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A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF CHONTAL MAYA (SAN CARLOS DIALECT)

Tulane University

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A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF CHONTAL MAYA
(SAN CARLOS DIALECT)

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED ON THE FOURTEENTH DAY OF APRIL, 1984

TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF

TULANE UNIVERSITY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

A	= Set A dependent pronoun
A1	= first person
A2	= second person
A3	= third person
AF	= affect root
af	= derived affect
ADV	= adverb root
adv	= derived adverb
AJ	= root adjective
aj	= derived adjective (lexical entries) = derives adjectives
ant	= antipassive voice
asp	= aspectual particle
B	= Set B dependent pronoun
B1	= first person
B2	= second person
B3	= third person
ben	= referential (benefactive) voice
C	= consonant
caus	= causative
cl	= clitic

conj = conjunction
 dat = dative construction
 DEM = demonstrative pronoun (root)
 dem = demonstrative pronoun
 der = derived
 dp = dative pronoun
 excl = exclusive
 fg = feminine gender
 fig = figure
 imp = imperative (command)
 impf = imperfective status suffix
 inc = derives inchoatives
 incl = inclusive
 inst = instrument
 IV = root intransitive verb
 iv = derived intransitive verb (lexical entries)
 = intransitivizer
 mg = masculine gender
 N = root noun
 N1 = Class 1 noun
 N2 = Class 2 noun
 N3a = Class 3a noun
 N3b = Class 3b noun
 n = derived noun (lexical entries)
 = nominalizer
 n1 = Class 1 noun

n2 = Class 2 noun
 n3a = Class 3a noun
 n3b = Class 3b noun
 NC = root numeral classifier
 nc = derived numeral classifier
 neg = negative particle
 NP = noun phrase
 num = numeral
 OP = onomatopoeic root
 op = derived onomatopoeic stem
 opt = optative/subjunctive status suffix
 P = positional root
 p = derived positional
 pas = passive voice
 perf = perfective status suffix
 Pimpf = positional imperfective suffix
 Piv = positional intransitivizer
 pl = plural
 pl1 = first person plural
 pl2 = second person plural
 pl3 = third person plural
 pp = present progressive particle
 pro = independent pronoun
 ps = possessive suffix
 pt = particle
 rfx = reflexive

rn = relational noun
 S = sentence
 SM = San Marcos dialect
 s.o. = someone
 Sp = Spanish
 s.t. = something
 sub = subordinator
 T = Tapotzingo dialect
 TV = root transitive
 tv = derived transitive (lexical entries)
 = transitivizer
 uc = unique constituent
 V = vowel
 V = verb
 VP = verb phrase

 - = morpheme boundary
 = = compound
 ## = word boundary
 / / = phoneme
 [] = phone
 () = optional
 . = syllable boundary
 -- = becomes
 / = in the environment
 * = ungrammatical

8 = mirror image rule

PART I

INTRODUCTION

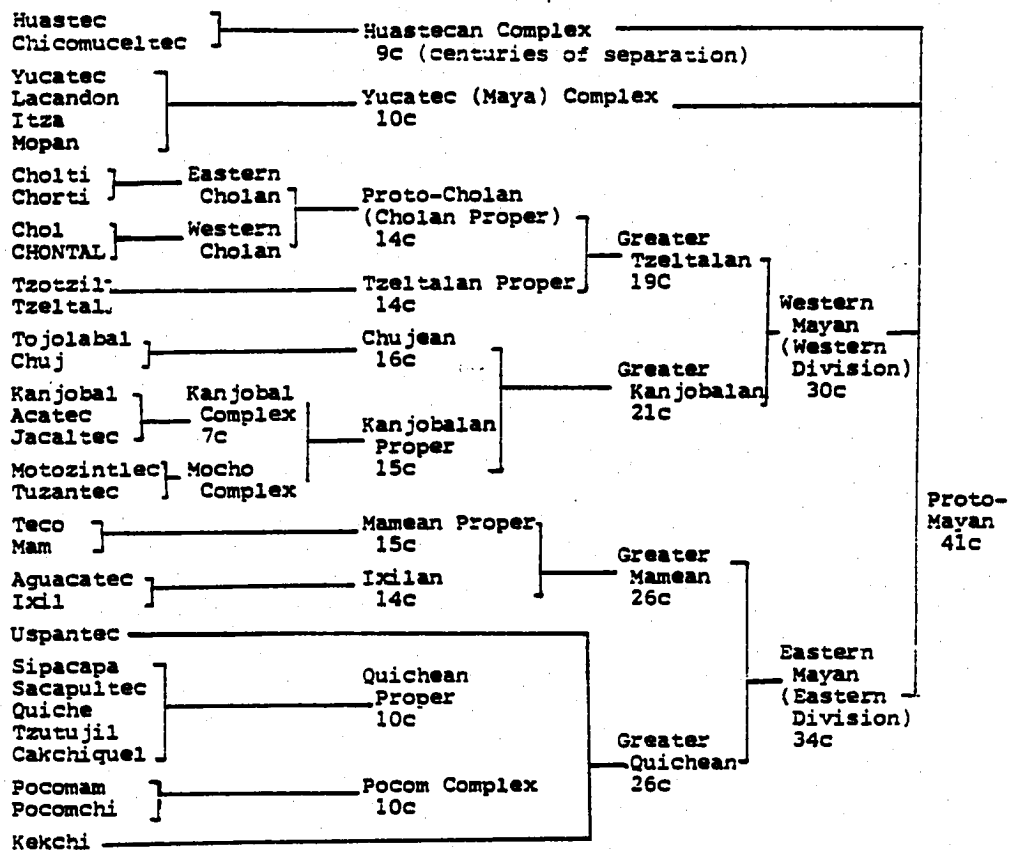
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. This study is the first extensive description of the grammar of the language spoken by the Modern Chontal Maya of Tabasco, Mexico. It represents the collectively shared linguistic concepts utilized by speakers and hearers of Chontal for the production and interpretation of Chontal speech.

1.1. THE POSITION OF CHONTAL AS A MAYAN LANGUAGE. Chontal, together with approximately thirty other related languages, forms the Mayan language family (see Fig. I) (see Bright 1967; Campbell 1978 for bibliographic information). The parent language of all Mayan languages, Proto-Mayan, was last spoken approximately forty-one centuries ago. As time passed, two major language branches appeared -- Western Mayan and Eastern Mayan. Chontal is descended from the Western Mayan branch. About nineteen centuries ago, Western Mayan split up into Greater Tzeltalan and Greater Kanjobalan. Greater Tzeltalan further divided into Proto-Cholan and Tzeltalan Proper. Chontal, together with Chol, Chorti, and Cholti (extinct), descended from Proto-Cholan. These four languages form the Cholán sub-group of the Mayan language family (Kaufman 1974a:85, 1974b). Chol (linguistic sources include Warkentin and Scott 1980; Schumann 1973; Attinasi 1973; Aulie and Aulie 1978),

FIG. 1 THE MAYAN LANGUAGES
(after Kaufman 1974a, 1974b)



Chorti (Fought 1967, 1972; Wisdom 1950), and Cholti (Moran 1625, 1695; LaFarge 1930) are the Mayan languages most closely related to Chontal. The Tzeltalan languages are the next closely related group.

Although the Yucatecan languages are not closely related to the Cholan languages from a genetic point of view, they share a number of characteristics (MacLeod 1983). Most Mayan linguists believe that the many similarities with the Cholan languages are due to bi-directional diffusion (Kaufman and Norman n.d.). The Cholan languages have been studied not only individually, but also as a group for historical reconstruction. Linguists such as Terrence Kaufman and William Norman are working on reconstructing Proto-Cholan -- its phonology, morphology, and vocabulary (Kaufman and Norman n.d.). According to glotto-chronological calculations made by Kaufman, the split of Proto-Cholan into its daughter languages took place at least 1400 years ago (Kaufman 1974a:85). Since Chontal and Chol have undergone a number of common innovations which Chorti and Cholti do not share, Kaufman and Norman (n.d.) believe that they are descended from a common ancestor which existed after the breakup of Proto-Cholan. They use the term Western Cholan to label this ancestor of Chontal and Chol, while Chorti and Cholti represent Eastern Cholan.¹

It is interesting to note that Chontal speakers in Tabasco believe that they speak a corrupt form of Yucatec Mayan and do not feel that

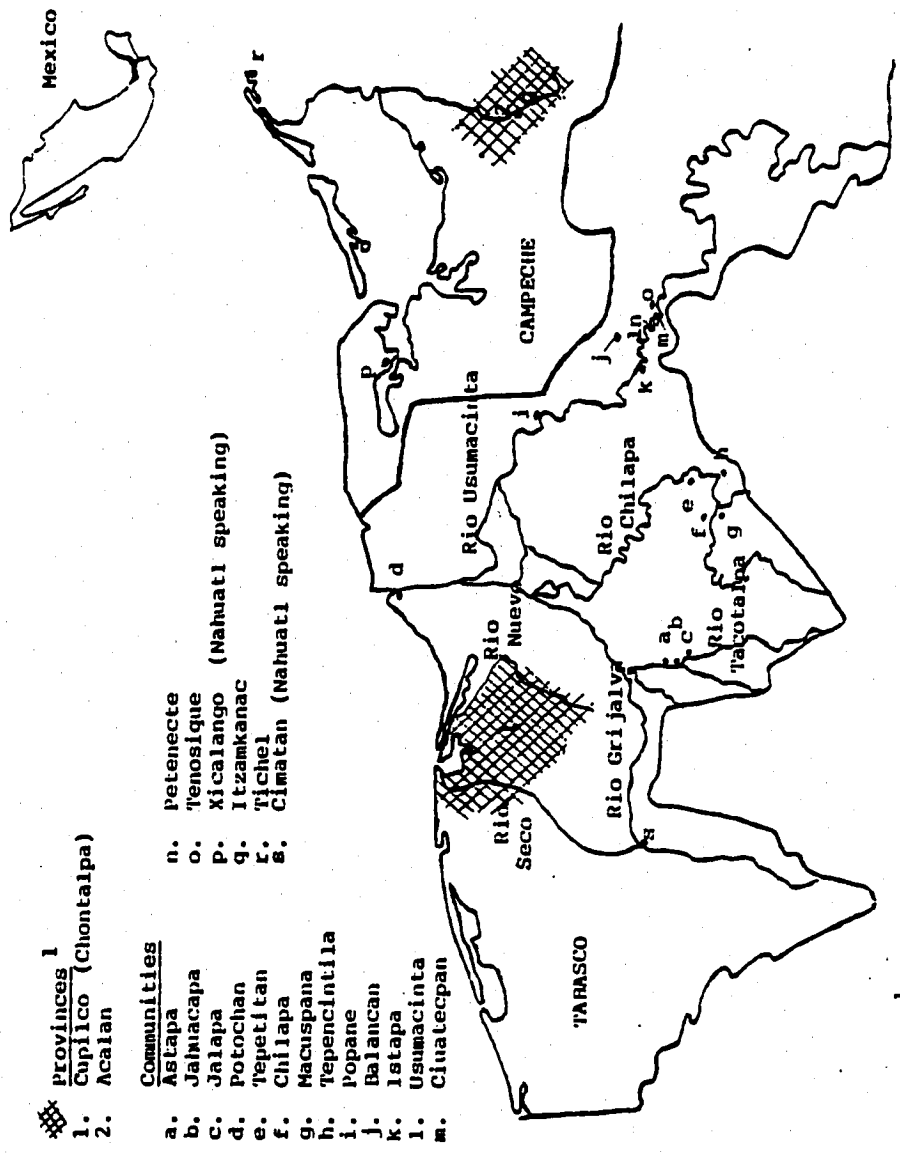
¹According to Kaufman and Norman (n.d.), Modern Chorti and Cholti are very closely related; Cholti is either the direct ancestor of Chorti, or both Cholti and Chorti are dialects of the same language. The rationale behind this claim is that even though Modern Chorti differs significantly from Cholti in phonology and verbal inflection, they share a number of unique innovations.

their language is closely related to Chol.

1.2. THE DELIMITATION OF CHONTAL MAYA. The Chontal speaking area has shrunk since the Colonial period from an area including most of Tabasco and part of Campeche to just the central part of Tabasco.² The first Spanish chroniclers, such as Grijalva and Cortes, left us with only a vague idea of the Indian population of Tabasco. They mentioned only the places they visited. However, by extrapolating from the figures available, scholars have estimated that between 135,000 and 240,000 Chontal speakers (and 60,000 non-Chontal speakers) lived in Tabasco at the time of the Spanish conquest (West et al 1976:110, 115). In examining tribute lists of the 16th and early 17th century, scholars have discovered that Tabasco suffered a rapid population decline. Like other indigneous populations in the New World, the Chontales were not resistant to European diseases such as smallpox and measles. By 1579 Tabasco had a population of only 8,500, and by 1639 it had a population of 4,630 -- a 93% decline in population in 100 years (West et al 1976:122). As early as 1579, Tabasco as a whole was described in two reports written by Alfaro Santa Cruz and other officials of the Villa de Tabasco. Their reports included a detailed map of the province drawn by Alfaro (Scholes and Roys 1948:16). At that time, the most thickly

²The exact limits of the Pre-Columbian Chontal-speaking area are unknown, although several scholars have tried to map it. Several of these early attempts are summarized and evaluated by Albert Ruz Ihuillier (1944). More recently, Scholes and Roys published an excellent map of the area (1948:108).

MAP 1: PRINCIPAL ORIENTAL COMMUNITIES AND PROVINCES AT THE TIME OF THE SPANISH CONQUEST
 (after West et al 1976:113-114, Scholes and Roys 1948:109)



- Provinces**
 1. Cupilco (Chontalpa)
 2. Acalan

- Communities**
 a. Astapa
 b. Jalmucapa
 c. Jalapa
 d. Potochan
 e. Tepetitlan
 f. Chilapa
 g. Macuspana
 h. Tepencintila
 i. Popane
 j. Balancan
 k. Istapa
 l. Usumacinta
 m. Ciuatopan
- n. Petenecte
 o. Tenosique
 p. Xicalango (Nahuatl speaking)
 q. Itzamkanac
 r. Tichei
 s. Cimatan (Nahuatl speaking)

¹See West et al (1976:113-114) for a list of Cupilco communities and Smalpus (1975:41-43) for a list of Acalan communities.

populated part of Tabasco was the Chontalpa (also called Cupilco), which included a group of twenty-three Chontal-speaking towns lying between the Rio Seco (or Rio de Dos Bocas) and the Rio Nuevo. Ten other towns lay within a short distance of this group (Scholes and Roys 1948:24). A number of other Chontal towns were located near the coast and on the Grijalva River and its tributaries. They were scattered over a large area, roughly divided into three groups. The first group included towns on or near the Grijalva River. The most important of these was a large commercial center at the mouth of the Grijalva River called Potonchan or Tabasco. The second group included Astapa, Jahuacapa, and Jalapa on the Rio Tacotalpa. A third group consisted of towns on the Rio Chilapa and its tributaries such as: Chilapa, Tepetitan, Tepecintila, and Macuspana (Scholes and Roys 1948:24). In addition, the Alfaro map includes five towns on the Usumacinta River above Jonuta: Popane, Usumacinta, Petenecte, and Tenosique.³ Other towns such as Ciuteopan (mentioned by Cortes) and Balancan (mentioned in the Maldonado-Paxbolon Papers) are not located on the Alfaro map (Scholes and Roys 1948:25).

Another region of Chontal speakers was the province of Acalan. "Although the inhabitants were Chontal, it was not only an independent state but was so separated from Tabasco by forests and swamps that the Spaniards considered it to be a part of Yucatan" (Scholes and Roys 1948:48). Scholes and Roys have located this province on the Candelaria River where it flows into the Laguna de Terminos in the modern state of

³Although Yucatec Maya has been spoken around Tenosique in recent years, documents indicate that the language of the region was predominately Chontal in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Campeche (1948:48). The province of Acalan was well populated and had seventy-six towns and villages which are listed in the Maldonado-Paxbolon Papers (Smailus 1975:41-43). The most important town was Itzamkanac (Scholes and Roys 1948:52).

At various times before and after the Spanish conquest in the early seventeenth century, the region northeast of the Laguna de Terminos had Chontal-speaking towns (eg. Chiuoha and Tixchel) (Scholes and Roys 1948:51). Today the indigenous language spoken in these regions of Campeche is Yucatec Maya. The replacement of Chontal speakers by Yucatec speakers had begun by the latter part of the seventeenth century (Scholes and Roys 1948:314-315).

Although at the time of the conquest the great majority of the population of Tabasco was Chontal-speaking, the region also had two important minorities, namely Zoque and Nahuatl speakers (Scholes and Roys 1948:318). There were six Zoque settlements in southern Tabasco (note that Zoques are still found in the municipios of Jalapa and Tacotalpa) and eight Nahuatl-speaking settlements, five of them in the Chontalpa region. The two most important Nahuatl-speaking commercial centers were Cimatan and Xicalango (Scholes and Roys 1948:318).

The Colonial period not only produced a population decline, but also a change in population distribution. Most of the coastal areas were abandoned during the 17th and 18th centuries because of raids and looting by pirates (West et al 1976:124). During the height of the pirates' power, most of the people in Tabasco (60%) lived in the Sierra region (i.e. around Macuspana). The remainder lived in the Chontalpa (35%) and near rivers (5%) (West et al 1976:125). After the pirate

incursions ceased in the second half of the 18th century, many inhabitants (mainly European and Mestizo) living in the Sierra region returned to the coastal areas and the Chontalpa. In some cases, the returning settlers and their cattle overran the corn fields of several Chontal towns in the Chontalpa, causing the Indians to flee south to the plains near Macuspana. The present indigenous populations of San Carlos (founded in 1766) and San Fernando (founded in 1768) are descended from these immigrants (West et al 1976:125).

After the initial Colonial population decline, the population of Tabasco began to recover slowly. By 1794 Tabasco had a population of 35,805 -- 55% Indian, 38% Mestizo, and 7% European (West et al 1976:127). However, it was not until the 20th century that the population of Tabasco began to grow rapidly. The population growth can be attributed to a number of factors, including flood control, better systems of communication and transportation, disease control (eg. the suppression of malaria and yellow fever), opening agricultural land for colonization, commercial growing of tropical fruit, and the exploitation of petroleum and natural gas (West et al 1976:139).

It is much easier to delimit the population and the geographical area of Chontal speakers with the appearance of government censuses in modern times. According to the 1960 census of the state of Tabasco, approximately 20,000 Chontal speakers lived in the municipios of Comalcalco, Nacajuca, Centla, Centro, Tacotalpa, Macuspana, and Jonuta. Only 800 of them were monolinguals; the rest were Chontal-Spanish bilinguals (Smailus 1975:10).

The 1970 Mexican census shows a decrease in the number of Chontal

MAP II: DISTRIBUTION OF CHONTAL SPEAKERS IN TABASCO 1960 & 1970

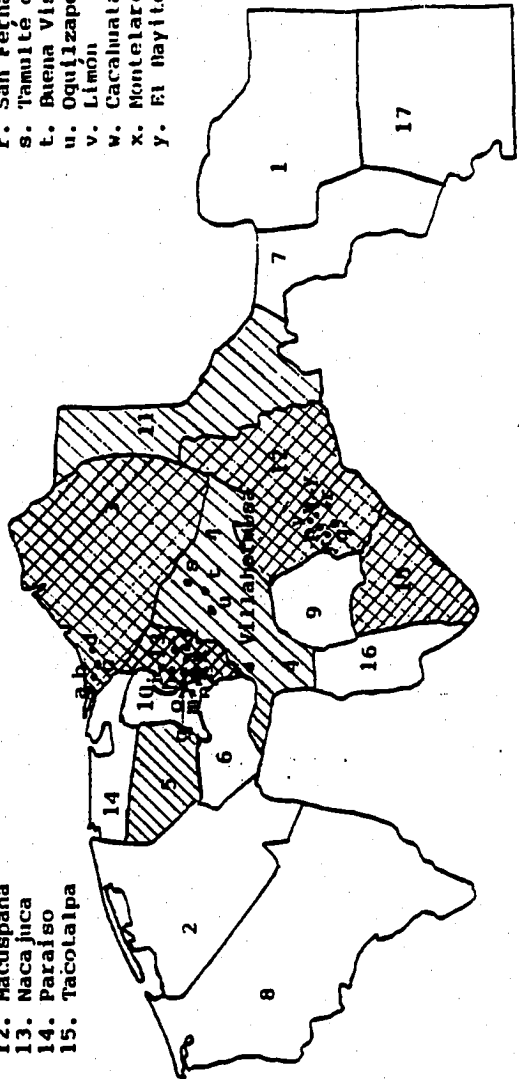


- Municipios**
1. Balancan
 2. Cardenas
 3. Centla
 4. Centro
 5. Comalcalco
 6. Cunduacan Zapata
 7. Emiliano Zapata
 8. Iximiquillo
 9. Jalapa
 10. Jaipa
 11. Jonuta
 12. Macuspana
 13. Nacajuca
 14. Paraiso
 15. Tacotalpa

- Towns**
16. Teapa
 17. Tenosique

- Towns**
- a. Cuauhtemoc
 - b. Vincente Guerrero
 - c. Allende
 - d. Simon Sarlot
 - e. Tuxtla (Tuxtla)
 - f. Tapotzingo/Mazatl(e)upa
 - g. San Marcos
 - h. Guaytalpa
 - i. Tecoluta
 - j. Ocuatitan
 - k. Guatacalca

1. Oflacaque
- m. Mecoaacan
- n. Soyatalco
- o. Santuario
- p. San Carlos
- q. Vernet
- r. San Fernando
- s. Tamulté de las Sabanas
- t. Buena Vista
- u. Oquilizapotlan
- v. Limón
- w. Cacahuatalillo
- x. Montelargo
- y. El Nayito



speakers (Dirección General de Estadística 1971:66-68), only 17,102 Chontal speakers (registered under the Chol speakers category) among 768,327 Tabascans. Only 6.8% (1,715) of these were monolingual speakers of Chontal. Chontal speakers were clustered in the municipios of Centla, Macuspana, Nacajuca, and Tacotalpa. The greatest number of speakers of Chontal (27.70% of the total in the state) live in the municipio of Macuspana. However, the greatest number of monolinguals (64.37% of the total) were found in the municipio of Nacajuca. Chontal speakers make up 50.02% of all Indian languages spoken in Tabasco. Other significant indigenous languages spoken in Tabasco include Yucatec Maya, Zoque, Zapotec, Tzeltal, and Chol (Horcasitas de Barros et al 1979:130-131).

At this time, no complete detailed list of towns where Chontal is spoken exists. Major populations of Chontal speakers are known to live in the following towns (West et al 1976:149, Perez-Gonzalez 1968:25, 37):

Tucta/Tuxta	
Tapotzingo	
Mazateupa	
San Marcos	
Oaxiacaque	in the <u>municipio</u> of Nacajuca
Ticoluta	
Ofiacaque	
Olcuatitan	
Guaytalpa	
Guatacalca	

Mecoacan
Soyataco
Santuario

— in the municipio of Jalpa de Mendez

Vicente Guerrero
Allende
Cauhtemoc
Simon Sarlot

— in the municipio of Centla

Tamulté de las Sabanas
Buena Vista
Ocuilzapotlan

— in the municipio of Centro

San Carlos (Benito Juarez)
Vernet
Limón
Cacahuatalillo
Montelargo
El Bayito
San Fernando (Aguiles Serdan)

— in the municipio of Macuspana

1.3. SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS. Chontal or Yokot'an,⁴ as it

⁴Blom and LaFarge (1927:487) believed that the term Yokot'an was limited to the southern dialects of Chontal. This is not true. All dialects use the term Yokot'an (yoko 'native, indigenous, original' + t'an 'word, speech').

is called by those who speak it, plays an important role in the sociocultural life of the Chontal community. Unlike many other Mayan groups, the Modern Chontal Maya cannot be distinguished from Ladinos (non-Indian Spanish speakers) in appearance, occupation, economic level, or place of origin.⁵ Instead, the only social indicator of Chontal ethnic identity is knowledge of the Chontal language.

Since 93.2% of Chontal speakers also speak Spanish (Horcasitas de Barro 1979:131), the relationship between Chontal and Spanish is important. In general, Chontal speech communities are characterized not only by bilingualism but also by diglossia.⁶ Spanish, as the more prestigious dominant language, is used in the domains of established religion, education, work, and other aspects of high culture. On the other hand, Chontal, the less prestigious language, is used with friends (especially among male drinking and joking companions) and at home.

Although the majority of Chontal speakers are bilingual, there are different degrees of bilingualism. In general, men and the younger generation (men and women under 40 years of age) speak better Spanish than women and the older generation (men and women over 40). Just as knowledge of Spanish varies within the Chontal community, so also

⁵ Some towns traditionally have been considered as Chontal towns, but with the increased movement of the population, this sign of ethnic identity has less and less value.

⁶ As defined by Ferguson (1964:429-439), diglossia refers to the use within a single society of several separate linguistic codes (i.e. dialects or languages) which have distinct functions. Whereas one set of behaviors, attitudes, and values supports and is expressed in one code, another set of behaviors, attitudes, and values supports and is expressed in the other code.

does knowledge of the Chontal language -- children in many communities speak less Chontal and more Spanish than adults.

As more and more children are taught Spanish instead of Chontal, Spanish is assuming a greater role in bilingual-diglossic Chontal communities, replacing Chontal even at home and among friends. This situation is not unusual. Dressler (1981:5) has pointed out that:

In a situation of competition between an underprivileged minority language and at least one dominant language, sociolinguistic norms of language choice may change in such a way that finally a total shift away from the minority language may take place.

Within modern Chontal communities, one finds changing norms in language choice and increasing linguistic decay -- typical signals of a dying language (language death is the final stage in the decay of linguistic structure a minority language undergoes on the way to total language shift)(Dressler 1981:5).

Following Dorian's (1978) terminology, Chontal speakers can be assigned to four groups: older fluent speakers, younger fluent speakers, semi-speakers, and passive bilinguals. Fluent speakers use Chontal habitually and almost exclusively at home. The difference between older and younger fluent speakers is not based on age (although age is often a factor). Rather, older fluent speakers are habitual speakers who have been least influenced by Spanish and have the most extensive Chontal lexicon. They are often monolinguals in Chontal while younger fluent speakers are bilinguals. Moreover, the Chontal lexicon of younger fluent speakers is more restricted in scope, with many Spanish replacements for Chontal words. Semi-speakers speak mostly Spanish. They reserve the use of Chontal for interaction with a few

individuals and in restricted settings. Semi-speakers have a reduced (and often generalized) morphology, lexicon, and phonology (eg. semi-speakers have replaced /ä/ in Chontal words with /a/ which is found in both Spanish and Chontal). Although they may not speak Chontal very well, semi-speakers often share receptive morphological norms with fluent speakers (i.e. they understand the Chontal of fluent speakers and recognize correct forms). Passive bilinguals are individuals who have difficulty constructing coherent sentences in Chontal, but understand it. Most semi-speakers and passive bilinguals were born after 1960. The number (and percentage) of each of these four categories of speakers differs from town to town, depending on their contact with Ladinos and their desire to assimilate to the dominate Spanish culture. Some towns, such as Buena Vista, have a large number of fluent speakers, including children, while others only have a few semi-speakers and passive bilinguals.

The decay of Chontal linguistic structure can be identified historically by comparing Classical Chontal to Modern Chontal and synchronically by comparing the various dialects of Modern Chontal to each other. For although all modern dialects have undergone linguistic decay (when compared with Classical Chontal), the decay is not the same in all dialects. Forms that have been preserved in some dialects have been lost in others and vice versa. Some of the lost forms can be reconstructed by comparing the different dialects.

Modern Chontal has lost not only parts of its lexicon, but also some of its derivational and inflectional morphology. The loss of derivational morphology limits productivity in word formation, which,

according to Dressler (1981:10), is one of the earliest signs of language decay. Modern Chontal exhibits this loss of productivity in word formation; new words are borrowed from Spanish.⁷ The inflectional morphology has also decayed. For example, although the San Carlos dialect retains the Chontal cardinal numbers from one to four, it no longer makes use of their inflected ordinal forms.

As Chontal becomes more and more hispanicized, it loses some of its value as a positive ethnic identifier (just like Nahuatl (Hill and Hill 1978:153)). Instead, it is criticized as a mixed or inadequate language. People who cannot speak Chontal well prefer to speak Spanish, which hastens the decline of Chontal. In addition, the decrease in the use of Chontal reflects a willingness on the part of Chontales to give up their stigmatized ethnic identity and assimilate into the dominant Ladino culture.

1.4. DIALECTS. Chontal Maya has many dialects. The oldest known dialect of Chontal is exemplified in the Maldonado-Paxbolon Papers (see p. 21). The most obvious difference between Classical and Modern Chontal is the loss of final l in words such as petel (modern pete 'all'), and chol (modern cho 'cornfield') (Paltineanu 1978:109-100). Consequently, the -vl suffix (where v echoes the vowel of the root) which formed the perfect participle in Classical Chontal has become -v (eg. modern čon-o 'sold') (Paltineanu 1978:114). In addition, the

⁷"Al escuchar a un hablante de chontal, la primera impresion que tenemos es que casi la mitad de lo que dice es castellano, y esta no es muy lejos de la verdad" (Perez-Gonzalez 1975:320).

Classical future suffix -bel is not represented in Modern Chontal. A complement construction using the verb h-e 'to go' is used instead (Paltineanu 1978:115).

kā h - e tā ye?-e

Al go-impf pt eat-impf

'I'm going to eat'

In addition, many lexical and semantic changes have taken place in Chontal during the last 450 years (eg. changes in pronouns and interrogatives) (Paltineanu 1978:117-120).

Although Modern Chontal is dialectally quite variable, all dialects are mutually intelligible. Each town has its own variety of Chontal; however, in most cases the differences are not great enough to warrant classification as different dialects. Otto Schumann (1978:102), who has surveyed dialectal variation in Tabasco, believes that there are enough basic differences to postulate three major dialects: the Tapotzingo dialect, including the Chontal-speaking towns in the municipios of Nacajuca and Jalpa and the town of San Fernando (Aguiles Serdan) in the municipio of Macuspana; the San Carlos dialect, including the southern variants; and the Tamulté de las Sabanas dialect which is the most divergent and represents the Usumacinta (northern) dialects. Schumann (1978) and del Moral (1983) illustrate some of the differences among these dialects in diagnostic vocabulary lists.

During the summer of 1982, Judith Dides and I carried out a limited survey to examine the dialectal differences postulated by Schumann. Chontal speakers from Tapotzingo/San Marcos, San Fernando, San Carlos, and Tamulté de las Sabanas answered a questionnaire. The

major dialectal differences are summarized in Table I.

The survey showed that there is dialectal variation within the municipio of Nacajuca. For example, the Chontal spoken in Tapotzingo differs from that spoken in San Marcos. Moreover, the Tapotzingo dialect does not seem to be very similar to the Chontal of San Fernando, as was suggested by Schumann. Instead, San Fernando's Chontal is very distinctive. Although San Fernando is located only a few miles from the town of San Carlos, its dialect of Chontal is very different. It is important to remember that neither San Carlos nor San Fernando were Pre-Columbian communities; San Carlos was founded in 1766 and San Fernando in 1768 by Indians from the Chontalpa. Traditionally, the two towns have been enemies; it is only in the last few years that there has been much interaction between them.

As Schumann points out, the Tamulté de las Sabanas dialect is very different from the other Chontal dialects. The amount of dialectal variation within the Usumacinta area is not known.

From the dialectal information available, it is evident that Modern Chontal has a variety of mutually intelligible dialects. However, a true understanding of the dialectal variation of Chontal can only be achieved in a town-by-town dialect survey which investigates both lexical and grammatical differences.

1.5. CHONTAL LINGUISTICS. The word Chontal is derived from the Nahuatl word for foreigner or stranger, chontalli.⁸ This term was

⁸It is not known exactly what the 16th century Chontales called their language. In the Maldonado-Paxbolon Papers it is called uiba than 'the language here' (Smailus 1975:46).

TABLE I: A SELECTION OF DIALECT DIFFERENCES IN CHONTAL COMMUNITIES

	SAN MARCOS/ TAPOTZINGO	SAN FERNANDO	TAMULTE DE LAS SABANAS	SAN CARIOS	CLASSICAL
PRONOUNS					
1 person	no?on	no?on	kāne	kande	nadzon
2 person	?ane	?ane	?ane	?ande	-
3 person	?une	?une	?une	?unde	hain
3RD PERSON PLURAL	-ho?/-o? SM -hob/-ob T	-hop'/-op'	-hop'/-op'	-lop'/-op'	-hob/-ob
PHONEMES					
<u>v/w/y</u>					
man	vinik	vinik	vinik	vinik	vinik
food	ve?e	ye?e	ye?e	ye?e	-
<u>l/r</u>					
He told me it to see	?u yalbon	?u yerbon	?u yerbon	?u yalbon	(al)
I am standing	-	?iran	?iran	?iran	ilan
	gwa?alon	wafalon	gwa?aron	gwa?alon	-
VOCABULARY					
egg	sak tok'	sak tok'	yəl pi?o?	sak tok'	-
girl	?iŋ?ok	ŋ'ok	ŋi.ok	?iŋ?ok/?in?ok	-
Camel	lais	lais	lahi	?ida te	-
Go!	kores	hala kuš	kuyi	hala	-
Who is it?	kani	ma kinop'	kasune?	konde-et	-
What do you want?	kan ?a-wo	ken ?a-go	čune ?a-wo	konde ?a-gwo	-
POSITIONALS					
'sitting'					
-te	čum-tə	čum-te	čum-te	čum-te	čun-te
-wan	čum-wan-i	čum-wan-i	čum-wan-i	čum-wan-i	čum-wan-i
-V(1)	čum-u(1)	čum-u(1)	čum-u(1)	čum-u(1)	čum-u(1)
-ka?a(1)	čum-ka	-	-	čum-ka?a(1)	čum-ul
VERBS					
?a aspect	optional	required	-	required	-
pres. prog.	nu? SM/ mu? T	mu?	-	mu? muk'	-
-l-er-an	no	no	no	yes	-

originally applied to the Tabascan Mayans by the Aztecs whose language, Nahuatl, was used as a lingua franca in many parts of Middle America before and after the Spanish Conquest. The Spanish adopted this term in spite of the fact that it was also applied to peoples in southern Oaxaca and Nicaragua whose languages were unrelated to the Chontal of Tabasco. Because of this, much of the early published data on the Chontal Maya language consists of vocabulary lists showing that Tabascan Chontal is a Mayan language and that it differs from the other languages called Chontal (Becerra 1934:29-36, Blom et al 1927:465-487, Brinton 1892:556-564, Stoll 1958:56-94, 113-114). Other published vocabulary lists have been used to show where Chontal belongs within the Mayan language family (Romero Castillo 1975:65-84).

Unlike some Mayan languages, such as Yucatec, Quiche, and Choltil, there are no Colonial grammars or dictionaries for Chontal. Scholes and Roys (1927:19) cite two reasons for this. First, because Tabasco was an important commercial zone for Pre-Columbian trade between the Aztecs and Yucatec Maya, there were a number of Nahuatl settlements in Tabasco. Consequently, a considerable proportion of the Chontal population spoke Nahuatl as a second language. Since many of the early missionaries in Tabasco had been trained in the Valley of Mexico and had learned Nahuatl, they did not find it necessary to learn Chontal to be able to carry out their work. Second, many of the later missionaries came from Yucatan with a knowledge of Yucatec Maya that made such aids as dictionaries and grammars less necessary. Therefore, very few missionaries during the 16th and early 17th century learned Chontal (Scholes and Roys 1927:19). At the same time, more and more Chontal

speakers were learning Spanish.

Although no Colonial grammars or dictionaries exist for Chontal, a lengthy text, the Maldonado-Paxbolon Papers, written in the Chontal Mayan dialect of Acalan during the early Colonial period, is a source of information on Classical Chontal. The text describes the history of Acalan-Tixchel from pre-conquest times to 1604 in three sections. The first section gives a brief history of the rulers of Acalan going back six generations before the conquest. Then, it lists the seventy-six towns and settlements which comprised the cacicazoo (the tribute district) of Acalan. The final section describes the arrival of the Spanish and events which occurred under Spanish domination until 1604 from a native point of view. This document has been published in facsimile (followed by both a Spanish and an English translation) by Scholes and Roys (1927:367-405). Ortwin Smailus has published an article and a grammar of Classical Chontal based on his linguistic analysis of this document (1969, 1975). His work is the most complete description of the Chontal language available. However, the Maldonado-Paxbolon Papers do not provide enough data to answer many syntactic and morphological questions about Chontal grammar. Moreover, Smailus's phonological analysis is limited to what can be inferred from the colonial orthography. A comparison of Classical and Modern Chontal shows that the language as spoken three hundred and fifty years ago is undoubtedly different from the dialects spoken today. Some of these differences have been examined by Paltineanu (1978).

Although there are no published grammars of Modern Chontal, a variety of Modern Chontal texts has been published during the last fifty

years. They include individual texts (Keller and Harris 1946; Pérez-González 1977; Hasler 1979; Blom and LaFarge 1927:499-502), a series of Chontal text collections published by Fonapas of Tabasco (Mondragon et al 1981, 1982a, 1982b, 1982c), and translations of the various books of the Bible which have been published separately and together (eg. the New Testament) (trans. Keller 1976, 1977, etc.). In addition, Kathryn Keller of the Summer Institute of Linguistics has produced several primers as aids for the teaching of Chontal orthography and reading to Chontal speakers (Keller 1970, 1977, 1980). The majority of the published texts are in the dialects spoken in the municipio of Nacajuca because most Summer Institute of Linguistics and Mexican government (Instituto Nacional Indigenista) work has taken place in that area. However, there are also two textual examples of the San Fernando dialect (Blom and LaFarge 1927:499-502) and one text in the Tamulté de las Sabanas dialect (Hasler 1979).

Articles have been published on the phonemic inventory of the Tuxta and Tapotzingo dialects (for Tuxta: Pérez-González 1968, and for Tapotzingo: Keller 1959). Although some information is available on the consonant clusters of the Tuxta dialect, only the consonant clusters of the Tapotzingo dialect have been examined in great detail (Keller and Saporta 1957).

Vocabulary lists elicited from speakers of different dialects illustrate both the phonemic and lexical variability of Chontal (Schumann 1978, and discussed by del Moral 1983). The only effort to explain any of the phonological variation (i.e. the w/y correspondence) has been made by John Justeson (1982).

Chontal has borrowed a great number of words from Spanish, but apparently very few from Nahuatl (Izquierdo and Figueroa 1978, Schumann 1978:102-103). Many of the Spanish words have undergone phonetic assimilation when borrowed into Chontal. Perez-Gonzalez (1970, 1975) has outlined the basic processes of phonetic assimilation of Spanish words into Chontal in two articles.

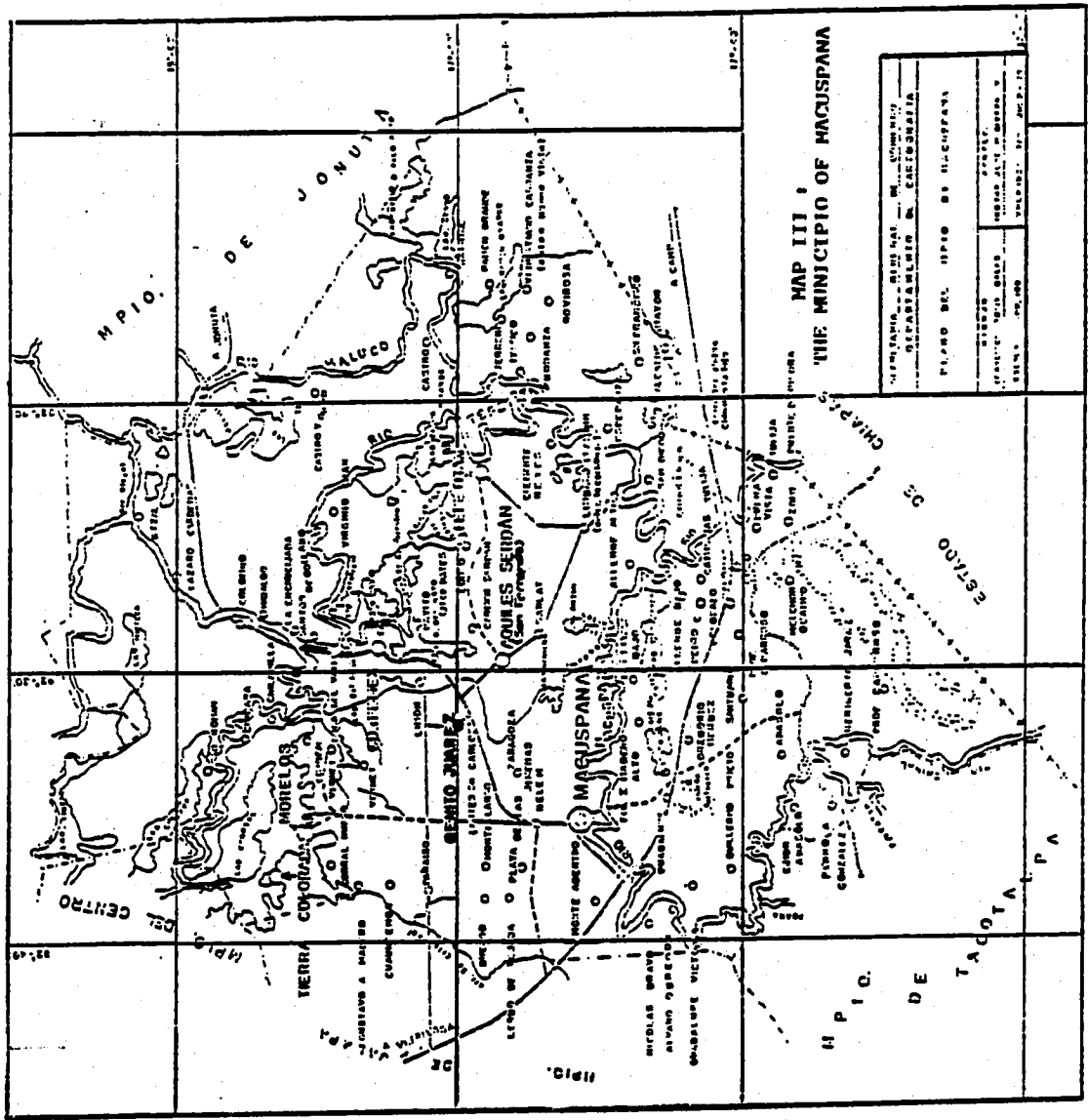
Morphological and syntactic data available on Modern Chontal is very limited. Blom and LaFarge (1927:487-498) published a limited ten-page grammatical sketch in 1927, and Keller (1955, 1973, 1974) and Harris (1947, reviewed by Wonderly 1949) have written articles about Chontal numeral classifiers. Keller (personal communication) is presently preparing a Chontal dictionary (Tapotzingo dialect) with a short grammatical introduction. Schumann (personal communication) has also been collecting data for a dictionary of the San Carlos dialect.

1.6. CHONTAL ETHNOGRAPHY. The Chontal Maya are better known ethnohistorically than ethnographically. Scholes and Roys (1949) have summarized most of what is known about the ethnohistory of the Chontales. Most modern ethnographic work has been concentrated in the municipio of Nacajuca (Harris 1946, Villa Rojas 1964, 1969), with the exception of Blom and LaFarge's (1927:139-145) ethnographic notes about San Fernando and Macuspana. The best source of general information about Tabasco -- its peoples, climate, history and economy -- is The Tabasco Lowlands of Southeastern Mexico (West et al 1969, trans. as Las Tierras Bajas de Tabasco en el Sureste de Mexico (1976)).

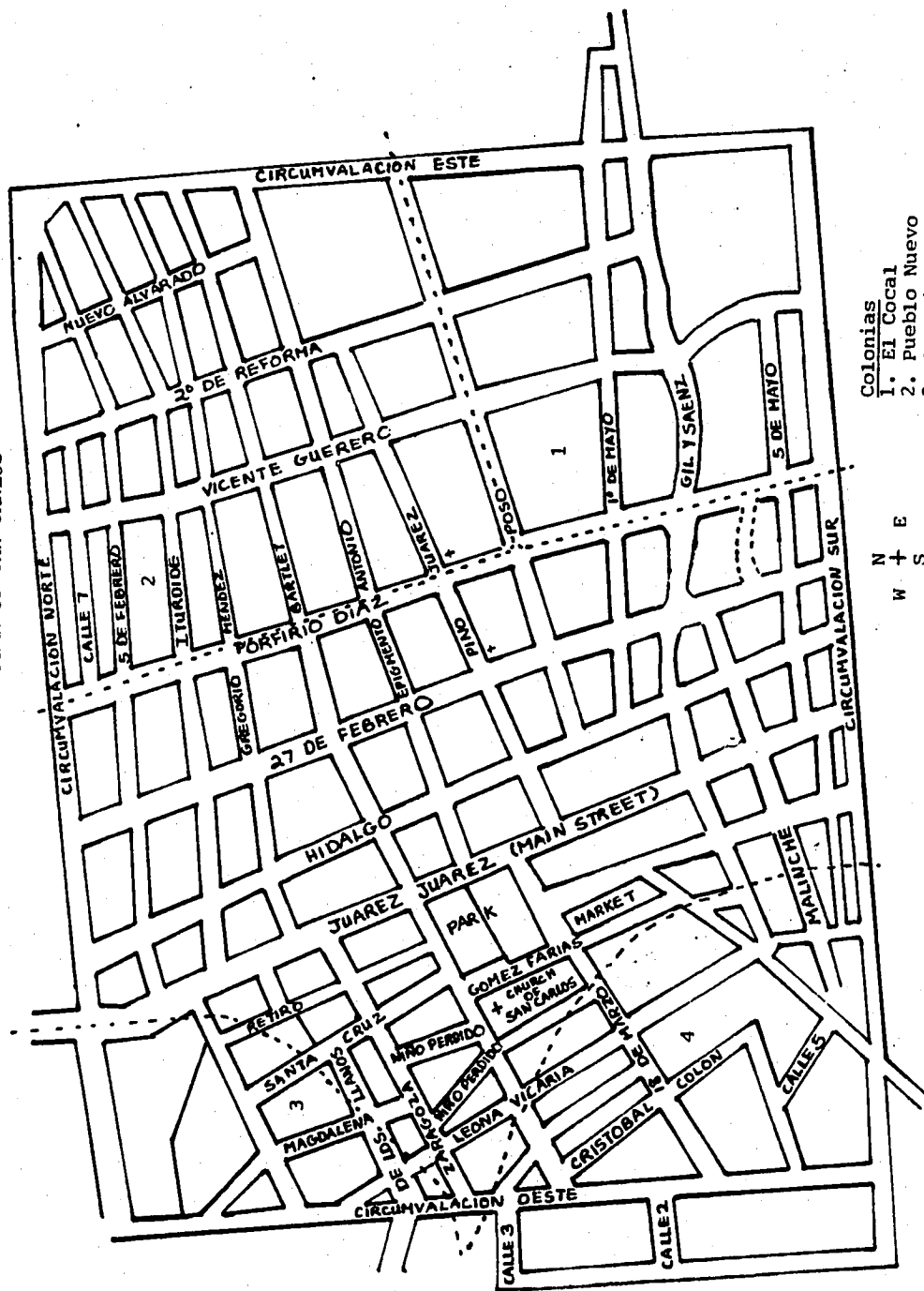
1.7. SAN CARLOS. I chose to do my research in the town of San Carlos because the largest number of Chontal speakers in the state of Tabasco live there. San Carlos, officially renamed Villa de Benito Juarez, is located in the municipio (township) of Macuspana (see Map III). The region is a wide alluvial plain with a few low hills, lakes, and marshes. The mean annual rainfall is about 99 inches, with an annual mean temperature of 79 degrees Fahrenheit. It rains most of the year, with a limited dry season in April and May.

7.1. THE TOWN. San Carlos is located between the towns of Macuspana and Ciudad Pemex. It is a large town, with between 16,000 and 18,000 inhabitants. San Carlos has four colonias (suburbs): El Cocal, Pueblo Nuevo, Colonia del Panteon, and Colonia Campo (see Map IV).

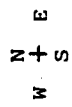
For its size San Carlos has few amenities. For example, as late as 1983 it did not have running water, a post office, a bank, or a telegraph office. On the other hand, there is limited telephone service and several schools (a kindergarten, elementary school, and junior high school). INI (Institute Nacional Indigenista) also has a school outside of town and a sewing school in San Carlos, but it has very little influence over the people (instead, INI has concentrated its efforts on the Chontales in the Nacajuca region where they have, among other things, established a clinic and a Chontal radio station). There are three Catholic churches in San Carlos, the most important of which is named after San Carlos. These churches and associated activities are administered by a priest and five nuns who live in town. In addition to native curers and bone-setters, San Carlos has several doctors,



MAP IV: STREET PLAN OF SAN CARLOS



- Colonias
1. El Cocal
 2. Pueblo Nuevo
 3. Colonia del Panteon
 4. Colonia Campo



dentists, pharmacists, and veterinarians. There is a small government clinic in town, and a small hospital is being built outside of town.

San Carlos has a large indoor-outdoor market which is open daily. Moreover, there is a large sobrerueda (traveling market) every Monday. In addition to its market, San Carlos has a variety of small stores (including a jewelry store, furniture store, and many dry goods stores) and three conasupos (government supermarkets).

For entertainment, San Carlos has many bars and poolhalls, as well as a small theater. During 1981 several small restaurants and refreshment stands opened. The park was rebuilt in 1981, and Saturday night dances are held there.

There is one government building in San Carlos, the delegación, which contains the office of the delegado, the police station, and a small jail. The delegado is San Carlos's elected representative to the municipio government. He is usually elected by the people according to Mexican federal laws, although in recent years he has been appointed by the presidente (mayor) of the municipio. The relationship between Macuspana and San Carlos can only be described as tense. San Carleños do not like the Ladino government of Macuspana and take pride in the fact that the government is a little afraid of them (because the population of San Carlos is larger, and the Ladinos do not understand Chontal).

1.7.2. THE PEOPLE. For all its size, San Carlos is more like a village than a city. People are very friendly, and everyone knows everyone else. Information is exchanged through gossip. Women are

always visiting each other and meeting in church or in the market. Men also visit each other, but they normally socialize in the park, bars, work, or at church.

Women and men must be very circumspect when visiting each other because rumors of adultery, etc. are quickly spread. A young man who is seen with his novia (girlfriend) alone can easily be forced into a 'shotgun' marriage. The parents of the girl may have the young man jailed until he marries their daughter. Interaction between young men and women is limited to school, church, chance encounters, and Saturday night dances. Common law marriages are the rule, a situation that the government and Church are working to change by sponsoring large group wedding ceremonies, in which hundreds of couples are officially married. The ideal marriage is a civil ceremony followed by a church wedding.

Formerly, only Chontal speakers whose families had lived in San Carlos for generations resided in the town. However, this is changing rapidly, as more and more people from other parts of Tabasco and Mexico come to live there. Today there are very few Chontal monolinguals in San Carlos. Almost everyone who speaks Chontal is bilingual, while many residents speak only Spanish. Chontal is a dying language in San Carlos because most parents are not teaching it to their children. Consequently, one rarely meets anyone under fifteen years of age who can speak it fluently.⁹

⁹The same situation exists in San Fernando. On the other hand, many children in the Nacajuca and Tamulté de las Sabanas area are still being taught Chontal.

For the most part, the people of San Carlos rarely travel and have little interest in what happens outside their town.

1.7.3. ECONOMY. Agricultural land is privately owned in San Carlos. The traditional agricultural crops were corn and rice, but today most of the land is used for cattle raising.¹⁰ Besides producing cattle, many people work for Pemex (Mexico's national petroleum monopoly) in nearby Ciudad Pemex. Other men commute daily to Villahermosa or Macuspana to work. Buses to Villahermosa leave hourly, while buses and collective taxis go to Macuspana and Ciudad Pemex every fifteen minutes. No matter where San Carleños go to work, most try to reside in San Carlos. The people of San Carlos have a very strong sense of town loyalty, rather than ethnic identity.

Compared to most Mayan groups in Mexico and Guatemala, the Chontales are prosperous. Much of their prosperity can be attributed to the petroleum industry. Evidence of the prosperity is everywhere. In San Carlos, thatched-roofed cane houses are rapidly being replaced by those of brick or cinder block. Many families have television sets, gas stoves, refrigerators, and some even have cars or pick-up trucks.

1.7.4. RELIGION. Most San Carleños are very religious. Unlike other Chontal-speaking towns such as Tapotzingo, San Carlos has few Protestants. The Roman Catholic Church monopolizes religious life in

¹⁰ In other parts of Tabasco, the traditional corn growing, cacao growing and hat making (i.e. weaving palm hats as in Tapotzingo) are more common.

the community, with the influence of the priest and nuns being felt in many activities. The priest performs mass several times a day, and the nuns sponsor many religious and social activities and classes.

About fifteen years ago, San Carlos had traditional officials called patrones, elderly men who had the religious cargo of patrón. These men were in charge of the care and maintenance of the church. However, with the arrival of the priests and the nuns, these offices were abolished (but patrones are still found in other Chontal-speaking towns such as Tamulté de las Sabanas and Buena Vista).

The patron saint is San Carlos, and his image is greatly venerated. The fiesta of San Carlos is an important religious and social event held on the first of September. In addition to this fiesta, the people of San Carlos like to attend fiestas in other towns. The most important is in Tila, Chiapas. Many San Carleños go to Tila by bus, car, airplane, or by foot (as a pilgrimage) during El Señor de Tila's fiesta in April. The second most important is in Tamulté de las Sabanas. The patron saint of Tamulté is San Francisco, and during his fiesta in November busloads of San Carleños go to that town. The image of San Carlos is taken along to be blessed, along with herbs and candles.

Probably the town's most important religious event occurs on All Saint's Day (November 1). People believe the souls of the dead return to earth on this day, and they give offerings and prayers to the dead before their household saint's table and at the newly painted tombstones in the cemetery. Families hire ritual prayer givers, called recomendores, to pray for them and the dead in church or before their

saint's table. The recomendores pray in Chontal, Spanish, or both. The prayers are highly repetitive and are accompanied by the burning of incense, the shooting off of fireworks, and the eating of special foods. Foods which are offered to the supernatural and eaten by family and guests include pozol (a drink of coarsely ground corn meal and cacao mixed with water), manea (coarsely ground corn meal mixed with shredded meat and steamed in a banana leaf), and tamales.

Death is accompanied by important religious ceremonies in San Carlos. When someone dies, the priest performs a funeral mass. Then the dead person is buried (within 24 hours) with his personal possessions, such as clothing and his favorite foods and drinks. The family of the dead person then sponsors nine days of ritualized prayers and food similar to those offered on All Saint's Day. Finally, the ritual (called a novena) is repeated on the anniversary of the death for approximately five years.

Generally, the same format of ritual behavior is used in San Carlos for all religious events. All make use of ceremonial foods and recomendores. The basic format of the prayers offered is identical -- the prayers ask for health, happiness, and prosperity for people, animals, and crops, and they ask for the dead to be released from purgatory. During the fiesta of San Carlos, the prayers are offered to San Carlos. However, on All Saint's Day they are offered to El Señor de Tila, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and San Antonio, in addition to San Carlos. During a novena, prayers are offered not only to the saints, but also to the dead person who is given the ability to mediate between the saints and the living.

Because the people of San Carlos consider themselves very religious, they devote much of their time and money to the Church and religious events. Religion, more than politics or economics, unites the town.

1.7.5. FIELDWORK AND LINGUISTIC ASSISTANTS. The research for this dissertation was supported in part by a grant from the Shell Foundation and by summer grants from the Tinker Foundation. Between 1980 and 1983, I spent a total of thirteen months in the field collecting data, primarily in San Carlos. Thus, this grammar is primarily a description of this dialect (although some phonological, morphological, and lexical information from other dialects is included).

During the course of my research, I worked with a number of bilingual linguistic assistants of whom Manuel Hernández Narváez and José Isabel Hernández Fería served as primary sources of information. Manuel Hernández Narváez, age 50 in 1983, is an elementary school teacher in San Carlos. He was born and raised in San Carlos and lives there with his wife and children. He has taught in Nacajuca and, therefore, is acquainted with both the San Carlos and Nacajuca dialects of Chontal. José Isabel Hernández Fería, age 47 in 1983, raises cattle primarily, although he supplements his income with a variety of part-time jobs. He, his wife, and his children are all San Carleños. Although he has only a second grade education, he is a reservoir of ethnographic material and a superb storyteller. Moreover, he has learned how to read and write Chontal.

PART II

PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER 2
THE PHONEMIC SYSTEM

2.1. PUBLISHED DESCRIPTIONS. The phonemic system of Chontal has been described by both Keller (1959) and Pérez-González (1968). Although these articles are concerned with data from the Tapotzingo and the Tuxta dialects respectively, the basic phonemic inventory of the consonants and vowels in Chontal appears to be the same in these and in all dialects that I have examined. There are, however, differences in the distribution and the phonetic manifestation of some of these phonemes (see sec. 1.4.).

The only controversy over the phonemic system is concerned with whether /kw/ should be considered as a single phoneme. Keller (1959:49) treats /kw/ as a consonant cluster, while Pérez-González (1968:26) and del Moral (1983:348) regard it as a single phoneme. /kw/ is found in most dialects of Chontal (but not in the Tamulté dialect (del Moral 1983:348)), limited to word/syllable-initial position preceding the vowel /a/.

kã.kwa	‘coconut grove’
kwa?	‘nothing, anything’

Although there are minimal pairs exemplifying a contrast among /kw/, /k/, and /w/,

wah	‘tortilla’
kah	‘town’

kwah.ka `which`

I treat /kw/ as a consonant cluster for the following reason. Although syllables with a consonant cluster onset are extremely rare in Chontal, there are a few examples of stop + vibrant/semi-vowel and fricative + semi-vowel clusters. It happens that /kw/ is the most commonly found member of a group of consonant cluster onsets consisting of /kw/, /k'w/ (found only in the San Carlos dialect in free variation with /kw/), /ty/, /kr/, /tr/, and /sy/.

k'wa? `nothing, anything`

kwa? `nothing, anything`

kreš `anger`

?ah syom=te? `a kind of tree`

tyak'o `against it`

trin=čen `do it for spite`

If /kw/ is considered as a separate phoneme, then all the other members of the group should also be classified as phonemes. It is likely that most of these CC consonant cluster onsets were historically CVC, but the vowel has been lost.

winkre `manhood` in Modern Chontal

winik + il + el `manhood` in Classical Chontal

2.2. THE VOWELS. Modern Chontal has six vowels: /i/, /e/, /ɨ/, /a/, /o/, and /u/ (see Table II). /i/ and /e/ are front unrounded vowels and contrast with the /u/ and /o/ back rounded vowels. /ɨ/ and /a/ are unrounded central vowels (see sec. 2.6.). With respect to tongue height, /i/, /u/, and /ɨ/ are high (with /ɨ/ being slightly lower

TABLE II: CHONTAL VOWELS

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i	ɨ	u
MID	e		o
LOW		a	

than /i/ and /u/), /e/ and /o/ are mid vowels, and /a/ is low. All the vowels occur in syllable and word-final position.

tu `to its`
 to `still, yet`
 tə `to`
 te `coming`
 ti `maybe`
 ta `for, belongs to`

They also appear between consonants as syllable nuclei.

k'un `soft, mild`
 k'omo?=wah `large tamal`
 k'an `yellow`
 k'en `many`
 k'in `sun`
 k'anā `wasp`

Vowels normally do not occur in word/syllable-initial position (see sec.2.3.1.4.).

All vowels have laryngealized, voiceless, aspirated, and nasalized allophones which are dependent upon context. Vowels contiguous to glottalized consonants (or the glottalized allophone of /b/) may be laryngealized.

$V \rightarrow \overset{?}{V} \text{ } \& \text{ } [+glottal]$
 /?it'obni/ [ʔit'obni] `darkness`

Likewise, unstressed vowels may optionally become voiceless when the vowel is preceded by an affricate or fricative and is followed by a voiceless consonant.

V → ʏ / +strident _____ C
-voice

/čitam/ [čj̥tām] `pig`

When a vowel is followed by a nasal consonant, the vowel is often nasalized. This is one of the most natural rules in phonology.

V → ỹ / _____ +nasal

/tan/ [tā̃ŋ] `in, on`

Moreover, utterance-final vowels may be followed by a slight aspiration which has the same quality as the vowel. This aspiration is much lighter than that of /h/.

/wäye/ [wäye^e] `sleep`

In addition, the vowel /e/ has an open lower allophone [E] which precedes consonants.

/bet/ [bEt^h] `debt`

2.3. THE CONSONANTS. Modern Chontal has twenty-six consonants which may be identified according to their point and manner of articulation (see Table III). They include the stops: /p/, /t/, /k/, /p̣/, /ṭ/, /ḳ/, /b/, /g/, and /ʔ/; the affricates: /tʃ/, /č/, /tʃ̣/, and /č̣/; the fricatives: /s/, /š/, /h/, and /f/; the nasals: /m/, /n/, and /ñ/; the lateral /l/; the vibrants: /r/ and /r̄/; and the semi-vowels: /y/ and /w/.

2.3.1. THE STOPS. Sounds which are stopped completely in the oral cavity for a brief period are called stops. Modern Chontal has nine stops: /p/, /t/, /k/, /p̣/, /ṭ/, /ḳ/, /b/, /d/, /g/, and /ʔ/, four of which have glottal closure /p̣/, /ṭ/, /ḳ/, and /ʔ/.

TABLE III: CHONTAL CONSONANTS (after Pike 1978:7)

MANNER OF ARTICULATION	POINT OF ARTICULATION							
	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Alveo-Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Labio- Velar	Glottal
STOPS voiceless voiced Glottalized voiceless voiced	p b p'	t d t'				k g k'		ʔ
AFFRICATES voiceless voiced Glottalized voiceless voiced			tʃ dʃ	tʃ dʃ				
FRICATIVES Flat voiceless voiced Grooved voiceless voiced	f		s		ʃ			h
NASALS (voiced)	m	n			ɲ			
LATERALS (voiced)			l					
VIBRANTS (voiced) Flapped Trilled			ɾ ɽ					
SEMI-VOWELS					y		w	

2.3.1.1. /p/, /t/, /k/. The stops /p/, /t/, and /k/ contrast at the bilabial, dental, and velar points of articulation respectively.

pah `sour`

tah `half`

kah `town`

All three are found in word/syllable-initial and final position.

pam `head`

pap `father`

yop=te? `tree leaf`

?u øep-e?-ø `He cut it`

ti.kin `dry`

?o.tot `house`

?a sut.wǎ.n-i-ø `He returned`

kǎ `I, my`

?is.ki `above, up`

bak `bone`

buk.la `cloud`

/p/, /t/, and /k/ all have phonetic aspiration. The aspiration is heavy in word-final position and in stressed syllables. It is lighter before vowels and consonants in unstressed syllables.

/mut/ [mut^h] `bird`

/sut.wǎ.ni/ [sut^h.gwǎ.ni]. `returned`

This aspiration has a few sequential restrictions. There is no

aspiration when /t/ is followed by /ɕ/ or /n/, or when /p/ is followed by /b/. On the other hand, the aspiration is often voiced (actualized as a weak /h/) when a voiced consonant other than /b/ follows /p/ or /k/.

/kreš/ [kʰreš] 'angry'

2.3.1.2. /p̚/, /t̚/, /k̚/. The stops /p̚/, /t̚/, and /k̚/ are glottalized and differ phonemically from /p/, /t/, and /k/.

tan 'lime'

t'an 'word'

pik 'dress, skirt'

p'ik-ɬn 'to shell, to take apart'

kuš-u 'raw, alive'

k'uš-u 'Eat it!'

The glottalized series contrast with each other at the bilabial, dental, and velar points of articulation.

t'ele 'side'

p'el-en 'to saw, to slice'

k'el-en 'to endure'

/p̚/, /t̚/, and /k̚/ are also found in word/syllable-initial position as well as in word/syllable-final position.

p'et 'pot'

?ip'=te? 'ladder'

ho.p'o 'hat'

nap´ `lake, pot´

t´ok `with´

yo.ko=t´an `Chontal´

ʔah t´ot´ `snail´

ʔu šot´-l-er-an-∅´ `He breaks it´

k´in `sun, day´

be.k´et´ `cattle´

bek´.ta´ `meat´

bek´´ `seed´

2.3.1.3. /b/, /d/, /g/. Although the stops /b/, /d/, and /g/ also contrast at the bilabial, dental, and velar points of articulation,

dari´ `later today´

bada´ `now´

gana´ `to win, to gain (from Sp)´

they differ phonemically from their voiceless counterparts.

bet´´ `debt´´

p´et´´ `pot´´

pete´´ `all´´

dari´´ `later today´´

t´an´´ `word´´

tan´´´´ `lime´´´´

gana `to win`

kande `I, me`

k`and` `wasp`

The distribution of the phoneme /b/ is subject to a great amount of dialectal variation in Chontal. In all dialects it occurs in word/syllable initial position, often with a superimposed glottal quality.

/bek/ [b^hEk] or [b^hEk] `seed`

/ʔu y^hl.ben/ [ʔu y^hl.bEn] or

[ʔu y^hl.bEn] `He tells it to someone`

However, variation occurs when /b/ is in word/syllable-final position. In San Carlos, as in the coastal dialect (Keller 1959:46), the contrast between /b/ and /p/ is neutralized and only /p/ occurs finally.

b → p / ____##

ʔib-e? `to write`

ʔip `writing`

nošib-an `to become old`

nošip `old man`

In Tapotzingo, "the phoneme b when occurring syllable final is voiceless with superimposed glottal closure. Before pause it is unreleased, sounding a bit swallowed" (Keller 1959:46). Thus, in final position, the contrast between /b/, /p/, and /p/ is the type of release, [p^h], [p^h], and [p] respectively. However, in the Tuxta dialect of Chontal, neither /p/ nor /b/ may occur in syllable/word-final position. It appears that final /p/ and /b/ have been lost (Pérez-González 1968:36).

In the San Marcos dialect, final /p/ or /b/ has been replaced with a glottal stop.

San Carlos:	?unde-lop´	`they´
Tapotzingo:	?unde-hob	`they´
Tuxta:	?uneho	`they´
San Marcos:	?uneho?	`they´

The phonemes /g/ and /d/ are most commonly found in Spanish loan words (see sec. 2.7.1.), but they are found in a few native Chontal words in restricted environments. The phoneme /g/ is found only in word-initial position preceding the vowel /o/ in free variation with /w/ in native Chontal words.

gol-om/wol-om `ball-shaped´

gola?as/wola?as `zapote, marmalade tree´

In San Carlos, the phoneme /d/ is found in word/syllable-initial position preceding the vowels /a/, /e/, and rarely /o/ (in contractions, see sec. 2.5.1.).

da `phrase terminal particle´

ba.da `now´

?un.de `he, she, it´

?un.do (?unde + (?u) `he + A3´

2.3.1.4. /ʔ/ The final Chontal stop to be discussed is the glottal stop. The glottal stop /ʔ/ contrasts with \emptyset and other consonants in utterance-final position,

?u te? `his tree´

?u t-e `He comes´

and it contrasts with other consonants between vowels.

ča?am `back teeth, molars`

čah-am `loose`

In addition, it may occur in syllable-final or syllable-initial position.

?a pim.?i `It got thick`

?a la?.mi `It got soft`

In emphatic speech, no vowels occur utterance initially; instead, they are preceded by a glottal stop if no other syllable onset consonant is present.

?ap´ `hammock`

However, in ordinary speech it is sometimes difficult to determine whether or not there is an utterance-initial glottal stop. Moreover, within an utterance the glottal stop may be completely lost. This commonly occurs with roots (such as ?a `second person,` ?u `third person,` ?iš/?ih `feminine gender,` ?ah `masculine gender,` and ?un `one`) whose initial vowel may syllabify with the final consonant or vowel of the preceding word (see sec. 2.5.1.).

?unde ?u k´uše? `He eats it` emphatic speech

?undo k´uše? `He eats it` fast speech

kā pap ?u k´uši `My father ate it` emphatic speech

kā pa.pu k´u.ši `My father ate it` fast speech

2.3.2. THE AFFRICATES. Affricates are sounds produced by a stop closure followed immediately by a slow release of the closure. Chontal

has four strident affricates: /tʃ/, /tʃʰ/, /tʃ̥/, and /tʃ̥ʰ/ which contrast in glottalization and point of articulation.¹

tʃen `to do, to make`

tʃʰen `well, hole`

tʃ̥em `thin`

tʃ̥ʰen `bed`

All of the affricates may occur in word/syllable-initial and final position.

tʃuk `hair, rat`

pi.tʃi `pretty`

?uʃ `good`

?uʃ-to `slightly used`

tʃitam `pig`

wi.tʃu? `dog`

mač `negative particle`

nič=te? `tree flower`

tʃʰak `medicine`

?a.tʃʰam `salt`

hiʃʰ `hunger`

?u hãtʃʰ.kan `He was hit`

¹Note that the /ts/ and /tʃ/ clusters are distinguished from the /tʃ/ and /tʃ̥/ phonemes in that the clusters have open transition (aspiration and/or pause) and syllable (and morpheme) division which occur between the stop and the fricative.

č'ok `child, young`

?i.č'ak `fingernail`

?ač' `wet`

poč'.te `to be dented, to be bumped`

When /č/ in word-initial position is followed by a back vowel (/o/ or /u/), aspiration is present.

/čoh/ [č oh] `cheeks`

2.3.3 THE FRICATIVES. In the production of fricatives, the airstream is not stopped completely, but is obstructed from flowing freely. Modern Chontal has four fricatives: the stridents /f/, /s/ and /š/ and the nonstrident /h/. The labio-dental fricative /f/ is found only in Spanish loan words (see sec. 2.7.1.). The other three fricatives are found in native Chontal words. /s/, /š/, and /h/ are all grooved voiceless fricatives (Pike 1978:7). They contrast at the alveolar, palatal, and glottal points of articulation.

sek'e `Cut it!`

šek'e `Pierce it!`

hek' `portion of a group`

They are all found in syllable/word-initial and final positions.

sis `cold`

pu.su `mud`

?is.ki `up, above`

šan `palm`

ku.šu `living, raw`

piš `knee`
 piš=k'ǎp `elbow`

ha? `water`
 ǰi.hip `new`
 č'uh `church`
 ǰah.man `to be toasted`

Unlike the other fricatives, /h/ varies phonetically depending on what it precedes. The phoneme /h/ varies from a glottal rounded fricative before the back rounded vowels, /o/ and /u/, to a light front velar fricative before /i/ or a back velar fricative before /ǎ/ (compare with Keller 1959:47). In other words, the /h/ takes the quality of the vowel.

h → x % i
 /bih/ [bix] `road`

h → x % ǎ
 /hǎbǎ/ [xǎbǎ] `Open it!`

/ha?/ [ha?] `water`

Furthermore, when /h/ is preceded by /ǎ/ and followed by a voiced consonant, there is a slight voiced transitional vocoid [ʷ] between the two consonants.

/?ah lo?/ [ʷahʷlo?] `boy`

2.3.4. THE NASALS. When the velum is lowered, air escapes through

the nose as well as the mouth producing nasal sounds. Chontal has three voiced nasals — /n/, /m/, and /ɲ/. /ɲ/ is only found in Spanish loan words (see sec. 2.7.1.). The nasals /m/ and /n/ contrast as to point of articulation with /m/ being bilabial and /n/ being dental or velar (see below).

mah `negative particle`

nah `full`

Both nasals are found in syllable/word-initial and final position.

mam `grandfather`

çi.mim `horse`

hām.te `to be opened`

neba? `orphan`

kā.ne? `to teach`

čun `trunk`

kan.de `I, me`

The /n/ phoneme is actualized as a velar nasal [ŋ], as the nasalization and slight lengthening of the preceding vowel ([Ṽ]), or as an alveolar nasal [n]. Nasal velarization occurs before the velar stops (/k/, /g/, and /k'/) and in word-final position.

n → ŋ / _____ {+velar stop}
 {##}

/ʔu kãn.kan/ [ʔu kãŋ.kan] `It is learned`

tak'in/ [tak'in] `money`

On the other hand, the nasalization allophone occurs preceding /š̃/, but not before /č̃/.

n → \tilde{v} / _____ š

/tān.šin/ [tā.šin] 'in the middle'

/ʔun čim/ [ʔun čim] 'one net-full'

It also varies noncontrastively with the velar allophone before bilabial and glottal consonants.

/tan haʔ/ [taŋ haʔ] or [tā haʔ] 'in the water'

The nasalization allophone is more common in fast speech. The alveolar nasal [n] is used in all other environments.

/kande/ [kan.de] 'I, me'

2.3.5. THE LATERALS. Sounds which permit the air to escape laterally through the sides of the tongue are called laterals. Chontal has only one lateral-- /l/. /l/ is a voiced alveolar consonant which is found in syllable/word-initial and final positions (see sec. 2.4.2.).

lah 'all, completely'

ye.lān 'to fan'

yol.ma 'liver'

ʔah t'ul 'rabbit'

2.3.6. THE VIBRANTS. Vibrants are produced by the vibration of an articulator (eg. the tongue) as the air escapes the partially blocked oral cavity. Modern Chontal has two vibrants, /r̄/, an alveolar trill, and /r/ an alveolar flap. /r̄/ is found many Spanish loan words (see sec. 2.7.1.), but very few native words. It appears to occur in only three onomatopoeic native morphemes: r̄ām 'whizzing sound,' r̄a 'cracking

sound' (Keller 1959:48) and r̥ap' 'growling:'

r̥am=hu.le? 'to throw so that the object
makes a whizzing sound'

r̥a=hã.ø'e? 'to hit with a cracking sound'

r̥ãp'-law 'dogs growling'

The alveolar flap /r̥/ is found in a greater number of native words (with random dialectal variation since /r̥/ has replaced /l/ in some words in some dialects), but never in word-initial or final position.

ki.ran 'I see it'

da.ri 'later today'

čer.ben 'to make something for someone'

It is also found as the second element in /kr̥/ and /tr̥/ consonant clusters (see sec. 2.1.).

2.3.7. THE SEMI-VOWELS. Semi-vowels are transitional sounds, having characteristics of both consonants and vowels. They are produced with little or no obstruction of the airstream in the mouth. Modern Chontal has two semi-vowels, the palatal /y/ and the labio-velar /w/.

wah 'tortilla'

yah 'pain, disease'

The phonetic realization and phonemic distribution of these semi-vowels before the vowels /i/ and /e/ differs among the various Chontal dialects (see sec. 1.4.). The dialectal differences have been examined to a limited degree by Justeson (1982). Regardless of dialectal differences, both semi-vowels are found in word/syllable-initial and final position in all dialects.

winik 'man'

?a sut.wǎ.ni `He returned`
 sǎw `result of one motion in weaving`
 ti.kǎw.sen `to heat something`

yǎš `green, blue`
 šo.ye? `to turn, to coil`
 muy `chicozapote tree`
 šoy.te `to be turned, to be coiled up`

They are also found in /kw/, /k'w/, /ty/, and /sy/ consonant clusters (see sec. 2.1.).

In the San Carlos dialect of Chontal, syllable/word-initial /w/ is realized as a voiced labio-velar stop [gw].

/wiču?/ [gwiču?] `dog`
 /sut.wǎ.nik/ [sut^h.gwǎ.nik^h] `Return`

This differs from the Tapotzingo dialect, where /w/ is realized as a labio-dental fricative [v] before /i/ or /e/,

/wiču?/ [viču?] `dog`

or in Tres Pueblos, where the sound before /i/ or /e/ in corresponding words is a palatalized fricativized dental stop [dʏ] (Keller 1959:47).

/wiču?/ [dʏiču?] `dog`

2.4. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE. Phonemes in Chontal are grouped together into syllables. According to Pike (1947:78-91), syllables have three phonetic parts: an onset, a nucleus, and a coda (which may have a zero value). Phonologically, the phonetic peak (i.e. the nucleus) and coda are combined to become the core. In Chontal, the nucleus of the

syllable is constituted by a vowel, so each vowel marks a syllable with one exception — the particle čič 'affirmative' may reduce to č (Keller 1959:49).

ya? č tra ?an-et 'So you are here'

Chontal has a limited number of native syllable shapes: C, CV, CVC, CCV, and CCVC.

C : č 'already'

CV : čo 'cornfield,' te 'to come'

CVC : lot 'companion,' čen 'to make s.t.'

CCV : tra 'well, think of that,' ?an.kre 'to run'

CCVC: trin.čen 'to do something for spite,' kreš 'anger'

The most common shapes are CV and CVC. The onset of the CCV and CCVC syllables is limited to the following consonant clusters: /kw/, /k'w/, /ty/, /kr/, /tr/, and /sy/ (see sec. 2.1.). Note, however, that the number of syllable shapes found in Chontal increases when Spanish loan words are considered.

e.g. trans.cri.bir CCVCC.CCV.CVC 'to transcribe'

Words in Chontal may be monosyllabic or polysyllabic, depending on their derivation and/or inflection.

lot 'companion'

kā. kā.nān.te.sa.net.la 'I am made to take care of you'

?u hā.ǰ'e.?et 'He hits you'

2.4.1. DETERMINING SYLLABLE STRUCTURE. Pulgram (1970) has proposed the following universal principles for determining syllable structure: (1) the principle of maximal open syllabicity, (2) the

principle of minimal coda and maximal onset, and (3) the principle of the irregular coda.²

According to the first principle, a syllable boundary is inserted after every vowel producing an open syllable (i.e. a syllable with a zero coda).

CVC hãç' `hit' + VC e? `impf'

CV.CVC hã.ç'e? `to hit'

However, doing this sometimes creates sequences which violate sequential constraints. When this happens, re-syllabification takes place in accordance with the second principle of minimal coda and maximal onset. For example, if the consonant or consonants which would form the onset of the next syllable are disallowed in Chontal, then as many consonants as necessary to reduce the onset to a permissible word-initial shape would be detached from it and transferred to the preceding syllable.

hãç' `hit' + kan `passive'

hã.ç'kan application of 1st principle

hãç'.kan application of 2nd principle,
since /ç'k/ as an onset is disallowed.

However, Pulgram's first two principles do not apply to Chontal stems which contain three or more syllables, and his final principle does not apply to any Chontal stem. Instead, Chontal makes use of vowel epenthesis and syncope to preserve or create preferred syllable

²Pulgram's final principle states, "If the necessary transfer from syllable-initial to syllable-final position leads to an inadmissible syllable final group of consonants, then the burden of irregularity must be born by the coda rather than the following onset" (1970:51).

structures, rather than allow inadmissible syllable final clusters.

VOWEL EPENTHESIS: ɨ insertion

CCC → CCɨC

pa?.s-(en) `to take s.t. away` + b-en `benefactive`

pa?.s + ben → pa?.sɨ.ben `to take s.t. away for s.o.`

čum.t-(an) `to mount` + b-en `benefactive`

čum.tɨ.ben `to mount s.t. for s.o.`

SYNCOPE: vowel deletion

CV.CV.CV(C)... → CVC.CV(C)...

po.k'om `fat` + ?an `intransitivizer`

po.k'om + ?an → pok'.man `to become fat`

ču.mu(1) `seated` + on `I, me`

ču.mu(1) + on → čum.lon `I am seated`

2.4.2. CANONICAL FORM. The number of canonical forms (shapes of morphemes and words) in Chontal is greater than the number of syllable shapes. The canonical shape of a word or morpheme is related to grammatical boundaries, rather than phonological considerations. The major boundaries used by generative phonologists are ## for a full word boundary, # for an internal word or stem boundary, and + for a morpheme boundary.

##kɔ##hɔ' +e?#et+la## `I hit you all`

The canonical forms of the different word classes (see p. 70) are discussed in the relevant morphological sections.

In Chontal, certain phonological rules must be stated with reference to grammatical properties (i.e. canonical form), rather than syllable structure. For example, Chontal has a phonological rule of final /l/ loss.

$l \rightarrow \emptyset / ______ \#\#$

However, application of this rule is limited to the final /l/'s of derivational or inflectional suffixes. The final /l/ of nominal or verbal roots is not lost.

##čum+u## `He is seated`

##čum+ul#on## `I am seated`

##?ah##tul## `rabbit`

2.5. SEQUENTIAL RESTRICTIONS. Chontal has sequential constraints, or restrictions on how segments can be combined sequentially. These restraints can pertain to either the phonetic level or the phonological level. The phonetic constraints have been discussed as the allophones of the various phonemes in Chontal. Phonological sequence constraints (i.e. words or syllables can begin with only certain segments and/or certain segments cannot occur before or after other segments) have been discussed only to a limited degree in the section covering syllable structure.

Most Chontal sequential constraints are related to ambisyllabic vowel or consonant clusters (see Keller 1957, 1959:49-51, and Pérez-

González 1968:35). Ambisyllabic clusters result from the juxtaposition of syllables. Not all consonant (or vowels) can be juxtaposed, so Chontal has the following phonological rules to prevent the violation of sequential restraints.

2.5.1. THE VOWELS. Except in Spanish loan words, Chontal does not have vowel clusters. When vowels are juxtaposed in fast speech (eg. because the initial /ʔ/ has been lost before or after the Set A pronouns or gender particles), either a vowel contraction or a glide insertion rule is applied. Vowel contractions are widely found.

VOWEL CONTRACTIONS

$$1. V + V \rightarrow V$$

tā + (ʔā)ʔbinte → tāʔbinte 'to be given'

liklikna + an → likliknan 'to shake'

$$2. \begin{cases} o \\ a \\ \text{ä} \\ e \end{cases} + u \rightarrow o$$

ʔotro + (ʔ)un ø'it → ʔontron ø'it 'another piece'

da + (ʔ)u k'uše? → do k'uše? 'He will eat'

tā + (ʔ)u ø'ämsinte → to ø'ämsinte 'He is killed'

ʔunde + (ʔ)u → ʔundo 'He + he, him, his'

$$3. \begin{cases} i \\ \text{ä} \end{cases} + u \rightarrow u$$

ʔu ʔiri + (ʔ)u ba → ʔu ʔiruba 'He saw himself'

tā + (ʔ)u → tu 'to his'

4. $u + \text{ã} \rightarrow u$
 $ʔu + (\text{ʔã})ʔbon \rightarrow ʔuʔbon$ 'He gave it to me'
5. $\text{ã} + a \rightarrow a? / ______ \#\#$
 $t\text{ã} + (?)a \rightarrow t\text{a}?$ 'to your'
 but
 $\text{ã} + a \rightarrow a / ______ C$
 $t\text{ã} + (?)ah \rightarrow tah$ 'to + masculine gender'
6. $i + a \rightarrow a$
 $ʔa ʔiri + (?)a ba \rightarrow ʔa ʔiraba$ 'You saw yourself'
7. $a + e \rightarrow e$
 $wohwohna + e(1) \rightarrow wohwohne$ 'barking'

On the other hand, Chontal's glide insertion rule occurs more rarely. It is limited to the insertion of /y/, /w/, or /h/ between the Set A pronouns (see sec. 3.3.) and a /ʔV/ initial stem.

$ʔu + ʔ\text{ã}le? \rightarrow ʔu y\text{ã}le?$ 'He says it'

2.5.2. THE STOPS. Although most ambisyllabic consonant clusters involving stops are acceptable in Chontal, some are not. When unacceptable clusters are formed, phonological rules are applied to produce acceptable clusters. These phonological rules are the following:

1. $t \rightarrow h / ______ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \check{c}' \\ 1 \end{array} \right. \text{ (optionally)}$
 $bit + \check{c}'ok \rightarrow bih \check{c}'ok$ 'little ones'
 $ʔu k'uše?-etla$ or $ʔu k'uše?-ehla$
 'It eats you all'
2. $t \rightarrow \emptyset / ______ t'$

?ih pet + t'ok ?ah yan → ?ih pe t'ok ?ah yan
 `Petrona and Juan`

3. k → h / _____ k

sak-(ʔn) + kan → sahkan `I am looked for`

4. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} p' \\ t' \\ k' \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow ? / \text{_____} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{stop} \\ -\text{glottal} \end{array} \right\}$

hup'-(e?) + ben → hu?ben `to put s.t. for s.o.`

lot' + te → lo?te `to be carried on the shoulders`

?ʔk'-(e?) + kan → ?ʔ?kan `to be given`

5. C' → ∅ / C' _____

māk' + k'uše? → māk'uše? `to bite`

bek' + ?at → bek'at `testicles`

6. b → ? / _____ b

tub-(un) + ben → tu?ben `to spit s.t. for s.o.`

In addition to the above rules, Chontal also has a rule of glottal stop advance. When a non-glottalized stop or affricate is followed by a /ʔ/ in a syllable, the stop or affricate becomes glottalized, and the /ʔ/ is assimilated. However, if the /ʔ/ follows any other consonant, the /ʔ/ is just lost.

C → +glottal / _____ ? and ? → ∅ / C _____
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{stop} \\ +\text{affricate} \end{array} \right\}$

mač + ?an → mač'an `nothing`

pok'-om + ?-an → pok'man `to become fat`

2.5.3. THE AFFRICATES. When affricates occur in inadmissible consonant clusters, phonological rules are applied to make these clusters admissible. For example:

1. $\check{c} \rightarrow h / \text{ ______ } +\text{stop}$
 $\check{c}\check{c} + \text{tra} \rightarrow \check{c}ihtra$ `well, think of that`
 $\check{c}\check{c} + \text{ba} \rightarrow \check{c}ihba$ `always`
 $ma\check{c} + ka \rightarrow mahka$ `isn't it?`
2. $\check{c} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ______ } +\text{strident}$
 $\text{?o}\check{c}-(e) + s-en \rightarrow \text{?osen}$ `to put in`
 $ma\check{c} + \check{c}\check{c} \rightarrow ma\check{c}\check{c}$ `not ever`

2.5.4. THE FRICATIVES. There are also certain restrictions on consonant clusters with fricatives. The following rules serve to rectify these unallowable clusters:

1. $\left. \begin{matrix} s \\ \check{s} \end{matrix} \right\} \rightarrow ? / \text{ ______ } s$
 $pas-(e) + s-en \rightarrow pa?s-en$ `to take away s.t.`
 $k'a\check{s}-(e) + s-en \rightarrow k'a?s-en$ `to take s.t. or s.o. across`
2. $\check{s} \rightarrow h / \text{ ______ } \left\{ \begin{matrix} \emptyset \\ C \text{ (optional)} \end{matrix} \right\}$
 $\text{?u}\check{s} + \emptyset'it \rightarrow \text{?uh}\emptyset'it$ `three pieces`
 $\text{?i}\check{s} + mala? \rightarrow \text{?i}\check{s} mala? \text{ or } \text{?ih} mala?$ `Mary`
3. $h \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ______ } \left\{ \begin{matrix} ? \\ \check{s} \end{matrix} \right\}$
 $noh + ?-an \rightarrow no?an$ `to become large`
 $noh + \check{s}ip' \rightarrow no\check{s}ip'$ `old man`
 $yah + ?ok \rightarrow ya?ok$ `sore on the foot or leg`

2.5.5. THE NASALS. Nasals may not be adjacent in consonant clusters. When a consonant cluster composed of two nasals is formed,

the first nasal is lost.

+nasal → ø / _____ +nasal

?un + mič' → ?umič' 'one pinch'

hun + num → hunum 'at one time'

In addition, when /n/ is followed by a bilabial stop, it is labialized (i.e. it becomes /m/).

n → m / _____ +bilabial stop

ton-(e?) + b-en → tomben 'to bend over one's head for s.o.'

?an + ba → ?amba 'It exists'

2.5.6. THE LATERALS/THE VIBRANTS. Laterals and vibrants may not be together in a /rl/ consonant cluster. A phonological rule converts /r/ to /h/ before an /l/.

r → h / _____ l

čerben 'to do s.t. for s.o.'

čehlan 'to do or make a lot'

2.6. SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY. Phonological suprasegmentals, such as stress (intensity), tone (pitch), and duration (length) are always present in Chontal. In particular, Chontal is a language characterized by stress.

In Chontal, stress marks one syllable per word as carrying prominence. Monosyllabic lexical items receive stress on their syllabic nucleus (vowel), while bi-syllabic and polysyllabic items receive stress according to other rules. All things being equal, the last syllable in the word stem is stressed. However, grammatical boundaries are also

relevant for stress placement. All things being equal, the last syllable in the word stem is stressed.

##?u##?o.čé## `He enters`

##?ah##?ep=té?## `woodcutter`

##há.č'ák.ná## `tasty, delicious`

##?u##há.č'+é.?#et+la## `He hits you all`

For example, in the imperative of derived transitive verbs, stress is shifted to the verbal root (see sec. 4.1.1.).

?a sutún `You turn it over`

sítun `Turn it over!`

The morphologized stress assignment rules in Chontal will be discussed in the relevant morphology sections.

Moreover, stress must often be marked on lexical items in Chontal, giving stress a lexical function. In these items, the placement of stress is a part of the underlying phonological form and not related to boundary information.

?u hók'í `He dug it out`

?u hok'í `He called him`

Historically, the words which have lexical stress are derived from Common Chol *CVhC forms. These forms became CVC with a stressed vowel in Chontal (Kaufman and Norman n.d.). Lexical stress is always dominant.

One phonological rule in Chontal is directly related to stress. When a stressed /a/ becomes unstressed as a result of a derivation process, the /a/ becomes /ä/.

a → ä / _____
 -stress

bák `bone`

?u bǎké `his bone(s)`

It is important to note that correlating with stress is changing tone, greater duration, and greater force of articulation. In other words, tone (pitch) usually rises from an unstressed to a stressed syllable and falls from a stressed to an unstressed syllable. Moreover, vowels are lengthened in stressed open syllables.

Tone and duration unrelated to stress are also present in Chontal. Tone is very important in forming questions. In yes/no questions, pitch rises to reach its highest level in the last syllable (see sec. 13.4.1.).

?u ø'óni `Did he believe it?`

?u ø'óni `He believes it`

Chontal has two duration or length features -- the hesitation feature and the emphasis feature (Keller 1959:52-53) which do not change the lexical meaning of words, but add something of the speaker's attitude. The emphasis feature (:) is manifested by a combination of greater than normal length and high pitch on a stressed syllable. It indicates intensification of the lexical meaning.

?ák'ǎp' ?a bišon tǎ wǎye

`At night I went to bed`

?á:k'ǎp' ?a bišon tǎ wǎye

`At night (very late) I went to bed`

When the emphasis feature occurs on the last syllable of an utterance,

it may indicate exasperation on the part of the speaker.

háyp'e: `How much? (second time asking)`

The hesitation feature (::) is manifested by a combination of length with fade-off and sometimes laryngealization. It often occurs on the last syllable before a pause or hesitation.

?u hélop' tã:: čumte

`They go to, to sit`

2.7. SPANISH LOANWORDS. Chontal contains a large number of Spanish loanwords due to the close contact of Spanish and Chontal speakers and the high degree of bilingualism.

The phonology and a little of the morphology of Spanish borrowings in Chontal has been discussed in general and in regard to proper names by Pérez-González (1970, 1975) for the Tuxta dialect and by Keller (1959) to a limited degree for the Tapotzingo dialect. Basically the same processes which occur in these dialects also take place in the San Carlos dialect.

2.7.1. PHONOLOGY. Many Spanish words have been borrowed into Chontal, complete with Spanish pronunciation.³

³It must be noted that the Spanish borrowed by Chontal speakers is the Spanish of Tabasco. Tabascan Spanish is not phonetically standard in some respects; for example, /s/ becomes /h/ in word final position and /d/ becomes /t/ in final position. Moreover, some final syllables are lost.

despues	[despweh]	`after`
verdad	[berdat]	`truth`
empanada	[?empana]	`meat or cheese filled fried tortilla`

/vida/ [bida] `life`

Spanish loan words have introduced new phonemes such as /f/, /ñ/, and /ɾ/ into Chontal. The phonemes /f/ and /ɾ/ are unstable in Chontal.⁴ As Keller (1959:47) first noted, the more monolingual Chontal speakers substitute /h/ or /hw/ for the /f/ of Spanish loans.

cafe → [kahwe] instead of [kafé] `coffee`

foco → [hóko] instead of [fóko] `flashlight`

In addition, some speakers use a flap instead of /ɾ/ in borrowed words.

arroz → [ʔaros] instead of [años] `rice`

In Tapotzingo, preschool children unexposed to Spanish often substitute /l/ or /r/ for the trill of borrowed words (Keller 1959:48).

In addition to new phonemes, single consonants with limited distribution in Chontal are extended in their distribution with the introduction of Spanish loans. For example, /r/ is found in word-final position and /d/ is found preceding /i/.

cuidador [kwidador] `caretaker`

disco [disko] `record`

New consonant and vowel clusters are also introduced into Chontal through Spanish loan words.

dia `day`

tiempo `time`

klase `class`

globo `balloon`

⁴In native Chontal words, /ɾ/ is an allophone of /r/ used in word-initial position with a limited number of affects (see sec. 2.3.6.).

On the other hand, many Spanish loan words have been assimilated in some degree to the items already in Chontal. In these loan words, the Spanish phonemes and consonant clusters are replaced with Chontal phonemes.

padre --> pale 'father'

The most common of these assimilation processes are listed below:

1. The Spanish fricative j (/h/) is softer in Chontal.
caja --> [kaha] 'box'
2. Spanish words which are vowel-initial become /ʔ/-initial in Chontal, and Spanish vowel clusters or vowel + semi-vowel clusters are frequently separated by a glottal stop, syllable boundary, or open transition.
espírito --> [ʔespiritu] 'spirit'
seis --> [seʔis] 'six'
panteon --> [pan.te.oŋ] 'cemetery'
3. Like all final /n/'s in Chontal, those in loan words also undergo nasal velarization.
patron --> [patroŋ] 'sponsor, boss'
4. Individual consonants in Spanish words may change when borrowed into Chontal, but these changes are not obligatory.
 - a) Palatalization of /ri/, /ni/, and /si/
Daria --> [ʔih daya] 'Daria'
Antonio --> [ʔah toy] 'Anthony'
Antonia --> [ʔih toña] 'Antonia'
Aparicio --> [ʔih lišo] 'Aparcio'

- b) /d/ → /ʔ/
soldado → [soldãʔu]⁵ `soldier`
- c) Modern Spanish /h/ corresponds to /s/ or /š/
in Chontal. Most probably these words were borrowed
from Colonial Spanish (before Spanish /s/ and /š/
became /h/ in certain environments).
reloj → [relos] `clock`
tijeras → [teše] `scissors`
- d) /r/ → /l/ and /l/ → /r/;
Maria → [ʔih malaʔ] `Mary`
Aparicio → [ʔah lišo] `Aparicio`
soltero → [sorteru] `bachelor`
however, sometimes /l/ is borrowed unchanged
Julian → [ʔah huluʔ] `Julian`
5. Many Spanish consonant and vowel clusters are reduced when
borrowed into Chontal:
padre → [pale] `father`
Leocadio → [ʔah kayuʔ] `Leocadio`
6. The initial or final syllables of longer Spanish words are
often reduced to typical Mayan CVC, CVCV, or CVCVC canonical
forms when borrowed into Chontal.
machete → [mačit] `large heavy knife`
Petrona → [ʔih pet] `Petrona`
Hernan → [ʔah naŋ] `Hernan`

⁵Stress is also assimilated, so /a/ → /ã/ in [soldãʔu].

Felipe --> [ʔah lipeʔ] `Philip`

tijeras --> [teše] `scissors`

In addition, certain common and proper nouns in Spanish ending in the vowel /o/ change this to /u/ or /uʔ/ in Chontal. Moreover, some Spanish medial /o/'s become /u/'s in Chontal. These forms may have been borrowed from Spanish via Nahuatl (which only has one back vowel)

(Judith Maxwell, personal communication).

rio --> [riu] `river`

pito --> [pituʔ] `whistle`

Emilo --> [ʔah miluʔ] `Emile`

chivo --> [ʔah čibu] `male goat`

compadre --> [kumpale] `male co-sponsor`

2.7.2. MORPHOLOGY. Chontal speakers tend to eliminate the Spanish allomorphs of borrowed words. For example, normally only the infinitive of a Spanish verb is borrowed, not the conjugated forms (see sec. 14.2.2.2. for a discussion of borrowed Spanish verbs). Likewise, only the singular form of a Spanish noun is usually borrowed.

dos pesos --> /čaʔ p'e pesu/ `two pesos`

Instead of using Spanish morphology, Chontal speakers inflect Spanish loanwords as though they were native to Chontal.

españoles --> /ʔespañolop'/ `Spaniards`

su hermanos --> /ʔu yermanolop'/ `his brothers`

PART III

MORPHOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

Morphology is the study of morphemes and their arrangements. Morphemes are the minimal meaningful units which constitute words or parts of words. In Chontal morphemes are roots or affixes. Roots constitute the nuclei (or cores) of all words. Affixes are either inflectional (marking person, number, tense, etc.) or derivational (usually having independent meaning and having the potential to change the grammatical class of the word). The root and derivational affixes (if there are any) constitute the word stem.

Roots (and stems) in Chontal may be classified on the basis of semantic and formal criteria into seven word classes: verbs (transitive, intransitive, and positional), nouns, pronouns, particles, modifiers (adjectives and adverbs), affects, and numeral classifiers.

CHAPTER 3

VERBS

3.0. Chontal, like all Mayan languages, has two classes of verbs: transitive and intransitive. A transitive verb is one which will take an object as well as a subject, while an intransitive verb has only a subject. True verbs in Chontal are those which can be inflected for aspect, voice, and mood with status marker suffixes and proclitics, when needed.

In active voice sentences, unmarked for mood, verbs are inflected with status suffixes for either perfective or imperfective aspect. In Chontal, perfective and imperfective aspect are in binary opposition. The perfective aspect encompasses the situation in its entirety with a lack of explicit reference to its internal temporal constituency. In other words, it is completed action pure and simple. Imperfective aspect, on the other hand, makes reference to the internal structure of the situation without specifying whether or not it has been completed (Comrie 1976).

Within the classes of transitive and intransitive verbs, the distinction between root and derived stem verbs is important in determining the form of status suffixes such as the ones used in forming the imperfective stem. A root is a single morpheme, while a stem may be derived (i.e. consist of more than one morpheme). Thus, while every

root is also a stem, not all stems are roots.

3.1. ROOT VERBS. Chontal has three classes of root verbs: transitive, intransitive, and positional (a special class of intransitive roots).

3.1.1. TRANSITIVE ROOTS. Chontal has a large general class of transitive roots which have a canonical form of CVC.

toh	TV	`to pay s.t.'
hãç'	TV	`to hit s.t./s.o.'
k'uš	TV	`to eat or bite s.t.'

All root transitives can be inflected for imperfective aspect by attaching the status suffix -e? to the root.

toh-e?
hãç'-e?
k'uš-e?

The perfective aspect of transitive roots is marked by either an -i or -ø status suffix attached to the root. The choice of status marker depends on the person of the object. The -i status suffix is used with third person objects, and the -ø status suffix is used with first and second person objects. Thus, a perfective root transitive has two possible forms.

toh-i or toh-ø
hãç'-i or hãç'-ø
k'uš-i or k'uš-ø

3.1.2. INTRANSITIVE ROOTS. Most intransitive roots also have the canonical shape of CVC, although a few roots are CV?VC or C.

Intransitive roots are fewer in number than transitive roots, but their frequency of use is high.

wil	IV	`to fly`
hak	IV	`to go down`
kih	IV	`to remain`
p'is̥	IV	`to get up`
hoʔos	IV	`to be hoarse`
t	IV	`to come` (<u>tal</u> in Classical Chontal)
š/h	IV	`to go`

Root intransitives are inflected with either an -e(1) status suffix or an -o(1) status suffix for the imperfective aspect. It is not possible to predict which of these status suffixes will be attached to the root, although the -e(1) suffix is the most common.

wil-e
 hak-e
 kih-o
 p'is̥-o
 hoʔos-e
 t-e
 š-e/h-e

As with transitive roots, the status suffixes for the perfective aspect of intransitive roots are -i and -∅. The -i status suffix is used with third person subjects, and the -∅ suffix is used with first and second person subjects. In other words, perfective intransitive roots have two

possible forms.

wil-i or wil-∅

hak-i or hak-∅

kih-i or kih-∅

p'iš-i or p'iš-∅

ho?os-i or ho?os-∅

t-i or t-∅

š-i/h-i or š-∅/h-∅

3.1.3. POSITIONAL ROOTS. In addition to the intransitive roots discussed in section 3.1.1., Chontal has a special inflectional class of CVC intransitives which are called positionals (Knowles 1983).

čum	P	`seated`
wa?	P	`standing up`
māk	P	`covered`
soy	P	`twisted`

Positionals are semantically homogeneous. They normally refer to the physical states or positions that human beings, animals, and inanimate objects can assume. Semantic groups represented by Chontal positionals include shape, position, orientation, aperture, containment, suspension, transference, and configuration/aggregation (see Appendix I).¹

¹Note that there are significant semantic areas not represented by positionals such as color, developmental stages (young, old), dimensions (long, short), sensations (odor, taste, tactile, temperature) and other inherent properties (hard, light, etc.). These semantic areas are represented in Chontal by adjectives (see Ch. 10). On the other hand, predominantly dynamic attributes and situations such as sound, motion, and internal feelings are represented by affects (see Ch. 11).

Positional roots, like other intransitive roots, may be inflected for the imperative (see sec. 4.1.2.) and optative mood (see sec. 4.3.). In general, however, Chontal positional roots are typically Mayan and occur only as the nuclei of derived stems.

Derived positional intransitive stems (see sec. 3.4.3.2.) can be inflected for imperfective and perfective aspects. Both the CVC-te(1) and the CVC-wän stem can be inflected for imperfective aspect. The CVC-wän stem is inflected with an -e(1) imperfective status marker, but the CVC-te(1) remains unchanged.

čum-te(1) or čum-wän-e(1)

wa?-te(1) or wa?-wän-e(1)

māk-te(1) or māk-wän-e(1)

soy-te(1) or soy-wän-e(1)

However, only the CVC-wän stem can be inflected for the perfective aspect. The stem is followed by either the -i or -∅ perfective status markers. The -i status suffix is used with third person subjects, and the -∅ suffix is used with first and second person subjects.

čum-wän-i or čum-wän-∅

wa?-wän-i or wa?-wän-∅

māk-wän-i or māk-wän-∅

soy-wän-i or soy-wän-∅

3.2. POLYVALENCY. Polyvalency occurs among transitive and intransitive roots (i.e. some transitive and intransitive roots are identical). Half of the identified positional roots in my data are also transitive verbs, while six percent are also non-positional

intransitives (see Appendix I). Moreover, a few transitive roots are also non-positional intransitive roots.

pul IV 'to burn'

pul TV 'to burn s.t.'

3.3. PERSON MARKING. In addition to inflection for aspect, verbs in Chontal are normally inflected for the grammatical categories of subject agreement and object agreement (if transitive) (Knowles 1981). These categories are handled in Chontal by means of two sets of dependent pronouns called Set A and Set B, which are listed in Table IV. The two sets combine with a single set of suffixes to mark the plural; the singular is the unmarked form. The Set A pronouns are clitics and the Set B pronouns and plural markers are suffixes which are attached to the verbal status suffix.

The Set A first person pronoun is kā before consonants, but often becomes k before glottal stop/vowel-initial morphemes.

kā k'uš-e?-Ø 'I eat it'

k ir-i-Ø 'I saw it'

The Set A second person pronoun is ?a before consonants, but ?a w- before glottal stop/vowel-initial words. This is realized phonetically as [?a gw].

?a w-o 'You want it'

?a k'uš-e?-Ø 'You eat it'

The Set A third person ?u has four phonological variants: ?u before both consonant- and vowel-initial words, ?u h- optionally before glottal stop/high front vowel-initial morphemes (i.e. /i/), and ?u y- or y-

TABLE IV: DEPENDENT PRONOUNS

	SET A	SET B	PLURAL
1st Person	kā	-on	-la (inclusive)
	k		-t'okop' (exclusive)
2nd Person	?a	-et	-la
	?a w-		
3rd Person	?u	-∅	-lop'
	?u h-		-op'
	(?u) y-		

optionally before glottal stop/non-front vowel-initial morphemes (i.e. /a/, /ä/, /o/, and /u/).²

?u hãç'-e?-ø 'He hit him'

?u h-ir-i-ø 'He saw him'

?u y-äl-e?-ø 'He says it'

y-o 'He wants it'

The Set B pronominal affixes are suffixes. The first person pronoun is -on. It has no allomorphs.

?u hãç'-e?-on 'He hits me'

The second person Set B pronoun is -et. It is sometimes realized phonetically as -eh before the plural marker -la in unstressed position and in fast speech (see sec. 2.5.2.).

?u hãç'-e?-et 'He hits you'

?u hãç'-e?-et-la 'He hits you all'

?u hãç'-e?-eh-la 'He hits you all'

The third person Set B pronoun is -ø.

?u hãç'-e?-ø 'He hits him'

The plural suffixes follow the Set B pronoun, if present, or the status suffix of the verbal stem. There are two first person plurals. The -la plural marks the first person inclusive plural (i.e. the addressee is included). The -t'okop' plural (t'ok + op' = with them)

²If an adverb is inserted between the pronominal affix and the vowel initial morpheme, the h- or y- is not present (nor is the second person w-).

?u y-äl-i-ø ø'ita? 'He said little'

?u ø'ita? ä1-i-ø 'He said little'

marks the exclusive first person plural (i.e. the addressee is not included).

- ká yer-o-la `We all fall`
 ?u háʔ-e?-on-la `He hits us`
 ká yer-o-t'okop' `We fall`
 ?u háʔ-e?-on-t'okop' `He hits us`
 ká háʔ-e?-et-t'okop' `We hit you` (impf)

The second person plural is the same as the first person inclusive -la.

- ?a yer-o-la `You all fall`
 ?u háʔ-e?-ø-la `You all hit him` (impf)
 ?u háʔ-e?-et-la `He hits you all`

The third person plural suffix has two variants: -lop' and -op'. -lop' is used after both vowel and consonant final morphemes. It is the more common of the two. The -op' morpheme exists in free variation with -lop' after consonant-final morphemes.

- ?u yer-o-lop' `We fall`
 ?a háʔ-e?-ø-lop' `You hit them` (impf)
 ?u háʔ-e?-on-lop' `They hit me` (impf)
 ?u háʔ-e?-on-op' `They hit me` (impf)

In some other dialects of Chontal, such as the one spoken in Tapotzingo, the third person plural is marked by -hob (with the allomorph -ob). In Tapotzingo, the -hob allomorph is found after vowel-final morphemes, and the -ob morpheme is found after consonant-final morphemes. There is no free variation.

In regard to the pronominal inflection of verbs, Chontal Maya is a split-ergative language. A language is ergative when the subjects of

intransitive verbs are identified with the objects of transitive verbs, rather than the subjects of transitive verbs. The subjects of the intransitive verbs and the objects (or patients) of the transitive verbs are called the absolutive and the subjects of the transitive verbs are called the ergative. The ergative-absolutive or ergative system contrasts with the nominative-accusative or accusative system, in which the subjects of intransitive verbs and the subjects of transitive verbs are treated alike, while the objects of transitive verbs are different. In a split-ergative verb system, the subject of an intransitive verb is sometimes identified with the subject (or agent) of a transitive verb and sometimes with the object (or patient) of a transitive verb.

In Chontal, the Set A pronouns function as the subjects of transitive verbs, while the Set B pronouns function as the objects in all aspects.

- ká mán-e?-Ø `I buy it`
 ká mán-i-Ø `I bought it`
 ?a háç'-e?-et `I hit you` (impf)
 ?u háç'-e?-on-la `He hit us` (impf)
 ká háç'-e?-Ø-lop' `I hit them` (impf)
 ká háç'-Ø-et `I hit you` (perf)
 ?a háç'-Ø-on `You hit me` (perf)
 ?u háç'-Ø-on-la `He hit us` (perf)
 ká háç'-i-Ø-lop' `I hit them` (perf)

The Set A pronouns also function as the subjects of positive imperfective intransitive verbs. In other words, the system here is accusative.

kʰ tʰɔb-o `I climb`
 ?a tʰɔb-o `You climb`
 ?u tʰɔb-o `He climbs`
 kʰ biš-e `I go, I travel`

However, perfective intransitive verbs take their subject pronouns from Set B, producing a split-ergative system.

?a tʰɔb - ø -on
 asp go up-perf-B1
 `I went up`
 ?a tʰɔb-ø-et `You went up`
 ?a tʰɔb-i-ø `He went up`
 ?a biš-ø-on `I traveled`
 ?a biš-i-ø `He traveled`

With respect to pronominal inflection, one other important point needs to be discussed - cases of multiple plurality (i.e. examples where both subject and object are plural). Plurality of either subject or object pronominal suffixes is not mandatory in Chontal; moreover, plural suffixes are not usually doubled up. Often plurality is not indicated on the verb when it is known from the context (e.g. when an independent pronoun is present).

?ande-la ?a kʰuš- e?-ø
 you -pl2 A2 eat-impf-B3
 `You all eat it`

Normally the context would clarify the meaning. In cases where both the subject and object are plural, there does not seem to be any preference

based on person or case (i.e. subject or object) in the plural suffix expressed. 'You all hit them' can be expressed as:

?ande-la ?a hãø' - i -ø -la
 you -pl2 A2 hit -perf-B3-pl2

or

?ande-la ?a hãø' - i -ø -lop'
 you -pl2 A2 hit -perf-B3-pl3

Although the second example may be clearer semantically, it is not more grammatical. Ambiguity involving third person plurality also can be clarified through the use of the adverb lah (see sec. 9.1.1.2.) or the l- derivational suffix (see sec. 3.5.1.1.).

3.4. DEPENDENT ADVERBS. In Chontal dependent adverbs which modify the verb can be placed between the Set A pronoun and the verb stem (see sec. 9.1.1.2. for a complete discussion of dependent adverbs).

?u lah k'uš-e? -ø
 A3 all eat -impf-B3
 'He eats it all'

3.5. DERIVED STEM VERBS. Chontal has derived stem verbs in addition to root verbs. These verbal stems are derived from root transitives and intransitives, derived transitives and intransitives, positional roots, nominal roots and stems, adjectives, and adverbs.

3.5.1. DERIVED TRANSITIVES. Transitive stems can be derived from almost every lexical class, including transitive roots and stems,

intransitive roots and stems, positional roots, nominal and adjectival roots and stems, and adverbs. The derivation process involves the addition of one of the many transitive suffixes which are discussed below, including: -l, -b, -p, -t, -n, -a(n), -e(n), -i(n), -i(n), -V(n), and -d(n) (see Table V).

Like transitive roots, derived transitives are inflected for subject and object with the Set A and Set B pronouns, respectively. Derived transitive verbs are also inflected with status markers to indicate perfective and imperfective aspect. As with root transitives, the perfective status marker suffixes are -i and -Ø: -i suffix is used with third person objects and -Ø with first and second person objects. The imperfective stem of derived transitive verbs ends in -n. This appears to be identical to the -V(n) imperfective stem suffix of Chol. However, as pointed out by Kaufman and Norman (n.d.):

Upon further examination, it is apparent that the vowel which precedes the -n in the Chontal suffix belongs to the status marker rather than to the lexical stem, this vowel is replaced by whatever vowel is associated with the new suffix... Chontal has reanalyzed the lexical stems of derived transitives as ending in consonants; the vowels in suffixes to derived transitive stems belong to suffixes rather than to the stems themselves.

The truth of this statement is illustrated by the perfective stems of derived transitive verbs. In theory, the perfective status marker should be attached to the transitive stem. However, final derivational vowels are lost. If the only derivational suffix is a vowel, the perfective suffix is attached to the root. Thus, perfective root transitives cannot be distinguished from vowel-derived transitives.

ká háç'-e?-Ø 'I hit him' (impf)

TABLE V: TRANSITIVIZING SUFFIXES

ROOT/STEM	<u>+1</u>	<u>+2</u>	<u>+3</u>	<u>+4</u>	<u>+5</u>		
CVC root	+ l			+ (er)	+ a(n)		
	+ l				+ e(n)		
	+ l				+ u(n)		
	+ b				+ i(n)		
				+ b	+ e(n)	referential	
				+ b	+ (er)	+ (a(n))	referential
	+ p			+ (er)	+ a(n)		
	+ t	+ (es)			+ a(n)	causative	
	+ n			+ (er)	+ a(n)		
	+ s				+ e(n)	causative	
	+ a p				+ a(n)	causative	
		+ es			+ a(n)	causative	
		+ es	+ b		+ e(n)	caus. + refer.	
					+ a(n)		
					+ e(n)		
				+ i(n)			
				+ i(n)			
				+ V(n)			
				+ a(n)			
CVC.CVC stem	+ b				+ i(n)		
		+ es			+ a(n)	causative	
CV.CVC stem	+ t				+ a(n)		
					+ i(n)		
					+ i(n)		
CV.CVC.n stem		+ es			+ a(n)	causative	
CVC.CV stem	+ n				+ a(n)		
		+ es			+ a(n)	causative	
CVC.(V)C stem					+ a(n)		
		+ es			+ a(n)	causative	

?u čen-en-∅ 'He watches her'

kā hā∅'-i-∅ 'I hit him (perf)'

?u čen-i-∅ 'He watched her'

So, it appears that in positive verbal expressions, the derivational vowel is indeed lexicalized to the imperfective -n. However, as will be seen in the discussion of negatives (see sec. 13.3), the derivational vowel can exist without the imperfective -n. In sum, one can posit a pair of allomorphs in complementary distribution for vowel-derived transitives: -Vn for positive verbs and -V for negated verbs. The consonantal derivational suffixes have only one form and are retained in both perfective and imperfective aspects. They are always followed by a vowel derivational suffix.

3.5.1.1. THE -l TRANSITIVIZER. The -l transitivizer forms part of the combinations -l-a(n), -l-e(n), and -l-u(n). The productive -l-a(n) combination is the most common of the three. It is added to transitive stems and replaces other transitivizing suffixes. The -l-a(n) suffix indicates plurality in the number of third person objects and may be used with or without the third person plural suffix -lop'. When the object is advanced to subject in passive constructions (see sec. 5.1), it retains the plurality indicated by the -l-a(n) suffix.

∅ep TV 'to cut'

?a ∅ep-l-an-∅ 'You cut them'

?a ∅ep-l-i-∅ 'You cut them (perf)'

?u øep-l-int-e `They are cut`

kup-u(n) tv `to roll up`

kã kup-l-an-lop` `I roll them up`

kã kup-l-i-lop` `I rolled them up`

?a kup-l-int-ik-ø `They were rolled up`

Neither the -l-e(n) nor the -l-u(n) combinations are productive; they occur with only a few CVC roots of unknown origin. Unlike the -l-a(n) suffix, they do not seem to have a semantic function.

kã poh-l-en-ø `I find him`

kã poh-l-i-ø `I found him`

?a tãk-l-en-on `You help me`

?a tãk-l-ø-on `You helped me`

?u tuk-l-un-ø `He thinks it`

?u tuk-l-i-ø `He thought it`

3.5.1.2. THE -b TRANSITIVIZER. The -b transitivizer occurs with the -i(n) transitivizer. -b-i(n) derives transitive verbs from root — nouns and adjectives, derived nouns (CVC(C)VL and CVCCV) and adjectives, and further derives some root and derived transitive verbs. Semantically it functions as a causative, having the meaning `cause to become, to make`.

yah N `pain, love`

kã yah-b-in -ø `I love/hurt him`

kā yah-b-i-∅ 'I loved/hurt him'

č-en tv 'to do s.t.'

?a č-er-b-in -∅ mal 'You harm him'

?a č-er-b-i-∅ mal 'You harmed him'

nahyđl aj 'forgotten'

?u nahyđl-b-in -∅ 'He neglects it'

?u nahyđl-b-i-∅ 'He neglected it'

3.5.1.3. THE -p TRANSITIVIZER. The -p transitivizer is extremely rare and occurs in the combination -p-a(n). It is added to a few CVC roots of unknown origin.

?a k'eh-p-an-∅ 'You scold him'

?a k'eh-p-i-∅ 'You scolded him'

3.5.1.4. THE -t TRANSITIVIZER. The -t transitivizer occurs with the -a(n) transitivizer producing a -t-a(n) combination. It most commonly derives transitive verbs from CVC positional roots.

čum P 'sit down'

?a čum-t-an-∅ 'You sit down on it'

?a čum-t-i-∅ 'You sat down on it'

When the -t-a(n) transitivizer is combined with the morpheme -ah (i.e. -ah-t-a(n)), a distributive ('here and there, wherever') meaning is added to the verb.

?u čum-ah-t-an-∅ 'They sit everywhere'

The -t-a(n) transitivizer is used with other non-distributive CVC-VC derived stems as well.

?a yuk-uh-t-an-∅ `You shake it`

?a yuk-uh-t-i-∅ `You shook it`

kā wal-ek-t-an-∅ `I abandon it`

kā wal-ek-t-i-∅ `I abandoned it`

?u kān-ān-t-an-∅ `She cares for him`

?u kān-ān-t-i-∅ `She cared for him`

3.5.1.5. THE -n TRANSITIVIZER. The -n transitivizer participates in the combination -n-a(n) in a few rare verbs derived from CVC nouns and apparent derived adverbs.

č'uh N `church`

?a č'uh-n-an-∅ `You safeguard it`

?a č'uh-n-i-∅ `You safeguarded it`

wel NC `count large flat things`

kā wel-te-n-an-∅ `I turn it over`

kā wel-te-n-i-∅ `I turned it over`

3.5.1.6. THE -a(n) TRANSITIVIZER. The -a(n) transitivizer functions alone or after certain other transitivizing suffixes such as -t (sec. 3.5.1.4.), -n (sec. 3.5.1.5.), -l (sec. 3.5.1.1.), and the -es causative (sec. 3.5.2.3.) Alone, the -a(n) suffix derives transitive verbs from certain derived nouns and roots of unknown origin.

k ir-an-∅ 'I see it'

k ir-i-∅ 'I saw it'

?a nah(a)y-an-∅ 'You forget it'

?a nah(a)y-i-∅ 'You forgot it'

bak'at n 'fear'

?u bāk'(ā)t-an-∅ 'He fears it'

?u bāk'(ā)t-i-∅ 'He feared it'

This suffix is very productive in deriving transitive verbs from nominals derived from nominal or verbal roots by the suffixation of -Vl-el. The final l in this suffix is realized as r in the Modern Chontal of San Carlos. In other words, these derived transitives have the form CVC-(V)l-er-an for the imperfective and CVC-(V)l-er-i for the perfective. The -(V)l-el suffixation indicates abstractness or generality (see sec. 6.2.2.7). Some of this semantic meaning is passed on to the derived verb. Thus, the imperfective stem of these transitivized verbs has the additional meaning of future time (i.e. the action will take place or conclude at some unknown time in the future). The perfective aspect also has a general meaning of sometime in the fairly distant past. There is also a sense of third person plurality (cf. -l-a(n)) in that the action seems to affect all in the context.

šeh N 'vomit'

?u šeh-l-er-an-∅ 'He vomits on everyone'

?u šeh-l-er-i-∅ 'He vomited on everyone'

Almost every root transitive can be further derived in this manner.

hãç' TV 'to hit'

kã hãç'-l-er-an-ø 'I hit everyone'

kã hãç'-l-er-i-ø 'I hit everyone (perf)'

In addition, the -(V)l-er-a(n) sequence can be added to derived transitive verbs. Normally, this replaces the original derivational suffixes.

mona?-t-a(n) tv 'to have a party'

kã mona?-l-er-an-ø 'I have a party for everyone'

kã mona?-l-er-i-ø 'I had a party for everyone'

However, if the verb has been derived by either a -b, -n, or -p suffix, it will replace the -(V)l suffix, but the -er-a(n) will remain.

?ãl-b-en tv 'to tell s.o. s.t.'

?u y-ãl-b-er-an-ø 'He tells it to everyone'

?u y-ãl-b-er-i-ø 'He told it to everyone'

č'uh-n-an tv 'to deposit s.t.'

kã č'uh-n-er-an-ø 'I deposit everything'

k'eh-p-an tv 'to scold s.o.'

?a k'eh-p-an-ø 'You're going to scold all of them'

Many dialects of Chontal, such as those spoken in San Fernando, Tapotzingo, and Tamulté de las Sabanas, do not have this sequence.

3.5.1.7. THE -e(n) TRANSITIVIZER. The -e(n) transitivizer follows the -l transitivizer as well as the referential voice suffix (see sec. 5.4.) and the -s causative (see sec. 3.5.2.2.). Like the -a(n)

transitivizer, it can function alone in certain derived transitive verbs, although it is rare.

ká ?uč'-en-Ø `I drink it`
 ká ?uč'-i-Ø `I drank it`

3.5.1.8. THE -i(n) TRANSITIVIZER. The -i(n) transitivizer functions alone or in conjunction with the -b transitivizer. Semantically, it causes something to become something or to do something. Alone, it derives transitive verbs from both root and derived nouns, and from intransitive, positional, and unknown roots.

nok P `kneeling`
 ?u nok-in-Ø `He makes him kneel`
 ?u nok-i-Ø `He made him kneel`

yah N `love, pain`
 ká yah-in-Ø `I love him`

?ub-in tv `to hear, listen, sense`
 k ub-in-Ø `I hear it`

3.5.1.9. THE USATIVE -i(n) TRANSITIVIZER. Like many other Mayan languages (eg. Yucatec and Tzotzil (Bricker 1970)), the usative suffix -i(n) transitivizes some noun stems in Chontal. It is most commonly used with relationship terms where it has the meanings `to become someone's _____`, `to acquire someone as a _____`, and `to make someone one's _____`.

haʔan n `brother-in-law`

kǎ haʔan-in-∅ `I make him my brother-in-law`

kǎ haʔan-i-∅ `I made him my brother-in-law`

kičan n `father-in-law`

ʔu kičan-in-on `He makes me his father-in-law`

3.5.1.10. THE -V(n) TRANSITIVIZER. One of the most common transitivizers is the -V(n) transitivizer whose vowel echoes the vowel of the root to which it is attached. -V(n) derives transitive verbs from root CVC positionals, nouns, numeral classifiers, affects, and some apparent root transitives. Since Classical Chontal appears not to have had this vowel harmony, one may posit that this transitivizer is in fact a case of phonological vowel harmony — an allomorph of one of the other transitivizing vowel suffixes, most probably the -a(n) suffix.³

taʔ N `excrement`

ʔu taʔ-an-∅ `He defecates it`

kǎ taʔ-i-∅ `I defecated it`

sut P `turned around, returned`

ʔa sut-un-∅ `You return it`

³Both -i(n) suffixes can be eliminated as possibilities as both have a semantic function which is not present in -V(n) derived verbs. The -e(n) transitivizer functioning alone is extremely rare and occurs only with CVC roots. On the other hand, the -a(n) transitivizer is common and with the exception of ir-an 'to see', it is in complementary distribution with -V(n) (i.e. -a(n) after derived verbs and -V(n) after CVC roots).

?a sut-i-∅ 'You returned it'

t'oh AF 'knocking, pecking'

?u t'oh-on-∅ 'He knocks on it'

?u t'oh-i-∅ 'He knocked on it'

tik-āw n 'heat'

kā tik-in-∅ 'I dry it'

kā tik-i-∅ 'I dried it'

šeh N 'vomit'

?a šeh-en-∅ 'You vomit it'

?a šeh-i-∅ 'You vomited it'

The -o(n) and -u(n) suffixes are the ones most commonly found.

The -V(n) transitivizer is also used with some apparent root transitives.⁴ There do not seem to be any semantic differences between the root transitives and their CVC-V(n) counterparts.

?a yāč-e?-∅ 'You milk it'

?a yāč-ān-∅ 'You milk it'

?a yāč-i-∅ 'You milked it'

⁴Many transitive root verbs have a CVC nominal counterpart, which is derived from the verb by the addition of a -∅ nominalizing suffix (see sec. 6.2.2.8.). It can be posited that the -V(n) transitivizer is re-transitivizing these derived nominals.

k'oč-e?	TV	'to twist'
k'oč-on	tv	'to twist'

3.5.1.11. THE -ǎ(n) TRANSITIVIZER. Like the -V(n) transitivizer, the -ǎ(n) transitivizer appears to be an allomorph of the -a(n) transitivizer. The primary function of the -ǎ(n) suffix seems to be to derive transitive verbs from CVC roots (historically *CVhC). These roots do not follow the normal stress pattern of Chontal since the root is stressed instead of the final syllable of the stem (i.e. the status marker). Since it is common in Chontal for a to become ǎ in an unstressed environment, it follows that in these instances -a(n) becomes -ǎ(n).

?u ník-ǎn-Ø `He moves it`

?u ník-i-Ø `He moved it`

kǎ sát-ǎn-Ø `I lose it`

kǎ sát-i-Ø `I lost it`

However, -ǎ(n) occurs in enough other environments to justify its existence as a separate transitivizer. The -ǎ(n) suffix transforms some CVC nouns into transitive verbs. Historically, these nouns did not have CVhC canonical forms and are not stressed in Modern Chontal.

bet N `debt`

kǎ bet-ǎn-Ø `I buy it on credit`

kǎ bet-i-Ø `I bought it on credit`

In addition, the -ǎ(n) transitivizer is used in conjunction with the -aǎ causative (see sec. 3.5.2.1.).

3.5.2. CAUSATIVES. The inventory of transitivizing suffixes would not be complete without a discussion of causatives. In Chontal,

productive causative constructions are formed by the addition of one of three suffixes: -aɣ', -es, and -s. These suffixes are followed by a vowel transitivizing suffix producing a regular derived transitive verb. In a causative construction, someone causes something to happen. Causatives in Chontal are derived from root and derived intransitive and positional verbs, adjectives, nouns, adverbs, affects, and transitive verbs.

3.5.2.1. THE -aɣ' CAUSATIVE. The -aɣ' causative derives causative constructions from positional roots. They are then further derived by the addition of the -ɔ̃(n) transitivizer.

wa? P 'stand up, stand still'
 kɔ̃ wa?-aɣ'-ɔ̃n-∅ 'I cause him to stand up'
 kɔ̃ wa?-aɣ'-i-∅ 'I caused him to stand up'

čum P 'sit down'
 ?a čum-aɣ'-ɔ̃n-∅ 'You make him sit down'
 ?a čum-aɣ'-i-∅ 'You made him sit down'

3.5.2.2. THE -s CAUSATIVE. The -s causative derives causative constructions from root intransitive verbs. The addition of the -e(n) transitivizer completes the derived transitive verb stem.

t'ɔ̃b-o IV 'to climb'
 ?u t'ɔ̃b-s-en-∅ 'He lifts it'
 ?u t'ɔ̃b-s-i-∅ 'He lifted it'

hak-e IV 'to descend'
 kǎ hak-s-en-∅ 'I lower it'
 kǎ hak-s-i-∅ 'I lowered it'

3.5.2.3. THE -es CAUSATIVE. The -es causative derives causative constructions from derived positional and intransitive verbs, adjectives, adverbs, quantifier plus classifiers, affects, root and derived transitive verbs, and nominals. It is followed by the -a(n) transitivizer. Like the other causative constructions, the -es causative behaves like a normal derived transitive verb.

bak'at N 'fear'
 ?a bǎk't-es-an-∅ 'You frighten him'
 ?a bǎk't-es-i-∅ 'You frightened him'

k'oh-p-an iv 'to get sick'
 ?u k'oh-p-an-es-an-∅⁵ 'He sickens him'

ča? ∅'it NC 'two long slender objects'
 kǎ ča?∅'it-es-an-∅
 'I cause there to be two long slender objects.'

?ač' AJ 'wet'
 ?a w-áč'-es-an-∅ 'You wet it'

⁵k'ohpan (iv) has become lexicalized in many environments. Thus, the causative form is k'ohpanesan instead of k'ohpesan.

yah N `pain`

kā yah-es-an-∅ `I cause him pain`

hāk'-ān tv `to choke`

?a hāk'-es-an-∅ `You choke him`

yuk-ul-na af `rocking`

?u yuk-ul-n-es-an-∅ `He rocks him`

čum-t-an tv `to mount`

kā čum-t-es-an-∅ I cause it to be seated`

sep' ADV `rapidly, quickly`

?u sep'-es-an-∅ `I hurry him`

Some CVC adjectives and nouns undergo reduplication of the first consonant and vowel before adding the -es causative.

čāk AJ `red`

?a čā-čāk-es-an-∅ `You redden it`

?a čā-čāk-es-i-∅ `You reddened it`

č'ok aj `small, young`

kā č'o-č'ok-es-an-∅ `I shrink it`

3.5.3. DERIVED INTRANSITIVES. . Derived intransitives in Chontal

can be divided into two groups: inchoatives and derived positional intransitives.

3.5.3.1. INCHOATIVES. Inchoatives usually have the meaning 'to become/get _____, 'to turn _____, 'or 'to assume a state of _____.' In Chontal, they are intransitive verbs derived by the addition of one of four intransitivizers: -?, -n, -p, or -a(n). The -?, -n, and -p intransitivizers are followed by the -a(n) intransitivizer whose positive imperfective stem ends in -n. As with positive derived transitive verbs, the derivational vowel is lexicalized to the imperfective -n. Thus, the -a is lost in perfective aspect. As with root intransitives, the perfective aspect is indicated by the perfective status markers -i and -Ø. The -i status suffix is used with third person subjects, and the -Ø status suffix is used with first and second person subjects.

Like root intransitives, inchoatives have split-ergative pronominal marking, with the Set A pronouns being used to indicate the subjects of imperfective verbs and the Set B pronouns being used to indicate the subjects of perfective verbs.

3.5.3.1.1. THE -?-a(n) INCHOATIVE. The -?-a(n) suffixes derived intransitive inchoative stems from CVC adjectives.

pim AJ 'thick'

?u pim -? -an

A3 thick-inc-impf

'It becomes thick'

?a pim - ? - i -∅
 asp thick-inc-perf-B3
 `It became thick`

pos AJ `pale
 ká pos - ? -an
 A1 pale-inc-impf
 `I become pale`

?a pos - ? - ∅ -on
 asp pale-inc-perf-B1
 `I became pale`

3.5.3.1.2. THE -n-a(n) INCHOATIVE. The -n-a(n) suffixes derive intransitives from certain nouns and adjectives (eg. color terms which undergo reduplication).

?ak'ot N `dance`
 ká ?ak'ot- n -an
 A1 dance -inc-impf
 `I dance`

?a ?ak'ot- n - ∅ -on
 asp dance -inc-perf-B1
 `I danced`

ʔik' AJ `black`
 ʔu ʔik' -ik' - n -an
 A3 black-black-inc-impf
 `It turns black`

ʔa ʔik' -ik' - n - an - ø
 asp black-black-inc-perf-B3
 `It turned black`

3.5.3.1.3. THE -p-a(n) INCHOATIVE. The -p-a(n) suffix derives intransitive verbs from the roots of a limited number of CVC roots (i.e. those which have CVC-V(1) adjectival counterparts).

k'oho(1) aj `sick`
 kə k'oh- p -an
 A1 sick-inc-impf
 `I get sick`

ʔa k'oh- p - ø - on
 asp sick-inc-perf-B1
 `I got sick`

k'ušu(1) aj `alive, raw, crude`
 ʔu k'uš - p -an
 A3 alive-inc-impf
 `I am alive`

?a k'uš - p - i - ø

asp alive-inc-perf-B3

'He was alive'

3.5.3.1.4. THE -a(n) INCHOATIVE. The -a(n) suffix is not only used with the -?, -n, and -p intransitivizers, but also alone as an intransitivizer. Alone, the -a(n) intransitivizer productively derives inchoatives from derived nouns, root and derived adjectives, positional participles, and quantifiers plus classifiers.

šamba(1) n 'walk'

?a šāmbal-an

A2 walk -impf

'You walk'

?a šāmbal- ø -et

asp walk -perf-B2

'You walked'

pan=kap' n 'world'

?u pān=kāb -an

A3 on =earth-impf

'He is born'

?a pān=kāb - i - ø

asp on =earth-perf-B3

'He was born'

čāk AJ `red`

?u čāk-an

A3 red-impf

`It becomes red`

pok-am aj `fat`

kā pok'-m-an

A1 fat -aj-impf

`I get fat`

wa?-a(1) aj `standing up`

?a wa? -l-an

A2 standing-aj-impf

`You stand up`

ča=k'e(1) nc `two leaves`

?u ča =k'el-an

A3 two=nc -impf

`It is dividing its leaves`

3.5.3.2. DERIVED POSITIONAL INTRANSITIVES. In Modern Chontal there are two typically Cholan suffixes which may be used to derive intransitive verbs from all positional CVC roots. They are -te(1) (-tā(1) in some dialects such as that spoken in Tapotzingo) and -wān. Both of these suffixes are only used with positional roots and so may be

used to determine whether or not a root is positional.

3.5.3.2.1. THE -te(1) SUFFIX. The -te(1) suffix is used only in the positive imperfective with the Set A pronouns marking the subject.

čum P 'seated'

?a čum -te

A2 seated-Pimpf

'You sit down'

ča? P 'lying down'

?u ča? -te

A3 lying down-Pimpf

'He lies down'

nok P 'kneeling'

muk' ?u nok -te

pp A3 kneel-Pimpf

'He is kneeling'

-te(1) cannot be used in the perfective tense, but it can be used in stative (see sec. 13.1) and complement constructions (see sec. 14.2.2.).

Thus, -te(1) behaves more like a nominal than a verb, supporting Kaufman and Norman's claim that it is ultimately derived from the Proto-Mayan nominalizer *-tal (Kaufman and Norman n.d.).

3.5.3.2.2. THE -wän SUFFIX. The -wän suffix is used to derive positional intransitive stems which can be used in the imperfective and

perfective aspects, the optative mood (see sec. 4.3), and in negative constructions (see sec. 13.3.2.). Positional derived intransitives occur in the same syntactic environments as other Chontal intransitive verbs and have the same split-ergative agreement pattern.

The CVC-wän stem is inflected for the imperfective aspect by an -e(1) status suffix. The Set A pronouns mark the subject.

māk P 'covered'

?u māk -wän-e

A3 covered-Piv-impf

'He is covered'

čum P 'seated'

muk' ?a čum -wän-e

pp A2 seated-Piv-impf

'You are sitting down'

In terms of frequency of use in Modern Chontal, the CVC-te(1) imperfective forms are more common than their corresponding CVC-wän-e(1) forms.

Like all perfective intransitive verbs, the CVC-wän intransitive is inflected for the perfective aspect with an -i or -∅ status suffix and a Set B pronoun which marks the subject.

nok P 'kneeling'

?a nok -wän- i - ∅

asp kneel-Piv-perf-B3

'He kneeled'

č'on P 'squatted'
 ?a č'on -wän- Ø -on
 asp squatted-Piv-perf-Bl
 'I squatted'

3.6. COMPOUND VERBS. In addition to the root and derived verbs discussed above, Chontal also has verbal stems derived by compounding. Compounds are formed of two or more stems, at least one of which has a morphological or syntactic deficiency (i.e. morphological or syntactic rules which normally could be applied to the stem in question cannot be applied when that stem is bound in a compound). In Chontal, there are two types of verbal compounds: compounds consisting of an affect or positional root + an intransitive or transitive verb and compound nominals which are further derived into verbs.

3.6.1. AFFECT/POSITIONAL + VERB COMPOUNDS. Affect or positional CVC roots may be compounded with either transitive or intransitive verbs. Usually the meaning of the compound is equal to the sum of its parts. The derived stem is then inflected as the transitive or intransitive stem of the compound would be if it were not in the compound. For example, a positional + root transitive compound is inflected like a root transitive.

čum P 'seated'
 káč-e? TV 'to tie'
 čum=káč-e? tv 'to tie in a bundle'

?u čum =kǎč- e? -∅

A3 seated=tie-impf-B3

`He ties it in a bundle`

?u čum =kǎč- i -∅

A3 seated=tie-perf-B3

`He tied it in a bundle`

wa? P `standing`

wiš-in tv `to urinate`

wa?=wiš-in tv `to stand and urinate`

řam AF `whizzing sound`

hul-e? TV `to throw`

řam=hul-e? tv `to throw s.t. with a
whizzing sound`

č'on P `bent over`

bih-t-es-an tv `to bring s.t.`

č'on=bih-t-es-an tv `to bring s.t. bent over`

In the same fashion, positional roots may be compounded with root intransitives to form compound root intransitives.

čum P `seated`

yer-o IV `to fall`

čum=yer-o iv `to fall seated`

?u čum =yer -o

A3 seated=fall-impf

`He falls seated`

?a čum =yer - i -∅

asp seated=fall-perf-B3

`He fell seated`

wa? P `standing`

yer-o IV `to fall`

wa?=yer-o iv `to fall feet first`

kā wa? =yer -o

A1 standing=fall-impf

`I fall feet first`

?a wa = yer - ∅ - on

asp standing=fall-perf-B1

`I fell feet first`

3.6.2. VERBS DERIVED FROM COMPOUND NOMINALS. The different kinds of compound nominals are discussed in section 6.3. In general, they can be further derived into verbs by the addition of the -i(n) or -b-i(n) transitivizers or the inchoative forming -a(n) intransitivizer. As verbs, they are inflected like any other derived transitive or intransitive verb.

šiš=k'ak' n 'sparks'

šiš=k'ak'-in tv 'to spark'

?u šiš=k'a?-b - in -∅

A3 sparks -tv-impf-B3

'It sparks'

?u šiš=k'a?-b - i -∅

A3 sparks -tv-perf-B3

'It sparked'

luk-∅=buč n 'fishing'

luk-∅=buč-in tv 'to fish'

kā luk -∅=buč - in -∅

A1 hook-n=fish-impf-B3

'I fish it'

kā luk -∅=buč - i -∅

A1 hook-n=fish-perf-B3

'I fished it'

no=šip' n 'old man'

no=šib-an iv 'to become old'

ká no =šib -an
 Al big=male-impf
 `I become old`

?a no=šib - Ø - on
 asp big=male-perf-B1
 `I became old`

3.7. IRREGULAR VERBS. Although the inflection of most verbs in Chontal is regular, there are a few verbs which are irregular in inflection. They include ?an `to exist in a state or condition,` ?o(1) `to want,` ?uwi `to know,` š-e(1) `to go,` t-e(1) `to come,` č-en `to do, to make,` t#skun `to bring,` and sut `to return.`

The verb ?an is intransitive. However, it is inflected with the Set B pronouns for both the imperfective and perfective aspects. The perfective aspect of the intransitive verb ?ahn-e(1) `to be in a place` is morphologically identical to the perfective of ?an (see Table VI). One can propose two explanations for this: either the verb ?an is inflected with an -h- infix to indicate the perfective, or the semantic domain of the perfective of ?ahn-e(1) has been broadened to include ?an. The second explanation seems more likely since in most Mayan languages, ?an is an existential predicate, rather than a verb. ?an also has an imperfective impersonal form which is commonly used: ya?an `there is, there are.`

The verbs ?o(1) `to want` and ?uwi `to know` are irregular in that they cannot be inflected for aspect. They are inflected for person with

TABLE VI: ?an and ?ahn-e(1)

	IMPERFECTIVE		PERFECTIVE
	<u>?an</u> `state´	<u>?ahn-e(1)</u> `place´	
1st person	?an-on	kǎ ?ahn-e	?ahn-∅-on
2nd person	?an-et	?a ?ahn-e	?ahn-∅-et
3rd person	?an-∅	?u ?ahn-e	?ahn-i-∅
1st p. incl. pl.	?an-on-la	kǎ ?ahn-e-la	?ahn-∅-on-la
1st p. excl. pl.	?an-on-t´okop´	kǎ ?ahn-e-t´okop´	?ahn-∅-on-t´okop´
2nd p. pl.	?an-et-la	?a ?ahn-e-la	?ahn-∅-et-la
3rd p. pl.	?an-lop´	?u ?ahn-e-lop´	?ahn-i-lop´

TABLE VII: ?o(1) AND ?uwi

	<u>?o(1)</u> `to want´	<u>?uwi</u> `to know´
1st person	k-o	k-uwi/kǎwi
2nd person	?a w-o	?a-uwi/?awi
3rd person	y-o	?u-uwi/?uwi
1st p. incl. pl.	k-o-la	k-uwi-la/kǎwi-la
1st p. excl. pl.	k-o-t´okop´	k-uwi-t´okop´/kǎwi-t´okop´
2nd p. pl.	?a w-o-la	?a uwi-la/?awi-la
3rd p. pl.	y-o-lop´	?u y-uwi-lop´/?uwi-lop´

the Set A pronouns. Semantically they appear to have an imperfective meaning since 'wanting' and 'knowing' refer to states that cannot be perfective. Moreover, they also have some irregularities in person inflection (see Table VII). For example, in the third person inflected form of the verb ʔo(1), the ʔu has been lost in all environments (i.e. not just in fast speech), leaving only the phonological reflex y. Also, there has been vowel assimilation of the initial /ʔu/ of the verb ʔuwi with the Set A pronouns.

If a speaker wanted to convey the perfective meaning 'wanted' or 'knew,' he would use a Spanish loan word in a č-en construction (see sec. 14.2.2.2.).

ʔu č - i -∅ sabe(r)

A3 do-perf-B3 know

'He knew it'

kʌ č - i -∅ konose(r)

A1 do-perf-B3 know

'I knew it'

ʔu č - i -∅ kere(r)

A3 do-perf-B3 want

'He wanted it'

The intransitive verb š-e(1) 'to go' is slightly irregular. First, the verb š-e(1) has an allomorph h-e(1). For the most part, these forms are in free variation (except that only š is used in the

optative/subjunctive mood and in negatives). In addition, the verb š-e(1) has an irregular imperfective third person negative. This is not unexpected, since the normal rules for negative third person imperfective root intransitives would produce mač u š 'He does not go.' Instead of š, the form used is šen. Thus, the form is mač u šen 'He does not go.'

The irregularity of t-e(1) 'to come' and č-en 'to do, to make' has a historical explanation. In Classical Chontal, t-e(1) was tal-el and č-en was čel-en. In certain circumstances, inflection is based on the Classical form rather than the Modern form. Thus, the apparent irregularity of the negative third person imperfective of t-e(1) is regular if one considers the Classical form as the basis of inflection.

u tal-el Classical Chontal

'He comes'

mač ?u ta(1)-Ø Modern Chontal

'He does not come'

The optative/subjunctive form of t-e(1) has two forms in free variation — one based on the Modern root and one based on the Classical root.

t-ik-Ø or tal-ik-Ø

'(that) he comes'

The Classical Chontal stem of č-en is čel-en. The Classical root is used in Modern Chontal when consonantal derivational suffixes are added to the root. As a result, the Modern passive form is čer-k-an, the referential form is čer-b-en, and the derived plural form is čeh-l-an.

The final two verbs, sut 'to return' and tāskun 'to bring,' have

regular inflection, but the stem itself is irregular (i.e. CVck-un).

Tāskun is historically derived from tāksu. Metathesis has occurred and the resulting verb is treated as a C-V(n) derived verb. The positional sut and its allomorph suk are not in free variation. It appears that the suk allomorph precedes /t/-initial morphemes.

kā suk -te

A1 return-Pimpf

'I return'

?a sut -wān- ∅ -on

asp return-Piv-perf-B1

'I returned'

kā sut =k'át- ān -∅

A1 return=ask -impf-B3

'I return to ask it'

CHAPTER 4

VERBS: MOOD

4.0. Up to now, the discussion of verbs has dealt with those in the declarative, unmarked, mood. Sentences marked for mood are those in which the attitude of the speaker is grammatically marked (Lyons 1968:307). In Chontal, moods indicated by verbal suffixes include the imperative, exhortative, optative and subjunctive. Other moods are indicated through the use of modals.

4.1. IMPERATIVES. Chontal imperatives or commands are morphologically distinct from simple declarative sentences. The formation of imperatives differs according to whether the verb is a root or derived transitive, a root intransitive, a derived intransitive inchoative or a derived positional intransitive. Moreover, positive imperatives differ from their negative counterparts (see sec. 13.3.).

4.1.1. TRANSITIVE IMPERATIVES. The inflection of transitive imperatives differs according to whether the verb is a root or derived transitive.

The imperative of root transitives with third person or reflexive objects is formed by reduplicating the root vowel of the verb. Thus, the imperative has the canonical shape CVC-V.

k'uš TV 'to eat'

k'uš-ú

eat -imp

'Eat it!'

hǎʔ TV 'to hit'

hǎʔ-ǎ

hit -imp

'Hit him!'

pok TV 'to wash'

pok- o ?a ba

wash-imp A2 rfx

'Wash yourself!'

In cases where the third person object is plural, the plurality is not inflected on the verb. Instead, the plurality can be indicated by a noun phrase.

k'uš-ú ?u pete

eat -imp A3 all

'Eat all of it'

The plural imperative ('You all') is formed by adding -la to the CVC-V stem.

k'uš-ú-la '(You all) eat it!'

hǎʔ-ǎ-la '(You all) hit it!'

However, if the imperative root transitive has a first person object, it does not use the CVC-V stem. Instead, the imperative employs

the imperfective stem without the Set A pronoun. The Set B pronoun indicates the object.

?a toh- e? -on

A2 pay-impf-B1

`You pay me`

toh- e? -on

pay-impf-B1

`Pay me!`

The imperative of derived transitive verbs is also based on the imperfective stem. Although there is no expressed subject (i.e. no Set A pronoun), the Set B pronouns indicate the object.

?a \emptyset up- s - en - \emptyset

A2 end-caus-impf-B3

`You finish it`

\emptyset up- s - en - \emptyset

end-caus-impf-B3

`Finish it!`

?a tãk - l- en - \emptyset

A2 help-tv-impf-B3

`You help him`

tǎk - l- en -∅

help-tv-impf-B3

`Help him!`

tǎk - l- en -on

help-tv-impf-B1

`Help me!`

?a čom - b - en -on

A2 sell-ben-impf-B1

`You sell it to me!`

čom - b - en -on

sell-ben-impf-B1

`Sell it to me!`

Transitive verbs derived by a -V(n) suffix also undergo a stress shift. The first, instead of the last, syllable of the stem is stressed in the imperative mood.

?a sut - ún -∅

A2 turn-impf-B3

`You turn it over!`

sút - un -∅

turn-impf-B3

`Turn it over!`

ʔa top' - ón -Ø

A2 break-impf-B3

`You break it`

tóp' - on -Ø

break-impf-B3

`Break it!`

Derived transitive verbs also add the second person -la plural suffix to pluralize the imperative.

ník - ʔn -la

move-impf-pl2

`Move it (you all)!`

ʔup- s - en-la

end-caus-impf-pl2

`Finish it (you all)!`

ʔír- an -on-la

see-impf-B1-pl2

`Look for me (you all)!`

4.1.2. INTRANSITIVE IMPERATIVES. The imperatives of root intransitives, derived non-positional intransitives, and positional intransitives are all different.

Root intransitive verbs form the imperative mood by adding an -en status suffix to the root.

ʔa hak -e

A2 go down-impf

`You come down.'

hak -en

go down-imp

`Come down!'

ʔa t'ʔb -o

A2 go up-impf

`You go up.'

t'ʔb -en

go up-imp

`Go up!'

The plural imperative is formed by adding the second person plural marker -la to the -en status suffix.

hak - en-la

go down-imp-pl2

`Come down (you all)!'

t'ʔb - en-la

go up-imp-pl2

`Go up (you all)!'

Derived non-positional intransitives are put into the imperative mood in one of two ways. First, the imperative of inchoatives, verbs in

middle voice (see sec. 5.3.) and antipassives (see sec. 5.2.) are formed by adding the -en status suffix to the consonant-final verbal stem (i.e. the -a(n) intransitivizer is not present).

?a lotoh-an

A2 marry-impf

`You get married`

lotoh-en

marry-imp

`Get married!`

?a pok'-m -an

A2 fat -aj-impf

`You get fat`

pok'-m-en

fat -aj-imp

`Get fat!`

?a øah- m-an

A2 fry-aj-impf

`You fry`

øah- m-en

fry-aj-impf

`Fry!`

?a k'uš- n -an
 A2 eat -ant-impf
 `You dine`

k'uš- n -en
 eat -ant-imp
 `Dine!`

If the subject is plural, the -la suffix is added to the imperfective stem (of -n-a(n) derived intransitives) or it is added to the -en imperative stem.

k'uš- n -an-la
 eat -inc-impf-pl2
 `Dine (you all)!`

?ak'ot- n -an-la
 dance -inc-impf-pl2
 `Dance (you all)!`

k'oh- p - en-la
 sick-inc-imp-pl2
 `Get sick (you all)!`

lik -lik - n - en-la
 shake-shake-inc-imp-pl2
 `Shake (you all)!`

lotoh- en-la

marry-imp-pl2

`Get married (you all)!'

Second, the imperative of inchoatives can be formed by using the imperative form of their causative counterparts (see sec. 3.5.2.3.).

lotoh- es - an -∅

marry-caus-impf-B3

`Marry him!'

lotoh- es - an - ∅-la

marry-caus-impf-B3-pl2

`Marry them (you all)!'

The imperative mood of positional intransitives is formed by adding an -i? suffix to the positional root.

čum P `seated'

čum-i?

sit-imp

`Sit down!'

wa? P `standing up'

wa? -i?

standing-imp

`Stand up!'

As with other intransitives, plurals of positional intransitive imperatives are formed by adding the second person plural -la suffix to

the imperative suffix.

čum- i?-la

sit-imp-pl2

`Sit down (you all)!'`

wa? -i -la

standing-imp-pl2

`Stand up (you all)!'`

There are two irregular imperatives among the root intransitives:

the imperative stems of h-e `to go` and t-e `to come.`

?a h -e

A2 go-impf

`You go`

hala

`Go!`

?a t -e

A2 come-impf

`You come`

?ida t -e / da t -e

here come-impf/here come-impf

`Come here!`

The imperative of h-e is often used as an auxiliary in imperative complement constructions (see sec. 14.2.2.1.).

Hála tǎ wǎy -e
 Go to sleep-impf
 'Go to sleep!'

4.2. EXHORTATIVES. Exhortatives are a type of imperative which involves the speaker. In English, they are prefaced by the phrase 'Let's' In Chontal, exhortatives can be formed in two different ways. The most common way is to use the exhortative of h-e 'to go' (kola) in complement constructions. Exhortative complement constructions have the form: kola + tǎ + an imperfective intransitive or a nominal (including the nominal forms of transitive verbs) (cf. sec. 14.2.2.1.). There is no inflection for person.

kola tǎ ?ák'ot
 Let's go to dance
 'Let's go dance'

kola tǎ t'ǎb -o
 Let's go to climb-impf
 'Let's go climb'

kola tǎ čum-te
 Let's go to sit-Pimpf
 'Let's go sit down'

kola tā zep-Ø=te?

Let's go to cut-n=tree

`Let's go tree-cutting`

kola tā kānd-ya

Let's go to care-n

`Let's go mourn`

The second way of forming exhortatives in Chontal is limited to intransitive verbs which can form the exhortative by inflection. The exhortative of root intransitives is the optative stem (generally CVC-ik, see sec. 4.3.) followed by -la the Set B first person inclusive plural suffixes.

t'áb - ik-on-la

go up-opt-B1-pll

`Let's climb!`

t -ik -on-la

come-opt-B1-pll

`Let's come!`

Inchoative intransitive verbs form the exhortative by adding -on-la, the first person plural suffixes, to the imperfective stem.

?ak'ot- n - an -on-la

dance -inc-impf-B1-pll

`Let's dance`

Positional intransitive exhortatives can be formed either by using their imperative stem or by using their -wán optative stem (CVC-wán-ik,

see sec. 4.3.). Both stems are followed by -on-la.

nok - iʔ-on-la

kneel-imp-B1-pl3

`Let's kneel`

nok -wǎn- ik-on-la

kneel-Piv-opt-B1-pl1

`Let's kneel`

4.3. OPTATIVE AND SUBJUNCTIVE MOODS. Chontal Maya also inflects verbs for the optative and/or subjunctive moods. The optative mood functions to express wishes and intentions, as well as necessity, obligation, and possibility (including the irrealis). The subjunctive mood occurs in subordinate clauses. Its occurrence is determined by several factors, including the type of complex sentence, which main verb is used, and whether the sentence is negated (Lyons 1968:312).

In Chontal, the optative and subjunctive moods of transitive verbs are unmarked. In other words, an optative or subjunctive transitive verb cannot be distinguished from its corresponding declarative form. Generally, modals or adverbs are used to indicate the optative or subjunctive mood of transitive verbs.

k- o kǎ mǎn- eʔ -∅

Al-want Al buy-impf-B3

`I want to buy it`

k'and ?a mən- e? -∅

necessary A2 buy-impf-B3

'It is necessary that I buy it'

?u bon mən- e? -∅

A3 perhaps buy-impf-B3

'Perhaps he will buy it'

Alternatively, a complement construction (see sec. 14.2.2.1.), in which the main verb is an intransitive optative, can be used to convey the optative mood of a transitive verb. Two intransitive verbs commonly used as main verbs are t-e 'to come' which has a special optative form tal-ik and k'ot-e 'to arrive' which has the optative form k'ot-ik.

tal -ik -∅ kande kə mən- e? -∅

come-opt-B3 I A1 buy-impf-B3

'If I buy it'

k'ot -ik -∅ sam k -ub - in -∅

arrive-opt-B3 earlier today A1 -sense-impf-B3

'If I would have listened earlier today'

Intransitive verbs, on the other hand, can be inflected for the optative and subjunctive moods. Thus, their optative/subjunctive stem differs from their declarative stem. Root intransitive and inchoative intransitive verbs inflect for the optative and subjunctive moods in the same manner: the optative/subjunctive inflection of positional intransitives is different.

Root intransitive and inchoative intransitives have an -ik/-k status suffix which is attached to the verb root or the vowel-final inchoative stem (i.e. inchoatives use the -a allomorph rather than the -an allomorph of the -a(n) intransitivizer) when the verb is in the optative mood or in subordinate clauses where there is a change of subject. The suffix is -ik after consonant-final stems, but -k after vowel-final stems.

biš- ik-∅

go -opt-B3

`He might go`

lotoh-a - k -∅

marry-inc-opt-B3

`He might marry`

Intransitive verbs in the optative or subjunctive mood do not have imperfective or perfective status suffixes. Only Set B pronouns are used to mark the subject of the verb.

ʔu č' - e? -∅ biš-ik-et-la

A3 take-impf-B3 go -opt-B2-pl2

`You all may go`

As with other intransitive verbs, positional intransitives do not distinguish morphologically between the optative and subjunctive moods. However, the optative/subjunctive morphology of positional intransitives differs from that of other intransitive verbs. Just as positional intransitives may be derived in three ways (i.e. CVC-te(1), CVC-wān-e(1), or CVC-(V)l-a(n)), so the optative/subjunctive mood may be

marked in three different ways. First, the optative/subjunctive status marker -ik may be suffixed to the positional root.

čum- ik-∅

sit-opt-B3

`He might sit`

More commonly, the -ik optative/subjunctive mood suffix is attached to the CVC-wän stem.

sut -wän-ik -∅

return-Piv-opt-B3

`He might return`

Finally, the -ek optative/subjunctive status marker can be added to the CVC-(V)l positional stem (or more rarely an adjectival stem).

čum- l- ek-∅

sit-aj-opt-B3

`He might sit`

k'uš - l- ek-∅

alive-aj-opt-B3

`He might live`

The CVC-l-ek optative is typically Cholan and has been reconstructed by Kaufman and Norman (nd) as the optative of Proto-Cholan. All three optatives mark person with the Set B pronouns. It appears that the three positional optatives are semantically and syntactically equivalent.

The optative mood of intransitive verbs expresses wishes, desires, necessity, possibility, and permission (including indirect commands). In

general, it is used in discussing events which have not occurred. This is probably what led Smailus (1975:197) to identify this suffix as the Classical Chontal future of intransitive verbs. The optative/subjunctive form of intransitive verbs is used with negative intransitive imperatives and exhortatives.

In negative commands, the negative particle mač precedes the verb, which is marked with the second person Set B pronoun -et for the imperative and the first person plural pronoun -on-la for the exhortative.

mač bāk't - a -k -et

neg fear -inc-opt-B2

'Don't be afraid!'

mač š- ik-et

neg go-opt-B2

'Don't go!'

mač š- ik - on-la

neg go-opt-B1-pll

'Let's not go!'

mač čum-ik -et

neg sit-opt-B2

'Don't sit down!'

mač čum-wān- ik-et

neg sit-Piv-opt-B2

`Don't sit down!'

mač čum-l - ek -et

neg sit-aj-opt-B2

`Don't sit down!'

The optative mood is commonly used in conjunction with adverbs which express uncertainty and also with the Spanish loan word si 'if.'

?u bon š -ik -on

A3 perhaps go-opt-B1

`Perhaps I'll go'

si š -ik -on-la tā kāb -l-e,

if go-opt-B1-pll on hand-n-n,

`If we go on foot,

?u bo? -an kā hin -la

A3 tired-impf A1 self-pll

we will become tired'

The subjunctive is used in many types of subordinate clauses, excluding tā constructions (see sec. 14.2.2.1.). They include clauses with a change of subject, indirect commands, and subordinate clauses introduced by one of the subordinating particles, such as tuba 'for, in,' ta 'for, in,' de ke 'of (Spanish),' ka če? da 'so that,' and para ke 'so that (Spanish).'

CHANGE OF SUBJECT

ni patan ?u č - i -∅ š -ik -on tá ranču
 the work A3 do-perf-B3 go-opt-B1 to Villahermosa
 'Work made me go to Villahermosa.'

pero, bada (?a) h - ∅ -on ?u y-ál - i - ∅ ?u pap
 but , now (asp) go-perf-B1 A3 -say-perf-B3 A3 father
 'But now I have gone,' the girl's father said,

?ih-č'ok ke sut -wán- ik-on ik'á
 fg -youth that return-Piv-opt-B1 tomorrow
 "I will return tomorrow"

INDIRECT COMMAND

bada ?u y-ál - i -∅ š -ik -et tá çahi t'ok-∅
 now A3 -say-perf-B3 go-opt-B2 to talk with-B3
 'Now he said it, you should go to converse with him'

?u y-ál - i - ∅ wa? -ik -∅ patan
 A3 -say-perf-B3 standing-opt-B3 work
 'He ordered them to stop work'

SUBORDINATING PARTICLES

kā hál -ák- n- an -la tuba k'ot -ik -on-la
 Al late-af-af-impf-pll in arrive-opt-B1-pll
 'We are late in arriving'

?a t - Ø -on k - ir- an -Ø si (?a) ?a? - b - en - on
 asp come-perf-B1 Al-see-impf-B3 if (A2) give-ben-impf-B1
 'I came to see if you would give me

?a w-ih-č'ok ta lotoh- a - k -on t'ok-Ø
 A2 -fg-daughter to marry-inc-opt-B1 with-B3
 your daughter to marry me with her'

?a k'ot - i - Ø k'in de ke biš-ik -Ø -lop'
 asp arrive-perf-B3 day of go -opt-B3-pl3
 'The day of their leaving arrived'

k -o kande ba p'íš - ik-et ka če? ba
 Al-want I cl wake up-opt-B2 so that
 'I want that you wake up so that

k'ot - ik-on ?i?sapan
 arrive-opt-B1 early
 I'll arrive early'

pwes, para ke mač pa? - s -int- ik-on
 well, so that neg take out-caus-pas-opt-B1
 'Well, so that I am not overthrown

de rey ba ...

as king cl...

as king....

4.4. MODALS. In addition to verbal inflection, Chontal also uses modals to express attitudes (moods) of ability, permission, requirement, obligation, and desire (see Table VIII).

In Chontal, the modal precedes the verbal predicate. With the exception of k'änd (an impersonal participle, see sec. 5.5.) and nawen (an adverb), the modals are verbal with inflection for person (but no dependent adverbs).

?ande ?a l - e? - Ø tāk -l - en - Ø ?a pap
 you A2 do-impf-B3 help-tv-impf-B3 A2 father
 'You should help your father'

?u č' - e?-on wa? -l -ek -on
 A3 take-imp-B1 standing-aj-opt-B1
 'May I stand up?'

However, only č-en trebe and l-e? can be inflected for aspect.

?a l - e? - Ø tāk - l- en -on
 A2 should-impf-B3 help-tv-impf-B1
 'You should help me'

?a l - i - Ø tāk -l - en -on
 A2 should-perf-B3 help-tv-impf-B1
 'You should have helped me'

TABLE VIII: CHONTAL MODALS

MODAL		TYPE
č-en trebe	`can`	ability
nawen/nawel	`can`	ability
č'-e?	`may, can`	permission
k'and	`must, necessary`	requirement
l-e?	`should`	obligation
?o(1)	`want`	desiderative

kā č - en - ∅ trebe tā wān-e

Al do-impf-B3 ability to fly-impf

`I can fly`

kā č - i - ∅ trebe kā č - en - ∅

Al do-perf-B3 ability Al do-impf-B3

`I could do it`

Moreover, č-en trebe can also be used as a verb in non-modal contexts.

kā č -en - ∅ trebe `I can`

The other verbal modals, č'-e? and ʔo(1) are defective verbs as they do not have a perfective stem.

ʔu č' - e? - ∅ biš-ik -et-la

A3 may-impf-B3 go -opt-B2-pl2

`You all may go`/`You all might have gone`

k -o š -e

Al-want go-impf

`I want to go`/`I wanted to go`

In modal constructions, inflection of the main verb differs according to the modal used, its transitivity, and/or its subject. nawen, as a dependent adverb, is placed between the Set A pronoun and the inflected verb.

kā nawen wil-e

Al can fly-impf

`I can fly`

?u nawen č - en -∅

A3 can do-impf-B3

'He can do it'

On the other hand, the l-e? and ?o(l) (when its subject is the same as the subject of the predicate) modals are used with imperfective verbs uninflected for subject.

kā l - e? -∅ h -e

A1 should-impf-B3 go-impf

'I should go'

?u l - e? -∅ čen - en -∅ -lop'

A3 should-impf-B3 watch-impf-B3-pl3

'He should watch them'/'They should watch him'

k -o čum-te

A1-want sit-Pimpf

'I want to sit down'

y -o č - en -∅

A3-want do-impf-B3

'He wants to do it'

This pattern is also used with č-en trebe when the predicate is intransitive.

ʔu č - en -∅ trebe h -e
 A3 do-impf-B3 ability go-impf

`He can go`

However, when the predicate is transitive, it is fully inflected.

ʔa č - en -∅ trebe ʔa čen - en -∅ -lop`
 A2 do-impf-B3 ability A2 watch-impf-B3-pl3

`You can watch them`

The predicates following the modals k'ānā, č'-e?, or ʔo(1) (when its subject differs from the subject of the predicate) use a different inflectional pattern. If the predicate is intransitive, it is put in the subjunctive mood.

ʔunde ba k'ānā š - ik -∅
 he cl necessary go-opt-B3

`He must go`

k -o čum -l - ek-et
 A1-want seated-aj-opt-B2

`I want you to sit down`

ʔu č'- e? -∅ biš- ik-et
 A3 may-impf-B3 go -opt-B2

`You may go`

However, if the predicate is transitive, it is fully inflected in the imperfective.

k'ändä kã hãø' - e? -et

necessary A1 hit -impf-B2

'I must hit you'

k -o ?a č - en - ø

A1-want A2 do-impf-B3

'I want you to do it'

?u č' - e? ?u h-ir - an -et

A3 may-impf A3 -see-impf-B2

'He may look at it'

CHAPTER 5

VERBS: VOICE

5.0. Transitive verbs in Chontal may also be inflected for the overt grammatical category of voice. Voice has the function of indicating the relation the verb has with its subject and object. The discussion of Chontal verbs thus far has only dealt with the normal unmarked voice, namely the active voice. It consists of two arguments, the subject and object, in a direct relationship with the transitive verb.

ká hãø' - e? -et

Al hit -impf-B2

'I hit you'

A change in voice involves a disruption of the basic transitive relationship of subject and direct object. Normally, morphological and/or syntactic marking accompany such a change. One important function of voice changes is to permit the omission or demotion of one of the basic arguments of a transitive verb. When one of the arguments is omitted or stated obliquely (i.e. demoted), overt marking is required to indicate that the basic transitive relationship has been disrupted. The normally transitive verb is converted into a derived intransitive verb, and the remaining argument is promoted and then is inflected like any other subject of an intransitive verb (Dayley 1981:11). This is

what happens to Chontal verbs in the passive, antipassive, and middle voices discussed below. A second important function of voice can be seen in the referential and instrumental voices, where a noun phrase that is normally in an oblique relationship with a transitive verb is promoted out of the oblique case and is then treated as if it were one of the basic arguments in the transitive predication. Here the transitive verb remains transitive, but it has a referential or instrumental voice suffix. Chontal has the referential voice, but does not have an instrumental voice.¹

Thus, voice changes make possible the rearrangement of the arguments with respect to a transitive verb. Often these changes are motivated by syntactic restrictions or discourse requirements. For example, in Chontal a transitive verb cannot follow the particle tá. It must undergo nominalization or a voice change which omits one of the arguments and converts the verb into a derived intransitive in order to participate in a tá construction (see sec. 14.2.2.1.).

?a h -e ?a k'us̃- e? -∅

A2 go-impf A2 eat -impf-B3

'You are going to eat it' (in the future)

¹Instead, t'ok 'with' before noun phrases indicates that they have in an instrumental or comitative function.

ká h -e t'ok ?ande

A1 go-impf with you

'I'll go with you'

ká há∅'- e? -∅ t'ok ká mačit

A1 hit -impf-B3 with A1 machete

'I hit him with my machete'

ʔa h -e tã k'uš- k -an

A2 go-impf to eat -pas-impf

'You are going to eat' (reason for going)

5.1. PASSIVE VOICE. The use of the passive voice is very common in Chontal. In the passive voice, the agent of a transitive verb is deleted or put into an oblique case. The direct object is then advanced to become the subject, and the verb is converted into a derived intransitive verb with normal inchoative intransitive inflection. Some languages distinguish between an absolute passive with a deleted agent and a passive with the agent put into an oblique case. Chontal does not make this distinction. Instead, the expression of the agent is optional and does not change the morphology of the verb. Modern Chontal has two passive voice morphemes: -k and -int.²

The -k passive suffix is added to root transitive verbs and transitive verbs derived by a vowel transitivizer (i.e. -a(n), -e(n), -v(n), -d(n), and -i(n)). With both kinds of transitive verbs, it is attached to the verbal root and then followed by the -a(n) intransitive derivational suffix. It is inflected for person, aspect, and mood like any inchoative intransitive.³

²Note that in Classical Chontal the passive forms were kel/ki/ka (negative) and intel (antel)/inte (anti). Smailus identifies the ka negative passive as an optative (Smailus 1975:194-195, 197-198).

³In other words, the Set A pronouns are used with the imperfective, and the Set B pronouns are used with the perfective and optative stems. The imperfective inflection is -k-an, the perfective is -k-i and -k-Ø, and the optative/subjunctive -k-ak.

kā k'uš- e? -∅

A1 eat -impf-B3

'I eat it'

?u k'uš- k -an

A3 eat -pas-impf

'It is eaten'

?a k'uš- k - i -∅

asp eat -pas-perf-B3

'It was eaten'

k - o k'uš- k - a -k

A1-want eat -pas-inc-opt

'I want it to be eaten'

?a sak - ān -∅

A2 look-impf-B3

'I look for him'

?u sah - k -an

A3 look-pas-impf

'He is looked for'

ká wiš - in -∅

A1 urinate-impf-B3

`I urinate it`

?u wiš - k -an

A3 urinate-pas-impf

`It is urinated`

The -k passive is also used with -es causatives.

ká bih -t - es - an -∅

A1 bring-tv-caus-impf-B3

`I bring it`

?u bih -t - es - k - an

A3 bring-tv-caus-pas-impf

`It is brought`

?u bih -t - es - k - i -∅

A3 bring-tv-caus-pas-perf-B3

`It was brought`

If the subject is not deleted, it is put into an oblique noun phrase (which follows the inflected verb) consisting of the particle k'a followed by the agent (the old subject).

?u k'uš- k -an k'a ?ande

A3 eat -pas-impf by you

`It is eaten by you`

?ah yan ?a hãç'-k-i -ø k'a (?a)h berto
 mg John asp hit -pas-perf-B3 by mg Alberto
 'John was hit by Albert'

The -int passive is used with all derived transitive verbs with the exception of -es causatives, which use the -k passive. In most dialects of Modern Chontal, the -int passive is followed by an -e(1) status suffix to indicate imperfective tense, by an -i (used with the third person Set B pronouns) or -ø (used with the first and second person Set B pronouns) status suffix to indicate perfective tense, and by an -ik suffix to indicate optative/subjunctive mood.

?a hãç'-l - an -ø

A2 hit -tv-impf-B3

'You hit them'

?u hãç'-l -int-e

A3 hit -tv-pas-impf

'They are hit'

?a hãç'-l -int-i -ø

asp hit -tv-pas-perf-B3

'They were hit'

y -o hãç'-l -int-ik -ø -lop'

A3-want hit -tv-pas-opt-B3-pl3

'He wants them to be hit'

However, speakers of the San Carlos dialect do not use the perfective

forms, -int-i or -int-∅. Instead, they use the optative/subjunctive, -int-ik, for both perfective aspect and optative/subjunctive moods. The perfective form is always preceded by an aspect particle (i.e. ?a or han), while the optative/subjunctive stem is not.

?a hã∅'-l -int-ik -∅

asp hit-tv-pas-perf-B3

'They were hit'

y- o hã∅'-l -int-ik -∅

A3-want hit -tv-pas-opt-B3

'He wants them to be hit'

Only the -int passive is used with transitive verbs derived by the -b, -l, -p, -t, and -n transitivizers (without the -a(n) transitivizer) and the -s and -a∅' causatives (without the -e(n) or -ã(n) transitivizers). It is also used with root transitives which have been derived by -k, a suffix which is found only with transitive roots preceding the -int passive, and with transitive verbs in the passive and referential voice (see sec. 5.4.).

?u hã∅'- k -int-e

A3 hit -pas-pas-impf

'He is hit'

kã poh - l- en -∅

A1 find-tv-impf-B3

'I find it'

?u poh - l -int-e
 A3 find-tv-pas-impf
 `It is found`

?u k'eh - p- an -et
 A3 scold-tv-impf-B2
 `He scolds you`

?a k'eh - p-int-ik -et
 asp scold-tv-pas-perf-B2
 `You were scolded`

kā č'uh -n - an -∅
 A1 deposit-tv-impf-B3
 `I deposit it`

?u č'uh -n -int-e
 A3 deposit-tv-pas-impf
 `It is deposited`

?a č'am- s - en -on
 A2 die-caus-impf-B1
 `you kill me`

?a ɕəm - s -int-ik -on
 asp die-caus-pas-perf-B1
 `I was killed`

ká wa? -aɕ' - ən -ø
 A1 standing-caus-impf-B3
 `I stop it`

?u wa? -aɕ' -int-e
 A3 standing-caus-pas-impf
 `It is stopped`

?a hãɕ' - b - en -ø
 A2 hit -ben-impf-B3
 `I hit it for him`

?u hãɕ' - b -int-e
 A3. hit -ben-pas-impf
 `It is hit for him`

In passive sentences, the agent can either be deleted or present in a k'a + noun phrase construction.

?a čum-t -int-ik -ø
 asp sit-tv-pas-perf-B3
 `It was mounted`

?a čum-t -int-ik -∅ k'a kande

asp sit-tv-pas-perf-B3 by me

'It was mounted by me'

The -k and -int passives overlap with the CVC-V(n) derived transitives. With very few exceptions (e.g. ?ir-an 'to see' and wiš-in 'to urinate' can only use the -k passive suffix), these verbs can use either the -k or -int passive form with no apparent semantic or syntactic difference.

?a huš- un -∅

A2 rub-impf-B3

'You rub it'

?u huš- k -an (k'a ?ande)

A3 rub-pas-impf (by you)

'It is rubbed (by you)'

?u huš-int-e (k'a ?ande)

A3 rub-pas-impf (by you)'

5.2. THE ANTIPASSIVE VOICE. The antipassive voice is used to refer to an intransitive clause which is derived from a transitive one by the removal of the direct object without its promotion to subject or the promotion of any other noun phrase to direct object. There are three forms of antipassive found in Mayan languages. They are (1) the absolute antipassive voice in which the direct object is unspecified, (2) the direct object becomes an oblique object (see sec. 5.2.2.), and

(3) the incorporating antipassive in which a non-distinct, non-specific object (or patient) is incorporated into the verb complex (there is no specified object, only a class of objects without a specific reference) (see sec. 5.2.3.) (Aissen 1980:47-48).

5.2.1. ABSOLUTE ANTIPASSIVE. In Chontal the only antipassive voice marking is that of the absolute antipassive. In forming the absolute antipassive, the direct object undergoes a deletion rule with the -n absolute antipassive suffix as its morphological reflex. The -n absolute antipassive suffix occurs with only a few root transitive verbs. It is attached to the transitive root and then followed by the -a(n) intransitivizer. The derived intransitive verb is then inflected like an inchoative intransitive for person and aspect.

ká k'úš- e? -∅

Al eat-impf-B3

`I eat it'

ká k'úš- n - an

Al eat -ant-impf

`I dine'

?a k'úš- n - ∅ -on

asp eat -ant-perf-B1

`I dined'

ʔa k'uš- n - i -∅
 asp eat-ant-perf-B3
 'He dined'

5.2.2. REFLEXIVES. In reflexive transitive constructions (i.e. constructions where the direct object is co-referential with the agent), the direct object becomes an oblique object, the possessor of the reflexive particle ba. As is typical of Mayan languages (Ayres 1980), the Chontal reflexive has the morphological form of a possessed noun: a possessive Set A prefix indicating person (and a suffix indicating number when needed) attached to the reflexive particle ba (see Table IX). The reflexive immediately follows the verbal complex. Although there is no Set B direct object pronoun, the verb remains transitive and morphologically unchanged.

kʌ pok - eʔ -et
 A1 wash-impf-B2
 'I wash you'

kʌ pok - eʔ kʌ ba
 A1 wash-impf A1 rfx
 'I wash myself'

Note, however, that the -i, rather than the -∅, status suffix is always used in forming the perfective stem.

kʌ pok - i kʌ ba
 A1 wash-perf A1 rfx
 'I washed myself'

TABLE IX: REFLEXIVES

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	kā ba `myself`	kā ba-la `ourselves` (incl). kā ba-t'okop' `ourselves` (excl)
2	?a ba `yourself`	?a ba-la `yourselves`
3	?u ba `himself/ herself/ itself`	?u ba-la `themselves`

Although verbs do not undergo any morphological changes when in reflexive constructions, some do change semantically.

?a poh -l - en -on

A2 find-tv-impf-A1

`You find me`

?a poh -l - en ?a ba

A2 find-tv-impf A2 rfx

`You are cured` (literally `You find yourself`)

Reflexives also can be used to express reciprocal action when the subject and co-referential object are plural.

?u hãø' - l- an ?u ba-lop'

A3 hit -tv-impf A3 rfx-pl3

`They hit each other`

5.2.3. OBJECT INCORPORATION. The incorporation of the object into the verb complex produces a nominal (see sec. 5.4.3.), not an intransitive verb.

?a lah- e? -ø wah

A2 pat-impf-B3 tortilla

`You make tortillas`

?a lah-ø=wah

A2 pat-n=tortillas

`Your tortilla making`

ká hák - s - en -∅ te?

A1 lower-caus-impf-B3 wood

`I lower wood`

ká hák - s -aya-(a)h=te?

A1 lower-caus- n - n =wood

`My wood lowering`

They can be re-transitivized by the addition of the -in or -t-a(n) transitivizers.

?a lah-∅=wah - in -∅

A2 pat-n=tortilla-impf-B3

`You make tortillas`

ká lah-∅=wah -t - an -∅

A1 pat-n=tortilla-tv-impf-B3

`I make tortillas`

5.3. MIDDLE VOICE. The middle voice (or agentless passive) differs from the passive voice in that there is no implied agent -- the underlying subject is completely deleted, not just moved into an oblique case.

In examining the Maldonado-Paxbolon papers, Barbara MacLeod (personal communication) discovered several candidates for middle voice in Classical Chontal. They include a -Vl suffix attached to root transitive verbs, and a rare -p suffix attached to some CVC roots.

cahix u helel padre Juan Rodriguez

`comenzo el sigue Padre Juan Rodriguez' (Smailus 1975:113)

ta molol u no petel bixic cah

`en reunido todos el va ir pueblo' (Smailus 1975:110)

Hain-ix u kal ma thunpi u bixel cah ya

`lo que en porque no tuvo lugar el va pueblo alli'

(Smailus 1975:112)

I have found no evidence of these forms in the San Carlos dialect of Modern Chontal.

Instead, the functions of the middle voice have been assumed by inchoative intransitive verbs which have been derived from transitive verbs (eg. ʔah `to fry' and č'il `to toast') which have a -Vm participial form. The -Vm participial is intransitivized by -a(n). The derived inchoative is then inflected like any other inchoative, but semantically it is in middle voice. Unlike the agents of true middle voice verbs, the agents of these verbs can be expressed in an oblique noun phrase (i.e. in a k'a noun phrase).

ʔu ʔah- e? -Ø

A3 fry-impf-B3

`I fry it'

ʔu ʔah- m-an k'a kande

A3 fry-aj-impf by me

`It is fried by me'

a ɔah- m- i -∅
 asp fry-aj-perf-B3
 `It was fried`

kʰ č'il - ʔn -∅
 A1 toast-impf-B3
 `I toast it`

?u č'il - m-an
 A3 toast-aj-impf
 `It is toasted`

?a č'il - m- i -∅
 asp toast-aj-perf-B3
 `It was toasted`

5.4. REFERENTIAL VOICE. Normally, transitive verbs in Chontal are inflected for person, with the Set A pronouns indicating the subject and the Set B pronouns indicating the direct object. However, when a transitive verb has more than one object, only one is marked on the verb. Often this is not the underlying direct object, but rather an underlying oblique object (eg. an indirect object).

?u y-ʔl- b - en -on
 A3 say-ben-impf-B1
 `He tells it to me`

*?u y-əl- b - en -∅ kande

A3 say-ben-impf-B3 me

'He tells it to me'

This has led linguists such as Judith Aissen (1984) to posit a rule of Indirect Object Advancement, where the indirect (or oblique) object is advanced to direct object, while the former direct object is put en chomâge (i.e. it is not subject to foregrounding (see sec. 13.2.4.)). This is based on the assumption that at any particular level, one nominal at most may bear a given grammatical relation to the verb (i.e. there cannot be two direct objects) (Perlmutter and Postal 1977). The fact that the underlying oblique objects control object agreement supports this rule. Like the Tzotzil referential suffix (Aissen 1984), the Chontal referential suffix -b is a morphological reflex of the application of the rule of Indirect Object Advancement.

The Chontal referential suffix -b is attached to transitive roots. It replaces the derivational vowel of transitive stems. The -b suffix is then followed by the -e(n) transitivizer. Like all transitive verbs, the perfective aspect is indicated by the -i or -∅ status suffix and the Set A pronouns and Set B pronouns indicate the subject and object respectively.

k -əl - e? -∅

A1 say-impf-B3

'I say it'

k -dl - b - en -et

A1 say-ben-impf-B2

`I say it to you`

k -dl - b - ø -et

A1 say-ben-perf-B2

`I said it to you`

k -dl - b - i -ø

A1 say-ben-perf-B3

`I said it to him`

?a čen - en -ø

A2 watch-impf-B3

`You watch it`

?a čen - b - en -et

A2 watch-ben-impf-B2

`You watch it for you`

?u bih- t- es - an -ø

A3 go -tv-caus-impf-B3

`He brings it`

ʔu bih- t- es - b - en -∅

A3 go -tv-caus-ben-impf-B3

`He sends it to him`

kā tāsk - un -∅

A1 bring-impf-B3

`I bring it`

kā tāskā- b - en -∅

A1 bring-ben-impf-B3

`I bring it for him`

The formation of imperatives and exhortatives follows the same pattern as other derived transitive verbs.

Bih- t- es - b - en -∅!

go -tv-caus-ben-impf-B3

`Bring it to him!`

The -b referential voice suffix may be put into the passive voice by adding the -int passive suffix and its status markers (see sec. 5.1.). In passive sentences, it is the former indirect object which acts as the passive subject. Thus, the object advancement rule precedes the passivization rule.

k -ā1 - b -int-e

A1 say-ben-pas-impf

`I am told it`

?a ?əl- b -int- ik -on

asp say-ben-pas-perf-B1

'I was told it'

As in Tzotzil (Aissen 1979), the Chontal referential voice suffix -b is used when the second object corresponds to any of the following nominal relations:

- (a) recipient with verbs like ək' 'to give' and čon 'to sell'

?unde ?u (ə)?- b - ø -on ?išim

he A3 give-ben-perf-B1 corn

'He gave me the corn'

- (b) benefactive

?unde ?u tāska- b - en -on p'et

he A3 bring-ben-impf-B1 jar

'He brings the jar for me'

- (c) malefactive

?u č'um- b - en -ø tak'in ?ah manuel

A3 take-ben-impf-B3 money mg Manuel

'He takes money from Manuel'

- (d) locative with certain verbs and under certain conditions

?a k'ěč- b - en -ø t(ə)-u y-el=at

A2 grab-ben-impf-B3 by-A3 testicules

'You grab him by his testicules'

- (e) addressee with verbs like əl 'to speak' and p'al 'to answer'

?u y-əl - b - en -ø ?ah manuel

A3 say-ben-impf-B3 mg Manuel

'He tells it to Manuel'

(f) possessor of direct objects (expressed or unexpressed)⁴

(1) body part relation

mu? ?u sih - b - en -∅ ?u pam ?u na?

pp A3 comb-ben-impf-B3 A3 head A3 mother

'She combs her mother's hair'

ni winik ?a k'uš- b -int-ik -∅ ?u yok'

the man asp eat -ben-pas-perf-B3 A3 foot

'The man's leg was eaten'

*ni winik ?a k'uš- b -int-ik -∅

the man asp eat -ben-pas-perf-B3

'The man was eaten'

(2) kin relation or religious relation

?u sak - b - en -∅ ?u č'uh =pap yok ?ah mis

A3 look-ben-impf-B3 A3 godfather dear mg cat

'She looks for the kitten's godfather'

⁴At the underlying level, the possessor is both the possessor of the direct object and the indirect object of the clause. By a possessor ascension construction, the possessor becomes the final direct object, with the possessed object put *en chômage*. This does not occur when the possessor of the direct object is co-referential with the subject. It is obligatory for third person possessors, but I have no examples of its use with first and second person possessors in Chontal. Its use is optional with first and second person possessors in Tzotzil (Aissen 1979).

?a hãø' - b -int-ik -ø yok ?ah lo? kã sukun
 asp hit -ben-pas-perf-B3 dear mg boy Al brother
 'My brother's boy was hit'

(3) subjective genitive

?unde ?u p'al - b - en -on kã k'atãnip'
 he A3 answer-ben-impf-B1 Al question
 'He answers my question'

(4) inanimate possession (linkage of two objects or of an object and an action either by location or by design)

?u čer- b - en -ø ?u ti? ?otot
 A3 do -ben-impf-B3 A3 mouth house
 'He makes the door (house's mouth)'

5.5. AGENTLESS SENTENCES: IMPERSONAL EXPRESSIONS AND DATIVE PRONOUNS. The passive and middle voices are not the only way of constructing 'agentless' sentences in Chontal. In impersonal constructions, verbs can be active with a non-specific agent. Chontal has several ways of forming impersonal constructions.

Root and CVC-Vn transitive verbs with a non-specific subject are often put into an impersonal construction consisting of the stative participial form of the verb (i.e. CVC-V(1), see sec. 10.1.2.2.) preceded or followed by an auxiliary. The most common auxiliaries are an 'to be in a state' and še 'to go.'

?u huč' - e? -ø
 A3 grind-impf-B3
 'He grinds it'

huč' -u ?an-∅
 grind-aj be -B3
 `It is ground`

?u k'át- ħn -∅
 A3 ask -impf-B3
 `He asks for it`

k'át-ħ ?an-∅
 ask-aj be -B3
 `It is asked for`

?a š - i -∅ k'uš-u
 asp go-perf-B3 bite-aj
 `He was bitten`

If the patient is first or second person, the participle is followed by the Set B pronoun.

k'át-ħl-on
 ask -aj-A1
 `I am asked for`

In the examples given above, the agent has been omitted. When it is present, it is put into a dative pronoun construction (see sec. 13.2.2.2.2.). A dative pronoun construction has the morphological form of a possessed noun. The dative pronouns used with transitive verb participles are listed in Table X.

TABLE X: k'a DATIVE PRONOUNS

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ká k'a	ká k'a-la ká k'a-t'okop'
2	?a k'a	?a k'a-la
3	?u k'a	?u k'a-lop'

The dative pronouns follow the impersonal verb and auxiliary, if present.

øp-e ?an-ø ?u k'a
 cut-aj be -B3 A3 dp
 'He has it already cut'

k'an -a -ø k'a k'a
 necessary-aj-B3 A1 dp
 'I need it'

mač k'ah -a -ø k'a k'a
 neg remember-aj-B3 A1 dp
 'I do not remember'

Chontal also constructs impersonal expressions is by means of a non-specific subject (i.e. ?u or ø) in the position that would be filled by the Set A or the Set B pronoun referring to the 'actor' in the normal declarative sentence. In other words, a dummy pronoun is inserted. The agent is then expressed by a dative construction. This occurs with intransitive verbs.

?u nahy - an ?a k'a
 A3 forget-impf A2 dp
 'You forget'

?a nah-y - i -ø ?a k'a
 asp forget-perf-B3 A2 dp
 'You forgot'

Another set of dative pronouns exists in Chontal. It is used with certain affect roots and their derived intransitive and transitive forms. These dative pronouns are listed in Table XI (p. 167). They also have the morphological form of a possessed noun: Set A pronoun + hin (+ plural). The hin dative pronouns are always used in impersonal constructions where the verb has a unspecified third person subject.

bo? -∅ kã hin

tired-B3 A1 dp

`I'm tired`

?u bo? - an kã hin

A3 tired-impf A1 dp

`I become tired`

?u bo? - es - an -∅ kã hin

A3 tired-caus-impf-B3 A1 dp

`It makes me tired`

č'a?a-∅ ?u hin

happy-B3 A3 dp

`He is happy`

?u č'a? - l- an ?u hin

A3 happy-aj-impf A3 dp

`He gets happy`

TABLE XI: hin DATIVE PRONOUNS

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	kã hin	kã hin-la kã hin-t'okop'
2	?a hin	?a hin-la
3	?u hin	?u hin-lop'

ʔu č'a? - l- es - an -∅ ʔu hin

A3 happy-aj-caus-impf-B3 A3 dp

`It makes him happy`

hák' -∅ ʔa hin

upset-B3 A2 dp

`You are upset`

ʔu hák' - ðn ʔa hin

A3 upset-impf A2 dp

`You get upset`

ʔu hák' - es - an -∅ ʔa hin

A3 upset-caus-impf-B3 A2 dp

`It makes you upset`

CHAPTER 6

NOUNS

6.0. Chontal nouns can be divided into two classes: independent and relational (see sec. 13.2.2.2.2.). Independent nouns include root nouns, nouns derived from unique constituents, adjectives, numerals, nouns, or verbs, and compound nouns.

6.1. ROOT NOMINALS. Root nominals have a variety of canonical forms, including CV (CVI in Classical Chontal), CVC (the most common), CV?VC, CVCV, and CVCVC (see Table XII).

6.2. DERIVED NOMINALS. In Chontal no prefixes or infixes function to derive nouns although reduplication may take place (i.e. some CVC roots have undergone reduplication to produce either CVC-CVC or CV-CVC derived stems).

pem-pen	`butterfly`
pu-puk	`dust`
pa-pak	`behind the knee`

Instead, derived nouns are formed by the addition of one or more derivational suffixes. Many of these are not productive and rare, but others are very productive and common.

TABLE XII: EXAMPLES OF ROOT NOMINALS

<u>CV</u>		<u>CV?VC</u>	
čo	'cornfield'	bu?u(1)	'beans'
		ha?as	'plantain, banana'
		ho?oš	'achiote'
<u>CVC</u>		<u>CVCV</u>	
wah	'tortilla'	k'ubu	'zacua bird'
tun	'stone'	sina	'scorpion'
lo?	'youth'	suʔ'u	'bat'
čuč	'squirrel'	čeča	'parrot'
hap'	'oar'		
čih	'century plant'		
kep'	'belch'		
k'ay	'song'	<u>CVCVC</u>	
č'ah	'bile'	?otot	'house'
mut	'bird'	balum	'jaguar'
pik	'dress, skirt'	t'olok	'crested lizard'

6.2.1. UNPRODUCTIVE DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES. Unproductive nominal derivational suffixes include -ik, -im, -Vm, -Vk', -Vp', -āw, -et, -i, -a?, -ay, -Vn, -āk', -ben, -k'elan, -Vhe(1)/-Vha(1), -be(1), -an, -Vč', -ba(1), -la, -ne(1), -ni(1), -ewe(1), and -v(1).¹

6.2.1.1. -ik. -ik 'person' derives nouns from unique constituents.

win-ik 'man'

?iš-ik 'woman'

č'un-ik 'rich, powerful person'

6.2.1.2. -im. -im derives consumable nouns from unique constituents.

?iš-im 'corn'

hač'-im 'a water based drink of cornmeal and cacao or sweet potato and cacao'

6.2.1.3. -Vm. -Vm 'body' derives nouns from CVC unique constituents and other related nouns.

ča?-am 'molars'

¹Where no semantic correlates have been isolated for the affixes in question, the proposed morphemic analysis can be viewed only as tentative.

ʔok/ʔok' N 'foot'

wok'-om 'thigh' (Tapotzingo)

piš N 'knee'

piš-im 'knee' (Tapotzingo)

nāk' N 'belly'

nāk'-ām 'belly' (Tapotzingo)

6.2.1.4. -Vk'. -Vk' 'body' also derives nouns from CVC unique constituents.

ʔol-ok' 'throat'

ʒen-ek' 'calf bone'

6.2.1.5. -Vp'. -Vp' derives nouns from CVC unique constituents.

suk-up' 'horns'

k'oh-op' 'mask'

huk-up' 'canoe'

čuy-up' 'whistling'

háy-āp' 'yawn'

6.2.1.6. -āw. -āw also derives nouns from CVC unique constituents.

hal-āw 'tepequincle'

kak-āw 'cacao'

tik-āw 'heat'

6.2.1.7. -et. -et derives nouns from CVC unique constituents.

·bek'-et 'cow, cattle'

sem-et 'comal'

6.2.1.8. -i. -i 'removed in time' derives nouns from numerals, ordinals, and time nouns.

hap' N 'year'

hāb-i 'a year ago'

ča? NUM 'two'

ča?-b-i 'day after tomorrow' (Tapotzingo)

čā-b-i 'day before yesterday'

?uš NUM 'three'

?uš-(h)āb-i 'three years ago'

6.2.1.9. -a?. -a? 'person' derives nouns from intransitive roots and unique constituents.

neb-a? 'orphan'

hul IV 'to arrive'

hul-a? 'visitor'

6.2.1.10. -ay. -ay derives animal (especially insects) nouns from unique constituents.

č'in-ay `cricket`

kúk-ay `firefly`

6.2.1.11. -Vn. -Vn `relative` derives nouns from unique constituents.

suk-un `elder brother, uncle`

ha?-an `brother-in-law of man`

háw-án `woman's sister-in-law`

6.2.1.12. -ák. -ák derives nouns from unique constituents and root intransitive verbs.

ǰay-ák `chicle gum`

wáy IV `to sleep`

wáy-ák `dream`

6.2.1.13. -ben. -ben derives ritual apparatus nouns from unique constituents and root intransitive verbs.

ho-ben `drum`

pul IV `to burn`

pul-ben `incense burner`

6.2.1.14. -k'elan. -k'elan `brilliant, shiny` derives nouns from adjectives of color.

čāk AJ `red`

čāk-k'elan `brilliant red`

sāk AJ `white`

sāk-k'elan `brilliant white`

6.2.1.15. -Vhe(1)/-Vha(1). -Vhe(1)/-Vha(1) (where the vowel echoes the vowel of the root) derives nouns from Chontal CVC nominal roots and unique constituents.

k'in N `day, sun`

k'in-ihe `time`

č'ul N `drop of liquid`

č'ul N `church, god`

č'ul-uhe `religion`

muk' N `strength`

muk'-uhe `rest`

č'un-uhe `fiesta`

lot N `companion`

lot-oha `wedding`

It is very similar to the -ijel suffix found in Chol (Warkentin and Scott 1980:19).

6.2.1.16. -be(1). In Classical Chontal, -be(1) has been analyzed as -ebel or -abel. Smailus has identified it as a future for transitive verbs (1975:197), but translates it in the text as a passive or nominal (1975:56, 58, 61, 74, 103, 109). In Modern Chontal, -be(1) or -be(r) appears to be an unproductive suffix which is attached to a few root transitive verbs and nouns.

k'uš TV 'to bite'

k'uš-be 'hate'

Nouns derived by -be(1) may be further derived with the addition of the instrumental -ip' suffix (see sec. 6.2.2.1.).

čo N 'cornfield, corn plant'

čo-b(e)r-ip' 'land for planting'

Likewise, in Cholti, -bel appears to be an instrumental suffix (Moran 1625:23).

6.2.1.17. -an. -an derives nouns from Chontal CVC unique constituents.

pat-an 'work'

mah-an 'loan'

piš-an 'heart, soul'

6.2.1.18. -vč'. -vč' also derives nouns from CVC unique constituents.

hom-oč' 'cornhusk'

šin-ič' 'ant'

6.2.1.19. -ba(1). -ba(1) derives nouns from CVC unique constituents and root transitive verbs.

k'am-ba 'pain'

šam-ba 'walking'

luk TV 'to fish'

luk-ba 'fishing'

ʔo(1) TV 'to want s.t.'

ʔol-ba 'desire'

6.2.1.20. -la. The -la suffix derives nouns from unique constituents, adjectives, and nouns.

buk-la 'clouds'

sak' AJ 'itchy'

sak'e-la 'mange'

č'uh N 'church'

č'uʔ-la 'baptized child'

6.2.1.21. -ne(1). The -ne(1) 'person' suffix derives nouns from nouns and unique constituents.

ʔalas N 'play'

ʔalās-ne 'player'

čú?-ne `rich, powerful person`

6.2.1.22. -ni(1). Similar to the -ne(1) suffix, the -ni(1) suffix derives nouns from other nouns.

?alas N `play`

?álds-ni `toy`

6.2.1.23. -ewe(1). -ewe(1) derives plural nouns from intransitive root verbs.

čám IV `to die`

čám-ewe `dead people`

num IV `to pass`

num-ewe `passers-by`

6.2.1.24. -V(1). -V(1) derives nouns from transitive verbs.

čon TV `to sell`

čon-o `store`

sih-đn tv `to give as a gift, in marriage`

sih-i `offering`

6.2.2. PRODUCTIVE DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES. Productive nominal derivational suffixes include -ip, -đp, -e(1), -ma(1), -a(1), -i(1), -e(1), -∅, -om, -a/-ah, and -(a)ya.

6.2.2.1. -ip. Smailus first identified the -ib suffix in

Classical Chontal as deriving instrumental nouns from verbs (1975:201). As with the corresponding Tojolabal instrumental suffix (Furbee-Losee 1976:81), the Chontal instrumental suffix derives nouns of instrument and place. In Chontal, these nouns are derived from transitive verbs, positional adjectives (see sec. 10.1.2.2.), and nouns. In general, -ip' is suffixed to CVC roots and CVC-Vn and CVC-(V)l stems.

miš-ān tv 'to sweep'

miš-ip' 'broom'

miš-ān-ip' 'sweeping place'

pat-an n 'work' ('tribute' in Classical Chontal)

pat-an-ip' 'work place'

čum-u(1) aj 'seated'

čum-l-ip' 'chair'

muk-u(1) aj 'locked up'

muk-l-ip' 'jail'

Some nouns derived by -ip' seem to be results of, rather than instruments of an action.

pal-ān TV 'to whittle'

pal-ip' 'stick'

6.2.2.2. -āp'. Related to -ip', -āp' is also an instrumental suffix. It is attached to CVC verbal or unique constituent roots.

šām-ba n `walking`

šān-āp `shoes`

šī(h)-b-ān tv `to comb`

šīh-āp `comb`

6.2.2.3. -e(1). -e(1) derives nouns from CVC-CVCn(a), CVC-Vln(a), CVC-Vkn(a), CVC-law, and CVC-Vk-t(a) affects.

bān-āk-n-e `moving wheels`

woh-woh-n-e `barking`

yuk-ul-n-e `rocking`

∅'im-lāw-e `whizzing`

kop'-oh-t-e `crunching`

6.2.2.4. -ma(1). The -ma(1) suffix derives nouns from numerals (one through four (through six in Tapotzingo) + a classifier). The -ma(1) derived nouns are Class 2 nouns (i.e. they must be possessed) with one exception, un-šoy-ma `circumference.`

?u ča-k'el-ma ká hun

A3 2-NC -n A1 paper

`Two sheets of my paper`

?u čān-∅'it-ma ha?as

A3 4 -NC -n bananas

`The four bananas`

kola kã ča?-tu-ma-la
 let's go Al 2 -NC-n -pll
 'Let's go, both of us'

kã kih -o kã hun-tu-ma
 Al stay-impf Al 1 -NC-n
 'I remain alone'

6.2.2.5. -a(1). The -a(1) suffix has two functions. First, it serves to derive abstract nouns from adjectives productively. This function is documented in Classical Chontal as well (Smailus 1975:209). The -a(1) derived nouns are normally, but not always, possessed. When possessed, they are often followed by the possessor noun phrase. Smailus describes this relationship as 'the attributive subordination of an adjective to the following noun' (1975:209).

č'ok AJ 'small, young'
 hin ?ih č'o-č'ok-a de unde-lop'
 DEM fg small -n of them
 'the youngest of them'

noh AJ 'large, full-grown'
 ?u noh -a kã čič
 A3 large-n Al sister
 'the eldest of my older sisters'

toh AJ `true, real`

?u toh -a

A3 true-n

`the truth`

säk AJ `white`

sä -säk -a

white-white-n

`whiteness`

Second, the -a(1) suffix serves to derive terms for diseases or illnesses from derived and compound nouns.

tik-äw n `heat`

tik-(ä)w-a `fever`

k'uš-Ø=näk' n `stomach pain`

k'uš-Ø=näk'-a `stomachache`

č'i?=näk' n `blood + belly`

č'i?=näk'-a `dysentery`

6.2.2.6. -i(1). As in Classical Chontal (Smailus 1975:206), the -i(1) suffix derives generalized or abstract nouns from concrete nouns.

win-ik n `man`

win-ik-i `manhood, manliness`

mač ʔa gwi win-ik-i

neg A2 know manhood

`You do not know how to be a man`

suk-un n `older brother, uncle`

suk-un-i `relatives of blood or friendship`

ʔu suk-un -i

A3 brother-n

`his relatives`

k'in N `day, sun`

k'in-i `time`

ʔahn - i -∅ k'in-i

to be-perf-B3 day -n

`Once upon a time`

rey N `king`

rey-i `kings in general`

6.2.2.7. -e(1). As in Classical Chontal (Smailus 1975:206-207), the -e(1) suffix derives abstract nouns from nominals already derived by

-i(1) (see sec. 6.2.2.6.).² When the -e(1) suffix is added, the -i(1) suffix becomes l or r.

win-ik n 'man'

win-(i)k-r-e 'men in general'

?iš-ik n 'woman'

?iš-ik-l-e 'women in general, womanhood'

te? N 'tree'

te?-l-e 'forest, wild'

loko 'crazy' (from Sp)

loko-l-e 'craziness'

6.2.2.8. -∅. The -∅ suffix derives nouns from root transitive verbs. The derived nouns are often used with the agentive prefix ?ah (see sec. 8.4.) and in forming compound nouns (see sec. 6.3.).

mān TV 'to buy'

mān-∅/man-∅ 'buying'

²Modern Chontal has an alternative method for showing abstraction of certain nouns. Instead of adding the -i(1) or -i(1)-e(1) suffixes, puru (from Spanish puro) or meru (from Spanish mero), adjectives meaning 'essence of, pure, real,' can be used.

puru winik 'a real man'
meru čitam 'a real pig'

ʔep TV `to cut`

?ah ʔep-Ø

mg cut-n

`cutter`

lah TV `to pat`

lah-Ø=wah

pat-n=tortilla

`tortilla making`

6.2.2.9. -om. The -om suffix derives nominals from root and -V(n) derived transitives and -s causatives.

tʔ TV `to touch`

?ah tʔl -om

mg touch-n

`a child that always touches things`

nʔt TV `to crash`

?noh nʔt-om tʔ kamion

large crash-n in bus

`A large crash in the bus`

ʃih-ʔn tv `to comb`

kʔ h -e tʔ ʃih -om

Al go-impf to comb-n

`I am going to comb`

ɕəm-s-en tv 'to kill'

?ah ɕəm- s -om

mg die-caus-n

'killer'

wiš-in tv 'to urinate'

mač k'en ?a wiš -om

neg much A2 urinate-n

'Your urine is not very much'

The -om nominals are often found as the first element of compound nouns where they appear to have perfective meaning.

tuh-om=čitam n 'stinking pig'

toh-om=win-ik n 'paid man'

6.2.2.10. -a/-ah. As in Classical Chontal (Smailus 1975:201), the -a/-ah suffix is used to nominalize a few derived transitive verbs (causatives, verbs of perception, and a few others). In general, the -a allomorph is used in word-final position and the -ah allomorph is used in compounds.

ɕəm-s-en tv 'to kill'

?ah ɕəm- s -a

mg die-caus-n

'killed person'

ʔam- s -ah=čitam

die-caus-n =pig

`killed pig`

ʔir-an tv `to see`

kā h -e tā ʔir-ah=č'ok

A1 go-impf to see-n =youth

`I am watching children`

č-en tv `to do, make`

ʔa h -e tā čer-ah

A2 go-impf to do -n

`You are going to do it`

6.2.2.11. -(a)ya. The -(a)ya suffix derives nouns from some root and most derived transitive verbs (especially -s causatives) in Modern Chontal as it did in Classical Chontal (Smailus 1975:200).

tāk-l-in tv `to help`

tāk-l-aya `help`

k'a?-s-en tv `to cross`

ʔah k'a? - s -aya

mg cross-caus-n

`a ferryman`

suk-pek-#n tv `to lie, deceive`

suk-pek-ya `lie`

k'uš TV `to eat, bite`

k'uš-ya `bite`

ø'a?t-aya `witching, curing`

?ah ø'a?t-aya

mg cure -n

`warlock`

6.3. COMPOUND NOUNS. Compound nouns contain two stems. The first is an adjective, root or derived nominal, or positional root and the second a noun. The entire compound represents to a single lexeme. Often, the meaning of the whole is greater than the sum of the individual parts.

ADJECTIVE + NOUN

säk `white` + tok `flint`

säk=tok `egg`

noh `large` + šip `male`

no=šip `old man, husband`

pah `sour` + pos ?

pah=pos `soursop`

NOUN + NOUN

pam `head, above` + kap `land, dirt`

pan=kap `earth, world`

č'uh `church` + te? `tree`

č'uh=te? `cedar`

ta? `excrement` + k'in `sun, day`

ta=k'in `money`

tič-Ø `pointing` + k'in `sun, day`

tič-Ø=k'in `praying mantis`

čer-ah `doing` + ?otot `house`

čer-ah=otot `house-building`

šuč'-om `stolen` + bek'-et `cow`

šuč'-om=bek'-et `stolen cows`

t'un-ip' `covered` + ha? `water`

t'un-i?=ha? `rain cape`

POSITIONAL + NOUN

soy `twisted` + ta? `excrement`

soy=ta? `intestines`

gol `rounded' + ha?as `plantain, banana'

gol=a?as `zapote'

When compound nouns are possessed, they are possessed as units.

kã soy =ta? -la

Al twist=excrement-pll

`our intestines'

6.4. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NOUNS AND INTRANSITIVE VERBS.

Intransitive verbs do not have derived nominal counterparts in Chontal because imperfective intransitive verbs behave syntactically like nouns.³ In other words, they can be possessed, use grammatical gender prefixes, form the base of a stative predicate, and can be used after tã in both complement constructions (see sec. 14.2.2.1.) and gerunds (see sec. 6.5.).

kã t -e

Al come-impf

`my coming' or `I come'

?ah ø'ib -int-e

mg write-pas-impf

`that which is being written'

³Chontal intransitive verbs behave like what Aulie and Aulie (1978:189) have called nominalized verbs. Nominalized verbs are invariable (i.e. they have no reflexive or perfective form) and express the verbal concepts of intransitive action.

tuba ?ah k'uš- k -an
 for mg eat -pas-impf
 `for being eaten`

?oč - el -on
 enter-impf-B1
 `I am entering`

čum- tel -et
 sit-Pimpf-B2
 `You are seated`

?ah t'áb - ol -on-la
 mg climb-impf-B1-pll
 `We are climbers`

kā h -e tā hul -e
 A1 go-impf to arrive-impf
 `I am going to arrive`

6.5. GERUNDS. Intransitive verbs of motion, as well as positional intransitives, also can function as gerunds (nouns). A gerund construction consists of tā + Set A pronoun + an imperfective intransitive verb. The tā particle assimilates with the Set A pronoun.

tāk biš-e `on my going`

ta? biš-e `on your going`

tu biš-e `on his going`
 tāk biš-e-la `on our going`
 tāk biš-e-t'okop' `on our going`
 ta? biš-e-la `on your (pl) going`
 tu biš-e-lop' `on their going`

tāk suk-te `on my returning`

The gerund construction may optionally be followed by an expressed subject.

t -u t -e noh bálum ba
 on-A3 come-impf large jaguar cl
 `Upon the jaguar's coming`

Normally, gerunds function as introductory phrases and are followed by an independent clause whose predicate is inflected for person and aspect.

tā-k suk -te da, k -ā1 - b - en -et
 on-A1 return-Pimpf cl, A1 say-ben-impf-B2
 `On my return, I'll tell you it`

t -u oč - e tan kah , ya? -an -Ø ?um p'e ?otot
 on-A3 enter-impf into town, there-be-B3 l NC house
 `On entering the town, there is a house`

Note that the subject of the gerund may be different from the subject of the main verb.

t -u num - e ?u hu?- b - i -Ø ?u punal
on-A3 pass-impf A3 put-ben-perf-B3 A3 knife
'On its passing, he put the knife in it'

CHAPTER 7

NOUNS: POSSESSION AND PLURALITY

7.1. POSSESSION. Most nouns in Chontal may be possessed. The grammatical category of possession includes both part relation (or pertainence) and ownership relation (or accompaniment) possession (Larson 1976). In Chontal, possession of nouns is indicated by either the Set A dependent pronouns or the independent possessive pronouns.

7.1.1. POSSESSION WITH THE SET A PRONOUNS. The most common way of showing nominal possession is with the Set A dependent pronouns and plural suffixes which inflect for the possessor (i.e. cross-referencing the person and number of the possessor). Accordingly, the possessed noun has the form: Set A - noun - (plural).

- ká pap 'my father'
- ?a pap 'your father'
- ?u pap 'his/her father'
- ká pap-la 'our father (inclusive)'
- ká pap-t'okop' 'our father (exclusive)'
- ?a pap-la 'your (plural) father'
- ?u pap-lop' 'their father'

k -otot `my house`

?a w-otot `your house`

?u y-otot `his/her house`

In Chontal, nouns (concrete nouns in particular) may be classified into four groups in terms of their possessibility and the differences, if any, between their part relation, ownership relation, and/or absolute form.

Certain Chontal nouns are not generally considered possessible. These Class 1 nouns usually refer to natural phenomena and most undomesticated flora and fauna.

*kǎ buk-la `my cloud`

*?u ?ah uč `his fox`

*kǎ šinič `my ant`

However, edible undomesticated animals, such as animals caught during hunting, may be possessed if the noun classifier pa? `edible` is present.

?a pa? ?ah uč

A2 edible mǫ fox

`Your fox for eating`

Some nouns are obligatorily possessed in Chontal. These Class 2 nouns are in a part relation with the possessor. They include:

(1) Parts of a whole

*nič `flower`

?u nič te? `a tree's flower`

ti? `mouth`

?u ti? ?otot `door` (literally `house's mouth`)

?ok `foot`

?u y-ok ?otot `corner post` (literally `house's foot`)

(2) Kinship terms

*na? `mother`

?a na? `your mother`

*?iø'an `younger sibling`

k -iø'an `my younger sibling`

(3) Parts of the body which are not severable

*pul `forehead`

u pul `her forehead`

*mis `armpit`

?a mis `your armpit`

(4) Ordinals (see sec. 12.2.3.)

However, most nouns in Chontal are optionally possessed (i.e. they are possessed only when the discourse warrants it). The Class 3 nouns may be subdivided into Class 3a and Class 3b nouns according to whether or not there are differences between their part relation possessed form and their absolute or ownership possessed form.

Class 3a nouns mark their absolute and possessed forms with no special derivational suffixes, and, in general, the possessed form refers to ownership.

?otot `house`

k -otot `my house`

wiču? `dog`

?u wiču? `his/her dog`

A limited number of nouns (Class 3b) have part relation possessed forms which differ from their ownership relation and absolute forms. In their part-relation possessed form, an -a(1), -i(1), or -e(1) suffix is added to the nominal stem. These suffixes limit the referent of the noun to one specific possessed example. Of these, the -i(1) suffix occurs most often.

bih `road`

?u bih-i `his path`

čih `vein`

kā čih-i `my vein`

buø `smoke`

?u buø'-i k'ak' `the fire's smoke`

øi?-tan `ash`

?u ø'i?-tān-i k'ak' `the fire's ash`

ta=k'in `money`

?u ta=k'in ?otot `the house's price`

The -a(1) and -e(1) suffixes are rarer.

ɸ'en `bed`

?u ɸ'en-a ?iš-im `a corn platform`

ɸ'ak `condiment`

?u ɸ'ak-a `its seasoning`

bak `bone`

?a bāk-e `your bone (from your body)`

The ownership relation possessed form is the same as the absolute form (i.e. -ɸ).

?u ɸ'i?-tan `his ash`

?a tak'in `your money`

kā ɸ'en `my bed`

?a bak `your bed`

7.1.2. POSSESSION WITH THE INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS. In Chontal the independent possessive pronouns can also be used to show ownership (see Table XIII). The independent possessive pronouns can be used to show the possession of any noun, including Class 1 nouns.

*kā ?ah uč' `my fox`

tāk'a ?ah uč' `mine, the fox`

Although, in the above example, the independent possessive pronoun precedes the possessed noun, the independent possessive pronoun normally

TABLE XIII: THE INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

tāk'a	'mine'
ta?a	'yours'
de ?ande	'yours'
tuba	'his/hers/its'
ta	'his/hers/its'
de ?unde	'his/hers/its'
tāk'a-la	'our (inclusive)'
tāk'a-t'okop'	'our (exclusive)'
ta?a-la	'yours (plural)'
de ?ande-la	'yours (plural)'
tuba-lop'	'theirs'
de ?unde-lop'	'theirs'

follows the noun to which it refers.¹

hin-da ?ap' de ?unde

DEM-cl hammock of him

'this one, his hammock'

hin-da ča? -tu čitam tāk'a

DEM-cl 2 -NC pig mine

'These two pigs of mine'

hin-da libro ta?a

DEM-cl book yours

'This book of yours'

When the possessed noun has already been introduced into the discourse and/or it is understood as being possessed by the possessor, it may be omitted or be referred to by a demonstrative (see sec. 8.1.2.).

lo ke ?ande ?a poh - l- i -∅ ba hin ta?a

that which you A2 find-tv-perf-B3 cl DEM your

'that which you found is yours'

¹The fronting of the independent possessive pronoun is a way of emphasizing or giving priority to the possessor in cross-references. Similarly, the possessed noun may be fronted. In that case, a verb may separate the noun from the independent possessive pronoun.

?um p'e ?asunto ya? -an -∅ ta?a

1 NC business there-be-B3 you

'You have one business'

hin-ba noh problema ?an-∅ tuba

DEM-cl large problem be-B3 his

'This big problem is his'

?u pete hin-ba win-ik ?u h-ir - i -∅ t'ok ?u h
 A3 all dem-cl man A3 see-perf-B3 with A3

'All the men he saw with their

?ih-č'upin -lop' ?i tuba t'ok ?otra win-ik

fg -old woman-pl3 and belongs with other man

wives and his with another man'

As is the case with the Set A pronouns, the independent possessive pronouns cross-reference the possessor, which is usually not expressed.

An independent possessive pronoun may be used in addition to the Set A possessive pronoun to emphasize the owner of the object referred to by the noun.

?ande ?a kǎnǎn- t- an -∅ ?u wiču? tuba

you A2 watch-tv-impf-B3 A3 dog his

'You have his dog'

Or, both kinds of pronouns may be used when a noun has two different possessors.

tǎk'a ?a w-otot

mine A2 -house

'I own your house'

The third person independent possessive pronoun tuba (ta + ?u ba) also functions as a relational noun meaning 'who/which belongs to.' It, along with its synonym the particle ta, introduces oblique possessor noun phrases which have two forms: tuba + NP (noun phrase) 'belongs to

NP' and ta + NP 'belongs to NP'.²

čitam-lop' ta ?ah yan

pig -pl3 belongs mg John

'The pigs which belong to John'

kā suk-un tuba kā na?

Al uncle belongs Al mother

'My uncle on my mother's side'

7.2. PLURAL MARKERS. Inflection for plurality is not obligatory for nouns. Instead, plurality may be understood from context:

?u bih -i kočē

A3 road-ps car

'the cars' road (highway)'

or it may be expressed in the verb phrase:

?u k'ot- e -lop' bek'-et

A3 come-impf-pl3 cow

'The cattle come'

²Although a noun phrase always follows the particle ta, a third person noun phrase following tuba may be omitted if its meaning is understood.

?ande ?a kānān- t - an -∅ ?u wiču? tuba
 you A2 watch-tv -impf-B3 A3 dog his
 'You have his dog'

?u lah k'uš- e? -∅ wah

A3 all eat -impf-B3 tortilla

`He ate all the tortillas`

Plurality may be expressed in the noun phrase in several ways. First, one of three suffixes of plurality can be attached to the head noun: (1) the plural suffix -op'/-lop' (see sec. 3.3.), (2) the collective plural -e(1) (-el in Classical Chontal), and (3) the abundance suffixes -il-ba.

The suffix -op'/-lop' is used to pluralize a limited number of nouns (i.e. those referring to humans, most animals, and celestial bodies).

win-ik-lop' / win-ik-op' `men`

čitam-lop' `pigs`

k'in-lop' `days, suns`

iš-ik-lop' `women`

?išik -tak-lop'

woman-pl -pl3

`women`

*bu?ul-op' `beans`

*iš-im-lop' `corn`

The collective plural suffix is -e(1). It may occur with only a limited number of nouns (see Appendix V). The Chontal collective appears to be closely related to the Chol collective -el (Schumann 1973:26).

?otot-e `houses`

te?-e `trees`

ʔuʔ-e `hair`

č'ič'-e `blood`

The -il-ba plural suffix may be added to nouns to indicate abundance or extension. It is very productive.

ʔotot-il-ba `an abundance of houses`

čitam-il-ba `an abundance of pigs`

Second, plurality may be indicated in the noun phrase by means other than inflection on the head noun. This can be done in two ways -- by the use of adjectives of quantity (see Ch. 10) or numerals (see Ch. 12).

mäh k'en wah

very much tortilla

`lots of tortillas`

čäm-p'e ʔotot

4 -NC house

`four houses`

Plural inflection on nouns and the use of adjectives of quantity or numerals are not mutually exclusive,

čäm-p'e ʔotot-il-ba

4 -NC house-pl-cl

`four out of an abundance`

mäh k'en ʔotot -e

very much house-pl

`lots of houses`

něh k'en ?otot-il-ba

very much house-pl-cl

`lots of houses spread out`

with the exception that numerals and the -e(1) plural are never used together.

*čām-p'e ?otot -e

4 -NC house-pl

`four houses`

CHAPTER 8

PRONOUNS, DEFINITE DETERMINERS, NOUN CLASSIFIERS, AND GRAMMATICAL GENDER

8.1. PRONOUNS. Pronouns are noun substitutes (i.e. they take the place of nouns). In Chontal, they always agree in person and optionally in number with their nominal antecedent. Chontal has two kinds of independent pronouns: personal and demonstrative.

8.1.1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS. The personal pronouns include three stems which can be inflected for number by the addition of a plural suffix. The independent personal pronouns vary among the different dialects of Chontal (see sec. 1.4.). Those of the San Carlos dialect are listed in Table XIV.

8.1.2. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS. Demonstratives specify the item (or items) in a group under discussion. They always refer to the third person. The basic Chontal demonstrative is hin 'this one, that one, the one.' Usually it is found in conjunction with one of the phrase terminal particles: i, ba, da, or da + ba. Normally, demonstratives with the clitic ba or i are translated as 'that' and demonstratives with the clitic da are translated as 'this.'

hin-i 'that one'

hin-ba 'that one'

TABLE XIV: PERSONAL PRONOUNS

kande	`I, me`
?ande	`you`
?unde	`he, she, it, him, her`
kande-la	`we, us (inclusive)`
kande-t'okop`	`we, us (exclusive)`
?ande-la	`you all`
?unde-lop`	`they, them`

hin-da `this one`

hin-da-ba `this one`

In addition, the third person plural -lop can be suffixed to the demonstrative stem.

hin-ba-lop `those ones`

The demonstrative pronouns can also be used with nouns, specifying which noun in a group is being referred to.

hin win-ik `that is the man`

hin-i win-ik `that is the man`

hin-ba win-ik `that is the man`

hin-da win-ik `this is the man`

hin-da-ba win-ik `this is the man`

Often a noun phrase is placed in a demonstrative frame introduced by hin or a hin compound and terminated by hin-i or a phrase terminal particle (ba or da).

hin-i win-ik hin-i `that man`

hin-i win-ik da `this man`

hin-ba ?iš-ik hin-i `that woman`

hin-ba ?iš-ik ba `that woman`

hin-ba ?iš-ik da `this woman`

hin-ba ta=k'in hin `this money`

hin-da ?ih-č'ok hin `this girl`

hin-da ?ih-č'ok ba `this girl`

hin-da ni ?ih-č'ok da `this is the girl`

hin-da-ba ?ih-č'ok ba `this is the girl`

Note that all of these terminal clitics and demonstratives can be used without the introductory demonstratives.

win-ik da `this man`

ni win-ik da `this man`

yok win-ik ba `the man`

ni win-ik hin-i `that man`

ni win-ik ba `that man`

noh win-ik hin da `this large man`

8.2. DEFINITE DETERMINERS. Chontal has a definite determiner ni `the` which is used to specify nouns. It always precedes the noun (and Set A pronoun, if present) it modifies.

ni ?u wah

the A3 tortilla

`his tortillas`

ni yok winik

the dear man

`the dear man`

In discourse ni is used with nominal participants already introduced into the discourse and with culturally assumable entities which may or may not have been introduced previously. Its use is similar to that of ha in Tojolabal (Brody 1983:81, 92).

8.3. NOUN CLASSIFIERS. Unlike some Mayan languages, such as Jacalteco, Kanjobal, and Chuj, which have a system of noun classifiers according to which nouns are grouped, Chontal has only one morpheme, pa?, which can be considered as a noun classifier.

The morpheme pa? means 'edible or drinkable' and precedes many nouns referring to plants (especially fruits and vegetables), animals, parts of animals, condiments, and liquids.

kã pa? ?aʔ'am 'my salt for eating'

?u pa? ?un 'his avocado'

kã pa? ?ih paloma 'my dove for eating'

?a pa? ha?as 'your plantain for eating'

?u pa? čič 'his blood for eating'

kã pa? ha? 'my drinking water'

Moreover, pa? is used with toys.

?u pa? alas 'his toy (that he loves a lot and never puts down)'

Normally, pa? is present when these nouns are possessed with the Set A pronouns. It is placed between the pronoun and the noun. The presence of pa? indicates that the possession is an ownership relation.

?a pa? čič 'your blood for eating'

?a čič 'your blood'

kã pa? ?aʔ'am 'my salt for eating'

kã ?aʔ'am 'my body salt'

pa? is obligatory with possessed Class 1 nouns, but it is optional with

possessed nouns from any other class.

?u pa? ha?as 'his plantain'

?u ha?as 'his plantain'

8.4. GRAMMATICAL GENDER. Chontal, like Chol (Attinasi 1973:146), marks certain animal, plant, and human nouns with grammatical gender. Grammatical gender in Chontal is morphologically marked by one of two prefixes: ?iš/?ih 'feminine'¹ or ?ah 'masculine.' Grammatical gender and sex gender are not always equivalent.

The gender prefixes are mandatory with many animal and plant names in Chontal.² The gender prefixes refer to the species in general, not to one sex. ?ah is more frequent than ?iš/?ih in my data, but one cannot predict from the noun which will be used (especially not with birds). Table XV lists some examples of animal and plant names with their gender prefixes.

¹?iš has two phonological variants: ?iš and ?ih. In general, ?iš is used before glottal stop/vowel-initial nouns and ?ih before non-glottal stop consonant-initial nouns (although ?iš may occur before consonants in slow careful speech).

²Other plant and animal names are never preceded by the gender morphemes. For example:

bu?u	'beans'
čitam	'pig'
šimim	'horse'
wič'u?	'dog'
pi.o?	'chicken'

TABLE XV: ANIMAL AND PLANT NAMES

ʔiš

ʔih čěča	`red-crowned parrot`
ʔih mukuy	`dove`
ʔih paloma	`dove`
ʔih pe.aʔ	`grey-breasted jay`

ʔah

ʔah moʔoʔ	`worm`
ʔah huh	`iguana`
ʔah lah	`nettle`
ʔah yerba	`tarantula`
ʔah tʔul	`rabbit`
ʔah pokʔ	`hog plum`
ʔah čʔin-ay	`cricket`
ʔah čuč	`squirrel`
ʔah gabilan	`sparrow hawk`
ʔah čuh=teʔ	`cedar`
ʔah muč	`toad`

If the biological sex of the animal must be specified, there are specific terms for designating only males or only females of a species. Although a few species have separate lexical items for each sex (see Table XVI), most species do not. As in Chuj (Hopkins 1978), most species in Chontal use one of the several sex markers which are prefixed to the noun (see Table XVII).

Grammatical gender can also be applied to some celestial bodies.

?ah lusero 'star'

?ah ta?=lusero 'meteor (literally: star excrement)'

In general, human nouns which are prefixed by the gender morphemes are clearly distinguished along sex lines.

?ih-č'ok 'young female, daughter'

?ih-č'upin 'old woman, wife'

?ah lo? 'male youth, son'

The use of gender morphemes is very productive with proper names and agentive nouns derived from verbs, adjectives, and other nouns.³

?ih mala? 'Maria'

?ih pet 'Petrona'

³Note that the vocative forms of these human nouns and proper names do not have the gender prefix. Grammatical gender is used only for third person reference.

?ida t-e č'ok 'Come here, daughter'

?ida t-e lo? 'Come here, son'

?ida t-e mala? 'Come here, Maria'

TABLE XVI: SEX SPECIFIC ANIMAL TERMS

pi.o?	`chicken`	?ah øe	`rooster`	na? pi.o?	`hen`
mulu?	`turkey`	?ah øo?	`tom turkey`	na? mulu?	`turkey hen`

TABLE XVII: SEX MARKERS USED WITH ANIMAL TERMS

<u>Sex Markers</u>	<u>Examples</u>
?iš/?ih	?ih øenke? `female woodpecker`
?ah	?ah øenke? `male woodpecker`
na?	na? pum `female howler monkey` na? bek'et `female cow` na? wiču? `female dog`
?ah lo?	?ah lo? bek'et `bull`
na? ?iš/?ih	na? ?ih mis `female cat`
lo? ?ah	lo? ah mis `male cat`
lo?	lo? wiču? `male dog`

?ah lipe	`Philip´
?ah bertu.	`Albertino´
?ah toč	`Antonio´
?ah k´oh-p-an	`sick person´
?ah šuč´	`thief´
?ah ø´a?t-aya	`warlock´
?ah čām-e	`dead person´
?ih ø´a?t-aya	`female witch´
?ih lah-ø=wah	`female tortilla maker´
?ah øuø	`barber´
?ah ?ankr-e	`runner´
?ah ho-ben	`drummer´
?ah pat-an	`worker´
?ah loč´-pat	`hunchback´
?ah pos	`pale person´
?ah ø´u	`Ladino´
?ih ø´u	`Ladina´

In some instances, the masculine or feminine gender marking is used for general reference as well as for biological sex. This commonly occurs when agent nominalization is based on preconceived notions of sexual division of labor. For example, women wash clothes in Chontal-speaking towns so a `clotheswasher´ huø´-ø=nok uses the feminine gender marker.

?ih huø´-ø=nok `clotheswasher´

On the other hand, k'eč-Ø=buč 'fishcatcher' uses the masculine gender particle because fishermen are usually men.

?ah k'eč-Ø=buč 'fisherman'

CHAPTER 9

PARTICLES

9.0. Particles are words which are never subject to inflection or derivation, but may be compounded. They may be classified according to their function in a sentence. In Chontal, most particles are either adverbial or syntactic.

9.1. ADVERBIAL PARTICLES. Adverbial particles modify verbs and serve as aspect markers indicating the internal temporal constituency of a situation.

9.1.1 VERB MODIFIERS. Two types of adverbial particles used to modify verbs: independent and dependent.

9.1.1.1. INDEPENDENT ADVERBS. The independent adverbial particles are placed before or after the verb phrase (or a stative construction (see sec. 13.1.)). They include adverbs of time, manner, and conversation. They cannot be placed between the Set A pronoun and the verb.

kande kã t - e bada

I Al come-impf now

'I come now'

kande bada kã t -e
 I now A1 come-impf
 'I come now'

*kande kã bada t -e
 I A1 now come-impf
 'I come now'

sam ?a hul- Ø -on
 earlier today asp come-perf-B1
 'I already came earlier today'

Table XVIII lists some of the most frequently used independent adverbial particles and compounds.

?u h - e ti
 A3 go-impf might
 'He might go'

wa?toda ?a hul - Ø -on
 scarcely asp arrive-perf-B1
 'I had scarcely arrived'

si k -uwi ik'a kwa? ?u h - e ?u č - en -Ø
 if A1-know contrary to fact what A3 go-impf A3 do-impf-B3
 'If I had know what would happen,

TABLE XVIII: INDEPENDENT ADVERBIAL PARTICLES

<u>C</u>	<u>CVCV</u>
č `always`	wäre `questioning`
<u>CV</u>	<u>CVCCVC</u>
to `still, yet`	na?tän `slowly`
ti `maybe`	
da `later today`	<u>CVCCVCV</u>
	wa?toda `scarcely`
<u>CVC</u>	
mač/mah `negative`	<u>CVCVC</u>
čič `always`	?ak`đp `at night`
ča? `again (also 2)`	đita? `a little`
sam `earlier today`	
ya? `there, then`	<u>Compounds</u>
mäh `very`	?iš=ta `until`
	sam=i `earlier today`
<u>CCV</u>	dar=i `later today`
tra `well, think of that`	taš=to `not yet`
	?iš=ti `perhaps`
<u>CVCV</u>	
?oni `a long time ago`	<u>Adverbial Phrases</u>
?a?i `reported speech`	če da `thus`
tākā `also`	mač to `not yet`
bada `now`	de ya?=i ba `then`
?ik`a `contrary to fact`	?an k`ini `long ago`
kira `questioning`	tā ča? num `again`

pasa mač š -∅ -on ká č - i -∅
 happen neg go-perf-B1 A1 do-perf-B3
 I wouldn't have done it'

One of the most frequently used independent adverbs is čič 'yes, always (emphasis)'. It can be stressed or unstressed and has three allomorphs: the stressed syllable nucleus č, čih, and čič. The čih allomorph occurs optionally used before consonant-initial morphemes.

čih ba 'always'
 ya? čih 'for now'

In very fast speech, čič may reduce to č before consonants.

ya? č tra ?an-et
 there always well be -B2
 'Well, here you are'

čič is the most commonly used allomorph. Unlike the other independent adverbs which can precede the verbal phrase, čič can only be postposed.

?a t -e čič
 A2 come-impf always
 'Yes, I'm coming'

?u k'uš- e? -∅ čič
 A3 eat -impf-B3 always
 'I always eat it'

It is commonly used in answers to questions because it can be postposed after any lexical class.

hin čič 'That's it'

kande čič `Yes, it is I`
 ?alas čič `Yes, it's a toy`
 t'ok čič `Yes, with him`
 bada čič `Yes, now`
 toh čič `Yes, it's true`
 ?um p'e čič `Yes, one`
 nat čič `Yes, far`

Another important independent adverb is the historic ?oni `many years ago`. It is also found in Classical Chontal (Smailus 1975:202).

?oni ?ahn- i -Ø ?imim
 years ago be -perf-B3 horse
 `Many years ago there was a horse`

Unlike the postposed čič, the negative mač is always in phrase initial position. Negative constructions are discussed in detail in section 13.3.

Chontal has three independent adverbial particles that are used in reported conversation and in conversation in general which may follow or precede the verb phrase. The particles in question are ?a?i `it is said, reported speech,` kira `I wonder; questioning and expecting an answer,` and wäre `I wonder; questioning but not expecting an answer.`

The most common conversational particle is ?a?i.¹ It indicates reported speech and is frequently found after the verbs ?ɔl 'to say' and ?ub-in 'to sense.'

?i despwes ba ?u y-ɔl - e? -∅ ?a?i

and after cl A3 say-impf-B3 reported speech
'and then he says (it is reported),

konde ?a sak - ɔn -∅

what A2 look-impf-B3

"What are you looking for?"

?u y-ub - i -∅ ?a?i noh kwidador

A3 sense-perf-B3 reported speech large caretaker

'he heard (reported speech) that the caretaker

ba ?a kay - i -∅

cl asp begin-perf-B3

began'

?u sak - b - en -∅ noh nok' t - u čun

A3 look-ben-impf-B3 large worm in-A3 trunk

'to look for a large worm in the trunk'

¹Chol also has a reported speech particle ?ab'i (Tumbala) and bi. Like the Chontal ?a?i, the Chol narrative particle bi "signals an intellectual distancing, freeing the speaker from responsibility for the truth of the utterance in which the particle appears" (Attinasi 1973:197). ?a?i means 'to know, to understand' in Tzotzil and Tzeltal (Victorial Bricker, personal communication).

The other two particles are used when an event or state is being questioned (i.e. when someone is talking to himself) -- kira, when the answer (not necessarily verbal) to the question is anticipated and, wäre, when the answer is not anticipated.

wäre noh ?ah krusador ba ?este ?an-Ø

I wonder big mg ferryman cl this be-B3

`I wonder if the ferryman has

?um p'e problema

l NC problem

a problem'

bada ?u y-äl - k - an konde ?u täsk - un -Ø wäre

now A3 say-pas-impf what A3 bring-impf-B3 I wonder

`Now it is said, "I wonder what does he bring?"`

?ande kira hombre-et

you I wonder man -A2

`You are a man?`

9.1.1.2. DEPENDENT ADVERBS. The second set of adverbial particles are dependent and so cannot stand alone. These adverbs always precede the verbs and are positioned between the Set A pronoun (or aspect particle) and the verb.

kā totah k'uš- i -∅

A1 just eat -perf-B3

'I just ate it'

totah hul - ∅ -et

just arrive-perf-B2

'You just arrived'

?u k'a?k'a č - en -∅ ?uk'-e

A3 a lot do-impf-B3 cry -impf

'He cries a lot'

The most common dependent adverbial particles (root and compound) are listed in Table XIX. Like the independent adverbials, the dependent adverbials have a wide variety of canonical shapes.

?u bah čum-te

A3 still sit-Pimpf

'He sits still'

kā wirin k'uš- i -∅

A1 already eat -perf-B3

'I already ate it'

?a p'élah k'uš- e? -∅

A2 sometimes eat -impf-B3

'You sometimes eat it'

TABLE XIX: DEPENDENT ADVERBIAL PARTICLES

CVC

mul `all together`

bon `perhaps`

nun `then, scarcely`

k'en `much`

lah `all`

bah `motionless`

mãh `very`

wirin `already`

tob=en `completed`

naw=en `can`

p'élah `sometimes`

CVCCV

hun=tu `alone`

k'a?k'a `a lot`

CVCVC

totah `just`

nonoh `wanted, desired`

malah `badly`

ø'ita? `a little`

pak'in `a lot at one time`

CVCV

mala/malã `reciprocal action`

CVCCVC

na?tãn `slowly`

k'ahlin `thoroughly`

?a nun h - i -∅
 asp then go-perf-B3

`Then we went`

Semantics determines whether the adverb can be used with verbs in the imperfective or perfective aspect or both.

One of the most frequently used dependent adverbs is lah `all.` It may be used with both transitive and intransitive verbs. With transitive verbs it indicates a plural object.

?u lah ∅'ep- i -∅
 A3 all cut -perf-B3

`He cut them all`

kā lah k'uš- e? -∅
 A1 all eat -impf-B3

`I eat it all`

However, with intransitive verbs (root and derived), it is used with plural subjects.

?u lah ?ankr-e
 A3 all run -impf

`They all ran`

?a lah š - e -la
 A2 all go-impf-pl2

`You all are going`

?a lah wǎy - ∅ -on-la
 asp all sleep-perf-B1-pl1
 'We all slept'

lah can be used with or without the pronominal plural suffixes or the -
 l-a(n) plural transitivizer.

?u lah ankr- e -lop'
 A3 all run -impf-pl3
 'They all run'

?u lah hǎ∅' - e? -∅
 A3 all hit -impf-B3
 'He/They hit them all'

?u lah hǎ∅' - e? -∅ -lop'
 A3 all hit -impf-B3-pl3
 'He/They hit them all'

?u lah hǎ∅' - l- an -∅
 A3 all hit -tv-impf-B3
 'He/They hit them all'

Normally only one dependent adverb is used with a verb; however,
 independent and dependent adverbs may be combined in the same sentence.

∅'ita? kǎ na?tǎn k'uš- e? -∅
 a little A1 slowly eat -impf-B3
 'I slowly eat a little'

9.1.2. ASPECTUAL PARTICLES. Like most Mayan languages, Chontal uses proclitic particles to mark its various aspects in addition to its two aspectual status suffixes (the imperfective and perfective) discussed in Chapter 3. Since the perfective and imperfective stems are very general from an aspectual point of view, they can be used in conjunction with proclitic aspectual particles to indicate other more specific aspects. These particles are summarized in Table XX. All of these particles can be used with both transitive and intransitive verbs, preceding the verb, dependent adverb, or Set A pronoun if present.

The progressive proclitic is muk', which has an allomorph mu? before the Set A first person pronoun and in fast speech. It is used with imperfective verbs, preceding the Set A pronoun and adverbs if present.

muk' ?u t'áb -o

pp A3 climb-impf

'He is climbing'

mu? ?u wa? -te

pp A3 standing-Pimpf

'He is standing up'

mu? ?u háð'- e? -ø

pp A3 hit -impf-B3

'He is hitting it'

TABLE XX: ASPECTUAL PARTICLES

PARTICLE	STATUS SUFFIX USED WITH	ASPECT
muk /mu?	imperfective	progressive
ha	imperfective	immediate future
han	perfective	immediate past
?a	imperfective/perfective	already begun

mu? to kã ø'ib - ðn -ø

pp still A1 write-impf-B3

`I am still writing it`

The particle ha is used with verbs in the imperfective aspect to indicate an action which will take place right away. Its most common use is in the leave-taking idiom ha kã č-en-ø `I'm going now.`

The particle han is used with the perfective status marker to indicate an action which has just occurred (i.e. the recent past).

han num - ø -on

asp pass-perf-B1

`I went by recently`

han sut -wãn- ø -et

asp return-Piv-perf-B2

`You returned recently`

han ?u hãø'- i -ø

asp A3 hit -perf-B3

`He hit him recently`

The most commonly used aspectual particle is ?a. It has the meaning `already begun` and can be used with verbs in both perfective and imperfective aspects. Although ?a is used with both imperfective and perfective transitive verbs in all persons, it is only manifested phonetically with the Set A first person pronouns k and kã and perfective intransitive verbs. It is assimilated with the Set A second

person ?a and third person ?u.

?a kã k'uš- e? -∅

asp A1 eat -impf-B3

`I'm already eating it`

?a kã k'uš- i -∅

asp A1 eat -perf-B3

`I had already begun eating it`

(?a) ?a k'uš- e? -∅

(asp) A2 eat -impf-B3

`You are already eating it`

(?a) ?u k'uš- e? -∅

(asp) A3 eat -impf-B3

`He is already eating it`

?a k'ot - ∅ -on

asp arrive-perf-B1

`I already arrived`

?a k'ot - ∅ -et

asp arrive-perf-B2

`You already arrived`

ʔa k'ot - i -∅
 asp arrive-perf-B3
 'He already arrived'

9.2. SYNTACTIC PARTICLES. Syntactic particles include locatives (prepositions and phrase terminal markers); conjunctions, connectives, and subordinators; interrogatives; noun classifiers (see sec. 8.3.); grammatical gender (see sec. 8.4.); and the definite determiner ni (see sec. 8.2.).

9.2.1. LOCATIVES. Chontal locatives fall into two groups: prepositions and phrase terminal markers.

9.2.1.1. PREPOSITIONS. Chontal uses a number of particles as prepositions expressing location, including tā 'to, from, by,' and tan/tamá 'in, inside'

tā occurs more often than any other locative. In addition to its use with locative relational nouns (see sec. 13.2.2.2.2.), it appears alone in tā + NP (noun phrase) constructions.

ʔa biš- i -∅ tā ʔotot
 asp go -perf-B3 to house
 'He went to the house'

When the following noun phrase is possessed with a Set A pronoun, the locative tā is fused with the pronoun.

tā-k ʔotot 'to my house'
 taʔ ʔotot 'to your house'

t-u ?otot `to his/her house`

tǎ-k si?ba `to my garden`

ta? si?ba `to your garden`

t-u si?ba `to his/her garden`

tǎ-k hul-e `on my arrival`

ta? hul-e `on your arrival`

t-u hul-e `on his/her arrival`

The preposition tan `in, inside` has two forms: tan and tamá. tan is used more frequently than tamá and is found in tan + NP constructions.

?u č - i -∅ kuh- un -∅ tan ?a si?ba

A3 do-perf-B3 dig-impf-B3 in A2 garden

`He dug up your garden`

Although tamá can also precede noun phrases,

?a biš- i -∅ tamá č'uh

asp go -perf-B3 in church

`He went in the church`

it more frequently appears by itself when the noun phrase is predictable (i.e. the meaning is understood).

...ni ?un tu tamá

..the 1 NC inside

`... no one (or anyone) inside (the house)`

9.2.1.2. PHRASE TERMINAL MARKERS. Chontal has three phrase

terminal particles: -i, ba, and da.

-i is only found as the final element of compounds whose first element is an adverbial particle or demonstrative pronoun.

ya?=i 'there, then'

sam=i 'earlier today'

dar=i 'later today'

hin=i 'this, that'

The addition of -i does not change the meaning of the first element of the compound; instead, it has the purely syntactic function of indicating a phrase boundary.

da ?a h -e

later today A2 go-impf

'You will go later today'

?a h - e dar=i

A2 go-impf later today

'You will go later today'

hin ba winik hin=i ?u hãø'- i' -et

DEM cl man DEM=cl A3 hit -perf-B2

'That man, he hit you'

-i appears to be unproductive in Modern Chontal, but is found rather frequently in Classical Chontal.

The most common phrase terminal marker is the particle ba. It is used in sentence-final position as well as after disjunctive structures in clause-final position. It is an important marker of foregrounding

(see sec. 13.2.4.).

?i ?a k'ot - i -∅ ba
 and asp arrive-perf-B3 cl
 'and he arrived'

?u y-ub -i -∅ win-ik ba
 A3 -sense-perf-B3 man cl
 'He heard the man'

?i despwes ba
 and after cl
 'and afterwards'

yok no=šip' ba tã pat-an ?u š - e
 dear old man cl to work A3 go-impf
 'The man, he went to work'

despwes ke ?a čãm- i -∅ ba
 after that asp die-perf-B3 cl
 'After he died,

?a biš- i -∅ tã pante.on
 asp go -perf-B3 to cemetery
 he went to the cemetery'

da is used much less frequently than ba, but more than -i. It is found as the phrase terminal marker of noun phrases and in the

expression ka če? da `how.`

hin=da winik `this one, man`

hin=i winik da `this man`

ya? ?an-on k -ir - an -∅ ka če? da

there be-B1 A1-see-impf-B3 how

`I am watching how

?u čer-1 - an -∅ ?alas č'ok-lop`

A3 do -tv-impf-B3 play child-pl3

the children play`

It can, however, be used in conjunction with ba.

hin=i win-ik da ba `this man`

9.2.2. COORDINATING, SUBORDINATING, AND INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES.

Coordinating and subordinating particles are used to connect parts of a sentence. When the parts of the sentence are equal in rank, they are connected by a coordinating or connective particle. However, when the parts are unequal, they are connected by a subordinating particle. The use of these particles within sentences is discussed in Chapter 14.

The interrogative particle is ka. It is usually found in compound constructions consisting of ka + NOUN. ka interrogatives introduce information questions, indirect questions, and some subordinate clauses (see Chapters 13 and 14).

TABLE XXI: COORDINATORS AND SUBORDINATORS

COORDINATORS

?entonses `then`
 despwes ba `afterwards`
 ?i `and`
 če? `and`
 ?u/?o `or`
 pero `but`
 pwes `well`
 de ya?i ba `then, from there`

SUBORDINATORS

ke `that`
 despwes ke `after`
 de ke `of`
 para ke `so that`
 k'a/?ok'a `so that`
 kama? `when, like`
 ka/ka compounds `which, that`
 ka če? (da) `how, so that, that`
 ka ?an `where`
 ka k'in `when (time)`
 t(a) u ba `when`
 si `if`
 ta `in order to, so`
 porke `because`
 lo ke/lu ke `which`

CHAPTER 10

MODIFIERS

10.0. Chontal has two kinds of modifiers: adjectives (which modify nouns) and adverbs (which modify verbs and adjectives).

10.1. ADJECTIVES. Chontal adjectives may be root adjectives, Spanish loan words, or they may be derived from nouns, verbs, or other adjectives. Like the adjectives of other Mayan languages (e.g. Cakchiquel (Richman 1982)), Chontal adjectives can function as both attributives and predicates (statives).

Attributive or dependent adjectives always precede the noun (and gender particle, if present) and follow the Set A possessive pronouns and/or quantifier if present.

?a yok wiču?

A2 dear dog

`my dear dog`

?un tu piçi ?iš-ik

1 NC pretty woman

`one pretty woman`

Predicative or independent adjectives can form the base of stative constructions (see sec. 13.1.). They usually follow the noun they are

modifying if one is present.

piøil -on

pretty-B1

`I am pretty`

hin ba winik pobre-ø

DEM cl man poor-B3

`That man, he is poor`

In general, adjectives use their predicative form more frequently than their attributive form.

Many, but not all, adjectives use the same morphological form in both their attributive and predicative functions. Instead, many attributive adjectives are derived from their predicative counterparts by suffixation, reduplication, or vowel change.

10.1.1. ROOT ADJECTIVES. Many root adjectives have a CVC canonical form, although a few are CVCV or CVCVC (see Table XXII for examples).

Most root adjectives use the same form for both attributive and predicative functions.

?un tu noh toro

1 NC large bull

`one large bull`

TABLE XXII: ROOT ADJECTIVES

<u>CVC</u>		sop	'light in weight'
lāp	'sticky'	č'ok	'small'
čoh	'expensive'	k'un	'rotten'
nah	'full'	č'ah	'bitter'
pah	'sour'	kom (yok)	'short'
sak	'itchy'	?ač	'wet'
pim	'thick'	tam	'deep, long'
šiš	'ground'	?ik	'black'
tāt	'thick (liquids)'	yšš	'green/blue'
zah	'sweet'	k'an	'yellow'
zuk	'old'	č'āk	'red'
zāz	'hard'	sāk	'white'
zēm	'thin'		
z'ež	'thin (people)'	<u>CVCVC</u>	
noh	'big, great'	takan	'ripe'
yok	'small, dear'		
bit	'small (plural)'	<u>CVCV(C)</u>	
hop	'peppery'	yoko(l)	'indigenous'
nuk	'large (plural)'	šépu(t)	'lazy'

noh -et

large-B2

`You are large`

However, some root adjectives have two forms: the root (used for the predicative function) and a -V(1) derived adjective (used for the attributive function):

hin ba bu?u øäø -ø

DEM cl bean hard-B3

`these beans, they are hard`

hin ba øäø -äl bu?u

DEM cl hard-aj bean

`these hard beans`

or the root and an adjective derived by an internal vowel change.

takan-ø kä ha?as

ripe -B3 Al banana

`It is ripe, my banana`

kä täkän ha?as

Al ripe banana

`my ripe banana`

Some root adjectives, such as the five color terms (k'än `yellow,` čäk `red,` yäš `green, blue,` säk `white,` and ?ik `black`), usually undergo reduplication when in the attributive position.

čäk-ø ?a buk

red-B3 A2 dress

`It is red, your dress`

?a čä -čäk buk

A2 red-red dress

`your red dress`

One root adjective needs a special explanation -- yok `dear, small.` It is not only used by Chontal speakers to mean `small,` but also when they are referring to someone or something greatly loved or respected. It is a diminutive, but is used much as the Spanish -ito/-ita is used in Mexico -- the emotional bond is more important than size in determining its use.

yok winik

dear man

`dear man`

?a yok çimim

A2 dear horse

`your dear horse`

10.1.2. DERIVED ADJECTIVES. Adjectives can be derived from nouns, verbs, positional roots, other adjectives, or unique constituents by means of one of several adjective-forming suffixes: -Vm, -V(1)/V?, -el, -bil, -äl, -ip', -il, -en, and -ka?a.

10.1.2.1. THE -Vm ADJECTIVES. -Vm adjectives are derived from CVC unique constituents, root and CVC-Vn derived transitive verbs, positional roots, and nominal roots (see Table XXIII for examples). They have the canonical form CVC-Vm, where the vowel of the derivational suffix echoes the root vowel. The -Vm adjectives have the same form in both attributive and predicative positions,

?a čitam pok'-om-Ø
 A2 pig fat -aj-B3
 `your pig, it is fat`

?a pok'-om čitam
 A2 fat -aj pig
 `your fat pig`

pok'-om-Ø -lop'
 fat -aj-B3-pl3
 `They are fat`

huy -um-Ø kã ha?
 stir-aj-B3 A1 water
 `It is stirred up, my water`

kã huy -um ha?
 A1 stir-aj water
 `my stirred up water`

with the exception of lot'om `married` which has a -V(1) predicative

TABLE XXIII: CVC-Vm DERIVED ADJECTIVES

<u>CVC-Vm</u>	Derived from:
kol-om 'empty'	kol TV 'to empty'
luk'-um 'soft'	luk' uc
lik'-im 'soft, mild'	lik' uc
pek'-em 'thick (liquids)'	pek' uc
pok'-om 'fat'	pok' uc
øuy-um 'thick (liquids)'	øuy TV 'to thicken'
øäy-äm 'smooth, slippery'	øäy uc
tič'-im 'stiff, rigid'	tič' TV 'to point out'
wol-om 'ball-shaped'	wol P 'to be in a ball'
hol-om 'healthy'	hol üc
lot-om 'married'	lot N 'companion'
la?-am 'soft'	la? uc
puk'-um 'rotten'	puk' AJ 'rotten'
kel-em 'peeled'	kel tv 'to peel'
šul-um 'broken'	šul TV 'to break'
šot'-om 'broken'	šot' TV 'to break'
huy-um 'mixed up'	huy tv 'to stir, ford'

form.

?u čič lot -o ?an-Ø
 A3 sister marry-aj be -B3
 'his sister, she is married'

?u lot -om čič
 A3 marry-aj sister
 'his married sister'

10.1.2.2. THE -V(1)/-V? ADJECTIVES. The largest class of derived adjectives have separate -V(1) and -V? (where the vowels harmonize with the root vowel) derivational suffixes for attributive and predicative functions. They are derived from any positional root, root or CVC-Vn derived transitive verb, and from some root intransitive verbs and unique constituents (see Table XXIV).

The -V(1) adjectives are stative participles, being used as independent adjectives or as bases of stative constructions.

?u čitam čum- u-Ø
 A3 pig sit-aj-B3
 'His pig, it is seated'

?an-Ø peč -e
 be -B3 flat/round-aj
 'It is flat and round'

TABLE XXIV: EXAMPLES OF -V(1)/-V? ADJECTIVES

<u>CVC-V(1)</u>		Derived from:
k'uš-u(1)	'alive, crude'	k'uš uc
loč-o(1)	'doubled over'	loč P 'doubled over'
peč-e(1)	'flat and round'	peč P 'flat and round'
pok-o(1)	'scrubbed'	pok TV 'to scrub'
p'ān-ā(1)	'untied'	p'ān TV 'to untie'
sum-u(1)	'braided'	sum tv 'to braid'
hāč'-ā(1)	'chewy'	hāč' tv 'to chew'
t'āb-ā(1)	'fallen'	t'āb IV 'to go down'
čām-ā(1)	'dead, lukewarm'	čām IV 'to die'
p'iš-i(1)	'arisen'	p'iš IV 'to get up'
ča?-a(1)	'lying down'	ča? P 'to lie down'

k'at-đl-on

ask -aj-B1

`I am asked for`

However, when these adjectives are used as dependent attributive adjectives, -V? suffix is added to the root instead of -V(1).

loč-o(1) aj `doubled over`

loč-o? pat `hunch back`

peč-e(1) aj `flat and round`

peč-e? wah `flat and round tortillas`

pok-o(1) aj `scrubbed`

pok-o? buk `scrubbed clothes`

săt-đ(1) aj `lost`

?u săt-đ? č'ok `his lost child`

10.1.2.3. THE -e(1) ADJECTIVES. A small class of attributive adjectives derived from root and CVC-V(n) derived transitive verbs are formed by adding an -el (see Table XXV). These forms are used only as dependent adjectives.

?u t'oš -el boteya

A3 break-aj bottle

`his broken bottle`

TABLE XXV: EXAMPLES OF -el ADJECTIVES

<u>CVC-el</u>		Derived from:
t'oš-el	`broken`	t'oš TV `to break`
bah-el	`nailed`	bah TV `to nail`
kún-el	`trampled`	kun TV `to trample`
muš-el	`smashed`	múš tv `to smash`
puž'-el	`fled, escaped`	puž TV `to flee, escape`

kā bah -el lawš

A1 nail-aj nail

`my nailed nail`

The root and CVC-V(n) derived transitive verbs in Table XXV can also be derived into -V(1) stative participles and -V? attributive adjectives.

The -V? forms appear to be semantically equivalent to their -el counterparts.

?u muš -el p'et

A3 smash-aj pot

`his smashed pot`

?u muš -u? p'et

A3 smash-aj pot

`his smashed pot`

10.1.2.4. THE -bi(1) ADJECTIVES. A few derived predicative adjectives are formed by adding -bi(1) to a limited number of derived transitive verbs (eg. those derived by -t-a(n) transitivizers).¹ These adjectives are perfective participles (see Table XXVI).

They are used only as independent adjectives and as bases for stative predicates.

¹Smailus calls this suffix a gerundivum and suggests that it can be analyzed as the instrumental -ib + the abstract suffix -il (Smailus 1975:200, 202).

TABLE XXVI: EXAMPLES OF -bi(1) ADJECTIVES

<u>-bi(1)</u> Adjectives	Derived from:
yahin-bi `loved`	yah-in tv `to love`
?ãk'-tã-bi `put, placed`	?ãk'-t-an tv `to put`
bãk'-tã-bi `frightening`	bãk'-t-an tv `to frighten`
tãskã-bi `brought`	tãsk-un tv `to bring`
nah-tã-bi `fallen back`	nah-tã-k-ãs-an tv `to fall back`
yum-ah-tã-bi `twirled`	yum-ah-t-an tv `to twirl`
wal-ãh-tã-bi `abandoned`	wal-ãh-t-an tv `to abandon`
puø'-tã-bi `escaped, free`	puø'-t-an tv `to escape`

ʔu pap yah -in-bi-Ø
 A3 father love-tv-aj-B3
 `His father, he is loved`

täskä-bil-on
 send -aj -B1
 `I am sent`

10.1.2.5. THE -äl ADJECTIVES. The -bi(1) perfective participles derived from CVC-V(n) derived transitives have an -äl attributive counterpart which is used only as a dependent adjective.

kä ʔäk'- t-äl yeʔe
 A1 put -tv-aj food
 `my put down food`

bak't-äl bek'et
 fear -aj cow
 `frightened cow`

However, there are some semantic differences between the -bi(1) adjectives and their -äl counterparts.

bäk'tä-bi `frightening`
 bäk't-äl `frightened`

10.1.2.6. THE -ip'/-äp' ADJECTIVES. The -ip' adjectives are derived from some CVC root and CVC-V(n) derived transitive verbs (see

Table XXVII). The -ip' suffix has an -āp' allomorph which is used with CaC and CāC roots. The same form may be used for both attributive and predicative functions, although the former is more common.

?a øih-ip' hopo

A2 new-aj hat

`your new hat'

øih-ip'-on tã San Karlos

new-aj -Bl in San Carlos

`I am new in San Carlos'

?u kel -ip' kap'

A3 clean-aj earth

`his cleaned earth'

Most of the verbs may also be used to derive -V(1) and -V?/-i? adjectives.

kã tãy-āp' kap'

A1 rub-aj dirt

`my rubbed dirt'

kã tãy-ā? kap'

A1 rub-aj dirt

`my rubbed dirt'

TABLE XXVII: EXAMPLES OF -ip' ADJECTIVES

<u>CVC-ip'</u>		Derived from:		
kel-ip'	'peeled'	kél	tv	'to skin, peel'
hit'-ip'	'woven'	hít'	TV	'to weave'
ǰih-ip'	'new'	ǰih	tv	'to give as a gift'
č'il-ip'	'toasted'	č'íl	tv	'to toast s.t.'
ǰ'il-ip'	'torn'	ǰ'íl	tv	'to tear cloth'
tǎy-ǎp'	'rubbed'	tǎy	tv	'to rub'

ká táy-i? kap´

A1 rub-aj dirt

`my rubbed dirt´

ká kap´ táy-á -ø

A1 dirt rub-aj-B3

`My dirt, it is rubbed´

10.1.2.7. THE -il ADJECTIVES. The -il adjectives are derived from nouns and a few independent modifiers and they are used only as attributives (see Table XXVIII). The -il suffix has two allomorphs-- il which occurs with CVC nouns and -l which occurs with CVCV nouns.

?a kab -il nok

A2 dirt-aj clothes

`your dirty clothes´

son -il te?

instrument-aj wood

`flute´

ká ʔ'in -il wah

A1 yucca-aj tortilla

`my yucca tortilla´

TABLE XXVIII: EXAMPLES OF -il ADJECTIVES

<u>CVC-il</u>		Derived from:	
kab-il	`dirty`	kap	N `dirt`
ø'in-il	`yuca`	ø'in	N `yuca`
šan-il	`palm`	šan	N `palm`
ø'am-əl	`salty`	?aø'am	N `salt`
son-il	`musical`	son	N `musical instrument`
ø'ul-il	`foreign`	ø'u(l)	N `foreign`
pus-ul	`muddy`	pusu	N `mud`

ø'ul -il t'an
 foreign-aj word
 `foreign language`

10.1.2.8. THE -en ADJECTIVES. A small group of CVC nouns and root intransitives and a large group of root and CVC-V(n) derived transitives add -en to their CVC roots to form attributive adjectives.

kã low -en te?
 A1 puncture-aj stick
 `my punctured stick`

tuh -en ha?
 smell-aj water
 `smelly water`

The transitive verbs which can be derived by the -en suffix can also be derived by the -V(1) and -V? suffixes. There does not seem to be any semantic difference between the attributive -V? and -en forms.

?a pok -o? p'et
 A2 scrub-aj pot
 `your scrubbed pot`

?a pok -en p'et
 A2 scrub-aj pot
 `your scrubbed pot`

10.1.2.9. The -ka?a(1) ADJECTIVES. The -ka?a(1) (ka(1)) in the

TABLE XXIX: EXAMPLES OF -en ADJECTIVES

<u>CVC-en</u>		Derived from:		
pok-en	`washed`	pok	TV	`to scrub`
low-en	`punctured`	low	TV	`to puncture`
hul-en	`thrown`	hul	TV	`to throw`
čol-en	`pruned`	čol	tv	`to prune`
čäm-en	`lukewarm`	čäm	IV	`to die`
kab-en	`dirty`	kap	N	`dirt, ground`
tuh-en	`smelly`	tuh	N	`smell`
yah-en	`pure (water)`	yah	N	`pain, love`
mat-en	`given`	mat	tv	`to give as a gift`
lač-en	`scratched`	lač	tv	`to scratch`

Tapotzingo dialect) predicative adjectives are productively derived from positional roots. They are also called duration statives, which have the meaning 'a period of time spent characterized by the positional.'

wa? -kaʔal-on

standing-aj -B1

'I am standing for a long time'

čum-kaʔa-∅

sit-aj -B3

'He is sitting for a long time'

10.1.3. PLURALITY OF ADJECTIVES. The plurality of an adjective may be expressed in one of three ways. First, it may be inferred from the context. For example, the noun may be pluralized.

piʔi ʔiʃik-∅ -lop'

pretty woman-B3-pl3

'the pretty women'

Second, two adjectives, č'ok 'young, small' and noh 'full-grown, large,' have special plural forms (see Table XXX).

Finally, the most common way of indicating plurality of adjectives is by adding the plural suffix -tak. It can occur with any adjective (and the noun ʔiʃ-ik 'woman') in either the predicative or attributive positions.

TABLE XXX: PLURAL ADJECTIVES

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
č'ok `small, young`	bit/bih or bik'it
noh `large, full-grown`	nuk

pok'-om-tak-Ø

fat -aj-pl -B3

`the fat ones`

pok'-om-tak-Ø -lop'

fat -aj-pl -B3-pl3

`They are the fat ones`

kā øem -tak čitam

Al thin-pl pig

`my thin pigs`

øem -tak-Ø -lop'

thin-pl -B3-pl3

`They are thin`

čum-u -tak-Ø

sit-aj-pl -B3

`They are seated`

piçi -tak-Ø

pretty-pl -B3

`They are pretty`

In stative constructions (see sec. 13.1.), -tak can precede the third person plural suffix -lop'.

piçi -tak-Ø -lop´

pretty-pl -B3-pl3

´They are pretty´

10.1.4. EMPHASIS/INTENSITY. Chontal speakers can emphasize or intensify the meaning of an adjective in one of two ways. First, the meaning of CVC or CVC-V(1) adjectives can be intensified by reduplication (CV-CVC or in a few instances CVC-CVC). Reduplication occurs with adjectives in both attributive and predicative positions, but is more common with attributive adjectives.

č´ok AJ ´small´

č´o -č´ok ?ah lo?

small-small mg boy

´very little boy´

hin=i ba mēh č´o -č´ok ?unde

DEM-cl cl very small-small he

´this one is the youngest´

?ik´ AJ ´black´

?a ?ik´ -ik´ wiču?

A2 black-black dog

´your black dog´

sān-đ(1) aj ´stretched out´

sān-sān ´well stretched out´

Second, all adjectives can be intensified or emphasized by adding the adverb mãh/?a mãh 'very' or the Spanish loan word gran 'great.' mãh always precedes the adjective it is intensifying, whether it is in an attributive or predicative position. ?a mãh is used when the adjective is in a predicative position.

yok ?iš-ik ?a mãh bweno-Ø

dear woman pt very good -B3

'The dear woman, she is very good'

mãh puk'-um ha?as

very rotten banana

'a very rotten banana'

?un tu yok soldado mãh pobre-Ø

1 NC dear soldier very poor -B3

'One dear soldier, he is very poor'

Note that mãh can also precede reduplicated CVC adjectives.

mãh č'ó -č'ok -Ø

very small-small-B3

'very young, very small'

The Spanish adverb gran has been borrowed into Chontal with the meaning 'a lot, very.' It is frequently used before adjectives to intensify their meaning.

gran pok-om ?anima?

very fat-aj animal

'a very fat animal'

?ih mala? ba gran tusti -Ø
 fg Mary cl very pretty-B3
 `Mary, she is very pretty`

10.1.5. COMPARISONS/SUPERLATIVES. In Chontal it is possible to compare the characteristics of two nouns. When the nouns are equal, the Chontal subordinator kama? `like` or the Spanish loan word komo `like` may be used between the two noun phrases.

?ah pay gran pok'-om-Ø kama? ?ah hose
 mg Paul very fat -aj-B3 like mg Joe
 `Paul is very fat like Joe`

?ih mala? ba gran piži -Ø komo ?ih lusia
 fg Mary cl very pretty-B3 like fg Lucy
 `Mary is very pretty like Lucy`

?ah pay mač pok'-om kama? ?ah čepe
 mg Paul neg fat -aj like mg Joseph-Louis
 `Paul isn't as fat as Joseph-Louis`

In order to make an unequal comparison in Chontal, one must use the Spanish loan frames mas.....ke `more than` or a negative.

?ah yan ba mas č'o?o ke ?ih mala? ba
 mg John cl more intelligent that fg Mary cl
 `John is more intelligent than Mary`

noh töro ba mas noh ke ?unde-lop´

big bull cl more big than he -pl3

´The large bull is bigger than they are´

?ah yan mač č´o?o ke ?ih mala?

mg John neg intelligent than fg Mary

´John isn´t intelligent like Mary is´

Superlative adjectives are formed by using intensified or emphasized adjectives (see sec. 10.1.4.) or the Spanish loan word mas 'more, most.'

hin=i ba mñh č´o -č´ok ?unde

DEM=cl cl very small-small she

´This one is the youngest´

?un tu ?a yok č´ok wiču? mas ?olo -Ø

1 NC A2 dear young dog more loved-B3

´Your dear dog, it is the most loved´

10.1.6. MULTIPLE ADJECTIVES. In Chontal it is possible to have more than one adjective modify a noun either in attributive or predicative positions, although it is not very common. Generally, the ordering of adjectives is not fixed, but some orders are preferred. Usually adjectives referring to size and/or age precede those referring to physical or social characteristics. Moreover, the adjective yok 'small, dear,' when present, is furthest from the noun.

noh gran pop toro
 large very important bull
 `a large very important bull`

noh øuk hopo
 big old hat
 `a large old hat`

yok č'ok ?ah lo?
 dear small mg boy
 `a dear young boy`

yok piçi čä -čäk rosah
 dear pretty red-red flower
 `a dear pretty red flower`

Usually if more than one adjective is present, one will be in the attributive (or dependent) position and the other will be predicative (or independent) position.

yok winik pobre-ø
 dear man poor -B3
 `The dear man, he is poor`

10.2. ADVERBS. Although most adverbs in Chontal are particles, not all independent adverbs are. There are two classes of independent adverbs which can be inflected and/or derived: modifiers which may be used as either adjectives, nouns, or adverbs and directionals.

10.2.1. MODIFIERS. A group of modifiers in Chontal can be used as adjectives, nouns, or adverbs. They include k'en 'much,' toh 'really, truly,' sep 'rapidly, quickly,' ?uʔ 'well, good,' ?unte? 'together,' and temporal nouns (e.g. ?un hɔ̃bi 'a year ago').

?u k'uš- i -∅ k'en-∅

A3 eat -perf-B3 much-B3

'He ate a lot'

k'en ?išim

much corn

'a lot of corn'

They also can function as the base of stative constructions.

?unte? -on-la ?ahn- ∅ -on-la tã patan

together-B1-pl1 be -perf-B1-pl1 to work

'We were working together'

10.2.2. DIRECTIONALS. Chontal has a group of independent adverbs which function as directionals (see Table XXXI).

?a wan -e yaba

A2 jump-impf down

'He jumps down'

They can also function as the bases of stative constructions (see sec. 13.1.).

?ida-et-la

here-B2-pl2

'Are you from here?'

TABLE XXXI: DIRECTIONALS

nat	`far`
nanti	`over there`
?iski	`up`
pāhna	`outside`
pānte	`forward, in front`
nā?ā	`close, nearby`
?ida	`here`
?ēmā	`low`

CHAPTER 11

AFFECTS

11.0. Chontal has a special class of roots called affects.

Affect roots may be identified by both semantic and formal criteria. Chontal affects were first discussed by Keller (1983) as onomatopoeic forms.

11.1. SEMANTICS. Affect roots form a semantic class; they refer primarily to dynamic attributes and situations such as sound, motion, and a few internal feelings. The majority of affect roots listed in Appendix V refer to sounds.

tān	AF	`the ringing of a big bell`
hos	AF	`wheezing, gasping`
kis	AF	`bashful, shame`
kot	AF	`crawling`

11.2. POLYVALENCY. Although most affect roots do not belong to any other root class, some are polyvalent.

11.2.1. POLYVALENCY WITH VERBAL AND POSITIONAL ROOTS. Some affect roots have root intransitive, transitive, or positional counterparts.

čul	IV	`to drip´
čul	AF	`dripping, the sound of dripping´
žah	TV	`to fry something´
žah	AF	`the sound of frying´
wil	IV	`to fly´
wil	AF	`flying´
weč´	P	`thrown out liquid´
weč´	AF	`the sound of throwing out water´

11.2.2. ONOMATOPOETIC ROOTS. Some affect roots are onomatopoeitic. Onomatopoeitic roots comprise a minor class of morphemes in Chontal which are clearly sound symbolic and do not necessarily conform to the normal phonological shape of a Chontal root. They occur often as interjections.

(?)ē::: OP `a calf's cry´

k'a:k'ak'ak'a OP `a large bird's grackle´

However, the onomatopoeitic forms which are used as affects have a CVC or, more rarely, a CV form.

wāh AF/OP `a dog's bark´

mu AF/OP `a cow's moo´

hāk´ AF/OP `hiccough´

11.3. FORM. One of the most striking features of affect roots is

that they can undergo a number of modifications which create new stems with similar meanings. The differences are aspectual, referring to the frequency and/or repetition of the action.

In Chontal, these modifications are accomplished by adding one of three suffixes: -law, -na(1), or -ta(1). In addition, often all or part of the root undergoes reduplication.

As in Chol (Garcia del Leon 1979), most Chontal affect stems belong to one of the following groups:

- (1) CVC + law
- (2) CVC + CVC + na(1) [ñā in Chol]
- (3) CVC + Vk + na(1) [ñā in Chol]

The same three groups have been discussed by Keller (1983).

11.3.1. CVC + law AFFECTS. The CVC + law affects are the semantically unmarked forms. Neither the frequency nor repetitiveness of the action is specified.

- | | |
|----------|--|
| hik-law | `coughing` |
| käç'-law | `squeaking of hammock ropes` |
| tān-law | `ringing of a big bell` |
| šah-law | `crackling of weeds as a person
or animal walks through them` |

These forms are used with immediate or momentary action in Chol (Garcia del Leon 1979:27).

11.3.2. CVC + CVC + na(1) AFFECTS. The CVC + CVC + na(1) affects are associated with repetitive action. The CVC root first undergoes

reduplication and then is suffixed by -na(1).

- mǎk-mǎk-na(1) `sound of repeated opening
and closing`
lok-lok-na(1) `turkey gobbling`
sik-sik-na(1) `sniffing`
šah-šah-na(1) `crackling of weeds as person
or animal walks through`

11.3.3. CVC + V_k + na(1) AFFECTS. The CVC + V_k + na(1) affects are associated with continuous or plural action. A -V_k suffix whose vowel echoes the vowel of the CVC root is added to the root, followed by the -na(1) suffix.

- bǎn-ǎk-na(1) `sound of wind`
ǰin-ik-na(1) `sound of metal on metal`
šah-ak-na(1) `sound of people or animals in weeds`

11.3.4. ADDITIONAL STEMS. Chontal has three other affect stem classes in addition to the three stem classes already discussed. They are the CVC + V_l + na(1), CVC + na(1), and CVC + V_h + ta(1) stems.

The CVC + V_l + na(1) affects are rare, and they are normally associated with continuous action. A -V_l suffix whose vowel echoes the vowel of the affect root follows an affect root of motion. The -na(1) suffix is added to this stem.

- yuk-ul-na(1) `rocking`

The rare CVC + na(1) affects consist of the affect root followed by the -na(1) suffix. Such affect stems are derived from affect roots

that refer to internal feelings and are unspecified with respect to continuity or repetitiveness.

kis-na(1) `bashful, shameful`

The CVC + Vh + ta(1) affects seem to be semantically equivalent to their CVC + law counterparts. A -Vh suffix whose vowel echoes the vowel of the CVC root is added to the affect, followed by -ta(1).

top'-oh-ta `the sound of s.t. bursting`

11.4. USE. Affects are used in two ways in Chontal. First, they may behave as stative predicates (see sec. 13.1.).

lik -lik -nal-on

shake-shake-af -B1

`I am shivering`

kot -ok-nal-et

crawl-af-af -B2

`You are crawling`

top'-law-Ø tã kap' ni boteya

burst-af-B3 on ground the bottle

`It burst on the ground, the bottle`

Second, affects have an adverbial function, describing the manner in which something happens.

Ø'im -law-Ø ?u num -e

whizzing-af -B3 A3 pass-impf

`Whizzing, it goes by`

na? pi.o? k'ot -ok-na-∅ ?u hok'~ e? -∅ ?u y-al
 mother chicken cluck-af-af-B3 A3 call-impf-B3 A3 child
 'The mother hen clucking calls her young'

11.5. DERIVATION. The CVC + CVC + na(1), CVC + Vk +na(1), CVC + Vh + ta(1), and CVC + law affect stems may be further derived by adding the -e(1) nominalizer (see sec. 6.2.2.3.). The CVC + Vh + ta(1), CVC + CVC + na(1), and CVC + Vk + na(1) affect stems may also be derived by -a(n) to produce intransitive verbs. They are inflected like other derived intransitives.

kã hãl -ãk-n -an

A1 late-af-af-impf

'I am late'

?a hãl -ãk-n - ∅ -on

asp late-af-af-perf-B1

'I was late'

?a lik -lik - n-an

A2 shake-shake-af-impf

'You are trembling'

?a lik -lik - n- ∅ -et

asp shake-shake-af-perf-B2

'You were trembling'

?u yuk -ul-n -an

A3 rock-af-af-impf

`He is rocking/swaying`

?a yuk -ul-n - i -Ø

asp rock-af-af-perf-B3

`He was rocking/swaying`

CHAPTER 12

NUMERALS AND NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

12.0. Chontal numerals consist of a numeral morpheme followed by an obligatory numeral classifier. Keller and Harris have published several articles listing Tapotzingo numerals and classifiers and discussing their phonological variants, semantics, and syntax (Keller 1955, 1973, 1974 and Harris 1947).

12.1. NUMERALS. San Carlos, like all other dialects of Chontal, uses the Chontal numbers one through four (?un/?um 'one, ' ča?/čā 'two, ' ?uš/?uh 'three, ' and čān/čām 'four') and the interrogative quantifier hāy 'how many, how much.' Some dialects, such as the one spoken in Tapotzingo, also use the number five ho?/ho, and some older fluent speakers use the number six wāk/wāh. Only these Chontal quantifiers must be followed by a numeral classifier.¹

In San Carlos, numerals larger than four are expressed by: (1) using the Spanish number (which is never followed by a numeral

¹The /n/ of ?un and čān becomes /m/ before bilabial consonants and the /ʔ/ of ča? and ho? is lost before the classifiers: p'e(1), k'a(1), k'e(1), and g'it. Moreover, the numeral six wāk has an allomorph wāh before velar stops, and ?uš becomes ?uh before strident consonants. Note that ?un also has a semantically limited allomorph hun. Historically, hun was the most frequently used allomorph, but in Modern Chontal occurs found only in a few idioms and frozen forms (see sec. 12.5. and 12.8.).

classifier), or by (2) using an indigenous system based on the general Chontal pattern for expressing a whole plus part relation: numeral + classifier (ta) numeral + classifier.

?um p'e ta ?un tah 'one (peso) and a half'

In San Carlos the first classifier is 'k'a(1) 'groups of five.' Thus, five is ?un k'a 'one group of five,' six is ?un k'a ta ?um p'e 'one group of five plus one,' etc. through twenty (see Table XXXII).

12.2. NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS. The Chontal numerals one through four (or six) are always followed by a numeral classifier, of which there are over one hundred (see Appendix II). The choice of numeral classifier to be used with a numeral is limited by its semantic compatibility with the noun it modifies. In other words, each numeral classifier can occur with only a limited number of nouns -- those which include its semantic component. Since most nouns have a number of semantic features, they are semantically compatible with more than one classifier. The selection of a classifier depends on the noun's component of meaning that is relevant to the discourse. For example, the word te? has several meanings -- 'tree,' 'wood,' 'stick,' and 'pole.' A classifier can specify which meaning is intended.

ø'it NC 'count long slender objects'

?un ø'it te? 'one stick'

tek NC 'count plants and standing trees'

?un tek te? 'one tree'

On the other hand, the more general the meaning of a classifier, the

TABLE XXXII: CHONTAL NUMERALS

1	?um p'é
2	ča p'é
3	?uš p'é
4	čäm p'é
5	?un k'a (or <u>ho p'é</u>)
6	?un k'a tom p'é (ta + ?um = tom) (or <u>wäk p'é</u>)
7	?un k'a ta ča p'é
8	?un k'a (ta) ?uš p'é
9	?un k'a (ta) čäm p'é
10	ča k'a
15	?uš k'a
20	čän k'a

greater the number of nouns that can follow it. Therefore, the most frequently used classifiers are tu(1) 'animate people and animals' and p'e(1) 'inanimate objects,' which refer only generally to the accompanying noun.

12.2.1. ROOT NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS. Most Chontal numeral classifiers are CVC roots.

tek NC 'count plants and standing trees'

ø'it NC 'count long slender objects'

However, there are five CV root classifiers.

tu NC 'count people and animals (excluding turtles and aligators)'

p'e NC 'count inanimate objects of a general or non-specific shape'

k'e NC 'count leaflike or plane-like objects'

še NC 'count sides of things'

k'a NC 'count groups of five'

The CV classifiers were CV1 in Classical Chontal, but have lost their final 1 in Modern Chontal. The 1 reappears before the Set B pronouns and in a few idioms (see sec. 12.8.).

hun-tul pišik

1 -NC woman

'single woman'

həy -tul-et-la
 how many-NC -B2-pl2
 'How many of you are there?'

12.2.2. DERIVED NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS. Although many numeral classifiers are roots, more are derived. The majority of derived numeral classifiers have the canonical form CVC. The CVC numeral classifiers are historically derived from CVC positional and transitive roots (and possibly a few CVC intransitive roots) by an -h- infix which derives numeral classifiers from positional roots in a number of other Mayan languages, including Chol.

CHOL

kuč TV 'to carry'
 ku-h-č nc 'count bundles'

Historically, the Modern Chontal CVC numeral classifiers were CVhC. Kaufman and Norman (n.d.) have claimed that Common Chol *CVhC became CVC with a stressed vowel in Chontal. As a corollary to this sound change, *CāhC forms became CaC because Chontal ā becomes a in stressed environment in Chontal (see sec. 2.6.). Both this sound shift and its corollary appear to have been applied to Chontal numeral classifiers that are related to root positionals and root transitives.

kuč TV 'to carry on back'
 kuč P 'carrying bundles on back'
 kúč NC 'count bundles carried on back'

pāk TV `to double over`

pāk P `doubled over`

pák NC `count items doubled over`

Other Chontal numeral classifiers are derived from nouns. At least one of them has a CVC-V canonical form -- há**b**-i `years in the past` (há**b** `year` + i `ago` -- há**b**-i).

?un há**b**-i `one year ago`

Still others are CVCVC and CVCVC + CVC compounds, which are used with a limited list of nouns (i.e. ha? `water`, pusu `mud`, and čo `growing corn`) and have the meaning `depth to a given part of the body.`

Moreover, they occur only with the hun allomorph of one (?un/?um in Tapotzingo).

hun ønek` ha? `one calf of the leg height of water`

hun luk`ub=?ok pusu `one ankle depth of mud`

12.2.3. DIALECT DIFFERENCES. Most, but not all, most of the numeral classifiers used by speakers of the San Carlos dialect are also found in the Tapotzingo dialect (see Appendix II). In addition, there are some semantic differences in the use of classifiers in the San Carlos and Tapotzingo dialects:

TAPOTZINGO

ø`it `long slender objects including snakes`

k`a `groups of five including people and animals`

SAN CARLOS

ø`it `long slender objects excluding snakes`

k'a 'groups of five excluding people and animals'

Moreover, some Tapotzingo classifiers, such as the CVC + Vm classifiers, occur in the San Carlos dialect in some form, but not as numeral classifiers.

TAPOTZINGO

?un nãk'-ãm ha?

one belly water

'one belly depth of water'

SAN CARLOS

tã nãk' ha?

to belly water

'water to your belly'

There are two suffixes which may be attached to numeral classifiers in the Tapotzingo dialect, but not in the San Carlos dialect. They are ab 'greater amount':

?un čum ø'il -ib šan

one handful strip-aj palm

'a handful of stripped palm'

?un čum -ab ø'il -ib šan

one handful-big strip-aj palm

'a large handful of stripped palm'

and ib/lib. The latter forms ordinal constructions with the quantifiers two through six. The derived ordinal is preceded by the Set A third person ?u.

?u ča? peč -ib ha?as

A3 two bunch-aj banana

`the second bunch of bananas`

Instead of the derived -ib/-lip ordinals, speakers of the San Carlos dialect use Spanish ordinals with one exception -- the ordinal for `first` nahtākā(1) (natacal in Classical Chontal).

?u nahtākā(1) č'ok

A3 first child

`his first son`

hin da ?otot nahtākā ?a čer- k -an

DEM cl house first A2 do -pas-impf

`This house was the first to be built`

nahtākā ?u pik' - in -∅ ?išim

first A3 shell-impf-B3 corn

`First, she shells the corn`

12.3. SYNTACTIC ENVIRONMENT. All Chontal numerals (one through six) are obligatorily followed by a numeral classifier. However, the syntactic environment in which they are found is variable. Most quantifiers usually occur in constructions with nouns or noun phrases.

ča č'it te?

2 NC wood

`two sticks`

ʔun šot' tāk'ān haʔas

1 NC ripe banana

'one half ripe banana'

ʔum p'e ʔa yeš

1 NC A2 pants

'your one pair of pants'

ʔaʔ - b - en -on kǎ paʔ - s - en -∅ ni ʔa

give-ben-impf-A1 A1 quit-caus-impf-B3 the A2

'Give it to me! I put out

hut ʔun šim ba

eye 1 NC cl

'your other eye'

Occasionally, the quantifier and noun are separated by a verb phrase:

ʔun tas ʔu biš-e ʔiski ʔotot

1 NC A3 go -impf up house

'The house goes up one storey'

but they never occur within the verb phrase (i.e. between the Set A pronoun and the verb).

All quantifiers may be used in constructions without a noun if the noun has been mentioned earlier in the discourse and/or the referent of the quantifier is understood from the context.

hǎy ǰ'it čǎp' ?a mǎn- i -ǰ
 how many NC candle A2 buy-perf-B3
 'How many candles did you buy?'

kǎ mǎn- i -ǰ ?uš ǰ'it
 A1 buy-perf-B3 3 NC
 'I bought three'

hǎy p'e ?a w-ǎk' - e? -ǰ
 how much NC A2 -give-impf-B3
 'How much (money) will you give for it?'

Some quantifiers in Chontal never occur with nouns; instead, they normally function as adverbs preceding or following a conjugated verb. They include: hap' 'years in the future,' hǎbi 'years in the past,' peǰ' 'number of times,' and num 'number of times.'

?un hǎb -i kǎ č - i -ǰ čǎ
 1 year-n A1 do-perf-B3 cornfield
 'One year ago I made a cornfield'

?un hap' kǎ š -e
 1 year A1 go-impf
 'I'll go a year from now'

?ahn- i -ǰ ?un peǰ'
 be -perf-B3 1 time
 'Once upon a time'

ʔa h -e tã ča? num

A2 go-impf pt 2 time

'You are going again'

Finally, numerals with the numeral classifier tu(1) can be used as the base of stative constructions (see sec. 13.1.).

hãy tul-et-la

how many NC -B2-pl2

'How many of you are there?'

ʔuš tul-op' tama hin=i ʔotot

3 NC -pl3 in DEM=cl house

'There are three of them in the house'

12.4. DISCOURSE FUNCTION OF ʔun. Brody (1982:81) has noted for Tojolabal that the quantifier 'one' has a special discourse function. As in Tojolabal, the numeral 'one' is used in Chontal with nominal participants when they are being introduced for the first time in the discourse. The definite determiner ni (see sec. 8.2.) does not introduce 'new information' (Chafe 1970:210-233).

ʔahn- i -ø ʔun peø' ʔun tu bálum

be -perf-B3 1 NC 1 NC jaguar

'Once upon a time there was a tiger'

če? ʔun tu sofo

and 1 NC fox

and a fox'

?ahn- i -∅ ?un tu yok ?išik
 be -perf-B3 l NC dear woman
 'There was a woman'

12.5. THE DISTRIBUTIVE. Chontal expresses the distributive ('two apiece, 'three apiece, 'etc.) of the numerals 'two' through 'four' (or 'two' through 'six' in Tapotzingo (Keller 1958:271-272)) and háy 'how much, how many' by reduplicating of the quantifier. In general, the reduplication is partial: only the first two consonants of the quantifier are reduplicated (excluding initial /?/), with the exception of čán 'four' which reduplicates all of its čán allomorph.

čán-čám p'e ?aranšáš

4 -4 NC orange

ká k'uš- i -∅ -t'okop'

A1 eat -perf-B3-pl1

'We ate four oranges apiece'

?a² ča-ča? tu ?a káč- e? -∅

cl 2 -2 NC A2 tie-impf-B3

'You tie them by twos'

²The ?a morpheme is a prenumeral particle which occurs optionally before distributive and limitive numerals. As Keller (1958:272) points out, "the informant accepts utterances with or without the ?a- and says both mean the same." ?a occurs frequently in San Carlos.

Complete reduplication of the distributive form produces the Chontal equivalents of the phrases 'two by two,' 'three by three,' etc.

ʔuš-uš tu ʔuš-uš tu ʔu biš- e -lop'

3 -3 NC 3 -3 NC A3 go -impf-pl3

'Three by three they go'

The San Carlos dialect has an alternative way of producing distributives: quantifier + classifier + ta + quantifier + classifier, where both quantifier + classifiers are identical.

ʔuš-uš tu ta ʔuš-uš tu ʔu biš- e -lop'

3 -3 NC pt 3 -3 NC A3 go -impf-pl3

'Three by three they go'

The distributive of the numeral 'one,' with the meaning 'each one' or 'one at a time,' uses the hun allomorph of ʔun with the appropriate classifier.

hăy p'é ʔa č' - i -∅ hun ∅'it čăp'

how much NC A2 take-perf-B3 one NC candle

'How much did each candle cost?'

The repetition of the distributive numeral 'one' produces the Chontal equivalent of the English 'one by one.'

hu(n) num hu(n) num ʔa kă tăsk - i -∅

1 time 1 time asp A1 bring-perf-B3

'One at a time I sent them'

hun tu 'each one, alone' has an additional function. It is often used as a dependent adverb modifying a reflexive verb. Semantically, it emphasizes that the action was done only to the subject.

kande kã hun tu hãø' - e? kã ba

I Al 1 NC hit -impf Al rfx

'I hit myself'

It also has an adjectival form hun tul meaning 'alone.'

hun tul ?išik 'unmarried woman'

hun tul winik 'unmarried man'

12.6. THE LIMITIVE. In Chontal the limitive ('only one,' 'only two,' etc.) is formed by either partial or complete reduplication of the basic quantifier +CVC or CV classifier. Partial reduplication occurs when the quantifier is ?un 'one,' and complete reduplication occurs with the quantifiers 'two' through 'four' (through 'six' in the Tapotzingo dialect).

As Keller (1958:271) noted, the pattern of reduplication for CV classifiers with the quantifier ?un is CVCCV (i.e. the /?/ and /u/ of the second ?un are lost).

?un tu 'one animate being'

?un-tu-n-tu ?u žimim

only one A3 horse

'his only horse'

With CVC classifiers, the pattern of reduplication is CVCCVCCVC (i.e. the last letter of the first classifier and the /?u/ of ?un is lost).

?un tek 'one plant or standing tree'

?un-te-n-tek koko

1 -NC-1-NC coconut

`only one coconut tree`

Chontal quantifiers greater than one undergo complete reduplication to express the limitive. Normally in San Carlos the prenumeral particle ?a precedes each numeral.

ča? tu ča? tu ?u ?ah øeh

2 NC 2 NC A3 mg rooster

or

?a ča? tu ?a ča? tu ?u ?ah øeh

pt 2 NC pt 2 NC A3 mg rooster

`His only two roosters`

12.7. ta CONSTRUCTIONS. The particle ta `for, belonging to` or its semantic equivalent tuba is used in several quantifier constructions. Before the quantifier `one,` it means `just.`

ta ?un k'e hun ?a tšsk - i - ø

for 1 NC paper A2 bring-perf-B3

`You bought just one paper`

ya ?an-ø ?u k'a ?išim ta ?un hăb -i

there be -B3 A3 dp corn for 1 year-ago

or

ya ?an-ø ?u k'a ?išim tuba ?un hăb-i

there be -B3 A3 dp corn for 1 year-ago

`There is in his possession corn from last year`

ta + ?um p'é (tom p'é) has an idiomatic meaning of 'all in one spot.'

ta ?um p'é ?a w-ðk' - e? -Ø

for 1 NC A2 give-impf-B3

'You put it all in one spot'

The use of ta in Chontal numerals (i.e. in part of the whole expressions) has already been discussed in section 12.1. This is one of its most common uses. It also occurs with certain distributive forms. (see sec. 12.5.).

12.8. IDIOMS. Chontal has several idioms based on numerals. They include:

(1) ?um p'é ča p'é or ?un tu ča tu 'some, a few'

?u č - en -Ø ?um p'é ča p'é k'in pat-an

A3 do-impf-B3 1 NC 2 NC day work

'He does a few days of work'

(2) ča p'é ?uš p'é or ča? tu ?uš tu 'few, several'

?u woy - l- an ?u ba ča? tu ?uš tu ?ah k'ubu

A3 gather-tv-impf A3 rfx 2 NC 3 NC mg zacua bird

'Several zacua birds gather together'

(3) ?a hum p'é hun tu 'one for each person'

?u tãskã- b - en -Ø ?a hum p'é hun tu

A3 bring-ben-impf-B3 cl 1 NC 1 NC

'He brings one for each person'

(4) tã ča? num 'again'

tā ča? num ?ahn- i -∅ tā ranču

pt 2 NC be -perf-B3 to Villahermosa

'I was in Villahermosa again'

PART IV

SENTENCE FORMATION

INTRODUCTION

There are two kinds of sentences in Chontal: non-verbal and verbal. Non-verbal or stative sentences contain a stative predicate, while verbal sentences contain a transitive or intransitive predicate. Both non-verbal and verbal sentences may be interrogative and/or negative, but only verbal sentences may be inflected for mood.

In addition, sentences can be simple, compound, and complex in Chontal. Simple sentences have one predicate -- either verbal or non-verbal. Compound sentences have more than one predicate. Complex sentences include either dependent clauses or complement constructions.

CHAPTER 13
SIMPLE SENTENCES

13.1. NON-VERBAL SENTENCES. Non-verbal sentences contain a stative predicate. In general, stative predicates do not refer to action or movement, but express the temporary or permanent existence, identification, location or state of a person, animal, or thing.

Unlike verbs, stative predicates are not inflected for tense/aspect, so they do not indicate time. Normally, stative constructions are interpreted in the present unless the narrative context indicates otherwise (e.g. if the stative construction occurs in a text whose temporal frame is in the past, the stative construction can also be assumed to be in the past). Alternatively, adverbs can place a stative construction in a temporal context.

?un həb -i pok-om-on

1 year-ago fat-aj-B1

'A year ago I was fat'

Stative predicates, however, can be inflected for subject with the Set B dependent pronouns and plural suffixes.

winik-on

man -B1

'I am a man'

winik-et

man -B2

`You are a man`

winik-Ø

man -B3

`He is a man`

winik-on-la

man -B1-pl1

`We are men (inclusive)`

winik-on-t'okop`

man -B1-pl1

`We are men (exclusive)`

winik-et-la

man -B2-pl2

`You are men`

winik-Ø -lop`

man -B3-pl3

`They are men`

The Set B pronouns are suffixed to the base of the stative predicate.

The stative base can be a demonstrative, numeral, predicative adjective,

affect, independent adverb, or noun.¹

DEMONSTRATIVE

hin=ba-lop´

DEM=cl-pl3

´Those´

QUANTIFIER (with tu(1))

häy -tul-et-la

how many-NC -B2-pl2

´How many of you are there?´

?ah nahtäkäl-on

mg first -Bl

´I am first´

PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVE

piçil -on

pretty-Bl

´I am pretty´

čum-ul-et

sit-aj-B2

´You are seated´

¹The existential verb ?an ´to exist´ serve as a non-verbal predicate in many Mayan languages (e.g. Mam (England 1983:238)); however, because it can be inflected for tense in Modern Chontal, I treat ?an as an irregular verb (see sec. 3.7.).

pobre-on-t'okop'

poor -B1-pl1

'We are poor'

yah -bi-Ø -lop'

pain-aj-B3-pl3

'They are suffering'

k'at-#1-on

ask -aj-B1

'I am asked for'

AFFECT

lik -lik -nal-on

shake-shake-af -B1

'I am shivering'

kot -ok-nal-et

crawl-af-af -B2

'He is crawling'

INDEPENDENT ADVERB

?ida-et-la

here-B2-pl2

'Are you all from here?'

?unte? -on-la
 together-B1-pl1
 `We are together`

NOUN

?išik-et
 woman-B2
 `You are a woman`

?ah lah=wah -on
 mg pat-tortilla-B1
 `I am a tortilla maker`

?ih ø'ul -et-la
 fg foreign-B2-pl2
 `You (all) are Ladinas`

?ah tamäl=ok -on
 mg long =leg-B1
 `I am tall`

?oč - el -on-la
 enter-impf-B1-pl1
 `We are entering`

mač ?išik-et

neg woman-B2

`You are not a woman`

When the stative base is a noun, it may be possessed with the Set A pronouns.

?a suk-un-on

A2 brother-B1

`I am your brother`

?ande ?u yum -et ?u y-otot

you A3 owner-B2 A3 house

`You are the owner of his house`

As England (1983:241) has shown, third person stative predicates are inflected for person with a zero morpheme. Thus, sometimes it can be difficult to determine if a noun (or adjective) is in a third person stative construction or not. Often third person stative predicates are used with the existential verb ?an.

k'at-d ?an-Ø

ask -aj be -B3

`She is asked for`

čum-u ?an-Ø

sit-aj be -B3

`He is seated`

13.2. SIMPLE VERBAL SENTENCES. Simple verbal sentences contain at

least a verb phrase, although subject and/or object nominal referents may also be present.

13.2.1. THE VERB PHRASE. The Chontal verb phrase consists of a root or derived transitive or intransitive stem combined with aspectual suffixes and/or proclitic particles and pronominal affixes. With a few exceptions, all verbal stems may be inflected for person, number, aspect, and mood. Transitive verbs may also undergo voice changes. Verb phrases may be modified by adverbs (both independent and dependent) and negated by mač. Figure II summarizes the relation of the possible verbal phrase components to the verbal stem.

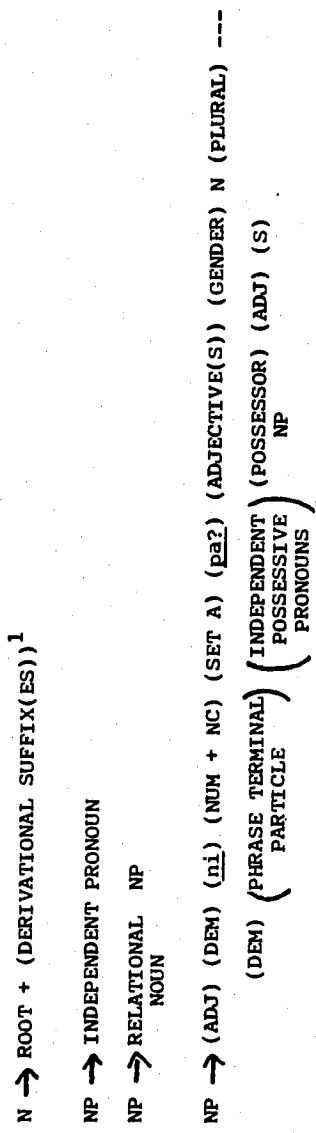
13.2.2. THE NOUN PHRASE. In Chontal all noun phrases are headed by a noun. In addition, the noun can be modified by adjectives, determiners, possessive pronouns, quantifiers, plural suffixes, and relative clauses. Figure III illustrates the immediate constituent structure of the Chontal noun phrase.

A noun phrase may be direct or oblique. Direct noun phrases indicate the subject (agent) or object (patient) of the sentence. Oblique noun phrases are introduced by particles or relational nouns and indicate all other nominal relations, including location.

13.2.2.1. DIRECT NOUN PHRASES. In forming a grammatical sentence, the Chontal speaker can handle a nominal reference (subject or object) in any one of three ways:

(1) without a full noun phrase (NP), letting the obligatory pronominal

FIG. III: IMMEDIATE CONSTITUENT STRUCTURE OF THE CHONTAL NOUN PHRASE



¹ See Appendix IV for an alphabetic listing of the derivational suffixes.

inflection (i.e. the Set A and Set B pronouns) on the verb carry information referring to its arguments.

?u hãø'- e? -et

A3 hit -impf-B2

`He hit you`

(2) using the independent personal pronouns (see sec. 8.1.1.) when the antecedent is human.

?unde ?u hãø'- e? -et (?ande)

he A3 hit -impf-B2 (you)

`He hit you`

(3) or mentioning the noun phrase

noh winik ?u hãø'- e? -et

large man A3 hit -impf-B2

`The large man hit you`

The speaker's selection of one of these alternatives is not arbitrary. He takes into account the discourse factors of highlighting, avoidance of ambiguity, and cohesion.

13.2.2.2. OBLIQUE NOUN PHRASES. Noun phrases which are not subjects or objects in Chontal are oblique. Oblique noun phrases express possessors, case relations, and location.

13.2.2.2.1. POSSESSORS. When nouns are possessed, they are in a part relation or ownership relation with another noun (the possessor).

The inflection of a possessed noun cross-references the person and number of the possessor. Normally, if the possessor noun phrase is a

first or second person pronoun (eg. kande 'I, me' or ?ande 'you') it is not expressed. However, if the possessor is a third person noun, it may be lexically represented in order to disambiguate who or what is the possessor. When the possessor is expressed, it follows the possessed noun: SET A + NOUN + (PLURAL) POSSESSOR. There are no special morphological markings of its function.

?u na? ?ih mala?

A3 mother fg Mary

'Mary's mother'

Occasionally the possessor is itself possessed, resulting in a chain of possessive noun phrases.

?u ?ih-č'ok ?u h-iø'än ?ah yan

A3 fg -child A3 sibling mg John

'John's younger sister's daughter'

13.2.2.2.2. CASE RELATIONS AND LOCATION PHRASES. In Chontal, non-direct case relations and location phrases are introduced by either a relational noun or a particle.

Relational nouns are morphologically like nouns in that they can be possessed. However, their function is not lexical, but relational. In other words, they express the location meaning in a locative phrase (indicating either a goal or source) or the case relation of an oblique noun phrase (Kaufman 1977).

As in other Mayan languages such as Mam (England 1978:229-230), most Chontal relational nouns are used to express location. In Modern Chontal, as in Classical Chontal (Smailus 1975:216), locative nouns are

TABLE XXXIII: LOCATIVE RELATIONAL NOUNS

RELATIONAL NOUN	MEANING	COMMON NOUN
č'ehpa	`beside`	č'ehpa `ribs`
pam	`on, in front of`	pam `head`
pat	`behind, outside`	pat `back`
yaba	`underneath`	?
yak'ó	`within, on top of`	?
ti?	`beside, by the side of, edge of`	ti? `mouth`

usually related to common nouns which refer to body parts. They are found in either of two semantically equivalent constructions:

(1) relational noun + (noun phrase)²

ya? kã pãk' - i -∅ ni ?ič pat ?otot
 there A1 plant-perf-B3 the chile behind house
 'The chile was planted there behind the house'

ni wiču? ya? č'a?-ka?a yaba mesa
 the dog there lie -n under table
 'The dog is lying there under the table'

(2) tã Set A (third person) relational noun (noun phrase)

ya? kã pãk' - i -∅ ni ?ič t -u pat ?otot
 there A1 plant-perf-B3 the chile pt-A3 behind house
 'The chile was planted there behind the house'

ni wiču? ya? č'a?-ka?a-∅ t -u yaba mesa
 the dog there lie -aj -B3 pt-B3 under table
 'The dog is lying there under the table'

²When the noun phrase following the relational noun is understood (e.g. when it has been mentioned earlier in the discourse), it may be omitted.

?u biš-e ?u na? t -u pat ba
 A3 go -impf A3 mother pt-B3 behind cl
 'His mother went behind him'

?a biš- i -∅ tunše
 asp go -perf-B3 other side
 'He went to the other side'

Two relational nouns are related to adjectives instead of nouns:

tānšín 'in the midst, in the middle' and tunše (tā + ?un še) 'the other side' (see Table XXXIV). They are always found in the construction:
relational noun + (noun phrase)

?a hul - e? -∅ ni pal-ip' hin=i tānšín pa?
A2 throw-impf-B3 the stick DEM=cl middle river
'You throw the stick in the middle of the river'

ya? kǎ h -e tunše pa?
there A1 go-impf other side river
'I'm going there to the other side of the river'

Relational nouns are used in forming the case relations of (1) possession (see sec. 7.1.2.), (2) dative, (3) instrument ('by means of'), (4) accompaniment ('with'), (5) cause, (6) demoted agent (in passive constructions), and (7) reflexive (see sec. 5.5.) (see Table XXXV).

The possessed dative pronouns hin and k'a function as independent indirect (oblique) objects.

?u hák' - ān ?a hin
A3 upset-impf A2 dp
'You get upset'

ǒp-e ?an-∅ ?u k'a
cut-aj be -B3 A3 dp
'Cut it is to him'

k'a is also used to show the case relations of cause and demoted agent. Unpossessed or possessed with the third person Set A pronoun ?u, k'a is

TABLE XXXIV: RELATIONAL NOUNS DERIVED FROM ADJECTIVES

RELATIONAL NOUNS	ADJECTIVES/QUANTIFIERS
tānšin 'in the midst' in the middle'	tānšin 'middle, center'
tunše 'the other side'	tunše 'one side'

TABLE XXXV: CASE RELATION RELATIONAL NOUNS

RELATIONAL NOUN	CASE RELATION	RELATED NOUN
tuba	possession (see sec. 7.1.2.)	ba 'self'
ba	reflexive (see sec. 5.2.2.)	
hin	dative (see sec. 5.5.)	
k'a	dative (see sec. 5.5.)	
(u) k'a	cause demoted agent	
t'ok	instrument accompaniment	?ih-t'ok 'wife'

followed by a noun phrase naming the cause or agent of the action.

kande ?a čon- k - Ø -on k'a kã pap

I asp sell-pas-perf-B1 by Al father

'I was sold by my father'

?a tik- i -Ø ni nok' k'a ni k'in

asp dry-perf-B3 the clothes by the sun

'The clothes dried because of the sun'

t'ok shows case relations of instrument and accompaniment. It is followed by a noun phrase unless the noun phrase is an understood third person.

?a biš- i -Ø t'ok hin ba winik' hin=i

asp go -perf-B3 with DEM cl man DEM=cl

'He went with this man'

kã h -e t'ok ?ande

Al go-impf with you

'I'll go with you'

kande ba kã h -e kã pa? - s - en -Ø swerte t'ok-Ø

I cl Al go-impf Al quit-caus-impf-B3 luck with-B3

'I'm going to be lucky with it'

?u øep'- i -Ø ?un tek te? t'ok mačit

A3 cut -perf-B3 l NC tree with machete

'He cut down the tree with a machete'

13.2.3. WORD ORDER. Chontal has SV and VS word orders with intransitive predicates and SV, VS, OV, VO, SVO, VOS, SOV, OVS, and VSO with transitive predicates (where S = the subject, V = the verb, and O = the object). OSV never occurs.

The most common word order for sentences with intransitive verbs is VS.

?a wäy - i -∅ noh bálum
asp sleep-perf-B3 large jaguar
`The jaguar slept`

?u t -e ?un tu yok ?anima
A3 come-impf 1 NC dear animal
`One animal comes`

However, SV intransitive sentences also occur.

na? ?ih mis ?a biš- i -∅
mother fg cat asp go -perf-B3
`The female cat went`

kande ká h -e tá wäy -e
I A1 go-impf to sleep-impf
`I am going to sleep`

The subjects in SV sentences are often foregrounded (see sec. 13.2.4.).

yok ?ah mis ba ?a čum -wán- i -∅
dear mg cat cl asp seated-Piv-perf-B3
`The male cat sat down`

ni hente hin=i ?oč - i -∅
 the people DEM=cl enter-perf-B3
 'The people entered'

?ande ba ?a h -e tã wan -e
 you cl A2 go-impf to jump-impf
 'You go to jump'

Word order in sentences with transitive verbs is more complicated because transitive verbs have subjects and objects whose nominal arguments may or may not be expressed. Thus, Chontal sentences with transitive verbs may have the following word orders: SV, VS, VO, OV, SVO, VOS, SOV, OVS, and VSO. In order to identify a nominal argument as the subject or object of a transitive verb, several factors must be considered. First, transitive verbs are inflected for subject and object with the Set A and Set B pronouns, respectively. So, if the verb is inflected for a first or second person subject and a third person object, a third person nominal argument would be the object. Conversely, if the verb is inflected for a third person subject and a first or second object, a third person nominal argument would be the subject. The first and second person independent pronouns (kande 'I, me' and ?ande 'you') can also be identified as subjects or objects by examining the pronominal inflection of verbs.

kã mãn- i -∅ ?išim
 A1 buy-perf-B3 corn
 'I bought corn'

kande ?a k -ir - i -∅
 I asp A1 see-perf-B3
 `I saw it`

However, if the subject and object are both in the third person, other factors must be considered. For example, many transitive verbs can take only animate nouns as subjects. With these verbs, an inanimate nominal argument would have to refer to the object of the verb.

?ah nando ?u k'äy- e? -∅ noh kansion
 mg Fernando A3 sing-impf-B3 large song
 `Fernando sings a song`
 *`A song sings Fernando`

The animate/inanimate distinction is very important in understanding Chontal word order because certain sentence word orders such as OSV and VOS require an inanimate object.

Normally, transitive sentences in Chontal have only one expressed nominal argument, which can represent either the subject or the object of the verb. All four possible word orders, SV, OV, VS, and VO, are found in Modern Chontal. Of these, VO is the most common.

In VO sentences a third person object is normally inanimate.

?a kãn - i -∅ patan
 A2 learn-perf-B3 work
 `You learned how to work`

ʔu č - i -∅ -lop' ʔu č'uh

A3 do-perf-B3-pl3 A3 church

'They built their church'

If the subject and object are both third person animate nominals, the verb in a VO sentence will be in the referential voice.

ʔu y-ä1 - b - en -∅ ʔu yok č'ok ʔal

A3 say-ben-impf-B3 A3 dear small son

'She said it to her son'

Conversely, VS transitive sentences normally have an animate expressed argument.

ʔu y-ä1 - i -∅ noh rey

A3 say-perf-B3 great king

'The king said it'

ʔu č - i -∅ pensa-∅ -lop' hente

A3 do-perf-B3 think-B3-pl3 people

'The people thought it'

SV sentences with transitive verbs are similar to SV sentences with intransitive verbs in that the subjects of these sentences may or may not be foregrounded.

ʔih mala? ʔu h-ir - ∅ -et

fg Mary A3 see-perf-B2

'Mary saw you'

ʔunde ba ʔu toh- Ø -on
 he cl A3 pay-perf-B1
 'He paid me'

OV sentences are extremely rare and occur only when the object is foregrounded.

hin ba ʔotot da ʔa ʔut - i -Ø
 DEM cl house cl A2 build-perf-B3
 'This house, you built it'

hin ba nuk te? ʔa kã čen - en -Ø -la
 DEM cl large tree asp A1 watch-impf-B3-pl1
 'The big trees, we look at them'

Occasionally, both nominal arguments of a transitive verb are expressed, resulting in SVO, VOS, SOV, OVS, or VSO word orders. SVO is, by far, the most common of these word orders.

ʔah nando ʔu hãø' - e? -Ø ʔah yan
 mg Fernando A3 hit -impf-B3 mg John
 'Fernando hits John'

hin ba patada hin=i ʔu øãm- s - i -Ø
 DEM cl kick DEM-cl A3 die-caus-perf-B3
 'This kick killed'

yok ʔah mis
 dear mg cat
 the cat'

?ah yan ?u k'uš- e? -∅ bu?u
 mg John A3 eat -impf-B3 beans
 `John eats beans`

The OVS word order is rare and may occur only when the object is inanimate or focused and the subject is animate.

ni santo hin=i ?u sih - b - i -∅ -lop'
 the saint DEM=cl A3 give-ben-perf-B3-pl3
 `The Spanish gave them`

?español-op'
 Spanish-pl3
 the saint`

bu?u ?u k'uš- e? -∅ ?ah yan
 beans A3 eat -impf-B3 mg John
 `John eats beans`

*?ih mala? ?u hǎ∅' - e? -∅ ?ah yan
 fg Mary A3 hit -impf-B3 mg John
 `John hits Mary`

Likewise, the object in VOS sentences must be inanimate.

?u ? - b - i -∅ ta=k'in ?u pap
 A3 give-ben-perf-B3 money A3 father
 `His father gave him money`

*?u hǎǎ' - e? - ∅ ?ih mala? ?ah yan
 A3 hit -impf-B3 fg Mary mg John
 `John hits Mary`

This restriction does not apply to VSO sentences.

?u kǎy - e? - ∅ ?ah nando noh kansion
 A3 sing-impf-B3 mg Fernando great song
 `Fernando sings a great song`

?u hǎǎ' - e? - ∅ ?ah yan ?u h-ih-č'upin
 A3 hit -impf-B3 mg John A3 fg-wife/woman
 `John hits his wife`

SOV sentences are extremely rare and occur only with inanimate objects.

My examples come from elicitation, not texts.

?ah yan bu?u ?u k'uš- e? - ∅
 mg John beans A3 eat -impf-B3
 `John eats beans`

*?ah yan ?ih mala? ?u hǎǎ' - i - ∅
 mg John fg Mary A3 hit -perf-B3
 `John hit Mary`

In sum, the most commonly used word orders in Modern Chontal are VS, VO, and SVO.

13.2.4. FOREGROUNDING. In a foregrounded construction, a noun phrase is preposed to the left of the whole sentence. Chontal uses two foregrounding constructions: clefting and, less commonly, topi-

calization. Formally identical, these constructions are followed by the ba phrase-terminal particle. Clefting focuses the sentence on a particular noun phrase. Since clefting does not introduce new information, the clefted noun phrase may be a full noun phrase or a pronoun.

yok winik ba ?u h-ir - i -Ø
 dear man . cl A3 see-perf-B3
 'The man, he saw it'

...pero ?iš-ik ba hin=i mah-ni
 ...but woman cl DEM=cl neg-no longer
 '... but this woman, she no longer

y - o ahn- ik-Ø de prostituta
 A3-want be -opt-B3 of prostitute
 wants to be a prostitute'

?unde ba h - Ø -on č' - i -Ø hin ba winik hin=i
 he cl go-perf-B1 take-perf-B3 DEM cl man DEM=cl
 'She already took this man as a spouse'

Topicalization consists of placing a noun phrase containing new information at the head of the sentence.

yok no=šip' ba tš patan ?u š -e
 dear husband cl to work A3 go-impf
 'The man, he went to work'

ʔu ʔestatura winik ba ʔu č - en -∅ konsiderar
 A3 height man cl A3 do-impf-B3 consider
 'The height of the man, he thinks

ʔunde ba ke ya ʔan mas de dos metros
 he cl that there be more than 2 meters
 that he was more than two meters (tall)'

13.3. NEGATIVES. Chontal negatives are complicated and thus merit discussion. The negative particle, mač or mah, is placed at the beginning of a stative or verb phrase (i.e. before any Set A pronoun, adverb, and aspectual particle which may be present).

mač pok'-om-on
 neg fat -aj-B1
 'I am not fat'

mač kə ʔ'ib -d
 neg A1 write-impf
 'I don't write'

Stative constructions do not undergo changes when negated. On the other hand, the inflection of verbs changes in several ways depending on whether the verb is transitive or intransitive, root or derived, as well as its aspect (imperfective or perfective) and voice.

13.3.1. TRANSITIVE VERBS. Root transitives change their form when negated in imperfective aspect. The imperfective form is not CVC-e?,

but CVC-V (the imperative) when the object is third person.

kā k'uš- e? -∅

A1 eat -impf-B3

`I eat it'

mač kā k'uš- u -∅

neg A1 eat -imp-B3

`I don't eat it'

The subject is indicated by the Set A pronouns. If, however, the object is first or second person, the verb retains its imperfective form.

mač ?u hā∅'- e? -et

neg A3 hit -impf-B2

`He doesn't hit you'

Likewise, root transitive verbs in perfective aspect do not change their forms when negated.

?a k'uš- i -∅

A2 eat -perf-B3

`You ate it'

mač ?a k'uš- i -∅

neg A2 eat -perf-B3

`You didn't eat it'

mač ?u hā∅'- ∅ -et

neg A3 hit -perf-B2

`He didn't hit you'

Imperfective derived transitives use their vowel-final stem in negative constructions (without the imperfective -n).

?a tãsk- un -∅

A2 send-impf-B3

`You send it`

mač ?a tãsk- u -∅

neg A2 send-impf-B3

`You didn't send it`

kã ø'ib - ãn -∅

A1 write-impf-B3

`I write it`

mač kã ø'ib - ã -∅

neg A1 write-impf-B3

`I don't write`

?u ?oč - es - an -∅

A3 enter-caus-impf-B3

`He put it in`

mač ?u ?oč - es - a -∅

neg A3 enter-caus-impf-B3

`He doesn't put it in`

mač kǎ čum-t - a -∅ čimim
 neg Al sit-tv-impf-B3 horse
 'I don't mount the horse'

Like root transitives, derived transitives in the perfective aspect do not change their form when negated.

kǎ tǎsk- i -∅
 Al send-perf-B3
 'I sent it'

mač kǎ tǎsk- i -∅
 neg Al send-perf-B3
 'I didn't send it'

Formally, negative transitive imperatives and exhortatives do not differ from negative imperfective declarative sentences.³ Negative imperatives use the second person Set A pronoun ?a, and negative exhortatives use the first person plural Set A pronoun kǎ ... -la.

čon -o
 sell-imp
 'Sell it!'

³For example, mač ?a čon-e?-∅ has two meanings: (1) 'You don't sell it' and (2) 'Don't sell it!'. Intonation is very important in determining which of the two meanings is being expressed; the imperative places greater stress on mač and the verb than its declarative counterpart.

mač ?a čon-e?-∅
 'You don't sell it'

mač ?a čon - é? -∅
 'Don't sell it!'

ʔa čon - e? -∅

A2 sell-impf-B3

`You sell it`

mač ʔa čon - e? -∅

neg A2 sell-impf-B3

`Don't sell it!`

mač ʔa toh- e? -on

neg A2 pay-impf-B1

`Don't pay me!`

mač ʔa ʔoč - es - an -∅

neg A2 enter-caus-impf-B3

`Don't put it in!`

mač kǎ čon - e? -∅ -la

neg A1 sell-impf-B3-pll

`Let's not sell it`

13.3.2. INTRANSITIVE VERBS. Like transitive verbs, root and derived intransitive verbs have different imperfective and perfective forms when negated.

Imperfective negatives are treated in many respects as though they are in perfective aspect. Although they do not have the perfective -i

or $-\emptyset$ suffix, root intransitives use the ergative-absolutive stem and the Set B pronouns as subjects. In other words, root intransitives use their CVC stem. In addition, an obligatory ?u particle replaces the Set A subject pronoun. The ?u particle is a dummy place holder and has no meaning.

kã wan -e

A1 jump-impf

`I jump`

mač ?u wan -on

neg pt jump-B1

`I don't jump`

?u wan -e

A3 jump-impf

`He jumps`

mač ?u wan - \emptyset

neg pt jump-B3

`He doesn't jump`

Negated imperfective positional intransitives are morphologically similar to negated imperfective root intransitives since they also use their perfective stem (i.e. CVC-wãn), the Set B pronouns, and the particle ?u.

?a čum-te
 A2 sit-Pimpf
 `You sit down`

mač ?u čum-wān-on
 neg pt sit-Piv-B1
 `You don't sit down`

CVC-te(1) negatives occur only in negative present progressive constructions.

mač muk' ?u wa? -te
 neg pp A3 standing up-Pimpf
 `He's not standing up`

Like derived transitive verbs, derived intransitive verbs (excluding CVC-te(1) and CVC-wān positional intransitives and -int-e(1) passives⁴) use their vowel-final stem in negative constructions. They replace the Set A pronoun with ?u and use the Set B pronouns as subjects. When the subject is first or second person, the vowel of the derivational suffix (i.e. -a) assimilates to the vowel of the Set B pronoun.

⁴The -int-e(1) passives remain unchanged when negated.

?a ø'u? -int-e
 A2 suckle-pas-impf
 `You are suckled`
 mač ?a ø'u? -int-e
 neg A2 suckle-pas-impf
 `You aren't suckled`

?u pok'- m-an

A3 fat -aj-impf

`He get fat`

mač ?u pok'- m- a -∅

neg pt fat -aj-impf-B3

`He doesn't get fat`

mač ?u pok'- m-on

neg pt fat -aj-B1

`I don't get fat`

?u k'oh- p -an

A3 sick-inc-impf

`He get sick`

mač ?u k'oh- p - a -∅

neg A3 sick-inc-impf-B3

`He doesn't get sick`

mač ?u hā∅'- k - a -∅

neg pt hit -pas-impf-B3

`It is not hit`

mač ?u wa? - l-et
 neg pt stand-aj-B2
 `You don't stand up`

Intransitive verbs in perfective aspect do not change form when negated. The negative particle mač precedes any aspectual particle that comes before the inflected verb.

?a ?oč - Ø -on
 asp enter-perf-B1
 `I entered`

mač ?a ?oč - Ø -on
 neg asp enter-perf-B1
 `I didn't enter`

?a sut -wän- Ø -et
 asp return-Piv-perf-B2
 `You returned`

mač ?a sut -wän- Ø -et
 neg asp return-Piv-perf-B2
 `You didn't return`

?a pok'-m - i -Ø
 asp fat -aj-perf-B3
 `He got fat`

mač ?a pok'-m - i -∅

neg asp fat -aj-perf-B3

`He didn't get fat`

mač ?a hã∅'- k - i -∅

neg asp hit -pas-perf-B3

`He wasn't hit`

mač ?a wa? -l - ∅ -on

neg asp stand-aj-perf-B1

`I wasn't standing up`

Negative intransitive imperatives and exhortatives differ from their negative declarative counterparts. The imperative and exhortative stems of negative intransitives are based on the subjunctive/optative stem (see sec. 4.3.). Negative imperatives are inflected with the second person Set B pronoun (and -la plural if necessary) and negative exhortatives use the first person Set B pronoun and -la plural suffix.

mač š -ik -et

neg go-opt-B2

`Don't go!`

mač čum-ik -et

neg sit-opt-B2

`Don't sit down!`

mač čum-wǎn-ik -et
 neg sit-Piv-opt-B2
 `Don't sit down!`

mač wa? -l -ek -et-la
 neg stand-aj-opt-B2-pl2
 `Don't stand up (you all)!`

mač bǎk't- a - k -et
 neg fear -inc-opt-B2
 `Don't be afraid`

mač š -ik -on-la
 neg go-opt-B1-pl1
 `Let's not go!`

13.4. INTERROGATIVES. Besides simple declarative sentences, Chontal speakers also have two types of interrogatives: yes/no questions and information questions.⁵ Yes/no questions may be answered affirmatively or negatively; information questions request information.

13.4.1 YES/NO QUESTIONS. In Chontal, yes/no questions are indicated by rising intonation on the last word of the question. This contrasts with the neutral or slightly falling intonation of declarative

⁵Note that the interrogative adverbs, kira and wǎre (see sec. 9.1.1.1.), are used only when a person is talking to himself.

statements. There are no changes in morphology or syntax.

?a č - i -∅ patan t'ok ?ah pepe

A2 do-perf-B3 work with mg Pepe

'You worked with Pepe.'

?a č - i -∅ patan t'ok ?ah pepe

A2 do-perf-B3 work with mg Pepe

'You worked with Pepe?'

These questions are open in that they do not indicate whether an affirmative or a negative answer is expected. However, some yes/no questions in Chontal are clearly modal, with the speaker expecting either an affirmative or negative response. When the speaker anticipates a specific answer, the question is followed by me?en, mač, or mah=ka.

háb -đ ?an-∅ mah=ka

open-aj be -B3 neg=pt

'It's open, isn't it?'

?ande ?a uč' - en - ∅ buk'a mač

you A2 drink-impf-B3 pozol neg

'You drink posol, no?'

?ande ?a š -e me?en

you A2 go-impf yes?

'You are going, yes?'

If the answer to a yes/no question is affirmative, it usually

consists of an adverb (such as čič 'always,' a time adverb, or a locative), a phrase, or a repetition of part or all of the question.

Q: ?an-∅ čih=to ?a k'ot - ∅ -et
 be -B3 in time asp arrive-perf-B2
 'Did you arrive in time?'

A: ya?=i 'Here' or
 sam=i 'Earlier today' or

?a k'ot - ∅ -on
 asp arrive-perf-B1
 'I arrived'

An expected negative answer to a question consists of either the negative morpheme mač or a complete sentence, but an unexpected negative answer requires a complete sentence.

Q: ya? (?a) h -e tã č'uh
 then (A2) go-impf to church
 'Are you going to church?'

A: mač 'No' (expected answer)

mač ?u š - ∅ -on (expected or unexpected answer)
 neg pt go-perf-B1
 'I'm not going'

13.4.2. INFORMATION QUESTIONS. Unlike yes/no questions, infor-

mation questions are not indicated by rising intonation;⁶ instead, they are introduced by one of the interrogative words or phrases listed in Table XXXVI. All of the interrogative words and phrases are introduced by the interrogative particle ka with the exception of the quantifier hdy (+ numeral classifier) 'How much, how many.' The interrogative words are followed by the verb phrase (if present) and then by any expressed noun phrases.

konde ?u hdy' - i -∅ ?ah yan

who A3 hit-perf-B3 mg John

'Who hit John?'

ka če? da ?a h -e ?a č - en -∅ ?otot

how A2 go-impf A2 do-impf-B3 house

'How are you going to build the house?'

ka tuba ?a č' - i -∅ ni karta

whose A2 take-perf-B3 the letter

'Who received the letter? (To whom did it belong?)'

konde ?a sak - an -∅

what A2 look-impf-B3

'What are you looking for?'

⁶Information questions, like declarative sentences, have neutral or slightly falling intonation.

TABLE XXXVI: ka INTERROGATIVE WORDS AND PHRASES

<u>ka</u> WORD OR PHRASE	MEANING	QUESTIONING:
ka + unde (konde)	`who, what`	agent
?ah konde		
konde	`who, what`	patient
kwa? konde		
konde	`to whom, to what`	dative
ka t'ok	`with whom`	comitative
ka t'ok	`with what`	instrument
ka tuba	`whose`	possessive
ka ?an ba (ka?amba) + NOUN	`which one`	choice
ka + NOUN	`which NOUN`	
ka če? da	`how`	method
ka ?u k'a (kok'a)	`why`	reason
ka k'in	`when`	time
ka da	`where`	place

IDIOMS

ka kwa?	`what?`
kwa? ka kwa?	`What's up?`
kwa? ka?-op`	`What's up?`
ka da-et	`Where are you from?`
kwašti	`Who knows?`
?an konde	`someone`

ka da ?a č - en -∅ bida
 where A2 do-impf-B3 life
 `Where do you live?`

ka ?amba ?a suk-un- ∅
 which A2 brother-B3
 `Which is your brother?`

Like the answers to yes/no questions, the answers to information questions consist of adverbs, phrases, or sentences. But, they can also be answered with nouns.

Q: ka tuba hin ba pik
 which DEM cl dress
 `Whose dress is this?`

A: ?u pik ?ih mala?
 A3 dress fg Mary
 `Mary's dress`

13.5. SUMMARY. Chontal sentences can be classified as either non-verbal or verbal. A non-verbal sentence has a stative predicate whose base can be a noun, demonstrative, quantifier, adjective, affect, or adverb. All verbal sentences contain at least one verb phrase, although one or more noun phrases may also be present. The most common word orders for sentences are VS and SVO. Figure IV summarizes Chontal phrase structure rules.

FIG. IV: CHONTAL PHRASE STRUCTURE RULES

NON-VERBAL SENTENCES

S → STATIVE

$$\text{STATIVE} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{NEG}) (\text{SET A}) \text{N} + \text{SET B} \\ (\text{NEG}) \text{DEM} + \text{SET B} \\ (\text{NEG}) \text{QUANTIFIER} + \text{SET B} \\ (\text{NEG}) \text{ADJ} + \text{SET B} \\ (\text{NEG}) \text{AFFECT} + \text{SET B} \\ (\text{NEG}) \text{ADV} + \text{SET B} \end{array} \right.$$
VERBAL SENTENCES

$$\text{S} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{NP}) \text{VP} (\text{NP}) (\text{NP}) \\ (\text{NP}) (\text{NP}) \text{VP} (\text{NP}) \\ \text{VP} (\text{NP}) (\text{NP}) (\text{NP}) \end{array} \right.$$

CHAPTER 14

COMPOUND AND COMPLEX SENTENCES

14.1. COMPOUND SENTENCES. Compound sentences are formed by coordination and may undergo gapping in Chontal.

14.1.1. COORDINATION. Coordination exists at two levels in Chontal: between noun phrases within a single sentence and between two or more sentences.

14.1.1.1. COORDINATION WITHIN A SENTENCE. Nouns and noun phrases can be conjoined within a sentence by using the accompaniment relational noun t'ok or one of three conjunctions: če? 'and,' ?i 'and' (from Spanish), and ?o/?u 'or' (from Spanish). The Spanish loan words are used more frequently than če? or t'ok.

?ahn- i -∅ ?un tu yok ?ah t'ul t'ok ?un tu ?#hin
 be -perf-B3 one NC dear mg rabbit with one NC alligator
 'There was a rabbit and an alligator'

t'ok ?ah yan t'ok ?ah pegru? ?a h -e -la
 with mg John with mg Pedro A2 go-impf-pl2
 'You are going with John and Pedro'

?ahn- i -∅ ?un tu bálum če? ?un tu ?ah sořo
 be -perf-B3 1 NC jaguar and 1 NC mg fox
 `There was a jaguar and a fox`

?ahn- i -∅ ?un tu yok ?išik ?i ?un tu yok winik
 be -perf-B3 1 NC dear woman and 1 NC dear man
 `There was a woman and a man`

kā h -e kā mēn- e? - ∅ ča? p'e ?aranšaš
 Al go-impf Al buy-impf-B3 2 NC orange
 `I'm going to buy two oranges`

?o ?uš p'e ha?as
 or 3 NC banana
 or three bananas`

14.1.1.2. COORDINATION BETWEEN SENTENCES. Chontal has no native conjunctions which can be used to conjoin sentences -- sentences are simply adjacent to each other.

?ih pet ?u k'uš- e? - ∅ bu?u ?ah pegru?
 fg Petrona A3 eat -impf-B3 bean mg Pedro
 `Petrona eats beans, Pedro`

?u k'uš- e? - ∅ wah
 A3 eat -impf-B3 tortilla
 eats tortillas`

When, however, a speaker wants to show that two sentences are conjoined, he may use borrowed Spanish conjunctions such as ʔi 'and' and pero 'but.'

gran y-ol -ba (ʔu) ʔahn-e tan kah ʔu h-ir - an -∅
 great A3-want-n A3 be -impf in town A3 -see-impf-B3
 'He wants to be in town to see your

ʔa fiesta pero mač ʔu č -e -∅ trebe
 A2 party but neg A3 do-tv-B3 ability
 party, but he can't

ʔahn- i -∅ ʔun tu rey ʔi ʔahn- i -∅ ʔuš tu
 be -perf-B3 1 NC king and be -perf-B3 3 NC

ʔu y-al ʔu p'ene
 A3 child A3 child

'There was a king and there were his three sons'

ʔa k'ot - i -∅ k'in ke noh rey ʔa čäm- i -∅
 asp arrive-perf-B3 day that great king asp die-perf-B3
 'The day arrived that the king died

ʔi ʔa kih - i -∅ ʔunde-lop'
 and asp stay-perf-B3 he -pl3
 and they stayed'

14.1.2. GAPPING. Gapping is a syntactic rule in which identical main verbs in conjoined sentences are deleted (Brody 1978:196).

BEFORE GAPPING

?ah yan ?u č' - i -∅ ye?e ?ah horhe ?u č' - i -∅
 mg John A3 take-perf-B3 food, mg George A3 take-perf-B3
 `John took food, George took

bu?u ?ah manuel ?u č' - i -∅ fruta
 bean mg Manuel A3 take-perf-B3 fruit
 beans, and Manuel took fruit`

AFTER GAPPING

?ah yan ?u č' - i -∅ ye?e, ?ah horhe bu?u,
 mg John A3 take-perf-B3 food, mg George bean,
 `John took food, George beans, and

?ah manuel fruta
 mg Manuel fruit
 `Manuel fruit`

In Chontal, identical verbs gap with each other, both forward (i.e. the second verb is deleted) or backward (i.e. the first verb is deleted).

BEFORE GAPPING

?ah yan ?u k'uš- i -∅ wah ?i ?ih mala?
 mg John A3 eat -perf-B3 tortilla and fg Mary
 `John ate tortillas and Mary

ʔu k'uš- i -∅ buʔu

A3 eat -perf-B3 bean

ate beans'

FORWARD GAPPING

ʔah yan ʔu k'uš- i - ∅ wah ʔi ʔih mala? buʔu

mg John A3 eat -perf-B3 tortilla and fg Mary bean

'John ate tortillas and Mary beans'

BACKWARD GAPPING

ʔah yan wah ʔi ʔih mala? ʔu k'uš- i - ∅ buʔu

mg John tortilla and fg Mary A3 eat -perf-B3 bean

'John tortillas and Mary ate beans'

Furthermore, non-identical verbs can be gapped if they are semantically similar. For example, the various verbs for 'carrying' and 'holding,' such as tāsk-un 'to bring or carry on the head' and kuč-e? 'to carry on the back,' may gap with one another.

BEFORE GAPPING

ʔa tāsk - un - ∅ noh čač ʔi ʔa kuč - e? - ∅ ʔa si?

A2 carry-impf-B3 big basket and A2 carry-impf-B3 A2 firewood

'You carry a large basket (on your head) and

you carry your firewood (on your back)'

AFTER GAPPING

?a tšsk - un - ø noh čač ?i ?a si?

A2 carry-impf-B3 big basket and A2 firewood

'You carry a large basket (on your head) and your firewood'

noh čač ?i ?a si? ?a kuč - e? -ø

big basket and A2 firewood A2 carry-impf-B3

'A big basket and your firewood, you carry them'

14.2. COMPLEX SENTENCES. Complex sentences contain at least one dependent clause or complement construction in Chontal.

14.2.1. DEPENDENT CLAUSES. Dependent or subordinate clauses are not complete sentences by themselves. They are always subordinate to the rest of the sentence. They may or may not be introduced by a subordinate particle.

bada ?u y-äl - i -ø š -ik -et

now A3 say-perf-B3 go-opt-et

'Now he said that you go

tš øahi t'ok-ø

to talk with-B3

to talk with him'

?u hšb - i -ø ti? ?otot k'a

A3 open-perf-B3 mouth house so that

'He opened the door so that

ʔu čik - i -∅ ʔik´

A3 reflect-perf-B3 wind

the air circulates´

If the verb in the dependent clause is transitive, it is fully inflected for person and aspect.

ʔah pegru? ʔu y-əl - i -∅ ka če? ʔih mala?

mg Pedro A3 say-perf-B3 that fg Mary

´Pedro said that Mary

(ʔu) ʔuwi ka če? ʔunde mač ʔu kǎnǎn-t - i -∅ tak´in

(B3) know that he neg A3 watch-tv-perf-B3 money

knew that he didn´t have any money´

However, intransitive verbs are either unmarked for mood or inflected for the subjunctive mood, depending on the clause. When the clause involves a change of subject, is an indirect command, or is a subordinate clause introduced by a subordinating particle such as si, tuba, ta, de ke, ke, or para ke, the subjunctive mood is used.

tu k´in ʔu num -e ʔun tu ya? =i ba, ʔu ? - b - en -∅

when A3 pass-impf 1 NC there=cl cl, A3 give-ben-impf-B3

´When a person passes, he gives him

ʔu bap´

A3 oar

the oar´

k -o kande ba p'is̄ - ik-et ka če? da

Al-want I cl wake up-opt-B2 so that

'I want you to wake up so that

k'ot - ik-on i?sapan

arrive-opt-B1 early

I'll arrive early'

Subordinate clauses generally follow independent clauses; however, subordinate clauses, especially temporal ones, may be fronted. When fronting takes place, the subordinate clause is moved in front of the independent clause and the phrase terminal particle ba is normally used to indicate the clause boundary.

pwes, para ke mač pa? - s -int- ik-on de rey ba

well, so that neg quit-caus-pas-opt-B1 of king cl

'Well, so that I am not overthrown as king,

kā h - e kā dām- s - en -∅

Al go-impf Al die-caus-impf-B3

I am going to kill him'

despwes ?a biš- i -∅ noh sabi.o ba,

after asp go -perf-B3 great wiseman cl

'After the great wiseman left,

?a k'ot - i -∅ tan kah
 asp arrive-perf-B3 in town
 he arrived in the town'

There are several kinds of dependent clauses in Chontal: temporal subordinate clauses, clausal direct objects, purpose-result clauses, reason clauses, indirect questions, and relative clauses.

14.2.1.1. TEMPORAL SUBORDINATE CLAUSES. The predicate in a subordinate clause may be temporally related to the predicate of its corresponding independent clause. Temporal subordinators include tu k'in 'when,' kwanta/kwanto 'when,' despwes (ke) 'after,' ka 'when,' and kama? 'when.'

kwanta ?a mok' -wān- i -∅ ?unde ba,
 when asp crouch-iv -perf-B3 he cl
 'When he was crouched over,

muk' ?u h-ir - an -∅
 pp A3 see-impf-B3
 he was watching it'

kā h - e tā num - e ka muk' ?a čer- k -an
 A1 go-imp to pass-impf when pp A2 do -pas-impf
 'I am going to pass by when you are

kořer tan noh palasi.o
 run in big palace
 running the palace'

kama? ?u ɔup - s - i -∅ ?u tikw- es - an -∅
 when A3 finish caus-perf-B3 A3 heat-caus-impf-B3
 'When it was finished heating,

?u k'uš- i -∅ winik
 A3 eat -perf-B3 man
 the man ate it'

despwes ke ?a čām- i -∅ ba,
 after that asp die-perf-B2 cl,
 'After he died,

?a biš- i -∅ tã pante.on
 asp go -perf-B3 to cemetery
 he went to the cemetery'

14.2.1.2. CLAUSAL DIRECT OBJECTS. Sometimes dependent clauses function as the direct objects of transitive verbs (e.g. in indirect quotations). Unlike temporal subordinate clauses, clausal direct objects are not always introduced with a subordinator. Instead, the clauses are just adjacent.

kande k -d1 - e? - Ø ?unde ?u č - i -Ø

I A1-say-impf-B3 he A3 do-perf-B3

'I tell him that he did it'

Other clausal direct objects are introduced by the Spanish loan word ke 'that.'

?ah yan ?u y-d1 - b - Ø -on ke ?ande

mg John A3 -say-ben-perf-B1 that you

'John told me that you

?a h -e tã ranču ?ik'ã

A2 go-impf to Villahermosa tomorrow

are going to Villahermosa tomorrow'

14.2.1.3. PURPOSE-RESULT AND REASON CLAUSES. Purpose-result clauses indicate the resultant motive or purpose of an action expressed in another clause, while reason clauses indicate the reason behind the action in the independent clause. They are introduced by one of several subordinating particles: ta 'so, in order to,' k'a/ok'a 'so that, because,' ka če? ba 'so that,' para ke 'so that,' and porke 'because.'

?un tu kã lot ?u ? - b - Ø-on ?un ø'it

1 NC A1 friend A3 give-ben-perf-B1 1 NC

'My friend gave me a

kučiru ta kã øep- e? -Ø bek'ta

knife so A1 cut-impf-B3 meat

knife so I could cut the meat'

ni ?iš-ik ?a ?uk'- i -∅ ok'a
 the woman asp cry -perf-B3 because
 'The woman cried because she

?a k'uš- k - i -∅ k'a wiču?
 asp eat -pas-perf-B3 by dog
 was bitten by a dog'

?an-on porke bada kã fabrika ba ha ?u č - en -∅
 be -A1 because now A1 factory cl asp A3 do-impf-B3
 'I am here because now my factory works'

?a t - ∅ -on k -ir - an -∅ si ?a ? - b - en -on
 asp come-perf-B1 A1-see-impf-B3 if A2 give-ben-impf-B1
 'I came to see if you would give me

?a w-ih-č'ok ta lotoh- a -k -on t'ok-∅
 A2 -fg-child so marry-inc-opt-B1 with-B3
 your daughter so that I can marry her'

14.2.1.4. INDIRECT QUESTIONS. In Chontal, indirect questions, like direct questions (see sec. 13.4.2.), are introduced by the ka interrogatives when asking for information and have no special morphological markings when asking for a yes or no answer. However, indirect questions, unlike direct questions, are separate embedded

clauses in complex sentences.

mač ?a ?ǎl- b -int- ik- ∅ konde muk´ ?u čer- k - an
 neg asp say-ben-pas-perf-B3 what pp A3 do -pas-impf
 'He wasn't told what was being done'

...?a ?ǎl- b -int- ik -∅ ka da ?u č - en - ∅ bida
 ...asp say-ben-pas-perf-B3 where A3 do-impf-B3 life
 '...he was told where

hin=i yok č´ok ?ah lo?
 DEM=cl dear young mg youth
 the young boy lived'

... ?a t - i -∅ ?u kǎn - e? - ∅ yok č´ok ?ah mis
 ... asp come-perf-B3 A3 learn-impf-B3 dear young mg cat
 '... the little cat came to learn

ka če? da ?u čer- k - an tǎ ǝǎm- s -int-e
 how A3 do -pas-impf to die-caus-pas-impf
 how to kill

nuk ?anima
 large animal
 large animals'

14.2.1.5. RELATIVE CLAUSES. Nouns in Chontal can be modified by

relative clauses which follow the noun they are modifying. They are usually introduced by the interrogative particle ka or a ka phrase (see Table XXXVI in sec. 13.4.2.). They use normal inflectional patterns and word order.

?ah yan ?u k'aba winik ka t'ok ?a h - Ø -et
 mg John A3 name man with whom asp go-perf-B2
 'John is the name of the man with whom you went'

ni čum - l-ip' ka ?an čum -u - Ø ?ah mis
 the seat-aj-n where seat-aj-B3 mg cat
 'The chair where the cat is seated'

?a šot' - k - i - Ø
 asp break-pas-perf-B3
 was broken'

ni p'et ka ?a w-āk' - i - Ø tā tak' - an ?išim
 the pot in which A2 put-perf-B3 to cook-impf corn
 'The pot in which you put the corn to cook'

?a t'oš' - k - i - Ø
 asp break-pas-perf-B3
 was broken'

Occasionally Spanish subordinators may introduce a Chontal relative clause.

...yok č'ok wiču? hin lo ke mas ?ol -o -Ø
 ...dear young dog that which more love-aj-B3
 `...the most beloved young dog`

Note, however, that many English (or Spanish) sentences which contain relative clauses often are translated into Chontal as a series of adjacent sentences.

ENGLISH

`The girl who made the totoposte sells them for five pesos`

CHONTAL

?ih=č'ok ?u č - i -Ø komo?=wah
 fg =child A3 do-perf-B3 totoposte (large thin tortillas)
 `The girl made the totoposte.

?u čon- e? -Ø ?un k'a pesu?
 A3 sell-impf-B3 1 NC peso
 She sells them for five pesos.`

ENGLISH

`The thief stole all the money I was keeping in the house`

CHONTAL

?ah šuč' ?u šuč - i -Ø ?u pete ta=k'in
 mg thief A3 steal-perf-B3 A3 all money
 `The thief stole all the money.

kǎ č'uh-n - i - ø tan ?otot
 A1 keep-tv-perf-B3 in house
 I kept it in the house.'

14.2.2. COMPLEMENT CONSTRUCTIONS. Certain aspects (eg. the inceptive and the terminative) and directions are expressed in Chontal through the use of complement constructions. In these multiple verb constructions, the first verb (intransitive or transitive) acts as the main verb. It expresses the aspect or direction and is inflected like any other transitive or intransitive verb. Most of the intransitive aspectual or directional verbs (see Table XXXVII) are verbs of 'coming' and 'going' which can also function alone as predicates in simple sentences.

?a t -e
 A2 come-impf
 'You come'

The most common aspectual transitive verbs are listed in Table XXXVIII. If more than one main verb is used, the first is always intransitive and the second is transitive. However, the complement follows the inflectional rules of intransitive main verbs (see sec. 14.2.2.1.).

kǎ h - e kǎ øup - s - en - ø kǎ ø'on - e? - ø
 A1 go-impf A1 finish-caus-impf-B3 A1 shoot-impf-B3--
 'I'm going to finish shooting it'

The second verb (or verbal nominal), which usually occurs immediately after the main verb, is called the complement.

TABLE XXXVII: ASPECTUAL AND DIRECTIONAL INTRANSITIVE VERBS

CHONTAL		ASPECT/DIRECTION
t-e	`to come`	toward speaker
h-e/š-e	`to go`	away from speaker
		future
biš-e	`to go`	away from speaker
k'ot-e	`to arrive`	place of speaker
tuǝ'-e	`to leave`	away from speaker
kay-e	`to begin`	inceptive
?an	`to be in a state`	progressive

TABLE XXXVIII: ASPECTUAL TRANSITIVE VERBS

CHONTAL		ASPECT
täk-e?	`to start s.t.`	inceptive
ǝup-s-en	`to finish s.t.`	terminative
č-en	`to make, do`	-

?a š - e ?a w-ir - an - ø

A2 go-impf A2 -see-impf-B3

`You are going to see him`

Sometimes, however, nouns phrases or adverbs may be placed between the main verb and the complement.

mač ?u č - e - ø sep' patan

neg A3 do-impf-B3 fast work

`He doesn't work quickly`

?a k'ot - i - ø tan montañas ?u hok' - e? - ø

asp arrive-perf-B3 in mountains A3 call-impf-B3

`He arrived in the mountains to call him`

Note that the subject of the main verb and the subject (or possessor) of the complement are always co-referential. The inflectional pattern of the complement is not only determined by its own transitivity, but also by the transitivity of the main verb.

14.2.2.1. INTRANSITIVE MAIN VERBS. When the main verb is intransitive, two types of complement constructions are possible. First, if the complement is transitive, then it is inflected for both subject and object using the Set A and Set B pronouns respectively.

?u h - e ?u h-ir - an -et

A3 go-impf A3 -see-impf-B2

`He is going to see you`

The complement verb always uses its imperfective stem, irrespective of

the tense/aspect of the main verb.

?a h - Ø -on k -ir - an -et

asp go-perf-B1 Al-see-impf-B2

'I went to see you'

If, however, the complement is intransitive and/or a nominal, it is placed in a tā construction. A tā construction consists of the particle tā followed by an imperfective intransitive stem or nominal, without personal inflection. In other words, a transformational rule of EQUI, which deletes the Set A subject pronoun of the complement in sentences where the subject of the complement is coreferential with the subject of the main verbs, is applied (cf. Yucatec, Bricker 1981:95-100). Chontal ta constructions are very similar to the ti constructions found in Chol (Josserand et al. 1984).

kā h - e tā ?ankre

A1 go-impf to run

'I'm going to run'

?a h - e tā čum -te

A2 go-impf to seat-Pimpf

'You're going to sit down'

?u h - e tā bih-t - es - k -int-e

A3 go-impf to go -tv-caus-pas-pas-impf

'He is going to be sent'

ká h - e tá bih-t - es - k -an
 A1 go-impf to go -tv-caus-pas-impf
 'I'm going to be sent'

?a h - e tá wan -e
 A2 go-impf to jump-impf
 'You're going to jump'

?u h - e tá mis -Ø=otot
 A3 go-impf to sweep-n=house
 'She is going housecleaning'

ká h - e tá man-Ø
 A1 go-impf to buy-n
 'I am going shopping'

?an-on tá ?ám- s -a
 be -B1 to die-caus-n
 'I'm killing'

Like transitive complements, intransitive complements never use their perfective stem, not even with a perfective main verb.

?a biš- i - Ø ?ah mis tá wáy -e
 asp go -perf-B3 mg cat to sleep-impf
 'The cat went to sleep'

One of the most commonly used aspectual intransitive verbs is ?an 'to be in a state.' It can function as either a present or past

progressive.

?an-on kã čen - en -∅

be -B1 A1 watch-impf-B3

`I'm watching him'

?ahn- ∅ -et ?a čen - en -∅

be -perf-B2 A2 watch-impf-B3

`You were watching him'

The present progressive ?an complement constructions are equivalent to muk'/mu? present progressive sentences (see sec. 9.1.2.).

h-e/š-e is often used as a future (i.e. `going to...').

?a h - e ?a k'uš- e? -∅

A2 go-impf A2 eat -impf-B3

`You are going to eat it'

According to Paltineanu (1978:114-115), the aspectual use of h-e as a future replaces the Classical Chontal future suffix -bel used with transitive verbs.

14.2.2.2. TRANSITIVE MAIN VERBS. The syntactic structure of sentences with inceptive or terminative transitive main verbs differs from that of intransitive main verbs. The transitive main verb is inflected for person and aspect and may be followed by either an imperfective transitive or intransitive complement. The complements are not inflected for subject (i.e. they have undergone EQUI, see sec. 14.2.2.1.). However, objects of transitive complements are inflected with the appropriate Set B pronoun.

?u tãk' - e? - ø š -e

A3 begin-impf-B3 go-impf

`He begins to go`

?u tãk' - e? - ø čen - en - ø-lop'

A3 begin-impf-B3 watch-impf-B3-pl3

`He begins to watch them`

?a øup - s - en - ø wil-e

A2 finish-caus-impf-B3 fly-impf

`You finish flying`

kã øup - s - en - ø čum -te

A1 finish-caus-impf-B3 seat-Pimpf

`I finish sitting down`

?u øup - s - en - ø k'uš- e? -ø

A3 finish-caus-impf-B3 eat -impf-B3

`He finished eating it`

Probably the most common transitive main verb is č-en `to make, do.` It has two functions. First, it precedes imperfective intransitive verbs and verbal nominals which are not inflected with the Set A pronouns.

kã č - en - ø ?ak'ot

A1 do-impf-B3 dance

`I dance`

?u č - en - ∅ wil-e
 A3 do-impf-B3 fly-impf
 `I fly`

?a č - i - ∅ wil-e
 A2 do-perf-B3 fly-impf
 `You flew`

Second, č-en is used borrowed Spanish verbs which are almost always borrowed as infinitives, often without the final r. Only č-en takes verbal inflectional affixes.

?a č - en -on mantene
 A2 do-impf-B1 maintain
 `You support me`

kā č - i - ∅ gana kā bit sentabo
 A1 do-perf-B3 earn A1 little centavo
 `I earned my little centavos`

?u č - i ?u ba ?ingresar
 A3 do-perf A3 rfx enter
 `He entered`

?a čer- b - i - ∅ pasar
 A2 do -ben-perf-B3 pass
 `You passed it to him`

ʔu š - e tš čer- k - an ʔentrega(r)

A3 go-impf to do -pas-impf deliver

‘It is going to be delivered’

14.3. SUMMARY. Chontal sentences may be compounded and/or complex (i.e. contain dependent clauses or complement constructions). The transformational potential of these compound and complex sentences is summarized in Figure V.

FIG. V: TRANSFORMATIONAL POTENTIAL OF CHONTAL
COMPOUND AND COMPLEX SENTENCES

COMPOUNDS

a) COMPOUNDING OF NOUN PHRASES:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP NP} \\ \text{NP CONJ NP} \\ \text{NP t'ok NP} \end{array} \right\}$$

b) COMPOUNDING OF SENTENCES:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{S S} \\ \text{S CONJ S} \end{array} \right\}$$

c) GAPPING:

Before: S S (S) where S \rightarrow NP VP NP

After: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{S NP NP (NP NP)} \\ \text{NP NP S (S)} \end{array} \right\}$

COMPLEX SENTENCES

a) DEPENDENT CLAUSES

S: S (SUB) S

b) COMPLEMENT CONSTRUCTIONS (EQUI)

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{S: S VP (NP)} \\ \text{S t' } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VP (NP)} \\ \text{N} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$$

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX I
POSITIONAL ROOTS

Semantic Groups

- | | | |
|------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1 - shape | 2 - position | 3 - orientation |
| 4 - aperture | 5 - containment | 6 - suspension |
| 7 - transference | 8 - configuration/aggregation | |

ROOT	SEMANTIC GROUP	WORD CLASS	DEFINITION
ʔǎč	-	P, AJ	`wet, damp`
ʔǎk	5	P	`free, loose`
ʔuk	-	P, IV	`crying`
bǎk	1	P, TV	`rolled up, wound`
bǎl	1	P, nc	`rolled up, wound`
bǎn	8	P	`piled thickly`
bǎs	1	P	`bulging`
bič	2	P, TV	`upside down, upended`
ček	-	P, IV	`visible, clear`
čel	3	P, TV	`slanted`
čin	3	P, TV	`inclined`
čop	7	P	`thrown`
čum	8	P, nc	`bundled (small amount)`

čum	2	P	`seated`
č'a?	2	P	`lying down`
č'ál	8	P, NC	`rope turns`
č'ep	4	P, TV	`open`
č'on	2	P	`squatting`
č'oš	2	P, TV	`standing up (e.g. hair)`
č'uč'	8	P	`piled up`
č'ul	7	P, IV, nc	`dripping`
č'uy	6	P, TV	`hanging`
háb	4	P, TV	`open`
hám	4	P, TV	`open`
hek'	8	P, NC	`divided up`
hok'	8	P, NC	`pulled toward one in a pile`
hop'	8	P, NC	`rolled into a bundle`
kuč	7/8	P, TV, nc	`bundled on one's back`
kup	1	P, nc	`rolled up`
k'ät	8	P, TV, nc (T)	`crosswise, crossed`
k'el	1	P, nc	`flat, planelike`
k'oč	1	P, TV	`twisted a little`
lák	6	P, TV	`hanging bound`
loč	2	P, TV, nc	`bent over`
lot'	7/8	P, TV, nc	`bundle carried on shoulders`
luč	7/8	P, nc	`scooped, spooned`
mak	8	P, nc	`divided into sections`
mák	5	P, TV	`covered`
mek'	8	P, TV, nc	`armful`

mič	8	P, nc	`a pinch`
mop	8	P, TV, nc	`fistful`
moy	1	P, TV	`gathered`
muč	8	P, TV, nc	`picked up with 4 fingers`
muk	5	P, TV	`buried`
mul	8	P, TV, nc	`piled up (e.g. sand, dirt)`
net	3/8	P	`supported, leaning against s.t.`
nok	2	P, IV	`kneeling`
nuk	3	P, TV	`face down`
pāk	2	P, TV, nc	`doubled over (e.g. corn)`
peč	8	P, nc	`grouped people`
peč	1	P, TV	`flattened`
pek	8	P, nc	`piled up`
pek	1	P	`thickened`
pet	1	P, TV, nc	`round and flat`
poč	1	P, TV	`dented`
p'us	1	P, TV	`inflated`
sap	8	P, TV, nc	`arm's length`
sān	1/8	P, TV	`spread out`
sāč	1	P, TV, nc	`stretched out`
sek	8	P, TV, nc	`cut up into pieces`
siw	1/8	P, TV, nc	`cut into strips`
son	8	P, nc	`held in hand by ends`
soy	1	P	`twisted`
suk/sut	7	P	`returned`
šek	1	P, nc	`forked`

šel	3	P, TV, nc	`uneven, slanted`
šit	8	P, TV, nc	`part of a bunch`
šom	8	P, TV, nc	`bunched, piled (e.g. clothes)`
šop	1/8	P, TV, nc	`bunched ball-shaped`
šot	8	P, TV, nc	`cut across`
šoy	1	P, TV, nc	`coiled`
šul	8	P, nc	`broken off parts`
tah	3	P	`face up`
tah	1/8	P, TV, nc	`cut lengthwise`
tak	8	P, nc	`attached, joined together`
teč	1/8	P, nc	`spread out`
tič	3	P, TV, nc	`sticking out`
tin	3	P, TV	`inclined over`
tom	8	P, TV, nc	`piled up`
toy	8	P, TV (T), nc	`little bit of liquid`
tub	7	P, nc	`salivating`
tuč	6	P, nc	`hanging down`
tup	1	P, TV, nc	`rolled up`
t'áb	2/3	P, iv	`going up, rising`
t'el	8	P, nc (T)	`loaded firewood`
t'ep	2/3	P	`going up, rising`
t'uč	6	P, iv	`perched`
t'ul	7	P, IV (T), nc	`dripping`
t'us	1	P	`humped up`
žan	7	P, TV	`pulled`
žil	8	P, TV, nc	`torn-off pieces`

zim	8	P, nc	`attached to a branch`
zol	8	P, TV, nc	`rows`
zop	6	P, IV, nv	`hanging, small amount`
zot	1	P, TV, nc	`rolled up`
zul	1	P, nc	`irregularly shaped piece`
z'ak	8	P, nc	`stacked`
z'ay	1	P, TV, nc	`blotch`
z'et	1	P	`warped, twisted`
z'un	8	P, TV	`piled up`
wa?	2	P	`standing up, stopped`
wel	1	P, nc	`flat`
wol	1	P, TV, nc	`ball-shaped`
woy	8	P, TV, nc	`piled up`
ya?	2	P	`lying down`
yeč'	7	P, nc	`tossed liquid`
yol	8	P	`piled up`

APPENDIX II
NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

X = present in dialect

+ = present in dialect, but not used as a numeral classifier

- = absent in dialect

NUMERAL CLASSIFIER	DEFINITION USED TO COUNT:	DIALECTS	
		TAPOTZINGO (Keller 1955)	SAN CARLOS
bál	`windings of rope`	X	+ lan
buk´	`swallows, gulps`	X	X
bul	`bubbles`	X	+
čim	`net-fulls`	X	+
čúm	`small bundles`	X	X (for hair)
č´ak	`small patches`	X	X (half)
č´ál	`turns of a coil`	X	+
č´om	`removed pieces`	X	X
č´úl	`drops of liquid`	X	X
hab/hap´	`years in future`	X	X
háb=i	`years past`	X	X
hek	`branches with leaves`	X	X
hék´	`halves`	X	X

hók´	´armfuls pulled toward one´	X	- mek´
hóp´	´bundles´	X	X
káč=pik	´depth to waist´	X	+
káč=weš	´depth to belt´	X	+
kek	´branches with leaves´	X	+
kúč	´loads on back´	X	-
kúp	´rolls (e.g. cloth)´	X	X
k´a	´groups of five´	X	X (not with animate)
k´al	´uncoilings´	X	X
k´át	´times across the field´	X	-
k´é	´leaflike or planelike objects´	X	X
lan	´windings of rope´	X	+
lek´	´licks´	X	+
lem	´flashes of lightening´	X	X
lip´	´little pieces´	X	X
lóc	´bends´	X	+
lót´	´loads on shoulders´	X	X
lúč	´scoops´	X	+
luk´ub	´neck height´	X	X
luk´ub=?ok	´ankle depth´	X	+
lup	´dips´	X	X
mák	´divisions´	X	X
mak´	´long slender objects´	-	X
mék´	´armfuls´	X	X
míč´	´pinches´	X	X

míč´	`amount held in 4 fingers´	X	X
míl	`piles, heaps´	X	X (dirt)
móp´	`fistfuls´	X	X
nǎk´ám	`belly depth´	X	+
num	`number of times´	X	X
pák	`things doubled over´	X	X
pěč	`bunches´	X	X (fruit)
peč=k´áb	`size of hand´	X	X
peč=?ok	`instep depth´	X	- yeč´
pék´	`masses´	X	-
pét	`round and flat items´	X	-
pež´	`number of times´	X	X
pišim	`knee depth´	X	+
pož´	`balls´	X	-
p´áč	`blotches´	X	- p´ič
p´is	`measures´	X	-
p´ak	`joints´	X	-
p´e	`inanimate items´	X	X
p´os	`handfuls´	X	-
sáp	`arm lengths´	X	X
sáç´	`stretches (e.g. rope)´	X	X
sǎw	`weaving motions´	X	X
sék´	`cut off pieces´	X	X
sel	`slivers´	X	X
síw	`slits or strips´	X	-
sóm	`amount held in hands by ends´	X	X

sontle/contle	`groups of 400`	-	X
soy	`long, slender arcs`	X	X
sul	`pieces of of skin`	X	-
sum	`windings`	X	-
sut	`times around`	X	-
sut=pam	`head heights`	X	+
še	`forked items`	X	X
šél	`removed pieces`	X	+
šim	`small, grainlike items`	X	X
šít	`parts of a bunch`	X	-
šóm	`bunches`	X	X (no container)
šom=ti?	`mouthfuls`	X	+
šóp	`ball-shaped bunches`	X	-
šót	`parts cut across`	X	X
šóy	`coils`	X	-
šúl	`parts broken off`	X	X
táh	`parts cut lengthwise`	X	X
ták	`items joined together`	X	-
tas	`things in layers`	X	-
tay	`streaks`	X	+
téč	`items spread out`	X	X
tek	`standing plants and trees`	X	X
tíč	`projections`	X	X
tóm	`small patches`	X	X
tóy	`little bits`	X	X

tu	`animate beings`	X	X (snakes)
túč`	`ears of corn`	X	X
túb	`saliva`	X	+
túp	`rolls`	X	-
t`él	`loads`	X	-
t`úl	`drops of liquids`	X	X
čák	`stacks`	X	X
čenek`	`calf (leg) height`	X	X
číl	`pieces torn off`	X	X
čím	`fruit or nuts on branches`	X	X
čól	`rows of things`	X	X
čóp	`small amounts`	X	X
čúl	`patches`	X	-
č`áy	`blotches`	X	X
č`it	`long slender objects`	X	X (no snakes)
č`ót	`rolls`	X	-
č`ul	`pieces of skin`	X	-
č`un(m)	`piles`	X	X
wa?al=winik	`man-heights`	X	X
weč`	`tossed liquids`	X	+
wel	`large flat pieces`	X	X
wól	`balls`	X	X
wok`om	`thigh depth`	X	+
wóy	`things gathered`	X	X
yól	`piles`	X	X

APPENDIX III

CHONTAL TEXT

?ahn- i -∅ tiempo t - u k'in kristiano hin
 be -perf-B3 time pt-A3 day Christian DEM
 A long time ago when people

?u č - i - ∅ bida mäh ?antes de hin ba
 A3 do-perf-B3 life very before of DEM cl
 lived, long before this

henerasion bada ?u čeh-l -a - n -∅ ?um p'e fiesta
 generation now A3 do -tv-tv-impf-B3 one NC party
 generation now, they make a party

ke kada bih č'ok ?u pän=káb - a -n kwanta
 that each small child A3 on =earth-inc-impf when
 for each child that is born when

?u kán - e? -∅ čum-te ?i ?u šek' =mek' - k -int -e
 A3 learn-impf-B3 sit-Pimpf and A3 forked=embrace-pas-pas-impf
 he learns to sit and is held on the hip.

ʔi ʔunde-lop' ʔu čeh-l -a - n -∅ ʔum p'é noh fiesta
 and pro3 -pl3 A3 do -tv-tv-impf-B3 one NC big party
 And they have a big party

t'ok ʔu pete ʔu familiar-lop' ʔu tāk' -l -a - n -∅
 with A3 all A3 family -pl3 A3 begin-tv-tv-impf-B3
 with all of the family. They begin

ʔu čer- k -a - n ʔimbitar hin ba kristiano hin ʔu y-uwí
 A3 do -pas-iv-impf invite DEM cl Christian DEM A3 -know
 to invite these people, those who know

patan kama? si ʔun tu ʔah lo? ʔu h - e tš šäy - k -a - n
 work like if one NC mg youth A3 go-impf to straddle-pas-iv-impf
 occupations. For example, if a boy is going to be straddled,

ʔu čer- k -a - n ʔimbitar ʔu pete winik ʔu y-uwí patan
 A3 do -pas-iv-impf invite A3 all man A3 -know work
 they are invited, all the men who know occupations

kama? ʔalbañil kama? yok bit karpintero kama?
 like mason like dear small carpenter like
 such as masonry, such as carpentry, such as

hin ?u y-uwi hič' -∅ kama? hin ?u y-uwi patan tš
 DEM A3 -know lasso-n like DEM A3 -know work in
 those who know how to lasso, such as those who know how to work in the

te? -e kama? hin ?u y-uwi bap'-∅ kama? hin ?u y-uwi
 tree-n like DEM A3 -know row -n like DEM A3 -know
 woods, such as those who know how to row, such as those who know

čer-ah=hukup' kama? hin ?u y-uwi t'šp'-∅=te?
 do -n =canoe like DEM A3 -know climb-n=tree
 how to make canoes, such as those who know how to climb trees,

kama? hin ?u pete-lop' hin=i ?u y-uwi -lop' patan
 like DEM A3 all -pl3 DEM=cl A3 -know-pl3 work
 such as all those who know occupations.

?u y-šl - b -int- e ke ?u h - e -lop' ?u šek' =mek' - e? -∅
 A3 -say-ben-pas-impf that A3 go-impf-pl3 A3 forked=embrace-impf-B3
 They are told that they are going to straddle

č'ok ?i hin ba č'ok hin=i ?u š'ek =mek' - k -a -n
 child and DEM cl child DEM=cl A3 forked=embrace-pas-iv-impf
 the child and that child who is being straddled

kwanta ?u y-uwí čum-te ka če? ba čum-wán-ik -∅
 when A3 -know sit-Pimpf pt pt cl sit-Piv-opt-B3
 when he knows how to sit, then he is seated

?u hun tu-ma tan ?um p'é noh bateya ?u tan ?um p'é
 A3 one NC-n in one NC big washtub A3 in one NC
 alone in a large washtub or in a

yok č'ok hukup' ?i de ya? =i ?u tǎk' -l -a - n -∅
 dear small canoe and from there=cl A3 begin-tv-tv-impf-B3
 a small canoe. And from there, they begin

por čer- b -int-ik -∅ ?imitar hin ba kostumbre hin=i
 for do -ben-pas-opt-B3 imitate DEM cl custom DEM=cl
 to imitate those customs

de patan ?u č'um- b -int- e ?u k'ǎp' č'ok
 of work A3 take-ben-pas-impf A3 hand child
 of work. The child's hand is taken.

?u ? - b -int- e ?u hun ?u ? - b -int-e
 A3 give (?ǎk')-ben-pas-impf A3 paper A3 give-ben-pas-impf
 He is given paper. He is given

ʔu lapis ʔu k'éč- e? -∅ k'a ʔu č -e - n -∅ ø'ip'-∅
 A3 pencil A3 hold-impf-B3 so that A3 do-tv-impf-B3 write-n
 a pencil to hold so that he writes.

despwes ʔu ? - b -int- e ʔu ye? - b -int-e
 after A3 give-ben-pas-impf A3 teach-ben-pas-impf
 Afterwards, he is given it, he is taught

ka če? da ʔu t'áb - o tã ʔip'=te? ʔu ye? - b -int-e
 pt pt cl A3 climb-impf in inst=tree A3 teach-ben-pas-impf
 how to climb up a ladder. He is taught

ka če? da ʔu č -e - n -∅ patan t'ok noh kučara
 pt pt cl A3 do-tv-impf-B3 work with big spoon
 how to work with a large trowel

ta yok maestro ʔabañil despwes ʔu num - e hin=i
 belonging to dear teacher mason after A3 pass-impf DEM=cl
 belonging to the masonry teacher. After this happens,

ʔu biš- e hin ʔu y-uwí hič' -∅ ʔu ? - b -e - n -∅
 A3 go -impf DEM A3 -know lasso-n A3 give-ben-tv-impf-B3
 he goes to the one who knows how to lasso. He gives him

ʔu sum ʔi ʔu ye? - b -e - n -∅ ka če? da ʔu č -e - n -∅
 A3 rope and A3 teach-ben-tv-impf-B3 pt pt cl A3 do-tv-impf-B3
 a rope and teaches him how to

hič' -∅ despwes ʔu t - e hin ʔu y-uwi k'eč- k -a -n
 lasso-n after A3 come-impf DEM A3 know hold-pas-iv-impf
 lasso. Afterwards comes the one who knows how to hold

mačit ʔi ʔu ? - b -int- e yok č'ok mačit
 machete and A3 give-ben-pas-impf dear small machete
 a machete and he is given a small machete

ʔu k'eč- e? -∅ ʔi ʔu č -e - n -∅ ʔu ba t'ok ʔehersiso
 A3 hold-impf-B3 and A3 do-tv-impf-B3 A3 rfx with exercise
 to hold and practice with.

despwes ba ʔu ? - b -int- e tākā ʔu yok č'ok mořa
 after cl A3 give-ben-pas-impf also A3 dear small bag
 Afterwards, he is also given a small shoulder bag

ʔi ʔu ? - b -int-e ʔu lima ʔu ? - b -int-e
 and A3 give-ben-pas-B3 A3 file A3 give-ben-pas-impf
 and he is given a file. He is given

ʔu nihiʔ kama? čič kristiano noh-∅ depwes
 A3 provisions like always Christian big-B3 after
 provisions like adults always have. Afterwards,

ʔu č'um- k -a - n tākā hin ba ʔimbitado hin=i ʔu y-uwī
 A3 take-pas-iv-impf also DEM cl guest DEM=cl A3 know
 is brought forth that guest who knows

bap'-∅ ʔi ʔu ? - b -int- e ʔu yok č'ok bap' k'a
 row -B3 and A3 give-ben-pas-impf A3 dear small oar so that
 how to row and (the child) is given a small oar so that

ʔu kān - e? -∅ bab-int- e ʔi hin ba kristiano-lop'
 A3 learn-impf-B3 row-pas-impf and DEM cl Christian-pl3
 he learns how to row. And those people

hin=i despwes ke ʔu ye? - b - i -∅ -lop' ka če? da
 DEM=cl after that A3 teach-ben-perf-B3-pl3 pt pt cl
 after they have taught him how to

ʔu h - e tā patan ba ʔu h - e -lop' tā ye?e
 A3 go-impf to work cl A3 go-impf-pl3 to eat
 go to work, they go to eat.

?u čeh-l -a - n -∅ noh gran fiesta ?u čeh-l -a - n -∅
 A3 do -tv-tv-impf-B3 big big party A3 do -tv-tv-impf-B3
 They make a large party. They make

tamal ?u čeh-l -a - n -∅ k'omo? ?u čeh-l -a - n -∅
 tamale A3 do -tv-tv-impf-B3 manea A3 do -tv-tv-impf-B3
 tamales. They make manea.¹ They make

ye?e ?i hin ba k'in hin=i noh gran č'ač'a (?u) hin
 food and DEM cl day DEM=cl big big happiness (A3) dp
 food. And on that day, great happiness

tuba -lop' si ?an-∅ ?otro persona k'ot -ik -∅
 belonging to-pl3 if be -B3 other person arrive-opt-B3
 belongs to them. If there is another person who arrives

?u y-uwi tākā ?otro patan ?u ? - b -int- e tākā
 A3 -know also other work A3 give-ben-pas-impf also
 that knows another occupation also, it is given as well

num -ik -∅ ?u ye? - e? -∅ patan ?i ?u ye? - b -int-e
 pass-opt-B3 A3 teach-impf-B3 work and A3 teach-ben-pas-impf
 that it happens that he teaches him the work. And he is taught

¹Manea is coarsely ground cornmeal mixed with shredded meat. It is rolled and then wrapped in banana leaves and steamed.

ka če? da ?u čum-t -int- e øimim ?i če? hin=i
 pt pt cl A3 sit-tv-pas-impf horse and pt DEM=cl
 how to mount a horse. And thus

?u čer- k -a - n t'ok bit ?ih č'ok ?u ye? - k -a -n
 A3 do -pas-iv-impf with small fg child A3 teach-pas-iv-impf
 is done with a little girl. She is taught

?u pete patan de ?išik kama? lah-ø=wah kama?
 A3 all work of woman like pat-n=tortilla like
 all the work of a woman such as tortilla-making, such as

hu? -ø=nok' kama? mis -ø=otot kama? ø'ip'-ø
 wash-n=clothes like sweep-n=house like write-n
 washing clothes, such as house sweeping, such as writing,

kama? čer-ah=p'et kama? hit' -om kama? huč -ø-išim
 like do -n =pot like weave-n like grind-n=corn
 such as making pottery, such as embroidering, such as grinding corn,

kama? puk' -ø=buk'a segun kostumbre hin ba
 like dissolve-n=pozol according to custom DEM cl
 such as mixing pozol.² According to custom

²Pozol is a drink consisting of coarsely ground cornmeal, water, and ground cacao.

tiempo hin=i ?u y-ál - k -a - n ke č'ok ?u h -e
 time DEM=cl A3 -say-pas-iv-impf that child A3 go-impf
 in that time, it is said that the child was going

tá tuø' - e ?ah patan kama? ?a ye? - b -int- ik -ø
 to leave-impf mg work like asp teach-ben-pas-perf-B3
 to become a worker like he was taught

t -u k'in č'ok to hišuk'a hin ba kostumbre
 pt-A3 day child still for this DEM cl custom
 when still a child. Because of this (belief), the custom

hin=i hin ba tiempo ?ahn- i -ø porke ?u pete
 DEM=cl DEM cl time be -perf-B3 because A3 all
 in that time existed, because of

patan ?u h - e tá ? - b -int- e ?ih č'ok ba ?u h -e
 work A3 go-impf to give-ben-pas-impf fg child cl A3 go-impf
 the work that he was going to be given. Female children are going

?u kán - e? -ø distinkto patan si hin ba winik
 A3 learn-impf-B3 distinct work if DEM cl man
 to learn different work. If a man

ʔa k'ot - i -∅ ʔu h-ir -a - n -∅ fiesta ʔu y-uwi
 asp arrive-perf-B3 A3 -see-tv-impf-B3 party A3 -know
 arrived to see the party (and) knows

patan de ʔeřeru ba ʔu ? - b -int- e tãkã
 work of welder cl A3 give-ben-pas-impf also
 the work of a welder, he would be given it also

ʔu ye? - e? -∅ ʔu patan pero ʔasta hin ba tiempo bada
 A3 teach-impf-B3 A3 work but until DEM cl time now
 as he teaches his work. But now

mač ʔu čer- k - a hin ba kostumbre hin=i porke
 neg pt do -pas-impf DEM cl custom DEM=cl because
 this custom isn't done, because

henerasion bada ʔu nahy - es - i -∅ -lop' porke
 generation now A3 forget-caus-perf-B3-pl3 because
 this generation now forgot it because

mač ʔan-∅ ʔimportansia tuba -∅ pero ta
 neg be -B3 importance belonging to-B3 but for
 they don't give it importance. But for

kristiano ?an-∅ k'in-i ?u y-ǎl - k -a -n
 Christian be -B3 day -n A3 -say-pas-iv-impf

The ancient people, it is said,

ke ?um p'é kosa ?u∅ -∅ porke mǎh sano -∅ mǎh kontento-∅
 that one NC thing good-B3 because very healthy-B3 very content -B3
 that it was a good thing, because it was very healthy, very content.

mač ?an-∅ čiba mač ?an-∅ mal,
 neg be -B3 drunkenness neg be -B3 badness

There was no drunkenness; there was no badness,

puru č'áč'a (?u) hin ye?e
 just happiness (A3) dp food
 just the happiness of eating and drinking.

APPENDIX IV

A TABLE OF VERBAL DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES AND AN
ALPHABETIC LIST OF INFLECTIONAL AND DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

TRANSITIVIZING SUFFIXES

<u>ROOT/STEM</u>	<u>+1</u>	<u>+2</u>	<u>+3</u>	<u>+4</u>	<u>+5 (STATUS MARKER)</u>
CVC root	+ l			+(er)	+ a(n)/i/∅
	+ l				+ e(n)/i/∅
	+ l				+ u(n)/i/∅
	+ b				+ i(n)/i/∅
			+ b		+ e(n)/i/∅
			+ b	+(er)	+ (a(n))/i/∅
	+ p			+(er)	+ a(n)/i/∅
	+ t	+(es)			+ a(n)/i/∅
	+ n			+(er)	+ a(n)/i/∅
	+ s				+ e(n)/i/∅
	+ aʔ				+ ʔ(n)/i/∅
			+ es		+ a(n)/i/∅
			+ es	+ b	+ e(n)/i/∅
					+ a(n)/i/∅
					+ e(n)/i/∅
					+ i(n)/i/∅ (usative)
				+ i(n)/i/∅	
				+ V(n)/i/∅	
				+ ʔ(n)/i/∅	
CVC.CVC stem	+ b				+ i(n)/i/∅
		+ es			+ a(n)/i/∅
CV.CVC stem	+ t				+ a(n)/i/∅
					+ i(n)/i/∅ (usative)
					+ i(n)/i/∅
CV.CVC.n stem		+ es			+ a(n)/i/∅
CVC.CV stem	+ n				+ a(n)/i/∅
		+ es			+ a(n)/i/∅
CVC.(V)C stem					+ a(n)/i/∅
		+ es			+ a(n)/i/∅

VOICE

<u>ROOT/STEM</u>	<u>+1</u>	<u>+2</u>	<u>+3</u>	<u>+4</u>	<u>+5 (STATUS MARKER)</u>
<u>Passive</u>					
CVC			+ k		+ a(n)/i/ø/(a)k
stem		+ es	+ k		+ a(n)/i/ø/(a)k
derived stems				+ int	+ e(l)/ik/
<u>Antipassive</u>					
CVC	+ n				+ a(n)/i/ø/(a)k

INTRANSITIVIZING SUFFIXES

<u>ROOT/STEM</u>	<u>+1</u>	<u>+2 (STATUS MARKER)</u>
<u>Inchoatives</u>		
CVC	+ ?	+ a(n)/i/ø/(a)k/en
CVCVC	+ n	+ a(n)/i/ø/(a)k/en
CVC	+ p	+ a(n)/i/ø/(a)k/en
other stems		+ a(n)/i/ø/(a)k/en

Positional Intransitives

CVC	+ te(l)
	+ wan + e(l)/i/ø/ik
	+ ik/i?
CV.CV1	+ a(n)/i/ø/ek

ALPHABETIC LIST OF INFLECTIONAL

AND DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

Chontal forms are in the following alphabetic order: ø, v, c, ?, a,
á, b, č, č', d, e, f, g, h, i, k, k', l, m, n, ñ, o, p, p', r, ř, s, š,
t, t', é, é', u, w, y.

- ∅ = perfective status suffix, sec. 3.1.1., 3.1.2., and 3.1.3.
- ∅ = Set B third person dependent pronoun, verbal and nominal inflection, sec. 3.3.
- ∅ = productively derives nominals, sec. 6.2.2.8.
- V = root transitive imperative status suffix, sec. 4.1.1.
- V? = derives adjectives, sec. 10.1.2.2.
- Vč' = derives nominals, sec. 6.2.1.18.
- Vh = derives affects, sec. 11.3.4.
- Vha(1)/-Vhe(1) = derives nominals, sec. 6.2.1.15.
- Vhe(1)/-Vha(1) = derives nominals, sec. 6.2.1.15.
- Vk = derives affects, sec. 11.3.3.
- Vk' = derives nominals, 'body parts,' sec. 6.2.1.4.
- V(1) = derives adjectives, sec. 10.1.2.2.
- V(1) = derives nominals, sec. 6.2.1.24.
- Vl = derives affects, sec. 11.3.4.
- Vm = derives adjectives, sec. 10.1.2.1.
- Vm = derives nominals, 'body parts,' sec. 6.2.1.3.
- V(n) = transitivizer, sec. 3.5.1.10.
- Vn = derives nominals, 'relatives,' sec. 6.2.1.11.
- Vp' = derives nominals, sec. 6.2.1.5.
- CVC-CVC = reduplication, adjectives sec. 10.1.4., affects sec. 11.3.2.
- CV-CVC = reduplication, adjectives sec. 10.1.4.
- ?- = intransitivizer, sec. 3.5.3.1.1.
- ?a = Set A second person dependent pronoun, verbal and nominal inflection, sec. 3.3.

- ?a w = Set A second person dependent pronoun, verbal and nominal inflection, sec. 3.3.
- ?u = Set A third person dependent pronoun, verbal and nominal inflection, sec. 3.3.
- ?u h = Set A third person dependent pronoun, verbal and nominal inflection, sec. 3.3.
- ?u y = Set A third person dependent pronoun, verbal and nominal inflection, sec. 3.3.
- a = productively derives nominals, see -ah, sec. 6.2.2.10.
- a? = derives nominals, 'person,' sec. 6.2.1.9.
- ah- = distributive, verbal derivation, sec. 3.5.1.4.
- ah = productively derives nominals, see -a, sec. 6.2.2.10.
- a(1) = possessive suffix, sec. 7.1.1.
- a(1) = productively derives nominals, sec. 6.2.2.5.
- a(n) = transitivizer, sec. 3.5.1.6.
- a(n) = intransitivizer, sec. 3.5.3.1., 3.5.3.1.4.
- an = derives nominals, sec. 6.2.1.17.
- aɸ' = positional causative, transitivizer, sec. 3.5.2.1.
- ay = derives nominals, sec. 6.2.1.10.
- aya = productively derives nominals, see -ya, sec. 6.2.2.11.
- ɬk' = derives nominals, sec. 6.2.1.12.
- ɬl = derives adjectives, sec. 10.1.2.5.
- ɬ(n) = transitivizer, sec. 3.5.1.11.
- ɬp' = derives adjectives, sec. 10.1.2.6.
- ɬp' = productively derives nominals, sec. 6.2.2.2.
- ɬw = derives nominals, sec. 6.2.1.6.

- b- = transitivizer, sec. 3.5.1.2.
- b- = referential (benefactive) voice, sec. 5.4.
- ba(1) = derives nominals, sec. 6.2.1.19.
- be(1) = derives nominals, sec. 6.2.1.16.
- ben = derives nominals, sec. 6.2.1.13.
- bi(1) = derives adjectives, sec. 10.1.2.4.
- e? = root transitive imperfective status suffix, sec. 3.1.1.
- e(1) = possessive suffix, sec. 7.1.1.
- e(1) = intransitive imperfective status suffix, sec. 3.1.2.
- e(1) = collective plural for nominals, sec. 7.2.
- e(1) = derives adjectives, sec. 10.1.2.3.
- e(1) = productively derives nominals, sec. 6.2.2.3.
- e(1) = productively derives nominals, abstract nouns, sec. 6.2.2.7.
- ek = positional optative/subjunctive status suffix, sec. 4.3.
- e(n) = transitivizer, sec. 3.5.1.7.
- en = derives adjectives, sec. 10.1.2.8.
- en = intransitive imperative status suffix, sec. 4.1.2.
- es = causative, transitivizer, sec. 3.5.2.3.
- et = Set B second person dependent pronoun, verbal and nominal inflection, sec. 3.3.
- et = derives nouns, sec. 6.2.1.7.
- ewe(1) = derives nouns, sec. 6.2.1.23.
- i = perfective status suffix, sec. 3.1.1., 3.1.2., 3.1.3.
- i = derives nominals, 'removed in time,' sec. 6.2.1.8.
- i? = positional imperative status suffix, sec. 4.1.2.
- ik = root intransitive optative/subjunctive status suffix, sec. 4.3.

- ik = derives nominals, 'person,' sec. 6.2.1.1.
- i(1) = possessive suffix, sec. 7.1.1.
- i(1) = productively derives nominals, sec. 6.2.2.6.
- il = derives adjectives, sec. 10.1.2.7.
- il-ba = abundance plural for nominals, sec. 7.2.
- im = derives nominals, sec. 6.2.1.2.
- i(n) = transitivizer, sec. 3.5.1.9.
- i(n) = usative, transitivizer, sec. 3.5.1.9.
- int = passive voice, sec. 5.1.
- ip' = derives adjectives, sec. 10.1.2.6.
- ip' = productively derives instrumental nouns, sec. 6.2.2.1.
- k = Set A first person dependent pronoun, verbal and nominal inflection, sec. 3.3.
- k = intransitive optative/subjunctive status suffix, sec. 4.3.
- k- = passive voice, sec. 5.1.
- ka?a(1) = derives adjectives from positional roots, sec. 10.1.2.9.
- kā = Set A first person dependent pronoun, verbal and nominal inflection, sec. 3.3.
- k'elan = derives nouns from colors, sec. 6.2.1.14.
- 1- = transitivizer, plurality, sec. 3.5.1.1.
- la = first person inclusive plural, verbal and nominal inflection, sec. 3.3.
- la = second person plural, verbal and nominal inflection, sec. 3.3.
- la = derives nominals, sec. 6.2.1.20.
- law = derives affects, sec. 11.3.1.
- lop' = third person plural, verbal and nominal inflection, sec. 3.3.

- ma(1) = productively derives nominals, sec. 6.2.2.4.
- i absolute antipassive, sec. 5.2.1.
- n- = intransitivizer, sec. 3.5.3.1.2.
- n- = transitivizer, sec. 3.5.1.5.
- n = imperfective status suffix of derived verbs, sec. 3.5.1.,
3.5.3.1.
- n-a(1) = derives affects, sec. 11.3.
- ne(1) = derives nominals, 'person,' sec. 6.2.1.21.
- ni(1) = derives nominals, sec. 6.2.1.22.
- o(1) = root intransitive imperfective status suffix, sec. 3.1.2.
- om = productively derives nominals, sec. 6.2.2.9.
- on = Set B first person dependent pronoun, verbal and
nominal inflection, sec. 3.3.
- op' = third person plural, verbal and nominal inflection, sec. 3.3.
- p- = transitivizer, sec. 3.5.1.3.
- p- = intransitivizer, sec. 3.5.3.1.3.
- s- = root intransitive causative, transitivizer, sec. 3.5.2.2.
- t- = transitivizer, sec. 3.5.1.4.
- tak = plural suffix for adjectives, sec. 10.1.3.
- ta(1) = derives affects, sec. 11.3.4.
- te(1) = imperfective positional intransitivizer, sec. 3.5.3.2.1.
- t'ok-op' = first person exclusive plural, verbal and nominal
inflection, sec. 3.3.
- wān = positional intransitivizer, sec. 3.5.3.2.2.
- y = Set A third person dependent pronoun, verbal and
nominal inflection, sec. 3.3.

ya = productively derives nominals, see -aya, sec. 6.2.2.11.

APPENDIX V

LEXICON

Chontal forms are in the following alphabetical order: ʔ, a, ɬ, b,
č, č', d, e, f, g, h, i, k, k', l, m, n, ñ, o, p, p', r, ř, s, š, t, t',
ʧ, ʤ, u, w, y.

ʔ

?a	asp	`action already begun`
?ač'	AJ	`wet`
?ah	mg	`masculine`
?ah ?ak'ot	n3a	`dancer`
?ah ?ankr-e(1)	n3a	`runner`
?ah ?ɬlɬs-ne(1)	n3a	`player`
?ah ?esen	nl	`raccoon`
?ah ?oč-i=?ák'ɬp'	nl	`evening star`
?ah ?uč	nl	`fox`
?ah ?uč'	nl	`louse`
?ah ?uč'a?	nl	`mosquito`
?ah ?us	nl	`gnat`
?ah bah	nl	`tuza, a smooth small dog`
?ah bah=nok'	nl	`worm`

?ah basu	nl	`type of fish`
?ah biǝ'	n3a	`an edible fruit`
?ah bob	n3a	`a type of fish`
?ah bon=šan	n3a	`a type of palm tree`
?ah buh-up'	n3a	`barn owl`
?ah buya	n3a	`defendent, problem causer`
?ah čak	nl	`rain god`
?ah čām-e(1)	n3a	`dead person or thing`
?ah čām-ewe(1)	n3a	`dead bodies`
?ah či-ba	n3a	`drunk`
?ah čibu	Spn3a	`goat`
?ah čikilan	nl	`aphid`
?ah čiku?	n3a	`raccoon`
?ah činčan	Spnl	`bedbug`
?ah čok'-ǝ	n3a	`blind person`
?ah čol	nl	`Chol`
?ah čómba	Spnl	`turkey buzzard`
?ah čuč	n3a	`squirrel`
?ah čuni?	nl	`badger`
?ah čun=k'ǝp'	n3a	`one handed person`
?ah čun=ok	n3a	`one footed person`
?ah č'ah=peč	nl	`tick`
?ah č'ah=č'ah=peč	nl	`small tick`
?ah č'ǝk	nl	`flea`
?ah č'el	nl	`bluebird`
?ah č'ibon=pam	n3a	`witch, devil`

?ah č'in-ay	n3a	`cricket`
?ah č'uh=te?	n3a	`cedar`
?ah ču?-ne(1)	nl	`rich, powerful person`
?ah gabilan	Spnl	`sparrow hawk`
?ah hahän	n3a	`fly`
?ah hal-äw	nl	`tepexcuinle, paca`
?ah hirasol	Spnl	`water flower`
?ah ho-ben	n3a	`drummer`
?ah huh	n3a	`iguana`
?ah käh-i San Karlos	nl	`a person from San Carlos`
?ah kän-ø=hun	n3a	`student`
?ah kän-än čo	n3a	`cornfield guardian`
?ah kel	nl	`white bellied insect`
?ah kók	n3a	`deaf person`
?ah konde	nl	`who`
?ah koros	n3a	`coyol palm`
?ah kuh-ø=kap`	n3a	`grave digger`
?ah kúk-ay/?ah kukayo	nl	`firefly`
?ah k'abäl-an	n3a	`baptized person`
?ah k'aw	nl	`raven, blackbird`
?ah k'ay-t-an č'uh	n3a	`church singer`
?ah k'a?-s-aya	n3a	`ferryman`
?ah k'än-k-an	n3a	`messenger`
?ah k'än=kok	nl	`black turtle; pochitoque`
?ah k'än=sol	nl	`a kind of yellow fish`
?ah k'eč-ø=buč`	n3a	`fisherman`

?ah k'ič-ah-t'an	n3a	'gimp'
?ah k'ič-k'ič'-na(1)	n3a	'a lame person'
?ah k'oh-op'	n1	'shell'
?ah k'oh-p-an	n3a	'sick person'
?ah k'ubu	n1	'zacua, a kind of bird'
?ah lač	n1	'cockroach'
?ah lah	n1	'nettle'
?ah lak'	n1	'large ant'
?ah lo?	n3a	'male youth'
?ah lo? ?animá	Spn3a	'male animal'
?ah lo? bek'et	n3a	'bull'
?ah loč-o?=pat	n3a	'hunchback'
?ah loho-h-an	n3a	'fiancee'
?ah low=oh	n3a	'reed used in making baskets'
?ah luseru	Spn1	'star'
?ah luya	n3a	'a type of flowering tree'
?ah ma?	n1	'buzzard'
?ah mǎlǎ	n1	'sardine'
?ah mis	n3a	'cat'
?ah mis=bálum	n1	'ocelot'
?ah míšiš	n1	'a type of bird'
?ah mok'=te?	n1	'a kind of tree'
?ah moso	n3a	'slave'
?ah mozo?	n1	'worm'
?ah muč	n1	'toad'
?ah mudo	Spn3a	'mute'

?ah nah-tǎk-ǎ(1)	nl	`first`
?ah nok	nl	`centipede`
?ah pah ?ah ?us	nl	`a type of small fly`
?ah pah poš	n3a	`soursop`
?ah pan=súke?	nl	`crested lizard`
?ah patan	n3a	`worker`
?ah pém-pen	n3a	butterfly`
?ah perehil	Spn3a	`perehil, an herb`
?ah pič	Spnl	`a type of parrot`
?ah pitoreal	Spnl	`a type of toucan`
?ah pok	n3a	`hog plum`
?ah poloke?	n3a	`a type of fly`
?ah pos	n3a	`pale person`
?ah puk'uyu?	nl	`roadrunner`
?ah pum	n3a	`howler monkey`
?ah p'u	n3a	`potbellied person`
?ah p'us-pat	n3a	`hunchback`
?ah ratan	Spn3a	`banana`
?ah sap	nl	`cricket`
?ah sǎ-sǎk behuk	nl	`climbing vine`
?ah sǎwin	n3a	`a jealous person`
?ah simaron ?oh	Spn3a	`a type of cane used in house construction`
?ah sina	nl	`scorpion`
?ah siǰ'ak	n3a	`ikotea, a type of fish`
?ah sořo	Spnl	`fox`
?ah suk-pek-ya	nl	`deceiver`

?ah suǰ'u	nl	'bat'
?ah syom=te?	n3a	'a kind of tree'
?ah šepu	n3a	'lazy person'
?ah šič'	nl	'plant with spiney leaves'
?ah šinič'	nl	'ant'
?ah šoč'	n3a	'screech owl'
?ah šuč'	n3a	'thief'
?ah šušpata	n3a	'cucumber'
?ah šušpata behuk	n3a	'cucumber vine'
?ah ta? lusero	nl	'meteor'
?ah tak	nl	'insect with green eyes'
?ah tāk'-bak	nl	'bonesetter'
?ah tek'	n3a	'lightening bug: used in summoning the devil'
?ah tensu	nl	'owl, witch'
?ah teterete	Spnl	'large black ants'
?ah toy	nl	'spider'
?ah t'el	nl	'small red ants'
?ah t'oh-t'oh-n-e(1)	nl	'woodpecker'
?ah t'ólok	nl	'crested lizard'
?ah t'ot'	n3a	'snail'
?ah t'úl	n3a	'rabbit'
?ah t'uruš	n3a	'dragonfly'
?ah øe	n3a	'rooster'
?ah øenke?	n3a	'woodpecker'
?ah øo?	n3a	'tom turkey'
?ah øuk	nl	'rat'

?al	AJ	`heavy`
?al-al-b-in	tv	`to unload`
?alas	n3a	`game, play`
?albañil	Spn3a	`mason`
?amo	SpN3a	`owner`
?an	IV	`to be, to exist`
?an čih-to	adv	`in time`
?an konde	nl	`someone`
?an k'in-i	idiom	`long ago, once upon a time`
?ande	pro	`you`
?ande-la	pro	`you all`
?animá	SpN3a	`animal`
?ankr-e(1)	n3a	`running`
?ankr-el-an	iv	`to run`
?anšuš	n3a	`garlic`
?antes	SpADV	`before`
?ap`	N3a	`hammock`
?aranšaš	SpN1	`orange`
?aros/?años	SpN3a	`rice`
?at	N3a	`penis`
?ač'am	N3a	`salt`
?áwät	N3a	`shout, cry`
?a?i	ADV	`quotative, so they say, it is said`
?ä?-lāw-e(1)	n3a	`groaning`
?äč'-es-a(n)	tv	`to wet s.t.`
?ähin	N1	`alligator`

?ah øuø	n3a	`barber`
?ah ø`ak	n3a	`curer`
?ah ø`a?t-aya	n3a	`warlock`
?ah ø`äy-äk`	n3a	`chicle, gum`
?ah ø`äy-äk` te?	n3a	`chicle tree`
?ah ø`ip`-ø	n3a	`writer`
?ah ø`ip`-ø=hun	n3a	`secretary`
?ah ø`u	n3a	`mestizo`
?ah ø`unu?	n3a	`hummingbird`
?ah ø`up`	n3a	`lazybones`
?ah waku	n3a	`male twin`
?ah waw	n3a	`a kind of bird, tres lomo`
?ah wäč`	n1	`a kind of bird`
?ah yam	n3a	`a kind of dark colored sweet potato`
?ah yäs-čan	n1	`a green snake`
?ah yerba	n1	`tarantula`
?ah ye?-ø=bih	n1	`guide`
?ahn-(e(1)) IV		`to be in a place`
?ák	N3a	`turtle`
?ákum	N3a	`sweet potato`
?ak`	N3a	`tongue`
?ák`äp`	N3a	`night; possessed: night shift`
?ák`ot	N3a	`dance`
?ák`ot-in	tv	`to dance s.t.`
?ák`ot-s-an	tv	`to make s.o. dance`
?al	N2	`woman's offspring`

ʔək	P	`loose`
ʔək-t-an	tv	`to let s.t. go, to let s.t. loose`
ʔək	TV	`to give, to produce, to put down`
ʔək-b-e(n)/ʔəʔ-b-e(n)	tv	`to give s.t. to s.o.`
ʔək-bi/ʔəʔ-bi	nl	`yesterday, before`
ʔək-t-a(n)	tv	`to leave s.t., to put s.t. somewhere`
ʔək-t-aya	nl	`putting down`
ʔək-t-d-bi	aj	`placed`
ʔək-t-dl	aj	`placed`
ʔəl	TV	`to say, warn, explain`
ʔələk-i	N3a	`pet, domestic animal`
ʔəl-d-i(n)	tv	`to play s.t., to tease s.o.`
ʔəl-d-ni(l)	n3a	`toy`
ʔəl-s=t-an	n3a	`joke`
ʔəm-ʔəm-na(l)	af	`hum of refrigerator`
ʔət-es-a(n)	tv	`to get wet`
ʔē...	OP	`noise of calf`
ʔeh	N3a	`tooth`
ʔeh-ʔeh-na(l)	af	`a pig calling its young`
ʔeh ʔip-te?	n2	`notches in a log ladder`
ʔehersiso	SpN3a	`exercise`
ʔeklips	SpNl	`eclipse`
ʔek	Nl	`star`
ʔel-at	n3a	`testicles`
ʔém-d	adv	`low`
ʔém-(o(l))	IV	`to go down`

?ém-s-e(n)	tv	`to lower´
?entonses	Spconj	`then´
?entrega(r)	SpTV	`to deliver s.t.´
?ermano	SpN3a	`brother´
?eřeru	SpN3a	`welder´
?eskina	SpN3a	`corner´
?español	SpN1	`Spaniards´
?espíritu	SpN3a	`spirit´
?estacion	SpN3a	`season´
?estacion ta k'in	Spn2	`dry season´
?estatura	SpN3a	`height´
?éç'-än	tv	`to copy s.t.´
?i	Spconj	`and´
?ibač	N1	`armadillo´
?ibam	N1	`a kind of lizard, pehe lagarto´
?ič	N1	`chile´
?ič-an	n2	`father-in-law´
?ič'äk	N3a	`fingernail, toenail´
?ida	ADV	`here´
?ik´	AJ	`black´
?ik´	N3a	`wind, air´
?ik´-i bu?u	n3a	`black beans´
?ik´a	ADV	`contrary to fact´
?ik´ä	nl	`tomorrow´
?ik´-ik´-es-a(n)/?ik´-i?-es-a(n)	tv	`to blacken´
?ik´-ik´-n-a(n)	iv	`to become black´

?ik'-ik'-n-es-a(n)	tv	`to turn s.t. black`
?ik'=sapan/?i?=sapan	nl	`morning`
?ik'=sapan to	adv	`early`
?ik'=t'oban	nl	`natural darkness, dark and low clouds`
?ik'=t'obn-a(n)	iv	`to be cloudy, dark`
?imbitar	SpTV	`to invite s.o.`
?imbitado	SpN3a	`guest`
?imitar	SpTV	`to imitate s.o.`
?importansi.a	Spn3a	`importance`
?ingresar	SpIV	`to enter`
?íp'=te?	n3a	`ladder`
?ir-a(n)	tv	`to see`
?ir-aya	nl	`seeing`
?ir-ah	nl	`seeing`
?isil=kap'	n3a	`hill`
?iski	ADV	`high, up`
?iš	TV	`to husk`
?iš-om	n3a	`husking`
?iš/?ih	fg	`feminine`
?iš čěča	nl	`red crowned parrot`
?iš č'ok	n3a	`young female, daughter`
?iš č'uč'-ø=č'ok	n3a	`midwife`
?iš č'upin	n3a	`old woman`
?iš huž'-ø=nok	n3a	`washwoman`
?iš muk-uy	n3a	`dove`
?iš paloma	Spn3a	`dove`

?iř pa?-s-aya	n3a	`midwife`
?iř pe?a?	n3a	`grey breasted jay`
?iř télom	n3a	`young single girl`
?iř ženke?	n3a	`female woodpecker`
?iř ø'u(1)	n3a	`Ladina`
?iř waku	n3a	`female twin`
?iř-ik	n1	`woman`
?iř-ik-l-e(1)	n3a	`womanhood`
?iř-ik mam	n3a	`granddaughter`
?iř-im	n1	`corn`
?iř=ta	adv	`until`
?iř=ti	adv	`perhaps`
?it	N3a	`bottom, buttocks`
?i-t'ok/?ih-t'ok	n2	`spouse`
?iø'-ðn	n2	`younger sibling, niece, nephew`
?o	Spconj	`or`
?o...	OP	`noise of a horse`
?ó-ba	n3a	`cough`
?oč-(e(1))	IV	`to enter`
?oč-(e) de	idiom	`to take an office`
?oč-es-a(n)	tv	`to put s.t. in`
?oč=ha?	n3a	`leak`
(?a) ?oč-i=?ák'ðp'	n1	`dusk`
(?a) ?oč-i=k'in	n1	`afternoon`
?oč=te?-el-a(n)	iv	`to become wild`
?oh	N3a	`sugar cane`

?ohal	SpN3a	`buttonhole`
?ok	N3a	`foot, leg`
?ok ?otot	n3a	`house post`
?ok pi.o?	n3a	`chicken feet`
?o k'a/?u k'a	sub	`so that`
?o k'a da	sub	`why`
?o(1)	TV	`to want`
?ol-ba	n3a	`desire`
?ol=buč`	aj	`fishy smell`
?olew-i(n)	tv	`to impede`
?ol-ok`	n2	`throat`
?oni	ADV	`time in past`
?o-s-e(n)/?oč-es-a(n)	tv	`to put s.t. inside`
?os-m-a(n)	iv	`to become hoarse`
?os-om	aj	`hoarse`
?otate	N3a	`a type of green bamboo (house cane)`
?otot	N3a	`house`
?otro	SpAJ	`other`
?u	Spconj	`or`
?ub-i(n)	tv	`to sense, hear, listen, feel, notice, understand`
?uč`-e(n)	tv	`to drink`
?uh	Nl	`moon`
?uh-i	n3a	`menstruation`
?u k'a	sub	`because, so that`
?uk`	P	`crying, screaming`
?uk`-(e(1))	IV	`to cry, whine, scream`

?uk'-t-a(n)	tv	'to cry for s.o.'
?un/?um/hun	num	'one'
?un	N3a	'avocado'
?unde	pro	'he, she, it, him, her'
?unde-lop'	pro	'they, them'
?us-t-a(n)	tv	'to blow up, inflate, blow'
?uš/?uh	num	'three'
?uš-đb-i	nl	'three days ago, three years ago'
?uš-i	nl	'three days in the future'
?ut'	TV	'to build, finish'
?uǰ	AJ/ADV	'good'
?uǰ=to	adv	'slightly used'
?uǰ-i	n3a	'health, goodness'
?úǰ'-u(n)	tv	'to smell'
?úǰ'-u(n)	tv	'to create, make'
?uwi	TV	'to know, understand'
?uwil-i(n)	tv	'to seem, resemble'

b

ba	cl	'phrase terminal particle'
ba	rFX/N2	'reflexive pronoun base; self'
ba ?ok	n3a	'big toe'
bab-đ(n)	tv	'to row s.t.'
báda	ADV	'now'
bah	ADV	'motionless'

bah	TV	`to nail`
bah-el	aj	`nailed`
bah-Ø	n3a	`nail`
bah-i(n)	tv	`to nail`
bah k'äp'	n3a	`thumb`
bak	N3a	`bone`
bäk-e	n3aps	`bone`
bäk'ät	N3a	`fear, fright`
bäk'ät-i	n3a	`fear`
bal/bäl	TV	`to cover s.t.`
bal-ah-t-a(n)	tv	`to roll`
bal-ah-te(1)	n3a	`to roll on the ground`
bäl-ä(n)	tv	`to twist up, roll up`
bälum	N3a	`tiger, jaguar`
bap'	N3a	`oar`
barbas	SpN3a	`soaproot`
basu	N3a	`pancreas`
bateya	SpN3a	`washtub`
bay-ka	sub	`where`
bäkä(1)=iš-im	n3a	`corn cob`
bäk=Ø'om=pat	n3a	`spine, backbone`
bäk'	TV	`to roll, wrap, tangle, wind`
bäk'	P	`rolled, tangled`
bäk'-t-a(n)	iv	`to become frightened`
bäk'tä-bi	aj	`frightening`
bäk't-äl	aj	`frightened`

bák'-t-es-a(n)	tv	`to frighten s.o.'
bǎl-Ø	n3a	`contents'
bǎl	TV	`to cover, hide under s.t.'
bǎl	P	`covered'
bǎlǎ	AJ	`pinto, spotted'
bǎl-ǎk-na(1)	af	`rolling'
bǎlǎna	N3a	`grass, pasture'
bǎn-ǎk-n-e(1)	n3a	`sound of moving air'
behuku	SpN3a	`rattan'
bek'	N3a	`seed'
bek' č'um	n3a	`squash seed'
bek' hut	n3a	`eye'
bek'-et	n3a	`cattle, cow, ox'
bek'-ta(1)	n3a	`muscle, meat'
bek'-ta kristiano	n2	`human flesh'
bél-ǎ(n)	tv	`to carry from one place to another'
bet	N3a	`debt'
bet-il ta=k'in	n3a	`borrowed money'
bet-ǎ(n)	tv	`to buy on credit'
bida	SpN3a	`life'
bih	N3b	`road, path'
bih-i	n3bps	`road, path'
bih-tan	n3a	`width'
bik'it	AJ	`small, plural'
bil	TV	`to sew together (seams)'
bil-im	aj	`thin and soft'

bis-a(n)	tv	`to send s.t.'
biš-(e(1))	IV	`to go away, travel'
biš-t-es-a(n)/bih-t-es-a(n)	tv	`to carry'
bit	AJ	`small, plural'
bo?	AF	`tired, lazy'
bo?-es-a(n)	tv	`to tire s.o.'
bo?-in	aj	`lazy'
bo-boy=nāk'-a	n3a	`constipation'
boč'	N3a	`outhouse'
boh=čač	n3a	`a finely woven basket'
boh=te?	n3a	`a type of cane used houses (seto)'
bók	TV	`to uproot'
bok'	N3a	`washbasin'
bolador	SpN3a	`sky rocket'
bon	ADV	`perhaps'
bon	TV	`to paint'
bon-Ø	n3a	`paint'
bon-i	n3a	`paint'
bon-o(n)	tv	`to paint'
bu?u(1)	N3a	`beans'
buč'	N1	`fish'
buh	TV	`to slice'
buh-up'	aj	`sliced'
buh-en	aj	`sliced'
buh-il	aj	`sliced'
buh=te?	n3a	`tree with a green pod fruit, kiniquil'

búk	N3a	`shirt, clothes`
búk ta sis-i	n3a	`coat for the cold`
buk-la	nl	`cloud`
buk´	TV	`swallow`
buk´-en	aj	`swallowed`
buk´a	N3a	`pozol; cornmeal, cacao and water drink`
bul-bul-na(1)	af	`sound of water in bottle under water`
bul-(e(1))	IV	`to bubble`
bulič	N3a	`sweat`
bulič-i	n3a	`sweat`
bul-u(n)	tv	`to gurgle, bubble`
bul-uh-ta=ha?	n3a	`bubbles`
but´	TV	`to fill`
buø	N3a	`sprout`
buø´	N3b	`smoke`
buø´-i	n3bps	`smoke`

10x

čabán	N1	`earthquake`
ča-b-i	nl	`day after tomorrow`
čač	N3a	`basket`
čah-am	aj	`loose`
čan	N1	`snake`
kán=ti?=čan	nl	`yellow-mouthed viper`
yoko=čan	nl	`rattlesnake`

čankla	SpN3a	`sandals´
čap´	N1	`sugar, sweet´
te?-l-e čap´	n3a	`honey´
čáwǎk	n1	`thunder, lightning´
ča?	N3a	`grinding stone´
ča(?)	num	`two, again´
ča?-am	n3a	`molars, mandible´
ča?-law	af	`two-faced´
ča?=mam	n3a	`great grandchild, great grandfather´
ča?=mim	n3a	`great grandmother´
č´a? tu-ma(1)	n2	`two people´
čǎ-b-i	n1	`the day before yesterday´
čǎ-čǎk-es-a(n)	tv	`to redden s.t.´
čǎ-čǎm p´e k´in	n1	`within four days´
čǎk	AJ	`red´
čǎ-čǎk	aj	`very red´
čǎk-k´elan	n3a	`brilliant red´
čǎk-mel-a(n)	iv	`to shine red´
čǎk´-ǎy-es-a(n)	tv	`to become thick´
čǎm-(o(1))	IV	`to die´
čǎm-ǎl	aj	`lukewarm, dead´
čǎm-en	aj	`lukewarm´
čǎm-en ha?	n3a	`lukewarm water´
čǎm-en ?óba	n3a	`whooping cough´
čǎm-ewe(1)	n1	`cadavers´
čǎm-tik-ǎw	n1	`lukewarm´

čān	num	`four´
čāp	TV	`parboil´
čāp´	N3a	`candle, wax´
te?-l-e čāp´	n3a	`beeswax´
čāp´	N3a	`sperm´
čāp´=te?	n3a	`sapodilla tree, chicle´
če?	conj	`and, thus´
če? čič	conj	`yes, always´
če? da	conj	`thus´
če?-en	conj	`thus it is´
če?-em ba	conj	`thus it is´
ček	P	`visible, clear´
ček-(e(l))	IV	`to be visible´
ček-t-a(n)	tv	`to light up, make visible´
ček´-ček´-n-e(l)	nl	`small stones rattling in a can´
ček´-em	aj	`old and unoccupied´
ček´-e(n)	tv	`to vibrate, rattle´
ček´-lāw-e(l)	nl	`small stones rattling in a can´
čel	P	`inclined, slanted´
č-e(n)	tv	`to make, do´
čeh-l-a(n)	tv	`to do s.t. together´
čer-b-e(n)	tv	`to do s.t. for s.o.´
čer-b-i(n) mal	tv	`to harm´
č-e(n) trebe	tv	`to be able, can´
čen-e(n)	tv	`to watch, look at´
či	ADV	`by a millimeter´

či?	N3a	`nance, a type of fruit`
čibál-a(n)	iv	`to get drunk`
čibál-i(n)	tv	`to get s.o. drunk`
čič/čih/č	ADV	`always`
čič	N2	`older sister, aunt`
čih	N1	`liquor, century plant`
čih	N3b	`vein, tendon`
čih-i	n3bps	`vein, tendon`
čih č'um	n3a	`chayote squash`
čihkáb-a(n)	tv	`to quiet s.o.`
čih k'áp'	n3a	`arm tendon`
čih t'up	n3a	`shifter`
čik-š(n)	tv	`to strain`
čikikič-i(n)	tv	`to tickle`
čik-in	n3a	`ear, handle`
čik-in=te?	n1	`mushroom`
čik-t-a(n)	tv	`to reflect`
čil-ip'	n3a	`a type of medicinal herb`
čim	N3a	`net`
či=may	n3a	`deer`
čin	P	`inclined`
čin	TV	`to incline, slant s.t.`
čitam	N3a	`pig`
te?-l-e čitam	n1	`wild pig`
čitam ?espin	n1	`porcupine`
čo	N3a	`corn plant`

čo?	TV	`to skin an animal`
čo=?it	n3a	`buttocks`
čo=?it-a(n)	tv	`to rub buttocks`
čo-b-r-ip`	n3a	`land for planting`
čoč-o(n)	tv	`to peak at wood`
čoh	N3a	`cheeks`
čoh	AJ	`expensive`
čok	TV	`to disperse a liquid, overflow`
čok-om-a(n)	iv	`to be dying, agonizing`
čok-om-e(1)	n3a	`dying, agonizing`
čol=t`an	nl	`the Chol language`
čol-o(n)	tv	`to prune, cut brush, clear fields`
čol-en	aj	`pruned`
čon	TV	`to sell, blame`
čón-o	n3a	`store`
čop	P	`flopping, jumping`
čop-(e(1))	IV	`to flop, jump`
ču?	N3a	`breast`
ču?-s-e(n)	tv	`to breastfeed`
ču?-u(n)	tv	`to breastfeed`
čuk	TV	`to mate (eg. animals)`
čum/čun	AJ	`short, small amount`
čum	NC	`small amount of hair, weeds, etc.`
čum	P	`seated, sitting down`
čum-káč	TV	`to tie in a bundle`
čum-l-ip`	n3a	`chair`

čum-t-a(n) tv `to mount or sit on s.t.`

čun N3a `trunk`

čun te? n3a `tree trunk`

čun boh-te? n3a `house corner`

čun pik n3a `short dress`

čun yeš N3a `short pants`

č-unde n3a `owner`

čuy TV `to sew`

čuy-ø n3a `seam`

čuy-um n3a `a type of hardwood tree`

č'

č'- TV `to allow, permit`

č'- TV `to grab, take`

č'a? P `lying down`

č'a?-l-a hin dat `to enjoy one's self, to be happy`

č'a?-l-a(n) iv `to be happy, calm`

č'a?-l-es-a(n) tv `to make s.o. happy`

č'a?-l-ip' n3a `bed`

č'a?-t-a(n) tv `to lie down on s.t.`

č'ah N2 `bile, gall`

č'ah N1 `pinol, toasted cornmeal with sugar and cinnamon`

č'ah AJ `bitter`

č'ah-an n3a `henequen thread`

č'ah-b-i(n) tv `to make bitter`

č'ah-es-a(n)	tv	`to embitter s.t.'
č'ak	NC	`half'
č'al	NC	`turns of a coil'
č'ál-ǎ(n)	tv	`to tangle'
č'ál-en	aj	`tangled'
č'am	TV	`to consider'
č'át-ǎ(n)	tv	`to roast'
č'ák palma	Spn3a	`a type of palm'
č'ál	P	`coiled'
č'ám	TV	`to grab, seize, catch'
č'áp	Nl	`a type of vine'
č'eh-č'eh-n-e(1)	nl	`sound of metal on metal'
č'eh-lǎw-e(1)	nl	`sound of metal on metal'
č'eh-pa	n3a	`ribs'
č'eh-pa	rn	`beside'
č'en	N3b	`hole, cave, well'
č'en-a	n3b	`animal hole'
č'ep	TV	`to open'
č'ep	P	`opened'
č'ep-t-a(n)	tv	`to open s.t.'
č'eš-a(n)	tv	`to argue'
č'eš-es-a(n)	tv	`to cause an argument'
č'i?-nah-i(n)	tv	`to praise'
č'ib	TV	`to pierce, make a hole in s.t.'
č'ib-ǔ=it	n3a	`anus'
č'ič'	N3a	`blood'

č'ič'-e	n3a	`lots of blood`
č'i-č'ič'-es-a(n)	tv	`to bleed`
č'ič'=nǎk'-a/	č'i?nǎk'-a	n3a `dysentery`
č'ih-(e(l))	IV	`to grow`
č'íl-ǎn	tv	`to toast`
č'il-im	aj	`toasted`
č'il-ip'	aj	`toasted`
č'il-m-a(n)	iv	`to become toasted`
č'im	ADV	`motionless`
č'in-č'in-na(l)	af	`sound of bell`
č'in-č'in-n-e(l)	n3a	`sound of bell`
č'ip-č'ip-n-e(l)	n3a	`cry of baby birds`
č'ip'-∅	n3a	`hole`
č'ip'-∅=ni?	n3a	`nasal passageway`
č'ip'-∅=ta?	n3a	`anus`
č'iš	N3a	`thorn`
č'iš-ǎ(n)	tv	`to heat`
č'o?	TV	`to draw water`
č'o?o	AJ	`intelligent, brave`
č'oč'	AJ	`salted`
č'o-č'oč'	aj	`very salty`
č'ok	AJ	`small, young`
č'o-č'ok	aj	`very young, very small`
č'ok	N3a	`son or daughter, child`
č'ok-lop'	N3a	`children`
č'o-č'ok-s-a(n)	tv	`to shrink, humiliate`

č'ok ha?	nl	`drizzle`
č'ok-i(n)	tv	`to sprinkle`
č'ok-o(n)	tv	`to beg`
č'okoy	AJ	`melted`
č'okoy-a(n)	iv	`to melt`
č'om	NC	`parts removed`
č'omo	AJ	`uneven`
č'on	P	`squatting`
č'on-(e(1))	IV	`to squat`
č'on=bih-t-es-a(n)	tv	`to bend over and carry s.t.`
č'on=ta?-a(n)	tv	`to bend over and defecate`
č'on-t-a(n)	tv	`to squat on s.t.`
č'on=tāsk-u(n)	tv	`to bend over and bring s.t.`
č'on=wiš-i(n)	tv	`to squat and urinate`
č'on=yer-(o(1))	iv	`to fall bent over`
č'oš	P	`standing up`
č'oy-(e(1))	IV	`to get up, rise`
č'u?-la	n3a	`baptized child`
č'uč'	P	`piled up`
č'uč'-u(n)	tv	`to gather in a pile`
č'uč'-u(n)	tv	`to take advantage of s.o.`
č'uh	N3a	`church`
č'uh-il-ba	nl	`idols`
č'uh-u(n)	tv	`to celebrate`
č'uh-in-es-a(n)	tv	`to cause to celebrate`
č'uh=na?	n3a	`godmother`

č'uh-n-a(n)	tv	`to keep safe, deposit, safeguard s.t.'
č'uh=pap	n3a	`godfather'
č'uh=t'an	n3a	`mass, prayer'
č'uh=t'an-ā(n)	tv	`to pray'
č'úk'-u(n)	tv	`to watch, hunt, spy'
č'ul	NC	`drops of liquids, lard, etc.'
č'ul	N3a	`benediction'
č'ul-(e(1))	IV	`to drip'
č'ul=ha?	n3a	`holy water'
č'ul=č-e(n)	tv	`to greet s.o.'
č'ul-č'ul-na(1)	af	`sound of dripping'
č'ul-uhe(1)	n3a	`religion, party'
č'úm	N3a	`squash'
č'un-ik	n1	`powerful rich person'
č'un-uhe(1)	n3a	`party'
č'upin/?ih č'upin	N1	`old person, old woman'
č'uy	P	`hanging'
č'uy	TV	`to pick up, lift up, hang up'
č'uy-Ø=čikin	n3a	`earrings'
č'uy-Ø=ha?	n3a	`bucket in well'
č'uy-Ø=kāč	tv	`to hang s.t. tied up'
č'uy-ak	n3a	`hanging stand'
č'uy-t-a(n)	tv	`to hang on s.t.'
č'uy-ul-b-i(n)	tv	`to whistle'
č'uy-u(n)	tv	`to whistle s.t.'
č'uy-up'	n3a	`whistling'

d

da cl 'this'
 da ADV 'later today'
 dár=i adv 'later today'
 de Sppt 'of, from'
 de ke sub 'of'
 despwes sub 'after, afterwards'
 despwes ba sub 'after, afterwards'
 despwes ke sub 'after'
 de ya?=i ba sub 'then, from there'
 di.a SpN3a 'day'
 disko SpN3a 'record'
 distinkto SpAJ 'distinct'
 dos Spnum 'two'

f

fabrika SpN3a 'factory'
 familiar SpN3a 'family'
 fi.esta SpN3a 'party'
 fóko/hóko SpN3a 'flashlight'
 fruta SpN3a 'fruit'

g

gana	Sptv	`to win, gain s.t.'
globo	SpN3a	`balloon'
gol/wol	TV	`to make a ball'
gol/wol	P	`ball-shaped'
gol=a?as/wol-a?as	n3a	`zapote, marmalade tree'
gol-t-a(n)/wol-t-a(n)	tv	`to make s.t. into a ball'
gran/de gran	SpAJ	`many, much'

h

h-(e(1))/š-(e(1))	IV	`to go'
ha	asp	`already, just now'
ha?	Nl	`water'
ha?-a	nl	`rain'
ha?-an	n2	`brother-in-law of man'
hǎ?-ǎn-i(n)	tv	`to become a brother-in-law'
ha?as	N3a	`banana, plantain'
ha?=tiš	n3a	`sneeze'
ha?= ç ih	n3a	`sneeze'
ha?=yuw-a(n)	iv	`to rain'
hǎč'-ǎ(n)	tv	`to chew on s.t.'
hǎč'-im	n3a	`a drink of water, cornmeal, and cacao, or sweet potato and cacao; chorote'
ha-ha?=ta?	n3a	`cow' (literally `watery excrement')

hah-lāw-e(1)	n3a	`sound of a frightened person`
hak-(e(1))	IV	`to go down`
hak-ā(n)	tv	`to lower s.t.`
hák´	AF	`upset`
hák´-ā(n)	iv	`to become upset`
hák´-es-a(n)	tv	`to make s.o. upset`
hal	ADV	`long time`
hala	idiom	`Go!`
hal-ā?-a(n)	iv	`to last`
hal-ā?-i(n)	tv	`to cause s.t. to last`
hal-el-čem-(o(1))	iv	`to mourn the dead`
han-(e(1))	IV	`to go in a group`
háp-ā(n)	tv	`to defend`
hap´	NC	`number of years in the future`
haš-ā(n)	tv	`to twist thread`
hač´-ø	n3a	`fighting, boxing`
hāw-ān	n2	`woman's sister-in-law`
hāw-ān=pik	n3a	`slip, undershirt`
hay	AJ	`thin`
hay-āp´	n3a	`yawn`
hā?-ān-i(n)	tv	`to become a brother-in-law`
hā?-l-e?/he?-le?	n3a	`body fluids, pus`
hā?-l-e?=at	n3a	`semen`
hā?-l-e?=ču?	n3a	`breast milk`
hāb	TV	`to open (eg. doors)`
hāb	P	`opened`

hǎb-i	nc	`number of years in the past´
hǎb-t-a(n)	tv	`to open s.t. half way´
hǎč´-ǎ(n)	tv	`to chew´
hǎk-s-e(n)	tv	`to lower´
hǎk-s-pǎm-i(n)	tv	`to nod, lower one´s head´
hǎk´-ǎ(n)	tv	`to choke, pant´
hǎk´-es-a(n)	tv	`to drown s.o., to choke s.o.´
hǎk´-law	af	`hiccough´
hǎk´-lǎw-e(1)	n3a	`hiccough´
hǎl-ǎk-n-a(n)	iv	`to be late´
hǎl-ǎ(n)	tv	`to weave, knit´
hǎm	TV	`to open´
hǎm	P	`opened´
hǎm-ǎk-n-e(1)	n3a	`buzz of bees´
hǎm-hǎm-na(1)	af	`hum of bees´
hǎm-law	af	`sound of truck going by fast´
hǎm-lǎw-e(1)	n3a	`sound of truck going by fast´
hǎm-t-a(n)	tv	`to open s.t.´
hǎn-hǎn-(n)e(1)	n3a	`gurgling of children´
hǎn-i	n3a	`corn spike´
hǎpǎč´	tv	`to cut a branch´
hǎs	TV	`to throw dice´
hǎč´	TV	`to hit´
hǎč´-ya	nl	`throw´
hǎč´-ǎk-na(1)	af	`sweet, tasty, good to the senses´
hǎč´-ǎk-n(a)-a(n)	iv	`to be good to the senses´

hǎy	num	`how much, how many`
hǎy-(e(1))	IV	`to dissolve, melt`
he?le?/hǎ?le?	n3a	`pus, body fluids`
hek	nc	`branches with their leaves, parts of a whole`
hek	P	`to take s.t. away, to diminish s.t.`
hek'	NC	`portion of a group, to half s.t.`
hel	TV	`to adorn s.t.`
hel-(o(1))	IV	`to return`
hel-em	aj	`used`
henerasi.on	SpN3a	`generation`
hente	SpN1	`people`
hi?	N3a	`sand`
hi?=kap'	n3a	`sandy soil`
hi?=tun	n3a	`whetstone`
hič'	TV	`to lasso`
hik'-hik'-na(1)	af	`sound of laughter`
hik'-ih-ta(1)	af	`vibrations of body`
hik'-law	af	`sound of coughing`
hik'-lǎw-e(1)	n3a	`sound of coughing`
hil-(e(1))	IV	`to end`
hin-(e(1))	IV	`to take off a branch`
hin	pro/DEM	`this, that, these, those, the one`
hin ba	pro/DEM + cl	`that, those`
hin da	pro/DEM + cl	`this, these`
hin da ba	pro/DEM + cl + cl	`this, these`
hin=i	pro/dem	`this, that, these, those, the one`

hip	TV	`to have difficulty in doing s.t. (e.g. breathing)´
hit´	TV	`to twist, weave´
hit´-ip´	aj	`woven´
hiǰ´	AJ	`hunger´
hiǰ´-(o(1))	IV	`to be hungry´
ho?os-a(n)	iv	`to become hoarse´
ho?os-i(n)	tv	`to make s.o. hoarse´
ho?oš	N3a	`achiote, annatto´
ho?-yan	n3a	`war´
ho-ben	n3a	`drum´
ho-ben=te?	n3a	`hole in a tree´
hob-o(n)	tv	`to dismantle´
hoč´-o(n)	tv	`to peel´
hoh=te?	n3a	`tumpline´
hok´	nc	`piles (e.g. mud)´
hok´	P	`piled up´
hok´	TV	`to call´
hok´-ya	nl	`call´
hok´-o(n)	tv	`to dig, take out, pierce´
hol-es-a(n)	tv	`to cause s.t. to sink´
hol-on	aj	`healthy´
hol-o(n)	tv	`to drag´
hom-(e(1))	IV	`to sink, fall in´
hom-oč´	n3a	`cornhusk´
homole	n3a	`war´
homon	AJ	`loose´

honi?=iš-im	n3a	`corn smut`
hop	AJ	`peppery`
hopo	N3a	`hat`
hop`	NC	`large bundles of things`
hos	AF	`out of breath`
hos-hos-na(1)	af	`wheezing, gasping, out of breath`
hos-lāw-e(1)	n3a	`hiss of a snake`
hos-ok-n-e(1)	n3a	`hiss of a snake`
hot`-o(n)	tv	`to scratch, streak`
hož	N3a	`water jug, jar`
hož`-o(n)	tv	`to pull out, draw out, uproot`
hoy-o(n)/šoy-o(n)	tv	`to go around, circle, turn`
hu?-b-e(n)	tv	`to put s.t. in`
hu?-hu?-na(1)	af	`cry of an owl`
hu?-hu?-n-e(1)	n3a	`cry of an owl`
hu?-lāw-e(1)	n3a	`noise of lots of people`
hu?-uk-na(1)	af	`sound of wind`
huč`-u(n)	tv	`to grind`
huk-up`	n3a	`canoe, dugout`
huk`	N3a	`a type of sweet potato`
hul	TV	`to throw`
hul-en	aj	`thrown`
hul-um	aj	`thrown away`
hul-(e(1))	IV	`to arrive`
hul-a?	n3a	`visitor`
hun	N3a	`paper`

hun/?un	num	`one´
hun-šoy-ma	n3a	`circuit, contour´
hun-tu(1)	adv	`alone´
hun-tul ?iš-ik	nl	`single woman´
hun-tul win-ik	nl	`single man´
hun-tu-ma(1)	n2	`alone, by one's self´
hup´	TV	`to bring in, put in´
hus-(e(1))	IV	`to get a blister´
huš-u(n)	tv	`to rub, scrub´
hut	N3a	`eye, fruit on tree, face´
hut=k´ak´	n3a	`spark, live coals´
huø´-u(n)	tv	`to wash´
húy-um	aj	`mixed, stirred up´
huy-um ha?	n3a	`cloudy water´
huy-um-es-a(n)	tv	`to make thick´
huy-u(n)	tv	`to plow, stir, wade, ford´
hwes	SpN3a	`mayor, authority´

k

ka	pt/sub	`interrogative particle: which, that, when´
ka ?am ba	pt	`which´
ka ?an	pt	`which´
ka ?ora	pt	`what hour´
ka ?u k´a/kok´a	pt	`why´
ka ?unde/konde	pt	`who, what, whom´

ka če? (da)	pt	`whether, how, so that`
ka da	pt	`where`
ka da hun še	idiom	`Where are you going?`
ka da š-e	idiom	`Where are you going?`
ka kwa?	pt	`what`
ka k'in	pt	`when`
ka tuba	pt	`whose`
ka t'ok	pt	`with whom, with what`
kab-a	n3a	`agricultural plot`
kafa/kafe/kahwe	SpN3a	`coffee`
kah	N3b	`town, region, country`
kāh-i	n3b	`a person's town`
kaha	SpN3a	`box`
kahwe/kafa/kafe	SpN3a	`coffee`
kama?	sub	`until, when, like, than`
kande	pro	`I, me`
kande-la	pro	`we, us (inclusive)`
kande-t'okop`	pro	`we, us (exclusive)`
kansi.on	SpN3a	`song`
kap`	AJ	`dirty`
kap`	N3a	`dirt, ground, floor`
kab-en	aj	`dirty`
kab-il	aj	`dirty, land`
karpintero	SpN3a	`carpenter`
karta	SpN3a	`letter`
kaya	SpN3a	`street`

kǎč	TV	`to tie´
kǎč-ya	nl	`tie´
kǎč-ø=pik	nc	`depth of water to a woman's waist´
kǎč-ø=yěš	nc	`depth of water to a man's belt´
kǎč-i?= z uk	n3a	`hair ribbon´
kǎč'-ǎk-n-e(1)	n3a	`sound of grinding teeth´
kǎkǎw	N3a	`cacao´
kǎn	TV	`to learn´
kǎm-law	af	`strong odor´
kǎnǎn-t-a(n)	tv	`to watch over, care for, possess´
kǎnǎn-tǎ-bi	aj	`watched over´
kǎp'-kǎp'-na(1)	af	`squeaking of an old box´
kǎrǎp' kǎrǎp'	op	`squeaking of an old box´
kǎp'-ǎk-na(1)	af	`squeaking of swinging rope´
kǎp'-lǎw-e(1)	N3a	`squeaking of swinging rope´
ke	sub	`that´
kel-e(n)	tv	`to peel, skin´
kel-em	aj	`peeled´
kel-ip'	aj	`peeled´
kek	NC	`branches with leaves´
kék-ǎ(n)	tv	`to prune´
kep'	N3a	`belch´
kere(r)	SpTV	`to want s.t.´
kes	N3a	`once-ground corn´
kih-(o(1))	IV	`to remain, stay´
kip-(e(1))	IV	`to fall, roll off, slip´

kip	TV	`to trip s.o.'
kip-Ø=tek'	TV	`trip with feet'
kira	ADV	`I wonder, questioning'
kis-e(n)	tv	`to abandon s.t.'
kisin	AJ	`bashful'
kis-na(1)	af	`bashful, shame'
klase	SpN3a	`class'
koče	SpN3a	`car'
kók	AJ	`deaf'
kol	TV	`to empty'
kol-om	aj	`empty'
kola	idiom	`Let's go'
kolob-a(n)	iv	`to remain'
(?a) kolob-a(n) t'ok Dios	idiom	`Stay with God'
kolob-es-a(n)	tv	`to leave s.t.'
kom	AJ	`short'
kom-?-a(n)	iv	`to become short'
konde	(see ka ?unde)	
konose(r)	SpTV	`to be acquainted with s.o.'
konsiderar	SpTV	`to consider s.t.'
kontento	SpAJ	`content'
kop'-kop'-n-e(1)	n3a	`crunching sound of dog eating bone'
kop'-lãw-e(1)	n3a	`crunching sound of dog eating bone'
kop'-oh-ta(1)	af	`crunching sound of dog eating bone'
kop'-oh-t-e(1)	af	`crunching sound of dog eating bone'
kosa	SpN3a	`thing'

kostá	SpN3a	`gunny sack´
kostumbre	SpN3a	`custom´
kot-oh-na(1)	af	`crawling, creeping´
kot-oh-n-a(n)	iv	`to crawl, creep´
kot-oh-n-e(1)	n3a	`crawling, creeping´
kreš/kāreš	AJ	`angry´
kreš-a(n)	iv	`to get angry, get insulted´
kreš-b-e(n)	tv	`to insult s.o.´
kreš=t´an	n3a	`insulting words´
kréš-i	nl	`place of insults´
kristiano	SpN1	`person, people´
kuč	TV	`to carry on shoulders´
kučara	SpN3a	`spoon´
kučiru	SpN3a	`knife´
kuh	TV	`to dig´
kuh-u(n)	tv	`to dig´
kuh-β=kap´	n3a	`grave´
kuk-u(n)	tv	`to stir´
kulantro	SpN3a	`herb, cilantro´
ku-male	Spn3a	`co-sponsor, woman´
ku-pale	Spn3a	`co-sponsor, male´
kun	TV	`to beat, trample´
kun-el	aj	`beaten´
kun-u(n)	tv	`to crush´
kup	nc	`rolls or loose rolls (eg. of paper)´
kup	P	`rolled up´

kup-u(n)	tv	`to roll up`
kušu	AJ	`raw, crude, alive`
kuš-p-a(n)	iv	`to live`
kwa?/k'wa?	pt	`nothing, anything`
kwa? čih ka/k'wa? čih ka	nl	`elves, fairies`
kwa? ka/k'wa? ka	idiom	`good, what!`
kwa? ka?-op`	idiom	`what's up?`
kwa? tak/k'wa? tak	nl	`devil`
kwah-ka/k'wah-ka	n3a	`coconut grove`
kwanta/kwanto	Spsub	`when`
kwaš/k'waš	idiom	`what!`
kwaš konde/k'waš konde	idiom	`what thing`
kwaš-ti/k'waš-ti	idiom	`who knows!`
kwidador	SpN3a	`caretaker`

k'

k'a	dp	`dative pronoun; used with Set A pronouns`
k'a	sub	`so that`
k'a	NC	`groups of five`
k'a Dios	idiom	`thank you`
k'a Dios š-ik-et	idiom	`Go with God`
k'a?k'a	ADV	`a lot`
k'a?-s-e(n)	tv	`to cross s.t.`
k'ába	N3a	`name`
k'abđl-a(n)	iv	`to be baptized`

k'abđl-es-a(n)	tv	`to baptize s.o.'
k'ah	TV	`to harvest'
k'ah-ya	nl	`harvest'
k'áh-đl	aj	`harvested'
k'ahalin	n3a	`life, thought, intelligence, knowledge'
k'ahlin	ADV	`thoroughly'
k'ah-te-i(n)	tv	`to remember, honor'
k'ák'	N3a	`fire, firelight, torch'
k'ak'=nap'	nl	`sea'
k'a:-k'a-k'a-k'a	op	`cry of a large bird'
k'ál-đ(n)	tv	`to uncoil'
k'ánđ	Nl	`wasp'
k'ap'	N3a	`soup, liquid'
k'áp'=ču?=bek'et	n3a	`cow milk'
k'áp'=hut	n3a	`tears'
k'áp'=ni?	n3a	`mucus'
k'áp'=te?	n3a	`pitch, sap'
k'aš-(e(l))	IV	`to cross'
k'aš-a(n)	tv	`to cross s.t.'
k'át-đ(n)	tv	`to question, to ask'
k'at-el	aj	`questioned'
k'at-en	aj	`questioned'
k'at-ya	nl	`questioning'
k'át-đn-ip'	n3a	`question'
k'ay	N3a	`song'
k'ay	TV	`to sing s.t.'

k'ä?-läw-e(1)	n3a	`cry of a large bird`
k'am-ba	n3a	`pain`
k'am-b-a(n)	tv	`to complain about s.t.`
k'an	AJ	`yellow, half-ripe`
k'an	TV	`to use, put in order, arrange`
k'an-ä	aj	`must, necessary`
k'an-es-a(n)	tv	`to turn s.t. yellow`
k'an-ho	n3a	`pillow`
k'an-mel-a(n)	iv	`to shine yellow`
k'äp'	N3a	`hand, arm`
k'äp'=buk	n3a	`sleeve`
k'äp'=čä?	n3a	`handstone used in grinding`
k'äs	ADV	`halfway`
k'äs	TV	`to break in two (e.g. wood)`
k'äs ?už to	adv	`of medium use`
k'ät	P	`crosswise`
k'ät	TV	`to put s.t. crosswise`
k'ät-až'-ä(n)	tv	`to put s.t. across s.t.`
k'e	NC	`leaflike or planelike objects`
k'e?-n-a(n)	iv	`to augment`
k'eč	N3a	`claw`
k'eč	TV	`to grab, capture`
k'eh-p-a(n)	tv	`to scold`
k'eh-ya	nl	`scolding`
k'el-e(n)	tv	`to stand, endure`
k'en/k'en-e(1)	ADV/adv	`many, much`

k'en bes	adv	`many times´
k'eš	TV	`to change, exchange´
k'in	N3a	`day, sun´
ʔu k'in ʔah čām-ewe	idiom	`Day of the Dead´
k'in=(h)aʔ	n1	`boiled water, hot water´
k'in-ihe(1)	n3a	`day, party´
k'in=tuni	n3a	`plowed cornfield; tornamilpa´
k'iti-i(n)	tv	`to recognize´
k'oʔ-k'oʔ-n-e(1)	n3a	`cry of a heron´
k'oʔ-lāw-e(1)	n3a	`cry of a frog, heron´
k'oč	P	`twisted´
k'oč	TV	`to twist´
k'oč-o(n)	tv	`to re-twist´
k'oh-op´	n3a	`mask´
k'oh-o	aj	`sick´
k'oh-p-a(n)	iv	`to get sick´
k'oh-p-an-es-a(n)	tv	`to make s.o. sick´
k'ok´-(e(1))	IV	`to become deaf´
k'ok´-i(n)	tv	`to deafen s.o.´
k'ol-buš	n3a	`sickly people´
k'omoʔ=wah	n3a	`large tamale, manea´
k'os	TV	`to change places, to take inside a house´
k'ot	IV	`to arrive elsewhere´
k'ot-k'ot-na(1)	af	`hen clucking´
k'uʔ-n-a(n)	iv	`to become rotten´
k'um-a	n3a	`smell of seafood, shrimp´

k'un AJ `intelligent, rotten, mild, soft`
 k'up-u(n) tv `to desire, envy, crave, adultery`
 k'up' N3a `womb, bird nest`
 k'uš TV `to eat, bite`
 k'uš-ya nl `bite`
 k'uš-be n3a `hate`
 k'uš-bel-i(n) tv `to hate`
 k'uš-b-i(n) tv `to hate`
 k'uš=nāk'-a n3a `stomachache`
 k'úǰ' N3a `tobacco`

1

l- TV `should`
 la?-am aj `soft`
 láč'-ā(n) tv `to scratch`
 lač-en aj `scratched`
 lač-il aj `scratched`
 lah ADV `all, completely`
 lah TV `to pat (e.g. tortillas)`
 lah-i?=wah n3a `tortilla making`
 lap' N3a `thread (e.g. spider's thread)`
 láp'-ā(n) tv `to scratch, paw the ground`
 lawuš SpN3a `nail`
 láč-láč-na(1) af `sound of chicken scratching`
 lāk TV `to tie, bind, hang, hook`

lǎk	P	`tied hanging`
lǎmǎ	AJ	`left over`
lǎm=k'ak'=čawǎl-i(n)	tv	`to flash lightning`
lǎp'	AJ	`sticky`
leb-e(1)	aj	`hanging`
leh-em	aj	`soft`
lek'-a(n)	tv	`to lick`
lem-(e(1))	IV	`to flame, burn`
lem	NC	`flashes of lightning`
lem=k'ak'	n3a	`flame`
lep-ǎ(n)	tv	`to pinch`
lep-i(n)	tv	`to pinch`
lep'-a(n)	tv	`to scrape`
lǐk-ǎ(n)	tv	`to tremble, shake, splatter`
lik-lik-na(1)	af	`trembling, shaking`
lik-lik-n-a(n)	iv	`to shake, tremble`
lik-lik-n-e(1)	n3a	`trembling, shaking`
lik'-im	aj	`soft, mild`
lima	SpN3a	`file`
lip'	NC	`little pieces of meat, tortilla, etc.`
loč	nc	`kinks, bends in long thin objects`
loč	P	`bent`
loč-o(n)	tv	`to bend`
lok-(e(1))	IV	`to boil`
lok-es-a(n)	tv	`to cause s.t. to boil`
lok-lok-na(1)	af	`turkey gobble`

lok-o(1)	aj	`boiling, frothing`
loko	SpAJ	`crazy`
loko-l-e	Spn3a	`craziness`
lok-o(n)	tv	`to boil s.t.`
lol-o(n)	tv	`to peck, strike with beak`
lom-o	aj	`uneven`
lom=tek`	TV	`to kick s.t.`
lop'-lop`	af	`angry`
lop'-lop'-na(1)	af	`angry`
lop'-lop'-n-e(1)	n3a	`anger`
lot	N2	`companion, counterpart`
loto-h-a(n)	iv	`to marry`
lot-am	aj	`married`
lot-o(n)	tv	`to accompany, resemble, talk`
lot-ah	nl	`talking`
lot-aya	nl	`talking`
lot`	nc	`loads of things carried on the shoulders`
lot`	P	`carried on shoulders, head`
lot`	TV	`to carry on the shoulders, head`
low	TV	`to prick`
low-en	aj	`punctured`
low=?oh	n3a	`basket-making reed`
low-low-na(1)	af	`cry of turkey hen`
lo?	N1	`vocative: boy, male`
lo?-o(n)	tv	`to pierce`
luč	N3a	`netting, mosquito netting`

luč	nc	`scoop`
luč	P	`scooped`
luč-u(n)	tv	`to scoop`
luk-Ø=buč	n3a	`fishing`
luk-ba	n3a	`fishing`
luk-u(n)	tv	`to hook`
luk'-um	aj	`soft`
luk'-up'	n3a	`neck, nape, throat`
luk'-up'	nc	`neck height of water, etc.`
luk'-up'=ok	nc	`ankle depth of water, mud, etc.`
lul-u(n)	tv	`to pluck`
lup	NC	`dip of liquid`
lup-u(n)	tv	`to dip`

m

ma?	ADV	`negative`
ma(h)=?an	adv	`not any, nothing`
ma?-lāw-e(1)	n3a	`cry of cat`
mač	ADV	`negative, no`
mač ?an (mač'an)	adv	`no, not any, none`
mač ?uǰ	adv	`rotten, sinful, bad`
mač čič	adv	`never`
mač hāǰ'-āk-na(1)	af	`bad tasting`
mač to	adv	`still, not yet`
mačit	SpN3a	`machete`

maestro	SpN3a	`teacher´
mah	ADV	`negative, no´
mah-an	n3a	`loan, s.t. borrowed´
mahan=na?	n3a	`stepmother´
mahan=pap	n3a	`stepfather´
mahan=p´ene(1)	n3a	`stepchild´
mah ka	adv	`negative questions´
mahn-a(n)	tv	`to borrow´
maho=ni?	adv	`no longer´
mah nun ?uø	idiom	`it isn't good´
mák'-ǎ(n)	tv	`to clench with teeth, to cut´
mal	SpN3a	`bad, evil´
mala/malǎ	ADV	`reciprocal action´
malah	SpADV	`badly´
mam	N3a	`grandfather, grandson, granddaughter´
mam-lop´	N3a	`grandchildren´
mantene	SpIV	`to maintain, support s.o.´
mas	SpAJ	`more´
mát-ǎ(n)	tv	`to give as a gift´
mat-en	aj	`given´
mat-il	aj	`given´
mǎø´	N3a	`nixtamal, atole, corn flour gruel, corn dough´
mǎø´-ǎ(n)	tv	`to chew´
máy-ǎ(n)	tv	`to ruminate´
mǎh	ADV	`very´
mǎk	P	`covered´

mǎk	TV	`to close, cover`
mǎk	N3a	`spoon`
mǎk-ǝ=pam	n3a	`lid`
mǎk-mǎk-na(1)	af	`sound of repeated opening and closing`
mǎn	TV	`to buy`
mǎs=ik`	n3a	`breathing`
mǎt-a(n)	tv	`to give as a gift, to ask for a gift`
mǎt-ǎn	imp	`Give it!`
me?en	ADV	`yes in questions`
meč-e(1)	aj	`bent over`
meč`	AJ	`active, hyperactive`
mek`	nc	`amount pulled toward one with hands or shovel`
mek`	TV	`to hug, embrace`
meru	SpAJ	`essence of, pure, real`
mesa	SpN3a	`table`
met	N3a	`bracelet`
met	TV	`to cross s.t. (eg. legs)`
metros	SpN1	`meter`
mič	P	`wrinkled`
mič	TV	`to wrinkle s.t.`
mič`	NC	`pinches of things`
mim	N2	`grandmother`
mis	N2	`armpit`
mis-ǝ=čo	n3a	`cornweeding`
mis-ǎ(n)	tv	`to sweep, weed corn`
mis-ǎn-ip`	n3a	`weeded corn field`

mis-ip´	n3a	`broom´
mok´	P	`bent over, crouched over´
mok´=te?	n3a	`shade tree´
mona?-t-a(n)	tv	`to give a party´
montaña(s)	SpN1	`mountain(s)´
mop´	nc	`fistfuls of things´
mop´	TV	`to squeeze´
moña	Sp3a	`bag´
mot	TV	`to pleat´
moꞑ	TV	`to wiggle, snake, move, shake, stir´
moy	P	`gathered´
moy	TV	`to gather s.t.´
mu...	OP	`cow mooing´
mu?/muk´	asp	`present progressive´
mu?	N2	`sister-in-law of man´
mub-u(n)	tv	`to smoke incense´
muč´	NC	`small amounts (e.g. of children, beans)´
muč´	TV	`to clench´
muč´-i(n)	tv	`to clench´
muč´-u(n)	tv	`to squeeze, wrinkle´
muh=te?	nl	`Tamulté de las Sabanas´
múk	N2	`navel´
múk-(e(1))	IV	`to bathe´
muk	TV	`to lock up, hide, bury, lock in´
muk	P	`buried´
muk-l-ip´	n3a	`jail´

muk-t-a(n)	tv	`to hide s.t., bury s.t.'
muk'/mu?	asp	`present progressive'
muk'	N3a	`strength, rest'
muk'-l-e	n3a	`feather'
muk'u	N3a	`large feather'
muk'u-h-a(n)	tv	`to rest s.t.'
mul	ADV	`all together'
mul	nc	`piles'
mul	TV	`to cover with earth'
mul-u	n3a	`society'
mulu?	N3a	`turkey'
mum-(m)u(m)-n-e(1)	n3a	`sound of cow'
muš-lāw-e(1)	n3a	`sound of eating crackers'
muš-muš-na(1)	af	`sound of eating crackers'
muš-uh-ta(1)	af	`sound of eating crackers'
muš-uh-t-e(1)	n3a	`sound of eating crackers'
muš-u(n)	tv	`to powder, smash'
muš-el	aj	`smashed'
mut	N3a	`bird'
muø'-ø=č	tv	`to squint, close (e.g. eyes)'
muø'-ø=k'āb-i(n)	tv	`to close one's hand'
muø'-u(n)	tv	`to close, squint'
muy	N3a	`a type of tree'

n

na?	N2	`mother´
na?=bek´-et	n3a	`female cow´
na?=mulu?	n3a	`hen turkey´
na?=p´et	n3a	`large jar´
na?tán	ADV	`slowly´
nah	AJ	`full´
nah=tak	adv	`far away´
nah-tá-b-a(n)	iv	`to fall back´
nah-tá-b-i(n)	tv	`to put s.t. behind´
nahtáká	num/aj	`first´
nahtáká-s-a(n)	tv	`to cause s.t. to fall back´
nahtál-b-i(n)	tv	`to surprise´
nahtá-bi	aj	`surprised´
nahy-a(n)	tv	`to forget s.t.´
nah-bi	aj	`forgotten´
nahy-ál-es-a(n)	tv	`to miss´
nahy-ál-i(n)	tv	`to neglect´
nana hin	dat	`unconscious´
nan=ka	adv	`over there´
nán=ti	adv	`over there somewhere´
náp´	N1	`body of water´
nap´=ák	nl	`leech´
náp´-á(n)	tv	`to navigate´
nat	ADV	`far´

nat-?-a(n)	(nat'-a(n))	iv	'to be distant'
naɕ'-on	idiom		'It is I'
naw-ɬl-b-i(n)	tv		'to suspect'
naw-ɬl-i(n)	tv		'to suspect'
naw-el	adv		'can, to be able'
naw-en	adv		'can, to be able'
nɔk'	N3a		'groin, belly'
nɔk'-a(n)	iv		'to become big in the stomach'
nɔm-ɬ(l)	aj		'accustomed'
nɔm-t-a(n)	tv		'to be accustomed to do s.t.'
nɔm-tɬ-b-a(n)	iv		'to accustom oneself'
nɔm-tɬ-b-e(n)	tv		'to habitually do s.t. for s.o.'
nɔm-t-es-a(n)	tv		'to cause s.o. to have the habit of s.t.'
nɔp'	TV		'to attach'
nɔp'-ɬ(n)	tv		'to attach s.t.'
nɔt'	TV		'to crash'
nɔt'-om	n3a		'crash'
nɔɕ'	TV		'to approach, visit, join, stick out, come close to s.t.'
nɔɕ'ɬ	ADV		'nearby'
nɛb-a?	n3a		'orphan'
nɛb-a? ?iŝ-ik	n3a		'widow'
nɛb-a? win-ik	n3a		'widower'
neh	N3a		'tail'
nene?	SpN3a		'baby'
net'	P		'supported, leaned against'
net'-ɬ(n)	tv		'to support s.t., lean against s.t.'

ni	pt	`the´
ni?	ADV	`emphasis, always´
ni?	N2	`nose, beak, point´
ni?#	N3a	`son-in-law´
ni? ču?	n3a	`nipple´
ni? k`#p´	n3a	`fingers´
ni? ok	n3a	`toes´
ni ?un p`e	idiom	`anything, nothing´
ni ?untu	idiom	`someone, no one´
nič	N2	`flower, blossom´
nič-ik-na(1)	af	`flowering´
nič-i(n)	tv	`to flower´
nič=iš-im	n3a	`corn tassel´
nič`-č	TV	`to wrinkle one´s nose´
nih#p´	N3a	`century plant´
ník-#(n)	tv	`to move, wag´
nik´	TV	`to blame´
nil-#(n)	tv	`to put pressure on s.t.´
no-?-a(n)	iv	`to become larger´
noh	AJ	`large, big, great´
noh ?u tan	idiom	`wide´
noh-es-a(n)	tv	`to make s.t. larger´
noh=k`#p´	n3a	`right hand´
noh=na?	n2	`mother-in-law´
noh pop win-ik	idiom	`a great man´
noh sam	adv	`a while ago´

nok	P	`kneeling`
nok	IV	`to kneel, crawl`
nok-i(n)	tv	`to kneel s.o.`
nok=piš-i(n)	tv	`to make s.o. crawl on his knees`
nok-t-a(n)	tv	`to kneel on s.t.`
nok	N3a	`clothes, cloth, rag`
nonoh	ADV	`wanted, desired`
no=šib-a(n)	iv	`to become old`
no=šib-i(n)	tv	`to age s.t.`
nó-šip	n3a	`old man, husband`
nuk	AJ	`big, large: plural`
nuk	TV	`to put face down`
nuk	P	`face down`
nuk	N3a	`tip of plant, sprout`
nuk'-t-a(n)	tv	`to burn incense`
nuk'-u(n)	tv	`to smoke, burn s.t.`
num	NC	`number of times`
num-(e(1))	IV	`to happen, to pass by`
num-ewe(1)	n3a	`passers by`
num-s-e(n)	tv	`to pass over, wipe s.t. off`
nun	ADV	`for good, affirmative, scarcely`
núš-(e(1))	IV	`to swim`
nut	AJ	`tight`
nut'-u(1)	AJ	`narrow`
nuž	TV	`to start a fire`

p

pa?	pt	`noun classifier: things which are eaten`
pa?	N1	`small stream`
pa?-a(n)	iv	`to become sour`
pa?=hot'-o(n)	tv	`to sign s.t.`
pa?-s-e(n)	tv	`to take away, undress, quit, deliver a baby`
pa?=tek'	TV	`to trip`
páč'	N3a	`pineapple`
páč'-đ(n)	tv	`to chew, move (e.g. mouth)`
pah	AJ	`sour`
pah te?	n3a	`a medicinal herb, cañagria`
palasi.o	SpN3a	`palace`
pál-đ(n)	tv	`to whittle, trim`
pal-en	aj	`trimmed`
pal-ip'	n3a	`a whittled stick`
pale	SpN1	`priest`
pak	nc	`things doubled over`
pak'in	ADV	`a lot at one time`
pam	N3a	`head`
pam	rn	`in front of, on, above`
pan=kap'	nl	`earth, on the earth`
pante.on	SpN3a	`cemetery`
pap	N2	`father`
pa-pak	n3a	`behind the knee`
para ke	Spsub	`so that`

pas-(e(1))	IV	`to leave, go out, give birth`
pasar	SpIV	`to pass by`
pas=te?	n3a	`bridge`
pat	N3a	`back`
pat	rn	`behind`
pat	N3a	`peeling, outer layer`
páta	N3a	`guava`
pat-an	n3a	`work`
pat-an-ip`/pát-án-ip`	n3a	`workplace, field`
pat-i	adv	`behind`
patron	SpN3a	`patron, sponsor, boss`
pátu?	SpN3a	`duck`
páyu	SpN3a	`handkerchief`
páč/peč	N3b	`skin, hide`
páč-i	n3b	`skin, hide`
páč=hut	n3a	`eyelid`
páci ?ok	n3a	`sandals`
páč-il-e	n2	`human skin`
páč=k`áp`/peč=k`áp`	n3a	`palm of hand`
páč=ti?/peč=ti?	n3a	`lips`
páh-na	ADV	`outside`
pák	N3a	`wart`
pák	TV	`to fold over, double over (e.g. corn)`
pák	P	`doubled over, face down`
pák-t-a(n)	tv	`to squash down`
pák`	TV	`to soil, smear, dirty, plant`

pāk'-d?	otot	n2	'mud-walled house'
pān=kāb-a(n)		iv	'to be born'
pān=kāb-i(n)		tv	'to give birth to s.o.'
pān-te	adv		'in front, before, forward'
pāpā?	ADV		'not good'
pās	TV		'to uproot'
pāy	TV		'to pull'
peč	NC		'bunch'
peč	TV		'to flatten s.t.'
peč	P		'flattened'
peč/pāč	N3b		'skin, hide'
peč=?ok/pāč=?ok		n2	'sole of foot'
peč=?ok	nc		'depth to one's instep'
peč-e(1)	aj		'flat and round'
peč=kem/pāč=kem		n3a	'shoulder'
peč-t-a(n)		tv	'to flatten s.t.'
pek-d(n)		tv	'to cram together s.t.'
pek'-em	aj		'thick, as in liquids'
pek'-em-es-a(n)		yb	'to thicken s.t.'
pensa(r)	SpIV		'to think about s.t.'
pero	Spconj		'but'
persona	SpN1		'person'
peso/pesu?	SpN3a		'peso, Mexican monetary unit'
pet	TV		'to move s.t. away, remove s.t.'
péte	N2		'all'
pet-ek-na(1)	af		'pacing'

pež'	NC	'number of times'
pik	N3a	'dress, skirt'
pik'-ič-a(n)	iv	'to burn from touching chile'
pim	AJ	'thick'
pim-il	aj	'thick'
pim?-a(n)	iv	'to become thick'
pi.o?/piyo/pi?o	N3a	'chicken, hen'
pīš	N3	'joint, knee'
pīš-an	n3a	'heart, soul'
pīš=k'āp'	n3a	'elbow'
pīš=ok	n3a	'knee'
pīt-ā(n)	tv	'to wait for, hope for s.t.'
pitū?	SpN3a	'hornpipe, whistle'
piž(i)	AJ	'pretty'
piž'	N3a	'cotton'
plan	SpAJ	'flat'
poč'	TV	'to dent, bump s.t.'
poč'	P	'dented, bumped'
poh-lāw-e(1)	n3a	'sound of palm falling to ground'
poh-l-e(n)	tv	'to find s.t., succeed; with rfx: to get well'
pohl-aya	nl	'find'
poh-m-a(n)	iv	'to be roasted'
poh=tek'	TV	'to step on s.t.'
pok	TV	'to wash, scrub'
pok-en	aj	'washed'
pok'-lāw-e(1)	n3a	'sound of wet trousers as one walks'

pok'-m-an	iv	`to get fat`
pok'-om	aj	`fat`
pok'-pok'-na(1)	af	`sound of wet trousers as one walks`
pom	N3a	`incense`
pom-(e(1))	IV	`to conceal`
pom-i=k'in	idiom	`west`
póp	N3a	`sleeping mat`
póp	AJ	`important, great`
póp-o(n)	tv	`to roast s.t.`
porke	Spsub	`because`
pos	AJ	`pale`
pos-?-a(n)	iv	`to become pale`
pož	N3a	`gift of food`
pož'-om	aj	`soft and spongy`
prementin	SpN3a	`turpentine`
prostituta	SpN1	`prostitute`
púč'-u(n)	tv	`to squash s.t.`
puhu	N3a	`pus`
puk-u(n)	tv	`to pour out non-liquids`
púk-u(n)	tv	`to give out s.t., apportion`
puk'	TV	`to beat s.t.`
puk'-m-a(n)	iv	`to become soft, rotten`
puk'-m-es-a(n)	tv	`to soften s.t.`
puk'=ta?	aj	`rotten`
puk'=ta?-a(n)	tv	`to rot s.t.`
puk'-um	aj	`soft`

puk'un-es-a(n) tv 'to dissolve'
 pul N2 'forehead'
 pul TV 'to burn s.t.'
 pul-en aj 'burned'
 pul-(e(1)) IV 'to burn'
 púl-ben n3a 'incense burner, calendar'
 pu-puk n3a 'dust'
 puro SpAJ 'essence of, pure, real'
 pus P 'overinflated'
 pusu N3a 'mud'
 pusul=ha? nl 'puddle'
 puš-puš-na(1) af 'snorting of horse or cow'
 puø' N3a 'needle'
 puø'-(e(1)) IV 'to flee'
 puø'-el aj 'escaped'
 puø'-t-a(n) tv 'to escape from s.o.'
 puø'-t-aya nl 'escape'
 puø'-tā-bi aj 'escaped'
 puy N3a 'sewing thread, embroidery thread'
 pwes Spconj 'well'

p'

p'ak N2 'joint'
 p'ak NC 'joint (e.g. sugarcane)'
 p'ál-ā(n) tv 'to answer s.o.'

p'äh=te?=čih	n3a	`fermented drink, balché`
p'än	TV	`to untie`
p'än-ah	nl	`untying`
p'än-ya	nl	`untying`
p'ät	TV	`to put a saddle on s.t.`
p'ät-ä(n)	tv	`to form, built, construct s.t.`
p'é(1)	NC	`inanimate things`
p'el-e(n)	tv	`to saw, slice`
p'élah	ADV	`sometimes`
p'ene	N3a	`offspring`
p'en-e(n)	tv	`to fornicate`
p'ep'	N3a	`coxcomb`
p'ét	N3a	`pot`
p'ič	NC	`blotch (e.g. of mud, paint)`
p'ič	TV	`to make tacos`
p'ih	TV	`to break s.t. (e.g. sticks)`
p'ih-im	aj	`broken`
p'ih-ip'	aj	`broken`
p'ik-ä(n)	tv	`to shell, tear into small pieces, take apart`
p'il-ä(n)	tv	`to pinch, to be eaten by birds or insects`
p'iri?	N1	`macaroon fronted parrot`
p'is	TV	`to weigh, measure s.t.`
p'is-ä(n)	tv	`to mock, imitate, practice, try`
p'iš	TV	`to wake s.o. up`
p'iš-(o(1))	IV	`to get up`
p'iš-il	aj	`arisen`

p'is̄-i(n)	tv	`to make s.o. wake up'
p'is̄=te?	n3a	`neck'
p'o?yel-a(n)	iv	`to augment, to stretch out'
p'ok	N3a	`knot'
p'oʔ	N3a	`garbage'
p'u	N3a	`belly'
p'úl-e	N1	`heat'
m̄h p'ule	idiom	`It's very hot'
p'ul-ew	aj	`heat'
p'ul-ew-a	nl	`heat'
p'up'-u(n)	tv	`to irrigate, scatter water'
p'us	P	`humped up, raised'

r

ranču	SpN1	`Villahermosa'
rebos	SpN3a	`mantilla'
redor	SpAJ	`circular'
relos	SpN3a	`clock'
remolin	SpN3a	`whirlpool, whirlwind'
rey	SpN3a	`king'
riyu/ri.u	SpN1	`river'
rosa/rosah	SpN3a	`flowers in general'

r

řa=hǎʒ'	TV	'to hit s.t. with a cracking sound'
řam=hul	TV	'to throw s.t. that makes a whizzing sound'
řam-lǎw-e(1)	n3a	'whizzing sound of thrown object'
řǎp-ǎh-ta(1)	af	'dogs growling'
řǎp-law	af	'dogs growling'

s

saʔ-ǎ(n)	tv	'to file s.t.'
saber	SpIV	'to know s.t.'
sabi.o	SpN1	'wiseman'
sah-ak-n-e(1)	n3a	'sound of animals in weeds'
sah-sah-na(1)	af	'sound of a person walking through weeds'
sák-ǎ(n)	tv	'to seek, fetch s.t.'
sak'	AJ	'itchy'
sak'-ǎl-a(n)	iv	'to itch'
sak'-ǎ(n)	tv	'to empty s.t.'
sak'-el-a	n3a	'mange'
sal-(e(1))	IV	'to be cracked'
sám	ADV	'earlier today'
sám=i	adv	'earlier today'
sano	SpAJ	'healthy'
sap	NC	'length between outspread arms'
sáp-ǎn	n3a	'moan, pant, sigh, breathe'

sáp-ǎ(n)	tv	`to allow, permit s.t.'
sát-ǎ(n)	tv	`to lose, spend s.t.'
sáǎ'	NC	`about a meter length of rope or thread'
sáǎ'	N3a	`length'
sǎk	AJ	`white'
sǎk-es-a(n)	tv	`to whiten s.t.'
sǎk ha?	n3a	`clear water'
sǎk hut	n3a	`white of eye'
sǎk-k'elan	nl	`shiny white'
sǎk-mel-a(n)	iv	`to shine white, light'
sǎk-mel-an-i(n)	tv	`to make s.t. shiny white'
sǎkpán wah/sápán wah	n3a	`totoposte, a large thin tortilla'
sǎk=tok'	n3a	`egg, literally: white flint'
sǎk=tok' kafa	n3a	`brown egg'
sǎl-(e(1))	IV	`to grow scales'
sǎn	TV	`to reach out, stretch out s.t.'
sǎn-ǎ	aj	`stretched out'
sǎn-ah	nl	`stretching out'
sǎn-sǎn	aj	`well stretched out'
sǎn-ya	nl	`stretching out'
sápán wah/sǎkpán wah	n3a	`totoposte, a large thin tortilla'
sáǎ'	TV	`to lack water, deprive s.t. of water'
sǎ-sǎk-a	n2	`whiteness'
sǎ-sǎk behuk	Spn3a	`a white vine used as rope'
sǎt	TV	`to let s.t. go to waste'
sǎǎ'	TV	`to extend s.t. (e.g. hammock)'

sáw	nc	`result of a motion in weaving`
sáw	TV	`to twist s.t.`
sáwán	N3a	`jealousy, envy`
sáy-pát-a(n)	tv	`to reach s.t.`
sáy-pát-i(n)	tv	`to reach s.t.`
se?-en	adv	`quickly`
se?-e(n)	tv	`to force s.o.`
se?-es-a(n)/sep'-es-a(n)	tv	`to speed s.t. up`
se?is	Spnum	`six`
segun	Sprn	`according to`
sek'	nc	`pieces of cut off wood or cloth`
sek'	TV	`to cut with a machete`
sél-á(n)	tv	`to sliver`
sel-en	aj	`slivered`
sem-et	n3a	`comal, flat earthenware cooking pan`
sentabo	SpN3a	`centavo, Mexican monetary unit`
sep'	AJ	`heavy`
sép'	ADV	`rapidly, quickly, swiftly`
sep' bada	adv	`immediately`
sep'-es-a(n)	tv	`to speed s.t. up`
sep' hik'in	adv	`then, in a little while`
seruč	SpN3a	`saw`
serviyet	SpN3a	`table napkin`
si	Spsub	`if`
si?	N3a	`firewood`
sibik	N3b	`soot, charcoal, gunpowder`

sibik-a	n3b	`soot, charcoal, gunpowder`
sibik sibik-on	idiom	`I am covered with soot`
sih-d(n)	tv	`to give s.t. as a gift, to give s.o. in marriage`
sih-b-i(n)	tv	`to give s.t. as a gift`
sih-i	n3a	`offering`
sik-sik-na(l)	af	`sniffling`
sin	Spn	`without`
sina?=d1	TV	`to deny s.t.`
sinlah	ADV	`doubtfully`
sip'-t-a(n)	tv	`to free s.o. or s.t.`
sis	AJ	`cold`
sis	N3b	`cold`
sis-i	n3b	`cold`
sis-d(n)	tv	`to delouse s.o.`
sis-es-a(n)	tv	`to cool or freeze s.t.`
sit'-(o(l))	IV	`to swell`
soldä?u	SpN3a	`soldier`
solteru/sorteru	SpN1	`bachelor`
som	NC	`amount held in hand by ends`
som	TV	`to tangle s.t. up`
son	SpN3a	`musical instrument`
son-il te?	n3a	`reed flute`
sontle/contle	NC	`group of 400`
sop'	AJ	`light in weight`
sortero/sorteru/solteru	SpN3a	`bachelor`
sosá	N3a	`kneebone`

sos-o(n)	tv	`to spill s.t.'
sowo?	N3a	`lungs'
soy	P	`twisted'
soy=ta?	n3a	`intestines'
sub-u(n)	tv	`to offer, promise to give s.t. to God'
súb=k'et-i(n)	tv	`to demand s.t.'
sub-k'in	n3a	`fast'
suk/sut	P	`returned, turned around'
suk=pek-ǎ(n)	tv	`to deceive, make a mistake'
suk=pek-ya	n1	`mistake'
suk=ták'-ǎ(n)	tv	`to return s.t.'
súk-u(n)	tv	`to wipe off, clean s.t.'
suk-un	n2	`older brother, uncle, relative'
suk-un-i	n2	`close kinsman, relative in general'
súl	N3a	`fishscale, skin, inner layer of a shell'
sul=nǎk'	n3a	`stomachache'
súl-u(n)	tv	`to shed skin, to skin'
sum	N3a	`rope, plaited esparto rope'
sum-u(n)	tv	`to braid s.t.'
sup	AJ	`green, not ripe'
sup=t'an-ǎ(n)	tv	`to preach'
sus-u(n)	tv	`to scrape, shave s.o.'
sut-áǎ'-ǎ(n)	tv	`to cause s.o. to return'
sut=ǎl	TV	`to repeat s.t.'
sut=k'át-ǎ(n)	tv	`to return to ask'
sut-u(n)	tv	`to return s.t., to turn s.t. around'

swerte SpN3a `luck`

lux

š-(e(1))/h-(e(1)) IV `to go`

šah-lāw-e(1) n3a `crackling of weeds as animals go through`

šan N3a `palm`

šan-il aj `palm`

šāk TV `to mix`

šāk AJ `forked`

šāk/šek nc `forked things`

šāk=bih n1 `forked road`

šāk=te? n3a `forked tree or stick`

šāk=ti? n3a `jaw, chin`

šām-ba n3a `walk`

šām-bāl-a(n) iv `to walk`

šān-āp n3a `shoes`

šā-šāk te? n3a `sticks in a crossed position`

še(1) NC `sides`

šeh N3a `vomit`

šeh-e(n) tv `to vomit`

šek TV `to stab, poke, pierce`

šek P `forked`

šek=mek'-a(n) tv `to straddle, literally: forked embrace`

šel nc `torn pieces, pieces removed`

šel TV `to remove a piece`

šepu(t)	AJ	`lazy´
šet'-đ(n)	tv	`to break into small pieces´
šet'-el	aj	`broken´
šet'-em	aj	`broken´
šib-đ(n)	tv	`to comb´
ših-đp´	n3a	`comb´
šim.	NC	`small grainlike objects´
šink´e	N3a	`kerosene lamp´
šip´	pt	`male´
šiš	AJ	`ground´
šiš-k´a(k´)-b-i(n)	tv	`to spark´
šiš=k´ak´	n3a	`sparks, carbon´
šiš=nok´	n3a	`rag´
šit´-đ(n)	tv	`to tear into pieces´
šoh	TV	`to dress´
šoh=te?	n3a	`cane´
šom	NC	`bunches of clothes, tortillas in mouth´
šom	TV	`to fill the mouth´
šom-Ø=ti?	n3a	`mouthful´
šop-đ(n)	tv	`to reunite´
šo-šoy wah	n3a	`wheat bread´
šot´	nc	`pieces´
šot´	TV	`to tear, split´
šot´-om	aj	`broken´
š'ot´-o(n)	tv	`to tear, split´
šoy	TV	`to turn, coil´

- šoy P `turned, coiled, round`
 šoy nc `long, slender objects when partly rounded
 or in an arc shape`
 šoy-o(1) aj `coiled, round`
 šoy-ol-a(n) iv `to become round, encircle`
 ?u šoy-ol-an santo idiom `procession of saint`
 šoy-o(n) tv `to pasture, turn, circle, go around`
 šoy-t-a(n) tv `to turn of s.t.`
 šuč'-u(n) tv `to steal`
 šuč'-il aj `stolen`
 šuk-up' n3a `horns`
 šuk-šuk-na(1) af `sound of animals in weeds`
 šuk' TV `to dislocate a bone`
 šul TV `to break`
 šul-um aj `broken`
 šun N3a `trivet`
 šup-(o(1)) IV `to end`
 šup-u(n) tv `to finish s.t.`
 šup-s-e(n) tv `to finish, destroy s.t.`

t

- t-(e(1)) IV `to come`
 ta pt `for, belongs to`
 ta? pt + A2 `tā + ?a`
 ta? N3a `excrement`

ta?a	pro	`yours`
ta? ?ah luceru	nl	`meteor`
ta?a-la	pro	`yours (plural)`
ta?-a(n)	tv	`to defecate`
ta?=ha?	nl	`dirty water`
ta?=hut	n3a	`sand in eye`
ta?=ni?	n3a	`nasal mucus`
tah	ADV	`without reason, untrue, suddenly`
táh	TV	`to part, divide`
táh	nc	`half`
tah	P	`divided, halved`
tah-a(1)	aj	`face up`
tah-te?-kap	n3a	`clay`
tah-te-i(n)	tv	`to stumble`
tah-hám-law	af	`zooming`
tah-hám-láw-e(1)	n3a	`zooming`
tak'-a(n)	iv	`to ripen, mature`
tak'an	AJ	`ripe, mature`
ták'-án	aj	`ripe, mature`
ta=k'in	n3b	`money, metal, literally: the sun's excrement`
ta=k'in-i	N3b	`price`
tam	AJ	`deep, long`
tam-ál	aj	`long`
tam-ál ok	idiom	`tall`
tamá	pt	`inside`
tamal	SpN3a	`tamales`

tan	pt	`in`	
tan	sub	`let, that`	
tan	N3a	`limestone powder`	
tan	N2	`width`	
tan-d(n)	tv	`to injure`	
tan-et	idiom	`Hello`	
tan-tan-es-a(n)	tv	`to whitewash`	
tapanku?	SpN3a	`ceiling`	
táp'	N3a	`tumpline`	
taran taran	op	`church bells ringing`	
taw-dn	n3a	`contents`	
taw-dn-i(n)	tv	`to fit s.t. in`	
tay-d(n)	tv	`to rub, to press`	
táy-áp'	aj	`rubbed`	
tā	pt	`to, from, by`	
tā?ā1-i(n)	tv	`to hunt with animals`	
tā ča?	num	adv	`again`
tāk	pt + A1	`tā + k`	
tākā	ADV	`also`	
tāk-l-e(n)/tāg-l-e(n)	tv	`to help`	
tāk-l-aya	nl	`help`	
tāk'	AJ	`sticky`	
tāk'	TV	`to stick to`	
tāk'	TV	`to begin`	
tāk'a	pro	`mine`	
tāk'a-la	pro	`ours`	

tǎl	TV	`to touch´
tǎl-om	n3a	`touch´
tǎm-?-a(n)	iv	`to become tall, long´
tǎm-ǎh-ta(1)	af	`pounding noise from within´
tǎn-ǎk-n-e(1)	n3a	`noise´
tǎn-ǎk-n-e ?u luk´	idiom	`-up´ roar, growl´
tǎn-lǎw-e(1)	n3a	`ringing of a large bell´
tǎn-šin	adv	`in the midst, in the middle´
tǎn-šin ?ák´ǎp´	nl	`midnight´
tǎn-šin-a	n3a	`the middle´
tǎn-šin k´in	nl	`midday´
tǎn-šin ni? k´ǎp´	n3a	`middle finger´
tǎp-(o(1))	IV	`to go out (e.g. candle)´
tǎp	TV	`to douse, to put out by covering´
tǎp-ah	nl	`covering´
tǎp-ya	nl	`covering´
tǎp-ya-(a)h	nl	`covering´
tǎp-i?=p´et	n3a	`potlid´
tǎp-l-e(n)	tv	`to cover´
tǎs	TV	`to stretch´
tǎs-k-u(n)	tv	`to bring, to carry´
tǎs-kǎ-bi	aj	`brought´
tǎš-to	adv	`not yet, still´
tǎt	AJ	`thick (e.g. liquids)´
tǎ-tǎt	aj	`very thick´
tǎy	TV	`to streak´

te?	N3a	`tree, stick, wood´
te? ?ača	Spn3a	`ax handle´
te? ?otot	n3a	`house beam´
te?-e	n3a	`lots of trees, forest´
te?=k´ak´	n3a	`firebrand´
te?-l-e	nl	`forest, wild´
te?-l-e čap´	n3a	`honey´
te?-l-e čitam	n3a	`wild boar´
te? pitu?	Spn3a	`century plant pole´
te? te?-l-e čap´	n3a	`beehive´
tek	N3a	`furrow´
tek	NC	`plants and standing trees´
tek´	TV	`to stick s.t.´
tek´-đ(n)	tv	`to stomp´
tél-om	nl	`unmarried person, youth´
tél-om ?iš-ik	nl	`unmarried female´
tem	N3a	`trunk of wood´
tere-ya-(a)h	n3a	`tragedy´
teše	SpN3a	`scissors´
ti	ADV	`maybe´
ti?	N3a	`mouth´
ti?	m	`beside, by the side, at the edge´
ti? lăk´-a(n)	tv	`to tell a lie´
ti?=otot	n2	`door, literally: house´s mouth´
ti?=yak´	n3a	`lie, lying´
tič´	nc	`projections´

tič'	P	'sticking out'
tič'	TV	'to point at s.t., to stick out'
tič'-im	aj	'stiff, rigid'
tič'=k'in	nl	'praying mantis'
ti.empu/ti.empu	SpNl	'season, time'
tík-ďw	aj	'heat, warm'
tík-ďw-a(n)	iv	'to get warm'
tík-ďw-(e)s-a(n)/tik-w-es-a(n)	tv	'to heat s.t. up'
tik-in	aj	'dry'
tik-i(n)	tv	'to dry s.t.'
tik-in=oba	nl	'tuberculosis'
tik-w-a/tik-ďw-a	n3a	'fever'
tik'-ď(n)	tv	'to chase after s.t.'
til-(e(l))	IV	'to burn'
til-e(n)	tv	'to burn s.t.'
tin	P	'doubled over'
tip'-(e(l))	IV	'to wake up rapidly'
tip'-tip'-na(1)	af	'sound of a heart beat'
tis	N3a	'wind from anus'
to	ADV	'yet, not yet'
to?	N3a	'large leaf'
toben	ADV	'completed'
toh	TV	'to pay'
toh-en	aj	'paid'
toh-om	aj	'paid'
toh-op'	aj	'paid'

toh	AJ	`true, certain, straight, real`
toh-a	n2	`truth`
toh-lek'-i(n)	tv	`to prove, confirm`
toh=pa	n3a	`chest`
tok	TV	`to make noise`
tok'	N1	`flint`
tom	TV	`to pile s.t. up`
tomo	AJ	`little`
tom-oh-ta(1)	af	`piled up`
ton	TV	`to push s.t. down`
ton-te?-e(n)	tv	`to knock s.t. down`
top'-(o(1))	IV	`to burst`
top'-law	af	`bursting of cocoa beans when roasted`
top'-lāw-e(1)	n3a	`bursting of cocoa beans when roasted`
top'-o(n)	tv	`to burst s.t.`
toro	SpN3a	`bull`
totah	ADV	`just`
toɣ'-o(n)	tv	`to rub s.t.`
toy	NC	`little bit of liquid`
toyo ha?	nl	`puddle`
toy-o(n)	tv	`to pass a sickness`
tra	ADV	`well, think of that`
trampa	SpN3a	`spider web, trap`
trebe	N1	`ability`
trin=č-e(n)	tv	`to do s.t. out of spite`
tu	pt + A3	`tā + ?u`

tú(1)	NC	`general classifier for animate beings´
tuba	rn	`for, belongs to´
tuba	pro	`his, hers, its´
tubal-a(n)	iv	`to be a belonging´
tubal-i(n)	tv	`to belong to s.o.´
tub-u(n)	tv	`to spit´
tu k'in	sub	`when´
tuba-lop´	pro	`theirs´
tuč´	NC	`ears of corn´
tuč´-u(n)	tv	`to point out´
tuh	AJ	`stinky, stinking´
tuh-?-a(n)	iv	`to smell bad´
tuh-en	aj	`smelly´
tuhen ?ah ?uč	nl	`skunk, literally: stinking fox´
tuh=k´u?	n3a	`hiccough´
tuk	TV	`to bleed s.o.´
tuk-l-u(n)	tv	`to think´
tuk´	TV	`to break´
tuk´-u(n)	tv	`to break, cut down fruit´
tul	TV	`to fill´
tul-en	aj	`full´
tul-es-a(n)	tv	`to stuff, fill´
tum-lăw-e(1)	n3a	`drum beating´
tum-tum-na(1)	af	`sound of drum beating´
tun	N3a	`stone, rock´
t-un še	rn	`the other side´

túp' N3a `saliva`
 túp' TV `spitted`
 tus TV `to fit, accomodate`
 tuʒ'-(e(1)) IV `to go out`
 tyak'ó ADV `against s.t.`

t'

t'an N3a `word, language, voice`
 t'an-ǎ(n) tv `to speak`
 t'ǎb P `risen`
 t'ǎb-(o(1)) IV `to go up`
 t'ǎb-ǎ(1) aj `risen`
 (?a) t'ǎb-i k'in idiom `morning`
 t'ǎb-s-e(n) tv `to raise, lift, put up (e.g. a house)`
 t'ǎb-t-a(n) tv `to go up on s.t.`
 t'ǎr-ǎk-na(1) af `sound of s.t. rolling on the ground`
 t'ǎrǎn t'ǎrǎn op `sound of s.t. rolling on the ground`
 t'e? TV `to spread out`
 t'ele N3a `side`
 t'it'-ǎ(n) tv `to form a line`
 t'it'-l-a(n) tv `to form a line`
 t'ob TV `to throw stones`
 t'oh-lǎw-e(1) n3a `to knock (e.g. wood)`
 t'oh-o(n) tv `to knock, peck (e.g. on wood)`
 t'oh-t'oh-n-e(1) n3a `tapping or knocking on wood`

t'ok	rn	`with`
t'ok Dios š-ik-et	idiom	`Go with God`
t'oš	TV	`to break s.t.`
t'oš-el	aj	`broken`
t'ot'-o(n)	tv	`to gash, cut with a machete`
t'uč	TV	`to perch on s.t.`
t'uč	P	`to be perched`
t'uč-(e(1))	IV	`to perch, stop, squat`
t'uč-t-a(n)	tv	`to perch on s.t.`
t'uč-u(n)	tv	`to perch on s.t.`
t'ul	N3a	`drop`
t'u-t'ul ha?	n3a	`lots of drops of water`
t'ul	NC	`drops of thick liquids`
t'un	TV	`to cover`
t'un-i?=ha?	n3a	`rain cape`
t'un-i?=hut	n3a	`covered face, mask`
t'up	N3a	`calabash`
t'up=buš	n3a	`type of calabash vine`
t'us	P	`overinflated`
t'us-t-a(n)	tv	`to overinflate s.t.`

⊘

ǰa?-es-a(n)	tv	`to sweeten`
ǰah	AJ	`sweet`
ǰah-law	af	`sound of frying`

ɕah-lāw-e(1)	n3a	`sound of frying`
ɕah-m-a(n)	iv	`to be fried`
ɕah-ɕah-n-e(1)	n3a	`sound of frying`
ɕa-k'in	N3a	`asphalt`
ɕal-(e(1))	IV	`to grow spikes (eg. corn), split open`
ɕaɕi	N3a	`snakebite`
ɕay	NC	`pieces of skin (e.g. orange peels)`
ɕām-s-e(n)	tv	`to murder, kill, strangle`
ɕān	TV	`to pull`
ɕān	P	`pulled`
ɕān-t-a(n)	tv	`to pull on s.t.`
ɕāɕ	AJ	`hard`
ɕāɕ-ā1	aj	`hard`
ɕāɕ-?-a(n)	iv	`to become hard`
ɕāɕ-es-a(n)	tv	`to harden s.t.`
ɕāy-āk'	n3a	`chicle, gum`
ɕāy-ām	aj	`smooth, slippery`
ɕe?-e(n)	tv	`to prepare s.t.`
ɕe?-l-e t'an	n3a	`funny words`
ɕe?-ne(1)	n3a	`laughter, smile`
ɕe?-t-a(n)	tv	`to laugh at s.t.`
ɕem	AJ	`thin`
ɕem-?-a(n)	iv	`to become thin`
ɕen-ek'	nc	`calf of leg height (e.g. of water, mud)`
ɕep	TV	`to cut, wound`
ɕih	N3a	`smell of urine`

ɕih-ip'	aj	'new'
ɕik	TV	'to explain'
ɕik-b-e(n)	tv	'to explain s.t. to s.o.'
ɕik'-lāw-e(1)	n3a	'sound of breaking ribs'
ɕim	NC	'fruits or nuts on the branch or stalk'
ɕimim	N3a	'horse, tapir'
te?-l-e ɕimim	nl	'mountain cow'
(?u) ɕimim diablo	Spn2	'walking stick'
ɕin-ik-n-e(1)	n3a	'sound of metal on metal'
ɕin-lāw-e(1)	n3a	'sound of metal on metal, of bells'
ɕin-ɕin-na(1)	af	'sound of metal on metal'
ɕin-ɕin-n-e(1)	n3a	'sound of metal on metal, guitar'
ɕirin ɕirin	op	'sound of guitar, metal'
ɕop	P	'hanging'
ɕuk	AJ	'bad, not serviceable, old'
ɕuk	N3a	'hair (e.g. on head)'
ɕup	AJ	'bitter'
ɕup-s-e(n)	tv	'to end s.t.'
ɕuɕ	N3a	'body hair, wool, fur'
ɕuɕ-e	N3a	'lots of body hair'
ɕuɕ hut	n3a	'eyelash'
ɕuɕ muk'-l-e	n3a	'fluff'
ɕuɕ pat	n3a	'back hair'
ɕuɕ pul	n3a	'eyebrow'
ɕuɕ šāk'-ti?	n3a	'beard'
ɕuɕ ti?	n3a	'mustache'

ɕʉ-u(n) tv 'to repair, mend, re-plant'
 ɕʉ hi? n3a 'fine sand'
 ɕuy-um aj 'thick (e.g. liquids)'
 ɕuy-um kap' nl 'mud'

ɕ'

ɕ'a?-ta?-a(n) iv 'to be bewitched'
 ɕ'a?-ta?-i(n) tv 'to bewitch s.o.'
 ɕ'ah-b-e(n) tv 'to prick, bite s.t.'
 ɕ'ah-b-i(n) tv 'to advise'
 ɕ'ah-i(n) tv 'to straighten out, make clear, talk'.
 ɕ'ák N3a 'masonry'
 ɕ'ák N3b 'medicine, condiment, seasoning'
 ɕ'ák-a n3b 'seasoning'
 ɕ'ay nc 'rubbed blotches'
 ɕ'ay TV 'to blotch'
 ɕ'á?b TV 'to squash'
 ɕ'áb TV 'to kindle'
 ɕ'áká ADV 'complete, enough'
 ɕ'áká1-a(n) iv 'to be cured'
 ɕ'áká1-i(n) tv 'to cure s.o.'
 ɕ'áy P 'blotched'
 ɕ'am-á1 aj 'salty'
 ɕ'ay-am aj 'smooth, slippery'
 ɕ'e?he ?a ba idiom 'Excuse me'

ø'e?-lāw-e(1)	n3a	`cry of baby pigs`
ø'e?-ø'e?-n-e(1)	n3a	`cries of possums or piglets following their mother`
ø'eh	N3a	`left`
ø'eh	TV	`to move s.t.`
ø'eh k'āp'	n3a	`left hand`
ø'en	N3b	`bed, platform`
ø'en-a	n3b	`corn platform`
ø'en=te?	n1	`bridge`
ø'eø'	AJ	`thin (e.g. people)`
ø'ey-ā(n)	tv	`to slide`
ø'i?-tan	n3b	`ash`
ø'i?-tan-i	n3b	`ash`
ø'i?-ø'i?-na(1)	af	`cry of rats and bats`
ø'ib-ā(n)	tv	`to copy, write`
ø'ih-lāw-e(1)	n3a	`sound of toasting cacao when first put on a fire`
ø'il-ā(n)	tv	`to rip, strip (e.g. palm)`
ø'il-ip'	aj	`ripped, stripped`
ø'im-law	af	`whizzing sound`
ø'im-lāw-e(1)	n3a	`whizzing sound`
ø'in	N3a	`yucca, manioc`
č'upin ø'in	n3a	`2 yr. old yucca`
øih-ip' ø'in	n3a	`6 mo. old yucca`
ø'in-il wah	n3a	`tortilla of yucca`
ø'in kab-a	n3a	`yucca field`

ø'ip-ih-ta(1)	af	`cry of baby birds, chirping sounds`
ø'ip-law	af	`cry of baby birds, chirping sounds`
ø'ip-lāw-e(1)	n3a	`cry of baby birds, chirping sounds`
ø'ip-ø'ip-na(1)	af	`cry of baby birds, chirping sounds`
ø'ip'-ø	n3a	`writing`
ø'irih ø'irih	op	`sound of cacao beans bursting`
ø'it	NC	`long slender objects`
ø'ita?	AJ	`little, a little`
ø'om-ba	n3a	`rifle`
ø'om=pat	n3a	`spinal column`
ø'on	TV	`to shoot`
ø'on-o(n)	tv	`to believe, obey`
ø'on-tab-a	n3a	`diarrhea`
ø'op-ø'op-na(1)	af	`sound of removing s.t. from mud`
ø'op-ø'op-n-e(1)	n3a	`sound of removing s.t. from mud`
ø'ot-o(n)	tv	`to coil up, curl up, twist (e.g. burning paper)`
ø'o-ø'oy	aj	`smooth`
ø'u?-s-e(n)	tv	`to feed s.o.`
ø'u?-u(n)	tv	`to suckle, suck`
ø'uk	IV	`to slip`
ø'uk'u(m)	AJ	`softened`
ø'uk'u pok'o	aj	`very wet`
ø'ul-il t'an	n3a	`Spanish language, words; foreign language`
ø'ul-uk-na(1)	af	`peeled`
ø'ul-uk-n-e(1)	N3a	`peeling (e.g. tree bark)`
ø'ul-u(n)	tv	`to peel, skin`

ø'u-muy n3a 'anona, a type of tropical fruit'
 ø'un nc 'piles of things'
 ø'un P 'piled up'
 ø'up' AJ 'weak, lazy'
 ø'up'-l-e n3a 'weakness, laziness'
 ø'uø' N3a 'kiss'
 ø'uø'=eh n3a 'canines'
 ø'uy-u(n) tv 'to polish, smooth, slide'

w

wa? P 'standing upright, stopped'
 wa?-al win-ik nc 'man's height growth of corn'
 wa?=hul TV 'to push'
 wa?=šot'-o(n) tv 'to tear off s.t.'
 wa?=ta?-a(n) tv 'to stand and defecate s.t.'
 wa?-t-a(n) tv 'to stop, stand up s.t.'
 wa?toda ADV 'scarcely, right away'
 wa?-wa?-n-a(n) iv 'to be visited'
 wa?-wa?-n-e(l) n3a 'visit'
 wa?=wiš-i(n) tv 'to stand and urinate'
 wa?=yer-(o(l)) IV 'to fall feet first'
 wah N3a 'tortilla'
 wal-ah-t-a(n) tv 'to abandon s.t.'
 wal-äh-tä-bi aj 'abandoned'
 wan TV 'to let loose of s.t.'

wan-(e(1))	IV	`to hop, jump´
wǎh-wǎh-na(1)	af	`barking of dog´
wǎlte-na(1)	af	`turning over´
wǎlte-n-a(n)	iv	`to be turned over´
wǎlte-n-e(1)	n3a	`turning over´
wǎre	ADV	`I wonder´
wǎrin	AJ	`ready made´
wǎy-(e(1))	IV	`to sleep´
wǎy-ǎk´	n3a	`dream´
wǎy-ǎ(n)	tv	`to leave s.t. outside overnight´
wǎy-k´-i(n)	tv	`to dream´
wěč´-ǎ(n)	tv	`to throw out a liquid´
wěč´-lǎw-e(1)	n3a	`sound of throwing out water´
wěk´-lǎw-e(1)	n3a	`sound of water moving in a vessel´
wěk´-wěk´-na(1)	af	`sound of water moving in a vessel´
wel´-wěk´-n-e(1)	n3a	`sound of water moving in a vessel´
welt-e(n)	tv	`to turn over´
wi?	N3a	`root´
wi?na	N1	`scarcity, famine´
wi? te?	n3a	`tree root´
wič´	N3a	`wing´
wiču?	N3a	`dog´
wil-(e(1))	IV	`to fly´
wiline-a(n)	tv	`to knock overs.t.´
wina?-t-a(n)	tv	`to know s.t.´
win-ik	n3a	`man´

winik-i n3a `penis`
 win-k-r-e n3a `man, group of men`
 win-k-r-e čap` nl `bees`
 wirin ADV `already`
 wiš N3a `urine`
 wiš-i(n) tv `to urinate`
 woh OP `barking sound of dogs`
 woh-woh-n-e(1) n3a `barking of dog`
 wol/gol TV `to make a ball`
 wol/gol P `ball-shaped`
 wol=a?as/gol=a?as n3a `zapote, marmalade tree`
 wol-om/gol-om aj `ball-shaped`
 wol-t-a(n)/gol-t-a(n) tv `to make s.t. into a ball`
 wož`-(e(1)) IV `to float`
 woy TV `to heap s.t. up, pile up`

Y

ya? ADV `there, then`
 ya? P `lying down`
 ya?=i adv `there, then`
 yaba rn `underneath`
 yah N3a `pain, sickness, love, anger, suffering`
 yah-en aj `pure (e.g. water)`
 yah-b-i(n) tv `to love s.o.`
 yah-es-a(n) tv `to bother s.o.`

yah-i(n)	tv	`to love s.o., to suffer`
yah-in-bi	aj	`loved, sad`
yah-yah-n-e(1)	n3a	`sick, bothered`
yám-ď(n)	tv	`grind finely`
yač´	TV	`to squeeze s.t. (e.g. to see if firm)`
yǎl-bǎr-ip´	n3a	`womb`
yǎš	AJ	`blue, green, unripe`
yǎš-mel-a(n)	iv	`to shine green`
yǎ-yǎš-es-a(n)	tv	`to turn s.t. green`
yǎč´-ď(n)	tv	`to milk, wring milk`
ye?	TV	`to show, teach`
ye?-(e(1))	IV	`to eat`
ye?-e	n3a	`food, meat`
ye?-b-e(n)	tv	`to teach`
ye?ep´	N1	`dew`
yebe	AJ	`some`
yeč´	P	`thrown water`
yeč´-ď(n)	tv	`to spill liquids`
yeh/?eh	N3a	`cutting edge`
yel=at´	n3a	`testicles`
yel-ď(n)	tv	`to fan`
yen	TV	`to change`
yéntaš	SpN3a	`necklace`
yer-(o(1))	IV	`to fall`
yer-ip´	n3a	`daughter-in-law`
yeš	N3a	`pants`

yet-(e(1))	IV	`to bud, break out`
yet-i=k'in	idiom	`east`
yeø'	N3a	`reflection in water`
yoh-o(n)	tv	`to lay eggs`
yok	AJ	`dear, small, beloved`
yok=č'	TV	`to adopt`
yoko	AJ	`indigenous, native`
yoko=?ákum	n3a	`a type of sweet potato: guacamote`
yoko=buk'a	n3a	`white corn dough`
yoko=t'an	n3a	`Chontal language, Chontal words`
yoko ø'om-ba	n3a	`shotgun`
yol-i(n)	tv	`to love`
yol-ma	n3a	`liver`
yop'/yop'o	N3a	`leaf`
yop'-o	n2	`leaf`
yop'=te?	n3a	`tree leaf`
yop'=k'ug'	n3a	`tobacco`
yúk-ah-t-a(n)	tv	`to swing on s.t.`
yuk-me(1)	n3a	`swinging`
yúk-u(n)	tv	`to balance, swing`
yuk-un-bi	aj	`balanced`
yúk-uh-t-a(n)	tv	`to balance s.t.`
yúk-ul-n-a(n)	iv	`to be rocked`
yúk-ul-n-es-a(n)	tv	`to rock s.o.`
yum	N3a	`owner`
yum-ah-t-a(n)	tv	`to make dizzy`

yum-ah-tā-bi	aj	`dizzy`
yum-ah-t-ān-i(n)	tv	`to twirl`
yum=čap	nl	`bee`
yum=k'āp-es-a(n)	tv	`to wave one's hands`
yum=te?	nl	`termite`
yut	TV	`to squeeze, tighten, tie tightly`
yū'u	N3a	`perfume`
yuwa	idiom	`there is`

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