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A NOTE ON MUYUW VERBS

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0. INTRODUCTION

This paper attempts by use of morpheme inventory, structural formula and illustrative example to give a brief morphemic sketch of the Muyuw verb. The interaction of person-subject prefixes and person-object suffixes with number suffixes will be discussed in Section 1. along with an inventory of the morphemes involved. The categories of aspect and mood are reflected in Muyuw by the contrast of real versus unreal on the one hand, and emphatic versus sequential or simultaneous on the other. These distinctions will be illustrated in Section 2.

The semantic modification of verb stems by use of classifying, directional and causative affixes will be discussed in Section 3.

The final section will present a few morphophonemic features relating to stress, vowel harmony and allomorphic distribution.

The following formula presents a summary of the structural slots pertinent to the Muyuw verb. It is given in modified tagmemic terms.

$$\pm \text{Md} \pm \text{As} + \text{Sbj} + \text{Nu} \pm \text{Obj} + \text{Nb}^2$$

As may be seen from the formula a Muyuw verb consists minimally of a verb nucleus, a subject prefix and an indication of number. The maximum expansion includes in addition to these, indications of mood, aspect and object. The morphemes manifesting these structural slots will now be discussed.

1. PERSON AND NUMBER AFFIXES

The following person-number distinctions are made in both subject prefixes and object suffixes: first person singular, plural exclusive, dual inclusive, and third person. These combine with the number suffix (-s) to further divide second and third persons into singular and plural, and first person inclusive into dual and plural. Object suffixes differ in person distinctions from subject prefixes only in the distinction of singular versus plural in the second person. Number suffixes combine with object suffixes as with subject prefixes, except that second person plural is indicated by the object suffix alone and does not occur with the plural suffix -s.

The following charts summarise the person affixes:-

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CHART I

SUBJECT PREFIXES

	Singular	Non-singular	
		Inclusive	Exclusive Plural
1st person	<u>a</u> / <u>Λ</u>	<u>tΛ</u>	<u>ka</u> / <u>kΛ</u>
2nd person	<u>ku</u>		
3rd person	<u>i</u> / <u>e</u> ³		

CHART II

OBJECT SUFFIXES

	Singular	Non-singular	
		Inclusive	Exclusive
1st person	<u>gw</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>ma</u>
2nd person	<u>m/mw</u>	<u>miy</u>	
3rd person	ø		

The number slot may be either overtly or covertly manifested. The covert manifestation or \emptyset indicates either a single person, an inclusive dual, an exclusive plural, or a second person plural object, depending on the person affix with which it co-occurs. The overt manifestation -s indicates either first person inclusive plural, third person plural or second person plural subject. Where both subject and object affixes occur on a verb stem ambiguity arises as to whether the number suffix refers to the person of the subject or the person of the object:

isékeds may be translated:

He gives us (Sg. Subj., Inc.Pl. Obj.)

They give you and me (Pl.Subj., Inc.Dual Obj.)

They give us (Pl.Subj., Inc.Pl. Obj.)

isékes may be translated:

They give him (Pl.Subj., Sg. Obj.)

He gives them (Sg.Subj., Pl. Obj.)

They give them (Pl.Subj., Pl. Obj.)

isekémiy may be translated:

He gave you (Sg.Subj., Pl. Obj.)

They gave you (Pl.Subj., Pl. Obj.)

This ambiguity is resolved by context.

The following paradigms illustrate the occurrence of person and number affixes:

CHART III

INTRANSITIVE

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
SINGULAR	<u>â-pel</u> 1st-jump-(sg.) I jump.	<u>kâ-pel</u> 2nd-jump-(sg.) You(sg.) jump.	<u>î-pel</u> 3rd-jump-(sg.) He jumps.
NON-SINGULAR			
Inc. Dual	<u>tâ-pel</u> 1st(inc.)-jump-(dl.) You and I jump.		
Inc. Pl.	<u>tâ-pel-s</u> 1st(inc.)-jump-pl. We(inc.) jump.	<u>kâ-pel-s</u> 2nd-jump-pl. You jump.	<u>î-pel-s</u> 3rd-jump-pl. They jump.
Excl.	<u>kâ-pel</u> 1st(exc.)-jump We(exc.) jump.		

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CHART IV

TRANSITIVE (Third Person Subject)
1st Person Object

Singular	Non-Singular	Exclusive
<u>1-séke-gv</u> 3rd-give-1st(sg.) He gives me.	<u>1-séke-d</u> 3rd-give-1st inc.--(dl.) He gives you and me.	⁴ <u>1-séke-m</u> 3rd-give-1st exc.--(sg.) He gives us but not you.
<u>1-séke-gw-s</u> 3rd-give-1st-pl. They give me.	<u>1-séke-d-s</u> 3rd-give-1st inc.--pl. They give you and me. They give us(inc.) He gives us(inc.)	<u>1-séke-ma-s</u> 3rd-give-1st exc.--pl. They give us but not you.

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CHART V

2nd Person Object

Singular	Plural
<u>1-séke-m</u> 3rd-give-2nd-(sg.) He gives you(sg.)	<u>1-séke-miy</u> 3rd-give-2nd pl. He gives you. They give you.
<u>1-séke-m-s</u> 3rd-give-2nd-pl. They give you(sg.)	

CHART VI

3rd Person Object

Singular	Plural
<u>1-sék</u> 3rd-give-(3rd)-(sg.) He gives him.	<u>1-séke-s</u> 3rd-give-(3rd)-pl. He gives them. They give him. They give them.

2. MOOD AND ASPECT

2.1. Mood

The category of mood is manifest by one of three clitics⁵ indicating either emphatic, sequential or simultaneous.

bwa ~ bwo ~ bo	emphatic
mwa ~ mwo ~ mo	sequential
ga ⁶	simultaneous

bwa-í-pel
emphatic-3rd-jump
He definitely jumped.

mwa-í-pel
sequential-3rd-jump
After that he jumped.

ga-b-i-ligén mwa-ta-livan
simultaneous-unreal-3rd-hear-(sg.) sequential-
1st inc.-speak-(dual)
When(if) he hears then we will speak.

2.2. Aspect

The category of aspect reflects the binary contrast of real versus unreal. While tense may be inferred from the aspect morphemes it does not actually represent a distinctive semantic component. The unreal aspect may

indicate a future action, an action planned but not carried out, or a negative or contrary to fact statement. The real aspect indicates a completed action or a present state which will continue into the future. The two morphemes are:

b unreal

n ~ m real

Note: The most common form of the real morpheme is n; a limited class of stems may be either n or m; and another limited class of stems occurs only with m.

b-á-pal

unreal-1st-jump-(sg.)

I will/may jump.

n-i-sés

real-3rd-remain-(sg.)

It/he/she remains.

m-é-kuk/n-é-kuk

real-3rd-sail

It has sailed.

m-é-noy

real-3rd-leave

He/she has left.

3. STEM COMPLEXITIES

The verb nucleus may consist of a single verb stem, or a verb stem semantically modified by modifying, causative or directional particles, or by reduplication. The modifying affixes occur primarily in the pronominal system⁷ but may occur with verb stems to similarly modify their semantic significance.

kwé-vaw

classifier of common objects-new

new thing

wlul

build

wlula-vaw

build-new

rebuild

Directional morphemes may occur alone functioning as verb stems, or may combine with other verb stems to add the dimension of direction to its meaning. The direction is given in reference to the speaker and hearer - towards the speaker, away from the speaker, to the hearer or a short distance away, away from speaker and hearer, and beside speaker and hearer.

m	to the speaker
w	to the hearer or a short distance away
k	away from the speaker
n	away from both speaker and hearer
y	beside speaker and hearer

Functioning as verb stems in combination with person-subject prefixes the following occur as the most common verbs of motion:

ku-m
2nd-to the speaker-(sg.)
You come here.

a-w
1st-to the hearer-(sg.)
I go to you.

a-n
1st-from speaker and hearer-(sg.)
I go away.

In combination with other verb stems these particles may be illustrated as follows:

i-tō-m

he-stand-to speaker

He stands near me.

i-tō-w

he-stand-to hearer

He stands near you.

i-tō-n

he-stand-away from speaker and hearer

He stands far off.

ku-si-nēki-m

2nd-cause to sit-move-to speaker-(sg.)

Come and sit near me.

ku-si-nēki-k

2nd-cause to sit-move-from speaker-(sg.)

Go and sit away from me.

ku-sfmo-y

2nd-put there-beside us-(sg.)

Put it up there.

In combination with the object suffixes and the morpheme -ke (to meet) these directionals indicate a meeting of the subject and object persons.

1-mé-ke-gw-s

3rd-to speaker-meet-1st-pl.subj.

They come to meet me.

1-wé-ke-m

1st-to hearer-meet-2nd-(sg.)

I go to meet you.

1-né-k⁴

3rd-away from speaker and hearer-meet-(3rd)-(sg.)

He goes to meet him.

A series of morphemes expressing modes of causation may combine with verb stems altering their semantic component considerably. Up to two of these affixes may occur in sequence preceding a given verb stem. The following list illustrates the variety of causative suffixes which may occur, using the verb stems: pel (jump), mat (die), now (carry away), lug (haul down sail), kánig (be lost), bwátay (put on front edge), vin (turn), tobw (miss).

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ka-	ka-	cause to be	kənŋw	obey (cause to be carried)
			kápel	catch fire from adjacent fire (cause to be jumped)
lati-	kata-	make to do	katipél	give to other person (make jump)
			katimét ⁸	kill (make to die)
ta-		make	tápel	carry from one place to another
			tálag ⁸	arrive at land (by boat)
vɔ-	va-	v-) cause by personal	vəpel	step across (make self jump)
wɔ-	wa-	w-) activity	vakapél	light fire-stick (make fire jump across to your stick)
la-		cause by travelling	lakánig	disappear over horizon
			lamét	be travel-weary (die from travelling)
si-		make to sit	sipel	change seats
			sivín	change its position of sitting

do-	do by canoe	dɔpɛl	go across by canoe
		dɔlag	arrive by canoe (still at a distance)
ga-	cause by going through water	gápel	wade or swim through
		gálag	emerge from water
ya- y-	make to be	yápel	lift across
		ymét	be dying of hunger (figuratively)
kan- kana-	cause own person to move	kanbwátay	turn oneself prone
		kantávin	turn oneself into another position
		kanápel	cross a boundary
ki-	do with one's hand	kibwátay	put it on its front
		kimét	stop its movement (e.g. switch off engine)
kali-	do with spear	kaliṭṭbw	miss with spear
		kaliṃt	kill with spear

Continuous aspect may be expressed by complete or partial reduplication of the verb stem. The specific details of stem reduplication will be the subject of a further study. The following examples illustrate the variety of forms which the stem reduplication may take:

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i-w5tat-s	they work	i-w-w5tat-s	they keep working
i-livan-s	they talk	i-li-livan-s	they keep talking
i-wáy	he hits	i-wá-way	he keeps hitting
i-kill	she gets water	i-killi-kill	she keeps getting water
i-killi-s)	they get water	i-killi-kills	they keep getting water
i-pel	he jumps	i-pilá-pel	he keeps jumping
i-mag	he works magic	i-mgá-mag	he keeps working magic
i-n	he goes	i-n6-n	he keeps going
i-bwes	he urinates	i-bsi-bwes	he keeps urinating
i-gway	he is weak	i-guyá-gway	he is always weak
i-bés	he pierces	i-bi-bés	he keeps piercing
i-bus	he descends	i-bwé-bus	he keeps descending
i-pwél	he wrings	i-pula-p5l	he keeps wringing
i-gwélek	it is wrecked	i-gul-gwálek	it is always wrecked

4. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The occurrence of allomorphic variants of verbal affixes depends upon stress placement, vowel harmony and morphological classification.

4.1. The stem-final vowel is constant when object suffixes are added, except for e which becomes ɛ for non-inclusive plural objects, penultimate vowel e then harmonising with it and becoming ɐɛ. The penultimate stem vowel is also ɛ for the third person singular object (-ɔ), the final vowel being elided.

1-sɛk

3rd-give-(3rd)

He gives him.

Examples of all person object suffixes with the stem sɛke are given in Charts IV, V and VI.

If the penultimate vowel is o and the final vowel is e, the penultimate vowel becomes ɔ when third person and first person exclusive object suffixes are added.

1-tɔke-gw

he-leads-me

1-tɔke-m

he-leads-you(sg.)

1-tɔk

he-leads-him

1-tɔke-d

he-leads-us(inc.dl.)

1-tɔke-ds

he-leads-us(inc.pl.)

1-tɔkɛ-m

he-leads-us(excl.)

1-tɔkɛ-miy

he-leads-you

1-tɔkɛ-s

he-leads-them

4.2. The aspect morphemes n, m, b, have allomorphic variants depending on the person subject morpheme which occurs:

na, ma, ba occur with first person exclusive plural

ba-ká-pel
unreal-1st excl.-jump
He will/may jump.

nu, mu, bu occur with second person

bu-kú-pel
unreal-2nd-jump-(sg.)
You will/may jump.

ni, mi, bi occur with first person inclusive

ni-tá-pel
real-1st inc.-jump-(dl.)

n, m, b occur elsewhere

b-á-pel
unreal-1st-jump-(sg.)
I will/may jump

4.3. Person-subject prefixes have allomorphic variants depending on stress placement as follows:

a, ka occur when the verb stem is unstressed

A, KA occur when the verb stem is stressed

á-siw

I-enter

ʌ-siw

I-stay away

(These two verb stems are identical apart from stress-placement).

e occurs with the aspect morphemes when the stress falls on the person prefix for third person.

i occurs elsewhere for third person

b-é-siw

unreal-3rd-enter-(sg.)

He will/may enter.

b-i-siw

unreal-3rd-stay away-(sg.)

He will/may stay away.

4.4. The final vowel of a verb stem is lost unless the plural morpheme occurs with a stem which has the stress placement on the penultimate vowel of the verb stem, in which case the vowel is retained.

kú-siw-s

2nd-enter-pl.

You enter.

ku-síwa-s

2nd-stay away-pl.

You stay away.

5. MAXIMUM EXPANSION

bəbikətimiməyeds⁹

bə-b-i-kəti-mi-məye-d-s

emphatic-unreal-3rd-cause to-continuously-mix-

1st incl.-pl.

He will definitely keep mixing us up.

Please note the following changes which need to be made in

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bottom of p. 4 occurrence should be occurrence

isekémiy in all its occurrences should become isékemi^y p.4
(once)

p.7 line 14 stress should be marked oná in wlulávw chart V
(once)

p.9. Stress should be moved to the vowel of the final
syllable in the last three examples, as indicated.

p.11. Example 2 lati-kata- should be kati- kata-

Example 5 lamét should be "made travel-weary (kill
from travelling)" rather than "be travel-weary
(die from travelling)"

p.12. Example 3 ymét should be "kill from hunger (figuratively)"
rather than "be dying of hunger (figuratively)"

p.14. Second last example should be omitted, or the following
two examples substituted:

i-pwél he wring it i-ppwél he-keeps wringing it
i-pol he is wringing i-pulápol he-keeps wringing

p.14. Examples 4 and 5, stress should be moved to the pen-
ultimate vowels, as indicated.

p.15. Line 6 "non-inclusive plural objects" should be "first-
person exclusive and third person plural objects"

p.15 Last line i-tóke-miy should be i-tóke-miy.