

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

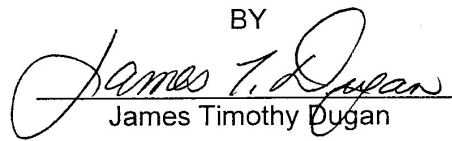
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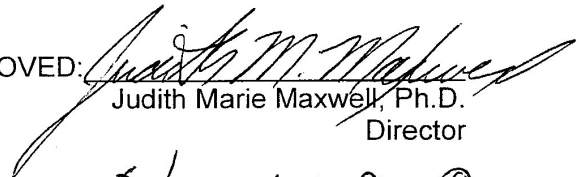
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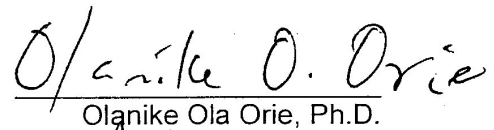
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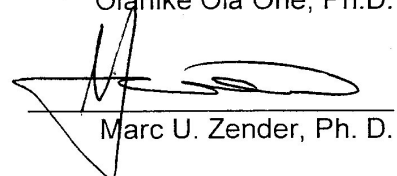
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ABSTRACT

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.

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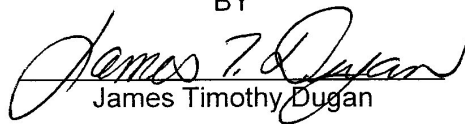
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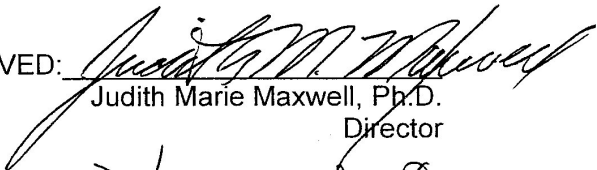
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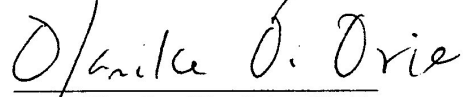
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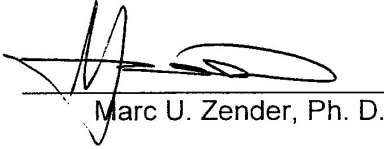
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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The path to the completion of many a dissertation is circuitous, and the present dissertation is no exception. I owe a debt of gratitude to many individuals who have helped me along the way, and I apologize for not being able to thank them all.

I must thank Harriet Elaine Givens Johnston, who years ago instilled in me some of her great interest in language and culture. I resisted, but the transplant took root and eventually grew.

I thank Dr. Takeshi Inomata for my first formal introduction to Maya hieroglyphics at the University of Arizona and Dr. Victoria Bricker for continuing that training at Tulane. Dr. Bricker also gave me my first grounding in the grammar of Maya languages. I thank Dr. Katherine Langan for inspirational teaching in phonology and writing systems. I also thank the “Glyph Group,” an informal gathering of Tulane faculty and graduate students, headed at times by Dr. Bricker, Marcus Eberl, and Scott Johnson, for many opportunities to examine focused issues in Maya languages and writing. I thank Dr. Allison Truitt for moral and academic support, and effective prodding, though my dissertation process.

I thank the Roger Thayer Stone Center for Latin American Studies at Tulane for a financial grant in support of my preliminary fieldwork in Guatemala during the summer of 2002. I thank the Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquin for arranging for me to meet my first informants. I am grateful to my anonymous informants and to the people of Jocotán, Guatemala and its surrounding villages for sharing their languages and cultures with me.

Of course, I owe much to my dissertation committee, Dr. Judith Maxwell, Dr. Olanike Ola Orié, and Dr. Marc Zender, for technical advice, encouragement, and extraordinary patience. I thank all of them, and especially Dr. Maxwell, who has managed to bring me back to focus over and over again in spite of my many distractions and diversions.

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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
C	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 pre-existing 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 Martínez (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 convert the table back into text so that one word appeared on each line. The MS Word

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	Type	MorphMeaning
Word: kab'ijnu (1) VT 'we think, believe'				
1	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'				
Word: ub'ut'yob' (1) VT 'they load it, fill it'				
1	u	(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 censd'				
1	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'				
1	b'utz'	(1)	Root	'smoke'
Word: ub'utz'ar (1) Noun 'smoke'				
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'				
1	ch'a'r	(1)	Root	'lie, be established'
Root: Ch'orti (1) 'Chort'				
Word: ch'ortyo'n (1) VI 'we (are) the Ch'ort'				
1	Ch'orti	(1)	Root	'Chort'
2	o'n	(1)	Inflectional Suffix 1st Plur Set B	'1st Pers Pl'

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).

Figure 2.1: Cosonantal Phonemes

MANNER		BILABIAL	ALVEOLAR	ALVEO-PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS	PLAIN	p	t		k	ʔ
	GLOTTALIZED	b	t'		k'	
AFFRICATES	PLAIN		ts	č		
	GLOTTALIZED		ts'	č'		
FRICATIVES			s	š		h
SONORANTS	NASAL	m	n			
	LATERAL		l			
	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].

Figure 2.2: Orthography of Consonantal Phonemes

MANNER		BILABIAL	ALVEOLAR	ALVEO-PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS	PLAIN	p	t		k	'
	GLOTTALIZED	b'	t'		k'	
AFFRICATES	PLAIN		tz	ch		
	GLOTTALIZED		tz'	ch'		
FRICATIVES			s	x		j
SONORANTS	NASAL	m	n			
	LATERAL		l			
	FLAP		r			
	GLIDE	w/g		y		

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 [pʼ].
- 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 [kʼ], [t] with [t̚], and [b] with [p] in some environments.
- Nasal consonants ([ŋ] and [m]) often impart nasalization to a preceding vowel.
- The glottal stop can be realized as creaky voice on a preceding vowel. The word *eʼnteʼ*, for example, will sometimes be pronounced. [e̞̰e̞̰t̚ʔ].
- A *j* ([h]) between a vowel and a consonant is often pronounced with what might be perceived as an “echo vowel.” For example, *kʼajk* is more often pronounced [kʼah^ak] than [kʼahk]. 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 Chʼortiʼ 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 [ʔ] 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 [ʔ], 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 ʔ 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 than 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:

a	e	i	o	u
aj	ej	ij	oj	uj
a'	e'	i'	o'	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 deletion 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	Type	Gloss
aj-	Agentive	A person who . . .
noj	Root Adjective	Big
-ran	Derive Intransitive	Becomes
-er	Derive Noun	
-ir	Derive Abstract Noun	
-on	Absolute Pronoun, 2 nd Pl.	We

Six distinct morphemes are listed above. It might be argued, though, that the intransitivizing morpheme above is actually *-an*, and that the *-r-* (which shows up in a number of interesting places in Ch'orti' morphology) 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 (Compleative)
Nominative	Set C	Intransitive Subject (Incompleative)

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	a-	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 stop 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	∅
1 st Plural	-o'n / -on
2 nd Plural	-o'x / -ox
3 rd	∅

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

absolute 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 no'n-ach'.

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 <i>taka</i>	Example Gloss	Root <i>tama</i>	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:

1. An unmarked indicative mood, used to describe actions or events without evaluating their factuality.
2. 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.

3. 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 explicit 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 lok'-Ø-ik ka-ch-ik-Ø 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 (V₁). 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:

Os-en-ik 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:

A-num-uy tama e otot-ob'.

3N-pass-SF PREP ART house-PL

She passes among the houses.

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

K'an-i in-k'ajt-i-Ø in-te' num-er

Wish-SF 1SE-recount-SF-3A one-CLASS pass-NOM

I want to tell 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:

K'u-j-xa-Ø ayi u-men e k'ech'uj.

Eat-PSV-3A there 3E-witness 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-witness ART apostle-PL

He didn't want to be set free by the apostles.

Ajk'-u-na-Ø 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-∅ e ch'en tya' a-kux-pa watar-∅ e k'in.

1PE-dig-SF-3A ART hole where 3N-bear-MV come-3A ART sun

We dug a hole where the sun is born.

Ka-yor-i-∅ 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' a-kan-se-yan.

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.

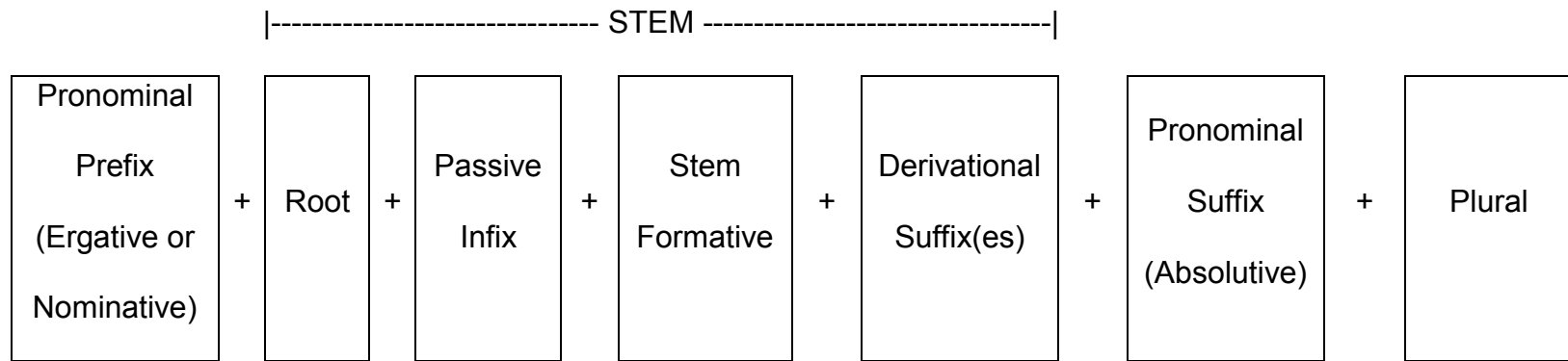
Since Spanish and English both allow many verbs to shift between transitive and intransitive meanings without derivational markings, translating a Ch'orti' antipassive into either of those languages often requires nothing more than using a potentially transitive verb without an object (for example, 'he 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'.

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 I'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).

Morphological Analysis of <i>usajbesob'ix</i>		
Morpheme	Morpheme Class	Gloss
u-	Ergative Agent	He/she/it/they
sab'	Adjectival Root	Dry
-j-	Derivation: Intransitive	
-es	Derivation: Causative	
-∅	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-to-right 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 *-∅*, 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 <i>ak'anpesna</i>		
Morpheme	Morpheme Class	Gloss
a-	3 rd Person Nominative	he/she/it/they
k'an	Transitive Root	wish, need
-pa	Derivation: Middle Voice	
-es	Derivation: Causative	
-na	Derivation: 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 <i>uk'eche</i>		
Morpheme	Morpheme Class	Gloss
u-	3 rd Person agent	He/she/it/they
k'ech	Root	Bring, carry
-e	Stem formative	
-∅	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	
-∅	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 incomplete 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 complete or incomplete. Prefixing a nominative pronoun implies complete aspect, while an absolutive suffix communicates incomplete 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:

1. Within first syllable of the root, the glottal stop (onset) and vowel (nucleus) trade places.
2. If the pronominal prefix is the first person singular *in-*, the prefix is reduced to *-n-* and is infixes 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 <i>usr(e)</i>			
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 [ʔar]. 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 if 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 V_1y , 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 V_1y 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- \emptyset

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 absolute 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 *-en* marker and subjunctive *-ik* marker at the far right.

3.4.7.3. Imperative Mood Markers *-V₁*, *Vn*, and *-en*

Some roots form their imperatives by adding a suffix *-V₁*, 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 <i>-V₁</i>		
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 <i>-na</i>			
Root	Passive Form	Morphemes	Gloss
jajp	jajpna	jajp+na+∅	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 middle-voice 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+∅	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+∅+ix	It has sprouted
pak	apaktz'a	a+pak+tz'a	It bent (over)
b'ix	b'ixk'a	b'ix+k'a+∅	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:

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+∅	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-∅-ob' twa' a-xek'-ma-yan 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, Gerdtz 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' kuch-wan-Ø o ta'k'-wan-Ø 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.

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:

A-k'ux-un ut' ni-wej!

3N-eat-EMIT kernel 1SE-mouth

My tooth hurts!

O-jtz'-un 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 Transitive *-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* → *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 *noj* 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 pajr-b'ir wororoj.

There stand-3A one-CLASS stone carve-PART round

A carved, round stone stood there.

La Piedra Pintada are-na-Ø o b'om-b'ir tun.

La Piedra Pintada say-PSV-3A or paint-PART rock

It's called Piedra Pintada or Painted Rock.

Ayi turu-Ø in-kojt ixik u-b'ajn-er, yer chok-em ixik.

There live-3A one-CLASS woman 3E-alone-NOM ART drop-PART woman

And a woman lived there alone, a widowed 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 *-V₁r*

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:

Nob'-or ayi u-yej k'otoy-Ø

Hand.holding-ADJ there 3E-tooth arrive-3A

She arrived with her hand holding her tooth.

. . .twa' chek-er ke' ayan u-yar, ke' kuch-ur uyar

PREP appear-ADJ CONJ exist 3E-child CONJ carry-ADJ 3E-child

. . . so it appeared that she had a child, that her child was carried.

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 $-V_1r$ 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'oje'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 third-person 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 third-person 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 i-tz'e'n-e-ka?

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-to.

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 inch'uyo'b'	I baptized them
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 ach'uyo'b'	You baptized them
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 uch'uyo'b'	He baptized them
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 kach'uyo'b'	We baptized them
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 ich'uyo'b	You baptized them
3P	1S	uch'uye'no'b'	They baptized me
3P	2S	uch'uye'to'b'	They baptized you
3P	3S	uch'uyi uch'uyob'	They baptized him
3P	1P	uch'uyo'no'b'	They baptized us
3P	2P	uch'oyo'xo'b'	They baptized you
3P	3P	uch'uyi uch'uyo'b	They baptized them

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 incomplete, which is translated into English 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 ach'uymob'	They baptize

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 syllabified 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 u'ntz'yo'b'	I smelled them
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 awujtz'yo'b'	You smelled them
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 uyujtz'yo'b'	He smelled them
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 kawujtz'yo'b'	We smelled them
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 iwujtz'yo'b'	You smelled them
3P	1S	uyujtz'ye'no'b'	They smelled me
3P	2S	uyujtz'ye'to'b'	They smelled you
3P	3S	uyujtz'i uyujtz'yo'b'	They smelled him
3P	1P	uyujtz'yo'no'b'	They smelled us
3P	2P	uyujtz'yo'xo'b'	They smelled you
3P	3P	uyujtz'i uyujtz'yo'b'	They smelled them

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 infix *-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	I 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' ch'yo'b'	They grew

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 incomplete cause a number of phonological changes. The first person singular *in-* becomes infixes 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* → *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	I 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	I 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 *nyoʔot* ‘my house’. One might expect *niwoʔot*, but the glottal stop has been shifted into the root, leaving *ni* followed by *oʔot*, written and pronounced *nyoʔot*. 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 noʔn tara, e Chʔorty-oʔn tama e área Jocotán*

That which 1PE-do-3A 1PI here, ART Chʔortiʔ-1PA in ART area Jocotán

. . . that which we did here, we Chʔortiʔ in the Jocotán area.

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-∅ e padre taka e pak'ab'-ob'.

ASP speak-3A ART father with ART person-PL

The priest was speaking with the people.

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-∅ ani e chicha twa' ka-wajk'-u-∅ u-yuch'-i-∅ ka-pya'r-ob'.

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 our friends and family 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, *kapyarob* 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 ch'ich', yi jaxto ayi u-ch'ich'-er e ka-tata'.

ASP 3E-gather-CAUS-PL ART blood and this then 3E-blood-DRV ART 1PE-father

They gathered the blood, and this was the blood of God.

Yi e me'yn ira, ja'x u-me'yn-ir, 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 sayers’, 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-yotot-ob’ yaja, u-ch-Ø-ob’ u-yotot-ir e ka-tata’

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-jor-ir 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 k'ek'-a'r-ir ya' taka tur-b'a-n-Ø-ob'.

At just 3E-open-NOM ART strong-NOM-ABSR there with sit-TRANS-PSV-3A-PL

They were seated just at the opening of the doorway.

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 *nojor* 'leader', for example, is built on the adjectival root *noj* 'big' and the nominal root *zor* '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-men e k’ech’uj.

ART baby eat-PSV-SF 3E-witness 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 *witness*.

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-men-er-ob'
yi ma'chi u-yub'-i-Ø o'ch-Ø-ob'.*

As tie-ADJ there ART strong-NOUN-ABSR of.the house 3E-witness-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 <i>-yaj</i>			
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 here 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	e	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

e	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
e	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
e	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:

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

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

Ayan e 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-Ø ayi e María
 Come-SF-3A there ART María

Maria 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, *syān* 'much', both with and without a determiner:

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

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

lok'-oy-∅	leave-SF-3A
makwir	inside
e	ART
syān	much
k'opot	brush/wilderness
tya'	where
ch'a'r-∅	lie-3A
maku	amid
syān	much
t'ix.	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
 - 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-Ø ayi e ijch'ok ira.

Marry-3A then ART girl then

That 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 *chilate*² is set out.

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

“Ay, 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 e ka-tata

Curse-DER leave-SF-PSV-3A 3E-by ART 1PE-father

It was left cursed by God

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 e 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
e	ART
in-kojt	one-CLS
ijch'ok	girl
xe'	which/who
wa'r	stand
t-uy-uxin-ar-ob'	PREP-3E-middle-NOM-PL

e	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 *chilate* 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 *witness*, and often indicating a cause, instrument, or an agent that has been demoted in a passive construction:

Paxb'ir aktana umen e katata

It was left cursed by God

pax-b'ir	curse-PPL
akt-a-na-Ø	release-SF-PSV-Ø
u-men	3E-withness
e	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
e	ART
winik-ob'	people-PL
u-men	3E-with
yer	little
e	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 has 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-witness-DER

Don't you have something hidden away / put away ?

Many nouns, especially 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 explicit preposition, and thus operate within a true PP, rather than within an NP that behaves as a PP. Examples include *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 addition 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 third 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
e	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
e	ART
k'ajk'	fire
tama	PREP
in-te'	one-CLASS
yer	little
b'ejt	pot
o	or
tama	in
e	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 conjunction 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 of 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:

<i>Num-uy-Ø</i>	<i>in-te'</i>	<i>noxi'</i>	<i>b'ajk'ut</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ni-b'a.</i>
Pass-SF-3A	one-CLASS	great	fear	PREP	1SE-body
A 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:

<i>Sut-pa-∅</i>	<i>ix-∅-ob'</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ch'en</i>
turn-MV-3A	go-3A-PL	PREP	hole

They turned away (fell) into the hole.

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*, meaning 'toward the sky' is often compressed 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-∅	1SE-see-SF-3A
in-kojt	one-CLASS

ijch'ok	girl
xe'	who
tur-u-∅	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-∅ *uy-ej* *t-u-jor* *e* *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-Ø *u-nak'* *u't'-ob'* *taka* *e* *syana* *ch'aj*.

Burn-PSV-3A 3E-seed 3E-face-PL PREP ART much *pinol*

Their 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 to sleep with their spouses.

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

Ojron-Ø *e* *padre* *taka* *e* *pak'ab'-ob'*

Speak-3A ART father/priest PREP ART people-PL

The priest spoke with 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

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

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

a-xan-a *taka* *e* *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' o'jmay

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 e wy'-ar me'yra twa' e wakax
 exist ART eat-NOM much PREP ART cattle

There is a lot of food for the 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'ajti-i-Ø	1SE-recount-SF-3A
e'n-te-yx	other-CLASS-yet

num-er	step-NOM
twa'	PREP
e	ART
xe'	PRO
ar-e-na-∅	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
e	ART
aj-juch'-ob'	who-grind-PL
twa'	PREP
e	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:

<i>ma'chi</i>	<i>a-kax-i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>jjb'</i>	<i>tama-r-∅</i>
NEG	3N-fall-SF	ART	lightning	PREP-DER-3A

Lightning doesn't fall on it.

<i>ni-pya'r</i>	<i>xe'</i>	<i>la'r</i>	<i>u-jab'</i>	<i>taka-r-en</i>
1SE-friend	PRO	similar	3E-year	PREP-DER-1SA

My friend who (is) similar (in) age 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.

[_{DP} 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:

<i>E</i>	<i>María</i>	<i>u'-ri-Ø</i>	<i>u-pik</i>
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'

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

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

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 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'n *no'n* *otron-yajr* *taka* *e* *ujtz'ub'*
 go-CAU-PSV-1PA 1PI other-time with ART incense
 We 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 suffix *-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.

<i>Ayan</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>maktak</i>	<i>xe'</i>	<i>a-we'</i>	<i>me'yra</i>
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:

<i>Matuk'a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>wy-a'r</i>
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:

<i>Jay</i>	<i>noxi'</i>	<i>winik-Ø-ix</i>	<i>enton. . . .</i>
If	grown	person-3A-ALREADY	then. . . .
If he/she is already a grown person, then			

In a simple statement without a conditional:

<i>Ch'ok</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>katu'</i>
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
e	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:

<i>k'an-ix-ka</i>	<i>a-tak'-a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>pa'?</i>
want-already-QUE	3N-be.cooked-SF	ART	tamale
Aren'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?*.

<i>Tuk'a</i>	<i>war</i>	<i>i-che</i>	<i>tarex?</i>
What	ASP	2SN-do	there
What are you doing there?			

<i>Tuk'a</i>	<i>umen</i>	<i>cham-ay-Ø?</i>
What	by	die-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)?

tya'	when/where
a-'xin	3N-go
ka-chwan	1PN-be.satisfied
taka	with
yer	little
e	ART
in-b'ijk	one-bit
sa'	atol
ira	this

4.7.1.4. Conditionals

Conditional clauses and phrases can be built using the word *jay*, meaning '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 subjunctive 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 that.

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

If you want to, let's go see 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’sē*, then, is the direct object of *atakry’ōn*, and describes the nature of the help received. The likely structure is:

[_{PP} twa’ ne’t atakry’ōn [_{VP} kalok’sē [_{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 us and we 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:

<i>xe’</i>	<i>inw-ir-∅-a-to</i>	<i>u-che-∅</i>	<i>ni-tata’</i>
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:

<i>K'an-i-Ø</i>	<i>in-k'ajt-i</i>	<i>in-te'</i>	<i>k'ub'-es-yaj</i>
wish-SF-3A	1SE-relate-SF	one-CLASS	comply-CAUS-NOM

I 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 first-person 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-∅ *ke'* *u-majr-es-∅* *e* *ka-tata'*
 3E-know-3A that 3E-shame-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:

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

AND

- 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:

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

AND

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

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

- 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-∅	happen-3A
taka	with
e	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 e maxtak xe' a-we' me'yra

Exist ART children who 3N-eat much

There are children who eat too much.

[_{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] what we call 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 ayi*.

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

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

I wish to tell what I saw my father do.

k'an-i-Ø	wish-SF-3A
in-k'ajti-i-Ø	1SE-relate-SF-3A
ix-to	ASP-ASP
xe'	what
inw-ir-a-Ø-to	1SE-see-SF-3A-ASP
u-che-Ø	3E-do-3A
ni-tata'	1SE-father

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'.

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

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

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
e	ART
maxtak	child
ira	this
ch'a'r-Ø	lie/recline-3A
e	ART
xiximay	<i>xiximay</i>
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 incomplete.

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
e	art

otot-ob'	house-PL
----------	----------

The prefixes here are nominative pronouns, indicating the grammatical subject of the intransitive verb and also indicating that the verbal aspect is incomplete, 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 incomplete.
- A verb with a pronominal suffix and no pronominal prefix must be intransitive and complete.

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 absolute, is null. This means that some transitive constructions and some incomplete 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
e	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 incomplete 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).

e	ART
---	-----

ch'urkab'	child
ira	this
a-xin	3N-go
a-yopa	3N-arrive
t-or	PREP-head
e	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 English in phrases such as *line up* or *lay out*.

tama e tyá' a-kux-pa watar-Ø e ka-tata'
 PREP ART where 3N-bear-MV come-3A ART 1PE-father

In the place where the sun is born.

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-∅	go.about-3A
u-tur-b'a-∅	3E-sit-TRV-3A
ixin-∅	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 arrangement. 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.

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 clusters 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:

1. 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

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

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

<p>[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.</p>	<p>[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.</p>
<p>[6] Enton uwajpyob' e maxtak, jay nojte'yx, uch'ub'ob' xirkojt yi uk'echob' uyej tama ujur 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.</p>	<p>[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 <i>xiximay</i> will flee.</p>
<p>[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."</p>	<p>[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 <i>xiximay</i> there are in the belly of this our child, or this our child²."</p>

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

<p>[8] “Yi kak’ajti ub’an twa’ atz’akon taka tunor awanxerob’ yi alok’s’e tuno’r e xiximay xe’ ayan tama unak yer e maxtak ira, ak’eche achoki e xiximay ira tama o’r e witz’irob’, xe’ tya’ matuk’a e pak’ab’ob’.”</p>	<p>[8] “And we also ask that you heal us with all your angels and expel all the <i>xiximay</i> that are in the belly of this child, take these <i>xiximay</i> and drop them over the mountains, where there are no people.”</p>
<p>[9] “Yi b’an kochera kak’ani twa’ e chuchu ira aketpa imb’utz yi atz’akpa yi twa’ achwan taka tunor xe’ no’n kawajk’u, yi ja’x era kak’ajti takaret” che “twa’ ne’t atakryo’n kalok’s’e tunor e mab’anb’anir yi xe’ ayan tara tama unak, tartaka ke’ ja’xir awe’ me’yra.”</p>	<p>[9] “And in this way we wish that this child remain well and that he recover (heal) and that he be satisfied with everything we give him, and this we ask of you,” they say, “that you help us expel all the evil that is here in his belly, because he eats too much.”</p>
<p>[10] Yi b’an kochera uchob’ inte’ yer k’ajtsyaj yi ne’n ma’chi uyub’ye’n ink’ajti me’yra, yi jay kapojro inkojt ajnirom o inkojt ajk’ajt, ja’xob’ una’tob’ me’yra, jax taka war ink’ajti imb’ijk xe’ k’ar nimener.</p>	<p>[10] And in this way they performed a petition, and I can’t petition much, maybe we could look for a curandero or a petition-maker³, they know a lot, I’m just telling a bit that I remember.</p>
<p>[11] Yi b’anixto kochera ache’mpa taka inkojt maxtak jay awe’ me’yra o inkojt noxi’ winik xe’ awe’ me’yra ma’chi achwan, enton ab’utz’a’na yi ak’ajna kochera takar e katata’ yi tunor e anxerob’.</p>	<p>[11] And this is what is done with a child if he eats too much or an adult that eats too much and isn’t satisfied, he is censured and it is asked in this way of God and all the angels.</p>

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.

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 <i>Xiximay</i>
<p>[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte numer xe' ache'mpa tama e turer tya' ti kab'ach' e ch'ortyon, yi e k'ub'esyaj ira ache'mpa kochera.</p>	<p>[1] I want to relate a passage [about] that which is done in the dwelling place of ourselves the Ch'orti', and this belief is practiced like this.</p>
<p>[2] Ukojkna'r e xiximay ache'mpa tama e inajk'in winal junio.</p>	<p>[2] The watch⁴ for the <i>xiximay</i>⁵ is done on the first day of the month of June⁶.</p>
<p>[3] E kojksaj ira ache'mpa twa' tama tunor e ototob'.</p>	<p>[3] This watch is kept among all the houses.</p>
<p>[4] E kojna'r e xiximay kakojko taka e wya'r.</p>	<p>[4] We hold the <i>xiximay</i> watch with food.</p>
<p>[5] Kana'tix ke' tama e inajk'in winal junio, tama uyuxinar e akb'ar, ak'ajtna ke' anumuy uwinkirar e wi'na'r, enton b'an kochera kana'tix ke' tama e ajk'in ira ja'x a'xin anumuy tama e ototob'.</p>	<p>[5] We know that on the first of the month of June, in the middle of the night⁷, it is told that the mistress⁸ of hunger walks about, we know that on that date she⁹ is going to pass among the houses.</p>

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.

<p>[6] Uk'ajtyob' ani nitu' yi ninoya ke' ja'xir axana awara tama tuno'r e ototob', ingojr ingojr e ototob' uwarajse axana yi ja'xir che ak'otoy ayi upojro tuk'a ayan, jay ayan e pa', jay ayan e sa', o ayan e b'ur, ton ja'xir war usajka che k'ani awe', enton tar kochera no'n koche kana'ta ke' uk'ani twa' kakojko.</p>	<p>[6] My mother and grandmother used to tell that she walks around visiting all the houses, she walks from house to house visiting them, and they say she comes to search for whatever is there, if there is a tortilla, or there is <i>atol</i>¹⁰, or if there are some beans, she is looking for them and wants to eat, and because of this we know that we have to keep watch.</p>
<p>[7] Entonces kaware ache'na e nukir pa', ache'na inkojt noxi' pa' xe' kaware pixton, ach'ab'na tujor uwarib' e pa, ab'ajsa yer uyor yaja', awab'na tama e ch'óji.</p>	<p>[7] So we order a big tortilla to be made, a big tortilla we call <i>pixton</i> is made, it is placed over the tortilla container, [the container] is covered on top, and it is placed in the <i>yawal</i>¹¹.</p>
<p>[8] Enton chob' ani nitu' uyaryob' ani, yi b'an kaware koner, ke' era k'echerto kamener este era, ne'n ub'an inwareto ache'na.</p>	<p>[8] My mothers used to say, and we say the same today, we still remember this, and I still have it done.</p>

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.

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

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.

<p>[12] Enton jay utajwi inkojt noxi' pa' o utajwi e xeb' o e pajb'ur sa', ja'x era a'xin uk'uxi o uyuch'i; ja'xir ma'chix ayi uyuch'i, jaxtaka upijch'i umeynir e wya'r.</p> <p>[13] Yi b'an kochera ache'mpa tama inajk'in winal junio.</p> <p>[14] Y b'an ub'an ache'mpa e yaje' e'nte k'ub'esyaj ira ub'an.</p> <p>[15] Tya' turix e pa', wa'rix e sa', yi chapb'irix e b'ur, enton watar e inkojt pak'ab' xe' una'ta, o wato'n no'n xe' uyub'yo'n kache.</p>	<p>[12] Then if she finds a big tortilla or finds a <i>chepe</i> or bitter <i>atol</i>, that is what she'll eat or drink; she doesn't drink, her shade¹⁵ just touches the food.</p> <p>[13] And this is how [things] are done on the first day of the month of June.</p> <p>[14] And also another such custom is performed then as well.</p> <p>[15] When the tortilla is in place, the <i>atol</i> has been set out, and beans have been cooked, then someone comes who knows [how to do it], or we who are able to do it come.</p>
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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.

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

¹⁶ A ceramic or metal plate used for cooking tortillas.

<p>[18] Ayan me'yra uk'ek'war umeynir tut' e otot xe' ayan ti kab'a, b'antaka ke' uk'ajtyob' ani ixto ninoya yi nitáta ke' jay utajwi tojb'en ut' e otot, matuk'a e wya'r, enton che ja'xir ub'a'xi uyakta e otot ke' e pak'ab'ob' xe' turob' tama e otot ira a'xin uwirob' me'yra e neb'eyr, ak'a'pa e na'r, uwirob' e wina'r, matuk'a yar utuminob', matuk'a yer ub'ujkob', tz'ajtaka uwirna'rob' tartaka ke' tama e inajk'in uwinal ira matuk'a atajwina tuyototob'.</p>	<p>[18] The power of the shade [of the <i>xiximay</i>] 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.</p>
<p>[19] B'an e k'ub'esyaj kochera.</p> <p>[20] Yi b'an uk'ajtyob' ani ub'an ke' uk'ab'a ixto e xiximay uk'ab'a kochera ixkajr Teresa, ton tama e castilla chob' doña Teresa, ja'x uwinkirar e wina'r o uk'ab'a e xiximay.</p>	<p>[19] And thus the belief is like this.</p> <p>[20] And they used to say also that the name of the <i>xiximay</i>, was like lady Teresa, and in Spanish they said <i>doña</i> Teresa, that's the mistress of hunger or the name of the <i>xiximay</i>.</p>

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

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

6.1.3. Text 3: *Ciguanabas Eat Babies*

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

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

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

<p>[9] Enton che ani ninoy ja'xir uya're ani nitu', "jay k'ani awakta ub'ajner ach'urkab'," che, "jay mamajchi umen twa' akojkna, ach'ami ub'itor anoxib' y ach'ab'u tujor yer ach'urkab' tya' ch'a'r awayan tama yer uwab'," che.</p> <p>[10] Yi b'an ani uche niná'na yaja', o sea, nitu', cuando a'xin ani innajt yaja', uyakta ub'ajnerob' niwijtz'inob' yi ne'n inketpa ani inkojko, chuchwe'nto, peru b'ajxan uch'ami ani ub'itor nitata' uch'ab'u tujor yer e ch'urkab' tya' uch'ab'u uyakta tama e ab'.</p> <p>[11] yi ne'n inturan ani inkojko yer niwijtz'in yi b'antaka ke' uk'ajtyob' ani ke' b'ajk'at ak'otoy e k'ech'uj uk'uxi e ch'urkab' tya' ch'a'r porque b'an kochera una'tob' ke' e ixik xe' uyakta uch'urkab' ub'ajner k'ujxa umen e k'ech'uj.</p>	<p>[9] And my grandmother used to tell my mother, "if you have to leave your baby alone," she said, "if there is no one by whom it [can] be watched, grab your husband's hat and place it on the baby's head where it is lying sleeping in its little hammock," she said.</p> <p>[10] And that's what my mother did then, that is, my mother, when she went far, left my younger siblings alone, and I used to stay to watch them, I was still quite young, but first she would grab my father's hat and put it on the baby's head where she laid it down in the hammock.</p> <p>[11] And I used to sit and watch my little siblings because they used to say that the <i>ciguanaba</i> came suddenly to eat the baby where it was lying down, because they knew that the woman who left her baby alone, [her baby] would be eaten by the <i>ciguanaba</i>.</p>
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6.1.4. Text 4: The Phases of the Moon

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

<p>[9] Ma'chix kak'ub'se tunor xe' uk'ani twa' kache tya' e katu' majax imb'utz yer uwirnar.</p> <p>[10] Enton tara k'ani ink'ajti ke' uk'ajtyob' ani nitáta ninoya yi uk'ajtyob'to koner e onyan pak'ab'ob', ke' b'an ke' inkojt winik xe' k'ani upijch'i uyexkar koche kaware, o k'ani uche mab'anb'anir takar, o koche atz'i kaware era, o k'ani uche e, koche tama e castilla kaware, k'ani uche engendro, war uche yaje' uso sexual -- castilla, verdad? -- koche kaware no'n, war uche ub'ob'.</p> <p>[11] Ton tara che e onyan pak'ab'ob' tya' k'ani awayanob' taka uyexkarob' yi k'ani unut'i ub'ob', uk'ani twa' usajkob' e katu' jay ne'p.</p> <p>[12] Tartaka ke' jay upijch'ob' ayi yaje' uwixkarob' yaja' yi uchob' e, koche kaware, uso sexual, b'ajk'atix ke' tama e ajk'in ira, o tama e chena'rir ira, b'ajk'atix utakb'ob' inkojt e ch'urkab'.</p>	<p>[9] Now we don't believe (obey) all that we ought to do when the moon doesn't look good.</p> <p>[10] So now I want to tell what my father and grandmother used to tell, and the old folks still tell today, that when a man who wants to touch his wife as we say, or wants to commit sin with her, as truly we phrase it, or wants to do, as we say in Spanish, he wants to beget, engaging in sexual use -- Spanish, yes? -- as we say, they were doing each other.</p> <p>[11] So the old folks say when they want to sleep with their spouses and want to unite themselves, it is necessary to check the moon, whether it is full.</p> <p>[12] Only because if they touch their spouses and engage in, as we say, sexual use, they fear that in that day, or in that act, they fear they'll beget a baby.</p>
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<p>[13] Jay ta'k'wan inkojt yer ch'urkab' yi ch'ok e katu', enton che ke' yer e ch'urkab' ira axin ayopa tor e rum ajmok, tartaka ke' e katu' ch'ok turu tya' ja'xir kuchwan o ta'k'wan tama yer unak uná'na.</p>	<p>[13] If a baby is begotten and the moon is new, then it is said that this baby is going to come to earth sick, just because the moon was in the new phase when it (the baby) was carried or begotten in the belly of its mother.</p>
<p>[14] Yi tar ira che ke' e o'nyan pak'ab'ob', tya' k'ani awayanob' nut'ur taka uyexka'rob', usajkob' e katu', jay turu imb'utz, jay majax ch'ok, yi jay b'an kochera, twa' ayo'pa e maxtak imb'utz uwirnar, majax ajmokob'.</p>	<p>[14] And for this reason they say that the old folks, when they wanted to sleep together with their spouses, sought the moon, whether it was in a good phase, not new, and if it was like that, so that the children would arrive healthy¹⁸, so they weren't sick.</p>
<p>[15] Yi tar koner kawira ke' e'rachob' ani.</p>	<p>[15] And thus we see today that they were speaking the truth.</p>
<p>[16] Koner no'n kayo'pa tor e rum ajmokonix.</p>	<p>[16] Today we come to earth already sick.</p>
<p>[17] Ka'ru quizás umen e k'uxb'akerir.</p>	<p>[17] We cry perhaps because of bone pains.</p>
<p>[18] Ma'chito kana'ta tuk'a katares, péru katu' war unumse ub'a tzajtaka ke' no'n ajmokon kayo'pa.</p>	<p>[18] We still don't know what we have, but our mother gets sad because we arrived sick.</p>

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

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

<p>[27] Tartaka ke' ja'xir ta'k'wan tunak unána taka inte' katu' xe' ne'p.</p> <p>[28] Uatob' ira usajkob inte' katu' yi xe' maja'x ch'ok.</p> <p>[29] Yi b'an ub'an ak'ajtna ke' jay no'n ta'k'wano'n tama e katu', o tama e b'ut'ur katu', enton tama e ajk'in b'ut'ur katu', jay no'n ta'k'wano'n tunak' kanána, che, enton no'n kalok'oy, koche kaware, ajnojrane'riron.</p> <p>[30] kanojran, war kach'i' yaja', kanojranix yaja', majax koche kayo'pa tama inte' mamb'utz turer te ajk'in ke kaware no'n ke no'n ta'k'wanon tama unak' kanána.</p> <p>[31]Taka inte' ch'ok katu' kayo'pa méru k'ix kachamay.</p> <p>[32] K'oxk'oxon kach'i', tartaka ke non, tama e ch'ok katu' quizás, ta'k'wanon tama unak kanána.</p> <p>[33] Enton jax era, che, ja'xirob' usajkob' ani e katu' twa' alok'oy inkojt yer umaxtakob' imb'utz uwirna'r.</p>	<p>[27] Just because they were conceived in their mother's belly during a moon that was full.</p> <p>[28] Their parents sought a moon that wasn't new.</p> <p>[29] And thus also it is told that if we are conceived while the moon, or during the full moon, then on the day of a full moon, if we are conceived in our mother's belly, it is said, then we arrive, as we say, growers.</p> <p>[30] We put on weight, are growing, and already we are getting heavy, not as if we arrived during a bad phase, on the day that we say we were conceived in our mother's belly.</p> <p>[31] With a new moon we arrive already beginning to die.</p> <p>[32] We grow up skinny, just because we, during the new moon perhaps, we were conceived in our mother's belly.</p> <p>[33] On account of that, it is said, they used to check the moon so that one of their children arrived healthy.</p>
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<p>[34] Uk'ani sajknar e katu' xe' ne'p twa' kache e uso sexual taka kawixka'r o ke' b'ajk'atix ke' tama e akb'ar ira xe' war kawayan taka kawixkar nut'ur, katak'b'u inkojt yar ch'urkab'.</p>	<p>[34] It is necessary that the moon that is full be sought in order to engage in sexual use with our wife, otherwise it is feared that on that night when we are sleeping united with our wife, we will beget a baby.</p>
<p>[35] Enton uk'ani sajkna'r e katu' xe' ne'p.</p>	<p>[35] So the moon that is full must be sought.</p>
<p>[36] Jax era ani uk'ajti nitwob'.</p>	<p>[36] That is what my mothers used to say.</p>
<p>[37] Yi tya' kuchur ub'an uyar inkojt ixik, ma'chi uyub'i uk'uxi e chab' akb'ar nen uk'oyi e sik'ab', tartaka ke' jay uk'oyi e sik'ab' max ut' uyej uyar alok'oy.</p>	<p>[37] And also when a woman's child is being carried (when she is pregnant with her child), she can't eat sweets at night nor suck on sugar cane, because if she sucks on sugar cane the teeth of her child will appear with cavities.</p>
<p>[38] Ma'chi uch'ujb'a ub'a e ajk'ajrib'ar ixik ira.</p>	<p>[38] This pregnant woman is not being careful.</p>
<p>[39] Enton jax era ink'ajti tama inte' numer ira.</p>	<p>[39] So that is what I recount in this story.</p>
<p>[40] Yi otronte' k'ub'esyaj ache'mpa taka e katu' ub'an ke' tya' b'ut'ur e katu' yaja', war kana'ta ke' tya' e katu' b'ut'ur te akb'ar méru janch'aken, méru jax e katata' turu, kawira uwarar janch'aken, me'yra uwarar e katu', méru janch'akenar, o'nton tama era ub'an inwirato ya'.</p>	<p>[40] And another remembrance made about the moon too [is] that when the moon is full, we know that when the moon is full at night fully bright, as if it were the sun in place, we see its bright rays, the many rays of the moon, pure brightness, I still see it like that.</p>

<p>[41] Yi b'an uk'ayon ani ninána ke' no'n me'rer kalok'oy taka intajch tajte' o intajch tajte' war atz'ajb'a.</p> <p>[42] Jay kalok'oy ayi taka kak'ajk' war atz'ajb'a takar patir yi turu e katu', asaka kajor wa'kchetaka.</p> <p>[43] Ton ma'chi uyub'i katz'ajb'es inte' k'ajk' kalok'oy patir uk'ajna'r taka, b'an taka ke' turu e katu' taka ujanch'akenar yi jay kalok'oy kochera asaka ayi kajor ub'an.</p> <p>[44] Y jax era pues inna'ta e k'ub'esyaj xe' ache'mpa taka e katu'.</p> <p>[45] péru ayan e k'ub'esyaj me'yra, me'yra k'ub'esyaj.</p> <p>[46] Jay ch'ok e katu', ma'chi uyub'i ach'empa inte' xe' no'n kak'ani.</p> <p>[47] Enton tarixto kochera me'yron kayopa ajmokonix tor e rum, tartaka ke' no'n ta'k'wanon tunak kanána taka inte' ch'ok katu'.</p> <p>[48] Uk'ani sajknar che e k'in katu' yi e b'ut'ur katu'.</p>	<p>[41] And thus my mother used to scold that we couldn't go out with an ocote (torch) if the ocote were burning.</p> <p>[42] If we go and our fire is burning outside and the moon is there, our head (hair) will whiten prematurely.</p> <p>[43] So we can't light a fire and go outside on a whim, because the moon is there with its brightness, and if we go out like that our head will turn white too.</p> <p>[44] And that [is what] I know [of] the beliefs that are held regarding the moon.</p> <p>[45] But there are many beliefs, many beliefs.</p> <p>[46] If the moon is new, something we want to do cannot be done.</p> <p>[47] Then in this way many of us come into the world already sick, just because we were conceived in our mother's belly during a new moon.</p> <p>[48] It is said that the day moon and the full moon must be sought.</p>
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6.1.5. Text 5: The Earthquake of 1976

E Yujkb'ar de 1976	The Earthquake of 1976¹⁹
<p>[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte' k'ajpesyaj xe' k'echerto nimener, lo ke' inwira tama e jab' xe' numuy tama e mil novecientos setenta y seis, tara no'n tama katurer kawira tuk'a che'na tya' numuy e yujkb'ar.</p>	<p>[1] I want to recount a memory that I still carry with me, what I saw in the year that passed in 1976, we here in our locality saw what was done when the earthquake happened.</p>
<p>[2] E Yujkb'ar yaja' numuy tama e mes xe' kaware cuatro de febrero yi b'an kochera numuy inte' noxi' b'ajk'ut ta nib'a.</p>	<p>[2] That earthquake happened on the date we call the fourth of February and thus a great fear passed through my person.</p>
<p>[3] Ne'n ma'to ani tya' inwira e yujkb'ar anumuy koche yaja'.</p>	<p>[3] I had never seen an earthquake happen like that one.</p>
<p>[4] U'mb'i ani ak'ajtna, péru ma'to ani tya' inwira, b'antaka ke' akay anumuy péru t'ustaka ayujksan, maja'x koche numuy tama e jab' yaji'n</p>	<p>[4] I used to hear it told (used to hear tell of it), but never saw one, because they were happening, but they shook silently, not like what happened in that year.</p>
<p>[5] Tama e jab' ira, tama e mil novecientos setenta y seis, numuy inte' noxi' b'ajk'ut me'yra tartaka ke' ne'n inwira yi u'mb'i tuk'a numuy tama e ajwank'inar yaja'</p>	<p>[5] In that year, in 1976, there was a great deal of fear, because I saw and heard what happened that dawn.</p>

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

<p>[6] War ani kawayan tya' ko'yb'i yaja' jik'na tunor e chinamob', taka e syan otot, ko'yb'i méru inyajrer jincha tari e syan witz'ir, ja'x ajchi' e yujkb'ar war anumuy.</p>	<p>[6] We were sleeping when we heard thunder in all the settlements, among the many houses, we heard the many mountains falling in all at once, and it was the earthquake happening²⁰.</p>
<p>[7] Yi tya' b'ixk'o'n inwira ke' nich'akte' méru war akukurpa inyajrer méru war axana umen e yujkb'ar.</p>	<p>[7] When we woke up I saw that my bed was getting knocked around all at once, as if it were walking because of the earthquake.</p>
<p>[8] Ne'n yaja' b'ak'te'n inwira tartaka ke' ma'to ani tya' inwira e yujkb'ar.</p>	<p>[8] I was frightened when I saw it because I had never seen an earthquake.</p>
<p>[9] Tya' sakojpa, enton che nitata' era ja'x e katata' war uyepta watar inte' castigo kocha kaware war ub'ajk'usyo'n che ja'xir, ja'x ub'ajk'usyo'n tartaka ke' no'n ma'chi kak'ub'se tamar, no'n ka'wan kache tunor e mab'anb'anir, che nitata', yi tar era e katata' uyepta tari e castigo ti kab'a, che ja'xir, yi b'an kochera che war katoyi kamab'anb'anir xe' no'n kache.</p>	<p>[9] When dawn²¹ came, my father²² said that it was God ordering a punishment as we say [in Spanish] to come, that he was frightening us, he (my father) said, he (God) was frightening us because we didn't obey him (God), we undertake to do all kinds of evil, my father said, and so God ordered punishment to come upon us, he said, and thus we were paying [for] the sins we committed.</p>
<p>[10] Enton b'anixto kochera nitata' war uk'ab'ajse e katata.</p>	<p>[10] And in this way my father was calling out to God.</p>

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.

<p>[11] Sakojpa yi matuk'a kanumse kab'a, yi sakojpa yaja' war taka anijki e katu' rum, war anijki katu' rum takaron kora kora iraj iraj, anumuy e yujkb'ar yaja' war unijkes e otot.</p>	<p>[11] Dawn came and nothing happened to us, and dawn came and our mother earth was shaking, our mother earth was shaking [under] us little by little and over and over, an earthquake came and shook the house²³.</p>
<p>[12] Enton no'n tya' sakojpa kay ko'yb'i ke' ayan e chinam satpa, ayan me'yra chinamob' satpa, ayan ototob' yaja' kay kukurna yi chamay me'yra pak'ab'ob'.</p>	<p>[12] At dawn we were hearing²⁴ that villages were lost, that many villages were lost, there were houses being thrown down, and that many people died.</p>
<p>[13] Tara tama kachinam, esde ta Murak, mamajchi chamay, péru k'a'pa k'aspa tunor e ototob.</p>	<p>[13] Here in our town, that is, in Jocotán, nobody died, but all the houses²⁵ ended up broken (with cracks in them).</p>
<p>[14] Enton xe' turob' tara ta chinam kay wayanob' patir, ulok'se yer uchaktyob' patir ya' kay wayanob'</p>	<p>[14] Those who lived here in the town were sleeping outdoors, they took their beds outside and were sleeping.</p>
<p>[15] Yi b'an no'n ub'an kalok'se kach'akte' kay wayano'n patir twa' ma'chi uchamsyo'n yer ko'tot xe' wa'r ti kajor.</p>	<p>[15] And we [in the villages] also took our beds out and were sleeping outside so that the houses that stood over us didn't kill us.</p>

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.

<p>[16] Yi b'ajk'at no'n war kawayan por que kay areno'n ke' jay kawayan yeb'ar, b'ajk'atix war kawayan akukurpa ko'tot yi uchamsyo'n.</p>	<p>[16] And we slept in fear because we were being told that if we slept below (indoors), then while we were sleeping our houses might fall and kill us.</p>
<p>[17] Yi b'an kochera kay kanumse kab'a tunor e ajk'inob' ira, méru ma'chix kak'a'y, tunor e pak'ab'ob' tzajtaka yer ut'ob'.</p>	<p>[17] We were experiencing this every day, it didn't stop, and everybody looked sad.</p>
<p>[18] Enton nitata' taka otronmojr pak'ab' chob' kochera, "ma k'anik tuk'a uwinkirar e yujkb'ar twa' katoyi takar twa' asispajna," chob'.</p>	<p>[18] Then my father and some other people said, "shouldn't there be some master²⁶ of earthquakes whom we can pay so that it is quieted?"</p>
<p>[19] Turan kay ub'ijnob'.</p>	<p>[19] They sat down to think.</p>
<p>[20] Enton che ja'xirob' imb'a e nukta winikob'ix ani ja'xirob' ub'ijnob' ke' ayan uwinkirar, enton chob' kocha twa' kache.</p>	<p>[20] Then they, the senior men, thought there was a master, and they said what we should do.</p>
<p>[21] "Kamorojsik e pak'ab'ob' xe' uk'anyob' jay utakryo'nob' twa' kamani e tunor xe' twa' kak'ampes twa' kache inte' tojma'r," chob'.</p>	<p>[21] "Let's assemble the people who are willing, if they [will] help us buy everything we use to make a payment [ceremony]," they said.</p>
<p>[22] Enton kochera kay uk'ajtyob' e takarsaj yi kocha e pak'ab'ob' war ab'ak'tob' turob' ub'an mixtuk'a una'ta uchob' o war kab'ak'ta pue.</p>	<p>[22] So in this way they were asking for help and as the people were in a state of fear too, they didn't know what to say, for we were afraid, then.</p>

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

<p>[23] No'n yaja' kay kamorojse kab'a yi k'ajtna ti kab'a yer e ujtz'ub', k'ajtna e tumin twa' amajna yer e k'ajk'.</p> <p>[24] Enton kochera mantz'a me'yra ujtz'ub' yi b'an e k'ajk'ob' ub'an nukir k'ajk' yaja', ayan e nukta ayan e b'ik'it.</p> <p>[25] Enton tzakta tunor xe' uk'anyob' e onyan winik'ob ira.</p> <p>[26] Enton chob', "koner kamorojsik kab'a twa' kache e tojma'r."</p> <p>[27] Yi b'an kochera ub'an k'ajtna e ajtzo' uyaryob' che'na uyarar e sa', e saksak sa' yaja'.</p> <p>[28] Enton nitata' y otronte' yer onyan winik ub'an chob', "uk'ani twa' kache e nojk'in."</p> <p>[29] Usajkob' e ajk'in yaja' twa' ache'mpa e tojma'r.</p> <p>[30] Taryob' ja'xirob' kochera tama e ajk'in yaja' b'ajxan ke' akb'are.</p> <p>[31] Upejkob' e maxtakob' yaja' kay uya'ryob' tuk'a twa' uchob'.</p>	<p>[23] We were gathering ourselves [together] there, and copal was asked of us, money was asked for so that candles could be bought.</p> <p>[24] Thus a lot of copal was bought, and so the candles too, big candles, there were big ones and little ones.</p> <p>[25] And everything was done that those elders wanted.</p> <p>[26] They said, "today let's gather together to make a payment."</p> <p>[27] And so too the tom turkey was asked for, and they ordered the preparation of the <i>chilate</i>, the plain <i>chilate</i>²⁷.</p> <p>[28] Then my father and another elder too said, "we must make a feast day."</p> <p>[29] They sought a day²⁸ on which the payment would be made.</p> <p>[30] They came on that day before it got dark.</p> <p>[31] They invited the youngsters and were telling what they were to do.</p>
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²⁷ A drinkable corn gruel.

²⁸ That is, the elders selected an auspicious day for this type of ceremony.

<p>[32] Lok'on yaja' no'n, kay katakryob', lok'o'n takarob' ya' ch'u'rob' ub'an ja'xirob' kay uwirsyo'nob' koche twa' kache.</p> <p>[33] Kay kaxuri ixin e k'opot yaja' kayari inte' b'ir tya' twa' kanumuy akb'ar takarob', yi kay kaxuri ixin tunor e k'opot tya' tya' ja'x uk'anyob', twa' uxoyojk'yob' e mormor otot tya' turon</p> <p>[34] Yi kay kayori e ch'en koche ja'x uk'anyob', kayori e ch'en tya' akuxpa watar e k'in, yi kayori e ch'en tya' anamtz'a, yi kayori tama e tya' chob' ja'xirob' el sur ub'an tama el norte.</p> <p>[35] Entonces b'an kochera kay kayori ixin e ch'en, tama e chan ch'en ira ya kay yartz'a e sa'.</p> <p>[36] Entonces akb'are yaja', turanob' tunor e me'yra pak'ab'ob' kay uyustob' e syan ujtz'ub'</p>	<p>[32] We went out to help them, we went with them, and they were in the process of showing us how to do it.</p> <p>[33] We were cutting away the weeds there, opening a path were we would pass at night with them, and we were cutting away all the growth wherever they wanted, in order to encircle the settlement were we lived²⁹.</p> <p>[34] And we were digging holes as they wanted, we dug a hole were the sun is born³⁰, we dug a hole where it goes down, and we dug where they said, the south and the north.</p> <p>[35] So in this way we were digging out the holes, and into these four holes the <i>chilate</i> was being tossed.</p> <p>[36] Then it got dark, everyone sat down to prepare a lot of incense (copal).</p>
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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*.

<p>[37] uchob' e wororik kochera yi e katatik kochera, e katatik uk'ab'a che'nob', ja'x e <i>munición</i>, chob' -- saber koche tuk'a yaja' - - yi uchob' e nukir ujtz'ub' kochera, jaxto ayi koche kaware no'n tama kawojroner esde xe' ak'ampesna tama e armob' yaja' xe' ajuronob' tar xe' tama e uk'ab'a en castilla bala.</p>	<p>[37] They made round ones like this and elongated ones like this, they made the ones called elongated ones, it's ammunition, they say -- who knows what that means? -- and they made the sizable incense like this, these as we say in our language are like what is used in guns, that are loaded in, that in Spanish are called a <i>bala</i> (bullet)³¹.</p>
<p>[38] Ton kay uchob' ixin e syan ujtz'ub' b'anik e yaja' ayan e gororik ayan e katatik yi kay tzub'na ixin kochera tama ut' e turib' tya' e xe' kaware altar tut' e rum, kay xijch'a e syan ujtz'ub' yaja'</p>	<p>[38] They were making a lot of copal like this, there were round ones and elongated ones, and they were being piled like this at the edge of the seat, where there was that which we call an altar³², on the ground, a lot of incense was laid out there.</p>

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'.

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

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

<p>[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.</p>	<p>[42] Before we went with him, my father grabbed a piece of gourd container and threw the <i>chilate</i>, 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.</p>
<p>[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.</p>	<p>[43] We turned away to the direction where the sun sets, and there too the <i>chilate</i> was thrown, and then as I said about the direction where the sun is born, the <i>chilate</i> 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.</p>
<p>[44] Takerá 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.</p>	<p>[44] With this [sacrifice of a turkey] and with the <i>chilate</i> 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.</p>

<p>[45] Y b'an che'na tama e tya' anamtz'a, yi tya' tama e tya', inware, tama e inte' inxejrir ira uxch'en tama el sur ya' ub'an majka e sa', yi majka tama el norte, jaxtaka e sa' ya', ma'chi yajra uch'ich'er e ajtzo'.</p>	<p>[45] And thus it was done where [the sun] sets, and there in the place, I'm saying, in a separate, third hole in the south also the <i>chilate</i> was buried, and it was buried in the north, just the <i>chilate</i> there, the turkey blood wasn't thrown there³⁴.</p>
<p>[46] Péru b'an kochera kay katakre nitata' kay uk'ajtyob' tunor e k'ek'wa'rir yi e korparir twa' matuk'a kanumse kab'a.</p>	<p>[46] But in this way we were helping my father, they were asking for all the strength and protection so that nothing would happen to us.</p>
<p>[47] Enton kochera ub'an kaxoyojk'i tunor e mormor otot tya' turo'n taka e ujtz'ub', war axana nitata', war ub'utz'a a'xin tunor e uxoyojk'ir e mormor otot takar ub'utz'ar e ujtz'ub', war uk'eche axana e ujtz'ub' taka e ut' e k'ajk'.</p>	<p>[47] And in this way also we went around all the settlement where we lived with the copal, my father was walking, was censuring all the encirclement of the settlement with the smoke of the copal, he was walking carrying the copal with embers.</p>
<p>[48] K'a'pa uxoyojk'i tunor e morwar otot, enton ixon tama e otot tya' turu tunor yi xe' twa' ak'ampa.</p>	<p>[48] He finished walking a circle around the whole settlement, then we went to the house where there was everything we would use.</p>

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.

<p>[49] K'otoy uyuxinar akb'ar kotwanob' nitata' taka e uyajtakarsaj kay uk'ajtyob' tunor o kay uk'ajtyob' ub'an ke' ayan inte' uwinkir e yujkb'ar ke' uk'ab'a San Vicente, Ángel San Vicente.</p> <p>[50] Yi kay arena ke' jola uyepta watar e yujkb'ar tartaka ke' ma tawaron tama tunor e noxi' numer ira.</p> <p>[51] Enton b'an kochera kay tojyob'.</p> <p>[52] Turan inkojt inkojt e ajtakarsajob', yi nitata' war ojron taka e katata' Dios yi taka e San Vicente, yi war uyajk'ob' e tumin, chob', "tara katoyi e katata' taka e tumin ira," uyaryob' e ujtz'ub' tut' e k'ajk'.</p> <p>[53] Arena xe' turu yaja' war ukojko tuk'a hora twa' uyari e ujtz'ub' ta k'ajk' a'arena twa' uyari, uch'ami e ujtz'ub', utz'iki ut' e ujtz'ub', uyari tama e ut' e k'ajk'.</p>	<p>[49] The middle of the night came and my father and his assistants got down on their knees and were recounting everything, or were recounting too that there is a master of earthquakes and his name is San Vicente³⁵, San Vicente the Angel³⁶.</p> <p>[50] And he [San Vicente] was told not to allow the earthquake to come because we couldn't bear all these great happenings.</p> <p>[51] Then they were paid in this way.</p> <p>[52] The assistants sat down one by one and my father was speaking with God and San Vicente, and they were giving the coins, saying, "now we pay God with these coins," and they threw the [coins of] incense into the fire.</p> <p>[53] Those who were seated there waiting the time to throw the incense into the fire were ordered, they were ordered to throw it, they picked up the incense, counted³⁷ the pieces, and threw them in the embers.</p>
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³⁵ When first telling this story, the informant used the name San Vicente without hesitation. On later questioning, though, he expressed some doubts as to whether he was correctly remembering which saint was the master of Earthquakes.

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.

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

<p>[58] Tunor e akb'ar yaja' ma'chi wayano'n kay che'na e nojk'in.</p>	<p>[58] We didn't sleep all night, [as] we were celebrating the fiesta.</p>
<p>[59] Yi tara ub'an wab'na e nukir k'ajk' tzojra ixin kochera, yi b'an e b'ik'it k'ajk'.</p>	<p>[59] And here as well the big candles were placed, laid out in a line like this, and so the little candles.</p>
<p>[60] E nukir k'ajk' ira ja'x ayi kocha inte' koche kaware b'oyomir, yi xe' tama e castilla kaware bordón, o bastón, ja'x era e k'ek'wa'r ti kab'a ketpa ke' ja'x ayi e nukir e k'ajk' ira ketpa twa' tar ch'u'ron twa' ma'chi tuk'a kanumse kab'a</p>	<p>[60] These big candles that are like what we call a stick, and what in Spanish we call a <i>bordón</i> or a <i>bastón</i>, these are our strength remaining, because it is these big candles that remain³⁸ so that we are sustained so that nothing happens to us.</p>
<p>[61] Yer e b'ik'it k'ajk' e xe' wab'na jaxto e xe' arena ke' correo tama ixto e castilla o xe' ja'x yi e xe' ak'otoy b'ajxan, b'ajxan ak'otoy tama e k'ajk' che ke' ak'otoy wakchetaka e ojroner tut' e katata' yi koche ja'x apuruy wakchetaka, enton che b'an koche inte' correo, ke' koner tama inte' teléfono war kojron wakchetaka, k'otix e ojroner, yi b'an ixto uk'otorer yer e b'ik'it k'ajk', yi por eso apurutna e b'ik'it k'ajk' yi apurutna e nukir k'ajk'.</p>	<p>[61] And the little candles that are placed there, these are called <i>correo</i> (mail) in Spanish, for these are the ones that arrive first, they arrive first with the candles because the words arrive quickly to the presence of God, as they burn quickly, and so it's like mail, like today we are communicating rapidly by telephone, the words have already arrived, and this is the power of the little candles³⁹, and so little candles are burned and big candles are burned.</p>

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.

<p>[62] Yi b'an enton kochera che'mpa inte' tojmar twa' ma'chix anumuy e nojta yujkb'ar,</p> <p>[63] Wartaka numuy tara no'n este'ra yi war kochera ink'ajti ira yi ocho'nix tama e dos mil cinco yi no'n ma'to tuk'a kanumse kab'a tara, me'yra anumuy peru t'ustaka, ma'chi anumuy me'yra.</p> <p>[64] Ma'chi war ina'ta jay ma'chi axin watar inte' nojta, por que b'an kochera pues ke' koner ayan me'yra mab'anb'anir, koner ayan me'yra mab'anb'anir anumuy, war ache'na chamsaj, war ab'oro e syan ajxujchob', war ab'oro, inmojr war uche otronte' me'yra, ti'n war anujb'i war uyakta ub'ob', ti'n war uchamse ixiktak, ayan me'yra mab'anb'anir</p> <p>[65] Ma'chi kana'ta e katata' jay ma'chi axin ak'ijna uyepta watar otronte' yujkb'ar, o otronteyx castigo uyepta watar ti kab'a.</p>	<p>[62] And in this way the payment was made so that a big earthquake wouldn't take place.</p> <p>[63] They always happen here to us even today, and as I'm telling this we've entered 2005 and still nothing has happened to us here, a lot has happened but calm, not much happened⁴⁰.</p> <p>[64] I don't know if one greater isn't going to come, because today there is a lot of evil, today there is a lot of evil happening, killings are being done, thieves are multiplying, they abound, others are doing many things, someone marries then they release each other (divorce), someone is killing women, there is much evil.</p> <p>[65] We don't know that God isn't going to get angry and let another earthquake come, or permit some other punishment to come to us.</p>
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⁴⁰ Occasional earthquakes are felt in the area, but there hasn't been a serious quake since 1976.

<p>[66] Ma'chi ina'ta péru tamar era no'n war kab'ijnu ke' e o'nyan pak'ab'ob' ira nitata' yi e'nkojt xe' chamix uchob' inte' tojma'r yi este'ra no'n ma'to tuk'a kanumse kab'a.</p>	<p>[66] I don't know, but in regard to this we are thinking that these elders, my father⁴¹ and others who have died, have made a payment and until today still nothing has happened to us.</p>
<p>[67] Ja'x era lo que ne'n k'a'r nimener ke' lo que kache no'n tara e ch'ortyo'n tama e área Jocotán kay che'mpa inte' tojma'r twa' ma'chi anumuy inte' yujkb'ar nojta koche numuy tar e inyajr tama e setenta y seis.</p>	<p>[67] What I keep in mind is what we did here, we the Ch'orti' in the Jocotán area, a payment was made so that a big earthquake wouldn't happened as did happen here that time in seventy-six.</p>

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 Lover⁴³
[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 xe' la'r ujab' takaren.	[2] This occurrence happened to one of my friends who is similar in age to me.
[3] E sitz' ira xe' nipya'r ani ke' kay ch'on, ch'uwan ut' tama inkojt ijch'ok tya' turo'n yaja'.	[3] This guy who used to be my friend when we were growing up, his eye hung on (he fell in love with) a girl there where we lived.
[4] Kay ayi ojron takar che, kay umek'ru, yi kay uk'ani ub'ob' me'yra, verdad, ak'ajna umen e ijch'ok yi jaxir ub'an uk'ani e ijch'ok.	[4] He was speaking ⁴⁴ with her, was embracing her, they loved each other a lot, truly, he was loved by the girl and he also loved the girl.
[5] Enton e sitz' ira che akb'are akb'are alok'oy usajka yi ojron takar.	[5] So each night this guy went out to look for her and speak with her.
[6] Yi k'otoy ayi inte' ajk'in jaxir yajra ixin uwira e ja' tama inte' usuypojp umen utata'.	[6] And there came a day [when] he was sent by his father to go look at (check on) 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').

<p>[7] Arena ayi, “kiki’ iran e pojip,” chayi arena, “ki’ iran e ja’ tusuy e pojip,”</p> <p>[8] Yi tzakarna ayi lok’oy wartokto ayi asakojsa, insib’anto ayi kora ut’ e rum, lok’oy yajra ixin twa’ uwira e ja’ tusuy e pojip.</p> <p>[9] Yi k’otoy yaja’ che tya’ ixto yaja’ wa’r uyotot e ijch’ok xe’ tya’ turob’ maku kora k’opot ub’an.</p> <p>[10] Ixnix ayanto ani e nukta’ te’, nen inwirato ub’an.</p> <p>[11] Ayan ani inte’ b’ir ke’ kaware callejón tama e castilla, meru esto insib’an ani yeb’ar, ya kanumuy yeb’ar e syan sijkch’an e me’yra syan sijkch’an yaja’.</p> <p>[12] Enton yixto yaja’ ch’a’r ani inte’ b’ir ya’ ani kanumuy, yi ayan ani inte’ t’ortun, ayan inte’ t’ortun tuni’ e nojb’ir yi inte’ t’ortun ejmarb’ir tama uni’ e b’ir yaja’ xe kaware callejón.</p>	<p>[7] He was told, “go check out the tule grass,” he was told, “go check out the water (irrigation) at the tule grass field.</p> <p>[8] He was ordered to go just 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.</p> <p>[9] He arrived at the place where stood the girl’s house, which was in a bit of forest too.</p> <p>[10] In the past there used to still be a forest, I saw it too⁴⁵.</p> <p>[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.</p> <p>[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.</p>
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⁴⁵ The informant is stating his personal memory that the vicinity used to be more heavily forested than it was in 2005.

<p>[13] Enton yixto yaja' che, tya' k'otoy tama e b'ajxan t'ortun, uwira ayi ke' war a'xin e ijch'ok tu't', uwira ke' jax e ijch'ok xe' war ojron takar, xe' war umek'ru, war uk'uxi uti' tya' utajwi ub'ob'.</p>	<p>[13] And there, when he arrived at the first stone corral, he saw that the girl was going in front of him, and he saw that it was the girl that he was 'speaking' with, that he was embracing, and was 'biting the mouth'⁴⁶ of when[ever] they found each other.</p>
<p>[14] Ton che ch'uwan ixin tu'pat che, e atz'a'y ayi ja'xir che, uyajk'u e b'ir ixin chayi, "tya' a'xin niwijch'ok ira," chayi tuyálma, "tya' a'xin niwijch'ok ira."</p>	<p>[14] He dropped everything and went after her, he was happy, he hit the road going, and said, "where is my girl going?" he said in his soul, "where is my girl going?"</p>
<p>[15] Yi kay upejka yi pejkna ayi umen e ijch'ok, kay ume'kru che kay ume'kru, ti'x war uwira e harán sitz' ira che, pues uwira ayi e b'ir ixin ta kojn.</p>	<p>[15] And he was calling to her and being called to by the girl, and he was embracing her and embracing her, and when this foolish young man looked, he saw the road go into a ravine⁴⁷.</p>
<p>[16] Ti tya' sakojsa lok'oy ajni e k'ech'uj tu't' kochwa e k'ech'uj ma'chi axana taka e ajk'in, ajrertaka e akb'ar axana, sakojsa inyajrer che, yi lok'oy ixin yi satpa tu't' yaja e k'ech'uj</p>	<p>[16] And as [the morning] dawned, the <i>ciguanaba</i> took off running from his presence as <i>ciguanabas</i> don't go about during the day, they go about only at night, it dawned suddenly, and the <i>ciguanaba</i>, went away and disappeared from his presence.</p>

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.

<p>[17] Tya' sutpa uwira che, maku k'opot wa'r, a'ru, ma'chi utajwi e b'ir.</p> <p>[18] Kora kora usajka e b'ir, ma'chi utajwi che, uyajk'u ayi yi arwa'r, "e!" chayi, "e!"</p> <p>[19] Yi'x ayi watar otronkojt winik u'b'na ayi war aru maku k'opot.</p> <p>[20] "Chet e ya'x?" chayi e'nkojt winik.</p> <p>[21] Koche ja'xir castellano, "yo," chayi ja'xir.</p> <p>[22] "Yi tuk'a war ache," chayi arena.</p> <p>[23] "Sí ne'n usatye'n e k'ech'uj," chayi.</p> <p>[24] Yi ixin irna che, ixin irna, yi takarna yaja' lok'oy makwir e syan k'opot tya' ch'a'r maku syan t'ix, war asatpa, yi ajwank'inix.</p> <p>[25] Enton che kay ayi u'b'na twa' tuk'a uwira.</p>	<p>[17] When he turned to look, he was standing in the wilderness, crying, and couldn't find the road.</p> <p>[18] He searched here and there for the road, but didn't find it, and gave a cry, "eh!" he said, "eh!"</p> <p>[19] At that moment another man came and heard him crying in the wilderness.</p> <p>[20] "Who is there?" said the man.</p> <p>[21] As he [the lost lover] was a Spaniard (Spanish speaker), he said, "I," [in Spanish].</p> <p>[22] "And what are you doing?" [the other man] said.</p> <p>[23] Surely the <i>ciguanaba</i> led me astray, he said.</p> <p>[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.</p> <p>[25] [The other man] asked what [the lost lover] saw.</p>
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<p>[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 ixen tu’pat,” chayi, “ma’jchi’ ja’x,” chayi, “jax ajchi’ e k’ech’uj,” chayi.</p> <p>[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’.</p> <p>[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.</p>	<p>[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 <i>ciguanaba</i>,” he said.</p> <p>[27] And so this young man was led astray by the <i>ciguanaba</i>, because he used to hang his face on (was in love with) that girl.</p> <p>[28] But he was mistaken, and when he saw that the girl had gone, he thought it was the girl, but it was the <i>ciguanaba</i> that was going before him, and he was taken away and was led astray in the thorny brush.</p>
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6.2.2. Text 7: Mountains to Protect Copán from a Flood

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

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

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

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

<p>[19] Enton chayi, “e pak’ab’ob’ ira,” chayi, “maja’x imb’utz uwirna’r,” chayi, “twa’to uk’uxob’ yer niwarak,” chayi, “ton ne’n k’ani insatyob’,” chayi.</p> <p>[20] Sajtob’ ayi e b’ajxan pak’ab’ ira, sajtob’ b’antaka ke’ twa’to uk’uxob’ e chay.</p> <p>[21] Enton chayi e katata’, “twa’ ma’chi at’ab’ay e nojja’ tama or e rum,” chayi, “k’ani inche inte’ nojta’ witz’ir, k’ani inche inte’ nojta witz’ir,” chayi.</p> <p>[22] Enton tari ayi e katata’, tari ayi e katata’ kay ayi uche yer ya’nam che ub’ojro ayi kora rum kay ayi uche ya’nam.</p> <p>[23] Enton che kay xana uturb’a ixin ya’nam inb’ijk inb’ijk inb’ijk kora kora che, tuyejtzer e xukurob’, kay uturb’a ixin che.</p> <p>[24] Enton che tari e katata’ uya’re ayi e witz’ir, “ch’e’nik,” chayi, “ch’e’nik witz’ir,” chayi.</p>	<p>[19] He said, “these people,” he said, “are of bad character,” he said, “they’re always eating my creatures,” he said, “so I want to get rid of them,” he said.</p> <p>[20] These first people were destroyed, they were destroyed because they were always eating the fish.</p> <p>[21] So God said, “so that the sea does not rise over the land,” he said, “I want to make a great mountain, I want to make a great mountain,” he said.</p> <p>[22] So God came, God came and was making mud, he scooped up a bit of earth and was making mud.</p> <p>[23] Then he walked about placing mud bit by bit here and there, beside the rivers, he was laying it out.</p> <p>[24] And God came and said to the mountains, “may you grow,” he said, “may you grow, mountains,” he said.</p>
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<p>[25] Tari ayi e witz'ir che, sib'yob' e witz'ir yaja', ch'ob' ixob' esto ke' k'otob' nukir witz'ir.</p>	<p>[25] [And] the mountains came, those mountains expanded, they grew up until they became great mountains.</p>
<p>[26] Enton che b'an ixto kochera e witz'ir ira che'mb'ir umen e katata', ketpa kochwa inte' makte' twa' ma'chi at'ab'ay watar e nojja' tujor e rum, twa' ma'chi at'ab'ay watar e chay nen jax e ja' ma'chi at'ab'ay.</p>	<p>[26] And so in this way the mountains were made by God, and remain as an enclosure so that the sea cannot rise and come over the earth, so that the fish don't rise up and come (in), nor can the water rise.</p>
<p>[27] Enton b'an kochera che sajto' b'ajxan pak'ab' xe' uk'uxob' ani e me'yra chay yaja', yi tya' e katata' uturb'a ixin e syan witz'ir kocha e makte', yi tya' ch'i' ayi e witz'ir ira.</p>	<p>[27] So in this way the first people were destroyed, the ones who used to eat the many fish there, where God laid out the many mountains as an enclosure, and where these mountains grew.</p>
<p>[28] Enton e katata' otronyajr uchektes inmojrix pak'ab'ob', enton ketpa e pak'ab'ob' otronyajr.</p>	<p>[28] Then God again caused yet another group of people to appear, so people remained again.</p>
<p>[29] Yi ton tara ink'ajti e b'ajxan numer ira koche numuy tama e chinam xe' koner Copán kaware.</p>	<p>[29] And so here I tell this first story about how it went at the town that today we call Copán.</p>

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

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

<p>[1] K'ani ink'ajti inteyx uyokir ojroner o uyokir numer.</p>	<p>[1] I want to tell another theme of speaking or theme of stories.</p>
<p>[2] Nitata' ub'an uk'ajti ani e numerob' ira tama e chinam.</p>	<p>[2] My father also used to tell these stories about the town.</p>
<p>[3] E chinam Copán ira turanob' ayi me'yra e b'ajxan pak'ab'ob' yaja'.</p>	<p>[3] This town of Copán, many of the first people lived there.</p>
<p>[4] Kay uchob' me'yra patna'r, kay uchob' uyototob' yaja', uchob' uyototir e katata' tya' ojronob' taka e katata' y kay b'orwob' me'yra.</p>	<p>[4] They were making many works⁴⁹, were making their houses there, they made the house of God where they spoke with God and they were multiplying greatly.</p>
<p>[5] Enton che e pak'ab' ira xe' kay uchob' che, turan ayi inte' unojjor ujjorir pak'ab' xe' arena rey.</p>	<p>[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.</p>
<p>[6] Enton che ayan ayi ujjorir e chinam ira che, noj ajjorir, kay ayi uche inte' mab'anb'anir.</p>	<p>[6] So there was this leader of the town, a great leader, and he was committing a crime (sin).</p>
<p>[7] Inte'to jab' che inte'to jab' uk'ajti inkojt yer chuchu maxtak o yer chuchu sitz', uk'ajti e chuchu stiz' ira che jax e yaxar ch'urkab'ob'.</p>	<p>[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).</p>

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.

<p>[8] Enton che e ti'n ayan inkojt yer uyaxar yer sitz' alok'esna tut' tama e jab' ira twa' axejk'a yer unuk' yi alok'esna yer uch'ich'er twa' ajk'una uyuch'i e katu' rum.</p>	<p>[8] Well, there was someone who had a first-born son taken from him that year for his neck to be pierced and his blood taken out in order to be given so that mother earth would drink it.</p>
<p>[9] E ajnoj pak'ab' ira ayan ani inte' uyojroner ukachi ub'a takar kaxa e katu' rum o taka e' lab'a, ma'chi inna'ta chi takar uche e ojroner ira, enton jaxir uk'ajti inkojt yer chuchu che, uchamse tama e jab' tya' k'ani uche e nojk'in, yi b'anto kay uche, che</p>	<p>[9] This leader had a word⁵⁰ of binding himself with perhaps the earth or perhaps the devil, I'm not sure with which he made the word, and so he asked for a baby, it is said, and killed it during the year when he wanted to hold a festival, and he was always doing this, it is said.</p>
<p>[10] Enton e pak'ab'ob' ira xe' turob' yi xe' umen e noj winik ira ache'na uchob' xe' jax ma'chi uk'anyob, enton che alok'oy eyini ajnyob' che.</p>	<p>[10] Then these people who lived there and were made to do things they didn't want [to do] by this great man, they took off running.</p>
<p>[11] Enmojr a'xob' taka yer uchuchwob' amukwanob' tama e nukir k'opot, ma'chi uyakta ub'ob twa' achamesna yer uch'urkab'ob', yi war uk'ajtyob' quizás taka e katata' twa' ak'otoy inte' ajk'in ke' e noj winik ira uk'ani ani twa' achamay wakchetaka twa' ma'chix uche e mab'anb'anir.</p>	<p>[11] Others went with their babies and hid in the wilderness, they didn't allow that their babies were killed, and perhaps were praying to God that a day would come [when] this big man would have to die quickly, so that he no longer committed evil.</p>

⁵⁰ The king had made a promise or contract with some supernatural entity.

<p>[12] Enton che k'otoy inte' ajk'in chekta ayi inkojt ixik.</p> <p>[13] O b'ajxan k'ani ink'ajti ke' tya' achamesna e b'ik'it maxtak yaja' tama e chinam Copán, ya' wa'r ingojr tun pajrb'ir wororoj yi tujor ayan inte' yer ch'en yer job'emar.</p> <p>[14] Yi ixto yaja' nitata' uk'ajti ke' ya eyni ach'ab'na yer e chuchu, axejk'a yer unuk twa' alok'esna yer uch'ich'er, yi ayan inte' yer uxuremarir ut' e tun yaja' tya' e'kmay, ch'a'r yer ub'ijrar yaja' twa' e'kmay e ch'ich' tar ak'axi esde tut' e rum, tya' wa'r e tun yaja'.</p> <p>[15] Enton che k'otoy inte' ajk'in chekta ayi inkojt ixik, kay xana wara' che, kora kora anumuy awara' tama e ototob' yaja' tya' turob' e pak'ab'ob', yi ma' ayi majchi' umen ak'ajtna, b'antaka ke' e ixik ira ayan ayi me'yra syan chek tyer u't, esto intuj yer u't che, ink'umaj e syan chek yaja' tama yer uwe'rir o tama uk'ewrarir.</p>	<p>[12] Then a day came [in which] a woman appeared.</p> <p>[13] But first I want to tell that when the little children were killed there in the town of Copán, there was a carved round stone standing there and on top there was a small hole or hollow.</p> <p>[14] Indeed, my father told that the babies were laid there, and their throats were pierced to get out the blood, and there was a gash on the surface of the stone where it [the blood] went down, a channel lay there for the blood to fall along to the earth, there where the stone stood.</p> <p>[15] So a day came [in which] a woman appeared, she was walking about visiting, she went everywhere visiting among the houses there where the people lived, and she was not asked [in] by anyone, just because this woman had many sores on her body, to the point where her body smelled bad, the many sores were rotten in her flesh or on her skin.</p>
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<p>[16] Tya' e'rna ayi watar che, ya taka ayi patir aktana a'wan, amajka e ototob' tu't, ma'chi uyub'i o'choy maku.</p> <p>[17] Uk'ajti ayi yer e pa' ajk'una ayi yer upa' uk'uxi tama inte' yer tzuk ch'ew xe' mix b'anb'an, ajk'una yer ucajue uyuch'i tama inte' yer tzuk ruch' xe' ma'chix ak'ampesna; axejbna yer u't.</p> <p>[18] Kay xana che twa' uwarajse tunor e ototob' xe' ayan ani tama e chinam Copán yaja', enton che k'otoy ayi tama ingojr otot yi ya ayi turu inkojt ixik ub'ajner yer chokem ixik.</p> <p>[19] Enton che k'otoy yaja' che ajk'una ayi yer uk'ajjn, turan uk'ajti ayi yer e pa', we'sena tama e ch'ew xe' uk'ampes yer e ixik, xe' tamarto ani awe' ja'xir, uyajk'u yer ukajwe tama uruch' xe' uk'ampes ja'xir.</p>	<p>[16] When she was seen coming, she was left standing there outside, the houses were closed before her, she couldn't enter inside.</p> <p>[17] She asked for tortillas and was given tortillas to eat in a broken plate that was no longer good for anything, she was given her coffee to drink in a broken <i>guaca</i>⁵¹ that was no longer used; her person (presence) was detested.</p> <p>[18] She was walking to visit all the houses that used to be there in the town of Copán, and she came to one house where there lived a single woman, a little widow⁵².</p> <p>[19] [The sick woman] arrived there and was given her seat, she sat down and asked for some tortillas, was fed on the plate that the [widow] used, the one that [the widow] had already eaten from, [the widow] gave [the sick woman] coffee in the <i>guacal</i> that she herself had used.</p>
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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'.

<p>[20] Ya' turu yaja' che iksijb'a ayi.</p> <p>[21] Enton chayi yer ixik "uwajpye'nix e akb'ar" chayi "uyub'ika ani inketpa inwayan tara to'otot," chayi yer ajmok ixik.</p> <p>[22] "Uyub'ixto," chayi yer e ixik, "ketpen tara," chayi.</p> <p>[23] Tari ayi yer e ixik ja'xir kay ayi usajpi ut' uchakte' xe' tya' awayan ja'xir</p> <p>[24] Upejka ayi, "ch'aren tara," chayi, "ne't iwayan tara," chayi, "ne'n inketpa tut' e rum," chayi, "tara iketpa ne't," chayi, "b'antaka ke' ne't ajmoke't," chayi.</p> <p>[25] Atz'a'y yer e ixik che ajk'una e chakte' xe' tya' awayan ani e ixik tamar xe' tya' ukampes ani e ixik twa' awayan tar.</p> <p>[26] Enton che iksijb'a yaja' ch'an wayanob' péru tuyuxin akb'ar che b'ixk'a ayi yer e ixik ira.</p> <p>[27] Tya' b'ixk'a ch'an che uwira ayi ut' uchakte' ach'iri ut' e chakte' ira che</p>	<p>[20] They were seated there when it got dark.</p> <p>[21] Then the woman said "the night has caught me, she said, "Is it possible for me to stay and sleep here in your house," said the sick woman.</p> <p>[22] "Certainly it is possible," said the [widow], "stay here," she said.</p> <p>[23] The [widow] came and was cleaning the surface of the bed where she herself slept.</p> <p>[24] She invited her, "lie down here," she said, "you sleep here," she said, "I'll stay on the ground," she said, "you'll stay here," she said, "because you're sick," she said.</p> <p>[25] The [sick] woman rejoiced; she was given the bed where the [widow] usually slept, [the bed] that the [widow] used for sleeping in.</p> <p>[26] It got dark and they lay down to sleep, but in the middle of the night the [widow] awoke.</p> <p>[27] When she woke up lying down, she saw that the top of her bed was shining.</p>
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<p>[28] Ya' wa'r ayi inkojt ixik ya' ayi, wa'r e vírgen kochwa kaware, wa'r ayi inkojt katu' hastá ach'iri yer ub'ujk, yi yer e ixik war ayi uwira tuk'a war anumuy ke' ut' uchakte' yaja' ketpa inte' uturer katata'.</p> <p>[29] Enton che así ke' uwira achpa ayi ja'xir kay ayi ub'ut'i ut' e k'ajk' tama yer upurutnib' uyujtz'ub', wa'wan che, kay ub'utz'a u't, kay ojron takar, ka'pa ayi ub'utz'a u't yaja' che ixin ch'an otronyajr.</p> <p>[30] Najt k'ani asakojpa che b'ixk'a ayi otronyajr yer e ixik, sutpa uwira, mixto ayi tuk'a ya'</p> <p>[31] Ch'a'r ayi e ajmok otronyajr, b'asar tama ub'ojch'ib' tama uchakte' yaja' tya' ajk'una.</p> <p>[32] Matuk'a che uwira numuy, ma'chix wa'r e vírgen o sea e katu' xe' uwira está ach'iri.</p> <p>[33] Entonces sakojpa che kay ayi uwe'se yer e ixik otronyajr.</p>	<p>[28] A woman was there, it was the virgin as we say, a queen⁵³ was there, and even her clothing shone, and the [widow] saw what was going on and that her bed had become an altar of God.</p> <p>[29] On seeing this she got up loaded embers into her incense burner, she stood up, was censuring her person, was speaking (praying) to her, finished censuring her person, then went to lie down again.</p> <p>[30] Well before dawn [the widow] awoke again, turned to look, but there was nothing [unusual].</p> <p>[31] The sick woman was lying there again, wrapped in a sheet on the bed she had been given.</p> <p>[32] She didn't see anything going on, the virgin wasn't there, or the queen she saw shining.</p> <p>[33] Then dawn came and she fed the woman again.</p>
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⁵³ The informant translated *inkojt katu'* as una reina ('a queen'); *katu'* could also mean 'our mother' or 'the moon'.

<p>[34] Ton chayi yer e ixik, “koner inxin ne’n,” chayi, “yi ajtaka k’ani inwarye’t,” chayi, “ke’ ne’t,” chayi, “ache inte’ noxi k’anir takaren,” chayi, “ache inte’ k’anir me’yra takaren,” chayi, “awajk’e’n achakte’ twa’ inwayan,” che, “awe’syen tama ach’ew.”</p> <p>[35] “Ajtaka k’ani inwarye’t era,” chayi, “ke’ ne’t koner ira,” chayi “ja’xix era lok’en ajnyen,” chayi, “lok’en ajnyen,” chayi, “ne’t kiki’,” chayi, “jajpin e witzirob’,” chayi, “b’antaka ke’ koner,” chayi, “e chinam ira a’xin asajta umen e katata’,” chayi.</p> <p>[36] “Yi tya’ war i’xin tama e b’ir,” chayi, “ira isutpa oyb’i cuando oyb’i akirikna,” chayi, “joli sutpa ta’pat awira,” chayi, “jay isutpa awira i’xin isatpa ub’an,” chayi arena.</p> <p>[37] “A,” chayi, “uyub’i ixto,” chayi yer e ixik.</p> <p>[38] Ton ixin ayi yer e ajmok ira.</p>	<p>[34] Then the [sick] woman said, “I’m leaving now,” she said, “and I just want to say to you,” she said, “that you,” she said, “showed great kindness to me,” she said, “you showed a lot of kindness to me,” she said, “you gave me your bed to sleep in,” she said, “you feed me on your plate.”</p> <p>[35] “I just want to tell you this,” she said, “that you, right now,” she said, “flee right now,” she said, “flee,” she said, “go,” she said, “take [to] the mountains,” she said, “because today,” she said, “this town is going to be destroyed by God,” she said.</p> <p>[36] “And when you are going along the road,” she said, “don’t turn to listen when you hear it thunder,” she said, “don’t turn back to look,” she said, “if you turn to look, you’re going to be destroyed as well,” she said.</p> <p>[37] “Ah,” she said, “it might be so indeed,” said the [widow].</p> <p>[38] Then the sick woman left.</p>
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<p>[39] Tari e ixik e ajyum otot che, ub'asi uch'urkab' tama inte' b'ajk'ib' che, ukuchi tu'pat, uwajpi ub'ir ixin, war ayo'pa tara che tama uxor inte' aldea xe' kaware Paxápa, a la Piedra Pintada arena o b'omb'ir tun.</p>	<p>[39] The woman, the mistress of the house, came and wrapped her baby in a diaper, loaded him on her back, took the road and left, and was arriving here above the <i>aldea</i> we call Paxápa, at the [place] called Painted Stone, or <i>b'omb'ir tun</i>.</p>
<p>[40] Enton che kirikna ayi kirikna ut' e k'in, péru ja'x ayi e chinam Copán yaja' satpa.</p>	<p>[40] Then it thundered, the sky thundered, but it was the town of Copán being destroyed.</p>
<p>[41] Enton che sutpa ayi eron ja'xir tya' sutpa eron che ketpa wa'wan ub'an, ingojr nixi tun ya' kuchur uch'urkab' wa'r umener.</p>	<p>[41] Then she turned to see, and when she turned to see, she remained standing too, a great rock, standing there carrying her baby with her.</p>
<p>[42] Yi b'an ixto kawira yaja' ke' to'r e witz'ir yaja' wa'r ingojr nixi' tun yi ya' kuchur ingojr chuchu' tun umener wa'r.</p>	<p>[42] And so we see there that atop that mountain there is a big stone and a baby stone is carried there, standing with it.</p>
<p>[43] Enton che ja'x ayi e ixik ira xe' uyajk'unto ani e otot twa' awayan e katu' yaja', péru koche ma'chi k'ub'esya'n, sutpa e'ron tupat tya' uyub'i kirikna e chinam Copán, ketpa wa'wan tun.</p>	<p>[43] And that is this woman who had given her house for the queen to sleep, but as she didn't obey, she turned to look behind her when she heard the town of Copán thunder, and became a standing stone.</p>
<p>[44] Yi jaxto ayi e chinam xe' tara kaware Copán, ub'an ketpob' tun tunor e pak'ab'ob' xe' turob' yaja', sajto' e pak'ab'ob'.</p>	<p>[44] And this is the town we now call Copán, all the people who live there were turned to stone also, the people were destroyed.</p>

<p>[45] Yi uk'ajti nitata' ke' yaja' che ayan e tun xe' tak'arob' nut'urob' turob', ja'x ayi e ti'n war uche ub'ob' taka yer uyexka'rob', verdad?</p>	<p>[45] And my father told that there are stones that sit pasted together, and those are the people that were having sex with their spouses, yes?</p>
<p>[46] Umen tajwinob' koche yaja', quizás pisirob' quizás saber koche ch'a'rob' ani, yaja tajwinob' che yi ketpob' tun, por está yaja' ke' e ingojr tun pakar tujor e ingojr tun.</p>	<p>[46] On account of being found like that, perhaps naked, perhaps who knows how they were lying about, they were found there and they had become stone, and because of this one stone is bent over on top of another⁵⁴.</p>
<p>[47] Yi b'an ani che nitáta ke' ja'xto ayi e ti'n war uche yer umab'anb'anir yaja' ketpob' tun, yi e ti'n e ub'ajner ch'a'r awayan ub'ajner ketpa.</p>	<p>[47] And my father used to say that those where the people who were committing sins there [who] became stone, and the people lying alone remain sleeping alone.</p>
<p>[48] B'an inna'ta uyokir e turer tama e chinam Copán Ruinas.</p>	<p>[48] This is what I know about the theme of the habitation in the town of Copán Ruinas.</p>

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.

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

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

<p>[8] “Ma, war,” chayi e tu’b’ir, “kakojkikto,” chayi, “twa’ kache e nojk’in tama e unojk’inarob’ e chamenob’,” chayi.</p> <p>[9] “Inma, tu’,” chayi, “chamsen,” chayi, “ne’n k’anix ink’uxi,” chayi.</p> <p>[10] “Kojkonto sitz’,” chayi, “kojkonto,” chayi e tu’b’ir.</p> <p>[11] Yi b’anto ya che b’anto kay ayi uyare utu’ twa’ achamesna e ajtzo’.</p> <p>[12] K’otoy e ajk’in che twix ayi ache’na e nojk’inob’ yaja’ xe’ koche kaware no’n día de los santos, yi k’otoy e ajk’in yaja’ che.</p> <p>[13] Enton che ayi utu’, “koner ixto sitz’,” chayi, “pojron e si’,” chayi, “pojron e si’,” chayi, “ke’ uk’ani twa’ kache e nojk’in,” chayi,</p> <p>[14] “Ke k’anix ak’otoy e nojk’in te chamenob’,” chayi, “yi atata’ a’xin ayo’pa uwarajsyon’,” chayi, “yi uk’ani twa’ ko’sta e ajtzo’ twa’ uk’uxi,” chayi.</p>	<p>[8] “No, child,” said the mother, “let’s still wait,” she said, “until we prepare the festival for the feast days of the dead,” she said.</p> <p>[9] “No, mother,” he said, “kill it,” he said, “I want to eat it,” he said.</p> <p>[10] “Still wait, son,” she said, “still wait,” said the mother.</p> <p>[11] And [he went on] like this, talking with his mother about the turkey being killed.</p> <p>[12] The day came when the festival is made which we call the Day of the Saints⁵⁵, and the day came then.</p> <p>[13] Then his mother said, “today indeed, son,” she said, “go find firewood,” she said, “go find firewood,” she said, “because we have to prepare the festival,” she said.</p> <p>[14] “Because the feast day of the dead has come,” she said, “and your father is going to come visit us,” she said, “and we must prepare the turkey so he [can] eat it,” she said.</p>
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⁵⁵ The informant understood November 1st to be the day of the saints, and November 2nd to be the day of the dead.

<p>[15] “Ye’ra’chka, tu’,” chayi, “ke’ awe’to nitata’?” chayi.</p> <p>[16] “Ne’t pojron e si’,” chayi, “pojron e si’, uk’ani twa’ kachapi e b’ak’atpa’,” chayi.</p> <p>[17] Yi kay ayi upojro e si’, ub’orojse ayi e syan si’, uturb’a che,</p> <p>[18] Yi k’otoy e ajk’in yaja’ che twix achamesna e ajtzo’.</p> <p>[19] Chayi utu’, “koner kiki’ pojron e law,” chayi, “ki’ pojron e law twa’ kagori e b’ak’atpa’ tamar,” chayi.</p> <p>[20] Yi lok’oy che ixin usajka e law uturb’a tu’t utu’.</p> <p>[21] Enton che k’otoy ixto ayi e ajk’in yaja’ kay b’ajsa e b’ak’atpa’ che, yi twa’ ache’na yaja’ tama e unojk’inar e chamenob’, yi yaja’ che kay b’ajsa e pa’, wab’na ta k’ajk, kay ojmay.</p> <p>[22] “Tu’,” chayi, “k’anixka atak’a e pa’?” chayi</p> <p>[23] “K’anix,” chayi.</p>	<p>[15] “Are you telling the truth, mother?” he said, “that my father still eats?” he said.</p> <p>[16] “You go fetch the firewood,” she said, “fetch the firewood. We have to cook the tamales,” she said.</p> <p>[17] And he was hunting for firewood, and collected a lot of it, and set it down.</p> <p>[18] Then came that day when then turkey was to be killed.</p> <p>[19] His mother said, “now go find banana leaves,” she said, “go find banana leaves to wrap the tamales with,” she said.</p> <p>[20] And he went out and went to look for banana leaves and he placed them before his mother.</p> <p>[21] Then came the day [when] the tamales were being wrapped, in order to be prepared for the festival of the dead, so the tamales were being wrapped, were placed by the fire, and were boiling.</p> <p>[22] “Mother,” said [the son], “Are the tamales about ready yet?” he said</p> <p>[23] “Just about,” said [his mother].</p>
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<p>[24] “A,” chayi, “yi ne’n,” chayi, “k’ani inxin inwira jay watarixto nitata’,” chayi, “ne’n k’ani inxin inkojko jay a’chpa yaja’ watar tya’ mukb’ir,” chayi.</p>	<p>[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.</p>
<p>[25] “Ay, sitz’,” chayi utu’, “ne’t” chayi, “a’xin uk’uxe’t umajinob’ e chamenob’,” chayi, “war awira ke’ ja’xirob’,” chayi, “at’e’nsanob’ix,” chayi, “ja’xirob’ mix ja’x b’an koche no’n,” chayi, “ja’xirob’,” chayi, “jay no’n ma’chi ko’b’yan,” chayi, “b’ajkatix kachamay umenerob’,” chayi.</p>	<p>[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 disease⁵⁶” 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.</p>
<p>[26] “Péru ma, tu’,” chayi, “ne’n k’anix inxin inwira,” chayi.</p>	<p>[26] “But no, mother,” he said, “I want to go see it,” said [the son].</p>
<p>[27] Ma’chi ayi o’b’yan e jaragan sitz’ yi ixin che, k’otoy yaja’ tuyejtz’er tya’ mukb’ir e chamenob’.</p>	<p>[27] The foolish boy didn’t listen and went [anyway], he came there beside where the dead were buried.</p>
<p>[28] Ton che t’ab’ay tante’ uk’ab’ te’, ya’ ayi k’atar e’ron, war uwira jay a’chpa e chamenob’.</p>	<p>[28] Then he climbed into the branch of a tree, perched there observing, was watching [to see] if the dead rose.</p>

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.

<p>[29] Ka'y maxa'n che, kay ayi ojronob' e chamenob' uyarwob' ayi e mojrob, "oy!" chayi, "achpe'nik, o!" chayi,</p> <p>[30] "Inkwik ta niyotot," chayi, ojron uyub'i ayi ut' unuk utata', ja'x utata' ojron.</p> <p>[31] Ton che ayi, "achpix nitata'," chayi. "A'xix," chayi.</p> <p>[32] Yi uwira ayi ke' atz'ab'ruma e syan ut' k'ajk' che, war ayi acham(b)ryob' e chamenob' yaja', war utak'res uk'ujtz'ob' che.</p> <p>[33] "Yi chi tya' twa' kak'otoy b'ajxan," chob' ayi e mojrob'.</p> <p>[34] "Ta niyotot ka'xin b'ajxan," chayi utata' e stiz', "ta niyotot ka'xin kanumuy b'ajxan," chayi, "yaja'," chayi, "warix atak'a yer e b'ak'atpa'," chayi, "war ukojke'n niwiláma," chayi.</p> <p>[35] "A," chayi, "inkwik <i>pue</i>," chayi, "inkwik," chayi enmojr chamenob'.</p>	<p>[29] It began to get dark, and the dead were speaking, the group shouted, "hey!" they said, "get up!" they said.</p> <p>[30] "Let's go to my house," said [one of the dead], and [the boy] heard the voice of his father speaking, it was his father who spoke.</p> <p>[31] Then [the boy] said, "my father has risen," he said, "it's happening."</p> <p>[32] And he saw that many embers [of cigars] were glowing, the dead were smoking there, were lighting their cigars.</p> <p>[33] "And whose place (house) shall we come to first?" said the group.</p> <p>[34] "We are going to my house first," said the boy's father, "we're going to walk over to my house first," he said, "there," he said, "the tamales are already cooking," he said, "my wife is waiting for me," he said.</p> <p>[35] "Ah," they said, "let's go then," they said, "let's go," said the other dead people.</p>
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<p>[36] Yi jaxto ayi e sitz' xe' k'atar tuk'ab' e te' war uwira jay e'ra'ch utu' ke' utata' a'xin ak'otoy umak'i e b'ak'atpa'.</p>	<p>[36] And the boy who was perched in the branch of the tree was looking [to see] if his mother was right [in saying] that his father was going to come and eat the tamales.</p>
<p>[37] Yi b'ak'ta ayi uwira che uyari ub'a tut rum ajner che, tari ajner ak'otoy yaja' tuyotot che, uyare ayi utu', "wa'kche tu'," chayi, "watix nitata'," chayi, "lok'sen e b'ak'atpa'," chayi, "yi me'yrob' watob'," chayi, "war acham(b)ryob' watob'," chayi, "achpo'b'ix tunorob'," chayi.</p>	<p>[37] And he took fright at what he saw and threw himself to the ground running, came running to his house, and said to his mother, "hurry, mother," he said, "my father is on his way," he said, "take out the tamales," he said, "for many are coming," he said, "their coming smoking," he said, "they've all risen!" he said.</p>
<p>[38] Enton che ayi utu', "Ay, sitz'," chayi utu', "ne't," chayi, "tuk'a ya'wan ache?" chayi.</p>	<p>[38] Then his mother said, "Ay! Son!" said the mother, "you," she said, "what have you done?" she said.</p>
<p>[39] "Esde ke i'xin ichamay," chayi, "xe' war awira ya'x inb'ak'ajr, ma'chi yub'yan," chayi.</p>	<p>[39] "You're going to die⁵⁷," she said, "what you were looking at there is dangerous, it can not [be done]," she said.</p>
<p>[40] Yi b'a'k'ta ayi e sitz'.</p>	<p>[40] And the son was afraid.</p>
<p>[41] Ton che ma'chi ojron pues, warxa ayi ukojko, ma'chi ayi k'otob' utata' imb'a mamajchi k'otoy,</p>	<p>[41] Then he [the son] didn't speak, he was waiting a long time, but his father didn't come, indeed nobody came.</p>

⁵⁷ The boy has now been exposed to two potential causes of illness: the dead and fright.

<p>[42] Kay che'na e rezo che, kay lok'esna e b'ak'atpa' turb'ana tama e ut' altar, kay ayi che'na, k'otoy xe' ob'na uche e k'ajt taka e katata', kay ayi che'na yer e k'ajt, kay k'aywyob', yi ma'chi ayi uwira jay k'otoy utata' tama otot.</p> <p>[43] Enton che b'antaka ketpa, yi tya' k'otoy che waxik ajk'in chamay ub'an ja'xir, ja'x ixto ayi war amujka ub'an ya'</p> <p>[44] Chamay che umen e b'ajk'ut ma'chix ayi turan me'yra ajk'in, waxik ajk'in takix ayi kay turan</p>	<p>[42] The prayers were being said, the tamales were being taken out and placed on the altar, [the prayers] were said, those who have the ability to say prayers to God came, the petitions were being made, they were singing⁵⁸, and he didn't see whether his father came to the house.</p> <p>[43] Then [things] remained this way, and when eight⁵⁹ days came (passed) he (the son) died too, and he was buried as well.</p> <p>[44] It is said that he died because of fright, and he didn't live many days, only eight days he lived.</p>
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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
<p>[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte' numer twa' e ajjuch'ob' twa' e katata'.</p>	<p>[1] I want to tell a story about God's corn-grinders.</p>
<p>[2] Ayan ayi inte' ajk'in che k'otob' ayi chakojt maxtak xe' kaware majax imb'utz uwirna'rob', verdad?</p>	<p>[2] There was a day [when] two youngsters arrived who, we say, didn't look good⁶⁰, yes?</p>
<p>[3] K'otob' ayi yaja che tama ingojr otot yi ya' ya' ayi turob' chakojt yerob' sapo, koche kaware.</p>	<p>[3] They came to a house and right there sat two frogs, as we call them [in Spanish].</p>
<p>[4] War ayi oych'wo'b' pakar ayi, war umuxo'b' e sa' che war umuxo'b' e sa', yi yaja' che yi'x ayi ak'otob ixto e maxtak ira uwirob'.</p>	<p>[4] They were bent over, grinding, were grinding the <i>atol</i>⁶¹, were grinding the <i>atol</i>, and as soon as these youngsters arrived they saw them.</p>
<p>[5] "Tuk'a war iche tarex?" chob' ayi.</p>	<p>[5] "What are you doing there?" the youngsters said.</p>
<p>[6] "Tara war kamuxi yer e sa'," chob' ayi ja'xirob'</p>	<p>[6] "We're grinding a little <i>atol</i> here," they⁶² said.</p>

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."

<p>[7] “Aktanik ut’ e cha,” chayi, “no’x war ak’ajpa iwasi ut’ e cha,” chob’ ayi e maxtak, “majax pokb’ir ik’ab’,” chob’ ayi e maxtak uyaryob’ yerob’ e sapo xe’ war o’ych’wob’.</p> <p>[8] Enton che uyajk’ob’ ayi taka uyokob’ yaja’ utek’rwo’b’ kay utekrwo’b’ yer e ajjuch’ob’, uchamsyob’ che.</p> <p>[9] Ya’ ch’a’rob’ ayi chamenob’ ayi yer e ajjuch’ob’ yaja’, yix ayi a’jni ak’otoy e katata’ ub’an yi chayi e katata’, “maxtak,” chayi, “tuk’a war iche,” chayi</p> <p>[10] “Matuk’a,” chob’ ayi.</p> <p>[11] “Tuk’a twa’ ichamsyob’ niwajjuch’ob’?” chayi e katata’.</p> <p>[12] “A,” chayi, “es que war uyasyob’ e k’u’m,” chayi, “majax pokb’ir uk’ab’ob’,” chayi.</p> <p>[13] “A,” chayi, “no’x,” chayi, “ma’chi ina’ta tuk’a war iche,” chayi, mina’ta ke’ yax niwajjuch’ob’,” chayi, “tuk’a twa’ war ichamse?” chayi.</p> <p>[14] A, ma’chi ayi ojronob’ ixto wa’rob’ ja’xirob’ ya’.</p>	<p>[7] “Let go of the grinding stones,” they said, “you’re dirtying the grinding stones,” the youngsters said, “your hands aren’t washed,” the youngsters said to the frogs who were grinding.</p> <p>[8] Then they [the youngsters] struck them [the frogs] with their feet, they beat and beat the grinders, and killed them.</p> <p>[9] The grinders were lying there dead, and God came running, and God said, “boys,” he said, “what are you doing?” he said.</p> <p>[10] “Nothing,” they said.</p> <p>[11] “Why did you kill my grinders?” God said.</p> <p>[12] “Ah,” they said, “they were dirtying the dough,” they said, “their hands hadn’t been washed,” they said.</p> <p>[13] “Ah,” said [God], “you,” he said, “didn’t know what you were doing,” he said, “you didn’t know they were my grinders,” he said, “why did you kill them?” he said.</p> <p>[14] They stood there and said nothing.</p>
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<p>[15] “Koner,” chayi, “jujtanik uchikin twa’ ab’ixk’o’b’,” chayi.</p> <p>[16] Pakwanob’ ayi kay ujujtob’ uchikin yerob’ e sapo, b’ixk’ob’ ayi otronyajr e sapo.</p> <p>[17] “Tuk’a inumse ib’a’,” chayi e katata’.</p> <p>[18] “Si ja’x e tzuk maxtakob’ ya’x,” chayi, “yo’pob’ uwiro’nob’ tara,” chayi, “uchamsyo’nob’,” chayi.</p> <p>[19] “A,” chayi e katata, “muxik e sa’,” chayi, “muxik yi chapik,” chayi, “yi iwajk’u ub’uk’yob’ e maxtak ira,” chayi.</p> <p>[20] Turanob’ ayi kay ukojkob’ che, yi ya’ ayi turu war ukojkob’, kay chajpa e sa’, kay ayi chajpa yer e sa’ che, yi ta’k’a yer e sa’ yaja’ che, ajk’unob’ ayi yer uso’b’,</p> <p>[21] Kay ub’uk’yob’ ja’xirob’ kay xachwanob’ che twa’ ukojkob’, yi ta’k’a yer e sa’ yaja’ che, kay lok’esna tama yer e ruch’, péru yer e ruch’ che b’anik era che yerob’ b’ik’it ruch’, koche kaware no’n yerob’ waxítu, yer b’ik’it ruch’.</p>	<p>[15] “Now,” [God] said, “blow in their ears to revive them,” he said.</p> <p>[16] They bent over and blew in the frogs’ ears, and the frogs came back to life.</p> <p>[17] “What happened to you?” God said.</p> <p>[18] For sure it was those trashy (worthless) boys,” they said, “they came, looked at us here,” they said, “and killed us,” they said.</p> <p>[19] “Ah,” said God, “grind the <i>atol</i>,” he said, “grind it and cook it,” he said, “and give it to these boys to swallow,” he said.</p> <p>[20] They sat down to wait, and [while] they were waiting there, the <i>atol</i> was being cooked, the <i>atol</i> was being cooked, and when the <i>atol</i> was ready, they [the boys] were given their <i>atoles</i>.</p> <p>[21] They were drinking it, they were seated to wait for it, and when it was ready, it was brought out (served) in a <i>guaca</i>⁶³, but this <i>guaca</i> was like this, tiny <i>guacales</i>, that we call small measures, tiny <i>guacales</i>.</p>
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⁶³ A bowl-shaped container made of a gourd.

<p>[22] Enton che jaxto ayi yaja' che kay ajk'unob' inb'ijk' yer e sa' yaja', yi jaxto ayi e chakojt maxtak ira chob' ayi, "a, tya' a'xin kachwan taka yer e inb'ijk sa' ira?" chob' ayi, "inb'ijk inyajrer war uyajk'on e sapo," chayi, chob' ayi ja'xirob'.</p> <p>[23] Yi taryob' ixto yerob' e sapo, ulok'syob' ayi e a'n, sutpa ayi uk'asyob' inb'ijk' yer uni' yer e nar che, ajk'unob' inb'ijk' inb'ijk yer e nar yaja' twa' ukajryob', ma'yi jax inte'rti'.</p> <p>[24] Enton che kay uk'uxo'b' yi war ayi ojronob', "yi iran yer e a'n xe' uyajk'on chayi, "era ma'chi kachwan umen ya'," chayi.</p> <p>[25] "Era wakchetaka inxin inkajri inb'uki a'xin," chayi e'nkojt.</p> <p>[26] "B'anen ub'an, chayi, "era maja'x ke' twa' kachwan war uyajk'on" chayi.</p> <p>[27] "taka tzunir war uyajk'on e ixiktak ira" chob' ayi ja'xirob'.</p>	<p>[22] They were given a little <i>atol</i>, and these two boys said, "ah, when will we get full with this little bit of <i>atol</i>," they said, "the frogs are giving us [just] a little bit at a time," they said.</p> <p>[23] And the frogs came and brought out the ears of corn, turned and broke a tiny bit off the tip of the ear, they were given a tiny bit of the ear of corn to bite, it wasn't whole.</p> <p>[24] They were eating it and were talking, "and look at this corn they gave us," said [one], "we won't get full on this," he said.</p> <p>[25] "I'm going to chew this and swallow it up in an instant," said the other.</p> <p>[26] "Me too," said [the first one], "what they're giving us isn't [enough] for us to be satisfied," he said.</p> <p>[27] "These women are giving us [food] with stinginess," they said.</p>
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<p>[28] Enton che, turanob' ayi kay uyuch'ob' che ukajryob' yer e a'n war ukajryob', che asutpa taka ayi alok'oy ut' yer e nar e b'an e sa'.</p>	<p>[28] So they sat, they were drinking and were eating the corn, were eating, and kernels of corn always came out (appeared) again, and so with the <i>atol</i>.</p>
<p>[29] War ub'uk'yob' tunor xe' usajb'esob'ix tyer ut' e ruch' yi sutpa ab'oro, warix uwirob' ke' b'ut'urix yer e wax otronyajr, war uyuch'ob' che war uyuch'o'b' yi esde ke' b'an che chwanob', b'ut'k'a ut' unak'ob', yi ma'chi ak'a' uyuch'ob' e sa' yi ma'chi ak'a' uk'uxob' yer e nar.</p>	<p>[29] They were eating everything that they emptied from the little <i>guacales</i>, and it abounded again, they saw that the <i>guacal</i> was already full again, were drinking and drinking until in this way they were full, their bellies were satisfied, and they didn't stop drinking the <i>atol</i> and didn't stop eating the corn.</p>
<p>[30] Jaa chwanob' jaa.</p>	<p>[30] Ahh, they were full!</p>
<p>[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'</p>	<p>[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.</p>
<p>[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 yer e ruch' ira," chayi, "yi ketpa yer e a'n ub'an," chayi, "ma'chi k'a' kak'uxi," chob' ayi.</p>	<p>[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, "here are the <i>guacales</i>," they said, "and stile [some] corn remains [in them]," they said, "we didn't finish eating it," they said.</p>

<p>[33] Enton che k'otoy ayi e katata' ojron, "chwanoxka apaxtak?" chayi.</p> <p>[34] "Chwanon," chob' ayi.</p> <p>[35] "A," chayi.</p> <p>[36] "Ma'chi k'a' kak'uxi chayi "kawakta e a'n," chayi, "kawakta e sa'," chayi.</p> <p>[37] "Ma'chika iwa're ke' imb'ijk taka ani yer e sa' war uyajk'o'x yer niwajjuch'ob' pue," chayi.</p> <p>[38] "Yi no'x ma' intojn tyut'," chayi, "yi ma'chi ina'ta ke' era," chayi "ja'x niwajjuch'ob'," chayi, "yi tuno'r xe' uchob' ab'oro tu'tob'," chayi e katata'.</p> <p>[39] "Koner," chayi, "joli ixsutpa iche koche war ib'ijnu," chayi, "ke' ixojron tupater yer e wya'r xe' ixajk'una no'x," chayi, "b'an inumse ib'a koche ya'x," chayi, "yi ixajk'una imb'ijk' yer e tzijb'ar," chayi, "yi ixojron upater ke' imb'ijk' taka ixajk'una," chayi.</p> <p>[40] "O b'anixto," chob' ayi ja'xirob'.</p>	<p>[33] Then God came and said, "are you satisfied, boys?" he said.</p> <p>[34] "We're full," they said.</p> <p>[35] "Ah," said [God].</p> <p>[36] "We didn't finish eating it," they said, "we left [some] corn," they said, "we left [some] <i>atol</i>," they said.</p> <p>[37] "Didn't you say that the <i>atol</i> my grinders gave you was but little?" he said, "and that it wasn't enough for you?" [God] said.</p> <p>[38] "And you didn't know that those," he said, "were my grinders," he said, "and everything they made abounded before you," God said.</p> <p>[39] "Now," [God] said, "don't again do as you are thinking," he said, "because you spoke against the food you were given," he said, "you experienced that [which you experienced]," he said, "you were given small gifts," he said, "and you spoke against them [saying] that what you were given was only a little," he said.</p> <p>[40] "Oh, Indeed!" [the boys] said.</p>
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<p>[41] Yi b'an kochera che e katata' ixin yi ixo'b' ayi ja'xirob' u'ban, péru enton yaja' che che'nob' es de koche kaware no'n es de che'na tojmob' umen e katata', tartaka ke' ja'xirob' ojronob' tupater yer e tzijb'ar xe' ajk'unob' umen yerob' e sápo.</p>	<p>[41] And God left and [the boys] left too, but then they were made to, or as we say, they were made to pay by God, because [the boys] spoke out against the gifts they were given by the frogs.</p>
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6.2.6. Text 11: Saint John Tries to Raise the Dead

<p>[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte'yx numer twa' e Jesús ak'ajtna u'mb'i umen nitatob' o ninoyob' konde ne'n ch'ye'n ke' e Jesús che kay ayi xana taka uyajtakarsajob', ya' ayi war axana e Juan ye Santiago, kay ayi patnob', kay uchob' inte' patna'r ira.</p>	<p>[1] I want to tell a tale about Jesus [that] I heard told by my parents or grandparents when I was growing up, that Jesus was walking with his disciples, and John and St. James were walking there, and they were working⁶⁴, were doing this work.</p>
<p>[2] E Juan yi e Santiago che ayajra a'xob' tama e ototob' uyub'yob' che tya' ayan ti'n e chamix ixnix, yi ke' ukojkix koche kaware tama e castellano ukojkix treinta años, xe koche chamay, axana ayi uyub'yob' jay ayan tya' k'otix ixto e jab' ira xe uk'anyob'.</p>	<p>[2] John and St. James were ordered to go to houses and ask where there was someone who had died long ago, and who had waited, as we say in Spanish, thirty years⁶⁵, as dead, they went asking if there was a place where such years as they wanted had come⁶⁶.</p>
<p>[3] Enton che jay arenob' ke' ayan, enton che a'xin uyaryob' e Jesús.</p>	<p>[3] If they were told that there was, then they went to tell Jesus.</p>
<p>[4] Entonces e ajtakarsajob' ira a'xin uyaryob' e Jesús ke' tama e otot tya' k'otob' ayan inkojt chamen xe' ayix treinta años koche chamay.</p>	<p>[4] So these disciples went and told Jesus that in the house they came to there was a dead person who already had thirty years as dead.</p>

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 years earlier.

<p>[5] Enton che a'xin ayi e Jesús uwira yi uyub'yob' ayi jay e ajyum otot ira uk'anyob' twa' ab'ixk'esna e xe' chami'x, twa' ab'ixk'esna yer uyespiritu, yi ja'xob' uchob' eynei ganar inte' yar denario, e tumin uk'ab'a e denario.</p> <p>[6] "Jayte' iche ganar?" chayi arenob' umen e ajyum otot.</p> <p>[7] "No'n kache ganar tama kapatna'r inte' denario," chob' ayi ja'xirob'.</p> <p>[8] Enton che watar ayi e Jesús uyare uyajtakarsajob' twa' awab'na inte' noxi' b'ejt taka ja' twa' uyojmesob' che.</p> <p>[9] B'an che awab'na e b'ejt yaja' che ayajra me'yra k'ajk' tu'pat che twa' o'jmay, yi jaxto ayi e Juan yi e Santiago che, ayajra a'xin upojrob' uchu' e jun ich'.</p> <p>[10] Enton che ak'otob' yaja' taka uchu' e jun ich', uyaryob' che tama e ja' yi wa'kchetaka ayi yaja' atob'oy aturan tuti' e b'ejt yer e chuchu ch'urkab' ty'a' ab'ixk'a.</p>	<p>[5] The Jesus went to see, and they asked if the head of the household wanted the dead person to be revived, wanted his spirit revived, and they made an earning⁶⁷ of just one denarius, the name of the coin was denarius.</p> <p>[6] "How much do you charge?" the head of the house said to them.</p> <p>[7] "We charge one denarius for our work," they said</p> <p>[8] Then Jesus came and told his disciples that a big pot of water should be set up for them to boil it.</p> <p>[9] So the pot was set up there and a big fire was built underneath so it would boil, and John and St. James were told to go seek milk (sap) of the chili paper⁶⁸ [tree].</p> <p>[10] They came with the milk (sap) of the chili paper [tree], they tossed it into the water, and immediately a little baby jumped up and sat on the edge of the pot where he revived.</p>
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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.

<p>[11] Takartaka ayi uchu' e jun ich' yaja' ab'ixk'a yer e chuchu yaja' aturan yi e chuchu ira ja'x ayi uyespíritu xe' chamix xe' tama oni'x tama e treinta año, koche kaware.</p>	<p>[11] Just with the milk (sap) of the chili paper [tree] the baby revived and sat down, and that baby was the spirit of the person who had been dead for a long time, for thirty years, as we say [in Spanish].</p>
<p>[12] B'an Kochera che kay xanob' patnob' me'yra jab', kay xana patnob' che, kora kora numuy uyub'yob' tya' ayanix inkojt chamen de treinta año, y war ub'ixk'esob' che.</p>	<p>[12] They went around working in this way for many years, they went around working, wherever they passed they asked where there was someone who'd been dead for thirty years, and they were reviving them.</p>
<p>[13] Yi tara che k'otoy inte' ajk'in che e Juan una'ta ke' kanwi'x ub'an koche ab'ixk'esna e chamenob'.</p>	<p>[13] But there came a day [when] John thought that he, too, had learned how the dead were revived.</p>
<p>[14] Enton che uxere ayi ub'a, uyare ayi e Santiago, "ne't Santiago," chayi, "k'antoka ixana taka e Jesús?" chayi e Juan.</p>	<p>[14] So he separated himself [from the others], saying to St. James, "you, St. James," he said, "do you still want to go with Jesus?" said John.</p>
<p>[15] "Ne'n k'ani ya'," chayi e Santiago, "tya' a'xin uyub'yo'n kapatna no'n kab'ajner?" chayi.</p>	<p>[15] "I do," said St. James, "when will we be able to work alone?" he said.</p>
<p>[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.</p>	<p>[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.</p>

<p>[17] “A,” chayi e Santiago, “jola ache koche yax,” chayi, “xanakan takar kawajkanseyaj,” chayi, “ja’x una’ta kocha apatna,” chayi, “no’n mix lok’ik kachik koche uche ja’xir.”</p> <p>[18] “Alok’oy Santiago,” chayi e Juan, “alok’oy,” chayi, “awirik tojna,” chayi, “esde imb’ijk war utoyo’n,” chayi, “tuk’a ka’xin kache taka inte’ denario?” chayi, “uxtyo’n war kaxana,” chayi, “ma’chi atz’akta e tumin ira,” chayi, “ajtaka twa’ kawe’ atz’akta,” chayi.</p> <p>[19] “Ah, ne’t ixto ana’ta,” chayi e Santiago ja’xir.</p> <p>[20] Enton che tari e Juan, uxere ub’a uxere upatna’r.</p> <p>[21] Ton che ka’y xana ja’xir che uyub’i ub’an che tya’ ayan e chamen de treinta año, yi arena ayi “tara ayan,” chayi.</p> <p>[22] “Ne’n k’ani inb’ixk’es,” chayi.</p> <p>[23] “A,” chayi e ajyum otot.</p>	<p>[17] “Oh,” said St. James, “don’t do that,” he said, “let’s go with our teacher,” he said, “he knows how to work,” he said, “for us it might not turn out that we could do it the way he does.”</p> <p>[18] “It will work out, St. James,” said John, “it will work out,” he said, “you’ll see in the end,” he said, “this little bit they’re paying us,” he said, “what are we going to do with a denarius?” he said, “three of us go around⁶⁹,” he said, “this money doesn’t suffice,” he said, “it’s just enough so we can eat,” he said.</p> <p>[19] “Well, you know [what you’re doing],” said St. James.</p> <p>[20] So Juan cut himself off, separated his work.</p> <p>[21] Then he began to go around asking where there were people dead for thirty years, and he was told, “here there is.”</p> <p>[22] “I want to revive him,” he said.</p> <p>[23] “Oh,” said the head of the house.</p>
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⁶⁹ In other words, the income must be divided among three people.

<p>[24] Watar ja'xir ub'an, uwab'u ayi ub'ejt che, uwab'u ayi ub'ejt e Juan che, a'wan uyari e k'ajk' che, kay uyari e k'ajk', ixin utares uchu' e jun ich' che, uyari, yi ma'chi ayi ab'ixk'a e chamen, ma'chi ayi alok'oy e patna'r.</p> <p>[25] Sutpa che aka'y uyari e k'ajk' asutpa a'xin upojro e uchu' e jun ich', yi ma'chi ayi ab'ixk'a, intaka uyari tama e ja' tya' war o'jmay yi ma'chi ab'ixk'a e chamen.</p> <p>[26] Anumuy e ajk'in che, anumuy e'nte' ajk'in, yi ja'xir ma'chi o'b'na ub'ixk'es e chamen.</p> <p>[27] Enton che uwira ke' ma'chi alok'oy che a'xin tama e'ngojrix otot che, ak'otoy uyub'i, "maka tuk'a inkojt chamen xe' ixnix de treinta años?" chayi.</p> <p>[28] "Ayan ixto," chayi arena.</p> <p>[29] "Ne'n," chayi, "k'ani inb'ixk'es," chayi, "yi ajtaka ink'ajti," chayi, "inte' denario," chayi.</p>	<p>[24] He came, placed his pot, John placed his pot, stood up and built a fire, was building a fire, went and brought the sap of the chili paper [tree], threw it in, and the dead person did not revive, the spell⁷⁰ didn't succeed.</p> <p>[25] Again he began to build a fire, and went back to go find the milk (sap) of the chili paper [tree], and [the dead person] didn't revive, vainly he tossed it into the water when it was boiling and the dead person didn't revive.</p> <p>[26] The day passed, another day passed, and he wasn't able to revive the dead person.</p> <p>[27] He realized that it wasn't succeeding [so] he went to yet another house, came and asked, "isn't there some dead person who already has been [so] for thirty years?" he said.</p> <p>[28] "There is indeed," he was told.</p> <p>[29] "I," he said, "want to revive him," he said, "and I only ask," he said, "one denarius," he said.</p>
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⁷⁰ While *patna'r* often means *job*, *work*, or a *task*, here it seems to refer to a *spell* or *miracle*.

<p>[30] “Ah, jay uyub’ye’t kak’ani,” chayi, “katoye’t jay ache yax,” chayi arena umen e aiyum ototob’.</p> <p>[31] Enton che uwab’u ub’ejt otronyajr tak’ajk’ che, aturan uyari e k’ajk’ che, uwajri taka e b’itor che twa’ axunpa, uwira ke’ warix o’jmay yaja’ che, a’xin upojro uchu’ e jun ich’ che, uyari tama e ja’, yi warxa uwira che ma’chi ab’ixk’a e chamen che.</p> <p>[32] Enton che ja’xir b’an kochera che kay unumse me’yra ajk’in che, matuk’a uche, ma’chi ab’ixk’a e chamen tu’t.</p> <p>[33] Enton che ja’xir che k’anix achamay umen e wi’na’r che, matuk’a takar twa’ umani e pa’ che, k’a’pa e tumin che, yi ma’chi o’b’na uche e patna’r kochera twa’ atojya che.</p> <p>[34] Enton che e Juan che, tz’ajtaka ixto ayi u’t ya’ umen e wi’na’r che, mixtuk’a una’ta uche, a’xin uyub’i tengojr otot che jay ayan e chamen de treinta año, a’rena ke’ ayan.</p>	<p>[30] “Ah, we’d like it if you can do it,” he said, “we’ll pay you if you do that,” he was told by the head of the household.</p> <p>[31] So again he set up his pot on the fire, sat to build a fire, fanned it with his hat so it would light, saw that it was already boiling, went to find chili paper sap, tossed it into the water, and saw that the dead person did not revive.</p> <p>[32] And in this way he passed many days, he accomplished nothing, the dead person didn’t revive in front of him.</p> <p>[33] Then he was on the verge of dying of hunger, had nothing to buy tortillas, the money was used up, and he wasn’t able to do the spell in order to be paid.</p> <p>[34] So John, his face sad on account of hunger, didn’t know what to do, [but] went and asked at another house if there was a dead person of thirty years, and was told that there was.</p>
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<p>[35] Sutpa turan che ut'ori e k'ajk', uwab'u yer ub'ejt ta k'ajk' che, uyari e ja' tar o'jmay, tya' war o'jmay a'xin ajner che utares uchu' e jun ich', uyari tama e ja', yi ma'chi ab'ixk'a e chamen che.</p> <p>[36] Enton che tara k'oyran.</p> <p>[37] Uwira ke' k'ani ixto achamay umen e wi'na'r ya'.</p> <p>[38] Enton che ixin tama inte' umajkib' wakax che, koche kaware ta potrero, tya' ayan e wy'ar me'yra twa' e wakax.</p> <p>[39] K'otoy yaja' che k'ix achamay umen e wi'na'r che tari che ulok'se umachit che o koche kaware cuchillo, ukek'e ayi ut' unak' e wakax inkojt yer toro che, ukek'e ayi ut' unak' che ulok'se ayi uxememir e wakax yaja', kay upojpi che kay uk'uxi umen e wi'na'r, yi ya' turu yaja' che tz'ajtakix u't umen e wi'na'r, ma'chi una'ta tuk'a twa' uche, ma'chi alok'oy uche e patna'r xe' koche uche ani e Jesús.</p> <p>[40] Enton che yi'x ayi a'jni ak'otoy e Jesús taka e Santiago.</p>	<p>[35] Once again he sat to gather the fire, put the pot on the fire, put the water there to boil, and when it was boiling he ran off and brought chili paper sap, tossed it into the water, and the dead person didn't revive.</p> <p>[36] At this point he was fed up.</p> <p>[37] He realized he would surely die of hunger.</p> <p>[38] So he went into a cow pasture, a <i>potrero</i> as we say [in Spanish], where there was a lot of food for the cattle.</p> <p>[39] He came there at the point of dying of hunger, came and took out his machete, or knife as we say, cut the belly of a bull, cut its belly, took out the liver, was roasting it, was eating it on account of hunger, sat there with a sad face on account of the hunger, didn't know what to do, he didn't manage to do the spell the way Jesus used to do it.</p> <p>[40] Just then Jesus and Santiago ran over.</p>
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<p>[41] Utajwyob' turu, turu e'ron che, war e'yri, k'anix achamay umen e wi'na'r.</p> <p>[42] "Tuk'a war ache turet tara, Juan" chayi arena umen e Jesús.</p> <p>[43] "A," chayi.</p> <p>[44] Yi e Jesús che sutpa uwira tya' ch'a'r chamen e toro, utata' e ch'o'm wakax.</p> <p>[45] Enton chayi e Jesús, "e, Juan," chayi, "yi e wakax ira, tuk'a umen chamay?" chayi.</p> <p>[46] "Intaka chamay," chayi.</p> <p>[47] "E," chayi, "intaka k'anik?" chayi e Jesús.</p> <p>[48] "Intaka," chayi, "taka chamay," chayi, "matuk'a umen war ache'na," chayi.</p> <p>[49] "E, Juan," chayi, "ne't ayan tuk'a ache taka e wakax ira," chayi e Jesús.</p> <p>[50] "Ma," chayi, "ne'n matuk'a war inche," chayi.</p> <p>[51] "Ayan ixto," chayi e Jesús, "ayan tuk'a ache taka e wakax ira por esto chamay," chayi e Jesús ja'xir.</p>	<p>[41] They found him sitting down, sitting looking, resting, near death from hunger.</p> <p>[42] "what are you doing sitting here, John," Jesus said to him.</p> <p>[43] "Ah," said [John].</p> <p>[44] And Jesus turned to look where the bull lay dead, a young male.</p> <p>[45] Then Jesus said, "eh, John," he said, "and this bull, what did it die of?" he said.</p> <p>[46] "It just died," said [John].</p> <p>[47] "Oh," he said, "it just [died], is that it?" Jesus said.</p> <p>[48] "Just that," said [John], "it just died," he said, "there wasn't any reason it was done," he said.</p> <p>[49] "Uh, John," he said, you've done something to this bull," said Jesus.</p> <p>[50] "No," [John] said, "I didn't do anything," he said.</p> <p>[51] "You did indeed," said Jesus, "you've done something to this bull and that's why it died," Jesus said to him.</p>
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<p>[52] “Inma,” chayi, “sí matuk’a war inche,” chayi e Juan, tz’ajtaka yer u’t che, k’anix achamay umen e wi’na’r.</p> <p>[53] Enton che tari e Jesús che ixin uwira pasar ayi ut’ unak’ e wakax.</p> <p>[54] “A, Juan,” chayi e Jesús, “e wakax ira,” chayi, “ne’t alok’s e uxememir ak’uxi,” chayi.</p> <p>[55] “Ne’n,” chayi e Juan, “ne’n.”</p> <p>[56] “Yi tuk’ot ache kochera?” chayi.</p> <p>[57] “A, sí ne’n k’ani inchamay umen e wi’na’r,” chayi, “ma’chi alok’oy inche e patna’r,” chayi, “kora korix numen ink’ajti e patna’r,” chayi, “yi ma’chi ab’ixk’a e chamenob’ ta nyu’t,” chayi.</p> <p>[58] “A,” chayi e Jesús, tze’ne ayi e Jesús, tze’ne.</p> <p>[59] Enton chayi e Jesús, “yi ma’chika aware ke’ uyub’ye’t ache koche uyub’ye’n inche ne’n pue?” chayi.</p> <p>[60] “B’an ixto inware,” chayi e Juan, “péru ma’chi alok’oy inche,” chayi.</p>	<p>[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.</p> <p>[53] So Jesus came and went to look at the bull’s open belly.</p> <p>[54] “Uh, John,” said Jesus, “this bull,” he said, “you took out its liver and ate it,” he said.</p> <p>[55] “I [did it],” John said, “[it was] I.”</p> <p>[56] “And why have you done this?” [Jesus] said.</p> <p>[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.</p> <p>[58] “Oh,” said Jesus, Jesus laughed, he laughed.</p> <p>[59] Jesus said, “and didn’t you say that you could do it as I am able to do it?” he said.</p> <p>[60] “That’s what I said,” John said, “but it didn’t turn out that I could do it,” he said.</p>
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<p>[61] “Yi koner tuk’a ab’ijnu,” chayi, “k’ani ipatna ab’ajner,” chayi, “o k’ani isutpa takaren?” chayi.</p> <p>[62] “Insutpa takaret,” chayi e Juan, “insutpa,” chayi, “jay ma, inchamay umen e wi’na’r,” chayi.</p> <p>[63] “Jay k’ani ipatna takaren,” chayi e Jesús, “yi jay tz’akar to’yt yer e denario koche kache ganar uxyo’nir,” chayi e Jesús, “inko’,” chayi.</p> <p>[64] “B’ajxan ke’ i’xin takaren kiki jujtan uchikin e wakax twa’ asutpa b’ixk’a,” chayi.</p> <p>[65] Ixin e Juan che ujujta uchikin e wakax, y sutpa b’ixk’a.</p> <p>[66] Enton uwira ke’ e Jesús ayan uk’otorer.</p> <p>[67] Nakpat sutpa ixin taka e Jesús.</p> <p>[68] Ch’uwan ayi ixin e Juan tu’pat e Jesús inyajrix.</p> <p>[69] Enton che kay ixto ayi we’ ya’, ajk’una yer upatna’r che kay patnob’ nut’ur taka e Jesús, enton che kay ixto ayi we’ ya’.</p>	<p>[61] “And now what do you think?” said [Jesus], “do you want to work alone?” he said, “or do you want to go back with me?” he said.</p> <p>[62] “I’ll go back with you,” said John, “I’ll go back,” he said, “if not, I’ll die of hunger,” he said.</p> <p>[63] “If you want to work with me,” Jesus said, “and if it is enough for you the denarius we earn among the three of us,” said Jesus, “let’s go,” he said.</p> <p>[64] “[But] before you go with me, go blow in the bull’s ear so it revives again,” said [Jesus].</p> <p>[65] John went and blew in the ear of the bull, and it came back to life.</p> <p>[66] Then he realized that Jesus was powerful.</p> <p>[67] After that he went back with Jesus.</p> <p>[68] John undertook anew to follow Jesus.</p> <p>[69] He was eating [regularly] then, he was given his work, they were working together with Jesus, and then he was eating.</p>
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<p>[70] Yi b'an kochera numuy taka e winik ira xe' k'ani ani uche upatna'r ub'ajner, yi ma'chi ub'na, tartaka ke' ja'xir matuk'a uk'otorer kochwa e Jesús.</p>	<p>[70] And this is what happened with the man who wanted to do his work alone, and he wasn't able to, because he didn't have power the way Jesus did.</p>
<p>[71] Enton tarixto ani kochera nitata' uyaryo'n ke' no'n ayan inyajr k'ani kache ub'an koche e Juan.</p>	<p>[71] And because of this my father used to tell us that at times we too want to act as John [did].</p>
<p>[72] Tal vez ayan kawya'r, taka katáta war kapatna, yi katáta war ukansyo'n kapatna, yi korix ja'xir yi korix no'n, war kapatna yi nuturon, ayan me'yra kawya'r ayan kanar ayan kab'ur war kawe'.</p>	<p>[72] Perhaps there's food, we are working with our parents, and our parents are teaching us to work, some for them some for us, we're working together, there's plenty of food, we have corn, we have beans, and we're eating.</p>
<p>[73] Yi waton no'n kaware, "a, ne'n k'ani inpatna nib'ajner, ne'n war inwe'se nitáta, nitáta ayan unar porque ne'n war inpatna," kaware.</p>	<p>[73] But we come to say, "oh, I want to work alone, I'm feeding my father, my father has his corn because I'm working," we say.</p>
<p>[74] Kaxere ko'tot ajner taka, yi tal vez yi'x turo'n yaja' kab'ajner taka yer kawixka'r kawira ixto e wi'na'r ya', ma'chi atz'akta e patna'r xe' kache, ma'chi ache'na kawak'ni kachor, tuno'r ira anumuy.</p>	<p>[74] We quickly separate our houses from them, and maybe as soon as we live alone with our wife we see hunger, the work we do isn't enough, the preparation of our field isn't done, all this happens.</p>

<p>[75] Enton che ani nitáta ke' kanumse kab'a kochwa e Juan ub'an kawira e wi'na'r, tartaka ke' no'n k'ani kapatna kab'ajner yi tal vez ma'chi uyub'yo'n, matuk'a katumin, kanumse kab'a koche e Juan.</p>	<p>[75] So my father used to say that we experience what John experienced and we see hunger, because we want to work alone and maybe we can't, we don't have any money, we experience what John experienced.</p>
<p>[76] Ja'x era e k'ajpesyaj xe' ina'ta, inb'ijk ira tama upater e Jesús.</p>	<p>[76] This is the story I know, this little bit about following Jesus.</p>

6.2.7. Text 12: The Woman Whose Tooth Hurt

E Ixik Xe' Ak'uxun Ut' Uyej	The Woman Whose Tooth Hurt
<p>[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte' numer xe' u'mb'i uk'ajti nitata' ani.</p>	<p>[1] I want to tell a story that I used to hear my father tell.</p>
<p>[2] Uk'ajtyob' ani ke' ayan ayi inkojt winik che, e winik ira che k'axi ayi tu'ti' ja' kay ati.</p>	<p>[2] They used to tell that there had been a man, and this man went down to the bank of the river, and was bathing⁷¹.</p>
<p>[3] Yi tya' k'otoy ati yaja' che tichamb'ir yaja' e xukur koche kaware, war ayi a'ti inkojt winik ub'an, yi e winik ira che ja'x ayi e doktor kaware takar xe' ajtz'akoner winik.</p>	<p>[3] And when he came to bathe there at the upper part of the river as we say, [another] man was bathing there too, and this man was the doctor, or as we say [in Ch'orti'] <i>ajtz'akoner</i>.</p>
<p>[4] Yi e winik che kay ayi ati ja'xir ub'an ixto e winik xe' k'otoy ira unoxib' e ixik kay ayi ati tara,</p>	<p>[4] And the man [who was not the doctor] was bathing too, the man who came was the woman's husband, he was bathing here.</p>

⁷¹ *Bathing (ati)* here refers to washing oneself, not to swimming.

<p>[5] Yi e doktor che kay ati tichamb'ir, yi e doktor che kay ayi ub'ut'i e syan xapun tujor kay ati che, kay uputz'ru che, uwajpi ayi uk'ur yaja' che upoki taka e xapun che wa'wan, kay uyari e xapun tar che konde achpa ayi wa'wan uk'ur e noxi doktor yaja', yi e winik che war ayi uwira kocha war a'ti e doktor.</p>	<p>[5] And the doctor was at the upper part [of the river], and the doctor loaded a lot of soap on his head and was bathing, was scrubbing it, grabbed his penis and washed it with the soap, and it stood up, he was adding soap when the penis of that big doctor rose and stood up, and the [other] man was watching how the doctor bathed.</p>
<p>[6] Enton che k'a'pa ati e winik ira tya'r a'ti, ixin tuyotot.</p>	<p>[6] The man finished bathing where he was bathing, and went home.</p>
<p>[7] K'otoy che tuyotot, iraj iraj ayi atz'e'ne, chayi, "ji ji ji ji," chayi iraj iraj, "ji ji ji ji," chayi, enton war ayi atz'e'ne.</p>	<p>[7] He got home, and over and over was laughing, he said "hee hee hee," he said over and over, "hee hee hee," he said, and was laughing.</p>
<p>[8] Enton chayi e ixik, "tuk'a akojko ne't," chayi, "o war imokran," chayi, "satpa ajuicio," chayi, "koxto itz'e'ne ab'ajner," chayi.</p>	<p>[8] Then the woman [his wife] said, "what's bothering you?" she said, "or are you getting sick (crazy)?" she said, "has your judgment disappeared?" she said, "why are you laughing alone (to yourself)?" she said.</p>
<p>[9] "Intakar intz'e'ne ya'," chayi iraj iraj, "ji ji ji ji," chayi, "ji ji ji ji," chayi.</p>	<p>[9] "I'm just laughing," he said over and over, "hee hee hee," he said, "hee hee hee," he said.</p>

<p>[10] “A, ne’t ajmoke’t,” chayi e ixik, “tuk’a awira pues?” chayi.</p> <p>[11] “A,” chayi, “sí k’ani inwarye’t tuk’a,” chayi, “ke’ ne’n,” chayi, “inwira inte’ winik,” chayi, “ja’x e doktor,” chayi, “war a’ti e doktor tichamb’ir tya’ k’otoy atye’n</p> <p>[12] Ne’n ketpe’n atye’n ejmar,” chayi, “ja’x tichamb’ir war a’ti,” chayi, “yi ja’x war a’ti,” chayi, “kay uputz’ru uk’ur taka e xapun,” chayi, “achpa wa’wan e noxi’ k’ur tut’ usuy e doktor,” chayi.</p> <p>[13] “A, chix,” chayi e ixik, “yi tama e ya’x war itz’e’neka?” chayi.</p> <p>[14] “Tar,” chayi.</p> <p>[15] “A, ne’t,” chayi, “kochína,” chayi, “tuk’a tar itz’e’ne, tama e puercada ya’x war itz’e’neka?” chayi, “eso sí mixtuk’a ana’ta tuk’a tar itz’e’ne ne’t,” chayi e ixik ja’xir, uche ayi ub’a como que maja’x ugusto.</p>	<p>[10] “Aah, you’re crazy,” said the woman, “what did you see then?” she said.</p> <p>[11] “Ah,” he said, “sure I want to tell you what [I saw],” he said, “that I,” he said, “saw a man,” he said, “it was the doctor,” he said, “the doctor was bathing in the upper part [of the river] when I came to bathe.”</p> <p>[12] I remained downstream to bathe,” he said, “and he was bathing further up,” he said, “and he was bathing,” he said, “was scrubbing his penis with the soap,” he said, “and the doctor’s big penis rose and stood up at his lower parts,” he said.</p> <p>[13] “Ah, cheesh” said the woman, “and it’s about this that your laughing?” she said.</p> <p>[14] “[Yes,] this,” said [the man].</p> <p>[15] “Ah, you,” said [his wife], “you’re a pig!” she said, “what are you laughing about, are you laughing about this dirtiness?” she said, “for sure you have no idea at all what to laugh at,” the woman said to him, and she acted as if it wasn’t to her liking.</p>
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<p>[16] Enton b'antaka ayi ketpa.</p> <p>[17] Numen ajk'in kora che, enton ka'y ayi ja'xir ub'an e ixik ja'xir koche, "Ay, ay, ay!"</p> <p>[18] "Tuk'a akojko pue," chayi e winik otronyajr.</p> <p>[19] "Ak'uxun ut' niwej," chayi, "ak'uxun ut' niwej, ay, ay."</p> <p>[20] "Jay ak'uxun ut' awej," chayi yer e winik, "ch'a'r e tumin ira," chayi, "kiki aren e doktor twa utz'oki," chayi, "ke' kocha i'xin awakta ke' war uchamse't e noxi' k'uxe'yr ya'x?" chayi, "kiki taka e doktor," chayi, "twa' utz'oki," chayi.</p> <p>[21] "O, inxin," chayi e ixik, "ay," chayi e ixik ja'xir.</p> <p>[22] Yi ajk'una ayi utumin ixin tya' turu e doktor che, k'otoy yaja' che, "e," chayi, nob'or ayi uyej k'otoy, "buenos días, doctor," chayi.</p> <p>[23] "Buenos días," chayi e doktor, koche castellano ayi e doktor, "que quieres mi hija?" chayi.</p>	<p>[16] And [things] remained like that.</p> <p>[17] A few days went by, and the woman began as (with), "Ay, ay, ay!"</p> <p>[18] "What's wrong with you?" the man said again.</p> <p>[19] "My tooth hurts," she said, "my tooth hurts, ay, ay!"</p> <p>[20] "If your tooth hurts," the man said, "here's some money," he said, "go tell the doctor to pull it out," he said, "how are you going to let this serious pain kill you?" he said, "go to the doctor," he said, "so he can pull it out," he said.</p> <p>[21] "Oh, I'm going," said the woman, "ay!" she said to him.</p> <p>[22] And she was given the money and went to where the doctor lived, she arrived there and said, "eh," she was holding her hand to her mouth, "good day, doctor," she said [in Spanish].</p> <p>[23] "Good day," said the doctor, as the doctor was a Spanish [speaker], "what do you want my daughter?" he said [in Spanish].</p>
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<p>[24] “Ay, doktor,” chayi, “sí yo vengo,” chayi, “que me duele la muela,” chayi, chayi uyare el doktor.</p> <p>[25] “A, que duele la muela, vení para aca mi hija,” chayi, “vení para ca, pue, lo vamos a arrancar,” chayi e doktor ja’xir.</p> <p>[26] E doktor una’ta ayi ke’ verdad ke’ ajmok e ixik ke’ k’otoy yaja’ tya’ aturan e doktor yaja’ koche kaware uche examinar.</p> <p>[27] Enton chayi, “ay, doktor,” chayi, “sí ne’n ma’chi ak’uxun ut’ niwej,” chayi, “sí ne’n,” chayi, “uyarye’n ninoxib’ ke’ war ayi uwire’t ya’ a’ti tu’ti’ ja’,” chayi, “ke’ nojta ayi ak’ur,” chayi, “yi ne’n k’ani ani inwira jay e’ra’ch ayi k’ani inwira jay uyub’ye’n takar,” chayi.</p> <p>[28] “Ay, hija!” chayi e doktor, “ma’chi uyub’i,” chayi, “ne’n doktore’n,” chayi.</p>	<p>[24] “Ay, doctor,” she said, “for sure I come,” she said, “because my tooth is hurting me,” she said, she told the doctor [in Spanish].</p> <p>[25] “Ah, since your tooth hurts, comes here my daughter,” he said, “come here, and we’ll pull it,” said the doctor to her.</p> <p>[26] The doctor knew (believed) that it was true that the woman who came to where he lived was sick, and performed an examination as we say [in Spanish].</p> <p>[27] Then she said, “ay, doctor,” she said, “for sure my tooth doesn’t hurt,” she said, “the truth is,” she said, that my husband told me that he saw you bathe at the bank of the river,” she said, “and that your penis is big,” she said, “and I was wanting to see if it’s true, and I want to see if I am able [to do something] with it,” she said.</p> <p>[28] “Oh, daughter,” said the doctor, “that’s not possible (appropriate),” he said, “I’m a doctor,” he said.</p>
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<p>[29] “Ma, doktor,” chayi, “sí ne’n ja’x u’nsre,” chayi, “por esto tarye’n,” chayi, “inche nib’a como ke’ ak’uxun ut’ niwej, pero ne’n ma’chi ak’uxun niwej,” chayi.</p> <p>[30] “A, pues, jay ak’ani,” chayi e doktor, “pues inche takaret,” chayi.</p> <p>[31] Pues kay ayi ch’ena gozar yaja’ umen e doktor che; k’a’pa taka ayi ixto yaja’ uche lo que ja’x uk’ani che, mak’wob’ taka e doktor.</p> <p>[32] Enton che lok’oy ixin yi konde k’otoy che ma’chi ixto ayi ak’uxun ut’ uyej ya’.</p> <p>[33] Yi k’otoy chayi, “qué tal ixet,” chayi yer e winik unoxib’.</p> <p>[34] “Utz’oki ut’ niwej e doktor,” chayi, “sisa inyajrer, nen kora ixto ak’uxun ya’,” chayi uyare unoxib’.</p> <p>[35] “A, verdad kocha inwarye’t ke’ tz’okb’ir ani uk’ani,” chayi e winik.</p>	<p>[29] “No, doctor,” she said, “this is what I really want,” she said, “this is what I came here for,” she said, “I made myself (acted) as if my tooth hurt, but my tooth didn’t hurt,” she said.</p> <p>[30] “Ah, well, if you want to,” said the doctor, “then I’ll do it with you,” he said.</p> <p>[31] Then she was enjoyed by the doctor; having finished that [talking], she did what she had wanted, she had sex⁷² with the doctor.</p> <p>[32] Then she went away and when she arrived [at home] her tooth didn’t hurt.</p> <p>[33] [When] she arrived the man, her husband, said “how did it go with you?”</p> <p>[34] “The doctor pulled my tooth,” she said, “it calmed down right away, it doesn’t hurt even a bit,” she said, she told her husband.</p> <p>[35] “Ah, it’s like I told you, it needed pulling,” said the man.</p>
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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.

<p>[36] Yi ke' sí ja'xir che maja'x k'uxe'yr ukojko, sí ja'xir lo que k'ani ani una'ta ke' jay verdad k'ob'ir e noxi' doktor yaja' che</p>	<p>[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.</p>
<p>[37] Yi umajres unoxib' yi e winik che nen una'ta tuk'a uche e ixik.</p>	<p>[37] And she cheated on her husband and the man, it is said, never even knew what the woman did.</p>
<p>[38] Enton por estó nitata uyaryo'n ani ke' no'n jay tuk'a kawira me'rer kacheksu taka inkojt ixik por que b'ajk'at b'an uche</p>	<p>[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.</p>

6.2.8. Text 13: The Nosy Mother

<p>[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte' yar k'ajtsyaj jax inte' k'ajtsyaj xe' ink'ajyer uyub'na'r.</p>	<p>[1] I want to tell a little tale, it's a tale that's fun to listen too.</p>
<p>[2] Ayan inte' k'ajtsyaj ak'ajtna tuk'a numuy taka inkojt yer onya'n ixik.</p>	<p>[2] There is a tale that is told about what happened to an old woman.</p>
<p>[3] Ayan ayi uxkojt uwijch'oktak yi kay ayi nujb'yob', yi ja'xir che turuto ayi unoxib'ub'an, entonces ja'xir xe' kay uche che kay xana uyub'i taka uwijch'oktak.</p>	<p>[3] She had three daughters who were getting married, and her husband was still living as well, and what she was doing was to go around asking [a lot of questions] of her daughters.</p>
<p>[4] Nujb'i ayi e b'ajxan uwijch'ok, yi tya' asakojpa yaja' che e akb'ar tya' awayanob' uyar yaja' yi tya' anujb'yob' asakojpa takix ayi a'xin ayi uyub'i.</p>	<p>[4] The first daughter married, and when dawn came [following] the night when her daughter slept [with her husband], when they got married, right at dawn [the old woman] went to question her.</p>
<p>[5] Uyare ayi uwijch'ok. "Ay, tu'," chayi, "kocha lok'oy anoxib'," chayi.</p>	<p>[5] She said to her daughter, "hey, daughter⁷³," she said, "how did your husband turn out?"</p>
<p>[6] "Ti'n imb'a, nána," chayi e ijch'ok.</p>	<p>[6] He's a good person," said the daughter.</p>
<p>[7] "Yi ke' kocha lok'oy?" chayi, "jay noxi winik?" chayi.</p>	<p>[7] "But how did he turn out?" [the mother] said, "is he a big man?" she said.</p>

⁷³ The word *tu'* means mother, but is often used to refer to a daughter as well.

<p>[8] “Ay, tu’,” chayi e ijch’ok, “tuk’a k’ani ana’ta,” chayi, “kocha i’xin oyb’i ta nib’a, maka awira ke’ nitwe’t pue,” chayi.</p> <p>[9] “Inma tu’,” chayi, “ne’n intaka k’ani inna’ta,” chayi, “jay kocha lok’oy,” chayi, “jay noxi winik,” chayi, “o kocha uche takaret,” chayi, “jay ch’a’r uche takaret,” chayi, “o wa’r,” chayi, “kochatik.”</p> <p>[10] “Ay, tu’,” chayi, “ne’n ma’chi k’ani inwarye’t,” chayi e ijch’ok.</p> <p>[11] “Arene’n tu’,” chayi, “sí ne’n intaka k’ani inna’ta,” chayi, “arene’n ke’ jay noxi winik,” chayi, “o kocha o chuchu,” chayi.</p> <p>[12] “A,” chayi e ijch’ok, “ma’ni nit’or inwarye’t tu’,” chayi, “ne’t nitwe’t,” chayi, “pero jay ak’ani k’ani inwarye’t,” chayi, “ja’xir me’re jax nojta winik,” chayi, “nojta kora,” chayi, “péru ayan me’yra uk’ek’wa’r utejromar,” chayi, “a, tuno’r e akb’ar,” chayi, “war uyajk’u,” chayi.</p>	<p>[8] “Oh, mother!” said the daughter, “what do you want to know?” she said, “how can you ask me [such things]? Don’t you see that you’re my mother?” she said.</p> <p>[9] “No, daughter,” [the mother] said, “I just want to know,” she said, “how he turned out,” she said, “if he’s a big man,” she said, “and how he did it with you,” she said, “if he did it with you lying down,” she said, “or standing up,” she said, “that sort of thing,” she said.</p> <p>[10] “Oh, mother!” she said, “I don’t want to tell you that,” the daughter said.</p> <p>[11] “Tell me, daughter!” said [the mother], “I just want to know,” she said, “tell me if he’s a big man,” she said, “or small or what,” she said.</p> <p>[12] “Oh!” said the daughter, “I’m not comfortable telling you, mother,” she said, “you’re my mother,” she said, “but if you want to know I’ll tell you,” she said, “he’s 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.</p>
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<p>[13] “A,” chayi, atz’a’y ayi ixin ayi uyare unoxib’ ja’xir.</p> <p>[14] “Oyb’ika o?” chayi.</p> <p>[15] “Tuk’a,” chayi yer e winik unoxib’.</p> <p>[16] “Kawijch’ok,” chayi, “utajwi ayi yer uviejo,” chayi, “ja’x ayi inkojt winik xe’ lok’oy ke’ ma’ ayi ja’x nojta nojta,” chayi, “péru ma’chi ayi apaktz’a wakchetaka,” chayi, “tuno’r ayi e akb’ar war uyajk’u,” chayi, “ma’chi ayi ak’oyran,” chayi.</p> <p>[17] “A,” chayi yer e winik, “ne’t tuk’a ixana oyb’i taka kawijch’ok,” chayi yer e winik.</p> <p>[18] “Es que ne’n k’ani inna’ta kocha a’xin utajwi, jay b’an koche ne’t,” chayi, “ne’t nojta,” chayi.</p> <p>[19] Enton che b’an kochera numuy taka e b’ajxan ijch’ok.</p> <p>[20] Yi nakpat che nujb’i e inkojt ijch’ok xe’ wa’r tuyuxinarob’ e uxkojt yaja’.</p> <p>[21] Enton che nujb’i ayi ub’an, nujb’i ayi e ijch’ok ira, yi b’an ixto ub’an b’antaka ayi uche otronyajr, sakojpa takix ixin ayi uyub’i, k’otoy che.</p>	<p>[13] “Ah,” said [the mother], she was glad and went to tell her husband.</p> <p>[14] “Hey, listen,” she said [to him].</p> <p>[15] “What?” said her husband.</p> <p>[16] “Our daughter,” she said, “has found her old man,” she said, “he’s a man who turned out not to be really big,” she said, “but it doesn’t go down⁷⁴ quickly,” she said, “he was giving it all night long,” she said, “he didn’t get tired of it,” she said.</p> <p>[17] “Oh,” said the man, “what are you going around asking our daughter?” said the man.</p> <p>[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.</p> <p>[19] And this is how things went with the first daughter.</p> <p>[20] And later the daughter who was in the middle of the three got married.</p> <p>[21] She got married too, this daughter got married, and [the mother] did the same again, right at dawn she went to ask questions, and arrived.</p>
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⁷⁴ More literally, *apaktz’a* conveys an idea of bending over or bending in half, often described in Spanish by the verb *doblar*.

<p>[22] “Kocha sakojpet tu’,” chayi.</p> <p>[23] “Imb’utz tu’,” chayi e ijch’ok.</p> <p>[24] “Ay tu’,” chayi, “ne’n ke’ k’ani ani inna’ta,” chayi, “kocha lok’oy yer anoxib’,” chayi.</p> <p>[25] “Kocha imb’a,” chayi, “ne’n ninoxib’ uk’anye’n era,” chayi, “yi kocha wartokto inyo’pa,” chayi, “ma’chi inna’ta jay tuno’rxix ajk’in b’an a’xin uk’anye’n,” chayi, “péru uk’anye’n,” chayi.</p> <p>[26] “Inma tu’,” chayi, “ne’n k’ani inna’ta kocha lok’oy, jay noxi winik,” chayi, “jay k’ob’ir,” chayi, “o chuchu,” chayi.</p> <p>[27] “Ay, tu’,” chayi e ijch’ok, “kocha inxin inwarye’t si ne’t nitw’et,” chayi, “me’rer inwarye’t,” chayi, “ne’t ma’chi ana’ta tuk’a war ache, tu’,” chayi.</p> <p>[28] “Era arene’n, tu’,” chayi, “sí ne’n k’ani inna’ta,” chayi, yi b’an ayi ma’chi ayi o’byan, iraj iraj uyub’i</p> <p>[29] Enton tari ayi e ijch’ok ucheksu ayi.</p>	<p>[22] “How are you this morning, daughter,” she said.</p> <p>[23] “Good, mother,” said the daughter.</p> <p>[24] “Ah, daughter,” said the mother, “I wanted to know,” she said, “how your husband turned out,” she said.</p> <p>[25] “[He turned out] well,” mother, “my husband loves⁷⁵ me now,” she said, “and as I’ve only just arrived,” she said, “I don’t know if he’ll love me every day this way,” she said, “but he loves me,” she said.</p> <p>[26] “No, daughter,” said [the mother], “I want to know how he turned out, if he’s a big man,” she said, “if he’s big,” she said, “or small,” she said.</p> <p>[27] “Oh, mother,” said the daughter, “how am I going to tell you if you’re my mother,” she said, “I ought not tell you,” she said, “you don’t know what you’re doing, mother,” she said.</p> <p>[28] “Now tell me, daughter,” she said, “indeed I want to know,” she said, she didn’t listen and kept asking and asking.</p> <p>[29] Then the daughter came to reveal it.</p>
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⁷⁵ *K’ani* equates reasonably closely with the Spanish *querer*, referring to love and/or desire, but not directly to sex.

<p>[30] “Anya’r,” chayi, “nojta b’anb’an era,” chayi, “péru chuchu’ yer ut’ unak,” chayi, “maja’x k’ob’ir,” chayi, “uyok sí nojta ya’,” chayi.</p> <p>[31] “A,” chayi, “jaxto ani k’ani inna’ta ya’,” chayi.</p> <p>[32] Ajner ayi ixin uya’re yer unoxib’, ja’xir utata’ e ijch’ok.</p> <p>[33] K’otoy chayi, “oyb’ika o?” chayi.</p> <p>[34] “Tuk’a,” chayi yer e winik.</p> <p>[35] “Ay, kawijch’ok,” chayi, “lok’oy ayi utajwi unoxib’,” chayi.</p> <p>[36] “O lok’oy,” chayi yer e winik, “hasta ajpatna’r,” chayi.</p> <p>[37] “A, b’anb’an ayi uyok era,” chayi, “péru b’an ayi yer ut’ unak yaja’,” chayi, “péru nojta ayi,” chayi.</p> <p>[38] “A,” chayi yer e winik.</p> <p>[39] Enton che b’an ixto ayi numuy yaja’, numuy ajk’in.</p>	<p>[30] “Your son-in-law,” said the daughter, “is big in this way,” she said, “small in thickness,” she said, “not big,” she said, “but it’s length certainly is big,” she said.</p> <p>[31] “Ah,” said [the mother], “that’s what I wanted to know.”</p> <p>[32] She ran to go tell her husband, the girl’s father.</p> <p>[33] She got there and said, “listen!” she said.</p> <p>[34] “What?” said the man.</p> <p>[35] “Hey, our daughter,” she said, “it turns out she found a [good] husband,” she said.</p> <p>[36] “Oh, he turned out [good],” said the husband, “is he a good worker?” he said.</p> <p>[37] “Oh, it’s long like this,” [the mother] said, “but thick like this,” she said, “but it’s big,” she said.</p> <p>[38] “Oh,” said the man.</p> <p>[39] This is how things happened there, and days passed.</p>
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<p>[40] Nuner ajk'in che nujb'i e'nkojt ijch'ok, ton nujb'i ayi e'nkojt ijch'ok ira, sakojpa taka otronyajr lok'oy ixin yer e iláma koche kaware, lok'oy ajni ixin ayi, k'otoy taka che uyub'i ayi pues taka uwijch'ok.</p> <p>[41] "Kocha ture't tu'," chayi.</p> <p>[42] "Imb'utz, tu'," chayi.</p> <p>[43] "Ay, tu'," chayi, "koche lok'oy yer anoxib'," chayi.</p> <p>[44] "Yi ne't tu'," chayi e ijch'ok, "tuk'a k'ani ana'ta," chayi, "si kochera me'ra e ixna inturan," chayi, "ma'chi inna'ta jay uk'anye'n tuno'rxix e ajk'inob'," chayi, "era uk'anye'n," chayi.</p> <p>[45] "Inma' tu'," chayi, "sí ne'n k'ani inna'ta," chayi, "jay noxi winik," chayi, "jay nojta," chayi, "o chuchu'," chayi.</p>	<p>[40] Days later the other daughter got married, this other daughter got married then, and again at dawn the old lady, as we say, went out, went out fast, and when she arrived she questioned her daughter.</p> <p>[41] "How are you, daughter?" [the woman] said.</p> <p>[42] "Good, mother," said [the daughter].</p> <p>[43] "Hey, daughter," she said, "how did your husband turn out?" [the mother] said.</p> <p>[44] "And you, mother," said the daughter, "what do you want to know?" she said, "I haven't lived here long," she said, "and I don't know if he'll love me forever," she said, "but today he loves me," she said.</p> <p>[45] "No, daughter," said [the mother], "I want to know," she said, "if he's a big man," she said, "if it's big," she said, "or small," she said.</p>
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<p>[46] Ton chayi e ijch'ok, "ay, tu'," chayi, "ne't tuk'a ixana ache, tu'," chayi, "tuk'a k'ani an'ata," chayi, "war awira ke' nitwe't pue," che, "nitwe't kocha twa' inwarye't," chayi, "ke' tuk'a war innumse nib'a taka ninnoxib'," chayi.</p> <p>[47] "Yi sí ne'n k'ani inna'ta, tu'," chayi, "arene'n," chayi, "ne'n k'ani inna'ta," chayi, yi ma'chi o'byan war uyub'i war uyub'i.</p> <p>[48] Entonces yi'x wa'r yaja' che, ucheksu ayi e ijch'ok.</p> <p>[49] "K'ani ixto inwarye't, tu'," chayi, "jay k'ani ana'ta," chayi, "anya'r," chayi, "me're ja'x nokta nokta," chayi, "péru k'ob'ir ut' unak," chayi, "yi ma' takar era," chayi, "maja'x ja'x taka uche era," chayi.</p> <p>[50] "A," chayi, "k'ob'ir ut' unak," chayi, "k'ob'ir, e ya'x botija ya' hija," chayi, "botija," chayi.</p>	<p>[46] Then the daughter said, "Oh, mother!," she said, "what are you going around doing, mother?" she said, "what do you want to know?" she said, "you can see that you're my mother," she said, "my mother, how can I tell you," she said, "what I'm experiencing with my husband," she said.</p> <p>[47] "And yes I want to know, daughter," said [the woman], "tell me," she said, "I want to know," she said, and she didn't listen and kept asking and asking.</p> <p>[48] Then standing there the daughter revealed [everything].</p> <p>[49] "I want to tell you then, mother," said [the daughter], "if you want to know," she said, "your son-in-law," she said, "he's not really big," she said, "but it's thick," she said, "and it's not just that," she said, "it's not only that he does," she said.</p> <p>[50] "Ah," said [the mother], "it's thick," she said, "thick like a barrel⁷⁶, daughter," she said, "a barrel," she said.</p>
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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*.

<p>[51] Enton che, “yi tuk’a e’nte’ xe’ k’ani ani awarye’n,” chayi, “kocha tuk’a tuk’a uche,” chayi, “uwajpye’tka ch’a’r,” chayi, “o wa’re’t,” chayi.</p>	<p>[51] Then she said, “and what was the other thing you wanted to tell me,” she said, “what is it he does?” she said, “did he grab you lying down?” she said, “or were you standing up?” she said.</p>
<p>[52] “Inma’ tu’,” chayi, “si ja’xir intya’ch uche’n,” chayi, “ixin uwab’we’n yaja’,” chayi, “upakb’we’n kocha apakwan utu’ e wakax,” chayi, “yi ja’xir ixin wa’wan innajt,” chayi, “yi tari ajner taka,” chayi, “war taka ak’otoy yaja’ utz’iri tamaren,” chayi, “yi uche koche utata’ e wakax,” chayi.</p>	<p>[52] “No mother,” said [the daughter], “he did me another way,” she said “he went and positioned me there,” she said, “he bent me over like a cow bends over,” he said, “and he went and stood far off,” she said, “and came running,” she said, “and when he reached me he put it in me,” she said, “and did it like a bull,” she said.</p>
<p>[53] “Ay,” chayi yer e ixik, “ne’t tu’,” chayi, “apaxob’ tuno’r asakunob’,” chayi, “asakunob’ me’re ja’x b’an koche ya’x,” chayi, “e ya’x imb’utz uyub’na’r,” chayi.</p>	<p>[53] “Oh!” said the woman, “you, daughter,” she said, “you beat all your older siblings,” she said, “it wasn’t like that with your older siblings,” she said, “this is good to hear,” she said.</p>
<p>[54] Yi jaxto ayi yer e ixik ira che, ajner ayi ixin tuyotot, k’otoy che, kay ayi uyare uviejo, uyare ayi e noxib’, “Oyb’ika o?” chayi.</p>	<p>[54] And this woman, indeed, ran off to her house, got there, and was telling her old man, she said to her husband, “hey, listen,” she said.</p>
<p>[55] “Tuk’a,” chayi yer e winik.</p>	<p>[55] “What?” said the man.</p>
<p>[56] “Ay kawijch’ok,” chayi, “lok’oy ayi utajwi yer unoxib’,” chayi.</p>	<p>[56] “Our daughter,” she said, “it turns out she found a [good] husband,” she said.</p>

<p>[57] “E,” chayi, chayi yer e winik jaxir, “tuk’a uche imb’a,” chayi. “</p> <p>[58] “Sí b’an kochera uk’ajti,” chayi, “ke’ ma’ ayi ja’x nojta nojta,” che, “péru k’ob’ir ayi ut’ unak,” chayi, “yi ne’n inware ke’ botija,” chayi, “yi ma’ ayi jax taka era,” chayi, “uche ayi inte’ kocha no’n ma’to tya’ kache,” chayi, “uche ayi kocha utata’ e wakax,” chayi, “yi uche ayi niwijch’ok ixin wa’wan koche apakwan awan utu’ e wakax,” chayi.</p> <p>[59] “Tuk’a ixana oyb’i,” chayi yer e winik, “ne’t meru ja’x apatana’r,” chayi, “jaxto e ya’x ixana ache ne’t?” chayi yer e winik, k’ayna ayi.</p> <p>[60] “Inma’ noxib’,” chayi, “kawejtik ub’ano’n,” chayi, “kawira jay alok’oyto kache,” chayi.</p> <p>[61] “Kocha kache no’n,” chayi yer e winik, “ma’ awira ke’ no’n,” chayi, “onya’n winiko’nix,” chayi, “ne’n mix tuk’a ani fuerza,” chayi, “kocha twa’ inche ne’n.”</p> <p>[62] “Ay, inma’,” chayi, “kawejtik,” chayi.</p>	<p>[57] “Eh,” he said, the man said to her, “what did he do?” he said.</p> <p>[58] “This is how she told it,” [the woman] said, “that he’s not really big,” she said, but he’s thick,” she said, “and I say it’s a barrel,” she said, “and not only that,” she said, “he did something like we have never done,” she said, “he did it like a bull,” she said, “and made my daughter go stand like a cow bends over,” she said.</p> <p>[59] “What are you going around asking?” the man said, “it’s just not you’re business,” he said, “this is what you are going around doing?” said the man, scolding her.</p> <p>[60] “No, husband,” she said, “let’s try it, too,” she said, “let’s see if we can still manage to do it,” she said.</p> <p>[61] “How [can] we do it?” said the man, “don’t you realize that we,” he said, “are old people,” he said, “I wouldn’t have the strength,” he said, “how can I do it?”</p> <p>[62] “Oh, no,” said [the woman], “let’s try it,” she said.</p>
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<p>[63] Tari che ixin ayi utares inte' yer usuy k'ajk' che xe' kaware sebo xe' ache'na tama uch'ich'mayir e wakax.</p> <p>[64] Uwajpi ayi che kay ugoro tutajn uk'ab' che yi uk'eche ayi tut' e k'ajk' kay uk'ijnes uk'ab' yi uwajpi ayi yar utejromar unoxib' che kay uche <i>sobar</i> che kay uche <i>sobar</i> hasta que ma' uwab'u che, así ke' wa'wan ayi utejromar unoxib' che.</p> <p>[65] Enton chayi ja'xir, "wa'rix ixto ya' ne't," chayi, "koner kiki wa'ren tara innajt," chayi, "ne'n k'ani inxin pakwan innajt," chayi, "yi wate't ajner," chayi.</p> <p>[66] Enton yer e winik ub'an che yo'pa ayi yer uk'ek'wa'r.</p> <p>[67] Uwira ke' pakar ayi e ixik, uwira innajt innajt taka che, ixin ajner taka yer e winik che, ke' twi'x eyini ak'otoy twa' utajwi tuk'a twa' uche taka uyexka'r, pitz'k'a uyok tama ut' e rum che, yaj pakar e'ron che, uni' ayi utaksu tama yer uti' usuy ujamir uti' usuy uyexka'r che.</p> <p>[68] A, ma'chi ayi u'b'na, yi tya' pakwan k'axi che chamay ayi yer utejromar, matuk'a uche.</p>	<p>[63] She went to bring the base of a candle that we call tallow and is made of beef fat.</p> <p>[64] She grabbed it and was rolling it into a ball in the palm of her hand, brought over the fire and was heating her hand, and grabbed her husband's little penis, and rubbed and rubbed and didn't stop, and so the husband's penis stood up.</p> <p>[65] Then she said, "it's up," she said, "now go stand far over there," she said, "I want to go bend over," she said, "and you come running," she said.</p> <p>[66] Then the man's strength came [back].</p> <p>[67] He saw the woman bent over, saw her far off, took off running, and just as he was about to arrive at what to do with his wife, his feet slipped on the ground [he fell down], and his nose stuck into her vagina, the opening of his wife's vagina.</p> <p>[68] Ah, he couldn't do it, when he fell down bent over, his penis died (got soft), and he didn't do anything.</p>
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<p>[69] Yi enton che yer e ixik yaja' che matuk'a che'na takar, tartaka ke' ma'chi ub'na yer e winik che, uni' ayi utaksu tama uxajr e ixik.</p>	<p>[69] And so nothing was done with that woman, because her man couldn't, his nose went between the woman's legs.</p>
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6.2.9. Text 14: Pedro Odimar Abuses an Entire Household

<p>[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte' yer k'ajpesyaj.</p> <p>[2] E k'ajpesyaj ira ink'ajyer uyub'na'r, ucho'n katz'ene.</p> <p>[3] Ayan ani inkojt winik che kay xana umajres e pak'ab'ob'.</p> <p>[4] E winik ira che uk'ab'a Pedro Odimar.</p> <p>[5] E Pedro Odimar ira che maya'ni b'anb'an uwirna'r, umajres e pak'ab'ob' me'yra.</p> <p>[6] Yi tama inyajr che k'otoy ayi tama ingojr otot, yi ja'xir che ub'ujk'se ayi ub'a kocha e ixiktak, ulapi ayi e nukir pik, yi uturb'a ayi e b'ajk'ib', usub'i ayi e b'ajk'ib' makwi'r ut' uchu' e pik, twa' cheker ke' ayan uchu'.</p> <p>[7] Uyakta ayi ach'i' utzutzer ujur kocha utzutzer ujur e ixiktak, uxijb'a kocha e ixiktak.</p> <p>[8] Enton che k'otoy ayi tama ingojr otot yi uk'ajti ayi e patna'r, uk'ajti e patna'r che, ajk'una ayi e patna'r, tya' twa' apatna twa' utakre e ixiktak maku che, uche e patna'r xe' ayan tama e ototob'.</p>	<p>[1] I want to tell a tale.</p> <p>[2] This tale is entertaining to hear, it makes us laugh.</p> <p>[3] There was a man who was going around fooling⁷⁷ people.</p> <p>[4] This man's name was Pedro Odimar.</p> <p>[5] This Pedro Odimar had a bad attitude⁷⁸, and fooled a lot of people.</p> <p>[6] One time he came to a house and he dressed himself as a woman, put on a big dress, and he put rags, stuffed rags inside the breast of the dress, so it appeared that he had breasts.</p> <p>[7] He let his hair grow like the hair of a woman, and combed it like a woman.</p> <p>[8] So he came to a house and asked for work, asked for work, was given work, a position helping the women inside, he did the housework.</p>
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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.

<p>[9] Enton che tama e b'ajxan akb'ar, tya' akb'are yaja' che tya' k'otoy uk'ajti e patna'r, ajk'una ayi tya' twa' awayan, ajk'una uch'akte', ajk'una uyotot, yi kocha ayán ayi e nukir ijch'oktak taka e ajyum otot ira, ton che akb'are taka che, are'na tya' twa' a'xin awayan.</p> <p>[10] Enton che tari ayi uno'r e ijch'ok, chayi "tu'," chayi uyare utu', "ne'n k'ani inwayan taka e María tama e akb'ar ira," chayi, por qué jaxto ayi e Pedro ira uturb'a ayi uk'ab'a tama María, enton tama María apejkna, "ne'n k'ani inwayan taka e María akb'ar ira, tu'," chayi e ijch'ok.</p> <p>[11] "Ne'n ub'an," chayi e'nkojt, "ne'n k'ani inwayan taka e María," chayi.</p> <p>[12] "Ne'n ub'an" chayi e'nkojt ijch'ok.</p> <p>[13] Uxkojt erti' ayi k'ani awayanob' taka e María tama e'ngojr otot.</p>	<p>[9] So on the first evening, when night fell when he came seeking work, he was given a place to sleep, was given a bed, was given a room, as the head of the house had grown daughters, then when night came he was told where to sleep.</p> <p>[10] Then the oldest daughter said, "mother," she said to her mother, "I want to sleep with Maria tonight," she said, because this Pedro took the name of Maria, was called Maria, "I want to sleep with Maria tonight, mother," the girl said.</p> <p>[11] "Me too," said another [daughter], "I want to sleep with Maria," she said.</p> <p>[12] "Me too," said the another girl.</p> <p>[13] The three [of them] wanted to sleep with Maria in the other room.</p>
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<p>[14] Enton chayi e tu'b'ir, "ma'chi uyub'i," chayi, "era ma'chi uyub'i ixwayan tunorox," chayi, "tartaka ke' inlajtz' e ch'akte'," chayi, "inkojt awayan koner," chayi, "inkojt ejk'ar inkojt chab'ij," chayi, "tunorox twa' ixwayan takar," chayi.</p> <p>[15] "Chik waynik b'ajxan isakun," chayi arenob' e utz'e'rir e ijch'oktak.</p> <p>[16] Enton che ixin wayan e no'r ijch'ok, ya' yaja' che kocha tama uyuxin e akb'ar che e Pedro b'ixk'a ch'a'n che.</p> <p>[17] Kay ayi ub'ajyu e ijch'ok che, kay ub'ajyu e ijch'ok, esde ke' b'ixk'a ayi e ijch'ok.</p> <p>[18] Uk'ijnes ayi uwe'rir e ijch'ok che, yi b'an ayi ja'xir ub'an che, achpa wa'wan uk'ur koche kaware, wa'wan uk'ur ub'an che.</p>	<p>[14] Then the mother said, "it isn't possible, " she said, "that can't be", she said, "all of you can't sleep [with Maria]," she said, "because the bed is narrow," she said, "one will sleep [with her] tonight," she said, "one tomorrow and one the day after," she said, "all of you will sleep with her," she said.</p> <p>[15] "Your older sister will sleep [with her] first," the younger girls were told.</p> <p>[16] So the oldest girl went to sleep, and in the middle of the night Pedro woke up lying down.</p> <p>[17] He was touching the girl, was touching the girl, until the girl woke up.</p> <p>[18] He warmed up the girl's flesh, and so with him as well, his penis rose to stand up, as we say, his penis stood up, too.</p>
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<p>[19] Enton che kay ayi utz'ojyo e ijch'ok che, yi e ijch'ok, kocha k'ijnesnix uch'ich'er umen e winik ira che, tya' war ab'ajina che war atz'ojina, yi mixtuk'a ojron e ijch'ok che, uyakta ayi ub'a che kay che'na kay tz'ojina che koche kaware, kay mak'wob'.</p> <p>[20] Ton che sakojpa che, matuk'a ayi ucheksu e ijch'ok, ma'chi ucheksu jay winik o ixik.</p> <p>[21] Enton che sakojpa che u'ri upik e Pedro che, kay wa'wan kay wajro che kay uch'ab'u e pa', jaxto ayi uno'r e ijch'ok ira ma'chi ucheksu.</p> <p>[22] Ton che uyare ayi utu' tya' akb'are inteyx akb'ar, uyare ayi utu', "tu'," chayi, "ne'n k'ani inxin inwayan otronyajr taka e María," chayi.</p> <p>[23] "Ah inma', koner ma'chi ixto ixin ya'," chayi utwob', "koner axin awijtz'in," chayi.</p>	<p>[19] Then he was molesting⁷⁹ the girl, and the girl, as her blood was made hot by the man, when she was touched and molested, the girl said nothing at all, let go of herself, was being done, was being molested, and as we say, they were 'eating fruit'⁸⁰.</p> <p>[20] Morning came and the girl revealed nothing [to the others], she didn't reveal whether [he] was a man or woman.</p> <p>[21] Then Pedro got up and put on his dress, was up and cleaning, was setting out the tortillas, and the oldest girl revealed nothing.</p> <p>[22] Then she said to her mother when it got dark the next evening, she said to her mother, "mother," she said, "I want to sleep with Maria again," she said.</p> <p>[23] "Oh, no, today you're not going to," said her mother, "today your younger sister is going to," she said.</p>
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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 strike* or *to gore*.

⁸⁰ 'Eating fruit' is a euphemism for enjoying sex.

<p>[24] Yajra ixin wayan e'nkojt ijch'ok xe' wa'r tut' e norb'ir, ixin wayan ub'an che, yi e sakunb'ir una'tix ayi ke maja'x ixik e María, winik.</p> <p>[25] Enton che b'an taka ayi uche otronyajr uyuxin akb'ar che kay ub'ajyu e utz'er e ijch'ok ira che, kay ub'ajyu che, b'ixk'a ayi e ijch'ok, war ab'ajina che, mixtuk'a una'ta uche, yi ja'xir che wa'r uk'ur otronyajr che, k'ani utz'ojyo e ijch'ok.</p> <p>[26] Enton che, kay uyakta ayi ub'a e ijch'ok ub'an, mixtuk'a ache, ma'chi ak'ek'ran, uyakta ayi ub'a tz'ojina.</p> <p>[27] Enton che b'an kochera sakojpa e'nteyx akb'ar, chajrix akb'ar.</p> <p>[28] Enton che jaxto ayi e María che u'ri upik, a'chpa a'xin awajro, ach'ab'san, tuno'r e patnar xe' ayan tama uyotot tya' turu, a'wan uche che.</p> <p>[29] Numuy inte' ajk'in ira che, akb'are, sutpa chayi e cha'kojt ijch'ok xe' wayanob'ix takar, "koner," chayi, "k'ani ka'xin kawayan taka e María," chob' ayi.</p>	<p>[24] The other girl who was standing in front of the older one was told to go sleep [with Maria], and she went to sleep too, and the older sister already knew that Maria wasn't a woman, [but] a man.</p> <p>[25] Well, he did the same again in the middle of the night, he was touching the younger girl, was touching her, the girl woke up, was being touched, didn't know what to do, and his penis was standing up again, he wanted to molest the girl.</p> <p>[26] The girl let herself go too, she did nothing, didn't complain, let herself be molested.</p> <p>[27] And in this way another night turned into dawn, the second night.</p> <p>[28] Then Maria put on her dress, got up went to do the cleaning, prepared the tortillas, all the work in the house where he was living, he set about doing it.</p> <p>[29] The day passed and night came, and again the two girls who had slept with [Maria] said, "tonight," they said, "we want to sleep with Maria," they said.</p>
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<p>[30] “Inma,” chaya utwob’, “no’x wayanaxix,” chaya, “koner a’xin iwijtz’in,” chaya, “e’nkojt iwijtz’in,” chaya.</p> <p>[31] Sutpa che ixin e ux ijch’ok, wayanob’ che, yi e cha’kojt ijch’oktak una’tob’ix tuk’a war anumuy takarob’, ja’x una’tob’ix ke’ maja’x ixik, péru ma’chi uyaryob’ utwob’.</p> <p>[32] Enton che tari ayi ub’an e ux ijch’ok ira, wayanob’, yi b’an taka ayi che’na tama uyuxin akb’ar che, kay b’ajina, kay b’ajina umen e María, war ab’ajina che, tya’ ab’ixk’a ayi yaja’ che war ab’ajina me’yra.</p> <p>[33] Enton che k’ijnesnix uch’ich’er ub’an che, kay ayi pejkna u’t umen e María, yi jaxto ayi e María che, k’ob’ir e nixi machit kuchur umener che.</p> <p>[34] Enton che uyakta ayi ub’a e ijch’ok ira tz’ojina, yi b’an kochera che numob’, uxkojt erti’ e ijch’oktak che wayanob’, wayanob’ taka e María.</p>	<p>[30] “No,” said their mother, “you already slept [with her],” she said, “tonight your younger sister is going to,” she said, “the other younger sister,” she said.</p> <p>[31] The third girl turned to go, and they slept, and the two girls knew what was happening with them, they already knew he wasn’t a woman, but they didn’t tell their mother.</p> <p>[32] So this third girl came and they slept, and the same thing was done in the middle of the night, she was being touched, she was being touched by Maria, was being touched, when she woke up she was being touched a lot.</p> <p>[33] Her blood was already hot, too, she was being invited by Maria, and Maria, the big machete⁸¹ he was carrying was really big.</p> <p>[34] So this girl allowed herself to be molested, and it happened like that, all three of the girls slept, slept with Maria.</p>
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⁸¹ *Machete* is a common euphemism for penis.

<p>[35] Enton che b'an kochera ub'an che, jaxto ayi e tu'b'ir, chayi, "no'x wayanoxix taka e María," chayi e tu'b'ir, "koner k'ani inwayan ub'an," chayi.</p> <p>[36] "Inma, nána," chob' ayi, "no'n k'ani kawayan."</p> <p>[37] "Ah, ne'n k'ani inwayan taka e María," chayi e tu'b'ir ub'an.</p> <p>[38] Ixin ayi wayan e tu'b'ir, yi b'an taka ayi ub'an kay b'ajina e tu'b'ir umen a María che, tuyuxin akb'ar kay b'ajina che.</p> <p>[39] Cuando b'ixk'a e tub'ir ira che uwira ke' e Pedro che, mixtuk'a una'ta uche taka e nixi machit tut' usuy che.</p> <p>[40] Enton tari che, uyakta ayi ub'a ub'an e tu'b'ir, tz'ojina ayi, kocha kaware che'na e mak'war takar.</p> <p>[41] Enton che sakojpga ub'an matuk'a ucheksu ub'an e tu'b'ir.</p> <p>[42] Jax taka una'tob'.</p> <p>[43] Enton b'anto kay turanob' che, b'an kay turanob'.</p>	<p>[35] And in this way, too, the mother said, "you've slept with Maria," the mother said, "tonight I want to sleep [with her] too," she said.</p> <p>[36] "No, mother," they said, "we want to sleep [with her]."</p> <p>[37] "Well I want to sleep with Maria," said the mother, as well.</p> <p>[38] The mother went to sleep, and in the same way the mother was touched by Maria, in the middle of the night she was being touched.</p> <p>[39] When the mother woke up she saw Pedro and didn't know what to do with the big machete he had in the area of his privates.</p> <p>[40] Then the mother let go of herself too, was molested, and as we say, 'eating fruit' was done with her.</p> <p>[41] Morning came too and the mother likewise revealed nothing.</p> <p>[42] Only they [the four women] knew about it.</p> <p>[43] And they were living in this manner, were living this way.</p>
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<p>[44] Inte' akb'ar awayan e'nkojt takar, inte' akb'ar e'nkojt, inte' akb'ar e'nkojt, yi tya' anumob' tuno'r e ijch'oktak takar, a'xin awayan e tub'ir ub'an, por que una'tob' ke' e ixik ira maja'x ixik, winik era, ja'x inkojt winik,</p>	<p>[44] One night one would sleep with him, another night another, one night another, and after all the girls had passed [a night] with him the mother would sleep [with him] too, because they knew that this woman wasn't a woman but a man, he was a man.</p>
<p>[45] Una'tob'ix tuk'a war ache'na takarob', péru ma'chi uchekswob', ja'x taka una'tob', nen e'nkojt nen e'nkojt ma'chi uchekswob' tuk'a war uchob', ja'xob' taka una'tob'.</p>	<p>[45] They knew what was being done to them, but they didn't reveal it, only they knew, and neither one nor another revealed what they were doing, only they knew about it.</p>
<p>[46] Enton che k'otoy ayi inte' ajk'in ayan ayi inte' nojk'in, ayan inte' nojk'in che, yi chayi e yaje tu'b'ir, "no'n k'ani ka'xin kawira e akta'r," chayi uyare e winik.</p>	<p>[46] There came a day when there was a party, there was a party, and the mother said, "we want to go see the dance," she said to the man.</p>
<p>[47] "Kikik," chayi e winik, ja'xir unoxib' e ixik, "kikik, ne'n ma'chi k'ani inxin," chayi.</p>	<p>[47] "Go," said the man, the woman's husband, "[you] go, [but] I don't want to go," he said.</p>
<p>[48] "K'ani ka'xin," chayi, "k'ani kak'eche a'xin e María," chob' ayi, yi ke' sí una'tob'ix ja'xirob' ke' koche winik e María, una'tob'ix tuk'a ache'na takarob', k'ani uk'echob' a'xin twa' uwirob' e akta'r.</p>	<p>[48] "We want to go," they said, "[and] we want to bring along Maria," they said, because well they knew that as Maria was a man, they knew what would be done with them, [so] they wanted to bring him along to see the dance.</p>

<p>[49] “Ah, maya’,” chayi e winik, “aktanik e María,” chayi, “ja’x twa’ ukojko e otot,” chayi, “jay tunorox ixixin,” chayi, “mamajchi aketpa twa’ ukojko e otot,” chayi, “ne’n k’anix inch’a’n inwayan,” chayi e winik, “k’anix inch’a’n inwayan,” chayi.</p> <p>[50] Yi ke’ kocha e winik ira utata’ e ijch’oktak, k’ani ayi utz’ojyo e María ub’an, koche e María imb’utz uwirna’r che.</p> <p>[51] Tya’ uxijb’a uxor che, ixik uwirna’r, yi jaxto ayi e tata’b’ir ira, k’axi u’t’ tama e María, k’axi u’t’ tamar.</p> <p>[52] Enton che ixob’ ayi e ijch’oktak taka utwob’, ma’chi aktana ixin e María.</p> <p>[53] Enton che lok’oy taka ayi ixob’, ketpa ub’ajner e María, yi jaxto ayi e tata’b’ir yaja’ che yi ixin ayi tuyejtzer e María, kay utz’ojyo, kay utz’ojyo.</p> <p>[54] Yi chayi, “ay, María,” chayi, “ne’n ink’anye’t,” chayi, “ay, María,” chayi, “ne’t,” chayi, “imb’utz awirna’r,” chayi.</p>	<p>[49] “Not that,” said the man, “leave Maria,” he said, “she has to take care of the house,” he said, “if you all go,” he said, “nobody will remain to take care of the house,” he said, “[and] I want to lie down and sleep,” said the man, “I want to lie down and sleep,” he said.</p> <p>[50] And really this man was, the father of the girls, he wanted to molest Maria too, as Maria was attractive.</p> <p>[51] When she combed her hair she looked like a woman, and this father, he was enchanted with Maria⁸², enchanted with her.</p> <p>[52] So the girls went with their mother, [but] Maria wasn’t allowed to go.</p> <p>[53] So the moment they were gone Maria remained alone, and this father got close to Maria, was bothering her and bothering her.</p> <p>[54] And he said, “oh, Maria,” he said, “I love you,” he said, “oh, Maria,” he said, “you,” he said, “are beautiful,” he said.</p>
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⁸² More literally, *his face (or eyes) fell on her*.

<p>[55] “Ay, ne’n, inma,” chayi e María, “ne’n ma’chi ink’ani,” chayi, “ne’n ma’chi k’ani insub’ari nib’a tu’t nipatrona,” chayi, “a’xin ak’ijna,” chayi.</p> <p>[56] “A, ma’,” chayi e winik, “matuk’a uche ya’,” chayi, “sí ma’chi turob’ era,” chayi.</p> <p>[57] “Péru ma’chi,” chayi e María, “ne’n ma’chi ink’ani twa’ atz’ojye’n,” chayi uyare e winik, “ma’chi ink’ani,” chayi, “ayan awixka’r,” chayi.</p> <p>[58] “Ma, María,” chayi e winik, “ma’chi,” chayi, “aktan ab’a hom, María” chayi, “aktan ab’a.”</p> <p>[59] “Inma,” chayi e María, “ne’n ma’chi k’ani inche traicionar nipatrona,” chayi.</p> <p>[60] Ej, che, yi koche war atz’ojina umen e winik, enton k’oyran ayi e María tya’ war atz’ojina, enton chayi e María, “jay ak’ani ixto,” chayi, “k’ani imak’o takare’n,” chayi, “koner,” chayi, “jay ache koche ne’n inwaryet,” chayi, “inwakta nib’a,” chayi e María.</p>	<p>[55] “Oh, not me!” said Maria, “I don’t want to,” she said, “I don’t want to shame myself to my boss⁸³,” she said, “she’ll get mad,” she said.</p> <p>[56] “Ah, no,” said the man, “she won’t do anything,” he said, “they’re not here now,” he said.</p> <p>[57] “But no,” said Maria, “I don’t want you to molest me,” she said to the man, “I don’t want to,” she said, “you have a wife,” she said.</p> <p>[58] “No Maria,” said the man, “no,” he said, “let yourself go, Maria,” he said, “let yourself go.”</p> <p>[59] “No,” said Maria, “I don’t want to betray my boss,” she said.</p> <p>[60] Well, as she was being bothered by the man, Maria got fed up with being bothered, so Maria said, “if you really want to,” she said, “you want to ‘eat fruit’ with me,” she said, “now,” she said, “if you do as I tell you,” she said, “I’ll let myself go,” Maria said.</p>
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⁸³ By *patrona* or *boss* Maria is referring to the mother.

<p>[61] “Koche k’ani ache,” chayi e winik.</p>	<p>[61] “Whatever you want to do!” said the man.</p>
<p>[62] “La’r tara,” chayi, “k’ani inkache’t tut’ e te’ ira,” chayi, “yi kachar twa’ inwajk’e’t,” chayi, “kachare’t tut’ e te’ twa’ inwakta nib’a,” chayi.</p>	<p>[62] “Come here,” she said, “I want to tie you to this post⁸⁴,” she said, “[you’ll be] tied up so I can give it to you,” she said, “[you’ll be] tied to the post so I can let myself go,” she said.</p>
<p>[63] Enton tari ayi e winik che, uyakta ub’a kajcha.</p>	<p>[63] So the man came over and allowed himself to be tied up.</p>
<p>[64] Tari ayi e María uch’ami inte’ jaxb’ir sukchij che, ukachi tut’ e te’ upatron, jaxto ayi e winik ira ukachi ut’ e te’ che.</p>	<p>[64] Maria came over and grabbed a maguey rope, and tied her boss to the post, tied this man to the post.</p>
<p>[65] Enton “koner,” chayi uyare, así ke’ ukachi, “koner k’ani inkori nipik,” chayi.</p>	<p>[65] “Now,” she told him, once she had tied him up, “now I want to take off my dress,” she said.</p>
<p>[66] Ukori ayi upik, ke’ warxa ayi uwira e winik che wa’r e nixi machit tut’ usuy e Pedro che.</p>	<p>[66] He took off his dress, and all at once the man saw the big machete standing up at Pedro’s private parts.</p>
<p>[67] “Koner,” chayi, “jay ak’ani twa’ inwakta nib’a takare’t,” chayi uyare, “koner,” chayi, “k’ani inche kochera,” chayi.</p>	<p>[67] “Now,” he said, “if you want me to let myself go with you,” he said to him, “now,” he said, “I want to do it like this,” he said.</p>

⁸⁴ Maria wants to tie the father to one of the larger vertical beams that supports the roof of the house.

<p>[68] Jajpna ayi esde ch'ujya ayi uyok e pobre winik ira, kay tz'ojina umen e Pedro che,</p> <p>[69] K'a'pa ayi utz'ojyo ut' usuy e winik che, e'ntix ayi a'ru e winik, "ay, ma María," chayi, "María tuk'a war ache takaren?" enton, "maja'x ajchi' ixiket, winiket ajchi'," chayi.</p> <p>[70] "Ke?" chayi e María ja'xir e Pedro, koner ja'x e Pedro uk'ab'a, "Koner," chayi, "uk'ani twa' atajwi koche war utajwi awijch'oktak," chayi</p> <p>[71] E, kay ayi wa'wan e Pedro, k'a'pa ayi utz'ojyo che ut' usuy e winik, intix ayi a'ru, yi k'a'pa taka utz'ojyo che, yi uwajpi che u'ri upik ixin, lok'oy ajni.</p> <p>[72] Tya' k'otoy e ixik taka uyarob', kachar war ayi e winik, enton uwirob'.</p> <p>[73] "Tuk'a ixto akójko?" chob' ayi uyaryob' e winik.</p>	<p>[68] The poor man's feet were grabbed and lifted up, and he was molested by Pedro.</p> <p>[69] It ended up that he was molesting his private parts, and the man was shouting, "oh, no, Maria," he said, "Maria, what are you doing to me?" then, "you're not a female person you're a male person," he said.</p> <p>[70] "What?" said Maria, who was Pedro, now his name was Pedro, "now," he said, "you have to find out what your daughters found out," he said.</p> <p>[71] Eh, Pedro set about it, finished molesting the private parts of the man, who was sobbing, and as soon as he finished molesting him he grabbed and put on his dress, and took off running.</p> <p>[72] When the woman returned with her daughters, the man was tied up there, and they saw him.</p> <p>[73] "What's going on with you?" the daughters said to the man.</p>
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<p>[74] “Tuk’a war ache?’ iware’n nox,” chayi, “condena’dox,” chayi, “sí nox ina’ta ajchi’ ani ke’ winik e María,” chayi, “majchi ja’x ixik,” chayi.</p> <p>[75] Enton chayi e iláma, ja’xir utu’ e ijch’oktak, “por sinvergüenza,” chayi, “ta a’tz’i’r war anumse ab’a koche ya’x,” chayi e yaje iláma, “quizás k’ani ani atz’ojyo e María,” chayi, “por eso uchet koche ya’x,” chayi.</p> <p>[76] “María,’ aware ne’t,” chayi e winik, “María,’ aware ne’t, ke’ esto ne’t nume’tix taka e María,” chayi, “no’x war ajchi’ ina’ta ke’ nixi k’ur tut’ usuy, por eso ixixin ixwayan takar,” chayi.</p> <p>[77] War ixto ayi ak’ijna wa’r ya’, b’ajna ayi, péru bravo ayi, por que k’a’pa tz’ojina yer ut’ usuy yaja’ umen e María.</p> <p>[78] Y b’an kochera numuy e numer taka e Pedro Odimar.</p>	<p>[74] “What are you doing?’ you say,” he said, “you bitches⁸⁵!” he said, “you knew damn well Maria was a man,” he said, “he wasn’t a woman,” he said.</p> <p>[75] Then the wife spoke, the mother of the daughters, “because of shamelessness,” she said, “because of your doggishness, this happened to you,” said the wife, “maybe you wanted to molest Maria,” she said, “so he did this to you,” she said.</p> <p>[76] “Maria,’ you say,” said the man, “Maria,’ you say, even you’ve been with Maria,” he said, “you all well knew he had a big penis down there, that’s why you were sleeping with him,” he said.</p> <p>[77] He was standing there angry, and was released, but mad, because his private parts had just been molested by Maria.</p> <p>[78] And this is how the story of Pedro Odimar goes.</p>
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⁸⁵ More literally, *damned ones*.

6.3. SECTION III – Long Stories

6.3.1. Text 15: Pedro Odimar's Dirty Tricks

6.3.1.1. Part 1: Pedro Odimar and the Pigs' Tails

E Pedro Odimar yi e ajchonma'r	Pedro Odimar and the Merchant
<p>[1] K'ani ink'ajti e'nteyx numer twa' e xe' arena Pedro Odimar.</p>	<p>[1] I want to tell another passage of about the one called Pedro Odimar.</p>
<p>[2] E winik ira che ja'x inkojt winik xe' kay umajres me'yra e pak'ab'ob'.</p>	<p>[2] This man was one who fooled⁸⁶ people a lot.</p>
<p>[3] Tanyajr che e winik ira k'otoy upojro e patna'r tama ingojr otot tya' turu inkojt winik xe' ayan me'yra utumin.</p>	<p>[3] One time this man came to look for work at a house where there lived a man who had a lot of money.</p>
<p>[4] Ajk'una ayi upatna'r twa' apatna.</p>	<p>[4] He was given his work to do.</p>
<p>[5] Yi e winik ira che yajra ayi ixin uyakta kora chitam, o me'yra chitam, o sea que e winik, tya' k'otoy patna che ajchon chitam ayi umani ayi e chitam yi uxot choni⁸⁷.</p>	<p>[5] And this man [Pedro] was sent off to deliver a few pigs, or many pigs, that is the man, when he came to work, was a seller of pigs, he bought pigs and sold them again.</p>
<p>[6] Enton che yajra ayi ixin e Pedro, yi kocha innajt ayi e'nte' chinam tya' twa' ak'otoy uyakta e syan chitam yaja' xe' uk'eche a'xin, ixin ayi, ya satar che, ma'chi ayi ayopa.</p>	<p>[6] So Pedro was sent off, and as the other town where he had to go to deliver the many pigs he brought along was far away, he went there, got lost, and didn't get there.</p>

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.

<p>[7] Numuy inte' ajk'in numuy e'nte ajk'in, ma'chi ayopa.</p> <p>[8] K'otoy tama e chinam yaja' che tya' twa' uchoni e syan chitam, enton che yo'pa ayi tujor tuk'a twa' uche.</p> <p>[9] Yi b'ajxan ke' uchoni ayi e syan chitam che, kay ayi uxuri unej e chitam, kay uxuri unej e chitam che, ub'ut'i tama inte' uchijr, ukuchi, ukuchi tari.</p> <p>[10] Yo'pa che tama inte' ut' anam che, noxi' ut' anam yaja' che tya' a'wan me'yra ja', kay ayi utz'iri ixin unej e chitam makwir e anam che, yi enton che ixin.</p> <p>[11] K'otoy tuyotot uyajma'nsaj, koche kaware tama e castilla patrón, k'otoy yaja' che, uyare ayi, "patrón" chayi.</p> <p>[12] "Tuk'a?" chayi e ajyum patna'r.</p> <p>[13] "Ne'n," chayi, "inumse nib'a inte' mab'anb'anir," chayi.</p> <p>[14] "Tuk'a anumse ab'a?" chayi e ajuympatna'r.</p> <p>[15] "A, ne'n," chayi, "ma'chi k'oten taka e chitam tama e chinam tya' ne't ak'ani," chayi.</p>	<p>[7] One day passed and another day passed, but he didn't get there.</p> <p>[8] He arrived at the town where he was to sell the many pigs, and then it came into his head what to do.</p> <p>[9] Before selling the many pigs, he cut off their tails, he was cutting of their tails, stuffed them into his bag, and carried them, carried them with him.</p> <p>[10] He came to a mud puddle, a big mud puddle where a lot of water stood, stuck the pigs' tails into the mud, and then he left.</p> <p>[11] He arrived at the house of his employer, <i>patrón</i> as we say in Spanish, and arrived there and said, "<i>patrón</i>," he said.</p> <p>[12] "What?" said the employer.</p> <p>[13] "I," [Pedro] said, "experienced something bad," he said</p> <p>[14] "What happened to you?" said the employer.</p> <p>[15] "Ah, I," he said, "didn't arrive with the pigs at the town you wanted," [Pedro] said.</p>
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<p>[16] “Yi tuk’a anumse ab’a,” chayi.</p> <p>[17] “E chitamob’,” chayi, “kay atyob’ tama inte’ ut’ anam,” chayi, “yi k’a’pa b’uk’tz’ob’,” chayi.</p> <p>[18] “Yi tya’ inb’a,” chayi e winik, “intaka e ojron,” chayi.</p> <p>[19] “E’nrach,” chayi.</p> <p>[20] “Yi tya’?” chayi.</p> <p>[21] “Yaja’ tama ut’ e anam yaja’ innajt,” chayi, “jay ak’ani inko’ kawirik,” chayi uyare upatron.</p> <p>[22] “Inko’ ixto,” chayi e winik ira ub’an e ajoyum patna’r.</p> <p>[23] Ixob’ che, axanob’, k’otob’ yaja’ tya’ wa’r ut’ e anam che.</p> <p>[24] Uwirse, “tara era, patron,” chayi, “tara k’a’pa b’uk’tz’a e chitamob’,” chayi, “yi chamob’,” chayi.</p> <p>[25] A, usajpi ayi unak’ut’ e ajoyumpatn’ar yaja’ ke’ k’a’pa b’uktz’a e chitamob’ yi ja’xir a’xin asatpa utumin, b’antaka ma’chi a’xin asutpa watar uyeror utumin.</p>	<p>[16] “And what happened to you?” he said.</p> <p>[17] “The pigs,” he said, “were bathing in a mud puddle,” he said, “and they were completely swallowed up,” he said.</p> <p>[18] “And where, indeed,” said the man, “just words⁸⁸,” he said.</p> <p>[19] “I’m telling the truth,” [Pedro] said.</p> <p>[20] “And where?” said [the boss].</p> <p>[21] “There in the mud puddle far away,” he said, “if you want let’s go see,” he said to his boss.</p> <p>[22] “Let’s go, then,” said the man, the employer.</p> <p>[23] They went on foot and arrived there where the mud puddle was.</p> <p>[24] He showed him, “here, boss,” he said, “here the pigs were completely swallowed up,” he said, “and they died,” he said.</p> <p>[25] Ah, the employer rubbed his eyes, because the pigs were swallowed up and he was his money was going to be lost, because the investment⁸⁹ of his money wasn’t going to come back [to him].</p>
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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.

<p>[26] Enton che, koche'ra uche e winik che: "kerejb'an unej," chayi arena umen upatron, "kerejb'an unej e chitamob' ya'x, Pedro," chayi, "b'ajk'at alok'ob'to," chayi.</p> <p>[27] Ch'uwan che chichikna che tama unej e chitam che, méru ke' war ukerejb'a verdad che, esde umutz'i ayi unak'ut' che, war achichikna tama unej e chitam che, warxa ayi uwira ukerejb'a lok'oy che, tz'okpa lok'oy che, ub'ajner taka ayi unej uchuki wa'wan.</p> <p>[28] "Ch'ujkun ixto awira," chayi uyare e patron, "ch'ujkun awira," chayi, "ixob' makwir e rum ch'a'rob', ma'chi alok'ob'," chayi, "tz'okpa unej," chayi.</p> <p>[29] "Ah," chayi, "tuk'a kachik koner," chayi e ajoyum patna'r, "kerejb'an e'nkojt yaja'," chayi, "b'ajk'at alok'oy," chayi, "alok'oyto ani," chayi arena.</p> <p>[30] Sutpa ayi ixin ukerejb'a e'nkojt otronyajr tu'nej e chitam yi ya' ayi ch'u'r achichikna che.</p> <p>[31] "Eh ma'chi alok'oy," chayi uyare upatron, "ma'chi alok'oy," chayi.</p>	<p>[26] Then the man did like this: "pull their tails," he said, he was told by his boss, "pull those pigs' tails, Pedro," he said, "maybe they'll still come out," he said.</p> <p>[27] He set himself to the task with great force to the pigs' tails, was just really pulling, to the point where he even closed his eyes, was applying force to the pig's tail, and all of a sudden he pulled it out, it broke off, and he just stood there holding the tail.</p> <p>[28] "Look, see!" he said to the boss, "look, see," he said, "they went into the ground and are lying there, they won't come out," he said, "the tail broke," he said.</p> <p>[29] "Ah," he said, "what shall we do now?" said the employer, "pull another," he said, "maybe it will come out," he said, "it still might come out," he said.</p> <p>[30] He went back to pull another pig's tail and tried hard.</p> <p>[31] "Ah, it isn't coming out," he said to his boss, "it doesn't come out," he said.</p>
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<p>[32] Wa'wan kay utijti yaja' che, warxa uwira che ukerejb'a lok'oy maku e rum che, uchuki wa'wan.</p> <p>[33] "Ch'ujkun," chayi, "tz'okpa otronyajr e'nte unej chitam ira," chayi, uyare ayi upatron.</p> <p>[34] "Ah, Pedro," chayi, "ne'n," chayi, "a'xin asatpa nitumin tara," chayi, "ma'chix a'xin asutpa uyeror," chayi e patron, "yi tuk'a kachik?" chayi.</p> <p>[35] "Tuk'a ka'xin kache?" chayi e Pedro, "b'uk'tz'ob'ix," chayi, "tara satpob'ix e chitamob', ma'chix ka'xin kasutpa kalok'se," chayi.</p> <p>[36] "Aktan ixto ya'," chayi e patron, "aktan," chayi, "inko'," chayi, "b'uk'tz'ob'ix, b'uk'tz'ob'ix," chayi, sutpob' ayi.</p> <p>[37] Yi tuk'a uche e yaje Pedro ira?</p>	<p>[32] He stood pulling on it, and suddenly he pulled it out from the ground, and stood there holding it.</p> <p>[33] "Look," he said, "this other pig's tail broke too," he said, he said to his boss.</p> <p>[34] "Ah, Pedro," he said, "I'm," he said, "going to lose my money here," he said, "the investment isn't going to return [to me]," said the boss, "and what shall we do?" he said.</p> <p>[35] "What are we going to do?" said Pedro, "they've been swallowed," he said, "the pigs have been lost here, we're not going to get them back out," he said.</p> <p>[36] "Leave them, then," said the boss, "leave them," he said, "let's go," he said, "they've been swallowed up, swallowed up," he said, and they went back.</p> <p>[37] And what did this Pedro do?</p>
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<p>[38] Sí ja'xir intaka war umajres upatron, por eso unej e chitam yaja' intaka ayi uxuri b'ajxan ke' uchoni, uxuri lok'oy unej e chitamob' kay utz'iri ixin maku e anam twa' e'rna ke' e chitamob' b'uk'tz'ob', yi b'an koche'ra umajres upatron.</p> <p>[39] Enton koche kaware ke' e yaje Pedro Odimar, ajmajresyaj ani, yi tar era kay xejb'na u't, ma'chi ani ak'ajna, tartaka ke' ja'xir me'yra majresyaj kay xana uche.</p> <p>[40] Yi enton tara k'a'pa e'nteyx uyokir e majresyaj xe' uche e Pedro Odimar.</p> <p>[41] Enton che tanyajr koche warix axejb'na u't ke' ja'x ajmajresyaj.</p>	<p>[38] Surely he was just fooling his boss, because those pig's tails, he just cut them before he sold [the pigs], he cut off the pig's tails and put them into the mud so it would appear that the pigs had been swallowed up, and thus he fooled his boss.</p> <p>[39] So we say that this Pedro Odimar, he was a fraud, and for this he was hated, he wasn't loved, because of the many frauds he went about doing.</p> <p>[40] And so here ends yet another tale of the dirty tricks that Pedro Odimar did.</p> <p>[41] Then this time he was hated to the very core because he was a cheat.</p>
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6.3.1.2. Part 2: Pedro Odimar and the Cooked Tortillas

<p>[42] Tanyajr che utajwi ayi ub'a taka cha'kojt winikob', yi arena ayi umen e'nmojr winikob', "Pédru," chayi, arena.</p> <p>[43] "Tuk'a?" chayi ja'xir.</p> <p>[44] "Inko' xanakon tante' chinam innajt," chayi arena.</p> <p>[45] "Inkwik, pue," chayi.</p> <p>[46] "Inko'" chayi arena.</p> <p>[47] Ixob' che, yi jaxto ayi e winikob' ira che, kocha innajt a'xob', uk'echob' ayi me'yra pa', syan chapb'ir pa' che ukuchob' a'xin twa' uk'uxob' tab'ir, yi e Pedro ma' ayi tuk'a uk'eche.</p> <p>[48] Enton che ixob' che war axanob' war axanob', ixob' innajt twa' k'otob' tama inteyx chinam, k'ani a'xin axanob'.</p> <p>[49] War ak'ejcha a'xin, ma'chi una'ta tuk'a war ub'ijnob' e pak'ab'ob' ira che, ja'xir war axejb'na u't, k'ani achamesna.</p>	<p>[42] One time he found himself with two men, and he was spoken to by the other men, "Pedro," they said, he was spoken to.</p> <p>[43] "What?" he said.</p> <p>[44] "Let's go walk to a faraway town," they said to him.</p> <p>[45] "Let's go, then," he said.</p> <p>[46] "Let's go," they said to him.</p> <p>[47] They left, and these men, as they were going far, brought a lot of tortillas, a lot of cooked tortillas⁹⁰, they carried along to eat on the road, and Pedro, he brought nothing.</p> <p>[48] So they left and were walking and walking, they went far in order to arrive at a town, they had to walk (go on foot).</p> <p>[49] He [Pedro] was brought along, he didn't know what these people were thinking, [but] he was hated, [and] he was to be killed.</p>
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⁹⁰ Cooked tortillas, wrapped in corn leaves, are often carried on journeys, as they might keep for four or five days.

<p>[50] Enton che k'otob' tama uti' inte' noxi xukur che, ch'a'n wayanob' yaja' che, iksijb'ob' ayi, kay ayi wyob' che, ut'oryob' e k'ajk', pejkna kay we' che umen e mojrob'.</p>	<p>[50] They came to the bank of a big river, lay down to sleep there, they passed the night there, were eating, they built a fire, and he [Pedro] was invited to eat by the others.</p>
<p>[51] Ton che ch'a'n ayi wayanob' yaja' tu'ti' xukur.</p>	<p>[51] So they lay down to sleep there at the river bank.</p>
<p>[52] Enton che jaxto ayi e'nmojr winikob' ira ma'chi ayi awayanob', b'ixirob' che, war ukojkob' tya' awayan e winik ira, k'ani uyub'yob' jay a'ru uni'.</p>	<p>[52] These other men didn't sleep, they were awake, waiting until this man [Pedro] slept, they wanted to hear if he was snoring⁹¹.</p>
<p>[53] Ton che warxa uwirob' che wayan e Pédrú, kay a'ru uni', kay a'ru uni'.</p>	<p>[53] All at once they realized he was sleeping, he was snoring and snoring.</p>
<p>[54] Enton che e Pédrú intaka ayi ojron, ma'chi ayi war awayan che, péru ja'xirob' ub'an koche satpa wayanob' ub'an che, satpa wayanob' kora, yi war ukojkob' twa' awayan me'yra e Pédrú.</p>	<p>[54] Well, Pedro was just talking (lying), he wasn't sleeping, but they fell asleep too, fell asleep a bit, and were waiting until Pedro was sleeping a lot (deeply).</p>
<p>[55] Enton, tuk'a uche e'nmojr winikob' ira ub'an?</p>	<p>[55] And what did these other men do?</p>
<p>[56] Wayanob' me'yra che.</p>	<p>[56] They slept a lot (deeply).</p>

⁹¹ That is, they want to verify that he is sleeping deeply. *A'ru uni'* literally means 'his nose was shouting'.

<p>[57] Achpa ayi e Pégru, achpa ayi e Pégru, ja'xir che kay ayi ub'ut'i ayi kora chapb'ir pa' che, ub'asi uch'ab'u, ub'asi uch'ab'u e chapb'ir pa' che, tama e nukir b'ojch'ib' koche kaware, ub'asi ayi uch'ab'u che, uche como ke' ja'x war awayan, ub'och'i ayi taka inte' b'ojch'ib', yi ja'xir lok'oy ajni che.</p> <p>[58] Ja'xir ma'chi una'ta tuk'a k'ani ache'na takar, péru ja'xir ma'chi uyakta ub'a; ub'ijnu ke' b'ajk'at k'ani achamesna.</p> <p>[59] Enton ub'asi uch'ab'u che tama inte' b'ojch'ib', ya' ayi sanar e'ron yaja', yi tya' b'ixk'ob' e winikob' ira che uwirob' ke' ma'chi anijki.</p> <p>[60] Kay unijkesob'.</p> <p>[61] "Pégru, Pégru," chayi arena, "Pégru, b'ixren," ma'chi ayi anijki.</p> <p>[62] "War awayan e Pégru," chob' ayi, "achpe'n ub'an," chayi, "ko'yrik chik ta xukur," chob' ayi.</p> <p>[63] Uwajpyob' che utz'otyob' uch'uyob' e nixi b'ojch'ib' yaja' che, u'ryob' ixin ta ja' che.</p>	<p>[57] Pedro got up, Pedro got up, he was loading up with some of the cooked tortillas, he wrapped and placed them, wrapped and placed the cooked tortillas, in a big sheet as we call it, he wrapped and placed them, he made it [appear] as if he were asleep⁹², covered them with a sheet, and he took off running.</p> <p>[58] He didn't know what was to be done with him, but he didn't let down his guard; he thought perhaps he was to be killed.</p> <p>[59] So he wrapped and placed [the tortillas] under a sheet, and they looked stretched out there, and when these men woke up, they saw that he wasn't moving.</p> <p>[60] They shook him.</p> <p>[61] "Pedro, Pedro," they said to him, "Pedro, wake up," [but] he didn't move.</p> <p>[62] "Pedro is sleeping," they said, "get up, too," they said, "let's throw him away in the river," they said.</p> <p>[63] They grabbed him, rolled him up, lifted up the big sheet, and threw it in the water.</p>
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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.

<p>[64] Enton chob' ayi, "k'oten Pégru," chayi arena, "k'oten, Pégru," chayi.</p> <p>[65] Yi ja'xir innajt ayi turu war uwira tuk'a k'ani uchob' e winikob', enton chayi, "k'oten, chapb'ir pa'," chayi ja'xir.</p> <p>[66] Ton che tama e nakpat ojroner, xe' castellano, chayi, "adios, Pédru," ton chayi ja'xir, "adios, tamalito blanco," chayi ja'xir, yi jak'pa' ayi tze'ne ixin, lok'oy ajni.</p> <p>[67] "A," chob' ayi e winikob', "jax ajchi' kawya'r ko'yri ixin ta ja'," chayi, "sí e Pédru lok'ix ajchi' ajni," chob' ayi.</p> <p>[68] Ch'uwanob' ajnyob' tu'pat, che, kay upojrob', ma'chix utajwyob'.</p> <p>[69] Lok'oy ajni e Pédru, ketpob' sin wya'r e winikob' ira, majresnob' umen e Pédru otronyajr.</p> <p>[70] Ma'chi uyakta ub'a chamesna.</p> <p>[71] Yi b'an kochera che e Pédru kay sajkna yi ma'chi atajwina twa' achamesna, yi kay xana majresya'n me'yra b'antaka ke' ja'xir ma'chi uyakta ub'a twa' ajajpna.</p>	<p>[64] Then they said, "bye, Pedro," they said to him, "bye, Pedro," they said.</p> <p>[65] And he [Pedro] was at a distance watching what the men wanted to do, and he said, "bye, cooked tortillas," he said.</p> <p>[66] Then in the second language, which is Spanish, they said, "<i>adios, Pedro</i>," and he said, "<i>adios, tamalito blanco</i>⁹³," he said, and he choked laughing, then took off running.</p> <p>[67] "Oh!" said the men, "that person we threw into the water was our food," they said, "surely Pedro has fled," they said.</p> <p>[68] They tried to run after him, and were hunting for him, but they didn't find him.</p> <p>[69] Pedro fled, and the men were left without food, fooled again by Pedro.</p> <p>[70] He didn't allow himself to be killed.</p> <p>[71] And in this way Pedro was sought but wasn't found to be killed, and he was going around fooling [people] a lot, because he didn't allow himself to be caught.</p>
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⁹³ The bundle the men threw into the river looked like a 'white tamale.'

<p>[72] Enton che numen ajk'in che, ton tara k'a'pa inteypx uyokir unumer e Pédrú, k'ani ani achamesna, korpa tama uchamer.</p>	<p>[72] Days passed, and here ends another passage of the story of Pedro, he was to be killed, [but] he escaped death.</p>
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6.3.1.3. Part 3: Pedro Odimar Pretends to Give Birth

<p>[73] Ton tara pues, nakpat ajk'in, numuy me'yra ajk'in che, yi wa'wan ayi xana che, war amukwan, yi war asajkna umen e mojob', yi kocha ma'chi atajwina.</p>	<p>[73] So then, days later, many days passed, and he kept walking, was hiding, and was sought by the others, but wasn't found.</p>
<p>[74] Enton che k'otoy ayi tangojr otot che.</p>	<p>[74] Then he came to a house.</p>
<p>[75] Ub'ujkse ayi ub'a kocha e ixiktak, yi kocha b'an ayi umajres e pak'ab'ob', ub'ujkse ub'a kocha inkojt ixik che, yi ub'ut'i ayi e syan b'ajk'ib' makwir tut' unak yaja', twa' cheker ke' ayan uyar, ke' kuchur uyar.</p>	<p>[75] He dressed himself as women [do], and in that way fooled the people, he dressed himself as a woman, and stuffed many rags in his belly [of the dress] there, so it appeared that he had a child, that he was pregnant.</p>
<p>[76] Ton che k'otoy amaxa'nix ayi, k'otoy yaja' che, upejka ayi e ajyum otot, uche ayi ke' k'ani ach'a'n.</p>	<p>[76] Twilight came, she⁹⁴ arrived there, she greeted the homeowner, and acted as if she was about to give birth⁹⁵.</p>
<p>[77] "Ay," chayi, "ay, ay," chayi.</p>	<p>[77] "Ay!" she said, "Ay! Ay!" she said.</p>
<p>[78] "Yi tuk'a akojko, ixik?" chayi arena.</p>	<p>[78] "And what's troubling you, woman?" [the homeowner] said.</p>
<p>[79] "Ay, ne'n," chayi, "k'ani inch'a'n," chayi, "k'ani inch'a'n yi innajt inxin," chayi, "innajt wa'r niyotot," chayi.</p>	<p>[79] "Oh, I," [Pedro] said, "I'm about to give birth," she said, "I'm about to give birth and I've gone far," she said, "my home is far away," she said.</p>

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.

<p>[80] Ton tari e winik che uyare ayi uyexka'r, "osenik yer e ixik ya'x," chayi, "twa' aturan tara," chayi, "twa' ch'a'n tara, uyub'i ach'a'n taka yer uyar," chayi, "tya' ak'aj'nib'a e'rer asutpa a'xin tuyotot," chayi.</p> <p>[81] Enton che osena ayi turb'ana yaja'.</p> <p>[82] Enton che kocha sispajna ayi uk'uxner e ch'urkab' maxto ayi a'ru ya.</p> <p>[83] "Sisa uk'uxner ach'urkab'?" chayi arena.</p> <p>[84] "Sisa," chayi, "péru inxin inch'a'n," chayi, "si koner akb'ar inxin inch'a'n," chayi.</p> <p>[85] Ton che ajk'una ayi ingojr uyutot tya' twa' awayan, yi osena ayi inkojt ijch'ok, uyunen e winik ira, twa' akokna twa' maja'x ub'ajner ach'a'n a'ru taka uch'urkab'.</p>	<p>[80] The man came and said to his wife, "let the little woman in," he said, "to sit here," he said, "to give birth here, she can give birth to her child," he said, "after she gives birth maybe she can go back to her house," he said.</p> <p>[81] So she was invited in and was given a place there.</p> <p>[82] Then as the pains from the baby calmed down, she was no longer crying out.</p> <p>[83] "The pains from your baby cooled down?" they said.</p> <p>[84] "They've cooled," she said, "but I'm going to give birth," she said, "surely this night I'll give birth," she said.</p> <p>[85] So she was given a room to sleep in, and a girl was sent in, a daughter of the man, so [Pedro] would be watched, so that she wouldn't be alone giving birth and crying out with the baby.</p>
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<p>[86] Enton chayi e winik uyare ayi uyunen, e ijch'ok, "waynen takar, tu'," chayi, "twa' jay ch'a'n," chayi, "ne't twa' awira kocha twa' ak'ajrib'a, yi tya' k'ajrib'ix," chayi, "awa'riken," chayi, "jay yar sitz'," chayi, "o yar ijch'ok ayo'pa to'r e rum ira," chayi.</p> <p>[87] "Uyub'ixto tata'," chayi e ijch'ok ja'xir.</p> <p>[88] Osená che wayan tangojr otot, yi ajk'una inkojt ijch'ok twa' awayan takar twa' akójkna.</p> <p>[89] Yi enton che, uyuxin akb'ar yaja' che, ka'y a'ru.</p> <p>[90] Yi jaxto ayi e winik ira, utata' e ijch'ok, usajka ayi ingojr yer uk'oroch', k'ani ayi alajb'a tya' ayo'pa e ch'urkab', yi koche b'an ayi uturerob' ja'xirob', koche kaware b'an ucostumbryob'.</p> <p>[91] Tya' ak'ajrib'a ayi inkojt ixik che, jay yer ijch'ok yo'pa, o yar ixik che, ache'na inte' lajb'a'r ke' k'ajrib'ix e ixik, yi yo'pa inkojt yer sitz' o yo'pa inkojt yer ijch'ok, ache'na ayi e lajb'a'r.</p> <p>[92] Turan taka yer uk'oroch' che b'ixir turu ja'xir, war ukójko.</p>	<p>[86] Then the man said to his daughter, the girl, "sleep with her, daughter," he said, "so that if she goes into labor," he said, "you will see how to give birth, and when she has given birth," he said, "tell me," he said, "if it's a boy," he said, "or a girl that arrives to this earth," he said.</p> <p>[87] "O.K., dad," the girl said to him.</p> <p>[88] [Pedro] was invited in to sleep in a room, and was given a girl to sleep with so she would be watched.</p> <p>[89] Then, in the middle of the night, she [Pedro] began to cry out.</p> <p>[90] So the man, the father of the girl, looked for his little violin, he wanted to play when the baby came, as was their <i>utererob'</i>, their custom as we say.</p> <p>[91] When a woman gives birth, if a little girl comes, or a woman, music is made because the woman has given birth, and if a little boy comes or a little girl comes, music is made.</p> <p>[92] He sat with his violin, sat awake, waiting.</p>
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<p>[93] K'otoy uyuxin akb'ar che, kay ayi a'ru e ijch'ok uyunen.</p>	<p>[93] The middle of the night came, and the girl, his daughter, was shouting.</p>
<p>[94] Enton che jaxto ayi e Pédrú ira ukori ayi ub'ujk, ulok'se ub'ujk che, kay ayi ub'ajyu e ijch'ok che, kay ub'ajyu e ijch'ok, kay ayi utz'ojyo, war utz'ojyo che, k'ani uche e mab'anb'anir takar.</p>	<p>[94] Then this Pedro took of his clothes, cast off his clothes, was touching the girl, was touching the girl, was molesting her, was molesting her, and wanted to commit a sin with her.</p>
<p>[95] Enton che jaxto ayi e ijch'ok che ka'y ayi kay a'ru, "táta ya," chayi, "táta ya," chayi, "maja'x ijch'ok," chayi, "winik," chayi.</p>	<p>[95] And the girl began shouting, "papa," she said, "papa," she said, "it's⁹⁶ not a girl," she said, "[it's a] man" she said.</p>
<p>[96] "Ub'in, ub'in," chayi e tata'b'ir, uyare 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.</p>	<p>[96] "Listen, listen," said the father, he said 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.</p>
<p>[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.</p>	<p>[97] The man grabbed his little violin, sat down, siku⁹⁷, siku, siku, siku, siku, siku.</p>
<p>[98] "Ay," chayi, "táta inwarye't," chayi e ijch'ok, "maja'x ixik," chayi, "winik," chayi.</p>	<p>[98] "Ay," she said, "papa, I'm telling you," said the girl, "it's not a woman," she said, "[it's a] man," she said.</p>

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.

<p>[99] “Ay,” chayi, “winik yo’pa to’r e rum,” chayi, yi turan che taka uk’oroch’ che, tz’ík’u, tz’ík’u, tz’ík’u, tz’ík’u, tz’ík’u, kay lajb’a che.</p> <p>[100] Eh, warxa ayi uwira che, ma’chi alok’oy e ijch’ok, yi kocha kachar ayi e k’ek’a’rir twa’ yotot umenerob’ yi ma’chi uyub’i o’chob’.</p> <p>[101] Enton che k’a’pa taka ayi yaja’ tz’ojina e ijch’ok umen e Pedro Odimar, lok’oy ajni ixin.</p> <p>[102] Ton tya’ sakoypa che, wijta ayi e k’ek’a’rir yaja’ twa’ o’choy e’rna tya’ ch’a’r e ijch’ok.</p> <p>[103] “Ay, táta,” chayi, “sí war inwaryet ke’ maja’x ajchi’ ixik yo’pa wayan,” chayi, “winik,” chayi, “k’a’pa uche’n molestar,” chayi, “uch’ich’b’e’n,” chayi.</p> <p>[104] “Ah,” chayi e winik, “enton ina’ta ne’n ke’ winik yo’pa to’r e rum maja’x ixik,” chayi, “ne’n war inlajb’a,” chayi.</p>	<p>[99] “Ah,” he said, “a man came into the world,” she said, and sat down with his violin, siku, siku, siku, siku, siku, he was playing.</p> <p>[100] Then he noticed that the girl didn’t come out, and as the door of the room was tied by them [inside], they [who were outside] couldn’t enter.</p> <p>[101] And once the girl was molested by Pedro Odimar, he took off running.</p> <p>[102] And when dawn came, the door was released⁹⁸ so they could enter and where the girl was lying down could be seen.</p> <p>[103] “Oh, father” she said, “I was telling you that it wasn’t a woman that came to sleep,” she said, “[but a] man,” she said, “he just finished molesting me,” he said, “and he ruined⁹⁹ me,” she said.</p> <p>[104] “Oh,” said the man, “I thought a man had come into the world, not a woman,” he said, “I was playing [my violin],” he said.</p>
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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.

<p>[105] “War inwarye’t ke’ ma’ni ja’x ixik ke’ winik,” chayi, “twa’ ani o’choy awire’n,” chayi arena e tatab’ir umen e ijch’ok, “yi koner ixix ixto ya’ lok’oy ajni,” chayi.</p> <p>[106] Ixin che, k’a’pa ayi uch’ich’b’a e ijch’ok yaja’ che, koche kaware pues uche violar yaja’, yi lok’oy ajni, umajres e tatab’ir ira.</p> <p>[107] Yi b’an kochera kay xejb’na u’t yi k’ani achamesna, yi b’anto ya’ che b’anto ya’, kay xana majresya’n.</p> <p>[108] Enton tara k’a’pa inteyx numer, inteyx majresyaj uche tara.</p>	<p>[105] “I was telling you that he wasn’t a woman but a man,” she said, “so you would come in and check on me,” the father was told by the girl, “and now he’s gone for sure, he fled,” she said.</p> <p>[106] He left, he finished the disgrace of that girl, he committed rape, as we say, then fled, and he fooled the parents.</p> <p>[107] And thus he was thoroughly hated and [people] wanted him to be killed, and so on and so on (always), he was going around fooling [people].</p> <p>[108] And here one tale is finished and he did another trick.</p>
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6.3.1.4. Part 4: Pedro Odimar Teaches Catechism

<p>[109] Yi kay xana ya' yaja' che, k'otoy ayi tangojr otot otronyajr che, tante' chokem turer koche kaware, tya' matuk'a me'yra ototob'.</p>	<p>[109] He was walking there, and came to a house another time, in an isolated community as we say, were there aren't many houses.</p>
<p>[110] K'otoy che takar ixto ayi inte' ujun ya', koche kaware <i>catecismo</i>, uk'eche ayi inte' ujun che, twa' akanseyan.</p>	<p>[110] He arrived with a book, a catechism, we would say, he brought a book, in order to teach.</p>
<p>[111] Yi k'otoy wara' che o pejksan tama otot che, kay ayi ajk'una tya' twa' aturan, yi kay ojron taka e'nkojt tata'b'irix ira, otronkojtix tata'b'ir, yi yaja' che ayan e'nkojt ijch'ok.</p>	<p>[111] He came to visit or called at a house, was given a place to sit, and was speaking with yet another father, another father yet, and there was another girl there.</p>
<p>[112] Entonces jaxto ayi e winik ira kay ayi o'jron tama e catecismo che, kay ayi uyare ke', "ne'n catequiste'n," chayi, "uyub'ye'n inkanse e b'ik'it maxtak tama e doctrina," chayi, kay ayi uyare.</p>	<p>[112] So this man [Pedro] was speaking about the catechism, saying, "I'm a catechist," he said, "I can teach little children in the doctrine," he said, he was saying.</p>
<p>[113] "Ah," chayi e yaje utu' e ijch'ok, "yi no'n war ani kasajka inkojt ajkanseyaj koche ya'x," chayi, "kak'ani twa' ukani e doctrina kawijch'ok," chayi.</p>	<p>[113] "Ah," said the girl's mother, "we were looking for a teacher like that," she said, "we want our daughter to learn the doctrine," she said.</p>

<p>[114] “Ne’n inkanse,” chayi, “ne’n inkanse ya’,” chayi, “uyub’ixto,” chayi, “yi jay ik’ani inkanse,” chayi, “péru k’ani ingojr otot twa’ iwajk’e’n,” chayi, “por que tyu’t tara ma’chi uyub’i inkanse,” chayi, “uk’ani ingojr otot nib’ajner taka twa’ inturan inkanse,” chayi.</p>	<p>[114] “I teach it,” he said, “I teach it,” he said, “it can be done,” he said, “and if you want, I’ll teach it,” he said, “but you’ll have to give me a house (room),” he said, “because I can’t teach it here in front of you,” he said, “I need a room to be alone and sit and teach it,” he said.</p>
<p>[115] “Uyub’ixto,” chayi e tata’b’ir ub’an, uyakta ub’ob’ majresnob’ otronyajr.</p>	<p>[115] “That can be done,” said the parents, and they allowed themselves to be fooled again.</p>
<p>[116] Uyajk’ob’ ayi ingojr yer otot yaja’ ub’ajner taka twa’ aturan akanseyan.</p>	<p>[116] They gave him a little house alone to sit and teach.</p>
<p>[117] Enton che jaxto ayi tya’ war akanseyan, yi jaxto ayi e tata’b’ir yaja’ taka e tu’b’ir kotwanob’, che war ukojkob’ yaja’ tuti’ e otot yaja’, tama e k’ek’a’rir, war uyub’yob’ che koche akanseyan e Pedro.</p>	<p>[117] And when he was teaching, the father knelt down with the mother, and they were waiting at the edge of the house, at the door, and were listening to how Pedro taught.</p>
<p>[118] Ton che ka’y ayi o’jron, ukori ayi ub’ujk, turan ayi kay ub’ajyu yar ub’us yer e ijch’ok che, kay ub’ajyu tanto tanto che, yix wa’r yaja’ che uyakta ub’a ayi e ijch’ok.</p>	<p>[118] He began to speak, took off his clothes, sat down and was touching the girl’s genitals, was touching them a lot, and standing there the girl let go of herself.</p>
<p>[119] Enton che, uyub’i ayi taka e ijch’ok, “warixka o’choy?” chayi e Pédrú.</p>	<p>[119] He asked the girl, “is it going in?” said Pedro.</p>

<p>[120] “Inma,” chayi e ijch’ok, “inma,” chayi, t’ustaka ayi o’jron e ijch’ok, war atz’ojina.</p> <p>[121] “Warixka o’choy?” chayi.</p> <p>[122] Yi jaxto ayi e tata’b’ir kay ayi uchob’ rezar taka utu’, “a,” chayi, “ch’ajb’eyx twa’ yar niwijch’ok,” chayi, “ke’ warix o’choy tujor e kanseyaj,” chayi, “ch’ajb’eyx twa’ yar niwijch’ok,” chayi, “war o’choy e kanseyaj tyer uxor,” chayi, war ayi uchob’ e rezo.</p> <p>[123] Yi jaxto ayi e Pédrú che, enton che, kochwa war ayi uyub’i, sutpa ach’ankab’a.</p> <p>[124] “Ochi’xka?” chayi e harán Pédrú otronyajr.</p> <p>[125] “Ochix,” chayi e ijch’ok ja’xir’, “ochix.”</p> <p>[126] “Ah, ch’ajb’eyx, ch’ajb’eyx twa’ e katata’,” chayi e tata’b’ir, “ke’ ochix e kanseyaj tujor yer niwijch’ok,” chob’ ayi, atza’yob’ ayi.</p> <p>[127] Enton che, koche utz’ojyo e ijch’ok che ketpa ch’a’n t’ustaka che, ch’a’n t’ustaka.</p>	<p>[120] “No,” said the girl, “no,” she said, the girl spoke softly, and was being molested¹⁰⁰.</p> <p>[121] “Is it going in?” he said.</p> <p>[122] And the father was praying with the mother, “ah,” he said, “may it be that my daughter,” he said, “that the teaching is entering her head now,” he said, “may it be that my daughter,” he said, “the teaching is going in to her little head,” he said, and they were praying.</p> <p>[123] And Pedro, then, as he was listening, got quiet again.</p> <p>[124] “Has it gone in?” nasty Pedro said again.</p> <p>[125] “It’s in,” said the girl, “it’s in,”</p> <p>[126] “Ah, thanks, thanks be to God,” said the father, “that the teaching has entered the head of my daughter,” they said, and were glad.</p> <p>[127] As he molested the girl he kept quiet, very quiet.</p>
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¹⁰⁰ The informant translated *atz’ojna* into Spanish as *being molested*, but the verb in Ch’orti’ means something more like *being struck* or *being gored*.

<p>[128] Yi sakojpa yaja' che yi ixin ayi e Pédrú, lok'oy ajni, lok'oy ajni che, ma'chi ukojko sakojpa, y e ijch'ok che ochoy tuyotot.</p> <p>[129] "Koche ukansye't e ajkanseyaj, tu'?" chayi.</p> <p>[130] "Tu'," chayi, uyare utu', "maja'x e'ra'ch," chayi, "maja'x kanseyaj kay uche takare'n," chayi, "maka intaka utz'ojye'n pue?" chayi, "por eso uyub'i ta nib'a jay warix o'choy," chayi, "ne'n inware ke' ma'chito," chayi, "cuando uyose tamaren," chayi, "inware ke' ochi'x," chayi.</p> <p>[131] "Ay!" chayi, "enton maja'x ajchi' kanseyaj war uche e tzuk winik ya'x," chayi utata' e ijch'ok.</p> <p>[132] Ixto ayi ak'ijna ya' e winik che, "ay, jay k'oten intajwi e winik ya'x," chayi, "inxin inchamse ya'," chayi utata', "chamesb'ir inxin inche ya'," chayi, "maja'x imb'utz winik," chayi e tata'b'ir, k'ijna ayi e tata'b'ir ira.</p>	<p>[128] Dawn came and Pedro left, he took off running, took off running, he didn't wait for dawn, and the girl went into her house.</p> <p>[129] "How did the teacher teach you, daughter?" said [her mother].</p> <p>[130] "Mother," she said to her mother, "he didn't tell the truth," she said, "it wasn't teaching that he did with me," she said, "didn't he just molest me?" she said, "that's why he asked me if it was going in," she said, "I said, 'not yet,'" she said, "when it went in me," she said, "I said, 'now it's in,'" she said.</p> <p>[131] "Ay!" he said, "then it wasn't teaching that contemptible man was doing," said the girl's father.</p> <p>[132] The man got really angry, "oh, if I should find that man," he said, "I'm going to kill him," said the father, "I'm going to do him a killing," he said, "he's not a good man," said the father, and that father was angry.</p>
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<p>[133] Ton b'an kochera che kay xana majresya'n e Pédrú, umajres me'ya pak'ab', yi maja'x imb'utz e kanseyaj uche, intaka axana amajresya'n.</p>	<p>[133] So in this way Pedro was going around fooling, he fooled many people, and the teaching he gave wasn't good, he just went around fooling.</p>
<p>[134] Yi ja'x era inna'ta tuk'a numuy tama e Pédrú.</p>	<p>[134] And that's what I now about what happened with Pedro.</p>
<p>[135] Ayanto aketpa intaka ke' era ma'chix k'a'r nimener.</p>	<p>[135] There are still other [stories] remaining, but I don't remember them anymore.</p>

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
<p>[1] K'ani ink'ajti inte' k'ajpesyaj xe' ache'na ani ixnix, o numer, kochwa kaware.</p>	<p>[1] I want to recount a remembrance that was done in the past, or story, as we say.</p>
<p>[2] Tama e numerob' ira kochwa unumse ub'a e Jesús, pues era e k'ajpesyaj ira watar tama e numer taka e Jesús, maja'x b'an koche uk'ajti, maja'x la'r koche uk'ajti e biblia.</p>	<p>[2] In these stories [about] how Jesus got along, well this remembrance comes from the passages about Jesus, [but] isn't as it tells it, isn't the same as the bible tells it.</p>
<p>[3] Enton ne'n u'mb'i uk'ajti ani nitáta taka upya'rob' tya' war umorojse ub'ob'.</p>	<p>[3] So I used to hear my father tell it to his friends and family when they were gathering themselves together.</p>
<p>[4] Aturanob' uk'ajtyob' e numer tama e nojk'in, yi e tz'ajtakir xe unumse ub'a e Jesús, che.</p>	<p>[4] They sat down and told the story on festival days, and the suffering that Jesus experienced, they say.</p>
<p>[5] K'otoy ayi e ajk'in ke' kay sajkna e Jesús umen e ajk'ijna'rob', umen e ajk'ijna'rob', koche kaware.</p>	<p>[5] The day came when Jesus was being pursued by enemies, by enemies, as we say.</p>
<p>[6] Yi e Jesús, che, ma'chi ayi ani k'ani uyakta ub'a achamesna wakchetaka.</p>	<p>[6] And Jesus, they say, didn't want to allow himself to be killed [too] quickly.</p>
<p>[7] Péru e ajk'ijna'rob' ira xe' war uxejb'ob' u't e Jesús, tartaka ke' ja'xir, che, ayan eyeni uk'otorer me'yra, yi kay uxejb'ob' yer u't yi ka'y kay usajkob', che.</p>	<p>[7] But these enemies who hated the sight of Jesus, just because he had too much power, they were hating him and began to search for him, they say.</p>

<p>[8] Enton, che, kay usajkob' yi ma'chi ayi utajwyob'.</p>	<p>[8] Well, it is said, they were searching for him but didn't find him.</p>
<p>[9] Yi k'otoy inte' ajk'in, che, uwirob' ayi u't, yi ch'uwan ajnyob' tu'pat, ch'uwan ajnyob' che, e, war usajkob' kay uyajnesob'.</p>	<p>[9] And there came a day when they saw him, and they were running and running after him, were seeking and made him flee.</p>
<p>[10] Yi e Jesús che, kocha ayan yer uk'otorer, umen utata' ajk'una e me'yra k'otorer, yi ja'xir ma'chi uyakta ub'a ajajpna wakchetaka che.</p>	<p>[10] And Jesus, as he had a little power, by his father he was given much power, and he didn't allow himself to be captured too quickly, people say.</p>
<p>[11] Yi k'otoy ayi inte' ajk'in che war asajkna ta kopot, o tama e witz'irob' kocha kaware, yi ya' yaja' che irna ayi u't, yi ja'xir uwira ke' twi'x atajwina che umen e ma'lob' koche kaware, yi e ajmab'anb'an pak'ab'ob', yi irna ayi u't yaja' che y kay ajnesna, k'anix ajpna, che, k'anix ajpna yi ma'chi atajwina che.</p>	<p>[11] And there came a day [when] he was being sought in the wilderness, or in the mountains as we say, and there he was caught sight of, and he realized that he was about to be found by the criminals as we say, and the evil people, and he was seen and was made to flee, and was almost taken, was almost caught, but was not reached, so they say.</p>

<p>[12] Wakchetaka ayi ja'xir che k'otoy tya' wa'r inte' noxi' tajte' che.</p>	<p>[12] Suddenly he came to where a great pine tree stood.</p>
<p>[13] Upejka ayi ute'rar e tajte' yi cha'yi, "jab'tz'en kora," chayi, "ne'n k'ani o'nchoy in mukwan makwir anak," chayi.</p>	<p>[13] He addressed the essence¹⁰¹ of the pine tree and said, "open yourself a little," he said, "I want to enter to hide inside your belly," he said.</p>
<p>[14] Ma'chi ayi o'jron e tajte' yi ma'chi ayi ab'tz'a yi wa'tob'ix ayi ixto e xe' ajmab'anb'an pak'ab'ob' ira.</p>	<p>[14] The pine tree did not speak and did not open up, and they were already coming, those evil people.</p>
<p>[15] K'ani uchukyob' twa' uchamsyob'.</p>	<p>[15] They wanted to capture him in order to kill him.</p>
<p>[16] Enton uwira ayi ke' ja'xir k'anix ajajpna yi e tajte' ma'chi ab'tz'a anak.</p>	<p>[16] Then he realized that he was about to be captured and the pine tree had not opened its belly.</p>
<p>[17] Enton chayi ja'xir, "b'an koche'ra ke' ma'chi jab'tz'a twa' in mukwan makwi'r anak," chayi, "inwakte't paxb'ir," chayi.</p>	<p>[17] Then he said, "since you did not open so I could enclose myself within your belly," he said, "I leave you cursed," he said.</p>
<p>[18] "Tamare't twa' ak'axi e jatz'wa'r," chayi, "o ak'axi e jji'b' taka inte' jatz'wa'r," chayi, "yi itakij'sena," chayi.</p>	<p>[18] "May a stroke fall upon you," he said, "may lightning fall with a stroke," he said, "and may you be withered," he said.</p>

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.

<p>[19] Ixin e Jesús, yi ma'chix ketpa, che, jaxtaka era ojron ixin, war ajni che, yi e winikob' xe' ajmab'anb'anob' che ch'u'r ajnyob' tu'pat e Jesús.</p>	<p>[19] Jesus left, he didn't stay, he just spoke and left, was running, and the men who were evil continued running after Jesus.</p>
<p>[20] K'otoy ayi tya' wa'r inte' noxi' chakalte' che, yi uyare ayi e chakalte', "jab'tz'en kora," chayi, "k'ani o'nchoy in mukwan makwir anak," chayi, "watob'ix niwajk'ijna'rob'," chayi, "yi k'ani uchamsye'nob'," chayi.</p>	<p>[20] He came to where there stood a great cedar tree, and he said to the cedar tree, "open up a bit," he said, "I want to enter and enclose myself inside your belly," he said, "my enemies are coming," he said, "and they want to kill me," he said.</p>
<p>[21] Yi kochwa e chakalte' che ub'yan ayi wakchetaka ayi jab'tz'a unak yi ochoy turan e Jesús makwi'r.</p>	<p>[21] And so the cedar tree heard and immediately opened its belly and Jesus entered and sat inside.</p>
<p>[22] Numob' e ajk'ijnarob' che, yi war ayi ojronob' yi chob' ayi, "tya'nik ixin, tya'nik ixin? Si tara taka ketpa era kawira," chayi, "kawira ke' era tartaka era ketpa," chayi, "tya' mukwan yi tya' amukwan."</p>	<p>[22] The enemies passed by, and they were talking and they said, "now where did he go, now where did he go? If he were still right here now we would see him," they said, "we saw that he was right here," they said, "where did he hide, where did he hide?"</p>
<p>[23] Kora kora ayi usajkob' ixob', che, ma'chi uwirob' tya' mukur e Jesús, ixob' ja'xirob' war usajkob' yi ma'chi ayi utajwyob'.</p>	<p>[23] They searched everywhere for him, it is said, but they didn't see where Jesus was hidden, they went and were searching for him but they didn't find him.</p>

<p>[24] E Jesús che ketpa mukwan makwi'r e chakalte'.</p>	<p>[24] Jesus remained hidden inside the cedar tree.</p>
<p>[25] Enton che b'anto ya' kay uche, yi ke' enton che tarixto ani uk'ajti nitata' yi ninoyob' ke' e chakalte', ma'chi akaxi e jijb' tamar o ma'chi ajajtz'a umen e katata', yi jaxto e tajte inte'toj ab' inte'to jab' ak'axi e centello tamar, ajajtz'a umen e katata', b'antaka ke' paxb'ir aktana umen e katata, ma'chi uyajk'u tya' twa' amukwan e katata'</p>	<p>[25] And they are still doing it this way, and thus my father and my grandparents used to recount that [as to] the cedar tree, lightning doesn't fall on it or it isn't struck by God, but as to the pine tree, year in year out a bolt of lightning falls on it, it is struck by God, because it was left cursed by God, it didn't give a place for God to hide.</p>
<p>[26] Ja'x era ani uk'ajtyob' nitata' tama e numer ira che tya' kay ajnesna e Jesús.</p>	<p>[26] This is what my father used to tell about this happening in which Jesus was pursued.</p>
<p>[27] Enton che yi kochwa war asajkna tara mukwan e Jesús y ma'chi tajwina.</p>	<p>[27] So they say, and in this manner he was sought but Jesus hid and wasn't found.</p>

6.3.2.2. Part 2: Sowing rocks and sowing wheat

(Continues Text 16: The Capture, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus)

<p>[28] Inteyx ajk'in, che, war asajkna otronyajr, yi jaxto ayi e ajmab'anb'an winikob' ira che war usajkob', ma'chi utajwyob' yaja'; mukresnob'; tamarix e'nteyx ajk'in ira che war usajkob' otronyajr.</p>	<p>[28] Another day, it is said, he was being sought again, and these evil men were seeking him, but didn't find him; they hid; on this other day they were seeking him again.</p>
<p>[29] Enton che uwirob' ayi u't, war axin otronyajr makwir e kopot, war axin makwir e kopot che, war amukwan e Jesús.</p>	<p>[29] Then they caught sight of him, they were going another time in the wilderness, were going in the wilderness, and Jesus was hiding.</p>
<p>[30] Enton che war uyajnesob', ton k'otoy e yaje' Jesús che, numuy ayi tya' war apak'ma inkojt winik, war apak'ma inkojt winik tara, yi che ayi, "tuk'a war apak'i kora," chayi, uyare e winik.</p>	<p>[30] They were pursuing him, then Jesus came, and passed where a man was sowing, a man was sowing there, and he [Jesus] said, "what are you sowing a little of?" he said, he said to the man.</p>
<p>[31] "Tun war inpak'i," chayi e winik ub'an.</p>	<p>[31] "I'm sowing rocks," said the man¹⁰².</p>
<p>[32] "A," chayi, "jay tun war apak'i," chayi, "tun twa' amorojse tuyok achor," chayi arena.</p>	<p>[32] "Ah," he [Jesus] said, "if you are planting stones," he said, "then stones you will reap from the foot of your field," he said, [the man] was told.</p>

¹⁰² The man's answer is flippant, indicating a bad attitude. He wasn't really planting rocks.

<p>[33] Ixin ja'xir numuy, ixin, yi k'otoy che tya' war apak'ma inkojtix winik, war apak'ma tuchor ub'an.</p> <p>[34] “Tuk'a kora war apak'i tara ne't,” chayi uyare e winik.</p> <p>[35] “A, ne'n,” chayi e winik, “war inpak'i u't' e trigo,” chayi.</p> <p>[36] “A, jay trigo war apak'i,” che ayi e katata', “trigo twa' amorojse tu'yok achor,” chayi.</p> <p>[37] Enton jaxtaka ayi era ojron ixin che.</p> <p>[38] Enton tara k'ani inketpa kora, yi k'ani incheksu tuk'a numuy taka e chakojt winik ira, otronyajr la'r taka e tajte' yi chakalte'.</p> <p>[39] Enton che, jaxto ayi e winik war ayi ukojko, che, twa' akuxpa ujinaj xe' war upak'i, yi koche uyare ayi ke' tun war upak'i, k'otoy ayi uwira jay kuxpix ujinaj che, yi ma'chi ayi kuxpa ujinaj.</p> <p>[40] Tya' k'otoy uwira che syan cheremtun makwir uchor che.</p>	<p>[33] He [Jesus] walked away, and came to where another man was sowing, was sowing in his field also.</p> <p>[34] “What are you sowing a bit of here,” he said to the man.</p> <p>[35] “Oh, I” said the man, “am planting wheat seeds,” he said.</p> <p>[36] “Ah, if you are planting wheat,” God¹⁰³ said, “wheat you will reap from the foot of your field,” he said.</p> <p>[37] He just said that and moved on.</p> <p>[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.</p> <p>[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.</p> <p>[40] When he got there, he saw a lot of rocky soil¹⁰⁴ in his field.</p>
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¹⁰³ “God” here is another reference to Jesus.

¹⁰⁴ The informant translated *cheremtun* into Spanish as *pedregal* (‘scree’, ‘rocky soil’).

<p>[41] “A,” chayi, “yi tuk'ot b'oro e syan tun makwir nichor si ma'ni tuk'a e tun,” chayi, “ma'ni tuk'a e tun,” war ixto ayi ub'ijnu ya'.</p> <p>[42] Yi tuk'a tar chekta e syan tun?</p> <p>[43] Tartaka ke' ja'xir umajres e katata'; una'ta ke' umajres e katata'; ma'chi uyare tuk'a war upak'i.</p> <p>[44] “Tun war inpak'i,” chayi, yi tun umorojse, verdad?</p> <p>[45] Enton che yi jaxto ayi uchor e'nkojt winik che, wa'kchetaka ayi kuxpa e trigo che yi b'oro e syan trigo che ayix e syan uyuti'r.</p> <p>[46] Ja'xir che atz'a'y uwira ke' a'xin umorojse me'yra trigo.</p> <p>[47] Yi koche ja'xir ma'chi umajres e katata', ajk'una inte' b'is me'yra twa' ab'oro yer utrigo.</p> <p>[48] Enton b'an kochera numuy taka e chakojt winik ira ub'an, yi kochwa e katata' war asajkna, war asajkna me'yra, yi ch'u'r ayi ajnyob' ixto e ajk'ijna'rob ira, uyajnesob'.</p>	<p>[41] “Ah,” he said, “and do so many stones abound in my field if there didn't used to be any?” he said, “there didn't used to be any rocks,” he was thinking.</p> <p>[42] And why did a lot of rocks appear?</p> <p>[43] Only because he tricked God; he knew that he tricked God; he didn't tell what he was planting.</p> <p>[44] “I'm planting stones,” he had said, and stones he reaped, yes?</p> <p>[45] And [in] the field of the other man, wheat quickly sprouted, and a lot of wheat abounded, and it already had a lot of fruit.</p> <p>[46] He rejoiced [when] he saw that he was going to harvest a lot of wheat.</p> <p>[47] For as he had not tricked God, he was given a blessing, that his wheat would about greatly.</p> <p>[48] This is how things went with two men, and as God was being pursued, was being pursued a lot, and these enemies kept pursuing him, and they forced him to flee.</p>
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<p>[49] Tamarix inte' ajk'in che uwirob' u't otronyajr, uwirob' u't, che, war a'xin e Jesús makwi'r e nukta' te' ta montaña koche kaware, yi yaja che uwirob' ayi u't ch'uwán ajnyob' tu'pat otronyajr.</p> <p>[50] E Jesús war alok'oy ajni ja'xob' tu'pat, ya' yaja' che numuy otronyajr che tya' war ayi apa'k'ma inkojt winik otronyajr, war ayi upak'i e trigo otronyajr.</p> <p>[51] Enton che ayi uyare e winik, "tuk'a war ache?" chayi.</p> <p>[52] "War inpak'i e trigo," chayi.</p> <p>[53] "A," chayi.</p> <p>[54] Enton che ojron ayi e Jesús, "k'ani inwarye't," chayi uyare e winik, "ke' jay numob' kora winikob' tara," chayi, "war usajke'nob'," chayi, "yi uyub'yob' nik'ab'a," chayi, "o uyub'ye'nob' tya' ixen," chayi, "aren ke' ne'n numen tya' war apak'i atrigo," chayi.</p> <p>[55] "Ah, o'b'an," chayi e winik, "ton jay anumob', b'an inxin inwaryob'," chayi e winik.</p>	<p>[49] One day they caught sight of him again, they caught sight of him, the story goes, Jesus was going [along] in the forests in the mountains as we say, and there they caught sight of him and they undertook to run after him again.</p> <p>[50] Jesus was fleeing and they were behind him, and again he passed where a man was sowing again, was sowing wheat again.</p> <p>[51] So he said to the man, "what are you doing?" he said.</p> <p>[52] "I'm planting wheat," he [the man] said.</p> <p>[53] "Ah," he [Jesus] said.</p> <p>[54] Then Jesus spoke, "I want to tell you," he said to the man, "that if a few men pass by here," he said, "looking for me," he said, "and asking my name," he said, "or asking about me and where I've gone," he said, "say that I passed by when you were planting your wheat," he said.</p> <p>[55] "Ah, sure," said the man, "if they pass by, I'm going to tell them that," said the man.</p>
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<p>[56] Ja'xir ixin che, ixin, yi tamarix ayi inte' ajk'in koche kaware ejkar, ejkarix, numob' ayi e winikob' ira.</p> <p>[57] Utajwyob' ayi e winik war uwira tuk'a numuy taka upak'ma'r, yi utrigo che warix ayi atak'a, warix atak'a che, wakchetaka ayi ch'i'.</p> <p>[58] Enton che ayi numob' ayi e winikob'.</p> <p>[59] "Tuk'a war ache tara," chayi.</p> <p>[60] Tara war inwira nitrigo," chayi.</p> <p>[61] "Ma'chika awira u't inkojt winik numuy," chayi, "xe' uk'ab'a Jesús?" chayi, chob' ayi ja'xirob'.</p> <p>[62] "Inwira ixto," chayi, "numuy," chayi.</p> <p>[63] "Yi tuk'a ajk'in numuy?" chayi.</p> <p>[64] "Ja'xir numuy," chayi, "tama e ajk'in xe' war inpak'i nitrigo," chayi.</p> <p>[65] "A, ixnix numuy enton," chob' ayi ja'xirob'.</p>	<p>[56] He [Jesus] went off, he went off, and on another day, tomorrow as we say, tomorrow, those men passed by.</p> <p>[57] They found the man looking at what happened with his sowing, for his wheat was already maturing, was already maturing, it grew rapidly.</p> <p>[58] Then the men passed by.</p> <p>[59] "What are you doing there?" they said.</p> <p>[60] "Here I'm looking at my wheat," he said.</p> <p>[61] "Didn't you catch sight of a man going by," they said, "whose name is Jesus?" they said, said they.</p> <p>[62] "I saw him indeed," he said, "he passed by," he said.</p> <p>[63] "And when (what day) did he pass by?" they said.</p> <p>[64] "He passed by," he said, "on the day on which I was planting my wheat," he said.</p> <p>[65] "Ah, he passed by a long time ago then," said they.</p>
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<p>[66] “Jay tama e ajk'in tya' war apak'i e trigo numuy,” chob' ayi, “yi era warix atak'a,” chob' ayi, “ayix como cinco meses,” chob' ayi, “ton ma'chix katajwi ya,” chob' ayi.</p> <p>[67] Sajtob' umen e katata', sajtob' otronyajr, ma'chi ob'na a'xob' tu'pat, yi sajtob'.</p> <p>[68] Yi sutpa che, kay usajkob' e katata', kay usajkob' e katata' Jesús, ma'chi utajwyob'; kora kora usajkob' che, kora kora.</p>	<p>[66] “If he passed by on the day when you were planting wheat,” they said, “and now it’s already maturing,” they said, “it’s already been about five months,” they said, “so we won’t find him now,” they said.</p> <p>[67] They were confused by God, were confused again, they weren’t able to go after him, for they were confused.</p> <p>[68] And they went back, were chasing God, were chasing God Jesus, but didn’t find him; they sought him everywhere, everywhere.</p>
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6.3.2.3. Part 3: The difference between *chicha* and moonshine

(Continues Text 16: The Capture, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus)

<p>[69] Enton che, numen ajk'inix che, uwirob' u't otronyajr.</p>	<p>[69] Days having passed then, they caught sight of him again.</p>
<p>[70] War axana e Jesús maku k'opot che, war ayi uche tunor ja'xir e tz'akoner che, war uche me'yra koche kaware b'isma'r o bendición.</p>	<p>[70] Jesus was walking in the wilderness, and he was doing all those cures, was doing many blessings as we say, or <i>bendición</i>.</p>
<p>[71] Enton che uwirob' u't che, uwirob' u't war axana maku k'opot</p>	<p>[71] Then they caught sight of him, saw his face [as] he was walking in the wilderness.</p>
<p>[72] Ch'uwan ajnyob' tu'pat otronyajr che, ch'uwan ajnyob' tu'pat.</p>	<p>[72] They undertook to chase after him again, they undertook to chase after him.</p>
<p>[73] Enton che utajwyob' ayi twi'x uajjyob' che, yi e Jesús war alok'oy ajni che, numuy ayi tya' war amujxa kora sik'ab', war ache'na e mux sik'ab', yi ya' ayi numuy yaja'.</p>	<p>[73] And they found him and were at the point of capturing him, and Jesus was fleeing, and passed by where a bit of sugar cane was being ground, sugar cane grinding was being done, and he passed by there.</p>
<p>[74] Yi uyare ayi inkojt winik uk'ab'a José, José uk'ab'a e winik ira.</p>	<p>[74] And he spoke with a man named José, José was the name of this man.</p>

<p>[75] Chayi, “Ne’t, José,” chayi, “wab’un inb’ijk yer uyarar asik’ab’ makwi’r usojkir e sik’ab’,” chayi, “twa’ awajk’u uyuch’ob’,” chayi “kora winikob’ war uyajnesenob’,” chayi.</p> <p>[76] “O’b’an,” chayi e José, “b’an,” chayi.</p> <p>[77] “Wab’unxix era,” chayi, “ne’n inxin,” chayi.</p> <p>[78] “Yi jay numob’ tara,” chayi, “jay uk’ajtyob’ e ja’ ira xe’ war inwarye’t,” chayi, “ajk’unob’ twa’ uyuch’ob’,” chayi.</p> <p>[79] “Uyub’i ixto,” chayi e José</p> <p>[80] Ja’xir ub’yan ayi ub’an, uwajpi ayi inwojr yer ub’ejt che, ub’ut’i uyarar e sik’ab’, tar ixin ayi umuki makwi’r usojkir e sik’ab’.</p> <p>[81] Yi konde ixto ayi k’otob’ e winikob’ xe’ war uyajnesob’ e Jesús k’ani uchamsyob’, e ma’lob’ koche kaware k’otob’ che.</p> <p>[82] “Ma’chika awira u’t e Jesús numuy tara,” chayi uyaryob’ e José.</p> <p>[83] “Inma’,” chayi.</p>	<p>[75] He said, “you, José,” he said, “set a bit of the juice of your cane amid the sugar cane waste,” he said, “so you can give it to some men who are chasing me, for them to drink,” he said¹⁰⁵.</p> <p>[76] “O.K.,” said José, “O.K.,” he said.</p> <p>[77] “Put it [there] right away,” he [Jesus] said, “I’m going,” he said.</p> <p>[78] “If they pass by here,” he said, “if they ask for this juice that I’m telling you [about],” he said, “give it to them to drink,” he said.</p> <p>[79] “I can do that,” said José.</p> <p>[80] He obeyed too, grabbed one of his little pots, filled [it with] cane juice, then went and hid it [the pot] amid the leavings of the sugar cane.</p> <p>[81] And when the men came who were pursuing Jesus, they wanted to kill him, the evil-doers, as we call them, came.</p> <p>[82] “Didn’t you notice Jesus passing by here?” they said to José.</p> <p>[83] “No,” he said.</p>
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¹⁰⁵ The plan here is to create the impression that the proprietor is hiding cane juice from his visitors.

<p>[84] “Ah, péru no'n war kaxana kapojro e brujo,” chob' ayi, “es ke' e Jesús brujo,” chayi, “no'n k'ani kachamse,” chob' ayi.</p> <p>[85] “Péru tara ma'chi war anumuy,” chayi e José.</p> <p>[86] Turan ayi kay jiryob' kora.</p> <p>[87] Ojtz'un ayi uyarar e sik'ab'.</p> <p>[88] “Xij, xij,” chob' ayi, uyujtz'yob' ayi, “yi tuk'a ojtz'un tara,” chayi, “méru yer uyujtz'ner muy,” chob' ayi.</p> <p>[89] “Inma',” chayi, “tara matuk'a ayan,” chayi e José, “matuk'a ayan,” chayi.</p> <p>[90] “Ah, ayan ya',” chayi, “ayan tuk'a wa'r amener,” chayi, “si matuk'a,” chayi, “yi koxto ak'otoy yer uyujtz'ner tikani',” chob' ayi, “méru yer uyujtz'ner tak'an muy,” chob' ayi.</p> <p>[91] “Péru matuk'a,” chayi e José.</p>	<p>[84] “Ah, but we are in the process of hunting the witch¹⁰⁶,” they said, “Jesus is a witch,” they said, “and we want to kill him,” they said.</p> <p>[85] “But he hasn't passed by here,” José said.</p> <p>[86] So they sat down and were resting a bit.</p> <p>[87] The cane juice was giving off its aroma.</p> <p>[88] “Ah, ah” they said, they smelled it, “and what smells [good] here,” they said, “it's exactly the aroma of <i>muy</i>¹⁰⁷,” they said.</p> <p>[89] “No,” he said, “there's nothing here,” said José, “there's nothing,” he said.</p> <p>[90] “Ah, yes there is,” they said, “you have something hidden,” they said, “if there's nothing,” they said, “how could its scent come to our noses?” they said, “[it's] exactly the scent of ripe <i>muy</i>,” they said.</p> <p>[91] “But there's nothing [here], José said.</p>
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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.

<p>[92] “Ayan,” chayi, “ira amuki, jay ayan areno'n,” chayi, “ajk'uno'n, k'ani ko'yeh'i, no'n kamani takaret,” chayi.</p> <p>[93] “Ah, matuk'a,” chayi e José ja'xir, “tara matuk'a ayan,” war ayi umuki.”</p> <p>[94] “Chono takaron, José,” chob' ayi “chono takaron, no'n ataki kati',” chob' ayi.</p> <p>[95] “Ah, jay ataki iti' pues inwajk'ox inb'ijk,” chayi,</p> <p>[96] Ixin ayi uch'ami inte' yer ruch' che, ixin ulupi, uyajk'u ayi uyuch'ob' e winikob' ira.</p> <p>[97] Intz'aj ayi utajwyob', che, kay uyuch'ob'.</p> <p>[98] “Ay!,” chob' ayi, “yer e ja' ira xe' intz'aj,” chob' ayi, “mixka tuk'a wa'r amener,” chayi.</p> <p>[99] “Ayanto ixto otronb'ijk,” chayi.</p> <p>[100] “Chono takaro'n, José,” chayi, “no'n ataki kati',” chob' ayi,</p>	<p>[92] “[Yes] there is,” they said, “don't deny it, if there is [then] tell us,” they said, “give it to us! We want to drink it, we'll buy it from you,” they said.</p> <p>[93] “Ah, there isn't any,” said José, “there's nothing here,” he was denying it.</p> <p>[94] “Sell it to us, José,” they said, “sell it to us, we're thirsty (our mouths are dry),” they said.</p> <p>[95] “Ah, if your mouths are dry I'll give you a little,” he [José] said.</p> <p>[96] He went to grab a <i>guacalito</i>¹⁰⁸, spooned out [the cane juice], and gave it to these men to drink.</p> <p>[97] They found it to be delicious, it is said, and were drinking it.</p> <p>[98] “Ay!” they said, “this little juice is tasty,” they said, “don't you have some hidden?” they said.</p> <p>[99] “There is still another little bit,” he [José] said.</p> <p>[100] “Sell it to us, José,” they said, “our mouths are dry,” they said.</p>
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¹⁰⁸ *Guacal*, in Spanish, is a drinking cup made from part of a local tree.

<p>[101] Ixin ayi ulupi otronyajr, war uchoni, kay uchoni takob' e ma'lob'.</p>	<p>[101] He spooned it out again, was selling it, was selling it to the evil-doers.</p>
<p>[102] Enton che kay uyuch'ob'.</p>	<p>[102] And so, it is said, they were drinking it.</p>
<p>[103] Warxa ayi uwira che, ka'y karayob', karayob' e winikob' umen yer e ja' ira.</p>	<p>[103] Eventually he [José] saw that they were beginning to drunk, the men were getting drunk on this juice.</p>
<p>[104] Ja'xto yi xe' kaware ch'ajch'aj ja', yi tama e castilla kaware chicha,</p>	<p>[104] It's what we call bitter water, or in Spanish we call it <i>chicha</i>¹⁰⁹.</p>
<p>[105] Sutpa chicha e ja', péru ja'x uyarar ayi e sik'ab'.</p>	<p>[105] The juice turned into <i>chicha</i>, but it [was] the juice of sugar cane.</p>
<p>[106] Enton che karayob' e winikob' ira che, ch'a'n wayanob' tujor e syan usojkir,</p>	<p>[106] Then these men got drunk, and they lay down to sleep on top of the heap of leavings.</p>
<p>[107] Uyaktob' ixin e Jesús ma'chi utajwyob'.</p>	<p>[107] They let Jesus go, they didn't capture him.</p>
<p>[108] Enton che, yi ja'xob' ketpa wayanob', este aru ayi uni', ch'a'r awayanob',</p>	<p>[108] So, it is said, they remained sleeping, even to the point of snoring (their noses cried out), they lay down and slept.</p>

¹⁰⁹ *Chicha* is understood locally to be fermented cane juice or fermented fruit juice.

<p>[109] Yi koche e José arena umen a Jesús tuk'a twa' uche, arena ayi ke' "jay wayanob' awab'ik' inte' <i>kanoba</i>," chayi, "inte' kanoba twa' ab'chob' tamar," chayi e Jesús, "porque e ja' xe' war inwarye't awab'u ira a'xin asutpa chicha yi a'xin akarayob'," chayi, areb'ir e José ub'an.</p> <p>[110] Por eso una'tix ayi ani.</p> <p>[111] Enton che, uwab'u ayi inte' <i>kanoba</i> listo yaja', koche kaware, uwab'u twa' jay k'ani ab'chob' e winikob' ira, ma'chi a'xin a'b'chob' tut' e rum che sino ke' tama e <i>kanoba</i>.</p> <p>[112] Enton che eh achpob' che sakojob' inte'yx ajk'in, sakojob', war ayi akarayob', ataki ayi ut'yob', yi koche tya' kay ayi karayob' yaja' achpob' che tya' war awayanob', a'b'ixk'ob' a'chpob' a'xin ab'chob' che tama e <i>canoba</i>.</p>	<p>[109] And as José had been told by Jesus what to do, he was told that, "if they sleep, set out a <i>canoa</i>¹¹⁰," he said, "a <i>canoa</i> for them to urinate in," said Jesus, "because this juice I was telling you to put in place is going to turn into <i>chicha</i> and they're going to get drunk," he said, José was told.</p> <p>[110] So he [José] already knew [what to do].</p> <p>[111] So he placed a <i>canoa</i> ready there, as we say, he placed it so that if the men wanted to urinate, they wouldn't go urinating on the ground, but in the <i>canoa</i>.</p> <p>[112] Then they got up, woke up the next day, woke up, were drunk, their mouths were dry, and as they were drunk there, they got up where they were sleeping, they awakened and got up, and went to urinate in the <i>canoa</i>.</p>
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¹¹⁰ A large container normally used for serving food, or a feeding trough for animals.

<p>[113] “Tara ixab'chi,” chayi e José, e José ya ayi turu ub'an, “tara ixab'chi,” chayi, “joli ixixin ixab'chi tiktik,” chayi, “tara twa' ixab'chi tama e <i>cano</i>a ira,” chayi.</p> <p>[114] E, ya ayi kay ab'chob'.</p> <p>[115] Ton tya' sakojpa e'nte'yx ajk'in che, usajpi ayi u't'ob' che, wartyo akarayob'.</p> <p>[116] Entonces che, chob' ayi, “Ay, José,” chob' ayi, “mixka tuk'a yar e ja' xe' koych'i akb'i,” chayi, “no'n ataki kati,” chayi, “no'n kak'anto otronyajr twa' koych'i,” chayi.</p> <p>[117] “Mix tuk'a” chayi e José, “k'a'pa,” chayi, “ja'x ja'x lok'oy xe' inwajk'ox yuch'i,” chayi.</p> <p>[118] “A,” chayi, “jay ayanto, José, chonoto otronb'ijk e ja' takaron,” chayi, “ojtz'un ak'otoy tikani' otronyajr,” chayi.</p> <p>[119] “A,” che ixto ayi e José, “ayan ixto wa'r otronb'ijk,” chayi, “péru mix ja'x koche inwajk'ox akb'i,” chayi, “era intyachix u't,” chayi.</p>	<p>[113] “Urinate here,” said José, José was there too, “urinate here,” he said, “don't go urinate wherever,” he said, “come here to urinate in this <i>cano</i>a,” he said.</p> <p>[114] And they were urinating there.</p> <p>[115] So when the next day dawned, they rubbed their eyes, and were still drunk.</p> <p>[116] And they said, “hey, José,” they said, “isn't there still some of the juice we drank yesterday?” they said, “our mouths are dry,” they said, “we still want to drink,” they said.</p> <p>[117] “There's isn't any,” said José, “it's used up,” he said, “the exact amount came out that I gave you to drink,” he said.</p> <p>[118] “Ah,” they said, “if there still is [any], José, sell another little bit of the juice to us,” they said, “a delicious aroma is coming to our noses again,” they said.</p> <p>[119] “Ah,” José then said, “there is indeed a little put away,” he said, “but it isn't like [what] I gave you yesterday,” he said, “it's of yet a different character,” he said.</p>
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<p>[120] “Ajk'uno'n e yax, k'ani kawejta,” chayi.</p> <p>[121] Ixin ayi e José, kay uch'ami tama e wax, ajk'una uyuch'ob' uyejtob' ayi.</p> <p>[122] “Ay, ja' ira,” chayi, “intz'aj,” chayi, “mix ja'x koche koych'i akb'i era inyajrer ke' intz'aj ub'an,” chayi.</p> <p>[123] Enton che yi jaxtaka ayi uyab'ichob', sutpa koche kaware saksak ja' yi tama e castilla kaware guaro.</p> <p>[124] Ton che yi kay uyuch'ob' otronyajr, sutpa ayi karayob' otronyajr yi wayanob' che, karayob' me'yra, sutpa ch'a'n wayanob' umen e karer.</p> <p>[125] Yi e Jesús ixin, ixin ayi.</p> <p>[126] Enton b'an Kochera uk'ajtyob' ani nitata' tama e numer ira ke' e Jesús kay umajres me'yra yi kay uyajk'u inte' numer me'yra twa' uwirob' e ajk'ijna'rob' ke' Jesús ayan ani uk'otorer.</p>	<p>[120] “Give us that, we want to taste it,” they said.</p> <p>[121] José went, was scooping it with a measure, and they were given [it] to drink and to taste.</p> <p>[122] “Ay! This juice,” they said, “is delicious,” they said, “it’s not like [what] we drank yesterday, this is truly delicious too,” they said.</p> <p>[123] And this stuff was just [what] they urinated, it had turned into white water, as we say, and in Spanish we call it <i>guaro</i>¹¹¹.</p> <p>[124] So they were drinking again, they got drunk again and slept, they got very drunk, and again lay down to sleep because of drunkenness.</p> <p>[125] And Jesus left, he left.</p> <p>[126] So in this manner my father used to tell them about this occurrence, that Jesus was fooling them a lot and was giving a lot of stories so that the enemies saw that Jesus had power.</p>
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¹¹¹ *Saksak ja'* ('white water') in Ch'orti' and *guaro* in Spanish refer to distilled liquor, especially that made from sugar cane juice.

<p>[127] Enton che majresnob' umen e Jesús otronyajr, ch'a'n wayanob' che yi uyuch'ob' uyab'ichob' taka.</p> <p>[128] Enton uk'ajti ani nitáta ke' e chicha aktab'ir umen e katata', ja'x e katata' uyare che'na, e José kay uche e chicha, yi e guaro uyab'ich e ma'lob'</p> <p>[129] por eso kaware uyab'ich diablu e guaro mix ja'x e chicha méru.</p> <p>[130] Enton tarixto ani chob' ja'xirob' ke' e guaro maja'x imb'utz uyub'na'r, tartaka ke' uyab'ich e diablo.</p> <p>[131] Enton b'an kochera numuy yi k'ani ink'ajti ixto xe' inwirato uche nitata'.</p> <p>[132] No'n tya' kache ani e nojk'in yaja' xe' kaware tz'ikin, kawab'u ani e chicha twa' kawajk'u uyuch'i kapyarob'.</p>	<p>[127] They were fooled by Jesus again, they lay down to sleep and drank of their urine.</p> <p>[128] So my father told that the <i>chicha</i> is permitted by God, it was God [who] ordered it to be made, and José was making the <i>chichca</i>, but the <i>guaro</i> was the urine of the evil-doers.</p> <p>[129] On account of this we say that <i>guaro</i> is the devil's piss and isn't just <i>chicha</i>.</p> <p>[130] So indeed they used to say that it's not good to hear mention of <i>guaro</i>, just because it's the devil's piss.</p> <p>[131] This is how things happened, and I want to tell what I still see my father do.</p> <p>[132] When we used to make the festival we call <i>sikin</i>¹¹², we would set out <i>chicha</i> to give to our friends to drink.</p>
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¹¹² The Ch'orti' *tz'ikin*, adapted into local Spanish as *sikin*, refers to the Day of the Dead.

<p>[133] Nitata' uk'ajti ani taka e San José, ojron taka e San Jose, twa' tunor xe' ak'otob' war ajsyo'n tama e nojk'in ira, yi jay ayan e akta'r, ma'chi uchamse ub'ob', tartaka ke' ja'xir una'tob' ani e b'ijnusyaj ira ke' e chicha areb'ir e José twa' uche, péru umen e katata' Jesús.</p>	<p>[133] My father used to pray to San José, spoke with San José, so that everybody that came was visiting us during this festival, and if there was a dance, that they didn't kill each other, just because they used to know this belief, that José was the one ordered to make <i>chicha</i>, but by God Jesus.</p>
<p>[134] Y b'an kochera k'otoy e numuy ira xe' che'na taka e Jesús.</p>	<p>[134] And this is the way the story goes about what was done with Jesus.</p>
<p>[135] Enton ja'x era e b'ajxan ojroner xe' war ink'ajti ira o e b'ajxan k'ub'esyaj.</p>	<p>[135] This is the first speech I'm telling or the first belief.</p>
<p>[136] Y b'an kochera koche kana'ta ke' Jesús ma'chi aktana, ma'chi chojka aktana, kay sajkna kay sajkna, esto ke' ma'chi tajwina yaja', esto ke' ma tajwina twa' achamesna.</p>	<p>[136] And thus we know that Jesus wasn't left, wasn't left alone, was sought and sought but wasn't found there, but wasn't found in order to be killed.</p>

6.3.2.4. Part 4: Santiago tries to free Jesus from jail

(Continues Text 16: The Capture, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus)

<p>[137] Enton k'otoy inteyx ajk'in, che, tajwina ixto ayi e Jesús ya', tajwina e Jesús, jajpna jajpna ixto ayi ya jajpna che.</p>	<p>[137] Then another day came, it is said, [when] Jesus was found, Jesus was found, was captured, captured indeed, was captured there.</p>
<p>[138] Enton jajpna che, kay ayi jajtz'a kajcha umen e winikob'.</p>	<p>[138] He was captured, it is said, and was being beaten and tied up by the men.</p>
<p>[139] Enton che majka tama e majkib', koche kaware, ta cárcel, majka kay che'na tzajtaka che.</p>	<p>[139] He was enclosed in the <i>majkib'</i>, as we say, in jail, he was enclosed and was being made sad.</p>
<p>[140] Enton che kochera e Jesús ayan ukotorer, yi aktab'ir umen e katata' twa' uyakta ani ub'a achamesna, enton che ja'xir uyakta ub'a jajpna, jajpna yaja' che, majka tama e majkib' tya' amajka e ajmab'anb'anob'.</p>	<p>[140] But as Jesus had much power, and was sent by God to allow himself to be killed, he allowed himself to be captured, was captured then, was enclosed in the jail where criminals are enclosed.</p>
<p>[141] Enton che ya ayi makar yaja' e Jesús, tama e día Jueves Santo ya makar.</p>	<p>[141] So Jesus is enclosed there, on Holy Thursday he's enclosed¹¹³.</p>
<p>[142] Enton che yi jaxto ayi uyajtakarsajob' chob' ayi kay ayi ojronob', "tuk'a kachik takar kawajkanseyaj," chob' ayi, "twa' kachik takar kwajkanseyaj, majka k'ani achamesna.</p>	<p>[142] Then his disciples spoke, they were saying, "what should we do about our master?" they said, "what should we do about our master? He's locked up and is to be killed."</p>

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.

<p>[143] “Kawejtik kalok'sik,” chayi e Santiago taka e mojob'.</p> <p>[144] “Kawejtik ixto,” chayi e mojob', “kawejtik,” chayi, “b'an twa' kalok'se,” chob' ayi.</p> <p>[145] Y koche tama e k'ek'[w]a'rir yaja' xe' kaware reja, yi lo que xe' uchob' e harán ma'lob' ira, uwajpyob' che uch'ub'ob' e syan chan ub'ak'yob' tama ut' e reja, uch'ub'ob' e syan xux che, twa' ma'chi alok'oy ajni e Jesús.</p> <p>[146] Jay anumuy tama e reja yaja' che, ak'ujxa e Jesús umen e xux, uyark'ir e xux, o ak'ujxa umen e chan, ma'chi uyub'i alok'oy,</p> <p>[147] tama e diecisiete reja ch'a'r , maja'x inte', taka diecisiete reja tya' amajka e Jesús.</p>	<p>[143] “Let’s try to get him out,” said Santiago to the group.</p> <p>[144] “Let’s try indeed,” said the group, “let’s try,” they said, “to get him out,” they said.</p> <p>[145] But as to the strength¹¹⁴ there, the bars as we say, what those nasty evildoers did was grab and hang up a bunch of snakes and intertwine them along the bars of the cell, [and] they hung up many wasps’ nests, so Jesus wouldn’t get out and flee.</p> <p>[146] If he passed close to the bars, he would be stung by the nests, the wasps of the nests, or bitten by the snakes, and wouldn’t be able to get out.</p> <p>[147] He was located inside of seventeen¹¹⁵ sets of bars, not just one, Jesus was enclosed with seventeen sets of bars.</p>
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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*.

<p>[148] Enton che yi jaxto ayi e ajtakarsajob', ajtakarsajob' ira koche kaware apostolob', ton che, kay ayi ub'ijnwob' kocha twa' uchob', koche twa' ulok'syob' e Jesús tya' makar ch'a'r.</p> <p>[149] Enton che e Domingo uyejta ayi ani twa' ulok'se e Jesús</p> <p>[150] Ton che ayi arena ixto b'ari umen e mojrob', "ne't, Domingo," chayi e mojrob', "ne't ke' ayan achij," chayi, "kiki ejtan twa' apasi," chayi, "e reja," chayi.</p> <p>[151] Uyejta ayi e Santo Domingo, ixin ajner che, innajt taka ujazt'i ayi umachit koche kaware, ma'chi ayi o'b'na upasi, matuk'a uche.</p> <p>[152] Sutpa a'xin awan innajt che watar ajner taka che innajt taka k'otoy ujazt'i umachit twa' upasi e reja, ma'chi apask'a; yi kay uyejta ixna ma'chi o'b'na.</p> <p>[153] Enton chayi e Domingo uyare ayi e Santiago, "ejtan ne't, Santiago," chayi.</p> <p>[154] "Tya' a'xin uyub'yen ne'n," chayi e Santiago, "si ne'n matuk'a nichij," chayi.</p>	<p>[148] Then the disciples, these disciples we call apostles, they were thinking how to do it, how to get Jesus out of where he was enclosed.</p> <p>[149] Then Domingo¹¹⁶ tried to get Jesus out.</p> <p>[150] Then he was told by the group, "you, Domingo," said the group, "you have a horse," they said, "go try to open it," they said, "the bars," they said.</p> <p>[151] Saint Domingo tried to do it; he went running, from afar his machete, as we call it, struck it, but couldn't open it; it did nothing.</p> <p>[152] Again he went to stand far off, came fast and came far, his machete struck to open the cell, [but] it didn't open; and he tried at length but couldn't [accomplish it].</p> <p>[153] Then Domingo said to Santiago, "you try it, Saint James," he said.</p> <p>[154] "How will I be able to?" said Saint James, "I don't have a horse," he said.</p>
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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.

<p>[155] “Ejtan, ne'n inwajk'et nichij,” chayi, “yi jay apasi e reja tya' ch'a'r e Jesús,” chayi, “inwajk'et ni chij inyajrer,” chayi.</p> <p>[156] Enton che chayi e Santiago, “ajk'unen ixto pue, k'ani inwejta nen,” chayi, “jay uyub'ye'n,” chayi.</p> <p>[157] Katwan ayi e Santiago tujor uchij che, yi uch'ami ayi umachit ub'an, yi koche kaware lanza uch'ami ayi, katwan tujor e chij che, ixin wa'wan innajt, tari ajner najt taka, yi k'otoy ujazt'i ayi umachit tut' e reja.</p> <p>[158] Pask'a inyajrer.</p> <p>[159] Innajt innajt u'ri ixin e syan chan che, syan e xux, kora kora ayi u'ri, uchoki taka umachit kocha ajjib'i kocha uwarar e centello, ajjib'i.</p> <p>[160] Enton che sutpa ixin wa'wan innajt che sutpa upasi najt najt u'ri ixin e syan reja.</p>	<p>[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.</p> <p>[156] Then Saint James said, give me it [the horse] then, I want to try it,” he said, “if I'm able,” he said.</p> <p>[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.</p> <p>[158] It [the cell] opened immediately.</p> <p>[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.</p> <p>[160] He then went back to stand far off, returned to open it from afar, and cast away the many bars¹¹⁷.</p>
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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.

<p>[161] Enton che twix ayi ak'otoy yaja' upasi e'nteyx yaja' twix ak'otoy tya' makar e Jesús.</p> <p>[162] Enton chayi e Jesús, “tartaka era Santiago,” chayi e Jesús, “ke' e'nte reja ira,” chayi, “jolix apasi,” chayi.</p> <p>[163] “Ketpak,” chayi, “twa' ayan e k'ub'esyaj,” chayi, “o ayan inte' respeto,” chayi, koche kaware tama e castilla, “twa' e pak'ab' e konoj,” chayi.</p> <p>[164] “Jay apasi era,” chayi, “enton a'xin aketpa wistir tunor e mab'anb'anir,” chayi, “ton tara tartaka era jolix apasi,” chayi.</p> <p>[165] No porque e Santiago k'ani ayi ani upasi tunor, ma'chi ajk'una twa' upasi tuno'r umen e Jesús.</p> <p>[166] Ketpato ayi inte' reja twa' ayan ub'an e castigo twa' e ti'n achamsan, tya' amajkob'.</p> <p>[167] Koche kaware koner, e ti'n achamsan ak'ejcha amajkob' yaja'</p>	<p>[161] He was about to come and open another [cell], was about to come to where Jesus was enclosed.</p> <p>[162] Then Jesus said, “only this [far], Saint James,” Jesus said, “this other cell,” he said, “don't open it,” he said.</p> <p>[163] “Let it remain,” he said, “so that there is faith,” he said, “or respect,” he said, as we call it Spanish, “for [the sake of] human beings,” he said.</p> <p>[164] “If you open this one,” he said, “then all evils will remain released,” he said, “and for just this reason don't open it,” he said.</p> <p>[165] Although Saint James wanted to open all [the cells], he wasn't permitted to open them all by Jesus.</p> <p>[166] One cell still remained so there would be punishment for the persons that killed, where they are enclosed.</p> <p>[167] As we say today, people who kill are brought and enclosed there.</p>
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<p>[168] E cárcel, kocha che nitáta, aktab'ir umen e katata' twa' e ti'n ke ma'chi ak'ub'esyan o ma'chi o'b'yan tama e cheyaj mab'anb'anir, jay jajpna ak'ejcha a'xin yaja' amajka</p>	<p>[168] Jail, according to my father, is allowed by God so that the person who doesn't obey or doesn't listen with regard to evil deeds, if he is captured he is taken away and enclosed there.</p>
<p>[169] Aktab'ir umen e katata che ani nitata'.</p>	<p>[169] It was allowed by God, my father used to say.</p>
<p>[170] Enton ja'x era numuy tama inte'yx numer ira tya' e Jesús jajpna umen uyajk'ijna'rob', yi koche k'ani uchamsyob'</p>	<p>[170] So that is what happened in one story in which Jesus was captured by his enemies, and how they wanted to kill him.</p>
<p>[171] Enton che sutpa k'otoy ulok'syob' yaja' koche makar umenerob', yi e Jesús ma'chi uk'ani twa' alok'esna umen e apostolob', yi aketpa maku, ch'a'n makar.</p>	<p>[171] So they [the apostles] came back to get him out of there, as he was enclosed by them [his enemies], and Jesus didn't want to be released by the apostles, and he remained enclosed, placed inside.</p>

6.3.2.5. Part 5: Death on the cross

(Continues Text 16: The Capture, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus)

<p>[172] Sakojpa che inteyx ajk'in, k'otoy lok'esna, entonces k'otoy lok'esna che yi k'ejcha ixin tya' twa' ach'ub'na.</p>	<p>[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).</p>
<p>[173] Ya yaja' che uajjpyob' che b'ixir ayi ixto e Jesús, koche che e bíblia, verdad?</p>	<p>[173] There they grabbed him alive, as the Bible says, yes?</p>
<p>[174] Ixin che yi kay ujazt'yob' uk'ab' tama ut' e te', che.</p>	<p>[174] They went and were nailing his hands to the board (cross), it is said.</p>
<p>[175] Uch'ub'ob' yi ixto yaja' che kay ayi uk'ayob' che kay ujtaz'yob' e katata' che kay uyaryob', "brujo," chayi, "ekmen tut' e te', k'ani kawira jay ye'rach," chayi, "kocha ne't brujwe't," chayi, "ekmen, k'ani kawira jay uyub'ye't," chob' ayi.</p>	<p>[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.</p>

<p>[176] Enton uwajpyob' che uxe'k'yob' tama e te', watob' taka e ulansob' che uxe'k'yob' yer ut' uchu' e Jesús che, ma'chi ayi o'choy intaka ayi apaktz'a e lansa, ma'chi ayi o'choy e lansa tut' uchu' e Jesús tya' ch'u'r tut' e te'.</p> <p>[177] Yi war uyejtob' che desde ke' sakojpa; ch'u'rix umenerob' che war uxe'k'yob' e Jesús tut' uchu', ma'chi ayi o'choy e lansa intaka apaktz'a.</p> <p>[178] Enton che koche uwirob' ke' ma'chi o'b'nob' uchamsyob'; yi yi'x ayi watar inkojt yar winik ciego, ma'chi ayi eron unak'u't, yer tajpem unak' u't'.</p> <p>[179] “Lar tara, winik,” chayi, “ciego,” chob' ayi, “lar tara,” chayi.</p> <p>[180] “Tuk'a twa nimen,” chayi e winik.</p> <p>[181] “Lar tara,” chayi.</p> <p>[182] Uchukyob' ayi ukab'.</p> <p>[183] “Chuku e lansa ira,” chob' ayi, “c e brujo,” chayi, “twa' chamay,” chayi.</p>	<p>[176] Then they grabbed him and pierced him with a stick, they came with their lances and jabbed the middle of Jesus' chest, but it didn't enter, the lance just bent over, the lance didn't enter Jesus' chest while he was hung on the pole [cross].</p> <p>[177] And they were trying it from dawn; he was hanging there on account of them, and they were jabbing Jesus in his chest, but the lance didn't enter, it just bent over.</p> <p>[178] They saw that they were unable to kill him; and just then a blind man came by; his eyes couldn't see, his eyes were extinguished.</p> <p>[179] “Come here, man,” they said, “blind man,” they said, “come here,” they said.</p> <p>[180] “What do you want with me?” said the man.</p> <p>[181] “Come here,” they said.</p> <p>[182] They took his hand.</p> <p>[183] “Grab this lance,” they said, “and jab the witch,” they said, “so that he dies,” they said.</p>
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<p>[184] “A, inma,” chayi, “inmaya,” chayi e ciego, “ma'chi,” chayi, “b'ajk'at jax nitáta k'ani iche'n inchamse,” chayi.</p> <p>[185] “Era majax atáta,” chayi, “era jax e brujo,” chob' ayi.</p> <p>[186] “Inma,” chayi e ciego, “inma, ne'n ma'chi k'ani inchamse,” chayi, “b'ajk'atix ke' jax nitáta k'ani iche'n inchamse,” chayi.</p> <p>[187] Enton che koche ja'xob' war uyaryob' aunque ma'chi uk'ani péru ja'x war uyaryob' twa' axek'mayan e ciego.</p> <p>[188] Ton che taryob' “xek'e tara,” chob' ayi “k'ani kawab'u tara tut' uchu’,” chayi, uwab'ob' ayi e lansa tut' uchu' e yaje Jesús.</p> <p>[189] “Koner xek'e,” chayi.</p> <p>[190] Tari ayi e ciego uxek'e ayi ut' uchu' e Jesús, yi cuando uxek'e che, ab'china unak' u't' umen e ch'ich', e'ron ayi unak' u't'.</p>	<p>[184] “Oh, no,” he said, “surely not,” said the blind man, “no,” he said, “maybe it is my father that you want to make me kill,” he said.</p> <p>[185] “That’s not your father,” they said, “he’s a witch,” they said.</p> <p>[186] “No,” said the blind man, “no, I don’t want to kill him,” he said, “maybe it’s my father you want to make me kill,” he said.</p> <p>[187] So in this way they were ordering him although he didn’t want to, but they were ordering the blind man to do the piercing.</p> <p>[188] Then they came and said, “jab him here, “we want to place it here at his chest,” they said, and positioned the lance at Jesus’ chest.</p> <p>[189] “Now jab him,” they said.</p> <p>[190] The blind man came and jabbed Jesus’ chest, and when he jabbed it, his eyes were sprinkled by the blood, and his eyes could see.</p>
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<p>[191] “Ah,” chayi, “verdad koche inwaryo'x,” chayi, “ke' era jax nitata' war iche'n inchamse,” chayi, “inchamse nitáta imener,” chayi e ciego.</p> <p>[192] “Inmaya, era maja'x atáta,” chob' ayi, “jax e brujo,” chob' ayi.</p> <p>[193] Enton chamay ayi e Jesús</p> <p>[194] Jay ma'chi ayi ak'otoy e ciego twa' uxe'ke e Jesús, ma'chi ani chamay.</p> <p>[195] E ma'lob yaja' ma'chi ani o'b'nob' uchamsyob' e Jesús tartaka ke' e Jesús k'ani ani uche inte' b'isma'r yaja', o milagro koche kaware: eron unak' u't' e ciego tama e ch'ich'.</p> <p>[196] Enton che b'an kochera chamay e Jesús.</p> <p>[197] Yi ja'xirob' koche k'ani ayi uwirob' ub'an jay ayan uk'otorer e Jesús che, k'echerix ayi unukir <i>palangana</i> koche kaware kochera twa' umorojsyob' e ch'ich'.</p> <p>[198] Ton che wa'wanob' che kay umorojsyob' e ch'ich', yi jaxto ayi uch'ich'er e katata' che.</p>	<p>[191] “Oh,” he said, “truly I told you,” he said, “that it was my father you were forcing me to kill,” he said, “I killed my father on account of you,” said the blind man.</p> <p>[192] “No, that isn't your father,” they said, “he's a witch,” they said.</p> <p>[193] Then Jesus died</p> <p>[194] If the blind man had not come to lance Jesus, he would not have died.</p> <p>[195] The evildoers there were unable to kill Jesus because Jesus wanted to perform a miracle, or <i>milagro</i> as we say [in Spanish]: the blind man's eyes saw because of the blood.</p> <p>[196] So in this manner Jesus died.</p> <p>[197] And those people, as they wanted to see if Jesus had power, had already brought a large <i>palangana</i> (container) as we say [In Spanish], thus to collect the blood.</p> <p>[198] So they stood and were collecting the blood, and that was indeed the blood of God.</p>
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<p>[199] Tya' tama e ch'ich' yaja' xe' k'axi tama e pana sutpa che ya b'ixk'a e syan nar che, b'ixk'a e nar, b'ixk'a e mas trigo, b'ixk'a e arak' xe' ayan tara tuno'r to'r e rum, e wakax, e masa', e t'ur, tunor xe' ak'uxpa, t'oxpa e syan kar che, tunor k'opot t'oxpa twa' kak'uxi.</p>	<p>[199] Where this blood fell on the ground, it turned out that many ears of corn¹¹⁸ sprouted, the ears of corn sprouted, much wheat sprouted, the animals that are upon the land appeared, the cattle, the deer, the rabbit, all that is eaten, many plants grew, all the country side bloomed so we [can] eat.</p>
<p>[200] Enton tari ixto ani kocha chob' ani nitáta ke' e nar uch'ich'er e katata', yi e kar tama uch'ich'er e katata' t'oxpa yi uyub'i kak'uxi.</p>	<p>[200] So in this way my father used to say that corn is the blood of God, and plants grow with the blood of God, and we are able to eat them.</p>
<p>[201] Tunor xe' ajk'ujxa'r che tama uch'ich'er e katata' lok'oy.</p>	<p>[201] Everything that is to be eaten comes from the blood of God.</p>
<p>[202] Enton che koche uwirob' ayi ja'xirob' ub'an ke' ayan e k'otorer me'yra tama uch'ich'er e katata', t'oxpa e syan arak', enton chob' ayi, “koner kawejtik ub'an no'n,” chayi, “jay alok'oy kache,” chob' ayi ja'xirob'.</p>	<p>[202] Then since those people also saw that there was great power in the blood of God, [that] a multitude of animals grew, they said, “now let us try as well,” they said, “[to see] if it turns out [that] we [can] do it,” they said.</p>

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 were hung from the cross together with the statue that represented Jesus' body.

<p>[203] Enton taryob' che ixin ujajpyob' inte' uyet ma'lirob' che ujazt'yob' ayi tama ut' e te' ub'an, uchamsyob' ja'x uxek'yob', yi tya' xek'pa yaja' che, lok'oy e syan ch'ich' twa' inkojt ma'lo xe' ch'u'r tuyejtz'er e Jesús che, uk'echob' ayi ub'an e <i>palangana</i>.</p> <p>[204] Ke' warxa ayi uwirob' che tama e ch'ich' yaja' che t'oxpa e syan chan che, e syan manakuch', tunor e xe' uk'uxo'nob' yi achamsanob' che este t'oxpa yaja'.</p> <p>[205] “Ay,” chob' ayi, “koxta ma'chi ixto lok'oy e wakax o e kar?” chob' ayi.</p> <p>[206] Enton chob' ayi, “yi koxta era ma'chi ixto lok'oy e kar ya'?” chayi, “o e nar,” chob' ayi,</p> <p>[207] Yi kocha matuk'a uk'otorerob', ma'chi ub'na uchob' koche lok'oy tama uch'ich'er e Jesús; tama uch'ich'erob' ja'xirob' t'oxpa e chan yi e manakuch'.</p>	<p>[203] So they came and went and grabbed one of their fellow evildoers, nailed him on a pole (cross) also, killed him [by] stabbing him, and when he was pierced, a lot of blood of the evildoer who was hanging beside Jesus, and also they brought a <i>palangana</i> (container).</p> <p>[204] [But] when they looked at the blood there, a multitude of snakes appeared, many scorpions, everything that stings us and kills, that's what appeared there.</p> <p>[205] “Oh,” they said, why didn't cattle or plants come out?” they said.</p> <p>[206] They said, “And why didn't plants come out,” they said, “or corn?” they said.</p> <p>[207] But since they didn't have powers, they weren't able to do as it had turned out with Jesus' blood; in their blood snakes and scorpions appeared.</p>
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<p>[208] Yi tarixto kocha che ani nitáta ke' e manakuch' achamsan jay uk'uxo'n, e tunor arak' xe' achamsan, e chan jay uk'uxo'n kachamay umener, tartaka ke' maja'x tama uch'ich'er e katata' ayi chekta, tama uch'ich'er e diáblo yaja' xe' uchamsyob' ya' ayi t'oxpa e arak'ob' ira.</p>	<p>[208] And so my father used to say that the scorpion kills if it stings us, all the creatures that kill, the snake if it bites us we die on account of it, because they didn't appear in the blood of God, [but] in the blood of the devil whom they killed there, and these creatures appeared there.</p>
<p>[209] Enton koche e Jesús chamay tya' xejk'a umen e winik xe' ma'chi e'ron unak' u't'.</p>	<p>[209] So Jesus died when he was stabbed by the man whose eyes didn't see.</p>
<p>[210] Enton che nakpat ke' uchob' era uyakta ub'a chamay e Jesús, iksijb'a ayi inyajrer u't' e rum che, iksijb'a inyajrer che, numuy e yujkb'ar kora kora ayi anijki e rum.</p>	<p>[210] And after they did that, Jesus allowed himself to die, [and] suddenly the surface of the earth was darkened, it darkened quickly, [and] earthquakes happened everywhere, and the earth rocked.</p>
<p>[211] “Ah, iksijb'o'n verdad?” chayi, “kachamse e yaje brujo,” chayi, “e brujo ira ub'axon,” chayi, “ke' era ka'xin kasatpa.”</p>	<p>[211] “Oh, it's getting dark on us, isn't it?” they said, “we killed the witch” they said, “and this witch cursed us,” they said, “that we will get lost.”</p>
<p>[212] Kora kora ayi upojrob' e b'ir ma'chi utajwyob' che.</p>	<p>[212] They searched everywhere for the road [but] didn't find it.</p>

6.3.2.6. Part 6: Resurrection

(Continues Text 16: The Capture, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus)

<p>[213] Enton che uyemsyob' tut' e te' che.</p>	<p>[213] Then, as the story goes, they took</p>
<p>[214] Yi ja'xirob' koche k'ani uyemsyob', numuy e b'ajk'ut yi sispajna e yujkb'ar</p>	<p>him [Jesus] down from the pole (cross).</p>
<p>yaja', sispajna e yujkb'ar yi e'ron ut' e k'in otronyajr.</p>	<p>[214] And as they were about to take him down, [their] fear passed, the earthquakes calmed, the earthquakes calmed and the sun's eye saw again.</p>
<p>[215] Enton che uyemsyob' tama ut' e te', uk'echob' ixin che, kay umukyob', kay umukyob' yaja' che.</p>	<p>[215] So they took him down from the pole, carried him away, were burying him, were burying him there.</p>
<p>[216] Yi yaja' che upajnyob' e ch'en che, kay ub'ut'yob' e rum, uyaryob' e Jesús maku e ch'en che, yi ub'ut'yob' e syan rum che, utenyob' taka e te' che, ub'utyob' e tun tujor che, utenyob' che.</p>	<p>[216] And there they were digging a hole, were filling it with earth, they tossed Jesus in the hole, and filled [it with] a lot of dirt, and pounded it with a stick; they filled [it with] stones on top, and pounded them.</p>
<p>[217] Yi ya yaja' che uwab'ob' ayi e syan soldado twa' akokjna e Jesús twa' ma'chi a'chpa por que chob' ayi, "tara ixturan era," chob' ayi, "ira iwakta a'chpa e brujo," chob' ayi.</p>	<p>[217] And then they placed many soldiers to guard Jesus so that he didn't rise [from the grave], because they said, "remain here" they said, "don't let the witch arise," they said.</p>

<p>[218] Uwajpyob' ayi inkojt yer utata' e ak'ach xe' kaware <i>gallo</i>, uwajpyob' che ukachob' uyok tama unuk' uyok e cruz che twa' a'ru che.</p> <p>[219] Uyaryob' ayi e gallo, “apejkiko'n,” chayi, “jay awira anijki e rum, k'ani a'chpa e Jesús,” chob' ayi, “aruket,” chob' ayi.</p> <p>[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.</p> <p>[221] A'xob' ajner e syan soldado taka e te' che utenyob' e rum che twa' ma'chi a'chpa.</p> <p>[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.</p> <p>[223] Yi enton che ma'chi uyaktob' a'chpa;e Jesús anijki ma'chi o'b'na a'chpa.</p>	<p>[218] They grabbed a little rooster, which we call <i>gallo</i> [in Spanish], they grabbed him, and tied its feet to the base of the cross, so he would crow.</p> <p>[219] They told the rooster, “warn us” they said, “if you see the earth move, Jesus wants to rise,” they said, “crow,” they said.</p> <p>[220] And as the rooster had thus been ordered, when he saw the earth move, the rooster cried, “Jesus now wants to revive.”</p> <p>[221] The many soldiers went running with a stick and beat the earth so that he didn't rise.</p> <p>[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.</p> <p>[223] And they didn't allow him to rise; Jesus moved but was unable to rise.</p>
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<p>[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.</p>	<p>[224] Then deer appeared, and Jesus was moving, trying to rise, and the deer passed over Jesus where he was buried.</p>
<p>[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.</p>	<p>[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.</p>
<p>[226] Eh, b'an por esto koner kawira ke' e masa' achamesna yi ak'ujxa.</p>	<p>[226] For this reason we see today that the deer is killed and eaten.</p>
<p>[227] Jay irna u't' inkojt masa', achamesna twa' ak'ujxa b'an taka ke' b'an b'axb'ir umen e katata'.</p>	<p>[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.</p>
<p>[228] Yi numob' e masa' che.</p>	<p>[228] And the deer moved on.</p>
<p>[229] Anumuy e wancherek ak'aywyob' che, “wáncherek, wáncherek,” chob' ayi e wancherek yaja',</p>	<p>[229] [Then] doves passed by, singing “wán-cher-ek, “wán-cher-ek¹¹⁹,” the doves said there.</p>
<p>[230] Anumob' uyojkob' uyor e sepultura tya' mukb'ir e Jesús, yi ma'chi uyaktob' a'chpa che.</p>	<p>[230] They passed by trampling the head of the grave where Jesus was buried, and didn't allow him to rise.</p>

¹¹⁹ Onomatopoeitic imitation of the sound made by doves.

<p>[231] Enton chayi e Jesús ub'an uyare ayi e wancherek, "no'x, wancherek," chayi, "ma'chi iwakte'n a'nchpa," chayi, "no'x," chayi, "war itakryob' e diáblo," chayi, "péru no'x k'ani inwakto'x inumer," chayi, "tama ukororte' nipak'ab'ob'," chayi, "twa' ixketpa," chayi, "ya twa' ixk'ujxa," chayi.</p> <p>[232] Yi tar koner ub'an, no'n ixnix ani kach'ub'a ani e kororte' yi kamaki ani e wáncherek twa' kak'uxi, péru b'axb'irob' ayi umen e katata' b'antaka ke' ja'xirob' ma'chi ak'ub'esya'nob', uyojkob' uxor e Jesús tya' mukb'ir. ch'a'r.</p> <p>[233] Y ja'x era xe' numuy tama e tya' mukb'ir e Jesús.</p> <p>[234] Enton koche Jesús k'ani achpa war unijkes e rum, enton ojron ayi taka e gallo, uyare ayi e gallo, "ay, ne't, gallo," chayi, "ira apejkob' e ma'lob'," chayi, "ne'n k'ani inxin," chayi, "tya' turu nitita'," chayi, "jola apejkob'," chayi.</p>	<p>[231] And Jesus said to the doves, "you doves," he said, "you won't allow me to rise," he said, "you," he said, "are helping the devil," he said, "but I want to leave you your punishment," he said, "in the traps¹²⁰ of my people," he said, "forever" he said, "then to be eaten," he said.</p> <p>[232] And here today also, in the past we used to set out traps and caught doves to eat, but they were cursed by God because they did not obey, and trampled over Jesus where he was buried.</p> <p>[233] And that is what happened at the place where Jesus was buried.</p> <p>[234] So as Jesus wanted to rise, he was moving the ground, then he spoke to the rooster, told the rooster, "ay, you, rooster," he said, "don't warn the evildoers," he said, "I want to go," he said, "to where my father lives," he said, "don't warn them," he said.</p>
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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.

<p>[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.</p> <p>[236] “Inma,” chayi e gallo, “jay inwaktet i’xin tichan,” chayi, “a’xin uchamsye’nob’,” chayi e gallo uyare ayi e Jesús.</p> <p>[237] “Jay uchamsye’tob’,” chayi e Jesús, “ink’echet’ i’xin tut’ e k’in,” chayi, “ya twa’ ik’otoy ituran tya’ twa’ ink’otoy ub’an, tuyejtzer nitata’,” chayi.</p> <p>[238] “Ah jay b’an kochera,” chayi e gallo, “ton ma’chi inxin inwaryob’,” chayi.</p> <p>[239] Enton e gallo ma’chi ayi ojron che, yi uwira ke’ kay nijki e rum che, kay nijki e rum.</p>	<p>[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.</p> <p>[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.</p> <p>[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.</p> <p>[238] “Ah, if that’s the case,” said the rooster, “then I’m not going to speak,” he said.</p> <p>[239] So the rooster didn’t speak, and he saw that the ground was moving, the ground was moving.</p>
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<p>[240] Enton che yi'x yaja' che yi achpa e Jesús ixin tut' e k'in, ixix tichan me'ya, ma'chix atajwina twa' akerejb'na watar umen e ma'lob'.</p> <p>[241] Ton aru ayi e gallo yi chayi, "ixin e Jesús tut' e k'in! Ixin e Jesús tut' e k'in!"</p> <p>[242] Yi ajner ayi taryob' e syan ma'lob' yaja'.</p> <p>[243] "Verdad ke' ixin e brujo," chayi, "ixin e brujo tichan, ixin ixto e brujo ya'," chob' ayi taryob' ajner che.</p> <p>[244] Uwirob' pasar ayi ketpa e ch'en tya' ch'a'r ani e Jesús.</p> <p>[245] Enton che k'ijnob' ayi e diablo' ira, uwajpyob' yar e gallo che, ub'anyob' tya' wa'r che, kay ub'i'rwob' unuk kora kora, ub'i'rwob' che, k'a'pa utz'okrob' unuk che, uchamsyob'.</p>	<p>[240] And at that moment Jesus rose and went toward heaven, he went far into the sky, and wasn't reached to be pulled down by the evildoers.</p> <p>[241] Then the rooster spoke and said, "Jesus went to heaven! Jesus went to heaven!"</p> <p>[242] The many evildoers came running.</p> <p>[243] "Indeed the witch is gone," they said, "the witch went into the sky, the witch is really gone," they said [while] coming on the run.</p> <p>[244] They saw the hole where Jesus had lain remained open.</p> <p>[245] Then these devils became angry, they grabbed the rooster, released him [from] where he had been placed, were stretching his neck here and there, stretching it, ended up breaking his neck, and killed him.</p>
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<p>[246] Enton chob' ayi, “chenik ta ch'aj e condenado gallo ira,” chob' ayi, “uyakta ixin e brujo tichan,” chob' ayi, uyaryob' ayi che'na ta ch'aj e gallo.</p> <p>[247] Tak'a ayi e ch'aj yaja che, turan kay uwyob' che, umorojse ub'ob tama uxor uweynib'ob' yaja', koche kaware <i>mésa</i>, kay turan uwyob' che.</p> <p>[248] Uwajpyob' ayi e ch'aj koche kaware, warwar ojmay che, ink'ijn ink'ijn, k'ani ani ukumyob' che.</p> <p>[249] Yi tya' ujajpyob' ayi uwe'rir e gallo, o 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'.</p> <p>[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,</p>	<p>[246] Then they said, “let it be prepared in <i>pinol</i>¹²¹, this damned rooster,” they said, “he allowed the witch to go to heaven,” they said, and ordered the rooster to be prepared in <i>pinol</i>.</p> <p>[247] The <i>pinol</i> was cooked there, they sat down and were eating, they gathered themselves at the tables, or <i>mesa</i> as we say [in Spanish], were sitting down to eat.</p> <p>[248] They grabbed the <i>pinol</i> as we say, it was really boiling, very hot, and wanted to sip it.</p> <p>[249] And when they grabbed 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 <i>pinol</i> fluttered, and it splattered onto their faces.</p> <p>[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.</p>
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¹²¹ *Ch'aj, pinol* in Spanish, is a dish made with toasted corn.

<p>[251] Péru b'ajxan chajpa uwe'rir tama e k'ijna', che'na taka e ch'aj twa' ak'ujxa, péru ma'chi uyakta ub'a k'ujxa.</p> <p>[252] Ton che tara xe' a'rwob' ayi e diablo', chayi, “ay, uputa unak' koyt' e gallo,” chayi, “uputa unak' koyt'.”</p> <p>[253] B'ixk'a ayi e gallo tama e ch'ew tya' chapb'ir wa'r, purutna unak' ut'ob' taka e syan ch'aj.</p> <p>[254] Yi b'an kochera che numuy e'nte' numer ira.</p>	<p>[251] But first his flesh was cooked in the heat, was made into <i>pinol</i> to be eaten, but he didn't allow himself to be eaten.</p> <p>[252] Then this is what the devils shouted, they said, “Ay! The rooster burned our eyes!” they said, “the rooster burned our eyes!”</p> <p>[253] The rooster revived in the plate in which it had been placed when cooked, and their eyes were burned with a lot of <i>pinol</i>.</p> <p>[254] And this is how things happened in this other story.</p>
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6.3.2.7. Part 7: Return to Earth

(Continues Text 16: The Capture, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus)

<p>[255] Enton koche ixin e Jesús tut' e k'in.</p>	<p>[255] So Jesus went to heaven.</p>
<p>[256] Enton che numen ajk'in yaja', war ixto ub'ijnwob' ya ke' uyaktob' ixin e Jesús tut' e k'in, numen ajk'in che, me'yra ajk'in.</p>	<p>[256] Days passed and they [the evildoers] were thinking about how they let Jesus get away to heaven, and days passed, many days.</p>
<p>[257] Enton che stupa ayi otronyajr.</p>	<p>[257] Then he returned again.</p>
<p>[258] Chekta ke' war ayi ak'otoy inkojt pagre koche kaware o sea nuch yi era ja'x ayi e Jesús sutpa tari to'r e rum.</p>	<p>[258] It seemed that a <i>padre</i>¹²², as we say [in Spanish] was coming, a priest, and he was Jesus returning to the earth.</p>
<p>[259] Uche ayi e misa tama e templo o iglesia.</p>	<p>[259] He said mass in the temple or church.</p>
<p>[260] Chekta ayi uyub'yob' ke' e yaje' pagre ira ayan uk'otorer, utz'aka e ajmokob' che.</p>	<p>[260] They seemed to perceive that this <i>padre</i> had power, as he was healing the sick.</p>
<p>[261] Ton chob' ayi, “no'n ka'xin quizás koyb'i kochwa uche e misa e pagre ira,” chob' ayi, ixob' ayi.</p>	<p>[261] They said, “let's go and maybe listen to how this <i>padre</i> says mass,” they said, and went off.</p>

¹²² The Spanish word *padre*, often pronounced *pagre* in Ch'orti', is used here to refer to a Catholic priest.

<p>[262] Enton che k'otob' yaja' tya' war uche e misa e padre, enton che kay ayi t'ojna xe' koche kaware matraca, yi uta'jwir te' taka tak'in utzinwob' kochera, kay t'ojt'na e matraca che.</p>	<p>[262] So they came to where the <i>padre</i> was saying mass, and what we call the <i>matracas</i>¹²³ were being played, the pieces of wood with metal were played like this; the <i>matracas</i> were being played.</p>
<p>[263] Enton umorojse ub'ob' ja'xirob' yi tut'ob' ja'xirob' e matraca campana ayi.</p>	<p>[263] Then they gathered together, as to them the <i>matraca</i> is a church bell.</p>
<p>[264] Enton che uyub'yob' ke' kay t'ojt'na e matraca che, ixob' umorojse ub'ob' che, turanob' ayi, koche yaja' ma'chi ayi aktana ochob' umen e pagre yaja' tama uyuxinar ut' yotot, no ke' tamar taka uyocher e k'ek'a'rir ya' taka turb'anob'.</p>	<p>[264] Then they heard that the <i>matraca</i> was sounding, went to gather themselves together, and sat down, [but] as they weren't permitted by the padre to enter the middle of the church (house), they were seated just at the entrance of the door.</p>
<p>[265] Yi jaxto ayi e imb'utz pak'ab'ob', ixob' ub'an tara k'otob' tuyejtzer e padre, kay uche e misa e padre.</p>	<p>[265] And as to the faithful (good people) they also went there and came near the <i>padre</i>, [and] the <i>padre</i> was saying mass.</p>
<p>[266] Ton ka'y e misa che, kay uche e misa e padre, enton che tuyuxinar e misa kay ojron e padre taka e pak'ab'ob'.</p>	<p>[266] Then the mass began, the <i>padre</i> was saying the mass, and in the middles of the mass the <i>padre</i> was speaking with the people.</p>
<p>[267] Yi enton che tya' kay uche e k'ajt yaja', uche conjuración e padre.</p>	<p>[267] Then as he was saying a prayer, the padre made a spell.</p>

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.

<p>[268] Konde warxa ayi uwirob' che, enton che jeb'tz'a ut' e rum che, méru intaka ayi tari jeb'tz'a ut' e ch'en che, ut' e rum jeb'tz'a ut' e otot yaja' tya' turob' che, yi ojresnob' ayi umen e Jesús che</p>	<p>[268] Just as they noticed it, the surface of the earth opened up, in an instant a hole opened up, the earth opened and the floor of the church (house) there where they were seated, and they were dropped by Jesus.</p>
<p>[269] Koche ayan uk'otorer e Jesús, méru intaka uche uk'ab' e Jesús kochera, sutpa ixob' ta ch'en che tuno'r.</p>	<p>[269] Since Jesus had power, he only had to move his hand like this, and everyone went over into the hole.</p>
<p>[270] A'rwob' ayi e syan ma'lob' ira chayi, “Jesús jajpinto kak'ab',” chayi, “k'ani kalok'oy,” chayi, “jajpin kak'ab' Jesús, jajpin.”</p>	<p>[270] The many evildoers cried, “Jesus, grab our hands,” they said, “we want to come out,” they said, “grab our hands, Jesus, grab our hands.”</p>
<p>[271] Ke' e Jesús mas ayi war uyari twa' axob' tinfierno</p>	<p>[271] Jesus was tossing them away to hell.</p>
<p>[272] Pask'a infierno che, ixob' ta ch'en yi k'a'pa ixob' tunor e syan diáblo ira che, majka e rum, unuti' ub'a e rum otronyajr, tu'k'otorer e katata'.</p>	<p>[272] Hell opened up, they went into the hole, and [when] all those many devils were done going, the earth was closed up, the earth united itself again, by the power of God.</p>
<p>[273] Ixob'.</p>	<p>[273] They went off.</p>
<p>[274] Enton tarixto ke' jaxto ayi e numer ira.</p>	<p>[274] So here indeed this is this story.</p>

<p>[275] Uk'ajti ani nitata' ke' e diablob' che, yajra ixob' tinfierno umen e katata' tartaka ke' ja'xirob' uchamsyob' e katata'.</p> <p>[276] Ma'chi ixto una'tob' chi sutpa ya'.</p> <p>[277] Ucheb'ob' ani ke' ja'x inte' winik xe' matuk'a uk'otorer war uche e misa.</p> <p>[278] Yi ke' si ja'x e Jesús xe' ixin tut' k'in, sutpa tari, uche misa, twa' uyari a'xin e diáb'lob' tinfierno.</p> <p>[279] Yi b'an kochera ak'ajtna e numer ira, yi tara no'n kawarwix tama ut' e biblia yi ma'chi katajwi jay ch'a'r tama e biblia.</p> <p>[280] Enton tartaka era ink'otoy taka e k'ub'esyaj ira yi e numer ira tuk'a numuy tama uchamesna'r e Jesús umen e diáb'lob'.</p>	<p>[275] My father used to tell that the devils were sent off into hell by God because they killed God.</p> <p>[276] They certainly didn't know who [it was that] returned.</p> <p>[277] They were thinking that it was a man without power who was saying the mass.</p> <p>[278] And for sure it was [the same] Jesus who went to heaven, came back, and said mass, in order to throw the devils away to hell.</p> <p>[279] And in this way this tale is told, and we recite from the bible and can't find if it is located in the bible.</p> <p>[280] So just to here I come with this remembrance and this tale [about] what happened with regard to the killing of Jesus by the devils.</p>
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BIOGRAPHY

Jim Dugan worked as a computer programmer and systems analyst for more than twenty years. He lived in various parts of the U.S., accumulated credits at eleven different colleges and universities, and eventually completed a B. Sci. in Organizational Behavior at the University of San Francisco in 1990.

After a bout of existential malaise, he decided to leave that career path to pursue his lifelong interests in history, culture, and languages. He spent a year at the University of Arizona taking courses to better define his interests, before being admitted to the graduate Anthropology program at Tulane University.

At various times he has been an officer in local chapters of the Association for Computing Machinery and the New Orleans Secular Humanist Association, and has served as a commissioner on the Santa Clara County (California) Human Relations commission. He has travelled extensively in Mexico, Central America, and Western Europe.