

## REFLEXES OF THE TIBETO-BURMAN \*-t DIRECTIVE SUFFIX IN DUMI RAI

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Dumī· Rai is a Kiranti language spoken in Khotāñ district<sup>1</sup> in the Sagarmāthā or Everest Zone of eastern Nepal. The Dumī Rai speaking area is limited to five pañcāyats all abutting the Rāva and Tāp rivers near their confluence and upriver therefrom. These are: Bāksilā, Sapteśvara, Sasarkā, Khārmī and Mākpā .

The term 'Rāi' is a collective ethnonym for several groups of people speaking related Kiranti languages, viz. Sāñpāñ, Cāmlīñ, Bāñāvā, Kuluñ, Yākkhā, Pumā, etc. Dumī is one of these Rai languages; its immediate neighbours are Thuluñ, Nāccherīñ (also: Nācerīñ) and Kohī to the north (from north-west to north-east) and Tiluñ (also Tiliñ), Cāmlīñ and Sāñpāñ to the south (from south-west to south-east). There are several dialects within the Dumī speaking area. Judging from survey data obtained from elderly Dumī speaking inhabitants of Ciurīkharka (in Sapteśvara pañcāyat), Sasarkā and Kharbārī (in Sasarkā), Aiselukharka (in Mākpā), and Halkhum (in Bāksilā) and from their own impressions of the dialect diversity of their native tongue, a dialect mosaic of four pieces emerges:

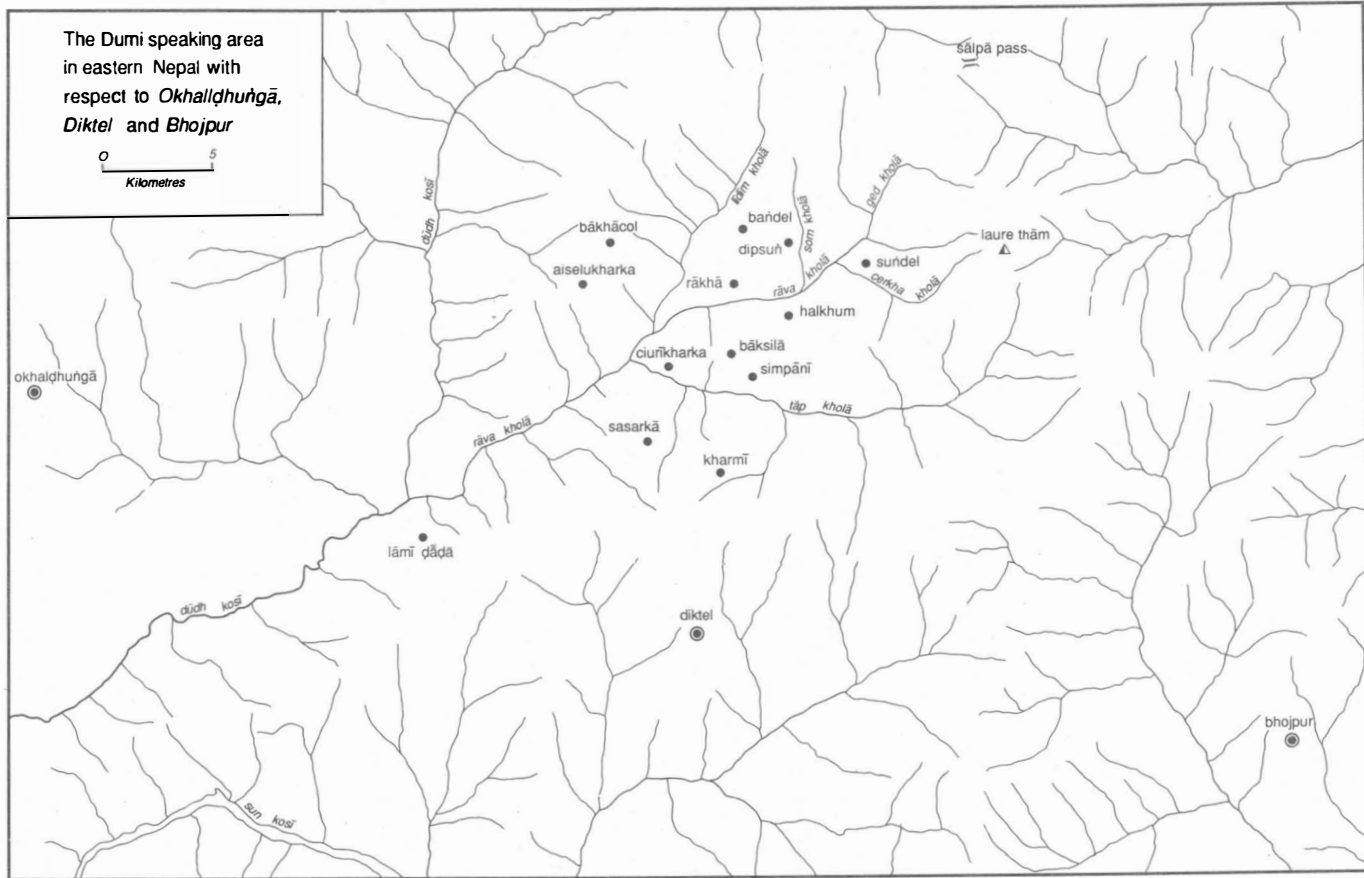
- 1) the dialect surrounding the confluence, i.e. Sapteśvara pañcāyat, including the southern slope of the Bāksilā ridge between the two rivers immediately above the confluence,
- 2) the dialect spoken in Sasarkā and Khārmī to the south of the Tāp,
- 3) the dialect of the Bāksilā ridge between the Rāva and Tāp rivers, excluding a portion of the southern slope immediately upstream from the confluence and excluding the area surrounding the headwaters of the Rāva<sup>2</sup>, and
- 4) the dialect of Mākpā to the northwest of the Rāva near the confluence.

On the basis of samplings collected during a few hours, the Mākpā dialect seems to diverge markedly from the other dialects, e. g. in the numerals, the pronouns and verbal morphology.

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David Bradley, Eugénie J.A. Henderson and Martine Mazaudon eds,  
*Prosodic analysis and Asian linguistics: to honour R.K. Sprigg*, 157-167.  
*Pacific Linguistics*, C-104, 1988

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Map 1.: The Dumi speaking area in eastern Nepal

It is located at a linguistic crossroads, Mākṣpā pañcāyat being contiguous with both the Nāccheriñ and Thuluñ speaking areas. The Bāksilā dialect area abuts on the Kohi homeland in Suñdel around the headwaters of the Rāva, and the Bāksilā dialect appears to bear great similarity to Kohi in its pronouns and verbal morphology, the differences apparently being largely lexical. Even solely on the basis of Mākṣpā data, Toba's one hundred word list (1973:4-7, 1976:3-4) reveals greater proximity between Dumī and Kohi Rai than between Dumī and Khālīñ, Nāccheriñ or Sānpāñ Rai.

The Bāksilā dialect as spoken by septuagenarians and sexagenarians in the village of Halkhum and vicinity on the northern slope of the Bāksilā ridge above the Rāva Kholā forms the basis of this article. The material presented here was collected by the author during a three-month stay in Halkhum in the house of Bhīmal Siñ Rāi in late 1986, during which period he also scouted the rest of the Dumī speaking area.

The Dumī are now a minority in the area to which they are indigenous. According to Regmi (1983:213) the Dumī Rai constitute one quarter of the population in Khoṭāñ district. The main allochthonous groups are the Gorkhālī (esp. Chetṛī), the Nevārī, Guruñ and Tāmāñ. On the basis of what I was able to find out about the recent history of land ownership along the entire northern slope of Bāksilā pañcāyat and large parts of the southern slope, along with the mutually corroborating accounts by elderly Rai, the most recent great influx of non-Rai must have taken place just within living memory at the beginning of this century. It appears that this last great influx had a larger impact than any previous incursion, for it resulted in the Dumī Rai being outnumbered in their own homeland. Some of the enclaves of allochthonous groups, however, seem to date from previous waves of immigration. For example, the Nevār settlement in Aiselukharha bazar (Mākṣpā pañcāyat) is said to be at least two hundred years old. The Guruñ settlement under Halkhum just above the Rāva is said to be of some antiquity. The concentration of Tāmāñ adjacent to Bāksilā bazar on the north dates from the time that they were the miners in a now defunct iron mine, the opening of the central shaft of which is still visible under the vegetation, about half way between Halkhum and Sotmā on the northern slope above the Rāva.

It is therefore not surprising that retention is low amongst the Dumī, and surviving speakers of Dumī Rai are scarce. The generation in their 20s and 30s virtually speak only Nepālī; people now in their 40s and 50s generally speak Dumī Rai to varying extents, but with a reduced phonology;<sup>3</sup> members of the generation presently in its 60s and 70s largely speak Dumī but are now also fluent in Nepālī as a second language. On the whole, retention seems to be highest in the Mākṣpā area where, as pointed out above, the local dialect appears to diverge markedly from the remaining dialects. Sueyoshi Toba has provided a one hundred word list of Mākṣpā Dumī, but an in-depth study of Mākṣpā Dumī is still sorely needed.

The material presented here consists of Dumī causatives and the Dumī verbs from which they appear to be derived by means of the now unproductive affixation of a dental suffix to the stem. Such pairs reflect the causative suffix *\*-t*, described as a common Tibeto-Burman morphological process by Benedict (1972:97-103). The *\*-t* suffix was termed a 'directive' by Wolfenden (1929:66), a blanket term covering a range of semantically related senses. Michailovsky (1985:366) describes the term 'directive' as including the meanings 'causative', 'applied', 'benefactive' and 'malefactive'.

Michailovsky (1985) was the first to provide detailed evidence for the TB process of *\*-t* suffixation from Limbu, another Kiranti language spoken to the east of the Rāi area in large tracts of eastern Nepal's Koasī and Mecī zones, in western Sikkim this side of the Ṭisṭā and in pockets of Darjeeling (Dārjiliñ) district. On the basis of his Limbu material Michailovsky also illustrated the difference in meaning between the TB directive *\*-t* and TB causative *\*-s* suffixes. In van Driem (1987:245-267), I provide similar Limbu evidence based on the Phedāppe dialect. The Tāplejuñe dialect as it is spoken in the Maivā and Mevā valleys, where Michailovsky collected his data, and the Phedāppe dialect as spoken in the village of Tamphulā in Tehrathum district, where I collected my data, differ in details but, on the whole, show marked similarity.<sup>4</sup> A feature prominent in both Michailovsky's and my data is the distinct functions of TB *\*-t* and TB *\*-s* which their modern Limbu *t*-allofams and *s*-allofams appear to reflect. An instructive example is:

<i>-ha:b/-ha:p-</i> cry [vi.]	<i>-ha:pt/-ha:p-</i> mourn someone [vt.]	<i>-ha:ps/-ha:m-</i> cause someone to cry [vt.]
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(van Driem 1987:250, Michailovsky 1985:364). Although the distinction is not always as semantically clear-cut as this example would suggest, in general one can say that the suffixation of TB *\*-s* often yields straightforward causatives, whereas suffixation of TB *\*-t* more often acts to transitive an intransitive verb and occasionally add one of several possible 'directive' meanings to it.

In Dumi there does not appear to be any evidence for TB *\*-s*, a lack common to many Rai languages,<sup>5</sup> but Dumi Rai does provide a significant number of reflexes of the TB directive suffix *\*-t*. The number of Dumi candidates for reflexes of this suffix is smaller than the amount I was able to give for Limbu, but my impression is that it constitutes a similar proportion of the total verb corpus.

A verb in Dumi Rai may have one or more different stems. Dumi verbs may be divided into five intransitive and eleven transitive conjugations on the basis of paradigmatic stem alternation. A conjugation therefore is a fixed pattern of stem alternation, not a fixed set of inflectional affixes. The intransitive and transitive affixes are constant throughout all conjugations. Once the conjugation of any given verb has been specified, it becomes predictable which stem will occur in a given inflected form.

A single stem may have one or two forms. Stems with 1) a post-syllabic augment only realised before a vowel-initial suffix, 2) a voiced final plosive only voiced before a vowel-initial suffix or 3) an aspirated final only aspirated before a vowel-initial suffix have a full (pre-vocalic) and an abbreviated (pre-consonantal and pre-pausal) stem form. In this article, only the full forms of stems are given.<sup>6</sup> The stems are listed in a logical sequence, the stem of the first singular listed first. The conjugation to which a verb belongs is not indicated here. A description of Dumi Rai verb morphology will appear elsewhere (van Driem 1988).

The lists below give Dumi verb pairs which appear to reflect the TB directive suffix *\*-t*. The  $\emptyset$ -allofam member of each pair is listed in the lefthand column, and the *t*-allofam in the right. In the following ten pairs, suffixation of *\*-t* has yielded straightforward transitives.

<i>dukḥ</i>	vi., knock; bump, stub (with animate subject, e. g. one's toe, one's head against a lintel); Nep. <i>ṭoknu</i> .	<i>dukt-dukḥ</i>	vt., bump or knock something against a surface or other object.
<i>dhyəkh</i>	vi., be or become plugged up, be or become sealed off.	<i>dhyəkt-dhyəkh</i>	vt, plug up (e. g. one' s ears, a hole), seal off; Nep. <i>bujyāunu</i> .
<i>dzitš-dzit</i>	vi., get or become wet; Nep. <i>bijhinu</i> .	<i>dzi:t-dzi:tš</i>	vt., make wet; Nep. <i>bijhāunu</i> .
<i>intš-it</i>	vi., be felled, topple; Nep. <i>ḍhalnu</i> .	<i>ind-intš</i>	vt., fell; Nep. <i>ḍhālnu</i>
<i>kipḥ-kep</i>	vi., stick to, be or become stuck or glued, adhere; Nep. <i>ṭāsīnu</i> .	<i>kept-kipḥ</i>	vt., stick, attach, glue; Nep. <i>ṭāsnū</i> .
<i>ləntš-lo:-lət-lən</i>	vi., come out, emerge Nep. <i>niskīnu</i>	<i>lənd-ləntš-lət</i>	vt., take out, remove; Nep. <i>nikālnu</i>
<i>ša:tš-ša:t</i>	vi., be or become stopped up, close up, get or become or be clogged or silted up; Nep. <i>bujīnu</i>	<i>sa:t-ša:tš</i>	vt., fill in or fill up a hole or cavity
<i>tšəntš-tšo:-tšən-tšən</i>	vi., hop forward Nep. <i>uphrīnu</i>	<i>tšot-tšutš</i>	vt., 1) move up; <i>aṇa śī mi-bi tšotu</i> I moved the log up a bit further into the fire; Nep. <i>aghi sārnu</i> ; 2) deride; get someone riled up, tease, mock (animate patient, e.g. dog, man, friend); Nep. <i>gījāunu, calāunu, jiskyāunu</i>
<i>thitš-thit</i>	vi., stretch, become elongated (with <i>ta:na:mī</i> elongated)	<i>thid-thitš</i>	vt., pull
<i>tši:tš-tše:t</i>	vi., be torn or split; wear through; open up (of clouds); Nep. <i>phātṇu</i>	<i>tši:d-tši:tš-tše:t</i>	vt., tear

The following set of verbs based on an intransitive/transitive pair *-līni-litni*, both bound roots apparently meaning being engaged in some sustained and composite process, likewise appears to reflect the transitivising function of the \*-t suffix.

<i>be:le: lo:-lī -lu</i>	vi., goof around, loaf Nep. <i>barālnu</i>	<i>mīlid-mīlitš</i>	vt., [from <i>mīni</i> do] be up and about doing something, walk around doing, be busy; Nep. <i>garī hīḍnu</i>
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<i>le: lo:-li-lu</i>	vi., sing	<i>oplid-oplitš</i>	vt., [from <i>opni</i> bounce] (with non-referential third singular patient agreement) bounce incessantly (e.g. of <i>mulu</i> hail); propel oneself by bouncing, prance about, hop repeatedly (e.g. as a form of locomotion as of insects); Nep. <i>uchittī hīḍnu</i>
<i>mintələlə lo:-li-lu</i>	vi., be deeply engrossed in thought, be pensive; Nep. <i>socāī garnu, vicār garnu</i>		

Often such intransitive/transitive pairs in Dumi reflect no derivational process of affixation but form their respective conjugations on the basis of identical stems or, depending on how you look at it, on the basis of a single labile stem. For example,

<i>dim</i>	vi., meet, run into each other; Nep. <i>milnu</i>	<i>dim</i>	vt., meet, run into; Nep. <i>bheṭnu</i>
<i>ha:kh</i>	vi., be or become opened up, open up, get or become or be unclogged; Nep. <i>ughrinu</i>	<i>ha:kh</i>	vt., open, open up (e.g. mouth, door); unplug, uncork; Nep. <i>ughānu</i>
<i>tha:p</i>	vi., fall, drop; (polite) die, pass away; Nep. <i>hasnu</i>	<i>tha:p</i>	vt., drop, allow to fall; Nep. <i>hasānu</i>
<i>tha:ph</i>	vi., be or become ripped, torn or perforated; Nep. <i>chedinu</i>	<i>tha:ph</i>	vt., rip, tear; Nep. <i>chednu</i>
<i>tsa:m</i>	vi., get, become or be lost; Nep. <i>harānu</i>	<i>tsa:m</i>	vt., lose; Nep. <i>harānu</i>

There is no sharp semantic distinction which can be drawn between the transitivity function of the *\*-t* suffix in the ten pairs above and its role in generating directives. The following cases of *\*-t* suffixation are directive in that the activity e.g. *dze:ni* to speak) or patient (e.g. *yokni* to distribute something) denoted by the  $\emptyset$ -allofam is channeled or directed at someone in the *t*-allofam.

<i>dze:-dzi:</i>	vi., speak	<i>dze.t-dzi:tš</i>	vt., call, address, strike up a conversation with; Nep. <i>bolānu</i>
<i>ho:-hu:</i>	vi., come, appear; Nep. <i>ānu, prakat hunu</i>	<i>hu:d-hu:tš-ho:t</i>	vt., fetch, bring; Nep. <i>khajera lyānu</i>
<i>khup-khoṅ</i>	vi., come up; Nep. <i>māthi ānu</i>	<i>khod-khotš</i>	vt., take, take away; Nep. <i>māthi lyānu</i>
<i>khutš-khoṭ</i>	vi., go	<i>khot-khutš</i>	vt., take, take away; Nep. <i>lagnu, lānu</i>

		<i>liʔkhot-liʔkhotš</i>	vt., [from <i>liʔi</i> ridge, any high pass (Nep. <i>ḍāḍā</i> ) + <i>khətni</i> take, take away, lit. to take a ridge] cut across a ridge, cross a mountain, cut through a high pass; Nep. <i>ḍāḍā kāṭnu</i> (in the Nepali of Dumis often <i>ḍāḍā lagnu</i> )
<i>pi:</i>	vi., come (along a horizontal plane); Nep. <i>terso āunu</i>	<i>pid-pitš</i>	vt., bring (on a level plane) Nep. <i>terso lyāunu</i>
<i>phikh</i>	vi., get up; Nep. <i>uṭhnu</i>	<i>phik</i>	vt., get up, arouse, wake up; Nep. <i>uṭhāunu</i>
<i>uŋ-oŋ</i>	vi., enter; Nep. <i>pasnu</i>	<i>wənd-wəntš-wə-wəŋ</i>	vt., bring inside or into; carry inside or into; Nep. <i>bhitra lyāunu</i>
<i>yukh-yək</i>	vt., portion out, divide up; distribute (patient = that which is divided up, not the recipient); Nep. <i>baḍnu</i> , E.Nep. <i>bāṭnu</i>	<i>yəkt-yəkh</i>	vt., feed; Nep. <i>khuvāunu</i>

Although this might be going out on a limb, I speculate that the following pair may represent a parallel case of \*-t suffixation whereby the patient of burning, firewood undergoing combustion, is channeled or applied to something edible to yield the verb 'roast'.

<i>hit-hitš</i>	vt., burn (e.g. <i>ši</i> firewood)	<i>id-itš</i>	vt., roast (e.g. <i>šu</i> meat)
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If we allow for a semantic shift between the  $\emptyset$ -allofam and its \*-t derivative in view of the assumed antiquity of the directive suffix, the following Dumi verb pairs are candidates for reflexes of \*-t suffix derivatives.

<i>butš-bət</i>	vi., get riled up, be aroused (in the expression <i>tšili bətni</i> be angered, get angry); Nep. <i>ri s uṭhnu</i>	<i>bənd-bəntš-bən-bət</i>	vt., feel, touch; Nep. <i>chunu</i>
<i>řiph-řep</i>	vi., stand; Nep. <i>ubhinu</i>	<i>řept-řiph</i>	vt., heed what someone says, obey; Nep. <i>ternu</i>
<i>təř</i>	vi., snap, break; Nep. <i>bhācinu</i>	<i>ta:t-ta:tš</i>	vt., tear up (esp. soil) with an implement, poke at with a long stick, dig around (in soil), poke loose (with a stick), extract, work loose; Nep. <i>kotṭyāunu</i>

<i>uph-əp</i>	vt., toss, cast (esp. <i>yali</i> net); Nep. <i>jāl hānnu</i>	<i>opt-əph</i>	vt., (with non-referential third singular patient agreement) 1) bounce, prance about, hop (e.g. of insects); Nep. <i>uchittinu</i> ; 2) catch fire, start to blaze; shine (of the sun); Nep. <i>jhulkinu</i>
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Nasals such as that in the final cluster of *bənd-bəntš-bən-bət* 'feel, touch' are attested in similar *t*-allofams in Limbu (van Driem 1987, Michailovsky 1985).

It seems more plausible to view the following two paired groups of verbs as the reflexes of the TB directive suffix *\*-t* when they are juxtaposed to their Limbu counterparts. In Limbu, the stems of intransitives 'to sleep' *ips-im* appear to be cognate with the stem of the non-ergative Dumi reflexives<sup>7</sup> *im:'sini* 'sleep' and *imde:'šini* 'be asleep', whereas its transitive *t*-allofam derivative in Limbu, *ipt-ip* 'to put someone to bed', appears to be cognate with the stem of the Dumi verbs *i:pni* 'to put someone to bed' and *i:bdzi:ni* 'to fall asleep'.

Likewise, Limbu *khaps-kham* 'cover oneself with bedclothes when going to bed (patient: blanket, etc.)' appears to be cognate with the stem of Dumi *kam'sini*, whereas Limbu *khapt-khap* 'tuck someone (= patient) in, cover someone with bedclothes; thatch or re-thatch a roof' appears to be cognate with Dumi *kəpni* 'thatch', *khəpni* 'cover' and the verb stem *kəp* in the causative compound verb *kəpmi:ni* 'cover someone with a blanket'.

<i>im 'šini</i> <sup>8</sup>	vr. non-erg., sleep	<i>i:pt-i:ph</i>	vt., put to bed, put to sleep; Nep. <i>sutāunu</i>
<i>imde: 'šini</i>	vr. non-erg., be asleep	<i>ibdzo:-ibdzi-ibdzu</i>	vi., fall asleep, lie down to sleep, go to bed; (of limbs) be asleep, i.e. be numb; Nep. <i>nidāunu</i>
<i>kam 'šini</i>	vr. erg., cover oneself (with a blanket); Nep. <i>oḍnu</i>	<i>kəpt-kuph</i> <i>kəpmid-kəpmi:š</i>  <i>khəpt-khuph</i>	vt., thatch; Nep. <i>chāunu</i> vt., cover someone with a blanket; Nep. <i>oḍāunu</i> vt., plug up, cap, cover

Lastly, the following three Dumi verbs appear to reflect two grades of TB *\*-t* suffixation.

The verb stems of (1) *mini* 'to do' represent the  $\emptyset$ -allofam members of the set of three verbs under discussion. Since the verb *mini* occurs only in the lexicalised combination *šiši mini*, defined below, it can be argued that the complement *šiši* lacks saliency as a patient.

In (2) *minni* 'to do', the stems contain the dental suffix *\*-t*. Here the suffix does not convert an intransitive verb into a transitive but, rather, increases the transitivity of an already transitive verb. Dumi 'to do' covers the various senses of English 'to do' and also forms part of an expression which is a Nepali calque.

The verb (3) *mitni*, defined below, appears to be a directive derivative of *minni* 'to do' with stems which may have undergone compound suffixation of the dental.



- 1) *šiši ma-mu-mi-mə* vt. observe the practice of *šiši*, i.e. the practice of sprinkling a bit of cooked rice onto the floor next to one's plate prior to commencement of a meal in order to feed and thereby appease malicious spirits which might be in the house. *šiši* is performed again if anyone should enter the house or be heard rustling about outside during the course of the meal, thereby unwittingly escorting a malevolent ghost to dinner from outdoors; the practice of *šiši* is also observed when eating out of doors on the road where the risk of being afflicted by a disincarnate spirit is greater; Nep. *apsānī carāunu*; Limbu *co:ʔco:ʔ mɛpmaʔ*.
- 2) *ma-mitš-mit-mi-mu-mə* vt. 1) do something (inanimate patient), do something unto someone (animate patient); Nep. *gamu*; 2) (with *tīm̩lə*) converse, talk [calque from Nep. *kurā gamu*]; 3) (with *golpi* 'big') raise someone (Nep. *ṭhūlo p-arnu*), cf. *tīni*.
- 3) *mid- mitš* vt. 1) auxiliary of the negative perfect and negative pluperfect of transitive verbs; 2) in the expression *tšili boʔo mitni* make someone angry, arouse someone's ire; Nep. *rīs (kurā) uṭhāunu*; 3) as a causativiser in causative compounds of the type *kəpmitni* 'cover someone with a blanket' (see above).

For Limbu I noted a similar triplet involving compound dental suffixation:

*si*                      vi. irr., die                                      *ser/ set/ seʔl*                      vt., kill

Parallel to this pair, we have Tibetan *sí-ba* 'die' vs. *gsod-pa/bsad-pa* 'kill', Burmese *θe* 'die' vs. *θat* 'kill', Archaic Chinese *\*sjar* (Karlgren 1964: 149), Mandarin *sǐ* vs. *\*sāt/šāt* (Karlgren 1964: 95), Mandarin *shā*. Benedict reconstructs TB *\*siy* 'die' (1972: 55) and *\*g-sat* 'kill' (1972: 27).

Limbu *setmaʔ* 'to kill', in turn, has a directive derivative *setmaʔ* 'ritually slaughter an animal as *phudo:ŋ* for a guest' which shows agreement with the beneficiary, not the victim, of the action. Since the dental suffix in *setmaʔ* 'slaughter a *phudo:ŋ* for a guest' must of necessity be of a later date than the \*-t suffixation attested in *setmaʔ* 'to kill', one might ask whether the affixes reflected here are the same.

*ser/ set/ seʔl*                      vt., kill                                      *sett/ set/ seʔl*                      vt., ritually slaughter an animal as *phudo:ŋ* in honour of an esteemed guest

Similarly, intransitive Limbu *potmaʔ* 'hang, be suspended' appears to have two grades of \*-t suffixation in the transitive derivative *photmaʔ* 'suspend', whence by secondary affixation of the \*-t *pho:mmaʔ* 'hang up' may have been derived.<sup>9</sup>

*poʧh/ poʧ/ poʧʔl*                      vi., hang in a tree (of fruit), be or rest suspended, be situated on high (of celestial phenomena), remain sticking (e.g. of smegma); be (an amount)

*phott/ phot/ phoʧʔl*                      vt., cover something, suspend or hold something above something or someone

*pho:nd/ pho:n*                      vt., hang up.

Only with more data-gathering research on Kiranti and other largely undescribed TB languages can we hope to consolidate a foundation for the reconstruction of Tibeto-Burman morphological processes.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Nepali words are transliterated from the *devanāgarī* script using the following symbols:

- |  |          |           |          |           |           |
|--|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1) Silent <i>a</i> is not rendered in the transliteration, even though it is not generally deleted with a <i>virām</i> in the <i>devanāgarī</i> orthography.   | <i>a</i> | <i>ā</i>  |          |           |           |
|  | <i>i</i> | <i>ī</i>  |          |           |           |
|  | <i>u</i> | <i>ū</i>  |          |           |           |
| 2) The distinctions between <i>i</i> and <i>ī</i> , <i>u</i> and <i>ū</i> , <i>b</i> and <i>v</i> , <i>ṣ</i> and <i>ṣ</i> and <i>s</i> , preserved in the orthography, are also rendered in the transliteration, although they do not correspond to any phonemic distinctions in modern spoken Nepali. |          |           | ɽ        |           |           |
|  | <i>e</i> | <i>ai</i> |          |           |           |
|  | <i>o</i> | <i>au</i> |          |           |           |
|  | <i>ṃ</i> | <i>ḥ</i>  |          |           |           |
| 3) The <i>candrabindu</i> used to indicate vowel nasality in <i>devanāgarī</i> is rendered by the symbol ~ above the vowel.  | <i>k</i> | <i>kh</i> | <i>g</i> | <i>gh</i> | <i>ɣn</i> |
|  | <i>c</i> | <i>ch</i> | <i>j</i> | <i>jh</i> | <i>n̄</i> |
|  | <i>ṭ</i> | <i>ṭh</i> | <i>ḍ</i> | <i>ḍh</i> | <i>ṇ</i>  |
| 4) Pokhrel et al. (2040) and Rabinovič et al. (1968) are taken as the spelling standard. For place names, I have adopted as a standard the spelling most used by the local <i>jillā</i> or <i>gāū</i> <i>paṭāyat</i> (e.g. on their printed stationery or on signs).                                   | <i>t</i> | <i>th</i> | <i>d</i> | <i>dh</i> | <i>n</i>  |
|  | <i>p</i> | <i>ph</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>bh</i> | <i>m</i>  |
|  | <i>y</i> | <i>r</i>  | <i>l</i> | <i>v</i>  |           |
|  | <i>ś</i> | <i>ṣ</i>  | <i>s</i> |           |           |
|  | <i>h</i> |           |          |           |           |

2 The *Bāksilā* dialect area as described here is coterminous with *lamdi:dza*, the native toponym for the area, claimed by more than one local septuagenarian to be the ancestral home of the Dumī Rai. This area includes the villages of *Sotmā* and *Halkhum*.

3 Their native inventory of Dumī Rai vowel phonemes is reduced and has retained only those vowels not alien to Nepali. For example, the phoneme /i/, pronounced as *y* in Russian *byk* 'bull' or *ryba* 'fish', has merged with /u/. Whereas my elderly informants distinguish *śi*: 'bear fruit', *śī* 'firewood' and *śu* 'meat', informants in their 40s merely distinguish *śi*: 'bear fruit' versus *śu* 'firewood' or 'meat'.

4 By my count, 81 of the basal-directive-causative couplets and triplets in the *Maivā* - *Mevā* dialect as listed by Michailovsky (1985: 363-375) and the *Phedāppe* dialect (van Driem 1987: 245-267) are identical or virtually identical; there are 42 etyma represented in both Michailovsky's and my material but which show either some significant semantic or some formal difference between the *Maivā* - *Mevā* and the *Phedāppe* forms. Michailovsky notes 19 couplets and triplets which I found to be lacking in the *Phedāppe* dialect, and I noted 40 couplets and triplets for *Phedāppe* which do not appear in Michailovsky's *Maivā* - *Mevā* material.

For example, the verb *lupma?* with stems *lupt-lup* is a labile verb in the Phedāppe dialect, meaning 'be or get buried' when conjugated intransitively and 'bury' when conjugated transitively. Its derivative *lumma?* 'pile up' with stems *lups-lum* reflects TB causative \*-s. Michailovsky's dialect, however, preserves a Ø-allofam LUP (1985: 370), which in my orthography would be noted as having the stems *lub-lup*, versus a directive LUPT 'bury, cover, fill in, fatten (a pig)', and a causative LUPS 'pile up'. Similarly, the Phedāppe dialect preserves a *t*-allofam (also reflecting the TB causative \*s prefix) of *niŋsaŋ pug-puk* 'be crestfallen' alongside the *s*-allofam *niŋsaŋ puks-puŋ* 'disappoint someone (= patient)': *niŋsaŋ phukt-phuk* 'spoil the fun, be a killjoy (patient: *niŋsaŋ*)', whereas the Maivā - Mevā dialect appears not to have preserved the *t*-allofam.

Occasionally there is a difference in interpretation. Both Michailovsky and myself interpret *ma:nd-ma:n* 'finish, use up' (Michailovsky MA:NT) as being the *t*-allofam of *ma:r-ma:t-ma:ʔl* 'be finished, be or get used up' (Michailovsky MA:R). However, Michailovsky interprets MAS 'lose' as the corresponding *s*-allofam, whereas I interpret *ma:s-ma:* 'lose' to be the *s*-allofam of *məy-ma:* 'get or become lost'. Similarly, Michailovsky lists the two Ø-allofam/*t*-allofam couplets NAS 'be tired', NAʔR 'desist, leave something alone' and PAŋS 'send, cause someone to do something', PHAKT 'permit someone to do something'. Although these verbs occur in my material as *na:s-na:* 'be exhausted', *naʔr-naʔ* 'abandon, neglect, abstain from, not eat' and *paŋs-paŋ* 'send someone somewhere', *pha:kt-pha:k* 'allow, permit (with infinitive)', I am not confident enough about the semantic and formal similarity to posit this link. Some other differences between the Maivā - Mevā and Phedāppe material are pointed out in van Driem (1987: 269-270).

- 5 Werner Winter, personal communication 5 February 1987.
- 6 Also, the final cluster /tʃ/ drops the penultimate /t/ before /t/: *Vtʃ > Vʃ/\_t*. In such cases too, only the prevocalic or full form of the stem is given.
- 7 In Dumi, reflexive verbs take one actant. I call reflexive verbs requiring an agent with an overt ergative suffix 'ergative reflexive' and reflexives requiring a subject without an ergative case marker 'non-ergative reflexive'.
- 8 Stress in Dumi is weak and nondistinctive. I indicate stress in Dumi forms by the stress mark ['] preceding the stressed syllable only when it is not predictable. Unless otherwise indicated: affixes, whether inflectional or derivational, do not carry the stress. Verbs and deverbatives take the stress on the stem. Nouns and other parts of speech are stressed on the first syllable.

Infinitives of reflexive verbs invariably take the stress on the reflexive suffix *ʃi*, but I have chosen to mark the stress in these infinitives. Inflected forms of reflexive verbs carry the stress on the stem.

- 9 There is also an *s*-allofam to this set with the following form and meaning:

*photch-phot-phəʔl* vt., put up somewhere, place on high, hang up, suspend.

Moreover, the aspiration of the initials of all three derivatives of *potma?* 'hang, be suspended' reflects the TB causative prefix \*-s- (see van Driem 1987: 245-248, 258, 267).

