]’

PAD vtt pani vt-4 {pad/pat-pats/pas-pa} ‘[ASPECT: allative tr.]’
(Both members of this pair show irregular alternation -əts/a; the open infinitive stems are also irregular.)

DET vtt de ni vt-4 {dit-dits/dis-det} ‘[ASPECT: colligative tr.]’

(The open infinitive stem is irregular; cf. pani above.)

səwə khotnə vt-2a {khotnd/khotn-khotnts/khos} ‘proffer obeissance’
khotnə vt-5a {khotnd/khotn-khotnts/khos-kho-khot} ‘[ASPECT: profferative]’ [111] [cited in phiŋkhotnni ‘to send off to so.’]

(The stem-final -tn- is irregular in these verbs.)

liʔkhotnə vt-2a {liʔkhot-liʔkhots/liʔkhos} ‘cross (a ridge, away from point of reference)’ [< {khotnə} form of {khotnə} ‘take’ without apophony]
dɔkhotnə vt-2a {dɔkhot-du:khuts/du:khus} ‘see’ (cf. vt-3 aspectualizer)

[107]

REFERENCE