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

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Dumī· Rai is a Kiranti language spoken in Khoṭāṅ district[1] in the Sagarmāthā or Everest Zone of eastern Nepal. The Dumi 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 'Rāī' is a collective ethnonym for several groups of people speaking related Kiranti languages, viz. Sāṅpāṅ, Cāmliṅ, Bāṇṭāvā, Kuluṅ, Yākkhā, Pumā, etc. Dumi is one of these Rai languages; its immediate neighbours are Thuluṅ, Nāccheriṅ (also: Nāceriṅ) and Kohī to the north (from north-west to north-east) and Tiluṅ (also Tiliṅ), Cāmliṅ and Sāṅpāṅ to the south (from south-west to south-east). There are several dialects within the Dumi speaking area. Judging from survey data obtained from elderly Dumi 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[2], and
4) the dialect of Mākpā to the northwest of the R$ava 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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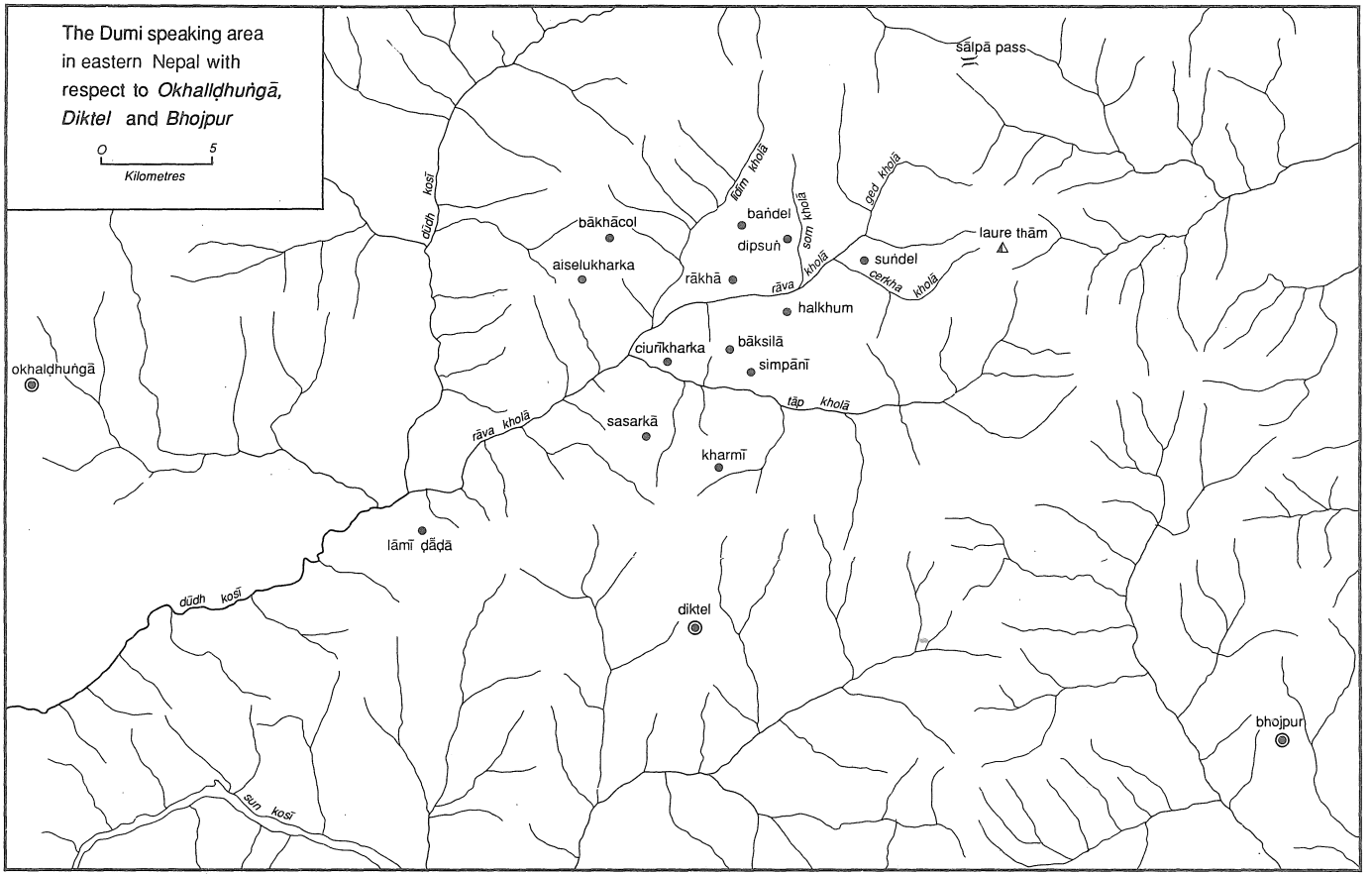
Pacific Linguistics, C-104, 1988



Map 1.: The Dumi speaking area in eastern Nepal

It is located at a linguistic crossroads, Mākpā pañcāyat being contiguous with both the Nāccheriṅ and Thuluṅ speaking areas. The Bāksilā dialect area abuts on the Kohi homeland in Suṅdel 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 Mākpā data, Toba's one hundred word list (1973:4-7, 1976:3-4) reveals greater proximity between Dumi and Kohi Rai than between Dumi and Khāliṅ, Nāccheriṅ or Sāṅpāṅ 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 Siṅ Rāī in late 1986, during which period he also scouted the rest of the Dumi speaking area.

The Dumi are now a minority in the area to which they are indigenous. According to Regmi (1983:213) the Dumi Rai constitute one quarter of the population in Khoṭāṅ district. The main allochthonous groups are the Gorkhali (esp. Chetrī), the Nevārī, Guruṅ and Tāmāṅ. 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 Dumi 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 (Mākpā pañcāyat) is said to be at least two hundred years old. The Guruṅ settlement under Halkhum just above the Rāva is said to be of some antiquity. The concentration of Tāmāṅ adjecent 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 halfway between Halkhum and Sotmā on the northern slope above the Rāva .

It is therefore not surprising that retention is low amongst the Dumi, and surviving speakers of Dumi Rai are scarce. The generation in their 20s and 30s virtually speak only Nepali; people now in their 40s and 50s generally speak Dumi Rai to varying extents, but with a reduced phonology;[3] members of the generation presently in its 60s and 70s largely speak Dumi but are now also fluent in Nepali as a second language. On the whole, retention seems to be highest in the Mākpā 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 Mākpā Dumi, but an in-depth study of Mākpā Dumi is still sorely needed.

The material presented here consists of Dumi causatives and the Dumi 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 Rāī area in large tracts of eastern Nepal's Koəsī and Mecī zones, in western Sikkim this side of the Ṭīsṭā and in pockets of Darjeeling (Dārjīliṅ) 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 Tāplejuṅe 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.[4] 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:

-ha:b-/-ha:p-	*-ha:pt-/-ha:p-*	*-ha:ps-/-ha:m-*
cry [vi.]	mourn someone [vt.]	cause someone to cry [vt.]

(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 transitivise 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,[5] 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.[6] 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 ø-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.

dukh	vi., knock; bump, stub (with animate subject, e. g. one's toe, one's head against a lintel); Nep. *ṭoknu.*	*dukt-dukh*	vt., bump or knock something against a surface or other object.
dhyəkh	vi., be or become plugged up,be or become sealed off.	*dhyəkt-dhyəkh*	vt, plug up (e. g. one' s ears, a hole), seal off; Nep. *bujyāunu.*
dzitš -dzit	vi., get or become wet; Nep. *bijhinu.*	*dzi:t-dzi:tš*	vt., make wet; Nep. *bijhāunu.*
intš-it	vi., be felled, topple; Nep. *ḍhalnu.*	*ind-intš*	vt., fell; Nep. *ḍhālnu*
kiph-kɐp	vi., stick to, be or become stuck or glued, adhere; Nep. *ṭā̃sinu.*	*kɐpt- kiph*	vt., stick, attach, glue; Nep. ṭāsnu.
ləntš-lɔ:-lət-lən	vi., come out, emerge Nep. *niskinu*	*lənd-ləntš-lət*	vt., take out, remove; Nep. *nikālnu*
ša:tš-ša:t	vi., be or become stopped up, close up, get or become or be clogged or silted up; Nep. *bujinu*	*sa:t-ša:tš*	vt., fill in or fill up a hole or cavity
tšəntš-tšɔ:-tšən-tšɔn	vi., hop forward Nep. *uphrinu*	*tšɔt-tšutš*	vt., 1) move up; *aŋa ši mi-bi tšɔtu* I moved the log up a bit further into the fire; Nep. *aghi sārnu*; 2) deride; get someone riled up, tease, mock (animate patient, e.g. dog, man, friend); Nep. *gījāunu, calāunu, jiskyāunu*
thitš-thit	vi., stretch, become elongated (with *ta:na:mři* elongated)	*thid-thitš*	vt., pull
tši:tš-tše:t	vi., be torn or split; wear through; open up (of clouds); Nep. *phāṭnu*	*tši:d-tši:tš-tše:t*	*vt.,* tear

The following set of verbs based on an intransitive/transitive pair *-lini-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.

be:le: lɔ:-li -lu	vi., goof around, loaf Nep.*barālnu*	*milid-militš*	vt., [from *mini* do] be up and about doing something, walk around doing, be busy; Nep. *garī hīḍnu*

le: lɔ:-li-lu	vi., sing	*ɔplid-ɔplitš*	vt., [from *ɔpni* bounce] (with non-referential third singular patient agreement) bounce incessantly (e.g. of *mulu* hail); propel oneself by bouncing, prance about, hop repeatedly (e.g. as a form of locomotion as of insects); Nep. *uchiṭṭī hi̐ḍnu*
mintələlə lɔ:-li-lu	vi., be deeply engrossed in thought, be pensive; Nep. *socāī garnu, vicār garnu*		

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,

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

There is no sharp semantic disinction which can be drawn between the transitivising 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. *yɔkni* to distribute something) denoted by the ø-allofam is channeled or directed at someone in the *t*-allofam.

dze:-dzi:	vi., speak	*dzɛ:t-dzi:tš*	vt., call, address, strike up a conversation with; Nep. *bolāunu*
hɔ:-hu:	vi., come, appear; Nep. *āunu, prakaṭ hunu*	*hu:d-hu:tš-hɔ:t*	vt., fetch, bring; Nep. *khojera lyāunu*
khuŋ-khɔŋ	vi., come up; Nep. *māthi āunu*	*khɔd-khɔtš*	vt., take, take away; Nep. *māthi lyāunu*
khutš-khɔt	vi., go	*khət-khutš*	vt., take, take away; Nep. *lagnu, lānu*

		li?khɔt-li?khɔtš	vt., [from *li?i* ridge, any high pass (Nep. *ḍãḍā*) + *khətnɨ* take, take away, lit. to take a ridge] cut across a ridge, cross a mountain, cut through a high pass; Nep. *ḍãḍā kāṭnu* (in the Nepali of Dumis often *ḍãḍā lagnu*)
pi:	vi., come (along a horizontal plane); Nep. *terso āunu*	*pid-pitš*	vt., bring (on a level plane) Nep. *terso lyāunu*
phɨkh	vi., get up; Nep. *uṭhnu*	*phɨk*	vt., get up, arouse, wake up; Nep. *uṭhāunu*
uŋ-oŋ	vi., enter; Nep. *pasnu*	*wɔnd-wɔntš-wɔ-wɔn*	vt., bring inside or into; carry inside or into; Nep. *bhitra lyāunu*
yukh-yɔk	vt., portion out, divide up; distribute (patient = that which is divided up, not the recipient); Nep. *baɗnu,* E.Nep. *bãṭnu*	*yəkt-yəkh*	vt., feed; Nep. *khuvāunu*

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'.

hɨt-hɨtš	vt., burn (e.g. *šɨ* firewood)	*ɨd-ɨtš*	vt., roast (e.g. *šu* meat)

If we allow for a semantic shift between the ø-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.

butš-bɔt	vi., get riled up, be aroused (in the expression *tšili bɔtnɨ* be angered, get angry); Nep. *rīs uṭhnu*	*bənd-bəntš-bən-bɔt*	vt., feel, touch; Nep. *chunu*
řiph-řɛp	vi., stand; Nep. *ubhinu*	*řɛpt-řiph*	vt., heed what someone says, obey; Nep. *ternu*
tœř	vi., snap, break; Nep. *bhãcinu*	*ta:t-ta:tš*	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. *koṭṭyāunu*

uph-ɔp	vt., toss, cast (esp. *yaḷi* net); Nep. *jāl hānnu*	*ɔpt-ɔph*	vt., (with non-referential third singular patient agreement) 1) bounce, prance about, hop (e.g.of insects); Nep. *uchiṭṭinu;* 2) catch fire, start to blaze; shine (of the sun); Nep.*jhulkinu*

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[7] *im:'sinɨ* 'sleep' and *imde:'šinɨ* '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:pnɨ* 'to put someone to bed' and *i:bdzi:nɨ* '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'šinɨ*, whereas Limbu *khapt-khap* 'tuck someone (= patient) in, cover someone with bedclothes; thatch or re-thatch a roof' appears to be cognate with Dumi *kɔpnɨ* 'thatch', *khɔpnɨ* 'cover' and the verb stem *kɔp* in the causative compound verb *kɔpmɨtnɨ* 'cover someone with a blanket'.

im 'šinɨ[8]	vr. non-erg., sleep	*i:pt-i:ph*	vt., put to bed, put to sleep; Nep. *sutāunu*
imde: 'šinɨ	vr. non-erg., be asleep	*ibdzɔ:-ibdzɨ-ibdzu*	vi., fall asleep, lie down to sleep, go to bed; (of limbs) be asleep, i.e. be numb; Nep. *nidāunu*
kam 'šinɨ	vr. erg., cover oneself (with a blanket); Nep.*oḍnu*	*kɔpt-kuph*	vt., thatch; Nep. *chāunu*
		kɔpmɨd-kɔpmɨtš	vt., cover someone with a blanket; Nep. *oḍāunu*
		khɔpt-khuph	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) *mɨnɨ* 'to do' represent the Ø-allofam members of the set of three verbs under discussion. Since the verb *mɨnɨ* occurs only in the lexicalised combination *šiši mɨnɨ*, defined below, it can be argued that the complement *šiši* lacks saliency as a patient.

In (2) *mɨnnɨ* '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) *mɨtnɨ*, defined below, appears to be a directive derivative of *mɨnnɨ* 'to do' with stems which may have undergone compound suffixation of the dental.

1) *šiši ma-mu-mɨ-mɔ* 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-mɨtš-mɨt-mɨ-mu-mɔ* vt. 1) do something (inanimate patient), do something unto someone (animate patient); Nep. *garnu;* 2) (with *tɨmlə*) converse, talk [calque from Nep. *kurā garnu*]; 3) (with *gɔlpɨ* 'big') raise someone (Nep. *ṭhūlo p·arnu*), cf. *tɨlnɨ*.

3) *mɨd- mɨtš* vt. 1) auxiliary of the negative perfect and negative pluperfect of transitive verbs; 2) in the expression *tšili bɔʔɔ mɨtnɨ* make someone angry, arouse someone's ire; Nep. *rīs (kurā) uṭhāunu ;* 3) as a causativiser in causative compounds of the type *kɔpmɨtnɨ* 'cover someone with a blanket' (see above).

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

si	vi. irr., die	*sɛr/ sɛt/ sɛʔl*	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 **s̥iər* (Karlgren 1964: 149), Mandarin *sǐ* vs. **sǎt/ṣǎt* (Karlgren 1964: 95), Mandarin *shā*. Benedict reconstructs TB **siy* 'die' (1972: 55) and **g-sat* 'kill' (1972: 27).

Limbu *sɛtmaʔ* 'to kill', in turn, has a directive derivative *sɛtmaʔ* '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 *sɛtmaʔ* 'slaughter a *phudo:ŋ* for a guest' must of necessity be of a later date than the **-t* suffixation attested in *sɛtmaʔ* 'to kill', one might ask whether the affixes reflected here are the same.

sɛr/ sɛt/ sɛʔl	vt., kill	*sɛtt/ sɛt/ sɛʔl*	vt., ritually slaughter an animal as *phudo:ŋ* in honour of an esteemed guest

Similarly, intransitive Limbu *pɔtmaʔ* 'hang, be suspended' appears to have two grades of **-t* suffixation in the transitive derivative *phɔtmaʔ* 'suspend', whence by secondary affixation of the **-t pho:mmaʔ* 'hang up' may have been derived.[9]

pɔtch/ pɔt/ pɔʔl	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)
phɔtt/ phɔt/ phɔʔl	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

1 Nepali words are transliterated from the *devanāgarī* script using the following symbols:

1) Silent *a* is not rendered in the transliteration, even though it is not generally deleted with a *virām* in the *devanāgarī* orthography.

2) The distinctions between *i* and *ī*, *u* and *ū*, *b* and *v*, *ṣ* and *ṣ* and *s*, preserved in the orthography, are also rendered in the transliteration, although they do not correspond to any phonemic distinctions in modern spoken Nepali.

3) The *candrabindu* used to indicate vowel nasality in *devanāgarī* is rendered by the symbol ~ above the vowel.

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 *jillā* or *gāũ paçāyat* (e.g. on their printed stationery or on signs).

	a		*ā*		
	i		*ī*		
	u		*ū*		
		ṛ			
	e		*ai*		
	o		*au*		
	ṃ		*ḥ*		
k	*kh*	*g*	*gh*		*ŋ*
c	*ch*	*j*	*jh*		*ñ*
ṭ	*ṭh*	*ḍ*	*ḍh*		*ṇ*
t	*th*	*d*	*dh*		*n*
p	*ph*	*b*	*bh*		*m*
y	*r*	*l*	*v*		
ś	*ṣ*	*s*			
h					

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 Dumi Rai. This area includes the villages of Sotmā and Halkhum.

3 Their native inventory of Dumi Rai vowel phonemes is reduced and has retained only those vowels not alien to Nepali. For example, the phoneme */ɨ/,* pronounced as *y* in Russian *byk* 'bull' or *ryba* 'fish', has merged with */u/.* Whereas my elderly informants distinguish *ši:* 'bear fruit', *ši* 'firewood' and *šu* 'meat', informants in their 40s merely distinguish *ši:* 'bear fruit' versus *šu* '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:?l* '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 *mɔy-ma:* 'get or become lost'. Similarly, Michailovsky lists the two Ø-allofam/*t*-allofam couplets NAS 'be tired', NA?R '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', *na?r-na?* '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 */tš/* drops the penultimate */t/* before */t/: Vtš > Vš/_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 *ši,* 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:

phɔtch-phɔt-phɔ?l vt., put up somewhere, place on high, hang up, suspend.

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