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## INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DUMI VERB: LEXICAL BASES AND STEM FORMATION<sup>1</sup>

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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, ɳ, 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 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/rik-rikh/rik} ‘scatter’

SIKT vtt sikni vt-2a {sikt/sik-sikh/sik} ‘string (e.g. beads, flowers)’

PHIKT vtt phi:knɨ vt-2a {phi:kt/phi:k-phi:kh/phi:k} ‘sweep (with a broom)’

HIKT vtt hi:knɨ vt-2a {hi:kt/hi:k-hi:kh/hi:k} ‘turn (one’s head)’

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

DHEK vi dhyəkni vi-1 {dhyək/dhyək} ‘be plugged up’ [caus: DHEKT vtt]

-EK vt (mid/close apophony) (1)

LEK vt lyəkni vt-3 {likh/lik-lyək} ‘lick’

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

TSEK vt tsyəkni vt-1 {tsyək/tsyək} ‘pinch, nip, squeeze’

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

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<sup>1</sup> 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-dhyəkh/dhyək} ‘plug up (e.g. one’s ears, a hole)’ [caus. of DHEK vi]
- KHEKT vtt khyokni vt-2a {khyokt/khyok-khyokh/khyok} ‘hang up, hitch up (livestock to a post)’ [irr. the only Cyo- in the glossary!]
- PEKT vtt pyəkni vt-2a {pyəkt/pyək-pyəkh/pyək} ‘braid, plait’
- AK vi (1)
- HAK vi ha:kni vi-1 {ha:kh/ha:k} ‘open up (intr.)’ [tr. HAK vt]
- AK vt (2)
- HAK vt ha:kni vt-1 {ha:kh/ha:k} ‘open (e.g. a door), unplug’ [itr. HAK vi]
- PHAK vt pha:kni vt-1 {pha:kh/pha:k} ‘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-duk/duk} ‘get, receive, be allowed to’
- KOKT vtt kokni vt-2a {kokt/kok-kukh/kuk} ‘cut’
- OKT vtt (without mid/close apophony) (5)
- BHOKT vtt bhokni vt-2a {bhokt/bhok-bhokh/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-thokh/thok} ‘build (a wall, a house)’
- YOKT vtt yəkni vt-2a {yəkt/yək-yəkh/yək} ‘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 {dukh/duk} ‘stub, knock’ [caus: DUKT vtt] [330]
- HUK vi hu:kni vi-1 {hu:kh/hu:k} ‘bark (of dog)’
- UK vi u:kni vi-1 {u:kh/u:k} ‘crow, emit a cry (esp. of fowl)’
- BUK vi bikni vi-1 {bikh/bik} ‘bear young (not of humans)’
- PHUK vi phikni vi-1 {phikh/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]

## -UKT vtt (6)

DUKT	vtt	dukni	vt-2a	{dukt/duk-duk/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	{yikt/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 {phikt/phik-phik}. Unaspirated -k in the prevocalic general stem (unlike PHUK ‘arise’) is irregular.] [caus. of PHUK vi] [106]

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

## -Iŋ vt (3)

SIŋ	vt	siŋni	vt-1	{siŋ}	‘ask, inquire’
RIŋ	vt	ri:ŋni	vt-1	{ri:ŋ}	‘surround’
TSIŋ	vt	tsi:ŋni	vt-1	{tsi:ŋ}	‘hate’
PHIŋ	vt*	phiŋni	vt-2a	{phiŋ-phiŋs}	‘to send (so. (obj) or sth. to so.(obj))’ [irr: -ŋs stem final is unique—on the way to -nts?]

## -Eŋ vt (mid/close apophony) (1)

LEŋ	vt	leŋni	vt-3	{liŋ-leŋ}	‘plaster, smear on (mud or clay)’
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## -Aŋ vi (4)

HAIŋ	vi	haŋni	vi-1	{haŋ}	‘dry out’
SAIŋ	vi	sa:ŋni	vi-1	{sa:ŋ}	‘prosper’
SAIŋ	vi	sa:ŋni	vi-1	{sa:ŋ}	‘suffer insomnia’
THAIŋ	vi	tha:ŋni	vi-1	{tha:ŋ}	‘fall, drop’ [tr. THAIŋ vt]

## -Aŋ vt (1)

THAIŋ	vt	tha:ŋni	vt-1	{tha:ŋ}	‘drop, allow to fall’ [itr. THAIŋ vi]
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## -Oŋ vi (mid/close apophony) (2)

KHOŋ	vi	khonni	vi-3	{khon-khon}	‘come up’ [caus: KHOD vtt] [333]
Oŋ	vi	onni	vi-3	{on-on}	‘enter’ [caus: ONT vtt]

## -Oŋ vt (mid/close apophony) (1)

ROŋ	vt	ronni	vt-3	{ron-ron}	‘hold, manipulate, play with’
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## -Uŋ vi (1)

PHUŋ	vi	phiŋni	vi-1	{phiŋ}	‘spread, emerge (of clouds), arise, manifest oneself’ [caus: PHUŋT vtt]
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## -Uŋ vt (3)

HUŋ	vt	hiŋni	vt-1	{hiŋ}	‘wait, await’
SUŋ	vt	siŋni	vt-1	{siŋ}	‘pick, pluck, pick up’
TUŋ	vt	tiŋni	vt-1	{tiŋ}	‘drink’

## -UŋT vtt (1)

PHUŋT	vtt	phiŋni	vt-2a	{phiŋd/phiŋ-phiŋ}	‘cause to grow, cause something to manifest itself’ [caus. of PHUŋ vi]
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-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]

## -IP vi (1)

PIP	vi	pi:pni	vi-1	{pi:ph/pi:p}	'topple, fall'
-IPT vtt (7)					
HIP	vtt	hipni	vt-2a	{hipt/hip-hiph/hip}	'reap (with a sickle)'
KHIPT	vtt	khipni	vt-2a	{khipt/khip-khiph/khip}	'cook'
PIPT	vtt	pipni	vt-2a	{pipt/pip-piph/pip}	'pierce, insert lengthwise into'
PHIPT	vtt	phipni	vt-2a	{phipt/phip-phiph/phip}	'suck, draw (through a straw)'
RIPT	vtt	ripni	vt-2a	{ript/rip-riph/rip}	'cut down, fell'
RIPT	vtt	ri:pni	vt-2a	{ri:pt/ri:p-ri:ph/ri:p}	'braid, twist, wring out (water), wind'
IPT	vtt	i:pni	vt-2c	{i:pt/i:p-i:ph/i:p}	'put to bed, put to sleep' ['sleep, go to bed']
		is vr	{imsini}		[107]
-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/rip-rep}	'stand' [caus: REPT vtt]
-EP vt (mid/close apophony) (1)					
KHEP	vt	khepni	vt-3	{khi:ph/khi:p-khep}	'chop up, mince'
MEP(T) (?)	vt(t)	me:pni	vt-2a	{me:ph/me:p-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:ph/di:p}	'cover'
KEPT	vtt	kepni	vt-2a	{kept/kep-kiph/kip}	'stick, attach' [caus. of KEP vi]
KEPT	vtt	kepni	vt-2a	{kept/kep-kiph/kip}	'sting'
LEPT	vtt	lepni	vt-2a	{lept/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)]
ŋEPT	vtt	ŋjepni	vt-2a	{ŋyept/ŋjep-ŋyiph/ŋyip}	'sow (seed)'
-AP vi (1)					
THAP	vi	tha:pni	vi-1	{tha:ph/tha:p}	'be torn or perforated' [tr. THAP vt]
-AP vt (1)					
THAP	vt	tha:pni	vt-1	{tha:ph/tha:p}	'rip, tear' [itr. THAP vi]
-APT vtt (7)					
DAPT	vtt	da:pni	vt-2a	{da:pt/da:p-da:ph/da:p}	'beat, pound (clothes, in washing)'
DAPT	vtt	da:pni	vt-2a	{da:pt/da:p-da:ph/da:p}	'experience, taste, feel'
RAPT	vtt	ra:pni	vt-2a	{ra:pt/ra:p-ra:ph/ra:p}	'fence off'
THAPT	vtt	tha:pni	vt-2a	{tha:pt/tha:p-tha:ph/tha:p}	'measure' [D presents as caus. of THAP vi (??)]
YAPT	vtt	ya:pni	vt-2a	{ya:pt/ya:p-ya:ph/ya:p}	'serve (food), present (food)'
BAPT	vtt	ba:pni	vt-2c	{ba:pt/ba:p-ba:ph/ba:p}	'bump into, disturb, upset'
TSAPT	vtt	tsa:pni	vt-2c	{tsa:pt/tsa:p-tsa:ph/tsa:p}	'be able to'
-OP vt (mid/close apophony) (4)					
KHOP	vt	khopni	vt-3	{khuph/khup-khop}	'winnow'
LOP	vt	lopni	vt-3	{luph/lup-lop}	'catch, seize, grab' [109]
MOP	vt	mopni	vt-3	{muph/mup-mop}	'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: OPT vtt]
-OPT vtt (mid/close apophony) (4)					
KOPT	vtt	kopni	vt-2a	{kopt/kop-kuph/kup}	'thatch, cover (causative forms)'
KHOPT	vtt	khopni	vt-2a	{khopt/khop-khuph/khup}	'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 vt 'toss'] [if this verb is impersonal, raised-vowel forms would not occur, therefore its alternation status is undetermined.]

TSOPT	vtt	tsəpni	vt-2a	{tsəpt/tsəp-tsuph/tsup}	‘write’ [ə~u for o~u perhaps because of ts-]
-UP vi (1)					
BUP	vi	bipni	vi-1	{biph/bip}	‘be short’
-UPT vtt (5)					
PUP	vtt	pipni	vt-2a	{pipt/pip-piph/pip}	‘squeeze out (liquid), wring, filter’
TUPT	vtt	tīpni	vt-2a	{tīpt/tīp-tīph/tīp}	‘play (an instrument), ring, sound’
TUPT	vtt	tīpni	vt-2a	{tīpt/tīp-tīph/tīp}	‘keep, save, accrue (wealth)’ [116]
THUPT	vtt	thīpni	vt-2a	{thīpt/thīp-thīph/thīp}	‘sew’
TSUPT	vtt	tsīpni	vt-2a	{tsīpt/tsīp-tsīph/tsīp}	‘drench sth by dumping water on it’
-M vi (1)					
GIM	vi	gi:mni	vi-1	{gi:m}	‘set (of sun)’
-IM vt (1)					
TIM	vt	timni	vt-1	{tim}	‘press (for juice or oil)’
-EM vi (mid/close apophony) (3)					
LEM	vi	lemni	vi-3	{li:m-lem}	‘be sweet’
LEM	vi	lemni	vi-3	{li:m-lem}	‘grow, sprout, spring (of water)’
REM	vi	remni	vi-3	{ri:m-rem}	‘cool off’
-EMT vtt (without mid/close apophony) (1)					
TSEMT	vtt	tsemni	vt-2a	{tsemd/tsem-tsem}	‘play’
-AM vi (3)					
NAM	vi	namni	vi-1	{namph/nam}	‘stink’ [cf NOM vi, vt] [irr. stem in -mph]
NAM	vi	na:mni	vi-1	{na:m}	‘sink, be dunked’ [tr. NAM vt]
TSAM	vi	tʰa:mni	vi-1	{tʰa:m}	‘be lost’ [tr. TSAM vt]
WAM	vi	wa:mni	vi-1	{wa:m}	‘lose one’s wits, be bewildered’ [tr. WAM vt]
-AM vt (4)					
NAM	vt	na:mni	vt-1	{na:m}	‘dunk underwater, cause to sink’ [itr. NAM vi]
TAM	vt	ta:mni	vt-1	{ta:m}	‘dunk under, dip, sink’ [cf. NAM vi, vt (?)]
TSAM	vt	tʰa:mni	vt-1	{tʰa:m}	‘lose’ [itr. TSAM vi]
WAM	vt	wa:mni	imp.vt-1	{wa:m}	‘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	nəmni	vi-3	{num-nəm}	‘smell, be odoriferous’ [tr. NOM vt-3] [cf. NAM vi]
TSOM	vi	tsəmni	vi-3	{tsum-tsəm}	‘dance’
-OM vt (mid/close apophony) (3)					
LOM	vt	ləmni	vt-3	{lum-ləm}	‘look for’
NOM	vt	nəmni	vt-3	{num-nəm}	‘smell, Nep. sūghnu [‘sniff’]’ [itr. NOM vi-3]
TSOM	vt	tsəmni	vt-3	{tsum-tsəm}	‘split (wood, bamboo)’
-OMT vtt (mid/close apophony) (1)					
YOMT	vtt	yəmni	vt-2a	{yəmd/yəm-yum}	‘hit’
-UM vi (1)					
DUM	vi	dīmni	vi-1	{dīm}	‘meet’ [tr. DUM vt]
-UM vt (5)					
DUM	vt	dīmni	vt-1	{dīm}	‘blow’
DUM	vt	dīmni	vt-1	{dīm}	‘meet’ [itr. DUM vi]
GUM	vt	gīmni	vt-1	{gīm}	‘brood (eggs)’
LUM	vt	līmni	vt-1	{līm}	‘boil something in water’
SUM	vt	sīmni	vt-1	{sīm}	‘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'

ŋIR vt ŋyirni vt-1 {ŋyir} '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 derri vt-1 {di:r-de:r} '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 {tær} 'snap, break' [irr. vowel; note lack of alternation; possibly TOR or TUR] [D suggests possible caus. of TAT vtt (??)]

-AR vt (1)

KHAR vt kharri vt-1 {khar} 'scratch, scrape off, rout in the soil (of a bull)'

-ART vtt (2)

DZART vtt dzarri vt-2a {dza:rd/dza:r-dza:r} 'be disgusted at'

WART vtt wærri vt-2a {wærd/wær-wær} 'throw overhand, toss far'

-OR vt (mid/close apophony) (2)

KHOR vt kharni vt-3 {khur-khar} 'pop (maize), sear (meat)' [unique u~a alternation in a closed root]

TSOR vt tsærri vt-3 {tsur-tsær} 'pay (so.)' [u~ə alternation as in -OM and -OL categories]

-UR vi (1)

TSUR vi tsirri vi-1 {tsir} 'be sour'

-UR vt (1)

KUR vt kirri vt-1 {kir} 'carry'

-URT vtt (1)

HURT vtt hirri vt-2a {hird/hir-hir} 'fan'

-L

-IL vi (1)

BIL vi bilni vi-1 {bi:l} 'spoil'

-IL vt (2)

PIL vt pilni vt-1 {pil} 'hold, squeeze, milk'

TSIL vt tsilni vt-1 {tsi:l} 'break open'

-AL vt (3)

HAL vt halni vt-1 {hal} 'prepare and offer a small sacrifice'

AL vt alni vt-1 {a:l} 'unstuck, separate, remove (e.g. a scab)'

SAL vt salni vt-1 {sa:l} 'arrange, order, protect'

-OL vt (mid/close apophony) (3)

HOL vt hølri vt-3 {hul-høl} 'ruin, wreck, spoil'

PHOL vt phølri vt-3 {phul-phøl} 'spread out, move about (esp. drying grain)'

ROL vt rølri vt-3 {rul-røl} 'shell (maize)'

-UL vi (3)

BUL vi bilni vi-1 {bil} 'run' [330]

HUL vi hilni vi-1 {hil} 'cough'

HUL	vi	hilni	vi-1	{hil}	'get mixed' [tr: vt-1]
-UL vt (3)					
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	dzitni	vi-3	{dzits/dzis-dzit}	'get wet' [caus: DZIT vtt]
MIT	vi	mitni	vi-3	{mits/mis-mit}	'die'
-IT vtt (7)					
DHIT	vtt	dhitni	vt-2a	{dhit-dhits/dhis}	'follow'
LIT	vtt	litni	vt-2a	{lit-lits/lis}	'turn around, overturn'
DZIT	vtt	dzi:tni	vt-2a	{dzi:t-dzi:ts/dzi:s}	'make wet' [caus. of DZIT vi] [note length]
KHIT	vtt	khi:tni	vt-2a	{khi:t-khi:ts/khi:s}	'comb'
KHIT	vtt	khi:tni	vt-2a	{khi:t-khi:ts/khi:s}	'count'
KHIT	vtt	khi:tni	vt-2a	{khi:t-khi:ts/khi:s}	'obey, listen'
PHIT	vtt	phi:tni	vt-2a	{phi:t-phi:ts/phi:s}	'ask for, request'
-ET vi (mid/close apophony) (5)					
SET	vi	setni	vi-3	{sits/sis-set}	'be killed' [caus: SED vtt]
LET	vi	letni	vi-3	{li:ts/li:s-let}	'survive'
ŊET	vi	ŋyetni	vi-3	{ŋyi:ts/ŋyi:s-ŋyet}	'hurt, be ill'
BET	vi	be:tni	vi-3	{bi:ts/bi:s-be:t}	'tear, break due to wear and tear'
TSET	vi	tsetni	vi-3	{tsi:ts/tsi:s-tset}	'tear, split (intr.)' [caus: TSED vtt]
-ET vtt (mid/close apophony) (3)					
ŊET	vtt	ŋyetni	imp. vt-3	{ŋyi:ts/ŋyi:s-ŋyet}	'ache, hurt' (with non-referential 3s agent; patient agreement with the person affected) [paradigm uncertain; see Van Driem 227-236]
LET	vtt	letni	vt-2a	{let-li:ts/li:s}	'plant, sow'
DZET	vtt	dze:tni	vt-2a	{dze:t-dzi:ts/dzi:s}	'call, address so.' [caus. of DZE vi-2 'speak']
-AT vi (3)					
AT	vi	a:tni	vi-3	{a:ts/a:s-a:t}	'say; [ASPECT: impendent pseudo-asp.]' (takes ergatively marked subject) [332]
SAT	vi	sa:tni	vi-3	{sa:ts/sa:s-sa:t}	'be stopped up' [caus: SAT vtt]
THAT	vi	tha:tni	vi-3	{tha:ts/tha:s-that}	'be ripped or snapped, come undone, break loose' [caus: TAT vtt (?)]
-AT vtt (7)					
LAT	vtt	latni	vt-2a	{lat-lats/las}	'take out, remove, extract, hatch' [note length pair vs 'be enough for, reach']
BAT	vtt	ba:tni	vt-2a	{ba:t-ba:ts/ba:s}	'say; [ASPECT: inceptive pseudo-asp.] to begin'
LAT	vtt	la:tni	vt-2a	{la:t-la:ts/la:s}	'be enough for, reach someone or something' [note length pair vs 'take out']
PAT	vtt	pa:tni	vt-2a	{pa:t-pa:ts/pa:s}	'wrap, bind, wind up, patch, mend'
SAT	vtt	sa:tni	vt-2a	{sa:t-sa:ts/sa:s}	'plug up, fill in' [caus. of SAT vi]
TAT	vtt	ta:tni	vt-2a	{ta:t-ta:ts/ta:s}	'dig up, poke loose, extract' [D. improbably identifies this as the caus. of {tœrni} 'snap, break'. A relation with THAT vi seems more likely, but the initial correspondence is unique.] [caus. of THAT (?)]
TSAT	vtt	tsa:tni	vt-2a	{tsa:t-tsa:ts/tsa:s}	'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' [“pron.-anger be-aroused (impers.)]
KHOT	vi	khotni	vi-3	{khuts/khus-khot}	'go, go away; [ASPECT: itive intr.]' [caus: KHOT vtt] [333]
KHOT	vi	khotni	vi-3	{khuts/khus-khot}	'go, go away; [ASPECT: itive intr.]' [caus: KHOT vtt] [333]
HOT	vi	ho:tni	vi-3	{huts/hus-ho:t}	'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	dətni	vt-2a	{dət-duts/dus}	'fetch (e.g. water); warm up by the fire; set (a trap)'
KHOT	vtt	khətni	vt-2a	{khət-khuts/khus}	'take, take up accept, receive' [caus. of KHOI 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 KHOT.]
KHOT	vtt	khətni	vt-2a	{khət-khuts/khus}	'take away' (219), [ASPECT: itive tr.]' [caus. of KHOT vi] (Note central vowel vs KHOT vi.)
LOT	vtt	na:młətni	vt-2a	{lət-luts/lus}	'dry out in the sun' [< {na:m} 'sun' + allofam of {latni} vt-2a {lat-lats/las} 'remove']
POT	vtt	pətni	vt-2a	{pət-pəts/pəs}	'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]
PHOT	vtt	photni	vt-2a	{phot-phuts/phus}	'help'
PHOT	vtt	photni	vt-2a	{phot-phuts/phus}	'call, summon'
TSOT	vtt	tsotni	vt-2a	{tsot-tsuts/tsus}	'move (sth.) up; tease' [caus. of TSON vi]
POT	vtt	potni	vt-2a	{pot-puts/pus}	'trade, exchange, change'

## -UT vi (2)

TUT	vi	tu:tni	vi-3	{tu:ts/tu:s-tu:t}	'be visible' [? why vowel i?]
THUT	vi	thutthitni	vi-3	{thits/this-thit}	'stretch, become elongated' [caus: THUD vtt] (with {ta:na:mri} '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 {minni} 'do' in {sisi} {minni}] [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	ki:tni	vt-2a	{ki:d/ki:t-ki:ts/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	{li:d/li:t-li:ts/li:s-let}	'release, let loose' [110] [erroneously glossed 'catch' (110); infinitive {li:tni} in the expression {so:m li:tni} 'exhale' (419)?]
PED	vtt	pe:tni	vt-4	{pi:d/pi:t-pi:ts/pi:s-pe:t}	'pick (fruits, flowers), pick up'
TSED	vtt	tse:tni	vt-4	{tsi:d/tsi:t-tsi:ts/tsi:s-tse:t}	'tear' [caus of TSET vi]

## -AD vtt (3)

KAD	vtt	ka:tɲi	vt-2a	{ka:d/ka:t-ka:ts/ka:s}	'bite'
WAD	vtt	wa:tɲi	vt-2a	{wa:d/wa:t-wa:ts/wa:s}	'bear (children, offspring)'
YAD	vtt	ya:tɲi	vt-2a	{ya:d/ya:t-ya:ts/ya:s}	'like, be fond of'

## -OD vtt (mid/close apophony) (1)

HOD	vtt	ho:tɲi	vt-4	{hu:d/hu:t-hu:ts/hu:s-ho:t}	'fetch, bring' [caus. of HO vi]
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## -OD vtt (without mid/close apophony) (4)

KHOD	vtt	khotɲi	vt-2a	{khod/khot-khots/khos}	'bring up' [caus. of KHON vi]
				[< **KHONɲT]	
LOD	vtt	lotɲi	vt-2a	{lod/lot-lots/los}	'smear on (mud or clay), spread, erase'
LOD	vtt	lo:tɲi	vt-2a	{lo:d/lo:t-lo:ts/lo:s}	'plough'
MOD	vtt	mo:tɲi	vt-2a	{mo:d/mo:t-mo:ts/mo:s}	'get, receive'

## -UD vtt (6)

UD	vtt	itɲi	vt-2a	{id/it-its/is}	'roast (e.g. meat)'
LUD	vtt	litɲi	vt-2a	{lid/lit-lits/lis}	'tell someone'
LUD	vtt	litɲi	vt-2a	{lid/lit-lits/lis}	'[ASPECT: frolicsome tr.]' [caus of irr. LIɲ vi]
MUD	vtt	mitɲi	vt-2a	{mid/mit-mits/mis}	'negative perfect auxiliary; causative' ["directive of {minni} vt-7"]
PHUD	vtt	phitɲi	vt-2a	{phid/phit-phits/phis}	'loosen, untie'
THUD	vtt	thitɲi	vt-2a	{thid/thit-thits/this}	'pull, inhale' [caus. of THUT 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	{mind/min-mints/mins}	'think, remember' [irr: pre-c. general stem -ns]
INT	vtt	inni	vt-2b	{ind/in-ints/is}	'sell sth. (o.) to so.' [108]
BINT	vtt	bi:nni	vt-2b	{bi:nd/bi:n-bi:nts/bi:s}	'fill' [344]

## -ENT vtt (without mid/close apophony) (6)

LENT	vtt	lenni	vt-2a	{lend/len-lents/les}	'swallow'
LENT	vtt	lenni	vt-2a	{lend/len-lents/les}	'move, spill (liquid)'
THENT	vtt	thenni	vt-2a	{thend/then-thents/thes}	'pick up, lift'
SYENT	vtt	syenni	vt-4	{syend/syen-syents/syes-syet}	'look at, discern' [350]
TSENT	vtt	tsenni	vt-5b	{tsend/tsen-tsents/tses-tse-tsen}	'recognize, choose' ["< {syenni} vt-4" (?)]
TSENT	vtt	tsenni	vt-5b	{tsend/tsen-tsents/tses-tse-tsen}	'teach' [112]

## -AN vi (1)

TAN	vi	ta:tɲi	vi-3	{ta:nts/ta:s-ta:t}	'come down' [caus: TANT vtt]
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## -ANT vtt (3)

PANT	vtt	a:nni	vt-2a	{a:nd/a:n-a:nts/a:s}	'return, bring back, take back'
KANT	vtt	ka:nni	vt-2a	{ka:nd/ka:n-ka:nts/ka:s}	'pour out, spill; dump' (341)
TANT	vtt	ta:nni	vt-5a	{ta:nd/ta:n-ta:nts/ta:s-ta:t-ta:n}	'bring down' [caus. of TAN vi] [351]

## -ON vi (without mid/close apophony) (2)

LON	vi	lɔnni	vi-5	{lɔnts/lɔs-lɔ:lɔ?-lɔn}	'come out, emerge' [caus: LONT vtt] [99]
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TSOŃ	vi	tsoŃni	vi-5	{tsənts/tsəs-tsoŃ-tsoŃ-tsoŃ}	'jump, hop forward' [caus: TSOT vtt] [334] [no form listed in the paradigm (except the infinitive) has the stem tsoŃ]
-ONT vtt (without mid/close apophony) (4)					
PONT	vtt	pəŃni	vt-2a	{pənd/pən-pənts/pəns}	'spin (thread)' [irr: pre-consonantal general stem -ns]
LONT	vtt	ləŃni	vt-4	{lənd/lən-lənts/ləs-lət}	'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 OŃ vi] [< **oŃd] [351]
BONT	vtt	bəŃni	vt-5b	{bənd/bən-bənts/bəs-bən-bot}	'feel, touch' [caus. of BOT vi (?)] [353]
-UN vi (3)					
UN	vi	iñni	vi-3	{iñts/iñ-it}	'be felled, topple' [caus: UNT vtt]
LUN	vi	liñni	vi-3	{liñts/iñ-lit}	'go under, set (of sun)'
MUN	vi	miñni	vi-3	{miñts/iñ-mit}	'be conceived (of a child)'
-UNT vt (3)					
MUN	vtt	wa:lə miñni	vt-3	{miñs/iñ-mit}	'tell (a lie)' ({wa:lə} 'a lie') [irr: stem1 -ns]
UNT	vtt	iñni	vt-2a	{iñd/iñ-iñts/iñ}	'fell' [caus. of UN vi]
PHUNT	vtt	ph̃iñni	vt-2a	{ph̃iñd/ph̃iñ-ph̃iñts/ph̃is}	'dig, dig up (by hand), root (of pig)'
PUNT	vtt	piñni	vt-2b	{piñd/piñ-piñts/pis}	'pound, mill (e.g. paddy)' [344]

## Open bases

## -I vi (10)

KI	vi	ki:ni	vi-1	{ki:y/ki:}	'fight, quarrel'
ŃI	vi	Ńyi:ni	vi-1	{Ńyi:y/Ńyi:}	'hear, not be deaf' [tr. ŃI vt] [irr. 1s -Ń-] [330] [2sg., 3sg., 3pl. past (pfx-)Ńyi:.]
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' (-{ni} 'mind, consciousness') [3ps. past i-ni riya 'he became dizzy' (412)]
THI	vi	thi:ni	vi-1	{thi:y/thi:}	'stumble and fall, trip' [tr. THI vt]
I	vi	tsa: i:ni	vi-1	{i:y/i:}	'be bad-tasting' [DZA 'to eat', I 'to be bad' (?)]

## -I vt (2)

ŃI	vt	Ńyi: ni	vt-1	{Ńyi:}	'hear, listen to (sth.)' [itr. ŃI vi] [Ńyi:y- stem] [336]
THI	vt	thi:ni	vt-1	{thi:}	'trip someone, cause to fall over' [itr. THI vi] [thi:y-stem] [338]

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

TSE	vi	tsam tse:ni	vi-1	{tse:y/tse:}	'be happy, be content'
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## -E vi (mid/close apophony) (5)

DZE	vi	dze:ni	vi-2	{dze:-dzi:y/dzi:}	'speak, talk' [caus: DZET] [97]
E	vi	e:ni	vi-2	{e:-i:y/i:}	'defecate'
KHE	vi	khi:ni	vi-2	{khe:-khi:y/khi:}	'steal'
RE	vi	ri:ni	vi-2	{re:-ri:y/ri:}	'laugh' [331]
YE	vi	yi:ni	vi-2	{ye:-yi:y/yi:}	'descend, come down' [tr: YE vt]

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

NE	vt	neni	vt-1	{ne}	'put, place; wear (clothes)'
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## -E vt (mid/close apophony) (3)

BE	vt	bi:ni	vt-6b	{bi:y/bi:-be:}	'give so. (o.) sth., endow' O agreement with recipient) [113]
KHE	vt	khi:ni	vt-6b	{khi:y/khi:-khe:}	'steal'
YE	vt	yi:ni	vt-6b	{yi:y/yi:-ye:}	'take down, carry downhill, bring down'[itr. YE vi-2]
-A vi (1)					
KHA	vi	kha:ni	vi-1	{kha:}	'be bitter'
GA/GAT (?)	vi	ga:ʔni	vi-1	{ga:/ga:ʔ}	'burn (of lamps)' [the only infinitive in -ʔ; GA or possibly GAT?]
-O vi (mid/close apophony) (8)					
HO	vi	hu:ni	vi-2	{ho:-hu:y/hu:}	'come, appear' [caus. HOD vtt] [331] (differs from vi-4 in having <i>u</i> rather than <i>i</i> in infinitive and 1p forms)
In all of the following verbs except <i>nini</i> , the stem in <i>i</i> is listed before the stem in <i>u</i> in D's lexical entries, although it is explicitly stated that stem-2 has the vowel <i>u</i> and stem-3 the vowel <i>i</i> 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	nini	vi-4	{no:-nu-ni}	'be good, be all right'
TO	vi	tini	vi-4	{to:-ti-tu}	'[ASPECT: ponent intr.] [tr. TA/O vt]'
DZO	vi	dzini	vi-4	{dzo:-dzi-dzuy/dzu}	'be eaten, be edible' [tr. DZA/O vt]
DZO	vi	dzini	vi-4	{dzo:-dzi-dzuy/dzu}	'[ASPECT: durative intr.]' [334]
MO	vi	mini	vi-4	{mo:-mi-muy/mu}	'sit, stay, be (in a place)' [333]
-A/O vt (mid/close apophony; suppletive A-stem) 6					
(suppletive bases are reconstructed for this group; forms like the vi-4 -O group except for the 3O stem in a)					
DHA/O	vt	dhuni	vt-6a	{dha-dhuy/dhu-dhi-dho}	'dig (e.g. a hole)'
DZA/O	vt	dzuni	vt-6a	{dza-dzuy/dzu-dzi-dzo}	'eat' [itr DZO vi]
*	*	(lœkhutntuni	vt-6a	{lœkhutta-lœkhuttuy/lœkhuttu-lœkhutti-lœkhutto}	'leave behind in a place' [this verb occurs only in a ponently aspectivized form])
SA/O	vt	suni	vt-6a	{sa-suy/su-si-so}	'escort, deliver; [ASPECT: dimittive]' [114]
TA/O	vt	tuni	vt-6a	{ta-tuy/tu-ti-to}	'put, place; [ASPECT: ponent tr.]' [itr. TO vi]
PA/O	vt	pini	vt-6a	{pa-pu/puy-pi-po}	'weave'
MA/O	vt	mini	vt-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

LIŋ (?)	vi	lini	vi-3	{liŋ-li}	'[ASPECT: frolicsome 'prance about']'
LUD	vtt	litni	vt-2a	{lid/lit-lits/lis}	'[ASPECT: frolicsome tr.]' (this verb is regular in itself)
(lini vi-3 is irregular in the alternation iŋ/i; the relation to litni is also irregular.)					
??	vi	thoni	vi-3	{thiŋ-tho}	'[ASPECT: continuous intr.]'
??	vtt	thotni	vt-2a	{thot-thiŋ}	'[ASPECT: continuous tr.]'
(Both members of this pair show irregular alternation -iŋ/-o(t).)					
PAT	vi	pa:ni	vi-3	{pəts/pəs-pa}	'[ASPECT allative intr.]'
PAD	vtt	pa:ni	vt-4	{pad/pət-pəts/pəs-pə}	'[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. pa:ni above.)

sewa khotni vt-2a {khotnd/khotn-khotnts/khos} 'proffer obeissance'

khotni vt-5a {khotnd/khotn-khotnts/khos-kho-khot} '[ASPECT: profferative]' [111] [cited in phiŋkhotni 'to send off to so.']

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

li?khotni vt-2a {li?khot-li?khots/li?khos} 'cross (a ridge, away from point of reference)' [ $<$  {khotni} form of {khətni} 'take' without apophony]

do:khotni vt-2a {do:khot-du:khuts/du:khus} 'see' (?cf. vt-3 aspectualizer) [107]

## REFERENCE

Van Driem, George. 1993. *A grammar of Dumi* (Mouton Grammar Library 10). Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.