Dumi verb index by rime. Appendix to: Internal reconstruction of the Dumi verb: lexical bases and stem formation.

Boyd Michailovsky

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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, Ø), 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 applicable 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 rikn vi-1 {rik} ‘sway, rock’ [irr: no stem in -kh]
-IKT vtt (4)
  RIKT vtt rikni vt-2a {rikt/rik-rikh/rik} ‘scatter’
  SIKT vtt sikni vt-2a {sikt/sik-sikh/sik} ‘string (e.g. beads, flowers)’
  PHIKT vtt phikni vt-2a {phiikt/phik-phikh/phik} ‘sweep (with a broom)’
  HIKT vtt hi:kni vt-2a {hiikt/hik-hi:k/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-lyakh} ‘lick’
-EK vt (without mid/close apophony) (1)
  TSEK vt tseyakni vt-1 {tseyakh/tseyakh} ‘pinch, nip, squeeze’
-EKT (without mid/close apophony) (3)

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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel Initial</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DHEKT</strong></td>
<td>vtt dhyəknı</td>
<td>vt-2a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KHEKT</strong></td>
<td>vtt khyəknı</td>
<td>vt-2a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PEKT</strong></td>
<td>vtt pyəknı</td>
<td>vt-2a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HAK</strong></td>
<td>vi hakni</td>
<td>vi-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BOK</strong></td>
<td>vi boknı</td>
<td>vi-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NJOK</strong></td>
<td>vi njoknı</td>
<td>vi-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOK</strong></td>
<td>vi sam soknı</td>
<td>vi-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BOKT</strong></td>
<td>vtt bhoknı</td>
<td>vt-2a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>vtt koknı</td>
<td>vt-2a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>vtt soknı</td>
<td>vt-2a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>vt-2a</td>
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<tr>
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<td>vtt yəknı</td>
<td>vt-2a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>vi-1</td>
</tr>
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<td>vi-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>vi ukıknı</td>
<td>vi-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BUK</strong></td>
<td>vi bıknı</td>
<td>vi-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PHUK</strong></td>
<td>vi phıknı</td>
<td>vi-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TSUK</strong></td>
<td>vi tısını</td>
<td>vi-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TSUK</strong></td>
<td>vt tısını</td>
<td>vt-1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Internal reconstruction of the Dumi verb: APPENDIX

-UKT vtt (6)
  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 pikni vt-2a {pikt/pik-pikh/pik} ‘heap up, pile up’
  TSUKT vtt tsikni vt-2a {tsikt/tsik-tsikh/tsik} ‘understand (sth.), know (sth.)’
  YUKT vtt yikni vt-2a {yik/yik-yikh/yik} ‘turn around, grind, mill’
  PHUKT vtt* phikni vt-1 {phik} ‘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 {phik/phik-phik}]. Unaspirated -k in the prevocalic general stem (unlike PHUK ‘arise’) is irregular.] [caus. of PHUK vi] [106]

-[I] [T-transitives almost absent; some verbs in -I have T-transitives in -NT]
-İI] vt (3)
  SIİ] vt siğni vt-1 {siğ} ‘ask, inquire’
  Rİİ] vt riğni vt-1 {riğ} ‘surround’
  TSİİ] vt tsiğni vt-1 {tsiğ} ‘hate’
  PHİİ] vt* phiągni vt-2a {phiąn-phiąn} ‘to send (so. (obj) or sth. to so.(obj))’ [irr: -ņs stem final is unique—on the way to –nts?] [caus. of PHUK vi]

-İ] vt (mid/close apophony) (1)
  LEİ] vt leqnı vt-3 {liņ-leņ} ‘plaster, smear on (mud or clay)’

-ĄJ vi (4)
  HAĮ] vi haņni vi-1 {haņ} ‘dry out’
  SAĮ] vi saņni vi-1 {saņ} ‘prosper’
  SAĮ] vi saņni vi-1 {saņ} ‘suffer insomnia’
  THAI] vi thaņni vi-1 {thaņ} ‘fall, drop’ [itr. THAI] vt

-ĄJ vt (1)
  THAI] vt thaņni vt-1 {thaņ} ‘drop, allow to fall’ [itr. THAI] vi

-OJ vi (mid/close apophony) (2)
  KHǑ] vi khoņni vi-3 {kuņ-khoņ} ‘come up’ [caus: KHOD vtt] [333]
  OJ] vi oņni vi-3 {uņ-oņ} ‘enter’ [caus: ONT vtt]

-OJ vt (mid/close apophony) (1)
  ROJ] vt roņni vt-3 {ruņ-roņ} ‘hold, manipulate, play with’

-ŲJ vi (1)
  PHŲJ] vi phįjni vi-1 {phįn} ‘spread, emerge (of clouds), arise, manifest oneself’ [caus: PHŲJT vtt]

-ŲJ vt (3)
  HŲJ] vt hiņni vt-1 {hiņ} ‘wait, await’
  SUŲJ] vt siņni vt-1 {siņ} ‘pick, pluck, pick up’
  TUŲJ] vt tiņni vt-1 {tiņ} ‘drink’

-ŲJT vtt (1)
  PHŲJT vtt phįjni vt-2a {phįn/phįn-phįn} ‘cause to grow, cause something to manifest itself’ [caus. of PHŲJ 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]

-İP vi (1)
Boyd Michailovsky

- **PIP** vi pipni vi-1 {piph/pip} ‘topple, fall’

- **IPT vtt (7)**
  - HIP vtt hiplni vt-2a {hip/hip-hip/hip} ‘reap (with a sickle)’
  - KHIPT vtt khipni vt-2a {khip/hkip-hkip/hkip} ‘cook’
  - PIPT vtt pipni vt-2a {pipt/pip-pip/pip} ‘pierce, insert lengthwise into’
  - PIHPT vtt pipni vt-2a {pihpt/pih-piph/pih} ‘suck, draw (through a straw)’
  - RIPT vtt ripni vt-2a {ript/rip-rip/rip} ‘cut down, fell’
  - RIPT vtt ripni vt-2a {ript/rip-piph/rip} ‘braid, twist, wring out (water), wind’
  - IPT vtt ipini vt-2c {iip/iip-iip/iip} ‘put to bed, put to sleep’ ['sleep, go to bed’

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

- **EP vt (mid(close apophony) (1)**
  - KHEP vt khepni vt-3 {kip/kip-kep} ‘chop up, mince’
  - MEP(T) (?) vt(t) mekipni vt-2a {meph/mep-miph/mip} ‘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-di/dep} ‘cover’
  - KEPT vtt kepni vt-2a {kept/kep-kiph/kip} ‘stick, attach’ [caus. of KEPT vi]
  - KEPT vtt kepni vt-2a {kept/kep-kiph/kip} ‘sting’
  - LEPT vtt lepni vt-2a {lep/lep-liph/lip} ‘glue, stick, mend, patch’
  - REPT vtt repni vt-2a {rept/rep-riph/rip} ‘obey, agree (takes {-bi} locative)’ [caus. of REP vi (D suggests as possible)]

**APT vi (1)**
  - THAP vi tha:pni vi-1 {thaph/thap} ‘be torn or perforated’ [tr. THAP vt]

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

**A PT vtt (7)**
  - DAPT vtt dapni vt-2a {dap/dep-dap/dap} ‘beat, pound (clothes, in washing)’
  - DAPT vtt dapni vt-2a {dap/dep-dap/dap} ‘experience, taste, feel’
  - RAPT vtt rapni vt-2a {rap/rap-raph/rap} ‘fence off’
  - THAPT vtt tha:pni vt-2a {thaph/tha:p-thaph/tha:p} ‘measure’ [D presents as caus. of THAP vi (??)]
  - YAPT vtt yapni vt-2a {yaap/yaap-yaph/yap} ‘serve (food), present (food)’
  - BAPT vtt bapni vt-2c {bap/bap-bap/bap} ‘bump into, disturb, upset’
  - TSAPT vtt tsapni vt-2c {tsap/psap-tsap/psap} ‘be able to’

**OP vt (mid(close apophony) (4)**
  - KHOP vt khopni vt-3 {khup/hkup-khup} ‘winnow’
  - LOP vt lopni vt-3 {lup/lup-lup} ‘catch, seize, grab’ [109]
  - MOP vt mopni vt-3 {mup/mup-mup} ‘grop, feel one’s way’ (with non-referential third singular patient)
  - OP vt opni vt-3 {uph/up-up} ‘throw, cast (esp. a net)’ [caus: OPT vtt]

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

TSOPT vtt tsən pni vi-2a {tsəp/tsəp-tsəph/tsəph} ‘write’ [ə~u for o~u perhaps because of ts-

-UP vi (1)
   BUP vi bipni vi-1 {bip/bip} ‘be short’

-UPT vtt (5)
   PUP vtt pipni vt-2a {pɨnt/pɨnt-pɨph/pɨph} ‘squeeze out (liquid), wring, filter’
   TUPT vtt tipl ni vt-2a {tipt/tipl-tipl/tipl} ‘play (an instrument), ring, sound’
   TUPT vtt tipl ni vt-2a {tipt/tipl-tipl/tipl} ‘keep, save, accrue (wealth)’ [116]
   THUPT vtt thipni vt-2a {thipt/thipt-thipt/thipt} ‘sew’
   TSUPT vtt tspni vt-2a {tsipt/tsiph/tsiπ} ‘drench sth by dumping water on it’

-M vi (1)
   GIM vi gi:mn ni vi-1 {gi:m} ‘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 lemni vi-3 {lim-lem} ‘be sweet’
   LEM vi lemni vi-3 {lim:lem} ‘grow, sprout, spring (of water)’
   REM vi ri:mn vi-3 {ri:m-rem} ‘cool off’

-EMT vtt (without mid/close apophony) (1)
   TSEM vtt tsenm ni vt-2a {tsemtd/tsem-tsem} ‘play’

-AM vi (3)
   NAM vi namni vi-1 {napm/namp} ‘stink’ [cf NOM vi, vt] [itr. stem in -mph]
   NAM vi namni vi-1 {nam} ‘sink, be dunked’ [tr. NAM vt]
   TSAM vi tsa:mi vi-1 {tsam} ‘be lost’ [tr. TSAM vt]
   WAM vi wamni vi-1 {wam} ‘lose one’s wits, be bewildered’ [tr. WAM vt]

-AM vt (4)
   NAM vt namni vi-1 {nam} ‘dunk underwater, cause to sink’ [itr. NAM vi]
   TAM vt tamni vi-1 {tam} ‘dunk under, dip, sink’ [cf. NAM vi, vt (?)]
   TSAM vt tsa:mi vi-1 {tsam} ‘lose’ [itr. TSAM vi]
   WAM vt wamni imp.vt-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 vi namni vi-3 {num-nam} ‘smell, be odoriferous’ [tr. NOM vt-3] [cf. NAM vi]
   TSOM vi ts:mn vi-3 {tsum-tsəm} ‘dance’

-OM vt (mid/close apophony) (3)
   LOM vt lamni vt-3 {lum-lam} ‘look for’
   NOM vt namni vt-3 {num-nam} ‘smell, Nep. sughnu [‘sniff’]’ [itr. NOM vi-3]
   TSOM vt ts:mn vi-3 {tsum-tsəm} ‘split (wood, bamboo)’

-OMT vtt (mid/close apophony) (1)
   YOMT vtt yamni vt-2a {yam/um-yam} ‘hit’

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

-UM vt (5)
   DUM vt dimni vt-1 {dim} ‘blow’
   DUM vt dimni vt-1 {dim} ‘meet’ [itr. DUM vi]
   GUM vt gmn ni vt-1 {gim} ‘brood (eggs)’
   LUM vt limni vt-1 {lim} ‘boil something in water’
   SUM vt simni 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’
  IJIR  vt  nyirni  vt-1  {nyir}  ‘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-piir}  ‘pinch with tweezers’ [y glide because of -r]

-AR vi (1)
  BAR  vi  barni  vi-1  {bar}  ‘grow, swell’
  TAR  vi  tøerni  vi-1  {tør}  ‘snap, break’ [irr. vowel; note lack of alternation; possibly TOR or TUR] [D suggests possible caus. of TAT vtt (??)]

-AR vt (1)
  KCHAR  vt  kharøni  vt-1  {kharø}  ‘scratch, scrape off, rout in the soil (of a bull)’

-ART vtt (2)
  DZART  vtt  dzarni  vt-2a  {dzørd/dzar-dzar}  ‘be disgusted at’
  WART  vtt  wørnì  vt-2a  {warø/wør-warø}  ‘throw overhand, toss far’

-OR vt (mid/close apophony) (2)
  KCHAR  vt  kharøni  vt-3  {kharø-khar}  ‘pop (maize), sear (meat)’ [unique u~a alternation in a closed root]
  TSOR  vt  tsarnì  vt-3  {tsur-tsør}  ‘pay (so.)’ [u~a alternation as in -OM and -OL categories]

-UR vi (1)
  TSUR  vi  tørni  vi-1  {tør}  ‘be sour’

-UR vt (1)
  KUR  vt  kirni  vt-1  {kir}  ‘carry’

-URT vtt (1)
  HURT  vtt  hirni  vt-2a  {hird/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  hølni  vt-3  {høl-høl}  ‘ruin, wreck, spoil’
  PHOL  vt  phalni  vt-3  {phøl-phøl}  ‘spread out, move about (esp. drying grain)’
  ROL  vt  rolni  vt-3  {rol-rol}  ‘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 hɨlnɨ vi-1 {hɨl} ‘get mixed’ [tr: vt-1]

-UL vt (3)
HUL vt hɨlnɨ vt-1 {hɨl} ‘mix’ [intr: vi-1]
SUL vt silnɨ vt-1 {sil} ‘hide, conceal’
TUL vt tilnɨ vt-1 {tɨl} ‘raise, bring up (livestock, children)’

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

-IT vtt (7)
DZIT vtt dziːtnɨ vt-2a {dziːts/dzis-dziːt} ‘make wet’ [caus. of DZIT vi] [note length]
KHIT vtt khiːtnɨ vt-2a {khiːts/khis-khiːt} ‘comb’
KHIT vtt khiːtnɨ vt-2a {khiːts/khis-khiːt} ‘count’
KHIT vtt khiːtnɨ vt-2a {khiːts/khis-khiːt} ‘obey, listen’
PHIT vtt phiːtnɨ vt-2a {phiːts/phiːs-phiːt} ‘ask for, request’

-ET vi (mid/close apophony) (5)
SET vi setnɨ vi-3 {sits/sis-set} ‘be killed’ [caus: SED vtt]
LET vi letnɨ vi-3 {liːts/liːs-let} ‘survive’
ŊET vi ŋyetnɨ vi-3 {ŋyɪts/ŋyis-ŋyet} ‘hurt, be ill’
BET vi betnɨ vi-3 {bits/bis-bet} ‘tear, break due to wear and tear’
TSET vi tsɛtnɨ vi-3 {tsɛts/tsis-tṣɛt} ‘tear, split (intr.)’ [caus: TSED vtt]

-ET vtt (mid/close apophony) (3)
ŊET vtt ŋyetnɨ imp. vt-3 {ŋyɪts/ŋyis-ŋyet} ‘ache, hurt’ (with non-referential 3s agent; patient agreement with the person affected) [paradigm uncertain; see Van Driem 227-236]
LET vtt letnɨ vt-2a {liːts/liːs} ‘plant, sow’
DZET vtt dzɛtnɨ vt-2a {dzɛts/dzis-dzis} ‘call, address so.’ [caus. of DZE vi-2 ‘speak’]

-AT vi (3)
AT vi aːtnɨ vi-3 {ats/as-aːt} ‘say; [ASPECT: impendent pseudo-asp.]’
(takes ergatively marked subject) [332]
SAT vi satnɨ vi-3 {sats/sas-sat} ‘be stopped up’ [caus: SAT vtt]
THAT vi thatnɨ vi-3 {thaːts/thasː-that} ‘be ripped or snapped, come undone, break loose’ [caus: TAT vtt (?)]

-AT vtt (7)
LAT vtt latnɨ vt-2a {lat-lats/las} ‘take out, remove, extract, hatch’ [note length pair vs ‘be enough for, reach’]
BAT vtt batnɨ vt-2a {baːt-baːts/baːs} ‘say; [ASPECT: inceptive pseudo-asp.] to begin’
LAT vtt latnɨ vt-2a {lat-lats/las} ‘be enough for, reach someone or something’ [note length pair vs ‘take out’]
PAT vtt pɑtnɨ vt-2a {paːt-paːts/paːs} ‘wrap, bind, wind up, patch, mend’
SAT vtt satnɨ vt-2a {saːts/sas-sat} ‘plug up, fill in’ [caus. of SAT vi]
TAT vtt tatnɨ vt-2a {taːt-taːts/taːs} ‘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 tsaːtnɨ vt-2a {tsaːt-tsɑːts/tsɑːs} ‘propagate, spread (e.g. plants, disease)’
-OT vi (mid/close apophony) (3)
  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’
  KHOST vi khotni vi-3 \{khuts/khus-khot\} ‘go, go away; [ASPECT: itive intr.]’
  KHOST vi khotni vi-3 \{khuts/khus-khot\} ‘go, go away; [ASPECT: itive intr.]’
  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)’
  KHOST vtt khotni vt-2a \{khut-khuts/khus\} ‘take, take up accept, receive’ [caus. of KHOST 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 aspectual KHOST.]
  KHOST vtt khotni vt-2a \{khut-khuts/khus\} ‘take away’ (219), [ASPECT: itive tr.]’
  [caus. of KHOST vi] (Note central vowel vs KHOST vi.)
  POT vtt potni vt-2a \{pot-pats/pas\} ‘bloom’ (with non-ref. 3s agent agreement) [lack of a close vowel in stem-2 appears irregular — but this verb may not have any stem-2 (i.e. non 3rd person) forms. See p. 230)

-UT vi (2)
  TUT vi tutni vi-3 \{tuts/tus-tut\} ‘be visible’ [? why vowel i?]
  THUT vi thuthitni vi-3 \{thits/this-thit\} ‘stretch, become elongated’ [caus: THUD vtt] (with {tamanri} ‘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 kitni vt-2a \{ki:d/kit-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:ti-lits/li:s-let\} ‘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]
Internal reconstruction of the Dumi verb: APPENDIX

-AD vtt (3)
  KAD vtt kastni vt-2a \{kast-kast-kas\} ‘bite’
  WAD vtt watsni vt-2a \{wats-wats-was\} ‘bear (children, offspring)’
  YAD vtt yastni vt-2a \{yast-yats-yaas\} ‘like, be fond of’

-OD vtt (mid/close apophony) (1)
  HOD vtt hotni vt-4 \{hot-hot-hots-hots\} ‘fetch, bring’ [caus. of HO vi]

-OD vtt (without mid/close apophony) (4)
  KHOD vtt khotni vt-2a \{khot-khots-khos\} ‘bring up’ [caus. of KHO vi]

-N (much variety, especially in 1st plural forms)
Van Driem’s vt-2b (3 verbs) and vt-5b (3 verbs) differ from vt-2a in the 3 → 3(d) forms.
Van Driem’s vt-5a (3 verbs, all different in 1p stem-rimes) and vt-5b (3 verbs, 2 different 1p stem-rime sets) differ from vt-2a in 1p and 1s → 2 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 minni vt-2a \{min-min-mins\} ‘think, remember’ [irr: pre-c. general stem -ns]
  INT vtt inni vt-2b \{ind-in-ints\} ‘sell sth. (o.) to so.’ [108]
  BINT vtt binni vt-2b \{binn-binn-bints\} ‘fill’ [344]

-ENT vtt (without mid/close apophony) (6)
  LENT vtt lenni vt-2a \{lenn-lenn-les\} ‘swallow’
  LENT vtt lenni vt-2a \{lenn-lenn-les\} ‘move, spill (liquid)’
  THENT vtt thenni vt-2a \{thenn-thenn-thes\} ‘pick up, lift’
  SYENT vtt syenni vt-4 \{syen-syents\} ‘look at, discern’ [350]
  TSENT vtt tsenni vt-4 \{tsen-tsen-tsens\} ‘recognize, choose’ [“< {syenni} vt-4” (?)]
  TSENT vtt tsenni vt-5b \{tsen-tsen-tsens\} ‘teach’ [112]

-AN vi (1)
  TAN vi tannvi vi-3 \{tants-tats-ta\} ‘come down’ [caus: TANT vtt]

-ANT vtt (3)
  PANT vtt anni vt-2a \{an-an-ants\} ‘return, bring back, take back’
  KANT vtt kanni vt-2a \{kan-kan-ants\} ‘pour out, spill; dump’ (341)
  TANT vtt tanni vt-5a \{tants-tants-tats-tat-tan\} ‘bring down’ [caus. of TAN vi] [351]

-ON vi (without mid/close apophony) (2)
  LON vi lanni vi-5 \{lants-lats-lo-la\} ‘come out, emerge’ [caus: LONT vtt] [99]
Boyd Michailovsky

TSON vi tsonni vi-5 {tsɔnts/tsəs-tsɔ:-tsɔn-tson} ‘jump, hop forward’ [caus: TSOT vtt] [344] [no form listed in the paradigm (except the infinitive) has the stem tson]

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

PONT vtt ponni vt-2a {pɔnd/pən-pənts/pəns} ‘spin (thread)’ [irr: pre-consonantal general stem -ns]
LONT vtt lannni vt-4 {lənd/lən-lənts/ləs-lat} ‘bring out, take out, remove’ [caus. of LON vi’]
ONT vtt wotni vt-5a {wond/won-wonts/wos-wo-won} ‘bring inside, carry inside’ [caus. of ON vi ] [ < **on] [351]
BONT vtt bannni vt-5b {bənd/bən-bənts/bəs-bən-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 {lints/lis-lit} ‘go under, set (of sun)’
MUN vi minni vi-3 {mints/mis-mit} ‘be conceived (of a child)’

-UNT vtt (3)

MUN vtt wa:lə minni vt-3 {mins/mis-mit} ‘tell (a lie)’ (wa:lə ‘a lie’) [irr: stem1 -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 kini vi-1 {ki:y/kii} ‘fight, quarrel’
Dj vi nyini vi-1 {nyi:y/nyii} ‘hear, not be deaf’ [tr. Dj vt] [irr. 1s -ŋ-] [330]
[2sg., 3sg., 3pl. past (pfx-)nyii:] PI vi piːni vi-1 {pi:y/p,iː} ‘come (horizontal)’ [caus: PID vtt] [331] [2sg., 3sg., 3pl. past (pfx-)pi:-ya:]
PI vi piːni vi-1 {pi:y/p,iː} ‘fart’
SI vi siːni vi-1 {siːy/siːt} ‘bear fruit, bear flower’
RI vi -ni riːni vi-1 {riːy/riːt} ‘be dizzy’ (-{ni} ‘mind, consciousness’) [3ps. past i-ni riːya ‘he became dizzy’ (412)]
THI vi thiːni vi-1 {thiːy/thiː} ‘stumble and fall, trip’ [tr. THI vt]
I vi tsaː ini vi-1 {iːy/iː} ‘be bad-tasting’ [DZA ‘to eat’, I ‘to be bad’ (?)]

-i vt (2)

Dj vt nyiː ni vi-1 {nyiː} ‘hear, listen to (sth.)’ [itr. Dj vi] [ŋyiː-stem] [336]
THI vt thiːni vt-1 {thiː} ‘trip someone, cause to fall over’ [itr. THI vi] [thiː-stem] [338]

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

TSE vi tsam tsemi vi-1 {tseːy/tseː} ‘be happy, be content’

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

DZE vi dzeni vi-2 {dze:-dzii/ziː} ‘speak, talk’ [caus: DZET] [97]
E vi eni vi-2 {e:-iː} ‘defecate’
KHE vi khnii vi-2 {khe:-khiːy/khiː} ‘steal’
RE vi riːni vi-2 {reː-riː/y/riː} ‘laugh’ [331]
YE vi yimi vi-2 {ye:-yiː/yiː} ‘descend, come down’ [tr: YE vt]

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

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

-E vt (mid/close apophony) (3)
Internal reconstruction of the Dumi verb: APPENDIX

BE vt biːni vt-6b {biːy/biː-;e;} ‘give so. (o.) sth., endow’ O agreement with recipient) [113]
KHE vt khiːni vt-6b {khiy/khiː-kheː;} ‘steal’
YE vt yiːni vt-6b {yiːy/yiː-ye;} ‘take down, carry downhill, bring down’ [itr. YE vi-2]
-A vi (1)
KHA vi khani vi-1 {khaː;} ‘be bitter’
GA/GAT (?) vi gaːni vi-1 {ga/gaː;} ‘burn (of lamps)’ [the only infinitive in -ʔ; GA or possibly GAT?]
-O vi (mid/close apophony) (8)
HO vi huni vi-2 {hoh-huy/huː;} ‘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 nɨnɨ, the stem in ɨ 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 {goː-gi-gu;} ‘be, exist [inan.]’
LO vi lini vi-4 {loː-li-lu;} ‘begin; feel (imps or ps); do (in composition)’
[lu/lu in D’s example paradigm 1993:99] [99]
NO vi nini vi-4 {noː-nu-ni;} ‘be good, be all right’
TA/O vt tuni vi-6a {ta-tuy/tu-ti-to;} ‘put, place; [ASPECT: ponent tr.]’ [itr. TO vi]
PA/O vt pini vi-6a {pa-pu/puy-pi-po;} ‘weave’
MA/O vt mini 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 litiːni vt-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 vt-2a {thot-thin;} ‘[ASPECT: continuous tr.]’
(Both members of this pair show irregular alternation -in/-o(t).)
PAT vi pani vi-3 {pats/pəs-pa;} ‘[ASPECT allative intr.]’
PAD vtt pani vt-4 {pad/pət-pət/pəs-pa;} ‘[ASPECT: allative tr.]’
(Both members of this pair show irregular alternation -ots/a; the open infinitive stems are also irregular.)

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

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

sewa khotnni vt-2a {khotnd/khotn-khotnts/khos} ‘proffer obeissance’
khotnni 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.)

liʔkhotni vt-2a {liʔkhot-liʔkhots/liʔkhos} ‘cross (a ridge, away from point of reference)’ [< {khotni} form of {khatni} ‘take’ without apophony]
dokhotni vt-2a {dokhot-du:khuts/du:khus} ‘see’ (?cf. vt-3 aspectualizer)

[107]

REFERENCE