THE GRAMMAR OF CH'ORTI' MAYA FOLKTALES

AN ABSTRACT

SUBMITTED ON THE TWENTIETH DAY OF MAY 2013

TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

OF THE SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

OF TULANE UNIVERSITY

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OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ΒY

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APPROVED:

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ABSTRACT

This study describes the grammar of the Ch'orti' Maya language as it appears in a collection of oral literature. I collected the stories that form the basis of this study in and around Jocotán, Guatemala, during 2004 and 2005. I worked with bilingual story-tellers to make audio recordings of the original Ch'orti'-language tales, produce textual transcriptions, and Spanish-language translations. Here I have translated the stories into English, and have analyzed the resulting bilingual texts linguistically, producing a description of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the language. THE GRAMMAR OF CH'ORTI' MAYA FOLKTALES

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1PA	First person Plural Absosolutive
1PE	First person Plural Ergative
1PI	First person Plural Independent
1PN	First person Plural Nominative
1SA	First person Singular Absolutive
1SE	First person Singular Ergative
1SI	First person Singular Independent
1SN	First person Singular Nominative
2PA	Second person Plural Absolutive
2PE	Second person Plural Ergative
2PI	Second person Plural Independent
2PN	Second person Plural Nominative
2SA	Second person Singular Absolutive
2SE	Second person Singular Ergative
2SI	Second person Singular Independent
2SN	Second person Singular Nominative
3A	Third person Aabsolutive
3E	Third person Ergative

3I Third person Independent

3N	Third person Nominative
ABSR	Abstractive
AP	Adjectival or Adverbial Phrase
APV	Antipassive Voice
ART	Article
ASCII	American Standard Code for Information Interchange
ASP	Aspect
С	Consonant (in a syllable template)
CAUS	Causative
CLASS	Classifier
DER	Derivational
DP	Determiner Phrase
IMP	Imperative
MS	Microsoft
MV	Middle Voice
NEG	Negative / Negation
NOM	Nominalizer
NP	Noun Phrase
PART	Participle (verbal adjective)
PL	Plural
PLFM	Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín
POS	Positional (derives a root into a positional verb)
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PREP	Preposition
PSV	Passive Voice
QUES	Question (interrogative morpheme)

SF	Stem Formative
SQL	Standard Query Language
SUBJ	Subjunctive
T/A/M/V	Tense / Aspect / Mood / Voice
TRANS	Transitivizer
V	Vowel (in a syllable template)

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Overview

The present work is a grammatical description of the Ch'orti' Maya language as it appears in a selected set of stories. The stories, made up of folktales, eye-witness accounts, and humor, are oral literature among native speakers of Ch'orti'. They have here become written texts, by itself a decontextualizing and even colonizing imposition of modern and western concepts on live and interactive social processes that are uniquely Maya and uniquely Ch'orti'. These stories, reduced to printed text, appear in the appendix, together with side-by-side English translations.

The Ch'orti' texts in the appendix formed the basis of the grammatical description presented below. There is a definite emphasis here on morphology, since the language relies heavily on derivational and inflectional morphemes, and possibly also because of my personal preferences. The chapter on syntax follows that on morphology and presumes acquaintance with its contents, rather than trying to stand alone. A brief chapter on phonology is included here for

completeness, although the present study was not really designed to delve into that area.

The remainder of this introductory chapter briefly describes the prior literature I have drawn upon, the fieldwork I conducted, and the means by which my grammatical analyses were completed.

1.2. Existing Literature

I have striven in the present study to let the texts I collected speak for themselves, basing my grammatical analysis as much as possible on nothing other than examples from the texts that appear in Appendix A. This does not mean, however, that I began my analysis of these examples without a preexisting theoretical framework. My thinking about Ch'orti' grammar was heavily influenced, even before I began my fieldwork, by extensive literature on linguistic theory in general, Maya linguistics, and on Ch'orti' grammar and vocabulary.

Of the many sources that have affected my perspective on general linguistic theory, some stand out as having particular bearing on issues addressed in this study. These include Dixon's *Ergativity* (1994); Comrie's *Tense* (1985), and *Aspect: An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems* (1976); and Carnie's *Syntax: A Generative Introduction* (2006). The available literature on Maya languages other than Ch'orti', and on Maya linguistics in general, is too vast to cite here, but has influenced my thinking in innumerable ways.

Of the literature focused on Ch'orti' and its immediate kin, a number of works heavily influenced my analysis of the texts I collected. Dictionaries and vocabularies include Wisdom's (1950) Chorti Dictionary, Morán's (1935[1625]) Vocabulario en Lengua Choltí, Diccionario del idioma Ch'orti' by Pérez Martínez et. al (1996), Ojronerob' Ch'orti' / Vocabulario Ch'orti' (2001) and Topop Ojroner Maya Ch'orti'/ Actualización lexical del idioma Maya Ch'orti' (2006) by the Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala, and Hull's (2005) Abbreviated Dictionary of Ch'orti' Maya. Summary grammars include Oakley's (1965) Chorti, Fought's (1984) Cholti Maya: A Sketch, Gramática del Idioma Ch'orti' by Pérez Martínez (1994), and U'tirach e Ojroner Maya Ch'orti' / Gramatica Descriptiva *Ch'orti'* by the Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala (2004). Comprehensive treatments of the grammar include Fought's (1967) Chortí (Mayan): Phonology, Morphophonemics and Morphology, Storniolo's (2008) Comparative Study of Eastern Cholan, and Colonial Ch'olti': The Seventeenth-Century Morán Manuscript by Robertson et al. (2010). Selected grammatical issues are discussed in Fought's (1973) Chortí Semantics: Some Properties of Roots and Affixes, del Moral's (1988) Introducción al sistema verbal del Chortí de Guatemala, Wichman's (2002) Hieroglyphic Evidence for the Historical Configuration of Eastern Ch'olan, as well as Robertson's The Structure of Pronoun Incorporation in the Mayan Verbal Complex (1980), The History of Tense/Aspect/Mood/Voice in the Mayan Verbal Complex (1992), and A Ch'olti'an Explanation for Ch'orti'an Grammar: A Postlude to the Language of the Classic

Maya (1998). Collections of Ch'orti'-language texts include Fought's (1972) Chorti (Mayan) Texts 1, Leyenda Maya Ch'orti' by Pérez Matínez (1996), and Utwa'chir e Ojroner Ch'orti' / Tradición Oral Ch'orti' by the Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala (2006). In addition, a pedagogical approach to the language can be found in *Método modern para aprender el idioma Chortí: una gramática pedagógica* by Lubeck and Cowie (1989), and gleanings of Ch'orti' vocabulary can be found Widsom's (1940) ethnography The Chorti Indians of Guatemala.

1.3. Fieldwork

My fieldwork in Ch'orti' began with a preliminary visit to Jocotán, in the department of Chiquimula, Guatemala, during the summer of 2002. The dominant language of the town was Spanish, but Ch'orti' was spoken in varying degrees in villages near Jocotán and some other *municipios*, nearby. I worked in Jocotán with a paid informant, bilingual in Spanish and Ch'orti', arranged through the Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín (PLFM) in Antigua. My informant walked from a nearby village into Jocotán five days each week for about six weeks.

My work with this informant was very basic and preliminary, focusing on pronunciation and basic verb paradigms. Much of this was just trying to tune my own ear to the sounds of the language, and correcting my pronunciation to a point where it was at least comprehensible to a native speaker. Having some linguistic training through the PLFM, my informant already had some idea what a verb paradigm was, so it was relatively easy to elicit a series of persons and verbal aspects. We also worked to generate a Swadesh list, and to elicit cognates to selected vocabulary from hieroglyphic Maya.

The objective of this phase was to create a reasonable starting position for more detailed work later. I left Jocotán with some local contacts, some idea of the location and accessibility of the Ch'orti'-speaking villages, practice with an informant, and a limited acquaintance with some aspects of the language. I did not realize at that time how little I had learned of the political and personal relationships within the Ch'orti' communities, which contributed to a certain lack of realism in the plans I later developed for the next phase of fieldwork.

As I finished coursework and exams in my Ph.D. program at Tulane, I developed a prospectus for a year of fieldwork in Ch'orti'. My plan was frankly vague and quite open-ended. I proposed to return to Jocotán, and from there to relocate myself into a nearby Ch'orti'-speaking environment. I did not delude myself so far as to believe that an obvious *gringo* could easily be accepted in a Ch'orti' community, but I hoped to be a tolerated stranger who could immerse himself in a natural language environment. My plan was little more than to learn the language by mostly natural means, then to describe it. What actually happened bore little resemblance to this amorphous plan.

The larger phase of my fieldwork took place in Jocotán during the Fall of 2004 and Spring of 2005. I just showed up in Jocotán one day, arranged to rent a room in town, located the PLFM office, and arranged for a Chorti- and Spanish-

speaking informant to work with me temporarily. I continued the kind of preliminary work I had begun in 2002, while slowly broaching with my contacts the subject of living in a Chorti'-speaking community.

But arranging a room in a village seemed to get more difficult, rather than easier, as time went by. I would find one or another person who would seem at least a little receptive to the idea, although this might have been more out of politeness than real interest. As we would negotiate more seriously about a particular arrangement, though, delays and excuses invariably cropped up. The room (house) in question would turn out not really to be available, or the potential renter would start to warn me about how lawless the local situation was. I was sometimes able to verify from other sources that these concerns were not mere inventions, that claims and obligations on housing space were quite dynamic, and community tensions were often quite high. One particular individual with whom I thought I had made serious progress in arranging housing was shot to death in his home, ostensibly because of tensions over land claims within his community.

I began to feel that I was being entirely unrealistic about the impact my alien presence would have on a small, poor, divided, indigenous community. By living in one home and not another, paying one person and not another, or just buying food from one supplier and not another, I would be stepping into a tense and complex web of political and social obligations and resentments that were mostly invisible to me and the effects of which I would never be able to comprehend or predict. I came to feel that trying to insert myself into a Ch'orti'- speaking community might cause more harm than good, and made a personal choice to drop that part of my plan. I would have to content myself with living and working in Jocotán, with only occasional visits to nearby villages.

Luckily, while these negotiations were failing around me, an unplanned research pattern had spontaneously developed between my primary informant and me: collecting stories. I had the luck of obtaining an informant who was well versed in folktales and humorous stories, and who could recount some of his personal experiences in a similar story-telling fashion. This was supposed to be a temporary arrangement, but it became my only data-collection method throughout the research year.

Once developed, our process was perhaps a bit tedious, but generated a set of stories that I was very interested in and found satisfying to collect. An informant would just tell me a story. Sometimes I suggested a genre or theme, and other times an informant was just in a mood to relate a particular story or experience. I would record the informant telling his (my informants were exclusively male) story, at first on cassette tape and later on a digital audio recorder. We would then work together on a transcription of the story by playing it back one phrase at a time while I typed the story into my computer. This usually required the informant to re-recite a phrase with slow and careful enunciation, and to answer my questions about which sounds and structures were present, or correcting my own far-from-native pronunciation. Once I had a written version of the story, we would go through it again, this time having the informant translate it into Spanish, which I transcribed in real time. During the

first half of my research year, I often went back through the Ch'orti' text with my informant, asking him about the meaning of each word, or how a given verb might be conjugated in other forms. Some of the transcribed stories, then, were recorded with an attached vocabulary list and grammatical notes.

Obviously, such a process can be problematic, as any number of errors could be introduced into the text by both the informant and me. Stopping and starting the playback introduces unnatural pauses that can change meanings and structures unintentionally. The time and detail involved in interactive transcription can create a tedium in which attention might wander. The rules for representing spoken Ch'orti' in written form are not completely standardized, and so are subject to varying interpretation and implementation. These problems have to be accepted as part of the process of reducing oral literature to text.

It should be emphasized that the transcribing and editing process was an entirely oral exchange between my informants and me. I, a non-native speaker, of Spanish and non-speaker of Ch'orti', was the only one typing, reading, or visually editing the printed text. Obviously, it would have been preferable to have the informants proofread the printed text, but attempts at this produced no useful results. While most of my informants could read and write, their experience with printed text was limited almost entirely to Spanish. They all had considerable difficulty relating printed Ch'orti' to spoken Ch'orti'.

In spite of these many problems, I was very happy with the texts I collected. I had stories of angels and demons, tales about Jesus that cannot be found in the Bible, an eye-witness account of ceremonies conducted to pay the

earth to stop shaking after the 1976 earthquake, and humorous morality tales that were sometimes risqué. I had these as audio recordings, printed text in Ch'orti', and Spanish-language translations made by bilingual informants. I saw value in the stories themselves, and felt I had a corpus I could use for grammatical analysis and description.

1.4. Data Processing

Once back in the United States, the first step of my analysis was to translate the Ch'orti' transcription into English. The result, after several false starts, is the appendix to this document. While I had a general idea of what each story was about, had my own grammatical and vocabulary notes, and I had the informants' Spanish translations to check against, translating the Ch'orti' into English remained a major learning process, requiring me to look more deeply into the structure of the language.

The translation process also revealed many small problems with the Ch'orti' text I had. Some of these were, of course, simple typographical errors that hadn't been caught in previous reviews. I found some inconsistencies in spelling and word divisions, and sometimes had to go back to my audio recording to try to estimate whether that represented a variation in pronunciation or just incorrect transcription. In some phonological environments, I found it difficult to perceive the distinction between glottalized consonants and the corresponding unglottalized consonants, especially between t' and t and between tz' and tz. So the process of translation became two simultaneous processes of correcting the

Ch'orti' text and translating it into English. I have no doubt that there are still errors in my transcriptions and translations.

My choice to produce a Ch'orti'-English bilingual version of the texts I collected and selected was motivated by two main goals:

- 1. To make more Ch'orti' folktales available in English
- 2. To facilitate my analysis of the grammar of the texts

My first attempt at translation into English was, in retrospect, misguided, and produced English text of minimal value. I attempted to produce a very literal English translation that closely followed the structure of the original Ch'orti'. This was not motivated by any theory of translation, but by my interest in revealing the original morphological and syntactic structures. The literal translations were actually useful for my investigation of grammar, so I was initially satisfied with the results.

My assessment of the literal translations changed abruptly when I attempted to revisit the texts after several weeks of not working with them. Without the original Ch'orti'of each story in short-term memory, I found my own English translations hard to follow. I asked non-specialists to read them over, and they indicated that the text was hard to read and that it was difficult to distinguish intentionally stilted English from possible typographical errors. In short, my literal English translations were gibberish.

I decided I had to make the English translations readable, and therefore far less literal. I compromised on translating sentence by sentence, but making each sentence follow normal English structures, which often meant a structure far removed from that of the Ch'orti'. I omitted distractions such as the evidentiary particle *che* 'they say', which is basic to some narrative structures in Ch'orti' but confusing in English. I had to fight my natural tendency to stick close the word order and phrasal structures of the Ch'orti' original, and had to revise the English multiple times before I felt it was actually clear and readable. The result is, I hope, an English translation that is useful to researchers other than those concentrating on Maya linguistics, although I am sure there is still room for improvement.

Since morphology has been a major interest in my analysis all along, the next step was to produce a database of unique words. My Ch'orti' texts existed as Microsoft (MS) Word files, and I needed a way to pull individual words out so I could break them into component parts. My inclination was to write a fairly complex program in a procedural language like Visual Basic, to extract a list of unique words. Having a programming background, I realized I would probably waste a great deal of time in getting such a program to do everything I wanted it to do, and decided not to go that route. I decided instead to make the process work using higher-level computer tools, imagining this would save time. I was able to make that work, but considering the many other sources of delays in completing my analysis, this was something of a false economy.

I will describe the extraction process only briefly. After breaking the Ch'orti' texts up into MS Word files of manageable size, I used built-in MS Word functions to convert the text into a table with one word per cell, then covert the table back into text so that one word appeared on each line. The MS Word

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program was able then to save that one-word-per-line version of the text as a flat ASCII file in which each record (line) contained a single word. Using the MS Access database package, I was able to convert those flat ASCII files into a database table that had as many records (rows) as there were words in my original Ch'orti' text. Within MS Access I could then use the non-procedural Standard Query Language (SQL) to eliminate the large number of duplicate words, producing a table that had exactly one row for each unique word in my Ch'orti' texts. Many additional SQL modules were needed to remove punctuation, convert numerals, and regularize the representation of glottalized consonants.

Two technical issues might be worth noting here, for the benefit of others attempting such a process. First, it seemed that the representation of single quotation marks, double quotations marks, and apostrophes was not entirely consistent within MS Word. Several different ASCII characters (the computer's internal representation of the printed symbols) were used to represent each of these characters, a choice seemingly made by the Word program rather than the user. I had to write SQL queries in MS Access to standardize these, with special attention to apostrophes, which are used to indicate glottalization in Ch'orti' orthography.

A second technical issue was that having apostrophes as part of data in a MS Access table caused insurmountable problems. If, for example, an Access table contained a word like *uk'ani*, the presence of the apostrophe in that data element would cause query and screen programs to produce undesired and

sometimes unpredictable results. In the end, I chose to represent Ch'orti' words in my Access database using the number seven (7) to indicate the glottal stop or a glottalized stop. This is an old practice once common in the transcription of Maya languages. Although somewhat antiquated, this solved my computer problems. The word *u'kani*, for example, was represented in my database as *uk7ani*, as a matter of technical necessity.

The advantage of using MS Access, once technical details were worked out, was the ability to put together database tables and forms (screen displays) that would let me break each word down into constituent morphemes and to accumulate data for each morpheme as I went through the words. A sample report from the morphological database accumulated in this way appears as Figure 1.1, at the end of this chapter.

Using these tools, I broke each word from the stories I had collected into individual morphemes, and identified the meaning or function of each morpheme by examining instances of the word in the context of the Ch'orti' stories and their Spanish and English translations. A morpheme that wasn't clear as used in one word might become clear as used in another, so the definition of each morpheme was clarified iteratively as each unique word was analyzed.

Once a morphological analysis was at least tentatively complete, it was possible to move on to the description of syntactic features. This was done simply by searching the Ch'orti' texts for multiple examples of typical features, such as direct statements, negative statements, questions, split ergative use of pronominal affixes, subordinate clauses, etc. The description above may give the false impression that phases of analysis were entirely separated one from another. While there was a general progression from translation to morphological analysis to syntactic analysis, there were many feedback loops. The clarification of a syntactic feature, for example, sometimes required an adjustment to the description of the morphology and to the translation.

1.5. Limitations of the Research

In many ways the Ch'orti' texts and the Spanish translations made by my bilingual informants speak for themselves. This is far from perfect, however, and any number of potential problems can limit the scope and accuracy of the research described here. My texts and insights into them are based mostly on the input of three informants, with a heavy emphasis on one of those over the other two, potentially limiting the variety of linguistic forms represented. My informants were exclusively male, making any insight into gendered differences in language use completely impossible. The stories selected for analysis are varied, but represent only a handful of genres, and therefore eliminate discursive features, vocabulary, and grammatical details that are more common in other genres. The orality of the original stories combined with the limited literacy of the informants makes accurate capture in written form treacherous. Both my informants and I may have introduced any number of errors in transcription and translation. Above all, I have drawn many inferences from the observable written

form of the Ch'orti' and their accompanying Spanish translations, any of which could be mistaken.

1.6. Results

The results of the fieldwork and analysis described above are presented in the remainder of this document. Phonology, morphology, and syntax are described in chapters 2, 3, and 4, respectively. Chapter 5 describes some possible areas for future expansion of this line of research. These are followed by an appendix containing the Ch'orti' texts on which this study was based, together with English translations.

Figure 1.1: Sample Morphology Database

	Seg Morpheme	ID	Туре	MorphMeaning
	l ka	(1)	Inflectional Prefix 2nd Plur Set A	'2nd Pers Pl'
	2 b'ijn	(1)	Root	'think, believe'
	3 u	(1)	Derivational Suffix Stem Formative	'stem formative'
Root: b'ut'	1) 'load, fill'			
	ub'ut'yob' (1) VT 'they loa	d it. fill lt		
	Seg Morpheme	ID	Туре	MorphMeaning
	lu	(2)	Inflectional Prefix 3rd Set A	'3rd Pers.'
	2 b'ut'	(1)	Root	'load, fill'
	3 i	(1)	Derivational Suffix Stem Formative	'Stem Formative'
	4 @	(1)	Inflectional Suffix 3rd Pers Set B	'3rd Person'
	5 ob'	(1)	Inflectional Suffix	'plural'
Root: b'utz'	(1) 'smoke'			
Word:	ab'utz'a'na (1) VI 'he/she/	it is censed		
	Seg Morpheme	ID	Туре	MorphMeaning
	l a	(1)	Inflectional Prefix 3rd Pers Set C	'3rd Person'
	2 b'utz'	(1)	Root	'smoke'
	3 a	(2)	Derivational Suffix Stem Formative	'Stem Formative'
	4 na	(1)	Derivational Suffix Intransitivizer	'passive'
Word:	b'utz' (1) Noun 'smoke'			
	Con Marahama	10		MarahManalag
	Seg Morpheme	ID	Type Root	MorphMeaning 'smoke'
Word	ub'utz'ar (1) Noun 'smoke	, (1) ,	ROOL	Smoke
word.				
	Seg Morpheme	ID	Туре	MorphMeaning
	1 u	(2)	Inflectional Prefix 3rd Set A	'3rd Pers.'
	2 b'utz'	(1)	Root	'smoke'
	3 ar	(1)	Derivational Suffix Nominalizer	'nominalizer'
Root: ch'a'r	(1) 'lie, be established'			
Word:	ch'a'r (1) VI 'he/she/it lies,	is located'		
	Seg Morpheme	ID	Туре	MorphMeaning
	l ch'a'r	(1)	Root	'lie, be established'
Root: Ch'or	ti (1) 'Chorti'			
NOOL CHOP	ch'ortyo'n (1) VI 'we (are)	the Ch'orti		
Word	and a state of the fare	and an ord		
Word:				
Word:	Seg Morpheme 1 Ch'orti	ID	Туре	MorphMeaning

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2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. Introduction

The present study was designed to produce data primarily for analysis of grammatical structure. While audio recordings were made of all collected texts, these were not made with high quality recording equipment, nor were they made in sound-proofed rooms. The result is that the quality of the audio recordings is likely too poor to submit to computer analysis for phonetic and phonological details. This considerably limits what can be said here about Ch'orti' phonology. Nonetheless, some important basics are described below. The phonemic inventory is presented, followed by a description of the allowable syllable onsets, nuclei, and codas. This is followed by a brief discussion of stress and some problems of orthography.

2.2. Phonemes

The phonemes of Ch'orti' have been adequately described in a number of works (e.g., Fought 1967; Fought 1972; Pérez Martínez 1994; Pérez Martínez, García, Martínez, and López 1996; Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala 2004;

Storniolo 2008). The basic inventory of consonantal phonemes, adapted from Pérez Martínez (1994), is shown in figures 2.1 and 2.2., below. I have deviated from that source with regard to a few details:

- The sources cited include the voiced stops [b], [d], and [g], which I have excluded. These are common sounds, but in my data are found only in Spanish loanwords, not in Ch'orti' vocabulary. Some researchers list a small number of Ch'orti' words that include [d] (e.g. Hull 2005:34), although its status as a phoneme may be debatable. In my data, the voiced velar stop [g] is an allophone, but not a phoneme, replacing an initial [w] in some Ch'orti' words. For example, *wororoj* 'round' is often pronounced and written *gororoj*.
- I have replaced the velar fricative [x] with the glottal fricative [h], which is my perception of the Ch'orti' sound spelled by *j*.

Ch'orti' has only five basic vowels: [i], [e], [a], [o], [u]. These are written *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, and *u*, respectively. Diphthongs are uncommon, although a glide to [i] exists in a small number of words, such as *me'yn* 'shadow', which is weighted as a single syllable. This particular spelling of *me'yn* is common, although perhaps a bit artificial (see the subsection on Vowel Reduction, below).

MAN	NER	BILABIAL	ALVEOLAR	ALVEO- PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS	PLAIN	р	t		k	?
	GLOTTALIZED	đ	ť		k'	
AFFRICATES	PLAIN		ts	Č		
	GLOTTALIZED		ts'	Č'		
FRICATIVES			S	Š		h
	NASAL	m	n			
SONORANTS	LATERAL		I			
	FLAP		r			
	GLIDE	w/g ¹		j		

Adapted From: Pérez Martínez 1994:33

¹ The segment [w] is more technically labial-velar, as indicated by the alternation with [g], and by the assimilation of [n] to [ŋ] before [w].

MAN	NER	BILABIAL	ALVEOLAR	ALVEO- PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS	PLAIN	р	t		k	3
	GLOTTALIZED	b'	ť		k'	
AFFRICATES	PLAIN		tz	ch		
	GLOTTALIZED		tz'	ch'		
FRICATIVES			S	Х		j
	NASAL	m	n			
SONORANTS	LATERAL		I			
	FLAP		r			
	GLIDE	w/g		У		

Figure 2.2: Orthography of Consonantal Phonemes

Adapted From: Pérez Martínez 1994:33

Allophonic variation is beyond the scope of the present study, but a few important points include the following:

- The implosive bilabial stop [b] is sometimes realized as the corresponding ejective [p'].
- Stops pronounced at the end of a breath group are often unreleased. This can make it difficult to hear the difference between the glottalized and simple versions at the same point of articulation. That is, it is possible to confuse [k] with [k'], [t'] with [t], and [b'] with [p] in some environments.
- Nasal consonants ([n] and [m]) often impart nasalization to a preceding vowel.
- The glottal stop can be realized as creaky voice on a preceding vowel.
 The word *e'nte*', for example, will sometimes be pronounced. [eete?].
- A *j* ([h]) between a vowel and a consonant is often pronounced with what might be perceived as an "echo vowel." For example, k'ajk is more often pronounced [k'ah^ak] then [k'ahk]. It appears that the *j* is realized as a lengthened vowel that moves from voiced to devoiced and back to voiced, at least in some circumstances.

2.3. Syllable Types

Two factors limit what can be said here about Ch'orti' syllables. The first factor is the lack of computerized phonetic analysis, which might resolve some questions about syllable boundaries that can't be answered by the unaided ear.

The second factor is the relatively fixed stress pattern – usually falling on the ultimate syllable – which means that the distribution of stress can't be used to diagnose syllable types. In spite of these limitations, it seems feasible to make some estimates about the permitted syllable types.

2.3.1. Consonant Clusters

Derivation and inflection sometimes result in consonant clusters that are relatively complex by the standards of Maya languages. For example, consider the words *katakre* 'we helped him' and *atakryo'n* 'you helped us':

ka-takr-e-Ø 1PE-help-SF-3A

a-takr-y-o'n 2SE-help-SF-1PA

The root *takr* by itself is not pronounceable, as the consonant cluster *kr* is not permitted by Ch'orti' phonotactics. A root-final cluster such as this is often simplified by suffixing a stem formative before any additional morphological processing. The stem formative begins with a vowel and allows the final consonant of the root to move to the onset of the new syllable. In the example above, the stem formative is -e, plainly visible in *katrakre*, and recast as the glide *y* in *katakryo'n*. Stem formatives are described in more detail in the section of verb morphology, below.

While the present study is not adequate to fully describe the rules of Ch'orti' syllabification, there are some strong clues in the collected texts. In most words that begin with a consonant, that initial consonant is followed by a vowel. A small number of words begin with two consonants, and in those cases the second consonant is always a glide (w or y), as in the words twa' 'toward' and tya' 'where'. In the texts studied here, there are no examples of words that begin with any second consonant other than a glide, and certainly no words beginning with the sequence kr. The word atakryo'n, then, is likely syllabified as a.tak.ryo'n. This analysis guides the remainder of the discussion on syllable types, below.

2.3.2. Syllable Margins

The transcribed texts in the appendix make it clear that each of the consonantal phonemes can constitute either an onset or coda. The status of the glottal stop [?] as an onset is obscured by the writing system, which simply omits initial glottal stops. Initial glottal stops are often clearly audible, though, even if they are frequently and easily deleted in connected speech.

More complex syllable margins are highly restricted. With regard to onsets, there are clear examples of glides following an initial C, but no unambiguous examples of other consonant clusters. For example, *atyob*' 'they bathed', built on the root *ati*, seems to be pronounced *a.tyob*', with the onset of the second syllable being *ty*. Similarly, *utwob*' 'their mother' is built on the root *tu*', and seems to be pronounced *u.twob*'. Syllable onsets can have a template CC, then, but more realistically are restricted to C, Cy and Cw.

Syllable codas are also quite restricted. The only elements that can appear between a nuclear vowel and the coda are a glottal stop [?], a *j* ([h]), and an orthographic *y*, which might be counted as a vowel or a consonant. Examples would include words such as *me'yn* 'shadow' and *kojn* 'ravine', each of which is weighted as a single syllable.

It is possible to analyze the consonants *j*, *y*, and ? as participating in syllable codas, and it is difficult to be certain, with the data at hand, that such an analysis is incorrect. It might make more sense, however, to consider these part of the syllable nucleus. Since the glottal stop can easily serve as a syllable margin, it is difficult to see how *me'yn* could be one syllable instead of two, unless the nucleus consists of *e'y* (which implies that the orthographic *y* is really a vowel). And as mentioned above, the *j* after a vowel is often realized as a long vowel that varies from voiced to devoiced and back, making it seem to be more about the quality of the vowel then about the syllable margin.

If this analysis is correct, then a finite set of allowable syllable nuclei, both simple and complex can be identified. From the available examples, it appears that complex nuclei can contain either a glottal stop or a *j*, but not both. One might guess from a word like *me'yn* that other vowels could appear to the left of glottal stop, but in the collected texts there no examples of *a'y*, *i'y*, *o'y*, or *u'y*. There are, then, sixteen allowable syllable nuclei, as follows:

а	е	i	0	u
aj	ej	ij	oj	uj
a'	e'	i'	0'	u'
	e'y			

If these elements are indeed part of syllable nuclei, then all of the possible variations in the structure of a syllable coda have been eliminated. A syllable coda, then, can consist only of C, if the syllable has a coda at all.

2.3.3. Simpler Syllables

Many words end in an open syllable, especially if the word ends in a stem formative or many derivational suffixes, such as *na*, or *tz'a*. The list of allowable syllables, then, must include all versions of CV.

Syllables without onsets are also common, especially among derivational and inflectional suffixes, such as -e'n, -e't, -o'b', and stem formatives such as -i and -ay. Syllables of type V and VC are, therefore, part of the Ch'orti' repertoire.

2.3.4. How Many Permissible Syllables?

If the analyses above are accurate, it is possible to calculate a theoretical upper limit on the number of allowable syllable types. We have identified sixteen syllable nuclei, twenty codas, and sixty onsets (twenty phonemes plus each of these followed by w plus each followed by y).

SYLLABLE TYPE	FORMULA	RESULT
Nucleus only	16	16
Nucleus-Coda	16 X 20	320
Onset-Nucleus	60 X 16	960
Onset-Nucleus-Coda	60 X 16 X 20	19,200
Total		20,496

2.4. Stress

Stress falls almost universally on the ultimate syllable of each word. This is useful for determining word boundaries, but can make investigation of syllable weight more difficult, since weight doesn't determine the location of stress. A few words have stress on some other syllable, and these are mostly loan-words. For example, *ilama* 'wife' and *niwilama* 'my wife' are stressed on the penultimate syllable. The word *ilama* is clearly a loan from the Nahuatl *ilamatl* 'old woman' (Karttunen 1992:103).

An interesting example of borrowing is *kilis*, the Ch'orti' word for 'eclipse', which has stress on the penultimate syllable and is almost certainly an adaptation of the Spanish word *eclipse*. It would appear that the process of borrowing the word reduced two consonant clusters, *cl* and *ps*, because these are not allowed by Ch'orti' phonotactics. The cluster *cl* was reduced by inserting an epenthetic vowel *i*, and the cluster *ps* was reduced by eliminating the consonant *p*. Multiple hypotheses might be advanced as explanations for the delition of the beginning and final vowels of the original Spanish word. There

may have been a preference for two-syllable roots, a preference for a closed final syllable, and/or conformity to some kind of prosodic foot. It is also possible that the initial vowel was merely misanalyzed as the Ch'orti' article *e*.

2.5. Some Orthographic Issues

The writing system based on the Roman alphabet is a relatively recent application for Ch'orti', and so spelling is relatively phonemic. Of course, every writing system has to make some tradeoffs between standardizing the identity of morphemes and reflecting the many variations in pronunciation that occur in every spoken language. A few of the issues that come up for Ch'orti' are discussed here.

2.5.1. Nasal Assimilation

Nasal consonants tend to assimilate to the following consonant, if there is one, becoming [m], [n], or [ŋ]. The writing system does not provide a representation for [ŋ]. So, for example, *inwojor* or *ingojor* have to be written with an *n*, even if pronounced as [ŋ]. The shift to [m] is usually written as pronounced. For example, *kakampes* is usually written rather than *kakanpes*, even though the root is *kan*.

2.5.2. Vowel Reduction

My informants who had training from the Proyecto Lingüístico Franciso Marroquín (PLFM) asserted that two vowels should not be written together. Subjectively, it seemed to me that in some circumstances this has the effect of writing a vowel *u* as a consonant *w* or a vowel *i* as a consonant *y*. For example, I sometimes felt I heard *tar.i.e'n*, which my informants insisted should be written *tarye'n*. As mentioned above, the spelling of the word me'yn, following this rule, might be somewhat artificial, as the *y* more likely describes a vowel within the nucleus than a consonant in the margin. Trained writers, however, assume that even with the apostrophe written to indicate the glottal stop, the vowel reduction rule requires that a *y* be written instead of an i. Determining the phonological reality of these examples is beyond the scope of the present study, but might be worthy of future research

2.5.3. Avoiding g

PLFM-trained informants often avoided using the letter *g*, even in words that they unambiguously pronounced with [g]. I frequently wrote *gororoj* 'round' in my notes, but if asked, the informant would explain that the word should be written *wororoj*, because the [g] is not really Maya (they've been told it is a loan from Spanish). Actual practice on this point varies, however, possibly because those who can write Spanish are used to writing the letter *g* to represent several different allophones. In my transcriptions in Appendix A, I have tended to distinguish the pronunciation of [g] from [w].

2.5.4. Unwritten Stress

Stress is usually predictable, as described above, and so is not indicated with accent marks or other symbols. This is true even for the small number of words that deviate from the dominant word-final stress pattern (see above).

2.6. Summary

Although the phonological data produced by the present study has significant limitations, this chapter has described the inventory of phonemes, the rules defining syllable onsets, nuclei, and codas, and has briefly described issues of stress and orthography. The following chapter will address morphology.

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the structure of words that are comprised of more than one unit of meaning (morpheme). That is, it describes how roots are either inflected (changed to include information about person and/or number), derived (converted from one part of speech into another), or compounded (have two or more roots joined together). The parts of speech that are subject to these processes in Ch'orti' are pronouns, verbs, nouns, and adjectives, which are described in that order. It is necessary to begin with pronouns because these are part of the inflections that both verbs and nouns undergo. Verbs are described next because they are the most morphologically complex words in Ch'orti'. This is followed by the somewhat simpler morphology of nouns, and then of adjectives, which are the simplest of the parts of speech that undergo morphological changes.

The description of verbs begins with a general explanation of Ch'orti' tense, aspect, mood, and voice (T/A/M/V), in order to provide a framework for the morphological details. A general template of the structure of verbs is then

presented, and this is followed by a description of the morphological variation within each part of that template. The description moves through the template from left to right, and so describes pronominal prefixes, roots, stem formatives, derivational affixes, and pronominal suffixes, in that order.

3.2. Morphological Simplicity and Complexity

Many words in Ch'orti' consist of nothing more than a bare root, and that a single syllable. Nonetheless, some words can be morphologically complex, especially nouns and verbs. Just as an example, consider the word *ajnojrane'riron* 'we are growers', a term used to describe healthy children who grow quickly. The component parts of this word are as follows:

Morpheme	Туре	Gloss
aj-	Agentive	A person who
noj	Root Adjective	Big
-ran	Derive Intransitive	Becomes
-er	Derive Noun	
-ir	Derive Abstract Noun	
-on	Absolutive Pronoun, 2 nd Pl.	We

Six distinct morphemes are listed above. It might be argued, though, that the intransitivizing morepheme above is actually -an, and that the -r- (which shows up in a number of interesting places in Ch'orti' morphologi) is actually a separate morpheme with some unknown function. If so, the total number of morphemes

listed above would be seven. Either way, this is one of the more complex words in the Ch'orti' vocabulary, most being made up of five or fewer distinct parts.

There is little room for variation in the order of the morphemes making up this or any other Ch'orti' word. The structure comes close to being agglutinative, with a predetermined position and order for each kind of inflection and derivation. There is, however, some morpheme overloading and a small amount of phonological reprocessing that can obscure morpheme boundaries, making the general structure technically inflectional rather than agglutinative.

3.3. Pronouns

3.3.1. Pronominal Affixes

Pronominal affixes are attached to nouns and verbs to indicate person and number. Like many Maya languages, Ch'orti' applies pronominal affixes to verbs in a split ergative pattern, meaning that there is a set of pronouns that indicates the object of some verbal constructions but the subject of others. Most Maya languages have two sets of pronominal affixes, but Ch'orti' is unusual for having three sets, each of which is described below.

Sources describing Maya languages vary somewhat with regard to the terminology used to label the sets of pronominal affixes. Many (e.g., Pérez Martínez 1994:66) call the affixes common to most Maya languages *set A* and *set B*, and add a *set C* for Ch'orti'. Others (e.g., Robertson 1992:175) use the more descriptive terms *ergative* and *absolutive* for the first two sets, with some vagueness as to what to call the third set.

As a matter of personal preference, I have chosen to use descriptive labels here. For the sake of consistency, I have chosen the term *nominative* to as the label for the third set of affixes, as that term aptly describes the use of the third set of affixes to indicate the subject (only) of intransitive verbs. To summarize the equivalency of terminologies:

Labels Used Here	Alternative Labels	Grammatical Function
Ergative	Set A	Transitive Agent
		Possessor of Nouns
Absolutive	Set B	Transitive Object
		Intransitive Subject (Completive)
Nominative	Set C	Intransitive Subject (Incompletive)

In addition, some sources (e.g., Pérez Martínez 1994:55) include the –*ob'* plural marker as part of the sets of pronominal affixes. At least in Ch'orti', however, this is more of a discourse marker than part of the pronominal paradigm. That is, the use of the plural marker is optional. For this reason, the plural suffix is not listed here among the pronominal affixes, but is described as part of the morphology of verbs and nouns.

3.3.1.1. Ergative Pronominal Prefixes (Set A)

Ergative pronominal prefixes, sometimes called Set A pronouns, can function as the grammatical subject (agent) of transitive verbs and as the possessors of nouns.

Ergative Pronominal Prefixes				
Person & Number	Before Most Consonants	Before Glottal Stop		
1 st Singular	iN-	inw- / -n-		
2 nd Singular	а-	aw-		
3 rd	u-	uy- / uw-		
1 st Plural	ka-	kaw-		
2 nd Plural	i-	iw-		
3 rd	u-	uy- / uw-		

Note that singular and plural forms are distinct in the first and second persons, but not in the third. The nasal of the first person singular form that is used before most consonants is shown as a capital letter *N* in the above chart, indicating that it assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant, realized as [n], [m] or [ŋ]. This is often written with the letter *n* regardless of its actual pronunciation, although some will write the letter *m* when the nasal is realized as such.

When an ergative pronoun is prefixed to a root that begins with an unwritten glottal, that stop is realized as a glide, and is written as such. The glottal stop is realized as a w in the first and second persons, and as a y in the third. I have indicated in the chart above that the glottal stop can sometimes appear as a w rather than a y in the third person. This is uncommon, and

appears to indicate that the speaker is reanalyzing the root as if it began with an underlying *w* instead of with an underlying glottal stopped realized as a *w*.

When ergative pronouns are prefixed to a verbal root that begins with a glottal stop, the root may also undergo a process of metathesis that can alter the appearance of both the pronoun and the root. This is discussed in more detail below, in the section on the structure of verbs.

3.3.1.2. Absolutive Pronominal Suffixes (Set B)

Absolutive pronominal suffixes, sometimes referred to as Set B pronouns, refer to an object when suffixed to a transitive verb but refer to the grammatical subject when suffixed to an intransitive verb. When referring to an object, that object may be direct or indirect. For this reason, I have avoided using role labels such as Agent or Patient in most general descriptions of verb structures, reserving them for specific circumstances in which such roles can be determined. When an absolutive pronoun is used to indicate the subject of an intransitive verb, completive aspect is implied (compare this to the description of nominative pronouns, below).

Absolutive pronouns can also be suffixed to nouns to create an equation that can function as either a verb or noun. For example, the noun *ch'orti'* can take the first person plural absolutive suffix *–o'n* to form the word *ch'ortyo'n*. The compound can function as a VP with the sense 'we are Ch'orti" or 'we are the Ch'orti", or can function as a NP with the sense 'we the Ch'orti". When attached to a noun in this way, absolutive pronouns do not imply completive aspect. That

is, the sense of *ch'ortyo'n* is 'we *are* the Ch'orti'', not 'we *were* the Ch'orti''. More examples are given in the section on noun morphology, below.

In addition, absolutive suffixes participate in the formation of independent pronouns, which are described below.

Absolutive Pronominal Suffixes		
Person & Number	Suffix	
1 st Singular	-e'n /-en	
2 nd Singular	-e't / -et	
3 rd	Ø	
1 st Plural	-o'n / -on	
2 nd Plural	-o'x / -ox	
3 rd	Ø	

In careful speech, the glottal stops within the first- and second-person forms are usually pronounced, but these may disappear in connected speech. No grammatical function for this alternation has been identified.

3.3.1.3. Nominative Pronominal Prefixes (Set C)

Nominative pronominal prefixes, sometimes called Set C pronouns, indicate the grammatical subject of intransitive verbs. In most circumstances, attaching a nominative prefix to an intransitive verb implies incompletive verbal aspect (often rendered into English or Spanish in the present tense), while using absolutive suffixes implies completive aspect (often translated using the simple past tense.

Nominative Pronominal Suffixes			
Person & Number	Prefix		
1 st Singular	in-		
2 nd Singular	i-		
3 rd	a-		
1 st Plural	ka-		
2 nd Plural	ix-		
3 rd	a-		

When prefixed to a verbal root beginning with a glottal stop, nominative pronouns do **not** cause the glottal stop to be realized as a glide. However, other phonological changes, described in the section on the structure of verbs (below), may apply.

Note that the non-native speaker can sometimes confuse nominative prefixes with ergative prefixes. The first person singular of both sets of pronouns can appear as *in*-, and the first person plural of both can appear as *ka*-. The nominative second person singular and ergative second person singular are both *i*-. The nominative third person (singular and plural) and the ergative second person singular are both *a*-. While the context may often provide clues, the hearer or reader will sometimes need to recognize which stems are transitive and which stems are intransitive in order to avoid confusion. Identifying the root is

usually not difficult, but some ambiguities occur. For example, *uyarye'n*, might mean 'he told me' or 'he tossed me [into something]'. The difference depends on whether the *y* following the pronominal prefix *u*- is taken as a the realization of the unwritten glottal stop beginning the root *ar* 'speak [to]' or is part of the root *yar* 'toss'.

3.3.2. Independent Pronouns

Independent pronouns in the first and second person appear as a root with a surface form of *n*-, to which the absolutive pronominal affixes (described above) are attached. The third-person forms of the independent pronoun are based on a suppletive root, *ja'x*. Pronouns are marked for person and number, but not for gender or case.

Independent Pronouns			
Person & Number	Surface Form		
1 st Singular	ne'n / nen		
2 nd Singular	ne't / net		
3 rd	ja'x / jax		
	ja'xir / jaxir		
1 st Plural	no'n / non		
2 nd Plural.	no'x / nox		
3 rd	ja'x / jax		
	ja'xir / jaxir		

The nucleus of the first syllable of each form contains a glottal stop that is heard in careful speech, but is often deleted in rapid speech.

Since the third-person absolutive pronoun is null, it is possible to analyze the third-person independent pronouns as consisting of just the root *ja*'x or as the root plus the null absolutive suffix for the third person.

The forms *ja'x* and *ja'xir* are largely interchangeable, sometimes both used in the same sentences to refer to the same person. At times, a subtle distinction seems to be implied. When referring to an abstract concept or an indistinct group of individuals, *ja'xir* may more often be used, while *ja'x* is more likely to refer to a specific individual or object. In a few instances, *ja'x* and *ja'xir* appear near each other when there is a change in reference, translatable in some contexts as 'the one' and 'the other' or 'the former' and 'the latter'.

Explicit marking of the plural with the *-ob'* suffix is optional, so *ja'x* can refer to 'they' as well as to 'he' 'she' or 'it'. The *-ob*' suffix can be added to both *ja'x* and *ja'xir*.

3.3.3. Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive constructions built on transitive verbs make use of a set of possessed nouns that function as reflexive pronouns. The nominal root is *b'a* 'self', inflected for person and number by ergative prefixes. Reflexive pronouns typically function as objects, either direct or indirect.

Reflexive Pronouns			
1 st Singular	inb'a / imb'a		
2 nd Singular	ab'a		
3 rd	ub'a		
1 st Plural	kab'a		
2 nd Plural	ib'a		
3 rd	ub'a		

Use of the third-person plural form *ub'ob'* is optional, as *ub'a* can index either singular or plural referents.

3.3.4. Emphatic Pronouns

A pronoun based on the root *ach'* 'person', 'self', 'personal effects' is used to emphasize a particular referent. It is sometimes translatable as 'himself', 'herself', etc., but not in a reflexive or reciprocal sense. Rather, it emphasizes one referent over others, often carrying a sense of 'the one who' or 'her own', etc. In theory, this could be a complete pronominal set, but my sample texts include only two forms:

Twach' 'to/for/about himself', 'their own', etc. *No'nach'* / nonach' 'ourselves' 'our own', etc.

The form *twach'* is composed of the generic preposition *ta*, the third person possessive pronominal prefix *u*-, and the root *ach'*. One might expect here the form *tuyach'*, based on the assumption that the root *ach'* begins with an unwritten glottal stop that should be realized as a *y* after the possessive *u*-. The recorded pronunciation, however, is clearly *twach'*, as if the root began with the vowel *a* and the possessive *u*- was therefore moved to the onset of single resultant syllable. The form *no'nach'* appears to be a compound formed of the first person plural independent pronoun *no'n* and the root *ach'*. For example:

A-che'-na e b'ik'it xeb' twa' ka-k'ux-i-Ø <u>no'n-ach'</u>. 3N-do-PSV ART small *chepe*¹ PREP 1PE-eat-SF-3A ourselves A small *chepe* is made for us to eat (by) ourselves.

Or:

A small chepe is made for us alone to eat.

In this example, the subject is already expressed by the *ka*- prefix in the verb *kakuxi*, and is emphasized again by *no'nach'*.

3.3.5. Prepositional Pronouns

Ch'orti', like other Maya languages, often makes adverbial use of relational nouns (described below in the section on nouns). Ch'orti' also has a small class of prepositional pronouns that can be used in the same way. These consist of a preposition inflected with an absolutive suffix (while relational nouns

¹ A *xeb*' or *xepe* (*chepe* in Spanish) is a tamale made with beans kneaded into corn dough.

take an ergative prefix). A suffix -r, of uncertain significance, separates the prepositional root from the pronominal inflection

Prepositional Pronouns			
Root taka	Example Gloss	Root tama	Example Gloss
takare'n	with me	tamare'n	to me
takare't	with you (sg.)	tamare't	to you (sg.)
takaro'n	with us	tamaro'n	to us
takaro'x	with you (pl.)	tamaro'x	to you (pl).
takar	with him/her/it/them	tamar	to him/her/it/them

Both of these prepositional roots have wider semantic range than the glosses given above indicate.

3.4. The Structure of Verbs

Before explaining the morphological structure of verbs, it is necessary briefly to describe the Ch'orti' system of tense, aspect, mood, and voice. I will refer to this collection of verbal features as T/A/M/V, following Robertson (1992). These verbal features have both syntactic as well as morphological components, and it is the morphological components that will be described here (see also the chapter on Syntax). After a theoretical outline of the T/A/M/V system, a general template for the morphological structure of verbs will be presented. The morphology of each portion of that template will then be described in detail, moving through the template from left to right.

3.4.1. Ch'orti' T/A/M/V

Ch'orti' describes the temporal details of verbal action in terms of both tense and aspect. Tense requires that the action be anchored to some temporal reference point, either the moment of speaking or some other action within a package of discourse. Aspect typically describes the temporal shape of the action, rather than anchoring it relative to a reference point, often distinguishing whether an action has been completed, is ongoing, is habitual, was repeated, etc.

Tense does not seem to be marked by distinct morphemes in Ch'orti', but this does not mean there is no marking of tense at all. Rather, some aspect particles (distinct words specifying the temporal aspect of nearby verbs), appear to specify past tense, while others do not. This is described in more detail in the section below on the aspect particles *war*, *kay*, and *ani*.

Aspect is a more salient feature of verbal structure in Ch'orti' than is tense. That is, Ch'orti' tends to describe actions and events more in terms of the shapes of their timelines (aspect) than by anchoring events relative to each other or to some temporal reference point (tense). Much of Ch'orti' aspect is expressed by adding aspectual particles to phrases, a process that is discussed in more detail in the chapter on syntax. A small number of aspectual features are indicated by verbal morphology. The most salient aspectual distinction is between action that is completive or incompletive. Some of my informants, who had received a modicum of linguistic training from the Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín, preferred to call some verbal distinctions a "present tense" and a "past tense." I see no clear evidence that these features, described below, anchor actions to any reference point, and suspect they are more likely to represent a distinction between completive and incompletive aspect.

In Ch'orti', aspect is partly indicated by the subject pronouns that are affixed. For intransitive stems, using absolutive suffixes indicates completive aspect, while using nominative prefixes indicates incompletive aspect. For transitive stems, the subject (agent) is always indicated by an ergative prefix, and no aspect is specified (Robertson 1992:175). Separate aspect particles, described in the chapter on syntax, can further qualify the aspect of both transitive and intransitive verbs.

Mood, also known as mode, typically distinguishes types of communicative intent of the speaker with regard to the action of a verb, often differentiating factual statements from hypotheses, conditions, requests, or orders. Ch'orti' verbs have three moods or modes:

- An unmarked indicative mood, used to describe actions or events without evaluating their factuality.
- A marked subjunctive mood, used to express wishes and some hypothetical situations, or to soften commands or requests. The Ch'orti' subjunctive is used infrequently.

A marked imperative mood, used to make commands or suggestions.

The most commonly used and least marked verbal mood is the **indicative.** It is used to describe actions that are believed to be factual, but can also be used to describe future actions of varying degrees of probability, hopes, and even contingencies. The indicative, then, is better understood as a neutral mood which implies no judgments about the factuality or probability of verbal actions. The immediately following section on the subjunctive mood contains an example of a conditional or hypothetical statement made in this kind of neutral indicative, without any explicite marking of mood.

The **subjunctive mood** is sometimes used to form exhortations, mild command, express wishes, or to discuss hypothetical situations. Note the use of the subjunctive suffix *–ik* in the following examples:

Inkw-ik ta n-yotot! Let's go-SUB PREP 1SE-house Let's go to my house!

a-pejk-ik-o'n jay a-wir-a-Ø a-nijk-i e rum! 2SE-warn-SUBJ-1PA if 2SE-see-SF-3A 3N-move-SF ART earth Warn us if you see the earth move! U-b'an-ik-e'n! 3E-release-SUBJ-1SA I hope he releases me! (May he release me!)

No'n m-ix <u>lok'-Ø-ik</u> <u>ka-ch-ik-Ø</u> koche u-che-Ø ja'xir. 1PI not-already go.out-3A-SUBJ 1PE-do-SUBJ-3A as 3E-do-3A he For us it might not turn out that we do it as he does it.

In this last example, note that both the verb *lok'* 'turn out' and *che* 'do' are marked with the subjunctive suffix *-ik*.

The use of the subjunctive is optional, and many situations that are clearly hypothetical or counterfactual are described using the indicative. Other words in the discursive context, such as *jay* 'if', may indicate that the topic is hypothetical, and don't necessarily require the use of a subjunctive. For example:

Jay u-yub'-y-e't ka-k'an-i-Ø If 3E-possible-SF-2SA 1PE-wish-SF-3A We would like it if you could [do it].

The **imperative mood** is used to issue orders or make suggestions. Some verbs form the imperative by attaching to the root a duplicate of the root vowel (V_1) . For example:

Chon-o takar-on! Sell[it]-IMP to-1PA Sell [it] to us!

Xek'-e e brujo!

Jab-IMP ART witch

Jab the witch!

Many other verbs add an imperative suffix -Vn. The vowel is often *e*, but is not predictable from the root. For example:

Ch'ar-en tara! Lie-IMP here! Lie down here!

Ajk'-un-en! Give[it]-IMP-1SA Give it to me!

As mentioned above, the subjunctive mood can be used to make a polite command. The subjunctive and imperative markers can be combined. For

example, following phrase may be used in the setting of two family members speaking to each other at home:

<u>Os-en-ik</u> yer e ixik ya'x! Admit-IMP-SUBJ little ART woman that! Let that woman in!

The root meaning 'admit' or 'let in' is *os*. The derivational suffix *–en* marks the verb as imperative, and the subsequent *–ik* marks it as subjunctive. It is not clear that the addition of the optional subjunctive suffix changes the degree of politeness of the command. In this example, as in the others above it, there is no inflection for subject, since the subject of an imperative is understood to be the second person.

Ch'orti' has a system of four voices: active, passive, middle, and antipassive. **Active voice** is the default or least marked form for both intransitive and transitive verbs. It leaves the number of participants and their roles unchanged from those implied by the unmodified root. An example of an intransitive verb in the active voice is:

> <u>A-num-uy</u> tama e otot-ob'. 3N-pass-SF PREP ART house-PL <u>She passes</u> among the houses.

An example of a transitive verb in the active voice is:

K'an-i <u>in-k'ajt-i-Ø</u> in-te' num-er Wish-SF 1SE-recount-SF-3A one-CLASS pass-NOM I want <u>to tell</u> a story.

The root of the transitive verb 'to tell' is *k'ajt*. Unlike the English translation, the verb is finite in Ch'orti', carrying the sense of 'I tell it'.

In Ch'orti', passive, middle, and antipassive voices are means of deriving an intransitive stem from a transitive root or stem, as well as for emphasizing or deemphasizing either the subject or the object. These three voices, then, must take a transitive root or stem as input, and cannot be built directly on intransitive roots or stems. Each of these voices is marked by affixing a derivational marker to the root or stem.

Passive voice converts a transitive verb into an intransitive by promoting an object to the subject position and either deleting the original subject altogether or demoting it to an oblique phrase that describes the action of the verb (often introduced by a relational noun such *umen* 'by him'). In English, the transitive phrase 'Paul baked the cake' can be made into a passive intransitive as either 'the cake was baked' or 'the cake was baked by Paul'. Note, however, that the phrase 'the cake was baked' has an ambiguity in English that does not exist in Ch'orti': it could imply that the cake was baked by somebody, or that the cake is in a state of no longer being raw, without making any claims about the process or agency that cause that condition to come about. This second sense comes closer to being middle voice than passive. Without a consistently marked middle voice, English allows some passives to have a broader range of meaning than Ch'orti' does. Passives in Ch'orti' imply that an agent exists, even if that agent is not specified.

Passive voice can be indicated by infixing -j-, if the verb is made up of an underived root and that root doesn't already contain a *j*. Otherwise, the suffix -*na* is used. Some examples are:

<u>K'u-j-xa-Ø</u> ayi u-men e k'ech'uj. Eat-PSV-3A there 3E-withness ART k'ech'uj² It was eaten by the k'ech'uj.

Ma'chi u-k'an-i-Ø twa' a-lok'-es-na u-men e apostol-ob' Not 3E-want-SF-3A to 3N-leave-CAUS-PSV 3E-withness ART apostle-PL He didn't want to be set free by the apostles.

<u>Ajk'-u-na-Ø</u> tya' twa' a-turan.

Give-SF-PSV-3A where to 3N-sit.

He was given a place to sit.

² The *k'ech'uj* is a monster said to eat babies and to lead men to get lost in the wilderness. The word is sometimes translated into Spanish as *ciguanaba*.

In the first example, the transitive root k'ux 'eat' does not contain a j and is not further derived, and so can be marked for the passive by infixing -j-. In the second example, the intransitive root lok' 'go out' is derived to a transitive stem by the causative suffix -es, and so the passive marker -na must be used. In the third example, an underived transitive root ajk' 'give' already contains a j in its root form, so marking the passive also requires the -na suffix. That example also shows that an indirect object, in this case the recipient of the act of giving, can be promoted to the subject of the passive construction.

Middle voice can be difficult to express distinctly in English, which lacks this feature, at least in developed form. Like a passive, middle voice takes a transitive construction, deletes the subject, and promotes the original object into the subject position. However, the sense of middle voice is to reduce the concept of agency itself, not just to emphasize one role over another. Actions in the middle voice are not carried out by a specific agent, but happen of their own accord, or are carried out by vague and unknown agents. In many instances, middle voice emphasizes that the agent and patient are a single entity, or at least that there is no agent other than the patient. Without an exact equivalent in English, Ch'orti' middle voice constructions are sometimes best rendered into English as passive constructions and other times as intransitives in the active voice. Sometimes the English verb *got* can be used as an auxiliary to express the sense of the middle voice, as in "the window got broken." But the options in English can imply a sense of agency or introduce ambiguities that are not present in the Ch'orti'.

The Ch'orti' middle voice is clearer in comparison to Spanish, which has a more marked middle voice, although it is often mislabeled as a type of passive. In Spanish, true passives are expressed with the verb *ser* 'to be' plus a participle, such as *fue hecho* 'it was done'. Such a construction allows the option of expressing an agent in an oblique phrase, as in *fue hecho por Pablo* 'it was done by Paul'. Distinct from this, the Spanish middle voice is expressed with a reflexive pronoun and a finite verb, such as *se hace* 'it is done'. When the pronoun *se* is used impersonally in this way, the sense conveyed is that something happens of its own accord, or is done habitually by people in general, without the option of specifying agency³. My informants regularly translated Ch'orti' middle voice constructions into Spanish middle voice constructions, only rarely using a Spanish passive.

Ch'orti' middle voice can be indicated by any of three suffixes, *-k'a*, *pa*, or *tz'a*. Some examples are:

Ma'chi a-pas-k'a. Not 3N-open-MV

It didn't open.

³ Some Spanish phrases can be ambiguous, if it is not clear whether the pronoun *se* is used impersonally or reflexively (or reciprocally). For example, *se aman* could convey a middle voice sense that takes a passive structure in English: *they are loved*. Alternatively, the pronoun could be reciprocal, in which case the phrase means they *love each other*.

Ka-yor-i-Ø e ch'en tya' <u>a-kux-pa</u> watar-Ø e k'in. 1PE-dig-SF-3A ART hole where 3N-bear-MV come-3A ART sun We dug a hole where the sun <u>is born</u>.

Ka-yor-i-Ø e ch'en tya' a-nam-tz'a 1PE-dig-SF-3A ART hole where 3N-disappear-MV We dug a hole where it disappears (sets).

The **antipassive voice** is so called because it is often thought of as a mirror image of the passive voice. While passive voice deletes a transitive agent and promotes the transitive patient into the intransitive subject position, antipassive voice deletes the object altogether, leaving the original agent in place. Optionally, the original object can appear in an oblique phrase. The antipassive emphasizes that the agent is carrying out a kind of action, but deliberately leaves the objects to which that action is applied either vague or unspecified. While the antipassive structure is intransitive, its implication is that there is an underlying action that is transitive, and that the subject and the object are distinct from each other.

English has no exact equivalent, although some verbs, when used intransitively, produce a sense approximating that of the antipassive. For example, one can say that "William paid." It is clear that William has either paid something, such as a bill, or has paid *for* something, perhaps some transgression, but these objects are left unspecified. This antipassive sense cannot be extracted reliably from all English verbs, however. For example, if we say that "William baked," the phrase is more likely to be understood as meaning that William became overheated in the sun, a sense that is closer to the Ch'orti' middle voice. An antipassive sense would require us to understand that William baked something, even if we're not sure what.

Ch'orti' antipassives can be marked by –ma or –yan, as in these examples:

War a-pak'-ma in-kojt winik tara. ASP 3N-sow-APV one-CLASS person there A man was sowing/planting there.

U-k'ech-e-Ø ayi in-te' u-jun twa' <u>a-kan-se-yan</u>. 3E-bring-SF-3A then one-CLASS 3E-book to 3N-learn-CAUS-APV He brought a book in order to teach.

The verb *akanseyan* is finite in Ch'orti', meaning 'he teaches', but has to be rendered as an infinitive in English. The root *kan* 'learn' is intransitive, and is derived into the transitive stem *kanse* 'teach' by the causative suffix –*se* (that is, 'cause to learn'). The –*yan* suffix converts the transitive stem into an antipassive intransitive. Without the –*yan* suffix, *akanse* is an active transitive with both a subject and an object, meaning 'she teaches him' or 'he teaches her', etc. With the –*yan* suffix, *akanseyan* is an intransitive in the antipassive voice meaning just

'he teaches', allowing no direct way to specify whom he teaches or what subject he teaches.

Since Spanish and English both allow many verbs to shift between transitive and intransitive meanings without derivational markings, translating a Ch'orti' antipassive into either of those languages often requires nothing more than using a potentially transitive verb without an object (for example, 'he teaches', rather than 'he teaches English'). In some cases, though, the semantics may require a careful choice of verb or change of voice in English or Spanish. An interesting example is the Ch'orti' antipassive form aketruma 'he/she/it/they stopped'. Without the *-ma* suffix, the stem *ketru* is a transitive verb meaning 'to stop something, as in *uketru e patna'r* 'he stopped the work' or even 'he stopped working'. The implication of the antipassive structure with *-ma* is that the subject stopped doing something, without specifying what action, person, or thing was stopped. A bilingual speaker is likely to translate aketruma into Spanish, at least in some contexts, as se detuvo 'he stopped', using the Spanish middle voice. This is a reasonable approximation of the Ch'orti' meaning, but can create the false impression that the Ch'orti' antipassive and middle voices come closer in meaning than they really do. The Ch'orti' middle voice implies there is no subject other than the object. The antipassive implies that the agent and patient are distinct entities, even though the patient is not specified. 'He stopped' in a middle voice sense is close in meaning to 'he stopped himself.' 'He stopped' in an antipassive sense is closer to 'he stopped something', or 'he stopped whatever he was doing'.

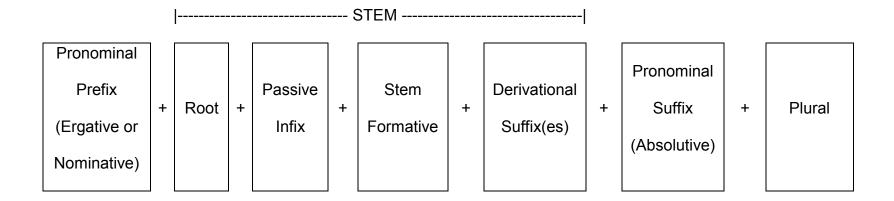
55

Some other Maya languages support an incorporating antipassive, which creates an intransitive verb by combining a noun and a transitive verb into a single word, allowing a phrase something like 'Paul cake-bakes'. I have found no examples of this type of antipassive in the Ch'orti' texts I collected. However, some other investigators have described examples of incorporating antipassives in Ch'orti'. See, for example, Quizar and Knowles-Berry (1990:315).

3.4.2. General Verb Template

The overall structure of Ch'orti' verbs can be described by the template shown in Figure 3.1. In describing the morphological details of each section of the verb, the discussion below will proceed from left to right through the template

Figure 3.1: General Ch'orti' Verb Structure



Note that:

- 1. This chart shows the maximal projection of a verb.
- 2. The minimal surface form of some verbs is the bare root.
- 3. The valence of the verb complex is determined by the right-most of the derivations that affect transitivity.
- 4. The plural suffix ob is optional and can indicate pluralization of the subject, the object, or both.
- 5. Optional enclitics, sometimes written as attached to the verb, following the plural marker, may add aspectual information.

A few examples illustrate the verb structure depicted above. With six

morphemes, usajb'esob'ix is one of the more complex Ch'orti' words l've

identified so far, and is an example of nested derivations within a verb:

Surface Form: *usajb'esob'ix*

Translation: They have emptied it (dried it up).

Morph	Morphological Analysis of usajbesob'ix				
Morpheme	Morpheme Class	Gloss			
u-	Ergative Agent	He/she/it/they			
sab'	Adjectival Root	Dry			
-j-	Derivation: Intransitive				
-es	Derivation: Causative				
-Ø	Absolutive Patient	Him/her/it/them			
-ob'	Plural				
-ix	Aspectual Enclitic	Already			

The root here, *sab*', is an adjective meaning 'empty' or 'dried up'. This undergoes a series of three stem-building derivations, operating in strict left-toright order, before inflections are attached. First, the adjectival root is derived into an intransitive stem meaning 'become empty' or 'dry up'. This is accomplished by infixing -j- within the root, a process that affects some, but not all, adjectives. The intransitive stem *sajb*' is then converted to a transitive verb stem meaning 'make empty' or 'make dry'. This is done by adding the causative -se suffix, producing the stem *sajb*'es. Once the stem is complete, it must be inflected for the participants involved in the action. Since the final stem is transitive, it must be inflected to agree with both subject and the object, in this instance *u*- and $-\emptyset$, respectively. Once the subject and object agreement are completed, the optional plural marker *–ob'* can be added. Finally, an aspectual particle *–ix* is attached as an enclitic, adding a sense of 'already' or 'just now'.

A slightly different example of nested derivations can be seen in

ak'anpesna, sometimes spelled ak'ampesna:

Surface Form: ak'anpesna

Translation: He/she/it is used it (It is caused to be needed)

Morphological Analysis of ak'anpesna				
Morpheme	Morpheme Class	Gloss		
a-	3 rd Person Nominative	he/she/it/they		
k'an	Transitive Root	wish, need		
-ра	Derivation: Middle Voice			
-es	Derivation: Causative			
-na	Derviation: Passive			

In this instance, the root *k'an* 'want' is intrinsically a transitive verb. This is derived into an intransitive in the middle voice, then an active transitive with a causative sense, then a passive intransitive, before being inflected to agree with the subject. Note that all of the intermediate forms suggested by the chain of

derivations exist as related but distinct verbs: *ink'ani* 'I want it', *k'anpa* 'it is useful', and *uk'anpes* 'he uses it'.

A verbal root without derivations has a simpler form, such as *uk'eche*:

Surface Form: *uk'eche*

Translation: He/she/it brings/carries him/her/it

Morphological Analysis of uk'eche			
Morpheme	Morpheme Class Gloss		
u-	3 rd Person agent	He/she/it/they	
k'ech	Root	Bring, carry	
-е	Stem formative		
-Ø	3 rd Person patient	Him/her/it/them	

Root intransitives in the third person, inflected with the null absolutive

pronoun, can have a surface form that reveals only the root plus a stem

formative:

Surface Form: *karay*

Translation: He/she/it becomes drunk.

Morphological Analysis			
Morpheme Morpheme Class Gloss			
kar	Root	Become drunk	
-ay	Stem Formative		
-Ø	Absolutive subject	He/she/it/they	

3.4.3. Pronominal Prefixes

Pronominal prefixes to verbs indicate the grammatical subject, if they are

used. Verbs are not inflected for the subject if they are in the imperative mood.

For verbs that are indicative or subjunctive in mood, a pronominal prefix is required if either one of the two following conditions apply:

1. The verb is transitive

2. The verb is intransitive and expresses incompletive aspect. For this purpose, the transitivity of a verb is not determined by the root alone, but by the complete stem (the root plus any derivational morphemes that are attached). The rightmost of any valence-changing derivations determines whether the verb as a whole is transitive or intransitive.

The transitivity of the verb determines which set of pronominal affixes mark the grammatical subject. Transitive verbs are inflected for their subjects by prefixing an ergative pronoun. For intransitive verbs, the means of marking the subject is determined by whether the aspect is completive or incompletive. Prefixing a nominative pronoun implies completive aspect, while an absolutive suffix communicates incompletive aspect.

3.4.4. Roots

The root of a verb complex is either the first (leftmost) or second (immediately to the right of the leftmost) morpheme within that complex. The root is the first morpheme if the verb complex has no pronominal prefix indicating the grammatical subject. The root is the second morpheme if a prefix (ergative or nominative) indicating the subject is present. The root of the verb complex is often implicitly verbal, but is not restricted to that class. Other root classes, such as nouns and adjectives, can be the root of a verb complex, although these usually require the attachment of a derivational affix to indicate the change in function.

The root in most verbs is easily identifiable and distinct from surrounding morphemes. A minor exception to this, the conversion of initial glottal stops to glides w or y after ergative pronominal prefixes, has already been described above in the section on pronouns. In addition, there are two other situations in which the identity of a root can be partly obscured: 1) metathesizing roots and 2) reanalyzed roots.

3.4.4.1. Metathesizing Roots

Some roots that begin with a (normally unwritten) glottal stop undergo metathesis when an ergative pronoun is attached. The following changes take place:

- Within first syllable of the root, the glottal stop (onset) and vowel (nucleus) trade places.
- If the pronominal prefix is the first person singular *in*-, the prefix is reduced to *-n* and is infixed within the root, to the right of the glottal stop in its new position.
- 3. If the pronominal prefix ends in a vowel, further phonological adjustments may be needed, because the vowel ending the prefix and the vowel beginning the (metathesized) root will be adjacent. These further adjustments may obscure the prefix, the root, or both.

For example, an informant trained to recite a verb paradigm produced the following for the transitive root *usr* 'desire', 'long for':

	Partial Verb Paradigm on usr(e)			
Subject	Morphemes	Surface Form	Translation	
1 Singular	in+usr	u'nsre	I long for it.	
2 Singular	a+usr	o'sre	You long for it.	
3 Singular	u+usr	uyusre	He/she/it longs for it.	
1 Plural	ka+usr	ko'sre	We long for it.	
2 Plural	i+usr	yu'sre	You long for it.	
3 Plural	u+usr	uyusryob'	They long for it.	

Note that the speaker has here mixed metathesized and non-metathesized forms. The third-person forms are regular, with the glottal stop of the root in its normal position, converted to a y after the ergative prefix. The first- and second-person forms are metathesized. Where the metathesis has produced an a followed by a u, the two vowels are reduced to o. When the metathesis produces an i followed by a u, the i becomes the syllable onset, spelled and pronounced as the consonant y. This metathesis in the first person is common with verbs that begin with an unwritten glottal stop. In the second person, it is less common.

3.4.4.2. Reanalyzed Roots

A few roots that begin with a glide (w, y) in their root form have alternative forms that behave as though the root began with a glottal stop rather than a glide. This resembles a misanalysis, as if the speaker were interpreting the glide that is actually part of some roots as the conversion of an underlying glottal stop after an ergative prefix. However, a single user may use both the reanalyzed and regular forms of the same verb. For example, the same speaker used the following two forms interchangeably to mean 'he threw it':

uyari

u'ri

Unprefixed forms like the imperative *yara* and participle *yarb'ir* show that the initial *y* is part of the root and not just the surface realization of an underlying glottal stop. But the form *u'ri* appears to assume that the root is orthographically *ar*, phonologically [?ar]. The root *ar* is quite distinct, meaning 'tell' or 'order', and has a regular third person form *uyare* 'he/she/it/they told him/her/it/them'.

3.4.5. Passive Infix –j-

Transitive roots that do not already contain a *j* ([h]) in the rhyme of the first syllable can be derived into a passive stem by infixing a -j- ([h]). Arguably, the *-j*-infix is attached to the right end of the syllable nucleus and not to the coda. Since this modification takes place within the root, it must be the first (left-most) derivation to the root (if there are other derivations that follow). This means that derived transitives cannot be input to a derivation with *-j*-. For example, there are no intransitive roots that are made transitive with the causative *-se* suffix, and subsequently passivized with the *-j*- infix, as that would violate the required order of operations. However, a transitive root that has become a passive stem by infixing the *-j*- marker can be input to additional derivations. An example of the latter would be *ajk'ujxa'r* 'edible creature'. This is built on the transitive root

k'ux 'eat', infixed with -j- to make a passive stem. A nominalizing suffix -a'r, turns the passive stem into a noun with the sense of 'something that is eaten', to which an agentive aj- prefix is also attached.

Some examples of passives formed with the -j- infix, built on the roots *k'ech* 'bring' and *mak* 'enclose', include the following:

> *War a-k'e-j-ch-a a-'xin* ASP 3N-bring-PSV-SF 3N-go He was being brought along

Ma-j-k-a-Ø tama e ma-j-k-ib' Enclose-PSV-SF-3A in ART enclose-PSV-NOM He was enclosed in the enclosure (jail).

Tya' a-ma-j-k-ob'

Where 3N-enclose-PSV-PL

Where they were enclosed

It appears that all passive verbs derived with -j- take a stem formative of -a, which typically disappears is any suffix is attached.

3.4.6. Stem Formatives

Stem formatives are needed in some, but not all, verb forms. The stem formative does not change or add meaning, but is required in some forms either to indicate the end of the verb complex or to prepare the root for additional inflections or derivations. For transitive roots, and for non-CVC intransitive roots, the stem formative is single vowel. This is determined lexically, and cannot be predicted from the root's phonology, so it must be learned as part of a verb's paradigm. For intransitive roots of the form CVC, the stem formative is predictable from the root, consisting of V₁y, e.g., *karay*, *lok'oy*, *numuy*, etc.

The two kinds of stem formatives behave somewhat differently in response to following inflections or derivations, if there are any. Stem formatives of type V₁y tend to disappear when there is any non-null morpheme suffixed to the root. Some of the more common of such non-null suffixes are absolutive pronouns (other than the third person \emptyset), the plural marker –*ob*', imperative marker –*en*, and enclitics such as –*ix* 'already' and –*to* 'yet'. Thus:

A-num-uy 3N-pass-SF He walks by

Num-en

pass-1SA

I walked by

Num-uy-Ø

Pass-SF-3A

he/she/it walked by

Lok'-en!

Go.out-IMP

Leave!

Cham-Ø-ix

Die-3A-already

He already died / he has died.

When the stem formative consists of just a vowel it is more likely to be retained, depending on whether or not the stem formative vowel can be recast as a glide when it moves from the nucleus to the margin of a syllable. Vowels *e* and *i* tend to become a *y*, while *o* and *u* become a *w*. A stem formative vowel *a* has no glide equivalent, and is highly likely to disappear before any following morphemes. Thus:

u-sat-y-e'n 3E-lose-SF-1SA He led me astray

A'r-w-Ø-ob'

Cry-SF-3A-PL

They cried

u-wir-e't 3E-see-2SA He saw you

The stem formative *i* in *usati* becomes the *y* in *usatye'n*, and the stem formative *u* in *a'ru* becomes the *w* in *a'rwob'*, but the stem formative *a* in *uwira* has no corresponding glide, and therefore disappears in *uwire't*.

There can be significant variation from speaker to speaker when promoting a single-vowel stem formative to an onset glide would produce a cluster of more than two consonants. For example, some speakers will produce *katakryob*' 'we were careful with them', while others may prefer to simplify the cluster to *katakrob*' or even *katakarob*'.

In this discussion of stem formatives I have avoided using terms such as *theme vowel, status vowel* and *marker* which sometimes appear in the literature describing this or similar morphological features (see, for example, Dayley 1990:371 and Grinevald and Peak 2012:10). I avoid these terms because they are used in different ways by different authors, sometimes implying that the stem formative has additional functions, such as agreeing with the degree of transitivity of a particular syntactic construction. My omission of such terms is not meant as a critique of the possibility of such additional functions, but I am asserting no such functions here.

3.4.7. Derivational Suffixes

3.4.7.1. Repetitive Aspect Marker -ru

Repetitive aspect can imply one action repeated serially to a single object, one action repeated over multiple objects, or an action carried out simultaneously over several objects. Repetitive aspect can be marked by suffixing the morpheme –*ru* to the root or stem. For example, the root *tek*', meaning 'strike' or 'kick' can be implemented as a transitive verb *utek*'e 'she struck him'. Adding the repetitive marker produces *utek'ru*, meaning 'she struck him repeatedly'. The form *utek'ru* could also imply that one person struck several persons one after another, or even several persons simultaneously. Context often clarifies the exact meaning.

3.4.7.2. Subjunctive Mood Marker –*ik*

The subjunctive mood is indicated by adding the suffix –*ik* to the derivational suffixes on the right-hand side of the root. For example:

A-pejk-ik-o'n! 2SE-warn-SUBJ-1PA Warn us!

The root here is *pejk*, meaning 'warn' or 'call out', prefixed with a second person singular nominative pronoun. The root is followed by the subjunctive affix -ik, then by the first person plural absolutive object pronoun -o'n.

If there is more than one derivational morpheme present, the -ik suffix is usually at the far right of the set, but before an absolutive suffix, if there is one. For example, the form *osenik* 'admit him/her/it/them' has both an imperative -enmarker and subjunctive -ik marker at the far right.

3.4.7.3. Imperative Mood Markers –*V*₁, *Vn*, and -*en*

Some roots form their imperatives by adding a suffix $-V_1$, that is, by suffixing a copy of the root vowel. All of my examples of this kind of imperative are single-syllable, transitive roots of the form CVC.

Imperatives Formed with -V ₁			
Root	Imperative	Gloss	
chon	chono	Sell it!	
chuk	chuku	Grab it!	
xek'	xek'e	Cut/pierce it!	

With other kinds of roots, and with derived stems, the imperative is indicated by the addition of a suffix -Vn. The vowel in this kind of imperative marker is determined lexically and is not predictable from the root vowel, and duplication of the root vowel is presumably coincidental.

	Imperatives Formed with – <i>Vn</i>			
Root	Imperative Marker	Imperative Form	Gloss	
ajk'	-un	ajk'unen	Give it to me!	
akt	-an	aktan	Let go of it!	
jajp	-in	jajpin	Grab it!	
wab'	-un	wab'un	Put it in place!	

When an imperative derivation is applied to a derived stem, the stem is likely to end in a vowel, and in such cases the surface form of the imperative marker is just -n. An example would be *chamsen* 'kill him'. The root *cham* 'die' was derived first into a transitive with the causative maker -se, producing a stem *chamse* 'kill', before that stem was derived into an imperative.

Like the subjunctive mood marker, imperative markers tend to be to the far right of the set of derivational morphemes. If there is both an imperative marker and a subjunctive marker, the subjunctive appears to the right of the imperative.

3.4.7.4. Passive Suffix -na

Transitive roots consisting of a syllable that already has a j ([h]) in the root form, and transitive stems that already contain one or more derivations, can be passivized by suffixing –na. Some examples:

	Passives Formed with -na			
Root	t Passive Form Morphemes		Gloss	
jajp	jajpna	jajp+na+Ø	He/she/it is grabbed	
k'ajt	ak'ajtna	a+k'ajt+na	It is told (recounted)	
k'an	ak'anpesna	a+k'an+pa+es+na	It is used (it is made to get wanted)	

Transitive roots like *jajp* and *k'ajt* each contain a *j* in their underived forms, so a passive stem must be derived by adding the -na suffix rather than the -j-infix. The verb *ak'anpesna* illustrates how derived transitives must also be passivized with -na: The transitive root *k'an* is derived into an intransitive stem with the middle voice -pa, and the middle voice stem is then derived into a transitive with the causative -es. It is the causative, transitive stem that is passivized by adding -na.

3.4.7.5. Middle voice suffixes –*k'a*, -*pa*, and –*tz'a*

A transitive root can be derived into an intransitive verb in the middle voice by adding a suffix -k'a, -pa, or -tz'a. Most roots seem to have one preferred middle-voice suffix out of the three, and it is not clear whether this is determined lexically or phonologically. Some roots can take at least two different middlevoice markers, with no apparent change in meaning. Some examples include the following:

	Middle Voice Markers <i>–k'a</i> , <i>-pa</i> , and <i>–tz'a</i>			
Root	Middle Form	Morphemes	Gloss	
pas	pask'a	pas+k'a+Ø	It opened	
sut	ixsutpa	ix+sut+pa	You (pl.) turn/become	
kux	akuxpa	a+kux+pa	He/she/it is born; it sprouts	
kux	kuxpix	kux+pa+Ø+ix	It has sprouted	
pak	apaktz'a	a+pak+tz'a	It bent (over)	
b'ix	b'ixk'a	b'ix+k'a+Ø	He/she wakes up	

Note that when the middle voice suffix is followed by another suffix, the vowel of the middle voice suffix might disappear, as in *kuxpix*. Most of the roots listed above are transitive, but *b'ix* may be an exception. Forms such as *ub'ixres* 'he/she/it woke him/her/it' indicate that the root is an adjective, the -r suffix often having the function of deriving a verb from an adjective.

3.4.7.6. Antipassive Suffixes –*ma*, -*san* and –*yan*

Transitive roots and stems can be derived into intransitive verbs in the antipassive voice by attaching a -ma, -san, or -yan, suffix. Some examples include the following:

A	Antipassives Formed with <i>–ma</i> , <i>-san</i> , or <i>-yan</i>				
Root	Antipassive Form	Morphemes	Gloss		
pak'	apak'ma	a+pak'+ma	he plants		
pejk	pejksan	pejk+san+Ø	he calls		
kan	akanseyan	a+kan+se+yan	he teaches		

In the samples I collected, I found one verbal construction that must be antipassive but has a form that is difficult to explain:

Ja'x war u-yar-y-Ø-ob' twa' <u>a-xek'-ma-yan</u> e ciego. 3I ASP 3E-tell-SF-3A-PL PREP 3N-pierce-APV-APV ART blind.person They were ordering the blind man to do the piercing.

The transitive root here is *xek'* meaning 'cut', 'pierce', 'jab' or 'puncture'. Theoretically, forms like *axek'ma* or *axek'yan*, both unattested, should be sufficient to convert the root into an antipassive with the sense intended in the sample sentence. In my collected texts there are not enough examples of this phenomenon to fully determine the distinctions being made by this apparent double-marking, if any. It is worth noting, however, that at least in some non-Maya languages, multiple marking of antipassives can result from subtle but distinct differences of meanings implied by each antipassive morpheme. For example, Gerdts and Hukari (2005) have explored something similar in the Salish language.

3.4.7.7. Positional Verbs with –wan

Some verbs describing bodily positions and even some bodily states form a distinct class identifiable by the suffix *–wan* appended to the root. Positional verbs are intransitives. The subjects of positional verbs are indicated with absolutive suffixes or nominative prefixes, as with other intransitive verbs.

Some verbs that are positional in Ch'orti' have to be translated to English or Spanish as the passive or middle voice forms of transitive verbs, because the concept in the target languages is considered an act or action rather than a state of being. For example:

E ch'urkab' <u>kuch-wan-Ø</u> o <u>ta'k'-wan-Ø</u> tama yer u-nak u-na'na ART baby carry-POS-3A or conceive-POS-3A PREP little 3E-belly 3E-mother The baby is carried or conceived in its mother's belly.

Here, both *kuchwan* 'it is carried' and *ta'k'wan* 'it is conceived' are active positional verbs with the baby as the grammatical subject, but translated as the passive voice of English transitive constructions.

So	Some Positional Verbs with -wan			
Root	Inflected Form	Gloss		
kot	akotwan	He kneels		
muk	inmukwan	I hide (myself)		
tur	aturan	He/she/it/they sat		
wa'	wa'wanob'	They stood		

Note the form *aturan*, lacking the w of –wan. This appears common when the root ends in *r*. One possible explanation for this is that the cluster *rw* is simplified to *r* after –*wan* is attached. Another might be that –*wan* has a variant form –*an*.

3.4.7.8. Detransitivizing Affix $-V_1n$

A small number of transitive roots can be detransitivized by duplicating the root vowel and adding -n. The number of verbs to which this process applies is quite small, and relate to sensory perceptions, at least in the sample texts that are the basis for the present study. This suffix does not seem to mark a particular tense, aspect, mood, or voice, but to add a semantic sense that the grammatical subject is emitting or producing a particular kind of sensory experience. The transitive root *k'ux* 'eat', for example, can be detransitivized as *k'uxun* 'hurt', in the sense of 'emit pain'. The transitive root *ujtz*', meaning 'perceive an odor' can be detransitivized as ujtz'un 'emit an aroma'. In context:

<u>A-k'ux-un</u> ut' ni-wej! 3N-eat-EMIT kernel 1SE-mouth My tooth hurts!

<u>O-jtz'-un</u> ayi u-yar-ar e sik'ab'. 3N-smell-EMIT there 3E-toss-NOM ART cane.juice The cane juice was giving off its aroma.

In the example above, the word *ojtz'un* begins with the third person nominative pronoun *a*, but the combination a+u (after deletion of the initial glottal stop of the root) has been phonologically realized as o^5 .

3.4.7.9. General Transitivizer – b'a / -b'u

Intransitive roots can be converted to transitives without altering the basic sense of the root by adding the derivational suffix -b'a or -b'u. Which of the two surface forms is used appears to be determined lexically. In the collected texts, -b'a or -b'u can be attached only to intransitive roots, not to derived stems, although the resulting transitive verb can be input to additional derivations, such as the addition of a passive morpheme. In the following examples, the roots *tur* 'sit' and *tak*' 'stick' are positional intransitives. Arguably, the root *ch'ich*' 'blood' is a noun, in which case the -b'a suffix is converting it into a verb, not just making an already intransitive root into a transitive stem.

⁵ It is tempting to explain this process of coalescence as the lower vowel *a* pulling the high vowel *u* downward. However, there are other processes in Ch'orti' that do not follow this pattern. For example, $ta+e \rightarrow ti$, in which the final vowel is raised and fronted.

	Transitive Verbs Derived with –b'a / -b'u				
Root	Intransitive	Gloss	Transitive	Gloss	
tur	aturan	he sat	uturb'a	She seated him	
tur	aturan	he sat	aturb'ana	He was seated (by someone)	
ch'ich'	ach'ich'en	it bleeds	uch'ich'b'a	He made her bleed / he despoiled her	
tak'	atak'wan	it sticks	utak'b'u	She affixed it / she stuck it on	

3.4.7.10. Causative Suffix -se / -es

The causative suffix can derive a transitive stem from an intransitive root or stem. It can also add a sense of causation to a root or stem that is already transitive. The choice between –*se* and –*es* appears to be purely phonological. The base form appears to be –*se*, as that is the form that appears following CVC roots, an environment in which either form would produce two well-formed syllables (e.g., *alok'se* is used rather than *alok'es*). The base form undergoes metathesis to *-es* if appending –*se* would produce a cluster of more than two consonants (without regard to syllable boundaries), or would increase the number of syllables in the final form. That is, *-es* is used if the stem ends in CC or in V. Some examples:

Causative Verbs with –es / -se			
Root/ Stem	Causative Form	Morphemes	Gloss
majr	umajres	u+majr+es+Ø	He/she/it tricks him/her/it.
nijk	unijkes	u+nijk+es+Ø	He/she/it rocks/moves it
noj	unojres	u+noj+r+es	He/she/it enlarges it
k'an	kak'ampes	ka+k'an+pa+es+Ø	We need it / use it
we'	inwe'se	in+we'+se+Ø	I feed him/her
lok'	alok'se	a+lok'+se+Ø	You drive him/her/it out

The roots *nijk*, *we*', and *lok*' are intransitive verbs. The form *nojr* is more likely an intransitive stem derived from an adjective, *noj* 'large'. The form *majr* is also likely to be derived from an adjective *maj*, although I have no examples directly documenting that. The form *kak'ampes* shows that the causative suffix can be appended to a derived intransitive stem, the root *k'an* being transitive, in this instance derived into a middle voice intransitive with -pa.

3.4.7.11. Verbal Adjectives (Participles) ending in –b'ir and -em

These forms are called participles in some grammatical analyses, probably because their function is somewhat similar to that of Spanish past participles ending in *ado* or *-ido* (e.g., *pintado* 'painted'). Unlike Spanish past participles, Ch'orti' verbal adjectives do not participate in the construction of periphrastic verb forms. That is, the Ch'orti' verbal adjectives are not used in constructions such as *lo he vendido* 'I have sold it'. However, both Ch'orti' verbal adjectives and Spanish past participles can be used as adjectives. When used in this way, the adjective indicates a quality that results from the application or completion of the action of the described by the verbal root. Some examples include:

> Ya' wa'r-Ø in-gojr tun <u>pajr-b'ir</u> wororoj. There stand-3A one-CLASS stone carve-PART round A <u>carved</u>, round stone stood there.

La Piedra Pintada are-na-Ø o <u>b'om-b'ir</u> tun. La Piedra Pintada say-PSV-3A or paint-PART rock It's called Piedra Pintada or <u>Painted</u> Rock.

Ayi turu-Ø in-kojt ixik u-b'ajn-er, yer <u>chok-em</u> ixik. There live-3A one-CLASS woman 3E-alone-NOM ART drop-PART woman And a woman lived there alone, a <u>widowed</u> woman.

While some roots more commonly occur with one or another of the two suffixes, there appears to be no restriction on combining either suffix with any root, nor is there evidence that choosing one or another suffix alters the meaning of the adjective produced.

The PLFM dictionary includes the -b'ir form, but not the form with -em, as a "principal part" of each verb. Although not a principal part in the sense of being a base on which other verb forms are built, the -b'ir form is useful in clearly identifying the root or stem of a particular verb. It can be attached directly to the root without any intervening stem formative, and the suffix itself begins with a consonant, so there is little or no phonological reprocessing of the root or stem after the suffix is added.

The *-b'ir* and *-em* suffixes can be attached to roots or derived stems (e.g., *chamesb'ir*, from the root *cham*, derived with a causative *-es*), but preclude any further derivation or inflection.

3.4.7.12. Positional Adjectives ending with $-V_1r$

Positional intransitive roots – verbs that express a bodily position – can form an adjective by duplicating the root vowel and adding -r. These are often translatable into English as a past participle such as 'stood' or a gerund such as 'standing'. For example:

> <u>Nob'-or</u> ayi u-yej k'otoy-Ø Hand.holding-ADJ there 3E-tooth arrive-3A She arrived with her <u>hand holding</u> her tooth.

... *twa' chek-er ke' ayan u-yar, ke' <u>kuch-ur</u> uyar* PREP appear-ADJ CONJ exist 3E-child CONJ carry-ADJ 3E-child ... so it appeared that she had a child, that her child <u>was carried</u>. In the first example, the positional root *nob'* means 'hold up', 'hold with the hand', or 'cover with the hand'. In this example, a woman walks into a doctor's office holding her jaw because of the pain of a toothache. In the second example, the root *kuch* means 'bear' or 'carry', including in the sense of being pregnant. In this example, someone has stuffed rags in the abdominal area of her dress to make it appear as though she were pregnant.

The $-V_1 r$ suffix appears to attach only to positional roots, not to derived stems, and precludes other derivations or inflections.

3.4.8. Pronominal Suffixes

Transitive verbs are always inflected for an object, either direct or indirect, by appending an absolutive suffix to the right end of the verb stem, meaning that it comes after the root plus any stem formative or derivational suffixes. For example, the -o'n in *ajk'uno'n* 'give it to us!' indicates the indirect object in the second person plural, and the -e'n in *atz'ojye'n* 'he bothers me' indicates the direct object in the first person singular. The absence of an object pronoun in a transitive verb indicates the third person, as in *atajwi* 'you found it', *alok'se* 'you drove him/her/it out' and *apaxob'* 'you cursed them'.

3.4.9. The Plural Marker – ob'

The marker –*ob*' can be used to indicate that one or both of the thirdperson participants is plural. Since first- and second-person pronominal affixes indicate number, *-ob*' is not used with those. Even with third-person affixes, which are ambiguous as to number, the use of –*ob*' is optional. It is frequently omitted if the discursive context has already established the number of the thirdperson participants. For example, depending on the context, the verb a'ru could be interpreted as 'he/she/it cries out' or 'they cry out'. This ambiguity can be removed by adding the -ob' marker, producing a'rwob', which can be interpreted only as 'they cried out'.

An additional ambiguity arises with transitive verbs in which both the subject and the object are in the third person. In such circumstances, only context can distinguish whether the subject is pluralized, the object is pluralized, or both are pluralized. A form like *uyustob*', then, can mean 'he/she/it prepared them', 'they prepared it', or 'they prepared them'.

3.4.10. Optional Enclitics

3.4.10.1. Interrogative enclitic –*ka*

The interrogative -ka is sometimes written as an independent word, which would make it a particle rather than a clitic. However, a speaker often places stress on the -ka syllable rather than the final syllable of the preceding verb complex, indicating that the interrogative is really attached to the verb complex. For example:

Yi tama e ya'x war <u>i-tz'e'n-e-ka</u>? And in ART this ASP 2SN-laugh-SF-QUES And it's about this that you're laughing?

3.4.10.2. Aspectual Enclitics –ix, -to, and –xix

The clitic –*ix* adds a sense of 'already' to a verb complex. Bilingual informants often render it into Spanish as *ya*. This can indicate that an action was very recent, or can make an action in the past relevant to a subsequent action. In the latter sense, *-ix* approximates the meaning of the so-called "perfect tenses" in English, in which 'has' or 'had' serve as auxiliaries. For example:

U-wajp-y-e'n-ix.

3E-grap-SF-1SA-already

She has/had grabbed me / She already grabbed me.

The clitic –*to* indicates that action has been protracted or has continued from the past into the present, often translatable as 'yet' or 'still':

*Ka-k'an-Ø-t*o. 1PE-wish-3A-still

We still want it.

The clitic -xix adds a sense of 'exactly', often with a temporal sense of 'right now' or 'right away'. It might be a reduplication of -ix.

Wab'u-n-xix!

Set.up-IMP-right.now

Set them out right now!

3.4.11. Verbs Derived from Other Syntactic Categories

3.4.11.1. Verbs Derived from Adjectives with *-ran* or *-res*

Adjectives can become verbs through the addition of a morpheme -r followed by either -an or the causative suffix -es. I have no examples of an adjective becoming a verb with just the -r suffix, so it is easier in some ways to look at the two suffixes as -ran and -res.

The –*ran* suffix creates an intransitive verb indicating acquisition of the characteristic described by the adjectival root. For example, the root *noj* 'big' can become the verb *kanojran* 'we get big' or 'we gain weight'. Other examples include *koyran* 'he gets bored' or 'she gets fed up', and *mokran* 'he gets sick'. As with other intransitive verbs in Ch'orti', the subject can be indicated by an absolutive suffix or nominative prefix.

The –*res* suffix, clearly related to the causative –*se/-es*, creates a transitive verb indicating that the agent has caused the patient to acquire the characteristic described by the adjectival root. For example *uraxres* means 'he made it smooth', from the adjective *rax* 'smooth', and *umaktajnres* means 'he give her indigestion', from *maktajn* 'having indigestion'. As with other transitives, these verbs can be inflected for the grammatical subject with ergative prefixes and inflected for either a direct or indirect object with absolutive suffixes.

3.4.11.2. Verbs Derived from Nouns by absolutive suffixes

A noun inflected with an absolutive suffix can function as a verb of being. Since Ch'orti' has no copula, an inflected noun with this sense often functions as an entire phrase or sentence:

> *Ne't ni-tw-e't.* 2SI 1SE-mother-2SA

You're my mother.

Doktor-en. Doctor-1SA

I'm a doctor.

3.4.12. Deriving Other Syntactic Categories from Verbal Roots

Derivational morphemes can be appended to verbal roots to produce several types of nouns and adjectives. These are described below, in the sections on the structures of nouns and adjectives.

3.4.13. Sample Verb Paradigms

The verbs described here were selected to illustrate the main varieties of phonological and morphological variations. The paradigms were elicited from one or more native speakers who were trained to conjugate verbs by person and number, and in some cases by aspect, mood, and voice.

3.4.13.1. Transitive Root ch'uy

The transitive root *ch'uy* means to lift up, raise in the hands, or baptize. It can be inflected for its subject using ergative prefixes, and for its objects using absolutive suffixes. The third person absolutive suffix is null, which often leaves visible a stem formative vowel that is deleted if the next suffix to the right begins with a vowel.

First person and second person affixes clearly distinguish singular from plural, so there is no need for additional plural marking when those are applied. However, the third person affixes make no distinction between singular and plural. The third person subject prefix, then, can refer to *he*, *she*, *it*, or *they*, and the third person object suffix can refer to *him*, *her*, *it*, or *them*. Optionally, the – *ob'* (or –*o'b'*) plural marker can be suffixed to the right of the object morpheme. But the plural marker only clarifies that at least one of the inflectional affixes refers to a plural participant. Only discursive context can clarify whether it is the subject that is plural, the object, or both.

In the chart that follows, the verb forms are glossed in English using the past tense because the default aspect of transitive verbs is completive. Third person pronouns have been simplified to *he*, *him*, *they*, and *them*, to save space.

SUBJ	OBJ	VERB	GLOSS
1S	1S		
1S	2S	inch'uye't	I baptized you
1S	3S	inch'uyi	I baptized him

SUBJ	OBJ	VERB	GLOSS
1S	1P		
1S	2P	inch'uyo'x	I baptized you
1S	3P	inch'uyi	I baptized them
		inch'uyo'b'	
2S	1S	ach'uye'n	You baptized me
2S	2S		
2S	3S	ach'uyi	You baptized him
2S	1P	ach'uyo'n	You baptized us
2S	2P		
2S	3P	ach'uyi	You baptized them
		ach'uyo'b'	
3S	1S	uch'uye'n	He baptized me
3S	2S	uch'uye't	He baptized you
3S	3S	uch'uyi	He baptized him
3S	1P	uch'uyo'n	He baptized us
3S	2P	uch'uyo'x	He baptized you
3S	3P	uch'uyi	He baptized them
		uch'uyo'b'	
1P	1S		
1P	2S	kach'uye't	We baptized you
1P	3S	kach'uyi	We baptized him
1P	1P		
1P	2P	kach'uyo'x	We baptized you

SUBJ	OBJ	VERB	GLOSS
1P	3P	kach'uyi	We baptized them
		kach'uyo'b'	
2P	1S	ich'uye'n	You baptized me
2P	2S		
2P	3S	ich'uyi	You baptized him
2P	1P	ich'uyo'n	You baptized us
2P	2P		
2P	3P	ich'uyi	You baptized them
		ich'uyo'b	
3P	1S	uch'uye'no'b'	They baptized me
3P	2S	uch'uye'to'b'	They baptized you
3P	3S	uch'uyi	They baptized him
		uch'uyob'	
3P	1P	uch'uyo'no'b'	They baptized us
3P	2P	uch'oyo'xo'b'	They baptized you
3P	3P	uch'uyi	They baptized them
		uch'uyo'b	

The root *ch'uy* can be made passive by infixing -j. The derived passive verb is intransitive, and so has a much shorter paradigm. Subjects are indicated by nominative prefixes if the verbal aspect is incompletive, which is translated into English has as the simple present tense. In the completive aspect, subjects are indicated by absolutive suffixes, and are translated into English using the simple past tense. The use of the *-ob'* plural marker is optional, and without it

the third person subject can be either singular or plural. The stem formative vowel for all of these forms is -a, which is used for all stems derived with the -j-passive infix.

SUBJ	VERB	GLOSS
1S	inch'ujya	I am baptized
2S	ich'ujya	You are baptized
3S	ach'ujya	He his baptized
1P	kach'ujya	We are baptized
2P	ixch'ujya	You are baptized
3P	ach'ujyob'	They are baptized
1S	ch'ujye'n	I was baptized
2S	ch'ujye't	You were baptized
3S	ch'ujya	He was baptized
1P	ch'ujyo'n	We were baptized
2P	ch'ujyo'x	You were baptized
3P	ch'ujyob'	They were baptized

An antipassive can be formed by appending *–san* to the root. The resultant intransitive stem can be inflected for the subject with nominative prefixes (incompletive aspect) or absolutive suffixes (completive).

SUBJ	VERB	GLOSS
1S	inch'uysan	I baptize

2S	ich'uysan	You baptize
3S	ach'uysan	He baptizes
1P	kach'uysan	We baptize
2P	ixch'uysan	You baptize
3P	ach'uysan(ob')	They baptize
1S	ch'uysane'n	I baptized
2S	ch'uysane't	You baptized
3S	ch'uysan	He baptized
1P	ch'uysano'n	We baptized
2P	ch'uysano'x	You baptized
3P	ch'uysan(o'b')	They baptized

The same antipassive meaning can be achieved using a different antipassive marker, *-ma*. The paradigm is similar and the meanings are the same, but since *-ma* ends in a vowel, the vowel of any subsequent suffix tends to reduce *-ma* to *-m*.

SUBJ	VERB	GLOSS
1S	inch'uyma	I baptize
2S	ich'uyma	You baptize
3S	ach'uyma	He baptizes
1P	kach'uyma	We baptize
2P	ixch'uyma	You baptize
3P	ach'uyma	They baptize
	ach'uymob'	

1S	ch'uyme'n	I baptized
2S	ch'uyme't	You baptized
3S	ch'uyma	He baptized
1P	ch'uymo'n	We baptized
2P	ch'uymo'x	You baptized
3P	ch'uyma ch'uymob'	They baptized

3.4.13.2. Transitive Root ujtz'

The transitive root *ujtz*' means 'smell' in the sense of 'to perceive the aroma of something'. Its conjugation follows the paradigm for *ch'uy*, given above. There are different phonological considerations, however. The onset of the root syllable is an unwritten glottal stop, which is likely to be replaced by a glide. The first person ergative prefix -in, becomes an infix -n. This particular root has a complex coda (CC rather than just C), and the infixing of the -n- would produce a coda of CCC, which Ch'orti' phonotactics does not permit. The CCC coda is reduced to CC by the deletion of the *j*, possibly because that is the 'weakest' phoneme in the cluster (compared to *n* and tz')⁶. In addition, the coda of the root syllable is not a glide, so the stem formative vowel that follows the root is syllabilied slightly differently than with the root *ch'uy*.

⁶ There is not enough phonological data at hand to define a strength hierarchy of consonants, or even to be sure that there is one. It is possible that the infixed -n- has to be retained because it is a complete morpheme. If that is the case, deleting the tz' would leave a coda of nj, which is just not allowed by phonotactics. The only option, then, for reducing this particular CCC to CC is to delete the *j*.

SUBJ	OBJ	VERB	GLOSS
1S	1S		
1S	2S	u'ntz'ye't	I smelled you
1S	3S	u'ntz'i	I smelled him
1S	1P		
1S	2P	u'ntz'yo'x	I smelled you
1S	3P	u'ntz'i	I smelled them
		u'ntz'yo'b'	
2S	1S	awujtz'ye'n	You smelled me
2S	2S		
2S	3S	awujtz'i	You smelled him
2S	1P	awujtz'yo'n	You smelled us
2S	2P		
2S	3P	awujtz'i	You smelled them
		awujtz'yo'b'	
3S	1S	uyujtz'ye'n	He smelled me
3S	2S	uyujtz'ye't	He smelled you
3S	3S	uyujtz'i	He smelled him
3S	1P	uyujtz'yo'n	He smelled us
3S	2P	uyujtz'yo'x	He smelled you
3S	3P	uyujtz'i	He smelled them
		uyujtz'yo'b'	
1P	1S		
1P	2S	kawujtz'ye't	We smelled you
1P	3S	kawujtz'i	We smelled him

SUBJ	OBJ	VERB	GLOSS
1P	1P		
1P	2P	kawujtz'yo'x	We smelled you
1P	3P	kawujtz'i	We smelled them
		kawujtz'yo'b'	
2P	1S	iwujtz'ye'n	You smelled me
2P	2S		
2P	3S	iwujtz'i	You smelled him
2P	1P	iwujtz'yo'n	You smelled us
2P	2P		
2P	3P	iwujtz'i	You smelled them
		iwujtz'yo'b	
3P	1S	uyujtz'ye'no'b'	They smelled me
3P	2S	uyujtz'ye'to'b'	They smelled you
3P	3S	uyujtz'i	They smelled him
		uyutjz'yo'b'	
3P	1P	uyutjz'yo'no'b'	They smelled us
3P	2P	uyujtz'yo'xo'b'	They smelled you
3P	3P	uyujtz'i	They smelled them
		uyujtz'yo'b	

Because the root syllable already has a *j* in the coda, it cannot be passivized by infixing -j-. Instead, the passive suffix -na is affixed, producing the intransitive stem *ujtz'na*. An interesting feature of this particular conjugation is that the speaker seems to have leveled the handling of the conversion of the glottal stop

to a glide: it is realized as a *w*, even in the third person, where a *y* would be expected.

SUBJ	VERB	GLOSS
1S	u'ntz'na	I am smelled
2S	iwujtz'na	You are smelled
3S	awujtz'na	He is smelled
1P	kawujtz'na	We are smelled
2P	ixwujtz'na	You are smelled
3P	awujtz'nob'	They are smelled
1S	ujtz'ne'n	I was smelled
2S	ujtz'ne't	You were smelled
3S	ujtz'na	He was smelled
1P	ujtz'no'n	We were smelled
2P	ujtz'no'x	You were smelled
3P	ujtzn'ob'	They were smelled

3.4.13.3. Transitive Root *usr*

The transitive root *usr* means to desire something strongly. Because it begins with an unwritten glottal stop followed by the vowel *u*, it is subject to a variety of phonological changes when inflected with ergative prefixes. The *in*- of the first person singular will become an infixed -n-, the initial glottal stop may be metathesized to the syllable nucleus, and when the vowels a + u are brought together, they are reduced to *o*.

SUBJ	VERB	GLOSS
1S	u'nsre	I wanted (it)
2S	o'sre	You wanted (it)
3S	uyusre	He wanted (it)
1P	ko'sre	We wanted (it)
2P	yu'sre	You wanted (it)
3P	uyusre	They wanted (it)

3.4.13.4. Intransitive Root *ch'i'*

The intransitive root ch'i' means 'grow,' 'grow up' or 'develop'. The closing glottal stop is a weak consonant that easily disappears when suffixes are added, and the nuclear vowel i becomes the corresponding consonant y if it is resyllabified as the onset of a subsequent syllable.

SUBJ	VERB	GLOSS
1S	inch'i'	I grow
2S	ich'i'	You grow
3S	ach'i'	He grows
1P	kach'i'	We grow
2P	ixch'i'	You grow
3P	ach'i'	They grow
	ach'yo'b'	
1S	ch'ye'n	l grew
2S	ch'ye't	You grew

3S	ch'i'	He grew
1P	ch'yo'n	We grew
2P	ch'yo'x	You grew
3P	ch'i'	They grew
	ch'yo'b'	

3.4.13.5. Middle Voice stem achpa

The middle voice stem *achpa* means 'arise' or 'get up', and begins with an unwritten glottal stop. Nominative prefixes in the incompletive cause a number of phonological changes. The first person singular *in*- becomes infixed as -n-. In other forms, the initial glottal stop is metathesized to the syllable nucleus and any duplicate vowels are reduced to a single occurrence (e.g., *ka* + *achpa* \rightarrow *ka*'*chpa*). The second person plural suffix *ix*- causes no such changes, most likely because the prefix is a closed syllable in its own right.

SUBJ	VERB	GLOSS
1S	a'nchpa	l arise
2S	ya'chpa	You arise
3S	a'chpa	He arises
1P	ka'chpa	We arise
2P	ixachpa	You arise
3P	a'chpo'b'	They arise
1S	achpen	l arose
2S	achpet	You arose
3S	achpa	He arose

1P	achpo'n	We arose
2P	achpo'x	You arose
3P	achpob'	They arose

3.4.13.6. Deponent roots watar and tar

Some of the more common Ch'orti' verbs are deponent, requiring multiple roots to form a complete verb paradigm. For example, the verb 'to come' requires one root, *watar*, to form the incompletive aspect and another root, *tar*, to form the completive. Both are inflected with absolutive suffixes as if completive, but the meaning of forms based on *watar* is incompletive. One informant was of the opinion that some speakers keep the full form of the root, *watar*, in all the incompletive forms, saying *watare'n*, *watare't*, etc. But none of my informants produced such forms spontaneously, instead reducing *watar* to *wat* whenever there was a suffix.

SUBJ	VERB	GLOSS
1S	wate'n	I come
2S	wate't	You come
3S	watar	He comes
1P	wato'n	We come
2P	wato'x	You come
3P	wato'b'	They come
1S	tarye'n	I came
2S	tarye't	You came
3S	tari	He came

1P	taryo'n	We came
2P	taryo'x	You came
3P	taryo'b'	They came

3.5. The Structure of Nouns

Nominal roots and stems can be inflected for a possessor, for equivalence, and for number. Some nouns require a derivational suffix when they change between possessed and unpossessed forms. Changes in meaning can be indicated by agentive and abstractive derivational morphemes. Nouns can also be derived from roots and stems of other syntactic categories by the applications of a variety of derivational morphemes.

3.5.1. Inflection for Possessor with Ergative Prefixes

Most nouns can be inflected to indicate the possessor by prefixing an ergative pronoun to the nominal root or stem. The first person singular prefix appears as *ni*- rather than *in*- when it is indicating the possessor of a noun.

Examples of Possessed Nouns				
Person	Root	Inflected Noun	Gloss	
1 st Singular	noy	ninoy	My grandfather	
2 nd Singular	nak	anak	Your belly	
1 st Plural	jor	kajor	Our heads	
2 nd Plural	ti'	iti'	Your mouths	
3 rd	cham	uchamer	His/her/its/their death	

Initial glottal stops in nominal roots or stems regularly undergo the same conversion to *w* in the first and second persons and *y* in the third person as verbal roots do. Thus the root *ej* 'tooth' can appear as *niwej* 'my tooth', *uyej* 'her tooth', etc. Nouns that begin with a glottal stop seem far less likely to undergo the process of metathesis that was described above for verbs with ergative prefixes. There are a few examples of this, however, such as *nyo'tot* 'my house'. One might expect *niwotot*, but the glottal stop has been shifted into the root, leaving *ni* followed by *o'tot*, written and pronounced *nyo'tot*. In my collected texts I found no examples of the kind of reanalysis as to whether a root started with a glottal stop or a glide that was described above for verbs with ergative prefixes.

3.5.2. Inflection for Equivalence with Absolutive Suffixes

Nouns can be inflected by suffixing an absolutive pronoun to the root. This creates an equation between the noun and the person or persons referenced by the pronominal affix. Nouns inflected this way can function as verbs of being, as described in the section on verbs, above. In some contexts, however, a noun inflected in this way continues to function as a noun. For example:

... lo que ka-che-Ø no'n tara, e <u>Ch'orty-o'n</u> tama e área Jocotán
That which 1PE-do-3A 1PI here, ART Ch'orti'-1PA in ART area Jocotán
... that which we did here, <u>we Ch'orti'</u> in the Jocotán area.

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The article *e* clearly indicates that *ch'ortyo'n* is a noun, apparently the subject of the verb *kache* 'we did it'. The -o'n suffix is the absolutive first person plural pronoun meaning 'we'.

3.5.3. Inflection for Number

As with verbs, explicit marking of nouns for plurality is not always required. Once a discursive context has established that a particular object is plural, nouns referring to that object can be marked as plural or not marked for number at all, at the discretion of the speaker. As with verbs, the plural suffix –*ob*' is generally used to mark nouns for plurality. For example:

> Kay ojron-Ø e padre taka e <u>pak'ab'-ob'</u>. ASP speak-3A ART father with ART person-PL The priest was speaking with the <u>people</u>.

The root *pak'ab'* can mean 'person' or 'people', and is here marked explicitly as plural. The same process applies to a noun that is inflected for a possessor:

Ka-wab'-u-Ø ani e chicha twa' ka-wajk'-u-Ø u-yuch'-i-Ø <u>ka-pya'r-ob'</u>. 1PE-place-SF-3A ASP ART chicha to 1PE-give-SF-3A 3E-drink-SF-3A 1PE-friend-PL We used to set out chicha⁷ to give to <u>our friends and family</u> to drink.

⁷ Chicha is an alcoholic beverage made from corn or fruit.

Since the possessor *ka* 'we' is already marked plural, the plural suffix –ob' is more likely to apply to the root than to the possessor. That is, *kapya'rob'* must be 'our friends' and not 'our friend'. However, a noun that is inflected for a third person possessor and for plurality can be more ambiguous. In isolation, a noun like *uyototob'* could refer to 'his/her/its houses', 'their house', or 'their houses.' Discursive context will often reduce this ambiguity.

A small group of nouns, all referring to categories of people, take a special plural marker *–tak*. In the texts studied here, this applies to *paxtak* 'boys', *ijch'oktak*, 'girls' and *ixiktak* 'women', which have singular forms *pax*, *ijch'ok*, and *ixik*, respectively. This does not apply to the noun *maxtak* 'son' or 'child', which is singular, and is pluralized as *maxtakob'*.

3.5.4. Changes Between Possessed and Unpossessed Forms

Aside from the presence or absence of the ergative prefix, many nouns have the same form whether they are possessed or not. Some nouns, however, allow the underived root to function only as an unpossessed noun, and require the addition of a derivational suffix when the noun is inflected with an ergative prefix. Some other nouns behave in exactly the opposite manner, allowing ergative possessors to be attached to the underived root, but requiring a derivational suffix when the noun is unpossessed.

One such class requires the addition of a suffix -er or -ir to a noun that is possessed. Neither membership in this class as a whole nor the choice of -er versus -ir can be determined phonologically or semantically. Some interesting examples include the following:

Kay u-moroj-sy-ob' e <u>ch'ich'</u>, yi jaxto ayi <u>u-ch'ich'-er</u> e ka-tata'. ASP 3E-gather-CAUS-PL ART blood and this then 3E-blood-DRV ART 1PE-father They gathered the <u>blood</u>, and this was the <u>blood of</u> God.

Yi e <u>me'yn</u> ira, ja'x <u>u-me'yn-ir</u>, u-nawal-ir, e xiximay. And ART spirit this, 3I 3E-spirit-DRV, 3E-spirit-DRV, ART xiximay And this spirit, it's the spirit – the nawal – of the xiximay.

In each of these sentences the underlined noun appears twice, first unpossessed, then in a possessed form, with the *u*- prefix specifying the possessor and the -er/-ir suffix indicating the derivation to possessed form.

A small class of nouns, all apparently specifying kinds of family relationships, require the addition of a suffix -b'ir in the unpossessed form. The -b'ir suffix clearly is not part of the root and disappears when the noun takes a possessor:

Selected Nouns Taking – <i>b'ir</i> When Unpossessed				
Unpossessed	Gloss	Possessed	Gloss	
sakunb'ir	Older sibling	nisakun	My older sibling	
tatab'ir	Father	utata / utata'	His/her/its/their father	
tub'ir	Mother	itu'	Your (pl.) mother	

3.5.5. Agentive Prefix aj-

The meaning of a noun can be altered to add a sense similar to 'a person who is' or 'a person who does' by adding the prefix *aj*-. For example, the word *ajkanseyaj* means 'teacher'. The root, *kan*, is an intransitive root meaning 'learn'. It has been derived into a transitive verb by adding the causative suffix –*se*, producing the stem *kanse* 'teach'. The derived transitive stem has, in turn, been derived into a noun by suffixing –*yaj* to produce a noun meaning 'teaching'. Finally, the *aj*- prefix changes the noun to mean 'a person who does teaching' or 'teacher'. It is possible to construct arguments that the –*yaj* nominalizing suffix is actually the final derivation, or is applied simultaneously with the *aj*- prefix. There are, however, examples in which the *aj*- prefix derives a noun directly from a verb without additional nominalizing suffixes, such as *ajk'ajt* 'prayer sayer', from the transitive root *k'ajt* 'pray', 'ask', 'recite'. This being the case, it is more parsimonious to analyze the *aj*- derivation as occurring last in words like *ajkanseyaj*.

3.5.6. Abstractive Suffix –ir

While an -ir suffix can derive a possessed noun from a normally unpossessed noun, as described above, there appears to be a distinct morpheme with the same -ir surface form. In many instances, suffixing -ir to a noun makes its meaning more abstract, either making it refer to a less distinct instance of the noun or altering the semantic sense of the noun. One example is:

Kay u-ch-Ø-ob' <u>u-votot-ob'</u> yaja', u-ch-Ø-ob' <u>u-votot-ir e ka-tata'</u>

tya' ojron-Ø-ob' taka e ka-tata'.

ASP 3E-make-3A-PL 3E-house-PL there 3E-make-3A-PL 3E-house-ABSR ART 1PE-father where speak-3A-PL with ART 1PE-father They made their houses there, (and) made the house of God where they prayed with God.

The two underlined words are based on the root *otot* 'house', and both are marked as possessed by the third person *u*- prefix. The noun *uyototob*' refers to 'houses' in the ordinary sense, the houses in which people live. But *uyototir*, with the abstractive –*ir* suffix, has a slightly different sense, referring to a church or a village *adoratorio*. Both nouns seem to refer to very concrete and specific instantiations of the noun, so the only reason for applying the suffix is to alter the noun's semantic content.

A similar usage of the abstractive *–ir* can be seen in this example:

Turan-Ø ayi in-te' u-noj-jor <u>u-jor-ir</u> pak'ab' xe' are-na-Ø rey. Live-3A there one-CLASS 3E-big-head 3E-head-ABSR person that call-PSV-3A king There lived there a big chief, chief the people, who was called king.

Although the context would probably make clear the meaning of *ujor* 'his/their head' even without the *—ir* suffix, adding the suffix makes clear that 'head' is metaphorical here rather than physical, meaning 'chief', 'leader', or 'king'.

In a few instances, the semantic shift indicated by *-ir* can appear quite large:

Tamar taka u-yoch-er e <u>k'ek'-a'r-ir</u> ya' taka tur-b'a-n-Ø-ob'. At just 3E-open-NOM ART <u>strong-NOM-ABSR</u> there with sit-TRANS-PSV-3A-PL They were seated just at the opening of the <u>doorway</u>.

The *—a'r* suffix in *k'ek'a'rir* (also appearing as *k'ek'wa'rir*) already derives a noun from the verbal root *k'ek'* 'be strong' or 'be hard'. The noun *k'ek'wa'r* by itself means 'strength' or 'hardness'. With the addition of the *—ir* suffix, the noun *k'ek'a'rir* can mean 'doorway' or 'closure' in the sense of the part that makes a room or building 'strong', that is, 'defensible'.

3.5.7. Compound Nouns

Nominal stems can be constructed by compounding an adjective with a nominal root, or compounding two nouns. When two nouns are compounded, the second noun is often derived from a verb. The noun *nojjor* 'leader', for example, is built on the adjectival root *noj* 'big' and the nominal root *jor* 'head'. The noun *ajyumpatna'r* 'overseer' or 'supervisor' is a compound of *ajyum* 'boss' with *patna'r* 'work'. The -a'r suffix derives the noun 'work' from the intransitive verbal root *patn* 'work'.

3.5.8. The Preposition ta as Proclitic

Nouns are often the objects of the preposition *ta*, a generic preposition with basic meanings like 'to', 'at', 'toward', 'in', 'on', etc. In spoken form, the preposition is often attached as a proclitic to the noun that follows it. Some

writers choose to show this pronunciation in writing, giving, *tupat* 'behind it' rather than *ta upat*. In speech the generic article *e* can also be compressed into the proclitic, if it appears between the preposition and the noun. Writing may reflect the pronunciation. For example, the preposition *ta* and the article *e* merge to become *ti*, which can then be appended to the noun. Depending on the preferences of the writer, 'to the sky' might be implemented as *tichan*, *ti chan*, or *ta e chan* (all pronounced the same), and 'to our noses' might appear as *tikani'*, *ti kani'*, or *ta e kani'*.

3.5.9. Relational Nouns

The use of relational nouns is described more fully in the chapter on syntax. For the purpose of describing nominal morphology, it is important to note that Ch'orti' makes use of relatively few prepositions, and so relies on certain nouns to clarify some relationships that would be specified by prepositions in either Spanish or English. Relational nouns are inflected with an ergative prefix that indexes the concept or actor that would be, in English or Spanish, the object of a preposition. For example:

> *E ch'urkab' k'u-j-x-a <u>u-men</u> e k'ech'uj.* ART baby eat-PSV-SF 3E-withness ART k'ech'uj The baby was eaten by the *k'ech'uj*.

Here the supernatural creature known as the *k'ech'uj* is a demoted agent in a passive construction. In English, the *k'ech'uj* is the object of the preposition *by*,

but in Ch'orti' the *k'ech'uj* is the owner of a nominal root *men*, which could be translated approximately as *withness*.

A relational noun can be inflected with the optional plural marker -ob', and can also be derived into a relational pronoun by the addition of the suffix -er. An example combining both inflections is:

Kocha kach-ar ayi e k'ek'-a'r-ir twa' yotot <u>u-men-er-ob'</u>

yi ma'chi u-yub'-i-Ø o'ch-Ø-ob'.

As tie-ADJ there ART strong-NOUN-ABSR of the house 3E-withness-ABSR-PL

And not 3E-possible-SF-3A enter-3A-PL

As the door of the room had been tied by them, they could not enter.

3.5.10. Deriving Nouns from Other Syntactic Categories

3.5.10.1. Nouns Derived from Verbs with *-ar*, *-er* and *-ib*'

Verbal roots can become nouns with different senses by affixing -ar, -er or -ib', each conveying a different sense:

- The suffix –ar derives a noun that describes the typical object of a verb or a product resulting from the action of the verb.
- Abstract nouns are indicated by –er. This suffix indicates that the derived noun refers to an indistinct group of objects or an abstract concept.
- The suffix –*ib*' derives a noun that describes an instrument with which, or place within which, the action of a verb can be carried out.

Verbal Nouns With <i>–ar</i> , <i>–er</i> or <i>–ib'</i>				
Root	Gloss	Derived Form	Gloss	
b'ojch'	wrap	ub'ojch'ib'	his/her/its/their sheet	
kar	be drunk	karer	drunkenness	
majk'	enclose (passive stem)	majk'ib'	enclosure; jail	
num	pass, step	numer	story, passage, step	
patn	do work	patna'r	work, task	
tur	sit, dwell	katurer	our dwelling	
tur	sit, dwell	turib'	seat, throne, altar	
we'	eat	wya'r	food, meal	

3.5.10.2. Nouns Derived from Verbs by –yaj / -aj

Abstract nouns can be generated from verbal roots and stems by appending -yaj. When following the causative suffix -se, the -yaj nominalizer sometimes remains a distinct syllable, but sometimes merges with -se, appearing either as -saj or -syaj.

Verbal Nouns With –yaj				
Root / Stem	Gloss	Noun	Gloss	
chamse	kill	chamsaj	killing	
che	do	cheyaj	deed, action	
kanse	teach	kanseyaj	teaching	
kok	watch	kojksaj	wake, watch	
k'ajtse	cause to tell	k'ajtsyaj	tale, prayer	

3.5.10.3. Nouns Derived from Adjectives by –*ir*

Adjectives can become nouns by suffixing *–ir* to the adjectival root, similar in sense to adding *–ness* to adjectives in English. For example, *tzun* 'stingy' can become *tzunir* 'stinginess', and *mok* 'sick' can become *mokir* 'sickness'.

3.6. The Structure of Adjectives

3.6.1. Intensifying Prefix in-

Adding the prefix *in*- to an adjectival root makes the adjective more intense, adding the sense of 'quite' or 'very'. Some examples include *intuj* 'very smelly', *ink'ijn* 'very hot' and *inlatz* 'quite narrow'.

In addition to adjectival roots, verbs have forms described above that can function as adjectives. However, adjectives derived from verbs cannot be intensified by adding the *in*- prefix.

3.6.2. Intensification by Reduplication

Some adjectives can be intensified by reduplication. The only examples in the texts collected her are colors, so something can be very clear, *saksak*, from *sak* 'white', 'clear', or very red, *chakchak*, from *chak* 'red'.

3.7. Summary

This chapter has described the structure of Ch'orti' words in terms of the inflection, derivation, and compounding they undergo. The description began with pronouns, which are important to subsequent discussions of verbs and nouns. This was followed by a description of verbs, which have the most complex morphology in Ch'orti', and so took up most of the chapter. The section on verbs was followed by discussions of somewhat simpler nouns and then adjectives. The following chapter will discuss Ch'orti' syntax.

4. SYNTAX

4.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the structure of Ch'orti' phrases, groups of words that are organized according to rules of order and hierarchy. After a brief definition of some theoretical terms, the chapter describes the main types of phrases according to their structural type (adjective, noun, verb, preposition, etc.). This is followed by a discussion of some of the particular applications of phrase structures, including means for subordinating one phrase to another, serial verbs (two or more finite verbs one after the other), and periphrastic verb constructions, which in Ch'orti' involve the use of words called *aspect particles*.

4.2. Theoretical Assumptions

The approach to syntax taken here attempts to conform to generative theory, and is especially influenced by Carnie's (2008) *Syntax: A Generative Introduction*. It is assumed that utterances are composed of phrases, each phrase being a group of one or more words that in some ways function as a unit. These phrases can be nested hierarchically, one within another. Each phrase has a type, which is determined by the syntactic category of the word that heads it. It is important to bear in mind that this method of typing phrases is structural rather than functional. For example, a phrase that is headed by a preposition is a prepositional phrase (PP), regardless of whether that phrase is used as an adverb or an adjective or something else.

4.3. Headedness

Ch'orti' syntax is clearly head first, meaning that the left-most word of a phrase defines its type. The clearest evidence of this is the use of prepositions rather than postpositions, and that determiners appear to the left of nouns. For example:

A-num-uy	a-war-a'	tama	е	otot-ob'		
3N-pass-SF	3N-visit-SF	PREP	ART	house-PL		
She went about visiting among the houses.						

It is clear from the meaning that *tama e ototob*' 'among the houses' is a phrasal unit that functions as an adverb describing the action of the verb *awara* 'she visits'. It is also clear that the article *e* forms a phrasal unit with *ototob*' 'houses', and not with the word immediately to its left, *tama* 'among'. This indicates that Ch'orti' is left-headed, meaning that each phrase gets its type from the syntactic category of the word at the left edge. Thus *tama e ototob*' is a prepositional

phrase (PP), headed by the preposition *tama*¹. That prepositional phrase has an adverbial function in this sentence, but the syntactic type of the phrase is named by structure rather than function.

4.4. Basic Phrase Types in Ch'orti'

4.4.1. Adverbial/Adjectival Phrases (AP)

The word order of adverbs and adjectives is flexible, sometimes preceding and sometimes following the words or phrases they modify. For example:

e xe' ak'otoy b'ajxan, b'ajxan ak'otoy tama e k'ajk'

the one that arrives first, arrives first with the candles

е	ART
xe'	PRO
a-k'ot-oy	3N-arrive-SF
b'ajxan	first
b'ajxan	first
a-k'ot-oy	3N-arrive-SF
tama	PREP
е	ART
k'ajk'	flame/candle

¹ I have analyzed *tama* here as a preposition. It might be possible instead to analyze *tama* as a preposition attached to a relational noun. Whether or not this is so, the first element of the phrase is a preposition.

In this example, the phrase "arrives first" is repeated, once with the adverb before the verb and once with the adverb after the verb. Note also that second appearance of the verb is bracketed by phrases with adverbial function, having *b'ajxan* 'first' before the verb and a prepositional phrase (PP) describing the action of the verb:

[AP b'ajxan [VP ak'otoy [PP tama e k'ajk']]]

The order of adjectives is similarly flexible around nouns:

twa' ma'chix anumuy e nojta yujkb'ar

so that a big earthquake doesn't happen

twa'	PREP
ma'ch-ix	NEG-already
a-num-uy	3N-happen-SF
е	ART
nojta	big
yujk-b'ar	earthquake

But a few sentences later, within the same story, the informant produced:

twa' ma'chi anumuy inte' yujkb'ar nojta

This is essentially the same phrase, just with the adjective *nojta* 'big' following the noun instead of preceding it.

4.4.2. Determiner Phrases (DP)

Two kinds of words can serve as determiners in Ch'orti':

- The numeral *in* (one) attached to an appropriate noun classifier, such as *inte'* 'a thing', *inkojt* 'a being', or *ingojr* 'a round thing', acts as an indefinite article. It can be used only when the related noun is understood to be singular and to refer to one instance out of many of a given concept or object.
- The generic article *e*, which can have either a definite or indefinite sense

For example, the numeral *inte*' (one thing) serves as an indefinite article in the following:

K'an-i	in-k'ajti-Ø	in-te'	k'ub'-es-yaj
Wish-SF	1E-recount-3A	one-CLASS	comply-CAUS-NOM
I wish to recount a c	custom/practice.		

In the following example, the article *e* is used, conveying a sense of "some," "those who," or "those which":

Ayan	е	maxtak	xe'	a-we'	me'yra	
Exist	ART	child	PRO	3N-eat	much	
There are children who eat a lot.						

Proper nouns are no exception:

Tar-i-ØayieMaríaCome-SF-3AthereARTMaríaMaria came there.

Quantifiers other than the number *in*- seem not to function as determiners, as they often appear with the generic article *e*:

Yi b'oro-Ø e syan trigo And abound-3A ART much wheat And much wheat abounded.

Similarly, the number one is sometimes a quantifier and not an indefinite article, and so can sometimes appear with the generic article *e*:

Nujb'i-Ø e in-kojt ijch'ok. Marry-3A ART one-CLASS girl The one girl got married. In a small number of examples, a non-numeric quantifier modifies a noun and appears without any other determiner. The following example shows the same quantifier, *syan* 'much', both with and without a determiner:

Lok'oy makwir e syan k'opot tya' ch'a'r maku syan t'ix.

He went out [from] among the wild growth, where there was a lot of spiny brush.

lok'-oy-Ø	leave-SF-3A
makwir	inside
е	ART
syan	much
k'opot	brush/wilderness
tya'	where
ch'a'r-Ø	lie-3A
maku	amid
syan	much
ťix.	spiny brush

Since the nouns *k'opot* and *t'ix* refer to approximately the same thing in this context, there doesn't seem to be any difference in function or meaning between the quantifier with the article and the quantifier without the article. It must be concluded, then, that the article is not strictly required.

Even if there is some degree of choice about the need for a determiner, three basic rules describe most of the variation:

- A noun that is not marked for possession takes a determiner unless:
 - the unpossessed noun modifies another unpossessed noun
 - o or the noun is the object of direct address.
- A noun that is inflected for possession (with an ergative prefix) does not take a determiner unless:
 - The possessed form of the noun is a distinct lexeme (has a meaning different from that of the unpossessed form).
- An article can be used to recast some other lexical categories as nouns.

These rules can be illustrated with typical examples. In the following sentence, a noun that is not marked for possession takes an article, as generally expected:

Nujb'i-Øayieijch'okira.Marry-3AthenARTgirlthenThat girl got married then.

No article is taken by a second noun that modifies another noun, even when not marked for possession:

A-wab'-na	in-gojr	b'ejt	sa'	b'ut'-ur.		
3N-place-PSV	one-CLS	pot	chilate	fill-ADJ		
A pot filled with <i>chilate</i> ² is set out.						

There is also no article when an unpossessed noun is the object of direct address:

"Ау,	María,"	ch-Ø-ayi,	"ne'n	in-k'any-e't!"		
"Oh	María,"	say-3A-then	, "1SI	1SE-love-2SA."		
"Oh María," he said, "I love you!"						

Nouns marked for possession generally take no article:

Yi	ka-tata	war	u-kan-s-y-o'n	ka-patn-a.		
And	1PE-father	ASP	3E-learn-CAUS-SF-1PA	1PE-work-SF.		
And our parents were teaching us to work.						

But in the following example the same noun, *katata*, has become a distinct lexeme meaning 'God,' and takes the generic article:

Pax-b'ir	akt-a-na-Ø	u-men	е	ka-tata
Curse-DER	leave-SF-PSV-3A	3E-by	ART	1PE-father
It was left cu				

² *Chilate* is a soupy corn gruel.

An article can be used to alter the meaning of other syntactic categories. In the following example, the third-person pronoun *ja'xir* has its sense changed slightly by the addition of the article, becoming *that which* or *what*:

Ma'chi	ach-wan-Ø	taka	е	ja'xir	ajk'u-na-Ø.	
NEG	satisfy-POS-3A	with	ART	PRO	give-PSV-3A.	
They are not satisfied with what they are given.						

A number can also be recast as a pronoun in the same way. In the following example, the number one can be analyzed as a simple number quantifying the noun *ijch'ok* 'girl', but the number three functions as a pronoun, since there is no explicit noun for it to quantify:

Nujb'i e inkojt ijch'ok xe' wa'r tuyuxinarob' e uxkojt yaja'.

The one girl who was in the middle of the three (girls) got married.

nujb'-i-Ø	marry-SF-3A
е	ART
in-kojt	one-CLS
ijch'ok	girl
xe'	which/who
wa'r	stand
t-uy-uxin-ar-ob'	PREP-3E-middle-NOM-PL

е	ART
ux-kojt	three-CLASS
yaja'	there

4.4.3. Noun Phrases (NP)

As described above, a noun phrase (NP) is often a single word within adjectival phrases, adverbial phrases, or determiner phrases. A noun phrase is not necessarily just a single word, however. One example already given above was:

A-wab'-na	in-gojr	b'ejt	sa'	b'ut'-ur.		
3N-place-PSV	one-CLS	pot	chilate	fill-ADJ		
A pot filled with <i>chilate</i> is set out.						

To get the meaning of 'a pot filled with *chilate*,' the phrasal structure is most likely:

[VP awab'na [DP ingojr [NP b'ejt' [NP sa' [AP b'utu'r]]]]]

That is, the noun phrase *sa' b'ut'ur* must function as an adjective modifying *b'ejt*, and to do that it needs to be subordinate to *b'ejt*.

Possessed nouns often appear in phrases with a nested structure because the possessor is typically another noun:

a'-xin u-pojr-Ø-ob' u-chu' e jun ich' 3N-go 3E-seek-3A-PL 3E-juice ART paper chile. They went to seek the juice of the chili paper [tree].

There are three nouns here, in nested phrases: juice, paper, and chili:

[NP uchu' [DP e [NP jun [NP ich']]]

This example illustrates a number of features of the noun phrase: 1) that the possessor of noun is likely a subordinate phrase; 2) that the owning noun can be implemented within a determiner phrase as well as a noun phrase; and 3) one noun can act as an adjective modifying another noun.

4.4.3.1. Noun Phrases with Adverbial Force (Relational Nouns)

An interesting feature of Ch'orti' is a small group of relational nouns that convey meanings that would be conveyed by prepositions in English or Spanish. Nora England (1983:4) has defined relational nouns as "a special category of always possessed nouns in Mayan languages which primarily introduce NPs showing case and locative relationships." Only a few Ch'orti' nouns can function in this way. The most common of these is the nominal root *men*, meaning approximately *withness*, and often indicating a cause, instrument, or an agent that has been demoted in a passive construction: It was left cursed by God

pax-b'ir	curse-PPL
akt-a-na-Ø	release-SF-PSV-Ø
u-men	3E-withness
е	ART
ka-tata	1PE-father

Karayob' e winikob' umen yer e ja' ira

The men got drunk from / on that juice

kar-ay-Ø-ob'	get.drunk-SF-3A-PL
е	ART
winik-ob'	people-PL
u-men	3E-with
yer	little
е	ART
ja'	water
ira	that

In both of these examples, the possessed noun *umen* heads an NP that functions as an adverb, describing the action of a verb. The referent indexed by the ergative pronoun would be the object of a preposition in English or Spanish. In the first example, that referent is a transitive agent that his been demoted to an oblique in a passive construction. In the second example, the referent is an instrumental.

If the referent indexed by the ergative prefix is not explicitly stated, or if it is a phrase rather than just a noun, the relational noun is usually derived into a relational pronoun by suffixing *–er*. A relational pronoun can be a complete phrase, an NP with adverbial function as if were a PP:

e chan jay u-k'ux-o'n ka-cham-ay u-men-er ART snake if 3E-bite-1PA 1PN-die-SF 3E-with-NOM The snake, if it bites us, we die on account of it. [_{DP} e chan jay [_{VP} uk'uxo'n [_{VP} kachamay [_{NP} umener]]]]

A similar structure arises when the ergative prefix on the relational noun is in the first or second person rather than the third:

m-ix-ka	tuk'a	wa'r-Ø	a-men-er?			
NEG-ASP-QUES	something	placed-3A	2SE-withness-DER			
Don't you have something hidden away / put away ?						

Many nouns, esepcially those associated with body imagery, can convey the spatial relationships between actors in a phrase or sentence. But only a few function as described here. In my data, at least, most such nouns require an explicite preposition, and thus operate within a true PP, rather than within an NP that behaves as a PP. Examples inlude *tujor* 'at the head of,' 'above' and *tupat* 'at the back of' 'behind'. In both of these, the *t*- prefix is a phonologically reduced form of the generic preposition *ta/tama*. These are described in this chapter, in the section on prepositional phrases.

4.4.3.2. Verbalized Nouns With Copula Meaning

A noun can take on the function of the copula with the additon of an absolutive suffix. While it is tempting to see this as the derivation of a verb from a noun, possessed nouns remain morphologically nominal when used this way. For example:

Ma-ka	a-wir-a	ke'	ni-tw-e't,	pue?				
NEG-QUE	2SN-see-SF	that	1SE-mother-2SA	then?				
Don't you see that you are my mother?								

The nominal root *tu*' 'mother' really cannot be analyzed as a verb. A verb with both an ergative prefix and an absolutive suffix would have to be transitive, which the meaning here does not permit. Clearly, the ergative suffix is the possessor of the noun, and the absolutive suffix gives the noun the function of a verb of linking or being.

Analyzing nouns that equate to or link to a referent in the third person is less certain. The thid person absolutive suffix is null, so it is difficult to be certain whether the noun is inflected (serves as a verbalized noun) or not (is merely a noun without verbalization). For example: Una'tix ayi ke maja'x ixik e María, winik.

She knew that María wasn't a woman, but a man.

u-na't-Ø-ix	3E-know-3A-already
ayi	then
ke	that
ma-ja'x	NEG-3I
ixik	woman
е	ART
María	María
winik	man

Given that Ch'orti' has no true copular verbs, there is no apparent way to test whether the nouns *ixik* and *winik* are suffixed with null or not suffixed at all.

4.4.4. Prepositional Phrases (PP)

The function of a PP is either adverbial, modifying the action of a verb, or adjectival, describing a noun or pronoun. The following example illustrates both functions:

Uyaryob' tama u't' e k'ajk' tama inte' yer b'ejt o tama e recensario.

They throw it onto embers in a small pot or censer.

u-yar-y-Ø-ob'	3E-throw-SF-3A-PL
tama	over

u't'	3E-piece
е	ART
k'ajk'	fire
tama	PREP
in-te'	one-CLASS
yer	little
b'ejt	pot
0	or
tama	in
е	ART
recensario	censer

The intent of this phrase is to describe two possible ways of throwing incense, not three: one may throw incense onto hot coals that are in a generic pot or throw the incense onto hot coals that are in a censer. The three occurrences of the preposition, then, are not on the same phrasal level, and the conjuction o 'or' distinguishes the phrasal boundaries. The first use of the preposition *tama* introduces a phrase that functions as an adverb describing the verb *throw*. Within that adverbial phrase, the next two uses of the preposition each introduce a phrase that acts as an adjective describing the embers (one throws the incense onto embers, those embers being either in a pot or in a censer). The main syntactic structure must then be the following: [VP uyaryob' [PP tama u't' e k'ajk' [PP tama inte' yer b'ejt o tama e recensario.]]]

Ch'orti' has a relatively limited set of prepositions, each if which can head a PP. The most commonly used prepositions are:

- *tama*, with a basic meaning of *at*, *in*, *into*, *to*, or *toward*, is also a generic preposition with a wide variety of uses. It is frequently shortened to *ta*, or to a prefix *t*-.
- taka, primarily meaning with, often indicates accompaniment or instrumentality, but often also takes a sense of about or with regard to.
- *twa*', which in one sense can mean *for*, *that*, *in order to* or *so that*, can also indicate possession, carrying a sense like *of* or *of the*.

It may be possible to analyze these as a basic preposition *ta*, reduced to *t*-, plus some other morpheme. Synchronically, however, *tama*, *taka*, and *twa'* seem to have been lexicalized as independent prepositions.

4.4.4.1. Examples of PPs with *tama*, *ta*, and *t*-

An example of the use of preposition *tama* was given above. A reduced or alternate form of *tama* is *ta*. In the following example, the preposition is followed by a possessed noun:

Num-uy-Øin-te'noxi'b'ajk'uttani-b'a.Pass-SF-3Aone-CLASSgreatfearPREP1SE-bodyA great fear passed through my body.

When *ta* is followed by a noun that is not inflected for possession, there is typically no article detectable between the preposition and the noun, although that environment would normally require one. The article is normally audible, however, when the full form of the preposition is used, as in the example *tama e recensario*, used above. There being no other discernible difference in the usage or meaning of *tama* and *ta*, it seems likely that the absence of the article after *ta* is the result of a phonological process, the article being absorbed into the preposition. Consider:

Sut-pa-Ø	ix-Ø-ob'	ta	ch'en
turn-MV-3A	go-3A-PL	PREP	hole
They turned away (fell) into the h	ole.	

A hint that the article is still present, but phonologically suppressed, may appear when *tama/ta* is reduced further to a proclitic. In some such cases, there is phonological change that would be difficult to explain without assuming the presence of the article *e*. For example, the phrase *ta e chan*, meaing 'toward the sky' is often compresed to *tichan*, as in the following example:

inwira inkojt ijch'ok xe' turu tichan yaja'

I saw a girl who lives up yonder

inw-ir-a-Ø	1SE-see-SF-3A
in-kojt	one-CLASS

ijch'ok	girl
xe'	who
tur-u-Ø	live-SF-3A
ti-chan	PREP+ART-sky
yaja'	yonder

The preposition *ta/tama* sometimes works with a possessed noun to describe a spatial relationship between actors and/or actions in a sentence. The spatial relationship is usually conveyed by the metaphorical use of body imagery.

u-k'ech-e-Ø	uy-ej	t-u-jor	е	b'utz'		
3E-bring-SF-3A	3E-mouth	PREP-3E-head	ART	smoke		
They bring his mouth over the smoke						

One might expect *ujor* 'his head' to be capable of functioning as a relational noun (described above). But at least in my data, nominal roots like *jor* 'head', *pat* 'back', and *yok* 'foot' always takes an explicit preposition when used to describe a spatial relationship rather than a body part.

4.4.4.2. Examples of PPs with *taka*

In the following example, *taka* seems to be used to indicate a means or instrument, something that theoretically could be represented using the relational noun *umen* as well as by the preposition *taka*:

Purut-na-Øu-nak'u'-t'-ob'takaesyanch'aj.Burn-PSV-3A3E-seed3E-face-PLPREP ARTmuchpinolTheir eyes were burned with/by the large quantity of pinol (corn gruel).

The following illustrates the use of *taka* meaning *with* in the sense of *accompanied by* or *in the* company of.

k'an-i	a-way-an-ob'	taka	u-yexkar-ob'
wish-SF	3N-sleep-ITR-PL	PREP	3N-spouse-PL
They wanted	d to sleep with their s	spouses.	

With verbs of speaking or praying, *taka* can introduce the party being spoken *with* or spoken *to*:

Ojron-Ø	е	padre	taka	е	pak'ab'-ob'
Speak-3A	ART	father/priest	PREP	ART	people-PL
The priest sp	oke wi	th the people.			

The preposition sometimes introduces a prepositional phrase with adverbial force, often with a sense similar to *regarding*, *with regard to*, or *about*.

e k'ub'esyaj xe' ache'mpa taka e katu'

The custom that is carried out with regard to the moon

е	ART
k'ub'-es-yaj	believe-CAUS-NOM
xe'	which
a-chen-pa	3N-do-MV
taka	PREP
е	ART
ka-tu'	1SE-mother

In some environments, translating taka as by or during works better:

a-xan-a	taka	е	aj-k'in
3N-walk-SF	PREP	ART	NOM-sun
He walked by day.			

4.4.4.3. Examples of PPs with *twa*'

The preposition *twa*' often indicates a purpose or desired outcome, carrying senses such as *for*, *in order to*, *so that*, or *that*, and often acting as a subordinator:

Ka-k'ajt-i-Ø	ub'an	twa'	a-tz'ak-on		
1PE-pray-SF-3A	also	PREP	2SE-heal-1PA		
We ask also that you heal us.					

ayajra me'yra k'ajk' t-u'-pat twa' oʻjmay

A lot of fire was thrown under it so it would boil

a-ya(j)r-a	3N-throw(PSV)-SF
me'yra	much
k'ajk'	fire
t-u'-pat	PREP-3E-back
twa'	PREP
o(')jmay	boil(3N)-SF

The preposition *twa*' can also indicate the beneficiary of an action or situation:

ayan	е	wy'-ar	me'yra	twa'	е	wakax
exist	ART	eat-NOM	much	PREP	ART	cattle
There	is a lo	t of food for th	e cattle.			

The sense of twa' is sometimes more like *about* or *regarding*:

K'ani ink'ajti e'nteyx numer twa' e xe' arena Pedro Odimar.

I want to tell yet another story about the one who is called Pedro Odimar.

k'an-i	wish-SF
in-k'ajt-i-Ø	1SE-recount-SF-3A
e'n-te-yx	other-CLASS-yet

num-er	step-NOM
twa'	PREP
е	ART
xe'	PRO
ar-e-na-Ø	tell-SF-PSV-3A
Pedro	Pedro
Odimar	Odimar

In some instances, *twa*' indicates possession. The example below is from a story about frogs who grind corn. The corn-grinders are called *ajjuch'ob*' 'they who grind.' The grinders seem to belong to God, who at one point refers to them as *niwajjuch'ob*' 'my grinders'.

inte' numer twa' e ajjuch'ob' twa' e katata'

a story about God's (corn) grinders

in-te'	one-CLASS
num-er	step-NOM
twa'	PREP
е	ART
aj-juch'-ob'	who-grind-PL
twa'	PREP
е	ART
ka-tata'	1PE-father

4.4.4.4. Examples of PP's with Prepositional Pronouns

The structure of prepositional pronouns is described more fully in the Morphology chapter. A prepositional pronoun, consisting of a preposition, a derivational morpheme, and an absolutive pronoun, can function as an entire PP:

ma'chi	a-kax-i	е	jijb'	tama-r-Ø
NEG	3N-fall-SF	ART	lighning	PREP-DER-3A
Lightning doesn't fall on it.				

ni-pya'r	xe'	la'r	u-jab'	taka-r-en
1SE-friend	PRO	similar	3E-year	PREP-DER-1SA
My friend wh	no (is) s	imilar (in) age	e to me.	

4.4.5. Verb Phrases (VP)

Since all classes of verbs are inflected for subject, verb phrases can easily be as simple as a single word. For example, the transitive verb u'ri, is inflected for the subject by the infixing of the glottal stop (essentially u + uri) and for the object by the null absolutive suffix By itself the whole word means something like 'he put it on' or 'she donned it', and can stand alone either as a complete phrase or complete sentence. If the subject and object are stated, the morphology of the verb must agree with both: E Maria u'-ri-Ø u-pik. ART Maria (3E)-don-3A 3E-dress Maria put on her dress.

[pp e [NP Maria [VP u'ri [NP upik]]]]

4.5. Basic Word Order

Most Ch'orti' phrases surrounding transitive verbs are ordered subject first (left-most), followed by the verb then the object (SVO). A typical example would be:

Е	María	u'-ri-Ø	u-pik	
ART	María	3E-don-3A	3E-dress	
María put on her dress.				

In this example, the subject, María, appears to the left of the verb, and the object *upik* 'her dress' appears to the the right of the verb.

It is worth noting that the morphology of the verb reflects the same order of elements as the syntax of the sentence. The ergative subject pronoun *u*appears to the left of the verbal root *ur* 'don', and the object pronoun (a null absolutive third person) is to the right of the root and of the stem formative vowel *-i*. If one hypothesizes that the affixes originated as independent elements that underwent a process of cliticization, then the implication is that the basic word order of Ch'orti' was also SVO historically. It must be kept in mind, however, that this would be a diachronic analysis, and is not necessarily evidence of the current syntactic structure of the language.

While SVO word order is certainly common in Ch'orti', it is by no means required in all circumstances. Ch'orti' permits considerable flexibility with regard to word order. In particular, emphasis, fronting, subordination of clauses, and probably just stylistic choice, can produce phrases that deviate from the basic word order. For example:

dende ke' kayo'pa tor e rum, ukuxo'n katu'

dende	since
ke'	CONJ
ka-yo'p-a	1PN-arrive-SF
tor	upon
е	ART
rum	earth
u-kux-o'n	3E-bear-1PA
ka-tu'	1PE-mother

since (the time that) we came upon the earth, (when) our mother bore us

In this example the phrase *ukuxo'n katu'* 'our mother bore us' is best taken to be at the same level as (parallel to) *kayo'pa tor e rum* 'we arrive upon the earth', and as introduced by the subordinating conjunction *ke'* 'that'. Arguably, the change in word order might be enabled by subordination. Nonetheless, *katu'* 'our mother' must be the subject of the verb *ukuxo'n* 'she bore us', even though it follows the the transitive verb *kux* 'to bear', evincing a word VS word order.

Intransitive verbs can also support a Verb-Subject word order:

lok'-es-n-o'nno'notron-yajrtakaeujtz'ub'go-CAU-PSV-1PA1PIother-timewithARTincenseWe were sent out again with the incense.

The independent pronoun *no'n* is unnecessary for clarity, but is included as a matter of style or emphasis. It indexes the same referent as the absolutive suffix on the verb, *-o'n*. The intransitive root *lok'* 'go' is derived into a transitive verb by the causative suffixe *-es*, and then derived to another intransitive verb by the passive suffix *-na*, so the independent pronoun *no'n* marks the subject of an intransitive verb with a VS word order.

In some transitive constructions, the object can precede the verb, as in this example:

Ne'n ma-tuk'a war in-che 1SI NEG-what ASP 1SE-do-3A I didn't do anything!

Here, the word for *nothing* or *anything* has to be the object of the verb *che* 'do', so the order is subject, object, then verb (SOV).

4.6. Verbs of Being

4.6.1.1. Existential Operators

Existential statements are built with the verb *ayan*, which can be translated as 'it exists', 'there exist', 'there are', etc. The collected texts contain no other forms varying by person, number, or tense/aspect.

Ayan	е	maxtak	xe'	a-we'	me'yra
Exist	ART	child	PRO	3N-eat	much
There are children who eat too much.					

Negative existential statements ('there is not' or 'there isn't any') are indicated by the word *matuk'a*. Morphologically, this word appears to be the negative *ma* combined with the pronoun *tuk'a* 'what', the compound often meaning 'nothing'. It is possible, then, to analyze the negative existential statements as examples of a null-copula Verb Phrase, described below. However, it is also possible that the word has been lexicalized as a verb, and translation into English is certainly clearer if *matuk'a* is treated as a verb:

Matuk'a e wy-a'r There isn't ART eat-NOM There isn't any food / There is no food

4.6.1.2. Null-Copula Verb Phrases

There is no verb of being that serves as a copula. That is, there is no verb that equates two noun phrases or that links a noun and an adjective that modifies that noun. Such constructions can be built without any verb, (often by adding an absolutive suffix to a noun). For example:

Jaynoxi' winik-Ø-ixenton....Ifgrown person-3A-ALREADYthen....If he/she is already a grown person, then

In a simple statement without a conditional:

Ch'ok	е	katu'	
Young	Art	1PE-mother	
The moon is new.			

The negative copula phrases (*it isn't*, etc.) are often built with *maja'x / majax*, although the word is not a verb. *Majax* is a compound of the negative *ma* with the independent third person pronoun *jax*, together meaning *not he*, *not she*, *not it*, *not they*, etc. Combined with a null copula, the word means *he/she/it isn't*, *they aren't*, etc. For example:

Ma-ja'x ch'ok NEG-3I young It isn't new/young.

4.7. Negatives, Questions, and Conditions

4.7.1.1. Negated Statements

Positive statements can be negated by adding the negative word *ma'chi*, sometimes shortened to *ma*. *Ma'chi* immediately precedes the element it negates:

Tunor e akb'ar yaja' ma'chi wayano'n.

All that night we did not sleep.

tunor	all
е	ART
akb'ar	night
yaja'	that
ma'chi	NEG
way-an-o'n	sleep-ITR-1PA

4.7.1.2. Questions formed with the interrogative particle –*ka*

Questions are often formed by suffixing the interrogative particle -ka to the element most directly in doubt, which is often, but not always, a verb. No change in word order is needed:

k'an-ix-kaa-tak'-aepa'?want-already-QUE3N-be.cooked-SFARTtamaleAren't the tamales done yet?

4.7.1.3. Questions formed by change in word order

Some nouns and pronouns become question words when fronted to the focus positions, especially, *tuk'a* (what, which, who) and tya' (where, when), which take on meanings such as *which*?, *what*?, *when*?, or *where*?.

Tuk'a wari-chetarex?What ASP2SN-dothereWhat are you doing there?

Tuk'aumencham-ay-Ø?Whatbydie-SF-3A

What did he die of?

Tya' a'xin kachwan taka yer e inb'ijk sa' ira?

When will we be satisfied with this little bit of atol (corn gruel)?

hara
here
.satisfied

4.7.1.4. Conditionals

Conditional clauses and phrases can be built using the word *jay*, meaing 'if'or 'whether'. The word *jay* can be inserted before the condition it creates, regardless of whether the condition consists of a single word or a phrase, and regardless of the syntactic category of the word it precedes. While an explicitly marked subjuntive can accompany *jay*, this is not required. In most instances, jay appears without any change in word order or mood. For example:

ka-toy-e't	jay	a-che-Ø	yax
1PE-pay-2SA	if	2SN-do-3A	that
We'll pay you if you	do tha	t.	

Here both verbs, one describing the condition and the other describing the hypothetical result, are ordinary indicatives. While not required, a subjunctive marker is sometimes added to the verb describing the result, adding politeness or emphasizing the uncertainty of the outcome.

jay	a-k'an-i	inko'	ka-wir-Ø-ik
if	2SA-wish-SF	let's go	1PE-see-3A-SUBJ
lf you	ı want to, let's go se	e it!	

The conditional *jay* can appear before words of any syntactic category, and is common before nouns and adjectives.

jay tun war a-pak'-i-Ø... if stone ASP 2SE-plant-SF-3A If it is stones you are planting ...

In some contexts, jay can be translated into English as whether rather than if.

ma'chi u-chek-s-u-Ø jay winik o ixik.
NEG 3E-appear-CAUS-SF-3A if man or woman.
He did not reveal whether he was a man or a woman.

4.8. Subordinate Clauses

Clauses can be subordinated one to another by a variety of means. In the texts studied here, subordination is invoked by at least the following means: 1) certain serial verb constructions, 2) an uninflected verb 3) a variety of complementizers. Each of these is described below.

4.8.1. Subordinate Clauses in Serial Verb Constructions

Serial verb constructions are described more fully in a separate section of this chapter. Some serial verb constructions, but not all, involve subordination. Where subordination is involved, a transitive verb appears to take as its object a Verb Phrase headed by another verb. Both verbs are fully inflected, and there is no overt marking of subordination. For example:

> ...twa' ne't atakryo'n kalok'se tunor e mab'anb'anir xe' ayan tara ...that you help us cast out all the evil that exists here

The first inflected verb appears to subordinate the second:

...a-takr-y-o'n

ka-lok-se'-Ø

...2SE-help-SF-1PA

1PE-leave-CAUSE-3A

This phrase is literally translatable as "you help us we make it leave." While some pairs of verbs appear to leave both on the same phrasal level, implying an *and* relationship between them, a full comprehension of this particular phrase requires subordination, since the first action enables or causes the second. The entire Verb Phrase headed by *kalok'se*, then, is the direct object of *atakry'on*, and describes the nature of the help received. The likely structure is:

[PP twa' ne't atakryo'n [VP kalok'se [DP tunor e mab'anb'anir xe' ayan tara]]]

While the example above contains a kind of pivot on the first person plural (you help <u>us</u> and <u>we</u> cast out), such a pivot is not required. The participants in the higher-level and subordinate verbs can be different, as in the following example:

xe'	inw-ir-Ø-a-to	u-che-Ø	ni-tata'
what	1SE-see-3A-SF-ASP	3E-do-3A	1SE-father
What	I saw my father do		

A literal translation of the phrase might be "what I saw it he did it my father," with each verb having a different subject. The objects of the two verbs are logically equivalent (the thing I saw my father do), but are syntactically different: the object of *uche* is unexpressed, while the object of *inwirato* is "what my father did".

4.8.2. Subordinate Clauses Introduced by an Uninflected Verb

A few transitive verbs can appear without any inflection for subject, provided that the invoking verb and the subordinate verb have the identical subject, the subject is explicitly marked on the subordinate verb, and the subordinate clause is the object of the invoking verb. While it might be argued that the invoking verb is also uninflected for object, the presence of a stem formative attached to the root makes it more likely that verb is inflected with the null absolutive object pronoun, which refers to the subordinate clause as object. For example:

K'an-i-Øin-k'ajt-iin-te'k'ub'-es-yajwish-SF-3A1SE-relate-SFone-CLASScomply-CAUS-NOMI wish to relate a custom/practice.

K'an is a transitive root meaning to wish, want, desire, love, or be obligated to (must). It often appears as a fully inflected verb (e.g., *ink'anye't* 'I love/want you') but here lacks the subject prefix *in-*. The phrase headed by *ink'ajti*, then, is the object of and is subordinate to, the uninflected verb. The firstperson singular *in-* prefixed to *k'ajti* identifies the subject for both the invoking and subordinate verb. The likely phrasal structure is:

[VP K'ani [VP ink'ajti inte' k'ub'esyaj]]

4.8.3. Subordinate Clauses Introduced by the Conjunction ke'

The complementizer *ke*' introduces a phrase that serves as the direct object of a verb, usually a verb of thinking, speaking, or perceiving. The word *ke*' is not pronominal; it is neither the subject nor object of any verb in the subordinate clause, and the object of the invoking verb must be the entire subordinate phrase, not just *ke*'. For these reasons, *ke*' is best classified as a subordinating conjunction. For example:

U-na'ta-Ø	ke'	u-majr-es-Ø	е	ka-tata'
3E-know-3A that	3E-sh	ame-CAUS-3A	ART	1PE-father
[_{VP} una'ta [_{CP} ke' umajres e katata']]				
He knew that he had tricked God.				

While the subjects of the two verbs are the same in the example above, they are different in the following:

Aren ke' ne'n numen tya' war apak'i atrigo.

Say that I passed (by) when you were planting your wheat.

[VP Aren [CP ke' ne'n numen tya' war apak'i atrigo]]

ar-en	say-IMP
ke'	that
ne'n	1SI
num-en	pass-1SA

tya'	when
war	ASP
a-pak'-i-Ø	2SE-plant-SF-3A
a-trigo	2SE-wheat

In some situations, *ke'* seems to add little or nothing to the meaning of a phrase, especially given the kinds of serial verb constructions Ch'orti' permits. But in others it seems greatly to reduce potential ambiguities. In the first example, above, it is difficult to imagine much difference in comprehension with or without *ke'*. Both phrases are readily understandable as "he knew he tricked God." But in the second example, *ke'* reduces possible misunderstandings, as *aren ne'n* could mean "tell me," while *aren ke' ne'n* must mean "say that I"

4.8.4. Subordinate Clauses Introduced by the Pronouns tuk'a or xe'

Both *tuk'a* and *xe'* seem to be pronouns, serving as either subject or object of a verb within the subordinate clause they introduce. The basic meaning of both is *what*, *that*, or *who*, in some cases *the one that* or *the one who*. *Xe'* takes on the meaning of *which* in some circumstances.

While the two pronouns are similar in meaning, they are used in two distinct and non-overlapping environments, at least in the texts studied here. The rules for using *tuk'a* are:

 The Noun Phrase introduced by *tuk'a* must be the object of a verb located in the immediately higher-level phrase.

AND

2. The pronoun must be the subject of the verb within the subordinate clause.

The pronoun xe' seems never to occur in that exact structure. Xe' appears in two other situations, each with its own set of rules. One such situation for using xe' is:

3. The phrase introduced by *xe*' functions as an adjective modifying a noun or pronoun.

AND

4. The pronoun is the subject of the verb within the subordinate clause.

The rule for the other usage of *xe*' is

5. The pronoun is an object of a verb within the subordinate phrase.

Some examples might make these differences clearer. Starting with tuk'a using rules 1 and 2, above:

k'ani incheksu tuk'a numuy taka e chakojt winik ira

I want to reveal what happened with those two people.

k'an-i	wish-SF
in-chek-s-u	1SE-appear-CAUS-SF
tuk'a	what
numuy-Ø	happen-3A
taka	with
е	ART

cha-kojt	two-CLASS
winik	person
ira	this

Tuk'a introduces a Noun Phrase that is the object of the higher-level verb *incheksu* 'I reveal it,' and is the subject of the subordinate verb *numuy* 'it happened.'

Moving on to xe' under rules 3 and 4, consider:

Ayan	е	maxtak	xe'	a-we'	me'yra
Exist	ART	children	who	3N-eat	much
There	are ch	ildren who ea	t too m	uch.	

[VP Ayan [DP e [NP maxtak [NP xe' awe' me'yra]]]]

Here xe' introduces a Noun Phrase that functions as an adjective modifying the noun *maxtak* 'children,' and is the subject of the subordinate verb *awe* 'he eats.'

Under Rule 5, *xe*' can be the object of the subordinate verb, and the usage of the Noun Phrase can vary. One example is:

Ja'x-to	ayi	xe'	kaw-ar-e	ch'aj-ch'aj	ja'
That	there	what	1PE-say-SF	bitter-bitter	water
That there [is	s] what	we cal	l bitter water.		

Here, *xe*' is the object of the subordinate verb *kaware* 'we call it,' and the Noun Phrase introduced by *xe*' is likely an appositive to the pronominal phrase *ja'xto ay*i.

Still applying Rule 5, *xe*' can also be used in a rather different structure:

k'an-i-Øwish-SF-3Ain-k'ajt-i-Ø1SE-relate-SF-3Aix-toASP-ASPxe'whatinw-ir-a-Ø-to1SE-see-SF-3A-ASPu-che-Ø3E-do-3Ani-tata'1SE-father

I wish to tell what I saw my father do.

K'ani ink'ajti ixto xe' inwirato uche nitata'.

The Noun Phrase introduced by *xe*' is the object of the verb ink'ajti 'I tell it,' explaining *what* it is I want to tell. Within the subordinate clause, the direct object of *inwirato* 'I saw it' is *uche nitata*' 'my father did it'. The *xe*' in this example must refer to the object of the verb *uche* (what my father did). This implies an underlying structure such as "I saw my father do it," the *it* having been raised to become the *xe*' that heads the phrase. The likely structure is:

[NP xe' [VP inwirato [VP uche nitata']]]

4.9. Focus Constructions (Fronting)

A salient feature of Ch'orti' is the use of fronting to bring a word or phrase into a focus position. The word or phrase is moved to the far left, which adds a sense such as "with regard to," or "so far as this is concerned." The following is an example of fronting in a relatively simple phrase:

Ne'n ma'to ani tya' inwira e yujkb'ar anumuy koche yaja'.

ne'n	l/me
ma'-to	NEG-still
ani	ASP
tya'	when/instance
in-wir-a-Ø	1SE-see-SF-3A
е	ART
yujk-b'ar	earthquake
a-num-uy	3N-happen-SF
koche	as
yaja'	that/there

As for me, I never saw an earthquake happen like that one.

The sentence would have the same basic meaning if the word *ne'n* were eliminated altogether or were inserted immediately before the verb *inwira* 'I saw it'. Fronting *ne'n* to into the focus position emphasizes that element, giving a meaning more like *as for me*, or *for my part*.

The focus position can also appear to the left of a subordinated clause,

with the same kind of meaning:

Enton tara kab'ijnu ke' e maxtak ira ch'a'r e xiximay tama unak.

So we think that, with regard to such children, a *xiximay* lies in their stomach.

Enton	so/then
tara	here/this
ka-b'ijn-u-Ø	1PE-think-SF-3A
ke'	that
е	ART
maxtak	child
ira	this
ch'a'r-Ø	lie/recline-3A
е	ART
xiximay	xiximay
tama	PREP
u-nak	3E-stomach

In this example, an entire DP, *e maxtak ira*, has been fronted. It could appear instead to the right of *unak* 'her/his/their stomach(s)', in which case the sentence would mean something more like, "so we think that a *xiximay* lies in the stomach of such children." The DP could even be deleted entirely, reducing the meaning of the sentence to, "so we think that a *xiximay* lies in their stomachs."

4.10. Ergativity

Unsurprisingly for a Maya language, Ch'orti' indicates the roles of participants in the actions described by verbs by applying pronominal affixes in a split ergative pattern. Ch'orti' is unusual, however, in having three sets of pronominal affixes that participate in the pattern, instead of the more typical two. The usage of the three sets of pronominal affixes can be summarized as follows:

- Ergative pronouns refer to the agent of transitive verbs and the owner of nouns.
- Absolutive pronouns refer to an object when attached to a transitive verb, but to a grammatical subject when attached to an intransitive verb. Attaching an absolutive pronoun to an intransitive verb indicates that verbal aspect is completive.
- Nominative pronouns refer to the grammatical subjects of intransitive verbs when the verbal aspect is incompletive.

An example of transitive structure is:

Ka-k'ajt-i-Ø	ub'an	twa'	a-tz'ak-on	
1PE-ask-SF-3E	also	that	2SE-heal-1PA	
We also ask that you heal us.				

Here the agent of each verb is indicated by an ergative prefix and the patient of each verb is indicated by an absolutive suffix, although the third person of absolutive prefix is invisible on the surface.

A completive intransitive example, using the same absolutive suffix as the transitive example above, is:

lok'-o'n takar-Ø-ob' leave-1PA with-3A-PL We left with them.

In this example the absolutive suffix -o'n refers to the grammatical subject of the intransitive, and also indicates that the verbal aspect is completive, translated into English with a past tense.

An incompletive intransitive example is:

Ja'xir axana awara tama tuno'r e ototob'.

She goes about and visits in all the houses.

ja'xir	3I-NOM
a-xan-a	3N-walk-SF
a-war-a	3N-visit-SF
tama	PREP
tuno'r	all
е	art

The prefixes here are nominative pronouns, indicating the grammatical subject of the intransitive verb and also indicating that the verbal aspect is incompletive, translated into English with the present tense.

For speakers of non-ergative languages such as English and Spanish, this can seem dauntingly complex, although the rules can be broken down into quite manageable pieces. While certainty of meaning requires the user to be able to recognize which roots are transitive and which are intransitive, an estimate can be made without that information, based on the surface morphology of a verb:

- A verb with pronouns both prefixed and suffixed must be transitive.
- A verb with a pronominal prefix and no pronominal suffix must be intransitive and incompletive.
- A verb with a pronominal suffix and no pronominal prefix must be intransitive and completive.

What complicates this relatively simple analysis is not the split ergative pattern itself, but similarities between some of the pronominal affixes. A very common suffix, the third person absolutive, is null. This means that some transitive constructions and some incompletive intransitive constructions can both appear to have only a prefix with no suffix, and only knowing which roots fall into which category can resolve that ambiguity with certainty. In addition, some of the nominative prefixes resemble some of the ergative prefixes, potentially adding to confusion. This is described in more detail in the chapter on morphology. The following example shows a mixture of ergative and nominative prefixes.

War ak'ejcha a'xin, ma'chi una'ta tuk'a war ub'ijnob' e pak'ab'ob' ira.

He was being brought along, and didn't know what these people were thinking.

war	ASP
a-k'e(j)ch-a	3N-bring(PSV)-SF
a'-xin	3N-go
ma'chi	NEG
u-na't-a-Ø	1SE-know-SF-3A
tuk'a	what
war	ASP
u-b'ijn-Ø-ob'	1SE-think-3A-PL
е	ART
pak'ab'-ob'	person-PL
ira	this

All of the verbs in this example have a surface form with a visible prefix and no visible suffix. But the two transitive verbs (*know* and *think*) have a null third-person suffix from the absolutive, while the two intransitive verbs (*go* and the passive form of *bring*), have no suffix at all, null or otherwise.

4.11. Periphrastic Verbal Constructions

A full description of the action of a verb sometimes requires multiple words. In addition to adverbs and prepositional phrases used adverbially (described above), Ch'orti' has a set of invariant particles that can qualify the action of a verb.

4.11.1. Aspect Particles *war*, *kay*, and *ani*.

Three verbal particles, *war*, *kay*, and *ani*, are heavily used in describing the action of verbs. These are typically called *aspect* particles, which is at least partially accurate, as all three say something about the temporal shape of the action. In fact, all three imply some kind of incompletive aspect, implying that the action of the verb is repeated or protracted. But there also seems to be some overloading of tense in the choice among these particles, described below.

4.11.1.1. Aspect Particle war

By far the most commonly used aspect particle, and the one least loaded with tense, is *war*. It emphasizes that the action is repeated, habitual, or drawn out over a long period of time, but doesn't anchor that action relative to any particular reference point in time. In narratives, it often describes action that is going on in the background when some other action occurs. For example:

war u-mux-Ø-o'b' e sa'
ASP 3E-grind-3A-PL ART atol
They were grinding the atol (corn gruel)

4.11.1.2. Aspect Particle kay

The particle *kay* indicates that an action continued or was repeated, and so is similar in meaning to *war*. The difference between *kay* and *war* seems primarily to be one of tense, with *kay* emphasizing that the verbal action took place in the past. It can often be rendered into English using a past continuous form:

e ixik ira kay ar-u-Ø tama yer e ch'urkab' ART woman this ASP cry-SF-3A PREP little ART baby This woman was crying [and crying] about the baby.

Yi b'an kochera kay ka-num-se ka-b'a tunor e ajk'in-ob' ira And thus so ASP 1PE-pass-CAUS 1PE-self all ART day-pl that And thus it was happening like this to us all those days.

4.11.1.3. Aspect Particle ani

Whether *ani* is purely aspectual or conveys tense as well is harder to pin down. It is used to describe habitual or repeated actions, often translatable into English with *used to* or *would*. While *kay* and *ani* both seem to imply action in the past, *kay* doesn't seem to say anything about whether or not the action is still occurring, while the emphasis of *ani* seems to be that the action has long since ceased. ne'n in-ket-pa ani in-kojk-o-Ø 1SI 1SN-remain-MV ASP 1SE-watch-SF-3A I used to stay and watch them [my siblings].

ixnix a'-x-ob' ani tya' ja'x u-k'an-y-Ø-ob' ya' past 3N-go-PL ASP where 3I 3E-wish-SF-3A-PL there In the past they would go wherever they wished

4.12. Non-Subordinating Serial Verb Constructions

As described above, Ch'orti' sometimes employs serial verbs – a sequence of two or more inflected verbs – in nested phrases, with one verb directly subordinated to the preceding verb. There are other uses of serial verbs, however, and these are described here. These include auxiliary verbs, verbs used as adverbs, and parallel structures.

4.12.1. Serial Verbs as Auxiliaries Indicating Future Tense

The verb *to go*, based on the suppletive stem *xin*, can be used as an auxiliary indicating future tense. When used in this way, both the auxiliary and the main verb are fully inflected (i.e., are serial verbs).

E ch'urkab' ira axin ayopa tor e rum ajmok.

This child is going to come to earth sick (will be born sick).

ch'urkab'	child
ira	this
a-xin	3N-go
а-уора	3N-arrive
t-or	PREP-head
е	ART
rum	earth
aj-mok	AGT-sick

It must be remembered, however, that not every appearance of this root in a serial verb construction is used as an auxiliary. For example:

K'ani inxin inwira jay watarixto nitata'

I want to go see if my father has come.

k'an-i	want-SF
in-xin	1SN-go
in-wir-a-Ø	1SN-see-SF-3A
jay	of
watar-Ø-ix-to	come-3A-yet-already
ni-tata'	1SE-father

Here the two verbs are parallel, and we have to understand the meaning as "I want to go *and* see" or "I want to go *in order to* see." The verb *inxin* here is not an auxiliary and does not indicate future tense.

4.12.2. Serial Verbs with Adverbial Force

Some verbs of motion, when used in a serial verb construction, have the force of adverbs, describing the action of another verb within that construction. This usually adds a sense of direction or shape to the motion of the modified verb. This is similar to the way prepositions sometimes adjust the sense of a verb in Enligh in phrases such as *line up* or *lay out*.

tama e	tya'	a-kux-pa	watar-Ø	е	ka-tata'
PREP ART	where	e 3N-bear-MV	come-3A	ART	1PE-father
In the place	where	the sun is bor	n.		

Without the addition of the verb *watar* 'it comes', the action described by *akxupa* 'it is born' would seem more stationary or vague: an entity can be born in one place, or can be carried from place to place, but there would be no indication of the point of origin or termination of that action. The verb *watar* adds a sense that the motion of bearing is coming inward toward the speaker or toward the focus of the action of the story. The sun is "born in" or "born inward," although such expressions don't work very well in English.

Similarly, the verb *to go* can indicate motion away from the speaker or the focus of the action of the story.

kay xana uturb'a ixin ya'nam inb'ijk inb'ijk kora kora he went about positioning mud bit by bit, here and there.

kay	ASP
xana-Ø	go.about-3A
u-tur-b'a-Ø	3E-sit-TRV-3A
ixin-Ø	go-3A
ya'nam	mud
inb'ijk	bit
inb'ijk	bit
kora	someplace
kora	someplace

Without the verb *ixin*, the sense conveyed by *uturb'a* would be that bits of mud were being placed randomly, or in some unknown arrangment. Adding *ixin* conveys the idea that the motion is patterned away from the speaker or focus of action, changing the sense of *uturb'a* to something more like "laid out," or "placed in a row."

4.12.3. Serial Verbs in Parallel

Some phrases contain two or more inflected verbs in a sequence without subordination, and without any of the verbs acting as an auxiliary or adverb. Such phrases typically express a series of closely related actions, often in temporal sequence. An English translation is best rendered by adding a word *and* or *then* between the verbs, although the Ch'orti' may entirely lack any such conjunctions.

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Con todo yer umaxtak yaja' o'choy aturanob' umaki ub'ob'.

With all their children they got in, sat down, [and] closed themselves in.

con	with
todo	all
yer	small
u-maxtak	3E-child
yaja'	there
o'-ch-oy	3N-enter-SF
a-turan-ob'	3N-sit-PL
u-mak-i-Ø	3E-cover-SF-3A
u-b'-ob'	3E-self-PL

4.13. Chapter Summary

This chapter has described the basic structure of phrases, especially adjectival/adverbial phrases, determiner phrases, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and verb phrases. In addition, this chapter examined the use of these phrase types in constructing subordinate phrases, serial verb sequences, and periphrastic verbal constructions. The following chapter will summarize the contributions of the present study.

5. CONTRIBUTIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

5.1. Contributions of the Present Study

While far from moribund, the Ch'orti' language is one of the more isolated of the Maya languages, has a relatively small number of speakers, and is at high risk of loss (Richards 2003:43, 50, 115). In addition, changing economic and social realities are increasingly interfering with the transmission of folklore and other cultural knowledge from one generation to the next. An example of this is the story of the 1976 earthquake (in Appendix A), which shows that even then only older Ch'orti' speakers were versed in a disappearing religious complex that was once far more pervasive. At one point during my research year I attended a religious ceremony that was held at a location that locals described as a "traditional" site for such practices. When I asked how they knew the site had been used for such ceremonies in the past, they told me that they had read about it "in Girard," likely referring to Rafael Girard's (1949) *Los Chortís ante el Problema Maya*. In other words, knowledge about the site had been lost and was being recovered from earlier ethnographic research.

For these reasons, one of the primary contributions of the present study is the documentation of some of the Ch'orti' literature that is at risk of disappearing. The sample here is small but varied, including eyewitness accounts, humor, tales of the supernatural, and religious stories.

The phonology section above is, by design, rather minimal, and is unlikely to contain new observations. The morphology section, though larger, probably also does more to confirm observations already described in the literature than to break new ground. However, some morphological features that have been minimally explored in previous literature have hopefully been described in greater detail here. In particular, the marking of middle voice, and the distinction of meanings and uses between passive, middle, and antipassive voices have been demonstrated by examples. Also, sample verb paradigms included here have documented some of the morphosyntactic variation that can affect the surface realization of verbs, especially when consonant cluters are simplified, when pronominal prefixes bring vowels together, infixes occur, or roots are altered by reanalysis or metathesis. The chapter on syntax is perhaps the most novel, exploring the possibility of tense being marked by some morphemes usually called "aspectual" particles, a description of several types of serial verb constructions, and varieties of clause subordination.

5.2. Directions for Future Research

The present study is certainly not a complete description of the Ch'orti' language or the genres of oral literature available in that language. Continued analysis of existing data and collection of additional data could enable any number expanded lines of analysis and description. Some of the key issues are described here.

5.2.1. Ch'orti' Literature

As described in the preceding chapter, the need for collection and documentation of Ch'orti' literature is urgent. Any additional recording, transcription, and translation of additional examples would be worthwhile. More specifically, several expansions of the present study could be recommended:

- Stories I collected but did not include in present study could be edited, transcribed, and published.
- 2. Ch'orti'-language stories appearing in a number of existing publications could be analyzed for grammatical and lexical details. Some of these have not been translated into either English or Spanish, and translation could make that literature more accessible to scholars in other fields.
- 3. Many of the stories I've collected have a kind of gender bias, in the sense that they are recounted by men to other men, when women are not present. A female researcher could collect stories shared exclusively among women, adding an underrepresented dimension to existing collections.

5.2.2. Phonology

Although the data collected in this study is not ideal for phonological analysis, expanding the data base as described above could provide additional examples that might allow some additional details to be worked out, especially with regard to some of the patterns of consonant cluster simplification and vowel assimilation. However, a computer analysis of basic phonological patterns will be necessary to answer many of the open questions. In particular, it is important to establish observationally the boundaries between syllables in connected speech before trying to define some of the more complex phonological rules of the language. This will require high-quality audio recordings of several native speakers made in a studio or laboratory setting, and a computer analysis of those recordings.

5.2.3. Morphology

The morphology chapter of this study is the most complete, but it could still be expanded. Adding additional texts to the database would no doubt provide examples that would clarify existing questions or uncover features not yet described. It would be particularly interesting to identify more examples of both incorporating and non-incorporating antipassives, in an attempt to pin down possible distinctions in meaning between antipassive markers and the occasional stacking of multiple antipassive markers.

5.2.4. Syntax

While expansion of the database would certainly produce additional clarifying examples, the existing data can still yield a great deal more information about syntax. I would propose writing computer programs to search the existing texts for specific multi-word patterns. The objective would be to use software

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program to find multiple examples of one pattern, or multiple variants of a given pattern, so these can be compared and contrasted. So far, searches for syntactic patterns have largely been manual or have been assisted only slightly by off-the-shelf computer software. More selectively targeted searches by computer would probably yield examples that would lead to additional insights.

6. APPENDIX A: BILINGUAL TEXTS

The bilingual texts presented below are the result of two treacherous processes: transcription and translation. Transcribing these stories is problematic first and foremost because their original form is entirely oral, learned by hearing and repeating, without reference to printed text. Reducing such material to writing has to do some damage. Of course, there are also the mundane problems of misinterpreting individual sounds, entire words, or the meanings of pauses and tone of voice. Translations are, of course, negatively impacted by whatever miscomprehensions the translator has of either language. In addition, it must be emphasized that the English translations given here are based on the transcribed Ch'orti' texts, with whatever errors those transcriptions contain.

A number of choices had to be made in producing these bilingual texts. Far less punctuation is usually needed for clarity in Ch'orti than in English', but the Ch'orti' here has been punctuated in a manner similar to that of the English translation, mostly to clarify which phrases are parallel to which. Some Ch'orti' connectives have been eliminated from the English translation for the sake of readability. *Che*, an evidentiary particle that saturates storytelling, indicates that the speaker has heard information from others, and has no first-hand knowledge of the events. It is sometimes translated as *they say*, *people say*, *it is said*, or *as the story goes*, but is more often dropped. The Spanish word *entonces*, often appearing in Ch'orti' as *ton*, is sometimes translated as *so* or *then*, but also often dropped. A number of other flavoring particles are also often ignored in translation. In the English translations, text within parentheses gives an alternate reading or clarification of a translated term. Text between square brackets indicates a word that is not explicit in the Ch'orti' but has been added to make the English more comprehensible.

The stories appearing below have been grouped into three broad genres: testimony, stories, and long stories. Texts 1 through 5 fall into the first category. That is, they are eye-witness accounts, or an attempt to explain some aspect of Ch'orti' culture to an outsider. Texts 6 through 14 are folklore. That is, they are stories that people remember their parents or grandparents telling, and that they sometimes tell to their own descendants, although this genre seems to be disappearing fast. The last three stories are set apart by their length. Each of these is made up of multiple vignettes.

6.1. Section I – Testimony and Explanations

6.1.1. Text 1: A Xiximay in the Belly

E Xiximay Nak Maxtak	Child with a <i>Xiximay</i> in the Belly
[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte' k'ub'esyaj xe'	[1] I want to tell about a custom that is
ache'mpa taka inkojt yer maxtak xe' awe'	kept with regard to a child who eats too
me'yra, tya' turo'n yaja' ache'mpa inte'	much; where we live a custom such as this
k'ub'esyaj kochera.	is is kept.
[2] Ayan e maxtak xe' awe' me'yra,	[2] There are children who eat too much,
ma'chi achwan takar xe' ajk'una, awab'na	they aren't satisfied with what they are
yer upa' me'yra yi ma'chi achwan, war	given, a lot of tortillas are placed [before
ak'a'pa war uk'ajti, war ak'a'pa war uk'ajti,	them] and they aren't satisfied, they finish
o jay ma, wartokto ak'a'pa awe' warix	and ask [for more], finish and ask [for
uk'ajti inyajrix e pa' twa' awe'sena.	more], and if not, soon after finishing
	eating they are already asking yet again
	for tortillas so as to be fed.
[3] Enton tara kab'ijnu ke' e maxtak ira	[3] So we think that these children have a
ch'a'r e xiximay tama unak, ch'a'r e	<i>xiximay</i> ¹ lying in the belly, a <i>xiximay</i> in the
xiximay tama unak, y tarixto kochera	belly, and that's why they aren't satisfied
ma'chi achwan taka e ja'xir ajk'una.	with what they are given.
[4] Enton ak'oyran e tata'b'ir yi ja'xirob'	[4] The parents get annoyed and they [try
usajkob' kocha twa' uchob'.	to] find out what to do.

¹ A xiximay is a spirit of hunger. It causes hunger and steals food, especially corn from the corncrib.

[5] Enton watob' e tata'b'irob' upojrob' e ujtz'ub' yi uyaryob' tama ut' e k'ajk' tama inte' yer b'ejt o tama e recensario, yi jay matuk'a e recensario upojrob' ingojr yer b'ejt, ub'ut'yob' ut' e k'ajk' tamar yi uyaryob' e ujtz'ub' me'yra.

[6] Enton uwajpyob' e maxtak, jay nojte'yx, uch'ub'ob' xirkojt yi uk'echob' uyej tama ujor e b'utz', yi jay noxi' winikix, enton taka ache'na akotwan yi uk'eche uyej tujor e b'utz' twa' alok'oy ajni e xiximay.

[7] Enton péru b'an kochera ub'an uchob' inte' yer k'ajt yi chob' kochera ke' "koner katata'" chob' "kak'ajti takaret e k'ek'war twa' takar yer e ujtz'ub' ira yi takar yer ub'utz'ar, yer e ujtz'ub' ira yer ut' e k'ajk' ira, taka yer ub'utz'ar yer e ujtz'ub' ira, ub'utz'ar ut' e k'ajk', kak'ajti takaret e k'ek'war twa' ne't atakryo'n, takar awanxerob', ulok'esna'r tuno'r e xiximay xe' ayan tama unak yer kamaxtak ira, o yer kawar ira." [5] So the parents come and seek [copal] incense and throw it on the embers in a small pot or censer, and if there is no censer they look for a little pot, load the embers into it and throw in a lot of incense.

[6] Then they take hold of the child, if he is already a large one, and suspend him face down and bring his mouth over the smoke, and if he is already a large (grown) person, then he is only made to kneel and they bring his mouth over the smoke, so that the *xiximay* will flee.

[7] Moreover, they make a prayer saying something like, "today, father God," they say, "we ask of you the power so that with this bit of copal and with a little smoke, with this incense and these embers, with the smoke of this bit of copal, the smoke of embers, we ask you for the power so that you help us, together with your angles, the expulsion of all the *xiximay* there are in the belly of this our child, or this our child²."

² Ar is the term a mother, and not a father, would use to refer to a son. *Maxtak* is a generic term for child or children; although the -tak suffix is a plural marker, the word can have either a plural

[8] "Yi kak'ajti ub'an twa' atz'akon taka	[8] "And we also ask that you heal us with
tunor awanxerob' yi alok'se tuno'r e	all your angels and expel all the xiximay
xiximay xe' ayan tama unak yer e maxtak	that are in the belly of this child, take these
ira, ak'eche achoki e xiximay ira tama o'r e	xiximay and drop them over the
witz'irob', xe' tya' matuk'a e pak'ab'ob'."	mountains, where there are no people."
[9] "Yi b'an kochera kak'ani twa' e chuchu	[9] "And in this way we wish that this child
ira aketpa imb'utz yi atz'akpa yi twa'	remain well and that he recover (heal) and
achwan taka tunor xe' no'n kawajk'u, yi	that he be satisfied with everything we
ja'x era kak'ajti takaret" che "twa' ne't	give him, and this we ask of you," they
atakryo'n kalok'se tunor e mab'anb'anir yi	say, "that you help us expel all the evil that
xe' ayan tara tama unak, tartaka ke' ja'xir	is here in his belly, because he eats too
awe' me'yra."	much."
[10] Yi b'an kochera uchob' inte' yer	[10] And in this way they performed a
k'ajtsyaj yi ne'n ma'chi uyub'ye'n ink'ajti	petition, and I can't petition much, maybe
me'yra, yi jay kapojro inkojt ajnirom o	we could look for a curandero or a petition-
inkojt ajk'ajt, ja'xob' una'tob' me'yra, jax	maker ³ , they know a lot, I'm just telling a
taka war ink'ajti imb'ijk xe' k'ar nimener.	bit that I remember.
[11] Yi b'anixto kochera ache'mpa taka	[11] And this is what is done with a child if
inkojt maxtak jay awe' me'yra o inkojt noxi'	he eats too much or an adult that eats too
winik xe' awe' me'yra ma'chi achwan,	much and isn't satisfied, he is censed and
enton ab'utz'a'na yi ak'ajna kochera takar	it is asked in this way of God and all the
e katata' yi tunor e anxerob'.	angels.

or singular sense. The juxtaposition of both terms in one sentence might be a way of trying to capture what a mother and father would say together, each using a different word to refer to the same child.

same child. ³ The informant is saying that he doesn't know much about this kind of ceremonial prayer, but that there are specialists who know a lot more.

6.1.2. Text 2: The Watch for the Xiximay

Ukojkna'r e Xiximay	The Watch for the Xiximay
[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte numer xe'	[1] I want to relate a passage [about]
ache'mpa tama e turer tya' ti kab'ach' e	that which is done in the dwelling place
ch'ortyon, yi e k'ub'esyaj ira ache'mpa	of ourselves the Ch'orti', and this belief
kochera.	is practiced like this.
[2] Ukojkna'r e xiximay ache'mpa tama	[2] The watch ⁴ for the <i>xiximay</i> ⁵ is done
e inajk'in winal junio.	on the first day of the month of June ⁶ .
[3] E kojksaj ira ache'mpa twa' tama	[3] This watch is kept among all the
tunor e ototob'.	houses.
[4] E kojkna'r e xiximay kakojko taka e	[4] We hold the <i>xiximay</i> watch with
wya'r.	food.
[5] Kana'tix ke' tama e inajk'in winal	[5] We know that on the first of the
junio, tama uyuxinar e akb'ar, ak'ajtna	month of June, in the middle of the
ke' anumuy uwinkirar e wi'na'r, enton	night ⁷ , it is told that the mistress ⁸ of
b'an kochera kana'tix ke' tama e ajk'in	hunger walks about, we know that on
ira ja'x a'xin anumuy tama e ototob'.	that date she ⁹ is going to pass among
	the houses.

⁴ The root of *ukojkna'r* implies waiting, but also guarding or holding a wake.

⁵ The *xiximay* is a spirit of hunger. When speaking in Spanish, the informant attached the masculine article *el* to the word, but when using a pronoun it was always the feminine *ella*. The xiximay is also *called la dueña del hambre* ('the mistress of hunger') in Spanish, again marked as feminine.

⁶ June and July are generally understood to be the months of hunger because crops have been planted but are not yet ready to harvest, and reserves from the previous harvest are dwindling. Also, there is little opportunity for agricultural work outside the community during this time. Part of the purpose of this ceremony is to dispel the spirit of hunger so that existing reserves will last until the harvest begins sometime in August.

⁷ The watch begins during the night of 31 May and continues into the morning of 1 June.

[6] Uk'ajtyob' ani nitu' yi ninoya ke'	[6] My mother and grandmother used
ja'xir axana awara tama tuno'r e	to tell that she walks around visiting all
ototob', ingojr ingojr e ototob' uwarajse	the houses, she walks from house to
axana yi ja'xir che ak'otoy ayi upojro	house visiting them, and they say she
tuk'a ayan, jay ayan e pa', jay ayan e	comes to search for whatever is there,
sa', o ayan e b'ur, ton ja'xir war usajka	if there is a tortilla, or there is <i>atol¹⁰</i> , or
che k'ani awe', enton tar kochera no'n	if there are some beans, she is looking
koche kana'ta ke' uk'ani twa' kakojko.	for them and wants to eat, and
	because of this we know that we have
	to keep watch.
[7] Entonces kaware ache'na e nukir	[7] So we order a big tortilla to be
pa', ache'na inkojt noxi' pa' xe' kaware	made, a big tortilla we call <i>pixton</i> is
pixton, ach'ab'na tujor uwarib' e pa,	made, it is placed over the tortilla
ab'ajsa yer ujor yaja', awab'na tama e	container, [the container] is covered on
ch'óji.	top, and it is placed in the <i>yawal¹¹</i> .
[8] Enton chob' ani nitu' uyaryob' ani,	[8] My mothers used to say, and we
yi b'an kaware koner, ke' era k'echerto	say the same today, we still remember
kamener este era, ne'n ub'an inwareto	this, and I still have it done.
ache'na.	

⁸ The Ch'orti' term *uwinkirar* carries no gender, and so could be translated as *master* or *mistress*.
⁹ The Ch'orti' pronoun *ja'x* is also gender-neutral, but the informant always translated it into Spanish with the feminine *ella*, when referring to the *xiximay*.
¹⁰ A drink based on corn.
¹¹ A *ch'oji* in Ch'orti' or *yawal* in Spanish is a net used to hang food from the kitchen ceiling to keep it out of the reach of pests.

[9] Enton kaware ke' e pa' ira, e pixton,	[9] So we say that this tortilla, the
twach' e upa' e xiximay	<i>pixton</i> , which is the xiximay's tortilla
	.12
[10] Yi jay ma'chi k'ani kaware ache'na	[10] And if we don't want to have the
e pixton, kaware ache'na e xeb',	<i>pixton</i> made, we have a <i>chepe</i> ¹³ made,
ache'na e b'ik'it xeb' twa' kak'uxi	a small <i>chepe</i> for ourselves to eat, and
no'nach', yi ache'na ingojr nojta	a big one is made in the name of the
tu'k'ab'a e xiximay, twa' kana'ta ke' e	<i>xiximay</i> , so that we know that the big
noxi' xeb' xe' gojra yaja' che'mb'ir twa'	<i>chepe</i> that is shaped there is made for
e xiximay.	the <i>xiximay</i> .
[11] Yi kaware ache'na ub'an e sa',	[11] And we also order the <i>chilate</i> ¹⁴ to
awab'na ingojr b'ejt sa' b'ut'ur,	be made, that a pot full of <i>chilate</i> be
chapb'irix, twa' tya' anumuy ja'xir tama	set out, already cooked, so that when
e ototob' yaja' usajka yi a'xin utajwi	she [the <i>xiximay</i>] passes by the house,
tuk'a ayan.	she'll look for it and will find whatever
	there is.

 ¹² The informant appears to leave this thought incomplete.
 ¹³ A *xeb*', sometimes pronounced *xep*, sometimes given in Spanish as *xepe* or *chepe*, is a kind of tamale made of corn dough with beans kneaded into it.
 ¹⁴ A corn-based drink.

[12] Enton jay utajwi inkojt noxi' pa' o	[12]Then if she finds a big tortilla or
utajwi e xeb' o e pajb'ur sa', ja'x era	finds a <i>chepe</i> or bitter <i>atol</i> , that is what
a'xin uk'uxi o uyuch'i; ja'xir ma'chix ayi	she'll eat or drink; she doesn't drink,
uyuch'i, jaxtaka upijch'i umeynir e	her shade ¹⁵ just touches the food.
wya'r.	
[13] Yi b'an kochera ache'mpa tama	[13] And this is how [things] are done
inajk'in winal junio.	on the first day of the month of June.
[14] Y b'an ub'an ache'mpa e yaje'	[14] And also another such custom is
e'nte k'ub'esyaj ira ub'an.	performed then as well.
[15] Tya' turix e pa', wa'rix e sa', yi	[15] When the tortilla is in place, the
chapb'irix e b'ur, enton watar e inkojt	atol has been set out, and beans have
pak'ab' xe' una'ta, o wato'n no'n xe'	been cooked, then someone comes
uyub'yo'n kache.	who knows [how to do it], or we who
	are able to do it come.

¹⁵ The Ch'orti' root *me'yn* can refer to shade meaning the absence of light, but also refers to some concepts of spirit or soul.

[16] Kach'ami ingojr yar karecensario,	[16] We grab our censer, toss in some
kayari e ujtz'ub' tar, yi kab'utz'a ujor e	[copal] incense, and cense over the
cha', kab'utz'a ujor e semet, kab'utz'a	grinding stone, cense over the <i>comal</i> ¹⁶
ub'an ut' e ch'oji tya' awab'na e pa' o e	or the <i>yawal</i> where the tortillas are
ch'ojch'an, koche kaware, yi kab'utz'a	placed, or the <i>ch'ojch'an</i> as we call it,
ub'an ujor e b'ejt tya' chapb'ir wa'r e	and we also cense over the pot where
sa' o e b'ur, yi tunor ira yi ti'nti'n e wya'r	the <i>atol</i> or the beans stand when
kab'utz'a, a'xin ab'utz'a'mpa uch'akteyr	cooked, and all this and whatever food
e nar jay ayan yer e nar petz'er wa'r.	we cense, [and] the corn crib is going
	to be censed if there are ears in
	storage there.
[17] Yi e k'ub'esyaj ira ache'mpa taka	[17] And this belief is carried out with
e ujtz'ub' twa' kak'ajti taka e katata' yi	the incense so that we can petition god
taka e katu' rum yi e wya'rob' ira.	and our mother earth and this food.

¹⁶ A ceramic or metal plate used for cooking tortillas.

[18] Ayan me'yra uk'ek'war umeynir[1tut' e otot xe' ayan ti kab'a, b'antakaxixke' uk'ajtyob' ani ixto ninoya yi nitátabeke' jay utajwi tojb'en ut' e otot, matuk'afate wya'r, enton che ja'xir ub'a'xi uyaktafloe otot ke' e pak'ab'ob' xe' turob' tama earotot ira a'xin uwirob' me'yra e neb'eyr,cuak'a'pa e na'r, uwirob' e wina'r,thimatuk'a yar utuminob', matuk'a yereaub'ujkob', tz'ajtaka uwirna'rob' tartakaseke' tama e inajk'in uwinal ira matuk'atheatajwina tuyototob'.ap

[18] The power of the shade [of the *xiximay*] over our houses is great, because my grandmother and my father used to say that if she finds the floor of the house empty, there isn't any food, then she leaves the house cursed so that the people who live in this house will see much poverty, the ears of corn will be used up, they will see hunger, they'll have no money, they'll have no clothing, they will appear sad, just because on the first of this month nothing was found in their houses.

[19] B'an e k'ub'esyaj kochera.[19] A[20] Yi b'an uk'ajtyob' ani ub'an ke'[20] Auk'ab'a ixto e xiximay uk'ab'a kocheranameixkajr Teresa, ton tama e castilla chob'Teresadoña Teresa, ja'x uwinkirar e wina'r oTeresauk'ab'a e xiximay.the na

[19] And thus the belief is like this.
[20] And they used to say also that the name of the *xiximay*, was like lady
Teresa, and in Spanish they said *doña*Teresa, that's the mistress of hunger or the name of the *xiximay*.

[21] Yi b'an kochera apejkna tuk'ab'a,	[21] And she is called by her name like
a'rena ixkajr e Teresa ira ira ub'a'xi	this, this lady Teresa is told not to
uyakta e otot, ayan uwya'r me'yra	leave the house cursed, there's plenty
uwya'r koche ja'x uk'ani chwanik unak'	of food, food such as is needed so her
yi uyaktik inte' me'yra wya'r twa' tunor	belly be satisfied, and so she might
e jab'.	leave a lot of food for all the year.
[22] Yi b'an kochera ub'an ache'mpa	[22] And this is how things used to be
ani twa' ab'oro me'yra e wya'r twa'	done so that plenty of food would
akeko ume'yn tunor e wya'r xe' ayan	abound, and that the spirit of all the
tama e ototob'.	food that is in the house would be
	strong.
[23] Yi e meyn ira, ja'x ume'ynir,	[23] And this spirit, it's the spirt, the
unalwalir, e xiximay.	nawal, of the xiximay.

[24] Yi tarixto koner ke' no'n tama e	[24] And so today in the place were we
tya' turo'n kana'tix yi war kab'ijnu ke'	live we know and are thinking that the
k'anix o'choy e winal junio warix	month of June is about to begin, and
kana'ta tuk'a twa' kache, b'antaka ke'	we already know what we should do,
no'n kana'ta ke' tara uk'ani twa' kache	because we know that now we ought
e kojkna'r yi uk'ani twa' kak'ajti takar e	to hold the watch and we ought to pray
katata' yi taka e katu' rum twa' ma'chi	to God and our mother earth that the
uchon tz'ajtaka e xiximay yi twa' tunor	xiximay not make us sad and that all
kawya'r xe' ayan ab'oro me'yra, ma'chi	the food we have abound greatly, that
akujcha a'xin yer umeynir umen e	the spirit of the food not be carried
xiximay.	away by the <i>xiximay</i> .
[25] Jax era e k'ub'esyaj xe kache tya'	[25] This is the belief we carry out
turon yaja' ta mormor otot Ok'em.	where we live in the settlement of
	Ok'em.

E Chuchu K'uxb'ir Umen E K'ech'uj	The Baby Eaten by a <i>Ciguanaba</i> ¹⁷
[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte' numer xe' numuy ayi	[1] I want to tell a tale that happened there
yaja' tya' turo'n, yi kocha kana'ta ke' o'nix	where we live, and we know that in the
ak'aj(t)na ani e k'ech'uj che alok'oy ayi	past it used to be said that the <i>ciguanaba</i>
axana akb'are akb'are o ajk'in ajk'in,	went out walking nightly, or daily, it walked
axana taka e ajk'in yi axana taka e akb'ar.	by day and walked by night.
[2] Enton che uk'ajti nitu' ani ke' ayan ayi	[2] My mother used to tell that there was a
inkojt winik inkojt ixik che, o winik pue	man and a woman, or people living with
turob' yaja' uyexka'r, maku k'opot ub'an,	their spouses, in the wilderness, in the
maku nukta' te' ya', wa'r yer uyototob'	forest, their houses stood there.
yaja'.	
[3] Yi kochwa kana'ta ke' o'nix ayan ani	[3] And as we know, in the past there used
me'yra tya' twa' a'xin uche uyototob' e	to be many places (a lot of room) for
pak'ab'ob', majax koche koner, kiti' kiti'	people to make their houses, not like
turo'n, mix tya' twa' kache ko'tot, tarixto	today, when we live very close together,
kochera turo'n mororo'n, inte'yra mororon	there is no room to make our houses, so
tama yar e turer tya' turo'n; ixnix ma'chi	we live together, we live together in one
ani, ixnix a'xob' ani tya' ja'x uk'anyob' ya'	small space; but in the past it didn't used
ani a'xob' uwab'u uyototob' makwir e	to be like this, in the past they used to go
nukta' te'.	wherever they liked, they went and set up
	their houses in the forest.

6.1.3. Text 3: Ciguanabas Eat Babies

¹⁷ The *ciguanaba* is a female supernatural most noted for eating babies and leading young men astray.

[4] B'an kochera che inkojt yer ixik ixin ayi	[4] So a young woman went to fetch
ukuchi e ja', o b'ajxan ke' a'xin che uyusta	water, and before she went she got ready,
ayi, ub'asi yer uch'urkab', ub'ak'i tama yer	she wrapped her baby, put a diaper on
e b'ajk'ib' che, uyari tamar yer e ab', ixin	him, put him in a hammock, and went to
ukuchi e ja', yi tya' k'otoy che yaja' jax	fetch water, and when she arrived there
ma'chi una'ta tuk'a a'xin anumuy.	she didn't know what was going to
	happen.
[5] Yi kocha innajt kora ut' e ja' ixna ayi	[5] And as the spring was a little far, it took
kora ixin, yi tya' sutpa k'otoy che ixin ayi	a bit of time, and when she arrived back,
uwira ya' tya' ch'a'r yar e ch'urkab, ajtakix	she went to look where the baby was
ayi yar uyok e ch'urkab' ch'a'r, matuk'a yer	lying, and only the baby's feet were lying
ub'a yaja', jaxtakix uyok che yer uk'ab'	there, his body wasn't there, she saw only
sanar e'ron tama ut' e ab'.	his feet and hands laid out in the
	hammock.
[6] Enton che yer e ixik ira kay aru tama	[6] Then the young woman was wailing
yer e ch'urkab' che kay aru yi b'antaka ke'	about her baby, was wailing, because it
k'ujxa ayi umen a k'ech'uj.	was eaten by the <i>ciguanaba</i> .
[7] Enton che banixto kochera xe' numuy	[7] This is really what happened, as my
b'an uk'ajti ninoy.	grandmother told.
[8] Enton b'an kochera ninoy yi nina'na	[8] And so my grandmother and my
akay ani uyaryob' umaxtakob' ke' inkojt	mother used to tell their children that a
tub'ir uk'ani twa' uch'ujpa me'yra yer	mother had to carefully guard her baby.
uch'urkab'.	

[9] Enton che ani ninoy ja'xir uya're ani	[9] And my grandmother used to tell my
nitu', "jay k'ani awakta ub'ajner	mother, "if you have to leave your baby
ach'urkab'," che, "jay mamajchi umen twa'	alone," she said, "if there is no one by
akojkna, ach'ami ub'itor anoxib' y ach'ab'u	whom it [can] be watched, grab your
tujor yer ach'urkab' tya' ch'a'r awayan	husband's hat and place it on the baby's
tama yer uwab'," che.	head where it is lying sleeping in its little
	hammock," she said.
[10] Yi b'an ani uche niná'na yaja', o sea,	[10] And that's what my mother did then,
nitu', cuando a'xin ani innajt yaja', uyakta	that is, my mother, when she went far, left
ub'ajnerob' niwijtz'inob' yi ne'n inketpa ani	my younger siblings alone, and I used to
inkojko, chuchwe'nto, peru b'ajxan uch'ami	stay to watch them, I was still quite young,
ani ub'itor nitata' uch'ab'u tujor yer e	but first she would grab my father's hat
ch'urkab' tya' uch'ab'u uyakta tama e ab'.	and put it on the baby's head where she
	laid it down in the hammock.
[11] yi ne'n inturan ani inkojko yer niwijtz'in	[11] And I used to sit and watch my little
yi b'antaka ke' uk'ajtyob' ani ke' b'ajk'at	siblings because they used to say that the
ak'otoy e k'ech'uj uk'uxi e ch'urkab' tya'	<i>ciguanaba</i> came suddenly to eat the baby
ch'a'r porque b'an kochera una'tob' ke' e	where it was lying down, because they
ixik xe' uyakta uch'urkab' ub'ajner k'ujxa	knew that the woman who left her baby
umen e k'ech'uj.	alone, [her baby] would be eaten by the
	ciguanaba.

6.1.4. Text 4: The Phases of the Moon

Uturer e katu'	The Phases of the Moon
[1] K'ani ink'ajti inteyx e numer tuk'a	[1] Now I want to tell a tale about what
anumuy tama e turer tya' e katu' war	happens with the positions (phases) when
anumuy, o ayan unumer xe' war unumse	the moon is passing, or there is a story
ub'a tama e koche kaware no'n ch'ok e	about what happens during the new moon
katu', yi kanoyob' uk'ajtyob' me'yra	as we call it, and our grandparents
k'ub'seyaj tama e numerob' ira.	recounted many beliefs about these
	occurrences.
[2] Koner war kana'ta tama e turer.	[2] Nowadays we know about the
	positions (phases) [of the moon].
[3] Koner ma'chix k'ani kak'ub'se.	[3] Today we don't want to believe.
[4] No'n kache xe' no'n k'ani kache yi	[4] We do what we want to do and we
ma'chi katurb'a kab'a tamar koche turu e	don't bother ourselves about how the
katu', jay ne'p o ch'ok o jay kilis e katu'.	moon is positioned, if [it is] full or new, or if
	the moon is eclipsed.
[5] Ma'chix katurb'a kab'a tamar, ma'chix	[5] Now we don't bother ourselves about it,
kach'ujku kawira, yi tar ira no'n ayan e	we don't take care to observe it, and
me'yra mokir alok'oy tamaron.	because of this, there is much sickness
	that comes among us.
[6] Ayan no'n e ti'n, dende ke' kayo'pa tor	[6] There are those among us who, from
e rum, ukuxo'n katu', takarix e mok wato'n.	the time we arrive on earth, our mother
	bore us, we come already with sickness.
[7] Tuk'a umen?	[7] Why?
[8] Umen ke' matuk'a e k'ub'esyaj.	[8] Because there is no belief.

[9] Ma'chix kak'ub'se tunor xe' uk'ani twa'	[9] Now we don't believe (obey) all that we
kache tya' e katu' majax imb'utz yer	ought to do when the moon doesn't look
uwirnar.	good.
[10] Enton tara k'ani ink'ajti ke' uk'ajtyob'	[10] So now I want to tell what my father
ani nitáta ninoya yi uk'ajtyob'to koner e	and grandmother used to tell, and the old
onyan pak'ab'ob', ke' b'an ke' inkojt winik	folks still tell today, that when a man who
xe' k'ani upijch'i uyexkar koche kaware, o	wants to touch his wife as we say, or
k'ani uche mab'anb'anir takar, o koche	wants to commit sin with her, as truly we
atz'i kaware era, o k'ani uche e, koche	phrase it, or wants to do, as we say in
tama e castilla kaware, k'ani uche	Spanish, he wants to beget, engaging in
engendro, war uche yaje' uso sexual	sexual use Spanish, yes? as we say,
castilla, verdad? koche kaware no'n, war	they were doing each other.
uche ub'ob'.	
[11] Ton tara che e onyan pak'ab'ob' tya'	[11] So the old folks say when they want
k'ani awayanob' taka uyexkarob' yi k'ani	to sleep with their spouses and want to
unut'i ub'ob', uk'ani twa' usajkob' e katu'	unite themselves, it is necessary to check
jay ne'p.	the moon, whether it is full.
[12] Tartaka ke' jay upijch'ob' ayi yaje'	[12] Only because if they touch their
uwixkarob' yaja' yi uchob' e, koche	spouses and engage in, as we say, sexual
kaware, uso sexual, b'ajk'atix ke' tama e	use, they fear that in that day, or in that
ajk'in ira, o tama e chena'rir ira, b'ajk'atix	act, they fear they'll beget a baby.
utakb'ob' inkojt e ch'urkab'.	

[13] Jay ta'k'wan inkojt yer ch'urkab' yi	[13] If a baby is begotten and the moon is
ch'ok e katu', enton che ke' yer e ch'urkab'	new, then it is said that this baby is going
ira axin ayopa tor e rum ajmok, tartaka ke'	to come to earth sick, just because the
e katu' ch'ok turu tya' ja'xir kuchwan o	moon was in the new phase when it (the
ta'k'wan tama yer unak uná'na.	baby) was carried or begotten in the belly
	of its mother.
[14] Yi tar ira che ke' e o'nyan pak'ab'ob',	[14] And for this reason they say that the
tya' k'ani awayanob' nut'ur taka	old folks, when they wanted to sleep
uyexka'rob', usajkob' e katu', jay turu	together with their spouses, sought the
imb'utz, jay majax ch'ok, yi jay b'an	moon, whether it was in a good phase, not
kochera, twa' ayo'pa e maxtak imb'utz	new, and if it was like that, so that the
uwirnar, majax ajmokob'.	children would arrive healthy ¹⁸ , so they
	weren't sick.
[15] Yi tar koner kawira ke' e'rachob' ani.	[15] And thus we see today that they were
	speaking the truth.
[16] Koner no'n kayo'pa tor e rum	[16] Today we come to earth already sick.
ajmokonix.	
[17] Ka'ru quizás umen e k'uxb'akerir.	
	[17] We cry perhaps because of bone
	[17] We cry perhaps because of bone pains.
[18] Ma'chito kana'ta tuk'a katares, péru	
	pains.

¹⁸ *Imb'utz uwirna'r* can refer to good looks, good health, or good character.

[19] Yi tya' war kach'i' alok'oy yer ut' kawej	[19] And while we are growing up, our
esto maxix, yi aka'y alok'oy ut' kawej,	teeth appear already with cavities, when
maxix yer uť kawej alok'oy.	our teeth begin to appear, already with
	cavities our teeth appear.
[20] Tuk'a?	[20] Why?
[21] Tar tartaka ke' no'n katata ma'chi	[21] Only because [with] us our fathers
uch'ujb'a ub'ob' tya' kay wayanob' nut'ur	didn't take care when they were sleeping
taka katu', o quizás ke' no'n ta'k'wano'n	with our mothers, or perhaps that we were
tama yer unak' kanána tama e ch'ok katu'.	conceived in our mother's belly during a
	new moon.
[22] Enton che de ke' twa' alok'oy e	[22] So they say that in order that the
maxtak, esde majax ajmokob', twa' ma'chi	children arrive, that is they aren't sick, so
alok'ob' ajmokob', uk'ani sajknar e katu'	that they don't arrive sick, the moon needs
xe' tya' kaware ne'p.	checking, what is necessary is to check for
	the moon we call full.
[23] Jay no'n ta'k'wanon tama unak'	[23] If we are conceived in our mother's
kanána taka e ne'p katu', enton no'n	belly during the full moon, then we arrive
kayopa imb'utz, majax ajmokon.	well, we are not sick.
[24] Yi ayan e maxtak, desde ke' ayo'pa	[24] And there are children [who], since
to'r e rum, wa'kchetaka war a'chpa a'wan	they arrive on earth, are rapidly pulling
axana, wa'kchetaka ojron, yi ayan	themselves up to stand and walk, they talk
uk'ek'war me'yra .	early, and have a lot of strength
	(resistance).
[25] Majax ajmok.	[25] They aren't sick.
[26] Tuk'a umen?	[26] Why?

[27] Tartaka ke' ja'xir ta'k'wan tunak	[27] Just because they were conceived in
unána taka inte' katu' xe' ne'p.	their mother's belly during a moon that
	was full.
[28] Uatob' ira usajkob inte' katu' yi xe'	[28] Their parents sought a moon that
maja'x ch'ok.	wasn't new.
[29] Yi b'an ub'an ak'ajtna ke' jay no'n	[29] And thus also it is told that if we are
ta'k'wano'n tama e katu', o tama e b'ut'ur	conceived while the moon, or during the
katu', enton tama e ajk'in b'ut'ur katu', jay	full moon, then on the day of a full moon, if
no'n ta'k'wano'n tunak' kanána, che, enton	we are conceived in our mother's belly, it
no'n kalok'oy, koche kaware,	is said, then we arrive, as we say,
ajnojrane'riron.	growers.
[30] kanojran, war kach'i' yaja', kanojranix	[30] We put on weight, are growing, and
yaja', majax koche kayo'pa tama inte'	already we are getting heavy, not as if we
mamb'utz turer te ajk'in ke kaware no'n ke	arrived during a bad phase, on the day
no'n ta'k'wanon tama unak' kanána.	that we say we were conceived in our
	mother's belly.
[31]Taka inte' ch'ok katu' kayo'pa méru	[31] With a new moon we arrive already
k'ix kachamay.	beginning to die.
[32] K'oxk'oxon kach'i', tartaka ke non,	[32] We grow up skinny, just because we,
tama e ch'ok katu' quizás, ta'k'wanon	during the new moon perhaps, we were
tama unak kanána.	conceived in our mother's belly.
[33] Enton jax era, che, ja'xirob' usajkob'	[33] On account of that, it is said, they
ani e katu' twa' alok'oy inkojt yer	used to check the moon so that one of
umaxtakob' imb'utz uwirna'r.	their children arrived healthy.

[34] Uk'ani sajknar e katu' xe' ne'p twa'	[34] It is necessary that the moon that is
kache e uso sexual taka kawixka'r o ke'	full be sought in order to engage in sexual
b'ajk'atix ke' tama e akb'ar ira xe' war	use with our wife, otherwise it is feared
kawayan taka kawixkar nut'ur, katak'b'u	that on that night when we are sleeping
inkojt yar ch'urkab'.	united with our wife, we will beget a baby.
[35] Enton uk'ani sajkna'r e katu' xe' ne'p.	[35] So the moon that is full must be
	sought.
[36] Jax era ani uk'ajti nitwob'.	[36] That is what my mothers used to say.
[37] Yi tya' kuchur ub'an uyar inkojt ixik,	[37] And also when a woman's child is
ma'chi uyub'i uk'uxi e chab' akb'ar nen	being carried (when she is pregnant with
uk'oyi e sik'ab', tartaka ke' jay uk'oyi e	her child), she can't eat sweets at night
sik'ab' max ut' uyej uyar alok'oy.	nor suck on sugar cane, because if she
	sucks on sugar cane the teeth of her child
	will appear with cavities.
[38] Ma'chi uch'ujb'a ub'a e ajk'ajnib'ar ixik	[38] This pregnant woman is not being
ira.	careful.
[39] Enton jax era ink'ajti tama inte' numer	[39] So that is what I recount in this story.
ira.	
[40] Yi otronte' k'ub'esyaj ache'mpa taka e	[40] And another remembrance made
katu' ub'an ke' tya' b'ut'ur e katu' yaja', war	about the moon too [is] that when the
kana'ta ke' tya' e katu' b'ut'ur te akb'ar	moon is full, we know that when the moon
méru janch'aken, méru jax e katata' turu,	is full at night fully bright, as if it were the
kawira uwarar janch'aken, me'yra uwarar	sun in place, we see its bright rays, the
e katu', méru janch'akenar, o'nton tama	many rays of the moon, pure brightness, I
era ub'an inwirato ya'.	still see it like that.

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[41] Yi b'an uk'ayon ani ninána ke' no'n	[41] And thus my mother used to scold
me'rer kalok'oy taka intajch tajte' o intajch	that we couldn't go out with an ocote
tajte' war atz'ajb'a.	(torch) if the ocote were burning.
[42] Jay kalok'oy ayi taka kak'ajk' war	[42] If we go and our fire is burning
atz'ajb'a takar patir yi turu e katu', asaka	outside and the moon is there, our head
kajor wa'kchetaka.	(hair) will whiten prematurely.
[43] Ton ma'chi uyub'i katz'ajb'es inte'	[43] So we can't light a fire and go outside
k'ajk' kalok'oy patir uk'ajna'r taka, b'an	on a whim, because the moon is there with
taka ke' turu e katu' taka ujanch'akenar yi	its brightness, and if we go out like that our
jay kalok'oy kochera asaka ayi kajor ub'an.	head will turn white too.
[44] Y jax era pues inna'ta e k'ub'esyaj xe'	[44] And that [is what] I know [of] the
ache'mpa taka e katu'.	beliefs that are held regarding the moon.
[45] péru ayan e k'ub'esyaj me'yra, me'yra	[45] But there are many beliefs, many
k'ub'esyaj.	beliefs.
[46] Jay ch'ok e katu', ma'chi uyub'i	[46] If the moon is new, something we
ach'empa inte' xe' no'n kak'ani.	want to do cannot be done.
[47] Enton tarixto kochera me'yron kayopa	[47] Then in this way many of us come
ajmokonix tor e rum, tartaka ke' no'n	into the world already sick, just because
ta'k'wanon tunak kanána taka inte' ch'ok	we were conceived in our mother's belly
katu'.	during a new moon.
[48] Uk'ani sajknar che e k'in katu' yi e	[48] It is said that the day moon and the
b'ut'ur katu'.	full moon must be sought.

6.1.5. Text 5: The Earthquake of 1976

E Yujkb'ar de 1976	The Earthquake of 1976 ¹⁹
[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte' k'ajpesyaj xe'	[1] I want to recount a memory that I still
k'echerto nimener, lo ke' inwira tama e jab'	carry with me, what I saw in the year that
xe' numuy tama e mil novecientos setenta	passed in 1976, we here in our locality
y seis, tara no'n tama katurer kawira tuk'a	saw what was done when the earthquake
che'na tya' numuy e yujkb'ar.	happened.
[2] E Yujkb'ar yaja' numuy tama e mes xe'	[2] That earthquake happened on the date
kaware cuatro de febrero yi b'an kochera	we call the fourth of February and thus a
numuy inte' noxi' b'ajk'ut ta nib'a.	great fear passed through my person.
[3] Ne'n ma'to ani tya' inwira e yujkb'ar	[3] I had never seen an earthquake
anumuy koche yaja'.	happen like that one.
[4] U'mb'i ani ak'ajtna, péru ma'to ani tya'	[4] I used to hear it told (used to hear tell
inwira, b'antaka ke' akay anumuy péru	of it), but never saw one, because they
ťustaka ayujksan, maja'x koche numuy	were happening, but they shook silently,
tama e jab' yaji'n	not like what happened in that year.
[5] Tama e jab' ira, tama e mil novecientos	[5] In that year, in 1976, there was a great
setenta y seis, numuy inte' noxi' b'ajk'ut	deal of fear, because I saw and heard
me'yra tartaka ke' ne'n inwira yi u'mb'i	what happened that dawn.
tuk'a numuy tama e ajwank'inar yaja'	

¹⁹ The informant is speaking here as an eye witness who participated in the ceremonies described. He was about 22 when the earthquake occurred.

[6] War ani kawayan tya' ko'yb'i yaja' jik'na	[6] We were sleeping when we heard
tunor e chinamob', taka e syan otot, ko'yb'i	thunder in all the settlements, among the
méru inyajrer jincha tari e syan witz'ir, ja'x	many houses, we heard the many
ajchi' e yujkb'ar war anumuy.	mountains falling in all at once, and it was
	the earthquake happening ²⁰ .
[7] Yi tya' b'ixk'o'n inwira ke' nich'akte'	[7] When we woke up I saw that my bed
méru war akukurpa inyajrer méru war	was getting knocked around all at once, as
axana umen e yujkb'ar.	if it were walking because of the
	earthquake.
[8] Ne'n yaja' b'ak'te'n inwira tartaka ke'	[8] I was frightened when I saw it because
ma'to ani tya' inwira e yujkb'ar.	I had never seen an earthquake.
[9] Tya' sakojpa, enton che nitata' era ja'x	[9] When dawn ²¹ came, my father ²² said
e katata' war uyepta watar inte' castigo	that it was God ordering a punishment as
kocha kaware war ub'ajk'usyo'n che ja'xir,	we say [in Spanish] to come, that he was
ja'x ub'ajk'usyo'n tartaka ke' no'n ma'chi	frightening us, he (my father) said, he
kak'ub'se tamar, no'n ka'wan kache tunor	(God) was frightening us because we
e mab'anb'anir, che nitata', yi tar era e	didn't obey him (God), we undertake to do
katata' uyepta tari e castigo ti kab'a, che	all kinds of evil, my father said, and so
ja'xir, yi b'an kochera che war katoyi	God ordered punishment to come upon
kamab'anb'anir xe' no'n kache.	us, he said, and thus we were paying [for]
	the sins we committed.
[10] Enton b'anixto kochera nitata' war	[10] And in this way my father was calling
uk'ab'ajse e katata.	out to God.

 ²⁰ This earthquake provoked no landslides in the Jocotán area, so the sound described is just the shaking of the earth.
 ²¹ The informant recalled the earthquake as having happened about 3 hours before dawn.
 ²² The informant's father had a reputation as a leader of prayer and ceremony.

[11] Sakojpa yi matuk'a kanumse kab'a,	[11] Dawn came and nothing happened to
yi sakojpa yaja' war taka anijki e katu' rum,	us, and dawn came and our mother earth
war anijki katu' rum takaron kora kora iraj	was shaking, our mother earth was
iraj, anumuy e yujkb'ar yaja' war unijkes e	shaking [under] us little by little and over
otot.	and over, an earthquake came and shook
	the house ²³ .
[12] Enton no'n tya' sakojpa kay ko'yb'i ke'	[12] At dawn we were hearing ²⁴ that
ayan e chinam satpa, ayan me'yra	villages were lost, that many villages were
chinamob' satpa, ayan ototob' yaja' kay	lost, there were houses being thrown
kukurna yi chamay me'yra pak'ab'ob'.	down, and that many people died.
[13] Tara tama kachinam, esde ta Murak,	[13] Here in our town, that is, in Jocotán,
mamajchi chamay, péru k'a'pa k'aspa	nobody died, but all the houses ²⁵ ended
tunor e ototob.	up broken (with cracks in them).
[14] Enton xe' turob' tara ta chinam kay	[14] Those who lived here in the town
wayanob' patir, ulok'se yer uchaktyob'	were sleeping outdoors, they took their
patir ya' kay wayanob'	beds outside and were sleeping.
[15] Yi b'an no'n ub'an kalok'se kach'akte'	[15] And we [in the villages] also took our
kay wayano'n patir twa' ma'chi	beds out and were sleeping outside so
uchamsyo'n yer ko'tot xe' wa'r ti kajor.	that the houses that stood over us didn't
	kill us.

 ²³ Many small aftershocks followed the main quake.
 ²⁴ The informant later clarified that this news was heard on the radio.
 ²⁵ In the town of Jocotán at the time of the quake, most homes were of adobe brick, and many were damaged. Most of the houses in the surrounding villages were made of palm branches, and very few were damaged.

[16] Yi b'ajk'at no'n war kawayan por que	[16] And we slept in fear because we were
kay areno'n ke' jay kawayan yeb'ar,	being told that if we slept below (indoors),
b'ajk'atix war kawayan akukurpa ko'tot yi	then while we were sleeping our houses
uchamsyo'n.	might fall and kill us.
[17] Yi b'an kochera kay kanumse kab'a	[17] We were experiencing this every day,
tunor e ajk'inob' ira, méru ma'chix kak'a'y,	it didn't stop, and everybody looked sad.
tunor e pak'ab'ob' tzajtaka yer ut'ob'.	
[18] Enton nitata' taka otronmojr pak'ab'	[18] Then my father and some other
chob' kochera, "ma k'anik tuk'a uwinkirar e	people said, "shouldn't there be some
yujkb'ar twa' katoyi takar twa' asispajna,"	master ²⁶ of earthquakes whom we can pay
chob'.	so that it is quieted?"
[19] Turan kay ub'ijnob'.	[19] They sat down to think.
[20] Enton che ja'xirob' imb'a e nukta	[20] Then they, the senior men, thought
winikob'ix ani ja'xirob' ub'ijnob' ke' ayan	there was a master, and they said what we
uwinkirar, enton chob' kocha twa' kache.	should do.
[21] "Kamorojsik e pak'ab'ob' xe'	[21] "Let's assemble the people who are
uk'anyob' jay utakryo'nob' twa' kamani e	willing, if they [will] help us buy everything
tunor xe' twa' kak'ampes twa' kache inte'	we use to make a payment [ceremony],"
tojma'r," chob'.	they said.
[22] Enton kochera kay uk'ajtyob' e	[22] So in this way they were asking for
takarsaj yi kocha e pak'ab'ob' war	help and as the people were in a state of
ab'ak'tob' turob' ub'an mixtuk'a una'ta	fear too, they didn't know what to say, for
uchob' o war kab'ak'ta pue.	we were afraid, then.

²⁶ By *master* (*uwinkirar*) they mean a spiritual power that controls earthquakes.

[23] No'n yaja' kay kamorojse kab'a yi	[23] We were gathering ourselves
k'ajtna ti kab'a yer e ujtz'ub', k'ajtna e	[together] there, and copal was asked of
tumin twa' amajna yer e k'ajk'.	us, money was asked for so that candles
	could be bought.
[24] Enton kochera mantz'a me'yra	[24] Thus a lot of copal was bought, and
ujtz'ub' yi b'an e k'ajk'ob' ub'an nukir k'ajk'	so the candles too, big candles, there
yaja', ayan e nukta ayan e b'ik'it.	were big ones and little ones.
[25] Enton tzakta tunor xe' uk'anyob' e	[25] And everything was done that those
onyan winik'ob ira.	elders wanted.
[26] Enton chob', "koner kamorojsik kab'a	[26] They said, "today let's gather together
twa' kache e tojma'r."	to make a payment."
[27] Yi b'an kochera ub'an k'ajtna e ajtzo'	[27] And so too the tom turkey was asked
uyaryob' che'na uyarar e sa', e saksak sa'	for, and they ordered the preparation of
yaja'.	the <i>chilate</i> , the plain <i>chilate</i> ²⁷ .
[28] Enton nitata' y otronte' yer onyan	[28] Then my father and another elder too
winik ub'an chob', "uk'ani twa' kache e	said, "we must make a feast day."
nojk'in."	
[29] Usajkob' e ajk'in yaja' twa' ache'mpa	[29] They sought a day ²⁸ on which the
e tojma'r.	payment would be made.
[30] Taryob' ja'xirob' kochera tama e ajk'in	[30] They came on that day before it got
yaja' b'ajxan ke' akb'are.	dark.
[31] Upejkob' e maxtakob' yaja' kay	[31] They invited the youngsters and were
uya'ryob' tuk'a twa' uchob'.	telling what they were to do.

 ²⁷ A drinkable corn gruel.
 ²⁸ That is, the elders selected an auspicious day for this type of ceremony.

[32] Lok'on yaja' no'n, kay katakryob',	[32] We went out to help them, we went
lok'o'n takarob' ya' ch'u'rob' ub'an ja'xirob'	with them, and they were in the process of
kay uwirsyo'nob' koche twa' kache.	showing us how to do it.
[33] Kay kaxuri ixin e k'opot yaja' kayari	[33] We were cutting away the weeds
inte' b'ir tya' twa' kanumuy akb'ar takarob',	there, opening a path were we would pass
yi kay kaxuri ixin tunor e k'opot tya' tya'	at night with them, and we were cutting
ja'x uk'anyob', twa' uxoyojk'yob' e mormor	away all the growth wherever they wanted,
otot tya' turon	in order to encircle the settlement were we
	lived ²⁹ .
[34] Yi kay kayori e ch'en koche ja'x	[34] And we were digging holes as they
uk'anyob', kayori e ch'en tya' akuxpa	wanted, we dug a hole were the sun is
watar e k'in, yi kayori e ch'en tya'	born ³⁰ , we dug a hole where it goes down,
anamtz'a, yi kayori tama e tya' chob'	and we dug where they said, the south
ja'xirob' el sur ub'an tama el norte.	and the north.
[35] Entonces b'an kochera kay kayori ixin	[35] So in this way we were digging out
e ch'en, tama e chan ch'en ira ya kay	the holes, and into these four holes the
yartz'a e sa'.	chilate was being tossed.
[36] Entonces akb'are yaja', turanob' tunor	[36] Then it got dark, everyone sat down
e me'yra pak'ab'ob' kay uyustob' e syan	to prepare a lot of incense (copal).
ujtz'ub'	

 ²⁹ This all took place in Oken, a village quite close to Jocotán.
 ³⁰ The east is called here 'the place where the sun is born,' while the west is 'the place where the sun disappears.' North and south are referred to in Ch'orti' using the Spanish words *norte* and sur.

[37] uchob' e wororik kochera yi e katatik	[37] They made round ones like this and
kochera, e katatik uk'ab'a che'nob', ja'x e	elongated ones like this, they made the
munición, chob' saber koche tuk'a yaja' -	ones called elongated ones, it's
- yi uchob' e nukir ujtz'ub' kochera, jaxto	ammunition, they say who knows what
ayi koche kaware no'n tama kawojroner	that means? and they made the sizable
esde xe' ak'ampesna tama e armob' yaja'	incense like this, these as we say in our
xe' ajuronob' tar xe' tama e uk'ab'a en	language are like what is used in guns,
castilla bala.	that are loaded in, that in Spanish are
	called a <i>bala</i> (bullet) ³¹ .
[38] Ton kay uchob' ixin e syan ujtz'ub'	[38] They were making a lot of copal like
b'anik e yaja' ayan e gororik ayan e katatik	this, there were round ones and elongated
yi kay tzub'na ixin kochera tama ut' e turib'	ones, and they were being piled like this at
tya' e xe' kaware altar tut' e rum, kay	the edge of the seat, where there was that
xijch'a e syan ujtz'ub' yaja'	which we call an altar ³² , on the ground, a
	lot of incense was laid out there.

 ³¹ Copal incense is often molded into shapes like balls, cookies, and bullets. The informant is quite familiar with these, but is struggling here to describe them to an outsider.
 ³² While the holes in the ground are well away from the houses in the settlement, the altar is inside a house. In Ch'orti' an altar can be called a *turib*', meaning 'seat', in the sense of 'throne'.

[39] Yi che'na e k'ob'irik tumin kochera yi	[39] And big coins [of incense] like this
xe' chob' ja'xirob', "él de oro," yi "e tostón,"	were made, and they said, "the gold one,"
chob' takar uk'ab'a e tumin, kob'irik ut' e	and "the <i>tostón</i> ³³ ," they said was the name
nukir ujtz'ub' kochera, kay turb'ana	of the coin, these pieces of incense were
uk'ek'warir utujrurir kob'a atujri, kay uchob'	big like this, the strength (value) of its price
ixin b'ukb'ana ixin e syan tumin ujtz'ub'.	was being placed, how much it was worth,
	the many coins of incense kept being piled
	up.
[40] Yi enton k'otoy ixto e akb'ar, tama e	[40] And then night came, in the middle of
uyuxin akb'ar ka'y e nojk'in.	the night the fiesta started.
[41] B'ajxan ke' ak'otoy e uyuxin akb'ar,	[41] Before the middle of the night came,
lok'esno'n no'n otronyajr taka e ujtz'ub' yi	we were sent out again with the incense
e recensario, ixo'n taka utajchir e barco	and censer, we went with a piece of barco
koche kaware o e b'ojr, kay kak'eche ixin e	as we say [in Spanish], or gourd container,
sa' k'ejcha ixin e sa', yi ne'n inch'uyi e	we were carrying out the <i>chilate</i> , the
ujtz'ub' taka e recensario y nitáta uk'eche	chilate was carried out, and I brought the
e candela ixto koche kaware e k'ajk' takar,	incense and censer, and my father carried
kay ixon tya' turu e ch'en.	the candles, or <i>k'ajk'</i> as we say, we were
	going to where the holes were.

³³ A tostón is a long obsolete coin; the term is still used to designate items shaped like large coins.

[42] B'ajxan ixon takar ja'xir, nitáta' uch'ami e utajchir e b'ojr uyari e sa' b'ajxan tama e tya' akuxpa watar e katata', yi ya' yaja' kay kotwan kay ojron taka e katu' rum yi taka e katata' tya' war uk'ajtyob' ke' ma'chix kak'ani e yujkb'ar por que no'n ma' tawaro'n twa' kanumse kab'a tzajtaka, ma tawaro'n kocha twa' kakorpes kab'a, yi b'an kache.

[43] Sutpo'n ixon tama e tya' anamtz'a e k'in, ya' yaja' ub'an yajra e sa', yi tara tama e koche inwarix tama e tya' akuxpa e k'in, yajra e sa' yi xujra unuk e ajtzo', xujra unuk e ajtzo', yi xujra tama e ch'en xe' turu tya' anamtz'a e k'in.

[44] Takera taka e sa' kay k'ajtna ke' twa' ma'chix a'chpa watar e yujkb'ar, yi b'an taka e uch'ich'er ub'an e ajtzo' tojya e katu' rum twa' aketruma e yujkb'ar yaja' twa' ma'chi ub'ajk'usyo'n.

[42] Before we went with him, my father grabbed a piece of gourd container and threw the *chilate*, first in the direction where the sun is born, and there he was kneeling and was speaking to our mother earth and with God, and he was praying to them that we don't want the earthquake because we can't bear to experience sadness, we don't have the ability to save ourselves, and thus we did. **[43]** We turned away to the direction where the sun sets, and there too the *chilate* was thrown, and then as I said about the direction where the sun is born, the *chilate* was thrown and the neck of the tom turkey was cut, the neck of the tom turkey was cut, and it was cut in the hole that was where the sun sets. [44] With this [sacrifice of a turkey] and with the *chilate* it was prayed that the earthquake not rise again, and thus with the blood of the turkey also our mother earth was paid so that the earthquake

would be held back, so that it wouldn't

frighten us.

[45] Y b'an che'na tama e tya' anamtz'a, yi	[45] And thus it was done where [the sun]
tya' tama e tya', inware, tama e inte'	sets, and there in the place, I'm saying, in
inxejrir ira uxch'en tama el sur ya' ub'an	a separate, third hole in the south also the
majka e sa', yi majka tama el norte,	chilate was buried, and it was buried in the
jaxtaka e sa' ya', ma'chi yajra uch'ich'er e	north, just the <i>chilate</i> there, the turkey
ajtzo'.	blood wasn't thrown there ³⁴ .
[46] Péru b'an kochera kay katakre nitata'	[46] But in this way we were helping my
kay uk'ajtyob' tunor e k'ek'wa'rir yi e	father, they were asking for all the strength
korparir twa' matuk'a kanumse kab'a.	and protection so that nothing would
	happen to us.
[47] Enton kochera ub'an kaxoyojk'i tunor	[47] And in this way also we went around
e mormor otot tya' turo'n taka e ujtz'ub',	all the settlement where we lived with the
war axana nitata', war ub'utz'a a'xin tunor	copal, my father was walking, was censing
e uxoyojk'ir e mormor otot takar ub'utz'ar e	all the encirclement of the settlement with
ujtz'ub', war uk'eche axana e ujtz'ub' taka	the smoke of the copal, he was walking
e uť e k'ajk'.	carrying the copal with embers.
[48] K'a'pa uxoyojk'i tunor e morwar otot,	[48] He finished walking a circle around
enton ixon tama e otot tya' turu tunor yi xe'	the whole settlement, then we went to the
twa' ak'ampa.	house where there was everything we
	would use.

³⁴ On questioning, the informant recalled that two turkeys, a male and a female, were sacrificed by spilling their blood in the holes to the east and to the west. No turkeys were sacrificed in the holes to the north and south. *Chilate* was poured into all four holes.

[49] K'otoy uyuxinar akb'ar kotwanob'	[49] The middle of the night came and my
nitata' taka e uyajtakarsaj kay uk'ajtyob'	father and his assistants got down on their
tunor o kay uk'ajtyob' ub'an ke' ayan inte'	knees and were recounting everything, or
uwinkir e yujkb'ar ke' uk'ab'a San Vicente,	were recounting too that there is a master
Ángel San Vicente.	of earthquakes and his name is San
	Vicente ³⁵ , San Vicente the Angel ³⁶ .
[50] Yi kay arena ke' jola uyepta watar e	[50] And he [San Vicente] was told not to
yujkb'ar tartaka ke' ma tawaron tama tunor	allow the earthquake to come because we
e noxi' numer ira.	couldn't bear all these great happenings.
[51] Enton b'an kochera kay tojyob'.	[51] Then they were paid in this way.
[52] Turan inkojt inkojt e ajtakarsajob', yi	[52] The assistants sat down one by one
nitata' war ojron taka e katata' Dios yi taka	and my father was speaking with God and
e San Vicente, yi war uyajk'ob' e tumin,	San Vicente, and they were giving the
chob', "tara katoyi e katata' taka e tumin	coins, saying, "now we pay God with these
ira," uyaryob' e ujtz'ub' tut' e k'ajk'.	coins," and they threw the [coins of]
	incense into the fire.
[53] Arena xe' turu yaja' war ukojko tuk'a	[53] Those who were seated there waiting
hora twa' uyari e ujtz'ub' ta k'ajk' a'rena	the time to throw the incense into the fire
twa' uyari, uch'ami e ujtz'ub', utz'iki ut' e	were ordered, they were ordered to throw
ujtz'ub', uyari tama e ut' e k'ajk'.	it, they picked up the incense, counted ³⁷
	the pieces, and threw them in the embers.

³⁵ When first telling this story, the informant used the name San Vicente without hesitation. On ³⁶ In a number of these stories the difference between saints and angels is blurred.
 ³⁷ The ceremonial leader was signaling with his fingers that specific numbers of incense coins were to be thrown into the fire at various points, but the informant did not know the significance of

the numbers.

[54] Y b'an ub'an atojya e San Vicente,	[54] And in this way San Vicente was paid
ajk'una e tumin twa' ma'chi uyepta watar e	too, the coins were given so that he
yujkb'ar.	wouldn't permit an earthquake to come.
[55] Y tojyob' tunor ub'an e anxerob', tunor	[55] And also all the angels were paid, all
e anxerob' tor e witz'ir tama e castilla	the angels over the mountains in the four
kaware cuatro punto cardinal, tojya e	cardinal points, as we say in Spanish, the
anxerob' yaja' twa' ja'xirob' ub'an ma'chi	angels were paid so they also would not
uyaktob' watar e yujkb'ar nojta twa' ma'chi	allow a big earthquake to come, so that it
uchamsyo'n.	didn't kill us.
[56] Y b'an kochera che'mpa e nojk'in,	[56] And so the fiesta was celebrated, all
tunor e akb'ar yaja' che'mpa e nojk'in, yi	night the fiesta was celebrated, and for us
no'n xe' turanon yaja' che'na e sa' taka e	who lived there sweetened chilate was
chab' twa' koych'i, yi chajpa uwerir e	prepared for us to drink, and the flesh of
ajtzo', yi impax taka kay kakumi, impax	the turkey was cooked also, and we
kay kakumi uyarar yaja' maja'x taka e	sipped it plain, we sipped it plain, its
atz'am, yi b'an kak'uxi uwerir e ajtzo',	preparation wasn't with salt, and thus we
impax taka, maja'x taka atz'am, e ja'x e	ate the meat of the turkey plain, without
chumpi xe' xujra unuk twa' amajka	salt, and it was the turkey whose neck was
uch'ich'er ta ch'en, cha'kojt ajtzo' yi	cut so its blood could be buried in the hole,
cha'kojt utu' chamesna, jaxto che'na e	two toms and two females were killed, the
wya'r tar kay kak'uxi.	food was made and we ate it.
[57] Yi b'an ub'an ayan e b'ak'atpa' kay	[57] And there were tamales too, they
che'na tama uwerir ub'an e ajtzo' kay	were made from the meat of the turkeys,
kak'uxi.	and we were eating them.

[58] Tunor e akb'ar yaja' ma'chi wayano'n	[58] We didn't sleep all night, [as] we were
kay che'na e nojk'in.	celebrating the fiesta.
[59] Yi tara ub'an wab'na e nukir k'ajk'	[59] And here as well the big candles were
tzojra ixin kochera, yi b'an e b'ik'it k'ajk'.	placed, laid out in a line like this, and so
	the little candles.
[60] E nukir k'ajk' ira ja'x ayi kocha inte'	[60] These big candles that are like what
koche kaware b'oyomir, yi xe' tama e	we call a stick, and what in Spanish we
castilla kaware bordón, o bastón, ja'x era e	call a <i>bordón</i> or a <i>bastón</i> , these are our
k'ek'wa'r ti kab'a ketpa ke' ja'x ayi e nukir	strength remaining, because it is these big
e k'ajk' ira ketpa twa' tar ch'u'ron twa'	candles that remain ³⁸ so that we are
ma'chi tuk'a kanumse kab'a	sustained so that nothing happens to us.
[61] Yer e b'ik'it k'ajk' e xe' wab'na jaxto e	[61] And the little candles that are placed
xe' arena ke' correo tama ixto e castilla o	there, these are called correo (mail) in
xe' ja'x yi e xe' ak'otoy b'ajxan, b'ajxan	Spanish, for these are the ones that arrive
ak'otoy tama e k'ajk' che ke' ak'otoy	first, they arrive first with the candles
wakchetaka e ojroner tut' e katata' yi	because the words arrive quickly to the
koche ja'x apuruy wakchetaka, enton che	presence of God, as they burn quickly,
b'an koche inte' correo, ke' koner tama	and so it's like mail, like today we are
inte' teléfono war kojron wakchetaka, k'otix	communicating rapidly by telephone, the
e ojroner, yi b'an ixto uk'otorer yer e b'ik'it	words have already arrived, and this is the
k'ajk', yi por eso apurutna e b'ik'it k'ajk' yi	power of the little candles ³⁹ , and so little
apurutna e nukir k'ajk'.	candles are burned and big candles are
	burned.

³⁸ The big candles remain, or are left over, in the sense that they take a long time to burn. ³⁹ That is, the little candles burn more quickly, taking the prayers to God faster than the big candles do.

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	[62] Yi b'an enton kochera che'mpa inte'	[62] And in this way the payment was
	tojmar twa' ma'chix anumuy e nojta	made so that a big earthquake wouldn't
	yujkb'ar,	take place.
	[63] Wartaka numuy tara no'n este'ra yi	[63] They always happen here to us even
	war kochera ink'ajti ira yi ocho'nix tama e	today, and as I'm telling this we've entered
	dos mil cinco yi no'n ma'to tuk'a kanumse	2005 and still nothing has happened to us
	kab'a tara, me'yra anumuy péru t'ustaka,	here, a lot has happened but calm, not
	ma'chi anumuy me'yra.	much happened ⁴⁰ .
	[64] Ma'chi war ina'ta jay ma'chi axin	[64] I don't know if one greater isn't going
	watar inte' nojta, por que b'an kochera	to come, because today there is a lot of
	pues ke' koner ayan me'yra mab'anb'anir,	evil, today there is a lot of evil happening,
	koner ayan me'yra mab'anb'anir anumuy,	killings are being done, thieves are
	war ache'na chamsaj, war ab'oro e syan	multiplying, they abound, others are doing
	ajxujchob', war ab'oro, inmojr war uche	many things, someone marries then they
	otronte' me'yra, ti'n war anujb'i war uyakta	release each other (divorce), someone is
	ub'ob', ti'n war uchamse ixiktak, ayan	killing women, there is much evil.
	me'yra mab'anb'anir	
	[65] Ma'chi kana'ta e katata' jay ma'chi	[65] We don't know that God isn't going to
	axin ak'ijna uyepta watar otronte' yujkb'ar,	get angry and let another earthquake
	o otronteyx castigo uyepta watar ti kab'a.	come, or permit some other punishment to
		come to us.

⁴⁰ Occasional earthquakes are felt in the area, but there hasn't been a serious quake since 1976.

[66] Ma'chi ina'ta péru tamar era no'n war	[66] I don't know, but in regard to this we
kab'ijnu ke' e o'nyan pak'ab'ob' ira nitata'	are thinking that these elders, my father ⁴¹
yi e'nkojt xe' chamix uchob' inte' tojma'r yi	and others who have died, have made a
este'ra no'n ma'to tuk'a kanumse kab'a.	payment and until today still nothing has
	happened to us.
[67] Ja'x era lo que ne'n k'a'r nimener ke'	[67] What I keep in mind is what we did
lo que kache no'n tara e ch'ortyo'n tama e	here, we the Ch'orti' in the Jocotán area, a
área Jocotán kay che'mpa inte' tojma'r	payment was made so that a big
twa' ma'chi anumuy inte' yujkb'ar nojta	earthquake wouldn't happened as did
koche numuy tar e inyajr tama e setenta y	happen here that time in seventy-six.
seis.	

⁴¹ When this story was told in 2005, the informant's father was still alive, and was the last of those leaders who had conducted the payment ceremony in 1976.

6.2. Section II - Stories

6.2.1. Text 6: The Ciguanaba and the Lover

E K'ech'uj Taka E Ajsarir	The <i>Ciguanaba</i> ⁴² and the Lover ⁴³
[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte' numer tama niturer.	[1] I want to tell a story from my village.
[2] E numer ira numuy taka inkojt nipya'r	[2] This occurence happend to one of my
xe' la'r ujab' takaren.	friends who is similar in age to me.
[3] E sitz' ira xe' nipya'r ani ke' kay ch'on,	[3] This guy who used to be my friend
ch'uwan ut' tama inkojt ijch'ok tya' turo'n	when we were growing up, his eye hung
yaja'.	on (he fell in love with) a girl there where
	we lived.
[4] Kay ayi ojron takar che, kay umek'ru, yi	[4] He was speaking ⁴⁴ with her, was
kay uk'ani ub'ob' me'yra, verdad, ak'ajna	embracing her, they loved each other a lot,
umen e ijch'ok yi jaxir ub'an uk'ani e	truly, he was loved by the girl and he also
ijch'ok.	loved the girl.
[5] Enton e sitz' ira che akb'are akb'are	[5] So each night this guy went out to look
alok'oy usajka yi ojron takar.	for her and speak with her.
[6] Yi k'otoy ayi inte' ajk'in jaxir yajra ixin	[6] And there came a day [when] he was
uwira e ja' tama inte' usuypojp umen	sent by his father to go look at (check on)
utata'.	the water in tule grass field.

⁴² The *ciguanaba* (*k'ech'uj* in Ch'orti') is a trouble-making supernatural that often takes the form of a beautiful woman, especially when appearing to men who are vulnerable because they've fallen in love.

 ⁴³ The informant felt that this story was difficult to translate into Spanish because he didn't think there was a Ch'orti' word that corresponded well with the Spanish *amor*.
 ⁴⁴ A common Ch'orti' euphemism for flirtation and petting is *ojron* ('speaking').

[7] He was told, "go check out the tule
grass," he was told, "go check out the
water (irrigation) at the tule grass field.
[8] He was ordered to go jast as it was
dawning, the surface of the earth was still
a bit dark, and he went, was sent off, to
check on the water in the tule grass field.
[9] He arrived at the place where stood the
girl's house, which was in a bit of forest
too.
[10] In the past there used to still be a
forest, I saw it too ⁴⁵ .
[11] There used to be a road we called an
alley in Spanish, and it was dark down
there, and we passed below a lot of brush,
a great deal of brush there.
[12] So there used to be a path located
there, and we used to pass by, and there
was a stone corral, there was a stone
corral at the edge of the main road, and
another stone corral a little below at the
edge of the path we called the alley.

⁴⁵ The informant is stating his personal memory that the vicinity used to be more heavily forested than it was in 2005.

[13] Enton yixto yaja' che, tya' k'otoy tama	[13] And there, when he arrived at the first	
e b'ajxan t'ortun, uwira ayi ke' war a'xin e	stone corral, he saw that the girl was going	
ijch'ok tu't', uwira ke' jax e ijch'ok xe' war	in front of him, and he saw that it was the	
ojron takar, xe' war umek'ru, war uk'uxi uti'	girl that he was 'speaking' with, that he	
tya' utajwi ub'ob'.	was embracing, and was 'biting the	
	mouth'46 of when[ever] they found each	
	other.	
[14] Ton che ch'uwan ixin tu'pat che, e	[14] He dropped everything and went after	
atz'a'y ayi ja'xir che, uyajk'u e b'ir ixin	her, he was happy, he hit the road going,	
chayi, "tya' a'xin niwijch'ok ira," chayi	and said, "where is my girl going?" he said	
tuyálma, "tya' a'xin niwijch'ok ira."	in his soul, "where is my girl going?"	
[15] Yi kay upejka yi pejkna ayi umen e	[15] And he was calling to her and being	
ijch'ok, kay ume'kru che kay ume'kru, ti'x	called to by the girl, and he was embracing	
war uwira e harán sitz' ira che, pues uwira	her and embracing her, and when this	
ayi e b'ir ixin ta kojn.	foolish young man looked, he saw the	
	road go into a ravine ⁴⁷ .	
[16] Ti tya' sakojpa lok'oy ajni e k'ech'uj	[16] And as [the morning] dawned, the	
tu't' kochwa e k'ech'uj ma'chi axana taka e	ciguanaba took off running from his	
ajk'in, ajrertaka e akb'ar axana, sakojpa	presence as <i>ciguanabas</i> don't go about	
inyajrer che, yi lok'oy ixin yi satpa tu't' yaja	during the day, they go about only at night,	
e k'ech'uj	it dawned suddenly, and the <i>ciguanaba</i> ,	
	went away and disappeared from his	

presence.

[13]

 ⁴⁶ A descriptive reference to kissing.
 ⁴⁷ In a typical encounter with a *ciguanaba*, the young man thought he was walking along a recognizable road, but suddenly found himself lost in the scrub.

standing in the wilderness, crying, and
couldn't find the road.
[18] He searched here and there for the
road, but didn't find it, and gave a cry,
"eh!" he said, "eh!"
[19] At that moment another man came
and heard him crying in the wilderness.
[20] "Who is there?" said the man.
[21] As he [the lost lover] was a Spaniard
(Spanish speaker), he said, "I," [in
Spanish].
[22] "And what are you doing?" [the other
man] said.
[23] Surely the <i>ciguanaba</i> led me astray,
he said.
[24] He was seen, was seen, and was
helped to get out of the midst of the
wilderness, where there was a lot of spiny
brush, he was lost, and the day had
brightened.
[25] [The other man] asked what [the lost
lover] saw.

[26] Chayi, "sí ne'n inwira inkojt ijch'ok xe' turu tichan yaja'," chayi, "kocha ne'n war o'njron takar," chayi, "yi ja'x ut' inwira," chayi, "yi uk'eche'n uyarye'n «inko' tara» che ixto uyarye'n," chayi, "yi ixe'n tu'pat," chayi, "ma'jchi' ja'x," chayi, "jax ajchi' e k'ech'uj," chayi.

[27] Yi b'an kochera ke' e sitz' ira sajta umen e k'ech'uj, tartaka ke' ja'xir pue ch'u'r ani u't tama e ijch'ok yaja'.

[28] Yi majya u't, yi tya' uwira ke' a'xin ayi e ijch'ok yaja' ucheb'a ke' ja'x ayi e ijch'ok yi ke' sí ja'x ayi e k'ech'uj war a'xin tu't', k'ejcha ixin maku kora syan t'ix sajta. [26] [The lost lover] said, "surely I saw a girl who lives up there," he said, "as I was 'speaking' with her," he said, "and I saw her likeness (image, face)," he said, "and she brought me and told me, 'let's go here,' she said to me," he said, "and I followed her," he said, "but it wasn't her," he said, "it was the *ciguanaba*," he said. [27] And so this young man was led astray by the *ciguanaba*, because he used to hang his face on (was in love with) that girl.

[28] But he was mistaken, and when he saw that the girl had gone, he thought it was the girl, but it was the *ciguanaba* that was going before him, and he was taken away and was led astray in the thorny brush.

[1] K'ani ink'ajti kora inte' yer ojroner [1] I want to tell a little speech that xe' ak'ajtna ani ixni'x, o inte k'ajtsyaj used to be told a long time ago, a tale xe' cho'b' ani nitáta' taka upya'rob' tya' that my father used to tell his friends umori ub'ob' when they gathered themselves together. [2] Thus I used to hear them tell that [2] U'mb'i ani uk'ajtyob' kochera ke' ayan ayi inte' numer numuy tama e there is a event that happened in the turer Copán Ruinas kaware takar, pero town of Copán Ruinas as we call it, but ke' onyan chinam ani yaja' ke' tya' that long ago it was a town where the turanob' e b'ajxan pak'ab'ob' ch'orti'. first Ch'orti' people lived. [3] Yi jay kaxa e ch'orti' turanob' [3] And if it is true that the Ch'orti' lived b'ajxan yaja' ma'chi inna'ta, pero b'an there first, I don't know, but it is told ak'ajtna ke' e chinam Copán ya' turan that [in] the town of Copán many me'yra pak'ab' yaja' people lived. [4] Yi ak'ajtna ke' e tut' e rum Copán [4] And it is told that the territory of xe' tya' wa'r uyototob' e ma'yob' yi jax Copan, where the houses of the Maya ayi ut' e rum xe' utajn ut' e rum, xe' were placed, was the center of the uyajk'u ani tuno'r uwa'tarir ut' e rum lands (world), and all the height taka e mar xe' kaware nojja'. (altitude) of the land was the same as that of the sea, which we call the great water.

6.2.2. Text 7: Mountains to Protect Copán from a Flood

[5] yi ya' yaja' che ayan ayi inmojr	[5] And there were some people living
pak'ab' turanob' tamar e numerob' ira o	there in these stories, or that we lived
tama o'r e rum ira tya' turo'n yi kocha	on this land, and it is said that there
che ke' ma' ayan ani tuk'a e nukta'	weren't any great mountains, like we
witz'ir kocha kawira koner, ayan e	see today, there are tall mountains that
k'ob'irik witz'ir ma'chi uyakta anumuy e	don't let the water pass.
ja'.	
[6] Enton che e mar che at'ab'ay watar	[6] Then the sea rose and came over
to'r e rum ub'ut'i ub'a watar tunor o'r e	the land, it came filling itself over the
rum che yi e pak'ab' xe' turob' yaja'	land, and the people who lived there, it
anumuy yaja' tujorob', yi achamob'	passed over their heads, and they died
b'antaka ke' kocha e ti'n ma'chi ob'na	because the people couldn't swim
anujxi tor e ja', yi kocha me'yra ja'	over the water, and as much water
watar, amajkob' ayi umen e syan ja'	came, they were covered by the great
yaja' achamob'.	volume of water, and they died.
[7] Entonces nakpat e pak'ab'ob' yaja'	[7] Then afterwards the people began
xe' ka'y ub'ijnob' nakpatix.	thinking about it.
[8] Enton che kay ayi uchob' inte' yer	[8] They were making some boxes

ucajonob' xe' kaware cajón.

which we call cajón [in Spanish].

[9] umaki ub'ob' makwi'r tya' uwirob'	[9] They covered (closed) themselves
yaja' che watix e mar, war at'ab'ay	inside when they saw that the sea was
tujor e rum, ub'ut'i ub'a watar e ja',	coming, was rising over the land, the
umaki ayi ub'ob', o'choy aturanob'	water came filling itself, they closed
makwi'r.	themselves in, went in and sat inside.
[10] E ti'n e uche nokta' yer ucajon che	[10] The ones who made their box
con todo yer umaxtak yaja' o'choy	large went in to sit down with all their
aturanob' umaki ub'ob', jay ub'ajner	children and closed themselves in, and
pues ub'ajner o'choy aturan.	if they were alone then they went in to
	sit down alone.
[11] Watar e ja' che asib'i, aka'y	[11] The water came and expanded,
at'ab'esna yer e cajón tujor e ja' che,	and the boxes began to be lifted up
at'ab'ay ach'uprema a'xin hasta ke'	over the water, they rose and were
b'an akorpob', ma'chi achamob',	floating away until they were safe, they
aťab'esna ayi umen e ja' e cajón yaja'	didn't die, the boxes with the people
taka e pak'ab'ob'.	were lifted up by the water.
[12] Enton che kocha e mar ira che	[12] And as this sea filled itself in over
tya' ub'ut'i ub'a watar tor e rum	the land, it hauled in many fish.
ukerejb'a ayi watar me'yra chay.	
[13] Enton che e ja' otronyajr, tya' ak'a'	[13] Then the water again, when the
asispajna e mar, ma'chix war anijki tya'	sea finished calming down, it wasn't
wa'r, aka'y asajb'a watar e ja' che.	moving where it was (in place), the

water began to dry up.

[14] E chay xe kujcha k'otoy yaja' tor e	[14] [And] the fish that were brought
rum tya' najt eh ya' ayi aketpob'.	arrived far over the land and remained
	there.
[15] Aka'y asajb'a e ja' che yi e chay	[15] The water began to dry and the
ya' aketpob tor e rum ta tak'inar.	fish remained on the land in the
	dryness.
[16] Enton jaxto e pak'ab'ob' ira xe	[16] Then these people who were safe
korpob' ma'chi chamob' umen a ja' xe'	and didn't die on account of the water
b'u't'k'a tari tor e rum, alok'ob' ayi	that filled in over the land, they went
makwir ucajonob', aka'y uk'opyob' e	out from inside of their boxes, and
syan chay che ut'a'b'syob' e syan chay	began to collect the many fish, they put
yaja' yi uk'uxob' me'yra chay che	up (stored) many fish and ate many
atza'yob'	fish, and they were happy.
[17] Yi b'anto ya' koche'ra ayi e jab'	[17] And in this way the years passed,
esde anumuy yi b'anto ya' che iraj iraj	and again and again the water went
anumuy e ja'.	passed (went away).
[18] Enton che e katata' k'oyran ayi	[18] Then God tired of seeing it, or got
uwira, o k'ijna uwira che ke' e	angry on seeing that these people
pak'ab'ob' ira che ma'chi uyaktob' e	wouldn't leave the fish and always ate
chay twa'to uk'uxob' e syan chay	the many fish just because they
b'antaka ke' aketpa ta tak'inar.	remained in the dryness.

[19] Enton chayi, "e pak'ab'ob' ira,"	[19] He said, "these people," he said,
chayi, "maja'x imb'utz uwirna'r," chayi,	"are of bad character," he said, "they're
"twa'to uk'uxob' yer niwarak," chayi,	always eating my creatures," he said,
"ton ne'n k'ani insatyob'," chayi.	"so I want to get rid of them," he said.
[20] Sajtob' ayi e b'ajxan pak'ab' ira,	[20] These first people were destroyed,
sajtob' b'antaka ke' twa'to uk'uxob' e	they were destroyed because they
chay.	were always eating the fish.
[21] Enton chayi e katata', "twa' ma'chi	[21] So God said, "so that the sea
at'ab'ay e nojja' tama or e rum," chayi,	does not rise over the land," he said, "I
"k'ani inche inte' nojta' witz'ir, k'ani	want to make a great mountain, I want
inche inte' nojta witz'ir," chayi.	to make a great mountain," he said.
[22] Enton tari ayi e katata', tari ayi e	[22] So God came, God came and was
katata' kay ayi uche yer ya'nam che	making mud, he scooped up a bit of
ub'ojro ayi kora rum kay ayi uche	earth and was making mud.
ya'nam.	
[23] Enton che kay xana uturb'a ixin	[23] Then he walked about placing
ya'nam inb'ijk inb'ijk inb'ijk kora kora	mud bit by bit here and there, beside
che, tuyejtzer e xukurob', kay uturb'a	the rivers, he was laying it out.
	1

[24] Enton che tari e katata' uya're ayi e witz'ir, "ch'e'nik," chayi, "ch'e'nik witz'ir," chayi.

ixin che.

[24] And God came and said to the mountains, "may you grow," he said, "may you grow, mountains," he said.

[25] Tari ayi e witz'ir che, sib'yob' e	[25] [And] the mountains came, those
witz'ir yaja', ch'ob' ixob' esto ke' k'otob'	mountains expanded, they grew up
nukir witz'ir.	until they became great mountains.
[26] Enton che b'an ixto kochera e	[26] And so in this way the mountains
witz'ir ira che'mb'ir umen e katata',	were made by God, and remain as an
ketpa kochwa inte' makte' twa' ma'chi	enclosure so that the sea cannot rise
at'ab'ay watar e nojja' tujor e rum, twa'	and come over the earth, so that the
ma'chi at'ab'ay watar e chay nen jax e	fish don't rise up and come (in), nor
ja' ma'chi at'ab'ay.	can the water rise.
[27] Enton b'an kochera che sajtob' e	[27] So in this way the first people
b'ajxan pak'ab' xe' uk'uxob' ani e	were destroyed, the ones who used to
me'yra chay yaja', yi tya' e katata'	eat the many fish there, where God
uturb'a ixin e syan witz'ir kocha e	laid out the many mountains as an
makte', yi tya' ch'i' ayi e witz'ir ira.	enclosure, and where these mountains
	grew.
[28] Enton e katata' otronyajr uchektes	[28] Then God again caused yet
inmojrix pak'ab'ob', enton ketpa e	another group of people to appear, so
pak'ab'ob' otronyajr.	people remained again.
[29] Yi ton tara ink'ajti e b'ajxan numer	[29] And so here I tell this first story
ira koche numuy tama e chinam xe'	about how it went at the town that
koner Copán kaware.	today we call Copán.

[30] Peru ixni'x ma'chi inna'ta jay	[30] And in the past I didn't know
Copán ani uk'ab'a pero inna'ta ke' b'an	whether Copán use to be its name, but
numuy tama e b'ajxan pak'ab'ob' xe'	I know that this is how things
turanob' tara to'r e rum ira take' tya'	happened with the first people who
kaware Ch'orti'.	lived on this earth, in the place we call
	Ch'orti' ⁴⁸ .
[31] Yi majax no'n taka sino que e	[31] And it's not about us, rather this
ojroner ink'ajti ira twa' tuno'r e	story I tell (is) about the villages that
chinamob' xe' turob' tuyejtzer e nojja'	used to be located beside the sea.
ani.	

 $[\]frac{1}{4^8}$ It is possible that the informant meant to say "Copán" here.

6.2.3. Text 8: The People of Copán Turned to Stone

[1]I want to tell another theme of speaking
or theme of stories.
[2] My father also used to tell these stories
about the town.
[3] This town of Copán, many of the first
people lived there.
[4] They were making many works ⁴⁹ , were
making their houses there, they made the
house of God where they spoke with God
and they were multiplying greatly.
[5] Well, these people who were doing
[this], there lived [among them] a great
leader who was the head of the people
and was called a king.
[6] So there was this leader of the town, a
great leader, and he was committing a
crime (sin).
[7] Year after year he asked for a child or
baby boy, he asked for this baby boy, and
it was the first [of the] babies (first born).

⁴⁹ This phrase could mean 'a lot of work,' or 'a lot of employment,' but the informant translated *patna'r* into Spanish, in this instance, as *obras*, not as *trabajo*, so the idea is that they 'made many works', possibly referring to construction.

[8] Enton che e ti'n ayan inkojt yer uyaxar	[8] Well, there was someone who had a
yer sitz' alok'esna tut' tama e jab' ira twa'	first-born son taken from him that year for
axejk'a yer unuk' yi alok'esna yer	his neck to be pierced and his blood taken
uch'ich'er twa' ajk'una uyuch'i e katu' rum.	out in order to be given so that mother
	earth would drink it.
[9] E ajnoj pak'ab' ira ayan ani inte'	[9] This leader had a word ⁵⁰ of binding
uyojroner ukachi ub'a takar kaxa e katu'	himself with perhaps the earth or perhaps
rum o taka e'lab'a, ma'chi inna'ta chi takar	the devil, I'm not sure with which he made
uche e ojroner ira, enton jaxir uk'ajti inkojt	the word, and so he asked for a baby, it is
yer chuchu che, uchamse tama e jab' tya'	said, and killed it during the year when he
k'ani uche e nojk'in, yi b'anto kay uche,	wanted to hold a festival, and he was
che	always doing this, it is said.
[10] Enton e pak'ab'ob' ira xe' turob' yi xe'	[10] Then these people who lived there
umen e noj winik ira ache'na uchob' xe' jax	and were made to do things they didn't
ma'chi uk'anyob, enton che alok'oy eyni	want [to do] by this great man, they took
ajnyob' che.	off running.
[11] Enmojr a'xob' taka yer uchuchwob'	[11] Others went with their babies and hid
amukwanob' tama e nukir k'opot, ma'chi	in the wilderness, they didn't allow that
uyakta ub'ob twa' achamesna yer	their babies were killed, and perhaps were
uch'urkab'ob', yi war uk'ajtyob' quizás taka	praying to God that a day would come
e katata' twa' ak'otoy inte' ajk'in ke' e noj	[when] this big man would have to die
winik ira uk'ani ani twa' achamay	quickly, so that he no longer committed
wakchetaka twa' ma'chix uche e	evil.
mab'anb'anir.	

 $^{^{50}}$ The king had made a promise or contract with some supernatural entity.

[12] Enton che k'otoy inte' ajk'in chekta ayi	[12] Then a day came [in which] a woman
inkojt ixik.	appeared.
[13] O b'ajxan k'ani ink'ajti ke' tya'	[13] But first I want to tell that when the
achamesna e b'ik'it maxtak yaja' tama e	little children were killed there in the town
chinam Copán, ya' wa'r ingojr tun pajrb'ir	of Copán, there was a carved round stone
wororoj yi tujor ayan inte' yer ch'en yer	standing there and on top there was a
job'emar.	small hole or hollow.
[14] Yi ixto yaja' nitata' uk'ajti ke' ya eyni	[14] Indeed, my father told that the babies
ach'ab'na yer e chuchu, axejk'a yer unuk	were laid there, and their throats were
twa' alok'esna yer uch'ich'er, yi ayan inte'	pierced to get out the blood, and there was
yer uxuremarir ut' e tun yaja' tya' e'kmay,	a gash on the surface of the stone where it
ch'a'r yer ub'ijrar yaja' twa' e'kmay e	[the blood] went down, a channel lay there
ch'ich' tar ak'axi esde tut' e rum, tya' wa'r	for the blood to fall along to the earth,
e tun yaja'.	there where the stone stood.
[15] Enton che k'otoy inte' ajk'in chekta ayi	[15] So a day came [in which] a woman
inkojt ixik, kay xana wara' che, kora kora	appeared, she was walking about visiting,
anumuy awara' tama e ototob' yaja' tya'	she went everywhere visiting among the
turob' e pak'ab'ob', yi ma' ayi majchi'	houses there where the people lived, and
umen ak'ajtna, b'antaka ke' e ixik ira ayan	she was not asked [in] by anyone, just
ayi me'yra syan chek tyer u't, esto intuj yer	because this woman had many sores on
u't che, ink'umaj e syan chek yaja' tama	her body, to the point where her body
yer uwe'rir o tama uk'ewrarir.	smelled bad, the many sores were rotten
	in her flesh or on her skin.

[16] Tya' e'rna ayi watar che, ya taka ayi	[16] When she was seen coming, she was
patir aktana a'wan, amajka e ototob' tu't,	left standing there outside, the houses
ma'chi uyub'i o'choy maku.	were closed before her, she couldn't enter
	inside.
[17] Uk'ajti ayi yer e pa' ajk'una ayi yer	[17] She asked for tortillas and was given
upa' uk'uxi tama inte' yer tzuk ch'ew xe'	tortillas to eat in a broken plate that was
mix b'anb'an, ajk'una yer ucajue uyuch'i	no longer good for anything, she was
tama inte' yer tzuk ruch' xe' ma'chix	given her coffee to drink in a broken
ak'ampesna; axejbna yer u't.	<i>guacal</i> ⁵¹ that was no longer used; her
	person (presence) was detested.
[18] Kay xana che twa' uwarajse tunor e	[18] She was walking to visit all the
ototob' xe' ayan ani tama e chinam Copán	houses that used to be there in the town of
yaja', enton che k'otoy ayi tama ingojr otot	Copán, and she came to one house where
yi ya ayi turu inkojt ixik ub'ajner yer	there lived a single woman, a little
chokem ixik.	widow ⁵² .
[19] Enton che k'otoy yaja' che ajk'una ayi	[19] [The sick woman] arrived there and
yer uk'ajn, turan uk'ajti ayi yer e pa',	was given her seat, she sat down and
we'sena tama e ch'ew xe' uk'ampes yer e	asked for some tortillas, was fed on the
ixik, xe' tamarto ani awe' ja'xir, uyajk'u yer	plate that the [widow] used, the one that
ukajwe tama uruch' xe' uk'ampes ja'xir.	[the widow] had already eaten from, [the
	widow] gave [the sick woman] coffee in the
	guacal that she herself had used.
1	

⁵¹ A bowl-shaped container made of a gourd. ⁵² The informant translated *chokem* into Spanish as *viuda* ('widow'), but the word could also mean 'abandoned'.

[20] Ya' turu yaja' che iksijb'a ayi.	[20] They were seated there when it got
	dark.
[21] Enton chayi yer ixik "uwajpye'nix e	[21] Then the woman said "the night has
akb'ar" chayi "uyub'ika ani inketpa	caught me, she said, "Is it possible for me
inwayan tara to'otot," chayi yer ajmok ixik.	to stay and sleep here in your house," said
	the sick woman.
[22] "Uyub'ixto," chayi yer e ixik, "ketpen	[22] "Certainly it is possible," said the
tara," chayi.	[widow], "stay here," she said.
[23] Tari ayi yer e ixik ja'xir kay ayi usajpi	[23] The [widow] came and was cleaning
uť uchakte' xe' tya' awayan ja'xir	the surface of the bed where she herself
	slept.
[24] Upejka ayi, "ch'aren tara," chayi, "ne't	[24] She invited her, "lie down here," she
iwayan tara," chayi, "ne'n inketpa tut' e	said, "you sleep here," she said, "I'll stay
rum," chayi, "tara iketpa ne't," chayi,	on the ground," she said, "you'll stay here,"
"b'antaka ke' ne't ajmoke't," chayi.	she said, "because you're sick," she said.
[25] Atz'a'y yer e ixik che ajk'una e chakte'	[25] The [sick] woman rejoiced; she was
xe' tya' awayan ani e ixik tamar xe' tya'	given the bed where the [widow] usually
ukampes ani e ixik twa' awayan tar.	slept, [the bed] that the [widow] used for
	sleeping in.
[26] Enton che iksijb'a yaja' ch'an	[26] It got dark and they lay down to sleep,
wayanob' péru tuyuxin akb'ar che b'ixk'a	but in the middle of the night the [widow]
ayi yer e ixik ira.	awoke.
[27] Tya' b'ixk'a ch'an che uwira ayi ut'	[27] When she woke up lying down, she
uchakte' ach'iri ut' e chakte' ira che	saw that the top of her bed was shining.

[28] Ya' wa'r ayi inkojt ixik ya' ayi, wa'r e	[28] A woman was there, it was the virgin
vírgen kochwa kaware, wa'r ayi inkojt katu'	as we say, a queen ⁵³ was there, and even
hastá ach'iri yer ub'ujk, yi yer e ixik war ayi	her clothing shone, and the [widow] saw
uwira tuk'a war anumuy ke' ut' uchakte'	what was going on and that her bed had
yaja' ketpa inte' uturer katata'.	become an altar of God.
[29] Enton che así ke' uwira achpa ayi	[29] On seeing this she got up loaded
ja'xir kay ayi ub'ut'i ut' e k'ajk' tama yer	embers into her incense burner, she stood
upurutnib' uyujtz'ub', wa'wan che, kay	up, was censing her person, was speaking
ub'utz'a u't, kay ojron takar, ka'pa ayi	(praying) to her, finished censing her
ub'utz'a u't yaja' che ixin ch'an otronyajr.	person, then went to lie down again.
[30] Najt k'ani asakojpa che b'ixk'a ayi	[30] Well before dawn [the widow] awoke
otronyajr yer e ixik, sutpa uwira, mixto ayi	again, turned to look, but there was
tuk'a ya'	nothing [unusual].
[31] Ch'a'r ayi e ajmok otronyajr, b'asar	[31] The sick woman was lying there
tama ub'ojch'ib' tama uchakte' yaja' tya'	again, wrapped in a sheet on the bed she
ajk'una.	had been given.
[32] Matuk'a che uwira numuy, ma'chix	[32] She didn't see anything going on, the
wa'r e vírgen o sea e katu' xe' uwira está	virgin wasn't there, or the queen she saw
ach'iri.	shining.
[33] Entonces sakojpa che kay ayi uwe'se	[33] Then dawn came and she fed the
yer e ixik otronyajr.	woman again.

⁵³ The informant translated *inkojt katu*' as una reina ('a queen'); *katu*' could also mean 'our mother' or 'the moon'.

[34] Ton chayi yer e ixik, "koner inxin	[34] Then the [sick] woman said, "I'm
ne'n," chayi, "yi ajtaka k'ani inwarye't,"	leaving now," she said, "and I just want to
chayi, "ke' ne't," chayi, "ache inte' noxi	say to you," she said, "that you," she said,
k'anir takaren," chayi, "ache inte' k'anir	"showed great kindness to me," she said,
me'yra takaren," chayi, "awajk'e'n achakte'	"you showed a lot of kindness to me," she
twa' inwayan," che, "awe'syen tama	said, "you gave me your bed to sleep in,"
ach'ew."	she said, "you feed me on your plate."
[35] "Ajtaka k'ani inwarye't era," chayi, "ke'	[35] "I just want to tell you this," she said,
ne't koner ira," chayi "ja'xix era lok'en	"that you, right now," she said, "flee right
ajnyen," chayi, "lok'en ajnyen," chayi, "ne't	now," she said, "flee," she said, "go," she
kiki'," chayi, "jajpin e witzirob'," chayi,	said, "take [to] the mountains," she said,
"b'antaka ke' koner," chayi, "e chinam ira	"because today," she said, "this town is
a'xin asajta umen e katata'," chayi.	going to be destroyed by God," she said.
[36] "Yi tya' war i'xin tama e b'ir," chayi,	[36] "And when you are going along the
"ira isutpa oyb'i cuando oyb'i akirikna,"	road," she said, "don't turn to listen when
chayi, "joli sutpa ta'pat awira," chayi, "jay	you hear it thunder," she said, "don't turn
isutpa awira i'xin isatpa ub'an," chayi	back to look," she said, "if you turn to look,
arena.	you're going to be destroyed as well," she
	said.
[37] "A," chayi, "uyub'i ixto," chayi yer e	[37] "Ah," she said, "it might be so indeed,"
ixik.	said the [widow].
[38] Ton ixin ayi yer e ajmok ira.	[38] Then the sick woman left.

[39] Tari e ixik e ajyum otot che, ub'asi	[39] The woman, the mistress of the
uch'urkab' tama inte' b'ajk'ib' che, ukuchi	house, came and wrapped her baby in a
tu'pat, uwajpi ub'ir ixin, war ayo'pa tara	diaper, loaded him on her back, took the
che tama ujor inte' aldea xe' kaware	road and left, and was arriving here above
Paxápa, a la Piedra Pintada arena o	the aldea we call Paxápa, at the [place]
b'omb'ir tun.	called Painted Stone, or b'omb'ir tun.
[40] Enton che kirikna ayi kirikna ut' e k'in,	[40] Then it thundered, the sky thundered,
péru ja'x ayi e chinam Copán yaja' satpa.	but it was the town of Copán being
	destroyed.
[41] Enton che sutpa ayi eron ja'xir tya'	[41] Then she turned to see, and when
sutpa eron che ketpa wa'wan ub'an, ingojr	she turned to see, she remained standing
nixi tun ya' kuchur uch'urkab' wa'r umener.	too, a great rock, standing there carrying
	her baby with her.
[42] Yi b'an ixto kawira yaja' ke' to'r e	[42] And so we see there that atop that
witz'ir yaja' wa'r ingojr nixi' tun yi ya'	mountain there is a big stone and a baby
kuchur ingojr chuchu' tun umener wa'r.	stone is carried there, standing with it.
[43] Enton che ja'x ayi e ixik ira xe'	[43] And that is this woman who had given
uyajk'unto ani e otot twa' awayan e katu'	her house for the queen to sleep, but as
yaja', péru koche ma'chi k'ub'esya'n, sutpa	she didn't obey, she turned to look behind
e'ron tupat tya' uyub'i kirikna e chinam	her when she heard the town of Copán
Copán, ketpa wa'wan tun.	thunder, and became a standing stone.
[44] Yi jaxto ayi e chinam xe' tara kaware	[44] And this is the town we now call
Copán, ub'an ketpob' tun tunor e	Copán, all the people who live there were
pak'ab'ob' xe' turob' yaja', sajtob' e	turned to stone also, the people were
pak'ab'ob'.	destroyed.

[45] Yi uk'ajti nitata' ke' yaja' che ayan e	[45] And my father told that there are
tun xe' tak'arob' nut'urob' turob', ja'x ayi e	stones that sit pasted together, and those
ti'n war uche ub'ob' taka yer uyexka'rob',	are the people that were having sex with
verdad?	their spouses, yes?
[46] Umen tajwinob' koche yaja', quizás	[46] On account of being found like that,
pisirob' quizás saber koche ch'a'rob' ani,	perhaps naked, perhaps who knows how
yaja tajwinob' che yi ketpob' tun, por estó	they were lying about, they were found
yaja' ke' e ingojr tun pakar tujor e ingojr	there and they had become stone, and
tun.	because of this one stone is bent over on
	top of another ⁵⁴ .
[47] Yi b'an ani che nitáta ke' ja'xto ayi e	[47] And my father used to say that those
ti'n war uche yer umab'anb'anir yaja'	where the people who were committing
ketpob' tun, yi e ti'n e ub'ajner ch'a'r	sins there [who] became stone, and the
awayan ub'ajner ketpa.	people lying alone remain sleeping alone.
[48] B'an inna'ta uyokir e turer tama e	[48] This is what I know about the theme
chinam Copán Ruinas.	of the habitation in the town of Copán
	Ruinas.

⁵⁴ It is difficult to imagine this referring to any structure at the ruins of Copán today. It is possible, though, that this refers to the condition of the stones before reconstruction of the site.

E Sitz' Xe' Ma'chi Uk'ub'se	The Boy Who Didn't Believe It
[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte' k'ub'esyaj xe' numuy	[1] I want to tell a remembrance that took
taka inkojt sitz' xe' ma'chi ayi uk'ub'se jay	place with a boy who didn't believe that
e chamenob' awyob'.	the dead eat.
[2] Tama inyajr inkojt ixik ayan ayi inkojt	[2] Once a woman had a son, yes?
usitz', b'ari?	
[3] Kay ayi unojres inkojt ajtzo', yi ajtzo' ira	[3] She was fattening a tom turkey, and
che kay ch'i' kay ch'i', nojran.	this turkey was growing and growing and
	got fat.
[4] Yi jaxto ayi yer e jaran sitz' uyare e ixik	[4] And her foolish son spoke to this
ira chayi jaxir, "tu'," chayi, "tuk'a ajk'in	woman and said, "mother," he said, "when
kak'uxi e ajtzo' ira?"	do we eat this turkey?"
[5] "A," chayi utu', "e ajtzo' ira, war," chayi,	[5] "Ah," said his mother, "this turkey, son"
"ka'xin kak'uxi," chayi, "tya' ak'otoy	she said, "we're going to eat him," she
unojk'inarob' e chamenob'," chayi.	said, "when the festival days of the dead
	come," she said.
[6] "A, ne't, tu'," chayi, "tuk'a war ab'ijnu,"	[6] "Ah, you, mother," he said, "what are
chayi, "awyob'toka e chamenob' pue,"	you thinking?" he said, "do the dead still
chayi, "e chamenob' ma'chix awyob',"	eat then?" he said, "the dead don't eat!" he
chayi.	said.
[7] "Chamsen, ne'n k'ani ink'uxi e ajtzo'	[7] "Kill it! I want to eat this turkey," he
ira," chayi.	said.

6.2.4. Text 9: The Boy Who Wouldn't Believe that the Dead Eat

[8] "Ma, war," chayi e tu'b'ir, "kakojkikto,"	[8] "No, child," said the mother, "let's still
chayi, "twa' kache e nojk'in tama e	wait," she said, "until we prepare the
unojk'inarob' e chamenob'," chayi.	festival for the feast days of the dead," she
	said.
[9] "Inma, tu'," chayi, "chamsen," chayi,	[9] "No, mother," he said, "kill it," he said,
"ne'n k'anix ink'uxi," chayi.	"I want to eat it," he said.
[10] "Kojkonto sitz'," chayi, "kojkonto,"	[10] "Still wait, son," she said, "still wait,"
chayi e tu'b'ir.	said the mother.
[11] Yi b'anto ya che b'anto kay ayi uyare	[11] And [he went on] like this, talking with
utu' twa' achamesna e ajtzo'.	his mother about the turkey being killed.
[12] K'otoy e ajk'in che twix ayi ache'na e	[12] The day came when the festival is
nojk'inob' yaja' xe' koche kaware no'n día	made which we call the Day of the Saints ⁵⁵
de los santos, yi k'otoy e ajk'in yaja' che.	, and the day came then.
[13] Enton che ayi utu', "koner ixto sitz',"	[13] Then his mother said, "today indeed,
chayi, "pojron e si'," chayi, "pojron e si',"	son," she said, "go find firewood," she
chayi, "ke' uk'ani twa' kache e nojk'in,"	said, "go find firewood," she said,
chayi,	"because we have to prepare the festival,"
	she said.
[14] "Ke k'anix ak'otoy e nojk'in te	[14] "Because the feast day of the dead
chamenob'," chayi, "yi atata' a'xin ayo'pa	has come," she said, "and your father is
uwarajsyo'n," chayi, "yi uk'ani twa' ko'sta e	going to come visit us," she said, "and we
ajtzo' twa' uk'uxi," chayi.	must prepare the turkey so he [can] eat it,"
	she said.

⁵⁵ The informant understood November 1st to be the day of the saints, and November 2nd to be the day of the dead.

[15] "Ye'ra'chka, tu'," chayi, "ke' awe'to	[15] "Are you telling the truth, mother?" he
nitata'?" chayi.	said, "that my father still eats?" he said.
[16] "Ne't pojron e si'," chayi, "pojron e si',	[16] "You go fetch the firewood," she said,
uk'ani twa' kachapi e b'ak'atpa'," chayi.	"fetch the firewood. We have to cook the
	tamales," she said.
[17] Yi kay ayi upojro e si', ub'orojse ayi e	[17] And he was hunting for firewood, and
syan si', uturb'a che,	collected a lot of it, and set it down.
[18] Yi k'otoy e ajk'in yaja' che twix	[18] Then came that day when then turkey
achamesna e ajtzo'.	was to be killed.
[19] Chayi utu', "koner kiki' pojron e law,"	[19] His mother said, "now go find banana
chayi, "ki' pojron e law twa' kagori e	leaves," she said, "go find banana leaves
b'ak'atpa' tamar," chayi.	to wrap the tamales with," she said.
[20] Yi lok'oy che ixin usajka e law uturb'a	[20] And he went out and went to look for
tu't utu'.	banana leaves and he placed them before
	his mother.
[21] Enton che k'otoy ixto ayi e ajk'in yaja'	[21] Then came the day [when] the
kay b'ajsa e b'ak'atpa' che, yi twa' ache'na	tamales were being wrapped, in order to
yaja' tama e unojk'inar e chamenob', yi	be prepared for the festival of the dead, so
yaja' che kay b'ajsa e pa', wab'na ta k'ajk,	the tamales were being wrapped, were
kay ojmay.	placed by the fire, and were boiling.
[22] "Tu'," chayi, "k'anixka atak'a e pa'?"	[22] "Mother," said [the son], "Are the
chayi	tamales about ready yet?" he said
[23] "K'anix," chayi.	[23] "Just about," said [his mother].

[24] "Ah," said [the son], "then I," he said,
"want to go see if my father really comes,"
he said, "I want to go wait and see if he
rises there and comes [from] where he is
buried," he said.
[25] "Ay! Son!" said the mother, "the
shades of the dead are going to eat you,"
she said, "you already understand that
they," she said, "spread disease ⁵⁶ " she
said, "they aren't like us," she said, "they,"
she said, "if we don't listen," she said, "we
might die suddenly on account of them,"
she said.
[26] "But no, mother," he said, "I want to
go see it," said [the son].
[27] The foolish boy didn't listen and went
[anyway], he came there beside where the
dead were buried.
[28] Then he climbed into the branch of a
tree, perched there observing, was
watching [to see] if the dead rose.

⁵⁶ The informant explained that being near the dead can cause diseases associated with cold. The Ladino custom of spending the day of the dead in the local cemetery in Jocotán struck the informant as very ill advised because it could make the living people sick.

[29] Ka'y maxa'n che, kay ayi ojronob' e	[29] It began to get dark, and the dead
chamenob' uyarwob' ayi e mojrob, "oy!"	were speaking, the group shouted, "hey!"
chayi, "achpe'nik, o!" chayi,	they said, "get up!" they said.
[30] "Inkwik ta niyotot," chayi, ojron uyub'i	[30] "Let's go to my house," said [one of
ayi ut' unuk utata', ja'x utata' ojron.	the dead], and [the boy] heard the voice of
	his father speaking, it was his father who
	spoke.
[31] Ton che ayi, "achpix nitata'," chayi.	[31] Then [the boy] said, "my father has
"A'xix," chayi.	risen," he said, "it's happening."
[32] Yi uwira ayi ke' atz'ab'ruma e syan ut'	[32] And he saw that many embers [of
k'ajk' che, war ayi acham(b)ryob' e	cigars] were glowing, the dead were
chamenob' yaja', war utak'res uk'ujtz'ob'	smoking there, were lighting their cigars.
che.	
[33] "Yi chi tya' twa' kak'otoy b'ajxan,"	[33] "And whose place (house) shall we
chob' ayi e mojrob'.	come to first?" said the group.
[34] "Ta niyotot ka'xin b'ajxan," chayi	[34] "We are going to my house first," said
utata' e stiz', "ta niyotot ka'xin kanumuy	the boy's father, "we're going to walk over
b'ajxan," chayi, "yaja'," chayi, "warix atak'a	to my house first," he said, "there," he
yer e b'ak'atpa'," chayi, "war ukojke'n	said, "the tamales are already cooking," he
niwiláma," chayi.	said, "my wife is waiting for me," he said.
[35] "A," chayi, "inkwik <i>pue</i> ," chayi,	[35] "Ah," they said, "let's go then," they
"inkwik," chayi enmojr chamenob'.	said, "let's go," said the other dead people.

[36] Yi jaxto ayi e sitz' xe' k'atar tuk'ab' e	[36] And the boy who was perched in the
te' war uwira jay e'ra'ch utu' ke' utata' a'xin	branch of the tree was looking [to see] if
ak'otoy umak'i e b'ak'atpa'.	his mother was right [in saying] that his
	father was going to come and eat the
	tamales.
[37] Yi b'ak'ta ayi uwira che uyari ub'a tut'	[37] And he took fright at what he saw and
rum ajner che, tari ajner ak'otoy yaja'	threw himself to the ground running, came
tuyotot che, uyare ayi utu', "wa'kche tu',"	running to his house, and said to his
chayi, "watix nitata'," chayi, "lok'sen e	mother, "hurry, mother," he said, "my
b'ak'atpa'," chayi, "yi me'yrob' watob',"	father is on his way," he said, "take out the
chayi, "war acham(b)ryob' watob'," chayi,	tamales," he said, "for many are coming,"
"achpo'b'ix tunorob'," chayi.	he said, "their coming smoking," he said,
	"they've all risen!" he said.
[38] Enton che ayi utu', "Ay, sitz'," chayi	[38] Then his mother said, "Ay! Son!" said
utu', "ne't," chayi, "tuk'a ya'wan ache?"	the mother, "you," she said, "what have
chayi.	you done?" she said.
[39] "Esde ke i'xin ichamay," chayi, "xe'	[39] "You're going to die ⁵⁷ ," she said,
war awira ya'x inb'ak'ajr, ma'chi yub'yan,"	"what you were looking at there is
chayi.	dangerous, it can not [be done]," she said.
[40] Yi b'a'k'ta ayi e sitz'.	[40] And the son was afraid.
[41] Ton che ma'chi ojron pues, warxa ayi	[41] Then he [the son] didn't speak, he
ukojko, ma'chi ayi k'otob' utata' imb'a	was waiting a long time, but his father
mamajchi k'otoy,	didn't come, indeed nobody came.

⁵⁷ The boy has now been exposed to two potential causes of illness: the dead and fright.

[42] Kay che'na e rezo che, kay lok'esna e	[42] The prayers were being said, the
b'ak'atpa' turb'ana tama e ut' altar, kay ayi	tamales were being taken out and placed
che'na, k'otoy xe' ob'na uche e k'ajt taka e	on the altar, [the prayers] were said, those
katata', kay ayi che'na yer e k'ajt, kay	who have the ability to say prayers to God
k'aywyob', yi ma'chi ayi uwira jay k'otoy	came, the petitions were being made, they
utata' tama otot.	were singing ⁵⁸ , and he didn't see whether
	his father came to the house.
[43] Enton che b'antaka ketpa, yi tya'	[43] Then [things] remaind this way, and
k'otoy che waxik ajk'in chamay ub'an ja'xir,	when eight ⁵⁹ days came (passed) he (the
ja'x ixto ayi war amujka ub'an ya'	son) died too, and he was buried as well.
[44] Chamay che umen e b'ajk'ut ma'chix	[44] It is said that he died because of
ayi turan me'yra ajk'in, waxik ajk'in takix	fright, and he didn't live many days, only
ayi kay turan	eight days he lived.

 ⁵⁸ These are all customary rituals for the day of the dead.
 ⁵⁹ The informant was uncertain of the significance of the number eight here.

6.2.5. Text 10: God's Corn-grinding Frogs

E Ajjuch'ob' twa' e Katata'	God's Corn-grinders
[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte' numer twa' e	[1] I want to tell a story about God's corn-
ajjuch'ob' twa' e katata'.	grinders.
[2] Ayan ayi inte' ajk'in che k'otob' ayi	[2] There was a day [when] two
chakojt maxtak xe' kaware majax imb'utz	youngsters arrived who, we say, didn't
uwirna'rob', verdad?	look good ⁶⁰ , yes?
[3] K'otob' ayi yaja che tama ingojr otot yi	[3] They came to a house and right there
ya' ya' ayi turob' chakojt yerob' sapo,	sat two frogs, as we call them [in Spanish].
koche kaware.	
[4] War ayi oych'wo'b' pakar ayi, war	[4] They were bent over, grinding, were
umuxo'b' e sa' che war umuxo'b' e sa', yi	grinding the <i>atol⁶¹</i> , were grinding the <i>atol</i> ,
yaja' che yi'x ayi ak'otob ixto e maxtak ira	and as soon as these youngsters arrived
uwirob'.	they saw them.
[5] "Tuk'a war iche tarex?" chob' ayi.	[5] "What are you doing there?" the
	youngsters said.
[6] "Tara war kamuxi yer e sa'," chob' ayi	[6] "We're grinding a little <i>atol</i> here," they ⁶²
ja'xirob'	said.

 ⁶⁰ In other words, the two young men had bad attitudes or looked like trouble.
 ⁶¹ They're grinding corn into dough which will be made into a corn-based drink called *atol*.
 ⁶² The Ch'orti' terms for *they* and *frogs* are not marked for gender, but in Spanish the informant referred to the frogs as *ellas*, marking them as feminine. Later, the frogs will be referred to as "women."

[7] "Aktanik ut' e cha," chayi, "no'x war	[7] "Let go of the grinding stones," they
ak'ajpa iwasi ut' e cha," chob' ayi e	said, "you're dirtying the grinding stones,"
maxtak, "majax pokb'ir ik'ab'," chob' ayi e	the youngsters said, "your hands aren't
maxtak uyaryob' yerob' e sapo xe' war	washed," the youngsters said to the frogs
o'ych'wob'.	who were grinding.
[8] Enton che uyajk'ob' ayi taka uyokob'	[8] Then they [the youngsters] struck them
yaja' utek'rwo'b' kay utekrwo'b' yer e	[the frogs] with their feet, they beat and
ajjuch'ob', uchamsyob' che.	beat the grinders, and killed them.
[9] Ya' ch'a'rob' ayi chamenob' ayi yer e	[9] The grinders were lying there dead,
ajjuch'ob' yaja', yix ayi a'jni ak'otoy e	and God came running, and God said,
katata' ub'an yi chayi e katata', "maxtak,"	"boys," he said, "what are you doing?" he
chayi, "tuk'a war iche," chayi	said.
[10] "Matuk'a," chob' ayi.	[10] "Nothing," they said.
[11] "Tuk'a twa' ichamsyob'	[11] "Why did you kill my grinders?" God
niwajjuch'ob'?" chayi e katata'.	said.
[12] "A," chayi, "es que war uyasyob' e	[12] "Ah," they said, "they were dirtying the
k'u'm," chayi, "majax pokb'ir uk'ab'ob',"	dough," they said, "their hands hadn't
chayi.	been washed," they said.
[13] "A," chayi, "no'x," chayi, "ma'chi ina'ta	[13] "Ah," said [God], "you," he said, "didn't
tuk'a war iche," chayi, mina'ta ke' yax	know what you were doing," he said, "you
niwajjuch'ob'," chayi, "tuk'a twa' war	didn't know they were my grinders," he
ichamse?" chayi.	said, "why did you kill them?" he said.
[14] A, ma'chi ayi ojronob' ixto wa'rob'	[14] They stood there and said nothing.
ja'xirob' ya'.	

[15] "Koner," chayi, "jujtanik uchikin twa'	[15] "Now," [God] said, "blow in their ears
ab'ixk'o'b'," chayi.	to revive them," he said.
[16] Pakwanob' ayi kay ujujtob' uchikin	[16] They bent over and blew in the frogs'
yerob' e sapo, b'ixk'ob' ayi otronyajr e	ears, and the frogs came back to life.
sapo.	
[17] "Tuk'a inumse ib'a'," chayi e katata'.	[17] "What happened to you?" God said.
[18] "Si ja'x e tzuk maxtakob' ya'x," chayi,	[18] For sure it was those trashy
"yo'pob' uwiro'nob' tara," chayi,	(worthless) boys," they said, "they came,
"uchamsyo'nob'," chayi.	looked at us here," they said, "and killed
	us," they said.
[19] "A," chayi e katata, "muxik e sa',"	[19] "Ah," said God, "grind the <i>atol</i> ," he
chayi, "muxik yi chapik," chayi, "yi iwajk'u	said, "grind it and cook it," he said, "and
ub'uk'yob' e maxtak ira," chayi.	give it to these boys to swallow," he said.
[20] Turanob' ayi kay ukojkob' che, yi ya'	[20] They sat down to wait, and [while]
ayi turu war ukojkob', kay chajpa e sa', kay	they were waiting there, the atol was being
ayi chajpa yer e sa' che, yi ta'k'a yer e sa'	cooked, the atol was being cooked, and
yaja' che, ajk'unob' ayi yer uso'b',	when the atol was ready, they [the boys]
	were given their <i>atoles</i> .
[21] Kay ub'uk'yob' ja'xirob' kay	[21] They were drinking it, they were
xachwanob' che twa' ukojkob', yi ta'k'a yer	seated to wait for it, and when it was
e sa' yaja' che, kay lok'esna tama yer e	ready, it was brought out (served) in a
ruch', péru yer e ruch' che b'anik era che	<i>guacal</i> ⁶³ , but this <i>guacal</i> was like this, tiny
yerob' b'ik'it ruch', koche kaware no'n	guacales, that we call small measures, tiny
yerob' waxítu, yer b'ik'it ruch'.	guacales.

⁶³ A bowl-shaped container made of a gourd.

[22] Enton che jaxto ayi yaja' che kay	[22] They were given a little atol, and
ajk'unob' inb'ijk' yer e sa' yaja', yi jaxto ayi	these two boys said, "ah, when will we get
e chakojt maxtak ira chob' ayi, "a, tya'	full with this little bit of <i>atol</i> ," they said, "the
a'xin kachwan taka yer e inb'ijk sa' ira?"	frogs are giving us [just] a little bit at a
chob' ayi, "inb'ijk inyajrer war uyajk'on e	time," they said.
sapo," chayi, chob' ayi ja'xirob'.	
[23] Yi taryob' ixto yerob' e sapo,	[23] And the frogs came and brought out
ulok'syob' ayi e a'n, sutpa ayi uk'asyob'	the ears of corn, turned and broke a tiny
inb'ijk' yer uni' yer e nar che, ajk'unob'	bit off the tip of the ear, they were givben a
inb'ijk' inb'ijk yer e nar yaja' twa' ukajryob',	tiny bit of the ear of corn to bite, it wasn't
ma'yi jax inte'rti'.	whole.
[24] Enton che kay uk'uxo'b' yi war ayi	[24] They were eating it and were talking,
ojronob', "yi iran yer e a'n xe' uyajk'on	"and look at this corn they gave us," said
chayi, "era ma'chi kachwan umen ya',"	[one], "we won't get full on this," he said.
chayi.	
[25] "Era wakchetaka inxin inkajri inb'uki	[25] "I'm going to chew this and swallow it
a'xin," chayi e'nkojt.	up in an instant," said the other.
[26] "B'anen ub'an, chayi, "era maja'x ke'	[26] "Me too," said [the first one], "what
twa' kachwan war uyajk'on" chayi.	they're giving us isn't [enough] for us to be
	satisfied," he said.
[27] "taka tzunir war uyajk'on e ixiktak ira"	[27] "These women are giving us [food]
chob' ayi ja'xirob'.	with stinginess," they said.

[28] Enton che, turanob' ayi kay uyuch'ob'	[28] So they sat, they were drinking and
che ukajryob' yer e a'n war ukajryob', che	were eating the corn, were eating, and
asutpa taka ayi alok'oy ut' yer e nar e b'an	kernels of corn always came out
e sa'.	(appeared) again, and so with the <i>atol</i> .
[29] War ub'uk'yob' tunor xe' usajb'esob'ix	[29] They were eating everything that they
tyer ut' e ruch' yi sutpa ab'oro, warix	emptied from the little guacales, and it
uwirob' ke' b'ut'urix yer e wax otronyajr,	abounded again, they saw that the guacal
war uyuch'ob' che war uyuch'o'b' yi <i>esde</i>	was already full again, were drinking and
ke' b'an che chwanob', b'ut'k'a ut'	drinking until in this way they were full,
unak'ob', yi ma'chi ak'a' uyuch'ob' e sa' yi	their bellies were satisfied, and they didn't
ma'chi ak'a' uk'uxob' yer e nar.	stop drinking the atol and didn't stop
	eating the corn.
[30] Jaa chwanob' jaa.	[30] Ahh, they were full!
[30] Jaa chwanob' jaa. [31] Enton chob' ayi, "kocha turu ma'chi	[30] Ahh, they were full![31] Then they said, "how is it that we
[31] Enton chob' ayi, "kocha turu ma'chi	[31] Then they said, "how is it that we
[31] Enton chob' ayi, "kocha turu ma'chi k'a'pa koych'i?" chayi, "war koych'i war	[31] Then they said, "how is it that we don't finish drinking?" they said, "we're
[31] Enton chob' ayi, "kocha turu ma'chi k'a'pa koych'i?" chayi, "war koych'i war ab'oro," chayi, "war kakajri e a'n yi war	[31] Then they said, "how is it that we don't finish drinking?" they said, "we're drinking and there is plenty," they said,
[31] Enton chob' ayi, "kocha turu ma'chi k'a'pa koych'i?" chayi, "war koych'i war ab'oro," chayi, "war kakajri e a'n yi war	[31] Then they said, "how is it that we don't finish drinking?" they said, "we're drinking and there is plenty," they said, "we're eating the corn and [new] grains
[31] Enton chob' ayi, "kocha turu ma'chi k'a'pa koych'i?" chayi, "war koych'i war ab'oro," chayi, "war kakajri e a'n yi war alok'oy ut'," chob' ayi ja'xirob'	[31] Then they said, "how is it that we don't finish drinking?" they said, "we're drinking and there is plenty," they said, "we're eating the corn and [new] grains appear," they said.
 [31] Enton chob' ayi, "kocha turu ma'chi k'a'pa koych'i?" chayi, "war koych'i war ab'oro," chayi, "war kakajri e a'n yi war alok'oy ut'," chob' ayi ja'xirob' [32] Uyaktob' ayi, k'oyranob', b'ut'k'a ut' 	 [31] Then they said, "how is it that we don't finish drinking?" they said, "we're drinking and there is plenty," they said, "we're eating the corn and [new] grains appear," they said. [32] They left off [eating], were tired of it,
 [31] Enton chob' ayi, "kocha turu ma'chi k'a'pa koych'i?" chayi, "war koych'i war ab'oro," chayi, "war kakajri e a'n yi war alok'oy ut'," chob' ayi ja'xirob' [32] Uyaktob' ayi, k'oyranob', b'ut'k'a ut' unak'ob' che, ton chob' ayi, "wa'r e ruch' 	 [31] Then they said, "how is it that we don't finish drinking?" they said, "we're drinking and there is plenty," they said, "we're eating the corn and [new] grains appear," they said. [32] They left off [eating], were tired of it, their bellies were full, and they said, "here
 [31] Enton chob' ayi, "kocha turu ma'chi k'a'pa koych'i?" chayi, "war koych'i war ab'oro," chayi, "war kakajri e a'n yi war alok'oy ut'," chob' ayi ja'xirob' [32] Uyaktob' ayi, k'oyranob', b'ut'k'a ut' unak'ob' che, ton chob' ayi, "wa'r e ruch' ira," chayi uyaryob' yerob' e sapo, "wa'r 	 [31] Then they said, "how is it that we don't finish drinking?" they said, "we're drinking and there is plenty," they said, "we're eating the corn and [new] grains appear," they said. [32] They left off [eating], were tired of it, their bellies were full, and they said, "here are the <i>guacales</i>," they said to the frogs,

[33] Enton che k'otoy ayi e katata' ojron,	[33] Then God came and said, "are you
"chwanoxka apaxtak?" chayi.	satisfied, boys?" he said.
[34] "Chwanon," chob' ayi.	[34] "We're full," they said.
[35] "A," chayi.	[35] "Ah," said [God].
[36] "Ma'chi k'a' kak'uxi chayi "kawakta e	[36] "We didn't finish eating it," they said,
a'n," chayi, "kawakta e sa'," chayi.	"we left [some] corn," they said, "we left
	[some] <i>atol</i> ," they said.
[37] "Ma'chika iwa're ke' imb'ijk taka ani	[37] "Didn't you say that the <i>atol</i> my
yer e sa' war uyajk'o'x yer niwajjuch'ob'	grinders gave you was but little?" he said,
pue," chayi.	"and that it wasn't enough for you?" [God]
	said.
[38] "Yi no'x ma' intojn tyut'," chayi, "yi	[38] "And you didn't know that those," he
ma'chi ina'ta ke' era," chayi "ja'x	said, "were my grinders," he said, "and
niwajjuch'ob'," chayi, "yi tuno'r xe' uchob'	everything they made abounded before
ab'oro tu'tob'," chayi e katata'.	you," God said.
[39] "Koner," chayi, "joli ixsutpa iche koche	[39] "Now," [God] said, "don't again do as
war ib'ijnu," chayi, "ke' ixojron tupater yer e	you are thinking," he said, "because you
wya'r xe' ixajk'una no'x," chayi, "b'an	spoke against the food you were given,"
inumse ib'a koche ya'x," chayi, "yi	he said, "you experienced that [which you
ixajk'una imb'ijk' yer e tzijb'ar," chayi, "yi	experienced]," he said, "you were given
ixojron upater ke' imb'ijk' taka ixajk'una,"	small gifts," he said, "and you spoke
chayi.	against them [saying] that what you were
	given was only a little," he said.
[40] "O b'anixto," chob' ayi ja'xirob'.	[40] "Oh, Indeed!" [the boys] said.

[41] Yi b'an kochera che e katata' ixin yi	[41] And God left and [the boys] left too,
ixo'b' ayi ja'xirob' u'ban, péru enton yaja'	but then they were made to, or as we say,
che che'nob' es de koche kaware no'n es	they were made to pay by God, because
de che'na tojmob' umen e katata', tartaka	[the boys] spoke out against the gifts they
ke' ja'xirob' ojronob' tupater yer e tzijb'ar	were given by the frogs.
xe' ajk'unob' umen yerob' e sápo.	

[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte'yx numer twa' e Jesús	[1] I want to tell a tale about Jesus [that] I
ak'ajtna u'mb'i umen nitatob' o ninoyob'	heard told by my parents or grandparents
konde ne'n ch'ye'n ke' e Jesús che kay ayi	when I was growing up, that Jesus was
xana taka uyajtakarsajob', ya' ayi war	walking with his disciples, and John and
axana e Juan ye Santiago, kay ayi	St. James were walking there, and they
patnob', kay uchob' inte' patna'r ira.	were working ⁶⁴ , were doing this work.
[2] E Juan yi e Santiago che ayajra a'xob'	[2] John and St. James were ordered to
tama e ototob' uyub'yob' che tya' ayan ti'n	go to houses and ask where there was
e chamix ixnix, yi ke' ukojkix koche kaware	someone who had died long ago, and who
tama e castellano ukojkix treinta años, xe	had waited, as we say in Spanish, thirty
koche chamay, axana ayi uyub'yob' jay	years ⁶⁵ , as dead, they went asking if there
ayan tya' k'otix ixto e jab' ira xe uk'anyob'.	was a place where such years as they
	wanted had come ⁶⁶ .
[3] Enton che jay arenob' ke' ayan, enton	[3] If they were told that there was, then
che a'xin uyaryob' e Jesús.	they went to tell Jesus.
[4] Entonces e ajtakarsajob' ira a'xin	[4] So these disciples went and told Jesus
uyaryob' e Jesús ke' tama e otot tya'	that in the house they came to there was a
k'otob' ayan inkojt chamen xe' ayix treinta	dead person who already had thirty years
años koche chamay.	as dead.

6.2.6. Text 11: Saint John Tries to Raise the Dead

 ⁶⁴ The Ch'orti' word *patna'r* often means *job*, *work*, *labor*, or *task*, but here seems to have the sense of a magical spell, or perhaps of a miracle.
 ⁶⁵ The informant did not know the significance of the number 30 here.
 ⁶⁶ The idea here is that Jesus' disciples are trying to find a household in which a person died 30 miracle.

years earlier.

[5] Enton che a'xin ayi e Jesús uwira yi	[5] The Jesus went to see, and they asked
uyub'yob' ayi jay e ajyum otot ira uk'anyob'	if the head of the household wanted the
twa' ab'ixk'esna e xe' chami'x, twa'	dead person to be revived, wanted his
ab'ixk'esna yer uyespíritu, yi ja'xob' uchob'	spirit revived, and they made an earning ⁶⁷
eyni ganar inte' yar denario, e tumin	of just one denarius, the name of the coin
uk'ab'a e denario.	was denarius.
[6] "Jayte' iche ganar?" chayi arenob'	[6] "How much do you charge?" the head
umen e ajyum otot.	of the house said to them.
[7] "No'n kache ganar tama kapatna'r inte'	[7] "We charge one denarius for our work,"
denario," chob' ayi ja'xirob'.	they said
[8] Enton che watar ayi e Jesús uyare	[8] Then Jesus came and told his disciples
uyajtakarsajob' twa' awab'na inte' noxi'	that a big pot of water should be set up for
b'ejt taka ja' twa' uyojmesob' che.	them to boil it.
[9] B'an che awab'na e b'ejt yaja' che	[9] So the pot was set up there and a big
ayajra me'yra k'ajk' tu'pat che twa' o'jmay,	fire was built underneath so it would boil,
yi jaxto ayi e Juan yi e Santiago che,	and John and St. James were told to go
ayajra a'xin upojrob' uchu' e jun ich'.	seek milk (sap) of the chili paper ⁶⁸ [tree].
[10] Enton che ak'otob' yaja' taka uchu' e	[10] They came with the milk (sap) of the
jun ich', uyaryob' che tama e ja' yi	chili paper [tree], they tossed it into the
wa'kchetaka ayi yaja' atob'oy aturan tuti' e	water, and immediately a little baby
b'ejt yer e chuchu ch'urkab' tya' ab'ixk'a.	jumped up and sat on the edge of the pot
	where he revived.
	1

 ⁶⁷ The Spanish word *ganar* is used here in both Spanish and Ch'orti', but the sense seems to be more that of *charge* than of *earn*.
 ⁶⁸ The *jun ich*' is probably the same tree called *chile de amate*, in Spanish.

un ich' yaja'	[11] Just with the milk (sap) of the chili
aturan yi e	paper [tree] the baby revived and sat
u xe' chamix	down, and that baby was the spirit of the
a año, koche	person who had been dead for a long
	time, for thirty years, as we say [in
	Spanish].
kanob' patnob'	[12] They went around working in this way
b' che, kora	for many years, they went around working
ayanix inkojt	wherever they passed they asked where
ar ub'ixk'esob'	there was someone who'd been dead for
	thirty years, and they were reviving them.
ajk'in che e	[13] But there came a day [when] John
an koche	thought that he, too, had learned how the
	dead were revived.
o'a, uyare ayi e	[14] So he separated himself [from the
hayi, "k'antoka	others], saying to St. James, "you, St.
e Juan.	James," he said, "do you still want to go
	with Jesus?" said John.
e Santiago,	[15] "I do," said St. James, "when will we
a no'n	be able to work alone?" he said.

[11] Takartaka ayi uchu' e ju ab'ixk'a yer e chuchu yaja' a chuchu ira ja'x ayi uyespíritu xe' tama oni'x tama e treinta kaware.

[12] B'an kochera che kay x me'yra jab', kay xana patnol kora numuy uyub'yob' tya' a chamen de treinta año, y wa che.

[13] Yi tara che k'otoy inte' Juan una'ta ke' kanwi'x ub'a ab'ixk'esna e chamenob'.

[14] Enton che uxere ayi ub Santiago, "ne't Santiago," cl ixana taka e Jesús?" chayi

[15] "Ne'n k'ani ya'," chayi e "tya' a'xin uyub'yo'n kapatna no'n kab'ajner?" chayi.

[16] "A, ne'n ma'chix," chayi e Juan, "ne'n k'ani inpatna nib'ajner," chayi, "ne'n ina'tix koche uche e Jesús," chayi, "ne'n ina'ta ub'an ke' uyub'ye'nix inche," chayi.

[16] "Well, I don't," said John, "I want to work alone," he said, "I already know how Jesus does it," he said, "I know I can do it, too," he said.

this way

working,

[17] "A," chayi e Santiago, "jola ache	[17] "Oh," said St. James, "don't do that,"
koche yax," chayi, "xanakon takar	he said, "let's go with our teacher," he
kawajkanseyaj," chayi, "ja'x una'ta kocha	said, "he knows how to work," he said, "for
apatna," chayi, "no'n mix lok'ik kachik	us it might not turn out that we could do it
koche uche ja'xir."	the way he does."
[18] "Alok'oy Santiago," chayi e Juan,	[18] "It will work out, St. James," said
"alok'oy," chayi, "awirik tojna," chayi, "esde	John, "it will work out," he said, "you'll see
imb'ijk war utoyo'n," chayi, "tuk'a ka'xin	in the end," he said, "this little bit they're
kache taka inte' denario?" chayi, "uxtyo'n	paying us," he said, "what are we going to
war kaxana," chayi, "ma'chi atz'akta e	do with a denarius?" he said, "three of us
tumin ira," chayi, "ajtaka twa' kawe'	go around ⁶⁹ ," he said, "this money doesn't
atz'akta," chayi.	suffice," he said, "it's just enough so we
	can eat," he said.
[19] "Ah, ne't ixto ana'ta," chayi e Santiago	[19] "Well, you know [what you're doing],"
ja'xir.	said St. James.
[20] Enton che tari e Juan, uxere ub'a	[20] So Juan cut himself off, separated his
uxere upatna'r.	work.
[21] Ton che ka'y xana ja'xir che uyub'i	[21] Then he began to go around asking
ub'an aba tua' ayan a abaman da trainta	
ub'an che tya' ayan e chamen de treinta	where there were people dead for thirty
año, yi arena ayi "tara ayan," chayi.	
	where there were people dead for thirty
año, yi arena ayi "tara ayan," chayi.	where there were people dead for thirty years, and he was told, "here there is."

⁶⁹ In other words, the income must be divided among three people.

[24] Watar ja'xir ub'an, uwab'u ayi ub'ejt	[24] He came, placed his pot, John placed
che, uwab'u ayi ub'ejt e Juan che, a'wan	his pot, stood up and built a fire, was
uyari e k'ajk' che, kay uyari e k'ajk', ixin	building a fire, went and brought the sap of
utares uchu' e jun ich' che, uyari, yi ma'chi	the chili paper [tree], threw it in, and the
ayi ab'ixk'a e chamen, ma'chi ayi alok'oy e	dead person did not revive, the spell ⁷⁰
patna'r.	didn't succeed.
[25] Sutpa che aka'y uyari e k'ajk' asutpa	[25] Again he began to build a fire, and
a'xin upojro e uchu' e jun ich', yi ma'chi ayi	went back to go find the milk (sap) of the
ab'ixk'a, intaka uyari tama e ja' tya' war	chili paper [tree], and [the dead person]
o'jmay yi ma'chi ab'ixk'a e chamen.	didn't revive, vainly he tossed it into the
	water when it was boiling and the dead
	person didn't revive.
[26] Anumuy e ajk'in che, anumuy e'nte'	[26] The day passed, another day passed,
ajk'in, yi ja'xir ma'chi o'b'na ub'ixk'es e	and he wasn't able to revive the dead
chamen.	person.
[27] Enton che uwira ke' ma'chi alok'oy	[27] He realized that it wasn't succeeding
che a'xin tama e'ngojrix otot che, ak'otoy	[so] he went to yet another house, came
uyub'i, "maka tuk'a inkojt chamen xe' ixnix	and asked, "isn't there some dead person
de treinta años?" chayi.	who already has been [so] for thirty
	years?" he said.
[28] "Ayan ixto," chayi arena.	[28] "There is indeed," he was told.
[29] "Ne'n," chayi, "k'ani inb'ixk'es," chayi,	[29] "I," he said, "want to revive him," he
"yi ajtaka ink'ajti," chayi, "inte' denario,"	said, "and I only ask," he said, "one
chayi.	denarius," he said.

⁷⁰ While *patna'r* often means *job*, *work*, or a *task*, here it seems to refer to a *spell* or *miracle*.

[30] "Ah, jay uyub'ye't kak'ani," chayi,	[30] "Ah, we'd like it if you can do it," he
"katoye't jay ache yax," chayi arena umen	said, "we'll pay you if you do that," he was
e ajyum ototob'.	told by the head of the household.
[31] Enton che uwab'u ub'ejt otronyajr	[31] So again he set up his pot on the fire,
tak'ajk' che, aturan uyari e k'ajk' che,	sat to build a fire, fanned it with his hat so
uwajri taka e b'itor che twa' axunpa, uwira	it would light, saw that it was already
ke' warix o'jmay yaja' che, a'xin upojro	boiling, went to find chili paper sap, tossed
uchu' e jun ich' che, uyari tama e ja', yi	it into the water, and saw that the dead
warxa uwira che ma'chi ab'ixk'a e chamen	person did not revive.
che.	
[32] Enton che ja'xir b'an kochera che kay	[32] And in this way he passed many
unumse me'yra ajk'in che, matuk'a uche,	days, he accomplished nothing, the dead
ma'chi ab'ixk'a e chamen tu't.	person didn't revive in front of him.
[33] Enton che ja'xir che k'anix achamay	[33] Then he was on the verge of dying of
umen e wi'na'r che, matuk'a takar twa'	hunger, had nothing to buy tortillas, the
umani e pa' che, k'a'pa e tumin che, yi	money was used up, and he wasn't able to
ma'chi o'b'na uche e patna'r kochera twa'	do the spell in order to be paid.
atojya che.	
[34] Enton che e Juan che, tz'ajtaka ixto	[34] So John, his face sad on account of
ayi u't ya' umen e wi'na'r che, mixtuk'a	hunger, didn't know what to do, [but] went
una'ta uche, a'xin uyub'i tengojr otot che	and asked at another house if there was a
jay ayan e chamen de treinta año, a'rena	dead person of thirty years, and was told
ke' ayan.	that there was.

[35] Sutpa turan che ut'ori e k'ajk', uwab'u	[35] Once again he sat to gather the fire,
yer ub'ejt ta k'ajk' che, uyari e ja' tar	put the pot on the fire, put the water there
o'jmay, tya' war o'jmay a'xin ajner che	to boil, and when it was boiling he ran off
utares uchu' e jun ich', uyari tama e ja', yi	and brought chili paper sap, tossed it into
ma'chi ab'ixk'a e chamen che.	the water, and the dead person didn't
	revive.
[36] Enton che tara k'oyran.	[36] At this point he was fed up.
[37] Uwira ke' k'ani ixto achamay umen e	[37] He realized he would surely die of
wi'na'r ya'.	hunger.
[38] Enton che ixin tama inte' umajkib'	[38] So he went into a cow pasture, a
wakax che, koche kaware ta potrero, tya'	potrero as we say [in Spanish], where
ayan e wy'ar me'yra twa' e wakax.	there was a lot of food for the cattle.
[39] K'otoy yaja' che k'ix achamay umen e	[39] He came there at the point of dying of
wi'na'r che tari che ulok'se umachit che o	hunger, came and took out his machete,
koche kaware cuchillo, uxek'e ayi ut' unak'	or knife as we say, cut the belly of a bull,
e wakax inkojt yer toro che, uxek'e ayi ut'	cut its belly, took out the liver, was
unak' che ulok'se ayi uxememir e wakax	roasting it, was eating it on account of
yaja', kay upojpi che kay uk'uxi umen e	hunger, sat there with a sad face on
wi'na'r, yi ya' turu yaja' che tz'ajtakix u't	account of the hunger, didn't know what to
umen e wi'na'r, ma'chi una'ta tuk'a twa'	do, he didn't manage to do the spell the
uche, ma'chi alok'oy uche e patna'r xe'	way Jesus used to do it.
koche uche ani e Jesús.	
[40] Enton che yi'x ayi a'jni ak'otoy e	[40] Just then Jesus and Santiago ran
Jesús taka e Santiago.	over.

[41] Utajwyob' turu, turu e'ron che, war	[41] They found him sitting down, sitting
e'yri, k'anix achamay umen e wi'na'r.	looking, resting, near death from hunger.
[42] "Tuk'a war ache turet tara, Juan"	[42] "what are you doing sitting here,
chayi arena umen e Jesús.	John," Jesus said to him.
[43] "A," chayi.	[43] "Ah," said [John].
[44] Yi e Jesús che sutpa uwira tya' ch'a'r	[44] And Jesus turned to look where the
chamen e toro, utata' e ch'o'm wakax.	bull lay dead, a young male.
[45] Enton chayi e Jesús, "e, Juan," chayi,	[45] Then Jesus said, "eh, John," he said,
"yi e wakax ira, tuk'a umen chamay?"	"and this bull, what did it die of?" he said.
chayi.	
[46] "Intaka chamay," chayi.	[46] "It just died," said [John].
[47] "E," chayi, "intaka k'anik?" chayi e	[47] "Oh," he said, "it just [died], is that it?"
Jesús.	Jesus said.
[48] "Intaka," chayi, "taka chamay," chayi,	[48] "Just that," said [John], "it just died,"
"matuk'a umen war ache'na," chayi.	he said, "there wasn't any reason it was
	done," he said.
[49] "E, Juan," chayi, "ne't ayan tuk'a ache	[49] "Uh, John," he said, you've done
taka e wakax ira," chayi e Jesús.	something to this bull," said Jesus.
[50] "Ma," chayi, "ne'n matuk'a war inche,"	[50] "No," [John] said, "I didn't do
chayi.	anything," he said.
[51] "Ayan ixto," chayi e Jesús, "ayan tuk'a	[51] "You did indeed," said Jesus, "you've
ache taka e wakax ira por esto chamay,"	done something to this bull and that's why
chayi e Jesús ja'xir.	it died," Jesus said to him.

[52] "No," he said, "I wasn't doing anything
at all," John said, and his face was sad
[as] he was about to die of hunger.
[53] So Jesus came and went to look at
the bull's open belly.
[54] "Uh, John," said Jesus, "this bull," he
said, "you took out its liver and ate it," he
said.
[55] "I [did it]," John said, "[it was] I."
[56] "And why have you done this?"
[Jesus] said.
[57] "Ah, for sure I'm about to die of
hunger," he said, "I didn't manage to do
the spell," he said, "wherever I went I
asked for work," he said, "but the dead
didn't revive in front of me," he said.
[58] "Oh," said Jesus, Jesus laughed, he
laughed.
[59] Jesus said, "and didn't you say that
you could do it as I am able to do it?" he
said.
[60] "That's what I said," John said, "but it
didn't turn out that I could do it," he said.

[61] "Yi koner tuk'a ab'ijnu," chayi, "k'ani	[61] "And now what do you think?" said
ipatna ab'ajner," chayi, "o k'ani isutpa	[Jesus], "do you want to work alone?" he
takaren?" chayi.	said, "or do you want to go back with me?"
	he said.
[62] "Insutpa takaret," chayi e Juan,	[62] "I'll go back with you," said John, "I'll
"insutpa," chayi, "jay ma, inchamay umen	go back," he said, "if not, I'll die of hunger,"
e wi'na'r," chayi.	he said.
[63] "Jay k'ani ipatna takaren," chayi e	[63] "If you want to work with me," Jesus
Jesús, "yi jay tz'akar to'yt yer e denario	said, "and if it is enough for you the
koche kache ganar uxtyo'nir," chayi e	denarius we earn among the three of us,"
Jesús, "inko'," chayi.	said Jesus, "let's go," he said.
[64] "B'ajxan ke' i'xin takaren kiki jujtan	[64] "[But] before you go with me, go blow
uchikin e wakax twa' asutpa b'ixk'a," chayi.	in the bull's ear so it revives again," said
	[Jesus].
[65] Ixin e Juan che ujujta uchikin e	[65] John went and blew in the ear of the
wakax, y sutpa b'ixk'a.	bull, and it came back to life.
[66] Enton uwira ke' e Jesús ayan	[66] Then he realized that Jesus was
uk'otorer.	powerful.
[67] Nakpat sutpa ixin taka e Jesús.	[67] After that he went back with Jesus.
[68] Ch'uwan ayi ixin e Juan tu'pat e	[68] John undertook anew to follow Jesus.
Jesús inyajrix.	
[69] Enton che kay ixto ayi we' ya', ajk'una	[69] He was eating [regularly] then, he
yer upatna'r che kay patnob' nut'ur taka e	was given his work, they were working
Jesús, enton che kay ixto ayi we' ya'.	together with Jesus, and then he was
	eating.

[70] Yi b'an kochera numuy taka e winik	[70] And this is what happened with the
ira xe' k'ani ani uche upatna'r ub'ajner, yi	man who wanted to do his work alone, and
ma'chi ub'na, tartaka ke' ja'xir matuk'a	he wasn't able to, because he didn't have
uk'otorer kochwa e Jesús.	power the way Jesus did.
[71] Enton tarixto ani kochera nitata'	[71] And because of this my father used to
uyaryo'n ke' no'n ayan inyajr k'ani kache	tell us that at times we too want to act as
ub'an koche e Juan.	John [did].
[72] Tal vez ayan kawya'r, taka katáta war	[72] Perhaps there's food, we are working
kapatna, yi katáta war ukansyo'n kapatna,	with our parents, and our parents are
yi korix ja'xir yi korix no'n, war kapatna yi	teaching us to work, some for them some
nuturon, ayan me'yra kawya'r ayan kanar	for us, we're working together, there's
ayan kab'ur war kawe'.	plenty of food, we have corn, we have
	beans, and we're eating.
[73] Yi waton no'n kaware, "a, ne'n k'ani	[73] But we come to say, "oh, I want to
inpatna nib'ajner, ne'n war inwe'se nitáta,	work alone, I'm feeding my father, my
nitáta ayan unar porque ne'n war inpatna,"	father has his corn because I'm working,"
kaware.	we say.
[74] Kaxere ko'tot ajner taka, yi tal vez yi'x	[74] We quickly separate our houses from
turo'n yaja' kab'ajner taka yer kawixka'r	them, and maybe as soon as we live alone
kawira ixto e wi'na'r ya', ma'chi atz'akta e	with our wife we see hunger, the work we
patna'r xe' kache, ma'chi ache'na kawak'ni	do isn't enough, the preparation of our
kachor, tuno'r ira anumuy.	field isn't done, all this happens.

[75] Enton che ani nitáta ke' kanumse	[75] So my father used to say that we
kab'a kochwa e Juan ub'an kawira e	experience what John experienced and we
wi'na'r, tartaka ke' no'n k'ani kapatna	see hunger, because we want to work
kab'ajner yi tal vez ma'chi uyub'yo'n,	alone and maybe we can't, we don't have
matuk'a katumin, kanumse kab'a koche e	any money, we experience what John
Juan.	experienced.
[76] Ja'x era e k'ajpesyaj xe' ina'ta, inb'ijk	[76] This is the story I know, this little bit
ira tama upater e Jesús.	about following Jesus.

6.2.7. Text 12: The Woman Whose Tooth Hurt

E lxik Xe' Ak'uxun Ut' Uyej	The Woman Whose Tooth Hurt
[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte' numer xe' u'mb'i	[1] I want to tell a story that I used to hear
uk'ajti nitata' ani.	my father tell.
[2] Uk'ajtyob' ani ke' ayan ayi inkojt winik	[2] They used to tell that there had been a
che, e winik ira che k'axi ayi tu'ti' ja' kay	man, and this man went down to the bank
ati.	of the river, and was bathing ⁷¹ .
[3] Yi tya' k'otoy ati yaja' che tichamb'ir	[3] And when he came to bathe there at
yaja' e xukur koche kaware, war ayi a'ti	the upper part of the river as we say,
inkojt winik ub'an, yi e winik ira che ja'x ayi	[another] man was bathing there too, and
e doktor kaware takar xe' ajtz'akoner	this man was the doctor, or as we say [in
winik.	Ch'orti'] <i>ajtz'akoner</i> .
[4] Yi e winik che kay ayi ati ja'xir ub'an	[4] And the man [who was not the doctor]
ixto e winik xe' k'otoy ira unoxib' e ixik kay	was bathing too, the man who came was
ayi ati tara,	the woman's husband, he was bathing
	here.

⁷¹ Bathing (ati) here refers to washing oneself, not to swimming.

[5] Yi e doktor che kay ati tichamb'ir, yi e	[5] And the doctor was at the upper part
doktor che kay ayi ub'ut'i e syan xapun	[of the river], and the doctor loaded a lot of
tujor kay ati che, kay uputz'ru che, uwajpi	soap on his head and was bathing, was
ayi uk'ur yaja' che upoki taka e xapun che	scrubbing it, grabbed his penis and
wa'wan, kay uyari e xapun tar che konde	washed it with the soap, and it stood up,
achpa ayi wa'wan uk'ur e noxi doktor yaja',	he was adding soap when the penis of that
yi e winik che war ayi uwira kocha war a'ti	big doctor rose and stood up, and the
e doktor.	[other] man was watching how the doctor
	bathed.
[6] Enton che k'a'pa ati e winik ira tya'r a'ti,	[6] The man finished bathing where he
ixin tuyotot.	was bathing, and went home.
[7] K'otoy che tuyotot, iraj iraj ayi atz'e'ne,	[7] He got home, and over and over was
chayi, "ji ji ji ji," chayi iraj iraj, "ji ji ji ji,"	laughing, he said "hee hee hee," he said
chayi, enton war ayi atz'e'ne.	over and over, "hee hee hee," he said, and
	was laughing.
[8] Enton chayi e ixik, "tuk'a akojko ne't,"	[8] Then the woman [his wife] said, "what's
chayi, "o war imokran," chayi, "satpa	bothering you?" she said, "or are you
ajuicio," chayi, "koxto itz'e'ne ab'ajner,"	getting sick (crazy)?" she said, "has your
chayi.	judgment disappeared?" she said, "why
	are you laughing alone (to yourself)?" she
	said.
[9] "Intakar intz'e'ne ya'," chayi iraj iraj, "ji ji	[9] "I'm just laughing," he said over and
ji ji," chayi, "ji ji ji ji," chayi.	over, "hee hee hee," he said, "hee hee
	hee," he said.

[10] "A, ne't ajmoke't," chayi e ixik, "tuk'a	[10] "Aah, you're crazy," said the woman,
awira pues?" chayi.	"what did you see then?" she said.
[11] "A," chayi, "sí k'ani inwarye't tuk'a,"	[11] "Ah," he said, "sure I want to tell you
chayi, "ke' ne'n," chayi, "inwira inte' winik,"	what [I saw]," he said, "that I," he said,
chayi, "ja'x e doktor," chayi, "war a'ti e	"saw a man," he said, "it was the doctor,"
doktor tichamb'ir tya' k'otoy atye'n	he said, "the doctor was bathing in the
	upper part [of the river] when I came to
	bathe."
[12] Ne'n ketpe'n atye'n ejmar," chayi,	[12] I remained downstream to bathe," he
"ja'x tichamb'ir war a'ti," chayi, "yi ja'x war	said, "and he was bathing further up," he
a'ti," chayi, "kay uputz'ru uk'ur taka e	said, "and he was bathing," he said, "was
xapun," chayi, "achpa wa'wan e noxi' k'ur	scrubbing his penis with the soap," he
tuť usuy e doktor," chayi.	said, "and the doctor's big penis rose and
	stood up at his lower parts," he said.
[13] "A, chix," chayi e ixik, "yi tama e ya'x	[13] "Ah, cheesh" said the woman, "and
war itz'e'neka?" chayi.	it's about this that your laughing?" she
	said.
[14] "Tar," chayi.	[14] "[Yes,] this," said [the man].
[15] "A, ne't," chayi, "kochína," chayi,	[15] "Ah, you," said [his wife], "you're a
"tuk'a tar itz'e'ne, tama e puercada ya'x	pig!" she said, "what are you laughing
war itz'e'neka?" chayi, "eso sí mixtuk'a	about, are you laughing about this
ana'ta tuk'a tar itz'e'ne ne't," chayi e ixik	dirtiness?" she said, "for sure you have no
ja'xir, uche ayi ub'a como que maja'x	idea at all what to laugh at," the woman
ugusto.	said to him, and she acted as if it wasn't to
	her liking.

[16] Enton b'antaka ayi ketpa.	[16] And [things] remained like that.
[17] Numen ajk'in kora che, enton ka'y ayi	[17] A few days went by, and the woman
ja'xir ub'an e ixik ja'xir koche, "Ay, ay, ay!"	began as (with), "Ay, ay, ay!"
[18] "Tuk'a akojko pue," chayi e winik	[18] "What's wrong with you?" the man
otronyajr.	said again.
[19] "Ak'uxun ut' niwej," chayi, "ak'uxun ut'	[19] "My tooth hurts," she said, "my tooth
niwej, ay, ay."	hurts, ay, ay!"
[20] "Jay ak'uxun ut' awej," chayi yer e	[20] "If your tooth hurts," the man said,
winik, "ch'a'r e tumin ira," chayi, "kiki aren	"here's some money," he said, "go tell the
e doktor twa utz'oki," chayi, "ke' kocha i'xin	doctor to pull it out," he said, "how are you
awakta ke' war uchamse't e noxi' k'uxe'yr	going to let this serious pain kill you?" he
ya'x?" chayi, "kiki taka e doktor," chayi,	said, "go to the doctor," he said, "so he
"twa' utz'oki," chayi.	can pull it out," he said.
[21] "O, inxin," chayi e ixik, "ay," chayi e	[21] "Oh, I'm going," said the woman, "ay!"
ixik ja'xir.	she said to him.
[22] Yi ajk'una ayi utumin ixin tya' turu e	[22] And she was given the money and
doktor che, k'otoy yaja' che, "e," chayi,	went to where the doctor lived, she arrived
nob'or ayi uyej k'otoy, "buenos días,	there and said, "eh," she was holding her
doctor," chayi.	hand to her mouth, "good day, doctor," she
	said [in Spanish].
[23] "Buenos días," chayi e doktor, koche	[23] "Good day," said the doctor, as the
castellano ayi e doktor, "que quieres mi	doctor was a Spanish [speaker], "what do
hija?" chayi.	you want my daughter?" he said [in
	Spanish].

[24] "Ay, doktor," chayi, "sí yo vengo,"	[24] "Ay, doctor," she said, "for sure I
chayi, "que me duele la muela," chayi,	come," she said, "because my tooth is
chayi uyare el doktor.	hurting me," she said, she told the doctor
	[in Spanish].
[25] "A, que duele la muela, vení para aca	[25] "Ah, since your tooth hurts, comes
mi hija," chayi, "vení para ca, pue, lo	here my daughter," he said, "come here,
vamos a arrancar," chayi e doktor ja'xir.	and we'll pull it," said the doctor to her.
[26] E doktor una'ta ayi ke' verdad ke'	[26] The doctor knew (believed) that it was
ajmok e ixik ke' k'otoy yaja' tya' aturan e	true that the woman who came to where
doktor yaja' koche kaware uche examinar.	he lived was sick, and performed an
	examination as we say [in Spanish].
[27] Enton chayi, "ay, doktor," chayi, "sí	[27] Then she said, "ay, doctor," she said,
ne'n ma'chi ak'uxun ut' niwej," chayi, "sí	"for sure my tooth doesn't hurt," she said,
ne'n," chayi, "uyarye'n ninoxib' ke' war ayi	"the truth is," she said, that my husband
uwire't ya' a'ti tu'ti' ja'," chayi, "ke' nojta ayi	told me that he saw you bathe at the bank
ak'ur," chayi, "yi ne'n k'ani ani inwira jay	of the river," she said, "and that your penis
e'ra'ch ayi k'ani inwira jay uyub'ye'n takar,"	is big," she said, "and I was wanting to see
chayi.	if it's true, and I want to see if I am able [to
	do something] with it," she said.
[28] "Ay, hija!" chayi e doktor, "ma'chi	[28] "Oh, daughter," said the doctor, "that's
uyub'i," chayi, "ne'n doktore'n," chayi.	not possible (appropriate)," he said, "I'm a
	doctor," he said.

[29] "Ma, doktor," chayi, "sí ne'n ja'x	[29] "No, doctor," she said, "this is what I
u'nsre," chayi, "por esto tarye'n," chayi,	really want," she said, "this is what I came
"inche nib'a como ke' ak'uxun ut' niwej,	here for," she said, "I made myself (acted)
pero ne'n ma'chi ak'uxun niwej," chayi.	as if my tooth hurt, but my tooth didn't
	hurt," she said.
[30] "A, pues, jay ak'ani," chayi e doktor,	[30] "Ah, well, if you want to," said the
"pues inche takaret," chayi.	doctor, "then I'll do it with you," he said.
[31] Pues kay ayi ch'ena gozar yaja' umen	[31] Then she was enjoyed by the doctor;
e doktor che; k'a'pa taka ayi ixto yaja'	having finished that [talking], she did what
uche lo que ja'x uk'ani che, mak'wob' taka	she had wanted, she had sex ⁷² with the
e doktor.	doctor.
[32] Enton che lok'oy ixin yi konde k'otoy	[32] Then she went away and when she
che ma'chi ixto ayi ak'uxun ut' uyej ya'.	arrived [at home] her tooth didn't hurt.
[33] Yi k'otoy chayi, "qué tal ixe't," chayi	[33] [When] she arrived the man, her
yer e winik unoxib'.	husband, said "how did it go with you?"
[34] "Utz'oki ut' niwej e doktor," chayi,	[34] "The doctor pulled my tooth," she
"sisa inyajrer, nen kora ixto ak'uxun ya',"	said, "it calmed down right away, it doesn't
chayi uyare unoxib'.	hurt even a bit," she said, she told her
	husband.
[35] "A, verdad kocha inwarye't ke'	[35] "Ah, it's like I told you, it needed
tz'okb'ir ani uk'ani," chayi e winik.	pulling," said the man.
1	1

⁷² The Ch'orti' verb *mak'o* refers to eating soft foods such as ripe fruit. It is often translated into Spanish as "*comer frutas*," and is a common euphemism for sexual activity.

[36] And certainly it wasn't pain that
bothered her, but what she wanted was to
know if it was true that the great doctor
was big.
[37] And she cheated on her husband and
the man, it is said, never even knew what
the woman did.
[38] And for this reason my father used to
tell us that if we see something, we ought
not reveal it to a woman, because maybe
she'll do the same.

6.2.8. Text 13: The Nosy Mother

[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte' yar k'ajtsyaj jax inte'	[1] I want to tell a little tale, it's a tale that's
k'ajtsyaj xe' ink'ajyer uyub'na'r.	fun to listen too.
[2] Ayan inte' k'ajtsyaj ak'ajtna tuk'a	[2] There is a tale that is told about what
numuy taka inkojt yer onya'n ixik.	happened to an old woman.
[3] Ayan ayi uxkojt uwijch'oktak yi kay ayi	[3] She had three daughters who were
nujb'yob', yi ja'xir che turuto ayi unoxib'	getting married, and her husband was still
ub'an, entonces ja'xir xe' kay uche che kay	living as well, and what she was doing was
xana uyub'i taka uwijch'oktak.	to go around asking [a lot of questions] of
	her daughters.
[4] Nujb'i ayi e b'ajxan uwijch'ok, yi tya'	[4] The first daughter married, and when
asakojpa yaja' che e akb'ar tya' awayanob'	dawn came [following] the night when her
uyar yaja' yi tya' anujb'yob' asakojpa takix	daughter slept [with her husband], when
ayi a'xin ayi uyub'i.	they got married, right at dawn [the old
	woman] went to question her.
[5] Uyare ayi uwijch'ok. "Ay, tu'," chayi,	[5] She said to her daughter, "hey,
"kocha lok'oy anoxib'," chayi.	daughter ⁷³ ," she said, "how did your
	husband turn out?"
[6] "Ti'n imb'a, nána," chayi e ijch'ok.	[6] He's a good person," said the
	daughter.
[7] "Yi ke' kocha lok'oy?" chayi, "jay noxi	[7] "But how did he turn out?" [the mother]
winik?" chayi.	said, "is he a big man?" she said.

 $[\]overline{}^{73}$ The word *tu*' means mother, but is often used to refer to a daughter as well.

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[8] "Ay, tu'," chayi e ijch'ok, "tuk'a k'ani [8] "Oh, mother!" said the daughter, "what do you want to know?" she said, "how can ana'ta," chayi, "kocha i'xin oyb'i ta nib'a, maka awira ke' nitwe't pue," chayi. you ask me [such things]? Don't you see that you're my mother?" she said. [9] "Inma tu'," chayi, "ne'n intaka k'ani [9] "No, daughter," [the mother] said, "I just inna'ta," chayi, "jay kocha lok'oy," chayi, want to know," she said, "how he turned "jay noxi winik," chayi, "o kocha uche out," she said, "if he's a big man," she takaret," chayi, "jay ch'a'r uche takaret," said, "and how he did it with you," she chayi, "o wa'r," chayi, "kochatik." said, "if he did it with you lying down," she said, "or standing up," she said, "that sort of thing," she said. [10] "Ay, tu'," chayi, "ne'n ma'chi k'ani [10] "Oh, mother!" she said, "I don't want inwarye't," chayi e ijch'ok. to tell you that," the daughter said. [11] "Arene'n tu'," chayi, "sí ne'n intaka [11] "Tell me, daughter!" said [the mother], k'ani inna'ta," chayi, "arene'n ke' jay noxi "I just want to know," she said, "tell me if winik," chayi, "o kocha o chuchu," chayi. he's a big man," she said, "or small or what," she said. [12] "A," chayi e ijch'ok, "ma'ni nit'or [12] "Oh!" said the daughter, "I'm not inwarye't tu'," chayi, "ne't nitwe't," chayi, comfortable telling you, mother," she said, "pero jay ak'ani k'ani inwarye't," chayi, "you're my mother," she said, "but if you "ja'xir me're jax nojta winik," chayi, "nojta want to know I'll tell you," she said, "he's kora," chayi, "péru ayan me'yra uk'ek'wa'r not a big man," she said, "just a little bit

big," she said, "but his genitals have a lot

of strength," she said, "and all night [long],"

he was giving it," she said.

chayi, "war uyajk'u," chayi.

utejromar," chayi, "a, tuno'r e akb'ar,"

[13] "A," chayi, atz'a'y ayi ixin ayi uyare	[13] "Ah," said [the mother], she was glad
unoxib' ja'xir.	and went to tell her husband.
[14] "Oyb'ika o?" chayi.	[14] "Hey, listen," she said [to him].
[15] "Tuk'a," chayi yer e winik unoxib'.	[15] "What?" said her husband.
[16] "Kawijch'ok," chayi, "utajwi ayi yer	[16] "Our daughter," she said, "has found
uviejo," chayi, "ja'x ayi inkojt winik xe'	her old man," she said, "he's a man who
lok'oy ke' ma' ayi ja'x nojta nojta," chayi,	turned out not to be really big," she said,
"péru ma'chi ayi apaktz'a wakchetaka,"	"but it doesn't go down ⁷⁴ quickly," she
chayi, "tuno'r ayi e akb'ar war uyajk'u,"	said, "he was giving it all night long," she
chayi, "ma'chi ayi ak'oyran," chayi.	said, "he didn't get tired of it," she said.
[17] "A," chayi yer e winik, "ne't tuk'a ixana	[17] "Oh," said the man, "what are you
oyb'i taka kawijch'ok," chayi yer e winik.	going around asking our daughter?" said
	the man.
[18] "Es que ne'n k'ani inna'ta kocha a'xin	the man. [18] "It's just that I wanted to know how
[18] "Es que ne'n k'ani inna'ta kocha a'xin utajwi, jay b'an koche ne't," chayi, "ne't	
	[18] "It's just that I wanted to know how
utajwi, jay b'an koche ne't," chayi, "ne't	[18] "It's just that I wanted to know how she was going to find him, if he's like you,"
utajwi, jay b'an koche ne't," chayi, "ne't nojta," chayi.	[18] "It's just that I wanted to know how she was going to find him, if he's like you," she said, "you're big," she said.
utajwi, jay b'an koche ne't," chayi, "ne't nojta," chayi. [19] Enton che b'an kochera numuy taka e	 [18] "It's just that I wanted to know how she was going to find him, if he's like you," she said, "you're big," she said. [19] And this is how things went with the
utajwi, jay b'an koche ne't," chayi, "ne't nojta," chayi. [19] Enton che b'an kochera numuy taka e b'ajxan ijch'ok.	 [18] "It's just that I wanted to know how she was going to find him, if he's like you," she said, "you're big," she said. [19] And this is how things went with the first daughter.
utajwi, jay b'an koche ne't," chayi, "ne't nojta," chayi. [19] Enton che b'an kochera numuy taka e b'ajxan ijch'ok. [20] Yi nakpat che nujb'i e inkojt ijch'ok xe'	 [18] "It's just that I wanted to know how she was going to find him, if he's like you," she said, "you're big," she said. [19] And this is how things went with the first daughter. [20] And later the daughter who was in the
utajwi, jay b'an koche ne't," chayi, "ne't nojta," chayi. [19] Enton che b'an kochera numuy taka e b'ajxan ijch'ok. [20] Yi nakpat che nujb'i e inkojt ijch'ok xe' wa'r tuyuxinarob' e uxkojt yaja'.	 [18] "It's just that I wanted to know how she was going to find him, if he's like you," she said, "you're big," she said. [19] And this is how things went with the first daughter. [20] And later the daughter who was in the middle of the three got married.
utajwi, jay b'an koche ne't," chayi, "ne't nojta," chayi. [19] Enton che b'an kochera numuy taka e b'ajxan ijch'ok. [20] Yi nakpat che nujb'i e inkojt ijch'ok xe' wa'r tuyuxinarob' e uxkojt yaja'. [21] Enton che nujb'i ayi ub'an, nujb'i ayi e	 [18] "It's just that I wanted to know how she was going to find him, if he's like you," she said, "you're big," she said. [19] And this is how things went with the first daughter. [20] And later the daughter who was in the middle of the three got married. [21] She got married too, this daughter got

⁷⁴ More literally, *apaktz'a* conveys an idea of bending over or bending in half, often described in Spanish by the verb *doblar*.

[22] "Kocha sakojpet tu'," chayi.	[22] "How are you this morning, daughter,"
	she said.
[23] "Imb'utz tu'," chayi e ijch'ok.	[23] "Good, mother," said the daughter.
[24] "Ay tu'," chayi, "ne'n ke' k'ani ani	[24] "Ah, daughter," said the mother, "I
inna'ta," chayi, "kocha lok'oy yer anoxib',"	wanted to know," she said, "how your
chayi.	husband turned out," she said.
[25] "Kocha imb'a," chayi, "ne'n ninoxib'	[25] "[He turned out] well," mother, "my
uk'anye'n era," chayi, "yi kocha wartokto	husband loves ⁷⁵ me now," she said, "and
inyo'pa," chayi, "ma'chi inna'ta jay tuno'rxix	as I've only just arrived," she said, "I don't
ajk'in b'an a'xin uk'anye'n," chayi, "péru	know if he'll love me every day this way,"
uk'anye'n," chayi.	she said, "but he loves me," she said.
[26] "Inma tu'," chayi, "ne'n k'ani inna'ta	[26] "No, daughter," said [the mother], "I
kocha lok'oy, jay noxi winik," chayi, "jay	want to know how he turned out, if he's a
k'ob'ir," chayi, "o chuchu," chayi.	big man," she said, "if he's big," she said,
	"or small," she said.
[27] "Ay, tu'," chayi e ijch'ok, "kocha inxin	[27] "Oh, mother," said the daughter, "how
inwarye't si ne't nitw'et," chayi, "me'rer	am I going to tell you if you're my mother,"
inwarye't," chayi, "ne't ma'chi ana'ta tuk'a	she said, "I ought not tell you," she said,
war ache, tu'," chayi.	"you don't know what you're doing,
	mother," she said.
[28] "Era arene'n, tu'," chayi, "sí ne'n k'ani	[28] "Now tell me, daughter," she said,
inna'ta," chayi, yi b'an ayi ma'chi ayi	"indeed I want to know," she said, she
o'byan, iraj iraj uyub'i	didn't listen and kept asking and asking.
[29] Enton tari ayi e ijch'ok ucheksu ayi.	[29] Then the daughter came to reveal it.

⁷⁵ *K'ani* equates reasonably closely with the Spanish *querer*, referring to love and/or desire, but not directly to sex.

[30] "Anya'r," chayi, "nojta b'anb'an era,"	[30] "Your son-in-law," said the daughter,
chayi, "péru chuchu' yer ut' unak," chayi,	"is big in this way," she said, "small in
"maja'x k'ob'ir," chayi, "uyok sí nojta ya',"	thickness," she said, "not big," she said,
chayi.	"but it's length certainly is big," she said.
[31] "A," chayi, "jaxto ani k'ani inna'ta ya',"	[31] "Ah," said [the mother], "that's what I
chayi.	wanted to know."
[32] Ajner ayi ixin uya're yer unoxib', ja'xir	[32] She ran to go tell her husband, the
utata' e ijch'ok.	girl's father.
[33] K'otoy chayi, "oyb'ika o?" chayi.	[33] She got there and said, "listen!" she
	said.
[34] "Tuk'a," chayi yer e winik.	[34] "What?" said the man.
[35] "Ay, kawijch'ok," chayi, "lok'oy ayi	[35] "Hey, our daughter," she said, "it turns
utajwi unoxib'," chayi.	out she found a [good] husband," she said.
[36] "O lok'oy," chayi yer e winik, "hasta	[36] "Oh, he turned out [good]," said the
ajpatna'r," chayi.	husband, "is he a good worker?" he said.
[37] "A, b'anb'an ayi uyok era," chayi,	[37] "Oh, it's long like this," [the mother]
"péru b'an ayi yer ut' unak yaja'," chayi,	said, "but thick like this," she said, "but it's
"péru nojta ayi," chayi.	big," she said.
[38] "A," chayi yer e winik.	[38] "Oh," said the man.
[39] Enton che b'an ixto ayi numuy yaja',	[39] This is how things happened there,
numuy ajk'in.	and days passed.

[40] Numer ajk'in che nujb'i e'nkojt ijch'ok,	[40] Days later the other daughter got
ton nujb'i ayi e'nkojt ijch'ok ira, sakojpa	married, this other daughter got married
taka otronyajr lok'oy ixin yer e iláma koche	then, and again at dawn the old lady, as
kaware, lok'oy ajni ixin ayi, k'otoy taka che	we say, went out, went out fast, and when
uyub'i ayi pues taka uwijch'ok.	she arrived she questioned her daughter.
[41] "Kocha ture't tu'," chayi.	[41] "How are you, daughter?" [the
	woman] said.
[42] "Imb'utz, tu'," chayi.	[42] "Good, mother," said [the daughter].
[43] "Ay, tu'," chayi, "koche lok'oy yer	[43] "Hey, daughter," she said, "how did
anoxib'," chayi.	your husband turn out?" [the mother] said.
[44] "Yi ne't tu'," chayi e ijch'ok, "tuk'a k'ani	[44] "And you, mother," said the daughter,
ana'ta," chayi, "si kochera me'ra e ixna	"what do you want to know?" she said, "I
inturan," chayi, "ma'chi inna'ta jay	haven't lived here long," she said, "and I
uk'anye'n tuno'rxix e ajk'inob'," chayi, "era	don't know if he'll love me forever," she
uk'anye'n," chayi.	said, "but today he loves me," she said.
[45] "Inma' tu'," chayi, "sí ne'n k'ani	[45] "No, daughter," said [the mother], "I
inna'ta," chayi, "jay noxi winik," chayi, "jay	want to know," she said, "if he's a big
nojta," chayi, "o chuchu'," chayi.	man," she said, "if it's big," she said, "or
	small," she said.

[46] Ton chayi e ijch'ok, "ay, tu'," chayi,	[46] Then the daughter said, "Oh,
"ne't tuk'a ixana ache, tu'," chayi, "tuk'a	mother!," she said, "what are you going
k'ani an'ata," chayi, "war awira ke' nitwe't	around doing, mother?" she said, "what
pue," che, "nitwe't kocha twa' inwarye't,"	do you want to know?" she said, "you can
chayi, "ke' tuk'a war innumse nib'a taka	see that you're my mother," she said, "my
ninoxib'," chayi.	mother, how can I tell you," she said,
	"what I'm experiencing with my husband,"
	she said.
[47] "Yi sí ne'n k'ani inna'ta, tu'," chayi,	[47] "And yes I want to know, daughter,"
"arene'n," chayi, "ne'n k'ani inna'ta," chayi,	said [the woman], "tell me," she said, "I
yi ma'chi o'byan war uyub'i war uyub'i.	want to know," she said, and she didn't
	listen and kept asking and asking.
[48] Entonces yi'x wa'r yaja' che, ucheksu	[48] Then standing there the daughter
ayi e ijch'ok.	revealed [everything].
[49] "K'ani ixto inwarye't, tu'," chayi, "jay	[49] "I want to tell you then, mother," said
k'ani ana'ta," chayi, "anya'r," chayi, "me're	[the daughter], "if you want to know," she
ja'x nokta nokta," chayi, "péru k'ob'ir ut'	said, "your son-in-law," she said, "he's not
unak," chayi, "yi ma' takar era," chayi,	really big," she said, "but it's thick," she
"maja'x ja'x taka uche era," chayi.	said, "and it's not just that," she said, "it's
	not only that he does," she said.
[50] "A," chayi, "k'ob'ir ut' unak," chayi,	[50] "Ah," said [the mother], "it's thick," she
"k'ob'ir, e ya'x botija ya' hija," chayi,	said, "thick like a barrel ⁷⁶ , daughter," she
"botija," chayi.	said, "a barrel," she said.

⁷⁶ The Spanish word *botija*, used by the informant in both Ch'orti' and Spanish, is an earthenware jug, but the expression *como una botija* has the sense of *round as a barrel*.

[51] Enton che, "yi tuk'a e'nte' xe' k'ani ani	[51] Then she said, "and what was the
awarye'n," chayi, "kocha tuk'a tuk'a uche,"	other thing you wanted to tell me," she
chayi, "uwajpye'tka ch'a'r," chayi, "o	said, "what is it he does?" she said, "did he
wa're't," chayi.	grab you lying down?" she said, "or were
	you standing up?" she said.
[52] "Inma' tu'," chayi, "si ja'xir intya'ch	[52] "No mother," said [the daughter], "he
uche'n," chayi, "ixin uwab'we'n yaja',"	did me another way," she said "he went
chayi, "upakb'we'n kocha apakwan utu' e	and positioned me there," she said, "he
wakax," chayi, "yi ja'xir ixin wa'wan innajt,"	bent me over like a cow bends over," he
chayi, "yi tari ajner taka," chayi, "war taka	said, "and he went and stood far off," she
ak'otoy yaja' utz'iri tamaren," chayi, "yi	said, "and came running," she said, "and
uche koche utata' e wakax," chayi.	when he reached me he put it in me," she
	said, "and did it like a bull," she said.
[53] "Ay," chayi yer e ixik, "ne't tu'," chayi,	[53] "Oh!" said the woman, "you,
"apaxob' tuno'r asakunob'," chayi,	daughter," she said, "you beat all your
"asakunob' me're ja'x b'an koche ya'x,"	older siblings," she said, "it wasn't like that
chayi, "e ya'x imb'utz uyub'na'r," chayi.	with your older siblings," she said, "this is
	good to hear," she said.
[54] Yi jaxto ayi yer e ixik ira che, ajner ayi	[54] And this woman, indeed, ran off to her
ixin tuyotot, k'otoy che, kay ayi uyare	house, got there, and was telling her old
uviejo, uyare ayi e noxib', "Oyb'ika o?"	man, she said to her husband, "hey,
chayi.	listen," she said.
[55] "Tuk'a," chayi yer e winik.	[55] "What?" said the man.
[56] "Ay kawijch'ok," chayi, "lok'oy ayi	[56] "Our daughter," she said, "it turns out
utajwi yer unoxib'," chayi.	she found a [good] husband," she said.

[57] "E," chayi, chayi yer e winik jaxir,	[57] "Eh," he said, the man said to her,
"tuk'a uche imb'a," chayi. "	"what did he do?" he said.
[58] "Sí b'an kochera uk'ajti," chayi, "ke'	[58] "This is how she told it," [the woman]
ma' ayi ja'x nojta nojta," che, "péru k'ob'ir	said, "that he's not really big," she said,
ayi ut' unak," chayi, "yi ne'n inware ke'	but he's thick," she said, "and I say it's a
botija," chayi, "yi ma' ayi jax taka era,"	barrel," she said, "and not only that," she
chayi, "uche ayi inte' kocha no'n ma'to tya'	said, "he did something like we have never
kache," chayi, "uche ayi kocha utata' e	done," she said, "he did it like a bull," she
wakax," chayi, "yi uche ayi niwijch'ok ixin	said, "and made my daughter go stand like
wa'wan koche apakwan awan utu' e	a cow bends over," she said.
wakax," chayi.	
[59] "Tuk'a ixana oyb'i," chayi yer e winik,	[59] "What are you going around asking?"
"ne't meru ja'x apatana'r," chayi, "jaxto e	the man said, "it's just not you're
ya'x ixana ache ne't?" chayi yer e winik,	business," he said, "this is what you are
k'ayna ayi.	going around doing?" said the man,
	scolding her.
[60] "Inma' noxib'," chayi, "kawejtik	[60] "No, husband," she said, "let's try it,
ub'ano'n," chayi, "kawira jay alok'oyto	too," she said, "let's see if we can still
kache," chayi.	manage to do it," she said.
[61] "Kocha kache no'n," chayi yer e winik,	[61] "How [can] we do it?" said the man,
"ma' awira ke' no'n," chayi, "onya'n	"don't you realize that we," he said, "are
winiko'nix," chayi, "ne'n mix tuk'a ani	old people," he said, "I wouldn't have the
fuerza," chayi, "kocha twa' inche ne'n."	strength," he said, "how can I do it?"
[62] "Ay, inma'," chayi, "kawejtik," chayi.	[62] "Oh, no," said [the woman], "let's try
	it," she said.
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[63] Tari che ixin ayi utares inte' yer usuy	[63] She went to bring the base of a
k'ajk' che xe' kaware sebo xe' ache'na	candle that we call tallow and is made of
tama uch'ich'mayir e wakax.	beef fat.
[64] Uwajpi ayi che kay ugoro tutajn uk'ab'	[64] She grabbed it and was rolling it into
che yi uk'eche ayi tut' e k'ajk' kay uk'ijnes	a ball in the palm of her hand, brought
uk'ab' yi uwajpi ayi yar utejromar unoxib'	over the fire and was heating her hand,
che kay uche <i>sobar</i> che kay uche <i>sobar</i>	and grabbed her husband's little penis,
hasta que ma' uwab'u che, así ke' wa'wan	and rubbed and rubbed and didn't stop,
ayi utejromar unoxib' che.	and so the husband's penis stood up.
[65] Enton chayi ja'xir, "wa'rix ixto ya' ne't,"	[65] Then she said, "it's up," she said,
chayi, "koner kiki wa'ren tara innajt," chayi,	"now go stand far over there," she said, "I
"ne'n k'ani inxin pakwan innajt," chayi, "yi	want to go bend over," she said, "and you
wate't ajner," chayi.	come running," she said.
[66] Enton yer e winik ub'an che yo'pa ayi	[66] Then the man's strength came [back].
yer uk'ek'wa'r.	
[67] Uwira ke' pakar ayi e ixik, uwira innajt	[67] He saw the woman bent over, saw
innajt taka che, ixin ajner taka yer e winik	her far off, took off running, and just as he
che, ke' twi'x eyni ak'otoy twa' utajwi tuk'a	was about to arrive at what to do with his
twa' uche taka uyexka'r, pitz'k'a uyok tama	wife, his feet slipped on the ground [he fell
uť e rum che, yaj pakar e'ron che, uni' ayi	down], and his nose stuck into her vagina,
utaksu tama yer uti' usuy ujamir uti' usuy	the opening of his wife's vagina.
uyexka'r che.	
[68] A, ma'chi ayi u'b'na, yi tya' pakwan	[68] Ah, he couldn't do it, when he fell
k'axi che chamay ayi yer utejromar,	down bent over, his penis died (got soft),
matuk'a uche.	and he didn't do anything.

[69] Yi enton che yer e ixik yaja' che	[69] And so nothing was done with that
matuk'a che'na takar, tartaka ke' ma'chi	woman, because her man couldn't, his
ub'na yer e winik che, uni' ayi utaksu tama	nose went between the woman's legs.
uxajr e ixik.	
	nose went between the woman's legs.

6.2.9. Text 14: Pedro Odimar Abuses an Entire Household

[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte' yer k'ajpesyaj.	[1] I want to tell a tale.
[2] E k'ajpesyaj ira ink'ajyer uyub'na'r,	[2] This tale is entertaining to hear, it
ucho'n katz'ene.	makes us laugh.
[3] Ayan ani inkojt winik che kay xana	[3] There was a man who was going
umajres e pak'ab'ob'.	around fooling ⁷⁷ people.
[4] E winik ira che uk'ab'a Pedro Odimar.	[4] This man's name was Pedro Odimar.
[5] E Pedro Odimar ira che maya'ni	[5] This Pedro Odimar had a bad
b'anb'an uwirna'r, umajres e pak'ab'ob'	attitude ⁷⁸ , and fooled a lot of people.
me'yra.	
[6] Yi tama inyajr che k'otoy ayi tama	[6] One time he came to a house and he
ingojr otot, yi ja'xir che ub'ujk'se ayi ub'a	dressed himself as a woman, put on a big
kocha e ixiktak, ulapi ayi e nukir pik, yi	dress, and he put rags, stuffed rags inside
uturb'a ayi e b'ajk'ib', usub'i ayi e b'ajk'ib'	the breast of the dress, so it appeared that
makwi'r ut' uchu' e pik, twa' cheker ke'	he had breasts.
ayan uchu'.	
[7] Uyakta ayi ach'i' utzutzer ujor kocha	[7] He let his hair grow like the hair of a
utzutzer ujor e ixiktak, uxijb'a kocha e	woman, and combed it like a woman.
ixiktak.	
[8] Enton che k'otoy ayi tama ingojr otot yi	[8] So he came to a house and asked for
uk'ajti ayi e patna'r, uk'ajti e patna'r che,	work, asked for work, was given work, a
ajk'una ayi e patna'r, tya' twa' apatna twa'	position helping the women inside, he did
utakre e ixiktak maku che, uche e patna'r	the housework.
xe' ayan tama e ototob'.	
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 ⁷⁷ The Ch'orti' word *umajres* means to fool or cheat in an abusive or exploitative way.
 ⁷⁸ More literally, his appearance wasn't good, but this refers to behavior as much as looks.

[9] Enton che tama e b'ajxan akb'ar, tya'	[9] So on the first evening, when night fell
akb'are yaja' che tya' k'otoy uk'ajti e	when he came seeking work, he was
patna'r, ajk'una ayi tya' twa' awayan,	given a place to sleep, was given a bed,
ajk'una uch'akte', ajk'una uyotot, yi kocha	was given a room, as the head of the
ayan ayi e nukir ijch'oktak taka e ajyum	house had grown daughters, then when
otot ira, ton che akb'are taka che, are'na	night came he was told where to sleep.
tya' twa' a'xin awayan.	
[10] Enton che tari ayi uno'r e ijch'ok,	[10] Then the oldest daughter said,
chayi "tu'," chayi uyare utu', "ne'n k'ani	"mother," she said to her mother, "I want to
inwayan taka e María tama e akb'ar ira,"	sleep with Maria tonight," she said,
chayi, por qué jaxto ayi e Pedro ira uturb'a	because this Pedro took the name of
ayi uk'ab'a tama María, enton tama María	Maria, was called Maria, "I want to sleep
apejkna, "ne'n k'ani inwayan taka e María	with Maria tonight, mother," the girl said.
akb'ar ira, tu'," chayi e ijch'ok.	
[11] "Ne'n ub'an," chayi e'nkojt, "ne'n k'ani	[11] "Me too," said another [daughter], "I
inwayan taka e María," chayi.	want to sleep with Maria," she said.
[12] "Ne'n ub'an" chayi e'nkojt ijch'ok.	[12] "Me too," said the another girl.
[13] Uxkojt erti' ayi k'ani awayanob' taka e	[13] The three [of them] wanted to sleep
María tama e'ngojr otot.	with Maria in the other room.
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[14] Enton chayi e tu'b'ir, "ma'chi uyub'i,"	[14] Then the mother said, "it isn't
chayi, "era ma'chi uyub'i ixwayan	possible, " she said, "that can't be", she
tunorox," chayi, "tartaka ke' inlajtz' e	said, "all of you can't sleep [with Maria],"
ch'akte'," chayi, "inkojt awayan koner,"	she said, "because the bed is narrow," she
chayi, "inkojt ejk'ar inkojt chab'ij," chayi,	said, "one will sleep [with her] tonight," she
"tunorox twa' ixwayan takar," chayi.	said, "one tomorrow and one the day
	after," she said, "all of you will sleep with
	her," she said.
[15] "Chik waynik b'ajxan isakun," chayi	[15] "Your older sister will sleep [with her]
arenob' e utz'e'rir e ijch'oktak.	first," the younger girls were told.
[16] Enton che ixin wayan e no'r ijch'ok,	[16] So the oldest girl went to sleep, and in
ya' yaja' che kocha tama uyuxin e akb'ar	the middle of the night Pedro woke up
che e Pedro b'ixk'a ch'a'n che.	lying down.
[17] Kay ayi ub'ajyu e ijch'ok che, kay	[17] He was touching the girl, was
ub'ajyu e ijch'ok, esde ke' b'ixk'a ayi e	touching the girl, until the girl woke up.
ijch'ok.	
[18] Uk'ijnes ayi uwe'rir e ijch'ok che, yi	[18] He warmed up the girl's flesh, and so
b'an ayi ja'xir ub'an che, achpa wa'wan	with him as well, his penis rose to stand
uk'ur koche kaware, wa'wan uk'ur ub'an	up, as we say, his penis stood up, too.
che.	

[19] Enton che kay ayi utz'ojyo e ijch'ok	[19] Then he was molesting ⁷⁹ the girl, and
che, yi e ijch'ok, kocha k'ijnesnix uch'ich'er	the girl, as her blood was made hot by the
umen e winik ira che, tya' war ab'ajina che	man, when she was touched and
war atz'ojina, yi mixtuk'a ojron e ijch'ok	molested, the girl said nothing at all, let go
che, uyakta ayi ub'a che kay che'na kay	of herself, was being done, was being
tz'ojina che koche kaware, kay mak'wob'.	molested, and as we say, they were
	'eating fruit' ⁸⁰ .
[20] Ton che sakojpa che, matuk'a ayi	[20] Morning came and the girl revealed
ucheksu e ijch'ok, ma'chi ucheksu jay	nothing [to the others], she didn't reveal
winik o ixik.	whether [he] was a man or woman.
[21] Enton che sakojpa che u'ri upik e	[21] Then Pedro got up and put on his
Pedro che, kay wa'wan kay wajro che kay	dress, was up and cleaning, was setting
uch'ab'u e pa', jaxto ayi uno'r e ijch'ok ira	out the tortillas, and the oldest girl
ma'chi ucheksu.	revealed nothing.
[22] Ton che uyare ayi utu' tya' akb'are	[22] Then she said to her mother when it
inteyx akb'ar, uyare ayi utu', "tu'," chayi,	got dark the next evening, she said to her
"ne'n k'ani inxin inwayan otronyajr taka e	mother, "mother," she said, "I want to
María," chayi.	sleep with Maria again," she said.
[23] "Ah inma', koner ma'chi ixto ixin ya',"	[23] "Oh, no, today you're not going to,"
chayi utwob', "koner axin awijtz'in," chayi.	said her mother, "today your younger
	sister is going to," she said.
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⁷⁹ The informant usually translated *utz'ojyo* into Spanish as *molestar*. At times in this story the word means just *to bother*, but at other times means *to penetrate sexually*. The basic meaning of the word is *to strke* or *to gore*. ⁸⁰ 'Eating fruit' is a euphemism for enjoying sex.

[24] Yajra ixin wayan e'nkojt ijch'ok xe'	[24] The other girl who was standing in
wa'r tut' e norb'ir, ixin wayan ub'an che, yi	front of the older one was told to go sleep
e sakunb'ir una'tix ayi ke maja'x ixik e	[with Maria], and she went to sleep too,
María, winik.	and the older sister already knew that
	Maria wasn't a woman, [but] a man.
[25] Enton che b'an taka ayi uche	[25] Well, he did the same again in the
otronyajr uyuxin akb'ar che kay ub'ajyu e	middle of the night, he was touching the
utz'er e ijch'ok ira che, kay ub'ajyu che,	younger girl, was touching her, the girl
b'ixk'a ayi e ijch'ok, war ab'ajina che,	woke up, was being touched, didn't know
mixtuk'a una'ta uche, yi ja'xir che wa'r	what to do, and his penis was standing up
uk'ur otronyajr che, k'ani utz'ojyo e ijch'ok.	again, he wanted to molest the girl.
[26] Enton che, kay uyakta ayi ub'a e	[26] The girl let herself go too, she did
ijch'ok ub'an, mixtuk'a ache, ma'chi	nothing, didn't complain, let herself be
ak'ek'ran, uyakta ayi ub'a tz'ojina.	molested.
[27] Enton che b'an kochera sakojpa	[27] And in this way another night turned
e'nteyx akb'ar, chajrix akb'ar.	into dawn, the second night.
[28] Enton che jaxto ayi e María che u'ri	[28] Then Maria put on her dress, got up
upik, a'chpa a'xin awajro, ach'ab'san,	went to do the cleaning, prepared the
tuno'r e patnar xe' ayan tama uyotot tya'	tortillas, all the work in the house where he
turu, a'wan uche che.	was living, he set about doing it.
[29] Numuy inte' ajk'in ira che, akb'are,	[29] The day passed and night came, and
sutpa chayi e cha'kojt ijch'ok xe'	again the two girls who had slept with
wayanob'ix takar, "koner," chayi, "k'ani	[Maria] said, "tonight," they said, "we want
ka'xin kawayan taka e María," chob' ayi.	to sleep with Maria," they said.

[30] "Inma," chayi utwob', "no'x	[30] "No," said their mother, "you already
wayanoxix," chayi, "koner a'xin iwijtz'in,"	slept [with her]," she said, "tonight your
chayi, "e'nkojt iwijtz'in," chayi.	younger sister is going to," she said, "the
	other younger sister," she said.
[31] Sutpa che ixin e ux ijch'ok, wayanob'	[31] The third girl turned to go, and they
che, yi e cha'kojt ijch'oktak una'tob'ix tuk'a	slept, and the two girls knew what was
war anumuy takarob', ja'x una'tob'ix ke'	happening with them, they already knew
maja'x ixik, péru ma'chi uyaryob' utwob'.	he wasn't a woman, but they didn't tell
	their mother.
[32] Enton che tari ayi ub'an e ux ijch'ok	[32] So this third girl came and they slept,
ira, wayanob', yi b'an taka ayi che'na tama	and the same thing was done in the
uyuxin akb'ar che, kay b'ajina, kay b'ajina	middle of the night, she was being
umen e María, war ab'ajina che, tya'	touched, she was being touched by Maria,
ab'ixk'a ayi yaja' che war ab'ajina me'yra.	was being touched, when she woke up
	she was being touched a lot.
[33] Enton che k'ijnesnix uch'ich'er ub'an	[33] Her blood was already hot, too, she
che, kay ayi pejkna u't umen e María, yi	was being invited by Maria, and Maria, the
jaxto ayi e María che, k'ob'ir e nixi machit	big machete ⁸¹ he was carrying was really
kuchur umener che.	big.
[34] Enton che uyakta ayi ub'a e ijch'ok ira	[34] So this girl allowed herself to be
tz'ojina, yi b'an kochera che numob',	molested, and it happened like that, all
uxkojt erti' e ijch'oktak che wayanob',	three of the girls slept, slept with Maria.
wayanob' taka e María.	

⁸¹ *Machete* is a common euphemism for penis.

[35] Enton che b'an kochera ub'an che,	[35] And in this way, too, the mother said,
jaxto ayi e tu'b'ir, chayi, "no'x wayanoxix	"you've slept with Maria," the mother said,
taka e María," chayi e tu'b'ir, "koner k'ani	"tonight I want to sleep [with her] too," she
inwayan ub'an," chayi.	said.
[36] "Inma, nána," chob' ayi, "no'n k'ani	[36] "No, mother," they said, "we want to
kawayan."	sleep [with her]."
[37] "Ah, ne'n k'ani inwayan taka e María,"	[37] "Well I want to sleep with Maria," said
chayi e tu'b'ir ub'an.	the mother, as well.
[38] Ixin ayi wayan e tu'b'ir, yi b'an taka	[38] The mother went to sleep, and in the
ayi ub'an kay b'ajina e tu'b'ir umen a María	same way the mother was touched by
che, tuyuxin akb'ar kay b'ajina che.	Maria, in the middle of the night she was
	being touched.
[39] Cuando b'ixk'a e tub'ir ira che uwira	[39] When the mother woke up she saw
ke' e Pedro che, mixtuk'a una'ta uche taka	Pedro and didn't know what to do with the
e nixi machit tut' usuy che.	big machete he had in the area of his
	privates.
[40] Enton tari che, uyakta ayi ub'a ub'an	[40] Then the mother let go of herself too,
e tu'b'ir, tz'ojina ayi, kocha kaware che'na	was molested, and as we say, 'eating fruit'
e mak'war takar.	was done with her.
[41] Enton che sakojpa ub'an matuk'a	[41] Morning came too and the mother
ucheksu ub'an e tu'b'ir.	likewise revealed nothing.
[42] Jax taka una'tob'.	[42] Only they [the four women] knew
	about it.
[43] Enton b'anto kay turanob' che, b'an	[43] And they were living in this manner,
kay turanob'.	were living this way.

[44] Inte' akb'ar awayan e'nkojt takar, inte'	[44] One night one would sleep with him,
akb'ar e'nkojt, inte' akb'ar e'nkojt, yi tya'	another night another, one night another,
anumob' tuno'r e ijch'oktak takar, a'xin	and after all the girls had passed [a night]
awayan e tub'ir ub'an, por que una'tob' ke'	with him the mother would sleep [with him]
e ixik ira maja'x ixik, winik era, ja'x inkojt	too, because they knew that this woman
winik,	wasn't a woman but a man, he was a man.
[45] Una'tob'ix tuk'a war ache'na takarob',	[45] They knew what was being done to
péru ma'chi uchekswob', ja'x taka una'tob',	them, but they didn't reveal it, only they
nen e'nkojt nen e'nkojt ma'chi uchekswob'	knew, and neither one nor another
tuk'a war uchob', ja'xob' taka una'tob'.	revealed what they were doing, only they
	knew about it.
[46] Enton che k'otoy ayi inte' ajk'in ayan	[46] There came a day when there was a
ayi inte' nojk'in, ayan inte' nojk'in che, yi	party, there was a party, and the mother
chayi e yaje tu'b'ir, "no'n k'ani ka'xin	said, "we want to go see the dance," she
kawira e akta'r," chayi uyare e winik.	said to the man.
[47] "Kikik," chayi e winik, ja'xir unoxib' e	[47] "Go," said the man, the woman's
ixik, "kikik, ne'n ma'chi k'ani inxin," chayi.	husband, "[you] go, [but] I don't want to
	go," he said.
[48] "K'ani ka'xin," chayi, "k'ani kak'eche	[48] "We want to go," they said, "[and] we
a'xin e María," chob' ayi, yi ke' sí una'tob'ix	want to bring along Maria," they said,
ja'xirob' ke' koche winik e María, una'tob'ix	because well they knew that as Maria was
tuk'a ache'na takarob', k'ani uk'echob'	a man, they knew what would be done
a'xin twa' uwirob' e akta'r.	with them, [so] they wanted to bring him
	along to see the dance.

[49] "Ah, maya'," chayi e winik, "aktanik e	[49] "Not that," said the man, "leave
María," chayi, "ja'x twa' ukojko e otot,"	Maria," he said, "she has to take care of
chayi, "jay tunorox ixixin," chayi,	the house," he said, "if you all go," he said,
"mamajchi aketpa twa' ukojko e otot,"	"nobody will remain to take care of the
chayi, "ne'n k'anix inch'a'n inwayan," chayi	house," he said, "[and] I want to lie down
e winik, "k'anix inch'a'n inwayan," chayi.	and sleep," said the man, "I want to lie
	down and sleep," he said.
[50] Yi ke' kocha e winik ira utata' e	[50] And really this man was, the father of
ijch'oktak, k'ani ayi utz'ojyo e María ub'an,	the girls, he wanted to molest Maria too,
koche e María imb'utz uwirna'r che.	as Maria was attractive.
[51] Tya' uxijb'a ujor che, ixik uwirna'r, yi	[51] When she combed her hair she
jaxto ayi e tata'b'ir ira, k'axi u't' tama e	looked like a woman, and this father, he
María, k'axi u't' tamar.	was enchanted with Maria ⁸² , enchanted
	with her.
[52] Enton che ixob' ayi e ijch'oktak taka	[52] So the girls went with their mother,
utwob', ma'chi aktana ixin e María.	[but] Maria wasn't allowed to go.
[53] Enton che lok'oy taka ayi ixob', ketpa	[53] So the moment they were gone Maria
ub'ajner e María, yi jaxto ayi e tata'b'ir	remained alone, and this father got close
yaja' che yi ixin ayi tuyejtzer e María, kay	to Maria, was bothering her and bothering
utz'ojyo, kay utz'ojyo.	her.
[54] Yi chayi, "ay, María," chayi, "ne'n	[54] And he said, "oh, Maria," he said, "I
ink'anye't," chayi, "ay, María," chayi, "ne't,"	love you," he said, "oh, Maria," he said,
chayi, "imb'utz awirna'r," chayi.	"you," he said, "are beautiful," he said.

⁸² More literally, *his face (or eyes) fell on her.*

[55] "Ay, ne'n, inma," chayi e María, "ne'n	[55] "Oh, not me!" said Maria, "I don't
ma'chi ink'ani," chayi, "ne'n ma'chi k'ani	want to," she said, "I don't want to shame
insub'ari nib'a tu't nipatrona," chayi, "a'xin	myself to my boss ⁸³ ," she said, "she'll get
ak'ijna," chayi.	mad," she said.
[56] "A, ma'," chayi e winik, "matuk'a uche	[56] "Ah, no," said the man, "she won't do
ya'," chayi, "sí ma'chi turob' era," chayi.	anything," he said, "they're not here now,"
	he said.
[57] "Péru ma'chi," chayi e María, "ne'n	[57] "But no," said Maria, "I don't want you
ma'chi ink'ani twa' atz'ojye'n," chayi uyare	to molest me," she said to the man, "I don't
e winik, "ma'chi ink'ani," chayi, "ayan	want to," she said, "you have a wife," she
awixka'r," chayi.	said.
[58] "Ma, María," chayi e winik, "ma'chi,"	[58] "No Maria," said the man, "no," he
chayi, "aktan ab'a hom, María" chayi,	said, "let yourself go, Maria," he said, "let
"aktan ab'a."	yourself go."
[59] "Inma," chayi e María, "ne'n ma'chi	[59] "No," said Maria, "I don't want to
k'ani inche traicionar nipatrona," chayi.	betray my boss," she said.
[60] Ej, che, yi koche war atz'ojina umen e	[60] Well, as she was being bothered by
winik, enton k'oyran ayi e María tya' war	the man, Maria got fed up with being
atz'ojina, enton chayi e María, "jay ak'ani	bothered, so Maria said, "if you really want
ixto," chayi, "k'ani imak'o takare'n," chayi,	to," she said, "you want to 'eat fruit' with
"koner," chayi, "jay ache koche ne'n	me," she said, "now," she said, "if you do
inwaryet," chayi, "inwakta nib'a," chayi e	as I tell you," she said, "I'll let myself go,"
María.	Maria said.

⁸³ By *patrona* or *boss* Maria is referring to the mother.

[61] "Koche k'ani ache," chayi e winik.	[61] "Whatever you want to do!" said the
	man.
[62] "La'r tara," chayi, "k'ani inkache't tut' e	[62] "Come here," she said, "I want to tie
te' ira," chayi, "yi kachar twa' inwajk'e't,"	you to this post ⁸⁴ ," she said, "[you'll be]
chayi, "kachare't tut' e te' twa' inwakta	tied up so I can give it to you," she said,
nib'a," chayi.	"[you'll be] tied to the post so I can let
	myself go," she said.
[63] Enton tari ayi e winik che, uyakta ub'a	[63] So the man came over and allowed
kajcha.	himself to be tied up.
[64] Tari ayi e María uch'ami inte' jaxb'ir	[64] Maria came over and grabbed a
sukchij che, ukachi tuť e te' upatron, jaxto	maguey rope, and tied her boss to the
ayi e winik ira ukachi ut' e te' che.	post, tied this man to the post.
[65] Enton "koner," chayi uyare, así ke'	[65] "Now," she told him, once she had
ukachi, "koner k'ani inkori nipik," chayi.	tied him up, "now I want to take off my
	dress," she said.
[66] Ukori ayi upik, ke' warxa ayi uwira e	[66] He took off his dress, and all at once
winik che wa'r e nixi machit tut' usuy e	the man saw the big machete standing up
Pedro che.	at Pedro's private parts.
[67] "Koner," chayi, "jay ak'ani twa'	[67] "Now," he said, "if you want me to let
inwakta nib'a takare't," chayi uyare,	myself go with you," he said to him, "now,"
"koner," chayi, "k'ani inche kochera,"	he said, "I want to do it like this," he said.
chayi.	

⁸⁴ Maria wants to tie the father to one of the larger vertical beams that supports the roof of the house.

[CO] laimna aui aada ahiuiwa aui uwaka	[CO] The mean men's fact ware machined
[68] Jajpna ayi esde ch'ujya ayi uyok e	[68] The poor man's feet were grabbed
pobre winik ira, kay tz'ojina umen e Pedro	and lifted up, and he was molested by
che,	Pedro.
[69] K'a'pa ayi utz'ojyo ut' usuy e winik	[69] It ended up that he was molesting his
che, e'ntix ayi a'ru e winik, "ay, ma María,"	private parts, and the man was shouting,
chayi, "María tuk'a war ache takaren?"	"oh, no, Maria," he said, "Maria, what are
enton, "maja'x ajchi' ixiket, winiket ajchi',"	you doing to me?" then, "you're not a
chayi.	female person you're a male person," he
	said.
[70] "Ke?" chayi e María ja'xir e Pedro,	[70] "What?" said Maria, who was Pedro,
koner ja'x e Pedro uk'ab'a, "Koner," chayi,	now his name was Pedro, "now," he said,
"uk'ani twa' atajwi koche war utajwi	"you have to find out what your daughters
awijch'oktak," chayi	found out," he said.
[71] E, kay ayi wa'wan e Pedro, k'a'pa ayi	[71] Eh, Pedro set about it, finished
utz'ojyo che ut' usuy e winik, intix ayi a'ru,	molesting the private parts of the man,
yi k'a'pa taka utz'ojyo che, yi uwajpi che	who was sobbing, and as soon as he
u'ri upik ixin, lok'oy ajni.	finished molesting him he grabbed and put
	on his dress, and took off running.
[72] Tya' k'otoy e ixik taka uyarob', kachar	[72] When the woman returned with her
war ayi e winik, enton uwirob'.	daughters, the man was tied up there, and
	they saw him.
[73] "Tuk'a ixto akojko?" chob' ayi	[73] "What's going on with you?" the
uyaryob' e winik.	daughters said to the man.

[74] "'Tuk'a war ache?' iware'n nox,"	[74] "What are you doing?' you say," he
chayi, "condena'dox," chayi, "sí nox ina'ta	said, "you bitches ⁸⁵ !" he said, "you knew
ajchi' ani ke' winik e María," chayi, "majchi	damn well Maria was a man," he said, "he
ja'x ixik," chayi.	wasn't a woman," he said.
[75] Enton chayi e iláma, ja'xir utu' e	[75] Then the wife spoke, the mother of
ijch'oktak, "por sinvergüenza," chayi, "ta	the daughters, "because of
a'tz'i'r war anumse ab'a koche ya'x," chayi	shamelessness," she said, "because of
e yaje iláma, "quizás k'ani ani atz'ojyo e	your doggishness, this happened to you,"
María," chayi, "por eso uchet koche ya'x,"	said the wife, "maybe you wanted to
chayi.	molest Maria," she said, "so he did this to
	you," she said.
[76] "'María,' aware ne't," chayi e winik,	[76] "'Maria,' you say," said the man,
"'María,' aware ne't, ke' esto ne't nume'tix	"'Maria,' you say, even you've been with
taka e María," chayi, "no'x war ajchi' ina'ta	Maria," he said, "you all well knew he had
ke' nixi k'ur tut' usuy, por eso ixixin	a big penis down there, that's why you
ixwayan takar," chayi.	were sleeping with him," he said.
[77] War ixto ayi ak'ijna wa'r ya', b'ajna	[77] He was standing there angry, and
ayi, péru bravo ayi, por que k'a'pa tz'ojina	was released, but mad, because his
yer uť usuy yaja' umen e María.	private parts had just been molested by
	Maria.
[78] Y b'an kochera numuy e numer taka e	[78] And this is how the story of Pedro
Pedro Odimar.	Odimar goes.

⁸⁵ More literally, *damned ones*.

6.3. SECTION III – Long Stories

6.3.1. Text 15: Pedro Odimar's Dirty Tricks

Part 1: Pedro Odimar and the Pigs' Tails 6.3.1.1.

E Pedro Odimar yi e ajchonma'r	Pedro Odimar and the Merchant
[1] K'ani ink'ajti e'nteyx numer twa' e xe'	[1] I want to tell another passage of about
arena Pedro Odimar.	the one called Pedro Odimar.
[2] E winik ira che ja'x inkojt winik xe' kay	[2] This man was one who fooled ⁸⁶ people
umajres me'yra e pak'ab'ob'.	a lot.
[3] Tanyajr che e winik ira k'otoy upojro e	[3] One time this man came to look for
patna'r tama ingojr otot tya' turu inkojt	work at a house where there lived a man
winik xe' ayan me'yra utumin.	who had a lot of money.
[4] Ajk'una ayi upatna'r twa' apatna.	[4] He was given his work to do.
[5] Yi e winik ira che yajra ayi ixin uyakta	[5] And this man [Pedro] was sent off to
kora chitam, o me'yra chitam, o sea que e	deliver a few pigs, or many pigs, that is the
winik, tya' k'otoy patna che ajchon chitam	man, when he came to work, was a seller
ayi umani ayi e chitam yi uxot choni ⁸⁷ .	of pigs, he bought pigs and sold them
	again.
[6] Enton che yajra ayi ixin e Pedro, yi	[6] So Pedro was sent off, and as the
kocha innajt ayi e'nte' chinam tya' twa'	other town where he had to go to deliver
ak'otoy uyakta e syan chitam yaja' xe'	the many pigs he brought along was far
uk'eche a'xin, ixin ayi, ya satar che, ma'chi	away, he went there, got lost, and didn't
ayi ayopa.	get there.

 ⁸⁶ Umajres means to cheat, cheat on, trick or fool someone, in an exploitative or abusive sense, rather than playful.
 ⁸⁷ The form *uxot choni* is grammatically obscure and might be a transcription error.

[7] Numuy inte' ajk'in numuy e'nte ajk'in,	[7] One day passed and another day
ma'chi ayopa.	passed, but he didn't get there.
[8] K'otoy tama e chinam yaja' che tya'	[8] He arrived at the town where he was to
twa' uchoni e syan chitam, enton che	sell the many pigs, and then it came into
yo'pa ayi tujor tuk'a twa' uche.	his head what to do.
[9] Yi b'ajxan ke' uchoni ayi e syan chitam	[9] Before selling the many pigs, he cut off
che, kay ayi uxuri unej e chitam, kay uxuri	their tails, he was cutting of their tails,
unej e chitam che, ub'ut'i tama inte' uchijr,	stuffed them into his bag, and carried
ukuchi, ukuchi tari.	them, carried them with him.
[10] Yo'pa che tama inte' ut' anam che,	[10] He came to a mud puddle, a big mud
noxi' ut' anam yaja' che tya' a'wan me'yra	puddle where a lot of water stood, stuck
ja', kay ayi utz'iri ixin unej e chitam makwir	the pigs' tails into the mud, and then he
e anam che, yi enton che ixin.	left.
[11] K'otoy tuyotot uyajma'nsaj, koche	[11] He arrived at the house of his
kaware tama e castilla patrón, k'otoy yaja'	employer, <i>patrón</i> as we say in Spanish,
che, uyare ayi, "patrón" chayi.	and arrived there and said, "patrón," he
	said.
[12] "Tuk'a?" chayi e ajyum patna'r.	[12] "What?" said the employer.
[13] "Ne'n," chayi, "innumse nib'a inte'	[13] "I," [Pedro] said, "experienced
mab'anb'anir," chayi.	something bad," he said
[14] "Tuk'a anumse ab'a?" chayi e	[14] "What happened to you?" said the
ajuympatna'r.	employer.
[15] "A, ne'n," chayi, "ma'chi k'oten taka e	[15] "Ah, I," he said, "didn't arrive with the
chitam tama e chinam tya' ne't ak'ani,"	pigs at the town you wanted," [Pedro] said.
chayi.	
1	1

[16] "Yi tuk'a anumse ab'a," chayi.	[16] "And what happened to you?" he said.
[17] "E chitamob'," chayi, "kay atyob' tama	[17] "The pigs," he said, "were bathing in a
inte' ut' anam," chayi, "yi k'a'pa b'uk'tz'ob',"	mud puddle," he said, "and they were
chayi.	completely swallowed up," he said.
[18] "Yi tya' inb'a," chayi e winik, "intaka e	[18] "And where, indeed," said the man,
ojron," chayi.	"just words ⁸⁸ ," he said.
[19] "E'nrach," chayi.	[19] "I'm telling the truth," [Pedro] said.
[20] "Yi tya'?" chayi.	[20] "And where?" said [the boss].
[21] "Yaja' tama ut' e anam yaja' innajt,"	[21] "There in the mud puddle far away,"
chayi, "jay ak'ani inko' kawirik," chayi	he said, "if you want let's go see," he said
uyare upatron.	to his boss.
[22] "Inko' ixto," chayi e winik ira ub'an e	[22] "Let's go, then," said the man, the
ajyum patna'r.	employer.
[23] Ixob' che, axanob', k'otob' yaja' tya'	[23] They went on foot and arrived there
wa'r ut' e anam che.	where the mud puddle was.
[24] Uwirse, "tara era, patron," chayi, "tara	[24] He showed him, "here, boss," he said,
k'a'pa b'uk'tz'a e chitamob'," chayi, "yi	"here the pigs were completely swallowed
chamob'," chayi.	up," he said, "and they died," he said.
[25] A, usajpi ayi unak'ut' e ajyumpatn'ar	[25] Ah, the employer rubbed his eyes,
yaja' ke' k'a'pa b'uktz'a e chitamob' yi ja'xir	because the pigs were swallowed up and
a'xin asatpa utumin, b'antaka ma'chi a'xin	he was his money was going to be lost,
asutpa watar uyeror utumin.	because the investment ⁸⁹ of his money
	wasn't going to come back [to him].

 ⁸⁸ Intaka e ojron is literally just words or just talk, but implies you're lying.
 ⁸⁹ Eror seems here to refer to the chance or possibility of profit from a business venture.

[26] Enton che, koche'ra uche e winik che:	[26] Then the man did like this: "pull their
"kerejb'an unej," chayi arena umen	tails," he said, he was told by his boss,
upatron, "kerejb'an unej e chitamob' ya'x,	"pull those pigs' tails, Pedro," he said,
Pedro," chayi, "b'ajk'at alok'ob'to," chayi.	"maybe they'll still come out," he said.
[27] Ch'uwan che chichikna che tama unej	[27] He set himself to the task with great
e chitam che, méru ke' war ukerejb'a	force to the pigs' tails, was just really
verdad che, esde umutz'i ayi unak'ut' che,	pulling, to the point where he even closed
war achichikna tama unej e chitam che,	his eyes, was applying force to the pig's
warxa ayi uwira ukerejb'a lok'oy che,	tail, and all of a sudden he pulled it out, it
tz'okpa lok'oy che, ub'ajner taka ayi unej	broke off, and he just stood there holding
uchuki wa'wan.	the tail.
[28] "Ch'ujkun ixto awira," chayi uyare e	[28] "Look, see!" he said to the boss,
patron, "ch'ujkun awira," chayi, "ixob'	"look, see," he said, "they went into the
makwir e rum ch'a'rob', ma'chi alok'ob',"	ground and are lying there, they won't
chayi, "tz'okpa unej," chayi.	come out," he said, "the tail broke," he
	said.
[29] "Ah," chayi, "tuk'a kachik koner," chayi	[29] "Ah," he said, "what shall we do
e ajyum patna'r, "kerejb'an e'nkojt yaja',"	now?" said the employer, "pull another,"
chayi, "b'ajk'at alok'oy," chayi, "alok'oyto	he said, "maybe it will come out," he said,
ani," chayi arena.	"it still might come out," he said.
[30] Sutpa ayi ixin ukerejb'a e'nkojt	[30] He went back to pull another pig's tail
otronyajr tu'nej e chitam yi ya' ayi ch'u'r	and tried hard.
achichikna che.	
[31] "Eh ma'chi alok'oy," chayi uyare	[31] "Ah, it isn't coming out," he said to his
upatron, "ma'chi alok'oy," chayi.	boss, "it doesn't come out," he said.

[32] Wa'wan kay utijti yaja' che, warxa	[32] He stood pulling on it, and suddenly
uwira che ukerejb'a lok'oy maku e rum	he pulled it out from the ground, and stood
che, uchuki wa'wan.	there holding it.
[33] "Ch'ujkun," chayi, "tz'okpa otronyajr	[33] "Look," he said, "this other pig's tail
e'nte unej chitam ira," chayi, uyare ayi	broke too," he said, he said to his boss.
upatron.	
[34] "Ah, Pedro," chayi, "ne'n," chayi,	[34] "Ah, Pedro," he said, "I'm," he said,
"a'xin asatpa nitumin tara," chayi, "ma'chix	"going to lose my money here," he said,
a'xin asutpa uyeror," chayi e patron, "yi	"the investment isn't going to return [to
tuk'a kachik?" chayi.	me]," said the boss, "and what shall we
	do?" he said.
[35] "Tuk'a ka'xin kache?" chayi e Pedro,	[35] "What are we going to do?" said
"b'uk'tz'ob'ix," chayi, "tara satpob'ix e	Pedro, "they've been swallowed," he said,
chitamob', ma'chix ka'xin kasutpa	"the pigs have been lost here, we're not
kalok'se," chayi.	going to get them back out," he said.
[36] "Aktan ixto ya'," chayi e patron,	[36] "Leave them, then," said the boss,
"aktan," chayi, "inko'," chayi, "b'uk'tz'ob'ix,	"leave them," he said, "let's go," he said,
b'uk'tz'ob'ix," chayi, sutpob' ayi.	
b uk tz ob ix, chayi, sutpob ayi.	"they've been swallowed up, swallowed
b uk iz ob ix, "chayi, sulpob" ayı.	up," he said, and they went back.
[37] Yi tuk'a uche e yaje Pedro ira?	

[38] Sí ja'xir intaka war umajres upatron,	[38] Surely he was just fooling his boss,
por eso unej e chitam yaja' intaka ayi uxuri	because those pig's tails, he just cut them
b'ajxan ke' uchoni, uxuri lok'oy unej e	before he sold [the pigs], he cut off the
chitamob' kay utz'iri ixin maku e anam twa'	pig's tails and put them into the mud so it
e'rna ke' e chitamob' b'uk'tz'ob', yi b'an	would appear that the pigs had been
koche'ra umajres upatron.	swallowed up, and thus he fooled his
	boss.
[39] Enton koche kaware ke' e yaje Pedro	[39] So we say that this Pedro Odimar, he
Odimar, ajmajresyaj ani, yi tar era kay	was a fraud, and for this he was hated, he
xejb'na u't, ma'chi ani ak'ajna, tartaka ke'	wasn't loved, because of the many frauds
ja'xir me'yra majresyaj kay xana uche.	he went about doing.
[40] Yi enton tara k'a'pa e'nteyx uyokir e	[40] And so here ends yet another tale of
majresyaj xe' uche e Pedro Odimar.	the dirty tricks that Pedro Odimar did.
[41] Enton che tanyajr koche warix	[41] Then this time he was hated to the
axejb'na u't ke' ja'x ajmajresyaj.	very core because he was a cheat.

6.3.1.2. Part 2: Pedro Odimar and the Cooked Tortillas

[2] One time he found himself with two
en, and he was spoken to by the other
en, "Pedro," they said, he was spoken
).
I3] "What?" he said.
4] "Let's go walk to a faraway town,"
ey said to him.
!5] "Let's go, then," he said.
16] "Let's go," they said to him.
[7] They left, and these men, as they
ere going far, brought a lot of tortillas, a
t of cooked tortillas ⁹⁰ , they carried along
eat on the road, and Pedro, he brought
othing.
8] So they left and were walking and
alking, they went far in order to arrive at
town, they had to walk (go on foot).
9] He [Pedro] was brought along, he
dn't know what these people were
inking, [but] he was hated, [and] he was
be killed.
ie ie ie ie ie ie ie ie ie ie ie ie ie i

⁹⁰ Cooked tortillas, wrapped in corn leaves, are often carried on journeys, as they might keep for four or five days.

[50] Enton che k'otob' tama uti' inte' noxi	[50] They came to the bank of a big river,
xukur che, ch'a'n wayanob' yaja' che,	lay down to sleep there, they passed the
iksijb'ob' ayi, kay ayi wyob' che, ut'oryob' e	night there, were eating, they built a fire,
k'ajk', pejkna kay we' che umen e mojrob'.	and he [Pedro] was invited to eat by the
	others.
[51] Ton che ch'a'n ayi wayanob' yaja'	[51] So they lay down to sleep there at the
tu'ti' xukur.	river bank.
[52] Enton che jaxto ayi e'nmojr winikob'	[52] These other men didn't sleep, they
ira ma'chi ayi awayanob', b'ixirob' che, war	were awake, waiting until this man [Pedro]
ukojkob' tya' awayan e winik ira, k'ani	slept, they wanted to hear if he was
uyub'yob' jay a'ru uni'.	snoring ⁹¹ .
[53] Ton che warxa uwirob' che wayan e	[53] All at once they realized he was
Pédru, kay a'ru uni', kay a'ru uni'.	sleeping, he was snoring and snoring.
[54] Enton che e Pédru intaka ayi ojron,	[54] Well, Pedro was just talking (lying), he
ma'chi ayi war awayan che, péru ja'xirob'	wasn't sleeping, but they fell asleep too,
ub'an koche satpa wayanob' ub'an che,	fell asleep a bit, and were waiting until
satpa wayanob' kora, yi war ukojkob' twa'	Pedro was sleeping a lot (deeply).
awayan me'yra e Pédru.	
[55] Enton, tuk'a uche e'nmojr winikob' ira	[55] And what did these other men do?
ub'an?	
[56] Wayanob' me'yra che.	[56] They slept a lot (deeply).

⁹¹ That is, they want to verify that he is sleeping deeply. *A'ru uni'* literally means 'his nose was shouting'.

[57] Achpa ayi e Pégru, achpa ayi e	[57] Pedro got up, Pedro got up, he was
Pégru, ja'xir che kay ayi ub'ut'i ayi kora	loading up with some of the cooked
chapb'ir pa' che, ub'asi uch'ab'u, ub'asi	tortillas, he wrapped and placed them,
uch'ab'u e chapb'ir pa' che, tama e nukir	wrapped and placed the cooked tortillas, in
b'ojch'ib' koche kaware, ub'asi ayi	a big sheet as we call it, he wrapped and
uch'ab'u che, uche como ke' ja'x war	placed them, he made it [appear] as if he
awayan, ub'och'i ayi taka inte' b'ojch'ib', yi	were asleep ⁹² , covered them with a sheet,
ja'xir lok'oy ajni che.	and he took off running.
[58] Ja'xir ma'chi una'ta tuk'a k'ani	[58] He didn't know what was to be done
ache'na takar, péru ja'xir ma'chi uyakta	with him, but he didn't let down his guard;
ub'a; ub'ijnu ke' b'ajk'at k'ani achamesna.	he thought perhaps he was to be killed.
[59] Enton ub'asi uch'ab'u che tama inte'	[59] So he wrapped and placed [the
b'ojch'ib', ya' ayi sanar e'ron yaja', yi tya'	tortillas] under a sheet, and they looked
b'ixk'ob' e winikob' ira che uwirob' ke'	stretched out there, and when these men
ma'chi anijki.	woke up, they saw that he wasn't moving.
[60] Kay unijkesob'.	[60] They shook him.
[61] "Pégru, Pégru," chayi arena, "Pégru,	[61] "Pedro, Pedro," they said to him,
b'ixren," ma'chi ayi anijki.	"Pedro, wake up," [but] he didn't move.
[62] "War awayan e Pégru," chob' ayi,	[62] "Pedro is sleeping," they said, "get up,
"achpe'n ub'an," chayi, "ko'yrik chik ta	too," they said, "let's throw him away in the
xukur," chob' ayi.	river," they said.
[63] Uwajpyob' che utz'otyob' uch'uyob' e	[63] They grabbed him, rolled him up,
nixi b'ojch'ib' yaja' che, u'ryob' ixin ta ja'	lifted up the big sheet, and threw it in the
che.	water.

⁹² To clarify, Pedro is arranging the tortillas under his sheet so it looks like someone is sleeping there while he makes good his escape.

[64] Enton chob' ayi, "k'oten Pégru," chayi	[64] Then they said, "bye, Pedro," they
arena, "k'oten, Pégru," chayi.	said to him, "bye, Pedro," they said.
[65] Yi ja'xir innajt ayi turu war uwira tuk'a	[65] And he [Pedro] was at a distance
k'ani uchob' e winikob', enton chayi,	watching what the men wanted to do, and
"k'oten, chapb'ir pa'," chayi ja'xir.	he said, "bye, cooked tortillas," he said.
[66] Ton che tama e nakpat ojroner, xe'	[66] Then in the second language, which
castellano, chayi, "adios, Pédru," ton chayi	is Spanish, they said, "adios, Pedro," and
ja'xir, "adios, tamalito blanco," chayi ja'xir,	he said, " <i>adios, tamalito blanco⁹³,</i> " he said,
yi jak'pa' ayi tze'ne ixin, lok'oy ajni.	and he choked laughing, then took off
	running.
[67] "A," chob' ayi e winikob', "jax ajchi'	[67] "Oh!" said the men, "that person we
kawya'r ko'yri ixin ta ja'," chayi, "sí e Pédru	threw into the water was our food," they
lok'ix ajchi' ajni," chob' ayi.	said, "surely Pedro has fled," they said.
[68] Ch'uwanob' ajnyob' tu'pat, che, kay	[68] They tried to run after him, and were
upojrob', ma'chix utajwyob'.	hunting for him, but they didn't find him.
[69] Lok'oy ajni e Pédru, ketpob' sin wya'r	[69] Pedro fled, and the men were left
e winikob' ira, majresnob' umen e Pédru	without food, fooled again by Pedro.
otronyajr.	
[70] Ma'chi uyakta ub'a chamesna.	[70] He didn't allow himself to be killed.
[71] Yi b'an kochera che e Pédru kay	[71] And in this way Pedro was sought but
sajkna yi ma'chi atajwina twa' achamesna,	wasn't found to be killed, and he was
yi kay xana majresya'n me'yra b'antaka	going around fooling [people] a lot,
ke' ja'xir ma'chi uyakta ub'a twa' ajajpna.	because he didn't allow himself to be
	caught.

⁹³ The bundle the men threw into the river looked like a 'white tamale.'

[72] Enton che numen ajk'in che, ton tara	[72] Days passed, and here ends another
k'a'pa inteyx uyokir unumer e Pédru, k'ani	passage of the story of Pedro, he was to
ani achamesna, korpa tama uchamer.	be killed, [but] he escaped death.

6.3.1.3. Part 3: Pedro Odimar Pretends to Give Birth

[73] Ton tara pues, nakpat ajk'in, numuy	[73] So then, days later, many days
me'yra ajk'in che, yi wa'wan ayi xana che,	passed, and he kept walking, was hiding,
war amukwan, yi war asajkna umen e	and was sought by the others, but wasn't
mojrob', yi kocha ma'chi atajwina.	found.
[74] Enton che k'otoy ayi tangojr otot che.	[74] Then he came to a house.
[75] Ub'ujkse ayi ub'a kocha e ixiktak, yi	[75] He dressed himself as women [do],
kocha b'an ayi umajres e pak'ab'ob',	and in that way fooled the people, he
ub'ujkse ub'a kocha inkojt ixik che, yi	dressed himself as a woman, and stuffed
ub'ut'i ayi e syan b'ajk'ib' makwir tut' unak	many rags in his belly [of the dress] there,
yaja', twa' cheker ke' ayan uyar, ke'	so it appeared that he had a child, that he
kuchur uyar.	was pregnant.
[76] Ton che k'otoy amaxa'nix ayi, k'otoy	[76] Twilight came, she ⁹⁴ arrived there,
yaja' che, upejka ayi e ajyum otot, uche	she greeted the homeowner, and acted as
ayi ke' k'ani ach'a'n.	if she was about to give birth ⁹⁵ .
[77] "Ay," chayi, "ay, ay," chayi.	[77] "Ay!" she said, "Ay! Ay!" she said.
[78] "Yi tuk'a akojko, ixik?" chayi arena.	[78] "And what's troubling you, woman?"
	[the homeowner] said.
[79] "Ay, ne'n," chayi, "k'ani inch'a'n,"	[79] "Oh, I," [Pedro] said, "I'm about to
chayi, "k'ani inch'a'n yi innajt inxin," chayi,	give birth," she said, "I'm about to give
"innajt wa'r niyotot," chayi.	birth and I've gone far," she said, "my
	home is far away," she said.

 ⁹⁴ The gender play in this story reads a little differently in English than in Ch'orti' because English requires the use of gender-marked pronouns like *he* and *she*, while Ch'orti' makes no such distinctions.
 ⁹⁵ More literally, she acted as if she had to lie down, but this is an expression referring to labor.

[80] Ton tari e winik che uyare ayi	[80] The man came and said to his wife,
uyexka'r, "osenik yer e ixik ya'x," chayi,	"let the little woman in," he said, "to sit
"twa' aturan tara," chayi, "twa' ch'a'n tara,	here," he said, "to give birth here, she can
uyub'i ach'a'n taka yer uyar," chayi, "tya'	give birth to her child," he said, "after she
ak'ajnib'a e'rer asutpa a'xin tuyotot," chayi.	gives birth maybe she can go back to her
	house," he said.
[81] Enton che osena ayi turb'ana yaja'.	[81] So she was invited in and was given a
	place there.
[82] Enton che kocha sispajna ayi	[82] Then as the pains from the baby
uk'uxner e ch'urkab' maxto ayi a'ru ya.	calmed down, she was no longer crying
	out.
[83] "Sisa uk'uxner ach'urkab'?" chayi	[83] "The pains from your baby cooled
arena.	down?" they said.
[84] "Sisa," chayi, "péru inxin inch'a'n,"	[84] "They've cooled," she said, "but I'm
chayi, "si koner akb'ar inxin inch'a'n,"	going to give birth," she said, "surely this
chayi.	night I'll give birth," she said.
[85] Ton che ajk'una ayi ingojr uyutot tya'	[85] So she was given a room to sleep in,
twa' awayan, yi osena ayi inkojt ijch'ok,	and a girl was sent in, a daughter of the
uyunen e winik ira, twa' akojkna twa'	man, so [Pedro] would be watched, so that
maja'x ub'ajner ach'a'n a'ru taka	she wouldn't be alone giving birth and
uch'urkab'.	crying out with the baby.

[86] Enton chayi e winik uyare ayi uyunen,	[86] Then the man said to his daughter,
e ijch'ok, "waynen takar, tu'," chayi, "twa'	the girl, "sleep with her, daughter," he said,
jay ch'a'n," chayi, "ne't twa' awira kocha	"so that if she goes into labor," he said,
twa' ak'ajnib'a, yi tya' k'ajnib'ix," chayi,	"you will see how to give birth, and when
"awa'riken," chayi, "jay yar sitz'," chayi, "o	she has given birth," he said, "tell me," he
yar ijch'ok ayo'pa to'r e rum ira," chayi.	said, "if it's a boy," he said, "or a girl that
	arrives to this earth," he said.
[87] "Uyub'ixto tata'," chayi e ijch'ok ja'xir.	[87] "O.K., dad," the girl said to him.
[88] Osena che wayan tangojr otot, yi	[88] [Pedro] was invited in to sleep in a
ajk'una inkojt ijch'ok twa' awayan takar	room, and was given a girl to sleep with so
twa' akojkna.	she would be watched.
[89] Yi enton che, uyuxin akb'ar yaja' che,	[89] Then, in the middle of the night, she
ka'y a'ru.	[Pedro] began to cry out.
[90] Yi jaxto ayi e winik ira, utata' e ijch'ok,	[90] So the man, the father of the girl,
usajka ayi ingojr yer uk'oroch', k'ani ayi	looked for his little violin, he wanted to play
alajb'a tya' ayo'pa e ch'urkab', yi koche	when the baby came, as was their
b'an ayi uturerob' ja'xirob', koche kaware	utererob', their custom as we say.
b'an ucostumbryob'.	
[91] Tya' ak'ajnib'a ayi inkojt ixik che, jay	[91] When a woman gives birth, if a little
yer ijch'ok yo'pa, o yar ixik che, ache'na	girl comes, or a woman, music is made
inte' lajb'a'r ke' k'ajnib'ix e ixik, yi yo'pa	because the woman has given birth, and if
inkojt yer sitz' o yo'pa inkojt yer ijch'ok,	a little boy comes or a little girl comes,
ache'na ayi e lajb'a'r.	music is made.
[92] Turan taka yer uk'oroch' che b'ixir	[92] He sat with his violin, sat awake,
turu ja'xir, war ukojko.	waiting.

[93] K'otoy uyuxin akb'ar che, kay ayi a'ru	[93] The middle of the night came, and the
e ijch'ok uyunen.	girl, his daughter, was shouting.
[94] Enton che jaxto ayi e Pédru ira ukori	[94] Then this Pedro took of his clothes,
ayi ub'ujk, ulok'se ub'ujk che, kay ayi	cast off his clothes, was touching the girl,
ub'ajyu e ijch'ok che, kay ub'ajyu e ijch'ok,	was touching the girl, was molesting her,
kay ayi utz'ojyo, war utz'ojyo che, k'ani	was molesting her, and wanted to commit
uche e mab'anb'anir takar.	a sin with her.
[95] Enton che jaxto ayi e ijch'ok che ka'y	[95] And the girl began shouting, "papa,"
ayi kay a'ru, "táta ya," chayi, "táta ya,"	she said, "papa," she said, "it's ⁹⁶ not a
chayi, "maja'x ijch'ok," chayi, "winik,"	girl," she said, "[it's a] man" she said.
chayi.	
[96] "Ub'in, ub'in," chayi e tata'b'ir, uyare	[96] "Listen, listen," said the father, he said
[96] "Ub'in, ub'in," chayi e tata'b'ir, uyare ayi uyexka'r, "ub'in," chayi, "ub'in tuk'a che	[96] "Listen, listen," said the father, he said to his wife, "listen," he said, "listen to what
ayi uyexka'r, "ub'in," chayi, "ub'in tuk'a che	to his wife, "listen," he said, "listen to what
ayi uyexka'r, "ub'in," chayi, "ub'in tuk'a che niwijch'ok," chayi, "maja'x ijch'ok yo'pa to'r	to his wife, "listen," he said, "listen to what my girl is saying," he said, "it's not a girl
ayi uyexka'r, "ub'in," chayi, "ub'in tuk'a che niwijch'ok," chayi, "maja'x ijch'ok yo'pa to'r	to his wife, "listen," he said, "listen to what my girl is saying," he said, "it's not a girl that's come into the world," he said, "[it's a]
ayi uyexka'r, "ub'in," chayi, "ub'in tuk'a che niwijch'ok," chayi, "maja'x ijch'ok yo'pa to'r e rum," chayi, "winik," chayi.	to his wife, "listen," he said, "listen to what my girl is saying," he said, "it's not a girl that's come into the world," he said, "[it's a] man," he said.
ayi uyexka'r, "ub'in," chayi, "ub'in tuk'a che niwijch'ok," chayi, "maja'x ijch'ok yo'pa to'r e rum," chayi, "winik," chayi. [97] Uwajpi ayi yer uk'oroch' e winik che,	to his wife, "listen," he said, "listen to what my girl is saying," he said, "it's not a girl that's come into the world," he said, "[it's a] man," he said. [97] The man grabbed his little violin, sat
ayi uyexka'r, "ub'in," chayi, "ub'in tuk'a che niwijch'ok," chayi, "maja'x ijch'ok yo'pa to'r e rum," chayi, "winik," chayi. [97] Uwajpi ayi yer uk'oroch' e winik che, turan, tz'ík'u, tz'ík'u, tz'ík'u, tz'ík'u, tz'ík'u,	to his wife, "listen," he said, "listen to what my girl is saying," he said, "it's not a girl that's come into the world," he said, "[it's a] man," he said. [97] The man grabbed his little violin, sat
ayi uyexka'r, "ub'in," chayi, "ub'in tuk'a che niwijch'ok," chayi, "maja'x ijch'ok yo'pa to'r e rum," chayi, "winik," chayi. [97] Uwajpi ayi yer uk'oroch' e winik che, turan, tz'ík'u, tz'ík'u, tz'ík'u, tz'ík'u, tz'ík'u, tz'ík'u.	to his wife, "listen," he said, "listen to what my girl is saying," he said, "it's not a girl that's come into the world," he said, "[it's a] man," he said. [97] The man grabbed his little violin, sat down, siku ⁹⁷ , siku, siku, siku, siku, siku.
ayi uyexka'r, "ub'in," chayi, "ub'in tuk'a che niwijch'ok," chayi, "maja'x ijch'ok yo'pa to'r e rum," chayi, "winik," chayi. [97] Uwajpi ayi yer uk'oroch' e winik che, turan, tz'ík'u, tz'ík'u, tz'ík'u, tz'ík'u, tz'ík'u. [98] "Ay," chayi, "táta inwarye't," chayi e	to his wife, "listen," he said, "listen to what my girl is saying," he said, "it's not a girl that's come into the world," he said, "[it's a] man," he said. [97] The man grabbed his little violin, sat down, siku ⁹⁷ , siku, siku, siku, siku, siku. [98] "Ay," she said, "papa, I'm telling you,"

 ⁹⁶ English gender-marking requires either *it* or *he* here, but the Ch'orti' is entirely ambiguous as to the gender of the referent.
 ⁹⁷ Imitation of the sound made by the violin.

[99] "Ay," chayi, "winik yo'pa to'r e rum,"	[99] "Ah," he said, "a man came into the
chayi, yi turan che taka uk'oroch' che,	world," she said, and sat down with his
tz'ík'u, tz'ík'u, tz'ík'u, tz'ík'u, tz'ík'u, kay	violin, siku, siku, siku, siku, siku, he was
lajb'a che.	playing.
[100] Eh, warxa ayi uwira che, ma'chi	[100] Then he noticed that the girl didn't
alok'oy e ijch'ok, yi kocha kachar ayi e	come out, and as the door of the room
k'ek'a'rir twa' yotot umenerob' yi ma'chi	was tied by them [inside], they [who were
uyub'i o'chob'.	outside] couldn't enter.
[101] Enton che k'a'pa taka ayi yaja'	[101] And once the girl was molested by
tz'ojina e ijch'ok umen e Pedro Odimar,	Pedro Odimar, he took off running.
lok'oy ajni ixin.	
[102] Ton tya' sakojpa che, wijta ayi e	[102] And when dawn came, the door was
k'ek'a'rir yaja' twa' o'choy e'rna tya' ch'a'r	released ⁹⁸ so they could enter and where
e ijch'ok.	the girl was lying down could be seen.
[103] "Ay, táta," chayi, "sí war inwaryet ke'	[103] "Oh, father" she said, "I was telling
maja'x ajchi' ixik yo'pa wayan," chayi,	you that it wasn't a woman that came to
"winik," chayi, "k'a'pa uche'n molestar,"	sleep," she said, "[but a] man," she said,
chayi, "uch'ich'b'e'n," chayi.	"he just finished molesting me," he said,
	"and he ruined ⁹⁹ me," she said.
[104] "Ah," chayi e winik, "enton ina'ta ne'n	[104] "Oh," said the man, "I thought a man
ke' winik yo'pa to'r e rum maja'x ixik,"	had come into the world, not a woman," he
chayi, "ne'n war inlajb'a," chayi.	said, "I was playing [my violin]," he said.

 ⁹⁸ Pedro untied the door when he fled during the night, but the parents didn't notice until morning.
 ⁹⁹ He ruined or disgraced her, meaning that Pedro took her virginity.

[105] "War inwarye't ke' ma'ni ja'x ixik ke'	[105] "I was telling you that he wasn't a
winik," chayi, "twa' ani o'choy awire'n,"	woman but a man," she said, "so you
chayi arena e tatab'ir umen e ijch'ok, "yi	would come in and check on me," the
koner ixix ixto ya'lok'oy ajni," chayi.	father was told by the girl, "and now he's
	gone for sure, he fled," she said.
[106] Ixin che, k'a'pa ayi uch'ich'b'a e	[106] He left, he finished the disgrace of
ijch'ok yaja' che, koche kaware pues uche	that girl, he committed rape, as we say,
violar yaja', yi lok'oy ajni, umajres e tatab'ir	then fled, and he fooled the parents.
ira.	
[107] Yi b'an kochera kay xejb'na u't yi	[107] And thus he was thoroughly hated
k'ani achamesna, yi b'anto ya' che b'anto	and [people] wanted him to be killed, and
ya', kay xana majresya'n.	so on and so on (always), he was going
	around fooling [people].
[108] Enton tara k'a'pa inteyx numer,	[108] And here one tale is finished and he
inteyx majresyaj uche tara.	did another trick.

6.3.1.4. Part 4: Pedro Odimar Teaches Catechism

[109] Yi kay xana ya' yaja' che, k'otoy ayi	[109] He was walking there, and came to
tangojr otot otronyajr che, tante' chokem	a house another time, in an isolated
turer koche kaware, tya' matuk'a me'yra	community as we say, were there aren't
ototob'.	many houses.
[110] K'otoy che takar ixto ayi inte' ujun	[110] He arrived with a book, a catechism,
ya', koche kaware <i>catecismo</i> , uk'eche ayi	we would say, he brought a book, in order
inte' ujun che, twa' akanseyan.	to teach.
[111] Yi k'otoy wara' che o pejksan tama	[111] He came to visit or called at a
otot che, kay ayi ajk'una tya' twa' aturan, yi	house, was given a place to sit, and was
kay ojron taka e'nkojt tata'b'irix ira,	speaking with yet another father, another
otronkojtix tata'b'ir, yi yaja' che ayan	father yet, and there was another girl
e'nkojt ijch'ok.	there.
[112] Entonces jaxto ayi e winik ira kay ayi	[112] So this man [Pedro] was speaking
o'jron tama e catecismo che, kay ayi uyare	about the catechism, saying, "I'm a
ke', "ne'n catequiste'n," chayi, "uyub'ye'n	catechist," he said, "I can teach little
inkanse e b'ik'it maxtak tama e doctrina,"	children in the doctrine," he said, he was
chayi, kay ayi uyare.	saying.
[113] "Ah," chayi e yaje utu' e ijch'ok, "yi	[113] "Ah," said the girl's mother, "we were
no'n war ani kasajka inkojt ajkanseyaj	looking for a teacher like that," she said,
koche ya'x," chayi, "kak'ani twa' ukani e	"we want our daughter to learn the
doctrina kawijch'ok," chayi.	doctrine," she said.

[114] "Ne'n inkanse," chayi, "ne'n inkanse	[114] "I teach it," he said, "I teach it," he
ya'," chayi, "uyub'ixto," chayi, "yi jay ik'ani	said, "it can be done," he said, "and if you
inkanse," chayi, "péru k'ani ingojr otot twa'	want, I'll teach it," he said, "but you'll have
iwajk'e'n," chayi, "por que tyu't tara ma'chi	to give me a house (room)," he said,
uyub'i inkanse," chayi, "uk'ani ingojr otot	"because I can't teach it here in front of
nib'ajner taka twa' inturan inkanse," chayi.	you," he said, "I need a room to be alone
	and sit and teach it," he said.
[115] "Uyub'ixto," chayi e tata'b'ir ub'an,	[115] "That can be done," said the
uyakta ub'ob' majresnob' otronyajr.	parents, and they allowed themselves to
	be fooled again.
[116] Uyajk'ob' ayi ingojr yer otot yaja'	[116] They gave him a little house alone to
ub'ajner taka twa' aturan akanseyan.	sit and teach.
[117] Enton che jaxto ayi tya' war	[117] And when he was teaching, the
akanseyan, yi jaxto ayi e tata'b'ir yaja' taka	father knelt down with the mother, and
e tu'b'ir kotwanob', che war ukojkob' yaja'	they were waiting at the edge of the
tuti' e otot yaja', tama e k'ek'a'rir, war	house, at the door, and were listening to
uyub'yob' che koche akanseyan e Pedro.	how Pedro taught.
[118] Ton che ka'y ayi o'jron, ukori ayi	[118] He began to speak, took off his
ub'ujk, turan ayi kay ub'ajyu yar ub'us yer	clothes, sat down and was touching the
e ijch'ok che, kay ub'ajyu tanto tanto che,	girl's genitals, was touching them a lot,
yix wa'r yaja' che uyakta ub'a ayi e ijch'ok.	and standing there the girl let go of herself.
[119] Enton che, uyub'i ayi taka e ijch'ok,	[119] He asked the girl, "is it going in?"
"warixka o'choy?" chayi e Pédru.	said Pedro.

[120] "Inma," chayi e ijch'ok, "inma," chayi,	[120] "No," said the girl, "no," she said, the
ťustaka ayi o'jron e ijch'ok, war atz'ojina.	girl spoke softly, and was being
	molested ¹⁰⁰ .
[121] "Warixka o'choy?" chayi.	[121] "Is it going in?" he said.
[122] Yi jaxto ayi e tata'b'ir kay ayi uchob'	[122] And the father was praying with the
rezar taka utu', "a," chayi, "ch'ajb'eyx twa'	mother, "ah," he said, "may it be that my
yar niwijch'ok," chayi, "ke' warix o'choy	daughter," he said, "that the teaching is
tujor e kanseyaj," chayi, "ch'ajb'eyx twa'	entering her head now," he said, "may it
yar niwijch'ok," chayi, "war o'choy e	be that my daughter," he said, "the
kanseyaj tyer ujor," chayi, war ayi uchob'	teaching is going in to her little head," he
e rezo.	said, and they were praying.
[123] Yi jaxto ayi e Pédru che, enton che,	[123] And Pedro, then, as he was
kochwa war ayi uyub'i, sutpa ach'ankab'a.	listening, got quiet again.
[124] "Ochi'xka?" chayi e harán Pédru	[124] "Has it gone in?" nasty Pedro said
otronyajr.	again.
[125] "Ochix," chayi e ijch'ok ja'xir',	[125] "It's in," said the girl, "it's in,"
"ochix."	
[126] "Ah, ch'ajb'eyx, ch'ajb'eyx twa' e	[126] "Ah, thanks, thanks be to God," said
katata'," chayi e tata'b'ir, "ke' ochix e	the father, "that the teaching has entered
kanseyaj tujor yer niwijch'ok," chob' ayi,	the head of my daughter," they said, and
atza'yob' ayi.	were glad.
[127] Enton che, koche utz'ojyo e ijch'ok	[127] As he molested the girl he kept
che ketpa ch'a'n t'ustaka che, ch'a'n	quiet, very quiet.
ťustaka.	

¹⁰⁰ The informant translated *atz'ojna* into Spanish as *being molested*, but the verb in Ch'orti' means something more like *being sruck* or *being gored*.

[128] Yi sakojpa yaja' che yi ixin ayi e	[128] Dawn came and Pedro left, he took
Pédru, lok'oy ajni, lok'oy ajni che, ma'chi	off running, took off running, he didn't wait
ukojko sakojpa, y e ijch'ok che ochoy	for dawn, and the girl went into her house.
tuyotot.	
[129] "Koche ukansye't e ajkanseyaj, tu'?"	[129] "How did the teacher teach you,
chayi.	daughter?" said [her mother].
[130] "Tu'," chayi, uyare utu', "maja'x	[130] "Mother," she said to her mother, "he
e'ra'ch," chayi, "maja'x kanseyaj kay uche	didn't tell the truth," she said, "it wasn't
takare'n," chayi, "maka intaka utz'ojye'n	teaching that he did with me," she said,
pue?" chayi, "por eso uyub'i ta nib'a jay	"didn't he just molest me?" she said,
warix o'choy," chayi, "ne'n inware ke'	"that's why he asked me if it was going in,"
ma'chito," chayi, "cuando uyose tamaren,"	she said, "I said, 'not yet,'" she said, "when
chayi, "inware ke' ochi'x," chayi.	it went in me," she said, "I said, 'now it's
	in," she said.
[131] "Ay!" chayi, "enton maja'x ajchi'	[131] "Ay!" he said, "then it wasn't
kanseyaj war uche e tzuk winik ya'x,"	teaching that contemptible man was
chayi utata' e ijch'ok.	doing," said the girl's father.
[132] Ixto ayi ak'ijna ya' e winik che, "ay,	[132] The man got really angry, "oh, if I
jay k'oten intajwi e winik ya'x," chayi, "inxin	should find that man," he said, "I'm going
inchamse ya'," chayi utata', "chamesb'ir	to kill him," said the father, "I'm going to do
inxin inche ya'," chayi, "maja'x imb'utz	him a killing," he said, "he's not a good
winik," chayi e tata'b'ir, k'ijna ayi e tata'b'ir	man," said the father, and that father was
ira.	angry.

[133] Ton b'an kochera che kay xana	[133] So in this way Pedro was going
majresya'n e Pédru, umajres me'yra	around fooling, he fooled many people,
pak'ab', yi maja'x imb'utz e kanseyaj uche,	and the teaching he gave wasn't good, he
intaka axana amajresya'n.	just went around fooling.
[134] Yi ja'x era inna'ta tuk'a numuy tama	[134] And that's what I now about what
e Pédru.	happened with Pedro.
[135] Ayanto aketpa intaka ke' era ma'chix	[135] There are still other [stories]
k'a'r nimener.	remaining, but I don't remember them
	anymore.

6.3.2. Text 16: The Capture, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus

6.3.2.1. Part 1: Why lightning strikes pine trees but not cedars

Tama uchamer uyunen e katata'	About the death of the Son of God
[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte' k'ajpesyaj xe' ache'na	[1] I want to recount a remembrance that
ani ixnix, o numer, kochwa kaware.	was done in the past, or story, as we say.
[2] Tama e numerob' ira kochwa unumse	[2] In these stories [about] how Jesus got
ub'a e Jesús, pues era e k'ajpesyaj ira	along, well this remembrance comes from
watar tama e numer taka e Jesús, maja'x	the passages about Jesus, [but] isn't as it
b'an koche uk'ajti, maja'x la'r koche uk'ajti	tells it, isn't the same as the bible tells it.
e biblia.	
[3] Enton ne'n u'mb'i uk'ajti ani nitáta taka	[3] So I used to hear my father tell it to his
upya'rob' tya' war umorojse ub'ob'.	friends and family when they were
	gathering themselves together.
[4] Aturanob' uk'ajtyob' e numer tama e	[4] They sat down and told the story on
nojk'in, yi e tz'ajtakir xe unumse ub'a e	festival days, and the suffering that Jesus
Jesús, che.	experienced, they say.
[5] K'otoy ayi e ajk'in ke' kay sajkna e	[5] The day came when Jesus was being
Jesús umen e ajk'ijna'rob', umen e	pursued by enemies, by enemies, as we
ajk'ijna'rob', koche kaware.	say.
[6] Yi e Jesús, che, ma'chi ayi ani k'ani	[6] And Jesus, they say, didn't want to
uyakta ub'a achamesna wakchetaka.	allow himself to be killed [too] quickly.
[7] Péru e ajk'ijna'rob ira xe' war uxejb'ob'	[7] But these enemies who hated the sight
u't e Jesús, tartaka ke' ja'xir, che, ayan	of Jesus, just because he had too much
eyni uk'otorer me'yra, yi kay uxejb'ob' yer	power, they were hating him and began to
u't yi ka'y kay usajkob', che.	search for him, they say.

[8] Enton, che, kay usajkob' yi ma'chi ayi	[8] Well, it is said, they were searching for
utajwyob'.	him but didn't find him.
[9] Yi k'otoy inte' ajk'in, che, uwirob' ayi u't,	[9] And there came a day when they saw
yi ch'uwan ajnyob' tu'pat, ch'uwan ajnyob'	him, and they were running and running
che, e, war usajkob' kay uyajnesob'.	after him, were seeking and made him
	flee.
[10] Yi e Jesús che, kocha ayan yer	[10] And Jesus, as he had a little power,
uk'otorer, umen utata' ajk'una e me'yra	by his father he was given much power,
k'otorer, yi ja'xir ma'chi uyakta ub'a ajajpna	and he didn't allow himself to be captured
wakchetaka che.	too quickly, people say.
[11] Yi k'otoy ayi inte' ajk'in che war	[11] And there came a day [when] he was
asajkna ta kopot, o tama e witz'irob' kocha	being sought in the wilderness, or in the
kaware, yi ya' yaja' che irna ayi u't, yi ja'xir	mountains as we say, and there he was
uwira ke' twi'x atajwina che umen e ma'lob'	caught sight of, and he realized that he
koche kaware, yi e ajmab'anb'an	was about to be found by the criminals as
pak'ab'ob', yi irna ayi u't yaja' che y kay	we say, and the evil people, and he was
ajnesna, k'anix ajpna, che, k'anix ajpna yi	seen and was made to flee, and was
ma'chi atajwina che.	almost taken, was almost caught, but was
	not reached, so they say.

[12] Wakchetaka ayi ja'xir che k'otoy tya'	[12] Suddenly he came to where a great
wa'r inte' noxi' tajte' che.	pine tree stood.
[13] Upejka ayi ute'rar e tajte' yi cha'yi,	[13] He addressed the essence ¹⁰¹ of the
"jab'tz'en kora," chayi, "ne'n k'ani o'nchoy	pine tree and said, "open yourself a little,"
inmukwan makwir anak," chayi.	he said, "I want to enter to hide inside your
	belly," he said.
[14] Ma'chi ayi o'jron e tajte' yi ma'chi ayi	[14] The pine tree did not speak and did
ab'tz'a yi wa'tob'ix ayi ixto e xe'	not open up, and they were already
ajmab'anb'an pak'ab'ob' ira.	coming, those evil people.
[15] K'ani uchukyob' twa' uchamsyob'.	[15] They wanted to capture him in order
	to kill him.
[16] Enton uwira ayi ke' ja'xir k'anix	[16] Then he realized that he was about to
ajajpna yi e tajte' ma'chi ab'tz'a unak.	be captured and the pine tree had not
	opened its belly.
[17] Enton chayi ja'xir, "b'an koche'ra ke'	[17] Then he said, "since you did not open
ma'chi jab'tz'a twa' inmukwan makwi'r	so I could enclose myself within your
anak," chayi, "inwakte't paxb'ir," chayi.	belly," he said, "I leave you cursed," he
	said.
[18] "Tamare't twa' ak'axi e jatz'wa'r,"	[18] "May a stroke fall upon you," he said,
chayi, "o ak'axi e jijb' taka inte' jatz'wa'r,"	"may lightning fall with a stroke," he said,
chayi, "yi itakijsena," chayi.	"and may you be withered," he said.

¹⁰¹ The exact meaning of *ute'rar e tajte'* is uncertain, but it appears to refer to something like *the treeness of the pine tree*, or perhaps to the spirit of the tree.

[19] Ixin e Jesús, yi ma'chix ketpa, che,	[19] Jesus left, he didn't stay, he just
jaxtaka era ojron ixin, war ajni che, yi e	spoke and left, was running, and the men
winikob' xe' ajmab'anb'anob' che ch'u'r	who were evil continued running after
ajnyob' tu'pat e Jesús.	Jesus.
[20] K'otoy ayi tya' wa'r inte' noxi' chakalte'	[20] He came to where there stood a great
che, yi uyare ayi e chakalte', "jab'tz'en	cedar tree, and he said to the cedar tree,
kora," chayi, "k'ani o'nchoy inmukwan	"open up a bit," he said, "I want to enter
makwir anak," chayi, "watob'ix	and enclose myself inside your belly," he
niwajk'ijna'rob'," chayi, "yi k'ani	said, "my enemies are coming," he said,
uchamsye'nob'," chayi.	"and they want to kill me," he said.
[21] Yi kochwa e chakalte' che ub'yan ayi	[21] And so the cedar tree heard and
wakchetaka ayi jab'tz'a unak yi ochoy	immediately opened its belly and Jesus
turan e Jesús makwi'r.	entered and sat inside.
[22] Numob' e ajk'ijnarob' che, yi war ayi	[22] The enemies passed by, and they
ojronob' yi chob' ayi, "tya'nik ixin, tya'nik	were talking and they said, "now where did
ixin? Si tara taka ketpa era kawira," chayi,	he go, now where did he go? If he were
"kawira ke' era tartaka era ketpa," chayi,	still right here now we would see him,"
"tya' mukwan yi tya' amukwan."	they said, "we saw that he was right here,"
	they said, "where did he hide, where did
	he hide?"
[23] Kora kora ayi usajkob' ixob', che,	[23] They searched everywhere for him, it
ma'chi uwirob' tya' mukur e Jesús, ixob	is said, but they didn't see where Jesus
ja'xirob' war usajkob' yi ma'chi ayi	was hidden, they went and were searching
utajwyob'.	for him but they didn't find him.

[24] E Jesús che ketpa mukwan makwi'r e	[24] Jesus remained hidden inside the
chakalte'.	cedar tree.
[25] Enton che b'anto ya' kay uche, yi ke'	[25] And they are still doing it this way,
enton che tarixto ani uk'ajti nitata' yi	and thus my father and my grandparents
ninoyob' ke' e chakalte', ma'chi akaxi e jijb'	used to recount that [as to] the cedar tree,
tamar o ma'chi ajajtz'a umen e katata', yi	lightning doesn't fall on it or it isn't struck
jaxto e tajte inte'toj ab' inte'to jab' ak'axi e	by God, but as to the pine tree, year in
centello tamar, ajajtz'a umen e katata',	year out a bolt of lightning falls on it, it is
b'antaka ke' paxb'ir aktana umen e katata,	struck by God, because it was left cursed
ma'chi uyajk'u tya' twa' amukwan e katata'	by God, it didn't give a place for God to
	hide.
[26] Ja'x era ani uk'ajtyob' nitata' tama e	[26] This is what my father used to tell
numer ira che tya' kay ajnesna e Jesús.	about this happening in which Jesus was
	pursued.
[27] Enton che yi kochwa war asajkna tara	[27] So they say, and in this manner he
mukwan e Jesús y ma'chi tajwina.	was sought but Jesus hid and wasn't
	found.

6.3.2.2. Part 2: Sowing rocks and sowing wheat

(Continues Text 16: The Capture,	Death, and Resurrection of Jesus)
[28] Inteyx ajk'in, che, war asajkna	[28] Another day, it is said, he was being
otronyajr, yi jaxto ayi e ajmab'anb'an	sought again, and these evil men were
winikob' ira che war usajkob', ma'chi	seeking him, but didn't find him; they hid;
utajwyob' yaja'; mukresnob'; tamarix	on this other day they were seeking him
e'nteyx ajk'in ira che war usajkob'	again.
otronyajr.	
[29] Enton che uwirob' ayi u't, war axin	[29] Then they caught sight of him, they
otronyajr makwir e kopot, war axin makwir	were going another time in the wilderness,
e kopot che, war amukwan e Jesús.	were going in the wilderness, and Jesus
	was hiding.
[30] Enton che war uyajnesob', ton k'otoy	[30] They were pursuing him, then Jesus
e yaje' Jesús che, numuy ayi tya' war	came, and passed where a man was
apak'ma inkojt winik, war apak'ma inkojt	sowing, a man was sowing there, and he
winik tara, yi che ayi, "tuk'a war apak'i	[Jesus] said, "what are you sowing a little
kora," chayi, uyare e winik.	of?" he said, he said to the man.
[31] "Tun war inpak'i," chayi e winik ub'an.	[31] "I'm sowing rocks," said the man ¹⁰² .
[31] "Tun war inpak'i," chayi e winik ub'an.[32] "A," chayi, "jay tun war apak'i," chayi,	
	[31] "I'm sowing rocks," said the man ¹⁰² .
[32] "A," chayi, "jay tun war apak'i," chayi,	[31] "I'm sowing rocks," said the man ¹⁰² . [32] "Ah," he [Jesus] said, "if you are

(Continues Text 16: The Capture, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus)

¹⁰² The man's answer is flippant, indicating a bad attitude. He wasn't really planting rocks.

[33] He [Jesus] walked away, and came to
where another man was sowing, was
sowing in his field also.
[34] "What are you sowing a bit of here,"
he said to the man.
[35] "Oh, I" said the man, "am planting
wheat seeds," he said.
[36] "Ah, if you are planting wheat," God ¹⁰³
said, "wheat you will reap from the foot of
your field," he said.
[37] He just said that and moved on.
[38] Now here I want to pause a moment,
and I want to reveal what happened with
these two men, it was similar to the pine
tree and the cedar tree.
[39] So this man was waiting, it is said, for
the field he was planting to sprout, and as
he had said that he was planting rocks, he
came to look if his field had already
sprouted, but his field had not sprouted.
[40] When he got there, he saw a lot of
rocky soil ¹⁰⁴ in his field.

 ¹⁰³ "God" here is another reference to Jesus.
 ¹⁰⁴ The informant translated *cheremtun* into Spanish as *pedregal* ('scree', 'rocky soil').

[41] "A," chayi, "yi tuk'ot b'oro e syan tun	[41] "Ah," he said, "and do so many stones
makwir nichor si ma'ni tuk'a e tun," chayi,	abound in my field if there didn't used to
"ma'ni tuk'a e tun," war ixto ayi ub'ijnu ya'.	be any?" he said, "there didn't used to be
	any rocks," he was thinking.
[42] Yi tuk'a tar chekta e syan tun?	[42] And why did a lot of rocks appear?
[43] Tartaka ke' ja'xir umajres e katata';	[43] Only because he tricked God; he
una'ta ke' umajres e katata'; ma'chi uyare	knew that he tricked God; he didn't tell
tuk'a war upak'i.	what he was planting.
[44] "Tun war inpak'i," chayi, yi tun	[44] "I'm planting stones," he had said,
umorojse, verdad?	and stones he reaped, yes?
[45] Enton che yi jaxto ayi uchor e'nkojt	[45] And [in] the field of the other man,
winik che, wa'kchetaka ayi kuxpa e trigo	wheat quickly sprouted, and a lot of wheat
che yi b'oro e syan trigo che ayix e syan	abounded, and it already had a lot of fruit.
uyuti'r.	
[46] Ja'xir che atz'a'y uwira ke' a'xin	[46] He rejoiced [when] he saw that he
umorojse me'yra trigo.	was going to harvest a lot of wheat.
[47] Yi koche ja'xir ma'chi umajres e	[47] For as he had not tricked God, he
katata', ajk'una inte' b'is me'yra twa' ab'oro	was given a blessing, that his wheat would
yer utrigo.	about greatly.
[48] Enton b'an kochera numuy taka e	[48] This is how things went with two men,
chakojt winik ira ub'an, yi kochwa e katata'	and as God was being pursued, was being
war asajkna, war asajkna me'yra, yi ch'u'r	pursued a lot, and these enemies kept
ayi ajnyob' ixto e ajk'ijna'rob ira,	pursuing him, and they forced him to flee.
uyajnesob'.	

[49] Tamarix inte' ajk'in che uwirob' u't	[49] One day they caught sight of him
otronyajr, uwirob' u't, che, war a'xin e	again, they caught sight of him, the story
Jesús makwi'r e nukta' te' ta montaña	goes, Jesus was going [along] in the
koche kaware, yi yaja che uwirob' ayi u't	forests in the mountains as we say, and
ch'uwan ajnyob' tu'pat otronyajr.	there they caught sight of him and they
	undertook to run after him again.
[50] E Jesús war alok'oy ajni ja'xob' tu'pat,	[50] Jesus was fleeing and they were
ya' yaja' che numuy otronyajr che tya' war	behind him, and again he passed where a
ayi apa'k'ma inkojt winik otronyajr, war ayi	man was sowing again, was sowing wheat
upak'i e trigo otronyajr.	again.
[51] Enton che ayi uyare e winik, "tuk'a	[51] So he said to the man, "what are you
war ache?" chayi.	doing?" he said.
[52] "War inpak'i e trigo," chayi.	[52] "I'm planting wheat," he [the man]
	said.
[53] "A," chayi.	[53] "Ah," he [Jesus] said.
[54] Enton che ojron ayi e Jesús, "k'ani	[54] Then Jesus spoke, "I want to tell you,"
inwarye't," chayi uyare e winik, "ke' jay	he said to the man, "that if a few men pass
numob' kora winikob' tara," chayi, "war	by here," he said, "looking for me," he
usajke'nob'," chayi, "yi uyub'yob' nik'ab'a,"	said, "and asking my name," he said, "or
chayi, "o uyub'ye'nob' tya' ixe'n," chayi,	asking about me and where I've gone," he
"aren ke' ne'n numen tya' war apak'i	said, "say that I passed by when you were
atrigo," chayi.	planting your wheat," he said.
[55] "Ah, o'b'an," chayi e winik, "ton jay	[55] "Ah, sure," said the man, "if they pass
anumob', b'an inxin inwaryob'," chayi e	by, I'm going to tell them that," said the
winik.	man.

[56] Ja'xir ixin che, ixin, yi tamarix ayi inte'	[56] He [Jesus] went off, he went off, and
ajk'in koche kaware ejkar, ejkarix, numob'	on another day, tomorrow as we say,
ayi e winikob' ira.	tomorrow, those men passed by.
[57] Utajwyob' ayi e winik war uwira tuk'a	[57] They found the man looking at what
numuy taka upak'ma'r, yi utrigo che warix	happened with his sowing, for his wheat
ayi atak'a, warix atak'a che, wakchetaka	was already maturing, was already
ayi ch'i'.	maturing, it grew rapidly.
[58] Enton che ayi numob' ayi e winikob'.	[58] Then the men passed by.
[59] "Tuk'a war ache tara," chayi.	[59] "What are you doing there?" they
	said.
[60] Tara war inwira nitrigo," chayi.	[60] "Here I'm looking at my wheat," he
	said.
[61] "Ma'chika awira u't inkojt winik	[61] "Didn't you catch sight of a man going
numuy," chayi, "xe' uk'ab'a Jesús?" chayi,	by," they said, "whose name is Jesus?"
chob' ayi ja'xirob'.	they said, said they.
[62] "Inwira ixto," chayi, "numuy," chayi.	[62] "I saw him indeed," he said, "he
	passed by," he said.
[63] "Yi tuk'a ajk'in numuy?" chayi.	[63] "And when (what day) did he pass
	by?" they said.
[64] "Ja'xir numuy," chayi, "tama e ajk'in	[64] "He passed by," he said, "on the day
xe' war inpak'i nitrígo," chayi.	on which I was planting my wheat," he
	said.
[65] "A, ixnix numuy enton," chob' ayi	[65] "Ah, he passed by a long time ago
ja'xirob'.	then," said they.

[66] "Jay tama e ajk'in tya' war apak'i e	[66] "If he passed by on the day when you
trigo numuy," chob' ayi, "yi era warix	were planting wheat," they said, "and now
atak'a," chob' ayi, "ayix como cinco	it's already maturing," they said, "it's
meses," chob' ayi, "ton ma'chix katajwi ya,"	already been about five months," they
chob' ayi.	said, "so we won't find him now," they
	said.
[67] Sajtob' umen e katata', sajtob'	[67] They were confused by God, were
otronyajr, ma'chi ob'na a'xob' tu'pat, yi	confused again, they weren't able to go
sajtob'.	after him, for they were confused.
[68] Yi sutpa che, kay usajkob' e katata',	[68] And they went back, were chasing
kay usajkob' e katata' Jesús, ma'chi	God, were chasing God Jesus, but didn't
utajwyob'; kora kora usajkob' che, kora	find him; they sought him everywhere,
kora.	everywhere.

6.3.2.3. Part 3: The difference between *chicha* and moonshine

(Continues Text 16: The Capture	, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus)
[69] Enton che, numen ajk'inix che,	[69] Days having passed then, they
uwirob' u't otronyajr.	caught sight of him again.
[70] War axana e Jesús maku k'opot che,	[70] Jesus was walking in the wilderness,
war ayi uche tunor ja'xir e tz'akoner che,	and he was doing all those cures, was
war uche me'yra koche kaware b'isma'r o	doing many blessings as we say, or
bendición.	bendición.
[71] Enton che uwirob' u't che, uwirob' u't	[71] Then they caught sight of him, saw
war axana maku k'opot	his face [as] he was walking in the
	wilderness.
[72] Ch'uwan ajnyob' tu'pat otronyajr che,	[72] They undertook to chase after him
ch'uwan ajnyob' tu'pat.	again, they undertook to chase after him.
[73] Enton che utajwyob' ayi twi'x	[73] And they found him and were at the
ujajpyob' che, yi e Jesús war alok'oy ajni	point of capturing him, and Jesus was
che, numuy ayi tya' war amujxa kora	fleeing, and passed by where a bit of
sik'ab', war ache'na e mux sik'ab', yi ya'	sugar cane was being ground, sugar cane
ayi numuy yaja'.	grinding was being done, and he passed
	by there.
[74] Yi uyare ayi inkojt winik uk'ab'a José,	[74] And he spoke with a man named
José uk'ab'a e winik ira.	José, José was the name of this man.

[75] Chayi, "Ne't, José," chayi, "wab'un	[75] He said, "you, José," he said, "set a
inb'ijk yer uyarar asik'ab' makwi'r usojkir e	bit of the juice of your cane amid the
sik'ab'," chayi, "twa' awajk'u uyuch'ob',"	sugar cane waste," he said, "so you can
chayi "kora winikob' war uyajnesenob',"	give it to some men who are chasing me,
chayi.	for them to drink," he said ¹⁰⁵ .
[76] "O'b'an," chayi e José, "b'an," chayi.	[76] "O.K.," said José, "O.K.," he said.
[77] "Wab'unxix era," chayi, "ne'n inxin,"	[77] "Put it [there] right away," he [Jesus]
chayi.	said, "I'm going," he said.
[78] "Yi jay numob' tara," chayi, "jay	[78] "If they pass by here," he said, "if
uk'ajtyob' e ja' ira xe' war inwarye't,"	they ask for this juice that I'm telling you
chayi, "ajk'unob' twa' uyuch'ob'," chayi.	[about]," he said, "give it to them to drink,"
	he said.
[79] "Uyub'i ixto," chayi e José	[79] "I can do that," said José.
[80] Ja'xir ub'yan ayi ub'an, uwajpi ayi	[80] He obeyed too, grabbed one of his
inwojr yer ub'ejt che, ub'ut'i uyarar e	little pots, filled [it with] cane juice, then
sik'ab', tar ixin ayi umuki makwi'r usojkir e	went and hid it [the pot] amid the leavings
sik'ab'.	of the sugar cane.
[81] Yi konde ixto ayi k'otob' e winikob' xe'	[81] And when the men came who were
war uyajnesob' e Jesús k'ani uchamsyob',	pursuing Jesus, they wanted to kill him,
e ma'lob' koche kaware k'otob' che.	the evil-doers, as we call them, came.
[82] "Ma'chika awira u't e Jesús numuy	[82] "Didn't you notice Jesus passing by
tara," chayi uyaryob' e José.	here?" they said to José.
[83] "Inma'," chayi.	[83] "No," he said.

¹⁰⁵ The plan here is to create the impression that the proprietor is hiding cane juice from his visitors.

[84] "Ah, péru no'n war kaxana kapojro e	[84] "Ah, but we are in the process of
brujo," chob' ayi, "es ke' e Jesús brujo,"	hunting the witch ¹⁰⁶ ," they said, "Jesus is
chayi, "no'n k'ani kachamse," chob' ayi.	a witch," they said, "and we want to kill
	him," they said.
[85] "Péru tara ma'chi war anumuy," chayi	[85] "But he hasn't passed by here," José
e José.	said.
[86] Turan ayi kay jiryob' kora.	[86] So they sat down and were resting a
	bit.
[87] Ojtz'un ayi uyarar e sik'ab'.	[87] The cane juice was giving off its
	aroma.
[88] "Xij, xij," chob' ayi, uyujtz'yob' ayi, "yi	[88] "Ah, ah" they said, they smelled it,
tuk'a ojtz'un tara," chayi, "méru yer	"and what smells [good] here," they said,
uyujtz'ner muy," chob' ayi.	"it's exactly the aroma of <i>muy</i> ¹⁰⁷ ," they
	said.
[89] "Inma'," chayi, "tara matuk'a ayan,"	[89] "No," he said, "there's nothing here,"
chayi e José, "matuk'a ayan," chayi.	said José, "there's nothing," he said.
[90] "Ah, ayan ya'," chayi, "ayan tuk'a wa'r	[90] "Ah, yes there is," they said, "you
amener," chayi, "si matuk'a," chayi, "yi	have something hidden," they said, "if
koxto ak'otoy yer uyujtz'ner tikani'," chob'	there's nothing," they said, "how could its
ayi, "méru yer uyujtz'ner tak'an muy,"	scent come to our noses?" they said,
chob' ayi.	"[it's] exactly the scent of ripe muy," they
	said.
[91] "Péru matuk'a," chayi e José.	[91] "But there's nothing [here], José said.

¹⁰⁶ The informant uses the Spanish word *brujo* (witch, sorcerer) in the Ch'orti' story as well as his Spanish translation. The word carries a strongly negative evaluation. ¹⁰⁷ *Muy* is a local fruit with a scent similar to that of cane juice, and sometimes called *nispero* or

chico in Spanish.

[92] "Ayan," chayi, "ira amuki, jay ayan	[92] "[Yes] there is," they said, "don't deny
areno'n," chayi, "ajk'uno'n, k'ani ko'ych'i,	it, if there is [then] tell us," they said, "give
no'n kamani takaret," chayi.	it to us! We want to drink it, we'll buy it
	from you," they said.
[93] "Ah, matuk'a," chayi e José ja'xir,	[93] "Ah, there isn't any," said José,
"tara matuk'a ayan," war ayi umuki."	"there's nothing here," he was denying it.
[94] "Chono takaron, José," chob' ayi	[94] "Sell it to us, José," they said, "sell it
"chono takaron, no'n ataki kati'," chob' ayi.	to us, we're thirsty (our mouths are dry),"
	they said.
[95] "Ah, jay ataki iti' pues inwajk'ox	[95] "Ah, if your mouths are dry I'll give
inb'ijk," chayi,	you a little," he [José] said.
[96] Ixin ayi uch'ami inte' yer ruch' che,	[96] He went to grab a <i>guacalito¹⁰⁸</i> ,
ixin ulupi, uyajk'u ayi uyuch'ob' e winikob'	spooned out [the cane juice], and gave it
ira.	to these men to drink.
[97] Intz'aj ayi utajwyob', che, kay	[97] They found it to be delicious, it is
uyuch'ob'.	said, and were drinking it.
[98] "Ay!," chob' ayi, "yer e ja' ira xe'	[98] "Ay!" they said, "this little juice is
intz'aj," chob' ayi, "mixka tuk'a wa'r	tasty," they said, "don't you have some
amener," chayi.	hidden?" they said.
[99] "Ayanto ixto otronb'ijk," chayi.	[99] "There is still another little bit," he
	[José] said.
[100] "Chono takaro'n, José," chayi, "no'n	[100] "Sell it to us, José," they said, "our
ataki kati'," chob' ayi,	mouths are dry," they said.

¹⁰⁸ *Guacal*, in Spanish, is a drinking cup made from part of a local tree.

[101] Ixin ayi ulupi otronyajr, war uchoni,	[101] He spooned it out again, was selling
kay uchoni takob' e ma'lob'.	it, was selling it to the evil-doers.
[102] Enton che kay uyuch'ob'.	[102] And so, it is said, they were drinking
	it.
[103] Warxa ayi uwira che, ka'y karayob',	[103] Eventually he [José] saw that they
karayob' e winikob' umen yer e ja' ira.	were beginning to drunk, the men were
	getting drunk on this juice.
[104] Ja'xto yi xe' kaware ch'ajch'aj ja', yi	[104] It's what we call bitter water, or in
tama e castilla kaware chicha,	Spanish we call it <i>chicha</i> ¹⁰⁹ .
[105] Sutpa chicha e ja', péru ja'x uyarar	[105] The juice turned into <i>chicha</i> , but it
ayi e sik'ab'.	[was] the juice of sugar cane.
[106] Enton che karayob' e winikob' ira	[106] Then these men got drunk, and
che, ch'a'n wayanob' tujor e syan usojkir,	they lay down to sleep on top of the heap
	of leavings.
[107] Uyaktob' ixin e Jesús ma'chi	[107] They let Jesus go, they didn't
utajwyob'.	capture him.
[108] Enton che, yi ja'xob' ketpa	[108] So, it is said, they remained
wayanob', este aru ayi uni', ch'a'r	sleeping, even to the point of snoring
awayanob',	(their noses cried out), they lay down and
	slept.

¹⁰⁹ *Chicha* is understood locally to be fermented cane juice or fermented fruit juice.

[109] Yi koche e José arena umen a	[109] And as José had been told by
Jesús tuk'a twa' uche, arena ayi ke' "jay	Jesus what to do, he was told that, "if they
wayanob' awab'ik' inte' <i>kanoba</i> ," chayi,	sleep, set out a <i>canoa¹¹⁰,</i> " he said, "a
"inte' kanoba twa' ab'chob' tamar," chayi e	canoa for them to urinate in," said Jesus,
Jesús, "porque e ja' xe' war inwarye't	"because this juice I was telling you to put
awab'u ira a'xin asutpa chicha yi a'xin	in place is going to turn into chicha and
akarayob'," chayi, areb'ir e José ub'an.	they're going to get drunk," he said, José
	was told.
[110] Por eso una'tix ayi ani.	[110] So he [José] already knew [what to
	do].
[111] Enton che, uwab'u ayi inte' <i>kanoba</i>	[111] So he placed a <i>canoa</i> ready there,
listo yaja', koche kaware, uwab'u twa' jay	as we say, he placed it so that if the men
k'ani ab'chob' e winikob' ira, ma'chi a'xin	wanted to urinate, they wouldn't go
a'b'chob' tut' e rum che sino ke' tama e	urinating on the ground, but in the canoa.
kanoba.	
[112] Enton che eh achpob' che sakojpob'	[112] Then they got up, woke up the next
inte'yx ajk'in, sakojpob', war ayi	day, woke up, were drunk, their mouths
akarayob', ataki ayi ut'yob', yi koche tya'	were dry, and as they were drunk there,
kay ayi karayob' yaja' achpob' che tya'	they got up where they were sleeping,
war awayanob', a'b'ixk'ob' a'chpob' a'xin	they awakened and got up, and went to
ab'chob' che tama e <i>canoba</i> .	urinate in the <i>canoa</i> .

¹¹⁰ A large container normally used for serving food, or a feeding trough for animals.

[113] "Tara ixab'chi," chayi e José, e José	[113] "Urinate here," said José, José was
ya ayi turu ub'an, "tara ixab'chi," chayi,	there too, "urinate here," he said, "don't
"joli ixixin ixab'chi tiktik," chayi, "tara twa'	go urinate wherever," he said, "come here
ixab'chi tama e <i>canoba</i> ira," chayi.	to urinate in this <i>canoa</i> ," he said.
[114] E, ya ayi kay ab'chob'.	[114] And they were urinating there.
[115] Ton tya' sakojpa e'nte'yx ajk'in che,	[115] So when the next day dawned, they
usajpi ayi u't'ob' che, warto akarayob'.	rubbed their eyes, and were still drunk.
[116] Entonces che, chob' ayi, "Ay, José,"	[116] And they said, "hey, José," they
chob' ayi, "mixka tuk'a yar e ja' xe' koych'i	said, "isn't there still some of the juice we
akb'i," chayi, "no'n ataki kati'," chayi, "no'n	drank yesterday?" they said, "our mouths
kak'anto otronyajr twa' koych'i," chayi.	are dry," they said, "we still want to drink,"
	they said.
[117] "Mix tuk'a" chayi e José, "k'a'pa,"	[117] "There's isn't any," said José, "it's
chayi, "ja'x ja'x lok'oy xe' inwajk'ox yuch'i,"	used up," he said, "the exact amount
chayi.	came out that I gave you to drink," he
	said.
[118] "A," chayi, "jay ayanto, José,	[118] "Ah," they said, "if there still is [any],
chonoto otronb'ijk e ja' takaron," chayi,	José, sell another little bit of the juice to
"ojtz'un ak'otoy tikani' otronyajr," chayi.	us," they said, "a delicious aroma is
	coming to our noses again," they said.
[119] "A," che ixto ayi e José, "ayan ixto	[119] "Ah," José then said, "there is
wa'r otronb'ijk," chayi, "péru mix ja'x	indeed a little put away," he said, "but it
koche inwajk'ox akb'i," chayi, "era	isn't like [what] I gave you yesterday," he
intyachix u't," chayi.	said, "it's of yet a different character," he
	said.

[120] "Ajk'uno'n e yax, k'ani kawejta,"	[120] "Give us that, we want to taste it,"
chayi.	they said.
[121] Ixin ayi e José, kay uch'ami tama e	[121] José went, was scooping it with a
wax, ajk'una uyuch'ob' uyejtob' ayi.	measure, and they were given [it] to drink
	and to taste.
[122] "Ay, ja' ira," chayi, "intz'aj," chayi,	[122] "Ay! This juice," they said, "is
"mix ja'x koche koych'i akb'i era inyajrer	delicious," they said, "it's not like [what]
ke' intz'aj ub'an," chayi.	we drank yesterday, this is truly delicious
	too," they said.
[123] Enton che yi jaxtaka ayi uyab'ichob',	[123] And this stuff was just [what] they
sutpa koche kaware saksak ja' yi tama e	urinated, it had turned into white water, as
castilla kaware guaro.	we say, and in Spanish we call it <i>guaro¹¹¹</i> .
[124] Ton che yi kay uyuch'ob otronyajr,	[124] So they were drinking again, they
sutpa ayi karayob' otronyajr yi wayanob'	got drunk again and slept, they got very
che, karayob' me'yra, sutpa ch'a'n	drunk, and again lay down to sleep
wayanob' umen e karer.	because of drunkenness.
[125] Yi e Jesús ixin, ixin ayi.	[125] And Jesus left, he left.
[126] Enton b'an kochera uk'ajtyob' ani	[126] So in this manner my father used to
nitata' tama e numer ira ke' e Jesús kay	tell them about this occurrence, that
umajres me'yra yi kay uyajk'u inte' numer	Jesus was fooling them a lot and was
me'yra twa' uwirob' e ajk'ijna'rob' ke'	giving a lot of stories so that the enemies
Jesús ayan ani uk'otorer.	saw that Jesus had power.

¹¹¹ Saksak ja' ('white water') in Ch'orti' and *guaro* in Spanish refer to distilled liquor, especially that made from sugar cane juice.

[127] Enton che majresnob' umen e	[127] They were fooled by Jesus again,
Jesús otronyajr, ch'a'n wayanob' che yi	they lay down to sleep and drank of their
uyuch'ob' uyab'ichob' taka.	urine.
[128] Enton uk'ajti ani nitáta ke' e chicha	[128] So my father told that the <i>chicha</i> is
aktab'ir umen e katata', ja'x e katata'	permitted by God, it was God [who]
uyare che'na, e José kay uche e chicha,	ordered it to be made, and José was
yi e guaro uyab'ich e ma'lob'	making the <i>chichca</i> , but the <i>guaro</i> was
	the urine of the evil-doers.
[129] por eso kaware uyab'ich diablu e	[129] On account of this we say that
guaro mix ja'x e chicha méru.	guaro is the devil's piss and isn't just
	chicha.
[130] Enton tarixto ani chob' ja'xirob' ke' e	[130] So indeed they used to say that it's
guaro maja'x imb'utz uyub'na'r, tartaka ke'	not good to hear mention of <i>guaro</i> , just
uyab'ich e diablo.	because it's the devil's piss.
[131] Enton b'an kochera numuy yi k'ani	[131] This is how things happened, and I
ink'ajti ixto xe' inwirato uche nitata'.	want to tell what I still see my father do.
[132] No'n tya' kache ani e nojk'in yaja'	[132] When we used to make the festival
xe' kaware tz'ikin, kawab'u ani e chicha	we call sikin ¹¹² , we would set out chicha
twa' kawajk'u uyuch'i kapya'rob'.	to give to our friends to drink.

¹¹² The Ch'orti' *tz'ikin*, adapted into local Spanish as *sikin*, refers to the Day of the Dead.

[133] Nitata' uk'ajti ani taka e San José,	[133] My father used to pray to San José,
ojron taka e San Jose, twa' tunor xe'	spoke with San José, so that everybody
ak'otob' war ajsyo'n tama e nojk'in ira, yi	that came was visiting us during this
jay ayan e akta'r, ma'chi uchamse ub'ob',	festival, and if there was a dance, that
tartaka ke' ja'xir una'tob' ani e b'ijnusyaj	they didn't kill each other, just because
ira ke' e chicha areb'ir e José twa' uche,	they used to know this belief, that José
péru umen e katata' Jesús.	was the one ordered to make chicha, but
	by God Jesus.
[134] Y b'an kochera k'otoy e numuy ira	[134] And this is the way the story goes
xe' che'na taka e Jesús.	about what was done with Jesus.
[135] Enton ja'x era e b'ajxan ojroner xe'	[135] This is the first speech I'm telling or
war ink'ajti ira o e b'ajxan k'ub'esyaj.	the first belief.
[136] Y b'an kochera koche kana'ta ke'	[136] And thus we know that Jesus
Jesús ma'chi aktana, ma'chi chojka	wasn't left, wasn't left alone, was sought
aktana, kay sajkna kay sajkna, esto ke'	and sought but wasn't found there, but
ma'chi tajwina yaja', esto ke' ma tajwina	wasn't found in order to be killed.
twa' achamesna.	

6.3.2.4. Part 4: Santiago tries to free Jesus from jail

(Continues Text 16: The Capture,	Death, and Resurrection of Jesus)
[137] Enton k'otoy inteyx ajk'in, che,	[137] Then another day came, it is said,
tajwina ixto ayi e Jesús ya', tajwina e	[when] Jesus was found, Jesus was found,
Jesús, jajpna jajpna ixto ayi ya jajpna che.	was captured, captured indeed, was
	captured there.
[138] Enton jajpna che, kay ayi jajtz'a	[138] He was captured, it is said, and was
kajcha umen e winikob'.	being beaten and tied up by the men.
[139] Enton che majka tama e majkib',	[139] He was enclosed in the <i>majkib'</i> , as
koche kaware, ta cárcel, majka kay che'na	we say, in jail, he was enclosed and was
tzajtaka che.	being made sad.
[140] Enton che kochera e Jesús ayan	[140] But as Jesus had much power, and
ukotorer, yi aktab'ir umen e katata' twa'	was sent by God to allow himself to be
uyakta ani ub'a achamesna, enton che	killed, he allowed himself to be captured,
ja'xir uyakta ub'a jajpna, jajpna yaja' che,	was captured then, was enclosed in the
majka tama e majkib' tya' amajka e	jail where criminals are enclosed.
ajmab'anb'anob'.	
[141] Enton che ya ayi makar yaja' e	[141] So Jesus is enclosed there, on Holy
Jesús, tama e día Jueves Santo ya makar.	Thursday he's enclosed ¹¹³ .
[142] Enton che yi jaxto ayi uyajtakarsajob'	[142] Then his disciples spoke, they were
chob' ayi kay ayi ojronob', "tuk'a kachik	saying, "what should we do about our
takar kawajkanseyaj," chob' ayi, "twa'	master?" they said, "what should we do
kachik takar kwajkanseyaj, majka k'ani	about our master? He's locked up and is
achamesna.	to be killed."

¹¹³ The enclosure of Jesus in jail is re-enacted each year in Jocotán on Holy Thursday. A statue of Jesus is placed in a shrine behind a screen that resembles the bars of a jail cell.

[143] "Kawejtik kalok'sik," chayi e	[143] "Let's try to get him out," said
Santiago taka e mojrob'.	Santiago to the group.
[144] "Kawejtik ixto," chayi e mojrob',	[144] "Let's try indeed," said the group,
"kawejtik," chayi, "b'an twa' kalok'se,"	"let's try," they said, "to get him out," they
chob' ayi.	said.
[145] Y koche tama e k'ek'[w]a'rir yaja' xe'	[145] But as to the strength ¹¹⁴ there, the
kaware reja, yi lo que xe' uchob' e harán	bars as we say, what those nasty
ma'lob' ira, uwajpyob' che uch'ub'ob' e	evildoers did was grab and hang up a
syan chan ub'ak'yob' tama ut' e reja,	bunch of snakes and intertwine them
uch'ub'ob' e syan xux che, twa' ma'chi	along the bars of the cell, [and] they hung
alok'oy ajni e Jesús.	up many wasps' nests, so Jesus wouldn't
	get out and flee.
[146] Jay anumuy tama e reja yaja' che,	[146] If he passed close to the bars, he
ak'ujxa e Jesús umen e xux, uyark'ir e xux,	would be stung by the nests, the wasps of
o ak'ujxa umen e chan, ma'chi uyub'i	the nests, or bitten by the snakes, and
alok'oy,	wouldn't be able to get out.
[147] tama e diecisiete reja ch'a'r , maja'x	[147] He was located inside of
inte', taka diecisiete reja tya' amajka e	seventeen ¹¹⁵ sets of bars, not just one,
Jesús.	Jesus was enclosed with seventeen sets
	of bars.

¹¹⁴ *Strength (k'ek'wa'r)* here refers to the measures used to keep Jesus locked in his cell. ¹¹⁵ Jesus is locked within a nested set of jail cells, one inside the other. The significance of the number 17, if any, is unclear, although the informant indicated that this number was sometimes invoked by *curanderos*.

[148] Enton che yi jaxto ayi e	[148] Then the disciples, these disciples
ajtakarsajob', ajtakarsajob' ira koche	we call apostles, they were thinking how to
kaware apostolob', ton che, kay ayi	do it, how to get Jesus out of where he
ub'ijnwob' kocha twa' uchob', koche twa'	was enclosed.
ulok'syob' e Jesús tya' makar ch'a'r.	
[149] Enton che e Domingo uyejta ayi ani	[149] Then Domingo ¹¹⁶ tried to get Jesus
twa' ulok'se e Jesús	out.
[150] Ton che ayi arena ixto b'ari umen e	[150] Then he was told by the group, "you,
mojrob', "ne't, Domingo," chayi e mojrob',	Domingo," said the group, "you have a
"ne't ke' ayan achij," chayi, "kiki ejtan twa'	horse," they said, "go try to open it," they
apasi," chayi, "e reja," chayi.	said, "the bars," they said.
[151] Uyejta ayi e Santo Domingo, ixin	[151] Saint Domingo tried to do it; he went
ajner che, innajt taka ujatz'i ayi umachit	running, from afar his machete, as we call
koche kaware, ma'chi ayi o'b'na upasi,	it, struck it, but couldn't open it; it did
matuk'a uche.	nothing.
[152] Sutpa a'xin awan innajt che watar	[152] Again he went to stand far off, came
ajner taka che innajt taka k'otoy ujatz'i	fast and came far, his machete struck to
umachit twa' upasi e reja, ma'chi apask'a;	open the cell, [but] it didn't open; and he
yi kay uyejta ixna ma'chi o'b'na.	tried at length but couldn't [accomplish it].
[153] Enton chayi e Domingo uyare ayi e	[153] Then Domingo said to Santiago,
Santiago, "ejtan ne't, Santiago," chayi.	"you try it, Saint James," he said.
[154] "Tya' a'xin uyub'yen ne'n," chayi e	[154] "How will I be able to?" said Saint
Santiago, "si ne'n matuk'a nichij," chayi.	James, "I don't have a horse," he said.

¹¹⁶ There is no Dominic (Domingo) included on the usual lists of disciples or apostles of Jesus, although there is a mediaeval saint by that name. The storyteller seemed unaware of the anachronism.

[155] "Try it! I'll give you my horse," he
[Domingo] said, "and if you open the cell
where Jesus is located," he said, "I'll give
you my horse forever," he said.
[156] Then Saint James said, give me it
[the horse] then, I want to try it," he said, "if
I'm able," he said.
[157] Santiago mounted the horse,
grabbed his machete too, and grabbed his
lance as we call it, mounted the horse,
went to stop far off, came running from
afar, came and struck his machete along
the bars.
[158] It [the cell] opened immediately.
[159] He threw the many snakes far away,
the many wasp's nests, he threw them
here and there, brought them down with
his machete like lightning, he struck like a
lightning bolt.
[160] He then went back to stand far off,
returned to open it from afar, and cast
away the many bars ¹¹⁷ .

¹¹⁷ The first strike destroyed only the outermost of the nested set of cells in which Jesus was being held, and Saint James is working his way inward.

[161] Enton che twix ayi ak'otoy yaja'	[161] He was about to come and open
upasi e'nteyx yaja' twix ak'otoy tya' makar	another [cell], was about to come to where
e Jesús.	Jesus was enclosed.
[162] Enton chayi e Jesús, "tartaka era	[162] Then Jesus said, "only this [far],
Santiago," chayi e Jesús, "ke' e'nte reja	Saint James," Jesus said, "this other cell,"
ira," chayi, "jolix apasi," chayi.	he said, "don't open it," he said.
[163] "Ketpak," chayi, "twa' ayan e	[163] "Let it remain," he said, "so that
k'ub'esyaj," chayi, "o ayan inte' respeto,"	there is faith," he said, "or respect," he
chayi, koche kaware tama e castilla, "twa'	said, as we call it Spanish, "for [the sake
e pak'ab' e konoj," chayi.	of] human beings," he said.
[164] "Jay apasi era," chayi, "enton a'xin	[164] "If you open this one," he said, "then
aketpa witir tunor e mab'anb'anir," chayi,	all evils will remain released," he said,
"ton tara tartaka era jolix apasi," chayi.	"and for just this reason don't open it," he
	said.
[165] No porque e Santiago k'ani ayi ani	[165] Although Saint James wanted to
upasi tunor, ma'chi ajk'una twa' upasi	open all [the cells], he wasn't permitted to
tuno'r umen e Jesús.	open them all by Jesus.
[166] Ketpato ayi inte' reja twa' ayan ub'an	[166] One cell still remained so there
e castigo twa' e ti'n achamsan, tya'	would be punishment for the persons that
amajkob'.	killed, where they are enclosed.
[167] Koche kaware koner, e ti'n	[167] As we say today, people who kill are
achamsan ak'ejcha amajkob' yaja'	brought and enclosed there.

[168] E cárcel, kocha che nitáta, aktab'ir	[168] Jail, according to my father, is
umen e katata' twa' e ti'n ke ma'chi	allowed by God so that the person who
ak'ub'esyan o ma'chi o'b'yan tama e	doesn't obey or doesn't listen with regard
cheyaj mab'anb'anir, jay jajpna ak'ejcha	to evil deeds, if he is captured he is taken
a'xin yaja' amajka	away and enclosed there.
[169] Aktab'ir umen e katata che ani	[169] It was allowed by God, my father
nitata'.	used to say.
[170] Enton ja'x era numuy tama inte'yx	[170] So that is what happened in one
numer ira tya' e Jesús jajpna umen	story in which Jesus was captured by his
uyajk'ijna'rob', yi koche k'ani uchamsyob'	enemies, and how they wanted to kill him.
[171] Enton che sutpa k'otoy ulok'syob'	[171] So they [the apostles] came back to
yaja' koche makar umenerob', yi e Jesús	get him out of there, as he was enclosed
ma'chi uk'ani twa' alok'esna umen e	by them [his enemies], and Jesus didn't
apostolob', yi aketpa maku, ch'a'n makar.	want to be released by the apostles, and
	he remained enclosed, placed inside.

6.3.2.5. Part 5: Death on the cross

, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus)
[172] The next day dawned, it is said, and
he [Jesus] came to be released, then he
came to be released, and was brought out
to the place where he was to be hung up
(crucified).
[173] There they grabbed him alive, as the
Bible says, yes?
[174] They went and were nailing his
hands to the board (cross), it is said.
[175] They hung him up there and were
abusing him, they were striking God, were
saying to him, "witch," they said, "come
down from the board (cross), we want to
see if you were speaking the truth," they
said, "since you're a witch," they said,
"come down, we want to see if you can,"
they said.

(Continues Text 16: The Capture, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus)

[176] Enton uwajpyob' che uxek'yob' tama	[176] Then they grabbed him and pierced
e te', watob' taka e ulansob' che uxek'yob'	him with a stick, they came with their
yer ut' uchu' e Jesús che, ma'chi ayi	lances and jabbed the middle of Jesus'
o'choy intaka ayi apaktz'a e lansa, ma'chi	chest, but it didn't enter, the lance just
ayi o'choy e lansa tut' uchu' e Jesús tya'	bent over, the lance didn't enter Jesus'
ch'u'r tut' e te'.	chest while he was hung on the pole
	[cross].
[177] Yi war uyejtob' che desde ke'	[177] And they were trying it from dawn;
sakojpa; ch'u'rix umenerob' che war	he was hanging there on account of them,
uxek'yob' e Jesús tuť uchu', ma'chi ayi	and they were jabbing Jesus in his chest,
o'choy e lansa intaka apaktz'a.	but the lance didn't enter, it just bent over.
[178] Enton che koche uwirob' ke' ma'chi	[178] They saw that they were unable to
o'b'nob' uchamsyob'; yi yi'x ayi watar inkojt	kill him; and just then a blind man came
yar winik ciego, ma'chi ayi eron unak'u't,	by; his eyes couldn't see, his eyes were
yer tajpem unak' u't'.	extinguished.
[179] "Lar tara, winik," chayi, "ciego,"	[179] "Come here, man," they said, "blind
chob' ayi, "lar tara," chayi.	man," they said, "come here," they said.
[180] "Tuk'a twa nimen," chayi e winik.	[180] "What do you want with me?" said
	the man.
[181] "Lar tara," chayi.	[181] "Come here," they said.
[182] Uchukyob' ayi ukab'.	[182] They took his hand.
[183] "Chuku e lansa ira," chob' ayi, "c e	[183] "Grab this lance," they said, "and jab
brujo," chayi, "twa' chamay," chayi.	the witch," they said, "so that he dies,"
	they said.

[184] "A, inma," chayi, "inmaya," chayi e	[184] "Oh, no," he said, "surely not," said
ciego, "ma'chi," chayi, "b'ajk'at jax nitáta	the blind man, "no," he said, "maybe it is
k'ani iche'n inchamse," chayi.	my father that you want to make me kill,"
	he said.
[185] "Era majax atáta," chayi, "era jax e	[185] "That's not your father," they said,
brujo," chob' ayi.	"he's a witch," they said.
[186] "Inma," chayi e ciego, "inma, ne'n	[186] "No," said the blind man, "no, I don't
ma'chi k'ani inchamse," chayi, "b'ajk'atix	want to kill him," he said, "maybe it's my
ke' jax nitáta k'ani iche'n inchamse," chayi.	father you want to make me kill," he said.
[187] Enton che koche ja'xob' war	[187] So in this way they were ordering
uyaryob' aunque ma'chi uk'ani péru ja'x	him although he didn't want to, but they
war uyaryob' twa' axek'mayan e ciego.	were ordering the blind man to do the
	piercing.
[188] Ton che taryob' "xek'e tara," chob'	[188] Then they came and said, "jab him
ayi "k'ani kawab'u tara tut' uchu'," chayi,	here, "we want to place it here at his
uwab'ob' ayi e lansa tut' uchu' e yaje	chest," they said, and positioned the lance
Jesús.	at Jesus' chest.
[189] "Koner xek'e," chayi.	[189] "Now jab him," they said.
[190] Tari ayi e ciego uxek'e ayi ut' uchu' e	[190] The blind man came and jabbed
Jesús, yi cuando uxek'e che, ab'china	Jesus' chest, and when he jabbed it, his
unak' u't' umen e ch'ich', e'ron ayi unak'	eyes were sprinkled by the blood, and his
u't'.	eyes could see.

[191] "Ah," chayi, "verdad koche	[191] "Oh," he said, "truly I told you," he
inwaryo'x," chayi, "ke' era jax nitata' war	said, "that it was my father you were
iche'n inchamse," chayi, "inchamse nitáta	forcing me to kill," he said, "I killed my
imener," chayi e ciego.	father on account of you," said the blind
	man.
[192] "Inmaya, era maja'x atáta," chob' ayi,	[192] "No, that isn't your father," they said,
"jax e brujo," chob' ayi.	"he's a witch," they said.
[193] Enton chamay ayi e Jesús	[193] Then Jesus died
[194] Jay ma'chi ayi ak'otoy e ciego twa'	[194] If the blind man had not come to
uxek'e e Jesús, ma'chi ani chamay.	lance Jesus, he would not have died.
[195] E ma'lob yaja' ma'chi ani o'b'nob'	[195] The evildoers there were unable to
uchamsyob' e Jesús tartaka ke' e Jesús	kill Jesus because Jesus wanted to
k'ani ani uche inte' b'isma'r yaja', o milagro	perform a miracle, or <i>milagro</i> as we say [in
koche kaware: eron unak' u't' e ciego tama	Spanish]: the blind man's eyes saw
e ch'ich'.	because of the blood.
[196] Enton che b'an kochera chamay e	[196] So in this manner Jesus died.
Jesús.	
[197] Yi ja'xirob' koche k'ani ayi uwirob'	[197] And those people, as they wanted to
ub'an jay ayan uk'otorer e Jesús che,	see if Jesus had power, had already
k'echerix ayi unukir <i>palangana</i> koche	brought a large <i>palangana</i> (container) as
kaware kochera twa' umorojsyob' e ch'ich'.	we say [In Spanish], thus to collect the
	blood.
[198] Ton che wa'wanob' che kay	[198] So they stood and were collecting
umorojsyob' e ch'ich', yi jaxto ayi uch'ich'er	the blood, and that was indeed the blood
e katata' che.	of God.

[199] Tya' tama e ch'ich' yaja' xe' k'axi	[199] Where this blood fell on the ground,
tama e pana sutpa che ya b'ixk'a e syan	it turned out that many ears of corn ¹¹⁸
nar che, b'ixk'a e nar, b'ixk'a e mas trigo,	sprouted, the ears of corn sprouted, much
b'ixk'a e arak' xe' ayan tara tuno'r to'r e	wheat sprouted, the animals that are upon
rum, e wakax, e masa', e t'ur, tunor xe'	the land appeared, the cattle, the deer, the
ak'uxpa, t'oxpa e syan kar che, tunor	rabbit, all that is eaten, many plants grew,
k'opot t'oxpa twa' kak'uxi.	all the country side bloomed so we [can]
	eat.
[200] Enton tari ixto ani kocha chob' ani	[200] So in this way my father used to say
nitáta ke' e nar uch'ich'er e katata', yi e kar	that corn is the blood of God, and plants
tama uch'ich'er e katata' t'oxpa yi uyub'i	grow with the blood of God, and we are
kak'uxi.	able to eat them.
[201] Tunor xe' ajk'ujxa'r che tama	[201] Everything that is to be eaten comes
uch'ich'er e katata' lok'oy.	from the blood of God.
[202] Enton che koche uwirob' ayi ja'xirob'	[202] Then since those people also saw
ub'an ke' ayan e k'otorer me'yra tama	that there was great power in the blood of
uch'ich'er e katata', t'oxpa e syan arak',	God, [that] a multitude of animals grew,
enton chob' ayi, "koner kawejtik ub'an	they said, "now let us try as well," they
no'n," chayi, "jay alok'oy kache," chob' ayi	said, "[to see] if it turns out [that] we [can]
ja'xirob'.	do it," they said.

¹¹⁸ During the reenactment of the Crucifixion that I saw in Jocotán on Good Friday of 2005, an ear of corn, a mango branch, corn kernels, and a coconut flower where hung from the cross together with the statue that represented Jesus' body.

[203] Enton taryob' che ixin ujajpyob' inte'	[203] So they came and went and grabbed
uyet ma'lirob' che ujatz'yob' ayi tama ut' e	one of their fellow evildoers, nailed him on
te' ub'an, uchamsyob' ja'x uxek'yob', yi tya'	a pole (cross) also, killed him [by] stabbing
xek'pa yaja' che, lok'oy e syan ch'ich' twa'	him, and when he was pierced, a lot of
inkojt ma'lo xe' ch'u'r tuyejtz'er e Jesús	blood of the evildoer who was hanging
che, uk'echob' ayi ub'an e <i>palangana</i> .	beside Jesus, and also they brought a
	palangana (container).
[204] Ke' warxa ayi uwirob' che tama e	[204] [But] when they looked at the blood
ch'ich' yaja' che t'oxpa e syan chan che, e	there, a multitude of snakes appeared,
syan manakuch', tunor e xe' uk'uxo'nob' yi	many scorpions, everything that stings us
achamsanob' che este t'oxpa yaja'.	and kills, that's what appeared there.
[205] "Ay," chob' ayi, "koxto ma'chi ixto	[205] "Oh," they said, why didn't cattle or
lok'oy e wakax o e kar?" chob' ayi.	plants come out?" they said.
[206] Enton chob' ayi, "yi koxto era ma'chi	[206] They said, "And why didn't plants
ixto lok'oy e kar ya'?" chayi, "o e nar,"	come out," they said, "or corn?" they said.
chob' ayi,	
[207] Yi kocha matuk'a uk'otorerob',	[207] But since they didn't have powers,
ma'chi ub'na uchob' koche lok'oy tama	they weren't able to do as it had turned out
uch'ich'er e Jesús; tama uch'ich'erob'	with Jesus' blood; in their blood snakes
ja'xirob' t'oxpa e chan yi e manakuch'.	and scorpions appeared.

[208] Yi tarixto kocha che ani nitáta ke' e	[208] And so my father used to say that
manakuch' achamsan jay uk'uxo'n, e tunor	the scorpion kills if it stings us, all the
arak' xe' achamsan, e chan jay uk'uxo'n	creatures that kill, the snake if it bites us
kachamay umener, tartaka ke' maja'x	we die on account of it, because they
tama uch'ich'er e katata' ayi chekta, tama	didn't appear in the blood of God, [but] in
uch'ich'er e diáblo yaja' xe' uchamsyob' ya'	the blood of the devil whom they killed
ayi t'oxpa e arak'ob' ira.	there, and these creatures appeared
	there.
[209] Enton koche e Jesús chamay tya'	[209] So Jesus died when he was stabbed
xejk'a umen e winik xe' ma'chi e'ron unak'	by the man whose eyes didn't see.
u'ť.	
[210] Enton che nakpat ke' uchob' era	[210] And after they did that, Jesus
uyakta ub'a chamay e Jesús, iksijb'a ayi	allowed himself to die, [and] suddenly the
inyajrer u't' e rum che, iksijb'a inyajrer che,	surface of the earth was darkened, it
numuy e yujkb'ar kora kora ayi anijki e	darkened quickly, [and] earthquakes
rum.	happened everywhere, and the earth
	rocked.
[211] "Ah, iksijb'o'n verdad?" chayi,	[211] "Oh, it's getting dark on us, isn't it?"
"kachamse e yaje brujo," chayi, "e brujo ira	they said, "we killed the witch" they said,
ub'axon," chayi, "ke' era ka'xin kasatpa."	"and this witch cursed us," they said, "that
	we will get lost."
[212] Kora kora ayi upojrob' e b'ir ma'chi	[212] They searched everywhere for the
utajwyob' che.	road [but] didn't find it.

6.3.2.6. Part 6: Resurrection

(Continues Text 16: The Capture, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus)

[213] Enton che uyemsyob' tut' e te' che.	[213] Then, as the story goes, they took
	him [Jesus] down from the pole (cross).
[214] Yi ja'xirob' koche k'ani uyemsyob',	[214] And as they were about to take him
numuy e b'ajk'ut yi sispajna e yujkb'ar	down, [their] fear passed, the
yaja', sispajna e yujkb'ar yi e'ron ut' e k'in	earthquakes calmed, the earthquakes
otronyajr.	calmed and the sun's eye saw again.
[215] Enton che uyemsyob' tama ut' e te',	[215] So they took him down from the
uk'echob' ixin che, kay umukyob', kay	pole, carried him away, were burying him,
umukyob' yaja' che.	were burying him there.
[216] Yi yaja' che upajnyob' e ch'en che,	[216] And there they were digging a hole,
kay ub'uťyob' e rum, uyaryob' e Jesús	were filling it with earth, they tossed
maku e ch'en che, yi ub'ut'yob' e syan	Jesus in the hole, and filled [it with] a lot
rum che, utenyob' taka e te' che,	of dirt, and pounded it with a stick; they
ub'utyob' e tun tujor che, utenyob' che.	filled [it with] stones on top, and pounded
	them.
[217] Yi ya yaja' che uwab'ob' ayi e syan	[217] And then they placed many soldiers
soldado twa' akojkna e Jesús twa' ma'chi	to guard Jesus so that he didn't rise [from
a'chpa por que chob' ayi, "tara ixturan	the grave], because they said, "remain
era," chob' ayi, "ira iwakta a'chpa e brujo,"	here" they said, "don't let the witch arise,"
chob' ayi.	they said.

[218] Uwajpyob' ayi inkojt yer utata' e ak'ach xe' kaware *gallo*, uwajpyob' che ukachob' uyok tama unuk' uyok e cruz che twa' a'ru che.

[219] Uyaryob' ayi e gallo, "apejkiko'n,"chayi, "jay awira anijki e rum, k'ani a'chpae Jesús," chob' ayi, "aruket," chob' ayi.

[220] Yi koche b'an areb'ir e gallo ton tya'
uwira ayi ke' anijki e rum cuando chayi,
"k'anix ab'ixk'a e Jesús," chayi e gallo.

[221] A'xob' ajner e syan soldado taka e te' che utenyob' e rum che twa' ma'chi a'chpa.

[222] "B'ixk'a e brujo, b'ixk'a e brujo," chob' ayi, yi a'xob' ajner che, utenyob' e rum twa' ma'chi uyaktob' a'chpa e Jesús.

[223] Yi enton che ma'chi uyaktob' a'chpa;e Jesús anijki ma'chi o'b'na a'chpa. **[218]** They grabbed a little rooster, which we call *gallo* [in Spanish], they grabbed him, and tied its feet to the base of the cross, so he would crow.

[219] They told the rooster, "warn us" they said, "if you see the earth move, Jesus wants to rise," they said, "crow," they said.

[220] And as the rooster had thus been ordered, when he saw the earth move, the rooster cried, "Jesus now wants to revive."

[221] The many soldiers went running with a stick and beat the earth so that he didn't rise.

[222] "The witch revived! The witch revived!" they said, and went off and beat the earth so that they didn't allow Jesus to rise.

[223] And they didn't allow him to rise; Jesus moved but was unable to rise. [224] Yi warxa ub'an che ayi achektob' e masa', yi e Jesús warix anijki, k'ani a'chpa che, numuy e masa' che tujor e Jesús tya' mukb'ir.

[225] Ojron ayi e Jesús ja'xir, "no'x masa'," chayi, "ma'chi iwakten a'nchpa ub'an," chayi, "no'x la'rox taka e diáblob'," chayi, "ma'chi iwakten a'nchpa," chayi, "péru k'ani inwaktox," chayi, "kochera," chayi, "ke' no'x," chayi, "uwe'ro'x e pak'a'b' twa' ixketpa," chayi, "chamesb'ir twa' ixche'na," chayi.

[226] Eh, b'an por esto koner kawira ke' e masa' achamesna yi ak'uixa.

[227] Jay irna u't' inkojt masa',

achamesna twa' ak'ujxa b'an taka ke' b'an b'axb'ir umen e katata'.

[228] Yi numob' e masa' che.

[229] Anumuy e wancherek ak'aywyob' che, "wáncherek, wáncherek," chob' ayi e wancherek yaja',

[230] Anumob' uyojkob' ujor e sepultura tya' mukb'ir e Jesús, yi ma'chi uyaktob' a'chpa che. **[224]** Then deer appeared, and Jesus was moving, trying to rise, and the deer passed over Jesus where he was buried.

[225] Jesus said to them, "you deer," he said, "you too are not allowing me to rise," he said, "you are like the devils," he said, "you won't allow me to rise," he said, "but I want to leave you," he said, "in this manner," he said, "that you," he said, "become people's food," he said, "killed in order to be cooked (done)," he said. [226] For this reason we see today that the deer is killed and eaten. [227] If a hint of a deer is seen, it is killed to be eaten just because it was cursed in this way by God. [228] And the deer moved on. [229] [Then] doves passed by, singing "wán-cher-ek, "wán-cher-ek¹¹⁹," the doves said there.

[230] They passed by trampling the head of the grave where Jesus was buried, and didn't allow him to rise.

¹¹⁹ Onomatopoetic imitation of the sound made by doves.

[231] Enton chayi e Jesús ub'an uyare ayi [231] And Jesus said to the doves, "you e wancherek, "no'x, wancherek," chayi, doves," he said, "you won't allow me to "ma'chi iwakte'n a'nchpa," chayi, "no'x," rise," he said, "you," he said, "are helping chavi, "war itakryob' e diáblo," chavi, the devil," he said, "but I want to leave "péru no'x k'ani inwakto'x inumer," chayi, you your punishment," he said, "in the traps¹²⁰ of my people." he said. "forever" "tama ukororte' nipak'ab'ob'," chayi, "twa' ixketpa," chayi, "ya twa' ixk'ujxa," chayi. he said, "then to be eaten," he said. [232] Yi tar koner ub'an, no'n ixnix ani [232] And here today also, in the past we kach'ub'a ani e kororte' yi kamaki ani e used to set out traps and caught doves to wáncherek twa' kak'uxi, péru b'axb'irob' eat, but they were cursed by God because they did not obey, and trampled ayi umen e katata' b'antaka ke' ja'xirob' ma'chi ak'ub'esya'nob', uyojkob' ujor e over Jesus where he was buried. Jesús tya' mukb'ir. ch'a'r. [233] Y ja'x era xe' numuy tama e tya' [233] And that is what happened at the mukb'ir e Jesús. place where Jesus was buried. [234] Enton koche Jesús k'ani achpa war [234] So as Jesus wanted to rise, he was unijkes e rum, enton ojron ayi taka e moving the ground, then he spoke to the gallo, uvare avi e gallo, "av, ne't, gallo," rooster, told the rooster, "ay, you, chayi, "ira apejkob' e ma'lob'," chayi, "ne'n rooster," he said, "don't warn the k'ani inxin," chayi, "tya' turu nitita'," chayi, evildoers," he said, "I want to go," he said, "jola apejkob'," chayi. "to where my father lives," he said, "don't warn them," he said.

¹²⁰ The informant translated *kororte* ' into Spanish as *cacaste*, a kind of trap once common in the region, but now rarely used because deforestation has left a lack of materials.

[235] "Jay apejkob'," chayi, "ja'xirob' ma'chi uyakte'nob' a'nchpa," chayi, "yi ne't jola apejkob' ke' ne'n warix inb'ixk'a," chayi, "yi ma'chi apejkob'," chayi, "amuki ke' ne'n me'ra a'nchpa," chayi, "ne't inxin inwajk'e't inte' aturer imb'utz," chayi.

[236] "Inma," chayi e gallo, "jay inwaktet i'xin tichan," chayi, "a'xin uchamsye'nob'," chayi e gallo uyare ayi e Jesús.

[237] "Jay uchamsye'tob'," chayi e Jesús, "ink'eche't i'xin tut' e k'in," chayi, "ya twa' ik'otoy ituran tya' twa' ink'otoy ub'an, tuyejtzer nitata'," chayi.

[238] "Ah jay b'an kochera," chayi e gallo, "ton ma'chi inxin inwaryob'," chayi.

[239] Enton e gallo ma'chi ayi ojron che, yi uwira ke' kay nijki e rum che, kay nijki e rum. [235] "If you warn them," he said, "they won't allow me to rise," he said, "so don't you warn them that I'm reviving," he said, "and [if you] don't warn them," he said, "[and] hide [the fact] that I'm rising," he said, "I'll give you a good position," he said.

[236] "Oh, no," said the rooster, "if I let you go to the heaven (the sky)," he said, "they will kill me," said the rooster to Jesus.

[237] "If they kill you," Jesus said, "I'll take you away to the sun (heaven)," he said, "you will come and dwell where I will also come, at the side of my father," he said.

[238] "Ah, if that's the case," said the rooster, "then I'm not going to speak," he said.

[239] So the rooster didn't speak, and he saw that the ground was moving, the ground was moving.

[240] Enton che yi'x yaja' che yi achpa e	[240] And at that moment Jesus rose and
Jesús ixin tuť e k'in, ixix tichan me'yra,	went toward heaven, he went far into the
ma'chix atajwina twa' akerejb'na watar	sky, and wasn't reached to be pulled
umen e ma'lob'.	down by the evildoers.
[241] Ton aru ayi e gallo yi chayi, "ixin e	[241] Then the rooster spoke and said,
Jesús tuť e k'in! Ixin e Jesús tuť e k'in!"	"Jesus went to heaven! Jesus went to
	heaven!"
[242] Yi ajner ayi taryob' e syan ma'lob'	[242] The many evildoers came running.
yaja'.	
[243] "Verdad ke' ixin e brujo," chayi,	[243] "Indeed the witch is gone," they
"ixin e brujo tichan, ixin ixto e brujo ya',"	said, "the witch went into the sky, the
chob' ayi taryob' ajner che.	witch is really gone," they said [while]
	coming on the run.
[244] Uwirob' pasar ayi ketpa e ch'en tya'	[244] They saw the hole where Jesus had
ch'a'r ani e Jesús.	lain remained open.
[245] Enton che k'ijnob' ayi e diablob' ira,	[245] Then these devils became angry,
uwajpyob' yar e gallo che, ub'anyob' tya'	they grabbed the rooster, released him
wa'r che, kay ub'i'rwob' unuk kora kora,	[from] where he had been placed, were
ub'i'rwob' che, k'a'pa utz'okrob' unuk che,	stretching his neck here and there,
uchamsyob'.	stretching it, ened up breaking his neck,
	and killed him.

[246] Enton chob' ayi, "chenik ta ch'aj e	[246] Then they said, "
condenado gallo ira," chob' ayi, "uyakta	in <i>pinol¹²¹</i> , this damned
ixin e brujo tichan," chob' ayi, uyaryob' ayi	said, "he allowed the w
che'na ta ch'aj e gallo.	heaven," they said, and
	rooster to be prepared
[247] Tak'a ayi e ch'aj yaja che, turan kay	[247] The pinol was co
uwyob' che, umorojse ub'ob tama ujor	sat down and were eat
uweynib'ob' yaja', koche kaware <i>mésa</i> ,	themselves at the table
kay turan uwyob' che.	say [in Spanish], were
[248] Uwajpyob' ayi e ch'aj koche	[248] They grabbed the
kaware, warwar ojmay che, ink'ijn ink'ijn,	it was really boiling, ver
k'ani ani ukumyob' che.	to sip it.
[249] Yi tya' ujajpyob' ayi uwe'rir e gallo, o	[249] And when they g

[24 utata' e ak'ach, popokna e we'r tama e nukir ch'ew tya' wa'r war uk'uxob' che, popokna tunor ayi e syan ch'aj, pokcha tunaku'tob'.

[250] Yi ixin ayi ub'an, pue, yi aru ayi ub'an, "inxin tu'pat e Jesús," che, "inxin tu'pat e Jesús," yi ixin ayi ub'an e yaje' utata' e ak'ach tut' e k'in,

let it be prepared rooster," they vitch to go to d ordered the in *pinol*.

oked there, they ing, they gathered es, or *mesa* as we sitting down to eat. e pinol as we say, ry hot, and wanted

rabbed the meat of the rooster, or male chicken, the meat fluttered in the big plates where it was [while] they were eating it, all the large quantity of *pinol* fluttered, and it spattered onto their faces.

[250] [The rooster] went too, and shouted, "I'm going after Jesus," he said, "I'm going after Jesus," and he went to heaven as well, that male chicken.

¹²¹ Ch'aj, pinol in Spanish, is a dish made with toasted corn.

[251] Péru b'ajxan chajpa uwe'rir tama e	[251] But first his flesh was cooked in the
k'ijna', che'na taka e ch'aj twa' ak'ujxa,	heat, was made into <i>pinol</i> to be eaten, but
péru ma'chi uyakta ub'a k'ujxa.	he didn't allow himself to be eaten.
[252] Ton che tara xe' a'rwob' ayi e	[252] Then this is what the devils
diablob', chayi, "ay, uputa unak' koyt' e	shouted, they said, "Ay! The rooster
gallo," chayi, "uputa unak' koyt'."	burned our eyes!" they said, "the rooster
	burned our eyes!"
[253] B'ixk'a ayi e gallo tama e ch'ew tya'	[253] The rooster revived in the plate in
chapb'ir wa'r, purutna unak' ut'ob' taka e	which it had been placed when cooked,
syan ch'aj.	and their eyes were burned with a lot of
	pinol.
[254] Yi b'an kochera che numuy e'nte'	[254] And this is how things happened in
numer ira.	this other story.

6.3.2.7. Part 7: Return to Earth

(Continues Text 16: The Capture,	Death, and Resurrection of Jesus)
[255] Enton koche ixin e Jesús tuť e k'in.	[255] So Jesus went to heaven.
[256] Enton che numen ajk'in yaja', war	[256] Days passed and they [the
ixto ub'ijnwob' ya ke' uyaktob' ixin e Jesús	evildoers] were thinking about how they let
tut' e k'in, numen ajk'in che, me'yra ajk'in.	Jesus get away to heaven, and days
	passed, many days.
[257] Enton che stupa ayi otronyajr.	[257] Then he returned again.
[258] Chekta ke' war ayi ak'otoy inkojt	[258] It seemed that a <i>padre</i> ¹²² , as we say
pagre koche kaware o sea nuch yi era ja'x	[in Spanish] was coming, a priest, and he
ayi e Jesús sutpa tari to'r e rum.	was Jesus returning to the earth.
[259] Uche ayi e misa tama e templo o	[259] He said mass in the temple or
iglesia.	church.
[260] Chekta ayi uyub'yob' ke' e yaje'	[260] They seemed to perceive that this
pagre ira ayan uk'otorer, utz'aka e	<i>padre</i> had power, as he was healing the
ajmokob' che.	sick.
[261] Ton chob' ayi, "no'n ka'xin quizás	[261] They said, "let's go and maybe listen
koyb'i kochwa uche e misa e pagre ira,"	to how this <i>padre</i> says mass," they said,
chob' ayi, ixob' ayi.	and went off.

¹²² The Spanish word *padre*, often pronounced *pagre* in Ch'orti', is used here to refer to a Catholic priest.

[262] Enton che k'otob' yaja' tya' war uche	[262] So they came to where the <i>padre</i>
e misa e padre, enton che kay ayi t'ojna	was saying mass, and what we call the
xe' koche kaware matraca, yi uta'jwir te'	<i>matracas</i> ¹²³ were being played, the pieces
taka tak'in utzinlwob' kochera, kay t'ojt'na	of wood with metal were played like this;
e matraca che.	the <i>matracas</i> were being played.
[263] Enton umorojse ub'ob' ja'xirob' yi	[263] Then they gathered together, as to
tut'ob' ja'xirob' e matraca campana ayi.	them the <i>matraca</i> is a church bell.
[264] Enton che uyub'yob' ke' kay t'ojt'na e	[264] Then they heard that the matraca
matraca che, ixob' umorojse ub'ob' che,	was sounding, went to gather themselves
turanob' ayi, koche yaja' ma'chi ayi aktana	together, and sat down, [but] as they
ochob' umen e pagre yaja' tama uyuxinar	weren't permitted by the padre to enter the
ut' yotot, no ke' tamar taka uyocher e	middle of the church (house), they were
k'ek'a'rir ya' taka turb'anob'.	seated just at the entrance of the door.
[265] Yi jaxto ayi e imb'utz pak'ab'ob', ixob'	[265] And as to the faithful (good people)
ub'an tara k'otob' tuyejtzer e padre, kay	they also went there and came near the
uche e misa e padre.	padre, [and] the padre was saying mass.
[266] Ton ka'y e misa che, kay uche e	[266] Then the mass began, the <i>padre</i>
misa e padre, enton che tuyuxinar e misa	was saying the mass, and in the middles
kay ojron e padre taka e pak'ab'ob'.	of the mass the <i>padre</i> was speaking with
	the people.
[267] Yi enton che tya' kay uche e k'ajt	[267] Then as he was saying a prayer, the
yaja', uche conjuración e padre.	padre made a spell.

¹²³ The Spanish word *matraca* refers to a variety of noise-makers that are played either by spinning or shaking, striking either wood on wood or metal on wood. These were once a common part of Holy Week processions. The informant believed these had fallen out of use, and that the *matraca* could attract demons while the church bells called the faithful. He saw it as a little scandalous that Jesus would use the *matraca* during mass, but it makes sense in this story, as the sound attracts the evil-doers.

[268] Konde warxa ayi uwirob' che, enton	[268] Just as they noticed it, the surface of
che jeb'tz'a ut' e rum che, méru intaka ayi	the earth opened up, in an instant a hole
tari jeb'tz'a ut' e ch'en che, ut' e rum	opened up, the earth opened and the floor
jeb'tz'a ut' e otot yaja' tya' turob' che, yi	of the church (house) there where they
ojresnob' ayi umen e Jesús che	were seated, and they were dropped by
	Jesus.
[269] Koche ayan uk'otorer e Jesús, méru	[269] Since Jesus had power, he only had
intaka uche uk'ab' e Jesús kochera, sutpa	to move his hand like this, and everyone
ixob' ta ch'en che tuno'r.	went over into the hole.
[270] A'rwob' ayi e syan ma'lob' ira chayi,	[270] The many evildoers cried, "Jesus,
"Jesús jajpinto kak'ab'," chayi, "k'ani	grab our hands," they said, "we want to
kalok'oy," chayi, "jajpin kak'ab' Jesús,	come out," they said, "grab our hands,
jajpin."	Jesus, grab our hands."
[271] Ke' e Jesús mas ayi war uyari twa'	[271] Jesus was tossing them away to
axob' tinfierno	hell.
[272] Pask'a infierno che, ixob' ta ch'en yi	[272] Hell opened up, they went into the
k'a'pa ixob' tunor e syan diáblo ira che,	hole, and [when] all those many devils
majka e rum, unuti' ub'a e rum otronyajr,	were done going, the earth was closed up,
tu'k'otorer e katata'.	the earth united itself again, by the power
	of God.
[273] Ixob'.	[273] They went off.
[274] Enton tarixto ke' jaxto ayi e numer	[274] So here indeed this is this story.
ira.	

[275] Uk'ajti ani nitata' ke' e diablob' che,	[275] My father used to tell that the devils
yajra ixob' tinfierno umen e katata' tartaka	were sent off into hell by God because
ke' ja'xirob' uchamsyob' e katata'.	they killed God.
[276] Ma'chi ixto una'tob' chi sutpa ya'.	[276] They certainly didn't know who [it
	was that] returned.
[277] Ucheb'ob' ani ke' ja'x inte' winik xe'	[277] They were thinking that it was a man
matuk'a uk'otorer war uche e misa.	without power who was saying the mass.
[278] Yi ke' si ja'x e Jesús xe' ixin tut' k'in,	[278] And for sure it was [the same] Jesus
sutpa tari, uche misa, twa' uyari a'xin e	who went to heaven, came back, and said
diáb'lob' tinfierno.	mass, in order to throw the devils away to
	hell.
[279] Yi b'an kochera ak'ajtna e numer ira,	[279] And in this way this tale is told, and
yi tara no'n kawarwix tama ut' e biblia yi	we recite from the bible and can't find if it
ma'chi katajwi jay ch'a'r tama e biblia.	is located in the bible.
[280] Enton tartaka era ink'otoy taka e	[280] So just to here I come with this
k'ub'esyaj ira yi e numer ira tuk'a numuy	remembrance and this tale [about] what
tama uchamesna'r e Jesús umen e	happened with regard to the killing of
diáblob'.	Jesus by the devils.

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