THE COLLECTION OF COPAL AMONG THE Q'EQCHI' MAYA: SHIFTING LIAISONS AND LASTING SALIENCE

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the collection of a tree-sap known as copal among Q'eqchi' Maya who are recent immigrants to the tropical lowlands of Northern Guatemala. Although copal has been used in ceremonies and collected for exchange by the Q'eqchi' for many centuries in their original highland homeland of Alta Verapaz, only relatively recently has the magnitude of its collection for subsequent sale in some cases surpassed all other economic practices except swidden-based, or *milpa*, agriculture, causing a realignment in ceremonial, social, and economic relations. Much of this realignment is related to large-scale changes in which the Q'eqchi' are implicated, such as demographic pressure on the limited and rapidly decreasing lowland resources, the recent commoditization of forest products by NGOs, state and local emphasis on previously unpatrolled boundaries, and more extensive patterns of Q'eqchi' internal exchange due to improved infrastructure, dispersed landholdings, and scattered kinship relations along the migration trail. Nevertheless, there has been a wide variety of responses among the Q'eqchi' that create,

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augment, or maintain locally distinctive practices concerning copal within both pecuniary and ritual realms.

This chapter focuses on the shifting *liaisons*—public, intersubjective, intentional relations—between copal and Q'eqchi', as manifested in temporal and spatial shifts of production practices, extensions and realignments of social and exchange relations, variations in linguistic forms used to refer to copal and predicate qualities about it, and alterations in the ends, means, and practitioners of ceremonies and prayers. By characterizing the path along which copal moves in terms of such liaisons, this study examines deformations in this path as a function of local interactions with and interpretations of recent events and long-term processes.

The chapter has three sections. The first begins by discussing Mocozal, the town where much of this research took place (between May 1996 and January 1997), in order to detail the history of the Q'eqchi' who live there, the changing environs in which they find themselves, and the current shifts in their forestal practices. It concentrates on the Q'eqchi' relationship to rainforest resources, the state, NGOs, and other recent and long-term dwellers using the same biotope and living in nearby towns. The second section briefly explains the rationale behind *liaisons* and outlines their particular use within the bounds of this paper. The last section relates local experience and practices to larger-scale events by ethnographically and linguistically following copal along its path from collection through storage, sale, and exchange, and then to ceremony.

MOCOZAL: INHABITANTS, HISTORY, AND ENVIRONS

Mocozal is a small village, or *casarío*, of over 500 ha, including both housing sites and *milpa* (maize-based subsistence farming) parcels. It is located in the northwest corner of the Ejido de San José, which is in turn located in the department of El Petén in northeastern Guatemala, bordering both Mexico and Belize (see Figure 1). Originally used as a chiclero camp,[1] for the last 20 years it has been a predominantly Q'eqchi'-Maya town of approximately 200 people, most of whom practice swidden-based agriculture and forestal harvesting within the semideciduous rainforest that surrounds it. As only one of thousands of *casaríos* in the Petén, it is of particular interest in that it is located both on the northernmost frontier of the Q'eqchi' migration and only 20 km from Flores, the demographic and political center of the Petén (see Figure 1).

Among the oldest and most influential residents is Don Ricardo, a Q'eqchi' speaker born in the Alta Verapaz town of Lanquín, who began his stay in Mocozal as a *chiclero* (gum collector), though at times making milpa, over 20 years ago. After many trips back and forth between San Luis (to which he had moved as a young man) and Mocozal, he brought along his wife and several friends. The latter are now kin through marriages between their children, but originally they were unrelated. They currently make up the oldest members of the village, the *tiixilwiinq*,

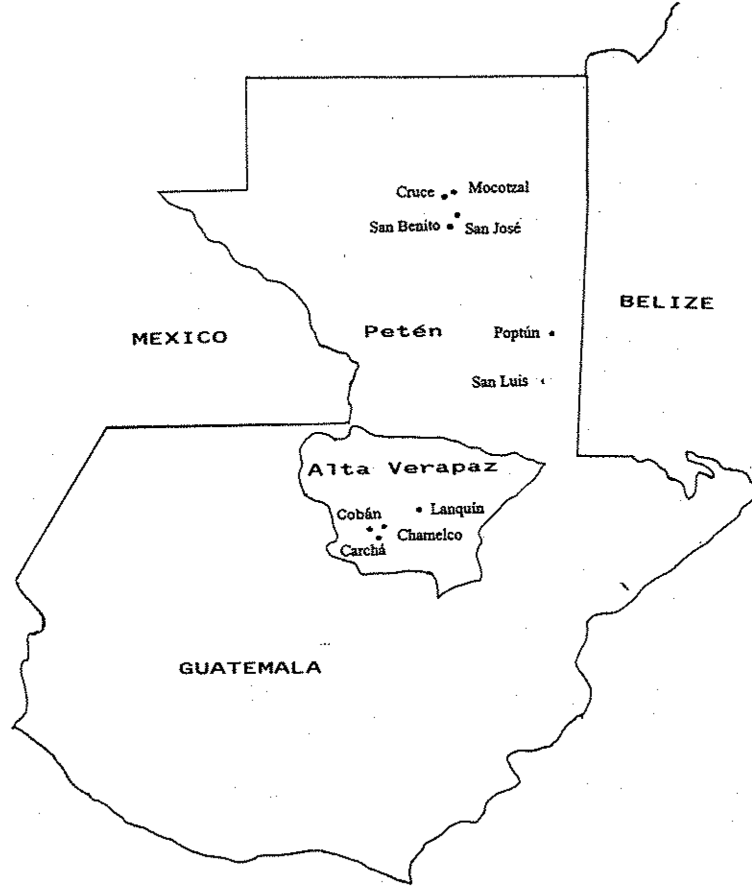

Figure 1. Map of Guatemala, Showing Places Mentioned

or "old men." Though some have since moved to nearby towns such as Cruce in order to be closer to kinsmen, churches, markets, electricity, and potable water, all continue to make milpa in the lands surrounding Mocozal and all have children (many now married and with children of their own) who live in Mocozal but who were born in such southern Petén places as San Luis or Poptún. Out of the close assortment of perhaps 25 families, then, the majority of the occupants are Q'eqchi'-speaking Maya born in either Alta Verapaz or the southern Petén, who migrated to Mocozal over the last 20 years. The remaining inhabitants are Ladinos who originally came from either the south coast or eastern highlands of Guatemala.[2]

Most of the Q'eqchi'-speaking Maya living in Mocozal are Catholic, but there are five Evangelical families.[3] In general, Evangelicals are friendlier with Ladinos, more likely to be speak Spanish, more likely to receive visitors in Mocozal, and more likely to be engaged in extra-village social networks. For example, they often have contacts with NGO representatives, soldiers from a nearby army base, well-diggers, teachers, and other proxies of the Guatemalan state. As will be seen, while both groups equally depend on maize-agriculture for their subsistence, they often differ with respect to the other economic practices that they pursue. For example, Catholic Q'eqchi' are more likely to collect copal, hunt, and raise parakeets for sale. Evangelicals, on the other hand, scoff at copal collection and are more likely to collect other items from the forest to sell to a nearby NGO. In general and in accordance with their more extensive social networks, Evangelicals are more likely to engage in activities that are non-traditional, non-local, and/or mediated by non-Q'eqchi' (as organizers, middlemen, and so on).

As is well-documented (Adams 1965, Carter 1969, Pedroni 1991, Schwartz 1990), the Q'eqchi' have been migrating from the highlands of Alta Verapaz to the lowlands of the Petén from the late nineteenth century on, with even earlier lowland settlement patterns evidenced in their taxonomic knowledge, long-term practice of shifting cultivation, highland-to-lowland flight from Dominican *reducciones*,[4] and both pre- and post-conquest relations with the unconquered and migratory Chol Maya (King 1974:22, Sapper 1985:1–3, Wilk 1981:75). Only in the 1960s, though, did this immigration become of interest to the Guatemalan state, with its opening of the once thought marginal Petén to colonization (mainly to ease land scarcity in the southwestern highlands) and its designating of the FYDEP (Empresa Nacional de Fomenta y Desarrollo Económico de El Petén) as executor of this frontier development. The FYDEP's tasks include the promotion of tourism, agriculture, infrastructure, schools, health-stations, water facilities, and general economic growth (Schwartz 1987). Since this state-sponsored colonization and development of Guatemala's tropical lowlands (an area containing one-third of the country's land, or approximately 36,000 sq km), its original population of around 25,000 inhabitants has increased more than tenfold, with 50 percent of this growth being due to in-migration from other parts of the country (Schwartz 1990). The forest—which in 1970 covered 70–80 percent of the area—has been reduced by half, and recent studies predict that, at current rates of deforestation, the remaining forest cover can last at most 20 years (ProPetén 1996, Saa Vidal 1979).

The Q'eqchi', the fourth-largest of Guatemala's 22 Maya linguistic groups, make up a significant component of this migration. Its more than 360,000 speakers now cover the largest area of any Maya language, while maintaining the smallest number of dialects and the largest percentage of monolinguals.[5] These facts point to the suddenness, magnitude, and relative isolation of its speakers' migration (Stewart 1980).[6] Although the Q'eqchi' migration has its roots in preconquest and colonial relations, only within the last ten years has it and its attendant qualities of over-population, deforestation, and latent social upheaval been seen as critical by

scholars, locals, immigrants, and government officials alike. In response, there has been an explosion of government agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and local groups (with and without ties to the former groups), all of which are interested in protecting, utilizing, or purchasing the Petén's resources—be these land, trees, forest products, or labor. There has been, as well, an explosion of new discourses with such key-words as "bio-diversity," "sustainable development," and "eco-tourism."

One NGO, in particular, which has often interacted with the inhabitants of Mocozal, is ProPetén, a branch of Conservation International (headquartered in the United States), which opened an office in Cruce in 1994. Their agents spent the first two years locating and classifying collectable items from the rainforest. Called "species," these items are just easily identified parts (leaves, stems, seeds, and the like) of many local trees and plants given names such as "pinwheel" and "horse-shoe." All of them are found in either the forest or previously used milpas that have been fallow for at least seven years. After finding buyers for the packaged products of such collectibles (some of which are pompori, or oils and scents extracted and sold in vials), the agents began to have local residents collect those items thought to be most marketable (about 27 different items in all). By the third year, they were in full operation: collecting, classifying, packaging, and shipping (to both the United States and Europe). Since then, these American agents have turned the operation over to the residents of Cruce, who now both own and run it. Each year, in the dry season from January to May, they receive forest products from over 100 individuals who collect them in the area, including about ten Q'eqchi' from Mocozal.[7]

Though not the most northern Q'eqchi' village in the Petén,[8] Mocozal is one of the few state-sanctioned Q'eqchi' settlements of recent origins, and many Q'eqchi'-used lands that far north are instead *tierra agarrada*, or "grabbed land," meaning that those using it have no legal title (or any potential for such title) and are only making clandestine milpa on borrowed time.[9] The Q'eqchi' of Mocozal are different, therefore, from many immigrants in that they legally rent the land on which they make their milpa, having legal rights to about 30 *manzanas* (21 ha) per family. However, most *parcelas* (as the rented fields are called) are now either milpa or *alk'al* (land once used as milpa, but now fallow), and only a few Q'eqchi' have been able to save a portion of their parcel for its trees, animals, vines, *xate* (a dwarf palm), *pimienta* (allspice), or shade. Because there is no room to expand their parcels legally, and because they have no money to purchase fertilizer, eight or nine of the families currently living in Mocozal have some milpa outside of their own parcels (and outside of Mocozal proper) but within the borders of state-controlled, community-patrolled, or privately owned land.

This land that borders Mocozal has four components. One is the Biosfera-Itzá, a forest preserve of 600 ha owned and protected by the Itzá-Maya of San José whose organization, the Committee of the Biosfera Itzá (which includes one Q'eqchi' from Mocozal among its members), has existed for almost three years. It has just recently

been granted "association status" by the national government, allowing it much greater political autonomy in its pursuit of environmental and cultural conservation. A second component is the Biosfera-Maya, a section of land of over 800,000 ha (which includes both the Biosfera-Itzá and Tikal National Park within its jurisdiction) overseen by Conap[10] during the last eight years since its inception. A third component is privately owned land usually used for milpa by residents of Cruce; it can cost around 3,000 quetzals (U. S. $500) per manzana (where 1 ha = 1.43 manzanas). Finally, there are ejido-parcels which are used by Itzá-Maya from San José itself. There is, then, a temporally changing hierarchy of use and encroachment possibilities among these four components, to which the Q'eqchi' have been able to avail themselves over time.

The usual excuse for encroachment on any one of these four components, given by Don Ricardo (but echoed by other farmers of milpa, auxiliary mayors, and Conap officials, as well) is, "Our children need to eat, and who would throw a man in jail for that?" Within certain of these components, such as those of the Biosfera-Itzá, there are said to be many guards and both steep and enforced penalties for the making of milpa, the hunting of animals, or the felling of timber. Accordingly, in well-patrolled places such as the Biosfera-Itzá, there is less and less violation of boundaries each year. (Of course, there is no direct encroachment on privately-owned land, but theft of maize is not unheard of.) In other places, such as the Conap-controlled land of the Biosfera-Maya, there is more and more encroachment each year, especially as Conap officials come only once or twice annually in order to clean the breach, less that 1 km long and 2m wide, which separates Mocozal parcel from Biosfera-Maya forest. During this clearing, officials also check quite superficially for illegal timber harvesting or milpa making; then, after spending the night as guests in Don Ricardo's house, they move on to patrol the rest of Conap's enormous holding.

The nearest town, Cruce, is about a one-hour walk away from Mocozal along a path that barely allows a four-wheel-drive truck to pass in the dry season. It has electricity (but no telephone), Catholic and Evangelical churches, an army base, a few small shops, and an all-weather road with daily buses to the large markets of San Andreas (near Flores) and with outgoing buses to southern towns such as San Luis, Cobán, and Guatemala City. There is much coming and going between the two places, be it for marketing, visiting friends and relatives, attending religious services, obtaining transportation, or playing soccer games.[11] However, whereas Mocozal has daily relations with Cruce, its relationship with San José (of which Mocozal is officially related as a *casarío*) is more tenuous, given its greater distance (18 km instead of 6) along a road that is usable only December through June, after which the heavy rains make it too muddy to travel, even by foot. Nonetheless, almost all state-related business takes place in or originates from San José: the registering of land, the meetings of the committee of the Biosfera-Itzá (most of whose members are located there), and the deployment of teachers, census-takers, well-diggers, and vaccinators.

Mocozal has a small school (attended sporadically, depending on harvest calendar and religious observance), a soccer field (where boys and young men come together in the evening), a flagpole (ever without flag, even on national holidays), water taps (unconnected to the hoped-for well, and now with useless fastenings), a padlocked toolshed for the well-diggers, and a dozen or so latrine covers (stacked behind the mayor's home). Mocozal is without predictable water sources or electricity, however. In the rainy season (from June through December), a small *aguada* (pond) is used, and rain water is collected off the palm-thatched roofs of houses into barrels. Each year during the dry season, the mayor of San José has had to have potable water brought in by truck. Recently, a group of state-funded well-diggers left after two months, defeated by a broken bit and water sources that were much too deep, as well as by seasonal mud that often made their stay difficult and their weekly comings and goings nearly impossible.

This lack of water has caused residents to grumble, many of whom are preparing to move out, at least in the dry months, to Cruce, San Benito, or even San Luis—all places where they have religious affiliations, kin, small parcels, houses, or potential work.[12] No one has any intention of going back to Alta Verapaz—the usual reasons being its paucity of arable land (and the denudation of the land that does exist), its greater social inequality (evident in the violence that went on there in the 1980s, such as the Massacre at Panzós,[13] and the ethnic discrimination), and the absence of close family members, or *comunil*. In fact, for many Q'eqchi', recent immigrants and oldtimers alike, it is just as much a matter of pride as it is of necessity to say that one is *puro Petenero* (pure Petén dweller).

In sum, while the Q'eqchi' living in Mocozal have relatively stable lives in comparison to their counterparts elsewhere in the Petén, there is a general feeling of rapid change and insecurity with regard to the future. Besides concern about such overarching factors as water for drinking and land for milpa, there are fears about the burgeoning population and potential reprisals against the Q'eqchi', for they are very aware that they are considered a pariah people (due to their immigrant and indigenous status) by many of the long-term residents of the Petén, as well as by agents of both NGOs and the state. There is the fear of criminal, guerrilla, and army activities. In fact, Don Ricardo's eldest son was recently killed by an unknown assailant while walking through the forest, and only three months later members of the army posing as guerrillas (or vice versa, for no one knows for sure) came through town confiscating guns and taking money.[14] There is also anxiety due to the recent proliferation of organizations with either overt and quite modern environmental motives or rather old and covert intentions (the latter often related to the introduction of cattle or the securing of oil and precious trees).

One aspect, in particular, that is often talked about is the dwindling of forest resources—not only of animals and trees, but also of collectibles such as *xate* (a dwarf palm), *pimienta* (allspice), and *coroza* (the fruit of a local tree). As already mentioned, one change directly related to this diminishing of accessible resources is the intensification of copal collection among many Q'eqchi' currently living in

Mocozal. For some, its collection has eclipsed all other forest-harvesting practices. The most important of these practices will be detailed below (also see Table 1).

The men and boys hunt for forest game (usually deer, tepozquintle, armadillos, and wild pigs) to sell to Ladinos and to other Q'eqchi' in either Mocozal or Cruce for 100–200 quetzals per animal (U. S. $16–32), depending on size. Hunting requires either a gun, a hunting dog, or a slingshot. The gun normally used is a .22, of which there are four in Mocozal—three owned by Catholic Q'eqchi' (who hunt much more than the Evangelicals) and one by a Ladino. Hunting dogs are a bit more prevalent (about six in number), and cost around 50 quetzals apiece. These rather husky dogs are given Ladino names, unlike their unnamed, free, and very common friend, the household mutt, or *chucho*. (The few cats in Mocozal are given Ladino names, as well, but usually prefixed with the Spanish appellation *Don*.) Handmade slingshots are owned and carried by almost all boys but are useful only for stunning small animals.

Although hunting occurs throughout the year (usually in the early morning, when the animals are said to be most active), it is either foregone during milpa work or focused on non-saleable (but certainly edible) milpa pests such as birds (*k'ok xul*), raccoons (*aj ow*), squirrels (*kuk*), pisotes (*sis*), and rats (*ch'o*). Sometimes, when a man's milpa produces maize ahead of the others, he will hire a gun-owning man (or slingshot-owning boy) to watch it in the early mornings for thieves, animal and human alike. However, game is said to be scarcer each year, so that the long walk (about 10 km) to where it still exists is often judged not worth the effort unless one has a horse with which to carry the dead animals back home. Also, it is often illegal and dangerous to be found hunting on forest reserves or private land. Therefore, guns are now most often used to shoot milpa pests or such chicken killers as the much hated *gato de monte* (fox).

Almost all the men of Mocozal collect *xate* (*Chamaedorea* spp.), a dwarf-palm whose leaves are exported for ornamental purposes in floral arrangements. These palms are sold to middlemen in either Cruce or San Benito (the latter's prices being much higher—2.5 vs. 1.5 quetzals per *grueso*, or about 50 palms). Working alone with a sharp machete in an area with a high concentration of xate, a man may collect 15–20 *gruesos* in a morning's work period, from about 7:00 AM until noon, known to Q'eqchi' as a *wa'leb*—meaning either the five-hour interval itself, its endpoint (noon), or the period right after, when lunch is usually eaten. Xate is mainly collected between July and October, on the days when there is no milpa work, though it is considered such easy labor that it can always be done in the afternoons following a morning's work in the milpa. Because it quickly rots, xate must be sold within two days, requiring travel to either Cruce or San Benito and making it slightly less desirable than other possible economic activities to the inhabitants of mud-bound Mocozal.

Although xate collecting has been a practice in the Petén since the 1960s and always provides a small but steady increase to income, its collection by the Q'eqchi' (though not by the Ladinos) of Mocozal has dwindled since 1995. This dwindling

is attributed to the greater number of other immigrants (from outside of Mocozal) collecting it, the diminishing of the forest in which it is found, the general lack of water in the Petén (due to deforestation, as well), and the corresponding scarcity in xate, which necessitates greater travel time and more extensive foraging. There are currently no penalties (as there can be in the case of hunting) for the collection of xate on state-owned land. And there are no private collection spots set up within this state-owned land (as will be seen to exist in the case of copal) which certain collectors might claim as their own under the guarantee of kin- or community-recognition of use-right.

Men from Mocozal often collect assorted forest items for ProPetén. As already mentioned, these items include both *basura de bosque* ("forest garbage") and the bulbs of the coroza palm (see Table 1). After being collected, these items are carried to Cruce, where they are then inspected and sorted by employees at the ProPetén office. The bulbs are bought for two quetzals per pound. A male group consisting of father, sons, and sons-in-law can collect up to 25 pounds in a *wa'leb* (5-hour morning) if working together in a well-chosen spot (which necessitates previous searching). Because of the necessity of interaction with non-Q'eqchi' middlemen, only the Evangelicals currently pursue these activities diligently, pooling their horses (and, often, their mountain bikes) for the transportation of their collections to Cruce.

Because it quickly rots when wet, *basura de bosque* can be collected only during the dry season. The fruits of the corosa palm, however, can be sold during the wet season, and at times their collection is interspersed with milpa practices such as weeding (see Table 1), but not usually more than once per week. Both of these

Table 1. Annual Work Calendar (males)

Main Work Activities	*J*	*F*	*M*	*A*	*M*	*J*	*J*	*A*	*S*	*O*	*N*	*D*
Copal collection (*pomok*)	x			x		x	x	x	x		x	x
Collection of assorted forest detritus	x	x	x	x								
Collection of dwarf palms (*xate*)							x	x	x	x	x	
Collection of allspice (*pimienta*)							x	x	x			
Collection of coroza bulbs							x	x				
Paid work on fincas (plantations)							x	x				
Chicle collection										x	x	x
k'alek k'iche' (clearing forest)		x	x	x								
k'alek alk'al			x	x								
k'atok (burning for milpa)			x	x								
aawk (planting maize)				x	x							
aq'iink (weeding of milpa)							x					
basok (folding maize stalks)								x				
rochoch ixim (building maize storage)								x				
q'olok (maize harvesting)										x		

activities have been practiced only for the last two years by inhabitants of Mocozal, correlating with the opening of ProPetén and being reinforced among the Evangelicals, it is said, by their closer ties to both Ladinos and Q'eqchi' living in Cruce through the Evangelical church, which they visit there or receive visits from at least once per week.

All the Q'eqchi', but no Ladinos, engage in the collection of allspice (*Pimenta dioca*, actually a fruit), which know as *pimienta* to Ladinos and *peenz* to the Q'eqchi'. It is collected in July, August, and September (see Table 1) and then sold to Don Ricardo, who dries it in large quantities, either in the sun or over a fire—for its collection coincides with the height of the rainy season—before selling it in bulk to middlemen in either Cruce or San Benito for one-half to two quetzals per pound, depending on how damp it is. Fifteen pounds may be collected in a morning by a group (which usually includes women and girls, among the Catholics). Also, single young men will often bring in a pound or two that they collected near their milpa or while casually hunting in the afternoons. Like xate, allspice has been an important and relatively stable export product of the Petén since the 1960s.

Besides Don Ricardo's uncontested purchasing of all the allspice of Mocozal (and his subsequent contribution to its value by drying, transportation, and sale), the only similar individually controlled economic niche in Mocozal is the gas-powered maize-grinder of Don Santiago, an Evangelical who was originally from Poptún (though born in Carchá, Alta Verapaz). Every family in Mocozal, including the Ladinos, sends a daughter to his house, two or three times per day, to have maize ground for the making of tortillas. The cost is 25 centavos for each of the 12 pounds per day needed by a five-person family, and there is generally a fast-moving line of silent young girls with baskets on their heads waiting their turn. Each of these men also owns a small store selling cigarettes, soda, salt, sugar, powdered milk, bananas, onions, and garlic. However, as Don Ricardo's store is located right on the road from Cruce, he receives the majority of Mocozal's business (be they infrequent visitors, long-term residents who do not want to walk all the way to Cruce, or other *tiixilwiinq* [old men] and their sons stopping by to chat). It is stocked bi-monthly using a package-laden mule tended by a long-term friend of Don Ricardo who used to live in Mocozal but now lives in Cruce.

Earlier activities in which men once engaged, such as chicle collection and timber felling—most often mahogany (*Swieteenia macrophylla*) and cedar (*Cedrella* sp.)—are not now practiced by anyone in Mocozal. The cessation of such activities is said to be due to the lack of such precious trees and the drop in the demand for chicle, as well as the need for a relatively large initial investment in equipment. There is some work done on plantations by the poorest of the Catholic Q'eqchi'. In these families, the men migrate alone for two months to privately owned plantations within the Petén, though they usually make the 3–5-hour bus journey home on weekends, because the peak migration season corresponds with milpa weeding. Also, some men hire themselves out as paid laborers, or *moos*, to other Q'eqchi' when there is non-planting milpa work to be done, such as forest clearing and burning or maize harvesting. Lastly, there is some selling of live animals, most often birds such as the parakeet (*cho'cho'*), which is mainly practiced by Catholic, unmarried young men and older boys, who catch them in their nests (usually in parts of the rainforest slated for clearing and burning for future milpa) and then keep them for several months until they have enough of their vibrant green plumage to be saleable in San Benito.

These, then, are the main economic practices in Mocozal besides swidden-based agriculture.[15] It should be emphasized that no single one of them is practiced consistently by everyone. Some men hunt only in the mornings not devoted to milpa; others alternately collect allspice, xate (dwarf palms), and coroza bulbs; still others now devote themselves exclusively to the collection of copal. These differences are said to be as much a function of individual temperament as of religious beliefs, economic status, and/or seasonal variation.[16] It should also be emphasized that the majority of forest collection practices involve the Q'eqchi' on only the collection side. Furthermore, the majority of what they produce has little use-value (beside cash) and no religious or historical significance, because most of these practices are novel (either being exclusively lowland practices or recently introduced by NGOs). While some men say that the ultimate buyers are gringos (foreigners, usually from the United States) who want these products for their extractable scents, the majority of the Q'eqchi' living in Mocozal have no knowledge about, and not much interest in, the subsequent sale and consumption of the items they themselves collect.

The situation is very different in the case of copal, which has been used for thousands of years by the inhabitants of Mesoamerica (Estrada Monroy 1979, Pacheco 1988) and which continues to have extensive practices surrounding it among Q'eqchi' living in all parts of Alta Verapaz and the Petén (see, e.g., Carter 1969, Pacheco 1988, Wilk 1981, Wilson 1972). As already mentioned, among a growing number of Q'eqchi', copal is second only to maize-based agriculture in terms of the income it produces, the time its collection consumes, and the ceremonies in which it is implicated. In fact, it is now collected during the maize harvest (if paid laborers can be afforded) and even during planting once the communal work and subsequent feasting have ended in the late afternoons.

Schedules are therefore being altered, with every second or third morning being used for collecting copal. Other practices (from hunting and parakeet-raising to dwarf-palm collecting) are being given up, minimized, or rescheduled. Different people are being included, if not substituted, in the collection process—women and children either helping their husbands and fathers or taking over for them when they are working the milpa. Religious antagonism between Evangelicals and Catholics is being manifested relative to copal, in terms of economic and ceremonial differentiation, as well as milpa-making versus copal-collecting access to Conap-controlled land. And, among Catholic Q'eqchi', new territorial demarcations are being made within land long seen as communal or not at issue when the collectors were few in number, communicating daily, and almost always kinsmen.

For example, within state-owned and Conap-controlled land outside of the Ejido de San José, there has been a marking of groups of trees that individual copal collectors will get to use—not a formal or state-sanctioned marking, but one noted and enforced by friends and kin, and given weight by biographical precedence. Violent arguments have ensued when one man's trees were encroached upon by other collectors. Accordingly, as will be detailed in the next section, paths, products, and places that were previously thought to be unimportant or not at issue are now being argued over, formally marked, and collectively maintained. As will be seen, these dramatic changes have implications for local value regimes, ceremonial activities, productive practices, and linguistic reference and predication.

THE CONCEPT OF LIAISONS

Liaisons are used in this chapter to track the changing interrelations between subjects and objects: in this case, Q'eqchi' and copal. Liaisons may be characterized most simply as public, intersubjective intentional relations. In other words, they are the overtly manifested and shared means by which objects are located, distinguished, manipulated, and described by subjects (and, for symmetry's sake, the means by which subjects themselves are located, distinguished, manipulated, and described by objects). One may think of Heidegger's (1993) characterization of the "bridge" which gathers both banks of the river around it. In this example, subjects and objects (or banks) are secondary, being brought into formal existence by means of liaisons, which are methodologically primary—be they bridges or other "built things." This means that, rather than seeing subjects as producing, desiring, appropriating, consuming, or being alienated by objects, one instead watches the shifting liaisons that exist between them.

At their simplest level, liaisons are tacit, habitual, and requisite linguistic forms used by the subject in order to interact with the object and be understood by others. Two aspects in particular will be examined here: (1) the linkages between the sign (*pom*) and its object (*copal*) as a function of certain contexts, and (2) the qualities then attributed to this sign-object via its placement within certain linguistic structures.

Liaisons are not just linguistic in nature, however. They are just as much actions *around* an object as they are utterances *about* its corresponding sign. In the case of actions around copal, the salient distinctions that will be examined are: (1) classes of people who perform, receive, acknowledge, or sanction certain actions involving it; (2) contexts, or milieus (spatial, social, and temporal), that must exist for certain actions to be undertaken (and/or for certain events to be said to have taken place); (3) groupings, or entourages, of other objects that are in close proximity to it in certain stages of its existence; (4) placement with respect to the body and/or other objects within certain milieus; (5) exchange-value within all value-regimes that it may circulate in (whether cash, maize, or cooked food); and (6) labor value in terms of alternate productive activities that may take the place of copal collection.

One may most simply characterize the *value-regime* within which any particular object circulates as a function of both the other objects for which this object may be exchanged, and with whom and when, and who can produce or consume this object, and when and where. In Mocozal, for example, there is one value-regime whose base is the *quetzal* (the national unit of currency) in the sense that any object within this regime may be reduced to its quetzal equivalent within any context (with examples ranging from Coca-Cola to boots and other non-locally produced and non-scarce goods). Other regimes include certain forms of culinary production by women and house-building by men, which are never transferable (or reducible) to quetzals; these forms are only non-immediately exchangeable with members of one's *comunil* (kin and close friends) and take place only on certain days (according to the festival and agricultural calendar). Because of its traditional importance and economic value, copal—like maize—navigates (or is "navigated through") several value-regimes as a function of its particular milieu and historical worldline.

Using the characterization of liaisons as introduced above (in either their linguistic or non-linguistic expression), one may go on to define the *horizon* of a sign-object as the total set of possible liaisons it may enter into with a *particular* subject or set of subjects. Horizon is to be contrasted with the *worldline* of the sign-object, which is the total set of possible liaisons it may enter into with *all* subjects.[17] A sign-object may be tracked as it moves along its worldline, entering and exiting the horizons of different subjects while undergoing changes in milieu, entourage, and referent-sign pairing. Such a view takes the locally-relevant (rather than common-sense-real) sign-object to be *the sum of its possible liaisons within its subject's horizon*. In other words, the locally-relevant sign-object, in contrast to the common-sense-real object, is *potential*, *distributed*, and *processual* in its existence, rather than simply "being there."

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF COPAL'S WORLDLINE

This section offers an ethnographic account of the worldline along which copal travels, moving milieu-by-milieu from the collection process, through storage and sale, and to its use in ceremonies—both as experienced within Mocozal and as remembered by recent migrants from towns in the southern Petén and Alta Verapaz. In addition to the descriptive emphasis on one man's practices, this section takes into account the salient distinctions in reference and predication as manifested in linguistic liaisons. It should be stressed that these are the means by which male, Catholic Q'eqchi' collectors of copal habitually describe the processes in which they are engaged. In other words, they represent *exemplars* of shared tendencies among members of a group who have the most personal experience with copal along the largest portion of its worldline. Examples are chosen to reflect typical distinctions made across milieus within a single worldline and consecutive worldlines over time.

The Collection Process

Every second or third day, when the resin drawn forth from previous cuts has flowed enough to be judged worth collecting, Don Alfonso will set out from his home with a sack containing bottles of water, three or four palettes (*paletas*) resembling ping-pong paddles but made of a single-piece of hand-carved cedar, and the ubiquitous machete. With him will be his son Vicente (age 12), his daughter Candelaria (age 10), and three or four mutts that will spend the morning periodically fanning out to search for the holes of tepozquintle (*jalaw*) or to corner armadillos (*baqxul*), falling back into step only when whistled for.

Don Alfonso and his children walk single-file with their machetes held loosely in their hands, blades downward. The clomp of their rubber milpa boots and the slap of Candelaria's bare feet blend into the roosters and *chachalacas* (*Ortalis vetula, Ortalis cinereiceps*) making their early morning ruckus. The trail winds through a nearby milpa, where they climb over small fences built to stop marauding domesticated pigs and then cross a large section of *alk'al* (fallowed milpa) where the construction of an Evangelical church is getting slowly underway. They follow a Conap-cut path, known as "li breech," which marks the western border of the Ejido de San José (of which Mocozal is a small village) and the beginning of privately owned property described to me by the Ladino mayor as land one can put barbed wire around or guard with vicious dogs—but never mentioned by the Q'eqchi', who use it only as a surreptitious dumping ground for banana peels, used batteries, empty soap-packages, and rotting foliage. Where the forest begins and the housing sites end is marked by the burned-out trunk of a once majestic ceiba tree that conceals a hole where tepozquintle are said to have lived and where 12-year-old Mauricio (the grandson of Don Ricardo and the stepson of Don Alfonso) often stores his slingshot, cigarettes, mildewed karate magazines, and just-collected copal.

Past this tree, the path continues straight northwards for another half-kilometer. Branching from this path are the secondary paths that lead towards clandestine milpa on Conap land, long-ago timbered stands of precious trees (usually mahogany or cedar), or old milpa now turned fallow, its regrowth now mainly fast-growing and soft-wooded canopy trees. Continually merging with and emerging from these secondary paths is the path along which Don Alfonso collects copal. Circuitous and alternately flat and steep, these secondary paths are maintained by the branch breaking and leave tramping of Don Alfonso and, at times, his wife or children, two or three times per week.

At such a meeting point of paths, Don Alfonso hands out palettes to Candelaria and Vicente, the latter also stooping to collect stones for his slingshot, which he will use periodically to hunt for parakeets or armadillos. From there they maintain their form as a group (though always walking single-file) on secondary paths and around the larger trees, breaking up on the tertiary paths that lead to small clumps of copal trees but maintaining contact by sporadic whistles. The forest is woven with deliquescing paths—government-sanctioned paths, old chiclero trails, personal paths for toilets and collection practices, and the deer, rabbit, and quail paths. Even the ants have trails, perpendicular to the human ones, seen as sparse carpets of the torn-up leaves that the ants hold aloft as they travel.

A copal tree (*Protium copal*) stands out as lighter bark against the forest's dark brown and green background, because it has no branches until almost 3m above the ground. At each tree, the collectors kneel with their machetes on the ground at their sides, using the palette (held horizontally) to scrape the now dried resin flow from the bark. One can see the white stains of past secretions and the new patches of yellow from recent cuts that slowly turn orange around the hardening resin. Scraping is done with several upward motions interspersed with generous tongue-licks (as if eating ice cream), which both move the resin towards the center of the palette and form it into a more compact shape—the approximation of a half-ball. If there exist older drippings that resist the blunt wooden edge of the palette, the collectors use their machetes to scrape them off in swatches before packing them into the softer resin, again with their tongues. Each tree gives about one or two marble's worth of resin per visit, depending on whether or not the tree has just been rested. Their hands do not touch the copal the whole time, so as to not get them sticky and so as to keep the copal clean from dirt. Throughout this process, there is constant spitting, and by the end of the morning Don Alfonso's and his children's tongues and lips are white and sticky, and their throats are dry. There is much talk about the bitter (*k'a*) flavor of copal and about the licking process, which is said (with a smile) to be closely akin to the eating of ice cream.

After collecting the earlier flow, they switch to holding their palettes in their mouths and now slice downward with the machete to scrape off 2 × 6 cm patches of outer bark in order to begin the flow for the next cycle, which will be collected two or three days hence. The men and boys cut with a succession of quick, one-handed slices, but Candelaria puts her weight into the machete, using both hands with a single, drawn-out slice. The new cut is always made above the last cut, unless that one was judged of inadequate output, in which case they move around the base of the tree to a new spot at least the distance of two hands away from the old. As the result, each copal-tree has one or more areas of cutting on it (as widely spaced as possible) and, over the yearly cycle, the collectors move from cutting directly above the roots to about chest high, with an ever-increasing height of new swatches—maintaining, thereby, a kind of calendar, said to be "the days of the tree" (*lix kutankil li che'*).

Throughout the three or four hours spent moving from tree to tree within Don Alfonso's cluster—which he calls "my group, my trees" (*inch'uut, inche'*)—his and his children's spatial cohesion oscillates, coming together on trees in tight clusters or having large diameters and spreading out when the density again goes down. Within such dense forest, one loses sight of the others quickly (perhaps at a distance of only 3–4m), and the group keeps track of each other via the sounds of forest-floor detritus crackling, branches breaking, or low whistles. In fact, the

common description of themselves is balaam, or "half-hidden," its meaning demonstrated by holding most of the body behind a tree so that only one or two human limbs are visible. The common directive given is "listen" (*abi'*), uttered with a head movement indicating direction, instead of the more typical "look" (il), used in open spaces such as milpa, housing sites, or soccer fields.

Thus, the morning is spent alternately scraping, compacting, slicing, spitting, whistling, ignoring the mosquitoes (during the rainy season), regrouping after hour-long intervals in order to put all of the copal on a single large palette (which will often be hidden in the burnt-out ceiba tree until they regroup again), firing off a few rocks at birds or shadows, drinking water, avoiding gradients in favor of contours wherever possible, and stepping around the rotting logs, loose rocks, and deep and damp carpeting of leaves that make up the rainforest floor.

Within this collection milieu, there are several linguistic practices that need to be distinguished. First, the base-morpheme *pom* may refer to both the resin-giving and the non-resin-giving variety of the copal tree. This distinction is made explicit via the signs *saqipom* and *kaqipom*, or white and red copal tree. The resin-giving, or white, copal tree may also be referred to as *pomche'* (where *che'* is the generic word for tree) or just *pom*. Of interest in the milieus that follow is the fact that, within this milieu, the base-morpheme *pom* is never used to refer to the actual resin, inside or outside of the tree (as is the case in almost all the other milieus discussed below). Rather, within this milieu, the resin in the tree is referred to by the generic term for sap (*q'ol*).

In total, the collecting party will "visit" (*ula'aniink*) the approximately 125 trees that make up Don Alfonso's *ch'uut* (all the copal trees contained within a traversed area of several hectares). They will obtain about two marbles' worth of resin from each tree. The children together collect about 40 percent of it. The total reaches four or five pounds. At the end of the morning's work (*wa'leb*), usually three or four hours later, they stop, regroup, and gather all the resin onto the one large palette, forming it into the approximation of a ball. Because the copal is still semi-liquid at this stage and often slumps, they maintain the palette horizontal to the ground. If it ever tilts when a child is holding it, he or she is scolded mildly.

They then take the leaves of coroza palms (*lix xaq li mokooch*), moisten them with saliva or water, and wrap them around the copal so that it can be transported without sticking to their bags, hands, or clothing. The 20-minute walk home is often silent (as was, generally, the collection process itself). The resin is hidden in Don Alfonso's shoulder bag, allegedly so that others will not know how much has been collected (and thereby see it as a lucrative pursuit). As Don Alfonso says, it is not so much that the copal will ever be used up, as that he might have to walk further or argue more to obtain it.

Note that, with respect to this milieu of transportation, the base-morpheme *pom* refers to either the resin just collected or that resin now wrapped in a coroza palm leaf and ready for carrying. The placing of copal in coroza palms leaves (so that it does not stick to anything or get dirty) is standard procedure, whereas the subsequent hiding of the wrapped-up copal in one's bag is a recently introduced practice that is regarded as shameful. In other words, it is not often talked about and, if it is, the agents are not mentioned. It is also spoken about as an action that they are sure will be practiced in the future, given the dwindling of other resources and their feeling that it is now a relatively stable practice.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that the generic term for resin (*q'ol*) is never used to refer to the wrapping of the freshly collected resin for transportation, as it was during the just completed milieu of collection. Having lost the tree as a member of its entourage (and gained the coroza palm leaf and sack), copal resin is now referred to only as *pom*. Thus, at the juncture along copal's path between collection in the forest and transportation home, the manner of referring to the object itself has altered.

The hiding of the collected resin during the trip between forest and home is further explained by saying that it is embarrassing to be seen by Evangelicals, who now deride such traditional practices as copal collecting. Also, there are boys like Mauricio, who uses his step-father's group of copal trees but does not want anyone to know, lest his collection be confiscated by his step-father, uncles, or grandfather—because of his age and, it is often said, his impudence. Though one may always collect copal on Conap land further and further north, the distance from home would be longer, the ability to protect one's group of trees from others more precarious, and the starting up of a new path (along with the locating of new trees) quite time-consuming.

Learning, Metaphors, and Knowledge

Don Alfonso remembers that, over 20 years ago, when he was a child living in San Luis, his parents told him about the extractive activity of collecting copal (*li pomok*), explaining that copal is both necessary and desirable to obtain. However, it was not until he arrived in Mocozal, 12 years ago, that he actually began "to pomok." In other words, though initially he was told about it as a necessary activity, and therefore alerted to its collection potential in addition to its use in ceremonies (the latter being events to which he had long been witness), it was only years later in a new area that he gained the knowledge (which needs to be shown to one, he stressed) to actually extract it: the identification of the tree, the cutting of the bark, the timing of visits and rests, and the collection of resin.

With respect to Cobán and Lanquín, the areas where his parents had grown up and given birth to him before settling in San Luis, he said that the copal tree was perhaps known there, but that it no longer exists because the earth is no longer fertile but instead white, flat, and without covering. In the demographic and historical centers of the Q'eqchi' populace, though most Q'eqchi' use copal, they cannot collect it. Nonetheless, it is often said that copal trees have been around since the beginning of the earth. Don Alfonso therefore dates their absence in Cobán to only 30 years ago—at the beginning of the large-scale population growth, migration, and loss of

accessible land for milpa—though neither he nor his parents were possible eye-witnesses before this time (see Adams [1965] and Carter [1969], the first scholars to track such changes).

Don Alfonso often compares the collection of copal and its function inside the tree to that of chicle. He has never participated in chicle collection, but his father-in-law, Don Ricardo, has often described it to him. For example, he says that the resin is like blood inside of humans and that the tree is able to live and grow because of this resin. (Sameness of blood is often used to describe the connection between, or essence of, both animal and kinship groups.) This does not mean, however, that he is slowly killing the copal tree by collecting its resin. Instead, he assures me that it is only when one cuts through the trunk or cuts the roots that the tree dies. And, though copal's function inside the tree is like that of chicle, Don Alfonso says the two harvesting processes are not comparable because the collection of chicle is dangerous, requires much equipment, and is not community-based, having both a person in charge and necessitating working with Ladinos. Lastly, he knows that people such as Don Ricardo, who used to be chicleros, also collected copal as a sort of secondary practice tolerated by those in charge of chicle extraction if done at the end of the day.

This analogy between copal, chicle, and blood is extendible via corporal metaphors in some cases, but not in others. For example, the place where one has previously cut and which now has dried resin around it is called a "scab" (*pat*), said in both cases to dry because of contact with air. Likewise, just as men extract copal from trees, copal (and chicle) can extract trees (meaning thorns or splinters) from men. However, whereas the extracted resin (*lix q'ol*) may be called by the same name as the particular tree itself (*li pomche'*) or as the species of the tree in general (*li pom*), the metaphor of blood as essence of man, or at least as metonymic for man, is not used (and is thought odd and slightly distasteful when offered). Thus, whereas copal (in its resin form) may oftentimes be treated as the essence of the tree (via both linguistic and metaphoric means), blood as the essence of man is not easily accepted, most likely because blood is often used to explain kinship relations. Lastly, whereas people (and, frequently, domesticated animals and saints) are said to have a spirit (*lix muhel*), the copal tree was never so distinguished (see Carlson & Eachus 1977, Wilson 1995).

To ensure that the tree is not damaged and that one remembers where one has cut before, one always makes the next cut a little above the previous one. Thus, over a season's cutting, one moves from cutting down by one's shins to cutting about chest high, at which height it is time to allow the tree to "rest" (*hilaank*).[18] However, if the tree has a very large diameter (more than 25 cm), then cuts may be made in more than one place, always moving over (around the circumference) at least the span of two hands.

We should note that the extractive process (*li pomok*) is consistently described as having two parts—the cutting (*xset'bal*) and the collecting (*risinkil*)—while other aspects of production, such as the wait for trees to regenerate between seasons of

cutting or for the resin to flow between cuts (which involve only abstinence, rather than activity), are not usually made verbally explicit as part of the process. Also, in many utterances the base-morpheme *pom* is used as a verb (through derivation, e.g., *pom-ok*), referring to the collection process of the resin of the copal tree, or as a noun (*li pom*), referring to either the extractable resin (referenced as well with *lix q'ol li pom*) or the tree from which the resin is extracted (referenced as well with *li pomche'*). Lastly, we should note that, in contrast to the collection milieu discussed above, copal trees are referred to in this milieu as merely "trees" (*che'*) and the resin is referred to as *lix q'ol li che'* and *pom*. Contrasting this with the collection milieu, we see that there has been an inversion and/or displacement in sign-referent pairing in discussing what one must know in order to collect relative to the milieu of collection itself.

People Who Collect Copal

In total, there are currently (and traditionally) seven men in Mocozal who collect copal. As in the case of Don Alfonso, they now take their children along, and when a son is old enough (about 15 years of age) he can go by himself either to collect from his father's group of trees (*ch'uut*) or his own (usually a small, sparse, and discontinuous group, found by the boy, 2–3 km outside of Mocozal in Conap-controlled or privately owned land). There are also three women who just began to collect copal, all of whom are married to men who collect it. These women do not usually collect copal unless their husbands are working on the milpa and they can forego their work around the house, which is the case perhaps two or three times per month, depending on the milpa season. This is a very new practice, and most men never bring it up; only women are willing to discuss it, and only when their husbands are away. Don Alfonso received his group of trees from his wife's father (Don Ricardo), who used to collect copal there about 12 years before. Each of the seven men has his own group of trees. Women or children who collect copal use the group belonging to either their husband or father, respectively.

Among the Q'eqchi', Catholics are the only ones who currently collect copal. The Evangelicals do not use it in their services, and it is often alleged that they say that it "stinks" (*chu*). This opprobrium is particularly interesting in view that all the Evangelical Q'eqchi' know the techniques of extraction and the buyers of the collected resin—and, thus, all that is needed to make money with it. They have this knowledge both because most are recent converts to Evangelicalism (within the last five years) and, therefore, have used or witnessed the use of copal in ceremonies, and because most collected it at one period in their lives or else had fathers who did (though only in small amounts, perhaps a quarter-pound for personal ceremonies and medicinal purposes). However, rather than denigrating the practice itself, or the small price it fetches compared to other forest products, or the physical qualities of copal in its liquid or solid state, they describe only its smell, an odor that is emitted only when the resin is burned and released into smoke, during a process that occurs

only in Catholic ceremonies held in churches, caves, milpa, or *alk'al* (fallow milpa). Evangelicals often told me that they knew how to collect copal, but that it really stunk. They employed the adjective *chu*, which also means "rotten"—a description of smell on the order of (to our sensibilities) large quantities of decaying fish on a hot, windless day. (In contrast, the Catholics say that copal is *sunuun*, an adjective also used to describe sweet-smelling flowers or freshly-picked maize.)

It is said that not a single Ladino ever collects copal, but that many Catholic Ladinos do both buy and burn it in small amounts. In other words, it is just the collection process that they do not know how to do. Thus, while some Ladinos do use it, they do not know how to collect it, and while the Evangelical Q'eqchi' know how to collect it, they do not want to use it. Although it is only recently that the Evangelicals have stopped collecting copal, this cessation is generally presented as timeless and customary. In contrast, the burning of copal by Ladinos is treated as sporadic and potential, rather than widespread.

Lastly, although Catholic priests do not buy copal, they do allow it in their masses, while the pastor of the Evangelical church in Cruce says that only the "wildmen" (*ch'ool wiinq*) burn it, referring back to the Chol Maya, who lived on the fringes of precolonial and early colonial Q'eqchi' settlements, and whom the early Dominicans tried unsuccessfully to convert for many years. (Interestingly enough, the pastor speaks no Q'eqchi'—excusing himself by saying that his Bible study is too time-consuming—and the single Q'eqchi' phrase that he does use is not even known among most lowland Q'eqchi'.)

Classes of Copal and Their Uses

The Q'eqchi' distinguish two classes of copal trees, white (*kaqipom*) and red (*saqipom*). Although the red kind is said not to give resin and is never used except occasionally for firewood, its leaves are the same shape and color as the white, and its trunk is the same size. In fact, the only external difference is said to be the color of its bark, which has a slight reddish tinge. The kind sought is, instead, the white copal tree, for it is plentiful and gives lots of resin. The trunk of the white copal tree is white and black, and it is often compared to the skin of the *masacuate* snake. Though white copal trees may be used for firewood, this rarely occurs unless a cleared tree has not been completely destroyed in the slashing and burning of the forest for milpa.

Timing: Daily and Seasonal

Three or four of the seven men who currently collect copal for sale do so every two or three days. Most have only recently engaged in collection with such constant effort, so that there is an element of uncertainty about their long-term future as collectors. In other words, production for more than personal use (and, thus, in such large quantities) is relatively new in comparison to the consumption process of copal, which has a much longer history over a much larger demographic.

Only recently has Don Alfonso collected copal every day, perhaps for only a year. Before, his preference was to hunt forest game or collect xate (dwarf palms) for cash. Nowadays, he says, there is no more xate, both because the forest has been burned down in so many places and because there are too many people collecting xate and allspice. He stressed that almost 100 collectors were selling xate during the last season. However, he says that copal trees are still out there wherever there is forest. With this assurance and backed up by his feeling that one may collect copal on state and privately owned land, he says that he will collect it next year, as well. The alternative, allspice, involves hard work. This is not only because there is much less of it than before, but also because the buyers are non-Q'eqchi' and, thus, thought to be temperamental and prone to cheating.

Copal may be collected throughout the entire year, in both the rainy and dry seasons, although it is generally acknowledged that one should leave the trees alone for about four months after eight months of collecting. The reason given is that the resin flow slackens and the trees need to be given a rest for it to return. Although the particular months do not matter, the resting is usually done during the peak seasons of milpa labor (March through May, as indicated in Table 1).

Spatial Distribution, Ownership, and Paths

Don Alfonso says that there are no owners of copal trees or of the forest in general. Nonetheless, there are tacit agreements quickly becoming articulated among the seven copal-collecting men in Mocozal about non-encroachment on the others' trees. Consequently, each collector searches out his own trees in the surrounding forest, and each knows where the others have theirs. Even though there is still space for yet others to collect copal if they want, they are currently characterized as not wanting to, for either personal or religious reasons. Thus, it is not thought to be the case that they are unable to collect it (for lack of skills) or prohibited from collecting it (due to regulations or other owners).

In describing the group of trees, or *ch'uut*, from which one collects copal, the men of Mocozal tend to locate the trail they take according to a finite set of significant topes. For example, Don Alfonso often utilized, in either drawings or utterances, the following locators: the tiny *ch'uut* of his step-son Mauricio (who is often said to encroach upon Don Alfonso's trees); its starting point and terminal points; the small declivities and aclivities that cause one to stagger one's step in order to stand with more stability; minor and major trails such as government breeches and animal paths; posted government signs; places others collect xate, hunt, or have trails for copal; and other men's clandestine milpa. When he draws a map of the above path, he says that the linear distance between starting point and terminal point is about 1 km, but that the trail goes back and forth so much (in order to access groups of trees off the main path) that the distance one must walk is much greater. This finer scale of paths is never drawn or articulated, nor is any part of it

shown in teaching. Instead, the child is said to learn the path by walking it several times over the course of a week.

However, for the older men (*tiixilwiinq*) such as Don Ricardo, who used to have the group of trees that Don Alfonso now uses (and will still use, by agreement, when he needs a small, personal supply of copal), the description of the path and its attendant area is very different. For example, he and other older men reference significant trees—either such types as ceibas (*inup*) or cedars (*yaw*), or particular arrangements of such trees—where their own milpa is, where a small water source or aguada was, where they once killed a *tepozquintle* or saw a jaguar, or the like. In this sense, the forest is more personal, more articulated with respect to "natural" events than to human-produced locales, and less likely to be cross-referenced with intersubjective things, though some of the more "personal events" have become intersubjective through public recounting. Lastly, the path itself is not discussed, only the area that the path traverses. In this sense, there is now among younger men a finer descriptive articulation of the path they take to collect copal copal, but still not down to the micro-level of tree-clump to tree-clump.

Storing or Guarding

After the resin is collected, it is brought home, where it is left, or "guarded," awaiting the addition of more copal and being allowed to "adjust" (*natamres*). It sits until about 100 lb are gathered in total, over perhaps three months. In this state, it is left untouched and uncovered on a shelf in the corner of the collector's one-room house, its weight or quantity being judged by eye rather than by scales. (Besides this unstated injunction not to measure it, there is a tendency to use Spanish in describing such large quantities not intended for personal use.) Usually the 5 lb balls of a day or two's collection sit in a row, and after a week or two they are combined into a 15 lb ball, the explanation for the delay being that only in this manner does copal dry out quickly, having more surface area exposed. Upon extraction, copal is said to be very soft and watery (*q'un*), but while it sits it becomes harder and drier. This is said to be the only thing it "does" during its guarded repose.

During the rainy season, when the other members of his family were busy drying the allspice that other Mocozal collectors had sold to Don Ricardo, Mauricio would collect his balls of copal, about 25 lb in all, and weigh them surreptitiously against rocks in the scale usually used for allspice. Whereas allspice was weighed in the household before it was resold, copal was only "eyeballed," and its actual measuring was looked down upon. It was said that the allspice needed to be weighed because Don Ricardo had bought it from the others. The usually explanations for the distaste shown at weighing copal were that one knew the quantity of one's own copal because he had collected it, and that the weighing process "dirtied" the copal because of the residue (or very faint smell) of allspice left on the scale.

Although there is water in copal, there is never any soil, due to the care taken in its collection (use of the tongue rather than the hand, use of palm leaves to wrap it for carrying, and so on). The water is said to leave all by itself while the copal is resting in one's home. After this drying process and before it is subsequently sold or used at home in burning, the copal has gone from being watery, or "raw" (although not a liquid), to being dry—about the consistency of slightly warmed wax. This process takes about two or three months but is not necessary to do prior to burning. If the copal is still too watery, then one just rolls it with one's hands into a thin, noodle-like shape, giving it a larger surface area to mass ratio, and then it can easily burn even though just collected.

Historical and Current Practices of Sale and Distribution

Once a man's collection nears 100 lbs, it is taken to Cruce, where it is sold to "Qawa' Cardo," a Q'eqchi' merchant who used to be a chiclero (gum collector) with Don Ricardo. (In telling about this process, Alfonso uses the formal Q'eqchi' appellation rather than the Ladinoized version, "Don Ricardo," typically used by Catholic Q'eqchi' to describe Evangelical or Ladino merchants.) He has a very large store where both maize and copal are bought and sold. Don Alfonso does not know where or to whom Don Ricardo will subsequently resell the copal. He thinks it might be in small Q'eqchi'-speaking towns near San Luis. He also knows that it is sold for about 12 quetzals, a mark-up of five quetzals from the price that he is paid for it. His explanation for this mark-up is the cost of travel and the long-term contacts Don Ricardo has in that area because of family contacts through his father's brothers. (Don Ricardo had initially settled near these places when leaving Alta Verapaz and before moving to Cruce.)

Within this first milieu of exchange, which occurs within all the speakers' horizons, only one buyer is ever mentioned—Don Ricardo, whom all the Q'eqchi' know personally. In contrast to other buyers and sellers in subsequent milieus (who are unnamed), he is given the Q'eqchi' appellation *qawa'*, which means literally "our sustenance" but which is generally glossed as "Don." Buyers of non-traditional forest collectibles in Mocozal are always given the Spanish appellation "Don." Lastly, note that, when discussing Don Ricardo and his purchasing of copal and maize, the Spanish word "copal" is used by copal collectors rather than the Q'eqchi' word "pom." The only time this switch of language occurs (with respect to the base-morpheme) is in the selling process within their horizon, and not within the reselling process outside of their horizon. It should be mentioned, as well, that a Q'eqchi' from Mocozal may exchange his copal with Don Ricardo for maize rather than money, whereas Don Ricardo accepts only money in subsequent resales in the southern Petén. This acceptance of only money does not depend on the closeness of his relation to purchasers, for many of them are family or close friends (*comunil*). Instead, he needs to minimize the number of objects he returns home with, because he usually returns to Cruce by public bus. In contrast, he usually goes south in various private pickup-trucks driven by his close friends and relatives.

What Don Alfonso is sure about is that the initial persons to whom Don Ricardo resells are not the final consumers, but yet another set of middlemen, who are both Catholic and Q'eqchi', rather than Evangelical, Ladino, or Mopán—though the Mopán of San Luis are said to buy it from Q'eqchi'. Here, he often uses the generic term for men (*wiinq*) to refer to the middlemen, or he switches to the passive voice, thereby eliding the agents. If questioned further about their identity, he says that he cannot say for sure because he does not actually take part in that exchange. And although these go-betweens are identified as "men," the subsequent buyers do not even have their gender specified. Lastly, in this case of non-horizon purchase and selling, the object (copal) is never explicitly referred to except by anaphor by means of pronouns (the third-person singular absolutive affix, which is a zero-marker), or not even that in an anti-passive construction. Thus, as speakers discuss the path that copal takes, their reference to it becomes discursively distanced—Q'eqchi' term (*pom*) to Spanish term (*copal*) to pronoun to zero-marker—as their experience of that milieu becomes more tenuous.

Twelve years ago, copal sold for only two quetzals per pound; five years ago it sold for five quetzals; today, it sells for seven quetzals per pound. Besides general fluctuations in the national currency, this change in price is often explained by the disruption of Q'eqchi' livelihood during "The Violence" in the 1980s (massacres, population displacements, concentrations of dispersed villages into army-patrolled towns, and flights of refugees), the idea being that "The Violence" destroyed inter-village exchange networks. Also, the Q'eqchi' populace has grown in the last 20 years, while available forest necessary for the collection of copal has shrunk. In other words, there are also simple supply and demand constraints at work, even if one takes into account the general secularization of activities that has been occurring over the years.

During a 12-month period, no more than 200–300 lb of copal is said to be collectable, the upper limit being more a function of the trees' potential output than of the collector's diligence. Of course, Don Alfonso has never actually collected so much copal in one year. He based his answer on personal knowledge of what he can get per month and what trees are able to put out over a year, using information offered by Don Ricardo, who has collected copal for long periods (though never exclusively for a year, as Don Alfonso is proposing to do). He and others are, therefore, making a prediction when they say 200–300 lb per year is potentially collectable. Don Alfonso admits that, if his trees do not yield that much, he will find and collect from another stand of trees. In this sense, these predictions also index his desire to collect that quantity of copal (worth 1,200–1,800 quetzals, or U.S. $200–300) to cover his household's expenses for the year.

Resale and Traditional Consumption

Don Alfonso says that Catholic Q'eqchi' subsequently buy copal from those middlemen to whom he sells it in order to burn it in church, in their homes, or in the woods, explaining that the people will pray in these places, worshipping God by means of the copal. In this utterance, which describes consumption rather than intermediate selling practices, he uses the habitual aspect, present tense, and impersonal voice (via the nebulous third-person plural, "they"). This discursive backgrounding of these practices, by grammatically marking them as shared, habitual, and timeless, shows that consumption of copal is a Q'eqchi' practice par excellance. This is in contrast to the aforementioned milieus of buying and selling, in which the verbs used to describe these practices usually take perfective aspect, future tense, and specific agents.

The burning of copal is also done in the forest and the *alk'al* (fallow milpa), usually during clearing, planting, Christmas, Easter, and days the saints of particular villages are celebrated. It is also used in more personal, rather than community-based, offerings—for example, when one goes out alone to hunt for tepozquintle. It is used in all "offerings," which Don Alfonso calls *sacrificios*, although nothing is currently "sacrificed" in the sense of being killed. Instead, *sacrificio* is used to mean the times when a group of villages get together to pray as a community and when they burn copal in order to worship God (*qawa' dios*) and ask Him to give them more maize.

During these events, which Don Alfonso says occur around San Luis, using the copal collected by men from Mocozal, it is the old Catholic folks, the people of the church, who most often gather together. In the majority of Q'eqchi' towns, therefore, where people purchase rather than collect the copal they use, copal, in conjunction with prayer and community involvement, is "exchangeable" for more maize. In other words, people use copal smoke to make an offering to God in exchange for more maize. In Mocotzal, however, copal is now being used in offerings to God in exchange for more copal. Don Alfonso dates this practice to 1996 and explains that only in Mocozal is it collected (for more than ceremonial use) as well as consumed in ceremonies.

Burning Process

Within a single, hour-long mass (*sacrificio*), only about three ounces of copal are burned. The burning lasts about five minutes, but the smoke lingers for the rest of the ceremonial activity (about a half-hour), changing from visible and odorous to a faint scent. It is usually burned within an *incensorio* (small half-gourd), using a small piece of burning wood.

The burning of copal spoken about here is within the speakers' horizon, involving their own use—in their homes, in the forest, or in church—of the copal that they collected. The base-morpheme *pom* is used in this milieu to refer to either the copal being burnt (and, thus, the dried resin) or the smoke this burning produces.

This same incensorio gourd is used to store the dried copal that will be used for personal consumption rather than sale, usually having no more than three or four ounces in it at a time. When not in use, it is kept on a small shelf near the fire and

at the opposite end of the house from the copal that will be sold. This spatial separation of copal slated for selling and copal slated for ceremony corresponds with the separation of the location of cooking (considered women's work and quite unchanging and traditional) and the location of objects produced from outside of the village—for example, a Polaroid camera found long ago, a small radio, notebooks given out by the teacher, a campaign poster from the recent presidential elections now used for swatting flies. While copal is being stored for sale, a small amount may be pinched off for ceremonial use at any time, usually a few days before a ceremony and then kept separated until the ceremony. If this pinched amount is not all used immediately, it is left in the gourd for later use. This separation of to-be-sold copal and to-be-burnt copal does not occur until after the collection process; in other words, while one is moving from tree to tree, no distinction is made.

Use of Copal in Mocozal

Out of all the copal that he will collect during the coming year (1997), Don Alfonso says he will keep 3–4 lb for himself to burn it in his house or in the church or woods. The 1997 year will be the first year in which he has had copal as his secondary source of income (after maize), and he is uncertain of both the exact quantity he will acquire and how it will be used. If his calculations are correct, however, he will use only 4 lb for personal consumption and will sell 200–250 lb. He says that, in the past, he used much less of it, perhaps only a half-pound at most. Most of the men now collecting copal similarly acknowledge that personal consumption has gone up, both in the quantity of copal burned in one sitting and in the frequency of activities in which it is used (now including birthdays of oldest sons, repairs on houses, and extra sightings of spirits). Finally, when Don Alfonso burns copal, he now asks God for more copal and not just for more maize or a better hunt. He stresses that the extra copal that he asks for in prayer is to sell, because—apart from a few medicinal purposes—there are no other uses for so much copal besides burning and selling.

Another use of copal is in the extraction of objects from the skin (normally thorns, slivers, or bee stingers). It is also put on bruises to alleviate pain and reduce swelling. Even the Evangelicals will use it this way (putting perhaps a quarter-ounce of copal around a thorn embedded in the foot), explaining that copal extracts (*risinkil*) the thorn. Only once, when I was in Cobán speaking to an old Q'eqchi' woman, was the analogic reasoning proffered: as people extract copal from trees, copal extracts trees from people.

As a brief example of one recent ceremonial use of copal, we may take Don Ricardo's 52nd birthday, which coincided with the harvest of maize (*q'olok*). The previous night had been spent drinking coffee and listening to Don Ricardo tell stories, while the morning was spent quietly eating both flour and corn tortillas, drinking more coffee, and preparing food for lunch. Besides the usual chickens, a turkey was going to be cooked. Don Alfonso and Chus (Don Ricardo's 18-year-old son) had already left with Don Ricardo to collect the first sweet ears of corn from his milpa in order to make *atole* (a hot maize beverage). Thus, there was a lugubrious sort of bustling: the chasing of fowl, the sharpening of knives, the plucking of chickens already dead, and the subsequent cleaning of them by periodically holding them over the fire and then washing them with *Magia Blanca*, a kind of all-purpose cleanser that is bought in Cruce and used for clothes, hands, utensils, and chickens.

A half-gourd *incensorio* with copal in it, just beginning to smoke, was placed on the ground beneath an altar that shelved an assortment of objects: oranges and bananas, coroza palms, candy, an empty bottle of rum, a radio, a small wooden scene of Calvary, and three 15 lb balls of copal that Don Ricardo had collected. Don Ricardo then took some fresh ears from a sack of newly picked maize and placed them next to the balls of copal—where both maize and copal were separated (being off to one side) and arranged (three balls of copal behind three ears of maize), compared to the more helter-skelter appearance of the other objects. He then took the now heavily smoking gourd and wafted its smoke right beneath the corn and copal (but not beneath the other objects), finally placing it back beneath the altar, where it continued to burn. Don Ricardo prayed softly. The rest of the morning was spent preparing tamales with the turkey, sipping on *atole* (a maize-based beverage), softly playing the marimba, and passing out candy, cheese puffs, and fruit to children from Mocozal who would stop by. Their fathers would come later for cigarettes, soft conversation, and coffee.

CONCLUSION

Moving from large-scale changes to fine linguistic detail, this chapter has attempted to describe and understand the shifting liaisons that exist between copal and the Q'eqchi' Maya. While accessible land for milpa is now restricted, and while alternative forestal practices have reached the limits set by the state, NGOs, locals, immigrants, and/or nature, copal collection is still accessible, sustainable, predictable, and legal within the classes and jurisdictions of land available and with respect to the groups of people who now collect and consume it. In the face of intense environmental, political, economic, and demographic changes, there has been an intensification rather than breaking up of this particular economic and social practice. The intensification was shown in terms of economic values, linguistic structures, social and exchange relations, ceremonial protocols, medicinal practices and, perhaps most importantly, the maintenance of the ontological distinction between Q'eqchi'-particular and commodity-profane.

Specifically, there has been the movement of copal, once included within the domestic mode of production (insofar as it traveled on a path that was fully contained within its producers' horizon), into a much wider regime of value. This movement is evident in the following set of changes.

(1) There has been a *personal increase in use* of copal among collectors as a commodity sold, as a ritual object used in ceremonies to ask God for more copal, and as a medicinal object to extract thorns and reduce swelling.

(2) There has been an *extension* of the path copal takes to a much larger geographical and social area, linking together Q'eqchi' along the migration trail that leads from Cobán in the highlands of Alta Verapaz to Mocozal in the lowlands of the Petén, and involving the "patching in" of activities within milieus of copal's worldline which are not experienced by the collectors living in Mocozal. This extension was seen in the nexus of new social relations implicated in the sale and exchange of copal and the overlaying of personal memories as a means of predicting what subsequently occurs to the copal that one sells.

(3) There has been a *division* of the copal one collects, depending on whether it will be sold or burnt. This division was seen in the practices of storage spatialization within the home, injunctions against weighing, and ceremonial placement relative to maize.

(4) There has been a *displacement* of forestal, leisure, and milpa-based practices because of copal's increased collection. Daily and annual schedules have been adjusted, and old activities have been rescheduled or replaced.

(5) *Identity differences* between Catholic and Evangelical have been made relative to copal and manifested through differing types of productive activities in which they are engaged and social networks in which they are implicated.

(6) Copal is now *ritually exchangeable* for more copal, whereas before it was used ritually only to obtain more maize, making copal not just a means for ceremonies anymore but an end, as well. In other words, people now burn copal in ceremonies as a means to ask God for more copal; before, they used it only as a means to ask for more maize.

(7) There exists the practice of the *discursive distancing* of one's own product from the more common and horizon-external sale and exchange milieus within which copal may now move. This distancing was seen in the different means of referring to copal along different sections of its path, depending on whether these sections were traditional or novel, or within one's horizon or outside of it.

(8) Related to such changes are *new types of ownership* and *new types of topographies*, which vary relative to differing generations of copal collectors. New ways of marking and maintaining one's trees on state-owned and Conap-controlled land have been introduced. There are also differences in significant topes used to describe the location of and paths within one's group of trees (*ch'uut*), depending on whether one is an older man (*tiixilwiinq*) and, thus, previously involved in the collection of copal on only a domestic level, or such men's sons and granddaughters who are currently collecting copal in quantities much too large for purely personal use.

(9) The recent practice of *women collecting copal* has meant women's entrance into a labor practice whose product circulates outside the domestic mode of production (an intra-family regime of value). This means that the direct product of their labor enters an extra-Mocozal level that is both outside of their horizon and potentially transferable to the national currency of quetzals.

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NOTES

1. These camps were used seasonally (and for no more than two months at a time) by work groups who extracted the sap from the chicle tree (*achras zapota*). The sap was then exported for use as a natural base for chewing gum. (Chicle was, in fact, the main export product of the Petén until the 1960s, having connected the region into the world economy from the 1890s on.) Camps were usually chosen for their proximity to water and the abundance of chicle trees within walking distance. Labor was often recruited from Alta Verapaz. For more extensive information, see Schwartz (1990).

2. By *Ladino* is meant Mestizos or indigenous folk who identify themselves with, or have adopted, the mainstream national-Hispanic culture and language.

3. Evangelicals, as Protestants are known in Guatemala, speak of their church in Cruce as a *templo* (temple). Besides their weekly services there, they meet at a local man's house in Mocozal every eight nights. About 20 Q'eqchi' from Cruce come for the two hours of lantern-illuminated singing and discussion which, at that particularly quiet hour, can be heard throughout Mocozal. They have a priest (*pastor*) who lives in Mocozal, shifting every few weeks among Evangelical families, who take care of his room and board. A temple is currently being built in an abandoned field on the outskirts of Mocozal. Of the five Evangelical men currently living in Cruce, two are sons-in-law of Don Santiago (and still young and without much clout). The Catholics have an *iglesia* (church) and, if asked, locate the center of Mocozal right where this church is, whereas the Evangelicals say the center of Mocozal is at a nexus of paths nearby. The Catholic priest comes only once or twice per month to lead mass, whereas much more congregated religious activity occurs in Mocozal among Evangelicals. For a comprehensive (and Alta Verapaz-centered) account of Q'eqchi' identity, the relations between Catholics and Evangelicals, and beliefs and practices surrounding the *tz'uultaq'a* (a localized earth deity particular to the mountainous and cave-ridden geography of the highlands, but still implicated in lowland beliefs and practices), one should refer to Wilson (1995).

4. *Reducción* was a colonial policy that concentrated dispersed populations of indigenous peoples into communities for the purpose of missionization.

5. Q'eqchi' is a Mayan language in the Kichean branch (Kaufman 1974:85). It is currently spoken by over 360,000 people in Guatemala, located in the departments of Alta Verapaz, Izabál, and Petén, as well as in Belize. There are two dialect areas: the prestige dialect spoken in Cobán, San Pedro Carchá, and San Juan Chamelco, and the smaller and more easterly dialect identified with the speakers of Lanquín (Kaufman 1976:64). For more information, see Stewart (1978, 1980).

6. This migration is particularly interesting in that it involves two historically marginalized areas of Guatemala. The first is the Petén, which did not hook into the world economy until the late 1800s, with the advent of chicle extraction, and which did not become populated until the 1960s, with the government's attempt to colonize what was then the "frontier." The second is Alta Verapaz, an area devoid of foreign infiltration (due partially to the Dominican Friars' dealings with the Crown to keep

them out, so that the Dominicans could conquer and convert in peace, and partially due to the then seeming lacklusterness of its resources) until the advent of coffee-growing, liberal reforms, and the influx of Europeans at the end of the nineteenth century (King 1974, Sapper 1985, Thompson 1930, Wilk 1981).

7. Although these products are only seasonally collected, it is mainly "regulars" who do so—because, they explain, the collectibles cannot be just swept off the forest floor (though their own name for these collectibles is *basura de bosque*, or "forest garbage"). Instead, they must be actively collected by someone trained. The rest of the year, ProPetén stops such collections because the items would be too damp to store without rotting. (Within the compound itself, there is a very well-constructed drying facility, as well as the most advanced water-storage facilities in that area.) It is said that, in another town, there is a similar facility that is classifying types of xate (dwarf palm) and that yet another is trying to extract oil from the bulbs of the coroza palm. Propetén's policy is to train anyone who is from the community and wants to work, the idea being that it should be as locally inclusive and self-managed as possible.

8. For example, there are now illegal Q'eqchi' settlements along the road from Liberdad north.

9. And given such lack of potential for ownership, most land-grabbers use the land quite inefficiently, always aware that they will soon be forced to either move on or labor for someone else.

10. CONAP is the national council for protected areas (Consejo Nacional de Areas Protejidas).

11. Besides these face-to-face means of contact, the radio is usually playing, bringing in both Spanish and Q'eqchi' stations, and playing music from marimba to disco. The programming also includes service announcements regarding the control of elders, the evils of drink, the need to make women equal by educating girls, and even cheap dentists to help straighten crooked teeth. Finally, there are catechism meetings for unmarried Catholic men. These programs bring both literacy (high in both Q'eqchi' and Spanish, though newspapers are generally months late and are used only for toilet paper) and activism, for their members are usually involved in government-sponsored vaccination or sanitation programs, local Bible exegesis, and advice on land and/or government-Q'eqchi' relations. Thus, both catechism courses for young Catholics and *templo* meetings for Evangelicals offer social networks which are supra-kinship and very often political. For a history of the Catechism movement, its relation to the civil war, and its impact on Q'eqchi' identity, see Wilson (1995).

12. As reported to me by the auxiliary mayor, in 1997 there was a 10 percent decrease in the population from 1996, with most of those who left doing so for lack of land and water.

13. There was a massacre of almost 100 Q'eqchi' peasants in the town of Panzós (near the Polochic River and 150 km east of Cobán) on May 29, 1978. The peasants had gone to protest to the mayor about large landowners who were trying to oust them from their traditional land. The land in question flanked the "Transversal Strip" where a cross-country road was being built from the Caribbean to the Mexican Border. (Army generals owned much of the land along this strip.) This event made world news and caused a large outcry among university students, other Maya groups, unions, and religious organizations. Its date is still remembered by Q'eqchi', many of whom usually spend the day in local ceremonies (see, e.g., IWGIA 1978).

14. This was at the time the PACs (or civil patrols developed under Ríos Montt in 1982 in order to consolidate the army's control over mountain hamlets, typically in the highlands) were being dismantled and a week before the originally planned date for the signing of the peace accords (September 15, 1996).

15. Not only have milpa practices among the Q'eqchi', in both the highlands and lowlands, been well documented (Carter 1969, Wilk 1991, Wilson 1972), but they have been quite stable among the Q'eqchi' living in Mocozal relative to the recent and large-scale variations in forest-harvesting practices. Accordingly, milpa is not a focus here, but is mentioned only when directly relevant.

16. All, however, divide their days according to the *wa'leb*, or morning's work, within which they engage in any of the practices detailed above. However, afterwards (from noon until evening) they variously fix up their houses, strum guitars, sleep, cut down the ever-growing weeds around their *sitios* (housing sites), sharpen machetes, build furniture, visit friends, bathe, walk to Cruce, collect maize from the milpa or storage house, shell maize kernels from the cobs for later grinding, etc. In contrast, women

take care of the cooking, grinding (by hand or in the above-mentioned gas-powered grinder), care for domestic animals (turkeys, pigs, chickens), wash clothes, and purchase domestic items from Cruce (making the trip by foot, mountain-bike, or horse perhaps once per week).

17. First, horizon should be contrasted with *doxa*, usually defined as that which cannot be doubted, for it cannot even be questioned (Peirce 1955:228, Wittgenstein 1958:§6.51). Insofar as liaisons are relations that subjects have with objects, subjects can become and very often are aware of them. Subjects may also be aware of liaisons that other subjects have with the object outside of their own horizon. Thus, the distinction between horizon and worldline is a distinction between liaisons that certain subjects have with an object and liaisons that they do not have (but which others do). It says nothing about whether or not subjects are aware of their liaisons in any articulated, skeptical, orthodox, or manipulating way.

18. It is said to be always and necessarily the case that the trees are left to rest, even though no one has ever used them enough for this wisdom to be tested. This sureness reflects both the existence of men with much experience collecting chicle (and all realize the similarities between the two substances), and the idea of a natural constraint (said to be caused by the trees themselves and not by people).

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PART IV

WOMEN AND CRAFT PRODUCTION: COLOMBIA AND THE PHILIPPINES