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PLURALIZATION IN HUASTECO

The plural morpheme is tsik, here written as a separate word.

1. Use with pronouns. The plural morpheme may optionally occur with any plural pronoun. It occurs obligatorily with *jaja'* tsik when it does not occur elsewhere in the clause.

nana' I
tata' you
jaja' he/she

xaxa' (tsik) we
wawa' (tsik) you
jaja' (tsik) they

2. Use in the noun phrase. The plural morpheme may occur in a noun phrase to indicate plural; its absence does not necessarily indicate singular, however.

an olom the pig(s)
an olom tsik the pigs

3. Use after the verb. The plural morpheme sometimes occurs following the verb and/or its auxiliary (whether or not it also occurs in the relevant noun phrase). In such a case the reference possibilities are restricted.

First, only nuclear terms may antecede a post-verbal plural.

() Monostratal 1:

exom tsik ti belal tsik adik an olom (tsik)
PROG PL 3(3):3(3) walk PL fast the pig PL
'The pigs are running.'

() Final 1 of passive:

chab i olom (tsik) 0 nujun (tsik) k'al na Juan
two pig PL 3(3) were.sold PL by HON
'two pigs were sold by John'

() Initial 1 of passive:

jun i olom 0 nujun tsik k'al jaja' tsik
one a pig 3(3) were.sold PL by them PL
'One pig was sold by them'

() Final 2:

nana' u ela' tsik (an olom tsik)
I 1:3(3) found PL the pig PL
'I found them (the pigs)'

jaja' in ela' tsik
he 3(3):3(3) found PL
'he found them'

xaxa' i ela' tsik
you 22:3(3) found PL
'you (pl.) found them'

() jaja' tsik in ela' they found him / he found them

jaja' in ela' tsik he found them / they found him

jaja' tsik in ela' tsik they found him / he found them

in ela' tsik jaja' he found them / ???

jaja' tsik in nuju they sold it

jaja' tsik in nuju tsik they sold it

in nuju tsik they sold it

in nuju tsik jaja' tsik they sold it

in nuju jaja' tsik they sold it

jaja' in nuju he sold them

 in nuju jaja' he sold them

jaja' in nuju tsik he sold them

 in nuju tsik jaja' he sold them

4. Use after the subject pronoun (NP?) (preverbal??).

() nana' tsik u ela? (tsik)

'I found them'

nana' tsik u ela? an BOYS tsik

'I found the boys'

jaja' in cha'aw chapik an olom tsik
hard

jaja' chapik tin cha'aw an olom tsik

jaja' chapik tsik tin cha'aw tsik an olom tsik

'he hit the pigs hard'

jaja' in cha'aw tsik chapik an olom 'they hit the pigs hard'

jaja' in cha'aw chapik tsik an olom 'they hit the pigs hard'

5. Use after adverb.

HUASTECO CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Huasteco has several constructions in which a nominal bears more than one grammatical relation to the clause. These include Passive, 3-2 Advancement, Instrumental-2 Advancement, and Antipassive. Before discussing these, however, we present some basic facts of Huasteco. In the discussion of these facts, we assume multilevel analyses of the above and state the generalizations in the correct form. We use the passive clauses here to argue that the generalizations refer to the correct level. In later sections we reinforce this by discussing other constructions.

Agreement facts

Number. The plural suffix *-tsik* sometimes occurs following a verb. The following generalization states a necessary condition on its occurrence there.

- (1) Only (third person?) final subjects may determine the presence of *-tsik* following a verb.

This plural morpheme occurs only 'optionally', under conditions which have not been investigated. The examples in (2) show that the final subject of a simple transitive or intransitive clause can determine number agreement.

- (2) a. in nuju(-tsik) an olom
3-3(3) sold(-PL) the pig
'They sold the pig.'
* 'He sold the pigs.'
- b. in nuju(-tsik)
3-3(3) sold-PL
'They sold it.'
* 'He sold them.'
- c. an kwitoltsik adik(-tsik) ti k?ale
the boys ran(-PL) ???????
'The boys ran away.'
- d. adik(-tsik)
ran(-PL)
'They ran away.'

A final direct object cannot determine the presence of this plural morpheme on the verb, as (3) shows. Nor can other nonsubjects, as (4) illustrates.

- (3) a. na Juan in nuju an olomtsik
HON 3-3 sold the pigs
'John sold the pigs.'

* na Juan in nuju-tsik an olom(tsik)

b. nana? u ela?

'I found them.'

(4)

'I am cutting the meat with two knives.'
(or something like this)

Example (5) shows that the final subject of a (personal) passive clause can determine a postverbal plural morpheme, and (6) that the initial subject of such a clause cannot.

(5) chab nin olomiltsik Ø nuj-wat(-tsik) k'al na Juan
two his.pigs 3s sold-PASS(-PL) by HON
'Two of his pigs were sold by John.'

(6) a. an olom Ø nuj-wat k'al jaja'tsik
the pig 3s sold-PASS by them
'The pig was sold by them.'

b. an olom Ø nuj-wat-tsik k'al jaja'tsik
the pig 3s sold-PASS-PL by them
'The pigs were sold by them.'
* 'The pig was sold by them.'

Person. A description of Huasteco verbs must include some discussion of the anaphoric proclitics (or prefixes) which occur. We treat these as a type of agreement since they are always present, regardless of whether the nominal to which they refer is present in the clause or not. The following generalization can be made.

(7) Final nuclear terms in Huasteco determine the pronominal proclitics.

The proclitics used with finally intransitive clauses are different from those used with finally transitive clauses. Furthermore, there are different subsets of proclitics in each group whose use depends on tense, etc. Charts with the proclitic sets are given below.

(8) AGREEMENT WITH ONLY THE FINAL SUBJECT

	U-set	Ø-set	T-set	K-set
1	in	in	tin	kin
2	i/it	it	ta	ki/kit
3(3)	u	Ø	ti	ka
11	u	u	tu	ku
22	ix/i	ix/i	tax	kix

(9) AGREEMENT WITH FINAL SUBJECT AND DIRECT OBJECT

	o b j e c t				
	1	11	2	22	3(3)
s	1				u
u		(refl)		tu	tux
b	11				i
j					
e	2				a
c				(refl)	
t	22				i
		tin	tu		
				ti	
	3				tix
					in
	33			it	

It is the final subject of a (personal) passive clause which determines person agreement rather than the initial subject.

(10)

'I was kicked by your horse.'
or other such sentences

Pronouns. The free pronouns in Huasteco are:

(11)	nana'	I	wawa'	we
	tata'	you	tata'tsik, xaxa'	you
	jaja'	(s)he, it	jaja'tsik	they

The only time a pronoun can occur "bare", that is, without a preposition before it, is when it is the final subject of the clause. We state this as (12). HOW ABOUT USE OF EMPHATIC PARTICLES?

(12) Only final subjects can occur as bare pronouns.

Furthermore, "bare" pronouns must occur preverbally. These facts are illustrated below.

(13) (tata') a kwada' * a kwada' tata'
you 2s-3s hit

'You hit him'

() * jaja' a kwada' * a kwada' jaja'
'you hit him'

The final subject of a (personal) passive can occur as a preverbal pronoun.

() jaja' Ø nuj-wat k'al na Juan
it 3 sold-PASS by HON

'It was sold by John.'

Word order. Possible word orders for full noun phrases has not been fully investigated yet, but it promises to be relevant in spite of apparent word order freedom. Apparently the "unmarked" order is Final 1 - P - Final 2 - Nonterms.

PERSONAL PASSIVE

There are alternative (as yet undistinguishable) morphologies associated with passive in Huasteco.

Morphology: -wat or -wab (depending on tense)

or -n

or -a- (after CAUSATIVE only?)

Arguments for the final subjecthood of the initial 2 can be constructed on the basis of:

- 1) person agreement (involvement in)
- 2) number agreement (involvement in)
- 3) free preverbal pronoun (possible)

Arguments for the chomage of the initial 1 can be constructed on the basis of:

- 1) person agreement (lack of involvement in)
- 2) number agreement (lack of involvement in)
- 3) free preverbal pronoun (impossible)
- 4) flagged with k' al

Ø-Set						K-set					
o b j e c t											
	1	2	3(3)	11	22		1	2	3(3)	11	22
s 1		tu	u		tux			tu	ku		tux
u 2	tin		a	tu		tikin		ka	tiku		
b 3	tin	ti	in	tu	tix	tikin	ti	kin	tiku	tix	
j											
e 11		tu	i		tux		tu	ki		tux	
c 22	tin		i	tux		tikin		ki	tiku		
t 33	tin	it	in	tu	tix	tikin	kit	kin	tiku	tix	

ANALYSIS:

k-prefixes involve a /k/— prefix (allomorph —ik after C) which occurs whenever a 1(1) or 3(3) direct object is involved, and also in the 33-2 form. (One quirk is that 22-11 is **tiku** and not **tikux**.

- (i) The Ø-set proclitics involving 1(1) direct object are thus shown to be bimorphemic (**tin** = **t** + **in** and **tu** = **t** + since the presence of the /k/ prefix separates them (**t** + **ik** + **in** and **t** + **ik** + **u**).

they found me jaja'tsik tin ela'(tsik)
tin ela'tsik jaja'(tsik)

they found him jaja'tsik in ela'

I found them u ela'tsik
nana' tsik u ela' <- preferred
nana' u ela'
nana' u ela'tsik
nana' tsik u ela'tsik

you found them tata' a ela'tsik
tata' tsik a ela'

yall found them xaxa'(tsik) i ela'tsik

we found them wawa'(tsik) i ela'tsik

I scared them nana' tsik u jik'eda'
nana' u jik'eda' tsik
nana' tsik u jik'eda' tsik

John sold the pigs na Juan in nuju an olom tsik
in nuju an olom tsik na Juan
* na Juan in nujutsik an olom (tsik)

they sold the pigs jaja'tsik in nuju an olom <- good
jaja'tsik in nujutsik an olom <- good

they sold them

jaja'tsik in nuju
in nujutsik
jaja'tsik in nujutsik

they boys ran quickly

an kwitol tsik adik ti k'ale
an kwitol tsik adiktsik ti k'ale
an kwitol tsik adik ti k'ale tsik
an kwitol tsik adiktsik ti k'ale tsik

adiktsik ti k'ale an kwitol tsik
adik ti k'ale an kwitol tsik
* adiktsik ti k'ale an kwitol
adik ti k'ale tsik an kwitol tsik
adiktsik ti k'ale tsik an kwitol tsik

* adik ti k'ale tsik an kwitol

adik ti k'ale tsik
adiktsik ti k'ale tsik
adiktsik ti k'ale

k'ale (tsik) adik (tsik) an kwitol tsik
* k'ale (tsik) adik (tsik) an kwitol

they ran quickly

jaja'tsik adiktsik ti k'ale
jaja'tsik adik ti k'aletsik
jaja'tsik adiktsik ti k'aletsik
jaja'tsik adik ti k'ale

HUASTECO

AGREEMENT FACTS

Number The final subject determines number agreement on the verb, which occurs only 'optionally', under conditions which have not been investigated. The plural suffix **-tsik** is used.

Final subject of simple transitive controls:

- (1) in nuju(-tsik) an olom
3=3(3)-sold=PL the pig

'They sold the pig'

O.K.

- (2)

'We sold a pig'

Wawa*t* i nuju jun i olom.

Final subject of simple intransitive controls:

- (2)

'They ran away'

a diktzik +*a* ti k'ale

'Se fueron muy rápido'

- (3)

'We fell down in the mud'

Wawa*t* u k'aylar al a, si'nt?

Final direct object of simple transitive does not control:

- (4) na Juan in nuju chab i olom
HON 3-3 sold-PL two a pig

O.K.

'John sold two pigs.'

* na Juan in nuju=tsik chab i olom

Final subject of (personal) passive clause controls:

- (5) chab i olom Ø nuj-wat(-tsik) k'al na Juan O.K.
two a pig 3s sold-PASS-PL by HON

'Two pigs were sold by John.'

Initial subject of (personal) passive clause does not control:

- (6) an olom Ø nuj-wat k'al jaja'tsik O.K.
the pig 3s sold-PASS by them

'The pig was sold by them'

* an olom Ø nuj-wat-tsik k'al jaja'tsik

Person Final nuclear terms in Huasteco determine pronominal agreement proclitics. (They are not phonologically dependent on the verb, it appears, but they are always present, regardless of whether the subject or object noun phrase is present.)

AGREEMENT WITH ONLY THE FINAL SUBJECT (intransitive constructions)
(It is necessary to know the tense / etc. in order to choose the correct agreement set.)

	U-set	Ø-set	T-set	K-set
1	in	in	tin	kin
2	i/it	it	ta	ki/kit
3(3)	u	Ø	ti	ka
11	u	u	tu	ku
22	ix/i	ix/i	tax	kix

AGREEMENT WITH FINAL SUBJECT AND DIRECT OBJECT (transitive constructions)

o b j e c t

	1	11	2	22	3(3)
s	1				u
u		(refl)		tu	tux
b	11				i
j					
e	2				a
c				(refl)	
t	22				i
		tin	tu		
	3			ti	
					tix
	33			it	in <u>xl</u>

The final subject of a (personal) passive clause determines person agreement--not the initial subject.

- (7) an olom Ø nuj-wat k'al na Juan
 the pig 3s sold-PASS by HON

'The pig was sold by John'

PRONOUNS The free pronouns are:

nana'	I	wawa'	we
tata'	you	tata'tsik, xaxa'	you
jaja'	(s)he, it	jaja'tsik	they

Generalization: Only final subjects can occur as bare pronouns.

(Any preposition can be followed by a pronoun, so we are not referring to that situation.)

Generalization: Free pronouns (not accompanied by a preposition) must occur preverbally. (Refinement may be necessary.)

Final subject of simple transitive can be free pronoun, and it must occur preverbally:

- (8) (tata') a kwada' * a kwada' tata'
you 2s-3s hit

'You hit him'

Final direct object of simple transitive cannot be free pronoun.
(CHECK WITH EMPHATIC PARTICLE FOLLOWING)

- (9) * jaja' a kwada' * a kwada' jaja'
'you hit him'

Final subject of (personal) passive can occur as a preverbal pronoun. *if don't think you're not used of animals.*

- (10) ~~jaja~~ 0-nuj-wat k'al-na Juan
it 3 sold-PASS by HON

'It was sold by John.'

WORD ORDER for full noun phrases has not been investigated yet, but it promises to be relevant in spite of apparent word order freedom. Apparently the "unmarked" order is Final 1 - P - Final 2 - Nonterms.

PERSONAL PASSIVE

There are alternative (as yet undistinguishable) morphologies associated with passive in Huasteco.

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or -n

or -a- (after CAUSATIVE only?)

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- 1) person agreement (lack of involvement in)
- 2) number agreement (lack of involvement in)
- 3) free preverbal pronoun (impossible)
- 4) flagged with ~~k~~ 'a'

Ø-Set

o b j e c t

	1	2	3(3)	11	22
s	1	tu	u		tux
u	2	tin	a	tu	
b	3	tin	ti	in	tix
j					
e	11	tu	i		tux
c	22	tin	i	tux	
t	33	tin	it	in	tix

K-set

	1	2	3(3)	11	22
		tu	u		tux
		tikin		ka	tiku
		tikin	ti	kin	tiku
				tix	
		tu	ki		tux
		tikin	ki	tiku	
		tikin	kit	kin	tiku
				tix	

ANALYSIS:

k-prefixes involve a /k/— prefix (allomorph —ik— after C) which occurs whenever a 1(1) or 3(3) direct object is involved, and also in the 33-2 form. (One quirk is that 22-11 is ~~tiku~~ and not ~~tiku~~—tux.)

- The Ø-set proclitics involving 1(1) direct object are thus shown to be bimorphemic (~~tin~~ = ~~t~~ + ~~in~~ and ~~tu~~ = ~~t~~ + ~~u~~) since the presence of the /k/— prefix separates them (~~t~~ + ~~ik~~ + ~~in~~ and ~~t~~ + ~~ik~~ + ~~u~~).

they found me jaja'tsik tin ela'(tsik)
tin ela'tsik jaja'(tsik)

they found him jaja'tsik in ela'

I found them u ela'tsik
nana' tsik u ela' <- preferred
nana' u ela'
nana' u ela'tsik
nana' tsik u ela'tsik

you found them tata' a ela'tsik
tata' tsik a ela'

yall found them xaxa'(tsik) i ela'tsik

we found them wawa'(tsik) i ela'tsik

I scared them nana' tsik u jik'eda'
nana' u jik'eda' tsik
nana' tsik u jik'eda' tsik

John sold the pigs na Juan in nuju an olom tsik
in nuju an olom tsik na Juan
* na Juan in nujutsik an olom (tsik)

they sold the pigs jaja'tsik in nuju an olom <- good
jaja'tsik in nujutsik an olom
jaja'tsik in nujutsik an olom <- good

they sold them

jaja'tsik in nuju
in nujutsik
jaja'tsik in nujutsik

they boys ran quickly

an kwitol tsik adik ti k'ale
an kwitol tsik adiktsik ti k'ale
an kwitol tsik adik ti k'ale tsik
an kwitol tsik adiktsik ti k'ale tsik

adiktsik ti k'ale an kwitol tsik
adik ti k'ale an kwitol tsik
* adiktsik ti k'ale an kwitol
adik ti k'ale tsik an kwitol tsik
adiktsik ti k'ale tsik an kwitol tsik

* adik ti k'ale tsik an kwitol

adik ti k'ale tsik
adiktsik ti k'ale tsik
adiktsik ti k'ale

k'ale (tsik) adik (tsik) an kwitol tsik
* k'ale (tsik) adik (tsik) an kwitol

they ran quickly

jaja'tsik adiktsik ti k'ale
jaja'tsik adik ti k'aletsik
jaja'tsik adiktsik ti k'aletsik
jaja'tsik adik ti k'ale

Exercise 5.7 Huasteco

- (1) (a) u ch'a'ay i bitsim (*ti bitsim)
1:3 a horse
I bought a horse
- (b) tu ch'ay'-tsi ti bitsim (*i bitsim)
1:2
I bought a horse from you
- (2) (a) u ch'a'ay an bitsim ti we'el (*an ti bitsim)
the yesterday
I bought the horse yesterday
- (b) tu ch'ay'-tsi an ti bitsim ti we'el (*an bitsim)
I bought the horse from you yesterday
- (3) (a) u ch'a'ay an bitsim ti we'el abal tata' (*an ti bitsim)
for you
I bought the horse for you yesterday
- (b) tu ch'ay'-tsi an ti bitsim ti we'el abal tata' CHECK
I bought the horse for you yesterday'
- (c) u cha'ay'-tsi an ti bitsim tu kwitolil
tit'ay' son
I bought the horse for my son CHECK
- (d) u cha'ay'-tsi an ti bitsim abal nu kwitolil (*abal tu kwitolil)
nat'ay' son
I bought the horse for my son' CHECK
- (4) (a) jaja' exom in t'ilal an t'ilab (*an ti t'ilab)
he AUX 3:3 DEF story
He is telling the story
- (b) jaja' exom ti t'il-ts-al an ti t'ilab (*an t'ilab)
1:3
He is telling the story to you
- (5) (a) jaja' tin nujtsi ti olom (*i olom)
3:1
He sold a pig to me
- (b) in nuj-ts-in ti olom k'al na Juan
I by
John sold a pig to me
- (6) ech'e'k'i in nuj-ts-ab cha'at ti olom tsik
always I cheap
UH always sells pigs to me cheap

(7) ti olom

Me regaló un puerco'

(8) ti olom

Me vendió un puerco'

(9) ti olom

Te regaló un puerco'

(10)

Te dijo una mentira

(11)

Exercise 5.9 Huasteco

1. nana' in wayal ban (k'al an) tat
I I sleep on.the with the mat

'I sleep on (with) the mat'
2. nana' u way-n-al (*k'al) an tat
1:3

'I use the mat to sleep on'
3. nana' u ajal an bitsim k'al i ch'a
scare horse with vine

'I scare the horse with a vine'
4. a. nana' u aja-xn-al i ch'a (an) ti bitsim
b. nana' u aja-xn-al (an) ti bitsim i ch'a
(both same as (3))
5. nana' u uch'al an ja' k'al i tu'
drink water gourd

'I drink water with a gourd'
6. nana' u uch'a-mn-al i tu' an ti ja'
(same as (5))
7. nana' u t'akal nu k'ubuk k'al i mampid ja' tam chamay
wash my hands lukewarm when it's-cold

'I wash my hands with lukewarm water when it's cold'
8. nana' u t'aka-xn-al i mampid ja' tu k'ubuk tam chamay
(ti + u)

(same as (7))

Directions: Diagram each sentence. Account for the person proclitics, the extra verbal morphology (not the allomorphy which exists, however), and the case marking ti.

*The possessive proclitics contract with the words an and ti to give the forms nu (an + u), and tu (ti + u).

Exercise 7.5 Huasteco

1. nana' exom u tsukyal i dak xeketlab abal nu tsidanol
I PROG 1:3 sew a white outfit for my daughter
nana' exom u tsuk-ts-al ti dak xeketlab (abal) nu tsidanol
(titi) (an 'the' + u 'my')
'I am sewing a white outfit for my daughter'
2. nana' exom tin tsuk-ux ti xeketlab abal nu tsidanol
I
'I am sewing an outfit for my daughter'
3. nana' exom tu tsuk-ts-al ti dak xeketlab
1:2
'I am sewing an outfit for you'
4. nana' exom tin tsuk-tsi-x k'i tu tsidanol
only (ti + u 'my')
nana' exom tin tsuktsix k'i abal nu tsidanol
'I am sewing only for my daughter.'
5. nana' exom tin tsuk-tsi-x k'i (abal tata')
'I am sewing only for you'
6. nana' in tsuk-ux ti xeketlab
I
'I sew clothes'
7. nana' in tsuk-ux
'I sew' or 'I am a tailor/seamstress'
8. nana' in tsuk-tsi-x (ti xeketlab)
'I sew (clothes) for people (UN)'
9. nana' in tsuk-tsi-x (an) ti xeketlab (abal) an mimlab tsik
lady plural
'I sew clothes for ladies'
10. nana' u pak'u an k'udk'um
'I launder the clothes'
11. nana' u pak'w-ts-al ((ti) k'udk'um) nu kwitolil
'I launder them (clothes) for my son'

12. nana' in pak'w-tsi-x (ti) k'udk'um tu kwitolil
launder clothes {tu = ti + u} son
'I launder clothes for my son'
13. nana' in pak'um (ti) k'udk'um abal nu kwitolil
'I launder clothes for my son'
14. nana' in pak'w-tsi-x abal tata'
'I launder clothes for you'
15. nana' in pak'w-tsi-x abal nu kwitolil
* nana' in pak'w-tsi-x nu kwitolil
nana' in pak'w-tsi-x tu kwitolil
'I launder for my son'

Note: abal 'BEN' + ti not allowed

Note: ti + unpossessed noun not allowed except when noun is initial 2

Diagram each sentence making sure that the analysis allows an accounting of the facts.

State the rule for the occurrences of abal and ti.

Discuss the interaction of revaluations you see operative here.

Case Marking

Pronominal Is occur in the nominative case.

Pronominal 2s occur in the accusative case.

3s are flagged by the preposition "to" (which governs the accusative case)

e.g. She sold me to him for a pittance.

NOMINATIVE CASE: I, you, he, she it, we, you, they

ACCUSATIVE CASE: *me, you, him, her, it us, you, them*

Verb Agreement

The verb agrees in person and number with the subject.

(This only shows up with certain verbs or in the present tense of most verbs.)

e.g.	SPECIAL VERB	PRESENT TENSE	PAST TENSE
I am		I leave	I left
you are		you leave	you left
he is		he leaves	he left
she is		she leaves	she left
we are		we leave	we left
they are		they leave	they left

fi wi ti chineh
+i wi ti ta?pa
fi wi ti t²ajānān chem-
+i we²el ti t²ajān doragh
ve case)
+i we²el ti kāl² aŋajif
talel albitri:
talal

falaaf

Talel + i tally

an year

For some exercises you will be asked for more general morphological descriptions, such as the following:

(15)

NOUN MORPHOLOGY: Root - Plural

VERB MORPHOLOGY: Subject - Tense - Root - Number
Agreement Agreement

time expression in the past (ii) Third person
and preposition to

fit well

+ i jen tanab

ti jin ren/waxik

ti jen laju bo 2(mata kita) tin kalanek at liton-

tizim na' ich?

ti'akal
+ a l i ? i s h a b k ? ? / c h a p k ? ?

*ti chab-tei) (nauan,
ti mi (or fi mi dajon etc.)*

Naná? in kaxnél

Naná? eton tiñ kaxnél an ti kaxnél

Naná? in bap läch ti miksik ti uel
" " Kap lámaat

Eton triñ Kap wäl }
} Kap näl

Naná? u Kap wäl, tuba?

Ich?ki? i u uel yan i kaxnél abal bu kaxnél
U kaxnél triñ xilil an min läbök

Eton u wachyal nu idim tuba?

Eton triñ wachyal triñ idim k'äl an kaxnél

Ich?ki? in wachyal

U wachyal an idim leb teche, k'äl juri awo kaxnél
Admad uet an inle

U wachyal triñ idim nu grax tam markdich,

Eton triñ wachyal

in wachyal triñ uel

K'äl in wachyal k'äl na Pedro.

" triñ wachyal na Pedro.

Eton triñ wachyal an ti kaxnél
} wachyal

2. 'jáñil 'múchaz wacer
'jáñil 'wárias personas'

14. nana' in pak'w-tsi-x abal nu kwitolil

* nana' in pak'w-tsi-x nu kwitolil

nana' in pak'w-tsi-x (abal)(tata') tu kwitolil

~~nana' in pak'w-tsi-x abal nu kwitolil~~

'I launder for my son'

Note: abal + ti not allowed apparently?

abal + tu > abal tu

nana' in pak'w-tsi-x abal tu kwitolil

This probably isn't a good example

'I launder clothes ~~for son~~ because you are my son'

I wash clothes and I wash clothes for my son.
nana' in pak'w-tsi-x pil on a pak'w-tsi-x jey nu kwitolil
'I'm a launderer for others and I also wash clothes for
my son.'

Diagram each sentence making sure that the analysis allows an accounting of the facts.

State the rule for the occurrence of abal.

Discuss the interaction of revaluations you see operative here.

I
nana' in pak'w-tsi-x abal nu kwitolil 'I wash clothes for my son's clothes'
nana' in tsuktsal nu kwitolil 'I sew for my son's clothes or whatever'
nana' in pata'kuntsal nu kwitolil 'I mend clothes for my son's clothes or whatever'

I did not realize before that Huasteco allowed constructions such as the above where it was not obligatory for the applicative to be followed by (an) ti.

HUASTECO

AGREEMENT FACTS

Number The final subject determines number agreement on the verb, which occurs only 'optionally', under conditions which have not been investigated. The plural suffix -tsik is used.

Final subject of simple transitive controls:

- (1) in nuju(-tsik) an olom
3-3(3) sold-PL the pig

'They sold the pig.'

(2)

'We sold a pig'

Final subject of simple intransitive controls:

(2)

'They ran away'

(3)

'We fell down in the mud'

Final direct object of simple transitive does not control:

- (4) na Juan in nuju chab i olom
HON 3-3 sold-PL two a pig

'John sold two pigs.'

* na Juan in nuju-tsik chab i olom

Final subject of (personal) passive clause controls:

- (5) chab i olom ~~ø~~-nuj-wat(-tsik) k'al na Juan
two a pig 3s-sold-PASS-PL by HON

'Two pigs were sold by John.'

Initial subject of (personal) passive clause does not control:

- (6) an olom ~~ø~~-nuj-wat k'al jaja'tsik
the pig 3s-sold-PASS by them

'The pig was sold by them'

*an olom ~~ø~~-nuj-wat-tsik k'al jaja'tsik

Person Final nuclear terms in Huasteco determine pronominal agreement proclitics. (They are not phonologically dependent on the verb, it appears, but they are always present, regardless of whether the subject or object noun phrase is present.)

AGREEMENT WITH ONLY THE FINAL SUBJECT (intransitive constructions)
(It is necessary to know the tense / etc. in order to choose the correct agreement set.)

	U-set	Ø-set	T-set	K-set
1	in	in	tin	kin
2	i/it	it	ta	ki/kit
3(3)	u	Ø	ti	ka
11	u	u	tu	ku
22	ix/i	ix/i	tax	kix

AGREEMENT WITH FINAL SUBJECT AND DIRECT OBJECT
(transitive constructions)

	o b j e c t				
	1	11	2	22	3(3)
s	1				u
u		(refl)		tu	tux
b	11				i
j					
e	2				a
c				(refl)	
t	22				i
		tin	tu		
	3			ti	
	33				tix in (refl)

The final subject of a (personal) passive clause determines person agreement--not the initial subject.

- (7) an olom ~~✓~~ nuj-wat k'äl na Juan
the pig 3s sold-PASS by HON

'The pig was sold by John'

PRONOUNS The free pronouns are:

nana'	I	wawa'	we
tata'	you	tata'tsik, xaxa'	you
jaja'	(s)he, it	jaja'tsik	they

Generalization: Only final subjects can occur as bare pronouns.

(Any preposition can be followed by a pronoun, so we are not referring to that situation.)

Generalization: Free pronouns (not accompanied by a preposition) must occur preverbally. (Refinement may be necessary.)

Final subject of simple transitive can be free pronoun, and it must occur preverbally:

- (8) (tata') a kwada' * a kwada' tata'
you 2s-3s hit
'You hit him'

Final direct object of simple transitive cannot be free pronoun.
(CHECK WITH EMPHATIC PARTICLE FOLLOWING)

- (9) * jaja' a kwada' * a kwada' jaja'
'you hit him'

Final subject of (personal) passive can occur as a preverbal pronoun.

- (10) jaja' Ø nuj-wat k'al na Juan
it 3 sold-PASS by HON
'It was sold by John.'

WORD ORDER for full noun phrases has not been investigated yet, but it promises to be relevant in spite of apparent word order freedom. Apparently the "unmarked" order is Final 1 - P - Final 2 - Nonterms.

PERSONAL PASSIVE

There are alternative (as yet undistinguishable) morphologies associated with passive in Huasteco.

Morphology: -wat or -wab (depending on tense)

or -n

or -a- (after CAUSATIVE only?)

Arguments for the final subjecthood of the initial 2 can be constructed on the basis of:

- 1) person agreement (involvement in)
- 2) number agreement (involvement in)
- 3) free preverbal pronoun (possible)

Arguments for the chomage of the initial 1 can be constructed on the basis of:

- 1) person agreement (lack of involvement in)
- 2) number agreement (lack of involvement in)
- 3) free preverbal pronoun (impossible)
- 4) flagged in R₀₁

Lista de verbos en huasteco que se habla en las comunidades del 1
municipio de Tantoyuca, Ver.

VERBOS INTRANSITIVOS

Naná'	exom	tin k'apul
"	ne'ech	" "
Tatá'	exom	ta "
jajá'	"	ti "
wawá'	"	tu "
xaxá'	"	tax "
tatá'tsik	"	ta k'apultsik
jajá'tsik	"	ti "

Naná'	in	k'apúch
Tatá'	(i)t	" "
jajá'	--	" "
wawá'	u	" "
xaxá'	ix	" "
tatá'tsik	i	k'apúchtsik
jajá'tsik	--	" "

Naná'	in	k'apúmadh
Tatá'	(i)t	" "
Jajá'	--	" "
wawá'	u	" "
xaxá'	ix	"(tsik)
tatá'tsik	i	" "
jajá'tsik	--	" "

(presente imperfectivo) (pretérito perfectivo). (presente perfectivo)

Los que terminan con -lámadh

ádhil	correr	ájlách	ájlámadh
ch'a'ul	masticar	ch'aw'lách	ch'aw'lámadh
che'el	moler	che'lách	che'lámadh
chixil	escardar	chixlách	chixlámadh
dhilal	calentarse	dhilách	dhilámadh
dhúbal	chiflar	dhúblách	dhúblámadh
dhútsum	respirar	dhútsumláach	dhútsumlámadh
echel*	traer leña	echlách	echlámadh
ixil	desgranar	ixlách	ixlámadh
juch'ul	fumar/chupar	juch'lách	juch'lámadh
kowal	nadar	kowlách	kowlámadh
kwé'	robar	kwé'lách	Kwé'lámadh
múkul	pintar	múklách	múklámadh
nújul	vender	nújlách	nújlámadh
och'ol	escuchar algo	och'lách	och'lámadh
ojbal	toser	ojbalách	ojbalámadh

ól	orar	ólan	ólámadh
<i>t'énel</i>	tocar	<i>t'énlách</i>	<i>t'énlámadh</i>
tonel	ir de visita	tonelách	tonelámadh
tubal	escupir	tublách	tublámadh
wát'il	esprimir	wat'iy	wat'lámadh
watsbil	soñar	watsbilách	watsbilámadh
ya'ul	emfermar	yaw'lách	yaw'lámadh

Los que terminan con -mámadh

ajum	leer	aymách	aymámadh
atsim	bañar	atsmách	atsmámadh
<i>beldhom</i>	manejar	<i>beldhomách</i>	<i>beldhomámadh</i>
bixnél	bailar	bixmách	bixmámadh
<i>ch'a'um</i>	comprar	<i>ch'ay'mách</i>	<i>ch'ay'mámadh</i>
<i>dhutsum</i>	escribir	<i>dhutsmách</i>	<i>dhutsmámadh</i>
exóbal	estudiar	exoblách	exoblámadh
jidhom	raspar (ixtle)	jidhmách	jidhmamádh
k'a'um	traer agua	k'ay'mách	k'ay'mámadh
kaldhom	sacar (hilo)	kaldhomách	kaldhomámadh
kutsum	preparar el zapupe	kutsmách	kutsmámadh
óm	sembrar	ómách	ómámadh
pák'um	lavar	pák'wmách	pák'wmámadh
<i>t'álím</i>	torcer hilo	<i>t'álmách</i>	<i>t'álmámadh</i>
telom	mirar	telmách	telmámadh
xánum	batir	xálmách	xálmámadh

Los que terminan con -nek

belal	caminar	beley	belnek
<i>ch'akíl</i>	levantarse	<i>ch'akay</i>	<i>ch'akinek</i>
<i>ch'aybél</i>	tener frio	<i>ch'aybé</i>	<i>ch'aybenek</i>
cha'el	bajarse	cha'ey	cha'enek
chakúl	enojar	chakuy	chakunek
chekel	cansar	chekey	chekenek
chemel	morir	chemech	chemnek
dhikel	secar	dhikey	dhikenek
ejel	despertar	ejech	ejenek
jik'él	tener miedo	jik'ey	jik'enek
k'a'íl	tener hambre	k'a'ay	k'a'inek
k'adhíl	subir	k'adhiy	k'adhinek
k'alel	ir	k'ale	k'alnek
kalel	salir	kale	Kalnek
kwachíl	acostar	kwachiy	kwachinek
ochel	entrar	ochich	ochenek
pa'il	bajar	pa'ay	pa'inek
pubel	crecer	pubey	pubenek
punél	montar	puney	punenek
<i>tidhebél</i>	avergonzarse	<i>tidhebé</i>	<i>tidhebenek</i>
tsí'il	venir	tsich	tsi'nek
tsikél	tener sed	tsikey	tsikenek
ulel	llegar	ulich	ulnek

wat'el
witsél

pasar
regresar

wat'ey
witsich

wat'enek 3
witsenek

Los que terminan con ~nék

ajat	cantar	ajtin	ajtinék
aytsix	esperar	aytsixin	aytsixnék
buxkanal	sentar	buxkan	buxkanék
ch'ik'ax	picar	ch'ik'xin	ch'ik'xinék
ch'ik'wix	picotear	ch'ik'wxin	ch'ik'wxinék
cha'ux	golpear	chaw'xin	chaw'xinék
chak'binal	sudar	chak'bin	chak'binék
chalminal	asombrearse	chalmin	chalminék
chochbix	patear	chochbiy	chochbixnék
chu'ux	ver	chu'xin	chu'xinék
dhájax	gritar	dhájaxin	dhájaxnék
dhímk'ax	embrujar	dhímk'axin	dhímk'axnék
ich'max	cornear	ich'may	ich'maxnék
ilálnal	curarse	ilálin	ilálnék
jokmanal	enchamarrarse	jokman	jokmanék
k'ay'tsix	acarreador de agua	k'ay'tsixin	k'ay'tsixnék
k'ak'linal	asolearse	k'ak'lin	k'ak'linék
k'at'ux	morder	k'at'u	K'at'xinék
kaw	hablar	kawin	kawnék
kaxnal	peluquear	kaxun	kaxnék
koch'ix	rasguñar	koch'iy	Koch'xinék
kunux	que provoca pelea	kunu	kúnxinék
och'ox	oir	och'xin	och'xinék
olmanal	loco	olman	olmanék
pajbinal	tener rabia/volverse	pajbin	pajbinék
pak'wtsix	ponerse los zapatos	pak'wtsixin	pak'wtsixnék
pat'binal	lavandera	pat'bín	pat'bínék
paxk'unal	ponerse el pantalón	paxk'un	paxk'unék
	hervir		
pejex	pelear (provocar)	pejexin	pejexnék
pewex	que pega gaditas	pewxin	pewxinék
pukmax	enterrar espinas del-	pukmaxin	pukmaxnék
t'e'pinal	entristercer	t'e'pin	t'e'pinék
t'ikwnal	brincar	t'ikon	t'ikwnék
t'oijnal	trabajar	t'ójon	t'oijnék
tak'ix	aconsejar	tak'xin	tak'xinék
te'nal	reír	te'en	te'nék
ts'itsbax	peinarse	ts'itsbaxin	ts'itsbaxnék
tsukux	coser	tsukxin	tsukxinék
ubát'	jugar	ubát'in	ubát'nék
uk'nal	llorar	uk'in	uk'nék
waw'nal	echarse aire	wa'un	waw'nék
waxnal	rasurarse	wachin	waxnék
xeketlinal	vestirse	xeketlin	xeketlinék

Los que terminan con ~ámadh

ch'ijal

defecar

ch'ijách

ch'ijámadh

tiyal	let out gas	tiyách	tiyámadh 4
tsik'ál	orinar	tsik'ách	tsik'ámadh
uch'ál	emborracharse	uch'ách	uch'ámadh
wayal	dormir	wayich	wayámadh
xa'ál	vomitar	xa'ách	xa'ámadh

Los que terminan con -ómadh

koyol	descansar	koyóch	koyómadh
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Los que terminan con -úmadh

k'ut'ul	tragar	k'ut'úch	k'ut'úmadh
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*Las palabras escritas en letras itálicas son unos ejemplos que ilustran la voz antipasiva.

VERBOS TRANSITIVOS

k'apal	comerlo	k'apu	k'apúmal(ich)
Naná'	(exom) u	k'apal	Ne'ech ku k'apu
Tatá'	" a	"	ka "
Jajá'	" in	"	kin "
Wawá'	" i	"	Kí "
xaxá'	" i	"	Kí "
tatá'tsik	" a	"	ka "tsik
jajá'tsik	" in	"	kin "

Los que terminan con -al

aytsal	esperarlo	aytsi	aytsámal
aytsintsal	esperárselo	aytsintsi	aytsintsámal
bijtsal	predecirlo	bijtsi	bijtsámal
chu'tal	verlo	chu'u	chu'úmal
hek'ontsal	esquivar	hek'ontsi	hek'ontsámal
kówtsal	resembrar	kówtsi	kówtsámal
kwajtsal	chapolearlo	kwajtsi	kwajtsámal
ólantsal	rezarle a algo	ólantsi	ólantsámal
óltsal	mostrárselo	óltsi	óltsámal
óntsal	seguirlo	óntsi	óntsámal
pakwlantsal	perdonarlo	pakwlantsi	pakwlantsámal
pet'nantsal	tirárselo	pet'nantsi	pet'nantsámal
pit'kontsal	esconderse de algo	pit'kontsi	pit'kontsámal
to'tsal	pisonearlo	to'tsi	to'tsámal
tujtsal	empezárselo	tujtsi	tujtsámal
uk'tsal	olvidarlo	uk'tsi	uk'tsámal
ulal	decirlo	ulu	ulúmal
yentsal	necesitarlo	yentsi	yentsámal

Los que terminan con -ál

abál	mandarlo	aba'	abámal
ach'ál	oír/sentirlo	ach'a'	ach'ámal
ajál	correrlo	aja'	ajámal
at'ál	odiarlo	at'a'	at'ámal
belál	creerlo	bela'	belámal
bilk'ál	soltarlo La Mora	bilk'a'	bilk'ámal
bixál	bailarlo	bixa'	bixámal
ch'akál	ponerlo sobre algo	ch'aka'	ch'akámal
ch'ijál	defecarlo	ch'ijsa'	ch'ijámal
ch'ik'ál	picarlo	ch'ik'a'	ch'ik'ámal
cha'kál	bajarlo	cha'ka'	cha'kámal
cholk'ál	hacerle hoyo	cholk'a'	cholk'ámal
dhikál	colarlo	dhika'	dhikámal
dhutsál	escribirlo	dhutsa'	dhutsámal
elál	encontrarlo	ela'	elámal
exál	intentar	exa'	exámal
exlál	conocerlo	exla'	exlámal
iyál	acarrearlo	iya'	iyámal
jedhkál	recargarlo	jedhka'	jedhkámal
jek'ál	evadir	jek'a'	jek'ámal
jikál	olerlo	jika'	jikámal
jilál	dejarlo	jila'	jilámal
jobál	barbecharlo	joba'	jobámal
k'et'pál	ponerlo al revés	k'et'pa'	k'et'pámal
kubál	pararlo	kuba'	kubámal
lekál	probarlo	leka'	lekámal
mich'ál	romperlo	mich'a'	mich'ámal
ódhál	meterlo adentro	ódha'	ódhámal
pak'ál	tortearlo	pak'a'	pak'ámal
palál	colgarlo	pala'	palámal
pejál	quebrarlo	peja'	pejámal
pitál	cortarlo	pita'	pitámal
pojkál	despreciarlo	pojka'	pojkámal
polk'ál	aflojarlo	polk'a'	polk'ámal
t'ajál	hacerlo	t'aja'	t'ajámal
t'akál	lavarlo	t'aka'	t'akámal
t'ayál	sembrarlo	t'aya'	t'ayámal
t'ilál	contarlo	t'ila'	t'ilámal
ta'pál	guardarlo	tapa'	ta'pámal
takál	palparlo	taka'	takámal
talál	acabarla	tala'	talámal
telál	mirarlo	tela'	telámal
tsikál	quemarlo	tsika'	tsikámal
tubál	escupirlo	tuba'	tubámal
tudhlál	hincarlo	tudhla'	tudhlámal

uch'ál	tomarlo	uch'a'	uch'ámal
utsál	decírselo	utsa'	utsámal
walkál	dejarlo	walka'	walkámal
welál	hojearlo	wela'	welámal
wit'ál	poder hacerlo	wit'a'	wit'ámal
wixk'ál	quitarlo	wixk'a'	wixk'ámal
xa'ál	vomitarlo	xa'a'	xa'ámal
xapál	meterlo	xapa'	xapámal
xekál	rebanarlo	xek'a'	xek'ámal
xikál	punzarlo	xika'	xikámal

Los que terminan con *-dhál*

ach'edhál	mojarlo	ach'edha'	ach'edhámal
ádhindhál	hacerlo correr	ádhindhá'	ádhindhámal
ajwedhál	saciarlo	ajwédhá'	ajwedhámal
atsidhál	bañarlo	atsidhá'	atisdámal
beldhál	conducirlo	beldhá'	beldhámal
chakudhál	enojarlo	chakúdhá'	chakudhámal
chapnédhál	saludarlo	chapnédhá'	chapnédhámal
chawdhál	enfriarlo	chawdhá'	chawdhámal
chawindhál	girarlo	chawindhá'	chawindhámal
chemdhál	matarlo	chemdhá'	chemdhámal
chipi'medhál	acortarlo	chipi'médha'	chipi'medhámal
chu'xindhál	hacerlo ver	chu'xindhá'	chu'xindhámal
ejdhál	despertarlo	ejdhá'	ejdhámal
jek'andhál	salvarlo	jek'andhá'	jek'andhámal
jeldhál	sanarlo	jeldhá'	jeldhámal
jik'atbedhál	apurarlo	jik'atbédha'	jik'atbedhámal
jilbedhál	agriarlo	jilbédha'	jilbedhámal
k'ak'dhál	calentarlo	k'ak'dhá'	k'ak'dhámal
k'anidhál	apreciarlo	k'anidhá'	k'anidhámal
k'apundhál	darle de comer	k'apundhá'	k'apundhámal
k'ijidhmédhál	alegrarlo	k'ijidhmédhá'	k'ijidhmédhámal
kaldhál	sacarlo	kaldhá'	kaldhámal
kitandhál	ponerle carga	kitandhá'	kitandhámal
kubdhál	pararlo	kubdhá'	kubdhámal
ma"aybedhál	pasarlo de sal	ma"aybédha'	ma"aybedhámal
och'ondhál	hacerlo oír	och'ondhá'	och'ondhámal
pakebedhál	rogarle	pakebedhá'	pakebedhámal
pidhál	dárselo	pidhá'	pidhámal
pubédhál	engrandecerlo	pubédhá'	pubédhámal
t'ojondhál	hacerle trabajar	t'ojondhá'	t'ojondhámal
tek'dhál	cocinarlo	tek'dhá'	tek'dhámal
tidhebedhál	avergonzarlo	tidhebédha'	tidhebedhámal
ts'itsikmédhál	empequeñecerlo	ts'itsikmédhá'	ts'itsikmédhámal
tsi'dhál	traerlo	tsi'dhá'	tsi'dhámal
waydhál	dormirlo	waydha'	waydhámal
wayedhál	secarlo	wayedha'	wayedhámal
wik'andhál	encarcelarlo	wik'andhá'	wik'andhámal
yajbedhál	fermentarlo	yajbédha'	yajbedhámal

Los que terminan con *-bál*

k'adhbál	subirlo	k'adhba'	k'adhbámal
k'wajbál	ponerlo	k'wajba'	k'wajbámal
kwachbál	acostarlo	kwachba'	kwachbámal
pa'bál	bajarlo	pa'ba'	pa'bámal
píkbál	ofrendarlo	píkba'	píkbámal
t'ek'bál	alzarlo	t'ek'ba'	t'ek'bámal
wat'bál	pasarlo	wat'ba'	wat'bámal

Los que terminan con *-náI*

abnál	enviarlo	abna'	abnámal
ajatnál	cantarlo	ajatna'	ajatnámal
ayoknál	perseguirlo	ayokna'	ayoknámal
belnál	caminarlo	belna'	belnámal
ch'ejnál	temerlo	ch'ejna'	ch'ejnámal
ch'ejwaxnál	usar de regalo	ch'ejwaxna'	ch'ejwaxnámal
cha'uxnál	usar para glopear	cha'uxna'	cha'uxnámal
che'exnál	ocupar para moler	che'exna'	che'exnámal
cho'obnál	llegar a saberlo	cho'óbna'	cho'obnámal
dhabalnál	adueñarlo	dhabalna'	dhabalnámal
dhubnál	chiflarlo	dhubna'	dhubnámal
dhutsumnál	usar para escribir	dhutsumna'	dhutsumnámal
exóbnál	aprenderlo	exóbna'	exóbnámal
éynál	usarlo	éyna'	éynámal
jikaxnál	usar para oler	jikaxna'	jikaxnámal
junál	llevarlo	juna'	junámal
k'ak'nál	amarlo	k'ak'na'	k'ak'námal
Kanál	invitarlo	Kana'	Kanámal
kawnál	hablarlo	kawna'	kawnámal
kitnál	cargarlo	kitna'	kitnámal
kojnál	ponerse el sombrero	kojna'	kojnámal
kulbetnál	gustarlo	kulbétña'	kulbetnámal
kwi'nál	tirarlo	k'wi'na'	k'wi'námal
le'nál	se me antoja	le'na'	le'námal
odhnál	desperdiciarlo	odhna'	odhnámal
ok'tsixnál	enseñarlo	ok'tsixna'	ok'tsixnámal
okobnál	llevar en hombros	okobna'	okobnámal
ólnál	mostrarlo	ólna'	ólnámal
pajabnál	calzarlo	pajabna'	pajabnámal
pámnl	poner en la cabeza	pámna'	pámnámal
pet'nál	tirarlo	pet'na'	pet'námal
pidhnál	darlo	pidhna'	pidhnámal
púnál	montarlo	puna'	púnámal
tawnál	hablarle	tawna'	tawnámal
telomnál	s.t. to see with	telomna'	telomnámal
tinál	tenzarlo	tina'	tinámal

tomnál	convenirlo	tomna'	tomnámal
ubat'nál	jugarlo	ubát'na'	ubat'námal
wapaxnál	usar para golpear	wapaxna'	wapaxnámal
wat'nál	pasar por ahí	wat'na'	wat'námal
watsibnál	soñarlo	watsibna'	watsibnámal
wáynál	fingirlo	wáyna'	waynámal
wichixnál	usar para florear	wichixna'	wichixnámal
yajnál	sentir dolor	yajna'	yajnámal

Los que terminan con *-wal*

bach'wal	recibirlo	bach'u	bach'úmal
bajwal	alcanzarlo	bajaw	bajúmal
balwal	acariciarlo	balu	balúmal
bilch'owal	dejarlo caer	bilch'o	bilch'ómal
buk'wal	esparcirlo	buk'u	buk'úmal
ch'a'wal	masticarlo	ch'a'aw	ch'a'úmal
ch'o'wal	pintar/mancharlo	ch'o'o	ch'o'ómal
cha'wal	golpearlo	cha'aw	cha'úmal
ejtowal	poder hacerlo	ejto	ejtómal
k'at'wal	morderlo	k'at'u	k'at'úmal
kaxwal	peluquearlo	kaxu	kaxúmal
kunwal	provocarle pelea	kunu	kunúmal
lo'wal	salvarlo	lo'o	lo'ómal
mu'wal	hacerle pedazos	mu'u	mu'úmal
pak'wal	lavar ropa	pak'u	pak'úmal
pakwal	destruirlo	paku	pakúmal
paxk'uwal	hervirlo	paxk'u	paxkúmal
pok'wal	partirlo	pok'o	pok'ómal
pu'wal	arrancarlo	pu'u	pu'úmal
punwal	poner sobre algo	punu	punúmal
tujwal	empezarlo	tuju	tujúmal
yoywal	moverlo	yoyo	yoyómal

Los que terminan con *-yal*

ajyal	contarlo/leerlo	ajay	ajyámal
at'miyal	ensalarlo	at'miy	at'miyámal
ayal/ayyal	buscarlo	aliy	alyámal
bachyal	sobarlo	bachiy	bachyámal
bakyal	despertarlo	bakiy	bakyámal
balyal	echarlo	baliy	balyámal
bijyal	nombrarlo	bijiy	bijyámal
bolyal	envolverlo	boliy	bolyámal
ch'a'yal	comprarlo	ch'a'ay	ch'a'yámal
ch'at'biyal	unirlo	ch'at'biy	ch'at'biyámal
ch'ejwáliyal	regalarlo	ch'ejwaliy	ch'ejwaliyámal
ch'ik'wyal	picotearlo	ch'ik'wiy	ch'ik'wyámal
ch'ilbayal	imitarlo	ch'ilbay	ch'ilbayámal
ch'o'mayal	sellarlo	ch'o'may	ch'o'mayámal
ch'o'yal	mancharlo	ch'o'oy	ch'o'yámal

ch'uch'bayal	besarlo	ch'uch'bay	ch'uch'bay&mal
cha'biyal	visitarlo	cha'biy	cha'biyámal
chabyal	douse in water	chabay	chabyámal
chalpayal	pensarlo	chalpay	chalpayámal
che'yal	molerlo	che'ey	che'yámal
chemayal	morir por eso	chémay	chemayámal
chi'mayal	endulzarlo	chi'may	chi'mayámal
chixyal	escardarlo	chixiy	chixyámal
chochbiyal	patearlo	chochbiy	chochbiyámal
dhabyal	taparlo	dhabuy	dhabuyámal
dhimk'ayal	embrujarlo	dhimk'ay	dhimk'ayámal
echyal	traer leña	echey	echyámal
exbayal	entenderlo	exbay	exbayámal
exóliyal	sellarlo	exóliy	exóliyámal
ich'mayal	cornearlo	ich'may	ich'mayámal
ichyayal	enchilarlo	ichiyy	ichyámal
jalbiyal	pagarlo	jalbiy	jalbiyámal
jalk'uyal	cambiarlo	jalk'uy	jalk'uyámal
jot'yal	servir alguna cosa	jot'iy	jot'yámal
judhbayal	rociarlo	judhbay	judhbayámal
k'ak'liyal	asolearla	k'ak'liy	k'ak'liyámal
k'ot'yal	quitar la camisa	k'ot'iy	k'ot'yámal
k'wetyal	barrerlo	k'wetoy	k'wetyámal
Kanchiyal	engancharlo	kanchiy	kanchiyámal
kanyal	llamarlo	kaniy	Kanyámal
kidhbayal	acompletarlo	kidhbay	Kidhbayámal
kinchoyal	atarlo a algo	kinchoy	Kinchoyámal
koch'yayal	rasguñarlo	koch'iy	Koch'yámal
kotbayal	aserrarlo	kotbay	Kotbayámal
Kuxyal	aguantarlo	kuxuy	Kuxyámal
kwe'yayal	robarlo	kwe'ey	Kwe'yámal
kwetsyal	formar un círculo	kwetsoy	Kwetsyámal
kwi'yayal	cazarlo	kwi'iy	Kwi'yámal
lejkiyal	arreglarlo	lejkiy	lejkiyámal
ma'yayal	enchuecarlo	ma'ay	ma'yámal
mapyal	cercarlo/cerrar	mapuy	mapyámal
mawyal	untarlo	majuy	majuyámal
odhbijyal	maldecirlo	odhbíjiy	odhbijyámal
odhyayal	descomponerlo	odhiy	odhyámal
pajámiyal	jew down	pajámiy	pajámiyámal
pajbiyal	ponerle los zapatos	pajbiy	pajbiyámal
pewyal	golpearlo	pewey	pewyámal
pukmayal	stuck w/sm. thorns	pukmay	pukmayámal
punte'liyal	desramarlo	punte'liy	punte'liyámal
puntsiyal	añadirlo	puntsiy	puntsiyámal
put'yayal	castrarlo	put'iy	put'yámal
t'ak'yayal	trozarlo	t'ak'iy	t'ak'yámal
t'enyal	tocarlo	t'eney	t'enyámal
t'ulyayal	enrollarlo	t'uliy	t'ulyámal
tajbayal	alumbrarlo	tajbay	tajbayámal
tak'yayal	aconsejarlo	tak'iy	tak'yámal
tak'yayal	tender ropa	tak'iy	tak'yámal
tinyal	sacudirlo	tiniy	tinyámal

tolmiyal	ayudarlo	tolmiy	tolmiyámallo
tomkiyal	casarlo	tomkiy	tomkiyámal
ts'itsbayal	peinarlo	ts'itsbay	ts'itsbayámal
ts'utsyal	llenarlo	ts'utsuy	ts'utsyámal
tsukyal	coserlo	tsukuy	tsukyámal
wak'yal	regarlo	wak'ay	wak'yámal
wapyal	golpearlo	wapay	wapyámal
waw'yal	echarle aire	wa'uy	waw'yámal
wewyal	to tidy up	wejoy	wejoyámal
wichyal	adornar con flores	wichiy	wichyámal
wityal	menejar la cola	witiy	wityámal
xeketliyal	vestirlo	xeketliy	xeketliyámal

Los que tienen varias terminaciones

cho'ób	saberlo	cho'óbna'	cho'obnámal
ko'ol	tenerlo	ko'oy	ko'yámal
lé'	querer	le'na'	le'námal
pamám	llevar en la cabeza	pámna'	pámnámal

Adjetivos
(preceden el sustan-
tivo)
dhak atá

Verbos estativos

dhak

dhakni'

Sustantivos derivados

in dhakni'

- (16) a. *tin cha7aw-g*
2/a/ta hit-CMP
you hit me.

- b. In *char'at t'a abal ejtal ti ob t-u itoy*
is hit-PASS:CMP much since all clip drunk
I was beaten because we were all drunk.

(17) Some Rules:

- Passive (both long and short) are sanctioned in Huasteco.
- 1-chōseurs are flagged by the preposition *k'al*.

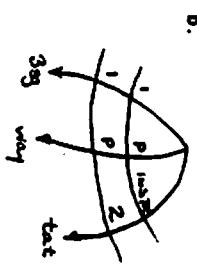
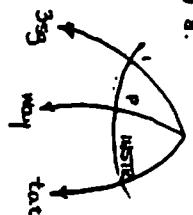
Some Other advancements

- (18) a. *(jaja:7) u way-al k'al an tat*
(3sg) 3 sleep-INC with mat
He sleeps on the mat.

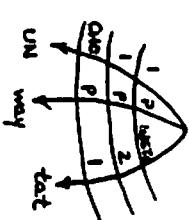
- b. *(jaja:7) in way-n-al*
(3sg) 3/3 sleep-INSTR-INC an tat
(same gloss)

c.

- u way-n-a:b
3 sleep-INSTR-PASS:INC an tat (?)
The mat is slept on.



c.



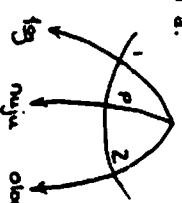
(20) a.

- u nuju-g an olom*
1a/3 self-CMP pig
I sold the pig.

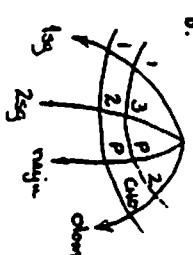
- b. *tu nuj-tci-g an t1 olom*
1s/2s self-DAT-CMP 2-cho pig
I sold you the pig.

- c. *it maj-ts-at*
2s self-DAT-PASS:CMP
You were sold the pig.

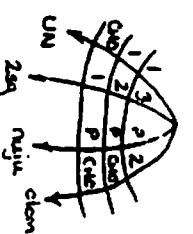
(21) a.



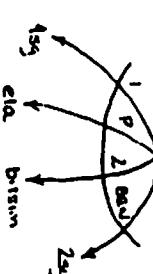
b.



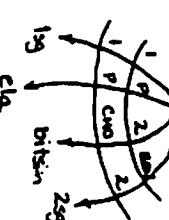
c.



(23) a.



b.



c.



(24) Some Rules:

- Direct object (2) chōseurs are flagged by the prclitic *ti*.
- Instrumental to 2 advancement is registered on the verb by the suffix *-a(a)*.
- Final instrumentals are flagged by the preposition *k'al*.
- 3 to 2 advancement is obligatory and is registered on the verb by the suffix *-ts(t)*.
- Benefactive to 2 advancement is optional and is registered on the verb by the suffix *-ts(t)*.
- Final benefactives are flagged by the preposition *abat*.

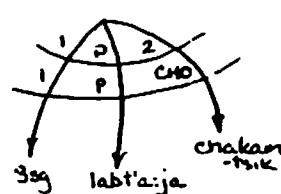
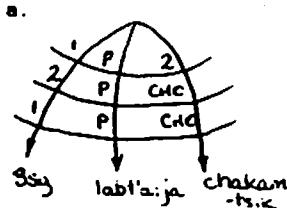
Antipassive

- (25) a. *In jab't'a:ja-al an chaban-tcik*
3/3 bless-INC child-PL
He blessed the children.

- b. u labt'a:ja-x-0 an ti chakam-tsik
 3 bless-AP-INC 2-chō
 (same gloss)

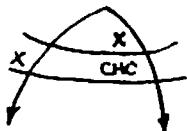
- c. u labt'a:ja-x-0
 3 bless-AP-INC
 He blesses.

(26) Two possible analyses for (25b.):



- (27) Motivated Chōmage Law: A nominal a can bear the chōmage relation only if some other nominal b begins to bear the term relation X in that stratum in which a becomes a chōmage and if X was that relation which a bore in the stratum before it became a chōmage.

(28)



- (29) a. nana:7 u tak'-y-al an exobal-tsik
 1sg 1s/3 advise-TR-INC student-PL
 I advise the students.

- b. nana:7 in tak'-y-al an ti exobal-tsik
 1sg 1s/3 advise-AP-INC 2-chō
 (same gloss)

- (30) a. in wap-y-al an pakax-tsik
 3/3 hit-TR-INC cow-PL
 He hits the cows.

- b. u wape-x-0 an ti pakax-tsik
 3 hit-AP-INC 2-chō cow-PL
 He hits the cows.

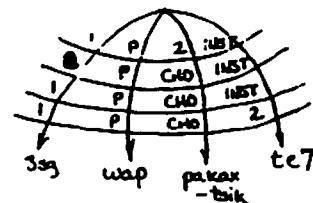
(31) Some rules:

- Antipassive is sanctioned in Huasteco.
- AP Registration (tentative): The suffix -x registers antipassive.

- (32) a. in wap-y-al an pakax-tsik k'al an te7
 3/3 hit-TR-INC cow-PL with stick
 He hits the cows with the stick.

- b. in wape-x-na-al an te7 an ti pakax-tsik
 3/3 hit-AP-INST-INC DEF stick 2-chō cow-PL
 (same gloss)

(33) (possible structure of (32b.))



(34) Some universal laws:

- 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law (well-documented): There can be only one advancement to 1.
- Nuclear Novice Law (candidate for law-hood): "A nuclear novice arc begins before all nuclear experienced arcs with the same tail."

(35) An interesting prediction:

Hypothesis 1: 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law

Hypothesis 2: Antipassive involves 1 to 2 to 1 (not spontaneous chōnage)

--> Prediction: Instrumental advances to 2 should not be able to passivize.

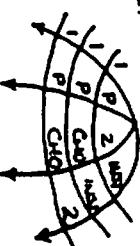
- (36) a. u wichi-y-al an korona k'al i ch'a7i-d wichi
 1s/3 flower-TR-INC crown with buy-PTCPL flower
 I decorate the crown with flowers.

- b. u wichi-x-na-al an ch'a7i-d wichi ti korona
 1s/3 flower-AP-INST-INC buy-PTCPL flower 2-chō crown
 (same gloss)

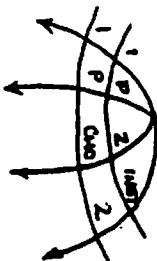
- c. u wichi-x-n-a:b an panta7 wichi an ti cheme-loc
 3 flower-AP-INST-PASS:INC flower 2-chō die-NOW
 Burial flowers are used to decorate the dead.

(37) Other potential analyses for sentences like (32b) and (36b):

a.



b.

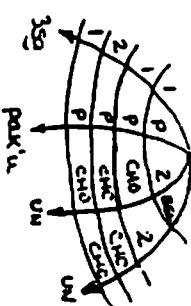


(38) AP Registration - revision 1: The presence of a 2-chômeur is registered on the verb by the suffix -x.

(39) AP Registration - revision 2 (add to revision 1): -x does not co-occur with -tai.

(40) jaja:7 u pak'w-tsi-z-g
3sg 3 wash.clothes-DAT-AP-CNP
She washes clothes (for unspec. people)

(41)



(42) Registration:

- Advancement to 2 from 3 or BEN is registered on the verb by the suffix -tai.
- The presence of a 2-chômeur not created by advancement to 2 from 3 or BEN is registered on the verb by the suffix -x.

(43) a. nana:7 u k'ip-na-al
1sg 1s/3 eat-INSTR-MNC

an pat'a:l platu
2-chô cooked plate

I use a metal plate to eat 'pescos'.

b. a k'ap-a:a:b
3 eat-INSTR-PASS:INC

an pat'a:l platu-talk
metal plate-PL

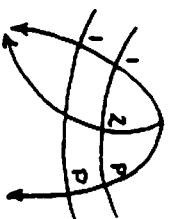
an ti tefnel t'ak'tail
2-chô cooked parcel
Metal plates are used to eat 'pescos'.

(44) ne7ech ti-θ pe:je:-x-θ-teik, ne7ech che:b-dai:-x-θ

go ci-3 fight-/BAP-CNP-PL go ci-3 die-CAUS-AP-CNP

Jun an Jun
one also one
They were going to fight with one another and kill each other
one by one.

(45)



VERBOS INTRANSITIVOS

Naná'	exom	tin	k'apul
"	ne'ech	"	"
Tatá'	exom	ta	"
jajá'	"	ti	"
wawá'	"	tu	"
xaxá'	"	tax	"
tatá'tsik	"	ta	k'apultsik
jajá'tsik	"	ti	"

Naná'	in	k'apúch
Tatá'	(i)t	"
jajá'	--	"
wawá'	u	"
xaxá'	ix	"
tatá'tsik	i	k'apúchtsik
jajá'tsik	--	"

Naná'	in	k'apúmadh
Tatá'	(i)t	"
Jajá'	--	"
wawá'	u	"
xaxá'	ix	"(tsik)
tatá'tsik	i	" "
jajá'tsik	--	" "

(present imperfective) (preterite perfective).

(present perfect)

Los que terminan con -lámadh

ádhil	correr	ájlách	ájlámadh
ajat	cantar	ajtin	ajtinék
ch'a'ul	masticar	ch'aw'lách	ch'aw'lámadh
che'el	moler	che'lách	che'lámadh
chixil	escardar	chixlách	chixlámadh
dhilal	calentarse	dhilách	dhilámadh
dhúbal	chiflar	dhúblách	dhúblámadh
dhútsum	respirar	dhútsumlách	dhútsumlámadh
eche'l*	traer leña	echlách	echlámadh
ixil	desgranar	ixlách	ixlámadh
juch'ul	fumar/chupar	juch'lách	juch'lámadh
kowal	nadar	kowlách	kowlámadh
kwé'	robar	kwé'lách	kwé'lámadh
múkul	pintar	múklách	múklámadh
núju'l	vender	nújlách	nújlámadh
och'ol	escuchar algo	och'lách	och'lámadh
ojbal	toser	ojbalách	ojbalámadh
ó'l	orar	ólan	ólámadh
t'éne'l	tocar	t'énlách	t'énlámadh
tonel	ir de visita	tonelách	tonelámadh

astubal	escupir	tublách	tublámadh
wát'il	esprimir	wat'iy	wat'lámadh
watsbil	soñar	watsbilách	watsbillámadh
ya'ul	emfermar	yaw'lách	yaw'lámadh

Los que terminan con -mámadh

ajum	leer	aymách	aymámadh
atsim	bañar	atsmách	atsmámadh
beldhom	manejar	beldhomách	beldhomámadh
bixnél	bailar	bixmách	bixmámadh
ch'a'um	comprar	ch'ay'mách	ch'ay'mámadh
dhutsum	escribir	dhutsmách	dhutsmámadh
exóbal	estudiar	exoblách	exoblámadh
jidhom	raspar (ixtle)	jidhmách	jidhmamádh
k'a'um	traer agua	k'ay'mách	k'ay'mámadh
kaldhom	sacar (hilo)	kaldhomách	kaldhomámadh
kutsum	preparar el zapupe	kutsmách	kutsmámadh
óm	sembrar	ómách	ómámadh
pák'um	lavar	pák'wmách	pák'wmámadh
t'álím	torcer hilo	t'álímách	t'álímámadh
telom	mirar	telmách	telmámadh
xálum	batir	xálmách	xálmámadh

Los que terminan con -nek

belal	caminar	beley	belnek
ch'akíl	levantarse	ch'akay	ch'akinek
ch'aybél	tener frio	ch'aybé	ch'aybenek
cha'el	bajarse	cha'ey	cha'enek
chakúl	enojar	chakuy	chakunek
chekel	cansar	chekey	chekenek
chemel	morir	chemech	chemnek
dhikel	secar	dhikey	dhikenek
eje'l	despertar	ejech	ejenek
jik'él	tener miedo	jik'ey	jik'enek
k'a'íl	tener hambre	k'a'ay	k'a'inek
k'adhíl	subir	k'adhiy	k'adhinek
k'alel	ir	k'ale	k'alnek
kalel	salir	kale	kalnek
kwachíl	acostar	kwachiy	kwachinek
ochel	entrar	ochich	ochenek
pa'íl	bajar	pa'ay	pa'inek
pubel	crecer	pubey	pubenek
puné'l	montar	puney	punenek
tidhebél	avergonzarse	tidhebé	tidhebenek
tsi'il	venir	tsích	tsi'nek
tsikél	tener sed	tsikey	tsikenek
ulel	llegar	ulich	ulnek
wat'el	pasar	wat'ey	wat'enek
witsél	regresar	witsích	witsenek

Los que terminan con -nék

aytsix	esperar	aytsixin	aytsixnék
buxkanal	sentar	buxkan	buxkanék
ch'ik'ax	picar	ch'ik'xin	ch'ik'xinék
ch'ik'wix	picotear	ch'ik'wxin	ch'ik'wxinék
cha'ux	golpear	chaw'xin	chaw'xinék
chak'binal	sudar	chak'bin	chak'binék
chalminal	asombrarse	chalmin	chalminék
chochbix	patear	chochbiy	chochbixnék
chu'ux	ver	chu'xin	chu'xinék
dhájax	gritar	dhájaxin	dhájaxnék
dhimk'ax	embrujar	dhimk'axin	dhimk'axnénk
ich'max	cornear	ich'may	ich'maxnénk
ilálnal	curarse	ilálin	ilálnék
jokmanal	encharcarse	jokman	jokmanék
k'ay'tsix	acarreador de agua	k'ay'tsixin	k'ay'tsixnénk
k'ak'linal	asolearse	k'ak'lin	k'ak'linék
k'at'ux	morder	k'at'u	k'at'xinék
kaw	hablar	kawin	kawnék
kaxnal	peliquear	kaxun	kaxnénk
koch'ix	rasguñar	koch'iy	koch'xinék
kunux	que provoca pelea	kunu	kúnxinék
och'ox	oir loco	och'xin	och'xinék
olmanal	tener rabia/volverse	olman	olmanék
pajbinal	ponerse los zapatos	pajbin	pajbinék
pak'wtsix	lavandera	pak'wtsixin	pak'wtsixnénk
pat'binal	ponerse el pantalón	pat'bin	pat'binék
paxk'unal	hervir	paxk'un	paxk'unék
pejex	pelear (provocar)	pejexin	pejexnénk
pewex	que pega gaditas	pewxin	pewxinék
pukmax	enterrar espinas del-	pukmaxin	pukmaxnénk
t'e'pinal	entristercer	t'e'pin	t'e'pinék
t'ikwnal	brincar	t'ikon	t'ikwnék
t'oijnal	trabajar	t'ójon	t'oijnék
tak'ix	aconsejar	tak'xin	tak'xinék
te'nal	reír	te'en	te'nék
ts'itsbax	peinarse	ts'itsbaxin	ts'itsbaxnénk
tsukux	coser	tsukxin	tsukxinék
ubát'	jugar	ubát'in	ubát'nék
uk'nal	llorar	uk'in	uk'nék
waw'nal	echarse aire	wa'un	waw'nék
waxnal	rasurarse	wachin	waxnénk
xeketlinal	vestirse	xeketlin	xeketlinék

Los que terminan con -ámadh

ch'ijal	defecar	ch'ijách	ch'ijámadh
tiyal	let out gas	tiyách	tiyámadh
tsik'al	orinar	tsik'ách	tsik'ámadh
uch'al	emborracharse	uch'ách	uch'ámadh
wayal	dormir	wayich	wayámadh
xa'al	vomitar	xa'ách	xa'ámadh

Los que terminan con -ómadh

koyol	descansar	koyóch	koyómadh
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Los que terminan con -úmadh

k'ut'ul	tragar	k'ut'úch	k'ut'úmadh
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*Las palabras escritas en letras itálicas son unos ejemplos que ilustran la voz antipasiva.

VERBOS TRANSITIVOS

k'apal	comerlo	k'apu	k'apúmal (ich)
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Naná'	(exom)	u	k'apal	Ne'ech	ku	k'apu
Tatá'	"	a	"	"	ka	"
Jajá'	"	in	"	"	kin	"
Wawá'	"	i	"	"	ki	"
xaxá'	"	i	"	"	ki	"
tatá'tsik	"	a	"	"	ka	"tsik
jajá'tsik	"	in	"	"	kin	"

Los que terminan con -al

aytsal	esperarlo	aytsi	aytsámal
aytsintsal	esperárselo	aytsintsi	aytsintsámal
bijtsal	predecirlo	bijtsi	bijtsámal
chu'tal	verlo	chu'u	chu'úmal
kek'ontsal	esquivar	kek'ontsi	kek'ontsámal
kówtsal	resembrar	kówtsi	kówtsámal
kwajtsal	chapolearlo	kwajtsi	kwajtsámal
ólantsal	rezarle a algo	ólantsi	ólantsámal
óltsal	mostrárselo	óltsi	óltsámal
óntsal	seguirlo	óntsi	óntsámal
pakwlantsal	perdonarlo	pakwlantsi	pakwlantsámal
pet'nantsal	tirárselo	pet'nantsi	pet'nantsámal
pit'kontsal	esconderte de algo	pit'kontsi	pit'kontsámal
to'tsal	pisonearlo	to'tsi	to'tsámal
tujtsal	empezárselo	tujtsi	tujtsámal
uk'tsal	olvidarlo	uk'tsi	uk'tsámal
ulal	decirlo	ulu	ulúmal
yentsal	necesitarlo	yentsi	yentsámal

Los que terminan con -á /

abál	mandarlo	aba'	abámal
ach'ál	oír/sentirlo	ach'a'	ach'ámal
ajál	correrlo	aja'	ajámal
at'ál	odiarlo	at'a'	at'ámal
belál	creerlo	bela'	belámal
bilk'ál	soltarlo La Mora	bilk'a'	bilk'ámal
bixál	bailarlo	bixa'	bixámal
ch'akál	ponerlo sobre algo	ch'aka'	ch'akámal
ch'ijál	defecarlo	ch'ija'	ch'ijámal
ch'ik'ál	picarlo	ch'ik'a'	ch'ik'ámal
cha'kál	bajarlo	cha'ka'	cha'kámal
cholk'ál	hacerle hoyo	cholk'a'	cholk'ámal
dhikál	colarlo	dhika'	dhikámal
dhutsál	escribirlo	dhutsa'	dhutsámal
elál	encontrarlo	ela'	elámal
exál	intentar	exa'	exámal
exlál	conocerlo	exia'	exlámal
iyál	acarrearlo	iya'	iyámal
jedhkál	recargarlo	jedhka'	jedhkámal
zek'ál	evadir	zek'a'	zek'ámal
jikál	olerlo	jika'	jikámal
jilál	dejarlo	jila'	jilámal
jobál	barbecharlo	joba'	jobámal
k'et'pál	ponerlo al revés	k'et'pa'	k'et'pámal
kubál	pararlo	kuba'	kubámal
lekál	probarlo	leka'	lekámal
mich'ál	romperlo	mich'a'	mich'ámal
ódhál	meterlo adentro	ódha'	ódhámal
pak'ál	tortearlo	pak'a'	pak'ámal
palál	colgarlo	pala'	palámal
pejál	quebrarlo	peja'	pejámal
pitál	cortarlo	pita'	pitámal
pojkál	despreciarlo	pojka'	pojkámal
polk'ál	aflojarlo	polk'a'	polk'ámal
t'ajál	hacerlo	t'aja'	t'ajámal
t'akál	lavarlo	t'aka'	t'akámal
t'ayál	sembrarlo	t'aya'	t'ayámal
t'ilál	contarlo	t'ila'	t'ilámal
ta'pál	guardarlo	tapa'	ta'pámal
takál	palparlo	taka'	takámal
talál	acabar lo	tala'	talámal
telál	mirarlo	tela'	telámal
tsikál	quemarlo	tsika'	tsikámal
tubál	escupirlo	tuba'	tubámal
tudhlál	hincarlo	tudhla'	tudhlámal
uch'ál	tomarlo	uch'a'	uch'ámal
utsál	decírselo	utsa'	utsámal
walkál	dejarlo	walka'	walkámal
welál	hojearlo	wela'	welámal
wit'ál	poder hacerlo	wit'a'	wit'ámal

wixk'ál	quitarlo	wixk'a'	wixk'áma l
xa'ál	vomitarlo	xa'a'	xa'ámal
xapá!	meterlo	xapa'	xapámal
xe ká!	rebanarlo	xe k'a'	xe k'ámal
xiká!	punzarlo	xika'	xikámal

Los que terminan con *-dhá l*

ach'edhá l	mojarlo	ach'edha'	ach'edhámal
ádhindhá l	hacerlo correr	ádhindhá '	ádhindhámal
ajwedhá l	saciarlo	ajwé dha'	ajwedhámal
atsidhá l	bañarlo	atsí dha'	atsidámal
beldhá l	conducirlo	beldha'	beldhámal
chakudhá l	enojarlo	chakúdha'	chakudhámal
chapnédhá l	saludarlo	chapnédha'	chapnédhámal
chawdhá l	enfriarlo	chawdha'	chawdhámal
chawindhá l	girarlo	chawindha'	chawindhámal
chemdhá l	matarlo	chemdha'	chemdhámal
chipi'medhá l	acortarlo	chipi'médha'	chipi'medhámal
chu'xindhá l	hacerlo ver	chu'xindhá '	chu'xindhámal
e j dhá l	despertarlo	e j dhá '	e j dhámal
je k'andhá l	salvarlo	je k'andha'	je k'andhámal
je ldhá l	sanarlo	je ldha'	je ldhámal
jik'atbedhá l	apurarlo	jik'atbédha'	jik'atbedhámal
jilbedhá l	agriarlo	jilbédha'	jilbedhámal
k'ak'dhá l	calentar lo	k'ak'dha'	k'ak'dhámal
k'anidhá l	apreciarlo	k'anidha'	k'anidhámal
k'apundhá l	darle de comer	k'apundha'	k'apundhámal
k'ijidhmedhá l	alegrarlo	k'ijidhmédha'	k'ijidhmedhámal
kaldhá l	sacarlo	kaldha'	kaldhámal
kitandhá l	ponerle carga	kitandha'	kitandhámal
kubdhá l	pararlo	kubdha'	kubdhámal
ma'aybedhá l	pasarlo de sal	ma'aybédha'	ma'aybedhámal
och'on dhá l	hacerlo oír	och'on dhá '	och'on dhámal
pakebedhá l	rogarle	pakebédha'	pakebedhámal
pidhá l	dárselo	pidha'	pidhámal
pubé dhá l	engrandecerlo	pubé dha'	pubé dhámal
t'ojondhá l	hacerle trabajar	t'ojondha'	t'ojondhámal
tek'dhá l	cocinarlo	tek'dha'	tek'dhámal
tidhebedhá l	avergonzarlo	tidhebédha'	tidhebedhámal
ts'itsikmédhá l	empequeñecerlo	ts'itsikmédha'	ts'itsikmédhámal
tsi'dhá l	traerlo	tsi'dha'	tsi'dhámal
waydhá l	dormirlo	waydha'	waydhámal
wayedhá l	secarlo	wayedha'	wayedhámal
wik'andhá l	encarcelarlo	wik'andha'	wik'andhámal
yajbedhá l	fermentarlo	yajbédha'	yajbedhámal

Los que terminan con *-bá!*

k'adhbál	subirlo	k'adhbá'	k'adhbámal
k'wajbál	ponerlo	k'wajba'	k'wajbámal
kwachbál	acostarlo	kwachba'	kwachbámal
pa'bál	bajarlo	pa'ba'	pa'bámal
pikbál	ofrendarlo	pikba'	pikbáma!
t'ek'bál	alzarlo	t'ek'ba'	t'ek'bámal
wat'bál	pasarlo	wat'ba'	wat'bámal

Los que terminan con *-ná!*

abná!	enviarlo	abna'	abnámal
ajatná!	cantarlo	ajatna'	ajatnámal
ayokná!	perseguirlo	ayokna'	ayoknámal
belná!	caminarlo	belna'	belnámal
ch'ejná!	temerlo	ch'ejna'	ch'ejnámal
ch'ejwaxná!	usar de regalo	ch'ejwaxna'	ch'ejwaxnámal
cha'uxná!	usar para glopear	cha'uxna'	cha'uxnámal
che'exná!	ocupar para moler	che'exna'	che'exnámal
cho'obná!	llegar a saberlo	cho'obna'	cho'obnámal
dhabalná!	adueñarlo	dhabalna'	dhabalnámal
dhubná!	chiflarlo	dhubna'	dhubnámal
dhutsumná!	usar para escribir	dhutsumna'	dhutsumnámal
exóbná!	aprenderlo	exóbna'	exóbnámal
éyná!	usarlo	éyna'	éynámal
jikaxná!	usar para oler	jikaxna'	jikaxnámal
juná!	llevarlo	juna'	junámal
k'ak'ná!	amarlo	k'ak'na'	k'ak'námal
kaná!	invitarlo	kana'	kanámal
kawná!	hablarlo	kawna'	kawnámal
kitná!	cargarlo	kitna'	kitnámal
kojná!	ponerse el sombrero	kojna'	kojnámal
kulbetná!	gustarlo	kulbétna'	kulbetnámal
kwi'ná!	tirarlo	k'wi'na'	k'wi'námal
le'ná!	se me antoja	le'na'	le'námal
odhná!	desperdiciarlo	odhna'	odhnámal
ok'tsixná!	enseñarlo	ok'tsixna'	ok'tsixnámal
okobná!	llevar en hombros	okobna'	okobnámal
ólná!	mostrarlo	ólna'	ólnámal
pajabná!	calzarlo	pajabna'	pajabnámal
pámáná!	poner en la cabeza	pámna'	pámnámal
pet'ná!	tirarlo	pet'na'	pet'námal
pidhná!	darlo	pidhna'	pidhnámal
púná!	montarlo	puna'	púnámal
tawná!	hablarle	tawna'	tawnámal
telomná!	s.t. to see with	telomna'	telomnámal
tiná!	tenzarlo	tina'	tinámal
tomná!	convenirlo	tomna'	tomnámal
ubat'ná!	jugarlo	ubát'na'	ubat'námal
wapaxná!	usar para golpear	wapaxna'	wapaxnámal
wat'ná!	pasar por ahí	wat'na'	wat'námal
watsibná!	soñarlo	watsibna'	watsibnámal
wáyná!	fingirlo	wáyna'	waynámal

wichixná1
yajná1

usar para florear
sentir dolor

wichixna'
yajna'

wichixnámal
yajnámal

Los que terminan con -wal

bach'wal	recibirlo	bach'u	bach'úmal
bajwal	alcanzarlo	bajaw	bajúmal
balwal	acariciarlo	balu	balúmal
bilch'owal	dejarlo caer	bilch'o	bilch'ómal
buk'wal	esparcirlo	buk'u	buk'úmal
ch'a'wal	masticarlo	ch'a'aw	ch'a'úmal
ch'o'wal	pintar/mancharlo	ch'o'o	ch'o'ómal
cha'wal	golpearlo	cha'aw	cha'úmal
ejtowal	poder hacerlo	ejto	ejtómal
k'at'wal	morderlo	k'at'u	k'at'úmal
kaxwal	peluquearlo	kaxu	kaxúmal
kunwal	provocarle pelea	kunu	kunúmal
lo'wal	salvarlo	lo'o	lo'ómal
mu'wal	hacerle pedazos	mu'u	mu'úmal
pak'wal	lavar ropa	pak'u	pak'úmal
pakwal	destruirlo	paku	pakúmal
paxk'uwal	hervirlo	paxk'u	paxkúmal
pok'wal	partirlo	pok'o	pok'ómal
pu'wal	arrancarlo	pu'u	pu'úmal
punwal	poner sobre algo	punu	punúmal
tujwal	empezarlo	tuju	tujúmal
yoywal	moverlo	yoyo	yoyómal

Los que terminan con -yal

ajyal	contarlo/leerlo	ajay	ajyámal
at'miyal	ensalarlo	at'miy	at'miyámal
ayal/ayal	buscarlo	aliy	alyámal
bachyal	sobarlo	bachiy	bachyámal
bakyal	despertarlo	bakiy	bakyámal
balyal	echarlo	baliy	balyámal
bijyal	nombrarlo	bijiy	bijyámal
bolyal	envolverlo	boliy	bolyámal
ch'a'yal	comprarlo	ch'a'ay	ch'a'yámal
ch'at'biyal	unirlo	ch'at'biy	ch'at'biyámal
ch'ejwáliyal	regalarlo	ch'ejwaliy	ch'ejwaliyámal
ch'ik'wyal	picotearlo	ch'ik'wiy	ch'ik'wyámal
ch'ilbayal	imitarlo	ch'ilbay	ch'ilbayámal
ch'o'mayal	sellarlo	ch'o'may	ch'o'mayámal
ch'o'yal	mancharlo	ch'o'oy	ch'o'yámal
ch'uch'baya1	besarlo	ch'uch'bay	ch'uch'baya1
cha'biyal	visitarlo	cha'biy	cha'biyámal
chabyal	douse in water	chabay	chabyámal
chalpayal	pensarlo	chalpay	chalpayámal
che'yal	molerlo	che'ey	che'yámal
chemayal	morir por eso	chémay	chemayámal
chi'mayal	endulzarlo	chi'may	chi'mayámal

chixyal	escardarlo	chixiy	chixyámal
chochbiyal	patearlo	chochbiy	chochbiyámal
dhabyal	taparlo	dhabuy	dhabuyámal
dhimk'aya!	embrujarlo	dhimk'ay	dhimk'ayámal
echyal	traer leña	echey	echyámal
exbayal	entenderlo	exbay	exbayámal
exóliyal	sellarlo	exóliy	exóliyámal
ich'mayal	cornearlo	ich'may	ich'mayámal
ichyal	enchilarlo	ichiyy	ichyámal
jalbiyal	pagarlo	jalbiy	jalbiyámal
jalk'uyal	cambiarlo	jalk'uy	jalk'uyámal
jot'yal	servir alguna cosa	jot'iy	jot'yámal
judhbayal	rociarlo	judhbay	judhbayámal
k'ak'liyal	asolearlo	k'ak'liy	k'ak'liyámal
k'ot'yal	quitar la camisa	k'ot'iy	k'ot'yámal
k'wetylal	barrerlo	k'wetoy	k'wetyámal
kanchiyal	engancharlo	kanchiy	kanchiyámal
kanyal	llamarlo	kaniy	kanyámal
kidhbayal	acompletarlo	kidhbay	kidhbayámal
kinchoyal	atarlo a algo	kinchoy	kinchoyámal
koch'yal	rasguñarlo	koch'iy	koch'yámal
kotbayal	aserrarlo	kotbay	kotbayámal
kuxyal	aguantarlo	kuxuy	kuxyámal
kwe'yal	robarlo	kwe'ey	kwe'yámal
kwetsyal	formar un círculo	kwetsoy	kwetsyámal
kwi'yal	cazarlo	kwi'iy	kwi'yámal
lejkiyal	arreglarlo	lejkiy	lejkiyámal
ma'yal	enhuecarlo	ma'ay	ma'yámal
mapyal	cercarlo/cerrar	mapuy	mapyámal
mawyal	untarlo	majuy	majuyámal
odhbíjyal	maldecirlo	odhbíjiy	odhbijyámal
odhyal	descomponerlo	odhiy	odhyámal
pajámiyal	jew down	pajámiy	pajámiyámal
pajbiyal	ponerle los zapatos	pajbiy	pajbiyámal
pewyal	golpearlo	pewey	pewyámal
pukmayal	stuck w/sm. thorns	pukmay	pukmayámal
punte'liyal	desramarlo	punte'liy	punte'liyámal
puntsiyal	añadirlo	puntsiy	puntsiyámal
put'yal	castrarlo	put'iy	put'yámal
t'ak'yal	trozarlo	t'ak'iy	t'ak'yámal
t'enyal	tocarlo	t'eney	t'enyámal
t'ulyal	enrollarlo	t'uliy	t'ulyámal
tajbayal	alumbrarlo	tajbay	tajbayámal
tak'yal	aconsejarlo	tak'iy	tak'yámal
tak'yal	tender ropa	tak'iy	tak'yámal
tinyal	sacudirlo	tiniy	tinyámal
tolmiyal	ayudarlo	tolmiy	tolmiyámal
tomkiyal	casarlo	tomkiy	tomkiyámal
ts'itsbayal	peinarlo	ts'itsbay	ts'itsbayámal
ts'utsyal	llenarlo	ts'utsuy	ts'utsyámal
tsukyal	coserlo	tsukuy	tsukyámal
wak'yal	regarlo	wak'ay	wak'yámal
wapyal	golpearlo	wapay	wapyámal
waw'yal	echarle aire	wa'uy	waw'yámal

wewyal	to tidy up	wejoy	wejoyámal
wichyal	adornar con flores	wichiy	wichyámal
wityal	menear la cola	witiy	wityámal
xeketliyal	vestirlo	xeketliy	xeketliyámal

Los que tienen varias terminaciones

cho'ób	saberlo	cho'óbna'	cho'obnámal
ko'ol	tenerlo	ko'oy	ko'yámal
lé'	querer	le'na'	le'námámal
pamám	llevar en la cabeza	pámna'	pámnámámal

Verbal Morphonology*

0. Introduction

An inspection of various derivational and inflectional verb forms in Huasteco reveals a number of (morpho)phonological processes at work. These will be outlined below with analyses presented.

1. Stress Assignment

Assignment of stress appears to work in the Tantoyuca dialect according to the same rule posited by Larsen and Pike, viz. stress falls on the rightmost long vowel or, in the absence of a long vowel, the leftmost vowel. This rule is given formally in [1]:

[1] Stress Assignment (Str)

$$V \longrightarrow [+str] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \#((C)VC)_0 \quad \dots \\ \qquad \qquad \qquad [+lg] \\ \#(C) \quad \dots \end{array} \right\}$$

Given the predictability of stress, it will not be shown in the representations given below.

2. Medial Vowel Deletion

A number of transitive stems appear to have a suffix /-y/ #1. These also occur intransitively with an "antipassive" #2 suffix - one of /-x/, /-l/, /-m/, or /-n/. Examples are given in [2] - [4]:

[2]	chalpa-y-al think-Y-inc	chalpa-y -Y	chalpa-y-a:mal -Y-pf
	chalpa-x think-X	chalpa-x-in -X-cmp	chalpa-x-n-e:k -X-cmp-pf
[3]	hokma-y-al protect-Y-inc	hokma-y -Y	hokma-y-a:mal -Y-pf
	hokma-n-al protect-N-inc	hokma-n -N	hokma-n-e:k -N-pf
[4]	ohba-y-al cough-Y-inc	ohba-y -Y	ohba-y-a:mal -Y-pf
	ohba-l cough-L	ohba-l-a:ch -L-cmp	ohba-l-a:math -L-pf

A comparison of the various inflections for other stems quickly reveals an alternation between the presence and absence of a medial vowel which is independent of (derivational) morphology:

ch I have written as th
 j — .. — h
 kw/k'w — .. — k^w, k'^w
 glott. stop — .. — ? or 7

[5]	muk-y-a:l	muku-y	muk-y-a:mal
	paint-Y-inc	-Y	-Y-pf
[6]	at'a-x	at'-x-in	at'-x-in-e:k
	hate-X	-X-cmp	-X-cmp-pf
[7]	te7-n-a:l	te7e-n	te7-n-e:k
	laugh-N-inc	-N	-N-pf
[8]	chixi-l	chix-l-a:ch	chix-l-a:math
	weed-L	-L-cmp	-L-pf

It may be observed that in each of these examples, the vowel in question is the same as the stem vowel in the syllable preceding it. However, this is not always the case:

[9]	k'wet-y-a:l	k'weto-y	k'wet-y-a:mal
	sweep-Y-inc	-Y	-Y-pf
[10]	thiba-x	thib-x-in	thib-x-in-e:k
	decorate-X	-X-cmp	-X-cmp-pf
[11]	ali-m	al-m-a:ch	al-m-a:math
	search-M	-M-cmp	-M-pf
[12]	xalu-m	xal-m-a:ch	xal-m-a:math
	turn:around-M	-M-cmp	-M-pf

In these examples there does not appear to be any way to predict this vowel. Thus an analysis involving epenthesis in all cases would be difficult to maintain #3. Rather, it is claimed that these vowels are underlying and are deleted in appropriate contexts. The contextual constraints appear to be that only short vowels may be deleted and that such deletion may not result in a tautosyllabic consonant cluster. Such a rule may be formalized as in [13]:

[13] Medial Vowel Deletion (MVD) #4

$$V \longrightarrow 0 / VC_CV \\ [-lg]$$

The constraint prohibiting tautosyllabic consonant clusters accounts for the failure of this rule to apply in cases like [2] - [4]. Likewise, the fact that long vowels can not delete is demonstrated by examples such as [14] and [15]:

- [14] cha:7u:-x-in
hit(reci)-X-cmp
- [15] hu:-m-a:math
take-M-pf

There are apparent exceptions to MVD. On the other hand, Kaufman (p.c.) describes this rule as completely optional. The exact status of this optionality for the Tantoyuca dialect is not clear to me and

demands further investigation.

MVD can be seen to apply iteratively from left to right. If no stem vowel is deleted (whether due to failure to meet the structural description of the rule or to exceptionality), the vowel in a suffix may yet be deleted:

[16] thimk'a-x thimk'a-x-in thimk'a-x-n-e:k
 cast:spell-X -X-cmp -X-cmp-pf

[17] thaha-x thaha-x-in thaha-x-n-e:k
 yell-X -X-cmp -X-cmp-pf

When both stem and suffix vowels are in appropriate environments for the rule to apply, the stem vowel that is deleted:

[18] / thiba + x + in /
 MVD thib + x + in
 [thibxin]
 (decorate-X-cmp)

[19] / chu7u + x + in /
 MVD chu7 + x + in
 [chu7xin]
 (see-X-cmp)

[20] / at'a + x + in + e:k /
 MVD at' + x + in + e:k /
 [at'xine:k]
 (hate-X-cmp-pf)

compare:

/ a:t'a: + x + in + e:k /
MVD a:t'a: + x + n + e:k
[a:t'a:xne:k]
(hate(reci)-X-cmp-pf)

But if the deletion of the stem vowel does not destroy the environment for the suffix vowel, it too will be deleted:

[21] / aba + na + x + in + e:k /
 MVD ab + na + x + in + e:k
 MVD ab + na + x + n + e:k
 [abnaxne:k]
 (send-NA-X-cmp-pf)

One regular exception appears to be that this rule does not apply to reduplicated stems:

[22] te7e7e:-1
smile-L

[23] t'ilolo:-1
remember-L

3. Glottal Stop Insertion

The paradigms for certain transitive verbs reveal an alternation between the presence and absence of word-final [?]:

[24]	aba-a]	aba?	aba-a:ma]
	[aba:]		[aba:ma]
	send-inc		-pf

As a deletion analysis would entail difficulties in determining an appropriate environment for its application, it is instead claimed that the glottal stop is inserted. (For a more detailed discussion, see note 1.) The rule is given formally in [25]:

[25] Glottal Stop Insertion (GSI)

$$0 \rightarrow ? / a _ \#$$

This rule is supported by the fact that there do not appear to be any word-final short [a]'s to be found in the language.

The incompletive and perfect forms of such verbs, then, have a stem-final [a] preceding another [a]. We note that the resulting effect is that a long [a:] occurs. There is no perceived phonetic variation due to a variation in the length of the [a] in the suffix

4. [w] Insertion #5

A rule of [w] insertion is clearly demanded by the following examples:

[26]	ehtow-a]	ehto-∅
	be:able:to-inc	-cmp

[27]	paxk'u-w-a]	paxk'u-∅
	boil-inc	-cmp

The rule is posited as:

[28] [w] Insertion (wIns) #5a

$$0 \rightarrow w / V _ a$$

[+rnd]

As the following derivations demonstrate, wIns can interact with MVD:

[29]	/ nuhu + a1 /
wIns	nuhuw + a1
MVD	nuhw + a1
	[nuhwā]
	(sell-inc)

- [30] / loʔo + a:/
 wIns loʔow + a/
 MVD loʔw + a/
 [loʔwa]
 (save-inc)

Under this analysis wIns precedes and thus feeds MVD.

5. Long Round Vowel Formation

Had the perfect forms in [26] and [27] been included, it would have been clear that a different process is at work in these forms. The full paradigms are now given:

- | | | | |
|------|----------------|--------|-------------|
| [31] | ehtow-a/ | ehto | ehto:-ma/ |
| | be:able:to-inc | | -pf |
| [32] | paxk'uw-a/ | paxk'u | paxk'u:-ma/ |
| | boil-inc | | -pf |

The same process is demonstrated in forms involving the completive and perfect suffixes [-a:ch] and [-a:math]:

- | | | | |
|------|---------|-----------|-------------|
| [33] | koyo-1 | koyo:-ch | koyo:-math |
| | rest-? | -cmp | -pf |
| [34] | k'apu-1 | k'apu:-ch | k'apu:-math |
| | eat-? | -cmp | -pf |

By comparing the incompletive and perfect forms in [31] and [32], we see that whereas short [a] following a round vowel results in wIns, a long [a:] in the same context coalesces with the round vowel with the resulting vowel having the colour of the round vowel and the length (and sonoricity) of the following [a:]. The following rule is posited:

- [35] Long Round Vowel Formation (LRV)

$$\begin{array}{ccc} V & a: \\ [+rnd] & & [+lrg] \\ 1 & 2 \implies & 1 \end{array}$$

On the basis of the distinction made depending on the length of the [a] it might be argued that in fact the rule in [28] requires that the second vowel be short. However, this is shown not to be the case by the effect created by the incompletive passive suffix [-a:b], which appears to be exceptional for LRV:

- [36] / k'apu + a:b /
 eat-inc:pass
 LRV (exception)
 wIns k'apuw + a:b
 MVD k'apw + a:b
 [k'apwa:b]

This analysis requires that LRV precede WNs.

6. Vowel Coalescence and Deletion

Given that verb stems appear to typically end with a vowel and that several suffixes begin with a vowel, we may expect a number of instances in which two vowels are juxtaposed. In many cases this does not occur due to an intervening suffix of the form -C such as /-y/ on many transitives and /-l/, /-m/, /-n/ or /-x/ on many intransitives.

There are still several possibilities for two vowels to occur contiguously. We have already considered some of these in §§3-5 which involved [a] followed by [a] and [+rnd] vowels followed by [-rnd] vowels (specifically, [a]).

As mentioned above, /-m/ may have a variant /-om/. This is claimed by Kaufman although Santana et al posit only /-om/. Kaufman further states that these differ in that, unlike /-om/, /-m/ is associated with a lengthening of the preceding stem vowel.

Let us now consider some forms that are exemplary along with transitive counterparts for comparison:

[37]	t'a:li-m	t'a:l-m-a:ch	t'a:l-m-a:math
	twist-M	-M-cmp	-M-prf

t'al-y-al	t'ali-y	t'al-y-a:mal
twist-Y-inc	-Y	-Y-prf

[38]	tak'u-m	tak'-m-a:ch	tak'-m-a:math
	sun-M	-M-cmp	-m-prf

tak'-y-al	tak'i-y	tak'-y-a:mal

[39]	xa:lu-m	xa:l-m-a:ch	xa:l-m-a:math
	turn-M	-M-cmp	-M-prf

xalw-al	xalu	xalu:-mal
turn-inc		-prf

[40]	holk'o-m #6	holk'o-m-a:ch	holk'o-m-a:math
	empty-M	-M-cmp	-M-prf

holk'ow-al	holk'o	holk'o:-mal
empty-M		-prf

[41]	chem-th-am	chem-th-om-a:ch	chem-th-om-a:math
	die-caus-M	-caus-M-cmp	-caus-M-prf

chem-tha-al	chem-tha'	chem-tha:a:mal
-caus-inc	-caus	-caus-prf

If, as Santana et al assume, the suffix in each case is /-om/, then several things must be accounted for. [40] would have [o] followed by another [o]; in this case, unlike /...ata.../, one is deleted rather than a long vowel being formed. [41] would have /...ato.../ with the first vowel deleting. This is a general rule for them:

[42] (Santana et al's [17])

v ---> Ø / __v
[-lŋ]

They give a condition that [aa] does not undergo this rule. This rule is, for them, independently motivated by such a deletion involving the dative suffix /-tsi/ (see below §). However, in cases like [37] and [39] which involve a high vowel followed by [o], it is the second vowel that deletes. To account for this they posit another rule:

[43] (Santana et al's [67])

o ---> Ø / v __
[+hgh]

They do not appear to account for the lengthening of the stem vowel in [37] and [39]. Then to account for the difference between [37] and [38] they posit a rule of coalescence #7:

[44] (Santana et al's [104])

i + o ===> u

Interestingly, they have this rule ordered after their o-deletion rule and specify appropriate forms as exceptions to o-deletion.

Kaufman's analysis with two distinct though related forms, [-m] (which is associated with lengthening of the stem vowel) and [-om], appears to make better sense of the data, although clearly more is involved than just this. Thus [37] and [39] involve [-m], accounting for the lengthening of the stem vowel; this is probably also the case in [40] (see note 6). Examples such as [38] seem to suggest that the rule of coalescence posited by Santana et al is in fact necessary.

[41] appears to involve a rule of deletion although it could also be accounted for under coalescence. Let us consider the forms for which Santana et al independently posit a rule of deletion #8:

[45] ok'-ts-a:l ok'-tsi ok'-ts-a:m:a:l
teach-dat-inc -dat -dat-prf

The dative morpheme /-tsi/ is suffixed onto the verb in a number of productive constructions. In each case any following (non-null) tense/aspect suffix will begin with [a]; when these are attached to the stem, the [i] deletes. Thus it appears that the deletion rule may be viable #9.

Thus I suggest analysis which incorporates from Kaufman two suffixes - [-om] and [-m] #10 - and which adopts a rule of coalescence, as posited by Santana et al, and possibly (see note 8) their rule of vowel deletion; however, their rule of o-deletion is unnecessary (its affect accounted for by the alternation posited by Kaufman).

7. Some Minor Rules

There are a few distinct syntactic constructions in Huastec which are superficially similar in that all manifest the dative morpheme /-tsi/ on the verb. In some cases, two of these constructions may

combine with the result that the dative morpheme is repeated:

[46]	'sell st.'		
	nuhw-al	nuhu	nuhu:-mal
	sell-inc		-prf
	'sell so. st.'		
	nuh-ts-al	nuh-tsi	nuh-ts-a:mal
	sell-dat-inc	-dat	-dat-prf
	'sell so. something of someone (else)'		
	nuh-tsin-ts-al	nuh-tsin-tsi	nuh-tsin-ts-a:mal

Note that when the dative morpheme is repeated, an [n] has been inserted. There appears to be a general rule that [n] is inserted before /-tsi/ when the dative morpheme follows a vowel:

[47]	Ø	--->	n / V __ [+tsi] _{dat}
------	---	------	--------------------------------

This is demonstrated in verbs in which the dative morpheme has not been repeated as well:

[48]	/ chema + tha + tsi /		
	(die-caus-dat)		
	MVD chem + tha + tsi		
	chem + than + tsi		
	[chemthantsi]		

This rule appears to apply after MVD:

[49]	/ aba + tsi /	cp.	/ aba + tsi /
	(send-dat)		aban + tsi
	MVD ab + tsi	MVD	----
	[abtsi]		* [abantsi]

The form in [49a] is attested while that in [49b], to my knowledge, is not. However, there are attested forms which resemble [49b]:

[50]	o:lan-tsi		
	tell-dat		
	kuxun-tsi		
	take:turns-dat		

These may be viewed as having [n] inserted before MVD thereby blocking MVD. However, there is an analysis which is consistent with the ordering in [49]: that [n] insertion always follows MVD and that the forms in [50] are ones in which MVD did not apply (presumably due to the optionality of this rule as discussed in §2).

There is a related process at work in verbs which have the dative morpheme suffixed to a stem ending in [t]:

[51]	ahat	aht-in	aht-in-e:k
	sing	-cmp	-cmp-prf

ahtin-ts-al	ahtin-tsi	ahtin-ts-a:mal
sing-dat-inc	-dat	-dat-prf

Here it is [in] that is inserted rather than just [n]. Another minor rule will be posited involving the dative morpheme:

[52] / ---> in / t __ [-tsi]_{dat}

Note that this rule must precede MVD:

[53]	/ ahat + tsi /	cp. / ahat + tsi /
	ahatin + tsi	MVD -----
	MVD ahtin + tsi	ahatin + tsi
	[ahtintsi]	* [ahatintsi]

It could be claimed that in fact a more general rule is at work. Such a rule could apply to all Juxtaposed [+cor,+ant] obstruents. However, there are few different situations in which this could be applicable: before the application of MVD, two such obstruents juxtaposed could only be realized by a stem ending in [t] or [ts] followed by a suffix beginning with [t] or [ts]. The dative morpheme and the plural morpheme /-tsik/ are the only such suffixes, and given that most roots have the shape (C)VCV and that no derivational suffixes end with [t], such stems are not common. As I know of no instance of this rule applying with /-tsik/, and since the preceding minor rule does not apply with /-tsik/, I will maintain the view that this rule applies only to /-tsi/ as stated.

Another point in favour of this view is that there appears to be a different rule which applies after MVD to Juxtaposed [+cor, +ant] obstruents:

[54] #11 [-son, +cor, +ant] ---> ? / __ [-son, +cor, +ant]

This is demonstrated in [55]:

[55]	hot'-y-al	hot'i-y	hot'-y-a:mal
	serve-Y-inc	-Y	-Y-prf
	ho?-ts-al	ho?-tsi	ho?-ts-a:mal
	serve-dat-inc	-dat	-dat-prf

A derivation is given to demonstrate the ordering of rules:

[56]	/ hot'i + tsi /	cp. / hot'i + tsi /
	MVD hot' + tsi	minor rule -----
minor rule	ho? + tsi	MVD hot' + tsi
	[ho?tsi]	* [hot'tsi]

There may be #12 a rule similar to [47] but applying in the presence of the causitive morpheme /-tha/:

[57]	thila-l	thi-l-a:ch	thi-l-a:mad
	heat:up-L	-L-cmp	-L-prf
	thilan-da-a'	thilan-da'	thilan-da-a:mal

heat:up-caus-inc -caus -caus-prf

However, this rule would be different from [47] in that it would only apply after [a]:

[58] pubē-thā'
grow-caus

chaku:-tha'
become:angry-caus

There may be yet another rule that resembles [47] and appears to be in some way related to it. In this case, however, [t] is inserted before the instrumental morpheme /-na/:

[59a] kul-be:-l kul-be: kul-be-nek
good-incep-inc -incep -incep-prf

kul-bet-na-a:l kul-bet-na' kul-bet-na-a:m:l
good-incep-inst-inc -incep-inst -incep-inst-prf

One feature of the forms in [57a] that has not been discussed thus far is what appears to be the deletion of a geminate [l] in the completive and perfect forms, apparently after MVD:

[60] / thila + l + a:ch /
MVD thil + l + a:ch
degem thi + l + a:ch
[thila:a:ch]

It is not clear, due to limitations of the available data, how many geminates such a rule would affect, though other degemination effects are attested.

In the examples given thus far, some have included a perfect suffix [-nek] while others have included a variant [-e:k]. These occur in mutually exclusive environments, the latter occurring only after [n]. It could be claimed on the basis of data from this dialect that the two forms are allomorphs; however, it is more likely the case that both begin with the segment [n] and that the latter has undergone degemination #13.

Santana et al posit a rule of [n] degemination for these cases but also include a distinct rule of [n] deletion (N-Del):

[61] (Santana et al's [57])

n ---> Ø / V: _ m

This rule is to follow MVD which in turn follows their vowel deletion rule (VO) to account for derivations such as [62]

[62] (Santana et al's [58])

/ hu:na + om + a:ch /
(carry-M-cmp)
VO hu:n + om + a:ch

MVD hu:n + m + a:ch
 N-Del hu: + m + a:ch
 [hu:ma:ch]

Given the lengthened stem vowel, it is likely the case that in fact the form of the 'antipassive' suffix is /-m/. Thus VD is not required in this derivation. Nevertheless, N-Del must still follow MVD which deletes the [a] that separates [n] and [m] in the underlying form.

Since the degeminization rule required to account for the correct form of the perfect suffix is not crucially ordered in relation to MVD, it could be suggested that it combines with the rule in [61] in some more general rule. This runs into problems, however. Santana et al formulate their [n] deletion rule as deleting [n] after a long vowel to account for the distinction between derivations such as [62] from [63]:

[63] / kana + om + a:ch /
 (call-M-cmp)
 VD kan + om + a:ch
 MVD kan + m + a:ch
 N-Del ----
 [kanma:ch]

Thus a separate rule of [n] deletion may be required #14.

There is one last minor rule to be considered. This optional rule is demonstrated in forms like [64] - [66].

[64]	ach'a-al	ach'a'	ach'a-a:mal
	listen-inc		-prf
	ax-ts-a1	ax-tsi	ax-ts-a:mal
	listen-dat-inc	-dat	-dat-prf
[65]	eche-l	ex-l-a:ch	ex-l-a:mad
	cart:wood-L	-L-cmp	-L-prf
[66]	atsim	atsi-n	as-n-e:k
	bathe(-?)	-N	-N-prf

This rule is given formally in [67] although its apparent optionality and limited attestation leave open questions of the exact formulation.

[67] [+del rel] ---> [+cnt, -glot] / __ [+cor]

8 MVD Revisited

There are certain vestigial effects associated with MVD that remain to be discussed. If [u] is deleted by MVD when the preceding consonant is velar, that consonant may be labialized:

[68]	t'ikʷ-n-a1	t'iko-n	t'ikʷ-n-e:k
	jump-N-inc	-N	-N-prf
[69]	pa:k'u-m	pa:kʷ-m-a:ch	pa:kʷ-m-a:mad
	launder-M	-M-cmp	-M-prf

Labialization does not occur, however, if the velar is preceded or followed by a [+high, +rnd] segment (viz. [u] or [w]):

[70]	tsuk-y-a1	tsuku-y	tsuk-y-a:ma1
	sew-Y-inc	-Y	-Y-prf

[71]	pak'w-a1	pak'u	paku:-ma1
	launder-inc		-prf

Note that [k'w] in the incompletive form of [71] represents two distinct segments that are in two separate syllables.

There are other labialization effects to be found that are involved with MVD in some way but in these cases there are other rules at work as well. We have have to consider some of these other rules first.

Recalling that certain transitive verbs appear to have a suffix /-y/, consider the following data:

[72]	chahyal	chahay	chahya:ma1
	weave-inc		-prf

[73]	ahyal	ahay	ahya:ma1
	read-inc		-a:ma1

[74]	ch'a7yal	ch'a7ay	ch'a7ya:ma1
	buy-inc		-prf

[75]	k'a7yal	k'a7ay	k'a7ya:ma1
	cart:wood-inc		-prf

These appear to pattern quite regularly with roots /chaha/, /aha/, /ch'a7a/ and /k'a7a/, the suffix /-y/, and the second [a] in the root deleted by MVD in the incompletive and perfect forms but remaining in the completive. However, further investigation reveals that the roots are in fact /chahi/, /ahi/, /ch'a7i/ and /k'a7i/, and that these forms do not involve the suffix /-y/. That the stem vowel is [i] can be most clearly seen by comparison with another dialect in which MVD need not apply such as that spoken in San Luis Potosí (SLP). The incompletive forms are given in [76] - [79] #15 #16:

[76]	tsahiyal
	weave-inc

[77]	ahiyal
	read-inc

[78]	ts'a7iyal
	buy-inc

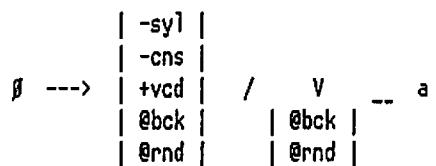
[79]	k'a7iyal
	cart:wood-inc

It is still to be shown that [y] is not morphological. Consider the "antipassive" forms for these verbs:

[80]	chahum weave-M	chayma:ch -M-cmp	chayma:mad -M-prf
[81]	ahum read-M	ayma:ch -M-cmp	ayma:mad -M-prf
[82]	ch'a7um buy-M	ch'ay7ma:ch -M-cmp	ch'ay7ma:mad -M-prf
[83]	k'a7um cart:wood-M	k'ay7ma:ch -M-cmp	k'ay7ma:mad -M-prf

Note the presence of [u] in each of the incompletive forms: this would be the predicted outcome of coalescence if a root ending in [i] had the suffix /-om/. The presence of [y] in the completive and perfect forms of the 'antipassives' must be accounted for morphonologically since /-y/ is never suffixed in "antipassive" forms. This is not a complete argument against an analysis which posits /-y/ in the transitive forms. However, if these roots end in [i], it would be quite natural to posit a rule of [y] insertion that operates exactly as does wIns; in fact, these are to be considered a single rule of glide insertion:

[84] Glide Insertion (GI) #17



Another fact supports this analysis. As observed by Santana et al (p. 32), beyond the four roots given in [72] - [83], the only roots that take the 'antipassive' morpheme /-m/ that also have transitives with [y] end in [i] #18. Positing glide insertion in all these cases would allow a generalization that roots which form "antipassives" with /-m/ do not form transitives with /-y/; if the transitive has [y] it is the result of the application of GI.

Given that the completive forms in [72] - [75] are suffixless and underlyingly end in [i], some rule is required to derive [ay] from [i]. Before presenting such a rule, let us consider other data which exhibit similar phenomena:

[85]	bahwal meet-inc	bahaw	bahu:mal -prf
[86]	cha7wal hit-inc	cha7aw	cha7u:mal -prf
[87]	ch'a7wal chew-inc	ch'a7aw	ch'a7u:mal -prf

The roots involved here are /bahu/, /cha7u/ and /ch'a7u/. The incompletive forms are predicted by the application of GI followed by MVD, and the perfect forms are predicted by the application of LRV. That these roots end in [u] is also seen by comparison with

corresponding forms from SLP which have not undergone MVD; the incompletives are given in [88] - [90]:

[88] bahuwal

[89] tsa7uwal

[90] ts'a7uwal

Further evidence is given from the "antipassive forms":

[91] ba:hu-1 baw-1-a:ch baw-1-a:mad
meet-L -L-cmp -L-prf

[92] cha7u-x cha7u-x-in chaw7-x-in-e:k
hit-X -X-cmp -X-cmp-prf

[93] ch'a7u-1 ch'aw7-1-a:ch ch'aw7-1-a:mad
chew-L -L-cmp -L-prf

Note that [w] appears in these forms in just the same manner that [y] does in [80] - [83]. It is claimed that the same process is to account for both sets of phenomena. This will be discussed further below.

A comparison of the completive forms in [72] - [75] with those in [85] - [87] reveals that, just as in the former [i] is diphthongized to form [ay], so also in the latter [u] becomes [aw]. This is formalized in [94]:

[94] Diphthongization (Diph)

V	?	V	#				
[-hgh]	h	[+hgh]					
1	2	4	5	==>	1	2	3

a [-syll]

4 5

In the available data, the first vowel is in all cases [a], so it may be the case that a more restricted environment for this rule is required. We will return to this below. That this vowel can not be [+hgh] is demonstrated by [95] - [97]:

[95] luhw-al luhu luhu:-ma1
confess-inc -prf

[96] nuhw-al nuhu nuhu:-ma1
sell-inc -prf

[97] mu7w-a1 mu7u mu7u:-ma1
shred-inc -prf

In [92] and [93], we observe that MVD has applied in certain forms in such a way that there is labialization which is realized by [w] before the glottal stop. This is reminiscent of the labialization that occurs with velar stops as discussed at the beginning of this section. [91] is similar, though it appears to demonstrate another rule which deletes [h]. The same rules which are at work here appear to be the same ones that produce the [y] in forms like [80] - [83]. Note in [80]

and [81] that [h] undergoes deletion as it does in [91]. The only distinction between processes involving labialization and those involving palatalization is that MVD does not create palatalized velars.

How to formalize what is going on here is not straight forward. Santana et al suggest #19 that MVD might palatalize or labialize a preceding laryngial in the same way that it labializes a preceding velar. As with velars, labialization does not occur if there is a following [w] or if the laryngial is preceded by [u]; likewise, palatalization does not occur if there is a following [y] or if the laryngial is preceded by [i] #20. The labialization or palatalization on the laryngial would be realized by a preceding glide and [h] would be deleted by the following rule:

[98] [h] Deletion (hDel)

$h \rightarrow \beta / \{?, h\} _ c .$

Another alternative is to suggest that all the phenomena observed in [72] - [93] involve a rule that would glide a high vowel in appropriate contexts. This is based on the observation that, in apparent MVD cases among these examples and in the transitive compleative forms, the high vowel acts like a glide. Thus, in the compleative and perfect forms of [80] - [83] and [91] - [93], rather than MVD applying, the high vowel glides and a rule of metathesis applies; where the laryngial is an [h], hDel applies #21. In the transitive compleative forms, diphthongization would be achieved by two rules: one which glides the high vowel, and another which inserts a vowel - either [a] in all cases, or the same vowel as in the preceding syllable. Finally, in the incompletive and perfect transitive forms, the glide is the result of this glide formation rule and not of GI.

This alternative demands several comments. First, the incompletive transitive forms from SLP given in [76] - [79] and [88] - [90] indicate that the glide is in fact the result of GI and not of some glide formation rule.

Secondly, the question of whether diphthongization is achieved by one or two steps may seem academic. However, if the two step analysis involves repeating the vowel from the previous syllable, this makes particular predictions: a root with the form /Ce7i/ should be derived as [Ce7ey] for the transitive compleative; likewise, a root like /Ci7u/ should be derived as [Ci7iw]. Now, as considered earlier, the environment for diphthongization or for the labializing and palatalizing effects of MVD on laryngials or for some rule of glide formation may be limited to having the preceding vowel be [a]. As well, the nature of morpheme structure in Huasteco may limit the possible situations in which these phenomena occur to when the vowel in question is [a] (i.e. it may be that roots with the form /Ce7i/ or /Ci7u/, or other variations, can not occur in Huasteco). In this case, there would be no clear way to test this analysis against a competing one. However, comparison with SLP is somewhat revealing: diphthongization does not appear to occur in SLP. Thus the following are attested #22:

[99] bahuw
meet

[100] ahuy

read

- [101] ts'a7iy
buy

However, the effects otherwise associated with MVD do occur:

- [102] ts'ay7-ch-a1
buy-dat-inc

(underlying form: / ts'a7i + chi + a1 /)

Thus it is clear that diphthongization is completely independent of the effects associated with apparent MVD. On this basis it is argued that diphthongization is a unitary process #23 #23a.

Therefore, if there is a rule of glide formation involved in any of these phenomena, it is only for what would otherwise be considered labializing and palatalizing effects of MVD. The glide formation analysis has some favourable qualities. It avoids the lack of clarity in the MVD analysis regarding the way in which the residual vowel colour is realized. This is particularly significant if there is phonetic evidence that this colour is realized in a full segment as appears to be the case in those forms for which hDel is posited. Furthermore, it might allow for insightful description in an framework involving hierarchical phonological representations in which a tree would be restructured:

- [103] #24 (eg.)



This would be supplemented by conditions on the possible phonetic realization of laryngials and glides that hang from the same C node which could account for hDel as well. In fact, it should be noted there seems to be some variation in how certain forms are realized:

- [104] #25

ah-tsin-ts-a1 ah-tsin-tsi ah-tsin-ts-a:ma1
read-dat-dat-inc -dat-dat -dat-dat-prf

ay-tsin-ts-a1 ay-tsin-tsi ay-tsin-ts-a:ma1
read-dat-dat-inc -dat-dat -dat-dat-prf

Both realizations in [104] are attested. This could be accounted for by allowing an option on how [h] and a glide that hang from the same C node are realized when another C follows, i.e. an option on which is deleted #26. On the other hand, the forms in [104a] could only be accounted for in the MVD analysis by having MVD apply without the palatalizing effects; this would appear to be merely hiding a certain independence of the two.

There are also factors arguing against the glide formation analysis, namely that, in spite of the preceding statement, its effects do not appear to be entirely independent of MVD. The environments to which it applies are a proper subset of those to which MVD applies. This is true no matter what restrictions on the preceding vowel are

made. As well, this glide formation rule would have to be optional in just the same way that MVD would be. Consider [105]:

[105] ahu-m	ahu-m-a:ch	ahu-m-a:mad
read-M	-M-cmp	-M-prf

These are optional alternates the forms given in [81]. The observation to be made here is not that [h] has not been replaced with [y], but that [u] still appears. This must be due to the optionality of MVD or of glide formation, whichever is being posited. So at best, a rule of glide formation could only be considered on the understanding that it is very closely related to MVD in some crucial ways. Finally, the problem for the MVD raised by the data in [104] could be attributed to the matter of how labialized or palatalized [h] would be realized.

Given these considerations, MVD will be claimed to account for the effects under discussion while noting that another possibly viable solution exists. This allows capturing the labializing effects on both velars and laryngials - i.e. all [-ant, -cor] voiceless consonants #27 - under one rule.

One final set of data is given which does not affect the claims made:

[106] waw7-n-a1	wa7u-n	waw7-n-e:k
fan-N-inc	-N	-N-prf
waw7-y-a1	wa7u-y	waw7-y-a:ma1
fan-Y-inc	-Y	-Y-prf

These are shown merely for interest's sake since they demonstrate that a verb can have the [y] - in this case, indeed the suffix /-y/ - and also demonstrate labialization effects.

Notes.

* Much of what is stated here is in essential agreement with the analyses presented in Santana et al. This manuscript proved very helpful to me, and although I first approached their claims with no small measure of doubt, I later came to accept much of it as valid.

1 There is a possibility that this [y] may be predictable by a rule of glide insertion which is independently motivated (discussed below in the text). This rule requires round vowels to be followed by [w] in certain environments. Possibly related is a rule which inserts a glottal stop after [a]. Thus the rule would be posited to include the insertion of [y] after [-bck] vowels.

An alternative for each of these exists which involves positing each of [w], [y] and [?] as morphological. This idea was suggested to me by Kaufman (p.c.). He claims that forms ending in [?] involve either stems or derivational morphemes ending in [?]. As well, [w] or [y] are suffixed onto other transitive stems. It appears to me, however, that this would entail certain difficulties. First of all, [?] only occurs after short [a]; in fact, this analysis would miss the fact that (in the Tantoyuca dialect at least) there are no word-final short [a]'s (proclitics aside). Also, a rule would be required to delete the glottal stop in certain forms:

(i)	bel-tha-al	bel-tha?	beltha-a:mal
	walk-CAUS-inc		-pf
	aba-al	aba?	aba-a:mal
	send-inc		-pf

However, other forms show an undeleted intervocalic glottal stop:

(ii) cha?aw
hit

che?e-1
grind-AP

chu?u
see

wa?uy
fan

It would thus require restricting such a rule in an ad hoc way such as stipulating that it apply only when [?] is followed by certain suffixes. Second, it would fail to observe that [w] only occurs after a round vowel. Given these facts, I find it preferable to account for [?] and [w] (nor)phonologically.

In the Tantoyuca dialect, the environment for the insertion of [w] appears to be restricted to after a round vowel and before a [-rnd](?) vowel. (In actuality, the nature of Huasteco morphology appears to limit the possibilities for the second vowel to [a].) Kaufman (p.c.) states that the Tantoyuca dialect is the only one in which round vowels may occur word-finally without a following [w]. (This statement was

intended to apply at least to verbs.) This adds support to an analysis which posits a glide insertion.

There are certain difficulties with claiming that [y], like [w] (and [?]) is to be accounted for (morpho)phonologically. First, there are words which end with a [-bck] vowel without an inserted [y]:

- (iii) *kul-be:*
happy-incep

k'ale
go

ale
field

While it may be possible to account for this along lines such as would be needed to restrict [w]-insertion in a similar fashion in this dialect or by citing such words as exceptional, there remains a greater problem for a [y]-insertion analysis: its occurrence is not limited to after [-bck] vowels:

- (iv) *thibay*
decorate

halk'uy
change

kotoy
cut

There does not appear to be any clear way in which [y] could be predicted in these cases. This does not rule out, however, the possibility that [y] is present due to morphological processes in at least some cases. One environment is discussed below in the text in which this is in fact claimed.

2 The term 'antipassive' is used here in the manner typically adopted by Mayanists which use it in reference to what may be a number of different constructions. In particular, it is not used in the restricted sense adopted within RG/APG literature in reference to a single specific construction.

3 Of course, it may be that some cases do involve epenthesis in which the inserted vowel is the same as that in the preceding syllable. However, it is not clear to me in which cases such an analysis would be desirable.

4 There are effects that are related to this rule which will be discussed below.

5 This rule may be part of a more general glide insertion rule. See §8 and also the discussion in note 1.

5a The vowel following the round vowel is stated to be [a] as was the case in all the data given. It could be that this vowel is in fact just

[-rnd]. However, the nature of Huasteco morphology is such that of those suffixes which begin with a vowel, for most that vowel is [a]. There is a perfective aspect suffix /-ich/, however I have no data available which indicates how this interacts with stems ending in round vowels.

There appears to be a variant form of the 'antipassive' suffix /-m/ with a round vowel - /-om/. However, I do not at this point fully understand the variation between these forms and, therefore, how /-om/ would interact with stems ending in a round vowel. It might seem reasonable to expect that in these cases no [w] would be inserted.

6 It is probably the case that this transcription is incorrect in having a short stem vowel. The nature of the stress rule means that vowel length can be readily ascertained from stress as long as there is not another long vowel in a following syllable and the vowel in question is not in the first syllable of the word. These latter cases are more difficult for the unaccustomed ear. It is clear from stress, however, that the second [o] is not long.

7 They also consider the possibility of a variant of /-om/, /-um/, though they then present an alternative analysis involving, among other things, the coalescence rule. They do note that they are still faced with certain difficult data. While I consider their alternative analysis, with some modification, to be the correct one, there are still certain difficulties which I have no explanation for at this point. One example is the appearance of [u] in an 'antipassive' form where the transitive counterpart had [a]:

(i) (Santana et al's [96])

thuts-um	thuts-m-a:ch	thuts-m-a:math
write-M	-M-cmp	-M-prf
thutsa-al	thutsa?	thutsa-a:mal
-inc		-prf

There appear to be a few examples in which there is a variation in the stem vowel. (ii) gives an example in which this happens within one derivational form of a verb:

(ii) belal beley belnek
walk-inc walk-cmp walk-prf

At this point I am prepared to consider all such variations as idiosyncratic, although I would still want to look for a possible explanation.

8 I am glossing the morpheme /-tsi/ as 'dative' although Santana et al use the term 'referential' and James R. Walker more generally uses the term 'applicative'. Also, Aissen (p.c.) informs me that Mayanists generally use the term 'benefactive voice' for constructions such as those which in Huasteco involve the suffix /-tsi/. This is due to the fact that in my analysis all clauses in which the verb has this suffix involve an indirect object which (obligatorily) advances to direct object.

9 I am not ready to commit myself to such a rule at this point since I have not considered any data which involve the perfective morpheme /-ich/. (Kaufman (p.c.), if I understand him, does not distinguish this from the completive morpheme /-a:ch/; I believe a distinction is necessary.) As well, there are other data that I have not yet made complete sense of: The incompletive morpheme usually has the form [-al]. However, there are a series of verbs involving the derivational morpheme /-be:/ /-me:/ ('inceptive') for which the incompletive morpheme appears as [-l]:

- (i) chipil-me:-l
small-incep-inc
'shrinking'

As well, there are a number of verbs that pattern like those in (ii) and (iii):

- (ii) thot'el thot'ey thot'enek
'(it is) evaporating' '(it) evaporated' '(it) has evaporated'

(iii) tuthe:l tuthey tuthenek
'(he is) kneeling' '(he) knelt' '(he) has knelt'

These may also suggest some form of deletion, but in these cases it is the second vowel that deletes. It could be the case that if one vowel is long it is the other that deletes, whatever order they may be in. However, the incompletive form in (ii) does not have a long vowel.

Given these facts, I feel that the question of vowel deletion requires further investigation as does the morphology of forms such as those in (ii) and (iii). If such a deletion does not apply generally, then there must still be some rule accounting for the alternation between [-ts] (/__+a) and [-tsi].

10 See note (5a?)

11 It may be that this applies only if the first of these obstruents is also [+glot]. In this case an analysis involving a hierarchical tree structure could be adopted in which the two obstruents hang from adjacent nodes and the similar features are transferred to the right hand node leaving the features of [?] on the left hand node.

12 [57] is the only example in my data which demonstrates this rule.

13 The lengthened vowel in [-e:k] suggests that there is in fact more involved here. It could be claimed that this lengthening is a side-effect of this rule. Kaufman (p.c.), however, states that there are indeed two forms but that the latter is /-(n)e:nek/ and that in these forms [ne] is being deleted to give [-ne:k] whereas in other dialects only [e] is deleted resulting in the surface form [-ne:nk].

14 The two verbs in [62] and [63] are the only ones in my data that apply to this issue. Further investigation is in order before a final conclusion is drawn.

15 Data from the San Luis Potosi dialect are taken from Larsen (1955).

Larsen and Pike (1949), and from *El Nuevo Testamento en el huasteco de San Luis Potosí* (translated by Larsen).

16 There is an interesting alternation between the San Luis Potosí (SLP) dialect and the Tantoyuca dialect: where SLP has [ts] and [ts'], the Tantoyuca dialect has [ch] and [ch'] respectively, and vice versa. The most immediate explanation of this would be that in Proto-Huasteco, the reflexes [ts] and [ch] had one source as did the reflexes [ts'] and [ch']; then whatever rule applied to bring about the splits worked on opposite environments in these two dialects.

17 As was done in the wIns rule - [28] - the second vowel is stated to be [a]. But, as observed in note 5a, it is possible that this should be more general. For the sake of [w] insertion we might expect [-rnd], and for [y] insertion, [+bck]. Combining these in [84] would require designating the second vowel as [-@rnd, -@bck]. The segment [a], on the other hand, does combine the features [-rnd] and [+bck] required for the separate parts of the rule.

It should be observed that, whereas there may be limited attestation of a [+rnd] vowel followed by a [-rnd] (see note 5a), we have discussed cases of a [-bck] vowel followed by [+bck] vowel, viz. [i] followed by [o] which undergoes coalescence. This may suggest a more restricted environment for GI is required. We have also seen, however, the case of [i] in the dative morpheme /-tsi/ deleting before [a], but this deletion rule may be limited to the dative morpheme. (See note 9.)

18 There are, apparently, roots ending in other than [i] which have /-y/ in the transitive and /-m/ "antipassives. The argument is still viable, though, since these also form "antipassives" with the suffix /-l/, apparently unlike those roots ending in [i]. Thus the condition that the argument is based on appears to hold although in a slightly more complex fashion than stated at first.

19 They do not in the end adhere to any particular analysis for all the data in question; in fact, they do not appear convinced that the phenomena exhibited in [72] - [83] is necessarily related to that in [85] - [93].

20 As discussed with the rule of diphthongization, the necessary environment for both these phenomena may be that the first vowel must be [a].

21 The reversed order of the laryngial and the glide could be attributed to limitations in the possibilities of phonetic realization rather than positing a rule of metathesis. In this case, a minor change would be made to hDel changing the order of segments in the structural description.

22 Although the transitive forms for SLP have [y], this is inserted not morphologically but morphonologically in the same way that [w] is inserted in that dialect after word-final round vowels.

23 To still maintain that there are still two processes involved - gliding and the insertion of (specifically) [a] - does not seem

especially insightful. It may merely the biased view given by a particular formalism of what really is a single process.

23a One last argument could be presented in support of the claim that diphthongization involves two processes. This is built on the observation that in general tautosyllabic consonant clusters are not allowed but that [w?] and [y?] do occur word-medially in forms like those under discussion and also word-finally. Since the former are to be accounted for morphonologically it would be desirable if the latter could as well. This would involve suggestion that word-final high vowels always glide when preceded by a laryngial, and that words ending in [w?] are underlyingly /...?u/ while those ending in [y?] are underlyingly /...?i/. Then in those cases like [cha?aw] (cf [86]) in which the vowel before the laryngial is [a], another [a] is inserted between the laryngial and the glide while in cases like *chiw?* 'chayote' a rule of metathesis (or some constraint on phonetic realization) applies. However this has problems since it would attempt to posit *kaw?* 'fox' as being underlyingly /ka?u/ while failing to explain why it is not realized as [ka?aw]. There appears to be no avoiding that Huasteco has word-final [y?] and [w?], especially given that it also has word-final [n?] which can not be accounted for in any other way.

24 Such a rule would be especially motivated if phonetic evidence suggested that the residual vowel colour was not in fact realized by a full segment.

25 The reason for the repetition of the dative morpheme in these forms appears solely to disambiguate them from forms of *aytsi* 'wait for'.

26 Of course this would predict the presence of [bahla:ch] as well as [bawla:ch] (cf [91]) and is therefore testable. I have no data pertaining to this.

27 Voiceless to exclude [y] and [w].

III LOS TIPOS DE VERBOS

Todos los verbos en huasteco se pueden clasificar según sus significados, es decir, según el tipo de acción que describe.

1. Verbos activos

Un verbo activo describe una acción que es llevado a cabo por un agente explícito, ya sea intransitivo o transitivo.

A. Intransitivos

Un verbo activo intransitivo abarca un agente mas acción.

Naná' u kulbetnál tin kowal tam k'itsow.
A mí me gusta nadar cuando hace calor.

An olomtsik u chemel tam u wat'el nin ya'úch.
Los puercos se mueren cuando pasa su epidemia.

B. Transitivos

Un verbo transitivo abarca un agente, una acción y además un paciente.

Na Juan yab in belál xant'ey u usnal.
Juan no cree lo que le dicen.

Naná' u bach'wal nu jalbíl tam kin t'ójon.
Yo recibo mi sueldo cuando trabajo.

Na Pedro púlek in k'imá' in ko'ol.
Pedro tiene una casa grande.

2. Verbos pasivos

Un verbo pasivo describe una acción transitiva de la cual no es necesario mencionar el agente de la acción, pero si quiere identificar el agente, entonces, sí, debe mencionarlo.

U nujnal an xeketláb al bitsow.
Se vende ropa en el pueblo

An inik u cha'wáb abal in walám.
Golpean al hombre porque ha cometido algo malo.

Ech'ek'i u pitnal an bek k'al an chakamtsik maske yab wejnek.
Siempre se corta la guayaba por los niños aunque no esté madura.

3. Verbos antipasivos

Un verbo antipasivo describe una acción transitiva de la cual no se menciona el paciente de la acción.

Naná' in káxul abal ja'ich nu t'ojlábil.
Yo peluqueo porque es mi trabajo.

In kannal tin t'énel tam u t'ajnal an ajib.
Me llaman a tocar cuando hay fiesta.

4. Verbos causativos

Un verbo causativo describe una acción transitiva de la cual el agente lleva a cabo la acción con el propósito de causar el paciente que haga algo si es animado, o que cambie de estado si es inanimado.

Los verbos causativos incluyen el sufijo causativo, -ál cuando se usa la forma habitual del verbo, -a' cuando se usa la forma perfectivo del verbo o con -ámal cuando se usa la forma copretérito del verbo.

An pek'el tin ejdhál tam dhjaw.
El gallo me despierta en la mañana.

An kwitól in k'adhbál an way' oklék'.
El muchacho sube la mazorca en el tapanco.

5. Verbos instrumentales

Un verbo instrumental describe el propósito por el cual el agente usa el paciente para llevar a cabo la acción.

El afijo -n- es lo que indica que el verbo es instrumental.

Jajá' tokot in waynál an tát abal ch'ojontál t'ajat.
El solamente duerme en un petate porque es muy pobre.

Naná' u kwaјtsixnál an machét xi wi'idh.
Yo uso machete filoso para chapolear.

6. Verbos aplicativos

Un verbo aplicativo describe una acción de la cual el agente ejecuta la acción a favor de un beneficiario.

Los verbos aplicativos incluyen el sufijo aplicativo, que tiene la forma -tsal con la forma habitual del verbo, -tsi con la forma perfectivo del verbo o -tsámal con la forma copretérito del verbo.

U lé' tikin wat'bantsi an ti at'em abal ku ch'apníxna'.
Quiero que me pase la sal para salar la comida.

U lé' tikin ch'ay'tsi an ti pan xu nujwal.
Quiero que me compre el pan que vendo.

7. Verbos estativos

Un verbo estativo describe el estado de un sustantivo, usando el adjetivo como verbo.

K'otsól t'ajat an olom xu nuju ti we'él.
Fue muy gordo el puerco que vendí ayer.

Ech'ek'i u ko'ol wi'idh nu machétil.
Siempre tengo afilado mi machete.

Dhakni' an atá xu cha'ay ti we'él.
Es blanca la casa que compré ayer.

II LOS PROCLITICOS PRONOMINALES

En huasteco de Veracruz, se usan tanto pronombres independientes como proclíticos pronominales para indicar la persona y el número de los agentes y pacientes de los verbos.

1 Los pronombres independientes se usan para enfatizar quién es el agente o el paciente de la acción. Estos pronombres tienen dos formas, una completa y otra más corta. Las formas completas de los pronombres son:

SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 Naná'	11 Wawá'
2 Tatá'	22 Tatá'tsik
3 Jajá'	33 Jajá'tsik

Las formas cortas son:

1 Na'	11 Wa'
2 Ta'	22 Ta'
3 Ja'	33 Ja'

La forma de los proclíticos pronominales, varían según el tiempo y el aspecto del verbo.

a. Los proclíticos pronominales que indican el agente de los verbos activos intransitivos son:

ESTATIVO	PRESENTES			FUTURO	
	HABITUAL	PROGRESIVO	IMPERFECTIVO	PERFECTIVO	
1 in	in	exom tin	ne'ech tin	ne'ech kin	
2 i	i	exom ta	ne'ech ta	ne'ech ki	
3 -	u	exom ti	ne'ech ti	ne'ech ka	
11 u	u	exom tu	ne'ech tu	ne'ech ku	
22 i	i	exom ta	ne'ech ta	ne'ech ki	
33 -	u	exom ti	ne'ech ti	ne'ech ka	

b. Los proclíticos pronominales que indican número y persona del paciente de los verbos activos transitivos varían según la persona y número del agente y del tiempo y del aspecto del verbo, como se puede apreciar en los siguientes cuadros:

Presente o Pretérito

O	1	2	3	11	22	33
S	1	- tu	u	- tu	u	
	2	tin	- a	tu	-	a
	3	tin	ti	in	tu	ti
	11	- tu	i	- tu	i	
	22	tin	- a	tu	-	a
	33	tin	ti	in	tu	ti
						in

Futuro

O	1	2	3	11	22	33	
S	1	-	tu	ku	-	tu	ku
2	tin	-	ka	tu	-	ka	
3	tin	ti	kin	tu	ti	kin	
11	-	tu	ki	-	tu	ki	
22	tin	-	ka	tu	-	ka	
33	tin	ti	kin	ti	ti	kin	

c. Proclíticos pronominales en voz activa.

	PRESENTE	PRETERITO	COPRETERITO
1	u	u	u
2	a	a	a
3	in	in	in
11	i	i	i
22	a	a	a
33	in	in	in

d. Proclíticos pronominales en voz pasiva.

	PRESENTE	PRTERITO	COPRETERITO
1	in	in	in
2	i	i	i
3	u	-	-
11	u	u	u
22	i	i	i
33	u	-	-

I LOS TIEMPOS Y ASPECTOS

Los verbos en huasteco de Veracruz se pueden clasificar según su tiempo y aspecto. Son tres los tiempos, a saber, presente, futuro y pasado. Dos de los aspectos son imperfectivos a saber, habitual y progresivo. El otro aspecto es perfectivo.

Para expresar los verbos correctamente en huasteco, se usan dos o tres palabras. En todos los verbos se usan un proclítico pronominal seguido por la forma apropiada del verbo. En algunos verbos, también se usa un verbo auxiliar antes del proclítico pronominal.

Hay tres formas principales de todos los verbos, a saber, habitual, perfectivo y copretérito.

A continuación se dan algunos ejemplos de todas las combinaciones de tiempos y aspectos, tanto en la voz activa como en la voz pasiva.

A. Tiempo presente - Voz activa

1. Verbos intransitivos

a. Habitual

Naná' in k'alel ów tin t'oinal.
Yo voy a trabajar lejos.

In t'oinal tsudhey ka tsudhey.
Trabajo todos los días.

Nótese que en el verbo principal de la oración se usa la forma habitual sencilla del verbo con su proclítico pronominal correspondiente.

b. Progresivo

Exom ti k'apul an chakam.
Está comiendo el niño.

Nu tomtal exom ti lejkix te'nél.
Mi esposa está guisando.

Exom an áb.
Está lloviendo.

Nótese que el verbo auxiliar *exom*, se usa junto con el proclítico pronominal correspondiente y el tiempo presente del verbo para indicar el aspecto progresivo. Nótese también que en el caso de la oración "está lloviendo", el verbo auxiliar no es procedido por un verbo principal, sino por un artículo definido y un sustantivo. Sigue otro ejemplo de esto:

Exom i péjéxtaláb píl bitsow.
Hay guerra en otra ciudad.

Nótese que en este caso el verbo auxiliar es procedido por un artículo indefinido.

c. Imperativo imperfectivo

Ki k'alel ta ik'tom dhi' tan dhamúl.
Vas a traer leña en las tardes.

Ki ch'akíl dhajawe ka k'apundha' an olom.
Vas a levantarte temprano para darle de comer al puerco.

Nótese que se usa la forma habitual del verbo, pero el proclítico pronominal es diferente para la voz imperativa.

d. Imperativo perfectivo.

Ki k'ale ta ik'tom dhi'!
Vete a traer leña.

Nótese que se usa el mismo proclítico pronominal que se usa con el imperativo imperfectivo, pero no se usa la forma habitual del verbo, sino la forma perfectivo.

2. Verbos transitivos

a. Habitual

An ténektsik in k'apal t'ajat an te'nél chanak'w.
Los huastecos comen mucho el guisado de frijol.

Naná' u kulbetnál tin belal owdha'.
A mí me gusta caminar lejos.

Nótese que el verbo transitivo habitual usa el aspecto imperfectivo.

b. Progresivo

Exom u t'a jál an bakan.
Estoy haciendo tortillas.

Exom u lejkiyal an te'nél.
Estoy guisando la comida.

Nótese que el verbo auxiliar *exom* se usa con los proclíticos pronominales correspondientes y el tiempo presente para formar el aspecto de un verbo transitivo.

c. Imperativo imperfectivo

Ka t'akál an laktem tam a k'ut'liyal.
Lava la silla cuando lo ensucias.

Ka k'apundhál dhajawe an olom.
Dale de comer temprano el puerco.

Nótese que el aspecto imperfectivo del modo imperativo de un verbo transitivo es indicado por el tiempo presente.

K'apu

Transitive
(Advanced)
tsi

Middle
na

Tense/Aspect

Eat - 1

T/A

tsi-

tsi-na

tsi-na-tsi

EAT

tsi

na

BEN

tsi

Tense/Aspect

PM Root ADV MID BEN T/A

in K'apu ch (NP₁) ¹ in K'apuch

I ate

in K'apu I (Pres) in K'apul

I eat

in K'apu mat⁰ (Perf) in K'apumatt ich

I have eaten already

u K'apu tsi ¹⁻³ u k'apt.s*i*

¹ I took someone's food

in K'apu tsi ¹ in K'aptsix

¹ I take someone's food

u K'apu tsi

I (Pres)

¹⁻³ u K'aptsal

I take someone's food

u K'apu tsi

t (Par N^{Pres})

¹ u k'aptsat/u k'aptsintsat

our food was eaten

u K'apu tsi

b (Past Pres)

¹ u k'apt**s**b/k'aptsint**s**b

our food is eaten

u K'apu tsi

ama (Perf) ^{NP₂ Pres}

¹⁻³ u k'apt**s**am

I ate what belonged to someone else

u K'apu tsi

amal (Perf) ^{Pres}

¹⁻³ u K'aptsamal

I have tasted it

in K'apu tsi-na-∅

(N_{Pres})

¹ in K'aptsin

Ben → (the rats) ate my (food)

in K'apu tsi-na-I

(Pres)

¹ in K'aptsinal

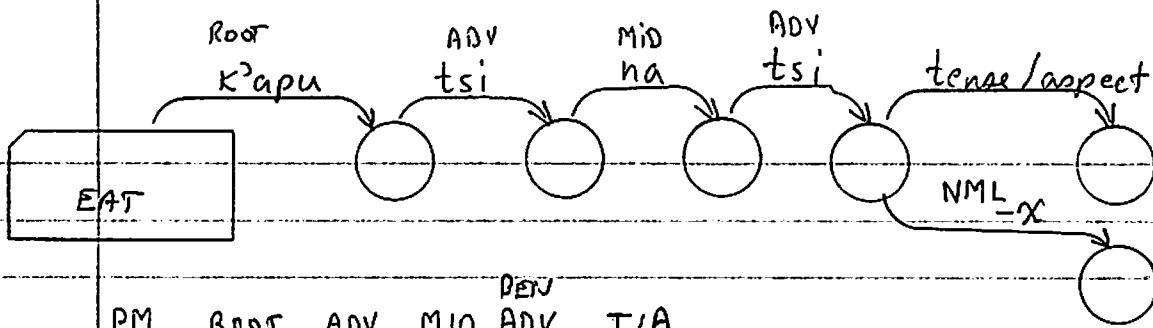
? (the rats) eat my (food)

∅ K'apu-tsi-na-enek (Perf) ^(NP₂)

¹ in K'aptsinenek

I have eaten on behalf of the child

Eat - 2



ka k'apu - tsi - na - tsi φ (NPres) yaba? ²⁻³ ka k'aptsintsi

don't eat his tortillas

u k'apu - tsi - na - tsi - l (Pres) yaba? ^{nana, 1-3} u k'aptsintsal

I don't eat John's tortillas

∅ k'apu - tsi - na - tsi - l (NPres) ^{PASS}

³ ∅ k'aptsintsat

John's tortillas were eaten

u k'apu - tsi - na - tsi - b (Pres) ^{PASS}

u k'aptsintsb

John's tortillas are eaten

u k'apu - tsi - na - tsi - ama - φ

¹⁻³ u k'aptsintsam

I have not eaten his tortillas

u k'apu - tsi - na - tsi - ama - l

u k'aptsintsamal

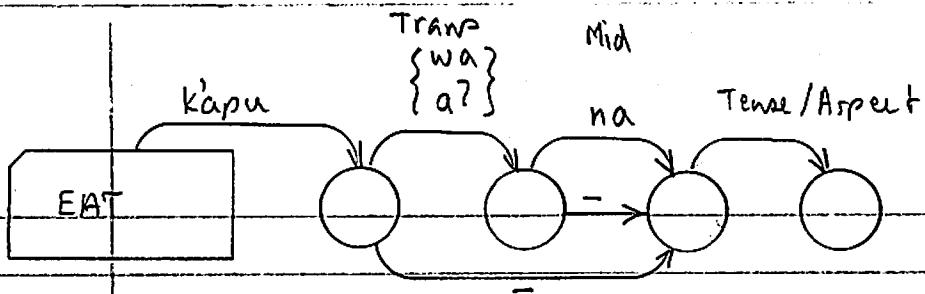
I have not eaten his tortilla

? u k'apu - tsi - na - tsi - occupational NML - ?

³ u k'aptsintsix

He is a ¹⁻⁴ cook

Eat-3



PN R_{1,2} TR MID T/A

in k'apu ^{?wg} - a? - na - \emptyset (NPres) nana¹ in k'apun / k'apupun
I ate too much

in k'apu - a? - na - l (Pres) nana¹ in k'apnail k'pal am leon
The lion eats me / I am edible to the lion

$\cancel{\phi}$ k'apu - a? - na - enek (Perf) $\cancel{\phi}$ k'apnenek
The goat was devoured by the lion

¹⁻³ u k'apu {^{*a?} wa} $\cancel{\phi}$ (NPres) ¹⁻³ u k'apu (w) ^(parade)
I ate it, k'apnawal

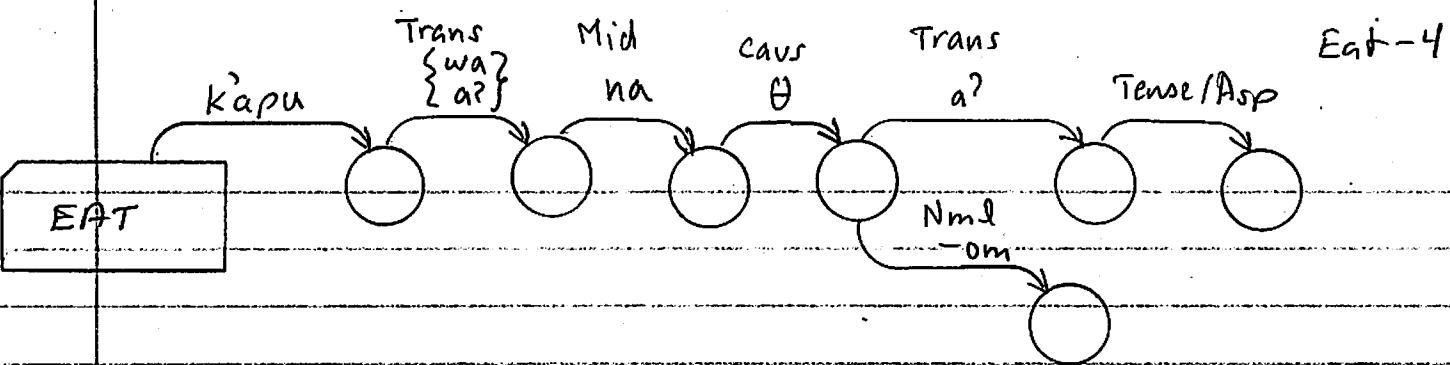
¹⁻³ u k'apu {a? wa} -l (Pres) ¹⁻³ u k'apnawal / k'apal
I eat it

³ $\cancel{\phi}$ k'apu {a? wa} -t (Pass) ³ $\cancel{\phi}$ k'apnawat / k'apat
It was devoured (by the lion)

³ u k'apu {^{*a?} wa} -b (Pass) ³ $\cancel{\phi}$ k'apnawat / k'apnawat
(chicks) can be eaten

u k'apu {wa} -ama (Perf) nana¹ ¹⁻³ u k'apum
I have eaten all of it

u k'apu {wa} -ama-l (Perf) nana¹ ¹⁻³ u k'apumal (ich)
I have already eaten some of it.



Root TR MID CAUS NML

k'apu {^{wə?}_{a?}} na θ - om

nana' in k'apunθam

I am one who feeds people

Root TR MID CAUS TR T/A

k'apu - a' - na - θ - a' - φ (NP_{1,2,3}) nana' ¹⁻³ u k'apunθa?

I served him food

k'apu - a' - na - θ - a' - I (NP_{1,2}) nana' ¹⁻³ u k'apunθa!

I serve him food

k'apu - a' - na - θ - a' - φ (Passive NP_{1,2})

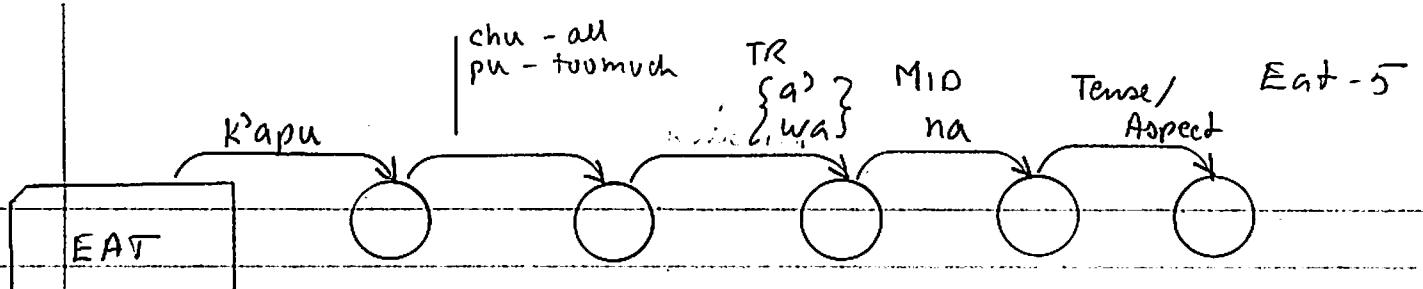
¹ in k'apunθa

I was given something to eat by them

k'apu - a' - na - θ - a' - b (Passive NP_{1,2})

² in k'apunθa!

I am given food by them



PM Root Adverb TR MID T/A .

in. K'apu - chu - {wa?} \emptyset (NPrs) ³⁻³ in k'apchu
He ate it all

in K'apu - chu {wa?} I (Prs) ³⁻³ in k'apchu wal
He eats it all

u K'apu - chu {wa?} t (Pass) ³ u k'apchu wat
it was all eaten

u K'apu - chu {wa?} b (Pass) ³ u k'apchu wab
it is all eaten

? in K'apu - chu {wa?} ama - \emptyset (Part) in k'apchu um / am ??

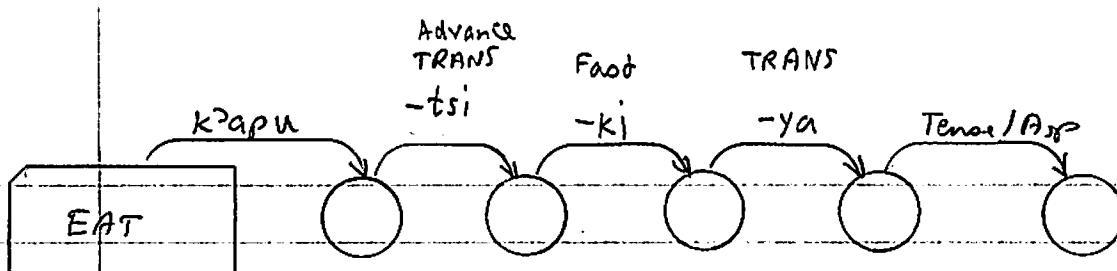
in K'apu - chu {wa?} ama - I (Part) ³³⁻³³ in k'apchu mal
they have eaten every...

in K'apu - pu {wa?} na \emptyset ¹ in k'apupun
I ate too much

in K'apu - pu {wa?} na I ³ u k'apupun al
He eats too much

in K'apu - pu {wa?} na enels \perp k'apupu ne nels ?
= k'a pu ne nels }

Eat-6



PN ROOT ADC FST TR T/A

u k'apu -tsi - ki - ya - φ (NP_{Pres}) ¹⁻³ ü k'aptsikiy

I beat you eating (ate food) it
u k'apu -tsi - ki - ya - l (Pr_{Pres}) ¹⁻³ ü k'aptsikiyal

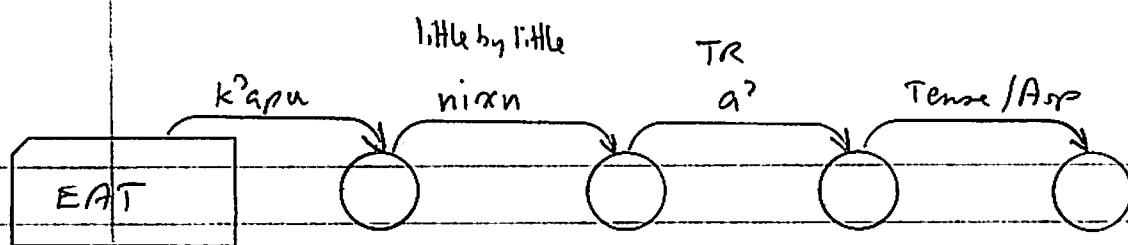
I am beating you eating it
u k'apu -tsi - ki - ya - t (NP_{Pres}) ¹⁻³ ü k'aptsikiyat

we were eaten rapidly
u k'apu -tsi - ki - ya - b (Pr_{Pass}) ¹⁻³ ü k'aptsikiyab

we are being eaten rapidly
u k'apu -tsi - ki - ya - ama (M_{Pr_{Pass}}) ¹⁻³ ü k'aptsikiyam

I have eaten it fast
u k'apu -tsi - ki - ya - ama - l (Pr_{Pass}) ¹⁻³ ü k'aptsikiyaml

I ate it fast.



PN Root LBL TR T/A

u k^3apu nixn - a^3 - \emptyset (NPres)

¹⁻³ u $k^3apnixna?$

I was eating it little by little

u k^3apu nixn - a^3 - l (Pres)

¹⁻³ u $k^3apnixnal$

I am eating it little by little

\emptyset k^3apu nixn - a^3 - t (PPres)

³ \emptyset $k^3apnixnat$

He was eaten little by little

u k^3apu nixn - a^3 - b (PPass)

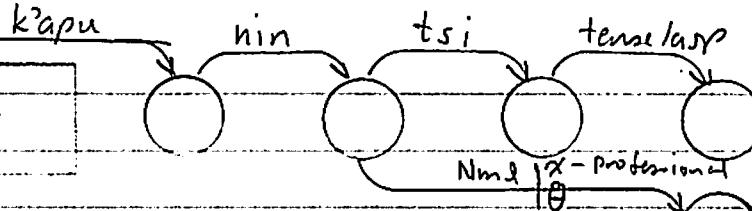
³ u $k^3apnixnab$

He is being eaten little by little

In k^3apu nixn - a^3 enek

¹ In $k^3apnixnenek$

He has been eaten little by little

stimulate?
excite?

PN Root STIM ADC T/A

u k'apu nin tsi Ø (NP_{rel})

¹-³ u k'apnин tsi

I excited his appetite (without meat)

u k'apu nin tsi I (Pr_{rel})

¹-³ u k'apnintsat / k'apnixantsal

I excite his appetite (with meat)

Ø k'apu nin tsi t (Par_{rel})

³ Ø k'apnintsat

his appetite is excited (with meat)

u k'apu nin tsi b (Par_{rel})

¹-³ u k'apnintsatb

u k'apu nin tsi ama (NP_{rel})

Perf

¹-³ u k'apnintsam

I had stimulated his appetite (w/meat)

u k'apu nin tsi ama I (Perf_{rel})

¹-³ u k'apnintsamal

I have stimulated his appetite (w/meat)

u k'apu nin tsi x

³ u k'apnintsix

k'apu nin tsi Ø

He is one who stimulates appetite w/meat

u k'apnintsi Ø

he will eat if it's food w/meat.

Residual Forms

u k²apt si

He is robbing the food of others

u k²apt si x/u k²ptsin trix

PN Root TR Mid TR NPres

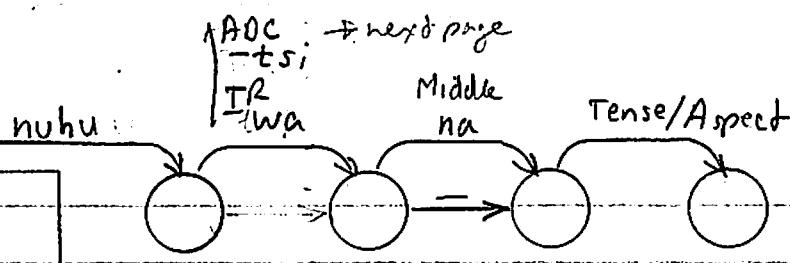
'in k²apu ^{wa?} na -a? φ

in k²apu na?

He ate it rapidly

There is no corresponding Pres or Perf form - for the poses the following is used

hi k²at in k²apal



PN ROOT TR MID T/A

u nuhu wa Ø ¹⁻³ u nuhuv
I sold it

u nuhu : wa I ¹⁻³ u nuhwad
I sell it

Ø nuhu wa + ³ Ø nuhwat
The oranges were sold

³ a nuhu wa b ³ u nuhwab
Oranges are sold

In nuhu wa ama In nuhwam
He sold it

in nuhu wa ama in nuhwam (elc)

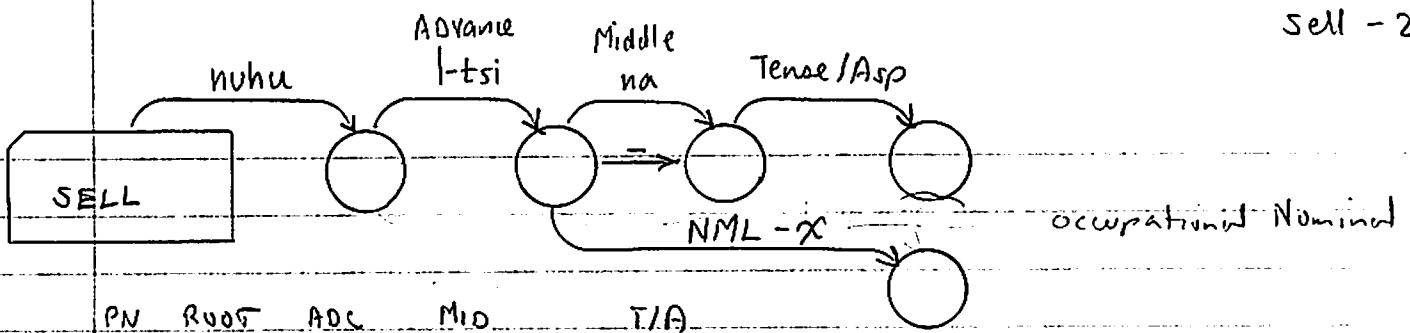
nuhu - wa - na Ø

nuhu - wa - na I

nuhu - wa - na en elc

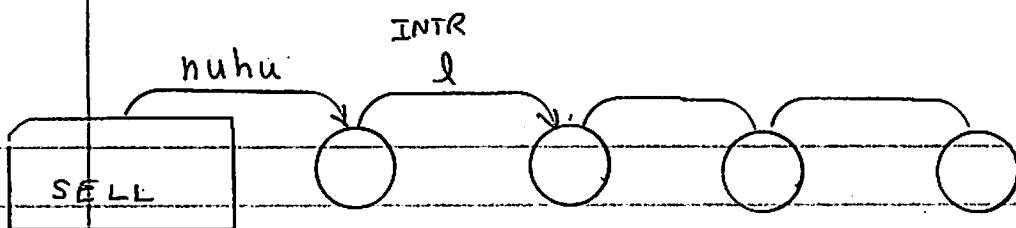
I

sell - 2



occupational Nominal

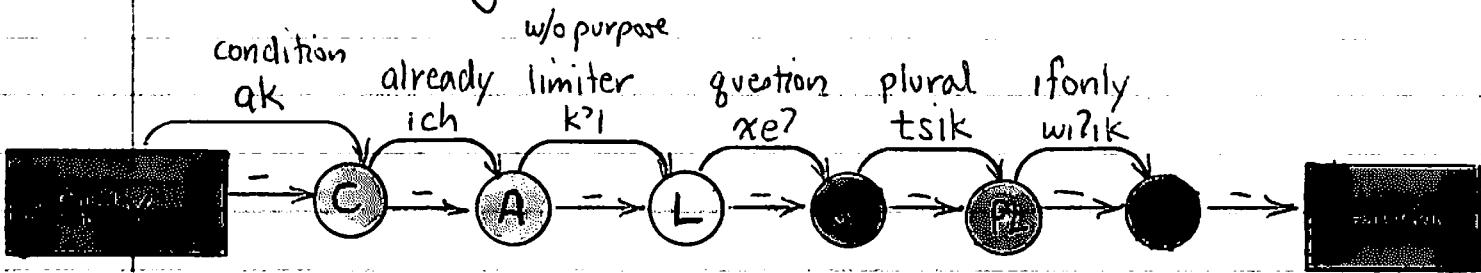
u nuhu tsi.	\emptyset (NP _{Pres})	¹⁻³ u nuhtsi I sold it
u nuhu tsi.	I (Pres)	¹⁻³ u nuhtsal I sell it
u nuhu tsi	t (Pass) NP _{Pres}	" nuhtsat we were sold ? / sold to us ?
u nuhu tsi	b (Pass) Pres	" nuhtsab we are sold ? / sold to us ?
u nuhu tsi	<u>ama</u> (NP _{Pres}) Perf	¹⁻³ u nuhtsam (ich) I had sold it
u nuhu tsi.	<u>ama</u> -l (Pres) Perf	¹⁻³ u nuhtsamal (ich) I have sold it
u nuhu tsi	x	u nuhtsix He is a seller
? *u nuhu tri	<u>ama</u> -x	(*u nuhtsamax) (*u nuhtsinax)
nuhu tsi na		nuhtsin (ich)
nuhu tsi na	I	nuhtsinal
nuhu tsi na	<u>ene</u> l	nuhtsin <u>ene</u> l



in nuhu l \varnothing (Pres) $\overset{1}{\underset{\text{SELL}}{\in}}$ nuhvl

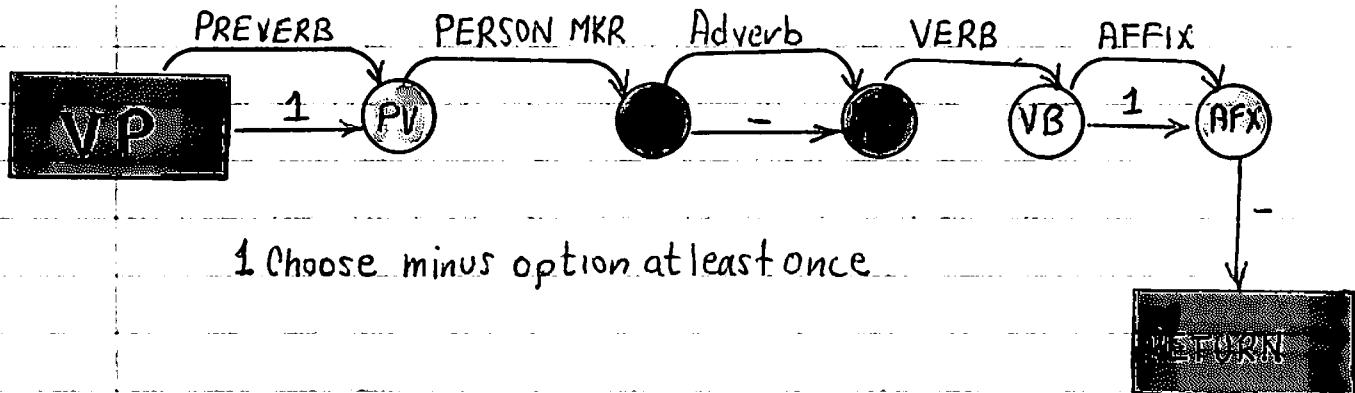
in nuhu l ach (NPres) $\overset{1}{\underset{\text{nuhlach}}{\in}}$
I sold

Affix String



Examples

Verb Phrase

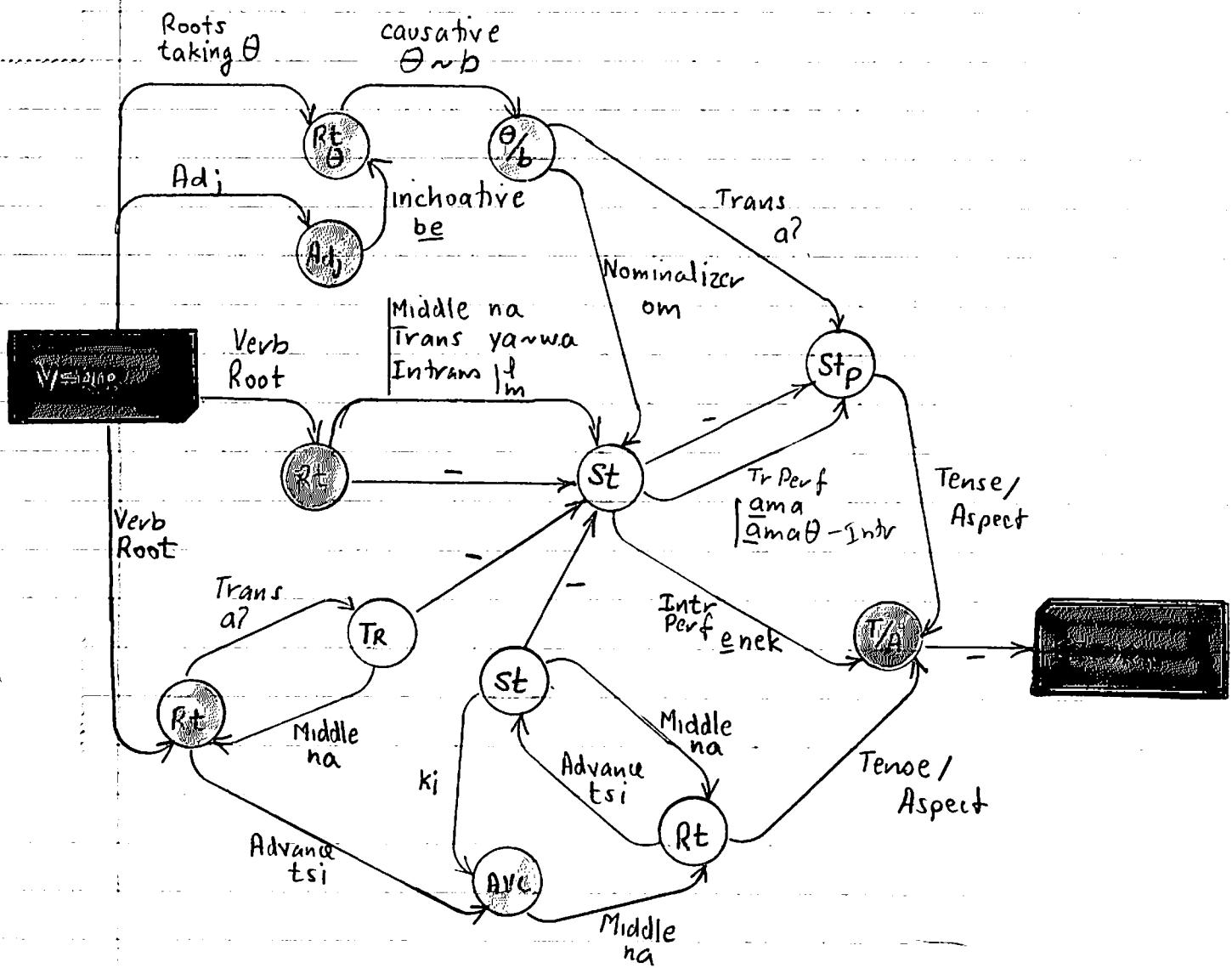


Examples:

exam. u k^aθba_l I am raising it up
Aux₁ VERB

u teptamal ich. I have already burned it?
VERB AFFIX

Verb



* Kapun_θa - he will be fed.

Kapu - a[?] - na - θa
 eat-intr TR MID Caus Pres NPRES

Tense / Aspect

Non Present

Present

CLASS I {^{SV}V} -Ø

-Ø

CLASS II {^LV} -ch

-l

CLASS III {^MV} -ach

-Ø

CLASS IV -in

-Ø

? II(?) -y

-x

PASSIVE { -t

-b

-Ø

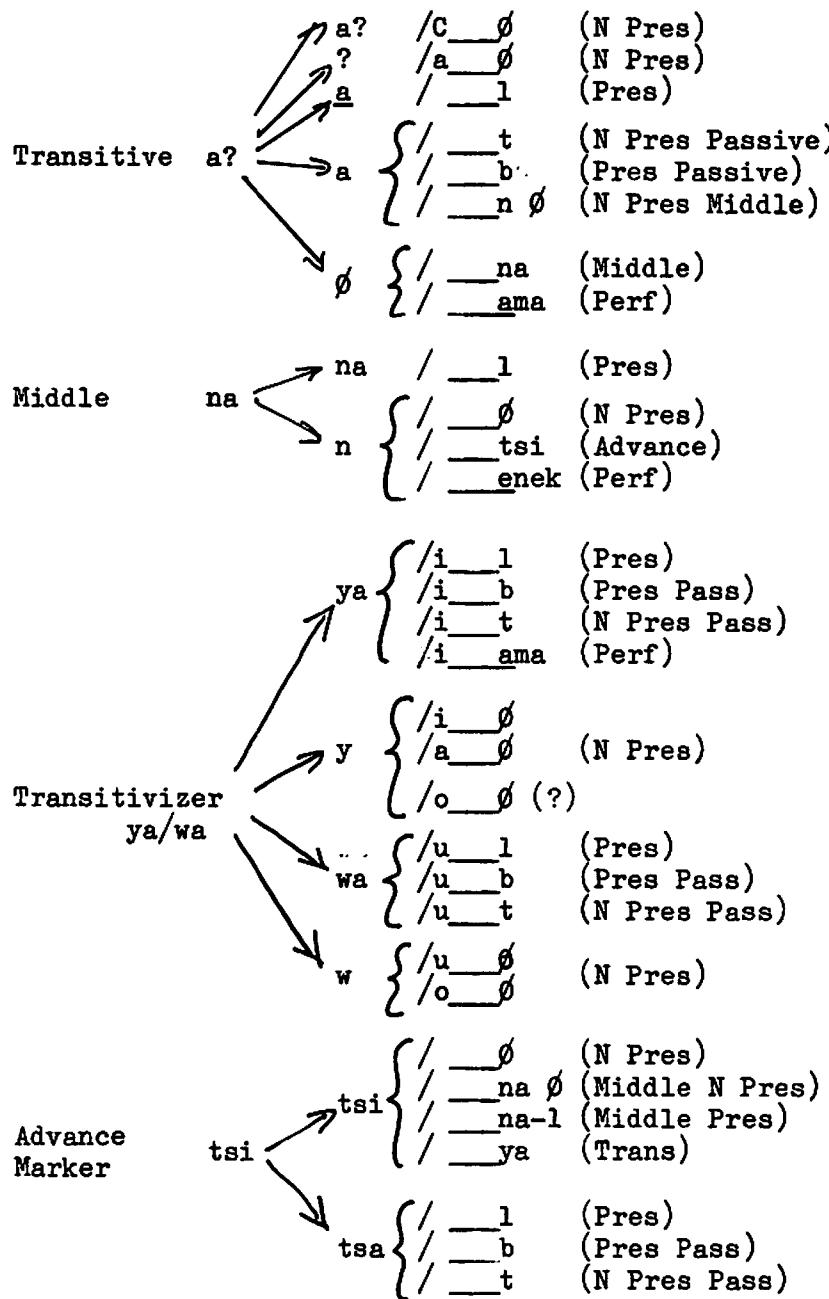
-b

INITI PERF -enek / amat

-

TRANS PERF -am

amat



Verb Root Mutations

Final vowel deletion in environment —θa (causative)

	PN	ROOT	CAUS	TR	PERF	TA
utephθa [?]	¹⁻³ u	tepe-	θ - a [?]			ø
utephθam	u	tepe-	θ - a [?]	<u>a</u> ma -	ø	
in chem. θa [?] (he) kchw. it	³⁻³ in	hemie-	θ - a [?]			ø

Verb Root Mutations

Final vowel deletion in environment — b (causative)

	PN	ROOT	CAUS	TR	T/A
$k^2a\theta ba^?$			$k^2a\theta i$	-b-a?	\emptyset
ka $p\bar{a}^?ba^?$		$k^{2-3}a$	$p\bar{a}^?a$	-b-a?	\emptyset

Verb Root Mutations

Final vowel deletion in environment — \emptyset (Non-present)

		PN	ROOT	T/A
ne'ech	kin lo'ey	k-in ^g	lo'eyo	\emptyset
ne'ech	kin pa'ku	k-in ^g	pa'kuwa	\emptyset

Verb Root Mutations

Final vowel deletion in environment - tsi (Advance)

	P/V	Root	Adv	T/A
uch ^a tsal	uch ^a	-tsi	-l	
nuj tsal	nuj	-tsi	-l	

Verb Root Mutations

Final vowel deletions in environment —ya (Transitive)

PN	ROOT	TR	PERF	T/A	AFX
u ch'a'ya malich	u ch'a ⁱ	- ya	- a	- ma	- l - ich
	f u ch'a ⁱ ay				

Verb Root Mutations

Weak vowel deletion in environment — wa-∅ (Trans. N. Past)

	PN	ROOT	TR	NPAST
ne ² ech	ku	lo ² ow	k - ¹⁻³ u	lo ² exo - wa - ∅

Weak
Vowel
Del

Verb Root Mutation

Weak vowel deletion in environment wal (Present)

in³⁻³ pak'wal she washes (clothes) in³⁻³ pak'u-wa - l

PN Rurs TR Pres
?

Verb Root Mutation &
Weak Vowel

Weak Vowel deletion in environment -ach (Past = N. Pres)

nuh lach sohd nuhvl + ach

Weak
Find Vowel
Del
?

Verb Root Mutations

Weak vowel deletion in environment - tsi (Advance)

	PN	Root	Adv	T/A
kin tsal	kina?	tsi	l	

Verb Root Mutations

Root PAST ALREADY
chen-nek-ich he is already dead cheme-enek-ich

The Inchoative be

The Causative b

The Causative θa

θa variant in environment — Ø (Passive, Non Present)

Root Caus Pass NPr

neʔech ka chemθa He is going to be killed cheme - θa - Ø

neʔech ka atsitta He is going to be bathed atsi - θa - Ø

neʔech ka kápunθa He will be fed kápun-a^{TR}-na θa Ø

The Nominalizer om

The Intransitivizer m

m variant in environment

The Intransitivizer l

l variant in environment

a?

The Transitivizer a?

a?

variant in environment: C - φ (Non-present)

		PN	Root	CAUS	TR	MID	N PRES
u tepθa?	I put it out	¹⁻³ u	tepe	-θ-	a?	-	-φ
ka pa:ba?	Lower it!	²⁻³ k-a	pa:?	a-b	-a?	-	φ
u k ² aθba?	I raise it up	¹⁻³ u	k ² aθi	-b	-a?	-	φ
u wicba?	I return it	u	wici	-b	-a?	-	φ
ka kuba?	Stand it up!	k-a	kub	-	a?	-	φ
ka bixa?	Dance it!	k-a	bixi	-	a?	-	φ
in chemeθa?	(he) killed (it)	³⁻³ in	chemeθ	a?	-	-	φ

?

The Transitivity-a?

? variant in environment a-∅ (Non-present)

PN	ROOT	TR	N.Pres.
ka uch? a?	drink it! k-a ²⁻³ uch? a	a?	∅

a

The Transitiivizer a?

a variant in environment — l (Present)

		PN	ROOF	CAUS	TR	M.I.D	PRES
exam	u k ² aθba ^l	I am raising it up	¹⁻³ u	k ² aθi - b -	a?	-	l
exam	u wicba ^l	I am returning it	u	wici - b -	a?	-	l
exam	u kuba ^l	I am standing it up	u	kub -	a?	-	l
exam	u uch ² a ^l	I am drinking it	u	uch ² a	a?	-	l
exam	u bixal	I am dancing it	u	bixi	a?	-	l
	in chemba ^l	He killed it	³⁻³ in	chemne θ	a?	-	l

a

The Transitivity a?

- a variant in environments {
- nφ (Middle, Non-present)
 - t (Passive, Non-present)
 - b (Passive, Present)

	PN	ROOT	ADC	TR	MID	T/A
∅ kuban It was stood up	∅	³ kub	-	a?	-na-	∅
∅ bixan It was danced	∅	bixi	-	a?	-na-	∅

∅ k'apat It was eaten	∅ k'apu - a?	- t
∅ k'aptsat Another's was eaten	∅ k'apu-tsi-a?	- t

∅ k'aptsab Another's is eaten	∅ kapu-tsi-a?	- b
-------------------------------	---------------	-----

The Transitivity a?

∅ variant in environments { —na (Middle) }
 { —ama (Perfective) }

	PN	ROOT	TR	MID	TR	MID	ADC	T/A
exam	ti	k <u>b</u>	—	—	a?	-na	—	l
in	piθ	¹ n <u>gantsi</u>	in	piθ	-a?	-na-a?	-na-tsi-	∅
ne ² ech	ka	k ³ apu	ka	k ³ apu	-a?	-na	^{caus} -θa	∅ ^{pass}

PN ROOT CAUS TR PERF TA
 u tepe -θ -a? ama ∅

na

The "Middle" na

ha variant in environment — l (Present)

		PN	ROOT	CAUS	TR	Mid	T/A
exam	ti <u>kubnal</u>	ti-	³ ø	kub-	- - a?	- na -	l
- u	wenk'onal	u	wenk'	-	- na	-	l
	halnal			halu-	-	na -	l
	bixnal	the	dancers	dan <u>ch</u>	bixi-	- na	- l
	K ² ak'(ä)nal	put	in	the	m	K ² ak'(ä)li-	- na - l

The "Middle" na

n variant in environment — \emptyset (Non-present)

	PN	ROOT	CAUS.	TR	ADC	MID	T/A
kuban		<u>kub-</u>			$\alpha^?$ -	na-	\emptyset
wenk'on			<u>wenk'o-</u>			na-	\emptyset
halun			<u>halu-</u>			na-	\emptyset
bixin			<u>bixi-</u>			na-	\emptyset
bixan	it was danced to		<u>bixi-</u>		$\alpha^?$	na-	\emptyset
k'ak'(č)lin	it was put in the sun		<u>k'ak'ali-</u>			na-	\emptyset
in k'aptsin	it was eaten on me (by s.o.)	¹ <u>in k'apu-</u>				tsi-na-	\emptyset

The "Middle" na

n variant in environment — tsi (Advance)

	PN	Root	TR	MID	TR	MID	ADC	T/A
in	piθnantsi	1 ⁱⁿ	piθ - a?	-na-a?	-na-	tsi -	∅	
tin	nuijtsintsi	Hesold(it) for me	tin ³⁻¹	nuij	tsi ^{ADC.}	-	na-tsi-	∅

The "Middle" na
variant in environment — enek (Perfective)

In K²apunenek I ate too much PN ROOT TR MID PERF
in K²apu- wa - na - enek

ya

The Transitivizer ya ~ wa

ya in environment i — ama (Perfective)

		PN	ROOT	TR	PERF	T/A
u halbi ya mal	I have paid for it	ü	halu-bi	ya-	<u>ama</u> -l	
in halk? u ya mal	Has changed(clothes)	in	halu-kui	ya-	<u>ama</u> -l	

ya

The Transitivity ya ~ wa

ya variant in environment { i — l (Present) }
 { i — b (Present Passive) }
 { i — t (Non-present Passive) }

	PN	ROOT	TR	T/A
k'ak'(č)liyal	put out in sun	k'ak'ali-	ya -	l
ixyal	shell corn	ixi	ya -	l
kawyal		kawi	ya -	l
k'wetyyal	sweep	k'weto-	ya -	l
k'wachyal	to put	k'wachi	ya -	l
tiniyal	to shake	tini	ya -	l
ch'a?yal	to buy	ch'a?i	ya -	l

k'ak'(č)liyab	be put out in sun	k'ak'ali-	ya - b
ixyab	be shelled	ixi	ya - b
kawyab		kawi	ya - b
k'wetyab	be swept	k'weto	ya - b
k'wachyab	be put	k'wachi	ya - b
tiniyab	be shaken	tini	ya - b

k'ak'(č)liyat	be put out in sun	k'ak'ali-	ya - t
ixyat	be shelled	ixi	ya - t
kawyat		kawi	ya - t
k'wetyyat	be swept	k'weto	ya - t
k'wachyat	be put	k'wachi	ya - t

y

The Transitivizer ya~wa

y variant in environment i — Ø (Non-present)

o — Ø ?

PN ROOT

TR T/A

ixiy shell worn ixi ya - Ø

kawiy kawi ya - Ø

? → k'wetoy sweep k'weto ya - Ø

k'wachiy put k'wachi ya - Ø

tiniy shake tini ya - Ø

? → ahay aha ya - Ø

Wa

The Transitivizer ya ~ wa

wa variant in environment { u - l (Present) }
 { u - b (Present Passive) }
 { u - t (Non-present Passive) }

? O

PN ROOT

TR T/A

in k'apwal	eat	in	k'apu	wa - l
punwal	put		punu	wa - l
ulwal			ulu	wa - l
wenk'owal			wenk'o	wa - l
halwal			halu	wa - l

k'apwab	cut	k'apu	wa - b
punwab	put	punu	wa - b

k'apwat	eat	k'apu	wa - t
punwat	put	punu	wa - t

W

The Transitivizer ya ~ wa

W Variant in environment u — Ø (Non-present)
? o — Ø

		PN	Root	TR	T/A
	k'apuw	eat	k'apu	wa - Ø	
	punuw	put	punu	wa - Ø	
	uluw		ulu	wa - Ø	
	wenk'ow		wenk'o	wa - Ø	
wan	ki haluw	let's go exchange it	ki halu-	wa - Ø	
	nujuw		nuju-	wa - Ø	

W

The Transitivizer ya ~ wa
Variant in environment u — ama (Perfective)

tsi

The Advance Marker -tsi

- tsi variant in environments
- φ (Non-present)
 - na-φ (Middle Non-present)
 - na-l (Middle present)

	PN	ROOT	ADC	MID	T/A
K ² aptsi	eats s.th.	on S.O.	k ² apu	tsi	- φ
in K ² aptsin	S.O.	ate my food	in k ² apu	tsi	- na - φ
in K ² aptsinal	S.O.	eats my food	in k ² apu	tsi	- na - l

tsa

The Advance Marker -tsi

tsa variant in environments {
 | l (Present)
 | b (Present Passive)
 | t (Non-present Passive)}

	PN	ROOT	ADC	T/A
uch'tsal		uch'a-	tsi	l
nuytsal		nuju-	tsi	l
kin tsal	pull	king?	tsi	l

kintساب be pulled kin^{a?}- tsi b

kintسات be pulled kin^{a?}- tsi t

enek

The Perfective enek

(Occurs only with inherent intransitives or middles.)

enek variant in environment na _____ (Middle)

P.N ROOT Mid PERF

(intr Root →) in k'apu nenek I ate too much in ¹ k'apu - na - enek

(tr Root →) φ k'apa nenek It was eaten ³ φ k'apa - na - enek

enek

The Perfective enek

(occurs only with inherent intransitives or middles)

enek variant in environment ?

	PN	Root	PERF	COND
∅ tepenek	be	burning	³ ∅ tepe - <u>enek</u>	-
∅ tepenekak			∅ tepe - <u>enek</u> - aks	

nek

The Perfective nek

nek variant in environment - ich 'already'

ROTF PERF ALREADY

chem nek ich he is already dead chemne nek ich

gma

The Perfective gma

(occurs only with transitives)

gma variant in environment $a^? - l$ (Transitive Present)

u tepe-θ gmalich

PN Root CAUS TR PERF T/A ALREADY
 $\overset{1-3}{u}$ tepe-θ - $a^?$ - gma - l - ich

am

The Perfective ama
(occurs only with transitives)

am variant in environment $\alpha^?$ — \emptyset (Transitive Non-present)

PN ROOT CAUS TR PERF T/A
u tepe $\overset{1-3}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{tepe}}}$ - Θ - $\alpha^?$ - ama \emptyset

ma

The Perfective ama

(Occurs only with transitives)

ma variant in environment { V — l (Present) ?
{ ya — l (Transitive Present) }

	PN	ROOT	TR	PERF	T/F	ALREADY
u halbiyamal	I have paid for it	u ¹⁻³ hal-bi-	ya - <u>ama</u> - l			
u k'apuyamal	I have eaten all of it	u k'apu-	ya - <u>ama</u> - l			
u k'apumalich	I have already eaten it	u k'apu-	<u>ama</u> - l - ich			
u ch'a'ymalich	I have already bought it	u ch'a'	ya <u>ama</u> - l - ich			

Root tr
{ halu[ku]-ya
 halu[b]-ya
 halu- wa

qmaθ

The Perfective qmaθ
(occurs only with intransitives, is Non Present)

qmaθ variant in environment

maθ

The Perfective amaθ

(occurs only with intransitives, is nonpresent)

maθ variant in environment

PN ROOT PERF ALREADY
in k^opu maθ ich I have already eaten ¹ in k^opu - amaθ - ich

Tense/Aspect, Class I

Non-Present ⚡

Present - I

Tense / Aspect, Class II

Non-Present -ch

cheme-ch die

k'apu-ch ate

Present -l

cheme-l die

k'apu-l eats

Tense / Aspect, Class III

Non-Present -ach

Present -s

nuhul-ach

→ nuhl-ach sold

nuhul-s

→ nuhul sells

Tense/Aspect Class IV

Non-Present -in

Present Ø

Tense/Aspect Class IV

Non Present -y

chalpay think, worry

Present -x

chalpax

Tense / Aspect Passive

Non Present - t

Present - b

Tense / Aspect Passive

Non Present Ø

Present -b

ne'ech ³ ka chem Ha He is going to be killed chem Hab He is being killed

ne'ech ka tsi Ha He is going to be beaten tsi Hab He is being beaten

ne'ech ka k'apun Ha He will be fed k'apun Hab He is being fed

Person Markers

Person Markers (w. Intransitives)

S-Marker		U-Marker		T-Marker		K-Marker		Contraction w/ t̪i
1	in	in		tin		klin		tin
2	it	/it		ta		ki/ti		ta
3	x	u		ti		ka		ti/u
11	u	u		tu		klu		t̪u
22	i⁹	i⁹		ta⁹		ki⁹		ta⁹
33	x	u		ti⁹		ka⁹		ti⁹/u

stative

adverbial

(furthermore)

further along afterwards

action

pure fact

with

descriptions

pass

after (afternoon) after negative yes/no?

after transversal verb rule? don't

feel surprised

Gender not

optional w/ neg

"to go" or w.

nezech = peripheral

future, but also ligeti

w. kále "one it"

Person Markers (w. Transitive Verbs)

Q Marker						
S/O	1	2	3	11	22	33
1	(tuba?)	tu	u		tus	u
2	tin	(taba?)	a	tu		a
3	tin	ti	in	tu	tis	in
11	(tiba?)	tu	i		tus	i
22	tin		i	tus	(tiba?)	i
33	tin	it	tiba?	tu	tis	in

note: q does not take partitive clitic when used as prefix to the first of transitive verb

K-Marker						
S/O	1	2	3	11	22	33
1		tu	Ku		tus	Ku
2	tikin		ka	tiku		ka
3	tikin	ti	kin	tiku	tis	kin
11		tu	ki		tus	ki
22	tikin		ki	tiku		ki
33	tikin	kit	kin	tiku	tis	kin

Q: what are these markers?

Possessor + clitic
Possessor + clitic + object
possessor

Q: what is the purpose of the markers?

Marker = possessor

Dependent + clitic

purpose of the abal
subjunctive (?) grammatical
marker

Contraction w/ti						
S/O	1	2	3	11	22	33
1		tu	tu		tus	tu
2	tin		ta	(tu)		ta
3	tin	ti	tin	(tu)	pass.	tin
11		tu	ti		tus	ti
22	tin		ti	(tus)		ti
33	tin	ti	pass.	tin	(tu)	Pass.

Q: what are these markers?

Ø marker, t marker
+ k marker?

Q: what is the grammatical context associated with these contractions?