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A Sketch
of
Chol Grammar

by
M. Wilbur Aulie
and
Evelyn W. Aulie

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A SKETCH OF CHOL GRAMMAR

H. Wilbur Aulie and Evelyn W. Aulie

Summer Institute of Linguistics

México, D. F.

1978

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INTRODUCTION

The Chol (Mayan) language is spoken in a belt which stretches across the northern part of Chiapas, Mexico and a southern edge of Tabasco, in the municipios of Palenque, Salto de Agua, Tumbalá, Tila, Sabanilla, Tuxtla and Hiutiupan. The ruins which are found in much of this area are mute witnesses to the rich history of the Chol people. The Chol territory borders on that of three other Mayan groups, the Chontals, the Tzeltals, and the Tzotzils. There are approximately 50,000 speakers of the Tumbalá dialect and about 30,000 who speak the dialects of Sabanilla and Tila.

A dialect survey of Chol was made in 1966 by Ronald Stolz-fus and Eugene Casad of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The results show that the people of each of four major dialect areas, Tumbalá, North Tila, South Tila, and Sabanilla, understand each other at rates of 80% or higher. This sketch deals principally with Tumbalá Chol with occasional references to other dialects.

In the two sections of the grammar which deal with phonology and derivation, the writer has adopted a structural approach. In the third part of the grammar, which deals with inflection, the approach is structural with emphasis on form classes, but leans toward a functional approach, since structure alone does not account for the usage of many of the attributives and particles. The description of the latter has been brought somewhat into conformity with the analysis of parallel word classes in Spanish, the language of the society into which Chol speakers are gradually moving.

Chol Grammar

I am grateful to all the Chols who have had a part in introducing me to their language and village life, and to my wife, Evelyn Woodward Aulie, who did the original phonological analysis and prepared the orthography. She also worked out the patterning of the transitive and intransitive verb \bar{s} derivation. I am indebted in many ways to present and former colleagues: John and Elaine Beekman, Albert and Nita DeVoogd, Ruby Scott, Henry and Charmaine Stegenga, Viola Warkentin, Arabelle Anderson Whittaker, and Ruth Hitchner Yourison. I am also indebted to Doris Bartholomew, Barbara Hollenbach, John Fought and Norman McQuown, who made many helpful suggestions and criticisms in the writing of this paper.

Tumbalá, Chiapas, México
August, 1978

H. Wilbur Aulie

CHAPTER 1
CHOL PHONEMES

Chart I
The Phonemes

Voiceless stops					
non-glottalized	p	t	k	ʔ	
glottalized	pʰ	tʰ	kʰ		
Voiced stop	b				
Affricates					
non-glottalized		tʃ	tʃʰ		
glottalized		tʃʰ	tʃʰ		
Fricatives				h	
Sibilants		s	sʰ		
Nasals	m	n			
Liquids		l	r		
Semivowels	w		y		
Vowels					
high			i		u
mid			e	ʌ	o
low				a	

1.1. List of the phonemes

/p/	/paʔ/	{ paʔ }	'stream'
/t/	/tal/	{ tʰal }	'comes'
/k/	/kolem/	{ kolem }	'large'
/ʔ/	/haʔ	{ haʔ }	'water'
/pʰ/	/pʰʌtʰʌl/	{ pʰʌtʰʌl }	'strong'
/tʰ/	/tʰʌl/	{ tʰʌl }	'rabbit'

/k'/	/k'aba?/	[k'aba?]	'name'
/b/	/bu?ul/	[bu?ul]	'beans'
/ɸ/	/ɸahkan/	[ɸahkan]	'follow'
/č/	/čap/	[čap]	'honey'
/ɸ'/	/ɸ'ah/	[ɸ'ah]	'dip'
/č'/	/č'ohon/	[č'ohon]	'peck'
/s/	/samiyon/	[samiyon]	'I am going'
/s'/	/sotol/	[sot'ol]	'round'
/h/	/hok'ol/	[hok'ol]	'hanging'
/m/	/me?/	[me?]	'deer'
/n/	/nahal/	[nahal]	'dream'
/l/	/lehmel/	[lehmel]	'burn'
/r/	/rebus/	[rebus]	'shawl' (Spanish loanword)
/w/	/wič'/	[wič']	'wing'
/y/	/yah/	[yah]	'mumps'
/i/	/ič'ite?/	[ič'it'e?]	'mala mujer' (species of tree)
/e/	/ek'/	[ek']	'star'
/ʌ/	/kʌskun/	[kʌskun]	'my older brother'
/a/	/ak'ʌl/	[ak'ʌl]	'tongue'
/u/	/uč'ha?/	[uč'ha?]	'mosquito'
/o/	/otot/	[?ot'ot']	'house'

1.2. Description of the phonemes

a. The consonants

(1) There is a series of voiceless stop consonants (/p/, /t/, /k/) which are phonetically slightly aspirated. The /p/ is a bilabial aspirated stop: pok 'to wash'; pah 'sour'; hap

'to drink'. The /t/ has two allophones, both alveopalatal, one which almost always occurs with an offglide, as in /tan/ [tʲan] 'lime', /tun/ [tʲun] 'stone', and /tohol/ [tʲohol] 'price'; the other has no offglide and occurs only before /i/, as in /tikin/ [tikin] 'dry' and /tikwal/ [tikwal] 'heat'. In the Tila dialect there is a /t/ that contrasts with /tʲ/. The /k/ is velar, as in kok 'my foot' and kʌn 'know'. The /ʔ/ is glottal, as in haʔal 'rain', buʔul 'beans', ʒiʔ 'dog'. The glottal stop also occurs non-contrastively before initial vowels, as in /ʔam/ [ʔam] 'spider'. There are no words which begin with a vowel.

(2) The glottalized and non-glottalized stops occur in parallel series. The glottalized stops are also voiceless. The /pʰ/ is bilabial and glottalized: [pʰok] 'lizard', [pʰah] 'des-pise'. The /tʰ/ and the /kʰ/ are also glottalized. The /tʰ/, like the /t/, has two allophones; one with an offglide, as in [tʰʲan] 'word', tʰʲohol 'pretty', and [witʰʲ] 'tighten'; and another with an offglide that occurs before /i/, as in [tʰiʰtʰis] 'convulsions'. The /kʰ/ is velar as in [kʰok] 'health', [kʰʌn] 'use'.

(3) The voiced stop /b/ has three allophones: (a) the voiced bilabial stop [b] in initial position or word-medially following a consonant; examples are: bok 'pull up by roots', nʌkbučul 'spectator'; [b] a bilabial voiced stop that occurs after a glottal [ʔb] within a word after a vowel: /siban/ [siʔban] 'comb', /čʰʌbesan/ [čʰʌʔbesan] 'to quiet' and (c) a glottal, accompanied by a light closing of the lips without

voicing or aspirating ʔb [ʔp] in final position after a vowel: /winikob/ [winikoʔp] 'Indians', /leb/ [leʔp] 'lard'.

(4) The /tʃ/ and the /c/ are voiceless aspirated affricates, the first alveolar and the second alveopalatal; examples are: tʃʌnsan 'kill', wiʃ 'mountain'; tʃih 'maguey', 'twine'; kuʃ 'load', 'to carry'.

(5) The /tʃʰ/ is a glottalized alveolar affricate; examples are: tʃʰʌnsan 'to bathe'; smiʃʰit 'a small fish'; piʃʰ 'to scald'. The /tʃʰʰ/ is a glottalized alveopalatal affricate; examples are: tʃʰʰih 'to nail', tuʃʰʰonib 'index finger', miʃʰ 'angry'.

(6) The consonants /s/ and the /sʰ/ are voiceless sibilants, the first alveolar and the second alveopalatal: sʌklan 'to look for'; nusʌn 'to pass'. mis 'cat'; sʰʌs 'wasp'. sʰim 'corn', masʰ 'monkey'. The /h/ is a glottal spirant: huh 'paper', 'book'; bahlum 'jaguar'.

(7) The /m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal: mis 'cat'; lamital 'part'; niʃim 'candle, flower'. The /n/ is a voiced non-labial nasal. It has four allophones: (a) alveopalatal, before any vowel except /i/ in which case there is free variation between [n] and [ɲ] as in /naʔ/ [ɲaʔ] 'mother', /naʃan/ [ɲaʃan] 'first', /hunahb/ [huɲahb] 'hand span', /hini/ [hini] 'the'; (b) alveolar /n/ when it is first in groups of consonants and when it is the final letter of the syllable, as in /bontʌl/ 'large in size or girth', /bʌkʰen/ 'fear'; (c) velar ng, before /k/, /kʰ/, and /w/, as in /winkilel/ [wɪŋkilel] 'owner', /kʰʌŋkʰʌn/ [kʰʌŋkʰʌn] 'yellow', /canwos/ [caŋwos] 'golonchango (a bird)'; and (d) voiceless N, frequently at the end of the word, as in /hoben/ [hoʔbeN] 'mesa', /tʃʰʰubʌn/ [tʃʰʰuʔbeN] 'dust', /wiʃʰʰun/ [wiʃʰʰuN] 'to revolve'.

(8) The /l/ is lateral alveolar, and has two allophones, one voiceless, the other voiced. The voiceless allophone occurs after /h/, as in /hump'ehl/ hump'ehL 'one', *ʔiməɬ* and word final, as in *[leɬel]* *[leɬel]*. The voiced allophone occurs in the remaining positions, as in /lohk/ [lohk] 'foam', *bəɬi** bəɬak' / 'rotate'. The *ɣ* /r/ is a voiced flap *spuruwɔk* 'sparrow'.

b. The semivowels

The /w/ is bilabial and has voiced and voiceless allophones: voiced in syllable initial position, as in *wakas* 'cow', *siwiç*, 'plane'; voiceless in word final position, as in *kaw kaw* 'to open (mouth)'. The /y/ is palatal and has two allophones. In initial position and in the middle of a word it is voiced; for example: *yap* 'to extinguish', *siye* 'buzzard'; *æ* in word final position it becomes voiceless, as in /pəy/ [pəY] 'to call', /puy/ [puY] 'thread', /boɣ/ [boY] 'slippery'.

c. The vowels

There are six vowels. The /i/ is high, front, close, and unrounded, as in *bik* 'neck'. All utterance-initial vowels have a glottal stop onset as in English. The /e/ is mid, front, open, and unrounded, as in *tʰe?* 'tree', *pimel* 'vegetation'. The /a/ is low, central, open, unrounded, as in *hab* 'year', *kilan* 'to see'. The /ʌ/ is mid, central, close, unrounded, as in *bə bak* 'seed', *ɣʌɣ* 'hard'. The /o/ is mid, back, rounded, as in *loh* 'twins', *mosil* 'a covering'. The /u/ is high, back, close, rounded, as in *mut* 'chicken', *ɣuɣ* 'wool'.

d. Prosodic elements

The patterns of the accent and intonation are presented here because they are essential to an adequate comprehension and use of the language.

In words of two syllables of the form CV.CVC with a final consonant the accent falls on the second syllable; for example: pi.síl 'cloth', ha.míl 'meadow', bu.ʔú.l 'beans', č̣.á.mél 'sickness'.

In words of two syllables of the form CV.CV the accent falls on the first syllable; for example: ʃi.ma 'cup', ḳ.ké.ra 'war'.

In words that have three syllables, the accent falls on the final syllable with a secondary initial accent on the first syllable, as in a.lá.bí.h 'path', ma.te.ʔél 'undergrowth', wi.ni.kób 'men', pa.ni.míl 'world'.

In longer words and idioms the secondary stress falls on the second syllable of the phonological unit. Sometimes the characteristic word stress is shifted because of the phrase stress pattern:

mi.hún.ti.ki.lík	'not even one'
i yáʔ.ləl lak wút	'tears'
i p̣.či.lél la kéh	'lips'

(2) Speakers elevate the tone of their voice at the end of commands and questions, for example: ku ku 'go', ʔ.baḥce' awilal? 'how are you?', ʔ.baki samiyet? 'where are you going?'

1.3. Formation of the syllables

There are seven types of syllables:

CV	co.lel	'cornfield'
CVC	bah.nel	'alone'
CVCC	k'ahk	'fire'
CCV	s ^h i.so.nel	'tailor'
CCVC	* s ^h i.b.lum	'waskp'
CCVCC	s ^h i.hb	'fern'
VC	le ^h .el	'ascend'

1.4. Distribution of the phonemes

a. The simple consonants

When the consonant phonemes appear at the beginning of the word and before a vowel, any of the consonant phonemes may occur. For examples, see the list of the phonemes on page 1. Any of the consonants may occur in the middle of the word:

-p-	l ^h p ^h	'put it on'	-b-	seb'an	'to get light'
-c-	p ^h ʌt ^h l	'strong'	-ʃ-	wuʃt ^h l	'to squat'
-k-	boko	'pu ^h l it out'	-c-	k ^h ʌʃ ^h	'tie it'
-ʔ-	haʔas	'banana'	-ʃ'-	y ^h y ^h ʌʃ ^h mil	'salt'
-p'-	tihp ^h el	'to jump'	-c'-	yoh ^h c'on	'to spy'
-t'-	set'e	'cut it'	-s-	p ^h ʌs ^h	'show it'
-k'-	ʔak' ^h	'give it'	-s-	kiʃin	'hot'
-l-	hilel	'to come to'	-r-	kokoro ^h o'	'cock crow'
-m-	lehm ^h el	'to burn'	-ʔ-	-w- haw ^h	'open (the mouth)'
-n-	bono	'to paint it'	-y-	bohyatas ^h	'very slippery'
-l-	wel ^h el	'flat'			

Any consonants may occur at the end of syllables and of words:

ʃop	'to learn'	haʃ'	'to strike'
-----	------------	------	-------------

pat	'back'	h bac [✓]	'to roll up'
kok	'my foot'	pas	'to show'
ha?	'water'	wes [✓]	'trousers'
hop'	'to accuse'	loh	'twins'
set'	'to cut'	lem	'to lick'
?ak'	'to give'	ten	'to crush'
hayab	'to yawn'	legel	'to ascend'
ɬaɬ	'hard'	sbor [✓]	'without (arm, leg, tail)'
ka [✓] c	'to tie'	haw	'to open (mouth)'
bohy	'slippery'		

b. Groups of consonants consist of two consonants. The /s/ appears with all the consonants except the /s/ and the /h/; the /s/ appears with /ɬ/ and /ɬ'/; the /k/ appears with all the consonants except the /h/, /k/ and /k'/.

In the word medial position a consonant from list A is found with one from list B:

<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>
voiceless stop	voiceless stop
affricate	/b/
/h/	affricate
	(neither /k/, /'/, /c/, nor /c'/ occur)

The voiceless stop and the /h/ also occur with a liquid or with a semivowel.

List of word medial consonant clusters

- | | | | |
|-----|--------|-----------|---------------------------|
| 1. | /pt/ | noptesan | 'cause to believe' |
| 2. | /p't'/ | hop't'an | 'to accuse' |
| 3. | /tk'/ | sutk'in | 'to return, to turn over' |
| 4. | /t'h/ | but'ha' | 'flood' |
| 5. | /kp/ | wAlAkpat | 'backward' |
| 6. | /kp'/ | wAkp'ehl | 'six' |
| 7. | /k'b/ | ?ak'bi | 'yesterday' |
| 8. | /k'p/ | čAk'pAk' | 'to plant' |
| 9. | /t/ | wuɣtAl | 'to squat' |
| 10. | /t't/ | miɣ'ti'an | 'to taste' |
| 11. | /hp/ | čahpan | 'to prepare' |
| 12. | /tc/ | sitčokon | 'to place face down' |
| 13. | /kc'/ | bAkč'um | 'seed of squash' |
| 14. | /t'/ | ɣ'u'ɣ'ub | 'badger' |
| 15. | /km/ | čAkme' | 'deer' |
| 16. | /k'n/ | bAk'nan | 'to fear' |

In word final position /h/ occurs with all other consonants except /p'/, /l/, /?/, /s/, /r/, and /w/.

- | | | |
|-------|----------|-----------------|
| /hp/ | pohp | 'reed mat' |
| /ht/ | swuht | 'witch doctor' |
| /ht'/ | hunsuht' | 'a small piece' |
| /hk/ | k'ahk | 'fire' |
| /hk'/ | pahk' | 'mud wall' |
| /hb/ | ɣ'ihb | 'a writing' |
| /hɣ/ | mahɣ | 'skirt' |

/hč [✓] /	hunluhč [✓]	'one tablespoon'
/hč [✓] /	* šuhč [✓]	'robber'
/hm/	č [✓] uhm	'squash'
/hn/	tahn	'beast'
/hl/	'tehl	'side'
/hy/	ša š [✓] ^hy	'firm'

c. Distribution of the vowels

All the vowels occur in word-medial and word-final positions. There are no cooccurrence restrictions between vowels and consonants. There are no vowel clusters. Series of vowels are interrupted by the glottal stop, buʔul 'beans'.

1.5. Morphophonemic changes

a. There are cases of optional metathesis:

bač[✓]um / bač[✓]k'um 'squash seed'

There is also optional metathesis in non-adjacent consonants. Note that glottalization stays constant and only the point of articulation changes:

yik'ot / yit'ok 'with'

There is optional metathesis of a liquid or nasal with the glottal stop:

k'a'man / k'am'an 'to get rich' k'am + 'an
č[✓]ilʔat / č[✓]iʔlat 'rib'

b. Loss of consonants

The cluster /lt/ is reduced by the loss of /l/ in the speech of many people, although some speakers retain the /l/:

koltan / kotan 'to help'

c. Consonant change

When /k/ precedes /k/ or /k'/. it is weakened to /h/, as in wolik + k'a'man = woli^hk'a'man; k + ku^hstilel = ku^hstilel. The final /m/ of the suffix -em that signifies the perfect tense becomes /n/ after a bilabial consonant in the preceding syllable:

čAm + -em = čAmen

huhp' + -em = huhp'en

luhb + -em = luhben

The /m/ becomes /n/ before /t/, as in č'Am + -tilel = č'Antilel 'to bring here'. The /n/ becomes /m/ before the /b/, /p/, and /p'/. as in čomben 'to sell to him' čon + -ben, mambil 'bought' ma^hmAn + -bil; hump'el 'one' hun + -p'ehl. Clusters of like consonants reduce to one, as in pit + til = pitil 'a ball of stone'; mik + kah = mi kah 'I am going to'

d. Vowel change

The initial /a/ in verbs or substantives becomes /ʌ/ when it is prefixed by the pronouns /k/, /a/, or /i/. Therefore, from alas 'toy' we have the forms kAlas 'my toy', a wAlas 'your toy', i yAlas 'his toy'. When -al is suffixed to certain roots of the type CAC to form an adjectival root, the /a/ of the suffix becomes /ʌ/, as in ham + -al = hamʌl 'open' but kaw + -al = kawal 'open (mouth)'. Chol does not permit vowel clusters. The semivowel /w/ occurs between vowels after the second person personal pronoun:

ma? + ʌ?len ma? wa?len

a + alobil a walobil

The semivowel /y/ occurs between vowels after the third person personal pronoun:

sami + -on = samiyon 'I go'

i + alobil = iyalobil 'his child'

The reduplicated vowel is lost upon the suffixation of -lel to the stem:

buʔul 'beans' + -lel = buʔlel 'bean patch'

/c/ becomes /s/ when followed by /t/:

mač + -to = mašto 'not yet'

A sequence of identical consonants is reduced to a single consonant:

pit + tal = pitʌl 'the size of a stone'

mik + kah = mi kah 'I shall begin'

CHAPTER 2THE FORMATION OF VERB STEMS

2.0. The word classes of Chol are: verbs, nouns, attributives and particles. Verbs, nouns, and attributives are distinguished by the inflectional affixes which may occur with them. Particles do not occur with any inflectional affixes.

Words may inherently belong to any one of the four word classes. It is also possible to change a lexical item from one word class to another by adding a prefix or a suffix of the desired class.

This chapter describes the characteristic syllable structure of the simple stem of the verb and lists the derivational affixes found in the complex stems.

Chart IIVerb Stem Derivation

The following chart lists the affixes which certain roots may take to form verb stems together with their resultant meaning. A description of the affix classes follows the chart.

Base (CVC)	Affix	Transitivity	Class
tr/intr root	•bV -b-Vn, - ^v c-Vn, c'-Vn, -k-Vn, -k'-Vn, -l-Vn, -n-Vn, -s-Vn, -t-Vn, - ^{g'} z'-Vn V = a, e, i	Transitive	1
tr/intr root	-Vn: -an, -in V = a, i	Transitive	2

tr root intr root	-un, -ilan, -ulan	Transitive of motion	3
ntr root	✓ -cokon	Transitive of physical position	4
tr/attr root	-esan, -san, -tesan	Transitive (by causative)	5
ntr root	-mVl, -lVl, -tVl V e, ^	Intransitive	6
tr/ntr root	-Vl V e	Intransitive	7
ntr/attr root	-Vyel, -Vhel V e, i, ^	Intransitive	8
attr root	-?an	Intransitive (inchoative)	9

2.1. Simple verb stems

Simple verb stems are e non-derived, of the type CVC.

Examples are:

ham	'to open'	tah	'to find'
huč'	'to grind'	p4s	'to show'
ñup'	'to close'	p'is	'to measure'
k'el	'to see'	top	'to break up'
k'es	'to change'		

2.2. Complex or derived verb stems include one of the following suffixes: -b-, -č-, -č'-, -k-, k-k'-, -l-, -n-, -s-, -t-, -t'-, -an, -in, -un, -ilan, -ulan, ✓cokon, -es-, -tes-, -m-, -Vl, -Vhel, -Vyel, -an, -Vn. Chart II lists the affixes with an indication of the required characteristics of the simple

stem to which they are attached and the resultant meaning.

(1) Class one consists of neutral roots which take stem formatives of order 1 and the suffix -Vn of order 2 to form transitive verb stems. No meanings can be assigned to the roots. Stem formatives of order 1 are: -b-, -c-, -c'-, -k-, -k'-, -l-, -n-, -s-, -t-, -c'-. Examples are:

hešb-	-	-an	hešban	'to drag'
tik'l-	-	-an	tik'lan	'to molest'
?ak'n-	-	-an	?ak'nan	'to clean (cornfield)'
hu?s-	-	-an	hu?san	'to lower'
kAnt-	-	-an	kAntan	'to care for'
mAk'l-	-	-an	mAk'lan	'to feed'

(2) Class two consists of transitive and neutral roots which take suffix -Vn of order two to form derived transitive stems.¹ No meanings can be assigned to the roots. Examples are:

his-	-	-an	hisan	'to destroy'
mAs-	-	-an	mAsan	'to swallow'
kos-	-	-an	kosan	'to raise'
nus-	-	-an	nusan	'to pass'
yAs-	-	-an	yAsan	'to drop'
?ub	-	-in	?ubin	'to listen'
lok's-	-	-an	lok'san	'to take out'
nolc'-	-	-in	nolc'in	'to knock down'
p'ohk-	-	-in	p'ohkin	'to stumble over'
muck'-	-	-in	muck'in	'to join'

¹There is comparative evidence in Chorti of this being a separate form class (personal communication from John Fought). Chorti is a related Mayan language spoken in Guatemala.

(3) The suffixes -un, -ilan, and -ulan occur with certain transitive and $\epsilon\mu$ neutral roots to form transitive stems of class three, indicating motion.

(a) -un, examples are:

	has ^v -	-	-un	hasun	'to roll'
	mis-	-	-un	misun	'to sweep'
	tAk ^v c-	-	-un	tAk ^v cun	'to tickle'
	wil ^g '-	-	-un	wil ^g 'un	'to revolve'
	tuht-	-	-un	tuhtun	'to deplume'
Λ	b ^h lk'-	-	-un	b ^h lk'un	'to roll'
	hAm ^g '-	-	-un	hAm ^g 'un	'to rotate'
	sahk'-	-	-un	sahk'un	'to mould'
	suhk'-	-	-un	suhkun	'to clean'
	g ^h 'ihb-	-	-un	g ^h 'ihbun	'to write'

(b) -ilan, examples are:

	k'ut	'grind again'	-	-ilan	k'utilan	'to grind'
	sot ^v	'to roll'	-	-ilan	sot ^v ilan	'to roll'
	wos	'to mould (in ball)	-	-ilan	wosilan	'to mould (in ball)'
	pAk	'to double'	-	-ilan	pAkilan	'to double several times'

(c) -ulan, examples are:

	ba1-	-	-ulan	ba1ulan	'to roll'
k	g ^h 'ach-	-	-ulan	g ^h 'achulan	'to raise and lower the extremities'
	lAm-	-	-ulan	lAmulan	'to agitate'

(4) The suffix $\epsilon\check{c}$ okon occurs with certain neutral roots to form transitive stems of class four. The action is one of placing

an object in a certain physical position. No meanings can be assigned to the roots. Compare paragraphs 3.2.6. and 7.4.3.

Examples are:

	buč-	-	čokon	buččokon	'to seat'
	k'Λč-	-	čokon	k'Λččokon	'to place on an animal'
k / k	pač-	-	čokon	paččokon	'to place in prone position'
	wa'-	-	čokon	wa?čokon	'to place in standing position'
	nol-	-	čokon	nolčokon	'to lay down with faceup'
	lač-	-	čokon	laččokon	'to stack up'

(5) The suffixes -s-, -es-, and -tes- occur with certain transitive and attributive roots to form causative stems of class five. Stems so formed always take -an, an order two suffix. A transitional glottal stop occurs between the causative suffix and the preceding consonant.

(a) -s-, examples are:

ʒu? - -s- - -an ʒu?san 'to give to suck'

(b) -es-, examples are:

nuk	'large'	-	-es-	-	-an	nuk?esan	'to enlarge'
pek'	'short'	-	-es-	-	-an	pek?esan	'to make lower'
pim	'thick'	-	-es-	-	-an	pim?esan	'to make thick'
hay	'thin'	-	-es-	-	-an	hay?esan	'to make thin'
ʒΛn-		-	-es-	-	-an	ʒΛn?esan	'to make cold'

(c) -tes-, examples are:

kΛn	'to know'	-	-tes-	-	-an	kΛntesan	'to teach'
hoč	'to empty'	-	-tes-	-	-an	hočtesan	'to empty'
wΛy-		-	-tes-	ɿ	-an	wΛytesan	'to put to sleep'
ʒihib	'new'	-	-tes-	-	-an	ʒihibtesan	'to make new'

(6) The suffixes -m-, -l-, -t- occur with certain neutral roots to form derived intransitive verb stems of class five.

Suffix -Vl always occurs with stems so formed. Examples are:

toh-	-	-m-	-	-el	tohmel	'to explode'
?ok'-	-	-m-	-	-Al	?ok'mAl	'to rot'
soh-	-	-m-	-	-Al	sohmAl	'to shrink'
hAh-	-	-l-	-	-el	hAhlel	'to slide'
suh-	-	-t-	-	-el	suhtel	'to return home'
weh-	-	-l-	-	-el	wehlel	'to fly'

(7) The suffix -Vl, as order one, occurs with certain transitive and neutral roots of the CVC class. Examples are:

pul	'to burn'	-	-el	pulel	'to burn'
way-	(waytan 'to put to sleep') ¹	-	-el	wayel	'to sleep'
hul-		-	-el	hulel	'to lower'
num-		-	-el	numel	'to pass'
k'ot-		-	-el	k'otel	'to arrive (there)'

It also occurs as order two in the formation of the present passive. The infix -h- and the suffix -el indicating present passive occur with ~~the~~ transitive stems except those that end in -h, -s, -s; examples are: the suffix -tAl marks passive for stems ending in -h, -s, and -s. Examples are:

but'	'to fill'	buh ^t 'el	'to be filled'
ham	'to open'	hahmel	'to clear up (the weather)'
kA ^v	'to tie'	kAh ^v cel	'to be tied'
yAp	'to extinguish'	yahpel	'to be extinguished, erased'
lAp	'to dress'	lAhpel	'to be dressed (clothes)'
hAg'	'to hit'	hah ^v 'el	'to be hit'

¹Compare waytesan 'to put to sleep'.

k'eɫ 'to see' k'ehleɫ 'to be seen'

But note the difference in verbs that end in -j, -s, -s:

wus 'to play (flute)' wustʌɫ 'to be played (passive)'

tah 'to find' tahtʌɫ 'to be found'

pi[✓]s 'to wrap' pi[✓]stʌɫ 'to be ~~z~~ wrapped'

(8) The suffixes -Vhel and -Vyel are of order one and occur with certain neutral and attributive roots to form intransitivizing stems of class seven. Examples are:

nus- -hel nusihel 'to swim'

hal -ihel halihel 'to linger'

mi[✓]c' -ahel mi[✓]c'ahel 'to be angry'

nah- -iyel nahiyel 'to forget'

(9) The suffix -an is of the order one and occurs with certain attributive roots to form class eight. A transitional glottal stop occurs between the stem[✓] and the suffix. Examples are:

k'am 'sick' -an k'amʔan 'to get sick'

ʔa[✓]c 'wet' -an ʔa[✓]cʔan 'to get wet'

ʔu[✓] 'good' -an ʔu[✓]ʔan 'to become good'

hal 'a long time' -an halʔan 'to take much time'

ba[✓]s 'busy' -an ba[✓]sʔan 'to get busy'

naht 'distant' -an nahtʔan 'to become distant'

CHAPTER 3

THE FORMATION OF NOUN STEMSChart IIIFormation of Nouns by Affixation

The following chart lists the affixes which certain roots may take to form noun stems, together with their resultant meaning. A description of the affix classes follows the chart.

<u>Base</u>	<u>Affix</u>	<u>Resultant Meaning</u>	<u>Class</u>
(Affixes occur with certain examples of stems)	(all order 1)		
noun stems	✓ s-, ah-	personalizer	1
tran. and ntr. roots, CVC	-ib, -onib	instrument	2
noun roots, tr. roots, CVC	-bal	process	3
tr. roots, CVC	-ol	infinitive	4
tr. stems, -n	-ya	quality or state	5
ntr. roots	-lib	instrument	6
intr. roots, -el	-ibal	a point of time	7
noun stems	-al, -il, -lel	extension, or place of	8
tr. roots, CVC	-h...-il i ...-il	instrument	9
tr., noun and attributive roots	-Vhel	state of (may be use with woli)	10
attr. stems, -na	i...-yel, i ...-el i...-el	state or quality	11
attr. stems	i ... -lel	quality or condition	12

3.1. Simple noun stems

Simple noun stems may be of any of the following syllable structures: CVC, CVCC, CVCVC, CVCCVC. Chart III lists the affixes with an indication of the required characteristics of the simple root to which they are attached and the resultant meaning. Examples of CVC which occur with the phrase 'he, she, it is' are: k'ay 'song', son 'dance', t'an 'word'.
 Examples of CVC^{do not} which occur with the phrase 'he, she, its is' are: ham 'grass', te? 'tree', cab 'honey', ha? 'water', c'en 'cave'. See paragraph 3.1.10.

Examples of CVCC are:

c'ahb	'fast'	ɣ'ihb	'writing'
suhc	'robber'		

Examples of CVCVC are:

bak'en	'fear'	?uk'el	'cry'
bayAb	'yawn'	mulil	'sin'
?onel	'shout'	tokal	'cloud'

Examples of CVCVC stems with vocalic harmony are:

?ag'am	'salt'	holoc	'corn husk'
ha?al	'rain'	we?el	'meat'
?isim	'corn'	winik	'man'

Examples of CVCCVC are:

pancan	'heaven'	?eftel	'work'
?ehmeč	'raccoon'	sAmbal	'walk'

3.2. Formation of nouns by affixation

Complex or derived noun stems include the prefixes s- or ah- or one of the following suffixes: -ib, -onib, -bal, -ol,

-ya, -lib, -ibal, -al, -il, -lel, -h[✓]čil, -Vhel, - ...-yel, - ...-el, i ...-lel. Chart III lists the affixes with an indication of the required characteristics of the simple stem to which they are attached and the resultant meaning.

(1) Class one consists of prefixes s[✓]- and ah- which are personalizers. The prefix s[✓]- designates a person associated with the lexical meaning of the stem to which it is attached. Examples are:

s [✓] maría	María		
s [✓]	+ koltaya	'helping'	s [✓] koltaya 'helper'
s [✓]	+ mulil	'sin'	s [✓] mulil 'sinner'

The prefix ah- is also a personalizer, but it is especially used to designate a male person associated with the lexical meaning of the stem to which it is attached. This usage is more common in Sabanilla and Tila than in Tumbalá. Examples are:

ah-	+ p [✓] at	'make'	+ otot	'house'	ahp [✓] atot	'builder'
ah-	- s [✓] oltaya	'helpin'	ahkoltaya	'helper'		

(2) The suffixes -ib and -onib occur with verb roots of a CVC shape to form class two. The suffix -ib indicates that the noun is an instrument associated with the lexical meaning of the stem. Examples are:

s [✓] ík	'to sift'	s [✓] -ib	s [✓] íkib	'basket'
wáy		-ib	wáyib	'bed'
pu [✓]		-ib	pu [✓] 'ib	'refuge'
yoc [✓] -		-ib	yoc [✓] ib	'entrance'

The suffix -onib is also used to nominalize a verb as an instrument. Examples are:

√cik	'to sift'	-	-onib	√cikonib	'sifter'
hul	'to shoot'	-	-onib	hulonib	'gun'
k'el	'to see'	-	-onib	k'elonib	'window'
tek	'to trample'	-	-onib	tek'onib	'notched log (for ladder)'
mel	'to judge'	-	-onib	melonib	'court'
l ^h w	'to mend'	-	-onib	l ^h wonib	'patch'

(3) The suffix -bal occurs with certain transitive stems of the CVC shape and with certain noun stems to form class three. The suffix -bal indicates that the noun refers to a process that is associated with the lexical meaning of the stem. Examples are:

si?	'firewood'	-	-bal	si?bal	'gathering firewood'
hal	'to braid'	-	-bal	halbal	'braiding'
huc [√]	'to grind'	-	-bal	huc [√] bal	'grinding'
k'ah	'to harvest'	-	-bal	k'ahbal	'harvest'
mel	'to make'	-	-bal	melbal	'work, result of work'

(4) The suffix -ol occurs with certain transitive roots of the CVC shape to form class four. It has the function of an infinitive and is used only with the verbal expression meaning 'knows how to.' Examples are:

yuhil i	'he knows how to'	+	k'ah	'to harvest'	+ -ol =
yuhil i	k'ahol			'he knows how to harvest'	
yuhil i	'he knows how to'	+	ham	'to open'	+ -ol =
yuhil i	hamol			'he knows how to open'	
yuhil i	'he knows how to'	+	huc [√]	'to grind'	+ -ol =
yuhil i	huc [√] ol			'he knows how to grind'	

yuhil i 'he knows how to' + yʌp 'to extinguish'
 + -ol = yuhil i yʌpol 'he knows how to extinguish'

(5) The suffix ~~ʌ~~ -ya occurs with certain transitive stems of the -n shape, replacing the -n, to form class five. The suffix indicates a quality or state associated with the lexical meaning of the stem. Examples are:

k'ahtin	'to ask'	-	-ya	k'ahtiya	'question'
koltan	'to help'	-	-ya	koltaya	'help'
k'ušbin	'to love'	-	əya	k'ušbiya	'love'
p'untan	'to pity'	-	-ya	p'untaya	'pity'
kʌntesan	'to teach'	-	-ya	kʌntesaya	'teaching'

(6) The suffix -lib occurs with certain neutral roots of the CVC shape to form class six. These same roots may also take -Vl to form an attributive stem or [√]čokon to form a transitive verb. They are all related to physical position. Compare paragraphs 2.1.4. and 7.4.3. Examples are:

buc [√] (ul)	'seated'	-	-lib	buc [√] lib	'seat'
čum [√] (ul)	'living'	-	-lib	čum [√] lib	'dwelling'
1 k'ʌč [√] (ʌl)	'mounted'	-	-lib	k'ʌč [√] lib	'saddle'
t'uč [√] (ul)	'perched'	-	-lib	t'uč [√] lib	'perch'

(7) The suffix -ibal occurs with certain intransitive roots of the -el class to form class seven. The suffix -ibal indicates that the noun carries a temporal idea that is associated with the lexical meaning of the stem. Examples are:

hil(el)	'to come to an end'	+ -ibal =	hilibal	'its end'
kah(el)	'to begin'	+ -ibal =	kahibal	'its beginning'

(8) The suffixes -al, -il, -lel occur with the possessed forms of certain noun stems to form class eight. They indicate the idea of extension or location that is associated with the lexical meaning of the stem. Occurrences of double l are reduced to l. Examples of -al are:

ha?	'water'	+	-al = a wa?al	'your water'
lum	'soil'	+	-al = i lumal	'his land'
k'ahk	'fire'	+	-al = i k'ʌk'al ¹	'his fire'
ʒ'ubehn	'dust'	+	-al = i ʒ'ubehnal	'its dust or crumbs that are left over'

(9)

Examples of -il are:

?alasa ^{✓✓}	'orange tree'	+	-il = ?alasa ^{✓✓} il	'orange grove'
ha?as	'banana plant'	+	-il = ha?asil	'banana grove'
ham	'grass'	+	-il = hamil	'grassland, pasture'
k'olol	'oak tree'	+	-il = k'ololil	'oak grove'
pahc [✓]	'pineapple'	+	-il = pahc [✓] il	'pineapple patch'

Examples of -lel are:

bu?ul	'beans'	+	-lel = bu?lel	'bean patch'
but'ha?	'flooded river'	+	-lel = but'ha?lel	'flood'
kahpe? (Spanish)	'coffee'	+	-lel = kahpe?lel	'coffee grove'
?ok'ol	'mud'	+	-lel = ?ok'lel	'mud hole'
ʒʌnal	'cold'	r	-lel = ʒʌnalel	'cold country'

(9) The suffix -il occurs with certain transitive roots of the CVC shape to form class nine. There is an -h- inserted before the stem final consonant when -il is suffixed. The suffix indicates that the noun is an instrument or material associated with the lexical meaning of the stem. Examples are:

¹/a/ changes to (ʌ) and(hk) to (k').

✓c'Al	'to adorn'	i ✓c'Ahliil	'its adornment'
bec [✓]	'to roll up'	i behc'il	'its instrument for rolling'
Λ mək	'to cover'	i məkhih	Λ 'its cover'
bon	'to paint'	i bohnil	'its paint job'

(10) The suffix -Vhel occurs with certain transitive, noun and attributive roots to form class ten. The suffix indicates that the noun is a state associated with the lexical meaning of the stem. The noun may be used with the verbal expression woli ti 'he is.' See paragraph 3.1. Examples are:

k'am	'sick'	+ -ahel = k'amahel	'suffering sickness'
yAk'	'intoxicated'	+ -ahel = yAk'ahel	'state of intoxication'
kuc [✓]	'to carry'	+ -ahel = kucihel	'process of carrying'
ɣ'ihb	'writing'	+ -uhel = ɣihbuhel	'document'
čol	'cornfield'	+ -ihel = čolihel	'seeing his cornfield'

(11) The suffix -yel occurs with certain attributive stems of the -na shape to form class eleven. The suffix indicates that the noun is a state or quality associated with the lexical meaning of the stem. Examples are:

tihikna	'happy'	+ i ¹ ...-yel = i tihiknaye	'his happiness'
ɣilɣilna	'trembling'	+ i ...-yel = i ɣilɣilnaye	'his trembling for fear'
ɣayɣayna	'bitter'	+ i ...-yel = i ɣayɣaynye	'his bitterness'

(12) The suffixes -el and -lel occur with certain attributive stems to form class twelve. The suffixes indicate that the noun is a quality or condition associated with the lexical meaning of the stem. Examples of -el are:

¹The prefix /i/ is the third person morpheme denoting number and possession. The vowel of the suffix -na changes from a to Λ.

sək	'clean'	+	i ...-el	≈	i səkəl	'his gray hairs'
čah	'bitter'	+	i ... -el	≈	i čahel	'its bitterness'
śah	'sweet'	+	i .l. -el	≈	i śahel	'its sweetness'
pah	'sour'	+	i ... -el	≈	i pahel	'its sourness'
huhp	'fat'	+	i ... -el	≈	i huhp'el	'its fatness'

Examples of -lel are:

pim	'thick'	+	i ...-lel	>	i pimlel	'its thickness'
čan	'tall'	+	i ...-lel	≈	i čanlel	'his stature'
č'ihiyem	'sad'	+	i ...-lel	≈	č'ihiyemlel	'his sadness'
uđ	'kind'	+	i ... -lel	≈	i yuđlel	'his goodness'

3.3. The formation of nouns by a combination of stems

Certain noun, attributive, and verb stems combine by close juncture with certain noun stems to form subordinate endocentric stems. The first constituent becomes attributive to the second, which is the head.

(1) Noun may combine with noun, accompanied by the loss of the final consonant of the first constituent. Examples are:

tun	'stone'	+	mut	'chicken'	=	tumut	'egg'
?alal	'infant'	+	bih	'road'	≈	?alabih	'path'

(2) An attributive may combine with a noun, with the occasional assimilation of m to n when it is the final consonant of the first constituent. Examples are:

mil	'large'	+	ha?	'water'	=	kolemha?	'river'
pam	'above'	+	č'en	'cave'	=	panč'en	'above the cave'
pam	'above'	+	te?	'tree'	=	pante?	'log bridge'

sAk 'clean' + hol 'head' = sAkhol 'a species of wild dog'

(3) A CVC verb stem may combine with a noun stem, with the loss of a consonant following a sibilant. Examples are:

but' 'to fill' + ha? 'water' = but'ha? 'flood'

piš[✓] 'to wrap' + hol 'head' = pišol[✓] 'hat'

(4) A CVC verb stem may combine with -o? and a noun stem.

The -o?- denotes instrument. Examples are:

cih[✓] 'to nail' + -o?- + lawuš[✓] 'nail' =

ciho?lawuš[✓] 'hammer'

luč[✓] 'to dip' + -o?- + ha? 'water' = lučo?ha? 'dipper'

p'el 'to saw' + -o?- + te? 'tree' = p'elo?te? 'a saw'

CHAPTER 4

THE FORMATION OF ATTRIBUTIVE STEMSChart IVFormation of Attributives by Affixation

The following chart lists the affixes which certain roots may take to form attributive stems, together with their resultant meanings. A description of the affix classes follows the chart.

<u>Base</u>	<u>Affix</u> (all order 1)	<u>Resultant Meaning</u>	<u>Class</u>
tr. roots, CVC	-bil	perfect passive	1
tr. and ntr. roots, CVC	-Vl	positional stative	2
intr. stems	-em, -en	perfect active	3
attributive roots	-Vs	defective	4
attributive stems	-na	qualitative	5
attributive roots	-tik	quantitative	6
attributive roots	-tAl	quantitative	7
attributive roots	-law	quantitative	8
ntr. roots, CVC	-an	locative	9
attributive stems	-bi	temporal	10
roots of numerals	-i	temporal	11
attributive roots	-leman, -motan, -tihan, -wa?an	qualitative and aspectual	12
roots of numerals	-numerical classifier	indicates class or shape	13

4.1. Simple attributive stems

Simple attributive stems are non-derived, and may be of any

of the following syllable structures: CVC, CVCC, CVCVC, and CVCCVC.

Examples of CVC stems are:

hal	'a long time'	✓ c'ah	'bitter'
bās	'busy'		

An example of CVCC is: naht 'far'

Examples of CVCVC are:

k'isin	'warm'	✓ ʔuʔat	'good'
gʷawan	'cold'	nasan	'first'

Examples of CVCCVC are:

hontol	'bad'	sahmʌl	'today'
k'unteʔ	'slow'		

4.2. Formation of attributives by affixation

Complex or derived attributive stems include the following suffixes: -bil, -Vlɔ̄ -em, -en, -Vs, -na, -bi, ɬtik, -tʌl, -law,

-i, (-ik) -an, -ku. Chart IV lists the affixes with an indication of the required characteristics of the simple stem to which they are attached and the resultant meaning.

(1) The suffix -bil occurs with certain transitive roots of the CVC shape to form attributive stems of class one. The suffix indicates an action completed by an agent. The action is associated with the lexical meaning of the stem *et* to which it is attached.

Examples are:

hok'	'to hang'	†	-bil =	hok'bil	'hung'
lc yʌp	'to put out'	+	-bil =	yʌpbil	'extinguished'
huč'	'to grind'	+	-bil =	huč'bil	'ground'
k'eɪl	'to see'	+	-bil =	k'eɪlbil	'attended to'

- (2) Suffix $\check{V}l$ occurs with certain transitive and neutral roots of the CVC shape to form attributive stems of class two. The suffix indicates a position which is associated with the lexical meaning of the stem to which it is attached. Examples are:

ham	'to open'	+	- λ l	=	ham λ l	'open'
nup'	'to cl \check{a} se'	+	* λ l	=	nup'ul	'closed'
p \check{a} k	'to fold'	+	- λ l	=	p \check{a} k λ l	'with mouth down'
\check{c} ok	'to throw away'	+	- \check{o} l	=	\check{c} okol	'cast off'
wa?-	'	+	- λ l	=	wa? λ l	'standing'
\check{c} ep	'to cut'	+	-el	=	\check{c} epel	'cut'
\check{c} eh-	'	+	-el	=	\check{c} ehel	'on one's side'

Verbs which end in -cokon also pattern like the above, losing the \check{V} cokon suffix and adding - $\check{V}l$. Thus:

bu \check{c} ok \check{c} okon	bu \check{c} ul	'seated'
way \check{c} okon	way λ l	'slept'

{ nol-	-	- λ l	nolol	'lying down'
		--el		
{ set-	-	- λ l	setel	'bundle of poles lying down'

- (3) Suffix -em and -en occur with certain intransitive stems to form attributive stems of class three. The suffix -m becomes -n when there is an m in the root. The suffixes indicate completed action which is associated with the lexical meaning of the stems to which they are attached. Examples are:

saht-	(sahtel 'to become lost')	+	-em	=	sahtem	'lost'
\check{c} \check{a} m-	(\check{c} \check{a} mel 'to die')	+	-en	=	\check{c} \check{a} men	'dead'
hahm	(hahmel 'to be opened')	+	-en	=	hahmen	'open'
?uht-	(?uhtel 'to come to an end')	+	-em	=	?uhtem	'finished'

(4) Suffix -Vs occurs with certain attributive roots to form attributive stems of class four. The stem indicates a defective condition which is associated with the lexical meaning of the stems to which they are attached. Examples are:

bohl-*	+	-os [✓] = bohlo [✓] s	'uneven ground'
buhl-*	+	-us [✓] > buhlu [✓] s	'corn cobs with few grains'

(5) The suffix -na occurs with certain attributive stems to form attributive stems of class five. The suffix indicates a quality or continuing condition that is associated with the lexical meaning of the stems to which they are attached. In the sentence this attributive occurs just before the main verb phrase. Sometimes they occur before a descriptive clause in which there is no recognizable verb phrase. They all seem to involve some motion or process. Examples are:

buruk-*	+	-na = burukna	⊗ 'a continuing sound as of an airplane engine'
tihik-*	+	-na = tihikna	'happy'
wa?ak-*	+	-na > wa?akna	'strolling'

Examples of -na with complete reduplication:

lu?lu?na	'quivering of eye lash'
mamakna	'half cloudy'
sapsapna	'sound of passing gunshot'
filfilna	'trembling (from fear or cold)'

(6) Suffix -tik occurs with certain attributive stems to form attributive stems of class six. The suffix indicates degree that is associated with the lexical meaning of the stem

* No meaning can be assigned to the stem.

to which it is attached. Examples are:

kisin	'shame'	+	-tik	=	kisintik	'very shameful'
bohlos [✓]	'uneven'	+	-tik	=	bohlo [✓] stik	'generally uneven'
lohwen	'wounded'	+	-tik	=	lohwentik	'badly wounded'
?ok'ben	'rotten'	+	-tik	=	?ok'bentik	'entirely rotten'

(7) The suffix -tAl occurs with certain attributive roots to form attributive stems of class seven. The suffix indicates a quantity that is associated with the lexical meaning of the stem to which it is attached. Examples are:

hom-*	+	-tAl	=	homtAl	'many (people)'
lalac-*	+	-tAl	=	lalactAl	'many (pieces)'

(8) The suffix -law occurs with certain attributive roots to form attributive stems of class eight. The suffix indicates a quantity that is associated with the lexical meaning of the stem to which it is attached. Examples are:

bAn-*	+	-law	=	bAnlaw	'many (long, thin objects)'
cih-*	+	-law	=	cihlaw	'much (dew)'
p'Ak-*	+	-law	=	p'Aklaw	'the sound of dripping of large drops of water as it begins to rain'

(9) The suffix -an occurs with certain neutral roots to form attributive stems of class nine. The suffix indicates location associated with the lexical meaning of the stem to which it is attached. Examples are:

bak'-*	+	-an	=	bak'an	'where is it?'
wA?- 'here'	+	-an	=	wA?an	'here it is'
ya?- 'there'	+	-an	=	ya?an	'there'

* No meaning can be assigned to the stem.

(10) The suffix *-bi* occurs with certain attributive roots to form attributive stems of class ten. The suffix indicates time that is associated with the lexical meaning of the stem to which it is attached. Examples are:

ʔak'- (ʔak'ʌlel 'night') + -bi = ʔak'bi 'yesterday'
 ʔca?- (ʔcaʔp'ehl 'two') + -bi = ʔcabi 'day after tomorrow'

(11) The suffix -i occurs with the roots of certain numerals to form attributives of class ^{eleven} ~~twelve~~. The suffix indicates time hence of the numeral stem to which it is attached. Examples are:

$\check{c}ab-1$ ($\check{c}a?p'ehl$ 'two') + -i = $\check{c}abi$ 'in two days'
 $u\check{s}-$ ($u\check{s}p'ehl$ 'three') + -i = $u\check{s}i$ 'in three days'
 $\check{c}an-$ ($\check{c}anp'ehl$ 'four') + -i = $\check{c}ani$ 'in four days'

(12) The suffixes -leman, -motan, -tihan, -wa?an, occur with roots of attributives which are names of colors and refer to qualities or aspect of the object partaking of the color.²

Examples are:

$\check{c}a\check{c}ak$ 'red' + -leman > $\check{c}akleman$ 'brightness'
 $sasak$ 'white' + -leman > $sakleman$ 'brilliant'
 $yayas$ 'blue, green' + -leman > $yasleman$ 'blue and brilliant'
 $i?ik'$ 'black' + -motan > $ik'motan$ 'black and grouped'
 $sasak$ 'white' + -motan > $sakmotan$ 'white and grouped'
 $\check{c}a\check{c}ak$ 'red' + -tihan > $\check{c}aktihan$ 'blonde'
 $k'ank'an$ 'yellow' + -tihan > $k'antihan$ 'yellow'
 $sasak$ 'white' + -tihan > $saktihan$ 'white'
 $i?ik'$ 'black' + -wa?an > $ik'wa?an$ 'black (standing object)'
 $sasak$ 'white' + -wa?an > $sakwa?an$ 'white (standing object)'

(13) There are numerical classifiers which divide into four sets of suffixes^X:

Set I The main set of numeral classifiers consists of morphemes which agree with the things being counted in physical shape or some other quality. See appendix A1. They are suffixed to numbers 1 through 19.

¹Compare the analysis under (7).

²These classifiers may be interpreted as (-lem-, -mot-, -tih-, -wa?-) + -an.

-k'al

Set II The suffix is the base 20 and is suffixed to the numbers 1 through 19 to produce those numbers which are multiples of 20. Examples are:

hunk'al 20

ca?k'al 40

Set III The suffix -bakh' is the base 400 (i.e. 20×20) and is suffixed to numbers 1 through 19 to produce those numbers which are multiples of 400. Examples are:

humbakh' 400

ca?bakh' 800

Set IV The suffix -pik is the base 8,000 (i.e. 20×400) and is suffixed to numbers 1 through 19 to produce those numbers which are multiples of 8,000. Examples are:

humpik 8,000

ca?pik 16,000

pen

4.3. Formation of attributives by reduplication

Attributive roots may be reduplicated to show intensification, or to be specific. Examples are:

wʌʔi 'here' : wʌʔwʌʔi 'right here'
yaʔi 'there' : yaʔyaʔi 'right there'

Attributive stems may also reduplicate to show color. Examples are:

Mean-eA- Meanings cannot be assigned to ^{all} the components. Examples are:

čʌ- + čʌk = cʌcʌk 'red'
kʌn- + kʌn = kʌnkʌn 'yellow'
ʔiʔ + ʔikʰ = ʔiʔikʰ 'black'
sʌ- + sʌk (sʌk 'clean') = sʌsʌk 'white'
yʌ- + yʌs = yʌyʌs 'blue, green'

CHAPTER 5

THE FORMATION OF PARTICLES

5.1. Simple Particle stems

Simple particle stems may be of any of the following syllable structures: CV, CVC, CVCV, CVCVC, CVCVCV, CVCCVC.

Examples of CV are: to 'still', mi 'if'

Examples of CVC are:

čeʔ 'when' yaʔ 'there'
baʔ 'where' mač negative

Examples of CVCV are:

kome 'because' wʌle 'now'
čuki 'what' wʌʔi 'here'
yaʔi 'there'

Examples of CVCVC are: k'¹ɛlɔl 'until', lahal 'the same',
yik'ot 'with'

Examples of CVCCV are: ?ilayi 'here', ?isiyi 'that one'

Examples of CVCCVC are: sahmɔl 'today', bahce? 'how?',
?aktan 'on the other hand'

~~CHAPTER-6~~
CHAPTER 6

PRONOMINAL FORMS

6.0. There are two groups of pronouns: those that precede a noun or a verb, and those that follow. First we will deal with the pronouns that precede a noun or verb. The pronouns that precede the verb point out the subject. The pronouns that precede a noun are the possessive adjectives.

6.1. The possessive adjectives

The basic forms are:

	<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
1.	k 'my'	lak	'our' (inclusive)
		k . . . lojon	'our' (exclusive)
2.	a 'your'	la?	'your' (plural)
3.	i 'his, her, its'	i . . . -ob	'their'

There are four classes of nouns which are distinguished by the way in which they combine with possessive adjectives.

1. Model: etet--'house',--All-nouns-which-begin-with-a-vowel.
pusik'al 'heart'. All nouns which begin with a consonant other than /h/ or /k/.

2. Model: otot 'house'. All nouns which begin with a vowel.
 3. Model: hol 'head'. All nouns which begin with /h/.
 4. Model: ko? 'midwife'. All nouns which begin with /k/.

1. pusik'al 'heart'

k pusik'al 'my heart'	pusik'al lak pusik 'our heart' (inclusive)
	k pusik'al lohon 'our heart' (exclusive)
a pusik'al 'your heart'	la? pusik'al 'your heart' (plural)
i pusik'al 'his, her heart'	i pusik'al 'their heart'

The first class is regular. The possessive adjective combines with the noun without change.

2. otot 'house'

<u>k</u> otot 'my house'	la <u>k</u> otot 'our house' (inclusive)
	kotot h ohon 'our house' (exclusive)
a <u>w</u> otot 'your house'	la? <u>w</u> otot 'your house' (plural)
i <u>y</u> otot 'his, her house'	i <u>y</u> otot 'their house'

The second class incorporates the /k/ of the first person as the first letter of the noun. The stem of the noun adds a /w/ between the second person and the noun. A /y/ is added to the stem after the possessive adjective of the third person.

3. hol 'head'

<u>k</u> ol 'my head'	la kol 'our head' (inclusive)
	kol lohon 'our head' (exclusive)
a hol 'your head'	la? hol 'your head' (plural)
i hol 'his, her head'	i hol 'their head'

The third class incorporates the /k/ of the first person as the first letter of the noun and suppresses the initial /h/ of the noun. The second and third persons are formed normally.

4. ko? 'midwife'

h ko?	'my midwife'	lah ko?	'our midwife' (inclusive)
		h ko? lohon	'our midwife' (exclusive)
a ko?	'your midwife'	la? ko?	'your midwife' (plural)
i ko?	'his, her midwife'	i ko?	'their midwife'

The fourth class changes the /k/ to /h/.

6.2. The subject of the verb

When the same set of pronouns precedes a verb, it marks the subject. A suffix -ob, not found with nouns, marks the third plural. The same pronoun which indicates possession before a noun **also** often indicates the subject of a verb.

The modifications of pronoun with class 2 nouns also are found with vowel-initial verbs, for example: -uhil 'to know', and -om 'to want'. The plural indicator is the suffix -ob.

kuhil	'I know'	la kuhil	'we know' (inclusive)
		kuhil lohon	'we know' (exclusive)
		la? wuhil	'you know' (plural)
a wuhil	'you know'	wuhil-lehen--we-knew!	
yuhil	'he, she, it knows'	yuhilob	'they know'
kom	'I want'	la kom	'we want' (inclusive)
		kom lohon	'we want' (exclusive)
a wom	'you want'	la? wom	'you want' (plural)
ye y yom	'he, she, it wants'	yomob	'they want'

These two verbs occur without any indication of time. The rest of the verbs require morphemes to express time.

6.3. Pronouns which follow a noun or a verb

Set II ^opronouns follow nouns and verbs. They are bound forms.

The basic forms are:

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>	<u>exclusive</u>
1.	-on	-onla	
2.	-et	-etla	-on lohon
3.	#	-ob / #	

They indicate the subject or object of a phrase depending upon their collocation. When they occur with a noun or an adjective they indicate the subject. Examples are:

winik 'man' + -on 'I' = winikon (I am a man)

š'isik 'woman' + -et 'you' = š'isiket (you are a woman)

č'iton 'boy' + # (zero suffix) = č'iton (he is a boy)

k'am 'sick' + -ob = k'amob (they are sick)

The verb "to be" is understood in these cases without being expressed. To express location the verb "an" 'to be (someplace)' is used with the pronominal suffixes. Examples: anon, anet, an, etc.

š'bahč' anet? 'how are you?'

š'baki anetla? 'where are they? you?' (plural)

š'baki an? 'where is he?'

wΛ'anon 'here I am'

ya' anob 'here they are'

The subject of intransitive verbs in past time is a pronoun of set II in the postposed position. Example: mahlel 'to go'.

Here the stem is majli.

<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
1. ɟa' mahliyon	ɟa' mahliyonla
	ɟa' mahliyon lohon
2. ɟa' mahliyet	ɟa' mahliyetla
3. ɟa' mahli	ɟa' mahliyob

The -y- occurs e between vowels because vowel clusters are not permitted in Chol. The same set of pronouns occurs as the object of transitive verbs:

ɟah k'eleyet	'I saw you'
ɟa? k'eleyon	'you saw me'
ɟi? k'eleyon lohon	'he saw us but not you'
ɟa? la? k'eleyob	'you pl. saw us'
ɟi? k'eleyonob	'they saw me'
h ɟax k'ele	'I saw him'
ɟi? k'eleyob	'they saw him, or he saw them'

Notice the ambiguity that exists in the third person.

6.4. Combination of Set I pronouns with aspect morphemes

With few exceptions transitive and intransitive verbs are preceded by morphemes that indicate the aspect of the verb:

woli	- continuative aspect, in the process of happening
mi	- habitual aspect, action that is repeated
ɟa?	- completive aspect, completed in the past

When these words are followed by Set I subject pronouns, contraction takes place if the pronoun is a single phoneme, but not if the pronoun ~~is~~ consists of several phonemes as in first inclusive lak and second plural la?.

Continuativesingular

1. woli + k/h = wolik/h
2. woli + a = wola?
3. woli + i = woli?

plural

- wolik/h .. lohon (excl)
woli lak (incl)
- woli la?
- woli + i = woli?

In the first person the pronoun fuses with the final vowel of the word "woli" when the verb that follows begins with a consonant (except h). If the verb begins with h (hak') or with a vowel (ak') the pronoun "k" fuses with the verb. Examples are:

- nop 'to learn, to believe', wolik nop 'I believe'
k'el 'to see' woli h k'el 'I see'
hak' 'to answer' wolik hak' (woli kak') 'I answer'
ak' 'to give' begins with a vowel, therefore woli kak', wola? wak', etc.

Habitualsingular

1. mi + k = mik
2. mi + a = ma?
3. mi + i = mi?

plural

- mi lak (incl)
mik/h...lohon (excl)
mi la?
- mi - i mi? ... -ob

Completivesingular

1. ~~ga?~~ + k/h = ~~gak/h~~
2. ~~ga?~~ + a = ~~ga?~~
3. ~~ga?~~ ~~ga?~~ + i = ~~gi?~~

plural

- ~~ga?~~ lak/h (incl)
~~gak/h~~ ... lohon (excl)
~~ga?~~ la?
- ~~ga?~~ ... -ob

1. $\text{ʒak } \check{\text{ca}}?le \text{ e?tel}$ 'I did work'. $\text{ʒa? lak } \check{\text{cha}}?le \text{ e?tel}$ 'we did work'
 $\text{ʒak } \check{\text{ca}}?le \text{ lohon e?tel}$ 'we did work' (excl)
2. $\text{ʒa? } \check{\text{ca}}?le \text{ e?tel}$ 'you did work'. $\text{ʒa? la? } \check{\text{ca}}?le \text{ e?tel}$ 'you [pl.]
 did work'
3. $\text{ʒa } \text{ʒi? } \check{\text{ca}}?le \text{ e?tel}$ 'he did work'. $\text{ʒi? } \check{\text{ca}}?leyob \text{ e?tel}$ 'they did work'

6.5. Emphatic subject pronouns

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1. honon 'I' | hononla | 'we' (incl) |
| | honon lohon | 'we' (excl) |
| 2. hatet 'you' | hatetla | 'you' (pl) |
| 3. hini 'he, she, it' | hinob | 'they' |

These pronouns may occur alone as an answer to a question.

When they occur in a sentence, they do not replace the short forms.

mahki $\text{ʒi? } \check{\text{ca}}?le \text{ hini?}$	'who did this?'
honon	'it was I'
mahki a yum?	'who is your boss?'
hini	'he is'

6.6. The relative pronoun ba may occur after the aspect markers in the verb phrase. Examples are: (See chart VI).

$\text{mač uts'atik hini woli ba i } \check{\text{ca}}?len$
 'that which he is doing is not good'

$\text{hini mula } \text{ʒa? } \text{ba sahti k } \check{\text{ca}}?an\check{\text{ač}}$
 'the mule that went astray is mine'

6.7. Reflexive pronouns

To express the reflexive object, the possessive pronoun is used with the connective $-\text{ba}$. Examples:

ʒah k'ele k ba	lah	$\text{ʒah k'ele } \text{lohon lak ba}$
'I saw myself'		'we saw ourselves' (incl)

	gah k'ele lohon k ba 'we saw ourselves' (excl)
ga? k'ele a ba 'you saw yourself'	ga? la? k'ele la? ba 'you saw yourselves'
gi? k'ele i ba 'he saw himself'	gi? k'eleyob i ba 'they saw themselves'

The third person plural may mean either that they saw themselves or that they saw one another. And the first person plural may mean that we all saw each other. Verbs that indicate the position of the body, e.g. buctal 'to sit down', wa?tal 'to stop', noltal 'to lie down', k'actal 'to mount', noktal 'to kneel', etc., have the suffix -tal which parallels the use of reflexive pronouns in Spanish.

6.8. Demonstratives

ili	'this'	isiyi	'that'
iliyi	'this'	isiši	'there'

6.9. Number

The suffix -ob indicates two or more. It is the personal plural in Tumbalá. In Sabanilla it is the plural of persons or animals. Examples are:

nohte?elob	'ancestors'	winikob	'men'
al*lob	'children'	mutob (Sabanilla)	'chickens'

The suffix -tac indicates non-personal plural in Tumbalá. It also occurs in the plural of sc'ok 'girl' before the personal plural -ob.

muttak	'chickens'	sc'oktakob	'girls'
te?tak	'several trees'	tehkluhtak	'villages'

The morpheme *la* indicates the plural of first and second personal pronouns. It precedes pronoun Set I and follows pronoun Set II. See the ^opronoun sets in 6.4.

la- + a *piʔal* = *laʔ piʔal* 'your companion'

la- + a *wotot* = *laʔ wotot* 'your house'

la- + *kotot* = *la kotot* 'our house'

ʔaʔ k'eleyonla 'you saw us'

ʔah k'eleyetla ^{I#} 'saw you (pl)'

ʔaʔ tiliyonla 'we came'

winikonla 'we are men'

CHAPTER 7

VERB INFLECTION

7.1. The aspect particles

(1) The continuative [✓] is expressed by three preposed particles. In the Tumbalá dialect it is *woli*, in Tilait it is [✓]*konkol*, and in Sabanilla it is *yakel*. There is evidence that *yakel* was an ancient form in the Tumbalá dialect. Examples are:

woliʔ wayel 'he is sleeping' (Tumbalá)

[✓]*konkol i wayel* 'he is sleeping' (Tila)

yakel i wayel 'he is sleeping' (Sabanilla)

(2) The particle *mi-* expresses habitual or progressive action. Examples are:

#	[✓] <i>mik caʔlen wayel</i>	'I sleep'
#	<i>maʔ caʔlen wayel</i>	'you sleep'
#	<i>miʔ caʔlen wayel</i>	'he, she, sleeps'

mi lak ca?len wayer	'we sleep' (incl)
mik ca?len lohon wayer	'we sleep' (excl)
mi la? ca?len wayer	'you (pl) sleep'
mi? ca?lenob wayer	'they sleep'
mik mahlel ti tehklum	'I am going to town'
ma? mahlel ti tehklum	'you are going to town'
mi? mahlel ti tehklum	'he, she, is going to town'
mi lak mahlel ti tehklum	'we are going to town' (incl)
mik mahlel lohon ti tehklum	'we are going to town' (excl)
mi la? mahlel ti tehklum	'you (pl) are going to town'
mi? mahlelob ti tehklum	'they are going to town'

(3) The particles *ɣa?* and *ti?* express action completed or past tense. *ɣa?* is used in the Tumbalá dialect. *Ti?* is used in the Sabanilla and Tiladialects. Examples are:

Tumbalá

honon ɣak ca?le t'an	'I spoke'
hatet ɣa' ca?le t'an	'you spoke'
hini ɣi? ca?le t'an	'he, she, spoke'
hononla ɣa la k ca?le t'an	'we spoke' (incl)
honon lohon ɣak ca?le lohon t'an	'we (excl) spoke'
hatetla ɣa? la? ca?le t'an	'you (pl) spoke'
hinob ɣi? ca?leyob t'an	'they spoke'

Sabanilla * Tila

honon tik ca?le t'an	'I spoke'
hatet ti a ca?le t'an	'you spoke'

hini ti? [✓]ca?le t'an 'he spoke'
 hononla ~~ga~~ lak [✓]ca?le t'an 'we spoke' (incl)
 honon lohon ~~gak~~ [✓]ca?le lohon t'an 'we (excl) spoke'
 hatetla ~~ts~~ ~~ga?~~ la? [✓]ca?le t'an 'you(pl) spoke'
 hinob ~~gi?~~ [✓]ca?leyob t'an 'they spoke'

Sabanilla - Tila

honon tik [✓]ca?le t'an 'I spoke'
 hatet ~~i~~ ti a [✓]ca?le t'an 'you spoke'
 hini ti' [✓]ca?le t'an 'he spoke'
 hononla ti lak [✓]ca?le t'an 'we (incl) spoke'
 honon lohon tik [✓]ca?le lohon t'an 'we (~~excl~~) spoke'
 hinob ~~gi?~~ ~~ti?~~ [✓]ca?leyob t'an 'they spoke'

(4) The particle kah in the dialects of Tumbalá and Sabanilla and the particle keh in the dialect of Tila express future action. It follows the progressive aspect particle mi. Examples are:

honon mi kah k [✓]ca?len t'an 'I am going to speak'
 hatet mi kah a [✓]ca?len t'an 'you are going to speak'
 hini mi kah i [✓]ca?len t'an 'he is going to speak'
 honon~~mi~~ kah lak [✓]ca?len t'an 'we (incl) are going to speak'
 honon lohon mi kah c [✓]ca?len lohon t'an 'we (excl) are going to speak'
~~honen~~ hatetla mi kah la? [✓]ca?len t'an 'you (pl) are going to speak'
 jinob mi kah i [✓]ca?lenob t'an 'they are going to speak'

In the Tila dialect the kah used in the above examples becomes keh.

The particle mu? also expresses future action. It occurs with the intensifying suffix s, or is followed by the particle

to 'yet'. Examples are:

mus i ca?len k'ay 'he is about to sing'

mu? to i ca?len k'ay 'he will yet sing'

CHART V

Formation of Completive and Imperative Stems

The following chart shows the transitive - intransitive dichotomy of the verb classes and the affixes which are taken in common by these classes. The second vowel in the imperative form of CVC verbs is a repetition of the root vowel.

Class	<u>Transitive</u>		Imperative
	continuative, habitual, incomplete	Completive	
1 Final fricative	tah 'find'	taha	taha
2 Final stop	lap 'dress'	lapa	lapa
3 Final -n, past	nihka-n 'move'	nihka	nihkan
4 Final -cokon	wa?cokon 'make to stand up'	wa?coko	wa?cokon
	<u>Intransitive</u>		<u>Hortative</u>
1 Final fricative	tah-tal 'found'	tah-le	tahlek
2 Final stop	lahp-el 'dressed'	lah-i	
3 Final -n	nihkantel 'to be moved'	nihkan-ti	nihkan-tik
4 Final -cokon	wa?cokon-tel 'to be stood up'	wa?cokon-ti	wa?i (impv.)
5 Final -el	legel 'ascend'	legi	legik
6 Final -tal	buc-tal 'sit down'	buc-le	buci (impv)

7.2. Transitive Verbs

A display of morphemes in the transitive active verb phrase is given in Chart VI. By definition, transitive verbs take objects. The object of a transitive verb may be a substantive, a pronoun or a nominalized clause. *Mi*, *woli*, and *ʔa?* are the forms of the aspect markers. The vowel of the aspect marker is replaced by the vowel of the person marker when they differ. When they are the same there is a reduction marked by a glottal. See paradigms in paragraph . The pronominal subject occurs within the verb phrase, as explained in the chapter on pronouns. A third person singular direct object pronoun is understood. For example: *mu^v kah k pihtan#* 'I am going to wait for him'.

(1) A marker indicating action already begun or terminated is shown by the suffix *-is^v* which attaches itself to the continuative and past tense markers. It also gives emphasis to the verb phrase. Examples are: *wolis^v i mel i col* 'he is now making his cornfield'. *ʔa?^vis i mele iyotot* 'he has made his house'.

(2) Formation of the past tense. Compare Chart V. Transitive verbs with a simple stem (CVC) repeat the stem vowel after the final consonant in the past tense, except when the stem vowel is *a* in which case *a* becomes *ʌ*, except after *h* or *ʔ*. Examples are:

	<u>Continuative</u>	<u>Past</u>
wolik pas	'I am showing'	ʔak pasʌ 'I showed'
wolik ham	'I am opening'	ʔak hamʌ 'I opened'
wolik tah	'I am finding'	ʔak taha 'I found'

Transitive verbs with a derived stem ending in *-n* retain their original form in the present and the future, but lose *-n* in

the past. Examples are:

wolik sAklan 'I am searching' ʒak sAkla 'I searched'
 wolik naʔtan 'I am thinking' ʒak naʔta 'I thought'
 wolik buccokon 'I am setting it down' ʒak buccoko 'sat it down'
 wolik waʔcokon 'I am standing it up' ʒaʔ waʔcoko 'I stood it up'

(3) A word modifying the action may occur between the pronominal subject and the verb stem. See Chart VI. Examples are:

ʒiʔ caʔ taha 'he found (it) again
 ʒak ʒal tece k cobal 'I e began to prepare my corn field'

See chapter 4 for a discussion of modifiers.

(4) A benefactive marker, -ben-, may occur after the verb stem, and after the causative marker. This introduces the indirect object, indicating a person other than the subject of the verb. Examples are:

woliʔ pulbenon k col 'he is burning my corn field for me'
 woliʔ kantesabenon kalobil 'he is teaching my son for me'
 ʒiʔ yakʔeyob i ba wah 'they gave to each other food'

(5) There is a class of action nouns which occur as an incorporated object of the transitive verb caʔlen 'do' or 'make' to form a verb phrase which include the meaning of the noun.

Examples are:

miʔ caʔlen ohbal 'he coughs'	miʔ caʔlen wayel 'he sleeps'
miʔ caʔlen eʔel 'he works'	miʔ caʔlen weʔel 'he eats'
miʔ caʔlen onel 'he shouts'	miʔ caʔlen haʔal 'it rains'
miʔ caʔlen ukʔel 'he cries'	miʔ caʔlen baʔ ^k uen 'he fears'
miʔ caʔlen kʔay 'he sings'	miʔ caʔlen sʔmbal 'he walks'
miʔ caʔlen tʔan 'he speaks'	miʔ caʔlen alas 'he plays'

woli ti ahcʌn 'he is groaning' wolix ti boŋ' 'it is growing'
 woli ti ahlel 'it is being said' woli ti uk'el 'it is crying'
 woli ti ahnel 'he is running' woli? ha?al 'it is raining'
 woli ti bahk'uel 'she is in labor'

(6) A marker -e? indicating an object or the end of a phrase is sometimes used (especially by older Chols) when an object is not expressed. It is becoming obsolete. Examples are:

wolik nope? 'I am learning it'
 ʒak lote? 'I picked it up'
 yom ma? tahe? 'you ought to find it'

~~Chart VII~~

~~Intransitive and Passive Assemblies~~

The following chart shows the ordering of the morphemes which must or may occur in the intransitive and passive assemblies. A description of the morphemes follows in section 7.3.

Chart VII

Intransitive and Passive Assemblies

The ordering of the morphemes which must or may occur in the intransitive and passive assemblies. A description of the morphemes follows in section 7.3.

aspect	future	relative	subject	manner	stem	ref. to 3d party	subject	1st pl. excl.
mi √ mus	kah / kahel		k a i	√ca? 'again'	-el -tal	-ben -e?		lohon
<u>habitual</u> mi		ba	lak k.. h.. 1st pl. excl. la? i ...	poh 'a short time' √can 'constant-ly'				
<u>continuative</u> woli √ conkol yAkel				√caKa 'carefully'				
<u>past</u> pa? (ta?) (ti?)							-on -et #	-onla -etla -ob

7.3. Intransitive and passive

The subject pronoun combines with the aspect or tense marker. The verb agrees with the subject in person and number.

mi? cAmel	'he dies'
mi? cAmel winik	'the man dies'
mi? cAmelob winikob	the men die'

(1) As in the transitive, the marker -is^v may occur to indicate action already begun or terminated.

wolis i let legel	'he is now ascending'
ga?is lepsi	'he already ascended'

(2) As in the transitive, a relative pronoun may occur after the continuative, habitual or past tense. See chart VII.

hini woli ba mahlel hinac José	'he who goes is Joe'
hini ga? ba tili hinac José	'he who went is Joe'

(3) As in the transitive, a word modifying the action may occur between the pronominal subject and the verb stem. See Chart VII and paragraph 8.3.

hatet ma? poh kaytal ilayi	'you remain here a short time'
mi? can legel ti tehclum ti huhump'ehl k'in	'he constantly goes to the town every day'

(4) A marker, ^vben, -en, making reference to a third party may occur before the marker of the past passive. The form -en occurs after k'-. Examples are:

ga? cilbentiyon	'it was taken from me'
ga? hambentiyet	'it was opened for you'
ga? nup'benti	'it was closed for him'
ga? subentiyonla	'it was told to us'

ʒa? tahbentiyetla 'it was found for you (pl)'

ʒa? ak'entiyob 'it was given to them'

(5) The formation of the passive of transitive verbs that end in -n or in -^vokon. These form the passive with the suffix -tel. If the final vowel is a, it becomes ʌ. Examples are:

nic^v'tan 'to listen' + -tel = woli? nictʌntel 'he is being listened to'

k'ahtin 'to ask for' + -tel = woli? k'ahtintel 'he is being requested'

mi hak i k'ahtintel 'he is going to be requested'

In the past tense, the passive suffix -tel is replaced by -ti. This is parallel to the stem change in intransitive verbs mahlel vs. mahli. Examples are:

ʒa? nic^v'tantiyon 'I was listened to (they listened to me)'

ʒa? nic^v'tantiyet ɪʒ 'you were listened to'

ʒa? ni^v'tanti# 'he was listened to'

(6) The past tense of the intransitive passive of the transitive CVC patterns like intransitive verbs. It is formed by the infix -h- and the suffix -i and occurs with CVC verbs not ending in -h, -s, or -s. Examples are:

haʒ' 'to hit' + -h- .. -i = ʒa? hahʒ'ihon 'I was hit'

k'el 'to see' + -h- .. -i = ʒa? k'ehliyon 'I was seen'

(7) Transitive verbs of the CVC class ending in -h, -s, -s, form the past passive with the suffix -le. Examples are:

pas 'to show' + -le = ʒa? pasleyon 'I was revealed'

k'es^v 'to change' + -le = ʒa? k'esle 'I was changed'

tah 'to find' + -le = ʒa? tahleyon 'I was found'

(8)

(8) Transitive verbs of the CVC class ending in -h, -s, -s^v form the past passive with the benefactive by use of the suffix -benti-. Examples are:

ǰa? pʌsbentiyon 'it was shown to me'

ǰa? tahbentiyet 'it was found for you'

~~ǰa? ak'enti# 'it was given to him'~~

~~ǰa? cilbentiyonla 'it was taken from us' (inc)~~

ǰa? k'esbentiyonla 'it was exchanged for us'

(9) The directional intransitive. An intransitive word meaning "to move in a particular direction" may occur before another intransitive ~~to~~ indicating the direction of the motion.

Examples are:

woli' (descend) (go)	
woli' hubel mahlel	'he is descending'
woli' (go out)	
woli' lok'el mahlel	'he is leaving'
woli' (ascend come)	
woli' legel tilel	'he is ascending'

A directional intransitive may also follow a transitive verb stem:

woli' (return)	
woli' c'AM suhtel	'he is bringing it home'
woli' (enter)	
woli' c'AM ocel	'he is bringing it in'
woli' c'AM lok'el	'he is taking it out'
woli' c'AM mahlel	'he is taking it away'

(10) The intransitive of purpose. An intransitive verb of motion may occur before a transitive verb. ^{The} ~~he~~ combined expression has the force of purpose. Examples are:

mi? cək'otel i c'uhlel i bak'tesan hini winik	
'the spirit of another man comes to frighten him'	
ga? lok'i mahlel i mel i col	
'he was was leaving to make his cornfield'	

(11) Participles. An intransitive completive serves to express a condition resulting from an action. The suffix -em is the marker.

Examples are:

hulel 'to arrive'	ga? huli	'he arrived'	hulem ^{is}	'he already arrived'
mahlel 'to go'	ga? mahli	'he went away'	mahlem ^{is}	'he has already gone'
legel 'to ascend'	ga? legi	'he ascended'	legem ^{is}	'he already ascended'

These can be inflected for person: hulemonis 'I already arrived'

mahlemetis 'you have already gone'

There is also a passive completive of a transitive verb.

Examples are:

bok	'to uproot'	>	bohkem	'uprooted'
ook	'to waste'	>	cohkem	'wasted'
ham	'to open'	>	hahmem	'opened'
puk	'to scatter'	>	puhkem	'scattered'
pak'	'to stain'	>	pahk'em	'stained'

(12) Defective verbs. They do not take tense aspect markers.

Examples are:

kuhil	'I know'			
a wuhil	'you know'			
uhil	'he knows'			
la kuhil	'we know (incl.)'			
kuhil lohon	'we know (excl.)'			
la? wuhil	'you know'			
yuhilob	'they know'			
kilal	'I seem to be'			
a wilal	'you are (condition)'			
yilal	'he is (condition)'			
kom	'I want'	la kom	'we want (incl.)'	
a wom	'you want'	kom lohon	'we want (excl.)'	
yom	'he wants'	la? wom	'you want'	
		yomob	'they want'	

The word yom has several meanings:

yom to, anto yom	'it is still lacking'
yom i k'el	'he wants to see it'
yom ma? mahlel	'you ought to go'
yom mahliket	'you ought to go'

talon	'I am coming'	talonla	'we are coming (incl.)'
		talon lohon	'we are coming (excl.)'
talet	'you are coming'	taletla	'you are coming'
tal ^o	'he, she, is coming'	talob	'they are coming'

present

samiyon	'I am going'	samiyonla	'we are ^{go} coming (incl.)'
samiyet	'you are going'	samiyon lohon	'we are going (excl.)'
msami	'he, ^{she} e, is going'	samiyob	'they are going'
		samiyetla	'you are going'

past

šahniyon	'I went'	šahniyonla	'we went'
šahniyet	'you went'	šahniyetla	'you went'
šahni	'he, she went'	šahniyob	'they went'

~~The word yom has several meanings:~~

yom to, anto yom	'it is still lacking'
yom i k'el	'he wants to see it'
yoma? mahlel	'you ought to go'
yom mahiket	'you ought to go'

7.4. ^I Imperatives

(1) To form the imperative of verbs of the stem GVO the vowel of the stem *ə*s repeated. Examples are:

šepe hini te?	'he fells the tree'
mili hini mut	'strangle the chicken'
loto hini alas	'pick up the toy'
k'usu hini wah	'eat the tortillas'

The same vowel of the stem is repeated with the exception of a. The a is repeated only when the final consonant is h. In other cases the a becomes ʌ. This is the same set of changes as in the past tense stem. Examples are:

k'aha hini isim[√] 'pick the corn'
 taha hini a wih[√]'in 'find your little brother'
 ham^ʌ jini otot 'open the house'

(2) To form the imperative of verbs ending in -n, the final -n is retained. Examples are:

tempan si? 'gather fire wood'
 wa?cokon hini am b^ʌi ye?tel 'designate an authority'
 na?tan a we?tel 'remember your job'

(3) To form the imperative of verbs of position (ending in -cokon), the suffix -cokon is dropped and -i is added:

bu[√]c[√]kokon 'to set' bu[√]ci 'sit down' < bu[√]ct^ʌl 'to sit down'
 wa?cokon 'to make to stop' wa?i 'stop' < wa?t^ʌl 'to stand'

Compare paragraphs 2.1.4. and 3.2.6.

(4) There are hortative clauses which urge action. They employ the particle la? and the suffix -ek or -ik. Examples with passive stems are:

la? tahlek (tah 'find') 'let him be found'
 la? k[√]alek (k[√]c 'tie') 'let it be tied'
 la? c[√]ihlik (c[√]ih 'nail') 'let it be nailed'

Examples with intransitive stems are:

la? tilik a pi?ʌl (tilel 'come') 'let your companion come'
 la? mahlikon (mahlel 'go') 'let me go'
 la? hilik (hilel 'end') 'let it come to an end'

↳ The transitive verb may also occur with the particle *la?* but without the suffix *-ek* or *-ik*. Examples are:

la? i tempan si? Manuel 'let Manuel gather firewood'

la? lak tempan si? 'let us gather firewood'

Their uses may be charted as follows:

1st per. sg. *la? k čok* 'let me discard (it)'

3rd per. sg. *la? i čok* 'let him discard (it)'

1st per. pl. *la? lak čok* 'let us discard (it)'

3rd per. pl. *la? i čokob* 'let them discard (it)'

The hortative of the intransitive verb *mahlel* 'to go':

1st per. ^{sg.} *la? mahlikon* 'let me go'

1st per. pl. *la? mahlikonla* 'let us go'

3rd per. sg. *la? mahlik#* 'let him go'

3rd per. pl. *la? mahlikob* 'let them go'

(5) There are simple imperatives. Examples are:

kuku 'go' *la? ku* 'come'

Aski 'get out' (to an animal)

(6) There are also pariphrastic ways of expressing a command politely. Examples are:

yom mahlikonla 'we should go'

yom hubiket 'you should dismount'

7.5. Predication.

(1) The suffix [✓]-AO[✓] occurs with certain nouns and adjectives to give emphasis. Examples are:

wen	'good'	wenAO [✓]	'it is good'
ut [✓] 'at	'good'	ut [✓] 'atao	'it is good'
naht	'far'	nahtAO [✓]	'it is far'

(2) The suffix [✓]-i[✓] occurs with words of ~~see~~ aspect, verbs, nouns and descriptive words to indicate action already finished or intensified. Examples are:

ga?is mahli	'he already went'
konis [✓]	'I am going now'
winkis [✓]	'he is already a man'
wolis ti e?tel	'he is already working'
ak'alelis [✓]	'it is already night'
hamalis [✓]	'it is clear now'
yahpemis [✓]	' ^t is was already extinguished'
oamenis [✓]	'he is already dead'

Chapter 8

FUNCTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

8.1. Negative Statements^{lc}. The negative is expressed by the words mač + -ik and maʔanik.

(1) A negative statement may be formed by preposing the negative word mač to a ^{tenseless} verb, noun or adjective and by suffixing

-ik. Examples are:

oan	'it is high'	mač oanik	'it is not high'
yuhil	'he knows (it)'	mač yuhilik	'he does not know (it)'
yom	'he wants (it)'	mač yomik	'he does not want (it)'
miʔ mehlei	'one is able'	mač mehlik	'one is not able'
kalobil	'(he) is my son'	mač kalobilik	'he is not my son'
winiket	'you are a man'	mač winiketik	'you are not a man'

(2) If the negative is used with ^s-i^k to mean not yet, the ^s-i^k takes the place of ^k-i^s:

mač oanik 'he is not tall' mač oanis 'he is not tall yet'

(3) If the negative is used with -to to mean not yet, the -to takes the place of -i^k:

mač + -to > mašto 'not yet'

(4) To ^{affirm} make a negative declaration the suffix ^k-su is placed ^{with mač} ~~follows~~ *The forms mačik, mačis, mačsu introduce contrary to fact statements.*

mač oanik 'he is not tall' mačku oanik 'it is certain that he is not tall'

(5) A negative response is made by the use of maʔanik in the dialect of Tumbalá and by maʔan in the dialects of Sabanilla and Tila. Examples are:

am ba a walobil 'do you have children?' ma?anik 'I do not'

am ba i yalobil 'does he have children?' ma?anik^k 'He does not'

This form is also used for a negative statement:

ma?anik woli ti e?tel 'he is not working'

ma?anik^k mik mahlel 'I am not going'

ma?anik ^{ka} 'mahliyon 'I did not go'

ma?anik ^{ka} ^{ca}?le 'He did not do it.'

(6) Negative commands may be formed by the use of mac + the 2nd personal pronoun plus a verb. Examples are:

mac a tal 'do not touch it'

mac a ha? 'do not hit it'

mac a ca?len uk'el 'do not cry'

A negative command may also be formed by preposing mac + yom 'it is fitting' + -ik to the regular verb with aspect and person markers. Examples are:

mac yomik ma? mahlel 'you shouldn't go'

mac yomik mi? tilel 'he should not come'

mac yomik mi? pay tilel presidente 'you (pl) should not bring the president'

8.2. Interrogative words

(1) The interrogative words are: bahce? 'how?', baki? 'where?', cukoc? 'why?', cuki 'what?', mahki 'who?'. Examples are:

bahce? awilal 'how are you?'

baki ma? mahlel 'where are you going?'

cukoc^{ca} ma? mahliyet 'why did you go?'

cuki a k'aba? 'what is your name?'

mahki hini 'who is he?'

(2) There is an interrogative particle, *ba*, that occurs after the aspect, or the pronoun or an adjective. These make yes - no questions. Examples are:

mu? ba i suhtel	'is he going to return?'
woli ba a k'ʌn hini	'are you using this?'
ɣa? ba mahliʔ	'did he go?'
a wom baʔ	'do you want (it)?'
k'amet baʔ	'are you sick?'
him ba a wotot	'is this your house?'
cahpʌbiletis ba	'are you already prepared?'

8.3. Modifiers

There are many words that occur before the verb ⁺ phrase indicating quantify or manner. Examples are:

kabʌl 'much', caʌn 'continually', hal 'for a long time',
lahal 'equal', temel 'together'

kabʌl mi? caʔlen eʔtel 'he works much'

mi? caʌn caʔlen haʔal 'it continues to rain'

hal ɣa? kʌle ya? ti? tikwʌlel 'he stayed in hot country
for a long time'

lahal ɣa? mahliyob ti tehklum 'they went together to town'

Other words occur after the aspect marker indicating manner:

ɣa? poç yaʔli hini pisil ti lum 'the rag fell on the
ground (crumpled)

ɣa? p'it k'ʌski i yok 'the bones (small ones) of his foot
were dislocated'

mi? tene tilel haʔal 'the rain comes (often)'

The form of a modifier may change with the construction in which it occurs.

mu? hač i kep kay i cobal 'he only left his work in the
cornfield a little while'

kepkepna woli? pulel mahlel hini colel 'the cornfield is
burning by sections'

kepekna woli ti uhtel mahlel hini e?tel 'the work is being
finished by sections'

kepel i cobal ga? kale 'his cornfield was left unfinished'

8.4. Expressions of agreement

(1) A phrase is frequently used in conversation to answer questions. It consists of the particle ku 'yes' following an aspect particle, or the irregular verbs an, wuhil, -om, or certain adjectives. We cite the manner in which it is used:

woli ba i hap sa? 'is he drinking corn drink?' woli? ku
'yes, he is'

mu? ba a mahlel 'are you going to go?' mu? ku 'yes, I am going'

ga? ba le*ʔ*i 'did he descend?' ga? ku 'yes, he descended'

am ba a walobil 'do you have a son?' an ku 'yes, I have'

al ba 'is it heavy?' al ku 'yes, it is heavy'

a ca?an ba 'is it yours?' k ca?an ku 'yes, it is mine'

yuhil ba sambal 'does he know how to walk?' yuhil ku
'yes, he knows how to'

a wom ba e?tel 'do you want to work?' kom ku 'yes, I want to'

yom ba mi lak tuk'e? 'shall we pick it?' yom ku 'yes, let's pick it'

(2) The particle ku is also used as an infix with $\check{c}e?i$ 'thus' or with hini 'this, that'. Variants are $k\check{w}\lambda y$ and $\check{\Lambda}ck\check{w}\lambda y$.

For use of -y- see paragraph 1-5 1.5.c. Examples are:

$\check{c}e?kuyi$ o $\check{c}e?k\check{w}\lambda yi$ o $\check{c}e?\check{\Lambda}ck\check{w}\lambda yi$ 'that's the way it is'
 $hinkuyi$ o $hink\check{w}\lambda yi$ o $hin\check{\Lambda}ck\check{w}\lambda yi$ 'that's it'

8.5. Quotation markers

(1) These expressions often occur in the course of a narrative when the speaker is quoting someone else, or at the end of a quotation, or at the end of a discourse. Examples are:

$\check{c}e?i$ 'that's the way it is'

$\check{c}e?$ - a bound form of the pronoun:

$\check{c}o?on$ 'thus I say'

$ee \check{c}e?et$ 'thus you say'

$\check{c}e?en$ 'thus he says'

$\check{c}e?ob$ 'thus they say'

(2) Complete sentences are:

$\check{c}e? \check{\Lambda}i? y\check{\Lambda}l\check{\Lambda}$ 'thus he said'

$\check{c}e? \check{\Lambda}i? y\check{\Lambda}l\check{\Lambda}yob$ 'thus they said'

$\check{c}e? \check{\Lambda}a? subenti$ 'thus he said to him'

CHAPTER 9

RELATORS

9.1. Introducers of independent clauses

These and other words and phrases may be used to introduce independent clauses. They serve as links with other sentences

in the text or as parenthetical expressions. Examples are:

✓ ce? ha'el	'also'	awilan	'you see (a parenthetical word)'
✓ ce? hini	'well'	hini ✓ ca?an	'therefore, for this reason'
kome	'because'		
hin ✓ ce?	'is when'		
wale	'now'		
yik'ot	'and'		

9.2. Words and phrases and that indicate place

There is a series of words and phrases that indicate place.

ba?	'where'	wΛ?i	'here'
ya?i, ya?	'there'	wΛ? ba?	'here'
ya?ya?i	'there'	wΛ? ti	'here'
ya? ba?	- verb 'there'	ila ba?	'here'
ya? ti	- noun 'there'	ila ti	'here'

ya? } + ba? + verb	{ there	where something happens or is located
wΛ? }	{ here	

ya? } + ti + noun	{ there	at a place, in
wΛ? }	{ here	

Some examples of their use are:

ga? mahli <u>ya?</u> <u>ba?</u> an i tat	'he went where his father is'
<u>ya?</u> ke yom ma? k'otel	'you ought to come here'
yom ma? k'otel <u>ya?ya?i</u>	'you ought to come here'
ak'Λ <u>wΛ?ti</u> kotot	'put it here in my house'

ti can precede various nouns and mean in or to:

ti mal 'inside', an ti mal otot 'it is inside the house'
 ti humpat 'outside', an ti humpat otot 'it is outside the house'
 ti can 'above', ya?an ti can 'it is there above'
 ti yebal 'under', an ti yebal lum 'it is underground'
 ti pam 'on top of', an ti pam sahlel 'it is on top of the rock'
 ti hoytilel 'around', anob ti hoytilel tehklum 'they are around the town'

913. Temporal expressions

Temporal ~~express~~ words, phrases or clauses may occur at the beginning or at the end of sentences or in the middle.

ti ora hač mi kah i ča? suhtel 'he returns to his house soon'
 c'ihiyemonla ce? ma?anik lak pi?al 'we are sad when we do not have a companion'

The following words introduce dependent temporal clauses:

ce? 'when'	mi? pak' i col <u>ce?</u> mi? la lak'tiyel i yorahlel ha?al 'he sows his cornfield when the rainy season draws near'
baki ora ^{when} 'during'	<u>baki ora</u> an ha?al mac lah kuč hini čanal 'in the rainy season we cannot stand the cold'
k'AlAl 'until'	mik can tuk' lohon kahpe? <u>k'AlAl</u> ti mayo 'we continue harvesting coffee until May'

A number of temporal expressions occur with ti:

ti ak'Alal	'in the night'
ti k'inil	'by day'
ti ora	'soon'
ti yorahlel	'in its time'
ti eh ce? ti hunio	'in June'

9.4. Conjunctions.

There are both coordinating and subordinating conjunctions, some of which overlap, as the following examples show.

copulative: yic'ot 'and' simply unites nouns or noun phrases. It sometimes unites clauses.

ǰi? pɔyɔ tilel i tat yik'ot i na? 'he brought his mother and father'

an haʔal yik'ot ǰʌnal ti Tumbalá 'there are rain and cold in Tumbalá'

disjunctive: mi 'or' indicates difference. It sometimes occurs with clauses.

maʔanik mi? yubin k'ahk mi ǰʌnal 'he has neither fever nor chills'

adversative: pero, ankese 'although' indicate opposition (borrowed from Spanish).

ǰa? mahli ti tehklum, pero maʔanik ǰi? taha presidente

'he went to town, but he did not find the president'

ankese mač i yorahleliš pak', ǰi? ča? mele i čol

'although it is not time to sow, he renewed his cornfield'

causative kome 'because', čaʔan 'because', indicate motive.
kome čaʔan, indicate motive.

maʔanik ǰa? mehli i k'asel ti ha? kome k'am ǰi? čaʔle haʔal

'he could not cross the river because it rained very hard'

čaʔan č k'am ǰi? čaʔle haʔal, maʔanik ǰa? mehli i k'asel ti ha?

'because it rained very recently, he could not cross the river'

purposive: indicates the purpose or reason

✓ ca?an 'for'

✓ ca?anet 'for you'

✓ ca?anon 'for me'

✓ ca?an hini 'for him, her'

ga? mahli ✓ ca?an mi? saKlan lum
'he went in order to look for land'

ga? mahli ti Villahermosa ✓ ca?an mi? g'ak&ntel
'he went to villahermosa to be cured'

illative: indicates the result, effect or consequence

hini ✓ ca?an 'therefore' ✓ ce?hini 'therefore'

ga? ak'enti i ye?tel, hini ✓ ca?an ma?anis ✓ mi? kabal mel i ✓ col
'he was given an order, therefore he does not work many cornfields'

ga? ✓ cAmi i tat, ✓ ce? hini ✓ ma?anis ✓ mi? yahnel ti escuela
'his father died, therefore he does not now attend school'

others:

✓ ce? ba 'when'

✓ ce? nak 'when'

9.5. Conditions (a)

(1) Simple conditions in present time are expressed by the subordinate clause with mi 'if'. Examples are:

mi ma?anik mi? ha? hini lum mi kah i ✓ cAmel i yalobil
'if he does not strike the ground his son will die'

mi woli ti we?el ya? ti pam hini la?al ba isim, ora abi
mi? hilel hini isim
'if he is eating on top of the piled-up corn, it is said
that it will soon come to an end (it won't last long)'

(b) (2) Simple conditions in past time are expressed by the subordinate clause with mi 'if'. Examples are:

mi ma?anik ga? tili ha?al, tikinis ✓ hini ✓ colel
'if rain did not come, the cornfield (will be) dry now'

mi gi? hak'^ hini, mi kah i pihtan
'if he accepted that, then he will wait (for it)'

^c
 (3) Future event conceived of as having happened. Examples:

mi ɣa? cʌmiyet, honon ɣa? mik mʌket
 'if you should die, it is I who would be the one to bury you'

(2) Contrary to fact conditions. ik is appended to the tense morpheme of the subordinate clause, or if the clause is negative, to the negative morpheme. Examples are:

(a) In past time:

ɣa?ik tiliyet, maʔanik ɣa? mahli José
 'if you had come, Joe would not have gone'

^v
 macik ɣa? tiliyon, maʔanik ɣa? behk'i
 'if I had not come, it would not have spilt'

maʔ ɣaʔan ɣa? mele hun ak'bi. maciki ɣaʔis huli a kas
 'you didn't write a letter yesterday. if you had, your kerosene would have come'

The subordinate clause may be a past participle with the verb "to be" understood. Example:

hamʌliki ɣa? mahli ti ʔolel
 'if it had been clear, he would have gone to his cornfield'

(b) In future time:

muk'ik a mahlel, mik mahlel jaʔel
 'if you would go, I would go also'

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