

MUYUW VERBS

by

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JUN'S MICROFILMS

THERE IS AN
ORIGINAL

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1. Introduction

Muyuw is an Austronesian language spoken on Woodlark Island of South-east Papua New Guinea. It is closely related to the Kiriwina language of the Trobriand Islands to the west. (Lithgow, to appear; see also Capell 1943 and 1969) This paper attempts to give a brief morphological sketch of the Muyuw verb.

The description is divided into two groupings:

- 1) a discussion of the stem formation with morpho-phonological changes, most of which pertain to the transition from intransitive to transitive stems.
- 2) a description of the affixes, divided into Person-number and Mood and Aspect and their morphophonological peculiarities.

CHART I

Transitive verb =

| ± Mood | ± Aspect | + Subject Marker | + Transitive Verb Nucleus | + Object Marker | + Number |
|--------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|---|
| wa- ~ bw- ~ bo- 'emphatic' | b- 'unreal' | a- ~ A- 'I' | tr verb root | -gw 'me' | -s 'plural subject, plural object; or both' |
| wa- ~ bw- ~ m- 'sequential' | n- ~ m- 'real' | ku- 'you' | tr verb stem | -m -mw 'you' | |
| | | i- ~ e- 'he, she, it' | | # 'him, her, it' | |
| | | (i)ta- 'you and I' | | -d 'you and me' | |
| | | | | -ds 'all of us' | |
| | | ka- ~ kA- 'we (not you)' | | -ma 'us (not you)' | |
| | | | | -miy 'you all' | |

+ = obligatory

± = optional.

See discussion below for co-occurrence restrictions.

The bi-dimensional array in Chart I presents the structure of the transitive verb in Muyuw. The array for the intransitive verb is similar to the array above for the transitive verb except that the object marker is absent from the intransitive verb, and a different set of roots and stems expound the intransitive verb nucleus.

As may be seen from the array 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.

2. Verb Stem

2.1. STEM COMPLEXITIES

The verb nucleus may consist of a single verb stem, or a verb stem semantically modified by adjectives, directional, causative, or instrumental particles. The

The adjectives occur primarily with classifiers to modify nouns, but may occur with verb stems to modify their semantic significance, e.g. vaw 'new' and wlul 'build':

| | |
|--------------------|----------------|
| <u>kwe-tal</u> | <u>kwe-vaw</u> |
| classifier - spoon | class. - new |

"a new spoon"

wlul
build

wlulΛ-vaw
build-new

"built new"

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:

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

The vowel in parenthesis means, when word final this is elided.

Functioning as verb stems in combination with person-subject prefixes the following occur as the most common verbs of motion: 'go' and 'come', e.g.

ku-m

2-to the speaker- (s.)

"You come here.

a-n

I-from speaker and hearer- (s).

"I go away.

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

i-t⁵-m

he-stand-to speaker

"He stands near me."

ku-si-nekí-k
2-cause.to sit-move-from speaker-(s.)

"Go and sit away from me."

ku-sámǝ-y
2-put there-beside us-(s.)

"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, e.g.

i-mé-ke-gw-s
3-to speaker-meet-I-pl. subject

"They come to meet me."

Some morphemes expressing causation may combine with verb stems altering their meaning from intransitive to transitive, e.g.

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| <u>mat</u> 'die' | <u>kati-mét</u> 'kill' (cause to die) |
| <u>pǝl</u> 'jump' | <u>tápǝl</u> 'carry from one place to another' |
| <u>í-bik</u> 'it-is dirty' | <u>i-yǝ-bíki-gw</u> 'it-causes to-dirty-me' |

Other prefixing morphemes that modify verb stems express modes of instrumentation, sometimes adding a causative effect at the same time, e.g.

| | |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <u>mat</u> 'die' | <u>kali-mét</u> 'kill with spear' |
| | <u>la-mét</u> 'made travel-weary' |

footnote: Would it be possible or more accurate to add stem final vowels, David? If so, which are they.

pəl 'jump'dəpəl 'go across by canoe'gəpəl 'wade or swim through'

Stress rule

Most verb stems can be used in either transitive or intransitive verbs, i.e. when the verb is used without an explicit object we call it intransitive, while it is transitive with such an object.

The presence or absence of an object has quite a number of morphological implications which we shall describe in the next section.

Pure intransitive verb stems, in other words verbs that never have an object suffix, are illustrated by the following:

í-gig 'he laughs'
he-laugh

í-kəlivátəw 'he falls'
he-fall

Note that in these verbs the stress falls on the penultimate syllable. As it does in transitive verbs with an objective suffix, e.g.

i-gútu-gw 'He pulls me out'
he-pull out-me

But if the object is third person singular the suffix is zero. Together with the rule that the final stem vowel is elided this yields the form

i-gút-Ø 'he pulls it out'
he-pull out-it

But the placement of stress is not fixed on that particular syllable of the stem. When no object is present, i.e. when the transitive verb is used intransitively, the stress follows the rule: on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

i-gut 'he pulls out'
he-pull out

When a verb stem is made up of a root + directional we have the same situation. The verb behaves as a transitive verb, e.g.

i-mgwΛ-ye-gw 'he precedes me as we go along'
he-precede-going along-me

i-mgwΛ-y-Ø 'he precedes him as they go along'
he-precede-going along-him

These examples show that the vowel of the Directional becomes the stem final vowel and behaves like that, i.e. it is elided.

When a directional particle is part of the stem one cannot have the pseudo-intransitive occurrence, because of the fact that the directional must have a referent, or object. This means that these verbs all have the exception to the stress rule: When there is no explicit object-suffix i.e. 3rd pers.sg., the final vowel drops off, but the stress does not shift to the ^{new} penultimate syllable.

e.g. one will never have

i-si-ke but i-sik
he-is located-there ^

Morphophonological changes

David

At this point I think it is good to describe the morphological changes.

Having seen that stress is not really determining (in)transitivity but that it is predictable (penultimate syllable) in an overwhelming majority of words, I doubt whether the process statement in your original account should take "intransitive stems" (or pseudo-intransitive, i.e. transitives without object) as base.

I think it would greatly enhance the value of the paper if the vowel changes could be stated in as few rules as possible, therefore I think you should check the following statements, extracted from your paper, with your knowledge of the language, in order to come to more general statements.

Verb stem = CVCV → CVCØ word finally, i.e. when no suffixes are realized

a → a when stressed, in last syllable if last consonant is d (or voiced stop (good generalization?))

e.g. *i-máde-gw* 'it strands me' → *i-mád-Ø* 'it strands it'

a → ε when stressed, in last syllable.

e.g. *i-sínat* 'he combs' *i-sínét* 'he combs it'

mate 'die' i-kali-mét-Ø 'he kills it with a spear'

Can you have i-kali-mat 'he kills with a spear'?

a → ɔ when stressed, if final consonant following has labialization as feature, e.g.

i-laɣw 'he puts in heaps' i-lɔgw 'he puts it in heaps.'

in final syllables

ʌ → 0 when unstressed. e.g. i-dʌwe-gw 'he calls me'

→ ɔ when stressed before labial. e.g. i-dɔw-Ø 'he calls him'

→ ɔ when unstressed other environments e.g.

i-lʌve-gw 'he throws me' i-lɔv 'he throws'

→ ε when stressed i-lɛʋ-Ø 'he throws it'

See further p. 12¹⁰ and check if toke is just an isolated case or are there more examples?

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 o which becomes ɛ for first person exclusive and third person plural objects, penultimate vowel e then harmonising with it and becoming ɛ. The penultimate stem vowel is also ɛ for the third person singular

object (-Ø), the final vowel being elided.

i-sá'k
3-give-(3)

He gives him.

Examples of all person object suffixes with the stem seke-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.

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| <u>i-tóke-gw</u> | he-leads-me |
| <u>i-tóke-m</u> | he-leads-you (s.) |
| <u>i-tók</u> | he-leads-him |
| <u>i-tóke-d</u> | he-leads-us (in. du.) |
| <u>i-tóke-ds</u> | he-leads-us (in. pl.) |
| <u>i-tókɛ-m</u> | he-leads us (ex.) |
| <u>i-tóke-miy</u> | he-leads-you |
| <u>i-tókɛ-s</u> | he-leads-them |

*what would be:
he leads:
i-tók ??*

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.

| | |
|-------------------|---------------|
| <u>i-mwá'sin</u> | he-shames |
| <u>i-msín-Ø</u> | he-shames-him |
| <u>i-msíne-gw</u> | he-shames-me |

*about now I have
to show the change
e.g. m-wá'sin to m-wá'sin
... what's what you do*

6.5 Stems of the form katúCVC.

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

| | |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| e.g. <u>i-k<u>at</u>úmat</u> | he-kills |
| <u>i-k<u>at</u>imét-Ø</u> | he-kills-it |
| <u>i-k<u>at</u>imáte-gw</u> | he-kills-me |

6.6 Unpredictable non-final vowel changes.

Examples are listed as follows:

| INTRANSITIVE | TRANSITIVE | STEM-MEANING |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| <u>i-k<u>ó</u>lam</u> | <u>i-kul<u>é</u>m</u> | to husk |
| <u>i-lákwaw</u> | <u>i-lak<u>ó</u>w</u> | to bark |
| <u>i-péyaw</u> | <u>i-piy<u>é</u>y</u> | to refuse |
| <u>i-lópid</u> | <u>i-lap<u>í</u>d</u> | to do the death wail |
| <u>i-lóvat</u> | <u>il-liv<u>é</u>t</u> | to meet |
| <u>i-simk<u>á</u>kin</u> | <u>i-simkik<u>í</u>n</u> | 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 unpredictable consonant changes occur in transitive stem formation.

| INTRANSITIVE | TRANSITIVE | STEM-MEANING |
|--------------------|----------------|--------------|
| <u>i-wátet</u> | <u>i-wtél</u> | to work |
| <u>itáyoy</u> ^ | <u>i-táyow</u> | to harvest |

3.1. PERSON AND NUMBER AFFIXES

The subject markers for the following persons consist of prefixes only:

| | |
|-----------|-----------|
| 1 s. | a- ~ A- |
| 2 s. | ku- |
| 3 s. | i- ~ e- |
| I in. du. | (i)tA- |
| I ex. pl. | ka- ~ kA- |

When occurring word initially itA- loses it's first vowel and becomes tA-.

These can be pluralised with -s suffix for second and third person and first inclusive, thus

| | | |
|----------|--------------|----|
| 1 in. pl | tA- | -s |
| 2 pl. | ku- | -s |
| 3 pl. | i- ~ e-..... | -s |

In these three cases the suffix for third person plural object is also -s, so there is nothing to distinguish between third person singular or plural object ^{when there is a plural subject} or between plural and non-plural subject, when there is a third person plural object.

| | | |
|------------------|--------|---|
| <u>i-séké-s</u> | can be | they give him they give them he gives them |
| <u>ku-séké-s</u> | can be | you(pl.) give him you(pl.) give them you (s.) give them |
| <u>ta-séké-s</u> | can be | we (in. pl.) give him we (in. pl.) give them we (in. du.) give them |

The suffix for second person plural object is -miy.

When this is present there is nothing to distinguish between singular or plural subject for third person.

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| <u>i-séke-miy</u> | he - gives - you (pl.) they - give - you (pl.) (why not: i-séke-miy-s?) |
|-------------------|---|

The first and second person singular object suffixes are unambiguous.

They are:

first person -gw

second person -m ~ -mw

There is no third person singular object suffix, so it is analysed as zero morpheme (- \emptyset).

First person non-singular object suffixes are

I in. du. -d

I in. pl. -ds

I ex. pl. -ma

If there is a first inclusive, second or third person

plural subject then this is indicated by -s suffix following the object suffixes listed above, thus:

-gws

-ms

-ds

-ds

-mas

It will be noted that the distinction between dual and plural inclusive object is not lost.

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

Muyuw Verbs
INTRANSITIVE

CHART III

| | 1st person | 2nd person | 3rd person |
|----------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| SINGULAR | <u>á-pel</u> / tapel / | <u>kú-pel</u> / kupel / | <u>í-pel</u> / tipel / |
| | I-jump-(s.) | w-jump-(s.) | 3-jump-(s.) |
| | "I jump" | "You (s.) jump." | "He jumps" |

NON-SINGULAR

| | |
|---------|------------------------------------|
| In. Du. | <u>tá-pel</u> / tapel / |
| | I (in.)-jump-(du.) |
| | "You and I jump" |

| | | | |
|---------|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| In. Pl. | <u>tá-pel-s</u> / tapel-s / | <u>kú-pel-s</u> / kupel-s / | <u>í-pel-s</u> / tipel-s / |
| | I (in.)-jump-pl. | 2-jump-pl. | 3-jump-pl. |
| | "We (in.) jump." | "You jump" | "They jump" |

| | | |
|-----------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Exclusive | <u>ká-pel</u> / kupel / | <u>í-pel</u> / tipel / |
| | I (ex.)-jump | 3-jump |
| | "We (ex.) jump." | "They jump" |

don't think that's necessary

CHART IV

TRANSITIVE (Third Person Subject)

1st Person Object

| Singular | Non-Singular | Exclusive |
|--|--|---|
| <u>i-séke-gw</u> / isekeig 3-give-I (s.) | <u>i-séke-d</u> / isekeid 3-give-I in.-(du.) | <u>i-séke-m</u> # / isekem 3-give-I ex.-(s.) |
| "He gives me." | "He gives you and me" | "He gives us but not you" |
| <u>i-séke-gw-s</u> / isekeigs 3-give-I-pl. | <u>i-séke-d-s</u> / isekeidas e-give-I in.-pl. | <u>i-séke-ma-s</u> / isekemas 3-give-ex.-pl. |
| "They give me" | "They give you and me" | "They give us but not you" |
| | "They give us (in.)" | |
| | "He gives us (in.)" | |

CHART V

2nd Person Object

Singular

i-séke-m /~~tackeim~~/
3-give-2-(s.)

"He gives you (s.)"

Plural

i-séke-miy /~~tackeimiy~~/
3-give-2 pl.

"He gives you"

"They give you"

i-séke-m-s /~~tsekeims~~/
3-give-2-pl.

"They give you (s.)"

CHART VI

3rd Person Object

Singular

i-sék /~~tsek~~/
3-give-(3)-(s.)

"He gives him"

Plural

i-séke-s /~~tsek-s~~/
3-give-(3)-pl.

"He gives them"

"They give him."

"They give them."

Morphological Changes

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

a, ka occur when the verb stem is unstressed

Λ, kΛ occur when the verb stem is stressed

á-bas /~~abas~~/ I-am piercing (intr.)

Λ-bés-Ø /~~abes~~/ I-pierce-it (tr.)

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-van
unreal-3-standing on (intr.)

"He will be standing on (something)"

b-i-ván-Ø
unreal-3-stand on-it

"He will stand on it"

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.

b-é-van-s
unreal-3-stand on-pl.

"They will be standing on"

b-i-váni-s
 unreal-3-stand on-them

"They will stand on it"

MOOD AND ASPECT

Mood

The category of mood is manifested by clitics indicating either emphasis, sequence, simultaneity, or reality.

| | | |
|---------------------|--------------|---------------|
| bwa ~ bwɔ ~ bɔ | emphatic | ba |
| mwa ~ mwɔ ~ mɔ | sequential | ma |
| ^{ɪʒ} ga | simultaneous | ga |

bwa-i-pɛl /~~ba ipɛl~~/
 emphatic-3-jump

"He definitely jumped"

mwa-i-pɛl /~~ma ipɛl~~/
 sequential-3-jump

"After that he jumped"

ga-b-i-ligén mwa-ta-lívan /~~ga biligen mo talivan~~/
 simultaneous-unreal-3-hear-(s.) sequential-
 I in.-speak- (du.)

"When (if) he hears then we will speak"

The reality dimension includes real and unreal.

While tense may be inferred from these morphemes it does not actually represent a distinctive semantic component.

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

bV- unreal

nV- ~ mV- real

The most common form of the real morpheme is nV-. A limited class of stems may have either nV- or mV- and another limited class of stems occurs only with mV-.

The vowel of the aspect morphemes harmonizes with the vowel in the following syllable if that syllable begins with a consonant. If this following syllable begins with a vowel the vowel of the aspect morpheme is lost, e.g.

bΛ-ká-pɛl. 'We will (or:may) jump.'
unreal-we excl.-jump

(We excl. has here ka and not kΛ because of the stress)

bu-kú-pɛl 'You will (or:may) jump.'
unreal-you-jump

n-itÁ-pɛl 'We jump.'
real-we incl-jump

m-é-kuk ~ n-é-kuk
real-3-sail

'It has sailed.'

Continuous aspect may be expressed by complete or partial reduplication of the verb stem. The following examples illustrate the variety of forms which the stem reduplication may take:

| | | | |
|------------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>i-wótət-s</u> | they work | <u>i-w-wótət-s</u> | they keep working |
| <u>i-lívan-s</u> | they talk | <u>i-l-lívan-s</u> | they keep talking |
| <u>í-way</u> | he hits | <u>i-wá-way</u> | he keeps hitting |
| <u>i-kíl</u> | she gets water | <u>i-kilí-kil</u> | she keeps getting water |
| <u>i-gwélək</u> | it is wrecked | <u>i-gul-gwálək</u> | it is always wrecked |
| <u>i-pwél</u> | he wrings it | <u>i-ppwél</u> | he keeps wringing it |
| <u>i-pəl</u> | he is wringing | <u>i-pulápəl</u> | he keeps wringing |