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The Morpho-Phonology of Transitive-Antipassive Verb Pairs in Veracruz Huasteco
(preliminary version)*

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Introduction

Huasteco data in the area of transitive-intransitive verb morphology in general, and particularly of antipassives, has not been readily available. For instance, Dayley (1981:55) lists no antipassive for Huasteco and even states, '...there does not appear to be an antipassive of any kind in Huasteco'. The purpose of this paper is to make relevant data available and to present an analysis (as yet incomplete) of the phonological alternations that are evidenced.

The antipassive "is, in some sense, the converse of the passive. What it does is allow the removal of the patient from being in direct relationship with the verb" (Dayley 1978:35). "It indicates that the patient has been omitted from the discussion of a normally transitive activity" (Dayley 1981:12). We here consider to be an antipassive any intransitive verb which is paired with a transitive but differs from it in that the direct object expected by the transitive verb is not expected by the antipassive. We have avoided trying to decide the question of whether in a given instance the transitive or the antipassive is more 'basic'.

The paper is organized as follows:
1. Basic Antipassive Morphemes and Patterns
    1.1 -x
    1.2 -l
    1.3 -om
2. Other Antipassive Patterns
    2.1 Combinations of Antipassive Endings
    2.2 -n and Other Odd Pieces; Truncated Stems
    2.3 -um?
3. Appendix

Differing transitive-marking patterns and phonological rules are discussed as they come up in the examples.

1. Basic Antipassive Morphemes and Patterns
1.1 -x
1.1.1. -x with -y Transitives; Str, MVD

In (1-4) are given examples of verb pairs with antipassives marked by the morpheme -x.[1],[2]

(1) 'adorn (things)'

dIba-x	dIb-x-in	dib-x-i-nEk
adorn-AP	adorn-AP-np	adorn-AP-?-pf

'adorn (s.t.)'

dIb-y-al	dIba-y	dib-y-Am
adorn-TR-pr	adorn-TR	adorn-TR-pf

(2) 'sew'

tsUku-x	tsUK-x-in	tsuk-x-i-nEk
sew-AP	sew-AP-np	sew-AP-?-pf

'sew (s.t.)'

tsUK-y-al	tsUku-y	tsuk-y-Am
sew-TR-pr	sew-TR	sew-TR-pf

(3) 'advise'

tAK'i-x	tAK'-x-in	tak'-x-i-nEk
advise-AP	advise-AP-np	advise-Ap-?-pf

'advise (s.o.)'

tAK'-y-al	tAK'i-y	tak'-y-Am
advise-TR-pr	advise-TR	advise-TR-pf

(4) 'curse'

od-bIh-i-x	odbIh-x-in	odbih-x-i-nEk
?-name-?-AP	curse-AP-np	curse-AP-?-pf

'curse (s.o.)'

odbIh-y-al	odbIh-i-y	odbih-y-Am
curse-TR-pr	curse-?-TR	curse-TR-pf

The tense endings we posit for antipassive are -x=∅ 'present', -x=in 'non-present', and -x=i=ne:K 'perfect'.[3],[4] We assume the correctness of Larsen and Pike's stress assignment rule, which stresses (disjunctively) the rightmost long vowel or the leftmost vowel of a word. Thus the perfect suffixes we presume to be underlyingly -ne:K and -a:m, and the second vowel of odbi:hi 'curse' is also underlyingly long. The remaining vowels we assume to be short. Stress Assignment is given more formally in (5) below.

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(5)   **Stress Assignment (Str)**

      V --> [+str] / ___   R-L Iterative
              ([+lg])
              #(C)__   Condition: Only one
                                       stress may be
                                       assigned per word.

==============

    One other rule is needed to account for the
alternations in the antipassives. It is Medial Vowel
Deletion (MVD), which deletes a short medial vowel in a
non-final open syllable following an open syllable. That is,
MVD deletes a short vowel except where such deletion would
produce a tautosyllabic consonant cluster #CC, C.CC, CC.C.
or CC#.

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(6)   **Medial Vowel Deletion (MVD)**

      V --> Ø / VC__CV
  [-lg]
                 Note: under certain circumstances (to be
                 discussed later) MVD leaves vestigial
                 labialization when deleting _u_ and perhaps
                 palatalization when deleting _i_. See
                 Sections 1.1.4, 2.3.

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MVD must be posited as applying left to right in order to
ensure that the stem vowel rather than the suffixal i is
deleted in the perfect forms.[4b] Derivations are given in
(7) to illustrate this.

==============

(7)   UF   diba+x+i+ne:K   diba+x+i+ne:K
      MVD (LR)   dibxine:K   (RL) dibaxne:K
      Str   dibxinEK   *dibaxnEK

==============

    MVD has occasional exceptions: e.g. the -i- of k'anida
in all six forms in (8) below and the a of da in the
non-present and perfect of (8). Note that when MVD cannot
apply to the stem vowels i and a of the perfect form, which
is underlyingly k'anida-x-i-ne:k, it deletes the suffixal i
instead. (The transitives in (8) follow a pattern discussed
in Section 1.1.3.)

                                               ~

(8) 'love (people)'
    k'An-i-da-x   k'Anida-x-in   k'anida-x-nEk
    esteem-?-cs-AP love-AP-np   love-AP-pf

  'love (s.o.)'
    k'anid-Al   k'Anida'   k'anid-Am
    love-pr   love   love-pf

The suffixes on the transitive forms (1b-4b) are: -y=al 'present', -y=∅ 'non-present', and -y=Am 'perfect'. Once again the alternations (stress shifting on and off the stem, appearance and disappearance of the stem-final vowel) are accounted for straightforwardly by Str and MVD.

In (9-12) are forms with stems (many of them complex) ending in CCV.[5] The MVD rule accounts for the alternations. Note that, as in (8), the ending -x=nEk is predictable from the previously posited -x=i=nEk, if MVD is posited as LR, since the stem-final vowel cannot delete. Contrasting derivations are given in (13).

(9) 'install dentures'
    kAm-bi-x   kAmbi-x-in   kambi-x-nEk
    tooth-cs-AP   ins.den.-AP-np   ins.den.-AP-pf

  'install (s.o.'s) dentures'
    kAmbi-y-al   kAmbi-y   kambi-y-Am
    ins.den.-TR-pr ins.den.-TR   ins.den.-TR-pf

(10) 'comb hair'
    ts'Its-ba-x   ts'Itsba-x-in   ts'itsba-x-nEk
    comb(n)-cs-AP comb(v)-AP-np   comb(v)-AP-pf

  'comb (s.o.'s) hair'
    ts'Itsba-y-al ts'Itsba-y   ts'itsba-y-Am
    comb(v)-TR-pr comb(v)-TR   comb(v)-TR-pf

(11) 'mend'
    pAts'k'u-x   pAts'ku-x-in   pats'k'u-x-nEk
    mend-AP   mend-AP-np   mend-AP-pf

  'mend (s.t.)'
    pAts'k'u-y-al pAts'k'u-y   pats'ku-y-Am
    mend-TR-pr   mend-TR   mend-TR-pf

(12) 'cast a spell'
    dIm-k'a-x   dImk'a-x-in   dimk'a-x-nEk
    sorcerer-?-AP   bewitch-AP-np   bewitch-AP-pf

    'cast a spell on (s.o.)'
    dImk'a-y-al   dImk'a-y   dimk'a-y-Am
    bewitch-TR-pr   bewitch-TR   bewitch-Tr-pf

=============

(13)   'have adorned things'   'have cast a spell'
UF   diba+x+i+ne:K   dimk'a+x+i+ne:K
MVD   dibxine:K   dimk'axne:K
Str   dibxinEk   dimk'axnEk

=============

1.1.2. -x and Transitives without -x; VD

In (14-16) are given forms whose stems end in the 'referential' or 'applicative' suffix -tsi.[6]

(14)   'carry food to people'
    Ak-tsi-x   Aktsi-x-in   aktsi-x-nEk
    leave-ref-AP   ca.fo.-AP-np   ca.fo.-AP-pf

    'carry food to (s.o.)'
    Akts-al   Aktsi   akts-Am
    ca.fo.-pr   ca.fo.   ca.fo.-pf

(15)   'attend a wake'
    wAy-tsi-x   wAytsi-x-in   waytsi-x-nEk
    sleep-ref-AP   bewake-AP-np   bewake-AP-pf

    'attend (s.o.'s) wake'
    wAyts-al   wAytsi   wayts-Am
    bewake-pr   bewake   bewake-pf

(16)   'wait'
         Ay-tsi-x   Aytsi-x-in   aytsi-x-nEk
         follow?-ref-AP await-AP-np   await-AP-pf

       'attend (s.o.'s) wake'
         Ayts-al   Aytsi   ayts-Am
         await-pr   await   await-pf

These forms are all, like (9-12), CCV final,[7] and thus
(like (9-12)) have antipassive perfect forms in -x-nEk
rather than -x-i-nEk (1-4).

The transitive forms, unlike those in (1-4)/(9-12), do
not have the transitive marker -x in them. It turns out not
to be predictable on general grounds which verbs take -x
transitives and which do not, though it seems to be the case
that verb stems ending in -tsi do not take it. Besides this
morphological difference between the transitives in
(1-4)/(9-12) and those in (14-16), there is the
disappearance of the i of -tsi in the present and perfect
forms to account for. This is accomplished by positing a
phonological rule of Vowel Deletion (VD), which simply
deletes a short vowel preceding another vowel. Thus
wAx-ts-al 'bewake (s.o.)' is derived as in (18).

===============

(17)   **Vowel Deletion**

         V -> Ø / __V
       [-lg]
                                 Condition: aa =≠=> a [8]

===============

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(18)   'bewake (s.o.)'   UF waya+tsi+al
                          MVD waytsial
                          VD waytsal
                          Str wAytsal

===============

1.1.3 -x with -Al Transitives; GSI

In (8) and (19-21) are presented stems which exemplify
a very common pattern for transitive endings.[9]

(19) 'send'
     Abna-x   Abna-x-in   abna-x-nEK
     send-AP   send-AP-np   send-Ap-pf

    'send (s.t.)'
     abn-Al   Abna'   abn-Am
     send-pr   send   send-pf

(20) 'explode'
     pEw'la-x   pEw'la-x-in   pew'la-x-nEk
     explode-AP   explode-AP-np   explode-AP-pf

    'explode (s.t.)
     pew'l-Al   pEw'la'   pew'l-Am
     explode-pr   explode   explode-pf

(21) 'return things'
     wIts-ba-x   wItsba-x-in   witsba-x-nEk
     return-cs-AP   return-AP-np   return-AP-pf

    'return (s.t.)'
     witsb-Al   wItsba'   witsb-Am
     return-pr   return   return-pf

We posit that these stems are simply a-final stems, as
indicated by their AP forms, which do not take the
transitive marker -x. The normal tense markers (-al, -Ø,
and -Am) are used. The stressed A in the present transitive
forms is a long a produced by juxtaposing the stem-final and
suffix-initial a's, and the glottal stop in the non-present
is produced by a phonological rule of Glottal Stop Insertion
(below). The A's in the perfect forms are shortened from
the double-long vowel one might expect — it might be held
that a phonological rule is necessary to do this: we will
assume that a general constraint prohibiting double-long
vowels in Huasteco accomplishes it.

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(22) Glottal Stop Insertion (GSI)

    $\emptyset \longrightarrow$ ' / Ca __#

==============

We do not have examples of GSI except in non-present
transitive forms. Therefore one might want to claim that
glottal stop is a morpheme meaning 'non-present transitive'.

It would occur only in the environment /Ca__#. However, there seem to be no cases of words ending in a consonant and a short (unstressed) _a_ without a glottal stop following. This fact is predicted by GSI, but would need separate statement without it.

In (23) are given derivations of representative forms. Note that VD, if written with no restrictions, would apply to the transitive present forms, deleting the stem-final a before the suffix-initial a. It is to avoid this that the special condition was placed on VD in (17).[10]

==============

(23)	'send'	'sent'	'have sent'
UF	abna+al	abna	abna+a:m
GSI	-----	abna'	-----
VD	-----	-----	-----
Str	abnAl	Abna'	abnAm

==============

1.1.4. -x with w=al Transitives; W-Ins, LRV, A-Spr

In (24-25) are given stems ending in CCu and CCo, which, unlike (11) but like (14-21), do not take -x.

(24) 'boil (liquids)'
    pAxk'u-x   pAxk'u-x-in   paxk'u-x-nEk
    boil-AP   boil-AP-np   boil-AP-pf

    'boil (s.t.)'
    pAxk'uw-al   pAxk'u   paxk'U-m
    boil-pr   boil   boil-pf

(25) 'repeat (things)'
    wIts-k'o-x   wItsk'o-x-in   wItsk'o-x-nEk
    return-?-AP   repeat-AP-np   repeat-AP-pf

    'repeat (s.t.)'
    wItsk'ow-al   wItsk'o   witsk'O-m
    repeat-pr   repeat   repeat-pf

The antipassive forms follow the pattern of (11), etc.,the final stem vowel not deleting by MVD because that would bring three consonants together, and the perfect thus having x=nEk rather than x=i=nEk. Assuming that the

transitive endings are underlyingly the same as in (14-21) (-al, -Ø, -a:m), two rules are needed to account for the data: one to insert the w in the present forms and one to produce the long (and therefore stressed) U in the perfect forms. The first rule we will call W-Insertion: it introduces a w between o or u and a.

=============

(26)   W-Insertion (W-Ins)

$$\emptyset \longrightarrow w \;/\; \underset{[+rd]}{V} \_\_+a$$

                    Note: A Y-Insertion (\i__+a) may
                    be part of this rule: see
                    Section 2.3.

=============

W-Ins must be ordered to precede VD (bleeding and counter bleeding). The second rule we call Long Rounded Vowel Formation: it converts a rounded vowel followed by long a into a long rounded vowel.[11]

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(27) Long Rounded Vowel Formation (LRV)

$$\underset{\substack{[+rd]\\ [\partial hi]}}{V} \quad a: \Longrightarrow \underset{\substack{[+rd]\\ [\partial hi]}}{V:}$$

=============

LRV should be ordered to precede W-Ins (bleeding and counterbleeding) and also VD (again, bleeding and counterbleeding).

     (28) gives another form with an u-final stem, but this time the u is preceded by only one consonant.

     (28)   'hit (people)'
             chA'ux   chAw'-x-in   chaw'-xi-nEk
             hit-AP   hit-AP-np   hit-AP-pf

             'hit (s.o.)'
             chA'w-al   chA'aw   cha'U-m
             hit-pr   hit   hit-pf

A couple of new patterns can be seen at work here, together

with some that we have seen previously. Assuming the stem to be cha'u and the endings to be the same as in (24) the present antipassive chA'u=x is straightforward, with no rules except Stress Assignment applying to it. The transitive perfect cha'Um also comes straightforwardly, by LRV feeding Str. The transitive present chA'wal is derived as follows: W-Ins provides the w, which then serves as part of the context for MVD, which deletes the u. Thus W-Ins can be seen to feed MVD. These derivations are given in (29).

===============

(29)	'hit (s.o.)'	'have hit (s.o.)'
UF	cha'u+al	cha'u-a:m
LRV	------	cha'u:m
W-Ins	cha'uwal	-------
MVD	cha'wal	-------
STR	chA'wal	cha'Um

===============

The antipassive perfect form chaw'=x=i=nEk shows the same suffixal x=i=nEk as the CV-final stems in (1-4) rather than the -x=nEk of the CCV-final stems in (9-13), confirming the posited stem UF cha'u. The w' turns out to be best accounted for as a leftover from MVD: when MVD deletes a u following a glottal stop (or h, k, or k', e.g. (42-44), (62)) it leaves behind an audible trace of rounding or labialization.[12] Thus the only rules applying to chAw'=x=in and chaw'=x=i=nEk are the expected MVD (with vestigial labialization) and Stress Assignment.

This leaves only the non-present of 'hit (s.o.)', chA'aw, to be accounted for. For this alternation (which also affects stems in ahu-- see (44)) we posit a rule of A-Spreading:

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(30) A-Spreading (A-Spr)

u --> aw / a(?,h)__#

Note: Perhaps i --> ay by this
same rule. See Section 2.3.

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1.2. -l
1.2.1. -l with -x Transitives

A large number of antipassive verb forms take, instead of -x, a morpheme -l to mark the antipassive. In (31-35) are given examples of such forms. The transitive forms in each case, as in (1-4) and (9-12) take transitives formed with -x.

(31) 'play (music)'
    t'E:ne-l   t'e:n-l-Ach   t'e:n-l-Amad
    play-AP   play-AP-np   play-AP-pf

    'play (s.t.)'
    t'En-y-al   t'Ene-y   t'en-y-Am
    play-TR-pr   play-TR   play-TR-pf

(32) 'blow (with breath)'
    hU:tsu-l   hu:ts-l-Ach   hu:ts-l-Amad
    blow-AP   blow-AP-np   blow-AP-pf

    'blow on (s.t.)'
    hUts-y-al   hUtsu-y   huts-y-Am
    blow-TR-pr   blow-TR   blow-TR-pf

(33) 'cut (things)'
    kO:to-l   ko:t-l-Ach   ko:t-l-Amad
    cut-AP   cut-AP-np   cut-AP-pf

    'cut (s.t.)'
    kOt-y-al   kOto-y   kot-y-Am
    cut-TR-pr   cut-TR   cut-TR-pf

(34) 'put out, hang up (things) to dry'
    t'A:ki-l   t'a:k-l-Ach   t'a:k-l-Amad
    dry-AP   dry-AP-np   dry-AP-pf

    'put (s.t.) out to dry'
    t'Ak-y-al   t'Aki-y   t'ak-y-Am
    dry-TR-pr   dry-TR   dry-TR-pf

(35)   'cough'
       Ohba-1   ohba-1-Ach   ohba-1-Amad
       cough-AP   cough-AP-np   cough-AP-pf

       'cough (s.t.)'
       Ohba-y-al   Ohba-y   ohba-a-Am
       cough-TR-pr   cough-TR   cough-TR-pf

We posit for these AP forms the endings -1=Ø 'present',
-1=a:ch 'non-present', and -1=a:mad 'perfect'. We know of
no way it can be predicted whether a stem will take -x or -1
antipassive endings (nor, as previously mentioned, whether
it will take -x in the transitives). If we assume
underlyingly short vowels in the stems, all of the
alternations in these data are predicted by Str (5) and MVD
(6).

1.2.2 -1 and Transitives without -x; O/a Switching

In (36-37) are given forms where after an a-final stem
the transitive -x is not used. These forms parallel
(19-21), and their alternations are explained by the same
rules (Str, MVD, GSI). Note that the UF difference between
the present forms, the difference between the antipassive
present -1 and the transitive present -al, produces the
surface contrast in stress placement.

(36)   'drink'
       Uch'a-1   uch'-1-Ach   uch'-1-Amad
       drink-AP   drink-AP-np   drink-AP-pf

       'drink (s.t.)'
       uch'-Al   Uch'a'   uch'-Am
       drink-pr   drink   drink-pf

(37)   'make (tortillas)'
       pAK'a-1   pak'-1-Ach   pak'-1-Amad
       make:(t)-AP   make:(t)-AP-np   make:(t)-AP-pf

       'make (s.t., namely tortillas)'
       pak'-Al   pAK'a'   pak'-Am
       make:torts-pr   make:torts   make:torts-pf

In (38) is given an unusual form in which the initial stem
vowel o changes to a.[13] Assuming that the second vowel
also changes to a makes the forms fall out naturally.

(38)   'listen'
        Och'o-l   och'-l-Ach   och'-l-Amad
        listen-AP   listen-AP-np   listen-AP-pf

        'listen to (s.o.), feel (s.t.)'
        ach'-Al   Ach'a'   ach'-Am
        listen-pr   listen   listen-pf

Thus we posit a minor rule of O/a-Switching, and derive
(38b) as in (40).

================

(39) **O/a-Switching (O/a)** (Minor rule)

      o --> a [In marked verb stems in transitive forms.]

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(40)   'listen to   'listened to   'have listened
              s.o.'   s.o.'   to s.o.'

      UF   och'o+al   och'o+ø   och'o+a:m
           [+o/a]   [+o/a]   [+o/a]
      O/a ach'aal   ach'a   ach'a:m
      GSI -------   ach'a'   --------
      Str ach'Al   Ach'a'   ach'Am

================

1.2.3 -l and Transitives in w=al; H-Deletion

      In (41-44) are given forms parallel to (24-25) and
(28): u-final stems which do not take -x in the transitive
forms and thus undergo W-Ins, A-Spr, and LRV.

(41)   'sell (things)'
        nUhu-l   nuh-l-Ach   nuh-l-Amad
        sell-AP   sell-AP-np   sell-AP-pf

       'sell (s.t.)'
        nUhw-al   nUhu   nuhU-m
        sell-pr   sell   sell-pf

(42)   'spend, waste (money)'
      pAku-l   pa:kw-l-Ach   pakw-l-Amad
      spend-AP   spend-AP-np   spend-AP-pf

      'spend, waste (s.t., namely money)'
      pAkw-al   pAku   pakU-m
      spend-pr   spend   spend-pf

(43)   'suck (sugar cane)'
      ch'A'u-l   ch'aw'-l-Ach   ch'aw'-l-Amad
      suck-AP   suck-AP-np   suck-AP-pf

      'suck (s.t., namely sugar cane)'
      ch'A'w-al   ch'A'aw   ch'a'U-m
      suck-pr   suck   suck-pf

(44)   'reach'
      bAhu-l   baw-l-Ach   baw-l-Amad
      reach-AP   reach-AP-np   reach-AP-pf

      'reach (s.t.)'
      bAhw-al   bAhaw   bahU-m
      reach-pr   reach   reach-pf

The stem in each case, we posit, has an underlying form identical to that in the antipassive present. MVD (6) occurs in the other antipassive forms, leaving behind a labialization as a vestige of the deleted u. This labialization is imperceptible in (41) because it sounds like it is part of the preceeding u, and in the transitive present forms (where MVD also applies) because it sounds like part of the following w. W-Ins feeds MVD in the transitive present forms. A-Spr (30) accounts for the non-present forms of (43) and (44) and LRV (27) for all the transitive perfect forms. Str (5), of course, assigns the stresses. There remains only to account for the disappearance of h in the non-present and perfect of (44a). This is the only verb we have found with this particular alternation,[14] but on the strength of it we will posit H-Deletion. Note that H-Del must be constrained not to apply before w, as the present transitive of (44) is bAhwal, not bAwwal.

================

(45)   H-Deletion   (H-Del)

$$h \longrightarrow w \; / \; a\_\_ \quad C$$
$$[+lab] \qquad\qquad [+cns]$$

> Note: It may be the case that a palatalized
> _h_ (from MVD deleting _i_) deletes
> similarly. See Section 2.3.

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The non-present of (44a), then, is derived as follows:

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(46)   'reached'
   UF   bahu+l+a:ch
   MVD   bahwla:ch
   H-Del   bawla:ch
   Str   bawlAch

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1.2.4.   -l with -na Transitives

In (47-49) are given forms whose transitives have a
suffix -na in them, whose meaning is problematic but
includes (at least) the notion 'transitive'.[15]

(47)   'carry load'
    kIta-l   kit-l-Ach   kit-l-Amad
    carry-AP   carry-AP-np   carry-AP-pf

   'carry load of (s.t.)'
    kit-n-Al   kItna'   kitn-Am
    carry-?-pr   carry   carry-pf

(48)   'swim'
    kOwa-l   kow-l-Ach   kow-l-Amad
    swim-AP   swim-AP-np   swim-AP-pf

   'swim (s.t., e.g. a river)'
    kow-n-Al   kOwna'   kown-Am
    swim-?-pr   swim   swim-pf

(49) 'study'[16]
        exOba-1   exob-1-Ach   exob-1-Amad
        study-AP   study-AP-np   study-AP-pf

      'study (s.t.)'
        exob-n-Al   exObna'   exobn-Am
        study-?-pr   study   study-pf

Other than the presence of -na, which is not predictable on
any grounds we know of, these forms are all explainable by
MVD, GSI, and Str.

1.3 -om
1.3.1 -om with -Al Transitives; N-Deletion

     In (50-56) are given examples of verb pairs with
antipassives marked by the morpheme -om.

(50) 'love'
        k'An-i-d-om   k'anid-om-Ach   k'anid-om-Amad
        esteem-?-cs-AP   love-AP-np   love-AP-pf

      'love (s.o.)'
        k'anid-Al   k'Anida'   k'anid-Am
        love-pr   love   love-pf

(51) 'deliver (borrowed things)'
        wIts-b-om   witsb-om-Ach   witsb-om-Amad
        return-cs-AP   return-AP-np   return-AP-pf

      'return (s.t.)'
        witsb-Al   wItsba'   witsb-Am
        return-pr   return   return-pf

(52)   'carry, take (things, people)'
        hU:n-om   hu:-m-Ach   hu:-m-Amad
        carry-AP   carry-AP-np   carry-AP-pf

      'carry (s.t. or s.o.)'
        hu:n-Al   hU:na'   hu:n-Am
        carry-pr   carry   carry-pf

(53)   'know people'
        Exl-om   exl-om-Ach   exl-om-Amad
        know-AP   know-AP-np   know-AP-pf

        'know (s.o.)'
        exl-Al   Exla'   exl-Am
        know-pr   know   know-pf

(54)   'call,invite'
        kAn-om   kan-m-Ach   kan-m-Amad
        call-AP   call-AP-np   call-AP-pf

        'call (s.o.)'
        kan-Al   kAna'   kan-Am
        call-pr   call   call-pf

(55)   'pick up (things)'
        dAy-om   day-m-Ach   day-m-Amad
        pick:up-AP   pick:up-AP-np   pick:up-AP-pf

        'pick up (s.t.)'
        day-Al   dAya'   day-Am
        pick:up-pr   pick:up   pick:up-pf

(56)   'put things away'
        tA'p-om   ta'p-om-Ach   ta'p-om-Amad
        put:away-AP   put:away-AP-np   put:away-AP-pf

        'put away (s.t.)'
        ta'p-Al   tA'pa'   ta'p-Am
        put:away-pr   put:away   put:away-pf

The tense endings on the antipassives are the same as those on -l antipassives (1.2): -∅ 'present', -a:cl 'non-present', and -a:mad 'perfect'. The transitives have the endings associated with a-final stems, (e.g. in (1.1.3, 1.2.2.)). Where possible we tried to get other forms of these verbs to independently show them to be a-final and in every case but one they were.[17] Assuming then that the stems are -a-final, we can explain the absence of the a in the antipassives by VD before the suffix -om. The o of -om is then often deleted by MVD (e.g. in the non-presents and perfects of (52), (54) and (55)). Thus VD precedes (feeding) MVD. As expected the o does not delete when it follows two consonants (e.g. in (51), (53) and (56)), or

-17-

where exceptional (e.g. in (50)). Most of the rest of the alternations are stress shifts predicted by Str.

One thing not explained is the alternation in (52) involving the disappearance of n in the antipassive non-present and perfect. These forms should be contrasted with the corresponding forms in (54) where the n does not disappear. Our tentative hypothesis is that the difference in the length of the stem vowel accounts for the difference in behavior. We write a rule as follows:

===============

(57)   **N-Deletion (N-Del)**

n --> Ø / V: ___ m

===============

N-Del follows (is fed by) MVD. In (58) is given the derivation of the non-present form of (52a).

===============

(58)   'carried (things)'
        UF   hu:na+om+a:ch
        VD   hu:noma:ch
        MVD   hu:nma:ch
        N-Del   hu:ma:ch
        Str   hu:mAch

===============

In (59) is a new example of O/a-Switching.

(59)   'wash (things)'
        t'Ok-om   t'ok-m-Ach   t'ok-m-Amad
        wash-AP   wash-AP-np   wash-AP-pf

        'wash (s.t.)'
        t'ak-Al   t'AKa'   t'ak-Am
        wash-pr   wash   wash-pf

It is of interest that the referential form of this verb is t'Ak=ts=al (wash-ref.-pr) rather than t'Ok=ts=al, indicating that the referential is built on a transitive rather than an intransitive stem.[18]

1.3.2   -om with w=al and y=al Transitives; O-Deletion

In (60-62) are presented forms in which stems ending in
u take endings very similar on the surface to the -om
endings.

(60)   'break nixtamal'
        kE:lu-m   Ke:l-m-Ach   Ke:l-m-Amad
        break-AP   break-AP-np   break-AP-pf

        'break (s.t., namely nixtamal)'
        kE:lw-al   kE:lu   Ke:lU-m
        break-pr   break   break-pf

(61)   'beat, mix (things)'
        xA:lu-m   xa:l-m-Ach   xa:l-m-Amad
        beat-AP   beat-AP-np   beat-AP-pf

        'beat (s.t.)'
        xA:lw-al   xAlu   xalU-m
        turn-pr   turn   turn-pf

(62)   'wash clothes'
        pA:k'u-m   pa:kw'-m-Ach   pa:kw'-m-Amad
        wash-AP   wash-AP-np   wash-AP-pf

        'wash (s.t., namely clothes)'
        pA:k'w-al   pA:k'u   pa:k'U-m
        wash-pr   wash   wash-pf

These forms show a number of familiar patterns. W-insertion
and MVD (with, of course, Str) give the present transitive
forms. LRV is operating in the transitive perfect forms.
MVD also would appear to be at work in the antipassive
non-present and perfect forms, with the residual
labialization in (61) which we would expect from deleting an
u. However, the appearance of u rather than o in the
present antipassives (and apparently in the non-present and
perfect as well, since the residual labialization in (61)
could not come from deleting o, cf. its absence in (59)), is
surprising. Assuming u-final stems and the -om antipassive
suffix, we would expect VD to apply, deleting the u rather
than the o.

In (63a-66a) are given forms with i-final stems, which
behave similarly in that instead of the i deleting by VD
before the o, the o apparently deletes.

(63)   'toast (things)'
        t'I:li-m   t'i:l-m-Ach   t'i:l-m-Amad
        toast-AP   toast-AP-np   toast-AP-pf

        'toast (s.t.)'
        t'Il-y-al   t'Ili-y   t'il-y-Am
        toast-TR-pr   toast-TR   toast-TR-pf

(64)   'twist (things)'
        t'A:li-m   t'a:l-m-Ach   t'a:l-m-Amad
        twist-AP   twist-AP-np   twist-AP-pf

        'twist (s.t.)'
        t'Al-y-al   t'Ali-y   t'al-y-Am
        twist-Tr-pr   twist-TR   twist-TR-pf

(65)   'bury (things)'
        hO:li-m   ho:l-m-Ach   ho:l-m-Amad
        bury-Ap   bury-AP-np   bury-Ap-pf

        'bury (s.t.)'
        hOli-y-al   hOli-y   holi-y-Am
        bury-TR-pr   bury-TR   bury-TR-pf

(66)   'look for (things)'
        A:li-m   a:l-m-Ach   a:l-m-Amad
        look-AP   look-AP-np   look-AP-pf

        'look for, miss (s.t.)'
        A-y-al   Ali-y   ali-y-Am
        look-TR-pr   look-Tr   look-TR-pf

We posit to account for these forms a rule deleting o following i or u:

==============

(67)   **O-deletion (O-Del)**

        o --> Ø / V ____
                [+hi]

==============

O-Del must precede VD (bleeding and counterbleeding), and

like VD must precede MVD (feeding). Representative
derivations are given in (68).

==============

(68)	'washed'	'toast'	'called'
UF	pa:K'u+om+a:ch	t'i:li+om	Kana+om+a:ch
O-Del	pa:K'uma:ch	t'i:lim	---------
VD	---------	---------	Kanoma:ch
MVD	pa:Kw'ma:ch	---------	Kanma:ch
Str	pa:K'wmAch	t'i:lim	KanmAch

==============

The forms in (63-66), it will have been noted, take -y
in the transitives. These are the only -om forms we know
that do so, with the exception of (69) (and perhaps
(98-101). As far as we know it is purely coincidental that
the stems of all of them end in li. The transitive present
stem of (66) is suppletive (though perhaps relatable to the
Truncated Present pattern discussed in Section 2.2); and
the transitive stems ho:li 'bury' and ali 'seek' -- note,
not the intransitive stems -- must be marked exceptional to
MVD.

In (69) is given a form with an o-final stem and -y-
transitive forms.

(69) 'sweep'
            kw'et   kw'et-m-Ach   kw'et-m-Amad
            sweep   sweep-AP-np   sweep-Ap-pf

      'sweep (s.t.)'
            kw'Et-y-al   kw'Eto-y   kw'et-y-Am
            sweep-TR-pr   sweep-TR   sweep-Tr-pf

The antipassive present of (69) is truncated (see Section
2.2), which means that we do not see what the result of
combining o+om would be. We might expect o:m, just as a+al
gave a:l in 1.1.3. However, if a long o: were produced, it
would not be able to delete by MVD, as it apparently has
done in the non-present and perfect forms. (70) gives a
parallel form (though one without -y in the transitive) in
which a short o does in fact surface in the antipassive
forms.

(70)   'empty (things)'
        hOlk'o-m   holk'o-m-Ach   holk'o-m-Amad
        empty-AP   empty-Ap-np   empty-AP-pf

        'empty (s.t.)'
        hOlk'ow-al   hOlk'o   holk'O-m
        empty-tr   empty   empty-pf

We assume, then, that o±o is shortened to o by VD, unlike
a±a; the condition on VD in (17) is intended to produce this
disparity.[19] As previously noted (Footnote #10) both the
refusal to shorten a±a and the shortening of o±o serve to
disambiguate forms, e.g. Uch'a=l 'drink' from uch'-=Al 'drink
(s.t.)' (36), and hOlk'o=m 'empty (things)' from holk'O=m
'have emptied (s.t.)' here in (70). Derivations are given
in (71).

==============

(71)   'pick up(s.t)' 'empty'   'swept'
    UF   daya+al   holk'o+om   kw'eto+om+a:ch
    VD   -------   holk'om   kw'etoma:ch
    MVD   -------   --------   kw'etma:ch
    Str   dayAl   hOlk'om   kw'etmAch

==============

The -um antipassives, discussed in Section 2.3, may
well be further variants of -om.

2. Other Antipassive Patterns

In this section are presented a number of patterns of
antipassive formation which differ from those in Section 1
to varying degrees. In 2.1 are given examples of mixtures
of the patterns in 1, and in 2.2-2.3 are presented other
patterns, some of which we understand very little.

2.1 Combinations of Antipassive Endings

A good number of verbs have more than one antipassive
form. Some examples we have seen already are k'anida
'love', with an -x and an -om antipassive ((8) and (50)) and
witsba 'return' ((21) and (52)), again with -x and -om
antipassives. A number of other verbs also have these two
types of antipassives. We have not found any consistent
difference in meaning between the two types, though we have
not yet investigated the matter thoroughly. In some cases

it has seemed that the -om antipassives carried a 'be a
Verber' or 'Verb for a living' sense.

In (72) is an apparent example of a verb with -l and
-om antipassives, though the -om perfect form is apparently
not used. The semantic link between the antipassives and
the transitive is less than clear. (kux means '(person's)
back'). See (77) and Footnote 19a for another example.

(72)   'go in place of (people)'
        kU:xu-l   kux-l-Ach   kux-l-Amad
        go-AP   go-AP-np   go-AP-pf

        'take your turn'
        kU:xu-m   kux-m-Ach   kux-l-Amad
        take-AP   take-AP-np   take-AP-pf

        'bear, put up with (s.t.)'
        kUx-y-al   kUxu-y   kux-y-Am
        bear-TR-pr   bear-TR   bear-TR-pf

A number of verbs seem to mix -l and -om forms.   Thus
(73-74); (88) is another example.

(73)   'make tortillas'
        ch'At'-om   ch'at'-l-Ach   ch'at'-l-Amad
        make:t-AP   make:t-AP-np   make:t-Ap-pf

        'make (s.t., i.e. tortillas)'
        ch'at'-Al   ch'Ata'   ch'at-Am
        make-pr   make   make-pf

(74)   'dance (dances)'
        bix-n-E-l   bix-m-Ach   bix-m-Amad
        dance-?-?-AP   dance-AP-np   dance-AP-pf

        'dance (s.t., namely a dance)'
        bix-n-Al   bIx-na'   bix-n-Am
        dance-?-pr   dance-?   dance-?-pf

In (75) is a form with both -l and -om antipassive
suffixes at once.

(75)   'burn (things)'
         tsIK-1-om   tsik-1-om-Ach   tsiK-1-om-Amad
         burn-AP-AP   burn-AP-AP-np   burn-AP-AP-pf

        'burn (s.t.)'
         tsiK-Al   tsIka'   tsik-Am
         burn-pr   burn   burn-pf

(76-77) are examples of -om and -x suffixes on the
same stem. (77) also has a truncated present (Section 2.2).

(76)   'enjoy (things)'
         KulbEt-n-om   kulbEtna-x-in   Kulbetna-x-nEk
         like-?-AP   enjoy-AP-np   enjoy-AP-pf

        'enjoy (s.t.)'
         kulbetn-Al   kulbEtna'   kulbetn-Am
         enjoy-pr   enjoy   enjoy-pf

(77)   'borrow (things)'[19a]
         mat
         borrow

        'ask to borrow (things)'
         mAti-x   mAt-x-in   mat-m-Amad
         borrow-AP   borrow-AP-np   borrow-AP-pf

        'borrow (s.t.)'
         mAt-y-al   mAti-y   mat-y-Am
         borrow-TR-pr   borrow-TR   borrow-TR-pf

    Various -x, -1, and -om antipassive forms are often
mixed with other elements presented below, as well.

2.2. -n and other Odd Pieces; N-Degemination; Truncated Presents

    Another ending that appears on a few antipassives is
-n. This suffix usually means 'reflexive' or 'passive', as
illustrated in (78-80).

(78)   'take medicine'
     ilAl-n-al   ilAli-n   ilal-nEk
     medic.-RFL-pr   treat-RFL   treat-pf

     'give (s.o.) medicine'
     ilAli-y-al   ilAli-y   ilali-y-Am
     treat-TR-pr   treat-TR   treat-TR-pf

(79)   'be given something'
     pId-n-al   pIda-n   pid-nEk
     give-PS-pr   give-PS   give-pf

     'give (s.o.) something'
     pid-Al   pIda'   pid-Am
     give-pr   give   give-pf

(80)   'fan oneself, (wind) blow'
     wAw'-n-al   wA'u-n   waw'-nEk
     blow-RFL-pr   blow-RFL   blow-pf

     'fan (s.o. or s.t.)'
     wAw'-y-al   wA'u-y   waw'-y-Am
     blow-TR-pr   blow-TR   blow-TR-pf

Some old patterns show up in these forms: Str, MVD (with vestigial labialization in (80)), a transitive form (78b) exceptional to MVD when the intransitive is not. The -al present form is new for intransitives, as is the Ø morpheme for non-present; we had seen both of these patterns only in transitives.[20] Both are general for n forms. The -ne:k perfect suffix we have seen, on -x antipassives (Section 1.1). Here we would posit that its initial n coalesces with the -n of the reflexive suffix, feeding MVD.

==============

(81) N-Degemination (Degem)

     nn ==> n

==============

In (82) is given the derivation of the reflexive perfect of (80).

===============

(82)   'have fanned oneself'
   UF   wa'u+n+ne:K
   Degem   wa'une:k
   MVD   waw'ne:K
   Str   waw'nEk

===============

     In several cases, the semantic difference between an intransitive with -n and its corresponding transitive is more antipassive than passive or reflexive. (83) and (84) are examples ((84) has a truncated present form, see discussion below).

(83)   'get (things) dirty'
          k'Ut'-li-n-al   k'Ut'li-n   k'ut'li-nEk
          mud-?-AP-pr   dirty-AP   dirty-pf

          'get (s.t.) dirty'
          k'Ut'li-y-al   k'Ut'li-y   k'ut'li-y-Am
          dirty-TR-pr   dirty-TR   dirty-TR-pf

(84)   'steal (things)'
          kwe'   kwE'e-n   kwe'-nEK
           steal   steal-AP   steal-pf

          'steal (s.t.)'
          kwE'-y-al   kwE'e-y   kwe'-y-Am
          steal-TR-pr   steal-TR   steal-TR-pf

     -n endings and the other antipassive endings seem to get mixed up sometimes. For instance in (85) the -n=ne:K perfect ending seems to have been put on an -om verb. Note however that the meaning here is perhaps reflexive rather than antipassive, and that the only corresponding transitive is explicitly causative.

(85)   'bathe'
     Atsi-m   ats-m-Ach   ats-nEk
     bathe-AP?   bathe-AP?-np   bathe-pf

    'bathe (s.o.)'
     atsi-d-Al   atsI-da'   atsi-d-Am
     bathe-caus-pr   bathe-caus   bathe-caus-pf

       This last example brings up two related issues: one
that the "antipassive" endings are sometimes found on verbs
which are not clearly antipassives, and which may have no
particular transitive paired with them, and second that in a
number of pairs other morphemes (such as -da 'causative')
may be found in one or the other form. We do not know much
about the meanings of a number of these morphemes. A few
miscellaneous examples are given below; various others have
already been seen.

(86)   'place, put (things) (on)'
     kw'Ah-ba-x   kw'ahb-om-Ach   kwahb-om-Amad
     ?-cs-PS?   put-PS?-np   put-PS?-pf

    'place, put (s.t.) (on)'
     kw'Ahb-Al   kw'Ahba'   kw'ahb-Am
     put-pr   put   put-pf

(87)   'be'
     Ex-om   ex-m-Ach   ex-m-Amad
     be-?   be-?-np   be-?-pf

(88)   'take care of (things or people)'
     bEl-ko-l   belko-m-Ach   belko-l-Amad
     road?-AP   ta.ca.-AP-np   ta.ca.-AP-pf

    'take care of (s.t. or s.o.)'
     bel-at-n-Al   belatnA'[21]   belatn-Am
     road?-PS?-pr   ta.ca.   ta.ca.-pf

(89) 'warm up' [22]
      dIla-l   dil-Ach   dil-Amad
      warm-RFL?   warm-np   warm-pf

    'warm (s.t.) up'
      dila-n-d-Al   dilandA'[21]   diland-Am
      warm-PS?-cs-pr warm   warm-pf

(90) 'receive (things)'
      bAch'-k'u-l   bach'k'u-l-Ach   bach'k'u-l-Amad
      receive-?-AP   receive-AP-np   receive-AP-pf

    'receive (s.t.)'
      bAch'w-al   bAch'u   bach'U-m
      receive-pr   receive   receive-pf

(91) 'sing (songs)'
      Ahat   Ahti-n   ahti-nEk
      sing   sing-AP   sing-pf

    'sing (s.t.)'
      ahat-n-Al   Ahat-na'   ahat-n-Am
      sing-PS?-pr   sing-PS?   sing-PS?-pf

(92) 'sneeze'
      hAt'is-om   hat'isom-l-Ach   hat'isom-l-Amad
      sneeze-AP?   sneeze-AP?-np   sneeze-AP?-pf

And so forth. Other examples may be found in the appendix.

    One further pattern we have seen several examples of involves shortening a present tense form to just the stem, often without even its final vowel. Usually, as in (69), (77), (84), (91-92) the truncated stem is antipassive in meaning; sometimes, as in the examples below, it is transitive. Sometimes, as in (77) and (94), both truncated and non-truncated forms are used, with an aspectual difference in meaning, typically that the truncated form is 'aoristic' while the non-truncated form is 'inceptive' or something else.

-28-

(93)   'want (things)'
            lE'-n-om   le'n-om-1-Ach   le'n-om-1-Amad
            want-?-AP   want-AP-AP-np   want-AP-AP-pf

        'want (s.t.)'
            le' / le'n-Al   lE'na'   le'n-Am
            want want-pr   want   want-pf

(94)   'know (things), be knowledgeable'
            cho'Ob-n-om   cho'ob-1-Ach   cho'ob-1-Amad
            know-?-AP   know-AP-np   know-AP-pf

        'know (s.t.)'
            chO'ob [23]
            know

        'come to know (s.t.)'
            cho'ob-n-Al   cho'Ob-na'   cho'ob-n-Am
            know-?-pr   know-?   know-?-pf

        One more antipassive pattern is shown in (95), the only
complete example of its type so far encountered.[23a]

(95)   'mount, ride (things)'
            punE-1   pUne-y   pUne-nek
            mount-pr   mount-np?   mount-pf

            'mount, ride (s.t.)'
            pun-Al   pUna'   pun-um-nAl
            mount-pr   mount   mount-?-?

The transitive perfect of this verb is quite idiosyncratic.
The antipassive forms, however, exemplify a fairly
widespread and extremely complex array of patterns which we
do not understand well at all. A number of such verbs (all
intransitives, many reflexive/passive) are listed starting
on the 11th page of the appendix. Among the questions they
raise are: what accounts for the differences in their stress
patterns? Why is -nek 'perfect' never stressed in these
verbs, though it always is elsewhere? Why does the vowel
before -nek never delete by MVD, though vowels before -nEk
do so routinely? What does the x on some (but not all) of
the non-present forms have to do with all this? A number of
the rules we have discussed can be seen at work in these
forms, and sometimes they seem not to apply where they
should. We invite the reader to try his luck at them.

2.3. -um ?

There a few forms which look like they may take an -um antipassive marker. By its phonological shape and by the fact that it takes -Ø, -Ach, and -Amad as its tense suffixes, it looks closely related to the -om suffix (Section 1.3), and it would be desirable to predict one from the other, but it is not clear how to do so. In (96-98) are three forms with -um.

(96) 'write (things)'
      dUts-um   duts-m-Ach   duts-m-Amad
      write-AP   write-AP-np   write-AP-pf

      'write (s.t.)'
      duts-Al   dUtsa'   duts-Am
      write-pr   write   write-pf

(97) 'breathe'
      dU:ts-um   du:ts-m-Ach   du:ts-m-Amad
      breathe-AP?   breathe-AP?-np   breathe-AP?-pf

(98) 'put, hang (things) out to dry'
      tAk'-um   tak'-m-Ach   tak'-m-Amad [23b]
      dry-AP   dry-Ap-np   dry-AP-pf

      'put (s.t.) out to dry'
      tAk'-y-al   tAk'i-y   tak'-y-Am
      dry-TR-pr   dry-TR   dry-TR-pf

(96a) and (97) are a minimal pair for length in all three tenses. It is not clear, however, that -um in (97) is a suffix, nor what it means if it is, since there is no transitive form to compare with it.

These three are the only forms we have with -um following a non-glottal consonant. If we assume -um as a new suffix, the forms are quite predictable, with VD removing the stem final a in (96) and i in (98), and MVD deleting the u in the intransitive non-present and perfect forms. However, as we said above, it would be preferable to show these to be variants of the -om suffix. (98) might be susceptible to the solution we will suggest for (99-103) below, but no obvious solution offers itself for (96-97). One perhaps farfetched possibility is to posit a vowel harmony. Such a rule would somehow have to be restrained from applying to bu:n=om (52), the only other uC±om verb we have found.[24]

In (99-102) are the rest of the -um forms we have encountered.

(99)   'read (things)'
        Ah-um   ah-um-Ach   ah-um-Amad
        read-AP   read-AP-np   read-AP-pf

       'read (s.t.)'
        Ah-y-al   Aha-y   ah-y-Am
        read-TR-pr   read-TR   read-TR-pf

(100)   'buy (things)'
        ch'A'-um   ch'ay'-m-Ach   ch'ay'-m-Amad
        buy-AP   buy-AP-np   buy-AP-pf

       'buy (s.t.)'
        ch'A'-y-al   ch'A'a-y   ch'a'-y-Am
        buy-TR-pr   buy-TR   buy-TR-pf

(101)   'weave (things)'
        chAh-um   chay-m-Ach   chay-m-Amad
        weave-AP   weave-AP-np   weave-AP-pf

       'weave (s.t.)'
        chAh-y-al   chAha-y   chah-y-Am
        weave-TR-pr   weave-TR   weave-TR-pf

(102)   'carry water'
        k'A'-um   k'ay'-m-Ach   k'ay'-m-Amad
        ca.wa.-AP?   ca.wa.-AP?-np   ca.wa.-AP?-pf

We found no transitive corresponding to (102). (103) is a set of referential forms formed on the stem of (102) (c.f. (14-16)).

(103)   'carry water for (people)'
        k'Ay'-tsi-x   k'Ay'-tsi-x-in   k'ay'-tsi-x-nEk
        ca.wa.-ref-AP c.w.-ref-AP-np   ca.wa.-ref-AP-pf

       'carry water for (s.o.)'
        k'Ay'-ts-al   k'Ay'-tsi   k'ay'-ts-Am
        ca.wa.-ref-pr ca.wa.-ref   ca.wa.-ref-pf

Beginning with (99), we note that the antipassives (not the transitives, this time) are exceptional to MVD. It appears that the stem is aba, and that the transitive forms take -y 'transitive'. (99-101) are all divided and glossed on the assumption that this is so, although we will question it immediately. It is interesting that, on this assumption, (98-101), which use -um, (63-66), which are all the -i-final stems, and (69), the lone exception, are the only -m-type antipassives which have -y transitives.

Assuming, then, that a suppletive -um morpheme is used, the forms in (99) are all predictable.

However, other things seem to be at work as well. The non-present and perfect forms of (100a) and (102) and also the root in (103) show a stem- (or root-) final y⁽. If e.g. the non-present of (100a) were, as we would posit from the analysis in the last two paragraphs, cha⁽atumta:ch, we would then expect, by VD, cha⁽uma:ch, and then, by MVD with vestigial labialization, chaw⁽ma:ch. Instead of the w⁽, we get a y⁽ in these forms. Similarly, in the non-present and perfect of (101a), where from an UF such as chabatumta:ch we should expect (by VD, MVD, and H-Del) chawma:ch, we instead get chayma:ch, with y instead of w.

Consider further the extent to which the transitives of (99-100) parallel (28b) and (43b), and (101b) parallels (44b), always with the exception that they have y instead of w, and also with the exception that there is no analog to the long stem vowel in the perfect, produced by LRV. The y's in the present and perfect forms could come from a Y-Insertion collapsible with W-Ins (26), feeding MVD as does W-Ins, and the non-present forms could be produced by a version of A-Spreading (30) expanded to treat i like u.

We might, then, posit for (99-102) stems ending in i, and make the following expansions of our rules:
(a) MVD (6) would leave vestigial palatalization when deleting i, just as it leaves vestigial labialization when deleting u.
(b) H-Deletion (45) would apply to palatalized as well as labialized h's, leaving behind (naturally enough) a y instead of a w.
(c) A-Spreading (30) would occur before i as well as u, again producing an ay instead of an aw.
One further rule would also be needed: a coalescence of ito to produce u in e.g. the antipassive present forms.

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(104) Coalescence

        i + o ==> u

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Derivations like the following would occur (c.f. (29), (46)):

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(105)	'weave (s.t.)'	'wove (things)'	'carry water for (s.o.)'
UF	chahi+al	chahi+om+a:ch	k'a'i+tsi+al
Y-Ins	chahiyal	-----	(exception)
O-Del	-----	chahima:ch	-----
Coal	-----	-----	-----
VD	-----	-----	k'a'itsal
MVD	chahyal	chahyma:ch	k'ay'tsal
H-Del	-----	chayma:ch	-----
Str	chAhyal	chaymAch	k'Ay'tsal

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(106)	'read (s.t.) (np)'	'read (things)'
UF	ahi	ahi+om
O-Del	---	(exception)
Coal	---	ahum
A-Spr	ahay	-----
Str	Ahay	Ahum

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   With but little work the same analysis could be extended to (98), whose transitive non-present shows it to have an i-final stem. Either a y could be inserted after a word-final i, or we could go ahead and claim that (98), unlike (99-101), has the -y 'transitive' morpheme.

   So this analysis does a lot of work for us, giving us free rides on naturally expanded versions of rules we had already posited, and thereby expressing the similarities of patterning between these and 'w=al and hw=al verbs. However, it has its problems.
   (a) It cannot account for (96), with its a-final stem, and likely not (97) either.
   (b) The antipassive present forms must all be exceptional to O-Deletion. This could be accomplished by ordering Coalescence before O-Del; however then (63-66) would have to be made exceptional to Coalescence, and the non-present and perfect forms of (100-102) as well.
   (c) Yet Coalescence cannot be restricted to present tense forms, as it applies in all three forms of (100a). The

non-present and perfect forms of (100a) must thus be exceptional to O-Deletion as well as to MVD.

(d) All forms in -tsi such as (14-16) and (103) must be exceptions to Y-Insertion, since you do not get e.g. k'ay'tsiyal. (We assume that Y-Ins, being collapsed with W-Ins, precedes VD rather than vice versa.)

(e) We have to explain why no "vestigial palatalization" shows up in forms like the antipassive non-present and perfect of (34) and (perhaps) (3), and why we get h rather than x in (4a).

(f) Although the parallels with 'w=al and hw=al transitives are expressed well, the equally strong parallels with -x=al transitives are lost.

We are left with the feeling that either we've missed something crucial somewhere, or Huasteco (like other normal languages) isn't as simple and elegant as we'd like; that more than one contradictory pattern may be legitimately seen in the same data.

Footnotes

*Rufina and Teodora Del Angel Santana provided the data for this paper and commented on their native intuitions regarding many aspects of it. James and Mary Walker collected the data, and David Tuggy helped with the analysis. We wish to emphasize the preliminary nature of this paper, especially taking into consideration the amount of data we do not have any clear explanation for: see especially Section 2.3 and the "Unstressed -nek" verbs in the appendix.

[1] The phonemes of Veracruz Huasteco are represented in this paper in a non- technical orthography as follows: Consonants are lenis stops: b, t, ts, ch(=č), k, kw; fortis stops: p, t', ts', ch', k', k'w; fricatives: d(=θ) s, x(=š); laryngeals: h, '(=?); liquids: l, r; nasals: m, n; semi-vowels: y, w. Vowels are a, e, i, o, u. Vowels can also be long; length is indicated by a colon except when the vowel is stressed.

Stress is problematic. According to Larsen and Pike (1949) the rightmost long vowel of a word is stressed and if there is no long vowel the first vowel is stressed. We assume this rule to be true: it is given in (5). We are

representing stressed vowels by upper case letters. Thus any vowel, other than the first in a word, which is written with a capital letter, may be presumed to be long. Not all such stressed vowels were perceptibly long to us, however. In a number of cases, especially when there were more than one long vowel in a word, stress was hard to determine and seemed at times to fluctuate.

Veracruz Huasteco has the same inventory of sounds as San Luís Potosí Huasteco, but with the addition of s as in Usnal '(s.t.)is said' and c as in cawí 'fox'. The sounds d, f, and g also occur occasionally in loan words from Spanish. Our orthography departs from that used by Larsen in his Vocabulario Huasteco of S.L.P.(1955) in the following ways: we have used K for the velar stop instead of c and qu. Also, Kí is used instead of cí and quí; Kw instead of cu and Kíw instead of cíu. We have used h instead of Larsen's j, w instead of hu and d for th. The rationale for using d for the phonetic sound ∂ is based on almost universal informant reaction that it is indeed the same as the second d in the Spanish word 'dedo'.

[2]   Our conventions for citing and glossing data are as follows: Verb forms are given in three columns, reflecting the existence of three basic 'tenses'. The first column contains 'present' forms, followed by 'non-present' and then by 'perfect' forms. (These categories correspond to McQuown's (1976) completive, incompletive and perfect.) Usually verbs are cited in pairs, with the first being antipassive and the second the corresponding transitive. We will refer to the first of a pair as a and the second as b; thus (1b) will refer to the (transitive) verb forms meaning 'adorn (s.t.)'. Transitive verbs are glossed with s.t. or s.o. in parentheses, representing the thing or person expected to function as object.

In morpheme-by-morpheme glosses where a simgle morpheme is glossed by two English words, they may be joined by a colon.

When verbs with complex stems are used in examples, we gloss the component morphemes in the first citation (the present antipassive) but gloss the stem as a whole thereafter (see e.g. (4)).

The following abbreviations are used in glosses and elsewhere:

AP = antipassive	TR = transitive
PS = passive	RFL = reflesive
np = non-present	pr = present
ref = referential	cns = consonantal
pf = perfect	cs = causative
L-R = left to right	R-L = right to left

                UF = underlying form   N = noun
                s.o. = someone   V = verb, vowel
                s.t. = something   C = consonant
                str = stressed   lg = long
                hi = high
When a morpheme or stem has an overlong gloss, other ad hoc
abbreviations are used -e.g. in (14) 'ca.fo.' for 'carry
food to'.

        The following are abbreviations of names of
phonological rules:
        Str = (5), Stress Assignment
        MVD = (6), Medial Vowel Deletion
        VD = (17), Vowel Deletion
        GSI = (21), Glottal Stop Insertion
        W-Ins = (26), W-insertion
        LRV = (27), Long rounded vowel Formation
        A-Spr = (30), A-Spreading
        O/a = (39), O/a-Switching
        H-Del = (45), H-Deletion
        N-Del = (57), N-Deletion
        O-Del = (67), O-Deletion
        Degem = (81), N-Degemination
        Coal = (104), Coalescense
        Y-Ins = Y-Insertion

        [3]   Perhaps the -i- in -x=i=ne:K is the same morpheme
as the -in- in -x=in 'non-present', and the two n's merge
into one by N-Degemination (81).

        [4]   The antipassive endings are apparently identical
to a set of reciprocal endings. However, all the stem V's
are lengthened in the reciprocal forms. This places stress
(5) on the last stem vowel, and forces MVD (6) to apply to
the i of x=i=ne:K rather than the final stem vowel. Thus
'advise each other' (cf. (3)) has the forms ta:K'l=x,
ta:K'l=x=in, ta:k'i:=x=nEk.

        [4b]   One form casts doubt on a firm LR ordering of
MVD. The antipassive forms of 'dream' (a "referential" form
of 'sleep' and an -l antipassive, see 1.2) are wa=ts=bi=l
(sleep-ref-cs?-AP), watsbi=l=Ach or watsib=l=Ach, and
watsbi=l=Amad, while the corresponding transitive forms
(meaning 'dream about (s.o.)') are watsib=n=Al
(dream-PS?-pr), watsib=nA', and watsib=n=Am. The forms vary
as to whether the i of -tsi 'referential' or that of -bi
'causative (?)' is deleted, while strict LR ordering would
predict that the i of -tsi would always be the one.

[5] Actually many if not most of these forms would be at some stage CV+CV-final, the CCV configuration being produced by the first L-R iterative application of MVD. E.g. the stem in (10) is probably underlyingly ts⌐itsab=ba 'comb(N)-cs', which by Degemination yields ts⌐itsaba and then by MVD ts⌐itsba.

[6] Typically, -tsi when added to a verb makes it transitive with respect to some person to or for whom the action is done. In many grammatical models it would be analyzed as a marker of an indirect object's becoming direct object. Its usage is quite complex, however: consider the meaning one must posit for it to explain (15) - not 'sleep for s.o.', but 'not sleep because of s.o.'

[7] Like the other CCV stems, most if not all would be underlyingly CV+tsi, with the Ctsi produced by MVD. See the derivation in (18).

[8] This condition is discussed in 1.1.3 (Footnote #10).

[9] Transitives with this pattern (-Al, etc.) are common in absolute terms; however they are not as common as -y=al transitives among verbs with antipassives in -y.

[10] Vowel deletions typically do not shorten virtual long vowel clusters (REF), so we might assume such a constraint on VD. However, we will see in (69-70) that ɒ+ɒ does not produce ɒ: but rather ɒ. Therefore we have put the condition on VD that it does not shorten virtual long a's, permitting it to shorten the ɒ's. Note that both cases serve a disambiguating function--shortening a's preserves the distinction between the antipassive and transitive presents of (36) and (37), and not shortening ɒ's preserves the distinction between the antipassive present and the transitive perfect of (70).

[11] In San Luis Potosi Huasteco LRV is apparently optional and perhaps restricted to a limited class among w=al verbs: Edmonson (MS:13) states that either nuhuwâ:mal or nubU:mal 'have sold (s.t.)' was acceptable to her informants.

[12] This account is especially satisfying since to try to posit a 'real' segmental w here would be to posit either a new phoneme w' or a CCC cluster, neither of which

is needed independently of forms susceptible to this analysis. We would thus posit that the stem in (20) is underlyingly pe⌐ula. (Note however that n′, w′, and x′ all do occur word-finally: e.g. caw′ ′fox′.

The labialization is not clearly perceptible in a number of environments involving preceding and following u′s or w′s. For instance in the present of (28b) we posit that the labialization occurs but is perceived as the onset for the consonant w. Similarly in the forms in (2) which undergo MVD the labialization of k is perceived as the aftermath of the remaining u and/or as part of the onset of the -x.

[13]   We have not argued here against making the a basic and changing it: later forms make the o/a direction seem more probable.

[14]   The only other verb we have found with a stem clearly ending in abu is ch⌐abu ′lasso′ which takes the -l antipassives and -x transitives. Unfortunately it is exceptional to MVD, so its non-present and perfect antipassitve forms are ch⌐abu=l=ach and ch⌐abu=l=amad. The verb whose present tense is chabu=l ′be cold′ and which must certainly have a u associated with the end of the stem somehow, has a causative chaw=da ′cool (s.o.) off′, which looks like a likely candidate for H-Del. However, the UF chabu, with a short u, does not account for the intransitive forms. Another place where H-Del may apply is in (101), where an i rather than a u may have been deleted by MVD, and a x rather than a w appears on the surface.

[15]   -na may actually be -n=a with -n an intransitivizing (often passive, often antipassive, see 1.3) suffix and a -a a transitivizer. In some cases -na seems to switch direct objects on transitive verbs, rather like a backwards ′referential′. E.g. pida means ′give (s.o.) something′, pida=n means ′a (person) be given something (intransitive)′ and pida=na means ′give (s.t.) (to people)′.

[16]   exo:ba ′study′ looks to have -x transitive as well as this -n transitive: Exba=x=al means ′understand (s.t.)′. However, for the n to disappear by MVD in this form the UF must be exoba, with a short o.

[17]   For instance, some verbs have -x antipassives (e.g. (50) and (51), cf. (8), (21)). Also some can take reciprocal endings, in which case the stem vowels are

lengthened. The reciprocal present of (53) is e:xla:=x and that of (55) is da:xə:=x. These forms all show the stems to be a-final. The one exception of twenty-four examples is (54), which has an -x antipassive kəni=x, and reciprocal ka:nl:=x, which make it look like the stem UF is kani=. We do not know how to account for this stem's use of the -əl transitive pattern, unless what we have termed O/a-Switching is really V/a, and the stem-final i is converted to a by it. We should expect an i-final stem to behave like (63-66).

[18]   Also of interest is the fact that when a reciprocal is made of the referential, lengthening the stem vowels, the root-final vowel before the -tsi is not lengthened, but rather deleted. (E.g. 'wash (things) for each other' is not tɬa:ka:=tsi:=x, but rather tɬa:k=tsi:=x.) This is a general pattern with reciprocal reflexives. There is thus an ordering paradox between MVD and the reciprocal lengthening: MVD deletes the root-final a, bleeding the lengthening rule.   Yet elsewhere we have seen lengthening bleeding MVD (e.g. ta:kʹl:=x=in 'advised each other' versus təkʹ=x=in 'advised (people)' (3)).   This is, we believe, evidence that phonological rules do not really all apply at once to all the UF's involved in a word. The stem tɬak=tsi is rightly accounted for by MVD, but is established with that shape in its own right, and it is to that stem, already bearing the evidences of MVD's application, that the reciprocal suffix is added and lengthening applied. This is the sort of phenomenon traditionally expressed by cyclical application.

[19]   An alternative analysis (and perhaps, in the end, the best one) would be to assign to the antipassive marker two suppletive forms: -om after a-final stems, and -m elsewhere. The -m allomorph would appear on the antipassives of (60-66) and (69-70). O-Deletion would be unnecessary, and a more general conditon could but put on VD, namely that it not shorten any virtual long vowels.

[19a]   Futher elicitation indicates that mat=x=i=nEk is also an acceptable perfect form completing the -x paradigm, and that a present tense mət=om and non-present mat=m=əch are used in some rancherías other than the Del Angel's, especially by 'people who don't know spanish'. A set of -l forms were also accepted: məti=l, mat=l=əch, and mat=l=əmad. Note that mət=om does not fit the expected patterns: we would expect either məti=m by O=Deletion, paralleling (63-66), or perhaps mət=um, paralleling (98) and (99-101).

[20]   It may prove to be the case that the intransitive present form is -l, with the a epenthesized.

[21] We do not know how to account for the stress on the final vowel of these forms. It looks like a positive exception to GSI, which should only apply to short and therefore unstressable final a's. We have only three examples--(88-89) and the form in Footnote #4b-- and in them it was hard at times to tell where the stress really was. Sometimes it clearly was final, other times it seemed equally clearly non-final.

[22] A degemination can be seen at work in the non-present and perfect intransitive forms of this verb. E.g. the UF of the non-present form is dila=l=a:ch, which by MVD yields dilla:ch, which is degeminated and stressed to give the surface dilach. Note that if this rule is collapsed with N-Degemination (81) an ordering paradox results: Degemination feeds MVD in e.g. the antipassive perfect forms of (78-80), and MVD feeds Degemination in the intransitive non-present and perfect of (89).

[23] We have no explanation for why the first a rather than the second is stressed in the truncated form. The antipassive present and transitive non-present forms indicate that the second a is long and thus should always be stressed in preference to the first.

[23a] A couple of other antipassives follow this pattern in a couple of forms. 'Chew (gum)' has the forms k'axk'l=l, k'axk'l=y, and k'axik'=l=amad (transitives k'axik'=n=al, etc.); (74) is another example.

[23b] In (34) is an -l antipassive of the same stem.

[24] Another possibility might be to make -um basic and derive -am, since it only shows up following -a-final stems, from a±a. Yet the stem in (96) is dutsa, and with it you get -um, not -am.

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Appendix

This appendix consists of a sparsely edited working list of transitive/intransitive verb pairs, from which the examples in the text were taken. The first 9 pages are mostly antipassive/transitive pairs, a large number of which are analyzed in the text. Later sections include lists of verbs with truncated presents, verbs like (95) with a stressed root-final vowel in the present and unstressed -nek in the perfect, and extended lists of verb forms derived from a single root. The glosses are in Spanish, and morpheme cuts often reflect preliminary analyses contrary to those adopted in the text (e.g. -Al, -a', and -Am are cut off as tense morpheme, where in the text -al, -Ø, and -Am are posited.) We apologize for not having everything in better order, but hope the data's being available at all will be at least some compensation.

GLOSS	PRESENT	NON-PRESENT	PRESENT PERFECT
"M" group			
-om stems with -Al in the transitives			
ser amante[-MVD]	k'Ani-d-om	k'ani-d-om-Ach	k'ani-d-om-Amad
amar[-MVD]	k'Ani-da-x	k'Ani-da-x-in	k'ani-da-x-nEk
amarlo[-MVD]	k'ani-d-Al	k'Ani-d-a'	k'ani-d-Am
ser entregador	wIts-b-om	wits-b-om-Ach	wits-b-om-Amad
devolver	wIts-ba-x	wIts-ba-x-in	wits-ba-x-nEk
devolverlo	wits-b-Al	wIts-b-a'	wits-b-Am
llevar	hU:n-om	hu:-m-Ach	hu:-m-Amad
llevarlo	hu:n-Al	hU:n-a'	hu:n-Am
conocer	Exl-om	exl-om-(1)-Ach	exl-om-(1)-Amad
conocerlo	exl-Al	Exl-a'	exl-Am
llamar	kAn-om	kan-m-Ach	kan-mAmad
llamarlo	kan-Al	kAn-a'	kan-Am
levantar	dAy-om	dAy-m-Ach	day-m-Amad
levantarlo	day-Al	dAy-a'	day-Am
guardar	tA'p-om	tA'p-om-Ach	tA'p-om-Amad
guardarlo	ta'p-Al	tA'p-a'	ta'p-Am
hacer	t'Ah-om	t'ah-m-Ach	t'ah-m-Amad
hacerlo	t'ah-Al	t'Ah-a'	t'ah-Am

echar tortillas	ch'At'-om	ch'at'-l-Ach	ch'at'-l-Amad
echar torts	ch'at'-Al	ch'At-a'	ch'at-Am
colgar	pAl-om	pal-m-Ach	pal-m-Amad
colgarlo	pal-Al	pAl-a'	pal-Am
sembrar	t'Ay-om	t'ay-m-Ach	t'ay-m-Amad
sembrarlo	t'ay-Al	t'Ay-a'	t'ay-Am
subir(se)	k'adI-l	k'Adi-y	k'Adi-nEk
subir(cosas)	k'Ad-b-om	k'ad-b-om-Ach	k'ad-b-om-Amad
subir -	k'Ad-ba-x	k'Ad-ba-x-in	k'ad-ba-x-nEK
subirlo	k'ad-b-Al	k'Ad-b-a'	k'ad-b-Am
dar,entregar	pId-n-om	pId-n-om-Ach	pid-n-om-Amad
dar	pId-na-x	pId-na-x-in	pid-na-x-nEK
darlo	pId-n-Al	pId-n-a'	pid-n-Am
darselo	pid-Al	pIda'	pid-Am
darselo(recipr)	pi:dA:-x	pi:dA:-x-in	pi:da:-x-nEK
platicar	t'Il-om	t'il-m-Ach	t'il-m-Amad
platicarlo	t'il-Al	t'Il-a'	t'il-Am
raspar	hId-om	hid-m-Ach	hid-m-Amad
rasparlo	hid-Al	hId-a'	hid-Am
lavar	t'Ok-om	t'ok-m-Ach	t'ok-m-Amad
lavarlo	t'ak-Al	t'AK-a'	t'ak-Am
acarrear	Iy-om	iy-m-Ach	iy-m-Amad
acarrearlo	iy-Al	Iy-a'	iy-Am
mirar	tEl-om	tel-m-Ach	tel-m-Amad
mirarlo	tel-Al	tEl-a'	tel-Am
mirarse(recipr)	te:lA:-x	te:lA:-x-in	te:la:-x-nEK
manejar	bel-d-om	bel-d-om-Ach	bel-d-om-Amad
manejarlo	bel-d-Al	bEl-d-a'	bel-d-Am

Misc -om stems

tener gusto	kulbEt-n-om	kulbEt-na-x-in	kulbet-na-x-nEK
gustarlo	kulbet-n-Al	kulbEt-n-a'	kulbet-n-Am
poner(se)	kw'Ah-ba-x	kw'ahb-om-Ach	kwahb-om-Amad
ponerlo	kw'ah-b-Al	kw'Ahb-a'	kw'ahb-Am
bendecir	lab-t'Ah-om	lab-t'ah-m-Ach	lab-t'ah-nEK
bendecirlo	lab-t'ah-Al	lab-t'Ah-a'	lab-t'ah-Am
quemar	tsIk-l-om	tsik-l-om-Ach	tsik-l-om-Amad
quemarlo	tsik-Al	tsIk-a'	tsik-Am
estar (aux. cont)	Ex-om	ex-m-Ach	ex-m-Amad

-um stems with -y-al in the transitives

asolear(se)	tAk'-um	tak'-m-Ach	tak'-m-Amad
asolearlo	tAk'-y-al	tAk'i-y	tak'-y-Am
leer [-MVD]	Ah-um	ah-um-Ach	ah-um-Amad
leerlo	Ah-y-al	Aha-y	ah-y-Am
comprar	ch'A'-um	ch'ay'-m-Ach	ch'ay'-m-Amad
compararlo	ch'A'-y-al	ch'A'a-y	ch'a'-y-Am
tejer	chAh-um	chay-m-Ach	chay-m-Amad
tejerlo	chAh-y-al	chAha-y	chah-y-Am

-um stems with -Al in the transitives

escribir	dUts-um	duts-m-Ach	duts-m-Amad
escribirlo	duts-Al	dUts-a'	duts-Am
respirar	dU:ts-um	du:ts-m-Ach	du:ts-m-Amad

Misc -um stems with -al in the transitives

acarrear agua	k'A'-um	k'ay'-m-Ach	k'ay'-m-Amad
acarrear(le) agua	k'ay'-tsi-x	k'ay'-tsi-x-in	k'ay'-tsi-x-nEk
acarrearle agua	k'Ay'-ts-al	k'ay'-tsi	k'ay'-ts-Am

-m stems with w-al in the transitives

lavar ropa	pA:k'u-m	pakw'-m-Ach	pakw'-m-Amad
lavar ropa	pAk'w-al	pAk'u	pak'U-m
quebrar nixt	kElu-m	kel-m-Ach	kel-m-Amad
quebrar nixt	kElw-al	kElu	kelU-m(al)
revolver,rodear	xAlu-m	xal-m-Ach	xal-m-Amad
revolver,rodearlo	xA:lw-al	xAlu	xalU-m
vaciar	hOlk'o-m	holk'o-m-Ach	holk'o-m-Amad
vaciarlo	hOlk'aw-al	hOlk'o	holk'O-m

Misc

poderlo	Ehtow-al	Ehto	ehtO-m
Vèase Awil (ser poderoso)			

-m stems with -y-al in the transitives

buscar	Ali-m	al-m-Ach	al-m-Amad
buscar/extranarlo	A-y-al	Ali-y	ali-y-Am
buscar(reci)[mvd]	a:lI:-x	a:lI:-x-in	a:li:-x-nEk

tostar	t'Ili-m	t'il-m-Ach	t'il-m-Amad
tostarlo	t'Ili-y-al	t'Ili-y	t'il-y-Am
torcer	t'A:li-m	t'a:l-m-Ach	t'a:l-m-Amad
torcerlo	t'Al-y-al	t'Ali-y	t'al-y-Am
enterrar	hOli-m	hol-m-Ach	hol-m-Amad
enterrarlo[-MVD]	hOli-y-al	hOli-y	holi-y-Am

Misc -M

barrer	– kw'et	kw'et-m-Ach	kw'et-m-Amad
barrerlo	kw'Et-y-al	kw'Eto-y	kw'et-y-Am
bañarse	Atsi-m	ats-m-Ach	ats-nEk
bañarlo	atsi-d-Al	atsI-d-a'	atsi-d-Am
bañar(recip)	a:tsi:-d-A:-x	a:tsi:-d-A:-x-in	a:tsi:-d-a:-x-nEk

"X" group

"X" -CV stem with -y-al in transitive

adornar	dIba-x	dIb-x-in	dib-x-i-nEk
adornarlo	dIb-y-al	dIba-y	dib-y-Am
coser	tsUku-x	tsUk-x-in	tsuk-x-i-nEk
coserlo	tsUk-y-al	tsUku-y	tsuk-y-Am
dar consejo	tAk'i-x	tAk'-x-in	tak'-x-i-nEk
darle consejo	tAk'-y-al	tAk'i-y	tak'-y-Am
dar consejo(recip)	ta:k'I:-x	ta:k'I:-x-in	ta:k'i:-x-nEk
maldecir	od-bIh-i-x	od-bIh-x-in	od-bih-xi-nEk
maldecirlo	od-bIh-y-al	od-bIh-i-y	od-bih-y-Am
maldecirse(recipr)	od-bi:h-I:-x	od-bi:h-I:-x-in	od-bi:h-i:-x-nEk
ser amante[-MVD]	k'Ani-d-om	k'ani-d-om-Ach	k'ani-d-om-Amad
amar[-MVD]	k'Ani-da-x	k'Ani-da-x-in	k'ani-da-x-nEk
amarlo[-MVD]	k'ani-d-Al	k'Ani-d-a'	k'ani-d-Am

"X" -CV stem with -al in transitive

golpear	chA'u-x	chAw'-x-in	chaw'-xi-nEk
golpearlo*	chA'-w-al	chA'aw	cha'U-m
golpearse(recipr)	cha:'U:-x	cha:'U:-x-in	cha:'u:-x-nEk
odiar	At'a-x	At'-x-in	at'-x-i-nEk
odiarlo	at'-Al	At'-a'	at'-Am
odiarse(recipr)	a:t'A:-x	a:t'A:-x-in	a:t'a:-x-nEk

"X" -CV misc

pelearse	pe:hE:x	pe:hE:x-in	pe:he:x-nEk
pelearle	pe:he:x-n-Al	pe:hE:x-n-a'	pe:he:x-n-Am

"X" -CCV stem with -y-al in the transitives

poner dentaduras	kAmbi-x	kAmbi-x-in	kambi-x-nEK
poner dentaduras	kAmbi-y-al	kAmbi-y	kambi-y-Am
visitar	chA'bi-x	chA'bi-x-in	cha'bi-x-nEK
visitarlo	chA'bi-y-al	chA'bi-y	cha'bi-y-Am
remendar	pAts'k'u-x	pAts'k'u-x-in	pats'k'u-x-nEK
remendarlo	pAts'k'u-y-al	pAts'k'u-y	pats'k'u-y-Am
brujear	dImK'a-x	dImk'a-x-in	dimk'a-x-nEK
brujearlo	dImK'a-y-al	dImK'a-y	dimk'a-y-Am
peinarse	ts'Itsba-x	ts'Itsba-x-in	ts'itsba-x-nEK
peinarlo	ts'Itsba-y-al	ts'Itsba-y	ts'itsba-y-Am
peinarse(recipr)	ts'i:tsbA:-x	ts'i:tsbA:-x-in	ts'i:tsba:-x-nEK
ayudar	tOlmi-x	tOlmi-x-in	tolmi-x-nEK
ayudarlo	tOlmi-y-al	tOlmi-y	tolmi-y-Am
ayudarse(recipr)	to:lmI:-x	to:lmI:-x-in	to:lmi:-x-nEK
mentir	k'Ambi-x	k'Ambi-x-in	k'ambi-x-nEK
engañarlo	k'Ambi-y-al	k'Ambi-y	k'ambi-y-Am
engañarse(recipr)	k'a:mbI:-x	k'a:mbI;-x-in	k'a:mbi:-x-nEK
preparar	lEhki-x	lEhki-x-in	lehki-x-nEK
prepararlo	lEhki-y-al	lEhki-y	leki-y-Am
cambiarse	hAlk'u-x	hAlk'u-x-in	halk'u-x-nEK
cambiarlo	hAlk'u-y-al	hAlk'u-y	halk'u-y-Am
pensar	chAlpa-x	chAlpa-x-in	chalpa-x-nEK
pensarlo	chAlpa-y-al	chAlpa-y	chalpa-y-Am

"X" -CCV stem with -y-al in the transitives

cepillarse	pEd-ba-x	ped-ba-x-In	ped-ba-x-nEK
cepillarlo	pEd-ba-y-al	pEd-ba-y	ped-y-Am
cepillarse(recipr)	pe:d-bA:-x	pe:d-bA:-x-in	pe:d-ba:-x-nEK
sacudirlo	pEd-y-al	pEdo-y	ped-y-Am

"X" -CCV stems with -al in the transitives

enviar	Abna-x	Abna-x-in	abna-x-nEK
enviarlo	abn-A:l	Abn-a'	abn-Am
tronar	pEw'la-x	pEw'la-x-in	pew'la-x-nEK
tronarlo	pew'l-Al	pEw'l-a'	pew'l-Am
recaer	wIts-bi-n-al	wIts-bi-n	wits-bi-nEK
repetir			
la enfermedad	wIts-K'o-n-al	wIts-k'o-n	wits-k'o-nEK

repetir	wIts-k'o-x	wIts-k'o-x-in	wits-k'o-x-nEk
repetirlo	wIts-k'ow-al	wIts-k'o	wits-k'o-m
ser entregador	wIts-b-om	wits-b-om-Ach	wits-b-om-Amad
devolver	wIts-ba-x	wIts-ba-x-in	wits-ba-x-nEk
devolverlo	wits-b-Al	wIts-b-a'	wits-b-Am

"X" -C-tsi stems with -ts-al in the transitives

llevar comida a la milpa	AK-tsi-x	AK-tsi-x-in	ak-tsi-x-nEk
llevar comida a la milpa -	AK-ts-al	AK-tsi	ak-ts-Am
ir por pasto	Akw'-tsi-x	Akw'-tsi-x-in	akw'-tsi-x-nEk
ir por pasto	Akw'-ts-al	Akw'-tsi	akw'-ts-Am
velar	wAy-tsi-x	wAy-tsi-x-in	way-tsi-x-nEk
velarlo	wAy-ts-al	wAy-tsi	way-ts-Am
esperar	Ay-tsi-x	Ay-tsi-x-in	ay-tsi-x-nEk
esperarlo	Ay-ts-al	Ay-tsi	ay-ts-Am
ser regador	pUh-tsi-x	pUh-tsi-n-in	puh-tsi-x-nEk
regarlo	pUh-ts-al	pUh-tsi	puh-ts-Am
bautizar	pUn-y-al	puha-y	puh-y-Am

"X" -C-tsi stems Misc

dar prestado	mAtin-tsi-x	mAtin-tsi-x-in	matin-tsi-x-nEk
dar prestado	matintsix-n-Al	matintsix-n-A'	matintsix-n-Am
darselo pres-recip	ma:ti:ntsI:-x	ma:ti:ntsi:x-in	ma:ti:ntsi:x-nEk

"L" group

"L" group with -n-Al in the transitive

cargar	kIta-1	kit-1-Ach	kit-1-Amad
cargarlo	kit-n-Al	kIt-n-a'	kit-n-Am
nadar	kOwa-1	kow-1-Ach	kow-1-Amad
nadarlo	kow-n-Al	kOw-n-a'	kow-n-Am
estudiar	exOba-1	exob-1-Ach	exob-1-Amad
estudiar	exob-n-Al	exOb-n-a'	exob-n-Am
entenderlo	Exba-y-al	Exba-y	exba-y-Am

Misc "L" with -n-Al in the transatives

masticar (chicle)	K'axK'I-1	K'axK'Iy	K'axiK'-1-Amad
masticarlo (chicle)	K'axiK'-n-Al	K'Axik'-n-a'	K'axiK'-n-Am

cuidar	bEl-ko-l	bel-ko-m-Ach	bel-ko-l-Amad
cuidarlo	bel-at-n-Al	bel-at-n-A'	bel-at-n-Am
calentarse	dIla-l	dil-Ach	dil-Amad
calentarlo	dila-n-d-Al	dila-n-d-A'	dila-n-d-Am
soñar	wAtsbi-l	watsbi-l-Ach	wAtsbi-l-Amad
		(watsib-l-Ach)	
sonarlo	watsib-n-Al	watsib-n-A'	watsib-n-Am

"L" group with -y-al in transitives

aguantarlo	kUx-y-al	kUxu-y	kux-y-Am
turnar	kU:xu-m	kux-mAch	kux-l-Amad
ir en lugar			
de otra persona	kU:xu-l	kux-l-Ach	kux-l-Amad
turnarse muy se-			
guido-recip	ku:xU:-x	ku:xU:-x-in	ku:xu:-x-nEk
turnarlo	kUxu-n-ts-al	kUxu-n-tsi	kuxu-n-ts-Am
tocar musico	t'Ene-l	t'en-l-Ach	t'en-l-Amad
tocar instrum.	t'En-y-al	t'Ene-y	t'en-y-Am
moler	chE'e-l	che'-l-Ach	che'-l-Amad
molerlo	chE'-y-al	chE'e-y	che'-y-Am
ocuparlo el metate	che'-n-Al	chE'-n-a'	che'-n-Am
ocuparlo el metate	che'e-m-n-Al	che'E-m-n-a'	che'e-m-n-Am
(siempre)			
soplar	hUtsu-l	huts-l-Ach	huts-l-Amad
soplarlo	hUts-y-al	hUtsu-y	huts-y-Am
cortar	kO:to-l	kot-l-Ach	kot-l-Amad
cortarlo	kOt-y-al	kOto-y	koty-Am
pintar	mU:ku-l	muk-l-Ach	muk-l-Amad
pintarlo	mUK-y-al	mUku-y	muk-y-Am
sonar nariz	dImi-l	dim-l-Ach	dim-l-Amad
sonar la nariz	dIm-y-al	dImi-y	dim-y-Am
acarrear (lena)	Eche-l	ech-l-Ach	ech-l-Amad
acarrear lena	Ech-y-al	Eche-y	ech-y-Am
cortar con machete	t'Aki-l	t'ak-l-Ach	t'ak-l-Amad
cortarlo con mach	t'AK-y-al	t'Aki-y	t'ak-y-Am
escardar	chIxi-l	chix-l-Ach	chix-l-Amad
escardarlo	chIx-y-al	chIxi-y	chix-y-Am
rascarse	kOch'i-l	koch'-l-Ach	koch'-l-Amad
rascarlo	kOch'-y-al	kOch'i-y	koch'-y-Am
toser	Ohba-l	ohba-l-Ach	ohba-l-Amad

toserlo	Ohba-y-al	Ohba-y	ohba-y-Am
sacudir	pEdo-1	ped-1-Ach	ped-1-Amad
sacudirlo	pEd-y-al	pedo-y	ped-y-Am
remoler	yUt'	yut'-1-Ach	yut'-1-Amad
remoler	yUt'-y-al	yUt'i-y	yut'-y-Am
(con dientes)			

"L" group with -w-al in transitives

gastar	pA:ku-1	pa:kw-1-Ach	pakw-1-Amad
gastarlo,borrarlo	pAkw-al	pAku	pakU-m
chupar	ch'A'u-1	ch'aw'-1-Ach	ch'aw'-1-Amad
chuparlo*	ch'A'w-al	ch'A'aw	ch'a'U-m
alcanzar	bA:hu-1	baw-1-Ach	baw-1-Amad
alcanzarlo*	bAhw-al	bAhaw	bahU-m
vender	nUhu-1	nuh-1-Ach	nuh-1-Amad
venderlo	nUhw-al	nUhu	nuhU-m
fumar	hUch'-u1	huch'-1-Ach	huch'-1-Amad
fumarlo	hUch'w-al	hUch'u	huch'U-m

Misc "L" group with -y in the transitives

Misc "L" of -wal group

recibir	bAch'-k'u-1	bach'-k'u-1-Ach	bach'-k'u-1-Amad
recibirlo	bAch'w-al	bAch'u	bach'U-m

poder ver, ver a			
enfermos,etc	chU'u-x	chU'-x-in	chu'-x-i-nEk
ver,vigilar,			
ser partera	chU'u-1	chu'-1-Ach	chu'-1-Amad
verlo	chU't-al	chU'u	chU-m
verselo	chU'-ts-al	chU'-tsi	chu'-ts-Am
verselo por parte			
de otra persona	chU'tsintsal	chU'tsintsi	chu'tsintsAm

"L" group with -al in transitives

tomar	Uch'a-1	uch'-1-Ach	uch'-1-Amad
tomarlo	uch'-Al	Uch'-a'	uch'-Am
hacer tortillas	pAK'-al	pak'-1-Ach	pak'-1-Amad
hacer torts	paK'-Al	pAK'-a'	pak'-Am

Misc "L" group

escuchar	Och'o-1	och'-1-Ach	och'-1-Amad
escuchar/sentirlo	ach'-Al	Ach'-a'	ach'-Am

"N" group

"N" group with -y in the transitives

rasurarse	wAx-n-al	wAchi-n	wax-nEK
rasurarlo	wAch-y-al	wAchi-y	wach-y-Am
medicinar	ilAl-n-al	ilAli-n	ilal-nEK
medicinarlo	ilAli-y-al	ilAli-y	ilali-y-Am
abrigarse	hOkma-n-al	hOkma-n	hokma-nEK
abrigarlo	hOkma-y-al	hOkma-y	hokma-y-Am
soplar,abanicar	wAw'-n-al	wA'u-n	waw'-nEK
soplar/abanicarlo	wAw'-y-al	wA'u-y	waw'-y-Am
vestirse	xEket-li-n-al	xEket-li-n	xeket-li-nEK
vestirlo(per)	xEket-li-y-al	xeket-lI-y	xeket-li-y-Am
vestirlo(traje)	xeket-n-Al	xEket-n-a'	xeket-n-Am
esta vestido		xElet-li-n	xEket-li-d
ensuciar	k'Ut'-li-n-al	k'Ut'-li-n	k'ut'-li-nEK
ensuciarlo	k'Ut'-li-y-al	k'Ut'-li-y	k'ut'-li-y-Am

"N" group with -w-al

peluquearse	KAx-n-al	KAxu-n	Kax-nEK
peluquearlo	KAxw-al	KAxu	KaxU-m

"N" group MISC

sonreir	tE'e'e-l	te'e'-l'Ach	te'e'e-l-Amad
reirse	tE'n-al	tE'en	te'n-EK
causar risa	te'en-d-Al	tE'en-d-a'	te'en-d-Am
cantar	Ahat	Aht-in	ahti-nEK
cantarlo	ahat-n-Al	Ahat-n-a'	ahat-n-Am
se le olvida	UK'-pi-n-al	UK'-pi-n	uk'-pi-nEK
olvidarlo	UK'-ts-al	UK'-tsi	uk'-ts-Am
trabajar	t'Oh-n-al	t'Oho-n	t'oh-n-EK
trabajarlo(field)	t'oho-m-n-Al	t'Oho-m-n-a'	t'oho-m-n-Am
trabajarlo(animal)	t'oho-m-d-Al	t'Oho-n-d-a'	t'oho-d-Am
hacer llorar	UK'n-al	UK'in	uk'n-EK
hacer llorar	uk'in-d-Al	UK'in-d-a'	uk'in-d-Am
bailar	bix-nE-l	bix-m-Ach	bix-m-Amad
bailarlo	bix-n-Al	bIx-n-a'	bix-n-Am
perderse	k'Ipcho-n	k'Ipcho-n	k'ipcho-nEK
perderlo	k'Ipchow-al	k'Ipcho	k'ipchO-m
hacerlo perder	k'ip-d-Al	k'Ip-d-a'	k'ip-d-Am

calva	Oln-al	Olin	oln-Ek
rezar /o:lan-/	o:l	O:lan	o:l-Amad
rezarlo	O:lan-ts-al	O:lan-tsi	o:lan-ts-Am
ser conocedor	cho'Ob-n-om	cho'ob-l-Ach	cho'ob-l-Amad
llegar a saberlo	cho'ob-n-Al	cho'Ob-n-a'	cho'ob-n-Am
saberlo(aorist)	chO'ob		
venir(aorist)	tal		
venir	tsI'i-l	tsI:-ch	tsI'-neK
traerlo	tsi'-d-Al	tsI'-d-a'	tsi'-d-Am
morir	chEme-l	chEme-ch	chEm-neK
matarlo	chem-d-Al	chEm-d-a'	chem-d-Am
llegar	Ule-l	Ul-ich	Ul-nek
hacerlo llegar	ul-d-Al	Ul-d-a'	ul-d-Am
salir	kAle-l	kAle	kAl-nek
hacerlo salir	kal-d-Al	kAl-d-a'	kal-d-Am

-E final stems

-E final stems with -E in non-present

tener frio	ch'ay-bE:-l	ch'ay-bE:	ch'Ay-be-nek
enfriarlo	ch'ay-be:-d-Al	ch'ay-bE:-d-a'	ch'ay-be-d-Am
be (come?) poor	ch'ontal-bE-l	ch'ontal-bE	ch'ontAl-be-nek
estar contento	kul-bE-l	kulbE	kUlbe-nek
contentarlo	kulbe-d-Al	kulbE-d-a'	kulbe-d-Am
aumentarse	yAn-e-l	yAn-e-y	yAn-e-nek
aumentarlo[-MVD]	yan-e-d-Al	yan-E-d-a'	yan-e-d-Am
disminuirse	we'-mE-l	we'-mE	wE'-me-nek
disminuirlo	we'-me-d-Al	we'-mE-d-a'	we'-me-d-Am
encogerse(gusa)	chipi-l-mE-l	chipi-l-mE	chipI-l-me-nek
reducirse(ropa)	chipi'-mE-l	chipi'-mE	chIpi'-me-nek
reducirlo	chipi'-me-d-Al	chipi'-mE-d-a'	chipi'-me-d-Am

-E final stems without -E in non-present

ahogarse	putE-l	pUte-y	pUte-nek
ahogarlo	pute-d-Al	putE:-d-a'	pute:-d-Am
curarse	helE-l	hEle-y	hEle-nek
curarlo	hel-d-Al	hEl-d-a'	hel-d-Am
està lleno	ts'Utsat		
llenar(se)	ts'U:tse-l	ts'U:ts-ey	ts'U:ts-e-nek
llenarlo	ts'Uts-y-al	ts'Utsu-y	ts'uts-y-Am

volverse	wits-El	wIts-i-y	wIts-e-neK
secarse [-MVD]	wayE-l	wAye-y	wAye-neK
amanecer [-MVD]	tsudE-l	tsUde-y	tsUde-neK
amanecerlo	tsude-d-Al	tusde-d-A'	tsude-d-Am
crecer [-MVD]	pUbe-l	pUbe-y	pUbe-neK
crecerlo	pube-d-Al	pube-d-A'	pube-d-Am
salvarse [-MVD]	lo'E-l	lO'e-y	lO'e-neK
salvarlo	lO'w-al	lO'o	lo'O-m
pararse [-MVD]	kubE-l	kUbe-y	kUbe-neK
pararlo	kub-Al	kUb-a'	kub-Am
montar [-MVD]	punE-l	pUne-y	pUne-neK
montarlo	pun-Al	pUn-a'	pun-umnAl

-A final stems

andar	bEla-l	bEle-y	bEl(e)-neK
cf manejarlo			

-I final stems

		awi-ch-mE:	
ser poderoso	Awi-l	awi-l-mE:	awI-l-me-neK
estar(lugar)	kw'Ahat	kw'Aha-y	kw'Ah-i-neK
vivir(lugar)	kw'ahI-l	kw'Aha-y	kw'Ah-i-neK
vivir(en tal casa)	kw'Ah-ts-al	kw'Ah-tsi	kw'ah-ts-Am
vivir(voz pas)	Kw'Ah-tsi-n-al		
bajarse	pa'I-l	pA'a-y	pA'i-neK
bajarlo	pa'-b-Al	pA'-b-a'	pa'-b-Am
levantarse [-MVD]	ch'akI:-l	ch'Aka-y	ch'AKi-neK
levantarlo	ch'aK-b-Al	ch'AK-ba'	ch'ak-b-Am
acostarse [-MVD]	kwachI-l	kwAchi-y	kwAchi-neK
acostarlo	kwachb-Al	kwAchb-a'	kwachb-Am

-U final stems

estar enfermo	yA'u-l	ya'u-l-Ach	ya'u-l-Amad
enfermarse	ya'u-l-mE-l	ya'u-l-mE	ya'U-l-me-neK
enojarse [-MVD]	chakU:-l	chAku-y	chAku-neK
enojarlo	chaku-d-Al	chakU:-d-a'	chaku-d-Am

Ø

descansar	kOyo-l	koyO-ch	koyO-mad
descansarlo	koy-d-Al	kOy-d-a'	koy-d-Am

brincar	t'Ikwn-al	t'Ikon	t'ikwn-Ek
brincarlo	t'Ikon-ts-al	t'Ikon-tsi	t'ikon-ts-Am
pedirlo	kOn-ts-al	kOn-tsi	kon-ts-Am
preguntarlo	kOn-y-al	kOno-y	kon-y-Am
dormir	wAya-l	wAy-ich	way-Amad
dormirlo	way-d-Al	wAy-d-a'	way-d-Am

Group with -V- unstressed -nek, E instead of ey/CC

tener frío	ch'ay-bE:-l	ch'ay-bE:	ch'Ay-be-nek
enfriarlo	ch'ay-be:-d-Al	ch'ay-bE:-d-a'	ch'ay-be-d-Am
be (come?) poor	ch'ontal-bE-l	ch'ontal-bE	ch'ontAl-be-nek
estar contento	kul-bE-l	kulbE	kUlbe-nek
contentarlo	kulbe-d-Al	kulbE-d-a'	kulbe-d-Am
aumentarse	yAn-e-l	yAn-e-y	yAn-e-nek
aumentarlo[-MVD]	yan-e-d-Al	yan-E-d-a'	yan-e-d-Am
disminuirse	we'-mE-l	we'-mE	wE'-me-nek
disminuirlo	we'-me-d-Al	we'-mE-d-a'	we'-me-d-Am
encogerse(gusanos)	chipi-l-mE-l	chipi-l-mE	chipI-l-me-nek
reducirse(ropa)	chipi'-mE-l	chipi'-mE	chIpi'-me-nek
reducirlo	chipi'-me-d-Al	chipi'-mE-d-a'	chipi'-me-d-Am
ahogarse	putE-l	pUte-y	pUte-nek
ahogarlo	pute-d-Al	putE:-d-a'	pute:-d-Am
curarse	helE-l	hEle-y	hEle-nek
curarlo	hel-d-Al	hEl-d-a'	hel-d-Am
està lleno	ts'Utsat		
llenar(se)	ts'U:tse-l	ts'U:ts-ey	ts'U:ts-e-nek
llenarlo	ts'Uts-y-al	ts'Utsu-y	ts'uts-y-Am
volverse	wits-El	wIts-i-y	wIts-e-nek
secarse [-MVD]	wayE-l	wAye-y	wAye-nek
amanecer [-MVD]	tsudE-l	tsUde-y	tsUde-nek
amanecerlo	tsude-d-Al	tusde-d-A'	tsude-d-Am
crecer [-MVD]	pUbe-l	pUbe-y	pUbe-nek
crecerlo	pube-d-Al	pube-d-A'	pube-d-Am
salvarse [-MVD]	lo'E-l	lo'e-y	lo'e-nek
salvarlo	lo'w-al	lo'o	lo'O-m
pararse [-MVD]	kubE-l	kUbe-y	kUbe-nek

pararlo	kUb-Al	kUb-a'	kUb-Am
montar [-MVD]	punE-l	pUne-y	pUne-nek
montarlo	pun-Al	pUn-a'	pun-umnAl
andar	bEla-l	bEle-y	bEl(e)-nek
cf manejarlo			
		awi-ch-mE:	
ser poderoso	Awi-l	awi-l-mE:	awI-l-me-nek
estar(lugar)	kw'Ahat	kw'Aha-y	kw'Ah-i-nek
vivir(lugar)	kw'ahI-l	kw'Aha-y	kw'Ah-i-nek
vivir(en tal casa)	kw'Ah-ts-al	kw'Ah-tsi	kw'ah-ts-Am
vivir(voz pas)	kw'Ah-tsi-n-al		
bajarse	pa'I-l	pA'a-y	pA'i-nek
bajarlo	pa'-b-Al	pA'-b-a'	pa'-b-Am
levantarse [-MVD]	ch'akI:-l	ch'Aka-y	ch'Aki-nek
levantarlo	ch'ak-b-Al	ch'Ak-ba'	ch'ak-b-Am
acostarse [-MVD]	kwachI-l	kwAchi-y	kwAchi-nek
acostarlo	kwachb-Al	kwAchb-a'	kwachb-Am
estar enfermo	ya'u-l	ya'u-l-Ach	ya'u-l-Amad
enfermarse	ya'u-l-mE-l	ya'u-l-mE	ya'U-l-me-nek
enojarse [-MVD]	chakU:-l	chAku-y	chAku-nek
enojarlo	chaku-d-Al	chakU:-d-a'	chaku-d-Am

"Truncated present" group

perderse	k'Ipcho-n	k'Ipcho-n	k'ipcho-nEK
perderlo	k'Ipchow-al	k'Ipcho	k'ipchO-m
hacerlo perder	k'ip-d-Al	k'Ip-d-a'	k'ip-d-Am
pedir prestado	mAt	mAch-in	mat-m-Amad
pedir prestadolo	mAt-y-al	mAti-y	mat-y-Am
rezar /o:lan-/	o:l	O:lan	o:l-Amad
rezarlo	O:lan-ts-al	O:lan-tsi	o:lan-ts-Am
necesitarlo	yEnts-al	yEntsi	yents-Am
ser necesario	yEhat	yehat-n-A	yEhat-n-ad
codiciar	lE'-n-om	le'-n-om-l-Ach	le'-n-om-l-Amad
quererlo(aorist)	le'		
quererlo	le'-n-Al	lE'-n-a'	le'-n-Am
querer(recipr)	le:'-n-A:-x	le:'-n-A:-x-in	le:'-n-A:-x-nEk
ser conocedor	cho'Ob-n-om	cho'ob-l-Ach	cho'ob-l-Amad
llegar a saberlo	cho'ob-n-Al	cho'Ob-n-a'	cho'ob-n-Am

saberlo(aorist)   chO'ob

jugar   ubAt'   ubAt'-in   ubat'-nEk
jugarlo(game)   ubat'-n-Al   ubAt'-n-a'   ubat'-n-Am
distraerlo[mvd]   ubAt'i-y-al   ubAt'i-y   ubat'-iy-Am

remoler   yUt'   yut'-l-Ach   yut'-l-Amad
remoler
(con dientes)   yUt'-y-al   yut'I-y   yut'-y-Am

repasar (nix)   xits   xits-m-Ach   xits-m-Amad
repasar(nixt)   xits-Al   xIts-a'   xits-Am

barrer   kw`et              kw`et-m-Ach   kw`et-m-Amad
barrerlo   kw'Et-y-al   kw'Eto-y   kw'et-y-Am

robar   kwe'   kwE'e-n   kwe'-nEk
robarlo   kwE'-y-al   kwE'e-y   kwe'-y-Am

desmontar [-MVD]   kOte   kote-l-Ach   kote-l-Amad

estornudar [-MVD]   hAt'isom   hat'isom-l-Ach   hat'isom-l-Amad

visitar
la milpa [-MVD]   Ale-lom   Ale-lom-l-Ach   ale-lom-l-Amad

ir de compras
en el pueblo   bitsOw-lom   bitsow-loml-Ach   bitsow-lAmad
                                                              (-loml-Amad)

SPECIAL Section

llevar en la
cabeza-oficio   pAma-l   pam-l-Ach   pam-l-Amad
llevarlo en la
cabeza-aorist   pam-Am   pAm-n-a'   pam-n-Am
levantarlo a la
cabeza-incip aor.   pam-n-Al   pAm-n-a'   pam-n-Am
levantarselo a la
cabeza-incip aor.   pAma-y-al   pAma-y   pama-y-Am
llevar a otra pers
en la cabeza   pAm-na-x   pAm-na-x-in   pam-na-x-nEk
llevar a otra pers.
en la cabeza-recip   pa:m-nA:-x   pa:m-nA:-x-in   pa:m-na:-x-nEk
ponerle a la cabeza
de otra pers.-rec   pA:ma:-x   pa:mA:-x-in   pa:ma:-x-nEk
poder llevar
en la cabeza   pa:m-nA:l
ayudar a levantarlo
en la cabeza-pas   pama-y-Ab   pAma-y-at
llevarselo en la
cabeza   pAm-n-an-ts-al   pAm-n-an-tsi   pam-n-an-ts-Am
poderse llevar en
la cabeza   pam-n-A:b   pam-n-A: pAm-n-ad

podersele llevar en la cabeza	pam-n-an-ts-Ab	pAm-n-an-ts-at	pAm-n-an-tsi-d
podersele llevar en la cabeza-recip	pa:mna:ntsAb	pa:m-n-a:-n	pA:mna:ntsid
tenerlo en la cabeza	pAm-ad		
dormir	wAya-l	wAy-ich	way-Amad
dormirse	no hay pres.	wAy-K-an	wAy-K-a-nek
quedarse dormido	wAy-Ka-n-al	way-Ka-l-Ach	way-Ka-l-Amad
dormirlo	way-d-Al	wAy-da-'	way-d-Am
dormirselo	wAy-da-n-ts-al	wAy-da-n-tsi	way-da-n-ts-Am
volverse	wits-El	wIts-i-y	wIts-e-neK
recaer	wIts-bi-n-al	wIts-bi-n	wits-b-i-nEK
repetir la enfermedad	wIts-K'o-n-al	wIts-K'o-n	wits-K'o-nEK
repetir	wIts-K'o-x	wIts-K'o-x-in	wits-K'o-x-nEK
repetirlo	wIts-K'ow-al	wIts-K'o	wits-K'-Om
ser entregador	wIts-b-om	wits-b-om-Ach	wits-b-om-Amad
devolver	wIts-ba-x	wIts-ba-x-in	wits-ba-x-nEK
devolverlo	wits-b-Al	wIts-ba-'	wits-b-Am
comer	K`Apu-l	K`apU-ch	K`apU-mad
comerlo*	K'Ap-al	K'Apu	K'apU-m
comerlo (por costumbre)	K'Ap-w-al	K'Apu	K'apU-m
comer demasi- ado[-MVD]	K'A:pu-n-al	K'A:pu-n	K'A:pu-nEK
comerlo todo[-MVD]	K'A:pu-y-al	K'A:pu-y	K'A:pu-y-Am
comerlo rápido	K'aptsikiy-Al	K'Aptsiki-y	K'aptsikiy-Am
comer de lo ajeno	K'Ap-tsi-x	K'Ap-tsi-x-in	K'ap-tsi-x-nEK
comèrselo	K'Ap-ts-al	K'Ap-tsi	K'ap-ts-Am
comer del otro	K'Aptsintsi-x	K'aptsintsIx-in	K'aptsitsi-nEk
comerlo por parte del otro	K'Aptsints-al	K'Aptsin-tsi	K'aptsints-Am
comerle poco de su comida	K'Apnintsi-x	K'Apnintsix-in	K'apnints-Am
hacerle rendir su comida	K'Apnints-al	K'Apnin-tsi	K'apnints-Am
comerlo de poco en poco	K'ap-ni-x-n-Al	K'ap-ni-x-n-A'	K'a-ni-x-n-Am
dar asistencia	K'Apu-n-d-om	K'apu-n-d-om-Ach	K'Apu-n
dar de comer	K'Apu-n-d-ax	K'Apu-n-d-ax-in	K'apu-n-d-ax-nEK
darle de comer	K'apu-n-d-Al	K'Apu-n-d-a'	K'apu-n-d-Am
estar goloso	K'apu-pU-l	K'apu-pu-l-Ach	K'apu-pu-l-Amad
devorarse entre si	K'a:pU:-x	K'a:pU:-x-in	K'a:pu:-x-nEK
ser comestible	K'apw-Ab	K'Apw-at	K'ap-nE:k
se lo comen	K'aptsints-Ab	K'aptsints-At	K'aptsints-Am
se come, lo devoran	K'Ap-n-al	K'ap-at	K'Ap-ud