Meaning and Time:
Translation and Exegesis of a Mayan Myth

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Abstract. A Q'eqchi'-Mayan myth, narrated in 1909, is translated and analyzed. This myth describes the elopement of B'alamq'e (the sun) with Po (the moon), the actions undertaken by Po's father to punish the fugitives, and the repercussions of those events on the current world. In broad terms, it may be understood as a reflexive cosmogony—narrating events that take place in time, as undertaken by actors who are time, to explain the nature of time. Accordingly, the analysis focuses on grammatical categories, discourse patterns, cultural values, and social relations that shed light on Mayan understandings of temporality. Four interrelated ways of framing temporality are deployed: poetic meter, or the linear sequencing of tokens of a common type; the relation between speech event, narrated event, and reference event; the construal of local pasts and futures via performative acts in the present; and community-specific beliefs about time, or chronotopes.

1. Introduction. The Q'eqchi'-Mayan myth examined in this article describes the difficulties suffered by B'alamq'e (the sun) in his attempt to elope with Po ('moon'), as they try to outwit and outrun her father Tzuultaq'a ('mountain valley', the tellurian god of the Q'eqchi'). In broad terms, the text may be thought of as a cosmogony of the Q'eqchi' world—narrating events that take place in time, as undertaken by actors who are time, to explain the nature of time. But, more prosaically, it provides an ontogeny for, and taxonomy of, all poisonous creatures; it discusses the origins of the heavens and the populating of the earth; it describes how women put signs of their daily experience into the cloth they are weaving; it explains why men lead women; and, it accounts for the origins of coughing.

1.1. The text. The text in question was narrated in 1909 by Juan Caal, a speaker of Q'eqchi'-Maya, a language still spoken by some five hundred thousand people living in Guatemala and Belize. Paul Wirsing, a German immigrant, heard Caal recount it during a festival held at his coffee-finca in Alta Verapaz, Guatemala, and later asked him to repeat it so that he could write it down in a Roman script. Wirsing gave this document to Herbert Quirín Dieseldorff, who later gave it to Estrada Monroy, a priest and amateur anthropologist, to analyze. Monroy then worked with some village elders—Domingo Cuc Xol, Petrona Tení, and Juanita Tení—to translate it (and to add some phrases that the original lacked, though where, exactly, is not said). A copy of the original transcription, along with a serviceable Spanish translation and

some more details of the text's origins, may be found in Monroy's book *Vida Esotérica Maya-K'ekchí* (1990:108–41). In short, like any text, this one has had a complicated and intriguing history, one worth a study in itself.

Shorter versions of this myth have been collected and discussed by other anthropologists much more recently (e.g., Wilson 1995:327–28). The version analyzed here, however, is by far both the longest and the oldest we have. It is a singular instance of grammatical categories unfolding in narrative discourse as it was spoken one hundred years ago. Moreover, as seen below, the original transcription is very robust, with glottal stops, vowel length distinctions, and other usually overlooked phonological details consistently marked. Finally, it might even be argued that this text is for the Q'eqchi' what the Popol Vuh is for the Quiche, or Genesis for Judeo-Christians—an ur-text—and so warrants not only careful analysis, but multiple analyses. In short, although the focus of this article is temporality as marked by grammatical categories and discourse patterns, the text is also ripe for analysis of the colonial encounter, gender relations, historical phonology, morphosyntax, intertextuality, and so on. The transcription, interlinear translation, and English glossing offered here should thereby provide tools for other scholars to undertake other kinds of investigations.

1.2. Overview of the narrative. The text is presented as an appendix. To familiarize the reader with the complete narrative, I offer here a one-sentence-per-scene overview of it.

The first scene establishes the topic—this is the story of B'alamq'e's theft of Po, and the suffering received by them. Long ago, there lived Tzuultaq'a and his daughter, Po. She spends her days caring for her father and weaving in front of the house. One day, B'alamq'e sees her as he passes by and decides to make her his wife. Po never notices his passing. Nor does she notice that he carries a stuffed goat-hide (making it appear as if he is a skilled hunter). When she finally does notice him, she tells her father about him, but he doubts the hunter's authenticity and together they set a trap. The next day they lay cooked corn in his path and when he slips and falls, the goat skin bursts, his deception is revealed, and he runs home.

A seed of tobacco in the stuffing of the goatskin germinates along the river by the house of Tzuultaq'a and his daughter. Meanwhile, back at his home, B'alamq'e plots a way to see Po again. After three days have passed, he calls a hummingbird and gives it the bark of a tree in exchange for its feathers. Thus disguised, he flies back to the flowers of the tobacco plant. Po sees what she takes to be a hummingbird, asks her father to shoot it with his blowgun, and then collects its limp body. Still in the guise of a bird, B'alamq'e is restless in the gourd where Po keeps him, so she puts him beneath her blouse and goes back to weaving. At night, she goes to sleep with the bird on her chest.

In the darkness, B'alamq'e reveals himself to be a man and asks Po to leave with him; she tells him that they cannot go, explaining that her father has a

mirror with which he can spy on them. B'alamq'e then enlists her help in sabotaging the mirror by clouding its face with smoke. Still Po refuses to go, explaining that her father has a blowgun; they sabotage that by stuffing it with chili and at last, they set off from the house.

The next day, Tzuultaq'a discovers his daughter's absence and infers that the hummingbird must have been B'alamq'e in disguise, but when he attempts first to see them with his mirror, then to shoot them with his blowgun, he succumbs to the traps they laid for him. When he awakes from a coughing fit caused by the chili, he is very angry, and enlists the help of his brother, Kaaq. Kaaq goes after them in the guise of stormy weather. By the time Kaaq catches up with the fugitives, they have arrived at the edge of the sea, and having no place to run, they hide themselves in the shells of a friendly turtle and arma-dillo. Kaaq showers them with lightning. Po cannot swim, is hit, and is rendered into many pieces. B'alamq'e escapes by rolling into the sea (thereby causing night to fall).

The next day, B'alamq'e discovers Po's bloody remains, has them collected by fish into thirteen jars, and then gives these to a woman to look after. He leaves for thirteen days and during that time something begins to move inside the jars. This frightens the old lady, and when B'alamq'e returns she tells him to take the jars away. He opens them, one after another, and in each he finds various kinds of poisonous animals—snakes, spiders, bees, and so forth. He does not find Po until he opens the thirteenth jar, in which she has been hiding; she is now in a much larger, purified, and beautiful form. B'alamq'e asks a passing woodcutter to remove the other jars, warning him not to look inside, but the man becomes curious, looks inside, and thereby lets all the dangerous animals escape to infest the world.

Po's transformation into the moon, however, is not yet perfected, so B'alam-q'e enlists the help of a goat to create an opening between her legs. Still dis-satisfied, he has a deer open it more and a rat urinate there because it still smells good. Finally satisfied, B'alamq'e takes her hand and escorts her up into the sky. As with the first scene, the last scene is metatopical; from that time, we are told, just as the sun leads the moon in the sky, so, too, do men lead women on earth.

1.3. Aspects of the analysis.   In the analysis that follows, as dictated by key features of the text, four themes come up again and again. First, there is the encoding of temporal relations. As seen, B'alamq'e and Po are not only narrated figures (actors in the discourse), but their movements also establish the tem-poral ground relative to which all the narrated events are figured.[1] In some sense, there is a very large-scale parallelism between narrated figures and temporal grounds, e.g., between time of day and movement of sun, phase of month and state of moon. Second, a key tension is that between containers and contents or, understood another way, between intentional horizons: what some

participants (in both the speech event and the narrated event) are privy and not privy to. That is, much of the narrative turns on modes of deception whereby an entity's surface appearance contradicts its underlying nature and how other characters act erroneously because of this, or manage to find out what its true nature is. Third, there is an ontology being developed, a classification of kinds of people and things and of social relations more generally, how they are related to each other, and how they came into existence. Finally, much turns on the nature of motivation and causality—what drives characters to do what they do (and what values are implicit in this) and what are the repercussions of such actions, (including how their effects are manifested in the present world).

Section 2 describes what is meant by temporality for the purposes of this essay. Sections 3–5 analyze the grammatical encoding of temporal relations, describing the form and function of the relevant constructions that occur in the text, from inflectional affixes on predicates to discourse particles. Moving from analysis to synthesis, sections 6–9 interpret several important scenes in the narrative, demonstrating how the key themes (temporality, intentionality, on-tology, and causality) work together.

2. Temporality as a notional domain.   Temporality needs to be charac-terized as a notional domain in such a way that we can analyze the formal means (grammatical categories and discourse patterns) by which features of this domain are encoded and implicated. To be sure, time is multifaceted and highly nebulous, so this characterization is not at all intended as a definition of time. Rather, in this section I sketch four modes of temporality upon which the analysis in this article turns. After exemplifying them, I discuss their theoretical origins.

One mode of temporality is that of the temporal structure of the text itself in terms of Jakobson's poetic function of language (1990a). Consider the opening lines of T. S. Eliot's "Preludes" in (1).

(1) *The winter evening settles down*
    With smell of steaks in passageways.
    Six o'clock.

To perceive the poetic function of language at work here, we need merely inspect the meter—the first two lines have four feet apiece (each foot having two sylla-bles), and these feet have the form unstressed-stressed. In short, not only is each line a token of the type "tetrameter," but each foot of each line is also a token of the type "iamb." The third line, then, breaks both these types: it has an odd number of syllables (rather than an even number); there are three of these (rather than eight); and the stress pattern of the first foot is stressed-unstressed, or a trochee (rather than an iamb). The first two lines, then, establish a ground relative to which the last line is figured. That is, it is precisely the replicas (qua

tokens of a common type) that highlight the singularities (qua unique and surprising tokens).

A second mode of temporality is the specification of tense and aspect. The first sentence of (1), for instance—*the winter evening settles down*—is specified as present tense, nonprogressive and nonperfect aspect. The specification might have been otherwise, as in *the winter evening settled down* (past tense), *the winter evening will settle down* (future tense), *the winter evening has settled down* (perfect aspect), or *the winter evening is settling down* (progressive aspect). This kind of linguistic temporality turns on the ordering of a reference event relative to a speech event in the case of tense (past, unmarked, future), and the ordering of a narrated event relative to a reference event in the case of aspect (progressive, unmarked, perfect). In this way, the speech event (indeed, any narrated event) can be the singularity relative to which the ordering of other events (referenced, narrated, or spoken) is measured. If the first mode of temporality focuses on signs (or objects) in and of themselves, this mode turns on sign-object relations—how the time of some narrated event is determined by reference to the signs that stand for it, themselves related to speech events and other narrated events.

Any event has roots and fruits, significant causes and effects. In particular, the sign event itself has such causes and effects, and this is another mode of temporality. The poem itself may be understood as the interpretation of all the signs that made up one poet's experience (addressing the question "Why did Eliot say this?"). Similarly, the present section of this article may itself be understood as an interpretation of such a sign event (addressing the question "What does this stanza mean?"). In this way, the poem establishes a local present, whose interpretive roots and significant fruits constitute its past and future. Moreover, not only may any event be simultaneously frameable as an interpretation of a prior event and as a sign to be subsequently interpreted, but so may the event it narrates. Indeed, narratives are often tales of local modes of signification and interpretation—what caused a hero to do what she did and what became of her for having done it. This third mode of temporality, then, turns on sign-object-interpretation relations.

Finally, a fourth mode of temporality in (1) is the contrast between the natural solar periods reflecting the season of year (*winter*) and phase of day (*evening*), and the seemingly empty clock time of a putative capitalist modernity (*six o'clock*). As with the contrasting meters in which the contrasting kinds of periodization are cast, clock time is a singularity that irrevocably disturbs the natural rhythms that went before it. Or, at the very least, this is a widespread cultural understanding, or *Weltanschauung*, about what has happened to time. In some sense, the three modes of temporality previously discussed only count as temporal when seen from inside such a frame. The Q'eqchi' myth discussed below is itself such a theory of time, and so this entire article is an exegesis of one local understanding of the nature of temporality.

Although the first mode of temporality comes from Jakobson's understanding of the poetic function of language (1990a), parallelism itself has a long history in classical poetics and studies of meter more generally. It turns on the repetition of tokens of a common type, themselves providing a formal and functional "meter" for a text (Kockelman 1999). For Jakobson, the issue was projecting an axis of selection (or paradigmatic values) onto an axis of combination (or syntagmatic values), therefore foregrounding the message (or sign) above the referent (or object). To be sure, we need not confine ourselves to traditional poetics. Any form-class or construction-type will do just as well, such as phonemes, morphemes, phrases, clauses, sentences, turns at talk, stanzas, and so forth. Moreover, we need not confine ourselves to signs. Objects (and interpretations)—unique or repeated concepts and referents, semantic features and pragmatic functions, propositions and states of affairs—would also do. Such a large-scale analysis of tokens and types, themselves caught in the tension between replicas and singularities, undergirds much of the formal analysis of this text.

The second mode of temporality is grounded in modern cross-linguistic work on tense and aspect, following scholars like Hans Reichenbach, William E. Bull, Roman Jakobson, and Wolfgang Klein. It depends on relationships like precedence, antecedence, and simultaneity between three kinds of events: speech event, reference event, and narrated event. For example, perfect aspect indicates that a narrated event preceded a reference event, and past tense indicates that a reference event preceded a speech event. The following three sections are devoted to a more careful explication of these theorists, and a detailed description of relevant morphosyntactic mechanisms in Q'eqchi'.

These first two modes may function together. In particular, the token of any type may establish a sign event, especially when the type in question is on the order of a move, sentence, or speech act. Just as any event may be used to establish a privileged point of reference, any two such events may be used to establish a privileged period of repetition. With a privileged point, we can establish order—prior, simultaneous, subsequent—and any two points may be ordered relative to one another, i.e., one scene occurs before another, sowing occurs before reaping, and so forth. With a privileged period, we can establish magnitude—one day, one month, one year, one phrase, one sentence, one scene—and any two periods may be sized relative to one another, such as one year contains 365 days or one foot contains two syllables. Thus, just as we may speak about an event that happened two days before another event, we may speak of a sentence that occurs two scenes after another sentence. In other words, we may use such privileged points and periods to measure the order and magnitude of narrated events as much as natural events, and speech events as much as narrated events.

The third mode of temporality arises from the fact that any semiotic event can be framed simultaneously as an interpretation of a prior sign, and as a sign

that will subsequently be interpreted. This mode of temporality has a distinguished history. For example, Saint Augustine (1992:233–36) spoke of memory as the present experience of the past, and of expectation as the present experience of the future. William James described the "now" as "[not a] knife-edge, but a saddleback, with a certain breadth of its own on which we sit perched, and from which we look in two directions into time" (1975:371). And J. L. Austin's (2003) ideas regarding the appropriateness and effectiveness of speech acts may be rendered in a temporal idiom: any sign event is appropriate so far as the participants already hold certain social statuses and mental states; and any sign event is effective so far as the participants subsequently hold certain social statuses and mental states. In other words, any sign event establishes a local present, which is replete with its local past (its appropriateness conditions), and fertile with its local future (its effectiveness conditions). Indeed, any narrated event (Tzuultaq'a's anger) may be understood as the interpretation of a previous narrated event (Tzuultaq'a's discovery of his daughter's absence), and as a sign to be subsequently interpreted (Tzuultaq'a's calling on his brother to kill them). That is, any narrated event in the text can be examined for its roots (or past conditions) and fruits (or future consequences). Kockelman (2007a) draws out the details of this mode of temporality, and the last several sections of this article are devoted to it.

Finally, there is another level altogether, pioneered by Bakhtin (1981) and his notion of the chronotope, that takes into account cultural beliefs, or local ways of construing any of these modes as "temporal." For example, the narrated events of the text themselves constitute a local, albeit wide, present, and this present binds together and explains the transition between what existed before and what existed after, the pre- and post-time of human history. Moreover, the local present of the speech event in which these events were narrated has these events as its past. That is, these are the events that made the world what it is today. They are conditions of possibility for the speech event, just as this article is one of its consequences. In short, this entire mythic text is such a local theory of time—a Q'eqchi'-specific way of framing its origins and nature.

3. Introduction to the system used for describing temporal relations.
To analyze tense and aspect, and temporal categories more generally, I use the three-event system pioneered by Reichenbach (1947), and extended by Bull (1960) and Klein (1994). In particular, adapting the nomenclature of Jakobson (1990b), there are three events (or intervals) of interest: the speech event (E^s), the narrated event (E^n), and the reference event (E^r). To use an example from Klein (1994:40), in an answer to a question like (2), the speech event is the time at which the answer is given (presumably soon after the question was asked), the narrated event is the time of the situation described by the answer—say, the sentence in (3)—and the reference event, or "topic time," is the time set by the adverbial clause within the question itself (when you entered the room).

(2) *What did you notice when you entered the room?*

(3) *A man was lying on the floor.*

The grammatical category of tense encodes the relation between the reference event and the speech event (E^r/E^s). In (3), tense is realized by the past-tense form of the auxiliary verb (*was*); past tense indicates that the reference event precedes the speech event. The grammatical category of aspect encodes the relation between the narrated event and the reference event (E^n/E^r). In (3), aspect is realized by the progressive-aspect form of the verb (*be VERB-ing*); progressive aspect indicates that the narrated event (here, that of the man lying on the floor) contains the reference event (here, the event of the speaker's entering the room). (More exactly, the temporal span covered by the narrated event contains the temporal span covered by the reference event.)[2] To diagram the relevant relations, I use a modified form of Klein's notation: the asterisk (*) indicates the time of the speech event; square brackets ([ ]) enclose the time of the reference event; and the tilde (~~~) indicates the time of the narrated event. The situation in sentences (2) and (3) can thus be represented as in (4).

(4) *A man was lying on the floor (when I entered the room).*
~[~]~
                *

Exactly what the narrated event includes will depend on the aspectual class (*Aktionsart*) of the predicate. For predicates that involve a change of state ("two-state" predicates for Klein, "achievements" and "accomplishments" for Vendler [1967] and Dowty [1979]), such as *die, melt, build a house*, the narrated event includes the point when the change of state occurs (when the death occurs, when the ice is completely melted, when the house comes into existence, etc.), plus, for many such predicates, a period of preparatory activity. For predicates that do not involve a change of state ("one-state" predicates for Klein, "activities" and "states" for Vendler and Dowty), such as *lie on the floor* in the above example, *run, be asleep*, the narrated event is the period over which the state of affairs represented by the predicate holds. For simplicity, I use the notation "~~~" for all these sorts of narrated event. (Klein also distinguishes "zero-state" predicates—that is, predicates denoting a permanent state of affairs, such as *two plus two equals four*—from "one-state" predicates, which denote states of affairs that have a beginning and an end.)

To give the reader some more familiarity with this system, it is worthwhile to elaborate the prototypical functions of the English tense-aspect system. Using just three tenses (past, unmarked, future), and three aspects (perfect, unmarked, progressive), there are nine possibilities, shown in table 1 in the same notational system used in (4) above.[3]

Table 1. Relation between Speech Event, Reference Event, and Narrated Event

ASPECT: E^n/E^r	TENSE: E^r/E^s		
	$E^r<E^s$	$E^r\equiv E^s$	$E^r>E^s$
$E^n<E^r$	had opened $\sim\sim\sim$ [ ] $*$	has opened $\sim\sim\sim$ [ ] $*$	will have opened $\sim\sim\sim$ [ ] $*$
$E^n\equiv E^r$	opened [$\sim\sim\sim$] $*$	opens [$\sim\sim\sim$] $*$	will open [$\sim\sim\sim$] $*$
$E^r\in E^n$	was opening $\sim$[$\sim$]$\sim$ $*$	is opening $\sim$[$\sim$]$\sim$ $*$	will be opening $\sim$[$\sim$]$\sim$ $*$

NOTE: $*$ = speech event (E^s); [ ] = reference event (E^r); $\sim\sim\sim$ = narrated event (E^n); x<y = x precedes y; x≡y = x is identical to y; x>y = x follows y; x∈y = x is included in y (preceding the endpoint of y, if any).

Several points need to be mentioned here. First, as already noted above, the *Aktionsart* class (inherent aspect) of the predicate at issue determines what counts as the narrated event, and this in turn frames what interval the reference event is in relation to.

Second, although we speak of "events" (inheriting Jakobson's terminology), it might be best to speak of intervals or spans. Each of the three events might best be understood as an interval, with not only a position (when it occurs per se), but also a beginning, an end, and a duration. As stressed by Bull and Klein, intervals may not only be before, after, or simultaneous with each other, but they may also fully contain, be contained in, or partially overlap with one another. Indeed, many adverbs not only encode E^n/E^r and E^r/E^s relations, but, in doing so, also highlight the beginning (onset) or end (offset) of a state of affairs. Table 2 diagrams the prototypic function of four common adverbs in English. The adverb *already,* for example, implies that the beginning of E^n precedes E^r, while *still* implies that the end of E^n occurs after E^r. (Thus, both adverbs sound odd when used with predicates denoting permanent states of affairs.)

Table 2. Four Common Adverbs in English

ADVERB	DIAGRAM	INTERPRETATION
already	<$\sim$[$\sim$]$\sim$	onset of E^n before E^r
still	$\sim$[$\sim$]$\sim$>	offset of E^n after E^r
not yet	[ ] <$\sim\sim\sim$	onset of E^n before E^r
no longer	$\sim\sim\sim$> [ ]	offset of E^n after E^r

And finally, what exactly determines the time (or time-span) of the reference event (or interval) is quite varied. In (4), the reference event is narrated: *when I*

entered the room. In table 1, it was left unsaid. And in the Q'eqchi' narrative discussed in this article, reference events often are previously occurring narrated events. In short, reference events are often only recoverable through context and co-occurring text, and relatively elliptically at best. Indeed, a common situation, discussed at length by Bull (1960), is that the reference event is the speech event, and so the grammatical category of aspect often functions like the grammatical category of tense.

In the textual analysis that follows, then, a number of questions need to be answered for each of the constructions at issue. What is the aspectual character of the narrated event? How is the narrated event related to the reference event (e.g., before, simultaneous, after; contained, containing, overlapping)? How is the reference event set (e.g., relative to another narrated event, relative to the speech event, relative to a calendrical event)? How is the reference event related to the speech event (e.g., before, simultaneous, after; contained, containing, overlapping)? How is the speech event set (e.g., deictically, relative to another narrated event via reported speech, etc.)? What kinds of formal categories are used to encode such relations (e.g., inflections, derivations, adverbs, complementizers)? What semantic features do such categories encode and implicate (e.g., relations, intervals, orderings, and so forth)? And finally, what pragmatic and discursive functions do such features serve (foregrounding, sequencing, etc.)?

4. Predicates: inherent aspect and verbal inflection. Table 3 summarizes the semantic features encoded by stative and nonstative predicates as they interact with inflectional affixes encoding tense and aspect. It also shows the number of tokens of each type that occur in the text; the underlined numbers indicate how many tokens occur in reported speech. The work of Stewart (1980a, 1980b) on Q'eqchi' morphology is very important for the present analysis; however, my conclusions about the semantic features encoded by such forms are quite different.[4]

At a very basic level, we may describe the inherent aspect of the predicate itself. In Q'eqchi', there are two main classes of predicates—stative and nonstative. The former is the marked class, smaller in size, and more constrained in distribution. All predicates within the stative class are intransitive, and both their person-number marking and their tense-aspect-mood marking are suffixed, as in *chunchu-k-eb'* (be.seated-UNM-A.3.P) 'they are (have been) seated'. Many involve reduplicated roots derived from nonstative predicates, such as reduplicated *chapcho* 'to be grabbed', from *chapok* 'to grab'. Three of the most frequently occurring predicates in the language are included within the stative class: the existential predicate *wank* 'to exist, to have, to be located'; the progressive auxiliary predicate *yook* 'to do'; and the predicate of reported speech *chank* 'to say'.[5]

In contrast, the class of nonstative predicates is larger in size and less constrained in distribution. Their *Aktionsart* classes run the gamut of possibility, i.e., activities, achievements, accomplishments, and so on (using these terms in their standard technical senses). Predicates within this class may be transitive as well as intransitive, their person-number marking is prefixed, and their tense-aspect-mood marking (itself turning on a much larger paradigm) is also prefixed, as in *t-at-in-ch'oolani* (FUT-A.2.S-E.1.S-care) 'I will care for you'. Finally, perhaps the most obvious temporal distinction between stative and nonstative predicates is that the former are inherently imperfective (the narrated event is construed as unbounded and the reference event is usually contained within it, that is, $\sim[\sim]\sim$), whereas the latter are unmarked in this regard.

There are two inflectional forms, *-∅/-k* and *-(a)q*, that can occur with stative predicates. In this text, only the first occurs, and it may be considered the unmarked form (even occurring in nonfinite, or citation, forms of stative predicates). Although the stative predicate is itself inherently imperfective, this form says nothing about the relation between the reference event and the speech event. See, for example, scene 7, in which it is used in reported speech to mark a present state (*wan* 'there is'), while in scene 14, inter alia, it is used to talk about a prior state (*kanko* 'is (has been) tied'). And, indeed, such constructions are used to represent future events, present events, and past events. The second inflectional form, *-(a)q*, is often said to indicate future tense (as an E^n/E^s relation, as per Jakobson's framework). We might say, rather, that while the stative predicate is itself inherently imperfective, the reference event is itself after the speech event. In short, although both *-∅/-k* and *-(a)q* occur with inherently imperfective stative predicates, *-∅/-k* is unmarked with respect to tense and *-(a)q* is marked for future tense. Because members of this paradigm do not have any explicitly marked modal operators to contrast with, I suspect that future tense may also function as prospective aspect, optative mood, and irrealis status as it does in many present-day speech communities. However, given the fact that this text contains no tokens of stative predicates inflected with *-(a)q*, I do not want to speculate further. With the possible exception of *-(a)q*, Q'eqchi' seems not to have any affixes that mark tense in the sense of E^r/E^s.[6]

Nonstative predicates come in a wide variety of *Aktionsart* classes. There are activities (verbs that express dynamic and temporally unbounded actions: 'to sleep', 'to eat', 'to run'), states, and state-changes (punctual and durative), and any one of these might be caused or not. In certain cases, the derivational morphology of the predicate reveals its class, but usually Vendler-Dowty test frames (of a modified sort, as adapted to Q'eqchi') would be the only way to know for sure (Vendler 1967; Dowty 1979). And, as is well known, the same predicate may test differently depending on small shifts in meaning. For most situations, only the activity, state, and state-change properties will be at issue.

Table 3. Verbal Encoding (Inflectional and Periphrastic) of Temporal Features

	FORM	SEMANTIC FEATURES (TYPICAL FUNCTION)	TEMPORAL PROFILE	TOKENS
Stative predicates (inherently imperfective)	*-∅/-k*	unmarked (present tense)	$\sim[\sim]\sim$	55
	-(a)q	future tense (optative mood)	$\sim[\sim]\sim$ *	0
Nonstative predicates (inherently perfective)	*na(k)-*	unmarked (present tense, habitual aspect)	$[\sim\sim\sim]$	63, 7
	x-	perfect aspect (past tense)	$\sim\sim\sim[\,]$	20, 7
	ki-	perfect aspect, unexperienced evidential (past tense)	$\sim\sim\sim[\,]$	113, 2
	ta-	prospective aspect (future tense)	$[\,]\sim\sim\sim$	3, 21
	∅-	imperative mood	N.A.	0, 17
	chi-	optative mood	N.A.	0, 5
	mi-	optative mood, negative status	N.A.	0, 2
Nonfinite constructions	*yoo-k INF*	progressive aspect / only with nonstatives, qua activities	$\sim[\sim]\sim$	12, 1
	yoo-q INF	progressive aspect, future tense (optative mood) / only with nonstatives, qua activities	$\sim[\sim]\sim$	0
	INF-e	E^r at onset of target state of E^n / only with two-state nonstatives	*	4
			N.A.	

The inflectional prefix *na(k)-* is often glossed as 'present habitual'. It usually marks habitual aspect, but it is unmarked for tense. Habitual aspect may itself be understood as quantifying over reference events. That is, it indicates that there is a set of reference events usually periodically arranged such that the narrated event occurred at each one of them ([~~~] . . . [~~~] . . . [~~~]). The reference events themselves may be indicated by adverbs such as 'every day' (*rajlal kutan*), or, more often, they are inferable via context. For example, it may be widely known that an action described is undertaken daily (such as cooking), or yearly (such as planting). Thus, in scene 3 the switch from *ki-* forms to *na(k)-* forms resonates with the daily activities of Po, as correlated with the day-to-day movements of the sun (as narrated in scenes 4–6). The *na(k)-* form is the unmarked form of the paradigm, and so can also function as simple present (no habitualness implied), as well as nomic present (true for all time). Indeed, it may also refer to events that occur in the past, in the future, or in a possible world. (Although *nak-* is not really a present tense marker, in my connected translation of the text I have found it convenient to render *nak-* by the English nonprogressive present, since this brings out the habitual force more clearly than would a past-tense rendering.)

The inflectional prefixes *x-* and *ki-* belong together insofar as both are marked for perfect aspect. That is, they indicate that the reference event is after the narrated event. This can be diagrammed as ~~~ [ ]. It is not specified exactly how far after the narrated event the reference event is, and nothing is said about the relation between the reference event and the speech event. As mentioned, the reference event is often taken to be the speech event, and so these two prefixes may function like past tense. Indeed, linguists have called them "proximal past" and "remote past," respectively. The difference between them, rather, is that *ki-* is also marked for unexperienced evidentiality; that is, it indicates that the narrated event was not experienced by the speaker and is known through another source—inference, second-hand speech, or, as is most often the case in this narrative, mythic speech. (It is therefore glossed as INF, meaning 'unexperienced evidential'.) To best see the evidential function of *ki-*, first note that the majority of utterances in this mythic retelling are inflected with *ki-* (except in cases of directly reported speech). Moreover, the two cases of directly reported speech in which *ki-* occurs (scenes 17a and 20b) involve a character who has just seen some effect and inferred its cause. In the first, Po is missing and her father infers that B'alamq'e must have taken her (*kielq'an*). In the second, Po sees storm clouds, and infers that her father must have sent her uncle, Kaaq, to kill them (*kixtaqla*).

The inflectional prefix *ta-* is usually understood as future tense. As shown below, it is best understood as prospective aspect—the reference event occurs before the narrated event. In particular, it occurs in nonfuture tense locales and so is inherently nondeictic.[7] Again, as with perfect aspect, the reference event may be taken to be the speech event, and so this form frequently functions as

future tense. Although predicates inflected with *ta-* usually occur in directly reported speech, it is useful to examine the tokens in which it occurs in normal speech (scenes 5, 15, and 29b). In scene 5, it occurs in a dependent clause (*tanume'q* '[when] he passes by'), where the independent clause is inflected with *na(k)-*. Toward the end of scene 15, it occurs in a dependent clause (*tixkanab'* '[in order that] she would leave it'), where the independent clause is inflected with *ki-*. And in scene 29b, it occurs in a counterfactive construction (*tixnaw* 'he would like to know'). These contexts clearly show that it marks not future tense, but rather prospective aspect.

Finally, there are three inflectional forms that are not marked for tense or aspect, but rather for mood and polarity—∅-, *chi-*, and *mi-*. The first of these is just a standard imperative. Its function may be seen in scenes 7, 12a, 12b, 15, 16, and 26. The second is an optative, seen in scenes 4 and 10. The third usually functions as a negative imperative, but may also function as a negative optative. Tokens may be found in scenes 12a and 15. In the text at issue, all of these tokens are confined to reported speech, and not much is said about them in this article except insofar as they relate to aspect-encoding adverbs.

Any nonstative, inherently perfective predicate may function like an imperfective predicate by means of a progressive construction, which itself involves the stative predicate *yook* 'to do', the particle *chi*, and the nonfinite form of the nonstative predicate. For example, *nak-∅-aatinak* (UNM-A.3.S-speak) 'he speaks' ([~~~]) corresponds to the progressive *yoo-∅-∅ chi aatinak* (do-UNM-A.3.S PART speak) 'he is speaking (~[~]~). Even though both constructions are diagramed as ~[~]~, the predicate is construed as an activity, not a state. Nevertheless, the narrated activity contains the reference interval. (The difference between states and activities, in the Aktionsart sense, is not captured by the diagrams.) In other words, the narrated event is ongoing—its beginning was before the reference interval and its end will be after the reference interval (if, indeed, it is even construed as having a beginning or end). Depending on the predicate in question (one-state, two-state, and so forth), the relevant state of the narrated event may be different. In particular, for one-state predicates, the reference event is contained within the narrated state (~[~]~), and for two-state predicates, the reference event is contained within the first state of the narrated event (~[~]~+++). Examples of the progressive construction may be found in scenes 8, 11, 12a, 12c, 13a, 20a, 24a, 24b, 25, 28, 30a, and 31.[8]

In addition to the progressive, there is one other kind of nonfinite construction that is used with nonstative predicates. It involves a nonfinite predicate followed by a relational noun that usually marks dative case (i.e., the recipient of a gift, the addressee of an utterance, etc.). For example, *xik w-e* (go.E.1.S-DAT) means 'I am off'. (This is often translated with the Spanish construction *me voy*, which is sometimes said to foreground that one is leaving the current place rather than foregrounding the subsequent destination—i.e., one is going away.) In this construction, one indicates that one is already going or that one's going is

already underway—the preparations are made, one has set down the path, and so on. Often, tokens of this construction involve predicates of movement and of achievement more generally, such as *elk* 'to leave', *ewuk* 'to become night'. It is tempting to say that they indicate that the onset, or target state, of the narrated event occurs at the reference event, but that may be too simple. Moreover, there is only one scene (i.e., 20a) in which they occur in the text (though scene 18 may also have a token). Several occur there at once in parallel, and two of these tokens occur with the adverb *ak* 'already'. This is a crucial scene in which B'alamq'e and Po have run as far as they can (to the edge of the sea), night has fallen, and Kaaq has finally caught up with them in order to kill them. The adverb *ak* (discussed below) shifts the onset of a narrated event to before the reference event, further highlighting the sense that it is too late, there is nowhere left to run, and their fate is sealed.

5. Temporal adverbs and prepositional phrases. Table 4 lists all the inherently temporal arguments, adverbs, prepositional phrases, and complementizers that occur in the text. From left to right, the table lists the morphological form of the construction, an English gloss, and the scene numbers in which tokens of such constructions occur (scene numbers for tokens within reported speech are underlined). In this way, the relative frequency of each construction is shown, as well as something of the context in which it occurs. Most of the constructions mark aspectual relations (E^n/E^r), but a few mark tenselike relations (E^r/E^s). Many are inherently interclausal, specifying how one narrated event relates to another narrated event (as a reference event). As seen in table 4, the underlying meanings turn on speed (how fast), duration (how long), frequency (how often), and position (when). The constructions have been loosely ordered vertically in the table as a function of scope, from relatively narrow-scope constructions at the top (arguments and adverbs) to relatively wide-scope constructions at the bottom (negators and complementizers). As may be seen, only a handful of such constructions are used with any frequency in the text.

As shown in table 4, there are only two tokens of an argument encoding a temporal relation. These, then, are instances where temporality—here as a privileged period (e.g., *kutan* 'day')—is explicitly referred to and some property is predicated of it (e.g., *nume'k* 'passing'). To be sure, insofar as the movements of B'alamq'e parallel the movements of the sun, every narrated event in which he is a topic is potentially construable as temporal or referring to time. Indeed, the same predicate (*nume'k*) is also used several times to describe the movements of B'alamq'e (in the guise of a hunter) as he passes before Po's house each day (scenes 4, 5, 7). Thus, as explored further in sections below, the parallelism is quite strong between implicit and explicit solar phases. In the two constructions tabulated here, however, it is done explicitly rather than through proxy.

Table 4. Temporal Features Encoded by Arguments, Adverbs, Prepositional Phrases, and Complementizers

FORM-CLASS	SEMANTIC TYPE	MORPHOLOGY	ENGLISH GLOSS	TOKENS (BY SCENE NUMBER; UNDERLINED IF RS)
Arguments	subject of verb	*xnume' kutan*	'(as the) day passed'	12c
		kinume' oxlajuj kutan	'(when) thirteen days passed'	26
Adverbs	onset or offset of E^n	*ak*	'already'	18, 20a, 20a, 20a, 24a
		ink'a' chik	'no longer'	8, 15, 17b, 18, 26
		ink'a' ajwi'	'still not', 'not yet'	10, <u>16</u>
	solarcentric	*eq'la*	'early'	17a
		q'ojyin	'(in the) darkness/night'	15
		ewu	'(in the) afternoon/evening'	14
		(toj) hulaj	'morning', 'tomorrow', 'the next day'	24a
	deictic	*anaqwan*	'now'	<u>15</u>, <u>16</u>, 16, 20b, <u>30d</u>
		ho'on . . . iho'on	'now'	<u>17a</u>, <u>29b</u>
	speed	*tikto*	'immediately'	<u>15</u>, 17c, 27
		yal jun	'at once'	<u>16</u>, 17a, 17c
		junpaat	'quickly', 'soon'	8, 16, 17a, 20b, 24b
		timil	'slowly'	<u>12a</u>, 25, 29b
	frequency	*wi' chik or b'i' chik*	'again'	8, 10, 12c, <u>15</u>, <u>16</u>, 18, 27, 30a
		hulaj hulaj	'each day'	25
		junelik	'always'	13c, 15
		rajlal (kutan)	'every day'	6, 6
		jun wa ka' wa	'one time, two times'	17a
	duration	*najt*	'for a long time', 'lengthily'	18

Table 4. Temporal Features Encoded by Arguments, Adverbs, Prepositional Phrases, and Complementizers (contd.)

FORM-CLASS	SEMANTIC TYPE	MORPHOLOGY	ENGLISH GLOSS	TOKENS (BY SCENE NUMBER; UNDERLINED IF RS)
Prepositional phrases	meta-narrative	sa' mayer kutan	'in olden days'	2
		chalen a'an	'since then'	31
	solarcentric	chiru oxib' kutan	'after three days'	10
		sa' oxlaju kutan	'in thirteen days'	24c
		chi kutan	'during the day'	6, 31
		chiru q'ojyin	'during the night'	6, 31
		chiru kiila kutan . . .	'during the many days and nights'	26
	speed	sa' aanil	'quickly' (lit., 'running')	8, 16, 20b, 30a
		sa' junpaat	'quickly' (lit., 'in an instant')	15, 26
		chi junpaat seeb'	'quickly' ('soon', 'hurrying')27	
	establish E^r	sa' ROOT-ik	'at the time of E^n'	4, 17c,18, 19, 24a, 25, 29c
Negators	frequency	chi maa-wa	'not once'	29a
		maa-jun (wa)	'not once'	12a,17a
		maa-jaruj	'never'	15
		maa-jaruj tana chik	'never again, perhaps'	28
		maa-min (tana)	'in no way'	5, 10, 16, 30c
Complementizers	establish E^r	toj, toja'	'when' (establishes narrated E^r), 'still'	2, 3, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17b, 18, 18, 24a, 24c, 25, 26, 28, 30c
		jo'q'e	'when'	3, 5, 7
		naq	'when'	4

The largest class of temporal expressions in table 4 is that of adverbs. Temporal adverbs are usually noninflected particles, or combinations of such particles, that occur before a finite predicate. Several such adverbs, however, occur after the finite predicate (e.g., *wi' chik* 'again'), and one such adverb is circumfixed around a finite predicate (*ho'on . . . iho'on* 'now').

The first three adverbs in the table relate to the beginning or end of a narrated event; they are similar in function to the English adverbials 'already', 'not yet', and 'no longer' that were diagrammed in table 2. The adverb *ak* 'already' indicates that the beginning of the narrated event occurred before the reference event. The adverb *ink'a' chik* 'no longer' is similar in function to *ak*; it indicates that by the time of the reference event the narrated event has ended. The adverb *ink'a' ajwi'* 'not yet' is also similar, in that it indicates that at the time of the reference event the narrated event has not yet begun. Each of these adverbs, then, highlights the beginning or end of a narrated event and relates this beginning or end to a reference event. Not only do we have a similar set of constructions in English, but we also have *still*, an adverb that indicates that at the time of the reference event the end of the narrated event has not yet occurred. As discussed later in this section, the particle *toj* often has a function similar to English *still*. Finally, note that two of these adverbs include *ink'a'*, the marker of wide-scope negation. The other marker of negation used in adverbs (*maa-*) has narrower scope, and constructions involving this marker constitute a subclass of their own ("Negators") in table 4.

The next four adverbs indicate when a narrated event occurs relative to a reference event, which itself turns on a phase of the day—early in a day, or morning or dawn (*eq'la*); late in a day, or afternoon or dusk (*ewu*); at night (*q'ojyin*); and in the next morning (*hulaj*). Thus, a day, *kutan*, or twenty-four-hour period, is not homogeneous, but rather has phases, and each of these phases may be used to establish a reference event, or interval, relative to which the time of a narrated event may be established. As mentioned in the introduction, such solar phases are themselves often correlated with the movements of the main character, B'alamq'e, who is himself the sun in disguise. One key incident (scene 23), discussed at length in section 7, involves the passing of one day into the next, which itself is paralleled by B'alamq'e's rolling into the water one evening and emerging the next morning. The construction *hulaj* 'the next day; in the morning' often functions as the deictic 'tomorrow', and this is how it is usually translated. However, this gloss is really only appropriate when the reference event is treated as the speech event. It is part of a larger, somewhat productive paradigm that involves two relations of order and several magnitudes (see table 5). This construction often means the (morning of the) day after the reference event, and thereby functions as a kind of aspect (E^n/E^r).

The adverbs *anaqwan* 'now' and *ho'on . . . iho'on* 'now' are the only obviously deictic temporal constructions in the text, i.e., constructions that relate the reference event to the speech event. As may be seen, they occur only in reported speech in this narrative. The adverb *anaqwan* occurs twice after a command (including a hortative construction, 'now let's go') in scenes 15 and 16, and twice in a copula construction ('now it is good') in scenes 16 and 30d. Its use in scene 20b is the most interesting, as it occurs with a predicate that is inflected for perfect aspect, i.e., *anaqwan x-oo'-oso'* (now PERF-A.1.P-be. finished). This utterance is spoken by Po just after she has inferred that her father sent her uncle to kill them. It may be translated as 'now we are finished' or 'now we are done for'. This is more evidence that the inflectional prefix *x-* is doing the work of perfect aspect and not of past tense (for which such a construction would be contradictory). In particular, perfect aspect (of the inflection) functions perfectly well with present tense (of the adverb); *anaqwan* indicates that the reference event contains, or is simultaneous with, the speech event, and *x-* indicates that the relevant state of the narrated event (i.e., the state of being finished) precedes the reference event. A freer paraphrase of the implications of this sentence might be 'it's too late' or 'we're already dead'. The adverb *ho'on . . . iho'on* is usually circumfixed around a predicate. Like *anaqwan*, it is glossed as 'now', the reference event occurring at the same time as, or containing, the speech event. In scene 17a, it occurs with *ta-*, providing more evidence that *ta-* is a marker of prospective aspect and not of future tense.

The next four adverbs in the table might be understood to mark speed, but in a very loose sense. Speed, though on the boundary of what might be considered temporal, is usually understood as the change in distance divided by the change in time—and it is not clear that any of these constructions are encoding speed in such a strict sense. Rather, most of these constructions might be better characterized as marking soonness or quickness—that is, how quickly the narrated event occurs after the reference event (itself usually the preceding narrated event). The adverbs *tikto* and *yal jun* indicate that the narrated event occurred immediately after the reference event. In effect, they say that the current narrated event occurred "on the heels of" the last narrated event. In this way, they mark interclausal relations. They are often best glossed with an English adverb like 'immediately' or 'at once'. In scenes 17a and 17c, for example, Tzuultaq'a has two key actions (grabbing his mirror and grabbing his blowgun) qualified by such adverbs, in both cases indicating that the actions followed immediately after a decision he made or conclusion he came to.[9] The adverb *junpaat*, itself probably a contraction of the prepositional phrase *sa' junpaat* 'in an instant', involves the morphemes *jun* 'one' and *paat* 'bit'. This latter unit is nongradable. Such a construction is often used with achievement predicates, indicating the state was achieved 'quickly'. For example, in scene 8 we are told that B'alamq'e quickly gathered himself up

after slipping on the cooked corn that Po laid on his path. And in scene 17a this adverb is used to qualify Tzuultaq'a's getting up from bed when his daughter does not respond to his calls. Finally, the adverb *timil* is best glossed as 'slowly'. It describes the manner in which an action was undertaken (rather than the speed at which an event occurred), and often indexes a human concern such as carefulness or anxiety. In scene 12a, for example, Po uses it when she tells her father to aim his blowgun slowly at B'alamq'e (who is disguised as a bird, and whom she would like to protect from harm).

The next five adverbs in the table mark iteration or frequency. In some sense, they quantify over reference events. Some of them indicate that a narrated event occurred at all reference events, such as *junelik* 'always'. In other words, no matter what reference event is chosen, the narrated event contains it (as in 'John was always happy'), or it contains the narrated event (as in 'John was always sneezing'); or in still other words, at any point in time the narrated event holds. Sometimes the reference events are periodically occurring intervals, as with *hulaj hulaj* 'day after day' and *rajlal kutan* 'every day'. Like the set of adverbs discussed above that includes *eq'la* 'early', these expressions of iteration or frequency are based on solar periods. The expression *wi' chik* 'again' means that, just as the narrated event happened during a previous reference interval, it also happened during the current reference interval. It does for predicates what *jun chik* 'another' does for nouns—compare 'he did it again' and 'I'll have another'. Finally, the frequency with which a narrated event occurs may be precisely specified and counted out, such as *jun wa ka' wa* 'once, twice' (lit., 'one time two times'). The word *wa* is a noun meaning 'time', as in 'two times' or 'twice'. It is also the word for 'tortilla', a round and flat object. It functions like a classifier and should be compared with a similar construction used in Nahuatl calendars (Kockelman 1998)—Nahuatl being an areally related language with a similar time-reckoning system.

The last adverb in the table, *najt*, marks duration. Usually, *najt* functions as a distance marker ('far'). In scene 18, however, it is used to describe how long a certain state lasted ('for a long time Tzuultaq'a remained fallen like this'). Sometimes this same root appears with the suffix *-er* 'ago', a suffix that is also used on numbers (and with some seasons) to indicate how many such periods previously a reference event occurred relative to the speech event, e.g., *jun hab'-er* 'one rain/year ago', *oxej-er* 'three days ago', *kab'aj-er* 'two days ago', and so forth (table 5). Since this suffix indicates that the reference event occurred at some time before the speech event, it is inherently deictic.[10]

The set of prepositional phrases in table 4 all involve a preposition (*chi, sa', chalen*), or a preposition with a relational noun (*chiru*), plus an argument that is a temporal construction. Most of these constructions occur before the predicate, but, in certain imperative and hortative constructions, they can occur after the predicate.

Table 5. The Adverbial Suffixes -er ('ago'/'before') and -Vl ('in'/'after')

ROOT MEANING	E^n/E^r (BEFORE)	E^r/E^s (AFTER)
hulajik 'its arrival', *ewu* 'dusk'	*hulaj* 'in one day'	*ewer* 'one day ago', 'yesterday'
kab' 'two'	*kab'ej* 'in two days'	*kab'ejer* 'two days ago'
ox 'three'	*oxej* 'in three days'	*oxejer* 'three days ago'
kaa'ib 'four'	*kwehej, kohej* 'in four days'	*kwehejer, kohejer* 'four days ago'
hoob' 'five'	*ob'ix, hob'ej* 'in five days'	*hob'ejer* 'five days ago'
hab' 'year', 'rain'	—	*jun hab'er* 'one year ago'
may 'old'	—	*mayer* 'long ago'
najt 'far'	—	*najter* 'long ago'
rub'el 'beneath'	*rub'elaj* 'before'	—

The first two prepositional phrases, *sa' mayer kutan* and *chalen a'an*, are metatextual, the first occurring at the beginning of the text (scene 2), and the second occurring at the end of the text (scene 31). They locate the entire narrative as a collection of individual narrated events (E^{n1}, E^{n2}, etc.) relative to the speech event (and to worldly, geocentric events more generally). The first, *sa' mayer kutan* 'in olden days', establishes a large-scale reference event (or rather, reference interval) that is to contain all the narrated events (by virtue of locating the initial scene-setting narrated events [scene 2] that all later narrated events are implicitly related to), and that is established relative to the speech event. In particular, *mayer* 'olden' is composed of two morphemes, *may* 'old' and the suffix *-er* 'ago' (see table 5). The second prepositional phrase, *chalen a'an*, occurs at the end of the text and is used to establish an interval (E^r) relative to the set of narrated events ('ever since the events just recounted')—in particular, relative to the last event recounted, when B'alamq'e takes Moon's hand and leads her up into the sky, and implicitly up until at least the "now" of the speech event, i.e., the leading of women by men. The phrase *chalen a'an* introduces the narration of what occurs in that interval. Besides person and evidentiality, both of which are established relative to participants in the speech event (and leaving aside constructions used in reported speech, such as the adverbs *anaqwan* and *ho'on . . . iho'on*), these are the only inherently deictic temporal constructions used in the narrative—i.e., the only constructions that relate the narrated events (or reference events) to the speech event that was taking place over one hundred years ago.

The next five prepositional phrases locate a narrated event by reference to a solar interval (a day, or some phase of the day). As with adverbs, the only unit ever used in this text is *kutan* 'day' and to some degree its marked complement *q'ojyin* 'night' or 'darkness'. In Q'eqchi', as in English, the word *kutan* is unmarked relative to *q'ojyin* and can mean either an entire twenty-four hour period or just the sunlit part of such a period. No other relatively periodic temporal intervals (such as hour, week, month, or year) are used, though certain phases of the moon may be implied, as discussed below (the Q'eqchi' have

an extensive lunar reckoning system that is not used here). The first two expressions locate a narrated event by quantifying the distance to a reference event—*chiru oxib' kutan* 'after three days' and *sa' oxlaju kutan* 'in thirteen days'. The next two phrases, *chi kutan* 'during the day' and *chiru q'ojyin* 'during the night', establish the time of a narrated event by reference to a given phase of the day. And the last, somewhat mixed expression *chiru k'iila kutan jo' wi' q'ojyin* 'during the many days and nights' turns on both the phase of day (and night) and the number of days (and nights). It is used in reported speech in scene 26, when a woman complains to B'alamq'e about how long she had to guard the jars containing Po's remains.

There are three prepositional phrases that might be said to mark speed—*sa' aanil, sa' junpaat,* and *chi junpaat seeb'*. The phrase *sa' aanil* is based on the root 'to run' and might best be glossed as a manner expression, 'running'. The two phrases involving *jun-paat* 'an instant' really indicate how soon after a reference event the narrated event occurs, 'soon after'. The root *seeb'* 'fast' in the last construction is usually found in a reflexive transitive construction, *seeb'a aawib'* 'hurry!' (see, e.g., scenes 16 and 26). Again, *sa' junpaat* and *chi junpaat seeb'* are best understood as expressing manner, 'hurrying', rather than speed. Such constructions, then, are at the border of what might be called temporality. Almost all tokens of these three expressions occur immediately before the predicate and usually in sentence-initial position. There are two exceptions: *sa' aanil* is used once at the end of a hortative construction (in reported speech, scene 16), and *sa' junpaat* is used once at the end of a prospective aspect construction (again in reported speech, scene 26). Different types of manner differ in salience. Taking into account adverbial constructions marking speed as well, there are six constructions marking high speed and only one construction marking low speed. Indeed, as tokens rather than types, there are twenty-one constructions marking high speed and only three constructions marking low speed.

There is one derivational suffix, *-ik*, that is directly relevant to temporality. It derives a possessed noun that specifies the time of an event from a predicate that denotes the event, and may thereby transform a narrated event into a reference event. For example, if *kamk* means 'to die', *x-kam-ik* (E.3.s-die-NOM) means 'his time of dying' or 'his death'. Such derived nouns often occur as the argument of the preposition *sa'* 'at' (see, e.g., scenes 4, 24a, and 29c). A prepositional phrase of this form, when it occurs as the adjunct of a predicate, indicates that the time of the narrated event (denoted by the predicate) occurs at the same time as the reference event (encoded by the derived possessed noun phrase). This construction should be compared with a spatial construction involving two verb phrases, one of which is dependent on the other and is marked by the enclitic *wi'* (see, inter alia, scenes 4, 6, 7, 11, and 16); this construction indicates that the event denoted by the predicate of the independent clause occurred in the same place as the event denoted by the

predicate of the dependent clause. In this construction, *wi'* may usually be glossed as 'at the place of', and thus is similar in its relational function to *-ik*.

The next four constructions in table 4 all involve the negative prefix *maa-* 'not'. They serve two functions: first, they establish a kind of reference event, and second, they indicate that the narrated event did not occur at such a reference event.[11] Strictly speaking, the first expression, *chi maa-wa*, is an prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *chi*. It indicates that there is not a single reference event (or reference interval) at which the narrated event occurs. It may be glossed 'not once', or 'at no instance'. The second expression, *maa-jun wa* 'not one time; not once', is similar. The expression *maa-jaruj* indicates that for all time (any reference event you choose), the narrated event does not obtain. In contrast to *maa-jaruj*, the expression *maa-jaruj tana chik* 'perhaps not ever again' indicates that though the narrated event has occurred before the reference event, it will no longer occur at any possible reference event after that reference event. Compare *ink'a' chik* 'no longer', discussed above. The *tana* in this phrase marks afactive status, 'perhaps', 'possibly', indicating that the speaker is not fully committed to the proposition. In general, status (*tana*) has scope over polarity (*maa-*), which has scope over aspect. Finally, the expression *maa-min* 'no way; in no manner' is on the boundary of this category. It seems to indicate that there was no means or manner by which the narrated event could obtain, but it may also be glossed as 'never' in certain contexts—it seems to do for possibility (in no world) what *maa-jaruj* does for temporality (at no time).

The last three items in table 4, *toj*, *jo'q'e*, and *naq*, are clause-initial parti-cles that indicate that the narrated event denoted by the clause in question is a reference event to which another more focal narrated event is related. Clauses introduced by these particles usually function as the first clause in the follow-ing kind of construction: 'when X was happening, Y happened', where X is the relatively backgrounded event headed by the particle and Y is the relatively foregrounded event. In particular, the particles *jo'q'e* and *naq* mark relatively standard 'when' constructions. The particle *jo'q'e* also functions as a wh-word, and *naq* as a full-clause complementizer ('that') and, following the dative marker *r-e*, a purposive ('in order that'). (These other functions of *naq* are not counted among the tokens in table 4.) In short, the main function of all three of these particles is interclausal—the relatively backgrounded clause, headed by the particle in question, is a reference event at which time, or during which time, the relatively foregrounded clause is said to occur.

As seen in table 4, *toj* is by far the most frequently used of these particles. Its meaning is likewise the most complex and variable, and thus it deserves a more detailed discussion. It may head a background clause (E^r) that precedes a foregrounded clause (E^n), indicating that the second event occurred at the same time as the first event (or within an interval established by the first

event). In this usage, it is most similar to *jo'q'e* and *naq* and is glossed 'when'. See, for example, scenes 2, 3, 24a, 25, and 26.

The particle *toj* may also head a backgrounded clause (E^r) that follows a foregrounded clause (E^n). In this usage, it may be glossed as 'but' or 'still', inasmuch as the backgrounded clause explains why the event denoted by the foregrounded clause did not occur; see, for example, scenes 15, 17b, and 18. In some sense, *toj* implies that the previous narrated event occurred while the *toj*-headed narrated event was still happening, and thus could not happen: 'he asked her to go, but (at that time of asking) she was (still) scared' (scene 15).

The particle *toj* may head a clause that is not syntactically related to another clause, but instead relates to a presupposed reference event (usually the narrated event denoted by the previous utterance). In such a function, it is often best glossed as 'but', 'still', 'but still', or 'however'. In scene 16, for example, it has scope over the adverb *anaqwan* 'now' that encodes the relation between the reference event and the speech event (indicating that they are simultaneous, or that the reference event contains the speech event), and *toj* uses the reference event established by *anaqwan* to set the time of the nar-rated event established by the hortative: 'so now (finally, after all that) let's go!'[12]

Finally, *toj* may establish a reference world or commitment event relative to which a narrated world could occur; in this case, it interacts with the gram-matical category of status in counterfactual conditionals. (A commitment event is the world in which one is committed to the truth of an assertion.) In such a usage, *toj* is glossed as 'unless' or 'not if'. In scene 10, for example, it specifies what would have to be the case for the consequent not to occur: 'I would die from the cold, unless I were wrapped in the threads of the ceiba tree'. In other words, rather than establishing the time at which something occurs, it estab-lishes the world in which something occurs.[13] Compare the contrast, discussed above, between *maa-min* and *maa-jaruj*.[14] Here again, we see the underlying similarity between the three-event nature of tense and aspect and the three-event nature of mood and status (Kockelman 2005).

6. Temporality: from linguistic encoding to cultural framing.

The previous three sections were analytic, focusing on individual categories from the standpoint of grammatical structure. The next three sections are synthetic, focusing on co-occurring categories within an ongoing narrative. My purpose is not to exhaustively interpret each sentence or scene in the text. Rather, I take several relatively interesting examples and walk the reader through their nexus of forms, features, and functions. Some of these examples are important because they are replicas, occurring again and again throughout the narrative, while others are important because they are singularities, occurring only once in the narrative to special effect. All have been chosen for their relevance to the

four themes mentioned in the introduction: temporality, intentionality, ontology, and causality.

More specifically, the next three sections discuss the transformations that Po undergoes in moving from being the daughter of Tzuultaq'a to the wife of B'alamq'e. This is, in some sense, both a transformation in social status that drives the entire narrative, and a transformation in physical state (from human entity to celestial divinity) that creates the cosmos. To support this claim, I argue for and analyze the following set of parallelisms. First, the spatial movements of B'alamq'e parallel the narrative's day-to-day and twenty-day-long temporal development; less overtly, the transformations that Po undergoes parallel the changing phases of the moon. In other words, the temporal background relative to which all narrated events unfold is itself grounded in the movements and transformations of two narrated figures. Second, solar temporal phases parallel types of actions undertaken, such as activities at night that attempt to deceive and activities during the day that attempt to remedy such deceptions once they are discovered at dawn. Third, hierarchies of experiential horizons (such as those relating narrator, addressees, and nonparticipants) parallel techniques of reference (such as the use of proper names, identifying descriptions, and status designators). This point is less complex than it sounds; it simply means that, for example, only the speaker (but not the addressees) is privy to certain events, or that only one actor (but not other actors) is privy to other events. The transformations undergone by Po are shown to take place in relation to such a temporal background, brought about by such deceitful or deceit-remedying actions, and as figured by such referential techniques.

In the next three sections, I analyze three parts of this text in detail: Po being seen by B'alamq'e; Po being killed by her uncle; and Po being reborn as the moon and taken up into the sky by B'alamq'e.

7. Inalienable possessions and the tension between containers and contents.
Scenes 2–6 describe the initial sighting of Po by B'alamq'e, and it is especially at the end of this section of the narrative (scene 6) that the movements of B'alamq'e first seem to parallel the position of the sun, both in their daily habitualness and in their diurnal and nocturnal phasing. B'alamq'e passes by Po's house each day, ostentatiously carrying what seems to be a real goat, and he moves into the darkness of the forest each night to hide what is actually a goatskin.

The daily actions of Po resonate with the daily movements of B'alamq'e—his watchful passing by the house where she sits weaving during the day, and his hiding the fake goat inside the darkness of the forest at night (scenes 3–6). Predicates in both of these sequences are inflectionally marked with the prefix *na(k)-* (i.e., unmarked and typically present-habitual). This is in accordance with the day-to-day habitualness of these activities, the backgrounding of

these scenes relative to the punctuated events that follow, and the fact that the twenty-days of narrative development has not yet begun. In contrast, most other events (such as the initial sighting of Po by B'alamq'e in scene 4) are inflectionally marked with the prefix *ki-* as perfect aspect and indirectly known experience (usually characterized as remote past). It is only after Po sees B'alamq'e, tells her father how much he pleases her, and the suspicious father and trusting daughter together lay a trap that reveals that what seems to be a goat is merely a goathide, that the temporal unfolding of the narrative begins. Until then, there is simply an undifferentiated passing of days, parallel to B'alamq'e's passing by Po's house, parallel to the sun's daily journey.

Carrying a stuffed goatskin is part of B'alamq'e's disguise as a hunter (scene 4). This is only his first attempt to deceive other characters, either by means of personal disguises or altered equipment. Later, he wraps himself in the feathers of a hummingbird, then reveals himself to be a man to Po. Still later, he enlists Po's help in sabotaging both her father's mirror (by covering its face with smoke) and her father's blowgun (by stuffing chili inside it). We are introduced, then, to a key trope, itself grounded in solar phases—the distinction between inside and outside, light and dark, appearance and essence, day and night, or, to phrase this distinction in less metaphysical terms, the tension between containers and contents. Such a distinction maps directly onto the three main characters. B'alamq'e is essentially deceitful (by altering appearances, and shifting between dark and light); Po is essentially gullible (by believing appearances, and seeing only the light); and her father is essentially suspicious (by distrusting appearances, and peering into the dark).[15]

Indeed, looking at the narrative as a whole, there are at least ten such incidents of deception and disguise. In scenes 5 and 6, there is the goatskin and the hunter disguise. In scene 10, B'alamq'e borrows the feathers of a bird so he can disguise himself. In scene 15, the surface of a mirror is smoked so that it can no longer be used to see. In scene 16, a blowgun is stuffed with chili so that the user will inhale it upon use. In scene 20, the shells of a turtle and armadillo are borrowed to hide in. In scene 19, Kaaq wraps himself in clouds, disguising himself as the weather. In scene 25, the bloody remains of Po, which have been put into jars, come alive, but nobody can see what is causing the sounds emanating from them. In scene 28, Po is found to be hiding in the remaining jar. And, in scene 27, a woodcutter gets curious about the jars and opens them up, thereby allowing the poisonous animals that are hiding inside to escape.

Many of these essence-appearance or contents-containers incidents turn on inalienable possessions. In Q'eqchi', inalienable possessions are a class of nouns comprising some body parts, most kinship terms, and words like 'name', 'shadow', 'clothing', and 'place'. Such words have an extra morpheme (*–b'ej* or *-ej*) when not possessed, and are typically possessed by humans (Kockelman 2007b). In some sense, then, the treachery or trickery is even more insidious, for characters are donning the inalienable possessions of other creatures and

thereby making their disguises even harder to penetrate. Indeed, there are more stereotypic markers of inside and outside, or contents and containers, that turn on inalienable possessions. For example, at different points in the narrative B'alamq'e (scene 4), Tzuultaq'a (scene 17a), and a woodcutter (scene 29b) do not just speak (*chank*), but speak to themselves, or 'think'. The actual construction used is *chank sa' ch'oolej* 'say inside one's heart'. This is another place where an inalienable possession, *ch'oolej* 'heart', is used to mark information that some characters are privy to and others are not.

The word for 'name', *k'a'b'a'ej*, is also an inalienable possession in Q'eqchi', and the names of the main characters in this text are particularly telling. For example, when topicalized for the first time in scene 4, B'alamq'e is immediately referred to by his proper name and a status designator (*qaawa'*, translated here as 'sir', but perhaps rendered best by the Spanish *don*, or even English *lord*). Loosely speaking, his proper name is composed of two morphemes; *b'alam* is usually glossed as the 'state of being partially hidden', and may be exemplified by hiding one's body—except for a limb or two—behind a tree, and *q'e* is a relatively polysemous noun, meaning 'riddle', 'prediction', 'day', 'time', and so forth. Indeed, there is a web of semantic associations for each of these morphemes, such as *b'aalam* 'cacao; jaguar', *b'alak* 'dirty', *b'alb'a* 'hell', and *b'alb'o* 'hidden; behind something else', as well as *q'eel* 'old', *q'ehink* 'for the time of something to arrive', *q'eq* 'black', and *jo'q'e* 'when'. Most tellingly, B'alamq'e is phonetically similar to *b'alaq'*, which means 'lie' or 'deception' and, when preceded by the status designator *aj*, means 'deceiver'. This is what Po's father later calls B'alamq'e (scene 17c) when he realizes his daughter has run off and infers that B'alamq'e, whom he suspected all along, is her accomplice. Indeed, his actual words are, 'now I will see you, deceiver!' That is, the deceiver will finally be seen. Lastly, B'alamq'e is always referred to by his proper name and never explicitly referred to as *saq'e* 'sun' until the last scene of this text. It is therefore tempting to think of him as *b'alam(sa)q'e* 'hidden-sun', as much as the trickster figure that he is traditionally taken for. The Q'eqchi', then, have a deeply entrenched dichotomy between containers and contents, or appearance and essence, or light and dark—one that undergirds both the personalities of actors and the logic of events.

Tzuultaq'a, the father of Po, also has a significant name, consisting of two morphemes, *tzuul* 'mountain' and *taq'a* 'valley'. Such complementary geological formations are appropriately combined for a tellurian deity, 'mountain' plus 'valley' implying 'landscape' or 'earth'. This is a classic example of Mesoamerican parallelism (see Hanks [1989] and Norman [1980] for more details). For example, in Nahuatl there is the famous *aaltepeetl*, from *aatl* 'water' and *tepeetl* 'mountain', together meaning a 'town' (and its people). Tzuultaq'a's brother is Kaaq 'Thunder' and together they are the guardians of earth and sky. In some sense, the activities of B'alamq'e and Po are designed to escape this orbit—to get out of reach of Tzuultaq'a and Kaaq. They have run as far as

they can—to the edge of the sea, or the end of land—when Kaaq catches up with them (in scene 20). And it is precisely their failure to cleanly escape that affects the transformations that help constitute the heavens.

Of the many characters in this text, Po is the only one introduced and explicitly named—i.e., the one whose name is asserted rather than assumed (in scene 2). In contrast to B'alamq'e, her proper name is explicitly the same lexeme that is usually used to refer to the moon. In other words, she is immediately referred to as what she is not yet, whereas B'alamq'e is never referred to as what he already is (except insofar as his proper name, 'deceiver' or 'hidden-sun', tells us that he is not what he seems).

Po is also the only character whose physical and social characteristics are extensively described. This is usually done by means of identifying descriptions. She is alternately referred to as a daughter (scene 2), an unmarried girl (scene 3, 8, inter alia), and a virgin or maiden (scene 5). Such characterizations foreground her age, gender, civil status, and humanness. In later scenes, when she is the discursive theme, she will be referred to as *ix po*, a combination of status-designator (used with girls or young women) and proper name (scene 7). When she is not the discursive theme, she is often referred to by way of her kinship to whoever currently is—for example, 'his daughter' (scene 17a) or 'my wife' (scene 4). In still later scenes, when she has begun to physically transform, she will be referred to simply as *a' po* (that moon), with a demonstrative and no status-designator (scene 30a). She is also referred to as *rahom* 'his desired one', both when B'alamq'e is plotting to get back to her (after his goat-skin ruse has been revealed), and when B'alamq'e sees her blood on the water after she has been killed by Kaaq (scenes 10 and 24a, respectively). At the end of the narrative when she has completed her transformations and is taken up into the sky to be B'alamq'e's wife (the celestial version of consummation), she will be referred to as *qana' po*, a combination of new status designator *qana'* (lit., 'our mother', used with married and older women) and her old proper name. This transformation accords with her being first introduced by the narrator as her father's daughter (scene 2), and shortly thereafter referred to as 'my woman' or 'my wife' in the reported speech and optative-mood construction of B'alamq'e (scene 4). In short, she is caught up in both the demands of her father (to care for him) and the desires of B'alamq'e (to marry her). From the very first scene, then, Po's future transformations from daughter to wife and from earthbound human to celestial entity have been explicitly figured.

It is worthwhile describing this set of kinship relations in more detail. As elaborated in scenes 1 and 2, Po is the daughter of Tzuultaq'a and about to become the wife of B'alamq'e. Moreover, in the opening metatopical scene, Tzuultaq'a is also referred to as *qamama'* 'our grandfather' and Po is referred to as *qana'* 'our mother'. To be sure, these terms are just as often used as status designators ('our lord' and 'our lady') as kinship determiners, but it is not difficult to thereby relate the main characters in the narrated event to the

participants in the speech event, the latter having Po as their mother (and, we assume, B'alamq'e as their father), and Tzuultaq'a as their grandfather. Kaaq is the brother of Tzuultaq'a and thus the uncle of Po (and hence the great-uncle of the participants in the speech event). In short, the union described here not only brings into being the heavens (through bringing into being their most salient denizens, the sun and moon), it also brings into being the speaker's and addressees' parents. These relations are shown in figure 1. If, as we are told in scene 2, all of these narrated events occurred 'when not a single man was yet born on earth', they also serve to explain where men and women would eventually come from. In short, with the separation of earth and sky comes the condition of possibility for people. This text, then, describes the events that inaugurate a new age, or mode of temporality—the time of men.
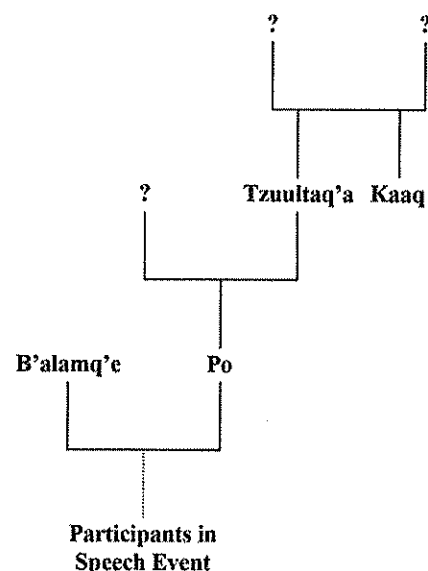

Figure 1. Kinship relations referred to in the text.

Finally, these early scenes are fundamental for the mapping of motivation onto kinship relations. In scene 3, for example, we learn that Po spends her day caring for (ch'oolanink) her father. Only when she finishes the work associated with this does she take out her weaving equipment and sit in front of the house where B'alamq'e can see her. The predicate ch'oolanink is derived from the inalienable possession ch'oolej 'heart', and is used to describe parents caring for children, people caring for domestic animals, and nurses caring for patients. Clearly, Tzuultaq'a has good reasons for not wanting Po, whom we have learned is 'his only companion' (scene 2), to go. Reciprocally, in scene 4, once B'alamq'e has seen Po, he says to himself, 'she's nice' and then, 'would that I could take her as my wife'. B'alamq'e's thoughts about taking Po as

his wife are precisely that, words he says inside his heart or thoughts he has about what constitutes his object of desire (r-aj-om [E.3.S-desire-NOM], lit., 'his desired one'). Such motivations provide reasons for the events that are about to take place—a father's need for his daughter's care, a husband's desire for a wife. It is the tension between the most basic consanguineal and affinal kinship relations, each itself an inalienable possession, that constitutes the cosmos.

8. Sun and Moon as both narrated figures and temporal grounds.
Table 6 shows the temporal outline of the entire narrative. It consists of twenty days of narrated events, framed by relatively periodic events that came before (Po caring for her father) and after (the moon following the sun in the sky). These are akin to a prologue and epilogue, respectively, and will be referred to as such in what follows. The twenty days between these bookends constitute the majority of narrated events in the text. There are some days that receive very little description, such as the third and fourth day when B'alamq'e is at home planning, and the eighth through nineteenth days when B'alamq'e has left the scene and something is coming alive inside the jars that once held Po's remains. Finally, two major events take place at night rather than during the day—B'alamq'e and Po escaping from her house and sabotaging her father's instruments, and Kaaq catching up with them and killing Po for what they did to her father. Both crime and retribution, cause and effect of cosmological proportions, occur at night.

Table 6. Day-by-Day Breakdown of Narrated Events

DAY	NARRATED EVENTS	SCENE
Prologue	Po cares for father and is watched by B'alamq'e	2–6
1	Po notices B'alamq'e and thinks he is a hunter	7
2	B'alamq'e slips on corn laid out by Po and her father, runs home to hide	8
3–4	B'alamq'e is at home, planning his return; tobacco plant grows	9–10
5	B'alamq'e borrows feathers from bird, flies back to tobacco plant	10–14
5 (night)	B'alamq'e shows himself to Po, they sabotage mirror and blowgun	15–16
6	Tzuultaq'a discovers his daughter's absence, sends his brother after them	17–21
6 (night)	Po is killed by her uncle, B'alamq'e rolls himself into the sea	22–23
7	B'alamq'e discovers Po's remains, has them put in jars, gives these to woman	24
8–25	B'alamq'e goes away; contents of the jars begin to move, Po is transformed, woman is scared	25
20	B'alamq'e returns, finds animals, finalizes Po's changes, goes up to sky	26–30
Epilogue	Ever since then, post-narrative days of sun and moon in orbit	31

This table was constructed using the relevant temporal constructions from the text (compare table 4). For example, the prologue and epilogue are marked off by the two metatextual constructions, 'in olden days . . .' and 'since then . . .'. Important shifts between relatively descriptive, periodic events and relatively narrative, sequential events correspond to shifts from *na(k)-* (present-habitual or unmarked) to *ki-* (perfect aspect and unexperienced evidential). The numbers of days—especially the three days that B'alamq'e schemed and brooded at home and the thirteen days that Po was dead—are defined by prepositional phrases such as 'after three days' and relative clauses such as 'when thirteen days had passed'. Solar phases are marked by adverbs and prepositional phrases such as 'during the day' and 'at night'. The passing of one day (the first day after the pre-time) is not marked explicitly, but rather is implied by scenes 3–8. Once Po notices B'alamq'e and informs her father of her interest in him, Tzuultaq'a has her set a trap for the next time he passes, which should be the next day, given what we have been told of his daily travels.

There is certainly some story to be told about the nature of the two key numbers—thirteen and twenty—and the Mayan calendar. The "sacred almanac of 260 days," as Sharer calls it, involved a succession of 260 days, each of which was uniquely assigned one of thirteen numbers and one of twenty day names; some have noted that this period corresponds, more or less, to human gestation (Sharer 1994:560). Thirteen is certainly a number that plays a role in this text—it is the number of days (*kutan*) that B'alamq'e is absent and Po is dead, and things develop in the jars, and it is also the number of jars and of the taxa of deadly creatures that emerge from them. And gestation is also a key trope—the deadly creatures are said to be 'born' in the jars (scene 25) and, at the end of these thirteen days (scene 30a), we are told that Po was 'born again' (two constructions that will be further discussed in the next section). There are many interesting questions that arise, then, when these narrated events are related to what we know about Mesoamerican calendars. Here I can only note those questions.

Although the focus of table 6 is on solar phases as they relate to narrated events, there are also some moon-centered phases. In particular, just as B'alamq'e passes by her house each day and disappears into the forest at night, Po disappears for thirteen days. (Interestingly, those thirteen days constitute the greatest single cohesive interval of time in the text, yet contain the smallest number of narrated events. In effect, it is the one time span in the text during which each of the two main characters disappears completely from the scene.) When she does appear again (scene 30a), she is referred to as *ak' po* 'new moon', the standard construction for referring to a moon just beginning to wax. Finally, after her reappearance, B'alamq'e acts to make her large and whole again—not just purified, but full. Indeed, it is only then that he pronounces her good and takes her up into the sky (scene 30).

Moreover, earlier in the text (scenes 22 and 24c), after B'alamq'e disappears into the sea and Po is killed by Kaaq, her blood is seen on the surface of the sea. The construction used at the end of scene 22 is *kaq kaq kub'e ix kik'el sa' xb'een ha' palaw* 'red red flowed her blood on top of the sea'. One might think of the color of the sea at sunset, which is when she is killed (right before B'alamq'e rolls into the sea), or at sunrise, when B'alamq'e leaves the sea and discovers her remains. It is these bloody remains that B'alamq'e collects into jars and it is from these remains that all the poisonous species of creatures are born. Thus, it is not an unreasonable conceptual leap to relate these events to menstruation. In this way, somewhat more tenuously, just as the man's curiosity causes all the poisonous animals to populate the earth, Po's neglect of her care for her father (and elopement with B'alamq'e) leads to her bloody death and eventual purified resurrection. In short, the repercussions of B'alamq'e's trickery and Po's assistance are vast indeed—sunsets and sunrises, menstrual cycles and lunar phases, all are explained.

We may return to sun-centered events, in particular to the sixth day and the description of Po's death. As noted above, it is late afternoon and Po has fled from her father's house with B'alamq'e until they arrive the edge of the earth where the sea begins. (I assume it is the western edge, for in what other direction could the sun flee?) Seeing the approaching storm clouds, they infer that her father has sent his brother to kill them (scene 20), and they hide themselves in the shells of a turtle and an armadillo. Po's uncle, Kaaq, throws his axes down on them in the form of lightening bolts. Po is not a swimmer, alas, and she is killed by her uncle's axe. This is described in scenes 20–22.

Immediately after we learn of her death, scene 23 begins, now told from the standpoint of B'alamq'e rather than Po. Unaware of the death of his beloved, B'alamq'e rolls himself into the sea to escape Kaaq's axes. Following the first two sentences with B'alamq'e as their topic, we learn that 'the sun was extinguished and darkness was lowered on the earth'. This is the first time in the narrative that the word *saq'e* 'sun' is used, and the relation between the second and third sentences is a brilliant, albeit noncanonical, example of Mayan parallelism. In canonical Mayan parallelism, as described by Norman (1980) for K'iche', two adjacent lines are identical in all but one respect, and the nonidentical parts form a pair of terms that are said to act as a single lexical unit with a single metaphorical interpretation (see also Hanks 1989). Recall the Nahuatl construction *aaltepeetl* ('water-mountain', i.e., 'town'), and compare the relation between the second and third sentences of scene 31 ('Lord Sun during the day. Lady Moon during the night'). In scene 23, in contrast, the two utterances describe relatively sequential, topically chained events, the first from the standpoint of B'alamq'e (as narrated participant) and the second from the standpoint of solar events (as temporal background).

This particular parallelism should be discussed in detail (compare Hofling [1993], who analyzes a similar trope in Itzaj Maya narratives). First, notice

that this sequence (the second and third sentences of scene 23) is narrated using the inflectional form *ki-*, which is marked for perfect aspect. The narrated events stand in a relationship of temporal sequencing, not of simultaneity, nor of foreground to background. Second, the initial sentence of scene 23 is the first time in the narrative that a new discursive theme is explicitly topicalized (marked in Q'eqchi' by clause-initial positioning). To be thematically cohesive, the four sentences of this scene should therefore share the same discursive theme, even though the noun phrases used to refer to this theme change from *B'alamq'e* (the human being) to *saq'e* (the stellar object).

Notice that there is no syntactic parallelism at work here. The second sentence consists of a derived transitive predicate used reflexively, along with a prepositional phrase and a dependent clause (functioning as a purposive 'in order to'), and the third sentence consists of a passivized predicate with no adjuncts. Notice as well that there is no semantic parallelism—the events referred to are temporally consecutive. There is only thematic cohesion and, if B'alamq'e is indeed the sun, logical ordering. It is as if there are two parallel worlds, a narrated one of B'alamq'e and his movements and an indexed one of the sun and its position. Here, near the middle of the text, just when Po's death begins the process that will transform her into the moon, the indexed world is for a brief moment referentially figured, only to fade to temporal background again.

9. People and things in relation to identifying descriptions and intentional horizons.   After Po's death, her father and uncle (her only consanguineal and lineal kin) are never mentioned again. Nor is she ever referred to by the identifying descriptions used in the first section (which themselves presume a human referent), nor by her proper name and a status designator. She has lost her social identity, to the extent that it had been expressed by such referential techniques. From now on she will be referred to as merely *po* '(the) moon', and the qualities predicated of her—round, white, large, and pure—will slowly come into accordance with her new identifying descriptions. In short, until the last scene of the text when she has finally been perfected by the actions of B'alamq'e, her name no longer functions as a proper noun, but is reduced to functioning as a common noun—a true movement from person to thing, one that correlates with her reduced topicality (she is much less frequently mentioned) and her semantic role (when she is referred to, it is usually as patient rather than agent).

Let us return to the narrated events, taking up where we left off in the last section. It is the morning of the seventh day and B'alamq'e has just discovered what has happened to Po (scene 24a). With the aid of some dragonflies, he has her blood and remains gathered and put into thirteen jars (scene 24b). These he places under the eaves of a woman's house at the edge of the sea, and he

tells this woman to watch over the jars until his return in thirteen days (scene 24c).

While B'alamq'e is away, 'something was born' inside those jars (scene 25). Here, a set of containers fill up with new contents, but contents that are unknown (*k'a'aq ru* 'something') both to the participants in the narrated event and to the participants in the speech event. This is one of three places in the text where the predicate *yoolak* 'to be born' appears. The first is in scene 2, when the entire narrative was set in 'olden times, when not a single man was yet born on earth' (a claim belied, it should be said, by the existence of the old woman and the traveling woodcutter). The third token occurs in scene 30a right after the poisonous animals—which were born in the jars—escape to populate the earth and Po is 'born again'. In short, in a time before men were born, poisonous animals are born from Po's shattered remains, and Po is reborn when these animals are let loose. It is a woman who oversees the jars during the birth of the animals and whose key emotion is her fear of their unknown contents (*xuwak*). And it is a man, whose key emotion is at first curiosity (*tixnaw raj*) as to the unknown contents of the jars, and then fear (*xiw*) of their known contents, who lets them escape, an event that is concomitant with Po's rebirth.

Crucially, during both the scene in which the animals are born (scene 25) and are let loose (scene 29c), a special class of verbal derivations is used, loosely corresponding to what are traditionally known as ideophones. The first set describes the sounds made by the creatures as they are coming alive and the second set describes the movements made by the creatures as they are running away. Given the importance of these two scenes for the themes of gestation and moon-centered phases, and given the relation between the marked aspectual qualities of these derived predicates and the nature of temporality, it is worth discussing these derivations at length.

These quasi-ideophonic derivational morphemes, which are probably best labeled aspect-altering verbal derivations (though they are more commonly and somewhat erroneously called "affect verbs"), are a set of ten morphemes that are suffixed to most predicate classes as a function of the relative speed, control, action-iterability or object-multiplicity of the event being narrated (table 7).[16] They almost always occur with third person singular and present-habitual tense-aspect marking without modalization or negation and with declarative illocutionary force. They seem to be used to refer to events that are noticeable in some way—exaggerated, unexpected, periodic, acute, persistent, sporadic, and so forth. Inferences may be made with respect to either the speaker's affective relationship to the narrated event (e.g., surprise, bemusement, etc.), or with respect to the narrated agent's affective relationship to what she is doing (e.g., stupidity, drunkenness, determination, etc.). They are very productive in forming delocutive verbs. For example, *ay* is an interjection (similar to 'ouch!'), and *ayaynak* is a predicate derived from it meaning 'to

whine or cry constantly'. The intransitive ones frequently occur with other predicates, altering the aspectual qualities of the main predicate; hence, they are often caught up in interclausal relations, functioning almost like adverbs. They exist in many Mayan languages, though those in Q'eqchi' have received little attention.

In this text, predicates suffixed with these morphemes often occur in clusters; rarely does only one such predicate occur at a time. Rather, a series of events is recounted, each described by a predicate containing such a derivational morpheme. This happens about six times in the text (scenes 13a, 17c, 19, 21, 25, and 29c).[17] Partly because of their meaning and partly because they are unmarked for tense-aspect (present-habitual) and person-number (third-singular), they have an "experience-near" flavor, as if drawing the participants of the speech event into the sensuous details of the narrated event. Table 7 provides a preliminary overview of the features that these derivational morphemes seem to encode, along with the numbers of the scenes in which they occur. I think many predicates containing such morphemes have relatively idiosyncratic, or nonproductive, meanings—partly as a function of the semantics of the root they attach to, and partly as a function of the actual characteristics of the narrated event they draw an addressee's attention to (on the fly and in the wild, as it were).

Such constructions are used to narrate the following kinds of situations: the frustrated movements of B'alamq'e when, disguised as a bird, he is trapped in a gourd (scene 13a); the coughing fit of Tzuultaq'a when he inhales the chili (scene 17c); the lights and sounds of Kaaq when he goes after B'alamq'e and Po in the guise of stormy weather (scenes 19 and 21); and, mentioned above, the sounds of the poisonous animals when they are born inside the jars (scene 25) as well as their movements when they escape (29c). All foreground marked movements and sounds and all index relations between contents and containers, performers and characters, or facts and beliefs. In the case of the last two events, for example, we learn that the containers contain something, first by hearing the sounds that emanate from them, then later by the sight of the creatures' movements when they escape.

We may now resume consideration of the progression of events. When he returns on the twentieth day, B'alamq'e opens up the jars one by one. The first twelve contain relatively dangerous and disgusting creatures (snakes, spiders, scorpions, wasps, lizards, and so forth). These animals, then, are what were making the noises. The constructions used to refer to them provide some of the most difficult words in this text to gloss; they essentially constitute a list, or enumeration, of poisonous creatures of relatively disparate taxonomic origin (scene 27). In this way, physical space (jars), gestation period (days), and taxa (species) are numerically linked. Space, time, and ontology are not only treated as isomorphic to each other, they are also represented in terms of contents and containers.

Table 7. Aspect-Altering Derivational Morphemes

DERIVATIONAL FORM	GLOSS (LOOSE AND IMPRESSIONISTIC)	EXAMPLE	TOKENS
TRANSITIVE			
R–V–xink (vowel reduplicated)	'action done to many objects, one by one'	bak'ok 'to tie' / bak'axink 'to tie many objects, one by one'	29c
R–R–ink (root reduplicated)	'action done many times, continuously'	hopok 'to perforate' / hophopink 'to perforate many times, quickly'	?
R–ink	'action done several times'	ji'ok 'to file' / ji'i'ink 'to file several times'	26 (perhaps many more)
R–b'enk	'action done quickly'	b'utuk 'to fill' / b'ut'b'enk 'to fill quickly'	—
R–yank	'action done constantly, every now and then'	ilok 'to see, look at' / ilyank 'to look at several times'	—
R–lenk	'action done carelessly'	b'onok 'to paint' / b'onlenk 'to paint poorly, without care'	24a
INTRANSITIVE			
R–b'ak	'action done all at once'	b'urb'u 'swollen' / b'urb'ak 'to become swollen instantly'	17c, 29c, 29c, 29c (?)
R–VC₂–nak	'action done slowly, little by little'	batz' 'to play' / batz'atz'nak 'to go about playing'	29c, 29c, 29c
R–lok (–luk, if V = u)	'action done over and over and audible'	k'apk'o 'to be open, like a box' / k'aplok 'to make a noise through one's teeth'	8, 13a, 13a, 19, 19, 19, 21, 25, 25, 25, 25, 25
R–C₁–otk (–utk, if V = u)*	'action is ongoing and audible'	ay 'interjection, indexing pain or surprise' / ay'otk 'to yell from pain'	13a, 21, 25, 25

NOTE: R = C₁VC₂ root.
* The k of the suffix -otk is sometimes lost.

None of the first twelve jars contain any trace of Po's remains. We learn that she is hiding herself because 'it is not pleasing to her that the sun could be her husband' (scene 28), and we hear the lamentations of B'alamq'e that 'never again perhaps will I see the face of my loved one'. Then, he opens the thirteenth jar and there, at last, is the moon. Two inalienable possessions are involved in her description: her covering (*ixej*) is brilliant, and her body (*tz'ejwalej*) is white. Everything about her, we are told, is beautiful and good. The state of the moon, then, is in stark contrast to the nature of the dangerous and disgusting animals just discussed. Indeed, we are told that she is the true or complete one (*tz'aqal*). She is even referred to as *qana' po* 'our mother moon', just as she was in the opening scene and just as she will be in the closing scene.

In scene 29, B'alamq'e summons the woodcutter to throw the jars into the sea. While he is doing this, the woodcutter becomes curious about what is inside, thinks he will not be seen (again, saying these words 'inside his heart'), and uses his finger to lift up the lid and see what is moving. A snake slithers out across his arm, he screams, drops the jars, and they burst open, letting all the species of dangerous and disgusting animals escape over the surface of the earth. We are told that this is the fault (*x-maak*) of the man because he did not believe the words or obey the command of B'alamq'e. Again, a key trope arises—the man, curious about something he cannot see (due to an inference he has made about what he can hear), attempts to discover what is inside the containers and inadvertently releases the contents. A human motivation, grounded in a container-contents distinction, itself located in mythic time, leads to lasting consequences for the present time.

Only after this escape of the creatures are we told that 'the new moon was born again' (scene 30a). Not only is she white and pure, she is also larger—as if moving from new moon to full moon, a process caused by all the little events we have been discussing. Still, her transformation is not yet finished. In a somewhat opaque series of events (scenes 30b–30d), B'alamq'e enlists the help of a goat and a deer in order to enlarge the hole between her legs with their legs and horns. After some effort, they are successful. Sweet-smelling froth shoots forth, but B'alamq'e is not yet pleased, so he has a rat urinate there, and only then is he satisfied. Her transformation finally complete, he pronounces her good and takes her by the hand, leading her up into the sky to be his wife.

In the last scene of the text (scene 31), itself metatopical, B'alamq'e is referred to with a status designator in conjunction with the word *saq'e* 'sun', here being used as his proper name. He has finally referentially become what he has always been indexically. In a syntactically parallel fashion, Po takes on the new status designator of a mature woman with her old proper name. In tune with their new natures, he is to watch over the earth during the day and

she is to watch over the earth at night in such a way that their extraterrestrial movements will forever parallel the movements of earthbound men and women. Just as B'alamq'e led Po, the sun leads the moon and men lead women—and, perhaps, even production (agriculture) leads reproduction (childrearing).

To conclude, notice that at least three experiential horizons have been set up due to B'alamq'e's various identities: B'alamq'e's disguises—hunter, hummingbird, human—as seen by other narrated characters; B'alamq'e within his disguises (proper name) as seen by addressees (including us); and, B'alamq'e in his role as a calendrical index (solar entity) as seen by the speaker. Each of these experiential horizons—character, performer, and calendar—encompasses the ones before it (table 8).

In the case of Po, the situation is slightly different. She is the only character actually named in the narrative, and her name explicitly, and horizon-independently (i.e., in all worlds), prefigures what she will become. In other words, though B'alamq'e is already physically, but not explicitly, the sun, Po is explicitly, but not physically, the moon. As we have seen, Po's physical transformation requires each of B'alamq'e's many identities—as either the disguised figure intentionally deceiving her, the named and agentive figure actively transforming her, or the sun-centered temporal ground in which her death, thirteen-day gestation, and rebirth occur. All of B'alamq'e's identities are therefore the condition for Po to become what she is prefigured to be. Finally, this occurs only when the horizons set up by B'alamq'e's identities become identical. Just as in the middle of the text (scene 23), where Po's death is the condition for his indexical identity to emerge for an instant, here at the end of the text (scene 31) her rebirth is the condition for all of his identities to merge forever.

What we have seen, then, is a complex, relatively covert and mutually implicated set of parallelisms: first, the movements of a narrated figure and a sun-centered temporal background; second, the intentional actions of narrated characters (deception vs. discovery) and solar phases; and third, a hierarchy of experiential horizons (narrator, addressee, and nonparticipants) and techniques of reference (proper names, identifying descriptions, and status-designators). Finally, we have also seen a series of transformations that occurs relative to, and as a function of, such parallelisms—Po's movement from daughter to wife, from girl to woman, from human being to lunar entity, and from loquacious agent to muted object. From such parallelisms, and Our Mother Moon's attendant transformations, we catch a glimpse of both cultural tensions and narrative techniques.

Table 8. Techniques of Reference and Horizons of Intentionality in the Case of the Sun

TECHNIQUES OF REFERENCE	IDENTITY	EXPERIENTIAL HORIZONS		
		Narrator (Mr. Caal)	Addressee (us)	Nonparticipant (Po)
NARRATIVE-EVENT-INTERNAL INDEX	Saq'e 'sun'			
PROPER NAME	Balamq'e 'hidden-sun'			
DESCRIPTION OF DISGUISE	Hummingbird, Hunter, etc.			

Appendix: Text, Interlinear Translation, and Connected English Translation

The original manuscript had a Spanish orthography adapted to Q'ueqchi' phonology; I have straightforwardly converted this into the current standard Q'ueqchi' transcription. Punctuation from the original manuscript has been removed, and sentence breaks have often been changed. The text has been divided into unnumbered sentences, and each sentence is followed by its connected English (but still fairly literal) translation. I have also divided the text into scenes, numbered as "1," "12a," "17c," etc. Scene breaks are a bit subjective; they occur at points where significant changes in location, time, actor, or topic occur. In many cases, there are initial and final clauses that indicate a break, such as *chi jo'ka'in* ('as such; and so it was'), or a full noun phrase introducing (or reestablishing) a topic. Parenthesized expressions in the translation are substantive context added to fill out ellipses in the original text. In the interlinear translation, proper names on their first occurrences are segmented into their component morphemes and given a literal gloss, and also noted as "[PN]"; thereafter, they are left unsegmented and simply glossed as "PN."

Parentheses ( ) indicate a phoneme or character added to the text, and square brackets [ ] indicate a phoneme or character removed from the text. In the interlinear glosses and the connected translations, a parenthesized question mark (?) indicates that I am unsure of the meaning of the word in question.

1. *ix   na'-leb'   qaawa'   b'alam-q'e*
   E.3.S   know-NOM   SD   hidden-divination[PN]

   (This is) the character of Lord B'alamq'e.

   chanru   chi   elq'an-b'il   ki-Ø-x-ta(m)[n]   jo'   r-ixaqil   qana'   po
   how   PREP   steal-PRT   INF-E.3.S-A.3.S-unite   PART   E.3.S-wife   SD   Po[PN]

   (x)-rab'in   qa-mama'   qaawa'   tzuul-taq'a
   E.3.S-daughter   E.1.P-grandfather   SD   mountain-valley[PN]

   jo'   wi'   ra-hil-al   mach'ach'kil   k'ul-b'il-Ø-Ø   x-b'aan-eb'
   PART   PART   pain-ABS-ABS   (?)   receive-PRT-UNM-A.3.S   E.3.S-RN-PLR

   How, by theft (of her), he united with his wife Lady Po, (the) daughter (of) our grandfather Lord Tzuultaq'a, as well (as how) suffering was received by them.

2. *sa'   mayer   kutan   toj   maa-jun   wi[i]nq   ki-Ø-yo'la   chi   r-u(u)*
   PREP   old   day   PART   NEG-one   man   INF-A.3.S-be.born   PREP   E.3.S-RN

   chi   ch'och'
   PREP   earth

   sa'-in   x-yi(i)   nim-la-k'i-che'-b'aal   sa'   jun   chaab'il   r-ochoch
   PREP-DM   E.3.S-RN   large-SF-many-tree-NOM   PREP   one   good   E.3.S-house

pek aran ki-∅-wan qa-mama' qaawa' tzuultaq'a
stone there INF-A.3.S-be E.1.P-grandfather SD PN

In olden days, (when) not a single man was yet born on earth here in the center (of a) large mountain, inside a good cave, there lived our grandfather Lord Tzuultaq'a.

ka'aj wi' ix rab'in r-uchb'een
PART PART E.3.S daughter E.3.S-RN

Only his daughter (was) his companion.

po ix k'a[']b'a'
Po E.3.S name

Po (is) her name.

3. *a' ixqa'al a'an ki-∅-ch'o(o)lani[i]nk r-e ix yuwa'*
 DM girl DM INF-A.3.S-care E.3.S-RN E.3.S father

It was this unmarried girl who cared for her father.

toj jo'q'e (k)i-∅-x-raq ix k'anjel na-∅-x-k'am   ix
PART when INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-finish E.3.S work UNM-A.3.S-E.3.S-carry E.3.S

kem-leb' mu-kab'
weave-NOM shadow-house

When she finished her work, she carries her weaving equipment (into the) house's shadow (eaves).

na-∅-x-b'ak'   ix t'uy-al chi r-ix r-oqechal
UNM-A.3.S-E.3.S-fasten E.3.S cord-ABS PREP E.3.S-RN E.3.S-post

She fastens her cord (for weaving) behind the post (of the house).

na-∅-chunla chi kemok
UNM-A.3.S-sit PREP weave

(And) she sits down to weave.

4. *aran ki-∅-il-e'   x-b'aan qaawa' b'alamq'e sa' ix num-ik*
 there INF-A.3.S-see-PSV E.3.S-RN SD PN   PREP E.3.S pass-NOM

wi' naq na-∅-xik aj yo   r-ub'el k'i-che'
PART COMP UNM-A.3.S-go SD hunter E.3.S-RN many-tree

There she was seen by Lord B'alamq'e in his passing by (there), when, (as a) hunter, he goes beneath the forest.

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ix ch'in-a-kaq[']-i-tz'i' k'am-ol b'e chi r-u
E.3.S small-SF-red-SF-dog carry-NOM road PREP E.3.S-RN

His small red dog (is) a leader before him.

a'an us-∅-∅   chan-∅-∅ sa' ix ch'ool
DM good-UNM-A.3.S say-UNM-A.3.S PREP E.3.S heart

"She's nice," he says inside his heart.

a'an ch-∅-in-k'am-aq   ta jo'-(a)q w-ixaqil
DM OPT-A.3.S-E.1.S-carry-NS IR PART-NS E.1.S-wife

"Would that I could take her as my wife."

5. *a tuq'-ixq ink'a' ki-∅-x-taq[']si r-u*
 DM young-woman NEG INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-raise E.3.S-face

That young woman did not look up.

maa-min (n)i-∅-x-k'e   r-eetal jo[']q(')e ta-∅-num-e'q jun
NEG-PART UNM-A.3.S-E.3.S-give E.3.S-sign when FUT-A.3.S-pass-PSV one

chi yuk iiq'o-∅-∅   x-b'a(a)n sa' ix champa
PREP goat carry-UNM-A.3.S E.3.S-RN PREP E.3.S bag

Never (in no manner) does she realize when he passes by (that) a goat is carried by him inside his bag.

qaawa' b'alamq'e ix maak ink'a' na-∅-x-taw   jun
SD PN   E.3.S RN NEG UNM-A.3.S-E.3.S-discover one

chi xul
PREP animal

It is the fault of Lord B'alamq'e (that) she does not discover an animal.

6. *rajlal kutan ki-∅-x-k'am   jun r-ix yuk*
 every day INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-carry one E.3.S-hide goat

Every day he carried a goat's hide.

ki-∅-x-b'ut'   chi (x)-sa' k'im chaq-i-xaq chaj cha
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-fill PREP E.3.S-RN grass dry-SF-leaf pine ash

He had filled it inside (with) straw, dry leaves, pines, and ashes.

ki-∅-x-b'oj   chi chaab'il r-e naq tz'aqal xul
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-sew PREP good E.3.S-RN COMP complete animal

na-∅-k'utun
UNM-A.3.S-appear

He had sewed it well in order that it look like a real animal.

a'an na-∅-x-muq chi r-u q'ojyi[i]n r-ub'el k'i-che' sa'
DM UNM-A.3.S-E.3.S-hide PREP E.3.S-RN darkness E.3.S-RN many-tree PREP

na-∅-xik wi' chi kutan a' ut wi(') na-∅-su[t]q'i
UNM-A.3.S-go PART PREP day DM PART PART UNM-A.3.S-return

(And) this he hides in the darkness beneath the forest inside (of which) he goes during the day and from which he returns.

rajlal na-∅-r-iiqa ix yuk sa' ix champa
each UNM-A.3.S-E.3.S-carry E.3.S goat PREP E.3.S bag

Each (day) he carries his goat inside his bag.

7. wa'-chi(i)n chan-k-∅ ix po['] r-e ix yuwa'
SD-HNR say-UNM-A.3.S SD moon E.3.S-RN E.3.S father

"Sir," says Po to her father.

∅-il-∅ a' wi[i]nq a'in
IMP-see-A.3.S DM man DM

"Look at this man.

a'an aj yo
DM SD hunter

"He is a hunter.

jo' na-∅-hulak chi w-u jo'q'e na-∅-num-e(')k
PART UNM-A.3.S-arrive PREP E.1.S-RN when UNM-A.3.S-pass-PSV

"How much he pleases me when he passes!

wan-∅-∅ jun chi yuk k'am-k'o-∅-∅ ix b'a(a)n
be-UNM-A.3.S one PREP goat carry-PRT-UNM-A.3.S E.3.S RN

"Is there a goat carried by him?"

ah hmm hmm maa yuk ta an' ki-∅-chaq'ok qaawa' tzuultaq'a
INTERJ INTERJ INTERJ NEG goat IR DM INF-A.3.S-respond SD PN

"Mmm, that's not a goat" responded Lord Tzuultaq'a.

∅-k'am-∅ chaq ix ch'aj-b'al l-aa b'uch aran ta
IMP-carry-A.3.S PART E.3.S wash-NOM DM-E.2.S cooked.corn there IR

"Take the washings of your cooked corn there!

∅-hoy-∅ sa' ix b'e na-∅-num-e' wi'
IMP-sprinkle-A.3.S PREP E.3.S road UNM-A.3.S-pass-PSV PART

"Sprinkle it on the road where he passes!

q-il-aq k'a'ru na-∅-uxk
E.1.P-see-NS what UNM-A.3.S-happen

"Let us see what happens."

8. qaawa' b'alamq'e maak'a' na-∅-yo'oni
SD PN not.exist UNM-A.3.S-expect

Lord B'alamq'e suspects nothing.

ki-∅-chalk wi' chik ix chaq-i-yuk sa' ix champa
INF-A.3.S-come PART PART E.3.S dry-SF-goat PREP E.3.S bag

He came by again (with) his dried goat inside his bag.

q'es r-u r-ik'in a' ixqa'al x-mu kab'
sharp E.3.S-eye E.3.S-RN DM girl E.3.S-shadow house

Sharp (are) his eyes on the girl (in) the house's shadow (eaves).

ink'a(') ki-∅-r-il ix b'e
NEG INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-see E.3.S road

He did not watch his path.

ki-∅-yolk'ok sa' ix yol-yolk-il ch'aj-b'al b'uch
INF-A.3.S-slip PREP E.3.S slip-RDP-NOM wash-NOM nixtamal

He slipped on the slipperiness of cooked-corn washings.

ki-∅-t'an-e'
INF-A.3.S-fell-PSV

He fell (was knocked over).

bum ki-∅-puk(')-e' r-ix yuk
SE INF-A.3.S-break.open-PSV E.3.S-skin goat

Boom! the goat hide burst (open).

na-Ø-(h)[j]ir-lok   cha   k'im   chaq-i-xaq chaj sa'   b'e
UNM-A.3.S-scatter-IDEOPHON ash   grass   dry-SF-leaf pine PREP road

Ashes, grass, dried leaves, (and) pines scatter onto the road.

junpaat ki-Ø-x-xok   *r-ib'*
quickly   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-gather   E.3.S-RFLX

Quickly he gathered himself (up).

nim-la-xutaan   r-eek'
large-SF-shame   E.3.S-feeling

Very shameful is his feeling.

k'a'-jo(')   ki-Ø-se(')e   *(x)-b'a(a)n   ixqa'al*
what-part   INF-A.3.S-be.laughed.at   E.3.S-RN   girl

So much he was laughed at by the girl.

jun ch'in-a-tz'ik sa'   r-u'uj   k'i-che'   yoo-Ø-Ø   r-e(e)tz'unk-il
one   small-SF-bird   PREP   E.3.S-top   many-tree   be-UNM-A.3.S   E.3.S-ridicule-NOM

A small bird in the top (fingers) of the forest is making fun of him.

ma x-Ø-aaw-il   *i*   *yuk*
INT   PERF-A.3.S-E.2.S-see   DM   goat

"Did you see the goat?

ma x-Ø-aaw-il   *i*   *yuk   k'am-k'o-Ø-Ø*
INT   PERF-A.3.S-E.2.S-see   DM   goat   carry-PRT-UNM-A.3.S

"Did you see the goat (that) was carried?"

sa'   a(a)nil   x-Ø-hulak   *sa'   r-ochoch   x-muq-b'al   r-ib'*
PREP   run   INF-A.3.S-arrive   PREP   E.3.S-home   E.3.S-hide-NOM   E.3.S-RFLX

Running, he arrived at his house (in order to) hide himself.

9. *toj   sa'   cha   ki-Ø-hir-e'*   *wan-Ø-Ø   tana jun r-u*
PART   PREP   ash   INF-A.3.S-scatter-PSV   be-UNM-A.3.S   AF   one   E.3.S-RN

   saq-il may
   white-ABS seed

But inside the ashes (that) were scattered there must have been a seed of white tobacco.

a'an ki-Ø-moq   *chi   r-e   r-oq   ha'   r-ochoch*
DM   INF-A.3.S-germinate   PREP   E.3.S-RN   E.3.S-foot   water   E.3.S-home

   qaawa'   tzuultaq'a
   SD   PN

That (seed) germinated along the river (to the) house of Lord Tzuultaq'a.

ki-Ø-nimank
INF-A.3.S-enlarge

It grew.

ki-Ø-e[e]l   ix   xaq
INF-A.3.S-leave   E.3.S   leaf

Its leaves went out.

nim-la-mu[u]l   x-Ø-hu[u]lak
large-SF-foliage/trash   PERF-A.3.S-arrive

Much foliage came out.

ki-Ø-ok   chi   atz'umak
INF-A.3.S-enter   PREP   flower

It began to flower.

ki-Ø-hir-e'   *atz'um*
INF-A.3.S-scatter-PSV   flower

Flowers were scattered.

k'i   *x-Ø-(x)-k'e*
many   PERF-A.3.S-E.3.S-give

So many it gave.

10. *qaawa' b'alamq'e ink'a' aj   wi'   x-Ø-Ø-kanab'   ix*
SD   PN   NEG   PART   PART   PERF-A.3.S-E.3.S-leave   E.3.S

    k'a'uxlank-il   ix   ra-om
    think-NOM   E.3.S   love-NOM

Lord B'alamq'e did not stop thinking about his loved one.

ki-Ø-x-sik'   *ix*   *b'e[e]-lil*   *chanru*   *na-Ø-nach'ok*   *wi'*   *chik*
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-search   E.3.S   road-ABS   how   UNM-A.3.S-near   PART   PART

r-ik'in
E.3.S-RN

He looked for a way that he could get near to her again.

chi   *r-u*   *oxib'*   *kutan*   *ki-Ø-x-b'o(q)[b']*   *jun*   *ch'in-a-tz'unun*
PREP   E.3.S-RN   three   day   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-call   one   small-SF-hummingbird

After three days he called a small hummingbird.

tz'unun   *tz'unun*   *cha(n)[h]-Ø-Ø*   *r-e*
hummingbird   hummingbird   say-UNM-A.3.S   E.3.S-RN

"Hummingbird, hummingbird," he says to it.

ch-Ø-a(a)-b'a(a)nu   *ta*   *ka(a)-laju['] *   *uxtaan*   *w-e*
OPT-A.3.S-E.2.S-do   IR   four-ten   favor   E.1.S-RN

"Would that you do a great favor for me!

ch-Ø-a(a)-k'e   *ta*   *w-e*
OPT-A.3.S-E.2.S-give   IR   E.1.S-RN

"Would that you give (them) to me!

ch-in-to'oni   *aaw-aq(')*
OPT-A.1.S-be.loaned   E.2.S-clothing

"Would that I be loaned your feathers!

t-Ø-in-k'e   *raj*   *chi*   *w-ix*
FUT-A.3.S-E.1.S-give   CF   PREP   E.1.S-RN

"I would (like to) put them on me."

maa-min   *tana*   *chan*   *naq*   *ki-Ø-chaq'ok*   *a*   *ch'in-a-tz'ik*
NEG-PART   AF   how   COMP   INF-A.3.S-respond   DM   small-SF-bird

"That would be impossible," responded the small bird.

t-in-ka[a]mq   *raj*   *(x)-b'a(a)n*   *ke*   *toj*   *t-in-b'at-e'q*   *sa'*
FUT-A.1.S-die   CF   E.3.S-RN   cold   PART   FUT-A.1.S-wrap-PSV   PREP

x-noq'-al   *inup*
E.3.S-thread-ABS   ceiba

"I would die because of cold, unless I were wrapped in the threads of a ceiba tree."

jo'-ka'in   *ki-Ø-x-sume[']*
PART-DM   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-respond

In this manner (the hummingbird) accepted.

11.   *qaawa'*   *b'alamq'e*   *ki-Ø-x-yo'ob'*   *r-ib'*   *chi*   *tz'unun*
     SD   PN   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-change   E.3.S-RFLX   PREP   hummingbird

     Lord B'alamq'e turned himself into a hummingbird.

     br   *rum*   *rum*   *x-ko(')o-Ø*   *wan-Ø-Ø*   *wi'*   *li*   *may*
     SE   SE   SE   PERF-go-A.3.S   be-UNM-A.3.S   PART   DM   tobacco.plant

     Br-rum-rum he went to where the tobacco plant was.

     rum   *rum*   *ki-Ø-purik*   *chi*   *r-u*   *atz'um*
     SE   SE   INF-A.3.S-fly   PREP   E.3.S-RN   flower

     Rum-rum he flew before the flowers (of the tobacco plant).

     yoo-Ø-Ø   *r-uk'-b'al*   *ix*   *ya'al*   *chi*   *(x)-sa'*
     be-UNM-A.3.S   E.3.S-drink-NOM   E.3.S   juice   PREP   E.3.S-RN

     (And) is drinking their juice inside.

12a.   *Ø-il-Ø*   *in-yuwa'*   *chan-Ø-Ø*   *ix*   *po*
       IMP-see-A.3.S   E.1.S-father   say-UNM-A.3.S   SD   moon

       "Look (at it) my father!" says Po.

       Ø-il-Ø   *a*   *tz'unun*   *a'an*
       IMP-see-A.3.S   DM   hummingbird   DM

       "Look at that hummingbird!

       yoo-Ø-Ø   *chi*   *purik*   *chi*   *r-u*   *may*
       be-UNM-A.3.S   PREP   fly   PREP   E.3.S-RN   tobacco.plant

       "It is flying in front of the tobacco-plant.

       num   *ch'i[i]n-a[']-us*   *r-ix*
       much   small-SF-good   E.3.S-RN

       "So beautiful is its plumage!

       maa-jun   *wa*   *w-il-om*   *jun-aq*   *chi*   *jo'-ka'in*
       NEG-one   time   E.1.S-see-NOM   one-NS   PART   PART-DM

       "Not once have I seen one like this.

∅-puub'a-∅   b'i'   w-e   r-ik'in   l-aa   puub'-che'
IMP-shoot-A.3.S   PART   E.1.S-RN   E.3.S-RN   DM-E.2.S   gun-tree

"Shoot it for me then with your blowgun!

timil   t-∅-aa-k'e   r-eetal
slowly   FUT-A.3.S-E.2.S-give   E.3.S-sign

"You will aim slowly.

m-∅-aa-kamsi
NIMP-A.3.S-E.2.S-kill

"Don't kill it!"

12b. ki-∅-x-k'am   ix   puub'-che' a   mama'
     INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-carry   E.3.S   gun-tree   DM   old.one

That old one (her father) took his blowgun.

ki-∅-x-ka'ya
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-watch

He aimed it (the blowgun).

ki-∅-r-apu
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-blow

He blew it.

ki-∅-x-rum   chi   ch'och' a   tz'ik
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-cast   PREP   ground   DM   bird

He cast that bird onto the ground.

∅-ch'uy-∅   ∅-ch'uy-∅   chan-∅-∅
IMP-pinch-A.3.S   IMP-pinch-A.3.S   say-UNM-A.3.S

"Pinch it, pinch it!" he says.

12c. ki-∅-xok-e'k   x-b'aan li   ixq
     INF-A.3.S-collect-PSV   E.3.S-RN   DM   woman

(The bird) was collected by the woman.

ki-∅-x-kuj   chi   (x)-sa'   ix   seel   li   na-∅-x-k'u(u)la
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-place   PREP   E.3.S-RN   E.3.S   gourd   DM   UNM-A.3.S-E.3.S-keep

wi'   r-ela' ix noq'
PART   E.3.S-extra E.3.S-thread

She put him inside her gourd where she keeps her extra thread.

ut   na-∅-chunla wi'   chik chi   kemok
PART   UNM-A.3.S-sit   PART   PART   PREP   weave

And she sits again weaving.

k'i(i)-la   r-u   yoo-∅-∅   chi   x-k'e-b'al   chi   (x)-sa'
many-SF   E.3.S-face   be-UNM-A.3.S   PREP   E.3.S-give-NOM   PREP   E.3.S-RN

x-kem-om   jo'   r-eetal-il   chi   jun-il   k'a'-aq r-u
E.3.S-weave-NOM   PART   E.3.S-sign-ABS   PREP   one-ABS   what-NS   E.3.S-RN

ki-∅-uxk   x-∅-num-e'   kutan
INF-A.3.S-happen   PERF-A.3.S-pass-PSV   day

Many (are the) faces/figures she is putting into what she weaves, as signs of everything that happened (as) the day passed.

13a. a'   tz'unun   ink'a' na-∅-h[']ulak   chi   r-u   wa[a]nk
     DM   hummingbird   NEG   UNM-A.3.S-arrive   PREP   E.3.S-RN   be

sa'   se(e)l
PREP   gourd

It does not please the hummingbird to be inside the gourd.

ink'a'   na-∅-hila[a]nk
NEG   UNM-A.3.S-rest

He does not rest.

na-∅-ch'uy-ch'ut
UNM-A.3.S-pinch-IDEOPHON

He nips.

na-∅-joch-lok
UNM-A.3.S-scratch-IDEOPHON

He scratches (constantly).

na-∅-xuj-luk
UNM-A.3.S-circle-IDEOPHON

He circles around (constantly).

yoo-∅-∅   chi   eek'a[a]nk junelik
be-UNM-A.3.S   PREP   move   always

He is always moving.

13b. *jo'–ka'in ki–∅–x–chap*
PART-DM INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-grab
Because of this she grabbed him.

ki–∅–x–kuj   r–ub'el ix   po'ot
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-place E.3.S-RN E.3.S huipil
She put him beneath her huipil (blouse).

aran ki–∅–ch'ana
there INF-A.3.S-become.calm
There he was calmed.

ut   x–∅–(x)–ye   a'an ah   arin na–∅–hulak   chi
PART PERF-A.3.S-E.3.S-say DM   INTERJ here UNM-A.3.S-arrive PREP

r–u wa[a]nk
E.3.S-RN be
And she said, "Aah, here it pleases him to be."

14. *ewu   ki–∅–x–xok   ix   kem–leb'*
evening INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-gather E.3.S weave-NOM
(In the) evening she gathered her weaving utensils.

ki–∅–ok   chi   wa[a]rk sa'   kab'
INF-A.3.S-enter PREP be   PREP house
She went to sleep inside the house.

ki–∅–yokla   chi   r–u   ix   ch'aat
INF-A.3.S-lie.down PREP E.3.S-RN E.3.S bed
She lay down on her bed.

kan–k['o–∅–∅   li   tz'unun   chi   r–e   ix   maqab'
tie-PRT-UNM-A.3.S DM hummingbird PREP E.3.S-RN E.3.S chest
The hummingbird is tied next to her chest.

tuq–tu–∅–∅
be.tranquil-PRT-UNM-A.3.S
He is tranquil.

15. *q'ojyi[i]n qaawa' b'alamq'e ki–∅–x–k'ut   ix   wi[i]nq–il–al*
darkness SD   PN   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-display E.3.S man-ABS-ABS
(In the) darkness Lord B'alamq'e displayed his manliness.

t–at–in–k'am   chan–∅–∅   r–e   ix po
FUT-A.3.S-E.1.S-carry say-UNM-A.3.S E.3.S-RN SD moon
"I will take you," he says to Po.

toj   a'an xiw r–eek'
PART DM   fear E.3.S-feeling
But her feeling (was) fear.

ink'a(') na–∅–chaq'ok
NEG   UNM-A.3.S-respond
"No," she responds.

yo'o
go.HOR
"Let's go!

t–oo–eelelik   anaqwan
FUT-A.1.P-flee   now
"We will flee now."

ink'a(') raj na
NEG   CF AF
"I don't want to."

m–at–k'a'(ux)[xu]wa[a]nk
NIMP-A.2.S-think
"Don't worry!"

maa–jaruj   t–oo–ruuq   ix   b'a(a)nunk–il
NEG-how.much FUT-A.1.P-be.able E.3.S do-NOM
"Never would we be able to do it.

tikto   t–oo–il–e'q   ix   b'aan l–in   yuwa' sa'   ix
immediately FUT-A.1.P-see-PSV E.3.S RN   DM-E.1.S father PREP E.3.S

lem
mirror
"We would immediately be seen by my father in his mirror.

chi   jun–il n–e(')–k'utun   chi   (x)–sa'
PREP one-ABS UNM-A.3.P-show PREP E.3.S-RN
"Everything shows inside it.

sa'   junpaat   t-oo-ta'liiq
PREP   quickly   FUT-A.1.P-be.discovered
"In a moment we would be discovered."

Ø-sib'i-Ø   a   lem   chan-k-Ø   r-e   ix   po
IMP-smoke-A.3.S   DM   mirror   say-UNM-A.3.S   E.3.S-RN   SD   moon
"Smoke the mirror!" he says to Po.

a'an   ki-Ø-x-paab'
DM   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-believe
She obeyed him.

ki-Ø-x-k'am   chaq
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-carry   PART
She brought it.

ki-Ø-x-q'axtesi   sa'   r-uq'   b'af'a]lamq'e
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-give   PREP   E.3.S-hand   PN
She handed it over to B'alamq'e.

a'an   ki-Ø-k'atok   chaj
DM   INF-A.3.S-burn   pine
He burned pines.

ki-Ø-x-sib'tesi   a   lem   sa'   ix   sib'-el   chaj
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-smoke   DM   mirror   PREP   E.3.S   smoke-ABS   pine
He smoked that mirror (using) the smoke of the pines.

q'eq   q'eq   x-Ø-kana
black   black   PERF-A.3.S-remain
Very black it was left.

ink'a'   chik   na[']-Ø-ilok   naq   lem
NEG   PART   UNM-A.3.S-see   COMP   mirror
No longer does it see (as a) mirror.

ki-Ø-x-q'ajsi   wi'   chik   sa'   r-uq'   ix   po   r-e
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-return   PART   PART   PREP   E.3.S-hand   SD   moon   E.3.S-RN

ti-Ø-x-kanab'   b'i'   sa'   ix   na'aj
FUT-A.3.S-E.3.S-leave   PART   PREP   E.3.S   place
He returned it again to the hands of Po in order that she (would) put it back in its place.

jo'-ka'in   ki-Ø-x-baanu
PART-DM   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-do
Like this she did it.

16. yo'o   anaqwan   chan-Ø-Ø   r-e   ix   po
    go.HOR   now   say-UNM-A.3.S   E.3.S-RN   SD   moon
    "Let's go now!" he says to Po.

ink'a(')   aj   wi(')   sa   t-o(o)-eelq
NEG   PART   PART   good   FUT-A.1.P-leave
"It's still not good that we go.

wan-Ø-Ø   ix   puub'-che'   in-yuwa'
be-UNM-A.3.S   E.3.S   gun-tree   E.1.S-father
"My father has a blowgun.

r-ik'in   a'an   t-o(o)-ix-jiq'
E.3.S-RN   DM   FUT-A.1.P-E.3.S-smother
"With it he will shoot (inhale/smother) us.

rek'   t-o(o)-ix-tz'ob'
good(?)   FUT-A.1.P-E.3.S-suck.via.straw
"He will cause us to wheeze (suffocate).

t-o(o)-ix-xeeya   r-ik'in
FUT-A.1.P-E.3.S-pant   E.3.S-RN
"He will cause us to pant with it.

maa-min   t-o(o)-kol-e(')q[']   chi   r-u
NEG-PART   FUT-A.1.P-save-PSV   PREP   E.3.S-RN
"There's no way we'll be saved from him.

yal   jun   t-o(o)-ix-kamsi   chi   kab'-i-chal-o
PART   one   FUT-A.1.P-E.3.S-kill   PREP   two-SF-ROOT-A.1.P
"At once he will kill the two of us."

Ø-k'am-Ø   chaq ut a puub'-che' chi jo'-kan chan-k-Ø
IMP-carry-A.3.S PART PART DM gun-tree   PREP PART-DM say-UNM-A.3.S

  b'alamq'e[e] r-e
  PN   E.3.S-RN

"Bring the blowgun like this!" says B'alamq'e to her.

Ø-seeb'a-Ø   aaw-ib' ix k'e-b'al jun moch'-ol chi
IMP-be.quick-A.3.S E.2.S-RFLX E.3.S give-NOM one handful-ABS PREP

  saq-i-ik
  white-SF-chili

"Be quick giving a handful of white chili."

junpaat ki-Ø-x-k'e   k'aj ik
quickly INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-give piece chili

Quickly she gave pieces (of) chili (powdered chili).

b'alamq'e ki-Ø-x-b'u[b']t' chi (x)-sa' pu(u)b'-che'
PN   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-fill PREP E.3.S-RN gun-tree

B'alamq'e put them inside the blowgun.

anaqwan us chan-Ø-Ø
now   good say-UNM-A.3.S

"Now (it's) good," he says.

Ø-xaqab'-Ø   b'i' chik sa' ix na'aj x-Ø-a(a)-taw   wi'
IMP-stand-A.3.S PART PART PREP E.3.S place PERF-A.3.S-E.2.S-find PART

"Stand it again in the place where you found it!"

toj anaqwan yo'o sa' aanil
PART now   go.HOR PREP run

"But now let's go quickly!"

jo'-ka'in ut x-e['Jeb'-eelelik sa' wi'-b'al
PART-DM PART PERF-A.3.P-flee PREP PART-NOM

Like this (it was done), and so they fled from that place.

17a. eq'la ki-Ø-ajk   qaawa' tzuultaq'a
      early INF-A.3.S-awake SD   PN

      Lord Tzuultaq'a awoke early.

ki-Ø-x-b'oq   ix rab'in jun wa ka' wa
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-call E.3.S daughter one time two time

He called his daughter once, twice.

maa jun na-Ø-chaq'ok   chi r-u
NEG one UNM-A.3.S-respond PREP E.3.S-RN

Not once does she answer him.

junpaat ki-Ø-wakli
quickly INF-A.3.S-rise

Quickly he got up.

ki-Ø-r-il   sa' ix na'aj
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-see PREP E.3.S place

He looked for her in her (usual) place.

ki-Ø-r-il   chi r-u ix ch'aat
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-see PREP E.3.S-RN E.3.S bed

He looked for her on her bed.

maa ani wan-Ø-Ø ix rab'in
NEG who be-UNM-A.3.S E.3.S daughter

His daughter was not there.

ma ink'a(') ta x-Ø-w-eek'a   moko tz'aqal tz'unun   ta
INT NEG   IR PERF-A.3.S-E.1.S-feel NEG real   hummingbird IR

"Did I not sense it (was) not a real hummingbird?

a'an pe' ki-Ø-elq'an r-e   in-rab'in   chan-Ø-Ø
DM F INF-A.3.S-steal E.3.S-RN E.1.S-daughter say-UNM-A.3.S

  r-aatinank-il r-ib'   ix junes
  E.3.S-say-NOM E.3.S-RFLX E.3.S alone

"He is the one who has stolen my daughter!" he says, speaking to himself alone.

ho(o)n t-at-inw-il   iho(o)n aj b'alaq(')
now   FUT-A.2.S-E.1.S-see now   SD deception

"Now I will see you, deceiver."

yal jun ki-Ø-x-sa(a)pu   ix lem r-e   na-Ø-ch'u(u)ki[i]nk
PART one INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-snatch E.3.S mirror E.3.S-RN UNM-A.3.S-spy

raj   chi   (x)-sa'
CF   PREP E.3.S-RN

At once he snatched up his mirror so that he could spy inside of it.

17b. *toj   a   lem   ink'a' chik na-∅-ilok   (x)-b'a(a)n ix   pim-al*
PART DM   mirror NEG   PART UNM-A.3.S-see E.3.S-RN   E.3.S thick-ABS

ix   sib'-el   pom   pa   x-∅-moy   wi'   r-u
E.3.S smoke-ABS copal (?) PERF-A.3.S-obscure PART E.3.S-RN

But that mirror could no longer see because the thickness of the copal smoke had obscured its face.

ka'aj wi'   sa'   ix   xuk   a   lem   chap-cho-∅-∅   wi'
PART PART PREP E.3.S corner DM mirror grab-PRT-UNM-A.3.S   PART

(x)-b'a(a)n b'alamq'e kutan kach'in ki-∅-kana
E.3.S-RN   PN   clear little   INF-A.3.S-remain

Only inside the corner of that mirror, where (it was) held by B'alamq'e, a little clarity remained.

aran   na-∅-eek'a[a]n   k'a'-aq   r-u
there UNM-A.3.S-move   what-NS   E.3.S-RN

There something moves.

17c. *a'an-eb'   chan-∅-∅*
DM-PLR   say-UNM-A.3.S

"It is them," he says.

tikto   ki-∅-x-chap   ix   puub'-che'
PART   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-grab   E.3.S gun-tree

Immediately he grabbed his blowgun.

ki-∅-x-ka'ya
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-look

He looked through it.

ki-∅-x-jayali
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-take.direction

He aimed it.

ki-∅-x-choy   raj   ix   metz'e[e]w r-e   ix   tz'o(b')-b'al-eb'
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-finish CF   E.3.S strength   E.3.S-RN E.3.S blow-NOM-PLR

r-ik'in
E.3.S-RN

He finished (used up) all his strength in order to blow them with it.

yal   jun (x)-kub'-ik   chi   jun-il k'aj ik   sa'   ix   xol-ol
PART one E.3.S-lower-NOM   PREP one-ABS piece chili PREP E.3.S throat-ABS

sa'   ix   b'eele-b'a[a]l   musiq'
PREP E.3.S transport-NOM   breath

At once there is the lowering of all the pieces of chili into his throat, into his windpipe.

na[a]-∅-jiq'
UNM-A.3.S-choke

He wheezes.

na-∅-ojo-b'ak
UNM-A.3.S-cough-IDEOPHON

He coughs.

na-∅-paq'-e'
UNM-A.3.S-suffocate/choke-PSV

He is choked.

na-∅-t'an-e(')
UNM-A.3.S-fell-PSV

He falls.

na-∅-x-tolk(')osi   r-ib'
UNM-A.3.S-E.3.S-knock.over E.3.S-RFLX

He is knocked down.

chan   kam-enaq ki-∅-kana
COMP   die-PRT   INF-A.3.S-remain

Like one who has died he remained.

chi   (j)[u]o'-kan x-∅-tikla   li   jiq'
PREP   PART-DM   PERF-A.3.S-originate DM   cough

Like this originated coughing.

18. *najt t'an-t(')o-∅-∅*   *chi*   *jo'-ka'in*
long fell-PRT-UNM-A.3.S   PREP   PART-DM

(For a) long-time he remained fallen like this.

kaq-r(ah)-il   ki-∅-k'ulun   ix   ch'ool
red-pain-ABS   INF-A.3.S-arrive   E.3.S   heart

Envy/anger/pain came to his heart.

(x)–laj–ik   ki-∅-x-mol   k'a   r-ib'
E.3.S-finish-NOM   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-gather   (?)   E.3.S-RFLX

(At its) end he gathered himself.

chi   ra   chi   sa   ki-∅-xaqli   b'i(')   chik
PREP   pain   PREP   pleasure   INF-A.3.S-stand.up   PART   PART

With difficulty he stood up again.

ink'a'   chik   jultik   r-e   x-b'aan   ix   maatan-il
NEG   PART   remember   E.3.S-RN   E.3.S-RN   E.3.S   gift-ABS

No longer did he remember the gift he received (i.e., his daughter?).

ki-∅-x-b'oq   r-ikan   qaawa' kaaq   r-e   ix
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-call   E.3.S-uncle   SD   thunder   E.3.S-RN   E.3.S

kamsink-il   chi   xerim-b'il-∅-∅   aj   eelel   chi
kill-NOM   PREP   proportion-PRF-UNM-A.3.S   SD   fugitives   PREP

x-kab'-ichal-eb'
E.3.S-two-root-PLR

He called her uncle Lord Kaaq in order to kill into pieces the two fugitives together.

toj   a'an ink'a'   ki-∅-r-aj
PART   DM   NEG   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-want

But he didn't want to (kill her).

a'an (x)–rab'in   li   tzuultaq'a
DM   E.3.S-daughter   DM   PN

(For) she (was) the daughter of Tzuultaq'a.

toj   ak   ki-∅-x-ch'olob'aak   chi   r-u   ix   na'-leb'-eb'
PART   PART   PERF-A.3.S-E.3.S-explain   PREP   E.3.S-RN   E.3.S   know-NOM-PLR

But when he had explained to him their characters/deeds,

k'a'ru x-∅-e'x-b'aanu   r-e   qaawa' tzuultaq'a jo'-nim-al   ix
what   PERF-A.3.S-E.3.P-do   E.3.S-RN   SD   PN   PART-large-ABS   E.3.S

yib'ob'-b'aal i   r-u   ki-∅-uxk   r-e   x-b'aan-eb'
ugly-NOM   DM   E.3.S-RN   INF-A.3.S-occur   E.3.S-RN   E.3.S-RN-PLR

What they had done to Lord Tzuultaq'a, (and) how great was the ugliness that occurred to him because of them.

jo'-ka'in   ki-∅-x-sume
PART-DM   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-accept

Then he agreed.

19. *qaawa' kaaq   ki-∅-x-xok   ix   maal*
SD   thunder   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-gather   E.3.S   axe

Lord Kaaq grabbed his axe.

ki-∅-x-b'at   r-ib'   sa'   q'eq-i-choql
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-wrap   E.3.S-RFLX   PREP   black-SF-cloud

He wrapped himself in black clouds.

naa-∅-rum-luk
UNM-A.3.S-go.quickly-IDEOPHON

He rushes (constantly).

naa-∅-rep-lok
UNM-A.3.S-flash-IDEOPHON

He flashes (constantly).

naa-∅-pum-luk
UNM-A.3.S-crash-IDEOPHON

He crashes (constantly).

a   ix   xik-ik[a] chi   r-ix-eb'   sa'   iq'
DM   E.3.S   go-NOM   PREP   E.3.S-RN-PLR   PREP   wind

(Like this) is his going behind them in the wind.

20a. *najt ak   wan-k-eb'   qaawa' b'alamq'e r-uchb'een ix   po*
far   PART   be-UNM-A.3.P   SD   PN   E.3.S-RN   SD   moon

Already far are Lord B'alamq'e accompanied by Po.

ak   ewu(u)k   r-e
PART become.evening E.3.S-RN
Already it has become evening.

hu[u]lak-eb' r-e   chi   r-e   palaw
arrive-PLR   E.3.S-RN PREP E.3.S-RN lake/sea
Already they have arrived at the edge of the sea.

yoo-k-eb'   r-ab'ink-il   kaamel   jo'   wi'   r-il-b'al
be-UNM-A.3.P E.3.S-hear-NOM hailstone PART PART E.3.S-see-NOM

x-rep-om   kaaq   sa'   q'eq-i-choql   yoo-∅-∅
E.3.S-make.lightning-NOM thunder PREP black-SF-cloud be-UNM-A.3.S

chi   nach'ok
PREP approach

They are hearing the wind (hurricane), as well as seeing the lightning flashes of Kaaq in black clouds (which) are approaching.

ak   naq(k) r-e[e]   hab'
PART begin   E.3.S-RN rain
Already it has started to rain.

20b. anaqwan x-oo-oso'   chan-∅-∅   ix   po
     now   PERF-A.1.P-be.finished say-UNM-A.3.S SD moon
"Now we are finished," says Po.

l-in   yuwa'   ki-∅-x-taqla   li   w-ikan   qaawa'-chi(i)n
DM-E.1.S father   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-send DM E.1.S-uncle SD-HNR

kaaq   chi   qa-kamsink-il
thunder PREP E.1.P-kill-NOM

"My father must have sent my uncle Lord Kaaq to kill us."

ix   ye-b'al   b'ar   ta   t-o(o)-ok
E.3.S   say-NOM   where   IR   FUT-A.3.P-enter
Her saying, "Wherever could we enter?

b'ar   ta   to-∅-qa-muq   q-ib'   chi   r-u   sa'   yam-yo
where   IR   FUT-A.3.S-E.1.P-hide E.1.P-RFLX PREP E.3.S-RN PREP flat-PRT
"Wherever could we cover ourselves on its barren face?"

r-ech-k'ul-b'al-eb'   r-ib'   r-ik'in   jun chi   ib'oy
E.3.S-companion-receive-NOM-PLR   E.3.S-RFLX E.3.S-RN one PREP armadillo

jo'   wi'   jun chi   kok   chi[k] r-e   u(l)ul   palaw
PART PART one PREP turtle PREP   E.3.S-RN surface sea

They friend-received themselves with (encountered) an armadillo, also (with) a turtle at the edge of the surface of the sea.

junpaat x-∅-e'x-patz'   r-ix   a   xul   chi   too'
quickly PERF-A.3.S-E.3.P-ask E.3.S-RN DM animal PREP lend
Quickly they asked these animals to lend (their shells).

sa'   aanil x-∅-e'x-kuj   r-ib'   chi   (x)-sa'
PREP run   PERF-A.3.S-E.3.P-place E.3.S-RFLX PREP E.3.S-RN
Quickly they put themselves inside it.

qana' po   sa'   r-ix   ib'oy
SD   moon PREP E.3.S-RN armadillo
Lady Po (was) inside the shell of the armadillo.

qaawa' b'alamq'e sa'   r-ix   kok
SD   PN   PREP E.3.S-RN turtle
Lord B'alamq'e (was) inside the shell of the turtle.

jo'-ka'in ut   an   ix   b'aanunk-il
PART-DM PART DM E.3.S do-NOM
Like this was it done.

21. jun chik nim-la-xaml   na-∅-rep-[r]ot   jun r-u   choxa
    one PART large-SF-fire UNM-A.3.S-light-IDEOPHON one E.3.S-RN sky
Another large fire lit up the sky.

ki-∅-x-kut   ix   maal qaawa' kaaq
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-throw E.3.S axe   SD   thunder
Lord Kaaq threw his axe.

kaw   na-∅-ten-lok
strong UNM-A.3.S-strike-IDEOPHON
Forcefully he strikes.

kaw   na-Ø-chaq'ok   ix   yaab'   chi   r-u   tzuul
strong   UNM-A.3.S-respond   E.3.S   sound/cry   PREP   E.3.S-RN   mountain

Forcefully responds (echoes) his sounds from the mountain.

22. *ix   po   sa'   r-ix   ib'oy*
SD   moon   PREP   E.3.S-RN   armadillo

Po (was) inside the shell of the armadillo.

maa-wa'   aj   numx
NEG-be   SD   swim

She is not a swimmer.

ki-Ø-ta'li   x-b'aan   (x)-maal   kaaq
INF-A.3.S-be.found   E.3.S-RN   E.3.S-axe   thunder

She was found by the axe of Kaaq.

b'ok'   xuj   ki-Ø-xer-e'   x-b'een   u(l)ul
little   piece   INF-A.3.S-proportion-PSV   E.3.S-RN   surface

Little pieces (of her) were divided on the surface (of the sea).

kaq   kaq   ki-Ø-kub'e[']   ix   kik'-el   sa'   x-b'een   ha'   palaw
red   red   INF-A.3.S-be.lowered   E.3.S   blood-ABS   PREP   E.3.S-RN   water   sea

Red-red was lowered (flowed) her blood on top of the water (of the) sea.

23. *qaawa'   b'alamq'e   sa'   r-ix   kok*
SD   PN   PREP   E.3.S-RN   turtle

Lord B'alamq'e (was) inside the shell of the turtle.

ki-Ø-x-tolk(')osi   r-ib'   sa'   palaw   chi   x-kol-b'al   r-ib'
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-roll   E.3.S-RFLX   PREP   sea   PREP   E.3.S-save-NOM   E.3.S-RFLX

sa'   muq-a[a]l
PREP   hide/bury-ABS

He rolled himself into the sea in order to save himself by hiding (in the depths).

ki-Ø-chup   saq'e
INF-A.3.S-be.extinguished   sun

The sun was extinguished.

q'ojyi[i]n   ki-Ø-kub'e   chi   r-u(u)   chi   ch'och'
darkness   INF-A.3.S-be.lowered   PREP   E.3.S-RN   PREP   ground

Darkness lowered on the earth.

24a. *toj   hu[u]laj   sa'   r-el-ik   qaawa'   b'alamq'e   sa'   palaw*
PART   tomorrow   PREP   E.3.S-leave-NOM   SD   PN   PREP   sea

aran   ki-Ø-r-il   ix   kik'-el   ix   ra-hom   jo'   wi'
there   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-see   E.3.S   blood-ABS   E.3.S   love-NOM   PART   PART

x-k(')aj   ix   tz'ejwal   jo'   x-mul   ha'
E.3.S-piece   E.3.S   body   PART   E.3.S-trash   water

In the morning, at the leaving of Lord B'alamq'e from the sea, there he saw the blood of his loved one, as well the pieces of her body as/like flotsam of the water.

ak   yoo-k-eb'   kok'   kar   r-ik'in   aj   mulum   ix
PART   be-UNM-A.3.P   small   fish   E.3.S-RN   SD   trash   E.3.S

t'up-lenk-il   r-e   ix   w['Ja(')[x]-b'al
tear-IDEOPHON-NOM   E.3.S-RN   E.3.S   eat-NOM

Already the small fish along with the cat sharks are tearing it up in order to eat it.

ra   sa'   ix   ch'ool
pain   PREP   E.3.S   heart

(There is) pain inside his heart.

24b. *ki-Ø-x-b'oq   aj   tuulu(x)[k]*
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-call   SD   dragonfly

He called the dragonflies.

mol-om-aq-Ø   ke   a   x-mul   ha'   jo(')[b']   aj   wi'
gather-PRF-NS-A.3.S   cold   DM   E.3.S-trash   water   PART   PART   PART

rek'   rek'   ta   ch-Ø-ee-lek   chi   jun-il   a   kik'   chan-Ø-Ø
good   good   IR   OPT-A.3.S-E.2.P-collect   PREP   one-ABS   DM   blood   say-UNM-A.3.S

"Gather that cold water's flotsam, also collect all the blood very well!" he says.

aj   tuulux   x-Ø-e'x-ch'utub'   r-ib'   r-e   ix   b'aanunk-il
SD   dragonfly   PERF-A.3.S-E.3.P-gather   E.3.S-RFLX   E.3.S-RN   E.3.S   do-NOM

The dragonflies gathered themselves in order to do it.

lek   lek   as   yoo-k-eb'   chi   lekok
SE   SE   (?)   be-UNM-A.3.P   PREP   collect

Splish splash they are collecting.

lek   lek   ix   b'ut'-b'al   sa'   kuk
SE   SE   E.3.S   fill-NOM   PREP   jar

Splish splash (they are) filling jars.

junpaat x-e'-raq-e'   *r-ik'in*
quickly PERF-A.3.P-finish-PSV E.3.S-RN
At once they were finished with it.

ox-laju kuk ki-Ø-nujak   *(x)[c]-b'a(a)n-eb'*
three-ten jar INF-A.3.S-be.filled E.3.S-RN-PLR
Thirteen jars were filled by them.

24c. *a'an x-e'-ix-k'ojob'*   *sa' ix mu kab'l sa' r-ochoch*
     DM PERF-A.3.P-E.3.S-place PREP E.3.S shadow house PREP E.3.S-house

jun tix-il ixq wan-Ø-Ø wi' chi r-e palaw
one old-ABS woman be-UNM-A.3.S PART PREP E.3.S-RN sea

He places them under the eaves of an old woman's house, which is located on the edge of the sea.

wa[a]n-k-Ø wan-Ø-Ø aran chan-Ø-Ø qaawa' b'alamq'e
be-UNM-A.3.S be-UNM-A.3.S there say-UNM-A.3.S SD PN

r-e aj eechal kab'l
E.3.S-RN SD owner house

"There (it is that) they are," says Lord B'alamq'e to the owner of the house.

toj sa(') ox-laju kutan in chaq chi r-il-b'al
PART PREP three-ten day A.1.S PART PREP E.3.S-see-NOM

"But in thirteen days I (will be) here to see them."

25. *toj maa-najti[i]nk ix xik-ik qaawa' sa' eb' a' kuk ut*
    PART NEG-distance E.3.S go-NOM SD PREP PLR DM jar PART

k'a'-aq r-u ki-Ø-yo'la
what-NS E.3.S-RN INF-A.3.S-be.born

But not long after the going away of Lord (B'alamq'e), inside of those jars something is born.

yoo-Ø-Ø chi eek'a[a]nk
be-UNM-A.3.S PREP move
It is moving.

timil ki-Ø-tikla
slow INF-A.3.S-begin
Slowly it starts up.

na-Ø-t'io-t'ok
UNM-A.3.S-poke-IDEOPHON
It kicks (and stomps).

na-Ø-k'ob'-k'ot
UNM-A.3.S-bite-IDEOPHON
It picks (and bores).

hu[u]laj hu[u]laj na-Ø-kawu   *ix yaab'*
tomorrow tomorrow UNM-A.3.S-become.stronger E.3.S voice/cry
Each day its cries become stronger.

na-Ø-tzochak
UNM-A.3.S-rattle
It rattles.

na-Ø-xuj-luk
UNM-A.3.S-break-IDEOPHON
It breaks.

na-Ø-k'atz-lok
UNM-A.3.S-crack-IDEOPHON
It cracks.

na-Ø-poj-lok
UNM-A.3.S-make.noise-IDEOPHON
It bangs.

na-Ø-rum-luk
UNM-A.3.S-crash-IDEOPHON
It crashes.

na-Ø-joch-lok
UNM-A.3.S-scratch-IDEOPHON
It scratches.

chi (x)-sa' jo' e[e]lk na-Ø-r-aj
PREP E.3.S-RN PART leave UNM-A.3.S-E.3.S-want
From inside (of the jars) how (much) it wants to leave.

26. *kach'in-aq   ix   ch'ool aj eechal kab'l*
small-NS   E.3.S heart   SD owner house.

The owner of the house is timid (her heart is small).

na-∅-xuwak
UNM-A.3.S-be.scared

She is scared.

toj-a'   ki-∅-num-e'   ox-laju   kutan ki-∅-r-il
PART-DM INF-A.3.S-pass-PSV three-ten day   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-see

na-∅-nach'ok   qaawa' b'alamq'e
UNM-A.3.S-near   SD   PN

When thirteen days had passed, she saw Lord B'alamq'e approaching.

ki-∅-x-jap-i(n)   *r-e*
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-call-IDEOPHON   E.3.S-RN

She called to him,

∅-seeb'a-∅ aaw-i[i]b'
IMP-hurry-A.3.S E.2.S-RFLX

"Hurry up!

t-∅-aaw-isi   *l-a(a)   yib' aj kuk sa'   junpaat*
FUT-A.3.S-E.2.S-remove DM-E.2.S ugly SD jar PREP quickly

"You will remove your ugly/evil jars quickly.

k'a'ru x-∅-aa-k'e   w-e   chi   k'uula[a]k chi   r-u
what   PERF-A.3.S-E.2.S-give E.1.S-RN PREP guard   PREP E.3.S-RN

k'i(i)-la-kutan jo'   wi'   q'ojyi[i]n
much-SF-day   PART PART darkness

"What did you give to me to guard for so many days and nights?

ink'a' chik x-∅-kub'e   l-in   wara x-b'aan l-in   xiw
NEG   PART PERF-A.3.S-be.lowered DM-E.1.S sleep E.3.S-RN DM-E.1.S fear

"No longer do I sleep because of my fear."

27. *qaawa' b'alamq'e ki-∅-ok   x-mu   kab'l*
SD   PN   INF-A.3.S-enter E.3.S-shadow house

Lord B'alamq'e entered the corridor.

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tikto ki-∅-x-te   x-b'e(e)n kuk r-e   x-ch'u(u)[n]kink-il
PART INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-open E.3.S-RN jar E.3.S-RN E.3.S-look-NOM

chi   (x)-sa'
PREP E.3.S-RN

Immediately he opened the first jar in order to look inside.

junes k'anti(') ki-∅-r-il
PART snake   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-see

Only snakes he saw.

i(q)[k]'b'olay r-ech-ha'   tzojtzoj o(o)to'[o]y aj t'upuy
fer.de.lance   E.3.S-companion-water cascabel tamagas   SD ribbon

saq b'a'anqnal
white ?

Fer-de-lances, water snakes,[18] rattlesnakes, pit-vipers, ribbon-snakes (coral snakes?), white (snakes of some sort).

junes aj ti'on-el   aj sachon-el
PART SD bite-NOM SD destroy-NOM

Only those that bite, those that destroy.

ki-∅-te[e]h-e'   ix   kab' chi kuk ix   b'a(a)n
INF-A.3.S-open-PSV E.3.S two   PREP jar E.3.S RN

The second jar was opened by him.

junes yib'   aj xul   wan-∅-∅   chi   (x)-sa'
PART ugly/evil SD animal be-UNM-A.3.S PREP E.3.S-RN

Only nasty animals were in it.

alal   milmich' tolokok per(e)'maal sele'may ch'ujchuj
salamander (?)   lizard   chameleon (?)   (?)

Salamanders, (?), lizards, chameleons, (?), (?).

chi   junpaat seeb' ki-∅-x-tz'ap   wi'   chik
PREP quickly fast   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-close PART PART

Very quickly he shut it again.

jo'-ka'in (k)i-∅-x-kub'si   r-ox   ix   kaa r-o'   chi kuk
PART-DM   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-lower E.3.S-three E.3.S four E.3.S-five PREP jar

Like this he lowered the third, fourth, and fifth jar.

x-junes   aj   ti'on-el   wan-∅-∅   chi   (x)-sa'
E.3.S-PART SD   bite-NOM be-UNM-A.3.S PREP E.3.S-RN

Only those things which bite are inside.

yal-aq   k'a'   chi   ch'ub'   honon   lem-saq'e   kantb'olay   k'ojote   poj
PART-NS what PREP wasp   bees   mirror-sun (?)   (?)   pus

ch'ub'   aj   xaml
wasp   SD   fire

All kinds of wasps, bees, sun-mirrors (a type of wasp?), (?), (?), pus-wasps, and fire-bees.[19]

wan-∅-∅   aj   am   k'otz'eb'aq[20] *k'is-pek*[21] *aj   xook'   hay   x-tz'i'n*
be-UNM-A.3.S SD   spider (?)   fart-rock SD scorpion worm E.3.S-(?)

kok(')   chupil   chajal
small worm   worm

There are spiders, (?), (?), scorpions, hay-worms, (?), small and numerous chupil-worms, and chajal-worms.

jo'-ka'in   kab-laju   chi   kuk
PART-DM   two-ten PREP jar

Like this (were) twelve of the jars.

28. *ut   l-ix   po   maak'a'   x-b'aan   naq   li   po   yoo-∅-∅   chi*
PART DM-SD moon not.exist E.3.S-RN COMP DM moon be-UNM-A.3.S PREP

x-muq-b'al   r-ib'
E.3.S-hide-NOM E.3.S-RFLX

And Po is not there because the moon (Po) is hiding herself.

ink'a'   na-∅-hu[u]lak   chi   r-u   na(q)   li   saq'e   raj   l-ix
NEG   UNM-A.3.S-arrive PREP E.3.S-RN COMP DM sun   CF   DM-E.3.S

b'e(e)lom
husband

It does not please her that the sun could be her husband.

maa-jaruj   tana   chik   t-∅-w-il   r-u   in-ra-hom
NEG-how.much AF   PART FUT-A.3.S-E.1.S-see E.3.S-face E.1.S-love-NOM

chan-∅-∅
say-UNM-A.3.S

"Never again perhaps will I see the face of my loved one," he says.

sa'   ix   te-b'al   li   r-ox-laju   ix   putix[22] *ut   toj   aran*
PREP E.3.S open-NOM DM E.3.S-three-ten E.3.S (?)   PART PART there

tz'aqal   jun   ki-∅-el   qana'   po
true/exact/complete one INF-A.3.S-leave SD   moon

In the opening of the thirteenth but there was the true one (and) out came Lady Moon.

lemtz'un   r-ix
reflective E.3.S-cover

Brillant (is) her covering.

saq   saq   ix   tz'ejwal
white white E.3.S body

So white (is) her body.

sa'   chi   jun-il   ix   ch'in-a-us-il-al   ix   chaab'il-al
PREP PREP one-ABS E.3.S small-SF-good-ABS-ABS E.3.S good-ABS

Everything about her is beautiful and good.

29a. *jun   aj   num-al   b'e   aj   si'in-el   ki-∅-b'oq-e'   chi   ten(q')[k]a[a]nk*
one SD pass-ABS road SD cut-NOM INF-A.3.S-call-PSV PREP help

chi   ix   b'e(e)n   ix   yamtesink-il   mu   kab'
PREP E.3.S RN   E.3.S clear-NOM   shadow house

A traveler, (a) woodcutter was called to help to clear out the house's shadow (above all, foremost).

eb'   a   kuk   a'an   chi   jun   tz'eq   sa'   palaw
PLR DM jar   DM   PREP one trash PREP sea

"Those jars are for trash (to toss) into the sea.

chi   maa-wa[']   t-at-ch'uuki[i]nq   chi   (x)-sa'   cha-∅-∅   'an   r-e
PREP NEG-time FUT-A.2.S-look   PREP E.3.S-RN say-UNM-A.3.S DM   E.3.S-RN

"Not once will you look inside," he says to him.

29b. *a   wi[i]nq   ki-∅-x-k'am   r-iiq*
DM man   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-carry E.3.S-cargo

That man carried his cargo (of jars).

ti–∅–x–naw   raj k'a'–aq r–u na–∅–eek'ank chi (x)–sa'
FUT-A.3.S-E.3.S-know CF what-NS E.3.S-RN UNM-A.3.S-move PREP E.3.S-RN

He would like to know whatever is moving inside (the jars).

ma(a) ho'on ta n–in–il–e'   iho'on chan–∅–∅ sa'
NEG now NEG UNM-A.1.S-see-PSV now say-PREP-A.3.S PREP

ix ch'ool
E.3.S heart

"Not now will I be seen," he says inside his heart.

timil [i]x–∅–(x)–kuj   r–u'uj r–uq(') x–taqsink–il
slowly PERF-A.3.S-E.3.S-put E.3.S-tip E.3.S-hand E.3.S-raise-NOM

ka[']ch'in–aq['] ix tz'ap–b'al r–e
small-NS   E.3.S close-NOM E.3.S-RN

Slowly he put in his finger to raise a little the top (of the jar).

ssst jun chi nim–la i(q)[k]'b'olay ki–∅–el
SE one PREP large-SF fer.de.lance INF-A.3.S-leave

Ssst! a large fer-de-lance went out.

na–∅–num–e'   ix b'een ix telb'
UNM-A.3.S-pass-PSV E.3.S RN E.3.S arm

It passes over his arm.

jay ki–∅–x–chaj   r–e (x)–b'a(a)n ix xiw
INTERJ INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-yell E.3.S-RN E.3.S-RN E.3.S fear

"Jay!" he yelled because of his fear (yelled his mouth?).

o rum chi ch'och(')
(?) throw PREP ground

(And throws it) onto the ground.

29c. jun jor–b'al jun puk'–b'al li r–iiq
   one break-NOM one burst-NOM DM E.3.S-cargo

(There is) a breaking, a bursting (of) his cargo.

na–∅–t'or–oxin   k'aj b'uj sa' b'e
UNM-A.3.S-scatter-IDEOPHON piece (?) PREP road

Many pieces are scattered onto the road.

nek–e'–aali–nak
UNM-A.3.P-run-IDEOPHON

They run.

nek–e'–purik
UNM-A.3.P-fly

They fly.

nek–e'–b'atz'–atz(')–n[']ak
UNM-A.3.P-play-RDP-IDEOPHON

They scamper.

nek–e'–mil–i[l]–nak
UNM-A.3.P-(?)-RDP-IDEOPHON

They undulate.

nek–e'–saapan
UNM-A.3.P-(?)

They jump.

nek–e'–re[x]–b'ak
UNM-A.3.P-tongue.flick-IDEOPHON

They flick their tongues.

nek–e'–soy–b'ak
UNM-A.3.P-roll.up-IDEOPHON

They coil.

sa' ix wakli(j)[k]i(k)[j] l–aj ti'on–el xul
PREP E.3.S raise-NOM   DM-SD bite-NOM animal

nek–e'–jat(z)[c]'ak
UNM-A.3.S-hold. rancor/look. askance

At their awakening, the biting animals are angry.

x–jek'–b'al–eb'   r–ib' jun r–u(u) chi ch'och' ix
E.3.S-distribute-NOM-PLR E.3.S-RFLX one E.3.S-RN PREP ground E.3.S

maak li wi[i]nq
RN DM man

Their distributing themselves (all over) the earth (was) the fault of the man (or 'of man').

ink'a'   *(k-)∅-ix-pa(a)b'*   *r-aatin*   *qaawa'*   *b'alamq'e*
NEG   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-believe   E.3.S-word   SD   PN

He did not obey the words of Lord B'alamq'e.

30a. *ab'an*   *a*   *ak'*   *po*   *wi'*   *ki-∅-yo'la*   *wi'*   *chik*
     PART   DM   new   moon   PART   INF-A.3.S-be.born   PART   PART

However that new moon was born again.

maak'a'   *ix*   *ch'in-a*   *tz(')ejwal*   *wan-∅-∅*   *r-e*
not.exist   E.3.S   small-SF   body   be-UNM-A.3.S   E.3.S-RN

She doesn't have the small body (she used to have).

jo'-ka'in   *qaawa'*   *b'alamq'e*   *ki-∅-x-yokob'*   *a*   *po*   *sa'*   *ix*
PART-DM   SD   PN   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-lay   DM   moon   PREP   E.3.S

 ya[a]n(q)   *tzuul*   *chi*   *r-u*   *taq'a*
 RN   mountain   PREP   E.3.S-RN   valley

Because of this Lord B'alamq'e caused this moon to lie down in between the mountains and before a valley.

ki-∅-x-q'unb'es   *li*   *yuk*   *r-e*   *sa'*   *aanil*   *na-∅-numsi*
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-soften   DM   goat   E.3.S-RN   PREP   run   UNM-A.3.S-pass

He persuaded the goat to quickly pass by.

x-∅-(x)-k'e   *r-ib'*   *chi*   *r-ix*   *r-e*   *x-te[e]-b'al*
PERF-A.3.S-E.3.S-give   E.3.S-RFLX   PREP   E.3.S-RN   E.3.S-RN   E.3.S-open-NOM

toon   *r-a'*   *li*   *po*   *r-e*   *ix*   *te-b'al*   *jun*
horizontal   E.3.S-leg   DM   moon   E.3.S-RN   E.3.S   open-NOM   one

chik   *hopol-al*
PART   hole-ABS

It put itself behind her (it gave itself to help) in order to spread open the moon's legs, in order to open another hole.

jo'-ka'in   *i*   *x-∅-(x)-b'aanu*
PART-DM   DM   PERF-A.3.S-E.3.S-do

Like this he did it.

yoo-∅-∅   *r-il-b'al*   *qaawa'*   *b'alamq'e*
be-UNM-A.3.S   E.3.S-see-NOM   SD   PN

Lord B'alamq'e was watching.

yal   *kach'in*   *aj*   *wi'*   *ki-∅-x-te*
PART   small   PART   PART   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-open

(But) only a little he opened it.

30b. *yoo-∅-∅*   *ix*   *b'oq-b'al*   *l-ix*   *kej*   *r-e*   *x-te-b'al*   *ix*
     be-UNM-A.3.S   E.3.S   call-NOM   DM-E.3.S   deer   E.3.S-RN   E.3.S-open-NOM   E.3.S

 hopol-al   *l-ix*   *sa'*
 hole-ABS   DM-E.3.S   stomach

He was calling his deer to open her belly's hole.

xiw   *xiw*   *naq*   *ki-∅-x-paab'*   *mare*   *t'ilq*   *(x)-toq-b'al*
fear   fear   COMP   INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-obey/believe   perhaps   stick   E.3.S-break-NOM

 r-oq   *chi*   *(x)-sa'*
 E.3.S-leg   PREP   E.3.S-RN

(It was) very scared (for) it believed that it might get stuck (and) break its leg inside.

ki-∅-pisk'ok
INF-A.3.S-jump

It jumped.

ki-∅-x-yak   *sa'*   *ix*   *yanq*   *r-a'*   *po*
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-negotiate   PREP   E.3.S   RN   E.3.S-leg   moon

It negotiated in-between the legs of (the) moon.

ki-∅-x-nimob'resi   *r-u*   *chi*   *us*
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-enlarge   E.3.S-face   PREP   good

It enlarged its face well.

chanchan   *li*   *k'i(i)-la*   *atz'um*   *l-ix*   *sununk-il*
PART   DM   many-SF   flower   DM-E.3.S   smell-NOM

Its smell was like that of many flowers.

ki'   *ki'*   *x-∅-el*   *ix*   *woqx*
sweet   sweet   PERF-A.3.S-leave   E.3.S   froth/spray

Sweet sweet went out its spray.

30c. *maa-min*   *ki-∅-hu[u]lak*   *chi*   *r-u*   *qaawa'*   *b'alamq'e*
     NEG-PART   INF-A.3.S-arrive   PREP   E.3.S-RN   SD   PN

In no way was Lord B'alamq'e pleased.

toj   ki-∅-x-k'e   li   ch'o chi   (x)-sa'   li   po
PART INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-give DM rat PREP E.3.S-RN DM moon

But he placed the rat inside the moon.

ut   li · ch'o aran ki-∅-chu'uk
CONJ DM rat there INF-∅-urinate

And the rat peed there.

jo'-ka'in ki-∅-usa
PART-DM INF-A.3.S-improve

Then it improved.

30d. *us   anaqwan chan-∅-∅   qaawa' b'alamq'e*
good now   say-UNM-A.3.S SD   PN

"Now it's good," says Lord B'alamq'e.

ki-∅-x-chap   r-uq'   qana' po r-e   ix   k'am-b'al sa'
INF-A.3.S-E.3.S-take E.3.S-hand SD   PN E.3.S-RN E.3.S carry-NOM PREP

choxa jo'   r-ixaqil
sky   PART E.3.S-wife

He grabbed the hand of Lady Moon to take her into the sky as his wife.

31. *chalen a'an yoo-k-eb'   r-il-b'al   jun r-u(u) chi   ch'och'*
PART   DM   be-UNM-A.3.P E.3.S-see-NOM one E.3.S-RN PREP ground

Since then they have been watching all over the earth.

qaawa' saq'e   chi   kutan
SD   sun[PN] PREP   day

Lord Sun during the day.

qana' po chi   r-u   q'ojyi[i]n
SD   PN PREP E.3.S-RN night

Lady Moon during the night.

chi   jo'-kan eb' li   wi[i]nq naq nek-e'-b'eek   k'am-ol b'e chi
PREP PART-DM PLR DM man   COMP UNM-A.3.P-walk carry-ABS road PREP

r-u   eb' li   ixq
E.3.S-RN PLR DM woman

Because of this, it is men that walk as leaders in front of women.

Notes

Transcription. In Q'eqchi', doubling of vowel letters indicates phonemic vowel length; *k* and *q* are velar and uvular plosives, respectively; *x* and *j* are palato-alveolar and velar fricatives, respectively. All the other phonemes have their standard IPA values. The symbol ∅ denotes a phonologically null affix (usually third person singular absolutive); dashes indicate morpheme boundaries.

Abbreviations. The following grammatical abbreviations are used: 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person; A = absolutive pronoun; ABS = abstract (*-Vl*); AF = afactive (*tana*); CF = counterfactive (*raj*); COMP = complementizer (*naq*); DAT = dative; DM = demonstrative (*i, li, -in, a', a'an, a'in, an', ka'in, ka'an*); E = ergative pronoun; F = factive; FUT = future tense (*ta-*); HNR = honorific (*-chiin*); HOR = hortative (suppletive); IDEOPHON = ideophonic (aspectual) suffixes (*-xink, -Vink, -lenk, -b'ak, -nak, -lok/-luk, -C₁-otk/-C₁-utk*; see table 7 in section 9); IMP = imperative (normally a phonologically null marker before the predicate); INF = unexperienced evidential ("remote past") (*ki-*); INT = interrogative (*ma*); INTERJ = interjection (*ah, hmm*); IR = irrealis (*ta* [including *moko . . . ta*]); NEG = negation (*maa, ink'a', moko*); NIMP = negative imperative (*maa-*); NOM = nominalizer (*-leb', -b'aal, -ik, -b'al, -il* (at the end of the predicate), *-om*); NS = nonspecific (*-aq, -q*); OPT = optative (*ch-*); P = plural; PART = particle (*jo', wi', toj, ka'aj, ut, chaq, chik, aj, min, b'i', yal, ak*); PN = proper name (*po, b'aalamq'e, kaaq, tz'uultaq'a*); PREP = preposition (*chi, sa'*); PRT = participle (*-b'il*, reduplication of root, *-enaq*); PSV = passive (*-e'k, -e'q*); RDP = reduplication; RFLX = reflexive (*-ib'*); RN = relational noun (*-b'aan, -uu, -u, -yii, -uchben, -e, -ix, -ub'el, -ik'in, -yanq*); S = singular; SD = status designator (*ix, aj, qaawa', qana'*); SE = sound effect (e.g., *b'um!*); SF = stem formative (*-Vl, -la-*); UNM = unmarked tense (often present or habitual) (*na(k)-, -k/-∅*).

1. See Lucy (1993a) for a discussion of the importance of reflexive language in the human disciplines.

2. Notice how this formulation contrasts with the usual Jakobsonian formulation, where aspect quantifies the narrated event (E^n) and tense relates the narrated event to the speech event (E^n/E^s). And notice how, nonetheless, it is compatible with Jakobson's idea, so long as the reference event is the same as the speech event (which is the unmarked case), i.e., when $E^r = E^s$, then $E^n/E^r = E^n/E^s$. Aspect is often understood as a relation between two narrated events, E^n/E^n, one of which may be the speech event.

3. Constructions involving both perfect and progressive aspect (*has been sleeping* and so forth) are not shown. Although one can read off from the diagram both the relation between the speech event (*) and the reference event ([ ]), and the relation between the speech event (*) and the narrated event (~~~), one should not read off the relation between the speech event and the narrated event—except indirectly, through the relations between each and the reference event. Finally, the absolute duration of events does not matter.

4. In his monograph *Gramática Kekchí* (1980a), and in his essay "Tense/Aspect in Kekchi" (1980b), Stewart presents the "tense/aspect system" of Q'eqchi' as having six

prefixes. He calls *ta-* "future definite," and says that it "indicates (1) a non-immediate future time as opposed to an action which will take place immediately, and/or (2) an aspect of definiteness or certainty that the action will take place, and/or (3) an attitude of intention or purpose on the part of the agent of the verb" (1980b:75). He calls *na(k)-* the "present habitual," and says that it "indicates (1) actions which are true at, but not limited to, the present time in that these actions have a quality of stability, and/or (2) actions which are habitual and customary" (1980b:76). He calls *x-* the "recent past," and says that it is "perfective" and "indicates (1) that the action took place no later than yesterday, and (2) that the action was completed" (1980b:76). He calls *ki-* the "remote past," and says that it indicates "(1) actions which took place in the more remote past, and (2) action that is completed" (1980b:76). He calls *chi-* the "optative/imperative," saying that "in terms of time this inflection indicates that the action is just about to occur or begins at the moment of speaking, thus dividing future time with the prefix [ta-]" (1980b:76). He also thinks that it indicates "an immediate desire on the part of the speaker mixed with an element of doubt that the desire will be fulfilled, and in this sense may be said to be optative or exhortative" (1980b:76). Finally, he calls *mi-* the "negative optative/imperative," and thinks it has the same functions as *chi-*, only negative (1980b: 76).

5. It should be emphasized that *chank* is the only stative predicate that is semantically more like a perfective action. In some Mayan languages, the verb of reported speech is highly defective as a verb (Lucy 1993b) and is almost a particle (undergoing little if any inflection or derivation). And so it may be that *chank* is just a defective verb and only looks like a member of the stative class. Also included here is the class of copulas. This is the unmarked predicate, having no lexical content at all. Copula constructions are often zero-state events ("John is a man"), but they may also be one-state events ("John is happy"). In the latter case, a tense-aspect suffix may occur on the predicating noun or adjective in question, as with any stative predicate, either *-Ø/k* or *-(a)q*.

6. The suffix *-(a)q* also occurs with optative mood, and *-q* might function to mark not so much that the reference event is after the speech event, but rather that the reference event is in another (nonreal) world than the speech event. Indeed, there is an interesting relation between a nominal suffix *-aq*, which marks nonspecific referents, and the verbal suffix *-(a)q*, which occurs with future tense and optative mood constructions. Kockelman (2005) analyzes the grammatical category of status (factive, nonfactive, counterfactive, afactive, etc.) with respect to a three-event system, and it is likely that the reference events of tense-aspect systems parallel the commitment events of status-mood systems.

7. The prospective aspect marker *ta-* is similar in form and function to the irrealis-status clitic *ta*, which has the usual location and movement of the modal clitics. There are nine tokens (all within passages of reported speech). Twice it occurs with negation particles (*moko, maa*), functioning as negation with scope over the enclosed constituent—*maa yuk ta* 'not a goat' (scene 7) and *moko tz'aqal tz'unun ta* 'not a real hummingbird' (scene 17a). Four times it occurs with imperatives or optatives (in scenes 4, 10, 24b). It occurs once in a rhetorical question (scene 17a), and twice with the wh-word *b'ar* 'where' to mean 'wherever' (both occurrences in scene 20b). And it occurs in the afactive marker *tana*.

8. Although the auxiliary predicate *yoo* of such progressive aspect constructions can be inflected with either *-k* or *-q*, there are no tokens of the latter. I assume that such a construction would mark future tense and progressive aspect.

9. The word *tikto* itself is related to *tiklaak*, the predicate 'to begin', and it is tempting to say that it indicates that the beginning of the current action happened on the heels of (the end of) the last action. Thus, it is rather similar to *yal jun*. Perhaps *yal jun* is short for *yal jun paat* 'in only an instant'.

10. My sense is that the suffix *-er* 'ago' is deictic (E^r/E^s) and the suffix *-Vl* 'in (an amount of time)' is nondeictic (E^n/E^r). The latter does get a deictic reading as 'future' via its contrast with *-er*. But, as partly revealed by the fact that *-er* is suffixed onto *-Vl*, it is not that the latter marks future and the former marks past, but rather that the latter is aspectual and the former tensed.

11. Whenever one has negation interacting with another operator, one has to deal with issues of scope. For example, is the issue that for any E^r, E^n is false? Or is the issue that there is no E^r for which E^n is true (or, if the clause is marked with future tense or prospective aspect, that there is no E^r such that, after E^r, E^n will be true). Here we are assuming that it is the latter: negation taking scope over E^r.

12. There is also a variant, *toja'*, that may be a contraction of the deictic *a'an* 'that' and *toj*. If this is right, one could explain the meaning of *toja'* as follows: it establishes the last narrated event (anaphorically), or the current speech event (exophorically), as the reference event.

13. Finally, *toj* may even mark a spatial relation, as in scenes 9 and 28.

14. All of the constructions just discussed are morphosyntactic in nature, and it is not terribly difficult to argue that they encode features that turn on temporal relations, either E^n/E^r or E^r/E^s. One additional aspect of narrative structure, interclausal relations, should be mentioned, inasmuch as it is used in the text and might plausibly be considered temporal. Indeed, the simplest temporal ordering is that, as one utterance follows another utterance (in the speech world), one event follows another event (in the narrated world)—'he walked into the kitchen and greeted his mother'. This is the unmarked case and, in some sense, the entire narrative turns on it. Q'eqchi' also has a variety of explicit grammatical markers of interclausal relations (or features belonging to the grammatical category of taxis), such as conjunctions ('and', 'or', 'but'), complementizers ('that', 'to'), and a variety of other means ('in order to', 'because of', 'while', 'as', and so forth). Many of these markers indicate how causally interrelated two events are—more or less close in time, more or less done by the same actor, more or less causally implicated. The most important of these are discussed in the present section. Modes of coordination that involve complementation ('that' constructions), nonfinite constructions ('to' constructions), and interclausal relations in the most narrow sense are described in Kockelman (2003). Tokens of other such constructions that explicitly mark event beginnings and ends of narrated events (similar in function to the first type of adverb shown in table 5) are *raqok* 'to finish' (scenes 3, 24b), *ok* 'to begin' (scenes 9, 14), *kaanab'* 'to stop' (scene 10), *choyok* 'to finish' (scene 17), and *tiklaak* 'to start up' (scene 25).

15. The word *kutan* (as a noun meaning 'day' in the first sentence of scene 6) is phonetically similar to *k'utun* (as a predicate meaning 'to appear' in the third sentence of scene 6). Similarly, the predicate most often used in this text is *ilok* 'to see'.

16. See Stewart (1980:52–53).

17. Scene 17c has only a single token of a predicate with one of these suffixes (*ojob'-ak* 'cough'), but the other predicates around it are in passive voice or reflexive voice. This is common for nonideophonic predicates that occur with ideophonic predicates. Other types of grammatical markers that occur with ideophones are progressive aspect, iterative aspect, and sound and motion predicates.

18. Probably the same referent as *mazacoatl* in Nahuatl or *mazaquate* in Spanish.

19. The word *xaml* in the text is probably a variant form of *xamxul* 'type of bee'.

20. The meaning of the word *k'otz'eb'aq* is unknown, but *k'otz'* is a stem meaning 'bite, sting'.

21. The word *k'is-pek* in the text here would literally mean 'fart-rock', and is so glossed here, but in the context, it seems more likely that *k'is* is a mistranscription or variant form of *k'ix* 'thorn'.

22. The problematic word *putix* is possibly a mistranscription of *po ut ix* [moon PART E.3.S]. Even if this is the case, however, it is not clear how to fit that into the translation of this sentence.

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