

TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE VERB-STEMS IN MUUYUW

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August 1968

revised 1973

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I. DEFINITION.

Transitive verbs focus on the object or goal of the action, and take person-object suffixes.

Intransitive verbs do not focus on the object or goal of the action. (Apparent free-form objects of intransitive verbs are analysed as belonging to clauses of association, which usually contain the word *w ség* /waseg/ "in association with".)

For the purposes of this paper transitive verbs will be demonstrated with the zero-morpheme (third person singular object,) and within semantic limitations, with -Vgw (first person singular object), in which V is the final vowel of the verb-stem, which is lost when there is no suffix.

2. STRESS PLACEMENT.

In transitive verbs stress placement is on the vowel which precedes the final consonant of the stem. In intransitive verbs, stress placement is on the precoding vowel, i.e. stress placement shifts back one syllable in intransitive verbs. Thus the two statements ikunúp and ikúnup mean respectively "He sews it up" and "He is sewing up". Though third person singular is a zero morpheme its presence is attested by the stress placement.

3. PURE TRANSITIVE VERB STEMS.

Some verbs occur only in a transitive form. Curiously, they include all CVC verb stems which contain directional particles, in which the direction indicated must be assumed to be the goal of the action.

e.g. *i-sí-k* /isik/ he-is located-there (away from the speaker)

4. PURE INTRANSITIVE VERB STEMS.

Some verbs occur only in an intransitive form.

e.g.	f-gig /igig/	he-laughs
	i-kalivátow /ikalivatow/	he-falls
	i-sélil /iseilil/	it-sets.

5. CONTINUOUS ASPECT.

In the continuous aspect there is complete or partial reduplication of the verb stem. The rule of stress placement applies with equal validity for verbs in the continuous aspect.

e.g.	TRANS.	MEANING	INTRANS.	MEANING
PUNCTILIAR	i-ván-ø /ivan/	he-stands on-it	f-van /ivan/	he-stands on
	i-váni-gw /ivanig/	he-stands on-me		i.e. he-is in the act of standing on (something).
CONTINUOUS	i-vván-ø /ivvan/	he-keeps standing on-it	i-vnivan	he-keeps standing on.
	i-vváni-gw /ivvanig/	he-keeps standing on-me		

6. VERB STEMS WHICH ARE EITHER TRANSITIVE OR INTRANSITIVE.

This group includes most verbs, and stem changes occur as follows:

6.1. Change of stress only

INTRANS.	TRANS. (3 s. obj.)	TRANS. (1 s. obj.)	STEM MEANING
f-gut /igut/	i-gút-ø /igut/	i-gútu-gw /igutug/	pull out
f-kavfiyel /ikaviyell/	i-kaviyé1-ø /ikaviyeil/	-	digs
f-kunup /ikunup/	i-kunup-ø /ikunup/	i-kunupi-gw /ikunupig/	sews up

6.2. Change of final vowel in formation of transitive verb stem.

The following examples highlight final vowel changes.

Other changes which occur are described later in the paper.

The final vowel changes are as follows:

(i) In intransitive stems of one syllable (i.e. with a CVC syllable pattern), if the vowel is *o*, it will change to *ɔ* in formation of the corresponding transitive stem.

e.g. f-dow /idouw/ he-calls
 i-dɔw-ɸ /idow/ he-calls-him
 i-dʌwe-gw /idaweig/ he-calls-me

(ii) In intransitive stems of less than three syllables final *ɔ* → *ɛ* in formation of corresponding transitive stems, except preceding final *w*, in which case it is unchanged, as it is in stems of more than two syllables.

e.g. f-lov /ilov/ he-throws
 i-lɛv-ɸ /ilev/ he-throws-it
 i-lʌve-gw /ilaveig/ he-throws-me

(iii) In intransitive stems when final *a* is followed by *w* or a labialised consonant, then *a* → *ɔ*, in formation of corresponding transitive stems.

e.g. f-lagw /ilag/ he-puts in heaps
 i-lɔg-ɸ /ilog/ he-puts in heaps-it
 i-tʌmʌnaw /itamanaw/ he-stands
 i-tʌmɔw-ɸ /itamnow/ he-stands-it

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i-tʌmʌnʌwe-gw /itamnaweig/ he-stands-me (upright)

(iv) In intransitive stems final *a* → *ε* quite frequently in formation of corresponding transitive stems.

e.g. *i-sínat* /isinat/ he-combs *í-bas* /ibas/ he-pierces
i-sinét-φ /isinet/ he-combs-it *i-bés-φ* /ibes/ he-pierces-it
i-bá'si-gw /ibasig/ he-pierces-me

(v) In other cases final *a* is unchanged

e.g. *í-mad* /imad/ it-dries
i-mád-φ /imad/ it-dries/strands-it
i-máde-gw /imadeig/ it-strands-me

(vi) Other final vowels are unchanged, except for the minor morphophonemic variations described in 4.1. of "Muyuw verbs".

6.3. Change of final vowel with affixation.

In transitive stems it will be noted that with final *ɔC* and *εC* (when *C* represents any consonant and there is zero affix for third person singular object) the vowels *ɔ* and *ε* become *ə* when object affixation occurs.

Examples can be seen under 3. and 6.2. (i) (ii) (iii)

6.4. Vowel elision.

The vowel preceding the stressed vowel is elided in the formation of many transitive stems. Labialisation preceding an elided vowel is always lost.

e.g. See 6.2. (ii).

i-mwá'sin /imwasin/ he-shames
i-msín-φ /imsin/ he-shames-hin
i-msíno-gw /insineig/ he-shames-me

6.5. Stems of the form kAtúCVC.

In the formation of the corresponding transitive stem from verbs of the form kAtúCVC, the u → i.

e.g. i-kAtúmat /ikatumat/	he-kills
i-kAtimét-ə /ikatimet/	he-kills-it
i-kAtimátc-gw /ikatimateig/	he-kills-me

6.6. Unpredictable non-final vowel changes.

Examples are listed as follows:

INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE	STEM-MEANING
i-kólám /ikolam/	i-kuléŋ /ihuleŋ/	to husk
i-lákwaw /ilakwaw/	i-lakóŋ /ilakow/	to bark
i-péyaw /ipeiyaw/	i-piyév /ipiyev/	to refuse
i-lópid /iloupid/	i-lapíd /ilapid/	to do the death wail
i-lóvat /ilouvat/	il-livét /ilivet/	to meet
i-simkákín /isimkakin/	i-simkikín /isimkikin/	to persist

In the second example note loss of labialisation preceding the rounded vowel ɔ.

The third example shows variation which frequently occurs between v and w in Muyuw.

6.7. Consonant changes.

~~Occasional~~ Occasional unpredictable consonant changes occur in transitive stem formation.

INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE	STEM-MEANING
i-wótet /iwotet/	i-wtél /iwtel/	to work
itáyoy /itayoy/	i-táyóŋ /itayow/	to harvest

7. VERB STEM AFFIXATION IN TRANSITIVE-INTRANSITIVE CONVERSION7.1. Causative prefix.

Some intransitive verbs require the addition of a causative prefix in order to form a corresponding transitive verb stem.

e.g. í-bík /ibík/	it-is dirty
i-yΛbík-φ /iyabík/	it-causes to-dirty-it
i-yΛ-bíkí-gw /iyabíkig/	it-causes to-dirty-me
i-múkul /inukul/	it-swamps
i-gi-nkúl-φ /iginkul/	he-causes to-swamp-it.

7.2. Locative suffix.

Some intransitive verbs require the addition of a locative suffix in order to form a corresponding transitive verb stem.

e.g. i-mugw /imug/	he-goes first
i-mgwΛ-y-φ /imgwey/	he-precedes-going along-him (He precedes him as they go along)
i-mgwΛ-ye-gw /imgwayeig/	he-precedes-going along-me (he precedes me as we go along)
i-put /iput/	he-oils (body)
i-ptu-m-φ /iptum	he-oils-towards self-him
i-ptu-mi-gw /iptumig/	he-oils-towards self-me (he anoints me).

8. INTRANSITIVE ONLY IN CONTINUOUS ASPECT.

Some transitive verbs have a corresponding intransitive form only in the continuous aspect (i.e. reduplicated stem.)

INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE (3 s. obj.)	TRANSITIVE (1 s. obj.)	STEM MEANING
i-wtúwut /iwtuwut/	i-wút /iwut/	i-wútu-gw /iwutug/	to break
i-yyáwan /iyyawan/	i-yáwén /iyawen	i-yáwáni-gw /iyawanig/	to bind

9. INTRANSITIVE STEM AS NOUN

Intransitive verb stems can take possession affixes and function as a noun.

f-dow /idouw/	he calls
án _A -dow /anadouw/	his call
f-lóv /ilov/	he throws
gún _A -lów /gunalov/	my throw