7H. Huamelultec Chontal

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0. INTRODUCTION. Chontal de Oaxaca is a Hokan language spoken by 9000 Indians in southern Oaxaca, Mexico. The name Tequistlatec (given to avoid confusion with the Mayan Chontal de Tabasco) properly applies to the dialect formerly spoken in the town of Tequisistlan and still surviving in the central core of mountain villages two days' trail from Tequisistlan. The other major dialect (here called Huamelultec) is spoken in the villages of Astata and Huamelula in the coastal plain south of the Tequistlatec area, a day and a half by trail from the Pacific seaport of Salina Cruz.

Tequistlatec (T) has been described by Belmar (1900) and by de Angulo and Freeland (1925), and is now being investigated further by Paul and Shirley Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics; Huamelultec (H) has been described only by Waterhouse (Waterhouse, 1949a,b, 1961, 1962), and a colleague (Waterhouse and Morrison, 1950). The present description is only of Huamelultec, with a brief mention of major dialect differences.

Huamelultec shows a high degree of acculturation and bilingualism with, however,

the Indian language as the language of choice and prestige in the adult community (Waterhouse, 1949a), and the structure of the Spanish spoken showing a high degree of Chontal influence (see Waterhouse, 1961). In contrast, Tequistlatec-speakers retain a high degree of monolingualism except in the villages closest to the Oaxaca-Isthmus highway.

Major dialect differences are in the phonemics and the grammar; there are many cognate vocabulary items. Some common expressions are completely different, however, making communication between speakers of the two dialects difficult. Common cognates are illustrated in the sentences for 'the child went to sleep': H, *šmánapa law'á*; T, *tišmáynaba law'á*;[1] major differences in the expressions for 'where are you going?': H, *xáape má ʔáypa*; T, *pégof céeya*.

Differences in phonemics and grammar may be summed up by saying that Huamelultec has more phonemic contrasts than Tequistlatec; Tequistlatec has more grammatical contrasts than Huamelultec.

Phonemic differences are voiced-voiceless stop contrast in H, free variation between them in T; alveopalatals *tʸ*, *lʸ*, * lʸ* in H, not in T (though both have *š*, *č*, and *ñ*); preglottalized voiced continuants in contrast with *ʔC* in H, not in T; phonemic *ŋ* in T, not in H.

Morphological differences are seen in both noun and verb classification. Both dialects distinguish between consonant-initial (*C*) and vowel-initial (*V*) nouns; in H, however, *C* nouns occur with definitive *el-*; *V* nouns with *l-*; whereas in T, *C* nouns are divided into those which occur with definitive *kal-* and those with *al-*, *V* nouns into those with *l-* and those with *ł-*. In H, verbs have no prefixes except first person marker *el-*; in T, verbs are divided into four classes, each of which has distinct person prefix sets for affirmative and negative, comple-

tive and incompletive. The H prefix has no cognates in T; the T Class I affirmative completive set is cognate with the H relational set of noun prefixes.[2]

The plan of this article is in the traditional order of phonemics, morphophonemics, morphology, and syntax. For a different order, see the full grammar (Waterhouse, 1962). The analysis of both the morphology and the syntax is based on Pike's tagmemic theory (K. L. Pike, 1954, 1955, 1958, 1960); the term tagmeme, however, and tagmemic formulas have been omitted. Rather, reference has been made to slot and function, which are tagmemic slot and function. For a full tagmemic presentation the reader is again referred to the complete grammar.

1.0. INVENTORY OF PHONEMES. Huamelultec segmental phonemes include 35 consonants and 5 vowels; suprasegmental phonemes are length and stress.

Consonant phonemes are shown on Table 1, arranged to show maximum contrasts within the consonant system. Major contrasts are between voiceless and voiced articulation on the vertical axis, and between central and lateral on the horizontal axis. Both voiceless and voiced central consonants show three-way vertical contrast between glottalic, continuant and obstruent types of articulation, and four-way horizontal contrast between labial, alveolar, alveopalatal, and velar points of articulation. Glottal stop contrasts with all the consonants but fits distributionally with voiceless glottalic rather than with voiceless obstruent.[3] Lateral consonants show two-way contrast between glottalic and continuant type of articulation in both voiceless and voiced categories, and be-

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[1] Data for Tequistlatec examples are phonetic, taken from my field notes. For the structural information I am indebted to Shirley Turner.

[2] T has a similar noun set as well, thus showing more overlap between the noun and verb classes than there is in H.

[3] Obstruent is defined for this language as any consonant which has stop, affricate or flap allophones in at least some environments. This definition is set up explicitly to allow us to handle voiceless spirants as a separate set from voiceless stops, since they form separate distributional sets.

TABLE 1

Voiceless	Central								Lateral	
1. Glottalic	f'		c'		$\check{c}'$	k'		$ʔ$	$ľ'$	
2. Continuant	f		s		$\check{s}$	x			l	$l^ʸ$
3. Obstruent	p	t	c	$t^ʸ$	$\check{c}$	k				

Voiced										
4. Glottalic	m'	n'			$\tilde{n}'$		w'		$ľ'$	
5. Continuant	m	n	$\check{r}$		$\tilde{n}$	y	w		l	$l^ʸ$
6. Obstruent	b	d	$'r$				g			

tween alveolar and alveopalatal points of articulation. Distributionally, central and lateral consonants combine into horizontal sets numbered 1–6 on Table 1.

Articulation is fortis for Set 4 (voiced glottalic), lenis for other sets. Alveopalatals $t^ʸ$, $ľ'$, $\tilde{n}'$, $\tilde{n}$, $l^ʸ$ are made with tongue blade, have no appreciable offglide. They contrast both with alveolars and with clusters with y, although in clusters the quality of the consonant before the y is alveopalatal: *tépa yáʔ* 'I bit it', *t^ʸépa* 'he bit it', *t^ʸyépa* 'fell'; *lóʔpa yá* 'I moved it', *ľóʔpa* 'he moved it', *miiľʸáʔ* 'tell him', *piľʸá* 'might kill'; *n'ápa yáʔ* 'I bought it', *ñ'ápa* 'he bought it', *peñ'úupa* 'brought', *ʔoyñ'yópa* 'put'; *nápa yáʔ* 'I hit', *ñápa* 'he hit', *fañú* 'seed corn', *lansañyú* 'the people'; *lóopa yáʔ* 'I played', *ľóopa* 'he played', *ľyóopa* 'took'.

1.1. PHONEME-SET DESCRIPTIONS. Set 1, voiceless glottalic, includes four glottalized affricates: *f'*, *c'*, *č'*, *ľ'*, one glottalized stop *k'*, and glottal stop *ʔ*. *f'ónlexmáʔ* 'ladder', *c'óos* 'cold', *č'óospa* 'it got cold', *ľíguy* 'he cleans', *k'éduy* 'he carries water,' *ʔawá* 'squash'.

Set 2, voiceless continuant, consists of spirants *f*, *s*, *š*, which have no marked allophones, *x* which varies freely from velar [*x*] to [*h*], [*axáʔ*] or [*aháʔ*] 'water,' and laterals *l* and *l^ʸ* which are almost frictionless between vowels (*koláʔ* 'say it', *miiľʸáʔ* 'tell him'), lightly fricative elsewhere (*imól* 'sheep', *askúlʸ* 'tortilla'). *fápa* 'he sowed', *šímpa yáʔ* 'I saw', *šímpa* 'he saw', *xápa* 'it melted,' *lóʔpa yáʔ* 'I moved it', *ľóʔpa*

'he moved it'. Voiceless laterals contrast with clusters of *x* plus lateral in *waláʔ* 'take it', *paxláʔ* 'wash it'; *kuľʸáʔ* 'give it', *kuxľʸáʔ* 'sell it'.

Set 3, voiceless obstruent, includes stops *p*, *t*, *t^ʸ*, *k*, and affricates *c*, *č*. *pánáʔ* 'river', *tánduy yáʔ* 'I'm pounding', *t^ʸánduy* 'he's pounding', *kánaʔ* 'when', *céepa yáʔ* 'I went', *čéepa* 'he went'.

Set 4, voiced glottalic includes preglottalized nasals *m'*, *n'*, *ñ'*, velar vocoid *w'*, and lateral *ľ'*. These contrast with phonemic clusters of glottal stop plus *m*, *n*, *ñ*, *w*, and *l*: *pémʔa* 'carry', *péʔma* 'believe'; *kán'eláʔ* 'leave it', *máʔneláʔ* 'fish it'; *sáñ'í* 'just so,' *xáʔñí* 'no'; *ľʸiw'á* 'his child', *xučíʔwáʔ* 'he is lying to you'; *xdal'e* 'that which', *náʔléʔ* 'tell it (pl.)'.

Set 5, voiced continuant, includes nasals *m*, *n*, *ñ*, trill *ř*, vocoids *y*, *w*, laterals *l*, *l^ʸ*. *n* has a velar allophone in word final and before velars, is alveolar elsewhere (*čin* 'quiet', *panxda* 'slowly', *náana* 'mother'). *w* is velar rather than labial, has no appreciable lip rounding. *mápa* 'died,' *náfpa yáʔ* 'I shook it', *ñáfpa* 'he shook it', *řénka* 'lame', *yáguy* 'he is making noise', *wáduy* 'he is carrying it', *láxláʔ* 'rinse it off', *ľʸáxpa* 'he rinsed it off'.

Set 6, voiced obstruent, includes flap *r*, and *b*, *d*, *g*, which have stop allophones after nasals, fricative elsewhere. *náanará* 'wasp'; *mbamáʔ* 'ten', *bíida* 'grandmother'; *kánduy* 'he is leaving it', *odóy* 'straight'; *pánguy* 'he is sitting', *páguy* 'she is washing it'.

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Vowels are of the common 2+2+1 pattern: *i, e, a, o, u. e* is mid front open; *a* has a raised allophone before *k'*; other vowels have no marked allophones and the symbols are used with their traditional phonetic values. *ipa* 'flower', *épa* 'sugar cane', *awá?* 'wind', *ñáylᵛoxmák'* 'daily', *odóy* 'straight', *uw'é* 'salt'.

Prosodic phonemes are length and stress. Each may occur independently on any vowel and in any position; they may also occur together.

Length does not alter the quality of the vowel with which it occurs; long vowels are only slightly longer than short vowels. The phonemic status of length is well-attested: *eltaxi* 'the crab', *awixti* 'sleepiness'; *lᵛégopa* 'he was hungry', *lᵛéegopa* 'he took him'; *páguy* 'she is washing it', *páaguy* 'it is dying down'; *tok'ém'a* 'raise', *took'ém'a* 'give a bite'; *tᵛúpa* 'he nursed', *tᵛúupa* 'soft-fibered basket'.

Stress may occur on adjacent syllables: *páná?* 'river', on alternate syllables: *pácedúy* 'he is doing it', or on only one syllable: *pulᵛáypa* 'carried in arms'. Since the multiple stress pattern was discovered at a late stage of field work, not all possible patterns have been checked as yet.

Changes in stress and length occur as suprafixes marking certain plurals. In addition, certain sentence types appear to have a type of overriding stress, and intonational lengthening, much longer than normal lengthening, occurs for emphasis in excited speech.

1.2.1. DISTRIBUTION IN SYLLABLES. All consonants occur as syllable onsets; *d* and *r*, however, are found only in non-initial syllables. Examples are given above.

Only sets 1, 2, and 5 occur as codas. All members of sets 1 and 2 so occur; of Set 5 all but *w* so occur, but *ñ* is found only in non-final codas: Set 1, *wáf'* 'tousled', *amác'* 'land', *ampúč'* 'wild squash', *?éek'* 'firewood', *axúĺ'* 'house', *aká?* 'bird'; Set 2, *xóf* 'open', *monĺ'és* 'mamey fruit', *kúš* 'curly', *fúx* 'white', *fol* 'wet', *askúlᵛ* 'tor-

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tilla'; Set 5, *tóm* 'stingy', *c'iñin* 'early morning', *xõřxóř* 'snore', *piñyuy* 'he is pounding', *paafúy* 'straight', *čičakwál* 'booth', *múlᵛmúlᵛ* 'muddy'.

All vowels occur as syllable peaks without either onsets or codas, as seen above. They all also occur as peaks of syllables with onsets, with codas, or with both. With onset: *pipa* 'it got burned', *pépa* 'he sent him', *šápa* 'it itched', *kópa* 'he said', *kúpa* 'he gave it'. With coda: *inxa* 'wild pig', *énteda* 'liver', *ámpa* 'wide spaced', *onsáale* 'wildcat', *uñtᵛášpo* 'scorpion'. With both onset and coda: *tᵛišmú* 'shrimp', *péspa* 'weighed', *pánguy* 'he is sitting', *kónta* 'heavy', *kúxpa* 'he sold it'.

1.2.2. CV SEQUENCES. The distribution of consonants next to vowels shows certain systematic gaps, as well as certain sporadic gaps due to low frequency of occurrence. The following consonants are found next to all vowels: *f', k', ?, ĺ'; f, š, x; p, tᵛ, č, k; m'; m, ñ, lᵛ; b, d, r, g*. It will be noted that most alveopalatal consonants show unlimited distribution next to vowels; those which have some limitation are *č'*, which does not occur before *e* nor next to *o*, *lᵛ* which does not follow *e*, and *ñ'* which does not precede *o*. Alveolar consonants are almost all restricted in distribution with regard to high vowels: *c'* and *s* do not follow *u*; *ĺ, t, n',* and *l* do not occur next to *i* or *u*; *c* does not occur before *i* nor next to *u*; *n* does not precede *i* or *u*. Vocoid *y* does not precede *i*; *w* and *w'* do not precede *o* or *u*. Sporadic gaps due to low frequency of occurrence of either consonant or vowel are the non-occurrence of *w'* and *ĺ'* after *e*, of *ĺ'* before *o* and *u*, and of *ř* next to *i* or after *a*.

1.2.3. CONSONANT CLUSTERS of two or three occur as complex onsets, and clusters of two as complex codas. Clusters may be viewed as basic, that is, part of the stem; or derived, that is, resulting from the prefixation or suffixation of some morpheme consisting of a single consonant. Derived clusters forming complex onsets result from prefixing the first person allomorph *l-* to person-marking verbs. Derived clusters forming complex

codas result from suffixing plural allomorph -*ʔ* to certain nouns ending in *n*, or *l*, or suffixing plural allomorph -*yʔ* to certain nouns ending in vowel *a*.

Basic clusters of two occurring as complex onsets consist of any set but 4 as initial member, and any set as second member, with restrictions as to specific combinations. Thus, Set 1 only precedes 5, and the only combination found is *k'w*. Of Set 2, only *s* and *š* occur in complex onsets, and precede any set but 2 and 6, with *k'* and *ʔ* the sole representatives of Set 1, giving clusters *sk'*, *šk'*, *sʔ*, *šʔ*. 2 + 3 combinations have only stops as second members, with specific combinations *sp*, *st*, *sk*, *šp*, *štᵛ*, *šk*. In 2 + 4 combinations *m'*, *n'*, *ñ'*, and *w'* occur, with specific clusters *sm'*, *sn'*, *sw'*, *šm'*, *šñ'*, *šw'*. In 2 + 5 combinations *m*, *n*, *ñ*, *y*, and *w* occur, with specific clusters *sm*, *sn*, *sy*, *sw*, *šm*, *šñ*, *šw*. Only the stop members of Set 3 occur as first member of clusters, with only Set 5, *w*, *y*, and Set 6, *r*, as second member. Specific combinations of 3 + 5 are *pw*, *tᵛy*, *kw*; of 3 + 6, *tr*. Only *m*, *n*, *w*, *lᵛ* of Set 5 occur as first member, and only Set 2, *x*, Set 5, *y*, and Set 6, *b*, *d*, with specific combinations 5 + 2 *wx*, 5 + 5 *lᵛy*, 5 + 6 *mb*, *nd*. The only combination with Set 6 as first member also has 6 as second member and is a loan:[4] 6 + 6 *br* (*brúxu* 'witch-doctor'). Examples of many of these may be seen in later sections.

In basic clusters of three as complex onsets, the first member is Set 2 *s* or *š*, the second, Set 1 *k'* or Set 3 *k*, the third, Set 5, *w*: *sk'w*, *šk'w*, *skw*, *škw*.

Basic clusters forming complex codas have Set 5 *m* or *n* as first member, and Set 1 *f'* or *k'* or Set 2 *s* as second member, with specific combinations 5 + 1 *mf'*, *nk'*, 5 + 2 *ns*.

Complex interludes consist of two or three consonants. Combinations are more numerous and varied than those found in onsets or codas: 86 basic cluster types as interludes, over against 36 onsets and 3

Basic clusters of two occurring as interludes, like onsets, consist of any set but 4 as first member and any set as second member, with restrictions as to specific combinations. With a few exceptions, all clusters found as onsets and codas are also found as interludes. In addition, the following types occur: Set 1 precedes 2, 3, and 5, with the only 2 + 1 combination *ʔš*, and the only 2 + 3 *ʔp*. Combinations of 1 + 5 are *f'n*, *č'w*, *k'n*, *k'l*, *ʔn*, *ʔñ*. Set 2 precedes all sets but 6. The 2 + 1 combinations are the same as those found as onsets; the only 2 + 2 is *xs*. Combinations of 2 + 3 are *ft*, *ftᵛ*, *xč*, *lt*, *lᵛk*; 2 + 4 combinations are the same as onsets. Combinations of 2 + 5 are *fm*, *fñ*, *xm*, *xn*, *lm*, *lw*, *lᵛñ*. The only combination with Set 3 is 3 + 5 *cy*. Set 5 precedes all sets. Combinations of 5 + 1 are *nc'*, *nč'*, *nl'*, *lʔ*; of 5 + 2 are *nx*, *nl*, *ñs*, *lf*; 5 + 3, *mp*, *nt*, *nc*, *nk*, *ñtᵛ*, *ñč*, *ylᵛ*, *lp*; 5 + 4, *mm'*, *yw'*, *nl'*; 5 + 5, *mm*, *nn*, *nw*, *nl*, *ñy*, *ym*, *yñ*, *yw*, *ylᵛ*; 5 + 6, *ng*, *yg*. The only combination with Set 6 is 6 + 6 *dr*, found only in a loan.

Basic clusters of three as interludes, in addition to all complex onsets except *šk'w* include the following types: 5 + 1 + 5 *yʔlᵛ*, 5 + 2 + 3 *nxtᵛ*, 5 + 2 + 5 *mxm*, *yxm*, *yxñ*, 5 + 3 + 5 *nkw*, *ykw*.

Vowel clusters are extremely rare, and occur only in free alternation with combinations of *yV*: *pacedáxkuy/pacyáxkuy* 'he does stupidly'; *miónawa/myónawa* 'he goes on repeating'.

2. MORPHOPHONEMICS. The following morphophonemic processes are operative in Huamelultec: (1) assimilation, (2) unvoicing, (3) palatalization, (4) glottalization, (5) dissimilation, (6) intercalation, and (7) elision.

(1) Assimilation. Nasals assimilate to the point of articulation of the following consonant: *siñyuy* 'see', *simpa* 'saw', *tánduy* 'pound', *támpa* 'pounded', *lánsañyúʔ* 'the people', *lambamúukwéʔ* 'the twelve'. Only *n* occurs before velars, but it is the velar al-

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[4] Loanwords in common use are included in the description although no attempt has been made to be exhaustive.

lophone which occurs: *pángúk'* 'seated', *sinwáypa* 'came to see', *lánk'epa* 'chose'.

(2) Unvoicing of *g* occurs before consonants: *páguy* 'washes', *páxpa* 'washed', *paxwáypa* 'came to wash', *pánguy* 'sit', *pánxpa* 'sat', *poygɨ* 'cry', *póyxpa* 'cried'.

(3) Palatalization occurs after high vowels and *y*: *lotáata* 'your father', *lʸitʸáata* 'his father', *laytʸáata* 'my father', *kónapa* 'finally said', *kúñapa* 'finally gave', *faɬáʔ* 'sow it', *pulʸáʔ* 'dig it', *miilʸáʔ* 'tell him', *paylʸáʔ* 'give it to him'. Palatalization occurs across glottal stop: *wiʔlʸáʔ* 'look'. While it occurs with stops, nasals and laterals universally, it does not occur with affricates: *lʸicáɬ* 'his roughness', and occurs with sibilants in some cases but not in others: *lʸišʔápi* 'his older female relative', but *lʸisáñyúʔ* 'his folks'.

(4) Glottalization occurs when certain morphemes beginning with or consisting of glottal stop follow morphemes ending in a voiceless continuant. The resulting glottalized consonant is the corresponding glottalized affricate or stop: *xoloxóf* 'trousers', *xoloxóf'* 'pl.'; *mónl'és* 'mamey fruit', *mónl'éc'* 'pl.'; *piš-* 'get wet', *pič'e-* 'make wet'; *páaxpa* 'got calm', *páak'epa* 'made calm', *imóɬ* 'sheep', *imóɬ'* 'pl.'

(5) Dissimilation (in combination with palatalization) occurs in the general imperative suffix *-Laʔ*. Following stems with high vowels, the lateral is alveopalatal; after low vowels it is alveolar; after voiced sounds it is voiceless; after voiceless sounds it is voiced: *pulʸáʔ* 'dig it!', *faɬáʔ* 'sow it!', *kanɬáʔ* 'leave it!', *piñlʸaʔ* 'pound it!', *panxláʔ* 'sit down!', *fušlʸáʔ* 'blow it!'

(6) Intercalation of velars occurs mainly between words, but is sometimes also found within words, especially the intercalation of *g* between vowels: *Romego* for 'Romeo, proper name'. The choice of velar is on the following pattern: between voiceless consonant and vowel, *k* occurs: *kúškawxáx* 'curlytop' (*kúš* 'curly', *awxáx* 'head'), *ñáylʸoxmák'* *kilʸíñe* 'every day'. Between

vowel or *y* and vowel, *g* occurs: *elc'ée gamác'* 'the first of the year', *kúgay gápiʔe* 'they-sell eggs'. Between vowel and consonant, *x* occurs: *ɬtépax mílʸa* 'a dog bit me', *lakwéx bořáču* 'the drunkard', *ñ'áč'ipax tónto* 'too stupid'. This tendency is reflected, but not completely operative, in certain sets of allomorphs of suffixes: *kogómpa* 'said again', *paʔkómpa* 'came again', *piñyómpa* 'received again'.

(7) Elision occurs between words according to the following pattern: If the second word begins with a prefix *el-* or *el-* the prefix vowel is lost following another vowel: *pánxa lkangim'a* 'can take-me-out', *ñúlʸi lʸasyénto* 'one seat'. In other cases, when two vowels come together, the final vowel of the first word is lost: *ɬtép-úñči* 'an ant bit me', *táw-itʸíñe* 'first day', *lákw-išñáxa* 'the drunkard'.

3.0. WORD-CLASSES. Huamelultec has four classes of words: verbs, nouns, pronouns, and particles. Divisive formal criteria for each class are: verb stems co-occur with aspect suffix class 410;[5] noun stems co-occur with definitive prefix 41; pronoun stems have unique pluralizers; particle stems do not co-occur with affixes. Divisive functional criteria are: verbs function only as predicates in certain types of classes; nouns occur as predicates of other types of clauses, also as subject, goal, recipient, means and referent; pronouns occur only as subject, goal or recipient; particles are divided into a number of function classes according to the slots they fill.

3.1. VERBS are divided into four major form classes: intransitive, transitive, recipient, and process. Intransitives are not marked for person, transitives are marked for goal, recipients for indirect object (recipient), process verbs for subject. These classes differ as to base.

Verbs are further divided into six function

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[5] For the decade system of classifying affixes I am indebted to C. F. Voegelin. The particular modification of the system used here is similar to that of Shell (1957).

classes: active, reflexive, stative, imperative, hortatory, and subordinate. These classes differ formally as to margin, and functionally as to type of predicate slot they fill.

Verbs are composed of obligatory base plus obligatory margin.

3.1.1. VERB BASES consist of stem plus optional modal suffix class 300. Verb margin consists of aspect-mode-person suffix classes 400 and 500.

Verb stem includes root, adjunct suffix class 100, derivational suffix class 200.

Six classes of roots occur in verb stem: intransitive, transitive, recipient, process, neutral, and noun. Neutral roots are of three subclasses: (1) those with which class 200 is obligatory, (2) those which function unaffixed in Description predicate, but must have class 200 to function in Action predicate, (3) those which occur with 200 as verb stem and with prefix class 10 or 20 as noun stem.

Adjunct suffixes occur with any class of root, do not usually change the class of verb root. They add some specialized meaning to the basic notion of the verb. Class 110 occurs with transitive classifier roots (TCR) as well as with other roots; class 120 does not occur with TCR.[6] Class 110: -*ay* 'give', -*f* 'raise', -*f'i* 'put down', -*g* 'lower', -*ki* 'remove', -*goy* 'remain', -*m'i* 'put in', -*ñi* 'receive'. Class 120: -*ču* 'above', -*ing* 'edge', -*loo* 'motion', -*may* 'settled', -*ñug* 'take hold', -*ol* 'wide-spaced', -*čo* 'together', -*way* 'stooping'.

Suffix class 200 occurs obligatorily to form stems of different class from the root. It includes three subclasses: 210, intransitivizers -*ko*, -*ay*; 220, transitivizers -*ʔe*, -*m'e*, -*ʔi*, -*o*; 230, recipientizers -*ʔin*, -*n'e*.

Intransitive stem denotes simple action and consists of intransitive root, root plus

100, or neutral root, process root, or noun root plus 210. *či-* 'grind', *may-* 'go'; *xulaf'*- 'dry up', *w'ang-* 'walk along edge'; *tilay-* 'shine', *mesko-* 'go bad', *fuxko-* 'get white'.

Transitive stem denotes action toward goal and consists of transitive root, alone or with suffix class 220 or 230; root plus 100; intransitive, process or neutral root plus 220. *kan-* 'leave', *xas-* 'break'; *xac'e-* 'crush', *peʔne-* 'believe someone'; *ñilay-* 'sketch', *xasñi-* 'split in two'; *xulʔe-* 'cause to dry up'; *mesm'e-* 'ruin', *xučiʔ-* 'deceive'.

Recipient stem denotes action toward recipient (indirect object) and comprises two subclasses: those which occur in context with goal as well as recipient and those which do not occur with goal. It consists of recipient root, TCR plus 100, verb root or neutral root plus 230, transitive root plus 220. *n'ax-* 'buy', *poy-* 'come out'; *pay-* 'give'; *xoyʔne-* 'call for', *mayʔiñ-* 'take to', *čiñ'i-* 'grind for', *tenk'iñ-* 'ring for'; *kuk'i-* 'sell to'.

Process stem denotes action performed by subject and consists of process root, or intransitive or neutral root plus 100. *xul-* 'get dry', *mu-* 'go down'; *xoygi-* 'fade', *mulᵛaf'*- 'sweat'.

Modal suffix class 300 is optionally added to verb stem to form verb base. There are eight classes of these; 310, -*k'oy* 'augmentative'; 320, -*ale* 'indefinite object, reciprocal'; 330, -*gax* 'derogatory'; 340, -*gon* 'iterative', 350, -*na* 'finalitive'; 360, -*go*, 'definite'; 370, 'passives', -*nay*, -*goy*, -*yuu*; 380, 'movational', -*way* 'motion toward', -*s* 'motion away'. Not more than four of these can occur together, usually not more than two or three. When they occur together, it is in the relative order given. Classes 350, 360 and 370 are mutually incompatible; others are mutually compatible. 310, 320, 350 and 380 may occur verb final: the base so occurring fills a description predicate slot rather than an action one, since verb margin is obligatory to action predicative verb. Examples: *w'ak'óy* 'he is walking all over', *čufk'óypa* 'he entered inside'; *kégalé* 'he barbers'.

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[6] TCR includes the following roots which in their simple form indicate fetching an object of the stipulated shape: *č'u-* 'grains', *k'e-* 'water', *lee-* 'animate' or 'long thin object', *pe-* 'small object', *wa-* 'food or something carried in a round container'.

xáak'alepá? 'they answered each other'; *maygáxpa* 'he went off stupidly'; *maygómpa* 'he went again'; *páyñapa* 'he finally gave it to him', *máyña* 'he had gone', *mágopa* 'he died'; *xasnáypa* 'it got ripped', *čogóypa* 'it got spilled', *puyúupa* 'it was dug'; *wi?wáypa* 'he came to look at it', *wi?kišpa* 'he went to look at it', *t^véxmáš* 'it fits well'. Examples of combinations: *síñalyómm'é?* 'we shall see each other again' (*siñ-* 'see'), *pánxkaxkónspa* 'he stupidly went off and stayed again'.

3.1.2. VERB MARGINS consist of suffix classes 400 and 500. Class 500 suffixes are mutually exclusive and final; class 400 may be followed by 550, 560 or 570.

Class 410 indicates aspect: *-pa* 'punctiliar', *-m'a* 'incompletive', *-ta* 'incompletive movational', *-uy* 'durative', *-wa* 'continuative', *-xmaa* 'customary'. *kópa* 'said', *wi?ma* 'will see', *wi?t^va* 'will go see', *kódúy* 'says', *šmánawá* 'sleeps', *páłhaa* 'it is clear'.

Class 420 indicates 'imperative': *-la?* 'general imperative', *-ski* 'movational imperative', *-wata* 'requestive'. *pánxlá?* 'sit down', *kánski* 'go leave it', *łnáy?watá* 'please let me know'.

Class 430 indicates 'subjunctive': *-da*. *pánxda* 'might sit'. A prefix *en-* (*em-* or nasal alone) may optionally co-occur with this suffix with no discernible addition or change of meaning. Classes 510, 520 and 530 are plurals of 410, 420 and 430: 510, *-pa?*, *-m'e?*, *-ta?*, *-ay?*, *-way?*, *-xmay?*;[7] 520, *-le?*, *-ca?*, *-wata?*; 530, *-gu?*. Classes 510 and 520 replace 410 and 420; 530 follows 430. *šmápá?* 'they slept', *fám'é?* 'they will sow', *páxtá?* 'she will go wash it', *kodáy?* 'they say', *póyxñawáy?* 'they are shouting', *šyóxmáy?* 'they laugh'; *sáawáyl^vé?* 'come and eat!',

kancá? 'go leave it!', *náy?watá?* 'please advise'; *pánxdagú?* 'they might sit'.

Class 540 indicates 'stative': *-a* 'singular', *-olenna?* 'plural'. *kása* 'stands'. *xulíngolénná?* 'they lean'.

Class 550 indicates 'resultant': *-k'* 'singular', *-eeda?* 'plural'. *símpík'* 'seen', *pángeedá?* 'seated'.

Class 560 indicates 'person': 'first', *l-* 'singular', *-nga?* 'plural'; 'second', *-o?* 'singular', *-lwa?* 'plural'; 'third', singular unmarked, *-la?* 'plural'. With transitive verbs, 560 marks 'goal', with recipient verbs 'recipient', with process verbs 'subject'; *napónga?* 'he hit us', *páypó?* 'he gave it to you', *lsóxta* 'I got tired'.

Class 570 indicates 'reflexive': *-si* 'singular', *-lči* 'plural'. *w'áposł* 'he walked by himself', *?éedelčí?* 'they do it to themselves'.

Suffixes 512 *-m'e* and 513 *-ta?* indicate 'hortatory' when used without subject: *?áym'é?* 'let's go', *sánsetá?* 'let's go see the fun'.

3.2. NOUNS are divided into two major form classes: free and bound. These are further subdivided into those which begin with consonant and those which begin with vowel. Bound nouns must occur with prefix *a-* or with a relational prefix. Prefix *a-* precedes initial consonant, replaces initial vowel. Vowel-initial free nouns occur with combiner *p-* in the relational form, vowel-initial bound nouns with combiner *n-*. Consonant-initial nouns do not occur with combiner.

Nouns are further divided into five function classes: quality, location, person, time, and item. Quality nouns are those which function as Quality predicate. Location nouns are those which co-occur with locative prefix to function in Location slot. Person nouns are those which co-occur with vocative prefix to function in Vocative slot. Time nouns are those which occur in Time slot. Item nouns are those which co-occur with definitive prefix to function in Subject or Goal slot, or without prefix in Means slot,

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[7] An alternate analysis for some of these plural forms would be to consider that they are made up of the singular plus a pluralizer, e.g., *-pa?* = *-pa* + *-?*. Such a solution makes for fewer plurals but does not allow for a neat statement of distribution of the class, and one is still left with the handling of the suffixes which are genuinely suppletive, hence the solution given in the body of this article has been considered preferable.

but which do not belong to any of the other classes.

Nouns are composed of obligatory stem plus optional margin.

3.2.1. NOUN STEMS consist of noun root, root plus nominalizer, verb form plus nominalizer, noun-noun compound, or verb-noun compound with prefix *a-*.

There are five nominalizing affixes: *ap-* 'likeness', and *an-* 'item', which occur only with noun or neutral roots; prefix *in-* 'doer', suffixes *-da* 'agent', and *-f* 'division', which occur only with verb forms; prefixes *a-* and *i-* 'quality', and suffix *-xma?* 'implement', which occur with noun or neutral roots and verbs. Examples: *apekál* 'skinny' (*ekál* 'bone'), *ánkrús* 'cross', *ánskwilʸé* 'adobe'; *inšó?edá* 'singer', *páñif* 'half', *a?ú* 'eye', *apí?* 'ashes', *ipa* 'flower', *ifú?* 'boil'; *awêxmá?* 'mirror', *táfûxma?* 'broom'.

Examples of noun roots: *méxul* 'hammock', *ptime* 'plate', *íkušíš* 'smoke', *úunkwa* 'fire', *álewá?* 'gourd cup'; of compounds: *té?asáns* 'elder person', *líñíngaxá?* 'cool drink'; *apóykó?* 'cry-baby', *amífáy?ú* 'blinker'.

3.2.2. NOUN MARGINS consist of prefixes indicating definitive, locative, vocative, and relational; and infixes, suffixes and suprafixes indicating plural.

The definitive prefix has allomorphs *l-* before vowels, *el-* (singular) and *lan-* (plural) before consonants: *laxúl'* 'the house', *elméxul* 'the hammock', *lánsañyú?* 'the people'.

The locative prefix has allomorphs *m-* before vowel (with lengthening of the vowel), and *max-* before consonant: *máaxúl'* 'in the house', *máxméxul* 'in the hammock'.

The vocative prefix has allomorphs *m-* before vowel, *ma?-* before consonant: *mákán'o?* 'woman!', *má?múlʸi* 'boy!'

The relational prefixes consist of three elements: 'person possessors', *ay-* 'first person', *o-* 'second', *i-* 'third'; 'pluralizer' of person *l-* (with *a-* allomorph of *ay-*), 'combiners' *p-* for free vowel-initial nouns, and *n-*

for bound vowel-initial nouns. Noun plus relational prefix functions as Relation predicate: *áyméxul* 'I have a hammock', *ópíïmm'a* 'you have sense', *íñeskúlʸ* 'he has a tortilla', *álnes?é* 'we have corn gruel'. When the relational is preceded by the other prefixes, the resultant noun functions in the slot appropriate to simple noun marked by the other prefixes: with definitive, as subject or object: *líñeskúl* 'his tortilla'; with locative in Location slot: *máyméxul* 'in my hammock'; with vocative in Vocative slot: *máyw'á* 'my child!'

Pluralizing infixes are *-l-* (*akáln'ó?* 'women'), *-n-* (*mínlʸé?* 'dogs'), *-we-* (*fáwexmá?* 'nets'). Pluralizing suffixes are *-?* (*mulʸí?* 'boys'), *-y?* (*aw'áy?* 'children'), *-e?* (*áywalé?* 'horses'), (*aywalá* 'horse'), *-la?* (*apóykolá?* 'cry-babies'), *-da?* (*w'áatedá?* 'brides'), *-yu?* (*lánsañyú?* 'the people'), *-čí?* (*asmačí?* 'ears'). Pluralizing suprafixes are shift of stress (*añčupí?* 'baskets', *añčúpi?* 'basket'), and addition of length (*amáax'* 'years', *amác'* 'year'). Pluralizers may be combined; the most common combination is suffix *-?* plus shift of stress and loss of length: *apalʸú?* 'messengers' (*apáalʸu* 'messenger'), the most complex, infix plus suffix plus shift of stress and loss of length: *awaltế?* 'girls' (*awáata* 'girl').

3.3. PRONOUNS are divided into two major form classes: personal and demonstrative. Personal and demonstrative pronouns belong to the same function class, filling subject, goal, recipient, and referent slots, but not predicate.

Personal pronouns are *iyá?* 'I', *imá?* 'you'. They co-occur with the unique pluralizer *-nk'*: *iyánk'* 'we' (exclusive), *imánk'* 'you (pl.)'. The inclusion of the first person plural pronoun indicates exclusive, the absence of the pronoun marks inclusive. There is no third person pronoun; its function is filled by a demonstrative or by a third person relational noun *ílʸuwá?* 'himself alone' (literally, 'his otherness'), *ílʸuwá?* 'themselves alone'.

Demonstrative pronouns are composed of first elements and second elements. Members of either set may occur alone, or certain first and second elements may occur together, or with certain particles or personal pronouns between the two elements.

First elements are: *ga-* 'this', *na-* 'these', *xaa-* 'which', *tʷii-* 'that', *tya-* 'that one'. Second elements are: *-ʔa* 'here', *-ge* 'person', *-xne* 'persons', *-lʔe* 'thing'. Particles which occur between them are: *ñʔi* 'just', *ča* 'now', *la* 'perhaps', *sa* 'so', *leʔ* 'only', *imáane* 'the very'. Examples of separate elements: *gá lkóofiʔ* 'this pot', *tyá lakán'óʔ* 'that woman'; *máypa gé* 'he went', *lakán'ó lʔé* 'it belongs to the woman'.

Combinations: *gáʔa* 'this one', *tʷiige* 'that one', *xáaxne* 'which ones', *tʷiilʔe* 'that thing'.

Examples with particles: *tʷiiñʔixne* 'the same ones', *tʷiičage* 'that one there', *ságe* 'that one', *sáxne* 'those'.

3.4. PARTICLES are divided into eleven function classes, differing according to the slots they fill in the clause.

Modal particles fill mode slot: *kʔá* 'just', *lék'* 'only', *máxči* 'apparently'.

Locative particles fill location slot: *lʔá* 'over there', *xífa* 'on top', *kulʷiʔ* 'far', *fáʔa* 'here', *sáxpe* 'there'.[8]

Temporal particles fill time slot: *čiča* 'now', *wxéwilʷi* 'a while ago', *kánna* 'sometimes'.

Negative particles fill negative slot: *máa* 'not', *ñi* 'not even', *xáʔñi* 'no'.

Interrogative particles fill introductory interrogative slot: *née* 'who', *tés* 'what', *tʷiñči* 'why', *kánaʔ* 'when', *táxna* 'how much'.

Exclamatory particles fill exclamatory and response slots: *xée* 'yes', *inkóʔ* 'who knows', *xáanaʔ* 'fine', *čuwáʔ* 'like so much'.

Imperative particles fill imperative slot: *kálʷi* 'bring it here', *náʔké* 'leave it alone', *lixéero* 'hurry up'.

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[8] The last two locatives are comparable in form to the demonstrative pronouns; they are classed as particles rather than pronouns because they do not participate in pronoun pluralization, the criterion for the pronoun class.

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The quotative particle fills quotative slot: *náaʔ* 'it is said'.

The conditional particle fills introductory conditional slot: *xóola* 'if'.

The hortatory particle fills hortatory slot: *xinsa* 'let's go'.

The connective particle fills connective slot: *ʔáytʷa* 'and'.

4.0. TYPES OF SYNTACTIC UNITS. Huamelultec has five kinds of syntactic units: words, phrases, clauses, sentences, and discourse.

Words are constituent parts of phrases and clauses, can constitute sentences only of an exclamatory or dependent type.

Phrases are composed of two or more words, enter into clauses, can constitute sentences only of a dependent type and in conversation.

Clauses are of two types: principal and subordinate. Principal clauses can constitute independent sentences; subordinate clauses can constitute only dependent sentences and that only in conversation.

Sentences are of two major types: independent and dependent. Independent sentences can constitute a complete narrative; dependent sentences occur only as response within conversation, or in sequence within narrative.

Discourse is of two types: conversation and narrative. Conversation involves the alternation of two or more speakers; narrative is the speech of a single individual at a given time.

4.1. PHRASE TYPES. There are two major classes of phrases: noun phrases and verb phrases.

Noun phrases are divided into five subclasses: qualitative, possessive, relative, locative, and temporal.

Qualitative noun phrase consists of quality noun plus definitive noun: *pilki linʔóyk'-óykómon* 'all the town-officials'; *ñúlʷi lakán'óʔ* 'one woman', or of definitive noun plus noun: *lyákwexbólsa mélʷu* 'the big bag of money'.

Possessive noun phrase consists of defini-

tive relational noun plus definitive noun or proper name. The first noun denotes the possessed item, the second the possessor: *lʸikwáana lakwé?* 'the sickness of the man', *lʸitʸáata Dábíd* 'the father of David'.

Relative noun phrase consists of relative pronoun plus noun: *xáal'e lmélʸu* 'that which was money', *xáal'e ñík'ata* 'that which is pretty', *xáaxne láypixedá?* 'those from my town'.

Locative noun phrase consists of locative particle *xáape* 'where' plus noun, or qualitative noun plus locational noun: *xáape itʸuwá?* 'where he (to, at, by him)', *xáape lʸiwá* 'where the hole (in the hole)'; *ac'éex ládo* 'new side (another place)', *ñulʸík' elcáye* 'all over the street'.

Temporal noun phrase consists of temporal noun preceded by qualitative noun or by particle: *kánč'úš míul'a* 'six months', *ñúlʸí lʸipúgi* 'one night'; *?ásta číča* 'till now'.

The only type of verb phrase is that made by the combination of forms of the verbs *?ee-* or *pase-* 'both meaning 'do') with Spanish infinitive: *pásedúy mándár* 'order', *?éem'a arépentír* 'repent'.

4.2. CLAUSE TYPES. There are two major classes of clauses: principal and subordinate. Principal clauses can constitute independent sentences, subordinate clauses cannot. Subordinate clauses are marked by the presence of a subordinating particle or by a subordinate predicate or both, or by *nonfinal intonation*; a clause not so marked is a principal clause.

Principal clauses are divided into two major types: predicative and exclamatory. Predicative clauses have a bipartite structure, consisting of a predicate plus another unit called a concomitant which includes such items as subject, modal, locative, time, and the like. The most common concomitant is the subject but it is not obligatory. More than one concomitant may occur, but at least one must occur. Exclamatory clauses have a unitary structure, consisting of a predicate only, of a different sort than the predicative predicate.

Both predicative and exclamatory principal clauses are subdivided according to the word class of the predicate. Predicative clauses with verb predicates are: Intransitive Action, Action toward Goal, Action toward Recipient, Subjective Action, Reflexive Action, State, Description, and Quotation; with noun predicates: Quality, Identity and Relation; Location clause may have either locative particle or locative noun as predicate. Exclamatory clauses with verb predicates are Imperative and Hortatory; with noun predicates, Vocative and Comment.

Predicative clauses have both negative and interrogative counterparts; some exclamatory clauses also have a negative counterpart.

4.2.1. PREDICATIVE CLAUSES. Intransitive Action clause has intransitive verb as predicate. Concomitant may be subject noun or pronoun or noun phrase; modal particle; locative particle or noun; temporal particle, noun, or verbal; quotative particle; or noun indicating means. Predicate normally precedes concomitant, although occasionally time word may precede predicate. Predicate plus subject: *šmánapa law'á* 'the-child went-to-sleep';[9] mode: *máypa sá* 'so he-went'; locative: *poyčodúy máxpáná?* 'she-is-washing at-the-river'; time: *máyñapá wxéwilʸí* 'he-went a-while-ago'; quotative: *šñáxuy ndá?* 'he-is-drinking so-they-say', means: *máypa abyón* 'he-went by-plane'; with subject and time: *máyñapa lakwé wxéwilʸí* 'the-man went a-while-ago'; with subject and location, *smánapa yá? máxméxul* 'I went-to-sleep in-the-hammock'; with time, quotative, and location: *číča nda póyčodúy lʸíñexúl'* 'now it-is-said she-washes at-her-house'.

Action toward Goal clause has transitive verb as predicate. In addition to the set of concomitants found in Intransitive clause, this clause can have a goal concomitant, but

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[9] An attempt has been made to combine a free translation of clauses and sentences with a hyphenation of items which are multiple in English but single words in Chontal. Since English order is followed rather than Chontal order in most cases, the words do not always coincide.

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like the rest it is not obligatory. Action toward Goal clause differs from Intransitive Action clause both in the verb class which functions as predicate and in the possibility of goal versus its impossibility of occurrence. Non-third person singular goal is marked in the verb by suffix class 560 of person markers; third person singular is not marked. Transitive predicate with subject concomitant: *ṫépa mílᵛa* 'a-dog bit me'; with goal: *pulᵛáygilᵛa law'áy?* 'he-embraces-them the-children'; with goal and subject: *ṫᵛéxuy mángo láyw'á* 'my-child is-eating mangoes'; with location and time: *pílᵛpa mı́uxa pwı́?a* 'they-butchered down-yonder this-morning'; with means: *napóngax ?éex* 'they-hit-us with-a-stick'.

Action toward Recipient clause has recipient verb as predicate. In addition to the concomitants found in Action toward Goal clause, this clause can have a recipient concomitant, although it, too, is not obligatory. There are two types of recipient verbs, those which can occur with both goal and recipient and those which occur only with recipient. Non-third singular recipient is marked in the verb by suffix class 560. Examples of the first type with subject: *páypola lakwé?* 'the-man gave-it-to-them'; with goal: *lmúk'ípa lᵛiw'á* 'they-showed-me their-child'; with recipient and time: *číča páypola pílki lánsañyú?* 'now they-gave-it-to-them all the-people'; with location: *wáypa mı́ñexúl* 'they-gave-food-to-him at-his-house', with subject, means, recipient and goal: *páy?ímpá imá? plómo láyw'a lᵛiwxáx* 'you broke-for-him with-lead my-child his-head'. Examples of the second type with subject: *kúškinga lalpič'dle?* 'our-clothes got-sour-on-us'; with time: *xóypa č'íñčuxpóla?* 'now it-got-dark-on-them'.

Subjective Action clause has process verb as predicate. This clause type has the same set of concomitants as Intransitive, but differs from Intransitive in the class of verb which functions as predicate. Process verb has non-third singular subject marked in the verb by suffix class 560. Process predi-

cate with subject: *xúlpa lᵛič'alé?* 'the-clothes got-dry'; *pánxtola kwési* 'two were-born'; with time: *pwı́?a pánxtolá?* 'this-morning they-were-born'; with means: *lsóxta añílya* 'I-got-tired writing'.

Reflexive Action clause has reflexive verb as predicate. The verb base is usually transitive, but may be intransitive. Reflexive predicate with subject: *pič'édesi imá?* 'you-are - getting - yourself - wet'; *fóol'epólǐ lánsañyú?* 'the-people gathered-themselves'; with mode: *kúuč'epóst ákoló* 'it-curled-itself into-a-ball'; with subject, time, and means: *ı́ya ráto ráto ?éedesi axá?* 'I every minute douse-myself with-water'; with intransitive reflexive and subject: *w'ápost itᵛuwá?* 'he walks-by-himself'.

Stative clause has stative verb as predicate. The underlying verb base may be of any class. Simple stative verbs end in suffix *-a* or *-olenna?*, resultant statives in *-k'* or *-eeda?*. Stative predicate with subject: *?ék'ñı́uyák' laxúl* 'the-house is-open'; with location and subject: *kasínxa l'á láypépo* 'my-little-brother is-standing-leaning over-there'; with time: *xólgolénna číčá* 'they-live-there now'; with location: *fá?a pángedá?* 'here they-live'.

Description clause has verb base or neutral root as predicate. Verb base predicate with subject: *páylᵛo lapálᵛu* 'the-messenger is-wandering-around'; *pílkale yá?* 'I'm butchering'; with locative: *k'ónxmay l'á* 'it-is-setting (hen) there'. Neutral root is usually reduplicated when it occurs as descriptive predicate. Neutral root predicate with mode and subject: *xás xás sáñ'í láypič'alé?* 'my-clothes are just all ripped'; with time: *gólof sı́?mdane* 'it-swelled-up right-away'.

A special type of clause with verb predicate is the Quotative clause: the predicate is either the intransitive verb *ko-* 'say', or the recipient verb *mii-* 'say to'. This clause combines with the Quotation clause, or with a non-clause response to form a Quotational sentence. The Quotation clause can be any clause type. Examples are found under Quotational sentences.

Quality clause has quality noun as predicate. Quality predicate with subject: *áwixii yá?* 'I'm sleepy'; *epálma lⁱiw'á* 'her-child has-a-fever'; with mode and location: *iwa sáam'a l'á* 'there's-a-hole maybe there'; with mode, location, and subject: *iwxalá sá fá lané* 'so here the-road is-hilly'; with location and time: *iñú l'á láypixedá čičá* 'it's-hot there in-my-town now'.

Relation clause has relational noun as predicate. It is the normal way of stating possession. Relation predicate with subject: *ilⁱpóyxña lⁱiñánxmáy?* 'the-lakes have-an-owner'; with time: *alpipúfki čiča* 'we-have-health now'; with subject and quotative: *itayér gá náa?* 'this-one he-has-a-shop it-is-said'; with subject and mode: *opilⁱimm'a sá imá?* 'you really you-have-sense'.

Identity clause has definitive noun as predicate and subject is obligatory: *gá?a láyw'á* 'this-is my-child'; *láyw'á gé* 'it-is my-child'; with referent: *lakán'o l'é lⁱixúlⁱi* 'the-woman, it is her-waterjar'; *lakúlwé l'á lⁱin?óyk'óykómon* 'the-men there are the-town-officials'.

Location clause has either locative noun or locative particle as predicate: *máyñegá lakúlwé?* 'the-men are-in-the-cornfields', *wxáyñif lⁱiwxalá, lⁱiixpe lⁱipánka láyw'á* 'the-other-side of-the-hill, there-is my-son's ranch', *l'á láyñexúl'* 'there-is my-house'.

4.2.2. EXCLAMATORY CLAUSES. Imperative exclamatory clause has imperative verb as predicate. The verb base may be of any class. *kolá?* 'say it!'; *mlilⁱá?* 'tell him!'; *smáski* 'go sleep!'; *sáawáylⁱé?* 'come eat!'; *lnáy?watá* 'please let me know'; *kúnáski lamúlⁱá?* 'go-give-out tamales'.

Hortatory clause has incompletive plural verb as predicate: *?áym'é?* 'let's go'; *pilⁱá?* 'let's kill it'; *k'éta axá?* 'let's-go-get water'.

Vocative clause has vocative noun as predicate: *má?múlⁱi* 'boy!'; *máyw'á!* 'my child!'

Comment clause has quality noun as predicate. It differs from Quality clause in that it does not have obligatory concomitant, though a simple noun of address may ac-

company it: *iñú?* 'it's hot!'; *ñi?i ndana, ñi?i* 'delicious, ma'am, delicious!'

4.2.3. NEGATIVE CLAUSES. Any predicative clause may be made negative by adding *máa* 'general negative', or *ñi* 'intensive negative'; *máa čeeduy el?eskwéla* 'she doesn't go to school'; *ñi wxéduy* 'she doesn't even want to'; *ñi ya ?áym'a* 'I didn't even go; *máa lpépa* 'he didn't send me'; *ñi tyépóla?* 'they didn't even fall'; *máa iwxala lané* 'the road isn't hilly'; *máa gá?a láyw'á* 'this isn't my-child'.

Only the imperative of the exclamatory clauses is negativized. The negative used is *xá?ñi*, and the imperative verb is replaced by the incompletive: *xá?ñi kóm'a* 'don't say-it!' *xá?ñi smáta* 'don't go-and-sleep!', *xá?ñi mlim'olá?* 'don't tell-them!'

4.2.4. INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES are of two types: those obligatorily introduced by an interrogative particle, and those optionally introduced by interrogative particle *tés* 'what'.

Those introduced by *née* 'who' are interrogative counterparts of any predicative clause type: *née ?áym'a* 'who's going?', *née pasépa* 'who made-it?' *née páypo?* 'who gave-it-to-you?' *née ištñak'* 'who knows?' *née lⁱiixpe* 'who's there?' Those introduced by *tés* 'what' are the interrogative forms of Transitive or Recipient clauses: *tés pasépa* 'what did-he-make?' *tés páypo?* 'what did-he-give-you?' Those introduced by *xáape* 'where' are either the interrogative counterpart of Location clause, or of any clause with location concomitant: *xáape láyw'á* 'where-is my-child?' *xáape má xoláy?uy* 'where do-you-live?' Those introduced by *kána* 'when' correspond to any clause with time concomitant; those with *táxna* 'how much' to various clauses; those with *lⁱiñči* 'why' have no exact counterpart: *kána ima simpa* 'when did-you see-him?' *kána mayyaguʔ* 'when are-they-going?'; *táxna ipilⁱdalⁱi* 'how-much is-its-price?' *táxna lonáske?* 'how-many children-do-you-have?' *táxna šimpa* 'how-many did-he-see?'; *lⁱiñči má wxéduy* 'why do-you-want-it?'

Those optionally introduced by *tés* are any predicative clause type: *tés* is obligatory if no other concomitant occurs, is optional otherwise: *tés, mayñápa* 'what, did-he-go?' *tés, máyñápa lákwé?* 'what, did the-man go?'; *pácepa lonḍana* 'did your-mother make-it?'; *máypa sá elpáná?* 'so did-he-go to-the-river?' Only this type of interrogative clause occurs in negative form; the negative particle that occurs is *xá?ñi: tés, xá?ñi máyñápa lákwé?* 'what, didn't the-man go?' *xá?ñi máypa elpáná?* 'didn't he-go to-the-river?'

4.2.5. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES are subdivided according to the subordinating particle that introduces them. Relative and temporal and locative clauses fill slots in complex sentences comparable to those filled by corresponding words and phrases in simple sentences; conditional, purpose, and causal clauses have no counterparts in simple sentences.

Relative clauses are introduced by relative pronouns: *xáage té?a empánxda* 'the-one-who first should-be-born'; *xáaxne málnapá?* 'those-who went'; *xáal'e ?ípa lakwé?* 'that-which happened to-the-man'. They fill subject, goal and recipient slots, or expand simple fillers of these slots.

Temporal clauses are introduced by *lék'* 'when', *?ásta* 'until', *káda* 'each time', and fill time slots: *lék' sa kwáyñáta* 'so when he arrived'; *lék' yá pácyóna* 'when I make-it-again'; *lék' yán aw'áy?* 'when we were-children'; *?ásta yá kána enkóda* 'until I say when'; *kádá imá nañyóoda* 'each-time you pass'.

Locative clauses are introduced by *xáape* 'where', and fill location slots: *xáape ñóygolénna?* 'where they - were - lying - down'; *xáape yá mpánxda ñúlᵛi el?asyénto* 'where I might-sit-down on a chair'.

Conditional clauses are introduced by *xóola* 'if': *xóola ?aygúpa ñúlᵛi lapóyxña* 'if there-came a mountain-man'; *xóola ?óyn'edágu?* 'if they-should-carry-it-out'.

Purpose clauses are introduced by *pára* 'in order to': *pára wím'a elréy* 'in-order-to

see the-king': *pára yá pá?nam'a ñ'í?* 'in-order-that I just come'.

Causal clauses are introduced by *pórke* 'because', or *tánto* 'so much': *pórke íya lakwé?* 'because I'm the-man'; *pórke ñú?eduy* 'because he-asked-for-it'; *tánto páyčúxpa* 'because she was so scared'.

Any subordinate clause can be negativized by the inclusion of the negative particle *xá?ñi*: negative relative clause, *xáage xá?ñi wxéduy* 'whoever doesn't want-to'; negative temporal clause, *lék' xá?ñi ?óyya* 'when there isn't any'; negative locative clause, *xáape xa?ñi asáns* 'where there wasn't a soul'; negative conditional clause, *xóola xá?ñi lmíiya* 'if he doesn't tell-me'; *xóola xá?ñi* 'if not'; negative purpose clause, *pára xá?ñi šímpolá?* 'so-that he didn't see-them; negative causal clause, *pórke xá?ñi ñík'ata tónxl'e* 'because it-isn't good that-way'.

4.3. SENTENCE TYPES. There are two major types of sentences: independent and dependent. Independent sentences are divided into four major classes: Affirmative, Interrogative, Exclamatory, and Negative. Sentences of any of these classes may be simple: composed of a single principal clause; or complex: composed of more than one clause, of which at least one must be a principal clause. Dependent sentences are divided into two major classes: Completive, which consists of less than a full clause; and Sequentially Marked, which consists of a principal clause plus a sequence introducer, which is different from the subordinating particles which introduce subordinate clauses.

4.3.1. INDEPENDENT SENTENCES. Affirmative sentences have a predicative clause as basic and are spoken with *statement intonation*: a final contour with low pitch and heavy stress on the penult and high or rising pitch on the final syllable. Affirmative sentences include: Intransitive Action, Transitive Action, Recipient Action, Subjective Action, Reflexive Action, Stative, Description, Quotation, Quality, Relation, Iden-

tity, and Location. Simple examples of each of these have been given under the corresponding clause types except for Quotation; Quotational sentences are always complex. Complex examples of each affirmative type will now be given, but not every possible combination of clause types will be included under each sentence type. The variety given will be illustrative of the range of possibility, with more scope given to subordinate types than to combinations with other principal clauses, since the former are more common.

Intransitive sentence with temporal clause: *lék' yá símpa, máyñápa* 'When I saw-him, he-was-leaving'; with locative clause: *xáape č'íñčuxpóla⁷, tʷíixpe šmúngopá⁷* 'Where night-overtook-them, there they-slept'.

Transitive sentence with temporal clause: *láyčóoponga lék' yán aw'áy⁷* 'She-had-us when we were-children'; with relative clause functioning as goal: *wxéduy yá xáal'e ñík'ata* 'I want what is-pretty'; with two principal clauses: *pánxpa max⁷asyénto, píñipa lanyáwi⁷* 'He-sat-down on-the-chair; he-picked-up the-keys'.

Recipient Action sentence with locative clause: *kán'espóla xáape ñóygolénna ilʷkwáana* 'He-went-and-left-it-for-them where they-lay sick'; with relative clause expanding goal: *lláym'á imá low'á xáage té⁷a empánxda* 'You will-give-me your-child which is first born'.

Subjective Action sentence with temporal clause: *tʷóxpa lakán'o, tʷéconawá* 'When a-woman gets-old, she-gets-sick'; with conditional clause: *xóola xá⁷ñi ⁷óyn'edágu⁷, mám'olá⁷* 'If they don't follow-the-custom, they-will-die'.

Reflexive Action sentence with conditional clause used in a purpose sense: *wí⁷kesi xóola ñík'ata awáata* 'She-is-looking at-herself (to see) if she-is-a-pretty girl'; with causal clause: *tánto ⁷ípa sítʷa, mélofpósi yá ukwéeda* 'It was so cold I-wrapped-myself with-a-blanket'.

Stative sentence with locative clause: *xáape ⁷óyya ⁷awé elmángu, tʷíixpe xólgolénna⁷* 'Where there-are many mangoes, there they-live'; with temporal clause: *lék' yá náñyóopa špémf'úuyak' pélta lék'* 'When I passed-by, it-was-open only a little-bit'.

Description sentence with conditional clause: *xóola xá⁷ñi ipiñík' layw'á, púro w'ák'oy ínko xáape* 'If my-child doesn't have-work-to-do, he just wanders-around who-knows where'; with temporal clause: *lék' nda tʷáy⁷pa, mas ñúlʷe nda sagé lakwé⁷* 'When it-is-said he-heard-it, this man ran all-the-more it-is-said'; with causal clause: *tánto štʷúuyuy lakwé⁷, kác' sáñ'i li⁷á* 'The-man gets-angry so-much, his-face is-just chewy'.

Quotational sentence with Response quotation: *xáana⁷, kópa lampóbré⁷* 'Fine, said the-poor-folks'; with intransitive quotation: *púro nda kwá, imánk' xúčolayyáy⁷* 'He always said it-is-said, You-all are-lying'; with interrogative quotation: *mtipa nda⁷, tés má mpáceda fá⁷a* 'He-said-to-him it-is-said, What might you be-doing here?'.

Quality sentence with temporal clause: *lék' xpé kwáytʷa xáape ñúlʷi el⁷áwe⁷éex, tʷíixpe fáane lánéedáy⁷* 'When there they-arrived where there-was-one big-tree, there there-were-three roads'; with causal clause: *ákwe ákwe layw'á, tánto pánxa pacém'a* 'My-son is very manly, he's-able to-do so-much'.

Relational sentence with causal clause: *pórke púro šdagoduy ñík'ata, poréso ipúfki gé lawáata* 'Because she always eats well, therefore that girl is-healthy'; with coordinate relational clause: *imáyña ge lakán'o, iñekwé ac'ée ládo* 'That woman had-a-vice, she-had-a lover in-another-place'.

Identity sentence with relative clause: *ná⁷a sá lanwagáč' xáaxne ⁷óyya fá⁷a* 'These-are then the-cattle which there-are here'; with conditional clause: *xóola elpáná', elpáná⁷ sal'é* 'If it's-to-be-the-river, then let-it-be-the-river'.

Location sentence with relative clause: *tʷíixpe laxúl' xáal'e pácepa layw'á* 'There-is

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the-house that my-son built'; with temporal clause: *lĕk'yán aw'áy?, mĭiši iñánxma? lalpánka* 'When we-were children, our-ranch was-on-the-bank-of the-river'.

Interrogative sentences are of two types: Information questions, and Yes-or-no questions. Information questions are introduced by an obligatory interrogative particle, and are spoken with *nonaffirmative intonation*, consisting of high pitch on the penult and low pitch on the final syllable. Interrogative particles include: *tés* 'what', *née* "who,' *kána* 'when', *xáape* 'where', *táxna* 'how much', *t'iñči* (or *ténsa*) 'why'. Yes-or-no questions are optionally introduced by *tés* 'what', and are spoken with *interrogative intonation*, consisting of high pitch on both the last two syllables.

Information question with temporal clause: *ténsa ná?a lawálté? t'óxom'edáy? káda náñyoodágu?* 'Why are those girls chattering every-time we go-by?'; with conditional clause: *xóolá imá xá?ñi pánk'éda, tés yá ?éedágo?* 'If you don't have-a-baby, what shall I do-to-you?'; with coordinate stative clause: *tés kipúft'iñe lakán'o kása l'á* 'What is-the-name-of the-woman, she-is-standing over-there?'; with information asked about subject and temporal clause included: *née wálwa? lĕk' xá?ñi fá?a lonáana* 'Who takes-care-of-you when your-mother is'nt here?'; with relative clause expanding goal: *t'iñči ma mpáy?oda layxut'i xáal'e yá inkóxma n'áspa* 'Why should-you-break my-water-jar that I just went-and-bought?'

Yes-or-no questions are the same as affirmative sentences in basic form, but are made interrogative by the interrogative intonation, and by the optional inclusion of *tés*, which seems to be used in the sense of a mild 'well,' or 'is it true that', although it may be used in an excited sentence of this type with more exaggerated height of pitch to add a meaning of 'you don't really mean that . . .'' Examples: with basic subjective action clause and causal subordinate clause: *tés šóxtó? tánto páyl'o* 'Well, did-you-get-tired from-so-much running-around?'; with

basic recipient clause and relative clause expanding goal: *tés ?ayñáspó? elmáge péšu xáal'e ?éeñugúk'* 'Well, did-they-give-you the-five pesos that they-owed?'; with basic hortatory clause and response-modal particle: *?áym'e čúwá?* 'Shouldn't we maybe go?'; with basic relational clause and locative subordinate clause: *tés onéxúl' xáape lopíxedá xolá?úy* 'What, do-you-have-a-house where you-live in-your-town?'; with basic location clause: *tés t'iixpe lotáata máyñegá* 'Say, is your-father there in-the-cornfield?'; with basic transitive clause: *xóypá imá xoláf'ipa* 'Did you get-it-written-down?'; with basic intransitive clause: *kwáyñam'a l'it'áata c'iit'é?* 'Did his-father really come?'

Negative sentences are of four types: General Negative, Intensive Negative, Negative Question, and Negative Command. The first two types are negative forms of any affirmative sentence. General Negative is introduced by *máa* 'not' and is spoken with statement intonation. Intensive Negative is introduced by *ñi* 'not even', and is spoken with nonaffirmative intonation. Negative Question is introduced by *xá?ñi* 'not, no' and is spoken with interrogative intonation; it is the negative of yes-or-no questions. Negative Command is also introduced by *xá?ñi* but has statement intonation; it is the negative form of Imperative but differs by having the incompletive form of the verb rather than the imperative. Because of this difference of form, plus the variety of negatives and of intonation, it has been deemed more feasible to treat negative sentences and clauses as separate types rather than subtypes of the respective affirmative, interrogative and imperative types.

General Negative sentence with intransitive principal clause and conditional subordinate clause: *máa yá ?áym'a xóola tánto iñú?* 'I'm not going if it's-so hot'; with recipient principal clause and relative subordinate clause functioning as goal: *máa lpáypa layñáana xáal'e má lmíipa*

'My-mother didn't give-me what you told-me'; with subjective action principal clause and causal subordinate clause: *máa yánk' šúškoxmónga lalpíxedá? tánto alpiñík' fán ládo* 'We don't stay-long in-our-town we have so-much work-to-do here in-this-place'; with quality principal clause and relative subordinate clause expanding the subject: *máa l'é c'ŧitʷé xáal'e imán kodáy?* 'It isn't true what you-all say'.

Intensive Negative sentence with transitive principal clause and causal subordinate clauser *tánto šúšpa l'á, ñi faskúupa liñáana* 'She stayed so-long there, she didn't-even remember her-mother'; with recipient clause: *ñi el'éen'eduy aywxíx* 'He doesn't even give-me a-party'; with subjective action clause: *ñi xóygipa laypŧš'alé?* 'My-clothes didn't even fade'; with relational clause, and intransitive clause: *ñi ipŧŧmm'a lawáata, púro lʷóoduy* 'The-girl doesn't-even have-any-sense, all-she-does is-play'; with location clause and intransitive clause: *ñi tʷŧixpe lakulwé?, xóypa máyñápa* 'The-men weren't-even there, they-had-already left'.

Negative Question with recipient clause: *xá?ñi má, táata, l'áyyagónga alposáda* 'Won't you, sir, give-us a-place to-stay?'; with intransitive recipient principal clause and temporal subordinate clause: *xá?ñi póyyagólwa láxá? lék' mánda* 'Doesn't the-water leak-out-on-you when it-is-filled?'; with coordinate intransitive clauses, one affirmative and the other negative: *xúñči sáagom'a sáñ'ŧ imá?, tʷŧige xá?ñi šáagódá* 'And-so you will just eat, and this-one isn't to-eat?'

Negative Command with coordinate imperatives: *lixéero, maylʷá?, xá?ñi pánxta ñ'ŧ?* 'Get-a move on (lit. quickly go), don't just sit-there'; *xá?ñi sagŧm'a, pánxla alʷŧč* 'Don't breathe, hold your breath!'; with coordinate subjective action clause: *xá?ñi wasm'ŧm'a, ñ'ač'ŧm'a* 'Don't put-it-in, it-will be-too-much'. In occasional conversation, a negative command may omit the predicate if the sense is clear from context in terms of the life situation: *xá?ñi max-*

mésa, máa ñik'ata 'Not on-the-table (i.e. don't put the baby on the table), it's not good'.

Negative subordinate clauses occur in any type of complex sentence; they are introduced by *xá?ñi* or contain *xá?ñi* as the negating particle. Example with negative conditional clause: *xóota xá?ñi wxéduy, wxéduy más astoráke, xúu, šó?em'a líuunkwa* 'If it doesn't like-it, it-wants more incense, oooh, the-fire will-sing'; with negative purpose clause: *f'ŧñčiguy yá? laytwáya ñik'ata pára xá?ñi pém'a lawá?* 'I hold my-towel tight so-that the-wind won't take-it-off'; with negative clause in indirect discourse: *kópá imá xá?ñi póygowá péro póygowá sal'é* 'You said it wasn't going-to-come-out but it's-coming-out all-right'.

4.3.2. DEPENDENT SENTENCES are of two classes: Completive, and Sequentially Marked.

Completive sentences are of two formal types: those which consist of a single predicative predicate by itself, and those which consist of a concomitant. Both types may function as Response dependent sentences in conversational discourse; only the first type may function as a Sequence dependent sentence in narrative discourse.

Sequentially Marked sentences consist of any simple or complex sentence type plus a sequence introducer such as *?áytʷa* 'and', *xóyya* 'thereupon', *xóypa* 'then,' *entónse* 'so', *péro* 'but', *poréso* 'therefore'.

Obviously, when sentences are looked at within a matrix of discourse rather than as the top-level units of a language, many of them are contextually conditioned. Much more work needs to be done on a variety of languages to find out more about the nature of contextually conditioned, and therefore dependent, sentences. Those which at this stage are treated as dependent are the types listed above which clearly show by their structure that they are different from the sentences previously described.

In illustrating Completive sentences, the sentence on which they are dependent is

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given in parentheses, followed by the Completive sentence outside the parentheses.

Completive predicate-type sentences as Responses: (*tés ʔípa low'á?* 'What happened-to your-child?') *máfpa* 'Had a fit'. (*kwáym'a c'kitʷé los?ápi* 'Did your-older-sister really come?') *kwáym'a* 'Came'. (*tʷíñči · xáʔñi má mʔáygóda?* 'Why shouldn't you go?') *kúlʷi?* 'Far'. (i.e. 'it's too far').

Completive concomitant sentences as Responses: (*née pacépa?* 'Who made-it?') *iyá?* I. (*xáape xólgolénna?* 'Where do-they-live?') *l'á xáape Tína Síkyo* 'There in-the home-of Tina Sikyo'. (*tés xigáf'pó?* 'How did-you-wake-up?') *ñík'ata ñ'í ʔása* 'Just fine'. (*wxéduy má tónx táʔa?* 'Do you want-it like this?') *xée čičá, máskesá* 'Sure thing, no-matter-what'.

Response dependent sentences may also consist of response particles, such as *xée* 'yes', *xéná?* 'really?', *xáʔñi* 'no,' *čúwá?* 'you-don't-mean-it!'; or of subordinate clauses: *pórsa, xáy, el?éepa epálmá?* 'Because, friend, I-had a-fever'.

Completive predicate-type sentences are found in narrative discourse as an afterthought or amplification or explanation of a previous independent sentence. They occur rather infrequently but are clearly set off by final intonation contours as being separate sentences. Examples: (*máloolóopa náa, fúxfúx náa ʔípa li?á, ñí pélta íwxac'* 'She-was-terrified they-say, perfectly-white her-face got, not-even a-drop of-blood') *páyčúxpa* 'Was-scared'. (*lʷíkwéeniitʷíiñe náʔa xóypa lísto xáape ságe kwáyñeñóxmaa* 'The-next-day that-one was ready where this-one usually-came') *w'éexposi* 'Hid-himself'. (*apénas šagímpa tánto páyčúxpa* 'He scarcely revived he was so scared') *máyñápa* 'Went'.

Sequentially Marked sentences are found both in conversational and narrative discourse, but generally in sequence with other sentences. Occasionally one may occur as the comment or question of one speaker after the speech of another: *ʔáytʷa tés má*

pacém'a čiča? 'And-so, what are you going-to-do now?'; *péro máa yá táy?pá l'é* 'But I didn't hear that'.

Other examples of Sequentially Marked sentences: *ʔáytʷa wxérsa lʷíkwáana* 'And his-fever is-very-high'; *xóyya, šwéday lastoráke* 'Next, they-count the-incense-sticks'; *xóypa, xóy?polá liñáske?* 'Then, he-called-them, his-children'; *entónse šmáf'ipa lakwé?* 'And-so the-man woke-up'; *péro móygi móygi tónxl'e pácedúy* 'But every day thus she-was-doing'; *poréso ʔéeday gujtʷíiñe lʷilʷmélʷu* 'Therefore they baptize their-money'.

4.4. DISCOURSE TYPES. There are two major types of discourse: Conversation and Narrative. Conversation is the alternating discourse of two or more speakers. Conversational sentences tend to be shorter than narrative sentences, with speaker units frequently beginning with a completive sentence.

A sample conversation: A. *w'áytʷa lá mánapa layw'á.* 'My child was just about to die'. B. *tés ʔípa?* 'What happened?' *máfpa.* 'Had a fit'. *ínxkó ténsal'e ʔípa layw'a.* 'Who knows what happened to my child.'

Another: A. *xósa, xáy, tés má pacépa wxéwilʷí pwí?a?* 'Hello, friend, what did you do a while ago this morning?' B. *ñítés, čípa yá?* 'Nothing, I ground corn'. A. *xáʔñi má céepa meemáyñe?* 'Didn't you go to the funeral?' B. *máa yá céepa.* 'I didn't go'. A. *tʷíñči sal'é?* 'How come?' B. *sañ'i.* 'Just because.'

Narrative discourse is the unitary discourse of a single individual. Formal narrative is now restricted to the speech of the marriage go-between in asking for the hand of the bride, and the exhortation of the godfather of the newlyweds at the wedding. Informal discourse includes a variety of instructive, cultural and folklore material.

An example of earlier formal exhortation is the speech formerly delivered by the town president in the streets upon taking office. It was directed to the youth of the

town, and my informant remembered it from her younger days. Since the youth are not addressed much in Chontal these days until their marriage, such a speech is no longer given.

máyw'á, pén'elé lolnáana, lolté?asáns. lek'-síñyágu l⋁in?óyk'oykómon, púl⋁ayl⋁é lolmáne? pára imánk' wespík'íl⋁em'é andyós. xá?ñi wxáyñóota lantuwálč'á?, xá?ñi wágim'e lambárá?, k'íñčotá liwxalá, xá?ñi nánseta frúta,

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xá?ñi nánseta mángu. xóola xá?ñi, sáxkom'é imánk' elpéna, máyw'á.

'My child, obey your mothers, obey your elder brothers. When you see the town-officials, cross your arms on your chest so that you may give them the greeting of God. Don't jump into the cornfields, don't take away the poles, hunt for wood in the hills, don't steal fruit, don't steal mangoes. If not, you will find punishment, my child'.

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