A GRAMMAR
and
ANTHOLOGY
of the
YUCATECAN MAYAN LANGUAGE

by
David & Alejandra Bolles

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In Loving Memory of

Alejandra Kim Bolles

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A Great Teacher of the Mayan Language, Culture, and Way of Life.
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FOREWORD

In the preparation of this grammar of the Yucatecan Mayan language every effort was made to describe the language in its actual state today. At the time we wrote the first edition of this grammar in 1973 we were fortunate to have the following books to serve as guideposts for us as to how we should develop this grammar book.

Alfred M. Tozzer
   A Maya Grammar; Cambridge, Mass., 1921.

Daniel Lopez Otero
   Grammatica Maya; Mérida, Yucatan, 1914.

Swadesh, Alverez, and Bastarrachea
   Diccionario de Elementos del Maya Yucateco Colonial;

Angel Maria Garibay K.
   Llave del Nahuatl; Mexico, D.F., 1940.

The reader who is interested in the development of Yucatecan grammar over the last century and the relationship between it and its large neighbor, the Nahuatl language, would benefit by consulting these books.

A very comprehensive addition to this collection of books is unfortunately at the moment in limited circulation, but the interested person may be able to obtain a copy by writing to its author.

Ortwin Smailus
   (A Spanish translation was published by Wayasbah in 1989.)

Smailus’ grammar gives an in-depth view of Yucatecan Mayan grammar as recorded by the various written colonial (i.e. 1550’s through early 1800’s) sources. Included in his grammar are many grammatical forms and much vocabulary which is no longer in use amongst the Maya of today, at least amongst those who live in the Northwestern part of the peninsula of Yucatan. There are however in the area around Zac Li (Valladolid) and amongst the Maya known as the Cruzoob who live in middle Quintana Roo various people who carry on the written traditions of some of the colonial Mayan documents such as the Books of Chilam Balam. It seems certain that these people would be at least knowledgeable of many of these now archaic grammatical forms and vocabulary.

The principal difference between the earlier grammars and ours is to be found in the section on verbs. The meaning of some verb tenses seems to have undergone changes in the intervening years. We are not certain whether these changes are in fact real changes or apparent changes brought about by the earlier writers trying to make Mayan verb tenses fit standard European
models. Examples of these earlier grammars are those of Fr. Juan Coronel, printed in 1620, and of Fr. Gabriel de San Buenaventura, printed in 1684. In 1746 the grammar of Fr. Pedro Beltrán de Santa Rosa was printed, and in this grammar he tried to rectify some of these problems which he considered to be erroneous. In any case, our approach to working on the verb tenses has been to try to describe as closely as we can what the intent of each of these tenses is. In doing so we employ standard European verb tense nomenclature only when that nomenclature actually fits the tense. Information concerning the verb tenses in this grammar was collected from Alejandra Kim Bolles, a native of Ticul, and Emiliano Poot Chim of Kom Cheen. Also of help was Josefina Hilar of Chichimila.

When we wrote the first edition of this grammar we resolved the problem of the existence of two distinct sets of personal pronouns by naming these sets “Set A” and “Set B”. We were not aware at that time that Manuel J. Andrade in his “A Grammar of Modern Yucatec” (1941) had resolved this problem by also naming the sets “Set A” and “Set B”, except that his “Set A” was our “Set B” and vice versa. It has come to our attention that other more recent grammars, for example the grammar by Smailus mentioned above, have adopted this convention of Andrade. In this edition we have renamed our sets to bring our grammar book in line with the generally accepted practice of naming these pronoun sets.

In this edition we have included some grammatical forms and vocabulary from colonial Yucatecan Mayan which are now archaic, especially in those instances where the inclusion of this now archaic material is of some aid to understanding present grammatical forms. We feel by doing so we are able to give the reader some sense of both the changes which have taken place over the last four centuries, and also perhaps more importantly some sense of the continuity which the Mayan language has enjoyed.

Accompanying our earlier grammar was a small booklet entitled Tzichaltabi ti in Mama uch caachi (Stories my Mother was told long ago). This booklet was written in 1972 and was intended for the Mayan population. We included the booklet with the earlier grammar so that the reader would have examples of the modern Mayan language to work with. In this edition we have expanded the reading section into a short anthology of Yucatecan Mayan literature by adding some examples of written Mayan from the earliest document, that of the Mani land treaty of 1557, through the centuries to an autobiographical note written in 1871 by José Sabino Uc. Also from the 20th century we have included transcribed oral material collected by Manuel J. Andrade and Robert Redfield / Alfonso Villa Rojas. The inclusion of this earlier material is in keeping with one of our goals in this edition, that of showing how the Yucatecan Mayan language has developed over the centuries.
The Yucatecan Mayan language is still widely used throughout the Yucatecan peninsula with the usual variations which are expected to be found within any language. While census and other reports conflict on several points, the number of people who speak or who are able to speak Yucatecan Mayan, broken down by political divisions, is roughly as follows: Yucatan, 400,000; Campeche, 30,000; Quintana Roo, 15,000; Belize, 10,000; Peten, Guatemala, 5,000, and Chiapas, 2,000. Many of the people in the last four groups are in fact either from Yucatan or are descendants of migrants from Yucatan.

A comment should be made here about the orthography for the Mayan language used here in this grammar and in the accompanying anthology. When the Spanish arrived and established themselves in Yucatan in the mid 1500’s the religious orders immediately set about converting the Maya to Christianity. One of the methods by which they hoped to do this was getting their message translated into the Mayan language. Various members of the upper class of Maya, thus people who had probably been educated in the use of the Mayan hieroglyphic writing system before becoming Christianized, became involved in various ways in this effort. Such names as Juan Cocom who was a close friend of Diego de Landa and Gaspar Antonio Chi Xiu who was a protégé of de Landa and later the Spanish court official interpreter, both of whom were related to Mayan ruling families, come to mind. A major part of this effort to get proselytizing material translated into Mayan involved forming an orthography for the Mayan language from the Latin script. This was done fairly quickly and in a surprisingly uniform manner when one considers the rather variable and sloppy orthography of the Spaniards at the time. When one compares the uneven effort at writing Mayan words in Spanish literature of the period, for example that of de Landa, with the Mayan literature written by the Maya themselves, it would seem that the Maya played a very important role in helping the Spanish friars develop a Latin script orthography for the Mayan language. Unfortunately we have not come across anything which gives us an indication of how extensive this involvement was. In any case, by 1557 when the Mani land treaty was written the use of the Latin script for the Mayan language seems to have been fairly well established and the orthography, which remained in use until the late 1800’s, fairly well standardized.

In the late 1800’s some changes in the standard Mayan colonial orthography began to appear. These changes, as far as can be determined, were brought about by the fact that in order to typeset material in the Mayan language the typesetter either had to have special typefaces made to represent those special letters which were invented in the 1500’s for Mayan orthography or he had to introduce substitutes from his standard type fonts. Some printing houses did indeed go to the trouble of having these special letters made, but most did not. As a result, it slowly became customary to use these substitute
orthographic conventions in written Mayan. These changes in fact only involve four symbols, so the change was not a drastic one. In any case, by the early part of the 20th century this new orthographic convention had become the standard and is to be found in the works of Lopez Otero, Pacheco Cruz, and Redfield / Villa Rojas. This convention was also generally adopted when writing out Mayan names and words such as town names and surnames. When we set about writing down the folk tales in Tzibaltabi ti in Mama uch caachi it was natural for us to choose the orthographic convention which was in use at the time. It was our intent to make the material in the booklet as readable as possible for the present day Maya, and thus it seemed most advisable to use the orthographic convention everybody was used to.

In the late 1800’s there began a movement amongst Mayan scholars, at that time mostly from the United States and Europe, to develop a linguistic notation which would eliminate ambiguities in orthography. Karl Hermann Berendt was one of the early leaders of this movement. Now, a century later, it still seems that nobody has been able to settle on any one particular form of notation, although various schools, such as the American school shall we call it, have been formed. Recently though following the publication of the “Diccionario Maya Cordemex”, in which the colonial orthographic convention was dropped in favor of an orthographic system which Alfredo Barrera Vasquez was promoting, there has been what seems to be a veritable explosion of orthographies, mostly from various Mexican agencies which are now trying to “save” the various indigenous languages from extinction. To us, the confusion resulting from this profusion of new orthographies is overwhelming, and in particular does not seem to be of any help as far as the goal of “saving” the Mayan language is concerned. The use of linguistic notation, given that a single system is agreed upon, does seem to serve a purpose of informing the specialists who have had little or no audio contact with the language as to how the spoken language sounds more or less. However, it seems to us that the use of linguistic notation in a work in Mayan which is meant for the general populace is as inappropriate as the use of the notation used for the pronunciation guide found in English language dictionaries is for a way to write material for general reading in English.

From the above discussion it can be seen that the tradition for how the Mayan language is written goes back to orthographic conventions derived from Mayan hieroglyphs. Throughout this grammar there will be references to how practices in hieroglyphic writing influenced decisions on how the Latin script alphabet should be applied to writing out Mayan words. Given that traces of hieroglyphs have been found dating from the B.C. era, the basis for this orthography has a long tradition indeed. We feel that the continued use of the orthography which was created for the Latin script alphabet in the colonial period and has been developed over the last centuries is the best course to take at this time when writing the Mayan language.
THE ALPHABET AND ITS PRONUNCIATION

1. Vowels

The Mayan language, unlike English, has a very definite sound for each written vowel. The following are the most commonly used vowel sounds with their corresponding sounds found in English words:

- a pronounced as the a in father
- e  " " "  a in made
- i  " " "  ee in reed
- o  " " "  oa in boat
- u  " " "  oo in root
- ay  " " "  ie in die (Also written ai)
- ey  " " "  a in made
- iy  " " "  ee in reed
- oy  " " "  oy in boy
- uy  " " "  ewy in screwy
- au  " " "  ow in how

From the above it can be seen that the orthographic representations for the vowel system is based on the continental European system.

Of the above vowels, there is a slight variation in how the e and i are pronounced. For example, in the syllable ben the e can be pronounced as noted above or it can be pronounced as the “e” in “end”. Thus:

- bencaah (how much): the e is pronounced as “a” in “made”
- uchben (old, ancient): the e is pronounced as “e” in “end”

For the letter i it can be pronounced as noted above or it can be pronounce as the “i” in the names “Mick” and “Mitch”:

- bix (how?): the i is pronounced as “ee” in “reed”.
- mix (not even): the i is pronounced as the “i” in “Mick”

It may seem that the vowels ey and iy are superfluous, but there is a linguistic reason behind the need for these spelling conventions. For example there is the word bey (so, thus) which when not followed by another vowel sounds in its pronunciation like be (the common form for the word “road”, “path”, “way”). If however a vowel is attached to bey, such as the positional markers -a, -o, and -e, then the y in bey becomes audible and in fact becomes a consonant y in front of the added vowel.

- bey  beya  (be-ya; like this)
- bey  beyo  (be-yo; like that)

It is noted that ay and ai can be used interchangeably. However there is a tendency to use ay as the representation for the vowel sound known as “long i” in English and to reserve ai as the representation of a pair of distinctly pronounced vowels a - i.
The Alphabet And Its Pronunciation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hay</td>
<td>flat, stretched out, extended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hai</td>
<td>pertaining to water, from ha, water.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the second case hai is pronounced ha-i.

The exception to this is the following, in which the most common spelling of the vowel sound “long i” is with ai, although ay is also to be found:

- ain / ayn  crocodile.

There are in fact various combinations of vowels which are to be pronounced as individual units. Some examples of these vowel combinations are:

- ai as in hai (pertaining to water)
- ae " " behlae (today)
- ao " " le nao (that house)
- oa " " le choa (this mouse)

In each case the vowels are to be pronounced distinctly according to the pronunciation guide given above.

2. Vowel Length and Tone

In Mayan the length of time which a vowel sound is held or the tonal inflection on a vowel can and usually does make the difference in the meaning of a word. There are five different ways of pronouncing a vowel sound:

- clipped
- regular
- elongated
- glided
- glottal-stopped

The clipped vowel is generally found in one syllable words of either the vowel alone or of the type “CV” (consonant - vowel). It is produced by closing the glottis almost immediately after the vowel sound is pronounced. This vowel is often referred to as a glottal-stopped vowel, but confusion arises because there are two types of glottal-stopped vowels: the unreduplicated glottal-stopped vowel and the reduplicated glottal-stopped vowel. In order to avoid confusion we have chosen to call the unreduplicated glottal-stopped vowel a “clipped vowel”.

The regular vowel is one held for a natural amount of time with no effort made to either cut it short or to elongate it.

The elongated vowel is a sustained vowel sound which is often accompanied by a tonal shift, either upwards or downwards.

The glided vowel is a slurred reduplicated glottal-stopped vowel in which, usually because of rapid speech, the vowel instead of being stopped by the glottis and then reduplicated is glided over with a tone or pitch change. This
change of tone is usually from a high tone to a lower one. There is not necessarily a difference in pronunciation between an elongated vowel and a glided vowel. However when the word in which a glided vowel is found is carefully pronounced though the speaker will almost always pronounce the vowel as a reduplicated glottal-stopped vowel.

The reduplicated glottal-stopped vowel is pronounced by producing a clipped vowel and then attaching a regular or elongated vowel of the same value directly to the clipped vowel. Thus, for example, the word caan (sky) is pronounced ca-an, with a break between the syllables ca and an.

3. Orthographic Representations of Vowels

The orthographic representation of the clipped vowel used in this book is the vowel itself without any extra notation. This makes a clipped vowel visually indistinguishable from either a regular or an elongated vowel. However, should a vowel be followed by a consonant in a syllable then it cannot be a clipped vowel but must be either a regular vowel or an elongated vowel. This is because a vowel which is followed by a consonant cannot by its nature be clipped. Other orthographic conventions for the clipped vowel will be discussed below in the discussion on glottal-stopped vowels.

The orthographic representation of the regular vowel has always been just the vowel itself.

There are two conventions for the orthographic representation of an elongated vowel. The choice of which one of these conventions is to be used depends on whether the elongated vowel is the final sound value in a syllable or whether it is followed by a consonant. If the elongated vowel is the final value in the syllable then an -h is tacked onto the vowel to indicate that it is elongated. This may be based in a hieroglyphic convention which the early Mayan writers carried over into the Latin script orthography, because there are examples of the hieroglyph with the value ha being added to the hieroglyph with the value ca to form -cah, as in chucah (captured). If, however, the elongated vowel is followed by a consonant in a syllable, then only the vowel itself is given. In this latter case, the orthography for an elongated vowel is thus indistinguishable from the orthography for a regular vowel.

The reduplicated glottal-stop has always been recognized in orthography and is represented by doubling the vowel. This has led to some confusion though when the vowel is glottal-stopped but not reduplicated such as would be the case for one syllable words of the “CV” type or the “V” type where the vowel is a clipped vowel. In these cases in colonial times some writers would write the double vowel symbol even though such a symbol was not called for. For example the following words, which are pronounced with a non-reduplicated glottal-stopped vowel, which we have decided to call in this
grammar “clipped” to avoid confusion with the reduplicated glottal-stopped vowels, were often written using the double vowel convention:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>standard orthography</th>
<th>colonial orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha (water)</td>
<td>haa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na (mother)</td>
<td>naa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uo (bull frog)</td>
<td>uoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i (hawk)</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In each case the vowel sound immediately after its enunciation is cut off by closing the glottis and the vowel is not reduplicated although the colonial orthographic convention would seem to indicate that the vowel is to be reduplicated. This convention of writing the double vowel as a representation of a clipped vowel may also be based on a hieroglyphic convention, at least according to how de Landa showed the hieroglyph for ha (water) in which “water” is written hieroglyphically a - ha. (See Appendix A for de Landa’s “alphabet”.) Hieroglyphic researchers have also found the same convention in hieroglyphic writing. It must be stressed that the colonial writers were uneven in applying this convention of writing clipped vowels using the double vowel symbol and just as frequently wrote clipped vowels using the standard orthography. They were also uneven about writing the double vowel symbol in the case where a reduplicated glottal-stopped vowel is present in a word, thus frequently writing a word which has a reduplicated glottal-stopped vowel as if it was a regular or elongated vowel.

Recently some writers have tried to make the distinction between clipped vowels and regular vowels by placing a apostrophe or a “?” behind the vowel (V’ or V”) if the vowel is clipped. Thus the above words would be written:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ha’</th>
<th>haa’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na’</td>
<td>na’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uo’</td>
<td>uo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i’</td>
<td>i’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many linguistic works also have been trying to differentiate between high and low tones for the vowels. One of the more common conventions is to use the accent grave (à) for the low tone and the accent acute (á) for the high tone.

In this book however we will stay with the more common convention of not making any visual distinction between a regular vowel and a clipped vowel. Needless to say, failure to observe the length of time a vowel is to be held can result in confusion. This is especially true in Mayan because it is so highly monosyllabic. As an example of what changes are made by different lengths of vowels, if we take the consonant n and place it in front of the vowel a we have the various possibilities:
The Alphabet And Its Pronunciation

**na**  “mother”. The a is clipped.

**na**  “house”. The a is regular.

**nah**  verb root for “earn”. The a is elongated.

**naah**  verb root for “full (of food)”. The a is glottal-stopped.

Another example with c before a:

**ca**  “squash”
**ca**  “two”, “then”, “when”, “if”
**cah**  “town”
**caah** immediate future indicator, “to be good for”

In the cases where the vowel is not the final value within a syllable, i.e. when the syllable is of the type “CVC” or “VC”, then it is not possible for the vowel to be clipped. It would seem that this stems from the fact that it is close to a physical impossibility to both cut off the vowel sound and pronounce the ensuing consonant after having cut off the vowel. Thus for syllables of the “CVC” and “VC” types there are only three possibilities for vowel types: regular, elongated, and reduplicated glottal-stopped (which of course includes glided).

Some examples:

With the letters m, i, and z:

**miz**  “cat”. The i is regular.
**miz** verb root for “sweep”. The vowel is elongated.

With the letters c, a, and n:

**can**  “snake”, “four”, verb root for “learn / teach”. The a is regular.
**can** verb root for “to tire”. The a is elongated.
**caan** “sky”. The a is glottal-stopped.

The following are some examples in which it is very important to observe the glottal-stop:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>can</th>
<th>caan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(snake, four)</td>
<td>(sky)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kan</td>
<td>kaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ripe)</td>
<td>(hammock, spider web, rope)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kum</td>
<td>kuum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(squash)</td>
<td>(boiled corn ready for grinding)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are however some words in which the vowel can be either simple or glottal-stopped. There is usually some circumstance which determines in which form the word will appear.

**och, ooch**  “food”
**in uooch**  “my food”
**in uoch buul**  “my food the beans”

In this case the word by itself is glottal-stopped, but when it is followed by a word designating the type of food then the vowel becomes regular. It might be noted that **och** also means “possum”, but that **och** (possum) never takes the consonant u- nor does its vowel ever become glottal-stopped.
For the reader who will venture into colonial texts such as the Franciscan vocabularies or the texts written by the Maya such as the Books of Chilam Balam, land titles, medical recipes, etc., it will become apparent that there is no one "right" way of writing any particular word when it comes to vowel representation. For example, the word for sky, caan, will also be written as can. There is a wide variety of factors which determine whether a single or double vowel will be used to represent the vowel sound, the most basic one being carelessness on the part of the scribe. Other factors include the various ones talked in the foregoing discussion on vowels plus the position of the word in question in relationship to the other words around it. The context in which a word appears is a very important factor in determining its meaning.

INALI treatment of vowels

As mentioned in the Foreword, a Mexican government agency call INALI (Instituto Nacional De Lenguas Indígenas) has taken control of how the Mayan language should be written. While in general writing the Mayan language using this system is quite clumsy because of an excessive number of apostrophes and accented vowels needed to use their writing system, it does have one redeeming feature which is how to distinguish the different intonation of vowels. As noted above, there are five ways the principal vowels, i.e. a, e, i, o, u, are pronounced:

- clipped
- regular
- elongated
- glided
- glottal-stopped

Also as noted above, writers, especially of colonial manuscripts, often did not make distinctions between the various vowels. The INALI system rectifies this deficiency in the it recognizes these five ways of pronouncing vowels in their orthographic representations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>This grammar</th>
<th>INALI designations</th>
<th>INALI representations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>clipped</td>
<td>vocales glotalizadas</td>
<td>a’, e’, i’, o’, u’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regular</td>
<td>vocales básicas</td>
<td>a, e, i, o, u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elongated</td>
<td>vocales de tono alto</td>
<td>áa, ée, íi, óo, úu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glided</td>
<td>vocales de tono bajo</td>
<td>aa, ee, íí, oo, uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glottal-stopped</td>
<td>vocales rearticuladas</td>
<td>a’a, e’e, i’í, o’ó, u’ú</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is all very well if the vowel sounds in any given word were consistent. However, as pointed out above using the word for "food", och / ooch as an example, there are a variety of factors which determine how words are pronounce. The main factor is the context in which the word finds itself. People using the INALI system tend to be ridged about how they spell a word and ignore how it is actually pronounced in any given context. In my mind that kind of defeats the purpose of the INALI system.
4. Consonants

The consonants used in Mayan are generally similar to those used in English. The following comments will show those differences which do exist.

c is always hard as in “come”. In colonial writing this rule is not always observed and so there are at times instances when c will be employed to represent the “s” sound.

c’ is a special orthographic convention. This symbol is normally pronounced ca with the vowel clipped, and is the first person plural pronoun / possessive adjective “we / our”. The use of this orthographic convention throughout the colonial and modern literature is uneven, with c’ and ca being used interchangeably. Thus the phrase “our younger brothers and sisters” can be written as follows:

\[ \text{c’ uisinoob} \]
\[ \text{ca uisinoob} \]

The reason for this orthographic convention c’ seems to lie in the fact that frequently the consonant from this pronoun / adjective will append itself to the word on either side of it, although this happens most frequently with the word preceding it. More detail on this is given in the chapter on pronouns. In this book the convention c’ is used throughout.

k is a fortis (forced) “k” sound. This is done by squeezing the tongue against the back of the roof of the mouth as the “k” sound is beginning and forcing the “k” sound to explode. Being able to make the distinction between the two sounds in speech is important.

\[ \text{can (snake, four)} \quad \text{kan (ripe)} \]
\[ \text{caan (sky)} \quad \text{kaan (hammock, spider web, rope)} \]
\[ \text{cum (pot)} \quad \text{kum (squash)} \]

ch and ch, also written chh and ch’: the ch sounds like the English “ch” as in “child”. The ch is a fortis of “ch” formed by increasing the pressure of the front part of the tongue as the “ch” is being formed. For most of the 20th century because of typesetting considerations chh has been the standard way of writing this consonant. Because of the ambiguity of whether the second “h” belongs to this consonant or to the following syllable when chh appears in the middle of a word, and because the symbol “h” has recently become available again on modern computers, we have decided to return to the use of ch to eliminate this ambiguity. Note that the symbol “h” can normally only exist as a part of the consonant ch, although there are examples of the consonant th being written as th as will be noted below. It should be noted that an ambiguity still exists when the letters ch appear between two syllables. Ch in the middle of a word can either represent the consonant “ch” or the individual letters “c” and “h”. Examples:
nachil  (nach-il: foreign, from nach = far and -il = adjectival suffix)
nuchal  (nuc-hal: to grow, from nuc = big and the intransitive verb suffix -hal)
nachhal  (nach-hal: to become distant, from nach = far and the intransitive verb suffix -hal)

h is the same as “h” in English. However, because many writers are more used to writing Spanish, from time to time g, j, and very occasionally x are employed to represent the “h” sound. Conversely, because in Spanish the h is silent, there are occasions when some writers will employ the silent h in writing Mayan words which begin with a vowel. In this book h will be used only when it is pronounced as the English “h”.

The Calepino Maya de Motul, one of the most important Franciscan dictionaries which was written from 1584 through 1610, distinguishes between “h rezia” (strong h) and “h simple” (simple h), and lists words beginning with h under these two separate headings according to a special feature of some words which begin with h. Those words which always begin with h in all circumstances, no matter what the grammatical changes, are listed under “h rezia”. On the other hand, those words which loose the h in certain circumstances, depending on the grammatical changes, are listed under “h simple”. These words under given grammatical circumstances will replace the h with the u / y consonant complex, described briefly below under the consonant u and more thoroughly throughout this grammar.

**h rezia**

hanal  “food”, first form intransitive of “to eat”
hec   “ear of corn”
un   “one”

**h simple**

ha   “water”;  yaalil: pertaining to “water”
haab  “year”;  yaabili: pertaining to “year”
he  “egg”;  yeel: genitive form of “egg”

Over the years there has been some discussion as to whether there is a difference in pronunciation between “h simple” and “h rezia”. Today there is no difference, and our assumption based on evidence given in the Mayan colonial manuscripts is that there never was.

It should noted here that when h is the final consonant of a word, should some grammatical particle which begins with a vowel be added onto the word then the h is pronounced as the leading consonant of the grammatical particle. Thus, for the past perfect verbal suffix -ah, for example as in chucah (“captured”, see above in the third paragraph of Section 3), when the direct object pronouns -en, -ech, -i, -oon, -eech, -oob are attached to the verb, as for example chucahen, then the resulting word is pronounced chu-ca-hen.
Since it is often difficult to know whether a word has a final \( h \), the test for the existence of the final \( h \) is to add a grammatical particle which begins with a vowel. Examples:

- **cah** (town)  \( \text{le caho (le ca-ho; that town)} \)
- **betah** (made)  \( \text{le cu betahoob (le cu be-ta-hoob; that which they did)} \)

**pp**, also written **p** and **p’**, is a fortis of “p” with the extra pressure being placed on the lips.

**th**, also written **tt**, **t** and **t’**, is a fortis of “t” with the extra pressure placed on the tip of the tongue.

**tz** and **dz** / \( \ddot{a} \): the **tz** sounds much like a German “z”, and the **dz** / \( \ddot{a} \) is a fortis of that sound with the extra pressure being placed on the tip of the tongue. **Dz** is most commonly written as “\( \ddot{a} \)” in older manuscripts and publications done before the 20\(^{th}\) century. In this book we will use “\( \ddot{a} \)” in the grammar and the transcriptions of the pre-20\(^{th}\) century texts given in the anthology, and **dz** in the 20\(^{th}\) century texts. Note that in personal names such as those given in telephone directories and birth certificates, and in town names as shown on road maps, etc., that **dz** is the standard way of representing this consonant.

**u**, aside from being a vowel, also works as a consonant with the value of the English “w”. When **u** precedes another vowel, especially as the first letter in a word, then it can be assumed to be the consonant “w”. Unfortunately this is not always true as can be seen in the following examples:

- **u** as “w”
  - **uah** (tortilla)
  - **uich** (face)
  - **uu\( \ddot{a} \)ul** (to bend)
- **u** as the vowel
  - **uic** (\( u-u \): to listen)
  - **le kuo** (le ku-o: that nest)
  - **kuum** (ku-um: boiled corn)

In the colonial texts and vocabularies **u**, both as the consonant and vowel, is often represented with the symbol **v**. This is especially true when **u** is the first letter of a word.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard spelling</th>
<th>Colonial spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>uah</strong> (tortilla)</td>
<td><strong>vah</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>uich</strong> (face)</td>
<td><strong>vich</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>uu( \ddot{a} )ul</strong> (to bend)</td>
<td><strong>vu( \ddot{a} )ul</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The consonant **u** and its companion consonant **y** perform a special function in Mayan. Some words which begin with a vowel, but by no means all of these words, will add one of these consonants as a prefix. The same is true for certain words which have **h** as the first letter as mentioned above in the
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discussion of the letter h. This happens particularly when these words follow possessive adjectives, but there are many other instances when this happens also. The rule for adding these consonants is that for the first and second person singular and plural u- is added and for the third person singular and plural y- is added. This rule is not always observed though and some speakers will add u- in all cases. Thus for the word ooch (food) we have the following:

in uooch (my food)       c’ uooch (our food)
a uooch (your food)       a uoocheex (your food)
u yooch (his/her/its food) u yoochoob (their food)

For the third persons there is the alternative:

u uooch                     u uoochoob

As a side note, in the colonial texts there is an anomaly in which in place of y- the letters oy- are prefixed onto the root word: oyooch (his/her/its food), oyoc (his/her/its foot).

x sounds like “sh” in English.

y functions as a consonant as mentioned above as well as an obligatory consonant, i.e. one in which the word would be meaningless without its presence.

There is the colonial orthographic convention y which is really a shorthand notation for the conjunction yetel (and, with). In modern texts this conjunction is now spelled out.

z sounds like “s” in English and in this book we will follow the convention of using z for the “s” sound which seems have to been the firmly established convention at the beginning of the 20th century. Before that however there was a certain amount of variation on how the “s” sound was represented, and the four possibilities were c, ç, s, and z. In colonial texts and vocabularies typically the ç was used as the lead letter of a word or syllable and the z was used as the final letter of a word or syllable. Beltrán, in his Arte published in 1746, discarded the use of the ç and substituted z in its place. While this new orthographic convention did not take hold immediately, by the time the well-known 19th century Mayan scholar Juan Pío Pérez was active in the mid 1800’s, the use of z throughout written texts became fairly common.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>colonial orthography</th>
<th>post Beltrán orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>çaz</td>
<td>zaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çançamal</td>
<td>zanzamal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çiz</td>
<td>ziz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çuz</td>
<td>zuz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are three consonants which can cause difficulties because of their peculiarities: k, l and n.

k tends to vanish when it is the final consonant in a syllable. Examples:
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- ehoc, “darkness”, from ehhochen.
- ħ, “sea”, from kakhochen.
- en, “because of”, from oklal.
- paatic, “to wait” from paktic.

The letter l tends to vanish when it follows a vowel at the end of a word. Example:

- be, bel, beel, “road”
- ɔoc u bel, “finish his road”, meaning “to get married”. The l is retained in speaking.
- hol bel, “gate, yard entrance”. The l is frequently not pronounced.
- le bea, “this road”. The l is lost.

The letter n often tends towards m in pronunciation. Example:

- hun, “one”
- huntul, “one animate object”. The n is not changed.
- humppel, “one inanimate object”. The n has been changed to m.
- minaan, “there isn’t any”, is often pronounced minaam.

5. d, f, g, j, qu, r, and v are consonants generally not found in Mayan, and the use of one of these sounds generally indicates that the word is of foreign origin. Today r is an exception to this since it has become the custom to pronounce what used to be l in some words as r. Examples:

- x-kuruch, from x-kuluch (cockroach)
- turix, from tulix (dragon fly)
- hol ber, from hol bel (gate)

It is worth noting that the l - r shift also occurs in the Korean language and today these two consonants are represented by the same character: ᅅ. When the Korean alphabet was first introduced by King Sejong in 1446 there were in fact two separate characters for l and r: ᅅ representing l and ᅅ representing r. It is also worth noting that the pairing of regular and fortis consonants in the Mayan language also occurs in the Korean language for many of the same consonants: 병 / 병 / 병, 흥 / 흥 / 흥 / 흥 / 흥 / 흥, 흥 / 흥, 흥 / 흥 / 흥.

For an audio presentation of the foregoing discussion on how certain vowels and consonants are pronounced go to the Pronunciation Guide and its accompanying audio on davidsbooks.org.

ACCENT AND TONE

6. Accents are generally not marked in Mayan and that may in part be due to the fact that in words of more than one syllable the accent often falls evenly on each one of the syllables. However, there are instances where there is a definite accent on either the first or the second syllable of a two syllable word, and the placement of this accent will alter the meaning of the word.

Examples:
In the literature these words would normally be spelled haan, macal and taman without accent marks, and the reader would have to know which is the accented vowel by the meaning of the word.

Tone plays an important part in spoken Mayan. It is our conclusion however that tone in Yucatec is akin to tone in English: that is, that tone gives the color necessary to distinguish between declarative, interrogative, and exclamatory utterances and/or tone gives emphasis to the important ideas being expressed. There are of course also examples of tone being used to differentiate between words of similar sounds as is true with Chinese, and this happens when a glottal-stopped vowel is glided over or when there is a tonal change in an elongated vowel as noted in Section 2. On the whole though we feel that tonal inflection is more a linguistic luxury which adds color to the language than it is a linguistic necessity.

An example of the use of tone in Mayan which is rather frivolous but does illustrate something of its nature is the use of tonal inflection in the number system. Today the numbers above “four” are derived from Spanish, or more precisely are Spanish numbers pronounced with Mayan tonal inflection. When a Mayan speaker is asked whether those numbers above “four” in the Mayan language are not in fact Spanish numbers the person will often answer that no, one can hear the difference between Mayan numbers and Spanish numbers. Well, this is certainly true; one can hear the difference, but the difference is due only to the tonal inflection given to the Mayan system and not due to any change in the consonants and vowels which make up these numbers.

7. A rather unusual feature in the Yucatecan Mayan language is putting extra emphasis on words which begin with the letter h when the speaker wishes to emphasize a point or when he is in a state of excitement. This is accomplished by constricting the area between the back of the tongue and the back part of the pallet thus producing an aspirated rattling sound. This is now used less than formerly. It also appears to be regional, with a greater use of this to be found in the area around Piste, although that might be the function of this mode of adding emphasis to speech fading out in other areas as for example in those Mayan speaking towns around Mérida. There is no mention of this feature in any of the grammars or vocabularies written by the Franciscan friars so only personal observation since the 1960's and family input relating to how Alejandra's Mayan grandmother Mam Uela used this feature is available.
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There are a number of modifying words which begin with **h** which are often used with for extra emphasis, for example **hach**, **halach**, **heten**, all of which mean "very" or "really" to varying degrees and **han** which means "quickly" or "immediately". However other words, especial verbs, which begin with **h** are also employed in this way, for example **haa** (to whip, lash, stike or hit), **hat** (to split open), **hom** (to fall into a hole), **hopp** (to begin), **hul** (to pierce with a lance or an arrow), **hup** (to sheathe a knife or sword), **hupp** (to pierce or stab with a needle or knife).

It is worth noting that all of the words given here are to be found in the **h rezia** section of the Calepino Maya de Motul, so perhaps in fact the way the **h** in these words is pronounced is a hold-over from the time when there was a distinction in the way **h** was pronounced in the early colonial era.

It might be also worth noting that this feature is also to be found in the Korean language and used in a similar manner to express excitement or agitation.

**CONTRACTIONS**

8. Before continuing on with the various parts of speech it is well to point out that the Mayan language when spoken in the everyday setting is highly contracted. The main casualty of these contractions are vowels. Another casualty is the person trying to learn the language, because things start flying by so fast that it becomes close to impossible for a person who is in the process of learning the language to figure out what is being said. There are formal settings in which this propensity to contract is not so great, as for example at the **tzol xicin** (counseling) which is given to a newly married couple at their wedding party by the godparent of the occasion. In such instances there may be few or no contractions used in the speech. Also, fortunately for learners of the language, some people will take the time to use few contractions when they are addressing an outsider.

The amount to which the language will be contracted varies greatly with the individual speaker, although there are discernable regional differences as to the amount as well as the types of contractions which will be used. To start the reader off we will give a few examples of these contractions here:

**tzimin**

horse (originally applied to “tapir”)

The proper forms of plural of this noun, this noun as part of a demonstrative clause, and the plural of this noun as part of a demonstrative clause are:

**tziminob**

horses

**le tzimino**

that horse

**le tziminobo**

those horses
Almost no one would ever say these things this way however. Normally they would be said as follows:

- **tzimnoob** horses
- **le tzinmo** that horse
- **le tzimnobo** those horses

In all cases the second vowel i has been contracted out. Notice also that when the plural marker -oob has a final vowel attached to it that the reduplicated glottal-stopped oo becomes a simple o of regular length.

For the auxiliary verb tense indicator **ooc** (immediate past perfect tense indicator) there are two things which can happen, although fortunately only one or the other can occur at any one instance. Either the oc can be contracted out and the a combined with the following personal pronoun or the oc can be dropped. Oc, when no contractions are used, combined with the personal pronoun set gives the following:

- **ooc in**
- **ooc a** (verb)eex
- **ooc u** (verb)oob

Example with the oc being contracted out:

- **inin**
- **ia** (verb)eex
- **iu** (verb)oob

Example with the a being contracted out:

- **oc in**
- **oc a** (verb)eex
- **oc u** (verb)oob

For the verb **zutnahal / zunahal**: "to return, to return to its original state, and by extension to turn into something different", in modern Mayan the "t" is often not pronounce with both forms being used even by the same speaker as will be seen in the accompanying Anthology.

While none of these contractions in themselves seem to make the language incomprehensible, problems for the person who is learning the language do arise when contraction is followed by contraction. It might be noted that amongst the Maya themselves there is what seems to us to be a considerable amount of misunderstanding, more so to our mind than in the English or Spanish speaking worlds, often resulting in people becoming quite offended. Exactly what the sources of these misunderstandings are is not clear to us, but we wonder whether the highly contracted nature with which some people speak the Mayan language might not be a factor in these misunderstandings.
COMPLEX WORDS

9. The English language has gathered so many words from such a diverse collection of languages to express a wide range of concepts that it is no longer possible to trace the root meaning of many of these words unless we take the time to look up the roots from these various languages. A basic knowledge of German, Latin, and Greek provides a good start on understanding the makeup of the English language, but many other languages are involved as well. However, because we are so used to using complex words borrowed from these various languages it rarely occurs to us to look at the roots from which these complex words are built. Consider for example all those words which come from Latin which begin with the syllable “con-” / “com-” (with, together): combat, combine, combust, comfort, conceive, concern, concur, condition, etc., etc. These words are in fact built up from two or more individual words in Latin, but in English we would often not recognize the individual parts.

In the Mayan language this process of combining individual words to form larger concepts is still in force today. To give the reader an example of these complex words in Mayan we will look at one of the more common roots around which complex words are built. This word is ol, which means the metaphysical heart or spirit of a person or object. By combining this word with another the feelings of a person are described:

- **choco** (hot)  **choco ol** (hot tempered)
- **ci** (good, tasty)  **ci ol** (contented)
- **hak** (surprise)  **hak ol** (surprised)
- **ya** (hurt)  **ya ol** (sad)

These are only a few examples from a rather extensive list of the concepts using the word ol.

Unlike English in which the complex word tends to stay together as a unit, in Mayan parts of complex words, if we may call them that, will assume their proper positions in a phrase. Take for example for the concept **ci ol** (contented):

**Ci a uoleex palaleex.** “You are contented, children.”

The word **ci** is separated from the word **ol** and various grammatical changes which will be talked about in this grammar have been applied to **ol**.

From this example it can be seen that the idea of creating complex concepts from simple words is also part of the Mayan language, but that unlike the pan-European counterparts which tend to stay together as units, complex concepts in Mayan work within the grammatical rules of the language, which means that the individual parts of these concepts will accept grammatical changes as individual words.
10. The Mayan noun generally functions much like the English noun. It has though one difficult peculiarity for the English-speaking person and that is that the Mayan noun has no article per se. There is however a particle le which when combined with the positional markers -a, -o, and -e which are suffixed on to a noun or clause functions like an article in a sense, but the constructions le (noun/clause)a, le (noun/clause)o, and le (noun/clause)e are really demonstrative adjectives with the meaning “this (noun/clause)”, “that (noun/clause)”, and “that (noun/clause) over there”. Thus for the noun pek (dog) there is the following:

le peka this dog
le peko that dog
le peke that dog over there (usually out of sight)

11. The plural form of a noun is generally formed by adding the plural marker -oob as a suffix to the noun if the noun ends in a consonant or -ob if it ends in a vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pek (dog)</td>
<td>pekoob (dogs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tzimin (horse)</td>
<td>tzimnoob (horses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chich (bird)</td>
<td>chichoob (birds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be (road)</td>
<td>beob (roads)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku (nest)</td>
<td>kuob (nests)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na (house)</td>
<td>naob (houses)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below are the singular and plural of these nouns with the demonstrative adjective. Notice that the glottal-stopped vowel of the plural marker -oob becomes a vowel of regular length when a positional marker is suffixed to the plural marker:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>le peka</td>
<td>le pekoba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le tzimno</td>
<td>le tzimnoob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le chich</td>
<td>le chichobe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le bea</td>
<td>le beob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le kuo</td>
<td>le kuobo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le nae</td>
<td>le naobe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are other plural markers as well. A common plural marker in the colonial times and still used today is -i.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ac (turtle)</td>
<td>aci (turtles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cay (fish)</td>
<td>cayi (fishes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nal (corn)</td>
<td>nali (plural of corn)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Noun

Today cayoob is the standard way of saying the plural of cay, but nali is the standard way of saying the plural of nal. The plural of ac can be either aci or acoob.

There are also irregular plural markers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pal (child)</td>
<td>palal (children)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>palaloob (an alternative plural for “children”)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are also words which have no plural markers:

- ixim (corn as a grain, both singular and plural)
- buul (bean, beans)

CASES OF NOUNS

12. The case of a noun may be determined both by its position in the phrase or sentence, and, in the case of the genitive and dative cases, by the preposition associated with the noun.

13. The genitive case uses the third person possessive adjectives u and ooob, which are the same as the third person Set A pronouns/possessive adjectives shown in Section 30, as the possessive markers. The possessive marker u is placed in front of the noun which is possessed which is then followed by the possessor/genitive case noun. Examples:

- u ppoc Pedro  Peter’s hat
- u yotoch le Juano  that John’s house
- u pek le palalobo  the children’s dog
- u pekoob a tata  your father’s dogs

14. The dative case is usually determined by the various adverbial prepositions which precede the noun. Some of the more common prepositions are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>preposition</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td>to, at, from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desde (Spanish)</td>
<td>from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yetel</td>
<td>with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xma</td>
<td>without</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ich, ichil</td>
<td>in, inside of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tancab</td>
<td>outside (referring to a building)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu tzel</td>
<td>beside, next to, outside of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yok, yokol</td>
<td>on, on top of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yanal, yanil</td>
<td>under, beneath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actan, tu tan, tanil</td>
<td>in front of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pachil, tu pach</td>
<td>behind, in back of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumen, tuolal, tiolal</td>
<td>because, because of, by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utial</td>
<td>for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tac</td>
<td>even, including, until</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Noun

Examples of usage of some of the above prepositions:

1) **Le uaha utial Pedro.** “These tortillas are for Peter.”
   Incidentally, it is not uncommon to refer to things which are assumed to appear in plural form in the singular. This sentence could also be said as follows:
   **Le uahoba utial Pedro.**
   in which the word uah (tortilla) is given in plural form.

2) **Tin ualah ti in ui ɔine ca u ɔa tech uah.** “I told my younger brother/sister that he/she should give you tortillas.”
   The -e as a suffix on uíine is used to emphasize that the younger sibling was told. The -e may in fact be derived from the -e of the demonstrative adjectives. In any case, it is just as possible to say:
   **Tin ualah ti in uíin ca u ɔa tech uah.**
   in which case íin is not emphasized.

3) **Tan u hokol ti in uotoch.** “He/she/it is coming out from my house.”

4) **Ti in cahal yan chaan behlæ.** “At my town there is (a) fiesta today.”

5) **Hantabi in col tumen uacaxoob.** “My garden was eaten by cows.”
   Literally: “Was eaten my garden by cows.”

6) **Xma xanab ma tu paahtal in ximbal.** “Without shoes it is not possible that I walk.”

7) **Tac in bin ta uetel ichil a col.** “I want to go with you to your garden.” (Literally: “Want I go you with into your garden.”)

---

1 The verb yan (to be, to have) is used only in terms of “to exist”. The verb “to be” as used above in English does not exist in Mayan.

2 Older siblings are referred to separately by sex: zucun (brother), cic (sister). The younger ones are referred to collectively: íín (younger sibling).

3 As was mentioned in Section 3 under the discussion of the consonants u and y, there are words which in their true form begin with a vowel, but generally take one of these two consonants in the normal course of being used. Thus etel - yetel (with, and) when used as the preposition “with” and follows one of the possessive adjectives is declined as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Declension</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tin uetel</td>
<td>(with me)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta uetel</td>
<td>(with you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu yetel</td>
<td>(with him/her/it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yetel toon</td>
<td>(with us)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta ueteleex</td>
<td>(with you pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu yeteloob</td>
<td>(with them)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GENDER

15. As the reader may have already noticed, there is a lack of explicit gender in the Mayan language, for example in the personal pronouns and possessive adjectives. This lack may reflect to some degree the more or less equal esteem which each gender holds the other in the Mayan society, a feature definitely lacking in the machismo of the Spanish speaking society found throughout Mexico. In any case, one could say the three genders, namely masculine, feminine, and neuter, exist in the Mayan language, but knowing the gender of a noun in fact is not an important grammatical consideration.

16. There are various ways which the gender of a noun is determined. There are nouns in Mayan which by their very nature determine the gender to which they belong:

- xibpal - boy
- tancelem - male teenager
- xib, uinic, mac - man
- yum - father, lord
- coel, xunan - woman, lady
- nuc xib - old man
- icham - husband
- atan - wife
- tzo - tom turkey

17. Gender, when not determined as above, can be determined by adding the prefix h- for “male” and x- for “female”. There are also many nouns which are obviously female in nature which normally carry the x- (female) prefix. These two modern gender markers are derived from prefixes ah (male) and ix (female) which were in common use during the colonial times. Today on rare occasions, usually having to do with religious matters (either Christian or Mayan), one hears these older prefixes. The prefix h-, depending on the noun it is prefixed to and on the speaker’s predilection, can either be spoken or silent.

- x-chupal - girl
- ix chuplal - colonial form of “girl”
- x-lobayen - female teenager
- ix lokbayen - colonial form of “female teenager”
- x-nuc - old woman
- ix nuc - colonial form of “old woman”
- h-ɔn - male hunter
- h-men - male medicine maker
- x-men - female medicine maker

(men means “maker” as a noun or “to make” as a verb. There are other professions which use the word men in them such as h-men xanab (male shoe maker) and one could add the word ɔac (medicine)
The Noun

to form **h-men ɔac** (male medicine maker) if that became essential, but normally by **h-men / x-men** everyone understands that a shaman is being referred to.)

From the above two lists it is clear that because a gender determinator is used for one of a pair of complimentary nouns that it is not necessarily true that it is used for the other. Some of the pairs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>xibpal</th>
<th>x-chupal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>telecm</td>
<td>x-lobyen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xib</td>
<td>x-chup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuc xib</td>
<td>x-nuc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yum</td>
<td>xunan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h-men</td>
<td>x-men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tzo, h-tzo</td>
<td>x-tux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ah tzo</td>
<td>ix tux</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are some examples of the modern use of **ah**:

- **ah kin** priest, now referring to the priest of the **Cruzoob** of Quintana Roo.
- **ah tepaloob** “the ruling ones”; one of the deities called upon in **h-men** rituals.
- **ah can titziloob** “the ones of the four corners of the world”; another set of deities.

18. In the colonial times the use of **ah** and **ix** was very common in Mayan names:

- **Ah Na Pot Xiu**
- **Ah Xupan Nauat**
- **Ah Kin Chilam Balam**
- **Ix Chel**
- **Ix Kan Le Ox**
- **Ix Titibe**

The naming convention of **ah / ix** plus **na** plus the mother’s father’s surname plus the father’s father’s surname was a common way in which a person referred to himself or herself in the early colonial period and this naming convention continued up to the end of the 19th century in some of the remote Mayan groups. It seems that every child born to a particular union would carry this name, and of course that would amount to confusion if there weren’t alternative names, which of course there were. The word **na** probably comes from **na** (“mother”; vowel clipped) although it might be derived from **na** (“house”; vowel of regular length). We have not come across any explanation of this naming convention in the various colonial works such as dictionaries, grammars, etc., so the meaning and pronunciation of **na** is unknown to us. An example of how this naming convention worked is:
The Noun

Ah Na Menche Uc  husband
Ix Na Kin Couoh  wife

Children of this union:

Ah Na Couoh Uc
Ix Na Couoh Uc

Today in some towns it is quite common to use the x- in front of female names. Here are some Spanish names with their Mayan equivalents:

Nicolasa  X-Nico
Victoria  X-Bicha
Emilia  X-Mila

The use of h- in front of male names is much less common:

Manuel  H-Uel

As a sign of respect the Spanish convention of preceding the given name with Don and Doña is now common practice.

Don H-Uel  Doña X-Ana
Don Julio  Doña Bicha

Also common today is to precede a woman’s name with Mam. The use of Mam indicates a greater degree of familiarity than the use of Doña. In some towns this convention is carried out to such a degree that generally the use of Doña seems to indicate a woman of non-indigenous origin and the use of Mam is applied to a woman considered to be Mayan.

Benancia  Mam Ben
Olga  Mam Olga

Example of usage:

Nin caah na Mam Bicha.  “I am going to Mam Bicha’s house.”

Note: Houses seemingly belong to the women of the Mayan society. An example of how the people feel about this is to be found in the way people refer to houses as shown in the example given here.

19. Mention was made above of alternative names, a feature which was a necessity when using the older naming convention. Today alternative names are still a common feature. These names are called today baxal kaba (play name), refered to at times in colonial manuscripts as coco kaba (crazy name) and paal kaba (childhood name). These baxal kabaob can be almost anything but more often than not are animal names:

X-Mucuy  turtledove
X-Pepen  butterfly
X-Nich  bite
The Noun

Much frog
Cay fish
Bach road runner
X-Changa ape
Chocolate chocolate

20. Gender, particularly in animals, is also determined by the use of the particles xibil (male) and chupul (female):

xibil ceh (male deer) chupul ceh (female deer)
xibil pek (male dog) chupul pek (female dog)

The word ton (penis) is sometimes used to indicate the male gender:

ton pek (male dog)
ton uacax (bull)

21. Inanimate objects show no gender as noted above. There is no need to do so because gender is not shown in other parts of speech.

NOUNS FROM OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH
AND OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH FROM NOUNS

22. -il: Many adjectives can become nouns by adding the suffix -il which when used in this manner acts somewhat like “-ness” in English:

kohaan (sick) kohaanil (sickness)
lob (bad) lobil (badness)

23. Verb and nouns are sometimes distinguishable only by syntax as is the case with some English noun/verbs which are distinguishable only by syntax. For example hanal is both the noun for “food” and the intransitive verb for “to eat”.

Taz ten in hanal. Bring me my food.
Tac in hanal. I want to eat.

24. Nouns and verbs can be readily transformed into one another by the addition or subtraction of verbal suffixes:

miz, mizib broom
miztic to sweep something. -ic is the general transitive suffix.

Tan in miztic in uotoch yetel u miz X-Tina. “I am sweeping my house with X-Tina’s broom.”

25. -vl: Adjectives can be formed from nouns by tacking a vowel which agrees with last vowel in the noun onto the noun and ending the word with -l ( (noun)-vl ). Examples:
The Noun

| caan  (sky)       | caanal (high, tall) |
| cab   (earth)     | cabal (low, short)  |
| pet   (circle)    | petel (round)       |
| xib   (male)      | xibil (male)        |
| boc   (stench)    | bocol (stinking)    |
| chup  (female)    | chupul (female)     |

Examples of usage:

Tin betic in col tuux yan le caanal kaxo. “I am making my garden where there is that high forest.”

Otzil xunan; hach cabal u bacil. “Poor woman; she is very short.”
(Literally: her bones are very short.)

Ma ta cimzic le chupul kekena. “Don’t kill this sow.”

Other Uses of the -il Suffix in Nouns

26. By adding -il to the name of a town a person can show what town he is a member of:

Ho ( Mérida) Hoil (a person from Mérida)
Kom Cheen Kom Cheenil (a person from Kom Cheen)
uaye (here) uayil (a person from here)

Ωoc in ualic tech ma uayileni, Maxcanulilen. “I just told you I am not from here, I am from Maxcanul.”

The use of -il for this purpose seems to be relatively recent. The colonial usage was to prefix the name of the town with the gender markers ah and ix.

Cacal (Tixcacal) Ah Cacal
Coh (Ticoh)    Ah Coh
Mani           Ix Mani
Oxkutzcab      Ix Oxkutzcab

27. By adding -il to a noun and following it by another noun an attributive relationship is formed between the two nouns in which the attribute of the second noun is given to the first noun:

uahil ixim     corn bread (tortilla), from uah (bread) and ixim (corn).
hail cheen     well water, from ha (water) and cheen (well).
xaanil na      thatched house, from xaan (palm leaf) and na (house).

28. Tozzer noted that collective nouns are formed by adding -il to an adjective and placing the possessive marker u in front of the word:
The Noun

- kohaan (sick)  u kohanil (the sick)
- otzil (poor)   u yotzil (the poor)

This usage is now archaic. The present method is to pluralize the adjective:

- kohaan  kohaanooob
- otzil    otziloob
- ayikal  ayikaloob

The -il works as a suffix in other parts of speech with various effects which are noted in the following sections: 56, 57, 104.

The -il makes its appearance in hieroglyphic writings in the form of Thompson glyphs 24 and 116 (Zimmermann glyphs 80 and 62.) It seems that the hieroglyphic -il had the same general functions as the modern -il.

OTHER SUFFIXES

29. There are various suffixes which indicate that a certain class of noun is being talked about. Of these, the suffixes -bal, -nal, -om, -omal and -ul convert the root word into the person who performs that which the root word implies. The reader will note that some of these offices can take on more than one suffix. For example, "fisherman" can be caybal, cayom and cayomal.

- bal: the suffix -bal transforms the object to which it is attached into the person who is connected with that object, either as owner or as worker. This suffix is confined mostly to colonial usage. Compare with the -nal suffix below.

  - cay (fish)  caybal (fisherman)
  - can / cam (to learn)  cambal (student)
  - koh (mask)  kohbal (image)
  - pak (wall)  pakbal (meson)
  - pat (to make pottery)  patbal (potter)

Most of the times these words are accompanied with the gender designators ah or ix: ah caybal, ah cambal, etc. The name Ah Cambal also has a special significance in the histories and Relaciones written by Spanish friars in that they use this term to refer to the personage most commonly known as Chilam Balam. See the Anthology, "The Prophecy of Chilam Balam".

- nal: the suffix -nal transforms the object to which it is attached into the person who is connected with that object, either as owner or as worker. This suffix is confined mostly to colonial usage.

  - al (child)  ah alnal (a person who has children, parent)
  - bel (road, office)  ah belnal (customs officer, officeholder)
  - cab (honey)  ah cabnal (bee keeper)
  - otoch (house)  ah otochnal (owner of the house and by extension citizen of the town)
The Noun

-om: the suffix -om is used to denote the position or office of a person.
  
  - cay (fish)  cayom (fisherman)
  - kay (to sing)  kayom (chantor)
  - nac (emblem, symbol)  nacom (captain, sacrificial priest)
  - pat / pot (to make pottery)  patom / potom (potter)
  - ppolmal (to market)  ppolom (merchant)

Most of these names can appear with or without the gender markers ah and ix, as for example ah cayom, ix kayom, ah ppolom. This suffix –om in not to be confused with the verbal suffix –om which in colonial times was used to denote the prophetic future of the verb root to which it was attached.

-omal: the suffix -omal is used to denote the position or office of a person.
  
  - cay (fish)  cayomal (fisherman)
  - kay (to sing)  kayomal (chantor)
  - pat / pot (to make pottery)  patomal / potomal (potter)
  - tzay (to put together)  tzayomal (lover)

Again, most of these names can appear with or without the gender markers ah and ix.

-ul: the suffix -ul signifies that the root word it is attached to is the actor or person who accomplishes the action implied by the root word.
  
  - cambezah (to teach)  ah cambezahul (teacher)
  - canaan (to guard)  ah canul (guardian)
  - chem (boat)  ah chemul (boater, boatman)
  - pak (to peek)  ah pakul (spy)
  - pat (to make pots)  ah patul (potter)
  - tanlah (to serve)  ah tanlahul (servant)
  - zihzah (to give birth)  ah zihzahul (creator)

Lizana, in his book on the history of Yucatan published in 1633, talks about two gods which have pyramids in Izamal / Itzmal named after them: Itzmatul and Kabul. The first name means "he who receives the essence" from itz (dew, essence), mat (donation) and -ul, and the second "he of the hand" from kab (hand) and -ul, the implication being that the hand performs some sort of task.

-bil, -tzil: these two suffixes connote a reverence towards the person or object which is modified by them.
  
  - colel (woman)  colelbil
  - mehen (child)  mehenbil
  - mehen (child)  mehentzil
  - mama (mother)  mamatzil
  - yum (father)  yumptzil
  - yum (father)  yumbil

- 29 -
Both *colelbil* and *yumtzil* are used in rituals by modern day H-Menoob. *Colelbil* could be translated as “lady” and *yumtzil* should really be translated as “lord”.

-Vb: the suffix -Vb is sometimes called an instrumental suffix. It is tacked onto a verb root and could be translated as “that which”. -eb is the principal form in which this suffix appears, but there are examples of -ib and -ub also.

- chul (to play a flute) chuleb (that which plays a flute; a bird called a “comendador” or a “charretero” in Spanish)
- chuy (to lift) chuyub (that which lifts; a hanger)
- cuc (to revolve) cuceb (that which revolves; squirrel)
- cul (to sit) culeb (that which sits; raccoon)
- hal (to dig out) haleb (that which digs out; paca or agouti)
- kul (to adore a god) kuleb (that which adores; an alternative pronunciation for raccoon)
- miz (to sweep) mizib (that which sweeps; a broom)
- xot (to cut) xoteb (that which cuts; knife)

Although many of the words resulting from the addition of -Vb are animal names, this is not always the case as can be seen from chuyub, mizib, and xoteb.

-mal: the suffix -mal indicates that the word it is attached to is a place name.

- akumbil (a flower) Akumal (place of the Ageratum gaumeri)
- chacte (Brazil wood) Chactemal (place of the Brazil wood)
- itz (dew, resin) Itzmal (dewy place)
- ux (to harvest) Uxmal (place of harvest)

-um: the suffix -um signifies that the object it is attached to is a bird.

- chuh (to sacrifice) /
- chah (to drip) chuhum, chahum (woodpecker)
- chuy (to lift) chuyum (lifting bird; hawk)
- œun (happy, joyful) œunum (happy bird; humming bird)
- kuk (feather) kukum (feather bird; quetzal)
- pich (thrush) pichum (thrush)
- uc (?) uk (louse) ucum (louse bird?; pigeon)
- ul (to arrive) ulum (arriving bird?; turkey)
  (mottled snail) (mottled bird?)
- uix (to urinate) uixum (urinating bird; English equivalent unknown)
- yax (green) yaxum (green bird; Cotinga amabilis)
- U (moon) yuyum (moon bird; oriole)
PRONOUNS

30. There are two major points about the pronouns in the Mayan language which sets them apart from the English pronouns. First and most important, there are two sets of personal pronouns in Mayan. Second, as already mention in other places, there is no differentiation in gender for the third person pronouns. The simplicity of the second point is more than made up for by the complexity of the first. We will try to lay out the rules which govern which of the two sets is to be used in any given situation with the hope that the reader will get a good feel of when each of the two sets should be employed. Some of these rules will be given in this chapter on pronouns. Others will be given in the chapter on verbs.

The two sets of personal pronouns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set A</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>c’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set B</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>(verb)en</td>
<td>(verb)oon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>(verb)ech</td>
<td>(verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>(verb)i, (verb)e</td>
<td>(verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31. Set A is used with certain verb tenses, prefixed sometimes by the time indicators c’ or t’. The set is also used as possessive adjectives as already noted in the chapter on nouns. As personal pronouns this set is only used as the subject of a verb.

The first person plural c’ and the time indicators c’ and t’ can be pronounced in three ways depending on custom and the word both preceding it and following it. It can be either tacked onto one of the words on either side of it in which case it is pronounced as a consonant belonging to that word or it can be pronounced by itself. If it pronounced by itself then it is pronounced with a clipped vowel, the value of which is a.

As mentioned in Section 4 in the paragraph about the consonants u and y, when Set A is used with a certain class of words which begin with vowels, then Set A uses the consonant u for the first and second person singular and second person plural, and the consonant y for the third person singular and plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alternative Set A</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>in u-</td>
<td>c’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>a u-</td>
<td>a u(word)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>u y-</td>
<td>u y(word)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pronouns

The colonial grammars give this alternative Set A as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>c’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>a u-</td>
<td>a u(word) eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>y(word) oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, it is not clear from the colonial Mayan texts such as the Books of Chilam Balam that this was a standard rendering of this set, and in particular in the case of the first person singular, it seems to be unusual that the pronoun in should not be part of the construction. Perhaps though, due to contractions which seem to come into vogue and then go out of vogue again, there could have been a time, at the period when the Spanish friars were first writing Mayan Grammars, i.e. in the late 1500’s, that this contraction of Set A was in vogue, but from comments by Fr. Pedro Beltrán who wrote a grammar in the mid 1700’s, this contraction seems no longer have been in use.

Below is an example of the use of Set A with the intransitive immediate present verb tense of the verb *hokol* (to come out). The translation of this tense is, “I am coming out” / “you are coming out” / etc.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>tan in hokol</td>
<td>tan’c hokol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>tan a hokol</td>
<td>tan a hokoleex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>tan u hokol</td>
<td>tan u hokoloob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this case the first person plural personal pronoun c’ is appended to the auxiliary verb tan.

Set A as possessive adjectives, modifying *hanal* (food):

- **in hanal** (my food)  
  **c’ hanal** (our food)
- **a hanal** (your food)  
  **a hanaleex** (your food)
- **u hanal** (his/her/its food)  
  **u hanaloob** (their food)

Here the first person plural pronoun c’ is pronounced ca, with a clipped a.

Next is an example of the use of the alternative Set A given with the same tense in front of a verb beginning with a vowel, in this case the verb *okol* (to cry). The translation of this tense is, “I am crying” / “you are crying” / etc.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>tan in uokol</td>
<td>tan’c okol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>tan a uokol</td>
<td>tan a uokoleex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>tan u yokol</td>
<td>tan u yokoloob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pronouns

Alternative Set A as possessive adjectives, modifying ich (face, eye):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>in uich (my face)</td>
<td>c’ uich (our faces)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>a uich (your face)</td>
<td>a uicheex (your faces)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>u yich (his/her/its face)</td>
<td>u yichoob (their faces)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, the first person plural pronoun c’ is pronounced ca, with a clipped a. Note that there is nothing to indicate that “face” is plural in the plural paradigm, but from the context it would have to be plural.

In the colonial grammars the alternative Set A would be given as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>tan uokol</td>
<td>tan c’okol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>tan a uokol</td>
<td>tan a uokoleex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>tan yokol</td>
<td>tan yokoloob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>uich</td>
<td>c’ich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>a uich</td>
<td>a uicheex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>yich</td>
<td>yichoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here c’ is appended directly to the following word as the consonant “c”.

32. The use of the time indicators c’ and t’ will be looked at more fully in the chapter on verbs. Generally c’ is used for the habitual action tenses and t’ for the past perfect tenses and the negation of the habitual action tenses. These time indicators are combined with Set A as follows:

With c’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>cin</td>
<td>c’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>ca (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>cu</td>
<td>cu (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With t’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>tin</td>
<td>t’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>tu (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example of the use of the time indicator c’ with Set A in the transitive habitual action verb tense for the verb betic (make, do). This tense is translated as, “I make” / “you make” / etc.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>cin betic</td>
<td>c’ betic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ca betic</td>
<td>ca beticeex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>cu betic</td>
<td>cu beticoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that for the second and third person plural the contracted forms *ca betceex* and *cu betcoob* would be normally used in common speech.

Actually, the time indicator *c*’ is derived from the contraction of the auxiliary verb *lic* / *licil* which has the meaning more or less of “now, at this moment”. Its use is presently rarely heard, but it is used from time to time to add emphasis. For example, in the sentence:

**Ma bey lic in ualic tech!**  “Isn’t that what I am telling you!”

the word *lic* adds emphasis to the phrase. Unemphasized the sentence is:

**Ma bey cin ualic tech?**  “Isn’t that what I am telling you?”

The use of the words *lic* / *licil* is quite common in colonial texts, but the use of the contracted form is also quite common.

33. Set B is used with verbal forms both as the subject or the object of the verb to which it is affixed. If the verb is either intransitive or passive then the pronoun is the subject, since of course there can be no direct objects for these verbs. If the verb is transitive then the pronoun is the object, either direct or indirect depending on total makeup of the sentence.

**Hanen.**  “I ate.” (The -*en* is the subject.)

**Ma in uohel max u kat u betcen lob.**  “I don’t understand who wants to harm me.” (lit. “do me evil”. The indirect object -*en* is here appended to the verb *betic*. Actually the verb and indirect object should be *betic ten*, but the *i* in the verb and the *t* in *ten* have been contracted out.)

**Ma a hascen.**  “Don’t you hit me.” (The -*en* is the direct object.)

For the third person singular the -*i* is usually a subject and the -*e* the object:

**Lubi.**  “It fell.”

**Ooc in betice.**  “I just did it.”

34. Set B is transformed into personal pronouns as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td><em>ten</em></td>
<td><em>toon</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td><em>tech</em></td>
<td><em>teex</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td><em>leti / ti</em></td>
<td><em>letiob / tiob</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the third person singular and plural there are two pronouns each. *Leti* and *letiob* are generally used as subjects and direct objects and *ti* and *tiob* are used as indirect objects.
Pronouns

In colonial times Set B was also transformed into personal pronouns as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>cen</td>
<td>coon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>cech</td>
<td>ceex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>tiob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples of the various types of pronoun usages in sentences:

**Ten cin yacunticech tumen tech ca yacunticen.** “I love you because you love me.” Ten and tech are emphatic subjects and are not obligatory. That is, the sentence can be said without them. Cin and ca are obligatory subjects. -en and -ech are direct objects of the transitive verbs.

**Ten cin sic tech uah utial ca a uanten.** “I give you tortillas so that you help me.” Ten is again an emphatic subject. Cin is the obligatory subject. Tech is the indirect object. Note that for some verbs the object is suffixed to the verb and for others, as in this case, it is a separate entity. The clause utial ca means here “so that”: the individual parts utial and ca both have several meanings.

**Letiob cu ppazticenoob.** “They are making fun of me.” Letiob is again an emphatic subject. The sentence could stand by itself as: Cu ppazticenoob. In this sentence -en is the direct object. When an object is suffixed to the verb then the plural markers -eex and -oob are suffixed to the object as is done here.

** koş in ualic ti yan u betic tiob u hanal.** “I have already told him/her that he/she has to make them their food.” The use of the dative case pronouns ti and tiob is shown.

35. Set A is transformed into possessive pronouns by adding the suffix -tial:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>intial</td>
<td>c’tial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>atial</td>
<td>atialeex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>utial</td>
<td>utialoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36. Set A combines with other particles to form special clauses. The following are the most common:

With etel (with) giving “with me” / “with you” / etc.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>tin uetel</td>
<td>yetel toon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ta uetel</td>
<td>ta ueteleex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>tu yetel</td>
<td>tu yeletoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pronouns

Colonial sources, in particular the Motul dictionary, give this set as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>uetel</td>
<td>c’etel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>a uetel</td>
<td>a ueteleex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>yetel</td>
<td>yeletoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With **olal** (because of) giving “because of me” / “because of you” / etc.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>tin uolal</td>
<td>tu olal toon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ta uolal</td>
<td>ta uolaleex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>tu yolal</td>
<td>tu yolaloob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also possible:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>tin olal</td>
<td>tu olal toon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ta olal</td>
<td>ta olaleex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>tu olal</td>
<td>tu olaloob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The colonial sources give this set as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>uoklal</td>
<td>c’oklal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>a uoklal</td>
<td>a uoklaleex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>yoklal</td>
<td>yoklaloob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With **men** (because of) giving “because of me” / “because of you” / etc.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>tumen ten</td>
<td>tumen toon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>tumen tech</td>
<td>tumen teex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>tumen</td>
<td>tumenooob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the colonial texts this is given as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>tin men</td>
<td>tac men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ta men</td>
<td>ta meneex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>tu men</td>
<td>tu menoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With **icnal** (beside, with) giving “beside me” or “with me” / “beside you” or “with you” / etc.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>tin uicnal</td>
<td>icnaloon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ta uicnal</td>
<td>ta uicnaleex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>tu yicnal</td>
<td>tu yicnaloob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pronouns

The colonial sources give this set as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>uicnal</td>
<td>c’icnal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>a uicnal</td>
<td>a uicnaleex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>yicnal</td>
<td>yicnaloob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37. There is some variation in the Set A pronouns when they are combined with the various auxiliary verb tense indicators. Therefore these tense indicators are listed here with the personal pronouns. The use of these tense indicators will be seen in the chapter on verbs.

With ɔoc (just); immediate past perfect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ɔoc in</td>
<td>ɔoc’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ɔoc a</td>
<td>ɔoc a (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ɔoc u</td>
<td>ɔoc u (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contracted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ɔin</td>
<td>ɔoc’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ɔa</td>
<td>ɔa (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ɔu</td>
<td>ɔu (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contracted dropping the ɔ:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>oc in</td>
<td>oc’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>oc a</td>
<td>oc a (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>oc u</td>
<td>oc u (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With tan (“to be” as an auxiliary verb); immediate present:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>tan in</td>
<td>tan’c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>tan a</td>
<td>tan a (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>tan u</td>
<td>tan u (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contracted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>tin</td>
<td>tan’c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>tu (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the contracted form of tan is with the exception of the first person plural the same as Set A with the time indicator t’.

With zuc (accustom); accustomed habitual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>zuc in</td>
<td>zuc’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>zuc a</td>
<td>zuc a (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>zuc u</td>
<td>zuc u (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pronouns

With **n-caah**: immediate future:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>nin caah in</td>
<td>caah’c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>na caah a</td>
<td>na caah a (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>nu caah u</td>
<td>nu caah u (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that **nin caah, na caah**, etc. are contractions of **bin in caah / bin a caah** / etc. **Nin caah** can stand by itself and means “I am going.” It is used when a person is ready to leave or in the act of leaving. The full form **bin in caah / bin a caah** / etc. is rarely used today and seems to be found mainly in formal speech. The colonial form **binel in caah / binel a caah** / etc. is quite common and the contracted form is not encountered, but then one could presume that written colonial Mayan is a reflection of formal speech. The personal pronoun **in / a / u** /etc. is used only with the transitive verbs; not with the intransitive and passive verbs. Thus:

**Nin caah in bet in col.**

“I am going to make my garden.” The pronoun is retained.

**Nin caah hanal.**

“I am going to eat.” The pronoun is lost.

With **tac** (want); desired future:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>tac in</td>
<td>tac’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>tac a</td>
<td>tac a (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>tac u</td>
<td>tac u (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With **kabet** (need); necessitated future:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>kabet in</td>
<td>kabet c’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>kabet a</td>
<td>kabet a (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>kabet u</td>
<td>kabet u (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With **yan** (“to have” as an auxiliary verb); obligated future:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>yan in</td>
<td>yan’c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>yan a</td>
<td>yan a (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>yan u</td>
<td>yan u (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With **he** (will (predicate) if); conditional future:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>he in</td>
<td>he’c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>he a</td>
<td>he a (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>he u</td>
<td>he u (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pronouns

Contracted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>hin</td>
<td>he’c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>ha (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>hu</td>
<td>hu (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With **bin** (“to go” as an auxiliary verb); definite future:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>bin in</td>
<td>bin’c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>bin a</td>
<td>bin a (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>bin u</td>
<td>bin u (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With **bin**, but as an interrogative definite future:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>cin bin in</td>
<td>c’ bin’c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ca bin a</td>
<td>ca bin a (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>cu bin u</td>
<td>cu bin u (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Normally this form is contracted in regular speech:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>cin in</td>
<td>cen’c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>can a</td>
<td>can a (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>cun u</td>
<td>cun u (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With **bin** but as a negated definite future:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ma tân bin in</td>
<td>ma t’ bin’c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ma tan a</td>
<td>ma tan a (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ma tun u</td>
<td>ma tun u (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Frequently this form is contracted in regular speech:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ma tân in</td>
<td>ma ten’c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ma tan a</td>
<td>ma tan a (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ma tun u</td>
<td>ma tun u (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With **ma** (not) for those tenses where an auxiliary verb or a time indicator is not used the declension of Set A is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ma in</td>
<td>ma’t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ma a</td>
<td>ma a (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ma u</td>
<td>ma u (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Pronouns

**Contracted:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>ma’t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ma (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>mu (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With **ma** (not) for those tenses in which the time indicators c’ and t’ are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ma tin</td>
<td>ma’t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ma ta</td>
<td>ma ta (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ma tu</td>
<td>ma tu (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With **ma** (not) for the contracted form of the immediate present tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ma tin</td>
<td>ma tan’c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ma ta</td>
<td>ma ta (verb)eex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ma tu</td>
<td>ma tu (verb)oob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that in the last two paradigms only the 1st person plural is different.

38. Set A combines with the reflexive suffix -**ba** (sometimes written -**bah** by modern authors) to form the reflexive pronouns “myself” / “yourself” / etc.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>(verb)inba</td>
<td>(verb)c’ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>(verb)aba</td>
<td>(verb)abaex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>(verb)uba</td>
<td>(verb)ubaoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alternatively:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>(verb)inbah</td>
<td>(verb)c’bah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>(verb)abah</td>
<td>(verb)abaheex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>(verb)ubah</td>
<td>(verb)ubahoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, in our estimation, this alternative spelling is incorrect, because the **h** in -**abaheex** and -**ubahoob** is not, in our experience, pronounced.

Examples:

- **Tzelabaex!**  “Make way!” (Literally: “One-side yourselves!”)
- **Tin cantitzcinba uaye.**  “I cross myself here.”
DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS
AND RELATED PARTS OF SPEECH

39. Demonstrative pronouns are directly related to demonstrative adjectives which were introduced in the chapter on nouns. The basis of both the demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives, which we will call here Set C, is as follows:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-oba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(this)</td>
<td>(these)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-obo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(that)</td>
<td>(those)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-obe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(that over there)</td>
<td>(those over there)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40. The demonstrative adjective is built from the above set by placing the particle le before the word or clause which is being modified:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(word/clause)</td>
<td>(word/clause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>oba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>lebo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(word/clause)</td>
<td>(word/clause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>obbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>lebe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(word/clause)</td>
<td>(word/clause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>obe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

le kino “that day”
le yax kino “that blue day” (= dry season)
le macoba “these men”
le nucuch macoba “these big men”

41. The demonstrative pronouns are formed from Set C as follows:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lela</td>
<td>leloba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(this)</td>
<td>(these)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lelo</td>
<td>lelobo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(that)</td>
<td>(those)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lele</td>
<td>lelobe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(that over there)</td>
<td>(those over there)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42. There are two sets of locative pronouns which are formed from Set C by prefixing it with the particles te- and he-. The particle te- is used generally and the particle he- emphatically. The resulting pronoun set is defective, lacking both the third form (-e) and the plural forms:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tela</td>
<td>hela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(here)</td>
<td>(here)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telo</td>
<td>helo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(there)</td>
<td>(there)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An alternative for telo (there) is tolo (there).

The locative pronouns tela and telo can be expanded by inserting an adverb or adjective into these words. The resulting adverbial clause makes the position of the object much more precise:

te caanalo up there
te caanala up here
Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>te cabalo</th>
<th>down there</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te cabala</td>
<td>down here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te pachilo</td>
<td>back there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te ichila</td>
<td>in here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te nachilo</td>
<td>far over there</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

43. The demonstrative pronoun set can be combined with **te**- and **he**- to form a demonstrative locative pronoun set:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>le tela</strong> (this one here)</td>
<td><strong>le teloba</strong> (these here)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>le telo</strong> (that one there)</td>
<td><strong>le telobo</strong> (those there)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>le tele</strong> (the one over there)</td>
<td><strong>le telobe</strong> (the ones over there.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>le hela</strong> (this one here)</td>
<td><strong>le heloba</strong> (these here)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>le helo</strong> (that one there)</td>
<td><strong>le helobo</strong> (those there)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>le hele</strong> (the one over there)</td>
<td><strong>le helobe</strong> (the ones over there.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

44. Set C is also combined with **bey**- (like, as). The resulting set is defective:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>beya</strong> (like this)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>beyo</strong> (like that)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADVERBS**

45. Interrogative pronouns and adverbs in Mayan function much like their counterparts in English and differ mainly in idiomatic usage. We treat these interrogative words here together since their function is similar.

- **Baax? Baan?** (What?)
  - **Baax a kati?** “What do you want?”
  - **Baan ta betah?** “What did you do?”

- **Bahux?** (How much? (that is, “What is the price?”))
  - **Bahux le hanalo?** “How much is that food?”

- **Bikix?** (When?)
  - **Bikix ca ulech?** “When did you return?”

- **Bix?** (How?)
  - **Bixi?** “How’s that?”
  - **Bix a kaba?** “How’s (what’s) your name?”

- **Bucaah?** (How much?, How many?, What quantity?)
  - **Bucaah a kati?** “How much do you want?”

- **Maax?** (Who?)
  - **Maax cu bin telo?** “Who goes there?”
Pronouns

Macalmac? (Which?, Which one?)
  Macalmac a kati? “Which one do you want?”

Tuux? (Where?)
  Tuux ca bin? “Where are you going?”

The words baax (what?), maax (who?), and tuux (where?) tend to shift their glottal-stopped vowels in standard conversation to regular, elongated, or glided vowels.

The words baax (what) and maax (who) are combined with various suffixes to make other interrogative pronouns:

With -tial (here meaning “for”, a contraction of ti olal = “because of”):

Baaxtial? (Why? For what?)
  Baaxtial binech Ho? “Why did you go to Mérida?”
  Baaxtial le hao? “What is the water for?”

Maaxtial? (For whom?)
  Maaxtial le hao? “Who is the water for?”

With kin (day):

Baaxkin? (When?)
  Baaxkin ulech? “When did you return?”

With -ten (here meaning “cause”, a contraction of tumen / tah men = “because of”):

  Baaxten talech holace? “Why did you come yesterday?”
  Baanten ta betic beyo? “Why are you doing it like that?”

Notice that in some of the examples given in the interrogative sentences above that sometimes the sentence ends with the suffix -i or more rarely with -e. These suffixes seem to serve the purpose of marking the sentence as an interrogative sentence. However they are used only with certain verbs and not with others and we can not discern any rule which would help the reader in making a decision about when to use them.

  Baaxtial binech? “Why did you go?”
  Baaxtial binechi? “Why did you go?”

The suffix -i is optional.

  Baaxtial binech Ho? “Why did you go to Mérida?”

The suffix -i can not be used.

Only with the verb kat (want, desire), as long as the verb is the last word in the sentence, does the suffix -i seem to be obligatory.
Pronouns

Baax a kati?  “What do you want?”
Baax a kat a hante?  “What do you want to eat?”

Many of the interrogative words, when the suffix -i is affixed to them, can stand by themselves:

Baaxi?  “What’s that?”
Bixi?  “How’s that?”
Maaxi?  “Who?”
Tuuxi?  “Where?”

The suffixes -i and -e are also used for negation bracketing and will be looked at in Section 59 on negation.

For some of the above interrogative pronouns there are standard answering formulae just as in English:

Baaxten?, Baanten?  (Why?)  Tumen, Tiolal  (Because.)
Baaxtial?  (Why? For what?)  Utial  (So that)
Maaxtial?  (For whom?)  Utial  (“For”, or one of the possessive pronouns.)

Q:  Baaxten binech Ho?  “Why did you go to Mérida?”
A:  Tumen yan in kaxtic meyah.  “Because I have to find work.”

Q:  Baaxtial talech uaye?  “Why did you come here?”
A:  Utial in uilic in cic.  “So that I can see my sister.”

Q:  Maaxtial le hao?  “For whom is the water?”
A:  Utial in uicham.  “For my husband.”

The conditional particle he when used before an interrogative pronoun or adverb has the meaning of the suffix “-ever” in English. This formula is used as in English in an answer to a question in which the answerer is giving the questioner the option. Often the interrogative pronoun/adverb can be followed by the particle -ac:

he baaxac  whatever
he macalmac  whichever
he maax, he maaxac  whoever
he bix, he bixac  however
he tuux, he tuuxac  wherever

Q:  Baaxkin c’ bin Ho?  “When are we going to Mérida?”
A:  He baaxac kin a kati.  “Whatever day you want.”

Q:  Bix cin in takancunze a he?  “How shall I cook your egg?”
A:  He bix a kati.  “However you want to.”

Q:  Tuux cin in cultal?  “Where shall I sit?”
A:  He tuux a kati.  “Wherever you want to.”
By suffixing the particle -e to the particle -ac, resulting in the suffix -ace, an independent answering phrase is formed:

- **He baaxace.** “Whatever.”
- **He bixace.** “However.”
- **He maaxace.** “Whoever.”
- **He tuuxace.** “Wherever.”

In older colonial writing, balx was the word for “what?”, bahunx was the word for “how many?”, biqx was the word for “how?”, bikinx was the word for “when?”, macx was the word for “who?”, and tabx was the word for “where?”, etc. The word bal or today baal means “thing” and the word mac means “man” or “one” (person). The word bic in this context shows up only in colonial usage as the word for “how?” The meaning of tab is uncertain as used in this context, but there is a companion word tub which seems not to have been used in an interrogative context which means “where”. It seems that the true form for some of these interrogative words should be baal ix, bic ix, and mac ix, etc., the particle ix here being an interrogative marker. In any case the final consonant in these cases has been dropped resulting in the modern words baax, bix, and maax, etc. It is evident that the same process is true for tabx / tubx, resulting in tuux, but the line is not quite as direct. Exactly when this change took place is hard to determine, but even in material originally written in 1628 (U Zuyua Than yetel Naat) we see both the old and the modern forms in the same text. Of course we only have copies of that material so it may well be that the modern forms were introduced at the time the copies were made.

One could also conjecture that the word bucaah, and its declarative companion bencaah, are derived from the phrase bahun u caah, meaning “what size or what quantity is he/she/it?”, and that just as was shown above in Section 37 with bin in caah resulting in nin caah in modern speech, so too bahun u caah has been abbreviated to bucaah.

The same conjecture applies to the words baaxten and baaxtial. The colonial counterparts of baaxten and baaxtial are bal tumen / balx tah men / bal tah men and bal tah oklal / balx tah oklal.

46. The negative particle mix, an alternative word for ma (no) and derived from the colonial form ma ix, can be prefixed to some of the interrogative pronouns and adverbs to form the negation of these pronouns and adverbs. In some instances the final consonant suffers a change which shows something about the original nature of these interrogative words.

- **mixbaal** nothing
- **mixbikin** never
- **mixmac** no one
- **mixtuux** nowhere
The colonial forms for the words formed with **maix** are:

- **maix bal** = nothing
- **maix mac** = no one
- **maix tab** = nowhere

In these cases to derive the modern form **mix** instead of the **i** of **ix** being dropped as happened with **bal ix**, **mac ix**, **bic ix**, and **tab ix** the **a** of **ma** has been contracted out.

47. When the question “How many?” is related to a particular object then the interrogative particle **hay-** is combined with the number classifier which is used for that object. In Section 71 we will look at the importance of number classifiers and the objects which are classified by them. The three most commonly used number classifiers are **-ppel** (inanimate objects generally), **-tul** (animate objects), and **-ten** (times an action is done).

**Hayppel?** “How many inanimate objects?”  
**Hayppel kaan yan tech?** “How many hammocks do you have?”

**Haytul?** “How many animate objects?”  
**Haytul tzo yan ti?** “How many tom turkeys does he have?”

**Hayten?** “How many times?”  
**Hayten binech Ho?** “How many times have you gone to Mérida?”
MODIFYING WORDS AND PARTICLES

48. Modifying words and particles are divided into two parts of speech: adjectives and adverbs. Before looking at each of these parts of speech mention should be made of methods which intensify or diminish the quality of words in both of these parts of speech.

The quality of a modifier can be intensified or diminished by placing one of various adverbial particles before the modifier:

- **hach, lem / len, lemech, zen, zempech / zempech, zeten, heten, don:** (very); some of the intensifiers.
- **kaz:** (not very, a little); a diminisher.

Examples:

With adjectives:

- **Hach nohoch in col.** “My garden is very big.”
- **Zen malob le hanalo.** “That food is very good.”
- **Zeten altacoob le tunichobo.** “Those rocks are very heavy.”
- **Don x-cichpam le x-chupal.** “That girl is very pretty.”
- **Kaz kohaan in pal.** “My child is a little sick.”

With adverbs:

- **Hach chanbeli cu meyah le maco.** “That man works very slowly.”
- **Zen malob cu pakachtic le uaho le xunano.** “That woman makes tortillas very well.”

Some modifiers can be intensified by reduplicating the beginning consonant and vowel of the first syllable of the modifier:

- **chac** (red)
- **chancha** (red)
- **chan** (little)
- **chichan** (very little)
- **chanbel** (slowly)
- **chachanbel** (very slowly)
- **ci** (good)
- **cici** (very good)
- **lob** (bad, badly)
- **lolob** (very bad, very badly)
- **kaz** (bad, badly)
- **kakaz** (evil, very badly)
- **yax** (green)
- **yayax** (very green)
- **zac** (white)
- **zazac** (very white)

The vowel of the first syllable of the reduplicated prefix is often, depending on the speaker, pronounced as a clipped vowel. There is another example of the reduplication of the first syllable to be found in Section 57. This principal of pronouncing the prefixed syllable’s vowel clipped is followed there as well.
Modifying Words and Particles

Examples:

- **zazac u boch yetel u kaxi**: “very white her shawl and her hair ribbon”
- **kakaz ikoob**: “evil winds”
- **Chachanbel cu tal le palo**: “That child is coming very slowly.”

Some modifiers can be intensified by reduplicating the root word around the particle -\textit{Vn}-. The preferred vowel in this particle is \textit{e}, but all vowels are possible:

- **chuy** (to hang) \hspace{1cm} **chuyenchuy** (densely hanging)
- **much** (bunch) \hspace{1cm} **muchenmuch** (bunch after bunch)
- **pec** (flat) \hspace{1cm} **pecenpec** (pile on pile)
- **zac** (white) \hspace{1cm} **zacanzac** (very white)

Examples:

- **Chuyenchuy u kaan am ti le bucil na**: “The spider webs are densely hanging from the ceiling.”
- **Pecenpec le cheobo**: “The trees are (lying down) in piles upon piles.”

A somewhat similar reduplicating device is achieved by placing -\textit{Vl}- in the middle of the reduplicated root:

- **pet** (round) \hspace{1cm} **petelpet** (very round)
- **ppit** (to jump) \hspace{1cm} **ppitilppit** (jumping up and down)
- **thul** (narrow) \hspace{1cm} **thululthul** (very narrow)
- **zut** (to return) \hspace{1cm} **zutulzut** (round and round)

Examples:

- **Petelpet u le**: “Its leaf is very round.”
- **Thululthul u le**: “Its leaf is very narrow.”
- **Zutulzut tu bin le palobo**: “The children are going round and round.”

Colors have suffixes which alter or intensify the quality of the color to which these suffixes are attached. These suffixes are generally marked by the trailing suffix -\textit{en}. Some of the more common of the suffixes are:

- **bizen**, **bithen**, **boxen**, **bu\text{\texten}**, **bu\text{\texten}**
- **culen**, **chalen**, **uyen**, **ha\text{\texten}**, **hochen**
- **homen**, **hopen**, **lemen**, **malen**, **methen**
- **naen**, **olen**, **pazen**, **pachen**, **pozen**
- **ppochen**, **ppoxen**, **ppulen**, **tzuyen**, **uayen**
Modifying Words and Particles

For some of these suffixes, there is an obvious quality which is imparted by the root word from which they are derived:

- **boxen** from **box** (black)
- **buën** from **bus** (smoke)
- **chalen** from **chal** (clear)
- **pozen** from **poz** (pallid)

Examples of usage:

- **chacboxen ich** “face dark red with anger”
- **Ekbizen ca luken Cumkal.** “It was pitch-black when I left Conkal.”
- **zacchalen ha** “clear water”
- **zacmalen ich / zacpozen ich** “white eyed, from sickness or fear”

There is also an isolated example of this method of intensifying the quality of an adjective with a non-color adjective:

- **cochbaben** from **coch** (wide)

Example of usage:

- **cochbaben be** “wide road”

A somewhat similar suffix complex which in English could be translated “like” is the **-yan, -yen, -yem** complex. This suffix complex takes a root word and transforms it into a modifying word. Thus for example, **ku** means “god”, and **kuyen / kuyen** means “god-like” or “holy”; **balche** means “animal” and **balcheyen** means “animal-like” or “bestial”.

- **balche** (animal) **balcheyen** (animal-like, bestial)
- **bux** (a small wild squash) **buxyen / buxym** (small squash-like)
- **cib** (wax, candle) **cibyen** (wax-like, waxy)
- **cizin** (devil) **cizinyen / cizinyen** (diabolical)
- **ku** (god) **kuyen / kuyen** (god-like, holy)
- **manab** (fantasma) **manabyen** (abominable)
- **na** (mother) **nayen** (mothered)
- **tepp che** (brute) **tepp cheyan** (brutal)
- **xibalba** (devil) **xibelbayen** (diabolical)

Examples of usage:

- **buxyen im** “small squash-like breasts”
- **cibyen kum** “squash with waxy skin”, a sign of ripeness
- **ah kuyen oib** “writer of holy books”
- **manabyen pacat** “abominable / scary face”
- **pooptayen be** “wide road”

Some of the words which end in **-en**, including those which end in **-yen, -yem** and **-yan**, can be transformed into transitive and passive verbs by the addition
Modifying Words and Particles

of the suffixes -cunic, -tal and -hal. For further information on these verbal suffixes see Sections 99-100 in the chapter on verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abich thulyencunic</td>
<td>“to cool down a liquid” (literally, “to cool down like rabbit urine”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abich thulyenhal</td>
<td>“to become cooled down”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balcheyenhal</td>
<td>“to become bestial”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekbuencunic</td>
<td>“to make black with soot”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekbuenal</td>
<td>“to become black with soot”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix lokbayencunic</td>
<td>“to rejuvenate a woman”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix lokbayental</td>
<td>“to become a young woman”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuyancunic</td>
<td>“to sanctify”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuyenal</td>
<td>“to become holy”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ppetayencunic</td>
<td>“to disfigure, to deform”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ppetayenal</td>
<td>“to become disfigured, deformed”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zacchuyental</td>
<td>“to whiten”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ADJECTIVES

49. The adjective in the Mayan language behaves like its counterpart in English; that is, it goes before the noun it modifies:

- **tumben na**  new house
- **malob hanal**  good food

50. The following are common pairs of adjectives:

- **malob** (not bad), **utz** (good)  **lob, kaz** (bad)
- **haœutz, cichpam** (beautiful)  **kaz** (ugly)
- **nnoch, nuc, nucuch** (big)  **chan, chichan, mehen** (little)
- **chouac** (long)  **coom** (short)
- **couch** (wide)  **nuuth** (narrow, tight)
- **naach** (far)  **nao** (near)
- **poloc** (fat)  **bekech** (thin), **jooyan** (very thin)
- **pim** (thick)  **hay** (thin; flat objects)
- **tumben** (new)  **uchben** (old, ancient)
- **yax** (first, also “green”)  **œocil, xul** (last)
- **al** (heavy)  **zal** (light)
- **chuhuc** (sweet)  **zuo** (sour), **kaah** (bitter)
- **pah** (sour from being old)

51. The plural of adjectives can be formed by adding one of the following suffixes:

- **-oob**
- **-tac**
- **-tacoob**

However the adjective usually remains singular in appearance when it directly precedes the plural noun which it modifies. When the adjective is for any reason put in some other position then it usually takes on its plural form:

- **le mehen chichobo**  those little birds
- **Mehentacoob le chichobo**  Those birds are little.

Note: for sentences which in English are of the variety “(subject) (verb “to be”) (predicate adjective)” as in “Those birds are little.” in Mayan the word order is generally “(predicate adjective) (subject)” with the verb “to be” being omitted. Other examples of this word order:
Adjectives

Ha\u00f1utzacoob a xanaboob. “You shoes are beautiful.”

Nuctac u yocoob. “Their legs are tall.”

In at least one instance the word changes for the plural. There are four words for “big”: noh, nuc, nohoch, and nucuch. Of these, nucuch seems generally to be used with plural nouns.

le nohoch chicho “that big bird”

le nucuch chichobo “those big birds”

Notice that there are various adjectives which have the suffix -Vch. Some of these can appear without the suffix and other can not:

--- bekech thin
cil cilich holy
hah halach real, true
kinam kinich powerful, respected
noh nohoch big
nuc nucuch big, old
ppel ppelech exactly, just right
yaab yaabach much, many
--- zacach much, many, a lot

Examples:

Zen bekech le zumo. “That rope is very thin.”

Hach yaabach dios botic tech. “Thank you very much.” (Literally: “God pays you very much.”)

Teche chen zacach than ca betic. “All you do is talk a lot.”

Some of these -Vch words contract as follows:

cilich cich
halach hach
kinich kinch

Examples:

cicchelem, cichpam beautiful (male / female)
hach nohoch very big
kinch ahau powerful lord

Kinich Ahau

COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE ADJECTIVES

52. The comparative of an adjective is formed the same way it is in English with the Spanish word mas being the equivalent of “more” and ti equivalent to “than”:
Mas nohoch a col ti intial. “Your garden is bigger than mine.”

U yatan Don Sil mas hautz ti u yatan Don Lau. “Sil’s wife is more beautiful than Lau’s wife.”

Alternative sentence structure:

Mas hautz u yatan Don Sil ti u yatan Don Lau.

53. When the comparison is qualified in some way then sometimes just the qualifier is used in place of mas and the particle -il is suffixed to the adjective:

Humppit nuuthil u hol in cheen ti atial. “The mouth of my well is a little bit smaller than yours.”

54. The superlative is formed by preceding the adjective with u mas and affixing the suffix -il to the adjective:

Ωa ten u mas nohochil. “Give me the biggest.”

Le x-chupalo u mas x-cichpamil uaye. “That girl is the most beautiful here.”

Needless to say, the Spanish word mas is a relatively recent addition to the language. From the colonial dictionaries it seems that paynum is the word which mas has taken the place of.

paynum yokol tulacal “more than everything”

paynum nohil yokol “bigger than”

However from the limited quantity of use which paynum shows in the colonial texts it seems that the Mayan language got along most of the time without a word which is equivalent to “more”. Even today it would be possible to say:

Ωa ten u nohochil. “Give me the biggest.”

in which the construction u (adjective)il surrounds the adjective. This seems to be true not only of the superlative but also the comparative where the construction was probably u (adjective)il ti. While there are some examples of the superlative in colonial literature unfortunately we haven’t come across any clear examples of the comparative:

Ti u yuchul hich cali tu nuceul uinicoob. “Then will happen the hanging of the oldest men.”

u nuceul ti maya uinicoob “the oldest of the Mayan men”

ten u kazil u palaloob “I the worst of his children”
ADJECTIVES FROM OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH

55. Adjectives can be formed from nouns, as noted in Section 25, by tacking a vowel which agrees with last vowel in the noun onto the noun and ending the word with -l ( (noun)-VI).

- **boc** (stench) - **bocol** (stinking)
- **caan** (sky) - **caanal** (high, tall)
- **cab** (earth) - **cabal** (low, short)
- **chac** (red) - **chacal** (red)
- **chup** (female) - **chupul** (female)
- **ek** (black) - **ekel** (black)
- **hah** (truth) - **hahal** (true)
- **kuk** (feather) - **kukul** (feathered)
- **pet** (circle) - **petel** (round)
- **pib** (roast) - **pibil** (roasted)
- **xib** (male) - **xibil** (male)

Examples of usage:

- **Hach chichan le chupul kekeno.** “The female pig is very small.”
- **u than hahal ku** “the word of the true god” (A frequent phrase used in the Books of Chilam Balam. Its equally frequent modern day version: **u than hahal dios**)
- **Zen utz tin than pibil nal.** “I really like roasted corn.” (Literally: “Very good to my tongue roasted corn.”)
- **Kukul Can** “Feathered snake”, a Mayan deity still known today and called by its Nahuatl equivalent Quetzalcoatl by non-Mayan speakers.

It is not certain whether **pibil** is derived from the noun **pib** (roast) or the verb root **pib** (to roast) as shown in Section 56.

Some words, especially the colors, can be used without the -VI suffix:

- **chac pol chom** “red headed vulture”
- **chacal haaz** “red mamey”
- **zac nicte** “white Plumeria flower”
- **zacal Ix Chel** “white Ix Chel”, a female Mayan deity which is represented today by virgin Mary.

56. There are various suffixes which when appended to verb roots form adjectives.

- **-aan**: The third form of the passive verb can be used as an adjectival participle. The third form suffix is **-aan**, and when used as an adjectival participle is somewhat equivalent to the English past participle suffix complex “-en” / “-ed” or in some cases to the present participle suffix “-ing”. See Sections 83 and 91 for more detail on this suffix:
Adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chil</td>
<td>chilaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lab</td>
<td>labaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lub</td>
<td>lubaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tak</td>
<td>kaz takaan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of usage:

- labaan che: rotten tree
- lubaan tunich: fallen rock
- kaz takaan uech: half cooked armadillo

-bil: The passive suffix -bil is appended to the verb root to form what would be considered a participle in English. In the case where the verb root ends in -b only the suffix -il is added:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bok</td>
<td>bokbil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cach</td>
<td>cachbil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chac</td>
<td>chacbil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoch</td>
<td>hochbil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muc</td>
<td>muchbil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pib</td>
<td>pibil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tzah</td>
<td>tzahbil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of usage:

- Ña ten tzahbil he. “Give me fried eggs.”

See Section 91 on passive verbs for information on the suffixes -aan and -bil.

In Section 91 on passive verbs we will see the form “(verb root)bil” joined by a past tense indicator -ac to form some of the past perfect tenses.

Hantbilac in col. “My garden was eaten.”

-Venac / -lac: The suffixes -Venac / -lac are appended to the verb root to form what would be considered a participle in English. The vowel V in -Venac agrees with the vowel in the last syllable of the verb root. -Venac is the singular form and -lac is the plural.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Venac, Lac</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ak</td>
<td>akacnac, aklac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay</td>
<td>ayaenac, ayacnac, aylac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ban</td>
<td>banacnac, banlac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nak</td>
<td>nakacnac, naklac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pot</td>
<td>potocnac, potlac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ppux</td>
<td>ppuxucnac, ppuxlac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thon</td>
<td>thonocnac, thonlac</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Adjective Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yap</td>
<td>yapacnac, yaplac (groomed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yib</td>
<td>yibicnac, yiblac (soaked)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yip</td>
<td>yipicnac, yiplac (overflowing)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of usage:

- akacnac luum “moist earth”
- Potocnac in cum. “My pot is full of holes.”
- Yapacnac u pol chuplal. “The girl’s hair is groomed.”

**-Vcbal:** The suffix -Vcbal is appended to the verb root to form what would be considered a participle in English. The vowel V agrees with the vowel in the last syllable of the verb root. Unlike the adjectives derived by appending the previous suffixes, it seems that the adjectival participle resulting from the use of this suffix cannot be used directly tied to the noun it is modifying, but rather is used as part of a modifying participial phrase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Adjective Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cah</td>
<td>cahacbal (living)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chil</td>
<td>chilicbal (reclining)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nic</td>
<td>nicicbal (piled up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noc</td>
<td>nococbal (turned over)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thuch</td>
<td>thuchuchbal (squatting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ual</td>
<td>ualacbal (standing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uak</td>
<td>uakachbal (exploding)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of usage:

- le mac, chilicbal tu kaano “the man, laying in his hammock”
- le buul, nicicbal te moyo “the beans, piled up in the corner”

57. Adjectives can be formed from other parts of speech by reduplicating the first consonant and vowel of that word and suffixing -ci onto the resulting word. The equivalent for -ci in English is “-able” or “-y”.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Adjective Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cach</td>
<td>cacachci (breakable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiix</td>
<td>kikiixci (thorny)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kux</td>
<td>kukuxci (chewy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hol</td>
<td>hoholci (slippery)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mach</td>
<td>mamachci (grabable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moch</td>
<td>momochci (twistable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puz</td>
<td>pupuzci (powdery)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tak</td>
<td>tatakci (sticky)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toch</td>
<td>totochci (stiff)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These adjectives are usually not joined to the nouns they modify but rather are part of a predicate in a sentence which describes a noun. In the Mayan
language in sentences with predicate adjectives the predicate normally comes first and is followed by the subject:

**Hoholci le tunicho.** “That rock is slippery.”

**Kikiixci le cheo.** “That tree is thorny.”

Some of the above particles, as well as several others, form adjectives by appending the suffix -**ben**:

- **coch** (to widen) **cochbaben** (wide)
- **kux** (to chew) **kuxben** (chewy)
- **mach** (to grab) **machben** (grabable)
- **ppiz** (to measure) **ppizben** (measurable)
- **tumul** (new) **tumben, tumulben** (new)
- **tzic** (to respect) **tzicben** (respected, venerated)
- **uch** (long ago) **uchben** (old, ancient)

Example of usage:

**cochbaben be** “wide road”

*Tin kamah a tzicben huun fecha 27 ti le mez ɔocilo.* “I received your venerated letter dated 27 of last month.”

*Tene cin betic in col yokol le uchben muulobo.* “I make my garden on the ancient mounds.”

There may be some relationship between the adjectives ending in -**Vch** talked about on page 50 and those ending in -**ben**, based on a commonly occurring pair of hieroglyphs referred to as the **ben-ich** prefix, Thompson 168. It should be noted that while the -**ben** and -**Vch** suffixes appear to function in a similar manner, in the Yucatecan Mayan language there seems to be no instance where a root word which takes one of these two suffixes can take the other.

-**lic** / -**licil** / -**liz** / -**lizil**: This complex of suffixes transforms the root word into a gerund in the case of –**lic** / -**licil** and into an adjective in the case of -**liz** / -**lizil**. In modern Mayan the longer form of these suffixes is rarely, if ever, heard. In some cases root words can take both suffixes. However, there are cases where the root word is in fact different. Thus, from the root word **chun** which means “base, trunk”:

  - **chunlic / chunlicil** basically
  - **chunliz / chunlizil** basic, fundamental

Examples of usage:

**chunlic tin haɔicech** Basically this is why I hit you.

**chunliz than** basic concept (literally: basic word)
Adjectives

However, for the root word bak which can mean both “400” and “to wind around”, among other meanings, baklic has a different meaning from bakliz:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>baklic / baklicil</th>
<th>around</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bakliz / baklizil</td>
<td>very big, infinite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of usage:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>baklic u pach col</th>
<th>around the outside of the garden</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bakliz col</td>
<td>very large garden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the more common words constructed with this suffix complex are:

- ac (to lay a foundation) alic (founded)
- bak (to wrap around) baklic (around)
- cul (to sit) culic (seated)
- cux (to live) cuxlic (living)
- coo (to curl up) coolic (wound around)
- hay (to lay out, spread out) hayic (spread out upon)
- nao (near) naolic (near)
- nak (to move next to) naklic (at the edge of)
- thuch (to perch) thuchlic (perched)
- ak (vine) akliz (vine-like)
- bak (400) bakliz (very big, infinite)
- be (road) beeliz (pertaining to the road)
- buc (to cover) bucliz (covered)
- cot (animal classifier) cotliz (animal killed but not butchered)
- chun (trunk, base) chunliz (basic)
- tul (complete) tuliz (completed)
- uol (round) uoliz (rounded)

Examples of usage:

| haylic tu hal cot                      | spread out along the edge of the wall |
| thuchlic tu kab che                    | perched on a tree branch              |
| naklic tu hal ha                       | at the edge of the water              |
| bucliz nok                              | robe (literally: cover cloth)         |
| cotliz ulum                             | a complete turkey                     |
| uoliz ca                                | round squash                          |

-o-m: the suffix –om, very limited in usage, converts the root word into an adjective.

| hay (flat, to lay out)                   | hayom (wide) |
| pek (open cistren)                       | pekom (wide) |
| tzotz (hair)                             | tzotzom (hairy, downy) |

Examples of usage:

| hayom xac, pekom xac                      | wide-mouthed basket |
58. Adverbs comprise a rather diverse group of modifying words and particles. In the chapter on nouns in Section 14 the use of some adverbial particles which are used as prepositions which determine the dative case was looked at. In the sections on demonstrative and interrogative words and clauses (Sections 39 through 47) there are instances where it is difficult to draw a distinction between what is a pronoun and what is an adverb, at least as far as function is concern, and since these words serve a similar function they were looked at together. At the beginning of these chapters on modifiers in Section 48 those adverbial particles which work as intensifiers and diminishers of the quality of adjectives and adverbs were noted.

The following list, which includes some of the above mentioned adverbs and adverbial particles, is divided into various adverbial types: negation, affirmation, uncertainty, repetition, totality, place, time, quality, quantity, and comparison.

59. Negation:

Ma (no, not) is the base word for negation:

Ma in uohel. “I don’t know.”
Ma zami manac huntul thel. “Not long after passed by a rooster.”
Ma. Ma in kati. “No. I don’t want to.”

Often the negated sentence or phrase which begins with the word ma is terminated by the vowels -i or less commonly -e. This is called negation bracketing. There are examples of negation bracketing in the Mayan language from the earliest written documents. Generally speaking negation bracketing seems to have been optional; at least if there are discernible rules which govern this grammatical form we have not discovered them. In some areas such as amongst the Cruzoob in Quintana Roo the use of negation bracketing seems to be almost universal. However in northwestern Yucatan in many instances negation bracketing is optional and occurs with moderate frequency. Even in this region though there are cases negation bracketing is mandatory, but there are also cases where negation bracketing is not possible. In searching for a rule or set of rules which would aid the reader in deciding when negation bracketing is to be used we have been able to come up with only the following:

With the verb kat (to want) negation bracketing is mandatory as long as the verb is the last word in the sentence:

Ma u kati. “He doesn’t want to.”
Mu kati. contracted form.

However if the sentence includes an infinitive clause or any other clause which makes it so that the verb kat is not the last word in the sentence negation bracketing is not normally used:
Adverb and Adverbial Particles

\textbf{Ma u kat bin meyah behlae.} “He doesn’t want to go to work today.”

As mentioned above, in most cases negation bracketing is optional:

- \textbf{Ma in uohel.} “I don’t know.”
- \textbf{Ma in uoheli.} formal form with negation bracketing.
- \textbf{Ma in uohli.} standard contraction with negation bracketing.

However if the sentence includes an infinitive clause or any other clause which makes it so that the verb is not the last word in the sentence the negation bracketing is not normally used:

\textbf{Ma in uohel ua he in bin zamal.} “I don’t know whether I will go tomorrow.”

In some instances negation bracketing seems to be impossible, at least in northwestern Yucatan:

- \textbf{Ma tin naatic.} “I don’t understand.”
- \textbf{Ma tin bin.} “I won’t go.”

In neither case, in our judgment, can negation bracketing be used, although it may well be that amongst certain groups of speakers such as the Cruzob even in these instances negation bracketing is used. Unfortunately it seems that we cannot come up with any blanket rule or set of rules which would aid the reader in knowing when to use the negation bracket. It seems that we would have to go through the verbs verb by verb, and in some instances tense by tense for a particular verb, and make a decision on whether negation bracketing is mandatory, optional, or not possible on a case by case basis.

\textbf{Mix} (not, neither) is sometimes used in place of \textbf{ma}. As mentioned in Section 46 \textbf{mix} appears to have evolved from \textbf{ma ix}, \textbf{ix} being among other things a conjunctive:

- \textbf{Mix in uohel.} “I don’t know.” or perhaps more precisely “I don’t even know.”

As mentioned in Section 45 \textbf{mix} is combined with interrogative words to form the construction equivalent to “no-” in English:

- \textbf{mixbaal} nothing
- \textbf{mixbikin} never
- \textbf{mixmac} no one
- \textbf{mixtuux} nowhere

The use of double negatives in the Mayan language is the rule:

\textbf{Ma tin bin mixtuux.} “I am not going nowhere.”
There are two special words which are used to intensify a negation:

- mataan: of course not
- matech: certainly not

60. Affirmation:

The word “yes” per se does not exist in the Mayan language. The normal method of answering a question affirmatively is to repeat at least the basis of the question.

Q: Yan ua bin Ho zamal? “Do you (question) have to go to Mérida tomorrow?”
A: Yan in bin. “I have to go.”

In some cases it is possible to answer a question or statement affirmatively without using the repetitious “yes” formula. The words most often used in this kind of answer are:

- hah: truly
- malob: not bad; used much like our “O.K.”
- hele: certainly
- huuum: an affirmative humming noise

Examples:

Q: Tac a hanal? “Do you want to eat?”
A: Hah. “Yes.”

Q: Ma ta betic beyo. “Don’t do it like that.”
A: Malob. “O.K.”

Q: He ua a tazic ten le uaho zamal? “Would (question) you bring me some tortillas tomorrow?”
A: Hele. “Certainly.”

61. Uncertainty:

These words express uncertainty as to whether the statement modified by them will happen. Some of these words will be used as lead-ins and some will be used at the end of the statements.

Lead-ins:

- hinuilce: possibly; from he in uilice (I will see).
- mi: maybe, I think
- haylibe: in any case, anyway

Examples:

Hinuilce ua ma tin bin Ho cabeh. “I will see if I don’t go to Mérida two days from now.”

Mi ma tin bin. “Maybe I won’t go.”

Haylibe bey cu thanoob. “Anyway that’s what they said.”
Ending statements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uale</td>
<td>they say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ixtaco</td>
<td>it seems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirobil / torobil</td>
<td>it appears, it is probable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first two can be combined with bey (thus, so) to form a phrase which is given as a noncommittal answer:

Bey uale. “So they say.”
Bey ixtaco. “So it seems.”

62. Repetition:

The word ca (“again”: one of ca’s various meanings) is used with verbs to indicate the repetition of an act:

Yan in ca pakic in col. “I have to plant my garden again.”
Oc ua ca tale? “Have you come again?”

63. Totality:

The word lah and the particle -lan- are used to indicate that all of the object of the verb’s action is involved. Lah is placed before the verb it modifies and -lan- is placed in the middle of it.

Oc in lah hantic le hanalo. “I just ate all of that food.”
Tan u xotlantic le cheo. “He is cutting all of the trees.”

64. Place:

As noted in Section 14 in the chapter on nouns, there are, as in English, many adverbial particles or prepositions which determine the dative case for nouns. Some of these are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td>to, at, from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ich, ichil</td>
<td>in, inside of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yok, yokol</td>
<td>on, on top of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yanal, yanil</td>
<td>under, beneath</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The clauses which result from the use of these prepositions are adverbial clauses.

Taz ten ha ichil le tumben choyo. “Bring me water in the new bucket.” The clause ichil le tumben choyo modifies the verb taz.

In Section 42 in the chapter on pronouns the words tela (here) and telo (there) along with adverbial clauses such as te caanalo (up there) were mentioned.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tela</td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telo</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te caanalo</td>
<td>up there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te cabalo</td>
<td>down there</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of usage:

 vulner le tumben choyo telo. “Put the new bucket there.” The word telo modifies the verb vulner.

 vulner le tumben choyo te caanalo. “Put the new bucket up there.” The clause te caanalo modifies the verb vulner.

In addition to tela (here) there is the word uaye (here). While sometimes these words can be used interchangeably, usually only one or the other can be used in any given setting. Unfortunately there doesn’t seem to a set of rules which can stated about when to use which.

 Coten uaye. “Come here.”
 vulner tela. “Put (it) here.”

The particles uay (here) and te (there) are used as prepositions to adverbial clauses.

 uay tu cahal Tuz Ik “here in the town of Tuz Ik”
te tin uotoch “there in my house”

65. Time:

Some of the adverbs which modify time are part of the verb tenses as described in the chapter on verbs. Others can appear independently of the verb tenses.

Verb tense modifiers:

 uch, uchi some time ago
 uch caachi long ago
 caachi a while ago

Examples:

 Uch manac uaye. “He passed by here some time ago.”
 Minaan cah uaye uch caachi. “There wasn’t a town here long ago.”

Independent time adverbs:

 behlae now, today
 beyora now, this hour
 zam awhile, but within the day
 ma zam not very long ago
 zanzamal daily
 poc u man kin in days gone by
 tich always
 calicil meanwhile
 hunzutuc in a moment
 taytac soon, nearly
 cacate later
Examples of usage:

Zanzamal cu hokol. “He/she/it comes out daily.”
Taytać cun u kuchul le uaua. “The bus is going to arrive soon.”

Note that just as beyora is a combination of bey and the Spanish word hora, behlae is a combination of bey and helela, the colonial form of “today”, and in fact in the early 20th century was sometimes pronounced behelae.

In the colonial times there was a progression of days before and after helela which used the particles –he for the past and –eh for the future suffixed onto the raw numbers. This progression continues to exist today, but is limited to the numbers hun and ca. Also the suffix for the past has changed to –ac when combined with the particle hol, “yesterday”.

colonial usage: canhe oxhe cabhe holhe helela zamal cabhe oxhe cane h
modern usage: cauhe holac behlae zamal cabhe

The particle –ac is also used in expressions to indicate that the past is being talked about:

ti le kinaco “in those days”

In the colonial texts the phrase holhe cabhe is used to express “sometime in the recent past” and zamal cabhe to express “sometime in the near future”.

Also in the colonial times there was the particle –bix which expressed a week. However, it appears that this particle might have something to do with market days which were held every five days, because not only is there the word uucbix meaning “seven days” but also the word hobix meaning “five days”. Unlike –he and –eh, -bix appears to be bidirectional, that is, depending on the context it can be applied to either the past or the future.

66. Quality:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chanbel</td>
<td>slowly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zeb, zebaan</td>
<td>quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han</td>
<td>rapidly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tec</td>
<td>immediately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chich</td>
<td>hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>izardyaca</td>
<td>with difficulty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malob</td>
<td>well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaz</td>
<td>badly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of usage:

Chanbeli cu tal le maco. “That man is coming slowly.”
Yan a chich pulic le tunicho. “You have to throw that rock hard.”
Izticya cu man le xunano. “That woman walks with difficulty.”
Adverb and Adverbial Particles

67. **Quantity:**

- **yaab** a lot
- **hunppit** a little
- **chen** only
- **tu ppiz** just right

Example:

*Chen hunppit tu bin tac c’ kuchul ti Ho.* “Only a little to go until we arrive at Mérida.”

68. **Comparison:**

- **bey** like, as
- **bix, hebix** as, like

Example:

*Yan a betic hebix tin ualic tech.* “You have to do it like I am telling you.”

The words **bey**, **bix**, and **hebix** have other meanings. **Bey**, as will be noted in the following Section 69, also means “so” / “thus”. **Bix** and **hebix** have been looked at in Section 45; **bix** being also an interrogative “how?” and **he bix** being “however”.

**ADVERBS FROM OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH**

69. Certain nouns, in particular those dealing with time, can be used adverbially.

- **behlae** (today, now)
  
  *Tuux ca bin behlae?* “Where are you going today?”

- **zamal** (tomorrow)
  
  *Yan in thancech zamal.* “I have to call you tomorrow.”

Certain words serve both as adjectives and adverbs. Unlike English, in which an adverb is usually distinguishable from an adjective either by the addition of the suffix “-ly” to the adverbial form (e.g. bad - badly) or by a change in the word (e.g. good - well), in Mayan there is no distinguishing feature which sets an adverb off from an adjective. Whether the word is an adjective or an adverb is determined by context.

Examples:

- **kaz** (bad, badly)
  - *le can kaz like* “those four bad winds”
  - *Kaz betabi.* “It was made badly.”
malob (good, well)

malob hanal  “good food”
Malob hani. “He/she/it ate well.”

There are various suffixes which when appended to verb roots form adverbs.

-aan: The third form of the passive verb can be used as an adverb. The third form suffix is -aan, and when used as an adverb is somewhat equivalent to the English suffix “-ly”:

zeb (to be quick)  zebaan (quickly)

Example of usage:

Zebaan cu tal le chaco. “The rain is coming quickly.”

-bil: The passive suffix -bil is appended to the verb root to form an adverb. In the case where the verb root ends in -b just the -il is added:

alcab (to run)  alcabil (quickly, fast)

Examples of usage:

Alcabil cu tal le xibpalo. “The boy is coming quickly.”
CONJUNCTIVE WORDS AND PARTICLES

70. In the Mayan language the conjunctions generally function like their English counterparts as far as their use and position is concerned.

Yetel (and / with): yetel is the major conjunction and doubles both as “and” and “with”.

X-Nico yetel X-Tina cu binoob yetel le hucho. “Nicolasa and Tina are going with the ground corn meal.”

As already noted in Section 14 in the footnote to Example 7, the base word is actually etel, but the consonants y or u are almost always prefixed onto the word.

Cux? (And?): Cux? is an interrogative conjunctive which leads off a rejoining question.

Cux tun X-Ana, ma tu bin? “And therefore Ana, isn’t she going?

Cux tech? “And you?”

Cux is frequently accompanied by tun. The word Cux or the clause Cux tun begins the interrogative sentence.

Xan (also, too)

Mi yan u bin xan. “I think she has to go too.”

The word xan is used, especially in modern H-Men rituals, as a cadence filler or perhaps as a rhythm maker. Another word which shares a similar function is bacan (certainly).

bin u caah xan ci katabi xan tu chi bacan tu santo noh kaknab “it wants to go also to graciously be asked also certainly at the holy great sea”

yetel in kubentic xan in zuhuy santo meyah xan “and I dedicate also my virgin holy work also”

bey xan bacan xan cin kubentic xan in cuenta xan “thus also certainly also I dedicate also my account also”

Ix (and, thus): The word ix as a conjunctive is used rarely today but is quite common in the colonial literature. When ix is a conjunctive it generally follows the words which it is acting upon.

Tancoch katun utzi, tancoch ix ma utzi xani. “Half of the katun is good, and half is not good also.”

He ix u kaba yah kinobe; “Here thus are the names of the priests;”

Ulom ix uezil ti balcahi. “Thus shall return leprosy to the world.”
Ix was frequently paired with another word in the colonial texts:

- bacac ix (even though)
- bal ix (what)
- bay ix (thus)
- ca ix (then)
- he ix (here)
- hi ix (maybe)
- lay ix (thus)
- ma ix (not)
- mac ix (who)
- tab ix (where)
- ti ix (then)
- ua ix (if, or)

Ua (if, or, or an interrogative particle): Aside from the meanings “if” and “or”, ua performs the function of indicating that a question is being asked. It is necessary to use this particle because sometimes inflection and/or word order will not be enough to indicate that a question is being asked.

- Yan ua bin? “Do you have to go?” The pronoun a (you) has been contracted into the interrogative particle ua.
- Ua ma ta bin behlae, yan ua bin zamal? “If you don’t go today, are you going tomorrow?”
- bay nohoch uinic ua ix palaloob xan “whether big people or children also”

The word ua is often used in pairs resulting in “either --- or”.

- ua ten ua tech “either I or you”

Mix (neither --- nor): the use of mix has been noted in Section 59.

- mix ten mix tech “neither I nor you”

Notice that for both ua --- ua and mix --- mix that the first person pronoun ten comes first. The idea that it is impolite to put one’s own self first and thus grammatically an incorrect thing to do as is the case with English does not hold in the Mayan language.

Cex (even if)

- Cex ma ta bin tene yan in bin. “Even if you don’t go I have to go.”

Tun (therefore): tun is used much more than its English counterpart.

- Bix tun can a bete? “How therefore are you going to do it?”

Tun is frequently used as the second word in introductory clauses. Some of the more common clauses are:
Conjunctive Words and Particles

- bay tun — thus therefore (colonial usage)
- bey tun — thus therefore
- ca tun — then therefore
- he tun — here therefore
- lay tun — thus therefore (colonial usage)
- ley tun — thus therefore
- le tun — when therefore (modern spelling)
- lic tun — then therefore (colonial usage)
- ti tun — then therefore

Examples:

ca tun kuchoob ti Nun — “then therefore they arrived at Tinun”
bay tun u kaba — “thus therefore is his/her name”
le tun tech x-cichpam x-chup, — “When therefore you beautiful woman,”

Bey (thus, so), Bay (thus, so; colonial usage): There is a shift from -ay to -ey both in this word and in the companion word lay / ley. This shift appears to have taken place slowly during the colonial period, but is as of yet not complete, there being some examples of -ay still used as will be noted in a moment. Also, in the area around Zac Ii (Valladolid) and Tzimin (Tizimin) the use of bay and lay still predominates.

Bey cu thanoob, bey cu yalcoob. — “Thus they say, thus they speak.”

From bey / bay comes the words beyli / bayli, both of which are found in colonial usage and modern usage. The words mean “always”.

Bayli bey cin betic. — “I always do it like this.”

Ley / lay (thus)

Ley cin ualic tech. — “That’s what I am telling you.”

From ley / lay comes the words leyli / layli, both of which are found in colonial usage and modern usage. The words also mean “always”. Sometimes these words are pronounced leyili / layili.

The demonstrative particle le (Sections 10 and 40) seems to be derived from ley.

It should be noted that in colonial usage phrases or sentences beginning with the words lay, bay, he, heklay, etc, are often bracketed with the words lae or loe.

Examples:

Bay aibanil ichil kulem aib lae. — “Thus it is written in the holy scripture.”

heix tancah parayso lae — “here in the middle of paradise”
Conjunctive Words and Particles

Ca (then)

\textbf{Ca tu yalah beya}, “Then he said like this,”

In colonial times, as noted above, \textit{ca} was frequently paired with \textit{ix} giving \textit{caix} or \textit{caix} (then) and with \textit{tun} giving \textit{ca tun} (then therefore).

\textbf{Pero} (but; borrowed from Spanish), \textit{hetun, heua, heuac} (but; colonial usage): The Mayan words for “but” are very rarely used today.

Examples:

\textbf{Pero bix tun a uohel, xibpal?} “But how do you know, boy?”
(xibpal is used among peers much like “man” is in English.)

\textbf{hetun tu uacppel kinile lay tun u yax chun u kinil ah cuch haab}
“but on the sixth day then (this is) therefore the first day of the year bearer.”
NUMBERS AND NUMBER CLASSIFIERS

71. The abstract numbers hun (one), ca (two), ox (three), can (four) and the interrogative hay (how many?) do not exist by themselves. They are always accompanied by a number classifier which indicates what variety of object is being talked about. The number classifier is suffixed to the number. The most common number classifiers are:

- ppeł inanimate objects
- tul animate objects
- ten times an action is done

Examples:

Q: Hayppel cheen yan ti a cahal? “How many wells are there in your town?”
A: Chen humppel. “Only one.”

Q: Haytul palaloob yan tech? “How many children do you have?”
A: Yan cantul caachi. “There used to be four.”

Q: Hayten binech Ho? “How many times have you gone to Mérida?”

Some of the other number classifiers still in use are:

- cọ rolls of flat things
- cop rolls of long things (string, wire, etc.)
- cuch loads on the back
- cul trees, bushes
- ðac surface area of 20 by 20 meters
- ðapa stacks of flat things
- ðit sticks or long objects such as candles
- hec ears of corn
- kaan distances of 20 meters and also an area 20m by 20m.
- kax things tied in bundles
- lot pairs
- lub leagues
- mal times
- mut strainers full (about 1 liter)
- pak blows
- piz measures (of time, volume, distance)
- ppit bits
- tich strands
- tuy pinches
- tzuc pieces of soft things
- ña journeys
- ual large flat leaves, pages
- xeth pieces, usually of hard, flat things
- zap arm lengths (about 1 meter)
There are some number classifiers which seem to be used only with the number *hun* (one):

- **hunpay** different (the derivation of *-pay* is inexplicable)
- **hun zutuc** in a moment

As was noted in Section 7 the numbers in the Mayan language at this present time do not extend above *can* (four). For the numbers above *can*, or for some speakers above *ox* (three), the Spanish equivalents are used. When a Spanish number is used sometimes the Spanish equivalent of the Mayan number classifier is used with it. However, this depends on several factors, from local usage to personal preference. An example of where the Mayan number classifier is retained while using the Spanish numbers is:

- **huncuch zi** one load of firewood
- **oxcuch zi** three loads of firewood
- **cinco euch zi** five loads of firewood

Occasionally Mayan numbers above *can* are used in rituals today, especially *bolon* (nine) and *oxlahun* (thirteen, often contracted to *oxhun*). As far as can be determined however, almost no one associates a numerical quantity with these numbers but rather a magical quality. The magical quality seems to be in keeping with the qualities associated with these numbers even at the time when the quantities which these numbers represented were understood.

- **ti Bolon Caan Chac**
  to Ninth Heaven Rain God
- **oxhun kin, oxhun akab**
- **oxhuncabalac ca zuten c’ yikel bacan**
  thirteen days, thirteen nights
  thirteen times descending then return our insects certainly

72. The colonial sources which were written by Mayan scribes are quite clear on how the Maya of the period used their number system. The system was vigesimal. The names for the various place holders acted like number classifiers. Some of these are:

- **-kal** units of 20
- **oxkal** three twenties, or 60
- **-bak** units of 400 (i.e. 20 x 20)
- **canbak** four four hundreds, or 1,600
- **-pic** units of 8,000 (i.e. 400 x 20)
- **hunpic** one 8,000, or 8,000
- **-calab** units of 160,000 (i.e. 8,000 x 20)
- **lahun calab** ten 160,000’s, or 1,600,000
Between the colonial sources and the various grammars on the Mayan language there is general agreement for those numbers through twenty:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hun</td>
<td>buluc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca</td>
<td>lahca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ox</td>
<td>oxlahun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can</td>
<td>canlahun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho</td>
<td>holahun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uac</td>
<td>uaclahun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uuc</td>
<td>uuclahun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uaxac</td>
<td>uaxaclahun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolon</td>
<td>bolonlahun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lahun</td>
<td>hunkal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that for numbers from 13 through 19 there are many examples of these numbers being contracted as follows:

- oxhun
- canhun
- hohun / holhun
- uachun
- uuchun
- uaxachun
- bolonhun

According to the colonial sources at the number hunkal (20) the sequence begins again with the word catac (and) being the conjunctive which ties the number together:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hunkal catac hun</td>
<td>20 and 1 (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunkal catac ca</td>
<td>20 and 2 (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunkal catac ox</td>
<td>20 and 3 (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunkal catac bolonlahun</td>
<td>20 and 19 (39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cakal</td>
<td>2 x 20 (40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cakal catac hun</td>
<td>40 and 1 (41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cakal catac ca</td>
<td>40 and 2 (42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oxkal</td>
<td>3 x 20 (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

- hunkal catac uaxacppel haab: “one score and eight years (28 years)”

---

4 See for example the chant Ti Colel Cab given on page 257.
cankal haab catac uachahun pizi: “four score years and sixteen measures (of years) (96 years)”

lahunkal haab catac cankal haabi: “ten score years and four score years (280 years)”

holahunkal haab catac cankal haab caixtac canppel haab: “fifteen score years and four score years and also four years (384 years)”

A rather different method of reckoning, with only one example in the Mayan colonial texts and one example in the Franciscan vocabularies, is as follows:

uaxaclahun tuc bak u haabil catac uuclahun pizi: “eighteen piles on top of 400 years plus 17 measures (777 years)"\(^5\)

There seems however to be quite a bit of confusion about how the number system functioned in the earlier grammar books, starting with Beltrán, for the numbers above twenty. It is difficult to determine what the source of this confusion is. It seems though that what the grammar books have to say about the number system has little relevance to how the number system was employed by the Maya themselves in the colonial texts.

For example, on page 130 of Beltrán’s Arte he states the following:

Catac: En los numerales es conjuncion copulativa, significa: y. V.g.: hunkal catac uaxacppel. viente y ocho.

Notice that here the number “28” is expressed the way it is in the Mayan colonial literature, but that on page 153 of his Arte in the list of numbers “28” is given as uaxactukal. Where this other method of counting comes from is uncertain, and seems generally not used except in works which show a Spanish influence. It is interesting to note that the Motul, page 67v, gives examples of usage which confirm Beltrán’s example about the use of the word catac as shown above: hunkal catac hunppel: viente vno; hokal catac lahun: ciento y diez.

\(^{5}\) If the various vocabularies are correct in how the word tuc functions as a number classifier, this sum amounts to 777 years, derived from (18 x 20) + 400 + 17. See for example DMM: Quinientos: ho tuc bak. (being the sum of (5 x 20) + 400).
73. The verb, because of the number of different tenses needed to adequately express the various times during which an action occurs, is the most difficult part of speech to master. In the Mayan language there is an extra problem in that the verb goes through different conjugations depending on whether or not an object is expressed. In English there is no difference in the conjugation of a verb whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. For example there is no change in the verb “to eat” if we say “I am eating bread.” (transitive) or “I am eating.” (intransitive). In the Mayan language however the verb conjugations differ depending on whether the verb is transitive or intransitive.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tan in hanal.} & \quad \text{“I am eating.” (intransitive)} \\
\text{Tan in hantic uah.} & \quad \text{“I am eating bread.” (transitive)}
\end{align*}
\]

In both cases the auxiliary verb tense indicator tan, the personal pronoun in, and the verb root han- are the same. However the verb endings for the transitive and intransitive verbs are different.

For passive verbs, English does have a different conjugation, and so does Mayan.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tan in hantaal.} & \quad \text{“I am being eaten.”}
\end{align*}
\]

In the Mayan language therefore there are three basic sets of conjugation: transitive, intransitive, and passive. In this grammar each conjugation will be looked at separately.

74. The Mayan verb usually appears in four principal forms in each conjugation. There are however some verbs which by their nature are defective and thus are lacking one or more of these forms. These four forms are:

\[
\begin{align*}
general \text{ form} \quad & \text{second form} \\
third \text{ form} \quad & \text{fourth form}
\end{align*}
\]

The most common form of a verb in any one of the conjugations is the one used both with the majority of the auxiliary verb tense indicators and with the habitual tenses. This form is called in this grammar the general form. In colonial dictionaries intransitive and passive verbs are often listed using this form.

The second form is used in the various past perfect tenses. The action expressed in these tenses is action which was completed in a relatively short period of time. In colonial dictionaries transitive verbs are often listed using this form.

The third form is used in the past action-continuing purpose tenses. The action expressed in these tenses happened in the past, but the purpose for
which the action was done continued for some time, usually through the present.

The fourth form is used both in future tenses and in certain past tenses, depending on the auxiliary verb tense indicator associated with it. The transitive fourth form is also used somewhat like our infinitive in a transitive infinitive clause.

75. In the description of each of the conjugations which follows some sample verbs are given for examples. These verbs are listed with their four forms if they are not defective. For the intransitive and passive verbs since the second, third, and fourth forms are conjugated with Set B pronouns the third person singular only is given in the examples.

As noted in the foreword to this grammar the tenses in the conjugations of Mayan verbs do not fit neatly into the Latin verb model which, rightly or wrongly, has been applied to other European languages such as English. We have decided to try a different approach to describing what each of the various Mayan tenses is expressing in terms of when an action is taking place. What we have done is to arrange the various tenses linearly in order starting with the remote past and continuing to the distant future, and for those tenses for which there is no exact tense denomination in the Latin model, which is for most of them, there are descriptions of the meaning of those tenses. Since irregularities within any one tense do not exist as they do in the English language only the third person singular is given for each tense.

It should be noted that the tenses of Mayan verbs tend to be more precise in their expression of the time that the action of the tense takes place than their English counterparts. On the other hand, and this may seem like an inconsistency, once a time frame has been established in a conversation the verb tenses which follow may not coincide with what should actually be used. Frequently once a time frame has been set the following verbs will be given in a present tense. This can be seen in the accompanying short stories.

76. Sometimes a consonant, usually -t- or -l-, or the causative marker -z- is inserted between the verb root and the verb ending. This happens with transitive and passive verbs but not with the intransitive verbs. To see what effect these consonants have on verb roots we shall look at the verb roots uk (to drink), han (to eat), hay (to stretch out), naac (to raise), cim (to die), and can (to learn). These effects will be discussed following the table.

The table here shows the verb roots and the general form for each of the conjugations. Notice that only for the verb root can are there three possibilities: the verb root without a consonant, with the consonants -t-, and with the causative marker -z-. There are very few verb roots which appear in more than one of these possibilities.
The verb root uk (to drink) does not take a consonant. The meaning of the verb in each conjugation is straightforward:

- **ukic** to drink something
- **ukul** to drink
- **ukaal** to be drunken

For the verb root han (to eat) the -t- seems to have no particular effect on the meaning of the verb. This seems to be true of all verbs using the consonant -t-. It seems to have no effect on the meaning of the verb, but rather seems to be applied for the balance of sound.

- **hantic** to eat something
- **hanal** to eat
- **hantaal** to be eaten

For the verb root hay (to stretch out) the -l- seems to have no particular effect on the meaning of the verb. This seems to be true of all verbs using the consonant -l-. It seems to have no effect on the meaning of the verb, but rather seems to be applied for the balance of sound.

- **haylic** to stretch out something
- **hayal** to stretch out
- **haylaal** to be stretched out

For the verb root naac (to raise) however the -z- does have an effect on the meaning of the verb. The -z- is called a causative marker, and one could translate naaczic as “to cause to raise”.

- **naaczic** to lift something
- **naacal** to raise
- **naaczaal** to be lifted
Another example of this change of meaning caused by the addition of the causative -z- can be seen in the verb root cim (to die).

- cimzic: to kill something
- cimil: to die
- cimzaal: to be killed

Again, one could translate cimzic as “to cause to die” just as naaczic could be translated “to cause to raise”.

There are a few cases where a verb root is used both with and without the causative marker -z-. One of these verb roots is can (to learn). In the colonial times the word can, as a noun, meant “speech / conversation”, and was a synonym for than (speech, language). Can is no longer in use today in this capacity. In colonial times verb root can (to speak) appeared with the consonant -t-.

- canic: to learn something
- cantic: to converse (colonial usage only)
- canzic: to teach something
- canal: to learn
- canzabal: to be taught

The word canic, which is unaffected by a consonant, is equivalent to “to learn”, and canzic, with its causative marker -z- yields “to cause to learn”. Of these three forms, only cantic has preserved the meaning of the noun can (speech). This could be an indication that there was a shift from the meaning “to speak” to “to learn” for the verb root can.

The consonant -t- is also used in the formation of composite verbs, in which two verbs roots are combined to from a new verb.

- cha nuctic: to understand and consider another person’s point of view, from cha (to take) and nuc (to answer)
- ɔa nuctic: to make oneself understood, from ɔa (to give) and nuc (to answer).

There is an indication in the colonial manuscripts and dictionaries that the earlier form of the causative marker was -ez-. However, even in these sources the use of the -e- in -ez- is limited mostly to the fourth form. Examples of this usage are:

- talez: to bring: from tal, to come
- ocez: to stick in, to admit, to accept: from oc, to enter
- lukez: to take out: from luk, to go out, to leave

Ocez a uol tu than hunab ku. “Believe (accept in you heart) the word of the one and only god.”

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TRANSITIVE VERBS

77. The transitive verb endings appended to the verb root to form the transitive verbs are:

-ic general form
-ah second form
-ma / -mah third form
-e, or no ending fourth form

Notice that for the fourth form there are two alternatives. Judging from what we have noticed in formal speech and also the way this form is generally written in the colonial texts the true form of the fourth form is -e. However even in the colonial texts there are examples of this suffix being contracted out, indicating that the custom of omitting the fourth form suffix has long been in effect. In the sample verbs that follow only one, hay (to stretch out), is shown in the fourth form with the suffix -e, whereas the other verbs are shown with no suffix. That is because in our judgement things have gotten to the state today with the fourth form that the standard way of using this form is without the suffix -e. The verb hay retains the suffix most probably because of the consonant -l- which forces the retention of the -e or the -l- would also be lost.

The fourth form suffix -e is not to be confused with the third person singular accusative case pronoun -e which can also appended onto the verb. Generally when the suffix -e is a pronoun it is clear that it is the pronoun because the verbal suffix comes in between it and the verb root. For example with the general form for the verb bet (to do, to make) the addition of the pronoun -e would produce betice or more commonly betce in which the -i- is contracted out. However when the -e is used with the fourth form it is not exactly clear what the -e is without looking at the context in which the verb appears. If the verb is followed by a direct object then the -e is the fourth form suffix, but if there is no apparent direct object, then -e is itself the object.

The third form: -mah is also written -ma in the colonial dictionaries and grammars written by the Spanish friars and in the colonial literature written by the Maya themselves, but more frequently written -mah in modern literature.

The fourth form in colonial usage: -Vb is a transitive verb form suffix given in the colonial dictionaries and texts which was used with verb roots which do not take an intervening consonant or particle. However, for those verbs which had and have the consonants -t- and -z- or the particles -ez-, -bez-, -cint-, -cunt-, etc., their fourth forms used the suffix -Ce (ie. -te, -ze, -beze, -cinte, -cunte, etc.) as they still do presently, or alternatively, in the case of the particles, used no suffix (ie. -ez, -bez, -cun, -cint, -cunt, etc.). The first and second examples below are parallel in grammatical construction and show the use of -Vb and -te. The third and fourth examples are also parallel.
examples of the use of the fourth forms, but example the third example is unusual in that it uses both -\textit{V}b and -\textit{te} in the verbal suffix. In the fifth, sixth, and seventh examples both fourth form transitive suffixes can be seen being used as transitive infinitives in parallel sentences. The last example is an example of the fourth form transitive with the suffix -\textit{cunt}.

\begin{Verbatim}
Bin u tuzub homol tza, hoc muc tza.
Bin u mucchekte u halach unincil cah.
Ca emi u chekebte u pach Itzam Cab Ain.
Ca tali u chekeb u pach Chac Xib Chac te Chi Cheen.
Uatal in caah in chucub hunac ah chibal.
Uatal in caah in colpayte u kaan.
Uatal in caah in paab bla u kax can, ix hun pe\textcircled{o} kin can.
Ocol tun bacin in caah in zizzcunt a uol.
\end{Verbatim}

Thus for example in the colonial literature the verb root \textit{mek} (to embrace) would be given as follows:

\textit{mekic, mekah, mekmah, mekeb}

It is not clear when the suffix -\textit{V}b became obsolete, but in our experience it is no longer used today.

\section*{MODEL TRANSITIVE VERBS}

78. Given below are the four forms of model verbs:

\textbf{Mek} is the verb root for “embrace”. The transitive forms are:

\textit{mekic, mekah, mekmah, mekeb}

\textbf{Naac} is the verb root for indicating upward motion. In the transitive conjugation \textit{naac} appears with the causative marker particle -\textit{z}, placed between it and the verbal endings. The meaning of the verb is “lift”.

\textit{naaczic, naaczah, naaczmah, naacz}

\textbf{Han} is the verb root for “eat”. In the transitive conjugation \textit{han} appears with the particle -\textit{t}, placed between it and the verbal endings.

\textit{hantic, hantah, hantmah, hant}

\textbf{Hay} is the verb root for “stretched out”. In the transitive conjugation \textit{hay} appears with the particle -\textit{l}, placed between it and the verbal endings.

\textit{haylic, haylah, haylmah, hayle}

79. Transitive conjugation time sequence. Note that the transitive verb must express an object. The model verb used here is \textit{bet} (to make) (\textit{betic, betah, betmah, bet}), and \textit{u col} (his garden) is used as the object for the purpose of example.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tu betah u col uch caachi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“He made his garden long ago.” Past perfect modified by uch caachi (long ago).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cu betic u col uch caachi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“He used to make his garden long ago.” Past habitual modified by uch caachi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U betmah u col uch caachi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“He made and used his garden long ago.” Past action - continuing purpose modified by uch caachi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This tense is explained in its unmodified state.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uch u bet u col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“He made his garden long ago and is using it still.” Very past action - continuing purpose.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similar to the past action - continuing purpose tense except that the action took place further in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the past.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu betah u col caachi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past perfect modified by caachi (a while ago).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cu betic u col caachi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past habitual modified by caachi (a while ago).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U betmah u col caachi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past action - continuing purpose modified by caachi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu betah u col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“He made his garden.” Past perfect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U betmah u col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“He made his garden and is using it.” Past action - continuing purpose. The sense of this tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is that the actual action is completed, but the purpose for which the action was performed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continues. In this case, the garden was made and continues to be used.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ŋoc (specified time) u bet u col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“He made his garden a specified time ago.” Specified past perfect. Example: Ŋoc humppel haab u bet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u col. (He made his garden one year ago.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ŋoc u betic u col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“He just made his garden.” Immediate past perfect. Ŋoc has the sense of “just”, but doubles as the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb root for “to finish”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cu betic u col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zuc u betic u col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tan u betic u col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bet in col!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bete! / Betex!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nu caah u bet u col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tac u betic u col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yan u betic u col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabet u betic u col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He u betic u col...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ca u betic u col.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive Verbs

Bin u bet u col. col. (I just told him that he should make his garden.)
Bin u betic u col.
Cun u bet u col.
Cun u betic u col. “He will make his garden.” Definite future. Note that both the fourth form and the general form may be used. In the colonial grammars the fourth form is always shown in the conjugation of transitive verbs, but in both the colonial sources and in modern speech no particular preference has been noted. The third and fourth alternatives are used only after adverbial particles.

The pronominal changes for these tenses are regular and are to be found in Sections 32 and 37.

80. The imperative is, as in English, defective, being used only in the second person singular and plural. However, from examples in the colonial literature it seems that the transitive imperative is in fact derived from the transitive suggested future tense, and that the introductory words Ca a ... (That you) have been dropped in the modern imperative.

Ca a talez ten in uah. “Bring me my tortillas.” Colonial usage. There are examples of the imperative with and without Ca a ...
Talez ten in uah.
Taze! “Bring it!” Used when the object to be brought is already known.

81. Negation: the negation of the foregoing tenses is generally accomplished by preceding the tense by ma (not).
Ma tan u betic u col. “He is not making his garden.”

Exceptions are the following:
Ma tu betic u col. Negated habitual tense. The time indicator consonant is changed from c- to t-. Note that the negation of the contraction of the immediate present is the same.
Ma tun u bet u col. Negated definite future. Tun is the contraction of tu bin which can also be used.
Transitive Verbs

For the negation of the habitual action and immediate present tenses however some verbs are irregular. For the habitual action tense instead of changing the time indicator from \( \text{c-} \) to \( \text{t-} \) the time indicator is eliminated. For the immediate present the auxiliary verb tense indicator \( \text{tan} \) is replaced by \( \text{ma} \). The quality of the negation is imperative.

\begin{align*}
\text{Ma a cimzcen.} & \quad \text{“Don’t kill me.”} \\
\text{Ma a ɔaiɔ aç ti.} & \quad \text{“Don’t give him medicine.”}
\end{align*}

82. Interrogatives: interrogative phrases using the foregoing conjugation generally use the tenses as they are.

\begin{align*}
\text{Tuux tu betah u col?} & \quad \text{“Where did he make his garden?”} \\
\text{Exception:} & \\
\text{Tuux cun u bet u col?} & \quad \text{“Where is he going to make his garden?” Interrogative definite future.} \\
& \quad \text{The \( \text{bin} \) is replaced by \( \text{cun} \) which is a contraction of \( \text{cu bin} \), which can also be used.}
\end{align*}

Transformation of Certain Verb Roots
from the Colonial Period to Modern Times

Concerning the origin of the verb root \( \text{bet} \): mention should be made of the fact that the modern verb \( \text{bet} \) is in fact derived from the colonial verb root \( \text{beel} \) with the particle \( \text{-t-} \) placed between it and the verbal suffixes. The colonial form of this transitive verb is \( \text{beeltic, beeltah, beeltma, beelte} \), and the passive form is \( \text{beeltabal, beeltabi, beeltabaan, beeltabac} \). There are no examples of the intransitive forms of this verb, since by its nature it must take a subject and an object. It is not clear when \( \text{bet} \) became the sole surviving form of this verb. Both forms were used at least up through the 18th century.

A somewhat similar transformation has taken place with the verb roots \( \text{biz} \) (to take) and \( \text{taz} \) (to bring) which are derived from the verb roots \( \text{bin} \) and \( \text{tal} \). See Sections 119-122 for further discussion about the modern and colonial forms of these two common verb roots.
Transitive Verbs

A Note about the Listing of Transitive Verbs
in Colonial Dictionaries and Grammars

In the colonial dictionaries and grammars transitive verbs are normally listed using the following format:

- **alin.tah,te**
  - to give birth
- **an.tah,te**
  - to help
- **bak.ah,ab**
  - to tie up
- **cha nuc.tah,te**
  - to take into consideration
- **mançah / l. maneçah**
  - to pass something along
- **mek.ah,eb**
  - to embrace

However, it is clear from examples of usage given in these colonial works that the four transitive forms of these verbs are as follows:

- **alintic, alintah, alintmah, alinte**
- **antic, antah, antmah, ante**
- **bakic, bakah, bakmah, bakab**
- **cha nuctic, cha nuctah, cha nuctmah, cha nucte**
- **manzic, manzah / manezah, manzmah, manez**
- **mekic, mekah, mekmah, mekeb**

For some undetermined reason transitive verbs are listed in the colonial works using the second form, and depending on the verb type, the fourth form, whereas the intransitive and passive verbs are listed using the general form. In fact, the grammars of Coronel (1620) and San Buenaventura (1684) ignore the general form of the transitive verb in their exposition on verbs, but oddly enough give plenty of examples of usage of the general form when working with other parts of speech. The grammar of Beltrán (1746) rectifies this deficiency and talks about the general form, but in his list of verbs he still gives the transitive verbs with their second and fourth forms, while listing the intransitive verbs with their general, second, and fourth forms.

To add to the confusion, from time to time a transitive verb will be listed in the colonial dictionaries and grammars using the third form **-mal / -mah**, such as **almah / halmah** (to say). However, the four forms of this verb still follow the general format:

- **alic, alah, almah, alab / ale**

See page 376 for the facsimile of page 1r of the Calepino Maya de Motul and page 377 for a transcript of this page, with a footnote talking about the inconsistency with which the entries for verb **tah.te** are presented in that work.
INTRANSITIVE VERBS

83. The normal modern regular intransitive verb suffixes appended to the verb root to form the intransitive verbs are:

-\( \text{-Vl} \) general form
-\( \text{-i, -hi} \) second form
-\( \text{-aan} \) third form
-\( \text{-Vc} \) fourth form

However, the intransitive verbs are often irregular as will be seen in the examples.

For the general form when the verb is regular the vowel in the verb suffix -\( \text{Vl} \) agrees with the vowel of the verb root. Two of the more common irregularities are those verb roots which appear in the general form as the verb root itself and those verb roots which tack on the verb suffix of -\( \text{tal} \). The general form is conjugated with Set A pronouns, as will be seen in Section 84.

For the second form, those verb roots which do not take on a verb suffix in the general form usually use -\( \text{nahi} \) as their second form and those verb root which take the verb suffix -\( \text{tal} \) in the general form usually use -\( \text{lahi} \) as their second form. The second form, as was noted in Section 75, is conjugated with Set B pronouns, and is listed in the third person singular, -\( \text{i} \).

For the third form today -\( \text{aan} \) is generally standard, although in some cases for those verbs which use -\( \text{nahi} \) the suffix -\( \text{nahaan} \) is an alternative, and for those verbs which use -\( \text{lahi} \) the suffix -\( \text{lahaan} \) is an alternative. The third form, as was noted in Section 75, is conjugated with Set B pronouns, and is listed in the third person singular. However the third person singular pronoun, -\( \text{i} \), since at least early colonial times has been contracted out. The third form is also used as an adjectival past participle as noted in Section 56. Examples: \( \text{labaan che} \) = rotten tree, \( \text{lubaan tunich} \) = fallen stone, etc.

For the fourth form the vowel in -\( \text{Vc} \) agrees with the vowel in the general form. Those intransitive verbs which use -\( \text{nahi} \) in the second form use -\( \text{nac} \) in the fourth form and those intransitive verbs which use -\( \text{lahi} \) in the second form use -\( \text{lac} \) in the fourth form. The fourth form, as was noted in Section 75, is conjugated with Set B pronouns, and is listed in the third person singular. However the third person singular pronoun, -\( \text{i} \), since mid-colonial times is frequently contracted out and is rarely if ever used today.

\text{Mek} \) is the verb root for “embrace”. The intransitive forms are:

\text{mek, meknahi, mekaan, meknac} \)

\text{Naac} \) is the verb root for indicating upward motion. As noted in the transitive conjugation \( \text{naac} \) appears with the causative marker particle -\( \text{z} \) placed between it and the verbal suffixes. The meaning of the verb in the transitive conjugation
Intransitive Verbs

conjugation is “to lift”. In the intransitive conjugation however the meaning of naacal is “to climb, to raise up”.

naacal, naaci, naacaan, naacac

Han is the verb root for “eat”. In the transitive conjugation han appears with the particle -t- placed between it and the verbal suffixes. Here however it appears without that consonant.

hanal, hani, hanaan, hanac

Lub is the verb root for “to fall”. This verb, like han (to eat), is regular, but the vowel is u.

lubul, lubi, lubaan, lubuc

Cux is the verb root for “to live”. This verb uses -tal for its general form.

cuxtal, cuxtahi, cuxaan, cuxlac

It is our opinion, although this is not based on actual fact in terms of concrete examples, that the intransitive conjugation was once also just as regular as the transitive and archaic passive conjugations still are. We feel that due to the propensity of the Mayan language to use contractions the intransitive conjugation has been long subjected to these contractions to such a degree that the true form of this conjugation is no longer known, nor was it known even in the period of first contact with European culture. At least if it was known this knowledge was not passed on to the writers of the various dictionaries and grammars. However, knowledge of the true form of the intransitive conjugation lingers on subconsciously as can be seen in how a Spanish verb is transformed into a Mayan intransitive verb. For example, the Spanish verb juntar (to gather) is transformed into the Mayan intransitive verb “to gather” as follows:

juntar, juntarnahi, juntarnahaan, juntarnac

As will be seen in Section 184 this set of suffixes (-, -nahi, -nahaan, -nac) is the standard one used for transforming Spanish verbs into Mayan intransitive verbs.

When we combine the use of this suffix set to transform Spanish verbs into intransitive Mayan verbs with the information presented in Sections 100 - 104 in which various sets of intransitive verb suffixes transform various parts of speech into intransitive verbs we come to the conclusion that there was in fact once an uniform underlying structure to the intransitive conjugation. The form of that structure was:

-Cahal, -Cahi, -Cahaani, -Cahaci

in which the “C” is a consonant of the following values: n, ch, l, p, t, k, ɔ (listed more or less in the order of importance). Thus the following were the
Intransitive Verbs

full uncontracted sets of intransitive verb suffixes:

- nahal, - nahi, - nahaani, - nahaci
- chahal, - chahi, - chahaani, - chahaci
- lahal, - lahi, - lahaani, - lahaci
- pahal, - pahi, - pahaani, - pahaci
- tahal, - tahi, - tahaani, - tahaci
- kahal, - kahi, - kahaani, - kahaci
- ɔahal, - ɔahi, - ɔahaani, - ɔahaci

One could say that there is in fact an intransitive verb marker, namely “-Cah-”, just as there is, as shown in Section 91, a passive verb marker, namely “-ab-”, which is inserted between the verb root and a standard set of verb suffixes. These standard verb suffixes which operate for the intransitive and passive conjunctions are:

- al, -i, -aani, -aci

Remember that the general form is conjugated with Set A pronouns while the second, third and fourth forms are conjugated with Set B pronouns. Thus the third person singular Set B pronoun -i is shown with these three forms.

Now, if one compares verbs using the standardized complete intransitive verb suffixes with the examples of modern intransitive verbs given above one can see that in every case the modern verb suffixes can be construed to be contracted subsets of the complete suffix sets. For example:

mek, meknahi, mekaan, meknac
meknahal, meknahi, meknahaani, meknahaci

In the general form of mek the suffix is lost completely. In the second form there is no change. In the third form the intransitive verb marker -nah- is lost as well as, in the third person singular only, the personal pronoun -i. In the fourth form the -ah- of the marker is lost as well as, in the third person singular only, the personal pronoun -i.

naacal, naaci, naacaan, naacac
naacnahal, naacnahaani, naacnahaci

In this case in all forms the intransitive verb marker -nah- has been lost as well as for the third and fourth forms, in the third person singular only, the personal pronoun -i.

cuxt, cuxlahi, cuxaan, cuxlac
cuxlahal, cuxlahi, cuxlahaani, cuxlahaci

In the general form for the verb root cux the suffix has for some reason taken on the contracted form of the suffix -tahal. We have no explanation for this transformation. In the second form there is no change. In the third form the intransitive verb marker -lah- is lost as well as, in the third person singular
only, the personal pronoun -i. In the fourth form the -ah- of the marker is lost as well as, in the third person singular only, the personal pronoun -i.

Notice that in the third and fourth forms in all cases the third person singular pronoun has been lost. As will be shown in the paradigms in Sections 86 and 87, this is the only pronoun to be lost. For the third form the third person singular pronoun has been lost ever since colonial times, and we have not found any examples of its usage. On the other hand, there are examples of the fourth form both with and without the third person singular pronoun all through the colonial literature and it seems to us that the use of this pronoun can still be heard today.

In summary, we feel that the intransitive conjugation is in fact based upon a regular conjugation, but that it has given way to contracted forms over the centuries to such an extent that today the conjugation gives the appearance of being irregular. If this assumption is correct, then the range of contractions for each of the four forms is as follows:

- Cahal: -tal / -hal / -VI / -
- Cahí: -hi / -i
- Cahaani: -Cahaan / -aan
- Cahaci: -Cahci / -Caci / -aci / -ci
- Cahac / -Cac / -Vc

While the above discussion is not of much help to the reader in helping him know what the modern form of any particular modern intransitive verb will be, it should be pointed out that when in doubt, a person speaking modern Mayan who is unsure of what the modern-day form of an intransitive verb is can get away with using the standardized form. While the result may sound peculiar to the Mayan listener, at least it will be grammatically correct and unmistakable in its intent. Furthermore, the above discussion may be of some significance for those dealing with hieroglyphs. That is, there is an indication that the verb suffix -nahal may exist if a reading offered by Dieter Dütting is correct. (T1.756.568:23 - 683:102 = u.dzi.u:l - nahal) Whether this is a correct reading or not, the knowledge of these standardized suffixes may be of help when working on the problem of decipherment.

84. Intransitive conjugation time sequence. The model verb used here is hok (to go out) (hokol, hoki, hokaan, hokoc). Most of the tenses have been explained in the previously in the transitive conjugation. The new tenses are explained as they appear.

**Hoki uch caachi.**

“He came out long ago.” Past perfect modified by uch caachi (long ago).

**Cu hokol uch caachi.**

“He used to come out long ago.” Past habitual modified by uch caachi.
### Intransitive Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hokaan uch caachi.</strong></td>
<td>“He came out and stayed out long ago.” Past action - continuing purpose modified by uch caachi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Uch hokoc</strong></td>
<td>“He came out long ago and is still out.” Very past action - continuing purpose.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hoki caachi.</strong></td>
<td>Past perfect modified by caachi (a while ago).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cu hokol caachi.</strong></td>
<td>Past habitual modified by caachi (a while ago).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hokaan caachi.</strong></td>
<td>Past action - continuing purpose modified by caachi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hoki.</strong></td>
<td>“He came out.” Past perfect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hokaan.</strong></td>
<td>“He came out and has stayed out.” Past action - continuing purpose.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>&amp;oc (specified time) hokoc</strong></td>
<td>“He came out a specified time ago.” Specified past perfect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>&amp;oc u hokol.</strong></td>
<td>“He just came out.” Immediate past perfect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cu hokol.</strong></td>
<td>“He comes out.” Habitual action.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zuc u hokol.</strong></td>
<td>“He is accustomed to coming out.” Accustomed habitual tense.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tan u hokol.</strong></td>
<td>“He is coming out.” Immediate present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hoken!</strong></td>
<td>“Come out!” Imperative. The plural is Hokeneex!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nu caah hokol.</strong></td>
<td>“He is just beginning to come out.” Immediate future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tac u hokol.</strong></td>
<td>“He wants to come out.” Desired future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yan u hokol.</strong></td>
<td>“He has to come out.” Obligated future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kabet u hokol.</strong></td>
<td>“He needs to come out.” Necessitated future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>He u hokol...</strong></td>
<td>“He will come out (if)...” Conditional future.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Intransitive Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ca hokoc.</strong></td>
<td>“... that he should come out”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suggested future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bin hokoc. / Cun hokol.</strong></td>
<td>“He will come out.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Definite future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The second alternative is used only after adverbial particles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hokom.</strong></td>
<td>“He shall come out.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prophetic future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This tense is quite common in colonial literature but is no longer in use. It seems not to be conjugatable, there being only examples of this tense in the third person. For those verbs whose second form is -lahi this tense is -lahom and for those with -nahi this tense is -nom.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As was noted in the introductory remarks to this chapter on verbs, Section 75, and then again in Section 83, the second, third, and fourth forms of the intransitive verbs are conjugated in each tense using Set B pronouns. Examples of these conjugations are given here.

85. The conjugation of the second form:

For the verb root **hok** (to come out):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>hoken</td>
<td>hokoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>hokech</td>
<td>hokeex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>hoki</td>
<td>hokoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the verb root **han** (to eat):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>hanen</td>
<td>hanoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>hanech</td>
<td>haneex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>hani</td>
<td>hanoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

6 While this tense -om is called “prophetic future” here there is in fact no Arte which actually describes this tense and in fact Beltrán in his 1742 Arte claims that there is no such tense. However, the colonial texts give a number of examples of this tense, mostly in the prophetic texts, and thus the name given here. The Calepino Maya de Motul also gives some examples of this tense as for example: Elom: lo que se ha de quemar o arder sin falta (that which shall burn without fail). See the text in the Anthology called U Than Oxlahun ti Ku in which several examples of this tense are given, including the verb elom. As pointed out on page 28 of this Grammar, the suffix -om is also used to denote the position or office of a person.
## Intransitive Verbs

For the verb root **mek** (to embrace):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>meknahen</td>
<td>meknahoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>meknahech</td>
<td>meknaheex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>meknahi</td>
<td>meknahoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the verb root **cux** (to live):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>cuxlahen</td>
<td>cuxlahoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>cuxlahech</td>
<td>cuxlaheex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>cuxlahi</td>
<td>cuxlahoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

86. The conjugation of the third form:

For the verb root **hok** (to come out):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>hokaanen</td>
<td>hokaanoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>hokaanech</td>
<td>hokaaneex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>hokaan</td>
<td>hokaanoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the verb root **han** (to eat):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>hanaanen</td>
<td>hanaanoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>hanaanech</td>
<td>hanaaneex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>hanaan</td>
<td>hanaanoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the verb root **mek** (to embrace):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>mekaanen</td>
<td>mekaanoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>mekaanech</td>
<td>mekaaneex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>mekaan</td>
<td>mekaanoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the verb root **cux** (to live):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>cuxaanen</td>
<td>cuxaanoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>cuxaanech</td>
<td>cuxaaneex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>cuxaan</td>
<td>cuxaanoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

87. The conjugation of the fourth form:

For the verb root **hok** (to come out):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>regular</td>
<td><strong>hokocen</strong></td>
<td><strong>hokocoon</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>hokocen</td>
<td>hokocoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>hokocech</td>
<td>hokoceex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>hokoc</td>
<td>hokocoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Intransitive Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>contracted</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>hoken</td>
<td>hokoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>hokech</td>
<td>hokeex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>hokoc</td>
<td>hokoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the verb root **han** (to eat):  
regular

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>hanacen</td>
<td>hanacoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>hanacech</td>
<td>hanaceex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>hanac</td>
<td>hanacoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

contracted

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>hancen</td>
<td>hancoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>hancech</td>
<td>hanceex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>hanac</td>
<td>hancoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the verb root **mek** (to embrace):

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>meknacen</td>
<td>meknacoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>meknacech</td>
<td>meknaceex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>meknac</td>
<td>meknacoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the verb root **cux** (to live):

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>cuxlacen</td>
<td>cuxlacoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>cuxlacech</td>
<td>cuxlaceex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>cuxlac</td>
<td>cuxlacoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that for the contractions of fourth form verbs whose roots end in **-c** or **-k** that with the exception of the third person singular these contractions result in the same words as their corresponding persons from the conjugation of the second form.

88. The imperative is, as in English, defective, but is pluralized by the addition of the suffix **-eex**.

**hok** (to come out)  **Hoken!**  **Hokeneex!**  
**han** (to eat)  **Hanen!**  **Haneneex!**

The intransitive conjugation is the only conjugation which has a true imperative. As mentioned in the transitive conjugation, what is now taken to be the transitive imperative appears to be derived from the transitive suggested future tense.
89. Negation: the negation of the foregoing tenses is generally accomplished by preceding the tense by *ma* (not).

Ma hoki. “He did not come out.”

Exceptions are the following:

Ma tu hokol. Negated habitual tense. The time indicator consonant is changed from c- to t-. Note that the negation of the contraction of the immediate present is the same.

Ma tun hokol. Negated definite future. *Tun* is the contraction of *tu bin* which can also be used, and the general form takes the place of the fourth form. See infinitives in Sections 107-110.

90. Interrogatives: interrogative phrases using the foregoing conjugation generally use the tenses as they are.

Baax hora hokaannech? “When did you come out?”

Exception:

Tuux cun hokol? “Where is he going to come out?” Interrogative definite future. The *bin* is replaced by *cun* which is a contraction of *cu bin*, which can also be used.
PASSIVE VERBS

91. The normal passive verb suffixes appended to the verb root to form the passive verbs are:

- aal, -ab, -abal general form
- abi second form
- aan, -abaan third form
- aac, -abac fourth form

However, the passive verbs are somewhat irregular as will be seen in the examples.

As can be seen, the passive verb suffixes are similar to the intransitive verb suffixes, but the passive conjugation is distinguished from the intransitive conjugation by two features. The first feature is that the consonants -t, -l, -z, or the causative marker -bez-, agreeing with that used in the transitive conjugation, is tacked onto the verb root before the addition of the passive verb suffixes. The second feature is that the passive marker -ab- is, for the standard or uncontracted suffixes, placed between the verb root or verb root plus consonant and the standard set of verb suffixes which operate for the intransitive and passive conjugations, as shown in Section 83. Again, these standard verb suffixes are:

- al, -i, -aani, -aci

Remember that the general form is conjugated with Set A pronouns while the second, third and fourth forms are conjugated with Set B pronouns, thus the ideal existence of the third person singular pronoun -i for these three forms. Thus the ideal suffixes for the passive conjugation are:

- abal, -abi, -abaani, -abaci

However in present-day intransitive and passive conjugations, as already noted in Section 83, for the third and fourth forms, and in the passive conjugation occasionally the second form, the third person singular pronoun is contracted out. Furthermore the b of the passive marker -ab- is often dropped except in the second form, resulting in a glottal-stopped -aa-, or alternatively for the general form the verbal suffix -al is dropped. Thus, using the verb root han (to eat) which, as noted in Section 77 takes the consonant -t-, the passive conjugation of this verb is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>standard suffixes</th>
<th>contracted suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hantabal</td>
<td>hantaal / hantab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hantabi</td>
<td>hantabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hantabaan</td>
<td>hantaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hantabac</td>
<td>hantaac</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concerning the frequency of use of the standard versus the contracted passive suffixes it seems that certain verbs tend more towards the use of the standard
suffixes in most instances while others tend toward the use of contracted suffixes. For example, of the verbs listed below the verb root mek tends to use the contracted form mostly, the verb root han tends towards the use of the contracted suffixes moderately, the verb roots naac and lik are equally inclined to use both the contracted and standard suffixes, and the verb root hay tends towards using the standard suffixes strongly.

Mek is the verb root for “embrace”. The passive forms are:

mekaal / mekab, mekibri, mekaan, mekaac

Naac is the verb root for indicating upward motion. As noted in the transitive conjugation naac appears with the causative marker particle -z- placed between it and the verbal suffixes. The meaning of the verb in the transitive conjugation is “to lift”. In the passive conjugation the meaning of naaczaal / naaczabal is “to be lifted”.

naaczaal / naaczab, naaczabi, naaczaan, naaczaac
naaczabal, naaczabi, naaczabaan, naaczabac

Han is the verb root for “eat”. In the transitive and passive conjugations han appears with the particle -t- placed between it and the verbal suffixes.

hantaal / hantab, hantabi, hantaan, hantaac
hantabal, hantabi, hantabaan, hantabac

Hay is the verb root for “stretch out”. In the transitive and passive conjugations hay appears with the particle -l- placed between it and the verbal suffixes.

haylabal, haylabi, haylabaaan, haylabac
haylaal / haylab, haylabi, haylaan, haylaac

Lik is the verb root for “to get up”. With the causative -z- the transitive becomes “to pick up” and the passive becomes “to be picked up”, which by extension means “to be put away”. This verb is included here because the third form shows a common irregularity.

likzaal / likzab, likzabi, likzaanaan, likzaac
likzabal, likzabi, likzaanaan, likzabac

A couple of irregularities in this conjugation will be noted as we go through the passive conjugation time sequence. There are instances where the particles -bil and -bilac can be used with the verb root plus consonant if any to form alternative ways of stating a couple of the tenses. The use of the particle -bil along with -aam were looked at in Section 56. Examples: labaan che = rotten tree, lubaan tunich = fallen stone, tzahbil he = fried egg, pibil nal = roasted corn, etc.

92. Passive conjugation time sequence. The model verb used here is han (to eat) (hantaal, hantabi, hantaan, hantaac). The tenses have been explained
Passive Verbs

in the previously in the transitive and intransitive conjugations.

Hantabi in col uch caachi. “My garden was eaten long ago.” Past perfect modified by uch caachi (long ago).

Cu hantaal in col uch caachi. Cu hantab in col uch caachi. “My garden used to be eaten long ago.” Past habitual modified by uch caachi.

Hantaan in col uch caachi. “My garden was eaten and stayed eaten long ago.” Past action - continuing purpose modified by uch caachi.

Uch hantaac in col. “My garden was eaten long ago and is still eaten.” Very past action - continuing purpose.

Hantabi in col caachi. Past perfect modified by caachi (a while ago).

Cu hantaal in col caachi. Cu hantab in col caachi. Past habitual modified by caachi (a while ago).

Hantaan in col caachi. Past action - continuing purpose modified by caachi.

Hantabi in col. “My garden was eaten.” Past perfect.

Hantbilac in col. “My garden was eaten.” Past perfect using an alternative form as noted in Section 56.

Hantaan in col. “My garden was eaten and has stayed eaten.” Past action - continuing purpose.

וכ (a specified time) hantaac in col. “My garden was eaten a specified time ago.” Specified past perfect.

וכ u hantaal in col. Codec u hantab in col. “My garden was just eaten.” Immediate past perfect.

As was noted in the introductory remarks to this chapter on verbs, Section 75, the second, third, and fourth forms of the passive verbs are conjugated in each tense using pronoun Set B. Examples of these conjugations are given here.

93. The conjugation of the second form:
For the verb root **han** (to eat):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>hantaben</td>
<td>hantaboon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>hantabech</td>
<td>hantabeex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>hantabi</td>
<td>hantaboob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

94. The conjugation of the third form:
For the verb root **han** (to eat):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>hantaanen</td>
<td>hantaanoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>hantaanech</td>
<td>hantaaneex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>hantaan</td>
<td>hantaanoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Passive Verbs

95. The conjugation of the fourth form:
For the verb root **han** (to eat):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>hantaacen</td>
<td>hantaacoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>hantaacech</td>
<td>hantaaceex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>hantaac</td>
<td>hantaacoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

96. Negation: the negation of the foregoing tenses is generally accomplished by preceding the tense by **ma** (not).

- **Ma hantabi in col.**
  “My garden was not eaten.”

Exceptions are the following:

- **Ma tu hantaal in col.**
  Negated habitual tense. The time indicator consonant is changed from c-to t-. Note that the negation of the contraction of the immediate present is the same.

- **Ma tun hantaal in col.**
  Negated definite future. **Tun** is the contraction of **tu bin** which can also be used, and the general form takes the place of the fourth form. See infinitives in Sections 107-110.

97. Interrogatives: interrogative phrases using the foregoing conjugation generally use the tenses as they are.

- **Ooc u hantaal a col?**
  “Has your garden just been eaten?”

Exceptions:

- **Bix cun hantaal in col?**
  “How is my garden going to be eaten?” Interrogative definite future. The **bin** is replaced by **cun** which is a contraction of **cu bin**, which can also be used.
98. In the chapter on nouns it was noted that some nouns double as verbs or verb roots (Sections 23 and 24). For example, as noted in Section 23, in some instances the general form of the intransitive conjugation of a verb is also a noun:

- hanal (to eat) / hanal (food)
- huch (to grind) / huch (ground corn)
- meyah (to work) / meyah (work)
- pochil (to insult) / pochil (insult)
- ximbal (to walk) / ximbal (walk)

In these instances the verb can be distinguished from the noun only by syntax:

- Yan in meyah. “I have to work.”
- Utz tin uich in meyah. “I like my work.”

Some verb roots are also nouns in themselves as noted in the chapter on nouns in Section 24.

- cah (to inhabit) / cah (town)
- cotz (to cut) / cotz (piece)
- miz (to sweep) / miz, mizib (broom)
- xul (to end) / xul (end)

Examples:

- Xem a cotzic ten hun xeth nok. “Go cut me a piece of cloth.”
- Ɔa ten hun cotz. “Give me one piece.”

Other parts of speech, especially adjectives and adverbs, can become verb roots by the addition of various verbal suffixes.

- caanal (to grow) / caanal (high)
- kaz (to be bad) / kaz (bad, badly)
- malob (to be good) / malob (good, well)
- utz (to be good) / utz (good)
- yaab (to increase, multiply) / yaab (a lot)
- zeb (to hurry) / zeb (quickly)

Example:

- Ou yaabtal le chichobo. “Those birds just multiplied.”

In some instances the verbal suffixes already looked at in the preceding discussion about the three conjugations can be appended directly to the verb root. Frequently however special transforming suffixes must be used.
99. There are three sets of companion suffixes which transform other parts of speech into verbs. In each case the linking particle between the verb root and the verbal suffixes for the transitive / passive suffixes is different from the linking particle for the intransitive suffixes. The reason why we call these sets “companion” is because verb roots which use the suffixes of the transitive / passive set frequently use the corresponding suffixes of the intransitive set. However, there are verb roots which will use suffixes from different companion sets as well, so this is not a firm rule.

100. The following is the most common of the companion sets of verb suffixes.

Transitive and Passive Suffixes: The following sets of suffixes transform other parts of speech and some irregular intransitive verbs into transitive and passive verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-cuntic</td>
<td>-cuntaal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cunzič</td>
<td>-cunzaal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cintic</td>
<td>-cintaal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cinzič</td>
<td>-cinzaal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

**Kaz** (bad, ugly)

kazcuntic, kazcuntaal, kazcuntah, kazcuntmah, kazcunt
“to make something bad, ugly, or broken”

kazcuntaal, kazcuntabi, kazcuntabaan, kazcuntabac
“to be made bad, ugly, or broken”

**Alcab** (to run)

alcabcunzic, alcabcunzah, alcabcunzmah, alcabcunze
“to make something run (away), to chase away”

alcabcunzaal, alcabcunzabi, alcabcunzaan, alcabcunzaac
“to be chased away”

**Utz** (good)

utzcintic, utzcintah, utzcintmah, utzcinte
“to make something good, to repair”

utzcintaal, utzcintabi, utzcintabaan, utzcintabac
“to be repaired”

**Chuy** (to lift)

chuycinzič, chuycinzhah, chuycinzmah, chuycinze
“to hang something up”

chuycinzaal, chuycinzabi, chuycinzaan, chuycinzabac
“to be hung up”
Verbs

Also possible with chuy are:

- chuyctic, chuycintah, chuycintmah, chuycinte
  “to hang something up” (same as chuycinzie)
- chuycunzaal, chuycunzabi, chuycunzaan, chuycunzabac
  “to be hung up”

Notice that here, unlike with normal transitive and passive verbs, it does not matter in terms of meaning whether there is a -t- or -z- in the suffix (eg. -cintic / -cinzic). We cannot explain why there is need for the four different particles (-cint-, -cunt-, -cinz-, -cunz-), but in many instances one and only one of these particles can be used with certain words. For example, with the word kaz it would be impossible to use anything but -cunt- and with utz it would be impossible to use anything but -cint-. As is pointed out in the grammar written by Coronel in 1620, those verb roots which have the vowels a, e, and i in them take -cun- while those with o and u take -cin-, and generally this rule holds today. On the other hand as can be seen directly above, with the verb root chuy various particles may be used.

In the colonial literature and dictionaries there are many examples of the particles -cin- and -cun- without the consonants -t- and -z-. (i.e. -cinic, -cunic, -cinabal, -cunabal) Today however it seems that the consonants must always be present.

Intransitive Suffixes: The following is the companion set of intransitive verb suffixes to the transitive / passive suffixes given above. Tal is the verb for “come”, and the suffix -tal gives the sense of “becoming” to the verb to which it is attached. This suffix -tal may not be the same as the -tal already noted in Section 83 under intransitive verbs. That can be seen by the other three forms of the suffix. Furthermore, the suffix is not always -tal; the suffixes -hal and -chahal also belong to this suffix complex.

- -tal, -hal, -chahal general form
- -chahi second form
- -chahaan, -aan third form
- -chahac fourth form

Kaz (bad, ugly)

kaztal, kazchahi, kazchahaan / kazaan, kazchahac
“to become bad, to become broken”

Malob (good)

malobtal, malobchahi, malobchahaan, malobchahac
“to become good, to get well, to improve”

Uinic (person, man)

uinichal, uinicchahi, uinicchahaan, uinicchahac
“to become a person, to become a man”
Verbs

**Muc** (to bury)
- mucchahal, mucchahi, mucchahaan / mucaan, mucchahac
  “to become buried”

Some examples of verb roots which use both the transitive / passive set of verb suffixes and also the intransitive verb suffixes are:

**Caanal** (high)
- caanalcunzic, caanalcunzah, caanalcunzmah, caanalcunze
  **caanaltal** / **caanalhal** / **caanalchahal**, caanalchahi,
  caanalchahaan, caanalchahac
  caanalcunzaal, caanalcunzabi, caanalcunzaan, caanalcunzaac

**Kaz** (bad, ugly)
- kazcuntic, kazcuntah, kazcuntmah, kazcunt
  kaztal, kazchahi, kazchahaan / kazaan, kazchahac
  kazcuntaal, kazcuntabi, kazcuntabaan, kazcuntabac

**Uinic** (man)
- uiniccunzic, uiniccunzah, uiniccunzmah, uiniccunze
  uiniccuntic, uiniccuntah, uiniccuntmah, uiniccunte
  uinichal / uinicchahal, uinicchahi, uinicchahaan, uinicchahac
  uiniccunzabal, uiniccunzabi, uiniccunzabaan, uiniccunzabac

**Utz** (good)
- utzcintic, utzcintah, utzcintmah, utzcinte
  utztal, utzchahi, utzchahaan, utzchac
  utzcintaal, utzcintabi, utzcintabaan, utzcintabac

101. The following is the second set of companion suffixes which is not as commonly used as the set given above.

**Transitive Suffixes:** The transitive suffixes of this set are:

- **-intic** general form
- **-intah** second form
- **-intmah** third form
- **-inte** fourth form

We have not come across examples of passive verbs using this form of suffix.

Intransitive Suffixes: **Yan** is the verb “to have” as well as “to exist”, and **-ancil** has the sense of “having”.

- **-ancil** general form
- **-anchahi** second form
- **-anchahaan** third form
- **-anchahac** fourth form
Al (child)
  alintic, alintah, alintmah, alinte
  “to bear a child”
  alancil, alanchahi, alanchahaan, alanchahac
  “to bear, to give birth”

He (egg)
  yelintic, yelintah, yelintmah, yelinte
  “to lay an egg”
  yelancil, yelanchahi, yelanchahaan, yelanchahac
  “to lay (an egg)”

Buc (clothes, covering)
  bucintic, bucintah, bucintmah, bucinte
  “to get dressed in something, to try on something”
  bucancil, bucanchahi, bucaan, bucanchahac
  “to get dressed”

Lol (flower)
  lolancil, lolanchahi, lolanchahaan, lolanchahac
  “to flower”

Cil (pulsation; now archaic)
  cicilancil, cicilanchahi, cicilanchahaan, cicilanchahac
  “to tremble”

Papal (to beat, to knock about)
  papalancil, papalanchahi, papalanchahaan, papalanchahac
  “to tremble with fear”

CAUSATIVE - RECEPTIVE VERB COMPLEX

102. The third companion set is called the causative - receptive verb complex. The causative form is transitive and the receptive form is intransitive. Notice that the receptive form is usually translated as a passive verb in English.

The causative form:
- bezic  general form
- bezah  second form
- bezmah third form
- bez, -beze fourth form

The receptive forms:
- chahal  pahal  lahah  general form
- chahi  pahi  lahi  second form
- chahaan  pahaan  lahaan  third form
- chahac  pahac  lahac  fourth form
Verbs

**Buc** (noun for “covering, clothes”)

* buchezic, bucbezah, bucbezmah, bucbez
  “to dress someone or something”
* bucinchahal, bucinchahi, bucinchahaan, bucinchahac
  “to be dressed”

(Note the retention of the particle -in- which was present in this verb as shown in Section 101.)

**Cim** (verb root for “to die, to hurt”)

* cimbezic, cimbezah, cimbezmah, cimbeze
  “to hurt something”
* cimpahal, cimpahi, cimpahaan, cimpahac
  “to be hurt”

**Tu cimbezah ten le kiixo.** “That thorn hurt me.”

**Cimpanen holace.** “I was hurt yesterday.”

**Chuc** (verb root for “to complete”)

* chucbezic, chucbezah, chucbezmah, chucbeze
  “to complete something”
* chucpahal, chucpahi, chucpahaan / chucaan, chucpahac
  “to be completed”

**Ma chucpahi le zio.** “The (quantity of) firewood was not completed.”

**He in chucbezic le zio zamal.** “I will complete the (quantity of) firewood tomorrow.”

In the colonial vocabularies, while the -bez- form is the most common, there are also examples of -hez-, -mez- and -tez-: *chalhezic* (to clear up a liquid), *culmezic* (to dull a sharp instrument), *hantezic* (to feed something).

103. Some verb roots can take on more than one of the intransitive verbs suffix sets. In these cases it does not necessarily follow that because the verb root uses the transitive verb suffixes from one companion set that it must also use the intransitive suffix set from that same companion set as already stated above. Some examples:

**Hau** (verb root for “to turn right side up”)

* haucintic, haucintah, haucintmah, haucinte
* haucuntic, haucuntah, haucuntmah, haucunte
  “to turn something right side up”

* hauchahal, hauchahi, hauchahaan, hauchahac
* haupahal, haupahi, haupahaan, haupahac
* haulahal, haulahi, haulahaan, haulahac
  “to be turned right side up”
Verbs

**Noc** (verb root for “to turn upside down”)

noccintic, noccintah, noccintmah, noccinte
noccuntic, noccuntah, noccuntmah, noccunte
noccinzic, noccinzah, noccinzmah, noccinte
“to turn something upside down”
	noccchahal, nocchahi, nocchahaan, nocchahac
nopcphal, nocpahi, nocpahaan, nocpahac
noclahal, noclahi, noclaahaan, noclahac
“to be turned upside down”

FURTHER DISCUSSION ABOUT INTRANSITIVE VERB SUFFIXES

104. Notice that there are three very similar intransitive transforming verb suffixes:

- **-chahal**
- **-pahal**
- **-lahal**

Some verb roots take all three suffixes. A look at these verb roots with these three suffixes indicates that there is no significant difference in the meaning imparted to the verb roots by these suffixes.

**Hau** (verb root for “to turn right side up”)

hauchahal, hauchahi, hauchahaan, hauchahac
hauplahal, haupahi, haupahaan, haupahac
haulahal, haulahi, haulahaan, haulahac
“to be turned right side up”

**Lik** (verb root for “to get up”)

likchahal, likchahi, likchahaan, likchahac
likpahal, likpahi, likpahaan, likpahac
liklahal, liklahi, liklaahaan, liklahac
“to be picked up”

**Noc** (verb root for “to turn upside down”)

nocchahal, nocchahi, nocchahaan, nocchahac
nopcphal, nocpahi, nocpahaan, nocpahac
noclahal, noclahi, noclaahaan, noclahac
“to be turned upside down”

There is a fourth suffix which is also similar but less used:

- **-tahal**

This suffix also shares the same properties of those given above:

**Men** (verb root for “to make”)

menchahal, menchahi, menchahaan, menchahac
menlahal, menlahi, menlaahaan, menlahac
mentahal, mentahi, mentahaan, mentahac
“to be made”
There seems to be no discernable rule which would aid the reader in knowing which of the above verb suffixes should be used with which verb root.

It is interesting that of the various consonants which are used in making the full uncontracted sets of intransitive verb suffixes discussed in Section 83, namely **n, ch, l, p, t, k, and ɔ**, that set which uses **n** (i.e. -nahal, -nahi, -nahaan, -nahac) is missing from the above sets of transforming intransitive verbs suffixes. At the present the **n** set as a complete set is reserved for transforming Spanish verbs into Mayan intransitive verbs. Still, it is our opinion that the **n** set was at one time the primary set, but that its existence has long since decayed into the contracted forms now considered to be the standard intransitive verb suffixes.

**OTHER INTRANSITIVE VERB SUFFIXES**

There is what appears to be an incomplete intransitive suffix set:

- **mal, -mi, (??), -mac**

**Yul** (verb root for “to trowel”, “to smooth out by troweling”)

-yulmal, yulmi, yulmac

**Mua** (verb root for “to curl up leaves of plants due to drought”)

-muəmal, muəmi, muəmac

**Than** (verb root for “to coagulate”)

-thanmal, thanmi, thanmac

-**ebal**: The verbal suffix -**ebal** seems to an alternative fourth form suffix for intransitive and passive verbs. Thus for example for the verb root **ɔoc** = “to finish”, for the intransitive:

- őocol, őoci, őocaan, őococ

or

- őocol, őoci, őocaan, őocebal

and for the passive:

- őoczabal, őoczabi, őoczabaan, őoczabac

or

- őoczabal, őoczabi, őoczabaan, őoczabebal

However, as can be seen in the examples below, the fourth form with the suffix of -**ebal** takes the Set A pronouns in the first and second persons instead of the Set B pronouns as happens with the suffix -Ve, and remains without the third person pronouns as happens with -Ve.

**Bal tah etel bin in hoppebal tin meyah a uicnal?** “What are you going to give me to start working with you?**

**Ua bici u beele bay bin botabebal.** “According to his work he will be paid.”
Verbs

OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH DERIVED FROM VERBS

105. Verbs and verb roots can become other parts of speech by various methods.

Nouns from verbs and verb roots: In some cases the general form of the intransitive conjugation of a verb is also a noun as has been noted in the chapter on nouns, Section 23.

- hanal (to eat) hanal (food)
- huch (to grind) huch (ground corn)
- meyah (to work) meyah (work)
- pochil (to insult) pochil (insult)
- ximbal (to walk) ximbal (walk)

Some verb roots are also nouns in themselves as noted in the chapter on nouns in Section 24.

- cah (to inhabit) cah (town)
- cotz (to cut) cotz (piece)
- miz (to sweep) miz, mizib (broom)
- xul (to end) xul (end)

Adjectives from verbs and verb roots: as was noted in Section 56, adjectives are formed from verbs and verb roots by adding one of various suffixes.

-aan, -en: Adjectives can be formed from verbs by taking the third form of the intransitive verb and using it as an adjective. As noted in Sections 56 and 83, the third form suffix is usually -aan. There are however rare examples of the suffix -en.

- bon (to paint) bonaan (painted)
- boc (to stink) bocaan (stinking)
- cim (to die) cimen (dead)
- xoc (to count) xocaan (counted)

Examples:

- bonaan pak “painted wall”
- cimen chuc “dead embers” = charcoal

-Vcnac / -lac: Adjectives can be formed by appending the suffixes -Vcnac / -lac to the verb root to form what would be considered a participle in English. The vowel “V” in -Vcnac agrees with the vowel in the last syllable of the verb root. -Vcnac is the singular form and -lac is the plural.

- ak (to moisten) akacnac, aklac (moist, greasy)
- yap (to put on makeup) yapacnac, yaplac (groomed)
- yip (to overflow) yipicnac, yiplac (overflowing)
- thon (to humiliate) thonocnac, thonlac (humiliated)
Verbs

Examples of usage:

akacnac luum “moist earth”
Yapacnac u pol chuplal. “The girl’s hair is groomed.”

-Vcbal: The suffix -Vcbal is appended to the verb root to form what would be considered a participle in English. The vowel “V” agrees with the vowel in the last syllable of the verb root. Unlike the adjectives derived by appending the previous suffixes, it seems that the adjectival participle resulting from the use of this suffix cannot be used directly tied to the noun it is modifying, but rather is used as part of a modifying participial phrase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chil (to recline)</td>
<td>chilicbal (reclining)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nic (to pile)</td>
<td>nicicbal (piled up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noc (to turn over)</td>
<td>nococbal (turned over)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thuch (to squat)</td>
<td>thuchucbal (squatting)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of usage:

le mac, chilicbal tu kaano “the man, laying in his hammock”
le buul, nicicbal te moyo “the beans, piled up in the corner”

-ci: Adjectives can be formed from verb roots by reduplicating the first consonant and vowel of that word and suffixing -ci onto the resulting word. The equivalent for -ci in English is “-able” or “-y”. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cach (to break)</td>
<td>cacachci (breakable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kux (to chew)</td>
<td>kukuxci (chewy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moch (to twist)</td>
<td>momochci (twistable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tak (to stick)</td>
<td>tatakci (sticky)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These adjectives are usually not joined to the nouns they modify but rather are part of a predicate in a sentence which describes a noun. In the Mayan language in sentences using predicate adjectives the predicate normally comes first and is followed by the subject:

Cacachci le ticin uaho. “The dry tortilla is breakable.”

-bil: Adjectives and adverbs can be formed from verbs by adding the suffix -bil, or in the case where the verb root ends in b, just the suffix -il. As noted in Sections 56 and 91, this is a passive participle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alcab (to run)</td>
<td>alcabil (quickly, fast)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buth (to fill)</td>
<td>buthbil (filled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oib (to write)</td>
<td>oibil (written)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huch (to grind)</td>
<td>huchbil (ground)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pib (to roast)</td>
<td>pibil (roasted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tzah (to fry)</td>
<td>tzahbil (fried)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of usage:

**Hach ci tin chi pibil na.** “I like roasted corn very much.” (Literally: “Very delicious to my mouth roasted corn.”)

**Ça ten tzahbil he.** “Give me fried eggs.”

- **Vn**: Some intensified adjectives and adverbs can be formed by reduplicating the root word around the particle -Vn-:

- **chuy** (to hang) **chuyenchuy** (densely hanging)
- **yal** (to melt, pour) **yalunyal** (intermixed)

Example:

**Chuyenchuy u kaan am ti le bucil na.** “The spider webs are densely hanging from the ceiling.”

- **Vl**: A somewhat similar reduplicating device is achieved by placing -Vl- in the middle of the reduplicated root:

- **app** (to break) **appalapp** (broken into pieces)
- **ppti** (to jump) **pptilppit** (jumping up and down)
- **zut** (to return) **zutulzut** (round and round)

Example:

**Zutulzut tu bin le palobo.** “The children are going round and round.”

- **Vm**: There is a group of suffixes, -lam, -lem, -lim, -lom, -lum, which when appended to verb roots or occasionally nouns usually transforms the root word into an adjective or adverb indicating that the action becomes a group action or brings the objects of the action together. In colonial writings the vowel V generally agrees with the vowel of the verb root. However, in modern speech there is a tendency to use -lam or -lan irregardless of what the vowel in the root word is.

- **biz** (to make a hole) **bizlim** (many holes together)
- **cac** (to cut) **caclam** (bent together)
- **cotz** (to give alms) **cotzlim, cotzlom** (distribute to a group)
- **chuc** (to catch) **chuclum** (catch each other)
- **hao** (to hit) **haolam** (hit each other)
- **mach** (to grasp) **machlam** (holding each other)
- **nuch** (to join) **nuchlum** (joined together)
- **nupp** (to join) **nupplum** (joined together)
- **pac** (to repay) **paclam** (repaying each other)
- **pac** (to layer) **paclam** (layered together)
- **pax** (to play music) **paxlam** (play music together)
- **ppiz** (to measure) **ppizlim** (measuring each other)
- **xoth** (to spin thread) **xothlom** (spin thread in a group)
Verbs

Examples:
- **caclam pix**: on bended knees
- **nupplum ich**: face to face
- **paclam oib**: writing each other
- **xothlom kuch**: spinning thread in a group.

Some group games and dances use this device:
- **ooclom bat**: “a children’s game” (Dictionary of San Francisco)
- **yoclom bat**: same (Motul Spanish-Mayan Dictionary)
- **haolam che**: dance fencing with sticks
- **hublum okot**: dance in which places are exchanged
- **kexlem okot**: same
- **machlam kab**: dance holding hands
- **baxal haolam tanba**: playing at fencing
- **cuchlum chic**: game of “ball breaker” (quiebra compañero)
- **chuclum alcab**: game of tag
- **ppizlim tec**: a war game with sticks

In is not clear what the particle -**lim** stands for in the following:
- **it** (butt) **itlim** (butt end)
- **itlim pol**: upside down (literally, “butt over head”)

There is a group of verbs which form other parts of speech by taking the verb root, either VC or CVC, and adding a suffix -VC, where the vowel V is the same as the vowel in the verb root, and the consonant C in the suffix is the same as the consonant place between the verb root and the transitive verbal suffix. The consonants are either t or l, and thus the transforming suffix is either -Vt or -VL:

- **auat** (scream) **autic** (to scream)
- **bohol** (searched) **bohlic** (to search)
- **hayal** (flattened, stretched) **haylic** (to stretch out)
- **mucut** (hidden) **muctic** (to hide)
- **mulut** (pile) **multic** (to pile)
- **pasonic** (look, face) **pactic** (to look)
- **picit** (fan) **pctic** (to fan)
- **ppulut** (incense) **ppultic** (to incense)
- **tohol** (thrown out) **tohlic** (to throw out)
- **tucul** (thought) **tuclic** (to think)
- **tumut** (consideration) **tumtic** (to consider)
- **tzacal** (examined) **tzaclic** (to examine)
- **zipit** (loose) **ziptic** (to let loose)
Verbs

It seems that several of these verbs are irregular in their third forms, in which the consonant t or l is dropped:

muctic, muctah, mucma, mucte
multic, multah, mulma, multe
pticic, pichtah, picma, pichte
tohlic, tohlah, tohma, tohle
tzaelic, tzaclah, tzacma, tzacle
ziptic, ziphtah, zipma, zipte

At least one of these verbs, tohol, has an alternative transitive verb formation:

toholtic, toholtah, toholma, toholte

REFLEXIVE VERBS

106. As was noted in the chapter on pronouns in Section 38, the reflexive pronouns are the suffixes -inba (myself), -aba (yourself), -uba (himself / herself / itself), etc. or alternatively -inbah (myself), -abah (yourself), -ubah (himself / herself / itself), etc. The colonial sources generally use the first set, while some writers of the 20th century have used the second. These suffixes are tacked onto the finished form of the transitive verb tenses.

cimze (fourth form of cimzic, to kill something)
bin in cimzinba  bin’c cimzc’ba
bin a cimzaba  bin a cimzabaex
bin u cimzuba  bin u cimzubaob

Translation: I will kill myself, you will kill yourself, etc.

kazcuntic (to make something bad, to ruin)

tan in kazcunticinba  tan’c kazcuntic’ba
tan a kazcunticaba  tan a kazcunticabaex
tan u kazcunticuba  tan u kazcunticubaob

Translation: I am ruining myself, you are ruining yourself, etc.

INFINITIVES

107. Infinitives do not exist in the Mayan language in the same sense that they do exist in English. That is, there is no verb form which is preceded by a preposition, the value of which is “to”, such as there is in English (“to be”, “to go”, “to want”, etc.). For the transitive and intransitive conjugations there are ways of putting two or more verbs together, as will be shown in the following sections. The passive conjugation is not dealt with here because of limited examples of passive “infinitives” aside from those given in the
passive conjugation time sequence (Section 92).

108. Transitive infinitives: the transitive infinitive is formed by putting the acting verb in the intransitive conjugation with whatever tense and person needed and then adding on what would be the infinitive in English. This “infinitive” appears as the fourth form of the transitive conjugation preceded by a Set A pronoun which agrees in person with the person of the acting verb.

**Yan in hokol in caxte in uooch.** “I have to go out to gather my food.”

**Yan in hokol** is the acting verb and is the obligated future tense of the intransitive conjugation. The “infinitive” verb **caxte** is the fourth form of the transitive conjugation preceded by **in** which agrees with the person in the acting verb.

Remember from Section 77 that **-Vb** is a fourth form transitive verb suffix given in the colonial dictionaries and texts which was used with verb roots which did not take consonants or particles. In the first three examples below both forms of the fourth form transitive can be seen as transitive infinitives in parallel sentences. The fourth and fifth examples are parallel examples of the fourth form, but fourth example is unusual in that it uses both **-Vb** and **-te**. The final example shows the fourth form transitive with the suffix **-cunte**, although in this example the **-e** has been contracted off.

**Uatal in caah in chucub hunac Ah Chibal.**
**Uatal in caah in colpayte u kaan.**
**Uatal in caah in paab bla u kax can, ix hun pe φkin can.**
**Ca emi u chekebte u pach Itzam Cab Ain.**
**Ca tali u chekeb u pach Chac Xib Chac te Chi Cheen.**
**Ocol tun bacin in caah in zizcunt a uol.**

109. Intransitive infinitives: the intransitive infinitive is formed by putting the acting verb in the intransitive conjugation with whatever tense and person needed and then adding on what would be the infinitive in English. This “infinitive” appears as the general form of the intransitive conjugation. No personal pronoun accompanies it.

**Yan in hokol okot.** “I have to go out to dance.”

**Yan in hokol** is the acting verb and is the obligated future tense of the intransitive conjugation. The “infinitive” verb **okot** is the general form of the intransitive conjugation.

110. The conditional future of both the transitive and intransitive conjugations can be used somewhat like infinitives:

**Tin ualah ti ca u bet u col.** “I told him to make his garden.”
**Tin ualah ti ca hokoc.** “I told him to come out.”
DEFECTIVE AND IRREGULAR VERBS

111. Verbs can be defective for one or more of the following reasons:
not having a complete set of tenses,
not having more than the third person singular per tense,
not having any person at all.

112. There are some particles which in translation would appear to be verbs, but since they have neither person nor tense maybe they should be considered to be adverbs.

**Bin** (it is said, they say)

- **Bey bin.** “So they say.”
- **Yan bin...** “There was, it is said, ...” This is equivalent to the English “Once upon a time ...”.

This **bin** seems not to be related in any way to the verb **bin** (to go).

**Mi** (I think)

- **Mi ma tin bin zamal.** “I think I will not go tomorrow.”

**Uchic, uchci** (it happened, it came to pass): used mostly in colonial times.

- **Uchic tu cuch haab Uaxac Ahau Katun.** “It happened in the year bearer of Eight Ahau Katun.”
- **Uchci u meyah tulacal.** “It came to pass that everything works.”

The words **uchic** and **uchci** are derived from the verb root **uch**, the conjugation of which is also defective as will be noted below in Section 114.

113. The following verbs can be said to have no tense at all since the time during which the action of the verbs take place is determined only by the circumstance and/or the time adverb associated with the verbs. Each of these verbs has only one paradigm.

**Kat** (to wish, to want)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>c’ kat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in kat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a kat</td>
<td>a kateex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u kat</td>
<td>u katoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

- **Baax a kati?** “What do you want?”
- **In kat bin Ho caachi.** “I wanted to go to Mérida.” Here **caachi** (a while ago) modifies the verb.

Incidently, there are three ways of saying the verb “to want, to desire” in Mayan. Aside from **kat** there is the auxiliary verb tense indicator **tac** and the complete verb **oltic, oltah, oltmah, olt**. Often these three ways can be used
Verbs

interchangeably. The verb **oltic** is used when some particular tense needs to be expressed.

Ma u kat bin. “He does not want to go.”
Ma tac u bin. “He does not want to go.”
Ma tu yoltic bin. “He does not want to go.”

**Caah** (to be good for, to only be good for)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>in caah</th>
<th>c’ caah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a caah</td>
<td>a caaheex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u caah</td>
<td>u caahooob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

**Baax a caah?** “What are you good for?”
**Mixbaal u caah.** “He is good for nothing.”

**Cacah yetel** (to take care of, to be responsible for)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>in cacah yetel</th>
<th>c’ cacah yetel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a cacah yetel</td>
<td>a cacaheex yetel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u cacah yetel</td>
<td>u cacahoob yetel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example:

**In cacah yetel in X-Chich.** “I am responsible for my grandmother.”

**Ohel** (to know): the intransitive conjugation of this verb is limited to one paradigm but is complete in both the transitive (**oheltic**, **oheltah**, **ohelmah**, **ohelte**) and passive conjugations (**oheltabal**, **oheltabi**, **oheltabaan**, **oheltabac**).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>in uohel</th>
<th>c’ ohel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a uohel</td>
<td>a uoheleex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u yohel</td>
<td>u yoheloob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

**A uohel tuux yan in uooch?** “Do you know where my food is?”
**Ma ix yoheltahoob u kaba.** “They didn’t know his name.”

**Uchebal yoheltabal tumen himac yolah yoheltah u xocol Katun lae.** “It will happen to be known by whomever wished to know the count of the Katun.”

**Ppec** (to dislike, to get tired of): the intransitive conjugation of this verb is limited to one paradigm but is complete in both the transitive (**ppectic**, **ppectah**, **ppectmah**, **ppect**), and passive conjugations (**ppectaal**, **ppectabi**, **ppectabaan**, **ppectaac**).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>in ppec</th>
<th>c’ ppec</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a ppec</td>
<td>a ppecceex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u ppec</td>
<td>u ppecceoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs

Examples:

- **In ppec in bin ich col.** “I hate to go to the garden.”
- **Doc in ppectic le hanalo.** “I have gotten tired of that food.”
- **Ppectabi le otzil xibpalo tumen le macobo.** “That poor boy was disliked by those men.”

**C-** (to say, to tell): this verb is limited in usage to the east and south of the peninsula of Yucatan, and is rarely heard in the Northwest. It is unusual also in that unlike the preceding examples in this group which take the Set A pronouns this verb takes the Set B pronouns, a function of the fact that this is a past tense verb.

- cen  coon
- cech  ceex
- ci / ciac  ciob / ciacoob

Example:

- **Ten cen ti....** “I told him....”

114. There is a group of verbs which is defective in the intransitive conjugation and appear in the third person singular in each tense only.

**Kah** (to remember), **Tub** (to forget): these two verbs are followed by the dative case of the noun or pronoun which would be the subject in English. These verbs have standard transitive and passive conjugations.

**Kah** (to remember)

- kahal, kahi, kahaan, kahac
- **Doc u kahal ti le maco yan u tazic tech le zio.** “That man just remembered he has to bring you the firewood.”
- **Kahaan tech ua?** “Do you remember?”

The transitive and passive conjugations of **kah** are:

- kahzic, kahzah, kazmah, kahze
- kahzaal, kahzabi, kahzahaan, kahzabac

**Tub** (to forget)

- tubul, tubi, tubaan, tubuc
- **Du tubul tech a tazic ten in zi?** “Did you forget to bring me my firewood?”
- **Ma tubaan ten; chen ma tin tazic.** “I didn’t forget; just I am not bringing it.”

The transitive and passive conjugations for **tub** are:

- tubzic, tubzah, tubzmah, tubze
- tubzabal, tubzabi, tubzabaan, tubzabac
Verbs

Uch (to happen): this verb is also followed by a dative case noun or pronoun. Here however the English translation is equivalent to the Mayan.

uchul, uchi, uchaan, uchuc

Baax cu yuchul tech? “What is happening to you?”

Bey uchaan ti le uchben maco. “That’s what happened to the old man.”

Hopp (to begin), Paahtal (to be able): these two verb are followed by a Set A pronoun which is the subject of the infinitive clause and then by the general form of a transitive or intransitive verb.

Hopp (to begin): hoppol, hoppi, hoppaan, hoppoc

Bey cu hoppol in ualic tech. “That is what I am beginning to tell you.

Ti hoppi in òibtic u haabil katunoob. “Then I began to write (about) the years of the katuns.”

Ca hoppoc a òaic yokol le yah chupil. “Then you should begin to place it on the swollen sore.”

However, this is true for the verb hopp only when it is the first verb in an infinitive clause. As a free standing verb it is regular.

Paahtal (to be able): paahtal, paahti, paahtaan, paahtac

Ma tu paahtal in meyah behlae. “I am not able to work today.”

Mi zamal cu paahtal u betic u col le maco. “I think tomorrow that man will be able to make his garden.”

Chaeni ca paahtac in okot ca a uile. “Allow me to be able to dance so that you can see.”

115. Four of the auxiliary verb tense indicators, òoc, zuc, yan, and kabet, also are conjugated in varying degrees of completeness and regularity.

Òoc (to finish) has a complete set of regular conjugations.

òoczic, òoczah, òoczmah, òocz (to finish something)
òocol, òoci, òocaan, òococ (to finish)
òoczaal, òoczabi, òoczaan, òoczaac (to be finished)

The auxiliary verb tense indicators zuc, yan, and kabet are similar in that they become intransitive verbs by the addition of the suffix -tal.

zuctal, zuchahi, zuchahaan, zuchahac (to accustom)
kabettal, kabetchahi, kabetchahaan, kabetchahac (to need)
yantal, anchahi, anchahaan, anchahac (“to have” in the sense of “to bear” or “to become”)
Kabet and yan, besides being used as auxiliary verb tense indicators as described in the conjugations and being verb roots as noted above can also be followed by a dative case noun or pronoun which functions like the subject in English.

Yan ten uah. “I have tortillas.”
Kabet ten uah. “I need tortillas.”

116. Note that there is a difference in the sense of “to have” between yan and yantal. Furthermore yan itself has two different meanings depending on the type of pronoun attached to it. When the meaning of yan is “to have” then the dative case of the personal pronouns (ten, tech, ti, toon, teex, tiob) are used. When yan has the meaning “to be” or “to exist” then the verbal pronoun set Set B is used.

yan, anhi, anahaan, anac (“to have” in the sense of “to possess” when conjugated with dative case pronouns)

yan (“to have” in the sense of “to be”, “to exist” when conjugated with Set B pronouns. The verb appears only in the present tense and thus the conjugation is defective.)

Examples which show the differences in meaning:

Baax yan tech? “What do you have?”
Tuux yanech? “Where are you?”
Ua yan ten takin behlae minaanen uaye. “If I had money I would not be here today.”

There is a rather unusual construction using yan in the sense of “to be”, in which the suffix -il is appended to the root an. This tense appears to be defective, there being no instances of either the first person singular of plural coming to our attention:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>a uanil</td>
<td>a uanileex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>yanil</td>
<td>yanilooob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of usage:

Bix a uanil? “How are you?”
Bix yanil? “How is he/she/it?”
Bix a uanileex? “How are you (plural)?
Bix yaniloob? “How are they?”

More often this question is phrased as:

Bix a bel? “How are you?” (Literally: “How is your road?”)
Bix u bel? “How is he/she/it?”
Bix a beleex? “How are you (plural)?
Bix u beloob? “How are they?”
The negation of the verb **yan** is **minaan** / **minaam** and shares the same attributes as **yan**. In the colonial texts the first form is more frequently given as **manaan**, and the colonial dictionaries give **manaan** exclusively.

**minaan**, **ma anhi**, **ma anahaan**, **ma anac**

**Ma anhi ten takin utial in manic in ppoc.** “I did not have any money to buy my hat.”

**Minaanen ca talechi.** “I was not in when you came.”

117. The use of the Set B pronoun set as shown above with the verb **yan** (to be, to exist) as the present tense intransitive pronoun set is unusual. However, as was seen in Section 26, this pronoun set is also used to verbalize certain nouns. There are in fact several nouns and adjectives which describe the state of being of a person or thing which can be verbalized by appending the Set B pronouns.

Strictly speaking, these verbs which are formed by suffixing the Set B pronouns are tenseless, with the tense being determined by the time adverbs or the context in which this verb appears.

**Tuux yanech?** “Where are you?”

**Tuux yanech holace?** “Where were you yesterday?”

In the first instance the tense is assumed to be the immediate present tense for the lack of any other indication. However in the second instance the tense is assumed to be the past perfect tense because of the adverb **holace**.

Most of these words which take the Set B pronouns also become intransitive verbs by the addition of the intransitive verb suffix complex -**tal**, -**hal**, -**chahal** as shown in Section 100.

Four of the more common words to which the Set B pronouns are appended are **yan** (to be, to exist), **ceel** (cold), **uiih** (hunger), and **uinic** (man / humanity).

**Yan** (to have, to be, to exist)

**yantal, anchahi, anchahaan, anchahac** (“to have” in the sense of “to bear” or “to become”)

Paradigm of **yan** with Set B pronouns (to be, to exist)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yanen</td>
<td>yanoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yanech</td>
<td>yaneex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yan, yani</td>
<td>yanoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs

**Ceel** (to feel cold)

*ceeltal, ceelchahi, ceelchahaan, ceelchahac* ("to become cold")

Paradigm of *ceel* with Set B pronouns (to be cold)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ceelen</th>
<th>ceeloon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ceelech</td>
<td>ceeleex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceel, ceeli</td>
<td>ceeloob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Uiih** (to hunger)

*uuihtal, uiihchahi, uiihchahaan, uiihchahac* ("to become hungry")

Paradigm of *uiih* with Set B pronouns (to be hungry)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>uiihen</th>
<th>uiihoon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uiihech</td>
<td>uiiheex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uiih, uiihi</td>
<td>uiihoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Uinic** (to be a man)

*uinichal, uinicchahi, uinicchahaan, uinicchahac* ("to become a man") (Note: *uinichal* is pronounced *uinic-hal*)

Paradigm of *uinic* with Set B pronouns (to be a man)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>uinicen</th>
<th>uinicoon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uinicech</td>
<td>uiniceex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uinic, uinici</td>
<td>uinicoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of other words which can take both the Set B pronouns and the intransitive verb suffixes -*tal, *-hal, *-chahal*, are:

- **malob** (good, well)  **malobtal** (to become good, well)
- **kohaan** (sick)  **kohantaal** (to become sick)
- **cichpam** (beautiful)  **cichpamhal** (to become beautiful)
- **cichcelem** (hansom)  **cichcelemhal** (to become hansom)
- **kaz** (ugly)  **kaztal** (to be ugly, to be broken)
- **nohoch** (big)  **nohochtal** (to become big)
- **chichan** (little)  **chichantal** (to become little)
- **poloc** (fat)  **poloctal** (to become fat)
- **ɔoyan** (slender)  **ɔoyantal** (to become slender)

There are also those words which normally take only the Set B pronouns:

- **h-men** (shaman)  **h-menen** (I am a shaman)
- **h-naat** (wise person)  **h-naatech** (you are a wise person)
- **xib** (male)  **xibeex** (you are masculine)
118. Nouns with the gentilous suffix -il (see Section 26) are verbalized by the addition of the Set B pronouns.

**Ho** (Mérida)

Hoil (a person from Mérida)

Paradigm with Set B pronouns (to be from Mérida)

- Hoilen
- Hoilech
- Hoil

**Uaye** (here)

Uayil (a person from here)

Paradigm with Set B pronouns (to be from here)

- Uayilen
- Uayilech
- Uayil

119. Two common verbs, **bin** (to go) and **tal** (to come), are irregular in their limited way:

**Bin** (to go)

- bin, bini, bihaan / binaan, xic

In colonial times the first form was more frequently given as binel or benel. The third form bihaan is modern usage whereas binaan is colonial and formal usage. The fourth form, xic, is irregular.

The imperative of **bin** is also irregular:

- xen, xeneex

The collective sense of going expressed in English as “Let’s go” is also irregular:

- coox, coneex

Coox is also used as an auxiliary verb tense indicator whose meaning is “Let’s” or “Let’s go”:

**Coox ilic ua ma tu yuchul le baax ca ualic.** “Let’s see if that which you are saying doesn’t happen.”

**Coox hanal.** “Let’s go eat.”

**Tal** (to come)

- tal, tali, talaan, talac / tac

In colonial times the first form was more frequently given as tael.

The imperative is irregular:

- coten, coteneex
Verbs

120. The verb roots **biz** (to take) and **taz** (to bring) are derived from the verb roots **bin** and **tal**. The transitive and passive forms of these verbs have the causative marker -**z**- or -**ez**- in earlier colonial works. Through the years the consonants **n** of **bin** and **l** of **tal** have been dropped leaving the verb roots **biz** and **taz**.

121. **Bin** is the root verb in the transitive and passive verb “to take / to be taken”. The sense of the verb is actually “cause to go”. In the colonial times the relationship was apparent, but today the **n** in **bin** has been dropped making the modern transitive verb “to take” seem like a different verb.

- **binezic**, **binezah**, **binezmah**, **binez** older, uncommon conjugation of “to take”
- **binzic**, **binzhah**, **binzmah**, **binez** standard colonial conjugation of “to take”
- **bizic**, **bizah**, **bizmah**, **biz** standard modern conjugation of “to take”

The passive verb “to be taken” has gone through the same transformation:

- **binzabal**, **binzabi**, **binzabaan**, **binzabac** standard colonial conjugation of “to be taken”
- **bizaal**, **bizaib**, **bizaan**, **bizaac** modern conjugation of “to be taken”

122. **Tal** is the root verb in the transitive and passive verb “to bring / to be brought”. The sense of the verb is actually “cause to come”. In the colonial times the relationship was apparent, but today the **l** in **tal** has been dropped making the modern transitive verb “to bring” seem like a different verb.

- **talezic**, **talezah**, **talezmah**, **talez** older, uncommon conjugation of “to bring”
- **talzic**, **talzhah**, **talzmah**, **talez** standard colonial conjugation of “to bring”
- **tazic**, **tazah**, **tazmah**, **taz** standard modern conjugation of “to bring”

The passive verb “to be brought” has gone through the same transformation:

- **talzabal**, **talzabi**, **talzabaan**, **talzabac** standard colonial conjugation of “to be brought”
- **tazaal**, **tazabi**, **tazaan**, **tazaac** modern conjugation of “to be brought”
Verbs

123. Another way that contraction has affected certain verb roots of the type CV is to be seen in transitive conjugations of the verb roots ɔa (to give) and cha (to take).

- chaic, chaah, chamah, chae   standard conjugation of “to take”
- chic, cha, chamah, chae   contracted conjugation of “to take”
- ɔaic, ɔaah, ɔamah, ɔae   standard conjugation of “to give”
- ɔic, ɔa, ɔamah, ɔae   contracted conjugation of “to give”

In the contracted conjugations in each case the vowel of the verb root has been dropped in the first form, and the verb suffix has been assimilated in the second form. Both the contracted and standard conjugations are to be found throughout the Mayan colonial literature, and both are in use today. Needless to say, the contracted conjugations are used much more frequently than the standard conjugations at this present time.
SENTENCE STRUCTURE

124. In Mayan, as in English, there are four basic sentence types:

1) declarative
2) interrogative
3) imperative
4) exclamatory

This chapter will be looking principally at the word order of declarative sentences, since they make up the bulk of daily conversation. Since the word order for negated sentences is in some cases different from their positive counterparts, the negation of these sentences will be looked at where applicable.

DECLARATIVE SENTENCES

125. A declarative sentence is made up of a subject and a predicate, either of which can range from simple to compound in nature. The declarative sentence is built around the verb conjugations described in the chapter on verbs. These conjugations are intransitive, transitive, and passive. As pointed out in the introductory paragraphs on verbs (Section 73), it is important in Mayan to know what sort of action in being talked about before beginning a sentence. This is because unlike English the conjugations for transitive and intransitive verbs are different. Furthermore, as in English there is a separate conjugation for passive verbs. Thus there are three conjugations which have to be taken into account when forming a sentence in Mayan. Since each conjugation has certain peculiarities when forming a sentence, especially as the subject and predicate become more complex, each conjugation will be looked at individually.

SENTENCES WITHOUT VERBS

126. Before starting on sentences with verbs it should be noted here that, as pointed out in Section 14 in the footnote to Example 1, the verb “to be” does not exist in Mayan when the sentence is of the nature of “(subject) is (predicate adjective).” In Mayan the sentence would be “(predicate adjective) (subject).” as long as the predicate adjective is simple in nature.

Examples:

- **Malob le hanalo.** “That food is good.” (Not bad that food.)
- **Hach x-cichpam le x-chupal.** “That girl is very pretty.” (Very pretty that girl.)

In Section 52 - 57 there are other examples of these types of sentences.

127. If either the predicate adjective or the subject becomes complex in any way then it is no longer necessarily true that the predicate adjective comes first in the sentence. In Section 53 there is the example:
U yatan Don Sil mas hautz ti u yatan Don Lau. “The wife of Sil is more beautiful than the wife of Lau.”

It would also be possible to say:

Mas hautz u yatan Don Sil ti u yatan Don Lau.

In this case there is a choice in the positioning of the predicate adjective, and this is generally true when the predicate adjective is comparative. There are some instances though when the predicate adjective cannot be positioned first in the sentence, and one of those instances is when the predicate adjective is superlative.

Examples:
Le xibpalo u mas nohochil in palaloob. “That boy is the oldest of my children.”

Chi Cheen Itza u mas hautzil le x-lac cahobo. “Chi Cheen Itza is the most beautiful of the ruined towns.”

SENTENCES WITH INTRANSITIVE VERBS

128. The simplest sentence in Mayan is composed of a unmodified intransitive verb tense of any given verb. Such a verb tense expresses in itself a complete idea. (See Section 83 through 90.)

Examples:
Hanen. “I ate.” (Ate I.)

ʃɔc u meyah. “He/she/it finished working.” (Finished he/she/it work.)

Tan’c bin. “We are going.” (Are we go.)

Cu hokol. “He/she/it comes out.”

129. The negation of the foregoing sentences is accomplished by placing the negator ma in front of the verb tense.

Ma tan’c bin. “We are not going.” (“Not are we go.”)

Ma tu hokol. “He/she/it does not come out.” (“Not he comes out.”
See Section 89 for comment on the change of the pronoun from cu to tu.)

130. The intransitive verb tense can be joined by a subject of varied complexity to define more precisely who or what is responsible for the action.

Examples:
Toone tan’c bin. “We are going.” (We are we go.) Toone, the emphatic “we”, is used here to emphasize who is doing the action.
Sentence Structure

Øoc u meyah le maco. “That man has finished working.” (Finished he work that man.)

Le maco Øoc u meyah. “That man has finished working.” (That man finished he work.)

Cu hokol le huho. “That iguana comes out.” (It comes out that iguana.)

As can be seen in the second and third examples, there are two positions which the subject can take in an intransitive sentence; either before or after the verb tense. The usual order is to have the subject follow the verb, but putting the subject before the verb does not alter the meaning of the sentence. Putting the subject before the verb emphasizes the subject, and that would be the main reason for putting the subject in this position.

131. The negation of the foregoing sentences is accomplished by placing the negator ma directly in front of the verb tense. This is true no matter what position the subject may take.

Examples:

Toone ma tan’e bin. “We are not going.” (We not are we go.)

Ma Øoc u meyah le maco. “That man is not finished working.” (Not finished he work that man.)

Le maco ma Øoc u meyah. “That man is not finished working.” (That man not finished he work.)

132. There is in fact an instance when ma is not directly tied to the verb tense, but in this case ma would be translated as “Wasn’t it”.

Example:

Ma holac binen Ho? “Wasn’t it yesterday that I went to Mérida?”

Ma zamac cu hokol le maco? “Wasn’t it just a little while ago that that man came out?”

133. For compound and complex subjects the position which they take follows the rule given for the simple subjects; that is, the subject can come either before or after the intransitive verb tense for which it is the subject.

Examples:

Lio yetel Angel Øoc u meyahoob. “Lio and Angel finished they work.”

Øoc u meyahoob Lio yetel Angel. “Finished they work Lio and Angel.”

Le maco, le minaan u ppoc tio, Øoc u meyah. “That man, that without his hat with him, finished he work.”
Sentence Structure

Ọc u meyah le maco, le minaan u ppoc tio. “Finished he work that man, that without his hat with him.”

Le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao, cu hokol. “The iguana, that which lives in the palm thatch of that roof, comes out.”

Cu hokol le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao. “He comes out that iguana, that which live in the palm thatch of that roof.”

Notice that in the last two sets of examples the modifying clause le (clause) is tied to and follows that which the clause modifies, in this case le (subject). It is not possible to either separate the modifying clause from the subject or to transpose the position of the modifying clause. For all three of these sets of sentences either word order would be correct, but the preferred word order is given by the second example in each set in which the order is “(verb) (subject and modifiers of subject).”

134. The negation of the above sentences follows the rule shown in Section 131 on simple subjects: the negator goes in front of and is tied to the verb tense.

Examples:

Lio yetel Angel ma ọc u meyahoob.
Ma ọc u meyahoob Lio yetel Angel.

Le maco, le minaan u ppoc tio, ma ọc u meyah.
Ma ọc u meyah le maco, le minaan u ppoc tio.

Le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao, ma tu hokol.
Ma tu hokol le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao.

135. Just as the subject of an intransitive verb takes its position depending on the emphasis which the speaker wants to place on either the subject or the verb, so too is the position of an adverb or adverbial clause quite flexible, the positioning again relying on the idea the speaker wants to emphasize.

Examples:

Cu hokol zanzamal. “He comes out daily.”

Zanzamal cu hokol. “Daily he comes out.”

Even though a second modifying element is added, the positioning continues to be completely random.

Examples:

Cu hokol zanzamal hach haṣcabe.
Cu hokol hach haṣcabe zanzamal.
Hach haṣcabe cu hokol zanzamal.
Zanzamal cu hokol hach haṣcabe.
Zanzamal hach haṣcabe cu hokol.
Hach haṣcabe zanzamal cu hokol.
The meaning of the sentences is “Daily he/she/it comes out very early.”

There are three elements which make up these sentences:

- **cu hokol**  
  he/she/it comes out

- **zanzamal**  
  daily

- **hach haɔcabe**  
  very early (literally: very morning)

As can be seen here, all possible permutations are used, and all are perfectly possible, just as they are in English. It is our opinion though that the positioning of the verb element in the middle between the two modifying elements is most preferable, and all things being equal,

**Zanzamal cu hokol hach haɔcabe.**

would be the sentence most likely to be used.

136. Now, if a subject, such as **le huho** (that iguana) is added again all permutations are possible, but in fact some get to be rather awkward. The following sentences are the more probable ones, starting with the most probable:

- **Zanzamal cu hokol le huho hach haɔcabe.**
- **Cu hokol le huho zanzamal hach haɔcabe.**
- **Le huho cu hokol zanzamal hach haɔcabe.**
- **Le huho cu hokol hach haɔcabe zanzamal.**
- **Zanzamal hach haɔcabe cu hokol le huho.**
- **Hach haɔcabe zanzamal cu hokol le huho.**

137. As a sentence gets more complex, the flexibility in positioning clauses gets more limited, mainly because it becomes increasingly unclear what a clause is modifying if it is not positioned near that which it is modifying. For example, if the adjectival clause **le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao** (that which lives in the palm thatch of that roof) is added in order to modify **le huho** to the permutations which generated the above sentences, several of the above examples become no longer viable and a new order of acceptability is created.

- **Zanzamal cu hokol hach haɔcabe le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao.**
- **Zanzamal cu hokol le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao, hach haɔcabe.**
- **Le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao, cu hokol zanzamal hach haɔcabe.**
- **Cu hokol zanzamal le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao, hach haɔcabe.**
Cu hokol zanzamal hach haasctime le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao.

Zanzamal hach haasctime cu hokol le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao.

Hach haasctime cu hokol zanzamal le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao.

138. Now an adverbial clause, **utial u haykintcuba** (so that he can sun himself), is added. This new clause is most often tacked on the end of the already available permutations.

Le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao, cu hokol zanzamal hach haasctime utial u haykintcuba.

Cu hokol zanzamal le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao, hach haasctime utial u haykintcuba.

Cu hokol zanzamal hach haasctime le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao, utial u haykintcuba.

Cu hokol hach haasctime zanzamal le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao, utial u haykintcuba.

Zanzamal le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao, cu hokol hach haasctime utial u haykintcuba.

Zanzamal hach haasctime cu hokol le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao, utial u haykintcuba.

An example of a sentence using the same elements as above but with a different position for the new clause would be the following.

Le huho, le cu cahtal ichil u xan le bukil nao, zanzamal cu hokol utial u haykintcuba hach haasctime.

**SENTENCES WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS**

139. A declarative sentence built around a transitive verb must have both a subject and an object. In the simplest form both the subject and object are expressed in pronouns. In some instances the object pronoun is not actually expressed but implied, the object already having been mentioned in foregoing conversation.

Examples:

**Doc in betic.** “I have finished doing it.” (“Finished I do it.” The “it” is understood and supplied elsewhere in the conversation.)

**Tan u pulic.** “He/she/it is throwing him/her/it/them.” (This is a very ambiguous sentence, and can only be cleared up by context. The object is again understood and supplied elsewhere.)
Sentence Structure

140. The negation is as follows:

Examples:

Ma ðoc in betic.

Ma tan u pulic. (also, Ma tu pulic.)

141. Normally though the transitive sentence includes an object. This object must always come after the verb, but need not be directly tied to it.

Examples:

Œoc in betic in uotoch. “I have finished making my home.”

Tan u pulic le tunichobo. “He/she/it is throwing those rocks.”

If the word holac (yesterday) is added to the first sentence, then it can be seen that the object need not be directly tied to the verb:

Holac œoc in betic in uotoch.

Œoc in betic holac in uotoch.

Œoc in betic in uotoch holac.

142. The position which a subject takes on the other hand is very flexible, just as was the case with intransitive verbs.

Examples:

Le maco tan u pulic le tunichobo.

Tan u pulic le maco le tunichobo.

Tan u pulic le tunichobo le maco.

There are obviously cases where a sentence can become very ambiguous. For example, if both “that man” and “those rocks” are either singular or plural, e.g.:

Tan u pulic le tunicho le maco.

Tan u pulic le maco le tunicho.

Tan u pulicoob le tunichobo le macobo.

Tan u pulicoob le macobo le tunichobo.

then it would be impossible to know from the sentence itself what is the subject and what is the object. If it is necessary to eliminate ambiguity then the subject is put in front of the verb, since under normal circumstances only the subject can precede the verb and the object never can.

Examples:

Le maco tan u pulic le tunichobo.

Le macobo tan u pulicoob le tunichobo.

143. A second and frequently used option which clears up the ambiguity is to place the word tumen (because of / by) before the causer of the action and to
transform the verb into a passive verb. In this case the clause “tumen causer” must be the final clause in the sentence.

Examples:

Tan u pultaal le tunicho tumen le maco.

Tan u pultaaloob le tunichobo tumen le macobo.

In English we would also use the passive conjugation when forming a sentence in this way. We would say the above pair of phrases as follows: “The stone/stones is/are being thrown by the man/men.” More on passive verbs following this discussion on transitive verbs.

144. Compound and complex subject of transitive verbs are also flexible in their positioning in relation to the verb.

Examples:

Ɔoc u betcoob u yotoch Lio yetel Angel.

Ɔoc u betcoob Lio yetel Angel u yotoch.

Lio yetel Angel Ɔoc u betcoob u yotoch.

“The stone/stones is/are being thrown by the man/men.”

Ɔoc u betic u yotoch le maco, le minaan u ppoc tio.

Le maco, le minaan u ppoc tio, Ɔoc u betic u yotoch.

“That man, that without his hat with him, has finished making his/her/its/their house.”

In these two sets of examples we have another ambiguity, namely to whom the u of u yotoch is referring. The ambiguity can be cleared up either by the context in which the conversation is taking place or that failing by specifying in the sentence for whom the house was built.

Lio yetel Angel Ɔoc u betcoob u yotoch Mam Goya.

Here Mam Goya is the possessor of the house.

Furthermore, when the subject follows the object u yotoch it could be misconstrued that the subject, instead of being the subject of the sentence, is the possessor of the object. If confusion must be avoided then the subject is placed elsewhere, preferably at the beginning of the sentence.

In the first set of examples with the compound subject there are three possible positions which the subject can take. In the second set of examples with the complex subject however there are only two positions which the subject can take. Apparently because of the complexity of the subject it is not possible to place it between the verb and the object.

145. As the object becomes more complex or as such things as indirect objects are introduced flexibility in positioning subject and objects becomes much more limited. The subject will usually be positioned at the beginning of the sentence, followed by the verb, then the direct object, and then finally the indirect object. An exception to the order of direct and indirect objects is
when the indirect object is a personal pronoun of the type described in Section 34 or a simple indirect object such as a personal name or a simple thing. In this case the order is indirect object - direct object.

Examples:

1. **Lio yetel Angel ɔoc u betcoob ten in uotoch.**
   “Lio and Angel have finished making me my house.”

2. **Le x-chupalo tan u bizic ti u yoch.**
   “That girl is taking him/her/it his/her/its food.”

3. **Le x-chupalo tan u bizic Don Lio u yoch.**
   “That girl is taking Mr. Lio his food.”

4. **Le x-chupalo tan u bizic le kekeno u yoch.**
   “That girl is taking the pig its food.”

146. If in the third and fourth examples the indirect object is expanded to an indirect object which is preceded by a preposition then the order becomes direct object - indirect object.

Example:

5. **Le x-chupalo tan u bizic u yoch ti le kekeno.**
   “That girl is taking its food to that pig.”

Even with a sentence of this level of complexity there remains little flexibility in the positioning of the various components of the sentence. It is possible position the subject behind the verb, but that is the only change which could take place.

**Tan u bizic le x-chupalo u yoch ti le kekeno.**

147. If we add adverbs there are really only two positions which they can take; either at the beginning or the end of the sentence. Other positions are possible but not probable. First we add **zanzamal** (daily).

Examples:

6. **Zanzamal le x-chupalo tu bizic u yoch ti le kekeno.**

7. **Zanzamal tu bizic le x-chupalo u yoch ti le kekeno.**

**Tan u bizic le x-chupalo u yoch ti le kekeno zanzamal.**

Note that **tan u** gets syncopated to **tu** as noted in Section 37.

Now we add **hach haɔcabe**, very early.

Examples:

8. **Zanzamal le x-chupalo tu bizic u yoch ti le kekeno hach haɔcabe.**

9. **Zanzamal hach haɔcabe le x-chupalo tu bizic u yoch ti le kekeno.**
Zanzamal hach haɔcabe tu bizic le x-chupalo u yoch ti le kekeno.
Zanzamal tu bizic le x-chupalo u yoch ti le kekeno hach haɔcabe.

In certain instances, especially when the subject, in this case le x-chupalo, is to be emphasized, the following word order is possible.

Examples:
Le x-chupalo zanzamal tu bizic u yoch ti le kekeno hach haɔcabe.

As can be seen from the above examples, sentence structure for those sentences built around transitive verbs is much more rigid than was the case for the sentences built around intransitive verbs. This seems to be because of the existence of both the subject and the object within the sentence of the transitive verb and the resulting confusion which could arise if the structure did not exist.

SENTENCES WITH PASSIVE VERBS

148. The normal position for the subject of a passive verb is directly following the verb tense. Under normal circumstances the subject would remain in this position.

Examples:
Hantabi in col. “My garden was eaten.” (Was eaten my garden.)

Tu chucpachtaal le thulo. “That rabbit is being chased.” (Is being chased that rabbit.)

149. Frequently sentences with passive verbs include the causer of the action. As was noted in Section 143 above this is done by adding a clause at the end of the sentence. The first word of this clause is tumen (because of / by) and is followed by the causer; e.g. “tumen causer”.

Examples:
Hantabi in col tumen le uacaxobo.
“My garden was eaten by those cows.”

Tu chucpachtaal le thulo tumen huntul h-ɔone.
“That rabbit is being chased by a hunter.”

150. There are times when the subject of a passive verb does not follow the verb, but these cases happen when the passive verb is part of a subordinate clause.

Example:
Yan bin huntul chan thule, tu chucpachtaal tumen huntul h-ɔone.
“There was once it is said a little rabbit, who is being chased by a hunter.”
151. Generally though the subject of the passive verb remains directly behind and tied to the verb. If for example the simple adverb holac (yesterday) is added to the first example of a sentence with a passive verb there are two possibilities:

**Holac hantabi in col.**
**Hantabi in col holac.**

152. If the causative clause “tumen causer” is added then the following sentences are possible:

**Holac hantabi in col tumen le uacaxobo.**
**Hantabi in col holac tumen le uacaxobo.**
**Hantabi in col tumen le uacaxobo holac.**

153. If however the simple adverb holac is replaced by an adverbial clause such as ooc u man kin (some time ago) then such flexibility is no longer possible. The adverbial clause must go in front of the verb tense.

**Ooc u man kin hantabi in col.**
**Ooc u man kin hantabi in col tumen le uacaxobo.**

154. No matter how complex the subject of a passive verb is, it remains directly behind the verb. Adding the adjectival clause le yan pach caho (that one which is behind the town) does not change the already limited order in which the sentence can be formed.

**Hantabi in col, le yan pach caho.**
**Holac hantabi in col, le yan pach caho.**
**Hantabi in col, le yan pach caho, holac.**
**Ooc u man kin hantabi in col, le yan pach caho.**

The addition of the causative clause would eliminate the third example just given above as an example of possible word order.

**Hantabi in col, le yan pach caho, tumen le uacaxobo.**
**Holac hantabi in col, le yan pach caho, tumen le uacaxobo.**
**Ooc u man kin hantabi in col, le yan pach caho, tumen le uacaxobo.**

155. From these examples it can be seen that sentences built around passive verbs are the most structured of the three conjugations. Whether the subject of the verb or the object in the causative clause is simple, compound, or complex, the order remains the same. The only variation, as we have seen, is the positioning of the adverb / adverbial clause, and even here variation is allowed only if the adverb is simple.
INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

156. There are two types of interrogative sentences: those which are introduced by interrogative pronouns/adverbs and those which are not introduced by these words.

INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES INTRODUCED BY INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS OR ADVERBS

157. Interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative pronouns/adverbs have already been looked at in a limited way in Section 45, 46, and 47. The word order for simple interrogative sentences from the three conjugations is usually the same: (interrogative pronoun/adverb) (verb).

- **Baax cu betcoob?** “What are they doing?” (transitive conjugation)
- **Baax ora hani?** “When did he eat?” (intransitive conjugation)
- **Tuux elabi?** “Where was he/she/it burnt?” (passive conjugation)

However as interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative pronouns/adverbs become more complex differences in sentence structure between the three conjugations do arise. Therefore each conjugation will be looked at individually.

INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES WITHOUT VERBS

158. Just as there are declarative sentences which do not have verbs so too are there interrogative sentences which do not have verbs. The word order of these sentences is (interrogative pronoun/adverb) (description).

- **Bix a kaba?** “What is your name?” (How your name?)
- **Bix a bel?** “How are you?” (How your road?)
- **Bahux le ppaco?** “How much are the tomatoes?”

INTRANSITIVE INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

159. There are three types of intransitive interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative pronouns/adverbs:

1) those in which the interrogative pronoun is the subject.
2) those in which the interrogative pronoun is the indirect object.
3) those in which the interrogative adverb is modifying the verb.

160. If the interrogative pronoun is the subject of the sentence then the standard word order is (interrogative pronoun) (verb).

- **Maax mani?** “Who passed by?”
- **Baax lubi?** “What fell?”
If an indirect object is included in the sentence then the word order is (interrogative pronoun) (verb) (indirect object).

**Maax mani ti le beo?** “Who passed by on the road?”

**Baax lubi te kobeno?** “What fell in the kitchen?”

161. For the sentences in which the interrogative pronoun is an indirect object then the word order is (interrogative pronoun) (verb). (subject).

**Baaxtial cu bin?** “What is he/she/it going for?”

If a subject is added then the word order is (interrogative pronoun) (verb) (subject).

**Baaxtial cu bin le maco?** “What is that man going for?”

162. For the sentences with interrogative adverbs the word order is (interrogative adverb) (verb).

**Tuux bini?** “Where did he/she/it go?”

**Baaxkin cu bin?** “When is he/she/it going?”

If a subject is added then the word order is (interrogative adverb) (verb) (subject).

**Tuux bini in uicham?** “Where did my husband go?”

**Baaxkin cu bin X-Tina?** “When is Tina going?”

If an adverbial clause is added then the word order is usually (interrogative adverb) (verb) (adverbial clause) (subject).

**Tuux bini in uicham ma zamaco?** “Where did my husband go just a little while ago?”

**Baaxkin cu bin X-Tina ti Ho?** “When is Tina going to Mérida?”

When the adverbial clause is short, i.e. a single word, then the word order can be (interrogative adverb) (verb) (adverbial clause) (subject).

**Baaxkin cu bin Ho X-Tina?**

**TRANSITIVE INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES**

163. There are four types of transitive interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative pronouns/adverbs:

1) those in which the interrogative pronoun is the subject.
2) those in which the interrogative pronoun is the direct object.
3) those in which the interrogative pronoun is the indirect object.
4) those in which the interrogative adverb is modifying the verb.

164. If the interrogative pronoun is the subject of the sentence then the standard word order is (interrogative pronoun) (verb) (direct object).
However it is possible that the direct object is implied rather than expressed.

\textbf{Maax cu betic?} “Who is doing it?”

Frequently though the direct object is expressed.

\textbf{Maax cu betic le hanalo?} “Who is making the food?”

\textbf{Baax cu hantic le paklobo?} “What is eating the plants?”

If an indirect object is included in the sentence then the word order depends on type of indirect object. For simple indirect objects such as personal pronouns the order is (interrogative pronoun) (verb) (indirect object) (direct object). For more complex indirect objects the word order is (interrogative pronoun) (verb) (direct object) (indirect object).

\textbf{Maax cu betcech le hanalo?} “Who is making you the food?”

\textbf{Maax cu betic le hanalo utial le h-meyahobo?} “Who is making the food for the workers?”

165. If the interrogative pronoun is the direct object then the word order is (interrogative pronoun) (verb).

\textbf{Baax cu betcoob?} “What are they doing?”

\textbf{Macalmac cun u bize?} “Which one is he/she/it going to take?”

If a subject is given the word order is (interrogative pronoun) (verb) (subject).

\textbf{Baax cu betcoob le palobo?} “What are the children doing?”

\textbf{Macalmac cun u bize a uatan?} “Which one is your wife going to take?”

If an indirect object is included in the sentence then the word order depends on type of indirect object. For simple indirect objects such as personal pronouns the order is (interrogative pronoun) (verb) (indirect object) (direct object). For more complex indirect objects the word order is (interrogative pronoun) (verb) (direct object) (indirect object).

\textbf{Baax cu betcech le palobo?} “What are the children doing to you?”

\textbf{Baax cu betcoob le palobo ti le otzil peko?} “What are the children doing to the poor dog?”

166. For the sentences in which the interrogative pronoun is an indirect object the word order is (interrogative pronoun) (verb) (direct object).

\textbf{Baaxtical cu betic u col?} “Why is he/she/it making his/her/its garden?”

\textbf{Maaxtical cu pakeachtic le uaho?} “For whom is he/she/it making tortillas?”
If a subject is included then there are two possibilities: (interrogative pronoun) (verb) (subject) (direct object) or (interrogative pronoun) (verb) (direct object) (subject).

**Baaxtial cu betic u col le maco?** “What is that man making his garden for?”

**Maaxtial cu pakachtic le xunano le uaho?** “For whom is that lady making those tortillas?”

167. For the sentences with interrogative adverbs the word order is (interrogative adverb) (verb) (direct object).

**Baaxkin cun u ɔocz in uipil?** “When is he/she/it going to finish my uipil?”

**Tuux cu betic u col?** “Where is he/she/it making his/her/its garden?”

If an indirect object is included in the sentence then the word order is (interrogative pronoun) (verb) (subject) (direct object) or (interrogative pronoun) (verb) (direct object) (subject).

**Baaxkin cun u ɔocz X-Tina in uipil?** “When is Tina going to finish my uipil?”

**Tuux cu betic u col le maco?** “Where is that man making his garden?”

**PASSIVE INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES**

168. There are three types of passive interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative pronouns/adverbs:

1) those in which the interrogative pronoun is the subject.
2) those in which the interrogative pronoun is the indirect object.
3) those in which the interrogative adverb is modifying the verb.

169. If the interrogative pronoun is the subject of the sentence then the standard word order is (interrogative pronoun) (verb).

**Maax cimzabi?** “Who was killed?”

**Baax elabi?** “What was burnt?”

If an indirect object is included in the sentence then the word order is (interrogative pronoun) (verb) (indirect object).

**Maax cimzabi tumen le kazil maco?** “Who was killed by the evil man?”

170. For the sentences in which the interrogative pronoun is an indirect object the word order is (interrogative pronoun) (verb) (subject).
Sentence Structure

Baaxtial cimzabi le maco? “Why was that man killed?”
Maaxtial betabi le chaano? “For whom was the party made?”

171. For the sentences with interrogative adverbs the word order is (interrogative adverb) (verb).

Baaaxkin hantabi? “When was he/she/it eaten?”
Tuux elabi? “Where was he/she/it burnt?”

If a subject is included then the word order is: (interrogative pronoun) (verb) (subject).

Baaaxkin hantabi a col? “When was your garden eaten?”
Tuux elabi le kaxo? “Where was the forest burnt?”

If an indirect object is included then the word order is: (interrogative pronoun) (verb) (subject) (indirect object).

Baaaxkin hantabi a col tumen le zakobo? “When was your garden eaten by the locusts?”
Tuux elabi le kaxo tumen le lelem chaco? “Where was the forest burnt by the lightning?”

INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES NOT INTRODUCED BY INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS OR ADVERBS

172. Interrogative sentences not introduced by interrogative pronouns / adverbs differ very little from their declarative counterparts.

Malob le hanalo. “That food is good.”
Malob le hanalo? “Is that food good?”

Ωoc a betic in hanal. “You have finished making my food.”
Ωoc a betic in hanal? “Have you finished making my food?”

Yan a bin meyah. “You have to go to work.”
Yan a bin meyah? “Do you have to go to work?”

Hantabi u col. “His garden was eaten.”
Hantabi u col? “Was his garden eaten?”

173. There are however two ways of distinguishing between a declarative and an interrogative sentence. First is by intonation, but this is often ineffective in making an interrogative sentence definitely distinguishable from a declarative sentence. The second is by inserting the interrogative particle ua in the interrogative sentence. The presence of this particle makes the sentence unequivocally an interrogative sentence.

174. In those sentences without verbs the interrogative particle goes directly behind the adjectival predicate.

Malob ua le hanalo? “Is the food good?”
175. In those sentences in which the verb has an auxiliary verb tense indicator the interrogative particle is most frequently placed between the auxiliary verb tense indicator and the verb directly in front of the pronoun.

Dooc ua a betic in hanal? “Have you finished making my food?”

Yan ua a bin meyah? “Do you have to go to work?”

A paradigm with an auxiliary verb tense indicator and ua is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>yan ua in bin</td>
<td>yan’c ua bin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>yan ua a bin</td>
<td>yan ua a bineex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>yan ua u bin</td>
<td>yan ua u binoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second and third persons singular and plural however are almost always contracted in normal speech:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>yan ua bin</td>
<td>yan ua bineex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>yan ua bin</td>
<td>yan ua binoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

176. For those sentences in which there is no auxiliary verb tense indicator the interrogative particle ua is usually placed behind the verb:

Hantabi ua u col? “Was his garden eaten?”

Hanech ua? “Have you eaten?”

Cu hokol ua le maco? “Is the man coming out?”

**IMPERATIVE AND EXCLAMATORY SENTENCES**

177. Imperative and exclamatory sentences are generally structured much like the declarative sentences. In fact most of these sentences are declarative sentences with an imperative or exclamatory intonation added. However in the chapter on verbs under the section on transitive verbs (Section 79) and the section on intransitive verbs (Section 83) it was noted that there is an imperative tense. Since the sentence structure is somewhat different with the use of this tense we will look at that structure here.

**IMPERATIVE SENTENCES USING THE IMPERATIVE TENSE**

178. Sentences in which the imperative tense is used is usually begun with the imperative tense verb. The simplest form of these sentences is constructed by using just the verb itself.

Transitive:

Taze! “Bring it!”
Bize! “Take it!”
Bete! “Do it!”
Chaeex! “Take it!” (plural)
Intransitive:

Hanen! “Eat!”
Ualen! “Stand up!”; “Stop!”
Xen! “Go!”
Coten! “Come!”

For the transitive imperative tense often an object is expressed:

Taz ten in hanal! “Bring me my food!”
Biz le palalobo! “Take the children!”
Cha le tunicho! “Take that stone!”

Adverbs and adverbial clauses are appended to these verbs.

Bize zebi! “Take it quickly!”
Taze beyora! “Bring it now!”
Ualen zebi! “Stand up / stop quickly!”
Xen telo! “Go there!”
Coten uaye! “Come here!”
Taz ten in hanal uaye! “Bring me my food here!”
Ualen tu tzel le coto! “Stand up next to that wall!”
Xen te pachilo! “Go back there!”
Coten utial in pactic a uich! “Come so that I can see your face!”

179. Some intransitive imperative tense verbs, xen (go) and coten (come) in particular, are used in conjunction with the first form of transitive and intransitive verbs to form complex imperative verbs. The transitive verb is usually preceded by the second person personal pronoun a but the intransitive verb is not.

Xen a cha ten in hanal! “Go and get me my food!”
Xen a ppoic ten in nok! “Go wash my clothes!”
Coteneex a uanteneex! “Come and help me!”
Xen uene! “Go to sleep!”
Xeneex hanal! “Go and eat!”
Coten hanal! “Come and eat!”

In the colonial literature the personal pronoun a is not used in front of the transitive verb.

Xen cha ten yibnel caan uaye! “Go and bring me the placenta of heaven here!”

Xen cha ten a uex utial in uic u boc uaye! “Go and bring me here your loincloth so that I can smell its odor!”
INFLUENCES OF CONQUESTS ON THE MAYAN LANGUAGE

180. The Maya have suffered three conquests in historical times. The first conquest was that of the Toltecs under the leadership of Quetzalcoatl (Kukul Can in Mayan) in a Katun 4 Ahau (816 A.D. in colonial Mayan reckoning, or 987 A.D., Goodman-Martinez-Thompson correlation). The second was that of an unidentified Mexican group, the leaders of which were Ah Cintli Iuitl Chan, Ah Tzontecomatl, Ah Tlaxcalo, Ah Pantli Mtitl, Ah Xochi Ueuetl, Ah Itz Coatl, and Ah Quaquatecatl, in a Katun 8 Ahau (1080 A.D. in colonial Mayan reckoning). The latest conquest was that of the Spaniards in 1546.

181. The Toltec and Mexican influence on the Mayan language seems to be very slight. Indeed, it may be that the conquering Toltecs and Mexicans adopted the Mayan language much as the German invaders of the Roman Empire adopted Latin. In any case, the language of the Toltecs before leaving Tula in the Mexican highlands is thought to have been a Nahuatl dialect. It is also to be presumed that the language of the Mexican group was also Nahuatl. A brief glance through a Nahuatl dictionary published in 1571 by Alonso de Molina reveals very few words shared by both languages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nahuatl</th>
<th>Mayan</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chimali</td>
<td>chimal</td>
<td>“shield”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maceualli (vassal)</td>
<td>mazeual</td>
<td>“Indian” or “native”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huaxin</td>
<td>uaxim</td>
<td>“acacia”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huipil (blouse)</td>
<td>uipil</td>
<td>“dress”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The name for **Yucatan** most probably comes from Nahuatl. The name seems not to be Mayan because most Mayan place names have recognizable meanings and **Yucatan** does not, although there have been various attempts to explain it as a Mayan word. The reason for supposing that **Yucatan** is a Nahuatl word is because of the suffix -tan. The Nahuatl suffixes -tla and -tlan both indicate “the place of”, although it seems that -tla indicates more precisely “the place where there is an abundance of”. Both the Maya and the Spanish were not very good about writing, and thus presumably pronouncing, Nahuatl words, especially those with the tl in them. Normally the tl is turned into a t. Thus the suffix -tlan would become -tan in Mayan. As further evidence that the name **Yucatan** is derived from Nahuatl, a person from **Yucatan** is referred to as a **Yucateco**, or in English **Yucatec**. The Nahuatl suffix -tecatl, which has become -teco / -teca in Spanish and -tec in English, means “a person from”. Parallel instances of the usage of -tlan / -tecatl in the Nahuatl language are numerous and are carried over into English: **Aztlan** / **Aztec**, **Mazatlan** / **Mazatec**, **Mixtlan** / **Mixtec**, **Tepoztlan** / **Tepoztec**, **Zapotlan** / **Zapotec**, etc. The word **Yucateco** appeared early in the Spanish literature, as for example in Coronel’s publication in 1620 and Lizana’s publication of 1633, and thus can be assume to be contemporary with the inclusion of the word **Yucatan** in the Spanish language.
Influences of Conquests on the Mayan Language

**Yuhcatla** is given in Siméon’s *Diccionario de la Lengua Nahuatl* as meaning “deserted place, solitude, vacant space”. On the other hand, **yuca** is given in Molina’s dictionary as “to be of another”. Thus there seems to be at least two possibilities in Nahuatl for a word which is similar to **Yucatan** or **Yucatlan**. Either of these two words could have been the basis for Yucatan’s name.

There is also the Spanish word **yuca** (one species is called **tuc** (agave) and another is called **jin** (cassava) in Mayan) which is derived from some Native American language, although we have not been able to trace the exact origins. While the yucca-agave species is different from the various agave plants which grow and are cultivated in Yucatan (**ci** is the Mayan name for the cultivated henequen plant and **chelem** is the Mayan name for the smaller and hardier wild plant) the yucca-agave and agave plants share many visual characteristics. Alternatively, as explained by Bernal Díaz in the footnote below, it could be that the name **Yucatan** is derived from a name meaning “place of the yuca” (where “yuca” means yuca-cassava), but we have seen nothing in the Nahuatl dictionaries which would support this reading. To the contrary, the Nahuatl word for yuca-cassava is **quauhcamotli** (wood sweet potato). Perhaps though Bernal Díaz’s explanation of the derivation of the name of **Yucatlan** is correct. Note that Bernal Díaz states that **Yucatlan** was not the name given to the land by the local inhabitants.⁷

On page 63 of the Chilam Balam of Chumayel there is a line which seems to confirm that for the Maya of Yucatan the word **Yucatan** is a foreign word: **uay ti luum Yucal Peten,** **Yucatan tu than maya ah It zaob lae** (“here in the land Yucal Peten, Yucatan in the Mayan language of the Itzas” or as Roys translates this line “here in the land Yucalpeten, Yucatan in the speech of the Maya Itza”). The word **Yucal Peten** can be looked at as a composite of **u** (collar), **cal** (neck), and **peten** (island, province, region, from the root word **pet** (round)). Given that **yucal che**, meaning “yoke”, is in fact “neck collar wood” (**u**, **cal**, **che**) one could say that **yucal peten** is “neck region” or “neck island” which yields “peninsula”, a recognition by the Maya that their land is a peninsula. Roys maintains that **Yucal Peten** is a Mayan imitation of the

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⁷ According to Bernal Díaz, the word **yuca** is the native word for cassava in Cuba and Jamaica. Note that the word **tlati** in his explanation is transformed into **–tlan** in the last instance of the mention of **Yucatlan**. The Nahuatl vocabularies do not give **tlati**, so either this is a mis-transcription of the original text or perhaps alternatively there was some other language involved here. However, there is the Nahuatl word **tlalli**, meaning cultivated ground or garden bed, and as that fits the description attributed to **tlati** we could assume that **tlati** was written in error. See page 24 of the 1904 edition of his book: y así mismo les mostravan los montones donde ponen las plantas de cuyas raizes se haze el pan casabe, y llamase en la ysla de cuba yuca, y los yndios dezian, q[ue] las auia en su tierra, y dezian tlati por la tierra en que las plantauan, por manera que yuca con tlati quiere deçir yucatan, y para declarar esto dezianles los espaõoles questavan con el Velasquez hablando juntamente con los yndios, señor, dizen estos yndios, que su tierra se dize yucatlan y ansi se quedo con este nombre que en su lengua no se dize ansi.
Influences of Conquests on the Mayan Language

name **Yucatan**, but the reverse could also be true. In the Mayan language **peten** is not used to the same extent that the Nahuatl language uses **-tlan**, but they are somewhat equivalent. On page 4 of his “*Compendio de la Historia de Yucatan*”, published in 1871, Bishop Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona also came to the conclusion that **Yucatan** is derived from **Yucal Peten**. In any case, we have not found in the various pieces of literature written by the Maya themselves any explanation for the name **Yucatan**, so we will leave this problem inconclusively.

182. The influence of Spanish on the Mayan language has been much greater, especially in this last century. The principal reason for this strong influence seems mostly to be because of the new technologies being brought into the Mayan culture via the Hispano-Mexican culture. Many of the words which come with this technology are part of the global technological vocabulary while others are from the Spanish vocabulary or from the regional Mexican vocabulary. There are also other words from these technologically advanced cultures which are also being brought into the Mayan language. Thus **baseball** and **sandwich** as well as **refrigerador** and **television** are words which are to be found in Mayan today. However, even as early as 1557 when the Mani land treaty was written the Maya showed the propensity to incorporate new terminology into their language. At that time Spanish terminology for various official positions and political apparatuses had already been brought into use: gobernador, juez, alcalde, regidor, audiencia, provincia, etc. Also for some reason it became immediately fashionable to have Spanish first names: Fransico de Montejo Xiu, Juan Cocom, Juan Hau, Gaspar Antonio Chi, etc.

Aside from the names for the items which are new to the Maya and the use of Spanish numbers mentioned in Sections 7 and 71, the Yucatecan Mayan language has stayed in remarkably good state of preservation despite the long continuous contacts with outside cultures. This can be seen in the modern short stories given in the Anthology section of this book. It is true that there are those speakers of the Mayan language today who tend to mix in a large Spanish vocabulary when speaking Mayan, with some people using up to or more than 25% Spanish. However, except for the things mentioned above it is almost always possible to find a perfectly good and well used Mayan word for most of the Spanish words interjected into the Mayan language.

183. Spanish words used in Mayan usually suffer a tonal change as was mentioned about numbers in Section 7. Spanish words are also with some frequency mispronounced, especially those words which have in them letters which are not normally used in the Mayan language.
Influences of Conquests on the Mayan Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Mayan</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>confesar</td>
<td>conpesar</td>
<td>“to confess”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiesta</td>
<td>piesta</td>
<td>“fiesta”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>volquete</td>
<td>bolcete</td>
<td>“dump truck”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vidrio</td>
<td>bidrio</td>
<td>“glass”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

184. Spanish verbs are turned into Mayan verbs by tacking on the following suffixes:

- tic, -tah, -mah, -te transitive conjugation
- -nahi, -nahaan, -nac intransitive conjugation
- -taal, -tabi, -taan, -taac passive conjugation

Conpesar (to confess):
conpesartic, conpesartah, conpesarmah, conpesarte
conpesar, conpesarnahi, conpesarnahaan, conpesarnac
conpesartaal, conpesartabi, conpesartaan, conpesartaac

185. Spanish nouns are not altered except for pronunciation when brought into the Mayan language. However the method by which the plural of these nouns is formed is quite varied. In some instances just the Spanish plural form is used. In other instances the Mayan plural marker -oob is appended to the plural form of the Spanish noun. This is the preferred method. And finally in some instances the Spanish noun has the Mayan plural marker attached directly to it. It seems that the choice of which type of plural marker to use is subject to individual preference and not to some set of rules.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bomber</th>
<th>bombas, bombasoob</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>refrigerador</td>
<td>refrigeradores, refrigeradoresoob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gobernador</td>
<td>gobernadoresoob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piesta</td>
<td>piestasoob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cruz</td>
<td>cruzoob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT THE MAYAN LANGUAGE

Contractions and Syncopations

185. As was noted in Section 8, the spoken Mayan language is highly contracted. We have tried to note many of these contractions throughout this grammar. The problems arising from contractions were noted in Section 8. We cannot stress too strongly how important it is to learn all of the different modes in which contractions are used so that some of these problems can be avoided.

186. A somewhat similar problem which we have noted briefly in the chapter on the alphabet, Section 4, is that certain letters, especially l when it is the final consonant in a syllable, get lost in normal conversation. An example of this kind of problem is as follows: in the chapter on verbs it will be remembered that the second form of the transitive verb conjugation is -ah, that the general form of the intransitive verb conjugation for certain verbs is -al, and that the general form of the passive verb conjugation is often -aal. In normal conversation all of these endings sound more or less the same, namely -ah. Therefore for the verb root ppat (“to stay”, “to leave”; the idea being that there is no movement) the words ppatah, ppatal, and ppataal would all sound the same in normal conversation. Thus the phrase which audibly one would hear as tin ppatah could be one of three things:

- tin ppatah I left
- tin ppatal I am staying
- tin ppataal I am being left

Note that in the case of the transitive conjugation that tin is the time indicator particle t- plus in whereas in the other two cases tin is the contraction of tan in.

Of course it is clear from the context which one of these three conjugations is being used.

- Tin ppatah in uatan. I left my wife.
- Tin ppatal. I am staying
- Tin ppataal tumen in uatan. I am being left by my wife.

Frequently in transcriptions of conversations by such people as Andrade and Vermont Salas all three of these tenses would be transcribed as p’ata. However in the transcriptions of stories which follow in this book we have written out the tenses as they would be said in formal speech. This is of course some help to the learner of the language. Just bear in mind that when listening to the Mayan language the speakers will not normally make the clear distinction between the three types of verbal suffixes.

One problem which we haven’t noted about contractions is the dropping of the l from the demonstrative particle le. We have noted that l, especially as a final consonant, is frequently not spoken. Depending on the speaker the same
is true for the I of le. There is however an occasion in which the omission of the I is much more uniform and frequent. This occurs when le follows a word which ends in -e, particularly if the -e is some kind of suffix.

Example of a sentence in formal speech:

Max cun u bete le hanalo? “Who is going to make the food?”

With the I contracted out:

Max cun u bet’e hanalo?

Another contraction we noted earlier in Sec. 4 is the dropping of the consonant k from a syllable when the k is the final consonant of that syllable. This contraction seems to take place only when the syllable is followed by another in the same word.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colonial/formal usage</th>
<th>Contracted usage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ekhochen</td>
<td>ehochen evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaknab</td>
<td>kanab sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hokzic / hokzabal</td>
<td>hozic / hozaal take out / be taken out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consonant and Vowel Shifts

187. Another problem which was mentioned briefly in the chapter on the alphabet, Sections 4 and 5, is that there are certain letters which shift to other letters. These shifts have various reasons and are based on a wide range of factors. The factors range from regional dialectical differences to individual preferences.

For the consonants some of the more common shifts are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n</th>
<th>m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>tz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the vowels some of the more common shifts are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example, a dog like animal variously reported to be a coyote or a fox has the following names:

chamac   chamac
chomac   chomac
chomoc   chumac
General Remarks about the Mayan Language

It seems that both from the colonial sources and from modern day usage, at least in northwestern Yucatan, that *chamac* is the preferred usage. In any case one could argue that the reason that the pronunciation of this animal’s name varies so widely is that it is not a common animal: neither of us has ever seen one nor do we know of anyone reporting a sighting of one. Thus its name is rarely used and maybe the variations stem from the fact that the person pronouncing the name is groping for the right one. This seems to be a general trend: those items which are not part of everyday life tend to have more variations in the way their names are pronounced than do the everyday things.

Idiomatic Expressions

188. In the Mayan language, as in any other language, there are idiomatic expressions which are particular to the language and direct translations of these expressions into another language would render either unusual or meaningless phrases. Small talk in Mayan seems to be especially prone to idiomatic expressions. Greetings in particular are rather odd to the outsider.

An example of a formal exchange, such as when a younger person meets an elderly man in passing, is as follows:

**Dias, nohoch tat. Bix a bel?**  “Good morning, great father. How is your road? (How are you?)”

**Hach toh in uol, dios botic tech. Cux tun tech?**  “Very straight my spirit, god pay you. (Very well, thank you.) And thus you?”

**Xulul beyo, dios botic.**  “Always like that, god pays. (As usual, thanks).”

A more standard greeting amongst peers is as follows:

**Baax ca ualic?**  “What do you say? (= How are you?)”

**Mixbaal. Cux tech?**  “Nothing. (= O.K.) And you?”

**Chen beya.**  “Just like this. (= Nothing new to report.)”

Two of the words used in the formal exchange, *bel* (road, path, way) and *ol* (spirit, heart) are the foundation of many idiomatic expressions.

For *bel* the following are but a few:

- **ɔoc u bel**  “finish his/her road” (= married)
- **lob u bel**  “bad his/her road” (= evil doer)
- **utz u bel**  “good his/her road” (= do-gooder)
- **kohaanil u bel**  “sickness his/her road” (= sickly)
- **chen bel**  “only road” (= common; lowly)
General Remarks about the Mayan Language

For **ol** the following are but a few:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mayan Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ca ye ol</td>
<td>“two pointed spirit” (= undecided)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>choco ol</td>
<td>“hot spirit” (= hot tempered)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceel ol</td>
<td>“cold spirit” (= cold-blooded)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ci ol</td>
<td>“sweet spirit” (= contented)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔa ol</td>
<td>“give spirit” (= attentive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hak ol</td>
<td>“surprise spirit” (= surprised)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hun pay ol</td>
<td>“different spirit” (= undecided)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nen ol</td>
<td>“mirror spirit” (= contemplate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oc ol</td>
<td>“enter spirit” (= believe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ok ol</td>
<td>“cry spirit” (= sad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toh ol</td>
<td>“straight spirit” (= well)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya ol</td>
<td>“hurt spirit” (= sad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ziz ol</td>
<td>“cool spirit” (= calm)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned in Section 9 on complex words each of the words in the above expressions are treated as grammatically individual entities:

- **Tulacal in palaloob ɔocaan u beloob.** “All of my children have gotten married.”
- **Nin caah in ziztal in uol.** “I have to go and calm down.”
- **Hun pay u yol le xibpalo.** “That boy is undecided (about what to do).”

Metaphors

189. In a somewhat similar vein, the Mayan language uses many metaphors, perhaps more than we would encounter in most European languages. In the Anthology some of these metaphors will be looked at. The unfortunate thing about metaphors is that if we can not find an explanation for the true meaning of a metaphor it is often not possible to ascertain what its meaning is. A good example of this is the following phrase:

**hax kak ti chac bacel**

If we translate this phrase on its face value we would have “to light a fire on the thigh bone using a fire drill”. Fortunately, the Vienna vocabulary gives us the real meaning of this phrase: “Cometer peccado insestuoso, por metáfora: hax kak ti chac bacel. ¶ Cometió así pecado con su hija: v haxah kak tu chac bacel yetel yix mehen.” (To commit an incestuous sin, metaphorically: **hax kak ti chac bacel.** ¶ He committed thusly a sin with his daughter: **v haxah kak tu chac bacel yetel yix mehen.**) For further comment on this phrase and one similar to it see pages 189-193 in the Anthology which gives the text and translation of “The Word of Oxlahun ti Ku”.

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General Remarks about the Mayan Language

Another example of a metaphorical phrase is **cuch chimal**. This literally means “to carry the shield on one’s back”, but is glossed in the various vocabularies as “to give up, to be defeated in battle”.

While the foregoing phrases are examples from the colonial period, neither have come to our attention in modern usage. However, there are plenty of examples of metaphorical phrases in the modern language, especially in the names of food:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cichcelem Gracia</strong></td>
<td>“holy grace” (corn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pol can</strong></td>
<td>“snake head” (a folded tortilla with pumpkin seed and lima beans)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ppichil ichil cho</strong></td>
<td>“popped-eyed mouse” (a thick tortilla with cooked beans being added to the tortilla dough before it is shaped and cooked)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ppirix he</strong></td>
<td>“hymen eggs” (eggs scrambled with tomato and chili)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>zal buth</strong></td>
<td>“lightly filled” (a deep-fried tortilla which puffs up in the process of being fried, hence the name)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Mayan calendar also used terms which on face value do not have identifiable meanings. In the books of Chilam Balam there are various calendrical discussions, some probably involving what we call “leap year”. Such terms as **ixma kaba kin**, **lamay tun**, and **mol box katun** are given but are imperfectly understood. They may hold the key to how and when leap years were accomplished. Unfortunately, the early vocabularies do not explain these terms and so we are left wondering what their functions were.

Regional Dialects

190. Throughout this grammar there have been various notes about regional dialects. Just as in U.S. English and British English in which one can often tell where a person comes from by the way that person pronounces words, the type of tonal inflections given to words and phrases, and even the vocabulary used, so too in Yucatec Mayan there are regional dialects, often times distinguished by the same factors.

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8 Note that our term for including an extra day every four years as a calendar correction mechanism is also not very descriptive, so that a person coming upon this term from another language and cultural background may well puzzle over its meaning.

9 Literally, “no name day”.

10 Pérez translates this as “squared rock”, but there is reason to suspect that **lamay** is related to the verb root **lam** = to submerge and the in this instance that **tun** means “year”, thus yielding the term “submerged year”, but that still does not get us to a meaningful phrase.

11 Literally, “the gathering of the shells of the **katun**”.

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Before continuing it should be mentioned that what sometimes are considered to be separate languages are in fact regional dialects of standard Yucatec Mayan. These include Itzá which was formerly spoken around Lago Petén Itzá, Mopán which is spoken in parts of Belize, and Yucatec Lacandon which is spoken in Chiapas in the area around Bonaan Pak.

One of the more striking and noticeable differences in regional dialects is the amount of Spanish vocabulary used in any given local. Some areas tend to be more conservative in the use of Mayan words in the vocabulary than others. At times it comes as a surprise that certain Mayan words which are used in one area, and which one would think would be universally recognized by another Mayan speaker of a different region, are in fact not known to that region. A couple of examples:

In the colonial era the word *chóy* was applied both to the word "bucket" and to the tree *Cochlospermum vitifolium* (Brazilian Rose / Silk Cottonwood). As the Calepino Maya de Motul vocabulary points out, buckets were made out of wood which were fashioned from the bark of the *chóy* tree. Around the area of Piste, which abounds with *chóy* trees, the word *chóy* is applied only to the tree and the word for "bucket" is the Spanish word "cubo". In contrast, in Kom Cheen there are few *chóy* trees, but the word for bucket remains to be *chóy*.

In the northwestern region of Yucatán the verb *chihil*, while glossed in the colonial vocabularies as "crecer" (to grow), when applied to a person means to have grown old. Thus the expression *čoc u chihil* means "he/she has grown old". In the area around Panaba this expression is meaningless and only after resorting to saying the same in Spanish does the listener respond with "*čoc u viejotal*".

These regional differences, especially as it relates to vocabulary usage, at times makes conversing with people of a different region a challenge but by and large with patience and an open mind these difference are surmountable.

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12 CMM: Choy: cubos para sacar agua de los pozos echos de cortezas de arboles.

13 Local memory recalls having to use the bark of the *chóy* tree to make buckets even though this is no longer done.

14 BMTV: Medrar, por crecer: chihil l. nuchal. ¶ Medrado estar así: chihaan l. chiyan, nucaan.
EPILOGUE
On The Fate Of The Mayan Language
by David Bolles

191. In the late 1800’s a priest wrote that he felt that during his lifetime he would see the demise of the Mayan language in Yucatan. Fortunately for those of us who love to see a diversity of languages and cultures that priest was wrong, and the Mayan language has survived this earlier prediction. Now a hundred years latter many people are again making the same prediction, and we ourselves are wondering if indeed we will be seeing the demise of the Yucatecan Mayan language during our generation. There are now several factors at work which should hurry up this demise which were not present during the latter part of the 19th century. These factors are:

1) the invasion of the Spanish language through radio and television into the everyday lives of the people in the Mayan speaking world.

2) the absolute prohibition against the use of native languages in both the state and federal school systems.

3) the need economically by those in the Mayan speaking world to learn Spanish in order to get jobs outside the Mayan towns.

4) the constant effort by the Spanish speaking population to inform the Mayan speaking population that the Mayan language is inferior to Spanish, and in fact is only a “dialect”, and a corrupt dialect at that.

Let us look at each of these factors more closely:

1) Almost every household throughout the Mayan speaking world has at the very least a radio, and many in those areas where reception is reasonable also have a television set. The main reason for the radio is to hear music, so in actual fact as long as the radio was the only source of the Spanish language invasion into the Mayan home there was not a very severe impact. With television however there seems to be a much greater impact, and one could suppose that this is due to the fact that most of television is dialogue rather than music.

In the early 1970’s we made an effort with the aid of don Alfredo Barrera Vasquez to get a weekly hour long program on radio which would be oriented towards the needs of the Mayan speaking population. Our plan was to have interviews with various people throughout the Yucatecan peninsula on a variety of subjects which would be interesting to the Maya. For example, almost every weekend there is a town fiesta somewhere in Yucatan, Campeche, or Quintana Roo. We planned to have interviews with the various people in charge in putting on these fiestas to get them to talk about the significance of the sacred rites which would take place and also to talk about the various secular activities. Another topic of interest in many Mayan homes is home medical remedies. We knew enough medical professionals who were proficient in Mayan so that we could put together quite a number of
interviews on the wide range of medical problems which face the Maya today, from how to deal with diarrhea in infants to birth control. We even found some H-Menoob (shamans) who were quite willing to share their knowledge of herbal medicine and furthermore were willing to talk about the various agricultural and curing rites which they carried out. Other interviews which were planned were with farmers who were recognized by their peers as being successful and with agricultural agents who could provide some information about alternative ways of raising crops and animals.

Unfortunately this project ran into bureaucratic tangles despite the efforts of don Alfredo, and came to nothing. However, as mentioned in the foreword, there are at the time this is being written efforts by some government agencies such as Instituto Nacional Indigenista to work for the preservation of the Mayan language. As a result an effort is being made to get the Mayan language on the radio and television. It will be interesting to see how far this effort goes, and what effect it will have in the preservation of the language.

2) For a number of decades both the federal and the state school systems have been systematically trying to wipe out indigenous languages and culture. In Yucatan the effort went so far as to make it impossible for a Mayan girl to attend school wearing a huipil and having long hair. In order to attend school she had to crop her hair to a bob and put on “western” clothes. Since the mid 1960’s the restrictions on what a girl could wear to school has let up, but the prohibition against speaking the Mayan language was and in most places still is in force.

In order to make sure that the language used in the classrooms remained Spanish the federal school system sent new teachers from one local indigenous area to that of another indigenous language. Thus two of my in-laws who became teachers in the federal system, both of whom were reasonably bilingual, were sent to the Mexican highlands, one to a Nahuatl speaking area and the other to an Otomi speaking area.

When the brother-in-law who was sent to the Nahuatl speaking area returned to Yucatan in the early 1970’s to teach in a small village 6 hours walk from the nearest road I offered to give him enough of our little Mayan folktale booklets for all of his students. This he declined, saying that should the school inspector ever catch him with this material he would lose his job immediately.

It is hard to understand what the paranoia about having bilingual education is all about, although such paranoia also exists in certain regions in the U.S.A. as well. However, when one looks at such countries as Switzerland where in fact trilingual or even quadrilingual education is a part of daily reality, or at most of the Nordic countries, Germany, and Holland where bilingual education is the norm (English being the second language in those countries, and a local dialect where such exists making the people effectively trilingual), one comes to the conclusion that it is the narrow-mindedness of
the dominant monolingual speakers which makes the idea of bilingual education unacceptable, and certainly not the capacity of the school children to learn multiple languages.

3) For the third point, namely the need economically by those in the Mayan speaking world to learn Spanish in order to get jobs outside the Mayan towns, there is of course little that can be done to ameliorate this need. At the turn of the last century it was the upper class Yucatecans who were bilingual, and in those days dialogue between this class and the Mayan peasant class was carried on chiefly in Mayan. Since the demise of the hacienda system the upper class has become increasingly isolated from the peasant class, and as a result the children of the upper class have not had the need to learn the Mayan language. To get the members of the upper class at this time to reeducate themselves in the Mayan language would be an impossible task.

At the present time in fact the process is quit reversed. It is the peasant families which are making the effort to ensure that their children know Spanish. In some families this effort has gone to quite an extreme. The children are taught only Spanish in these families and these children are told by their parents that they know only Spanish. In many instances these children will grow up believing this, and will always say that they are incapable of speaking Mayan, even though they have heard the Mayan language used every day of their lives.

4) Since my earliest contacts with the Yucatecan culture in the early 1960’s I have witnessed the constant effort by the Spanish speaking population to inform the Mayan speaking population that the Mayan language is inferior to Spanish, and that it is in fact only a “dialect”, and a corrupt dialect at that. (Never mind that the Spanish language spoken in Mexico, in addition to its Latin roots, is a mixture of many languages, including Arabic, Nahuatl and now English.) Why the accusation that the Mayan language is only a dialect has such an impact on the minds of the opinion makers in the Mayan community is something which has always mystified me. In any case, by the mid 1960’s the shame of speaking Mayan had grown to such an extent that it was hard to find people in the market place in Mérida who would own up to being speakers of the Mayan language, even though from these people’s dress and habits it was obvious that they were speakers of the language.

An area in which Spanish is almost always preferred to Mayan is in community functions, even in those towns in which the inhabitants are almost all Mayan speakers. These community functions include such things as fiestas, religious gatherings, and political rallies. From time to time I have made inquiries as to why Spanish was being used on these occasions, especially in those towns which are overwhelmingly inhabited by Mayan speakers, but I have never been given a clear answer other than that since Mayan is only a “dialect” it would not be the proper language to use in such occasions.
Epilogue

Fortunately the pressure to disown the Mayan language has lightened up over the last few decades and as a result the use of the Mayan language in the Mérida marketplace and even at an occasional political rally or fiesta is now more openly heard.

The fact is of course that none of these factors need to remain as the cause of the demise of the Mayan language. However, it would take on the part of the dominant Spanish speaking population a major change of attitude towards the Mayan speaking population and their language to eliminate these factors, and the chance of such a change taking place is close to inconceivable, given the total distain and disrespect which the Spanish speaking population holds for the Mayan speaking population. For the members of the Mayan speaking population as well, there needs to be a change in attitude towards their language, albeit that that attitude was engendered in them mainly by the Spanish speaking population. The Maya need to regain a sense of pride in their language and way of life which has been lost over the last half century. It would seem though that for the moment at least, the initiation for such a resurgence of pride would have to come from leaders in the dominant Spanish culture, or even perhaps the more dominant Western culture. Demands should be made that the Mayan language become an acceptable means of communication on radio and television and in community functions, and that it be given its fair share of instructional time in community schools. It seems to us that there is still a large enough base of Mayan speakers in the Yucatecan peninsula so that if the Maya could regain a sense of pride and identity to the point where their language becomes acceptable again in community functions that the language would then be able to sustain itself despite the pressures put upon it from the outside world.

Epilogue’s Sequel

It has been 20 years since I wrote the Epilogue. Now, in 2015, the predictions given there have turned out worse and at a greater speed than I could have imagined at the time. The amount of change sweeping the Yucatecan Mayan world is profound and at this point irreversible.

When Alejandra was born in the late 1930’s life in most of Yucatan, even in the Mayan sections of the relatively large town of Ticul where she was born, had changed little for more than 2,000 years. If a person was transported back in time there would be little that was not familiar to him and adjustment to the way of life would have been relatively easy. Archeological evidence has shown that households were set up in a similar manner, that food preparation was similar, and with the exception of livestock introduced from other parts of the world, the food was similar.

Now, however, the same definitely can not be said. It is few and far between that one can find younger people who speak the Mayan language, who know
how to prepare corn to make the basic foodstuffs such as tortillas and tamales still eaten today, or even what it takes to plant corn and all of the other crops which were once grown throughout the peninsula. Now tortillas are machine-made from flour produced by machine which comes from corn, much of which is imported from the US, which is planted and harvested by machines.

Among other factors which have caused this change is the change in climate. Rainfall is no longer predictable with a definite rainy season which lasted about 105 days from mid-May through to September and a dry season which lasted about 260 days from September through to mid-May. The result is that climate change, coupled with the hard labor involved in raising crops by hand, has made it so that one no longer sees corn fields throughout the Yucatecan peninsula like there used to be. It has proven to be easier and safer for the Maya from both small towns and large to find work in cities, especially in those cities which cater to the tourist trade. In short, the modern Maya have joined the industrialized consumer society and the Mayan language along with Mayan customs has no place in this society.

A Note About Corn

For several thousand years the Maya and other indigenous groups in Mesoamerica have been growing corn. Over this period of time several different types of corn and varieties within each of these types of corn have evolved. Some of the more common types of corn are dent corn, flint corn, sweet corn and popcorn.

For the Maya the preferred type of corn for making tortillas was flint corn. It makes a superior masa or zacan from which tortillas and tamales are made. This is because it has less soft starch and a greater protein to starch ratio than

15 Whether coincidental or not, it is interesting to note that the number 260 coincides with the number of days in the calendar round called u xoc kin, and that the other number, 105, coincides with the number of days remaining to complete the year of 365 days. In the ruins of Xochicalco, Morelos, there is an observatory which tracks the sun for 105 days from April 30 through the summer solstice and on until August 13. It is said that this observatory was used to indicate when corn planting should take place. The Mayan calendar as presented in the books of Chilam Balam places the first month for planting corn in the uinal Paax which began on May 12 Julian (May 22 Gregorian at the time that calendar was written), and notes about planting corn continue through the uinal Uoo which began on August 5 Julian and ended on August 24 Julian. The variation in planting dates is because there are several varieties of flint corn which vary in the length of time it takes for them to reach maturity, from nal thel (“rooster corn”) which matures in 7 weeks to x-nuc nal (“old woman corn”) which takes 5 months to mature. For the reader interested in the Mayan calendar and its various functions see the series of articles in Ti Can Titzil Caan available on the internet at: http://davidsbooks.org/www/Maya/WorldDirections.pdf

16 See pages 5 through 7 of Alejandra’s Cookbook for a description of how zacan was prepared. The cookbook is available at: http://davidsbooks.org/www/Maya/Cookbook.pdf
dent corn which is the type of corn normally grown commercially throughout the world.

As mentioned above, corn farming in Yucatan has become a lost tradition. The result is that now in most markets only dent corn, much of which is imported from other areas, principally the US, is to be found. This is true not only in the Yucatecan peninsula but throughout Mexico.\footnote{An exception to this is that in certain markets throughout the Mexican highlands there is often a variety of flint corn available which is dark blue in color. Blue tortillas are made from this corn. The flavor and characteristics of these tortillas is the same as other colored tortillas made from the various varieties of flint corn. Perhaps because of its superior quality there are street vendors in Mexico City which sell only blue tortillas when making their tacos, huarachas, etc.} The wonder is that people are willing to put up with the very inferior characteristics of tortillas and tamales made with dent corn. The tortillas which come out of the tortilla making machine soon lose their suppleness and become stiff, rubbery and frankly not very tasty. Back in the days when most of the corn consumed in Yucatan was locally grown flint corn, in those years when the harvest was poor and dent corn had to be imported from the US there was a lot of complaining about the quality of the tortillas. Now however the people have somehow become used to the tortillas derived from dent corn and there is rarely a complaint.

“Numay u cici olal balcah,”\footnote{Probably a Franciscan translation from the Latin phrase “Sic transit gloria mundi.” See the \textit{Calepino Maya de Motul}: Numay \textit{l. numay v than}: cosa transitoria, finible, perecedera, y momentanea que passa de presto. ¶ numay v cici olal balcah: de presto passa la gloria del mundo. Somewhat parallel is the following entry: Nicliz: cosa finible que tiene fin. ¶ nicliz v cici olal balcah: finible es la gloria del mundo.} or as the Mayans say today, “Bey le baalo.”\footnote{Literally: “That thing is like that”, or as we would say, “That’s the way it is.”}
AN ANTHOLOGY

OF

MAYAN LITERATURE
The following reading material is a survey of Mayan literature. The survey starts with a hieroglyphic text which is included to show the reader the type literature common amongst the educated Maya before the coming of the Spaniards. Next the survey looks at the earliest known piece of Mayan literature in Latin script (the 1557 Mani land treaty) and from there continues with various types of literature through the centuries to the present. The pieces in this anthology are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Selection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1400’s</td>
<td>Dresden Codex, Pages 29c - 31c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1557</td>
<td>Introductory Remarks to the “Mani Land Treaty of 1557”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1580</td>
<td>Early Letters to King Philip II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1593</td>
<td>Prophecy for the year 13 Kan from the “Cuceb”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590’s</td>
<td>Prophecy by Chilan Balam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590’s</td>
<td>The Word of Oxlahun ti Ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1623</td>
<td>Introduction and a Selection of Riddles from “Zuyua Than yetel Naat”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1662</td>
<td>A Letter Asking for a Gun from &quot;The Xiu Chronicles&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700’s</td>
<td>A Chant from “Ritual of the Bacabs”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700’s</td>
<td>Cures for snake bites from medical recipes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700’s</td>
<td>Blood letting sites on the human body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1708</td>
<td>Titles of Ebtun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1757</td>
<td>“Our Father” from liturgical works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Introductory Remarks from the “Proclamation of Juan de la Cruz”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>An Autobiographical Note by José Sabino Uc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920’s</td>
<td>A Garden Ceremony from the town of Chan Kom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964/75</td>
<td>Two “Santiguars” (Curing Ceremonies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964/74</td>
<td>Two Bee Ceremonies by Don Felipe Paz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930’s</td>
<td>through the Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Modern Story recorded by Manuel J. Andrade and Modern Stories and Songs from our booklet “Tzicbal tabi ti in Mama uch caachi” and other sources.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each of these selections is preceded by an introductory note which provides more specific information about that selection. Also, should the translation which accompanies the selection be based on comparisons with other existing translations an explanation of who the authors of the other translations are and what is similar or different between the other translations and the one offered in this book is given.
In making the translations of the material in this anthology every effort was made to translate the selections word by word where that was possible. The intent has been to give the reader a feeling for how the language functions and it was felt that by adhering to what is written in Mayan as much as possible when making the translations that some of this feeling would come through. However of equal importance is making understandable translations. Where word by word translations were not possible because of word sequence or verbal forms, at least every word, expressed or implied, was included in the translated passages. At the very least, phrasing and punctuation are kept exactly the same as they appear in the original Mayan. This was done to facilitate cross-referencing between the translations and the originals.

The reader will be surprised, and perhaps confused, by the inconsistency in the use of verb tenses. This problem was noted in Section 75 in the chapter on Verbs. It seems safe to say, as was noted in that section, that a verb takes on its true tense not only with the aid of the form in which it appears, but also by the context in which it appears. In the following translations however, the verbs were most generally translated on form alone. This was done with the hope that in this way the reader would get some feeling for the workings of the Mayan language.

This approach was also applied to idiomatic expressions, again with the thought that this method will help the reader to get the feeling of the language. Hopefully by translating the way we have the translations are not rendered too unintelligible.

The orthography for all of the modern selections has been standardized to the orthography presented in this grammar. The exception is the ɔ is represented by dz which was the standard representation of this consonant from the late 1800’s to about 1970. For the older material, where possible the orthography of the original was left as it appears in the source material. In some case it was determined that some editing was necessary to make to text intelligible. The reader interested in the original orthography for any one of these selections is referred to the source from which that selection is derived which is given in the introductory remarks to each selection.
In reading through the various Yucatecan Mayan colonial books, in particular those called the “Books of Chilam Balam”, one finds such phrases as “lay bin u hokzah tu uooh anahte bin” (thus it was said that he took it (that is, the passage in which this line appears) out of the hieroglyphs of the book) (Bolles 2003, line C435), “tin hokzah ti uooh” (I took this out of the hieroglyphs) (Bolles 2003, line C560), and “ca ix u xocahoob tu uoohil” (and thus they read it in the hieroglyphs) (Bolles 2003, line J431). It would thus seem to be a reasonable assumption that the person or persons who originally wrote the Yucatecan Mayan colonial texts from which the various “Books of Chilam Balam” were formed were able to read hieroglyphs and in fact were often transcribing hieroglyphic texts when writing down the material in Latin script.

Some researchers have made contributions with this assumption in mind. Maria Cristina Alvarez, in her 1974 monograph “Textos Coloniales del Libro de Chilam Balam de Chumayel y Textos Glificos del Codice de Dresden”, wrote about the relationship between pages 30c-31c of the Dresden Codex and the opening passages from the first page of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel. The material from the Chumayel is divided into two parts, called here rituals.

Ritual 1 (Bolles 2003, lines H001-H006) gives the names of the founders of the Canul, Cauich, Noh, and Puch lineages. From the folio numbering it is clear that the first folio of the Chumayel is missing. Since it seems evident that this ritual was already begun on the now missing folio, the founder’s name for the Canul lineage is actually not given but has been lost with the loss of the first folio. Note that there is a difference of opinion between Alvarez and myself on how the actual phrasing should be. Generally a phrase such as “u chun u uminicil” (the beginning of the people (i.e. lineage)) should be preceded by a subject just as it is followed by an object as shown by Alvarez. I have therefore shown subjects for these phrases as allowed for by the original text, and go on the assumption that the subject for the first phrase has been lost with the missing folio 1.

Ritual 2 (Bolles 2003, lines H008-H039) lists the attributes of “ah muzen cab” (a deity of the bees) in his four aspects, each one with its world direction and corresponding world direction color. In editing this ritual I have made the assumption that each article mentioned (i.e. “oulbal”, “ché”, “iz”, “ulum”, etc.) should be mentioned in each paragraph for a world direction.

Maria Cristina Alvarez (1974) believes Rituals 1 and 2 to be related to Codex Dresden, pages 30c-31c. In fact, as can be seen from the accompanying comparison of Ritual 2 with pages 29c-31c of the Codex Dresden, if Alvarez’s assertion is correct there seems reason to think that Dresden 29c should be the beginning point for this comparison since that is where the ritual-almanac using glyphs T 15.667:47 and T 1.667:130 begins. It is in the glyph group starting on Dresden 29c that the
world directions are given, and these are certainly an integral part of the Latin script ritual.

Alvarez relates Ritual 1 to Dresden 30c-31c mainly because of the use of the phrase “u chun”, found in lines H001, H003, H004, and H005 in the phrase “u chun u uinicil”. While “chun” does mean trunk or base of a plant (“u chun che”, “the trunk of a tree”) thereby allowing Alvarez to equate Ritual 1 with the picture accompanying Dresden 30c-31c which shows four Chacs each seated on the trunk of a tree, the word “chun” as used in the phrase “u chun u uinicil” most certainly means “the beginning of” or “the first of”, the whole phrase being, as Roys translates it (1933/1967), “the first of the men of (family name)”. Of course, because of the fact that there are two or more meanings for many words in the Yucatecan Mayan language puns can be often employed and the use of one “chun” in a picture when in fact the other “chun” is meant might be an example of such a pun.

See Appendix C for the facsimile of page 1 of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel.

For facsimiles of various "Books of Chilam Balam" go to the Facsimile section of davidsbooks.org.

For transcriptions and translations of various parts of the "Books of Chilam Balam" see Post Conquest Mayan Literature (http://davidsbooks.org/www/Maya/PCML.pdf) and its companion translations (http://davidsbooks.org/www/Maya/PCML%20Translation.pdf)
DRESDEN CODEX, PAGES 29c - 31c
AND
THE BOOK OF CHILAM BALAM OF CHUMAYEL

Edited version of the text from page 1 of the Chumayel:

--- --- u chun u uinicil Ah Canule.
Ix zac uaxim, ix culun chacah yix mehen pazel, ek u pazel.
Yaxum u chun u uinicil Ah Cauiche.
Yahau Ah Nohol u chun u uinicil Ah Noh.
Kan tacay u kaba u chun u uinicil Ah Puche.

("--- --- is the progenitor of the Ah Canul lineage.
White acacia, drum gumbolimbo tree is their little hut; black is their hut."
The Cotinga amabilis bird is the progenitor of the Ah Cauich lineage.
The king of the southerners is the progenitor of the Ah Noh lineage.
Yellow large billed tyrant is the name of the progenitor of the Ah Puch lineage."

Pages 29c-31c of the Dresden Codex. Pp. 30c-31c show four Chacool sitting on tree trunks, chun in Mayan. Perhaps the phrase u chun u uinicil is derived from this scene.

There is an intermediate sentence between the above lines and those shown on the following pages. It reads:
Bolonppel yoc ha u canaanmaob, bolonppel uitz u canaanmaob.
("They guard the nine rivers, they guard the nine hills.")

17 Roys shows an alternative translation: “the logwood tree is the hut...” The word ek has various meanings, among them “black” and “logwood” (Haematoxylon campechianum, L.) from which ink is made. However, if this ritual is in some way connected to Ritual 2 then it would seem that pazel (hut, arbor) should have a world direction color as is true of its synonym ɔulbal in Ritual 2. Ek u pazel would mean that this hut is in the west. This would also indicate that a phrase with the words kan u pazel (“yellow is their hut”, that is, the hut in the south) is missing after the line concerning the Ah Puch lineage, a problem not uncommon in the Chumayel.

18 The place name Bolonppel uitz may refer to Salinas de los Nueve Cerros on the Chixoy River in the Peten of Guatemala.
Transliteration of Glyphs in Dresden

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transcription of the Chumayel Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u ñulbalooob lakinil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chac xib ah chac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u ñulbal ah chac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chac imix che ti lakinil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u ñulbalooob xaman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zac xib ah chac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u ñulbal ah chac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zac tun xaman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u ñulbalooob chikinil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ek xib ah chac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u ñulbal ah chac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ek che chikinil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ek xib ah chac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u ñulbalooob nohol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kan xib ah chac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u ñulbalooob nohol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kan xib ah chac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u ñulbalooob ah chac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti kan che nohol</td>
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<tr>
<td>ti kan che nohol</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Edited version of Chumayel Text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chumayel Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chac tok tun u tunil ti lakin</td>
<td>red flint is the stone of the east</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chac imix yaxche u õulbal</td>
<td>red ceiba is the arbor of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ah chac muzen cabe</td>
<td>Red Muzen Cab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chacal pucte u cheob</td>
<td>red bullet trees are his trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix chac yak yiziloob</td>
<td>red vines are his camotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix chac ak yibiloob</td>
<td>red vines are his lima beans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chac ix kan õulen yulumoob</td>
<td>red parrots are his turkeys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix chac oppool yiximoob</td>
<td>red toasted corn is his corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zac tok tun u tunil ti xaman</td>
<td>white flint is the stone of the north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zac imix yaxche u õulbal</td>
<td>white ceiba is the arbor of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ah zac muzen cabe</td>
<td>White Muzen Cab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zacal pucte u cheob</td>
<td>white bullet trees are his trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix zac pucte yiziloob</td>
<td>white bullet trees are his camotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zac ib yibiloob</td>
<td>white lima beans are his beans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix zac tan ulum yulumoob</td>
<td>white breasted turkeys are his turkeys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zac ixim yiximoob</td>
<td>white corn is his corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ek tok tun u tunil ti chikin</td>
<td>black flint is the stone of the west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ek imix yaxche u õulbal</td>
<td>black ceiba is the arbor of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ah ek muzen cabe</td>
<td>Black Muzen Cab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekel pucte u cheob</td>
<td>black bullet trees are his trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix ek chuch iz yiziloob</td>
<td>black tipped camotes are his camotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ek ib yibiloob</td>
<td>black lima beans are his lima beans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix ek buul u buul</td>
<td>black beans are his beans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix ek ucum yulumoob</td>
<td>black pigeons are his turkeys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix ek hub yiximiloob</td>
<td>black speckled corn is his corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ek akab chan u naloob</td>
<td>black dark little corn is his corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kan tok tun u tunil ti nohol</td>
<td>yellow flint is the stone of the south</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kan imix yaxche u õulbaloob</td>
<td>yellow ceiba are the arbors of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ah kan muzen cabe</td>
<td>Yellow Muzen Cab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanal pucte u cheob</td>
<td>yellow bullet trees are his trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix kan pucte yiziloob</td>
<td>yellow bullet trees are his camotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix kan pach buul u buuloob</td>
<td>yellow backed beans are his beans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix kan pucte ucum yulumoob</td>
<td>yellow bullet tree pigeons are his turkeys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix kankan nal u naloob</td>
<td>yellow corn is his corn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE MANI LAND TREATY OF 1557

The Mani land treaty is ranked as the earliest piece of Mayan literature written by the Maya in the Latin script. In 1557 various Mayan lords gathered in Mani at the summons of governor Don Francisco de Montejo Xiu to agree on the boundary of lands under the governorship of the lords of Mani.

The document is a long one and so only the introductory remarks are given here to give the reader a look at the style in which the Mayan language was written at the time.

In this grammar’s introduction mention is made of Gaspar Antonio Chi as perhaps being an important factor in developing the Latin script to write the Mayan language. Further down in this document, below the portion given here, Gaspar Antonio Chi is named as Spanish crown’s translator for the gathering. It is thought that he was born in the town of Mani in 1531 and died in about 1610. Another scribe, Francisco Cab, wrote the original treaty, but in 1596 a copy was made and it is ascribed to Gaspar Antonio. During the 1580’s and particularly in 1590’s there was much activity in producing Mayan documents along with Spanish commentaries about the Maya. Some of these works are definitely written by Gaspar Antonio, while others, such as the Cuceb and the Prophecy of the Priest Chilam Balam, portions of which are given in this anthology, could also be the work of Gaspar Antonio.

In the Codex Pérez there is a short calendar explanation in Spanish which perhaps coincidentally talks about the same years (1595-1597: 2 Hiix, 3 Cauac, and 4 Kan) which begin the Cuceb. This calendar explanation is called the "Prologue to the Cuceb" although its function is quite different. There is a parallel but less complete version of this calendar discussion in the Kaua which is not followed by the Cuceb. The Kaua version gives dates 201 years later, namely 1796-1798.

It has been noted by various Spanish scholars, such as René Acuña, that the Spanish in this calendar explanation seems rather stilted. The suggestion is that the explanation is not written by a native speaker of the Spanish language. This leads one to the conclusion that the explanation is written by a Mayan scribe, and most probably by the scribe who transcribed the Cuceb. A possible candidate for this work is Gaspar Antonio. Since the original manuscripts for the Cuceb, etc. no longer exist the handwriting can not be compared with his known works. There are however certain turns of phrases in the “Prologue to the Cuceb” which are similar to another work by Gaspar Antonio: “Relación de las costumbres de los indios de Yucatán”. While such similarity does not prove that Gaspar Antonio was the author of these various works which appear in the “Books of Chilam Balam”, it at least opens the door to such a possibility.

Frauke Johanna Riese has done a very able job in assembling the various parallel texts which are the sources for this document and offering a translation of the reconstructed document. The reader interested in this document should see her work “Indianische Landrechte in Yucatan um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts”.

For the facsimilie and complete text of the Mani Land Treaty of 1557 see The Xiu Chronicles: http://davidsbooks.org/www/Xiu%20Chronicles.pdf
THE ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FORESTS
MANI, 1557

In the town of Mani on the 15\textsuperscript{th} day of August in the year of 1557.

The account of the distribution of the forest by the nobles and the head chief Don Francisco de Montejo Xiu, governor here in the big town of Mani, with the rest of the governors who are written below.

They had gathered to counsel with the head chief and scribe Don Francisco de Montejo Xiu, governor here in the town, with the subjects of Tutul Xiu and the nobles Don Francisco Che, governor of Ticul, Don Francisco Pacab, governor of Oxkutxcab, Don Diego Uz, governor of Tikax, Don Alonso Pacab, governor of Ñaan and Mona, and Don Juan Che, governor of Mama, Don Alonso Xiu, governor of Tikit, and the rest of the governors who are the subjects of Mani and its patriarchs.

They gathered together so that they could counsel on the agreement of where they should place the corners, where they should place the crosses of the boundaries of the forest of the fields of each of the villages of the subjects.

For this reason the boundaries of the lands of the Canul and the Acanceh and the Coh and the Cuzuma and the Zotuta and the subjects of the Cacal and the Hunacti, Peto, Calotmul, and Tzuccacab have been set down.

After they had thought about it they declared that it is necessary that the chiefs of each of the town of the governors should gather here in the town. After they arrived here in the middle of the town of Mani it was arranged that the leaders be taken around two by two so that they could see the boundaries of the forest and the land.
Tu cahal Mani tu holhunpiz u kinil u Agosto ichil yaabil de mil quinientos y cinquenta y siete años.

U kahlay thoxic u kaax tumenoob al mehenoob yetel halach uinic Don Francisco de Montejo Xiu, gobernador uay ti noh cah Mani lae, yetel ix u chayanil gobernadoresoob bay yanil u ñibal lae.

U hunmolcinahubaob ti multumut icnal halach uinic yetel escribano Don Francisco de Montejo Xiu, gobernador uay ti cah lae, yetel tu cuchcabal Tutul Xiu yetel al mehenoob Don Francisco Che, gobernador Ticul, Don Francisco Pacab, gobernador Oxlutzcab, Don Diego Uz, gobernador Tikax, Don Alonso Pacab, gobernador Ñaan yetel Mona, yetel Don Juan Che, gobernador Mama, Don Alonso Xiu, gobernador Tikit, yeteloob ix u chayanoob gobernadoresoob yanoob tu cuchcabal Manie yetel u chunthanoob.

Ti hunmoloob ca u multumtahooob yanil u nah tu thanoob u xoticoob yetel u ñaicoob u xukiloob u ñaicoob u cruzil u xul u hol u kaaxil u coloob u cahaloob u cuchteeloob hunhuntzuciloob.

Lay tun u chun u chicilbezicoob u xul u luumoob Ah Canuloob yetel Ah Acancehoob yetel Ah Cohoob yetel Ah Cuzumaob yetel Ah Zututaob yetel u cuchcabal Ah Cacaloob yetel Ah Hunactiob, Petu, Calotmul, Tzuccacab.

Ñocaan tun u tunticoob ca yalahoob yanil u nah u yemzicoob u batabil cahal gobernadoresoob taloob ti hunhuntzuc ti cahe. Ca tacoob uay chumuc cah Manie lae ca utzac u chaicoob cacatul u chunthanoob tu pachoob ca utzac u yilicoob u xotol u chi kaax, u chi luum lae.
Early on in the process of colonization various letters were sent, mainly by the Franciscan friars, to King Philip II asking for more friars. On a couple of occasions these letters were supposedly written by Mayan chieftains in the Mayan language. Two of the surviving letters are The Letter of the Ten Chiefs, written on February 11, 1567 and The Letter of the Thirteen Chiefs, written on January 6, 1580. The 1580 letter is given here. The reason for passing over the 1567 letter is that it has a definite feeling of being a fabrication by a non-native speaker, or more precisely, a letter written by a Spanish friar who had some knowledge of the Mayan language, but not enough to make the letter feel truly Mayan. Furthermore, there are in fact several letters dated on February 11 and 12, 1567, which are written by the same hand and are for the most part identical in content, the only difference being that the names of the purported signers of these letters were different. Amusingly enough, the signers all had the same handwriting! A copy of one of these letters is given in Appendix C.

These letters are accompanied by Spanish translations. Rather than give an English translation to the Mayan 1580 text the Spanish translation is given here.

There exists another letter sent to King Philip II on April 12, 1567, signed by four chiefs, two of whom, Don Francisco Montejo Xiu and Don Francisco Pacab, are mentioned in the Mani Land Treaty of 1557 given in the previous selection. This letter contains a scathing account of the treatment of the Maya by the Franciscan Friars, in particular by Bishop Diego de Landa. So far only the Spanish version of this letter has been found, the transcript of which is given in *Cartas de Indias*, published in 1877. It is not known if there was ever a Mayan version.

There are two important persons mentioned in the 1580 letter. One is Friar Diego de Landa, Bishop of Yucatan, who died in 1579. Apparently the bishopric had still not been filled at the writing of this letter, and the letter is an appeal to King Philip II to send a new bishop.

The second person of note mentioned is Friar Gaspar Gonzalez de Nájera, who, as noted in the letter, was a noted linguist of the Mayan language. From other correspondence it appears that Nájera had multiple missions in making his trip to Spain in 1580. Aside from that stated in this letter, that is of finding more friars to fill the ranks of proselytizers, Nájera also went to see if his works on the Mayan language could be published in Spain. There was a grammar, which was probably a basis for Coronel’s Arte which was published in 1620, a vocabulary, and a Cartilla, or catechism. While these works received the necessary permissions for publication, no existing copy of any of these works has come down to us today. However, between the publications of Coronel in 1620, which include an Arte and a Cartilla, and the copies of the various vocabularies written by the Franciscan friars, Nájera’s work probably survives. A supposition is that the vocabulary which is now called the Bocabulario de Maya Than de Viena is the work of Nájera, this based on the detailed knowledge which the writer of the Vienna vocabulary had not only of the language, but of details of Mayan life and beliefs.
Catolica Real Magestad

Como estemos todos debajo de tu protección y amparo, ponemos los ojos de nuestra esperanza en tu Magestad, y creemos, como es razón que lo creamos, que nos amas, por lo cual te escribimos esta carta con el padre fray Gaspar Gonzalez de Najera, lengua nuestra, el cual va a la presencia de tu Magestad a tratar algunas cosas que nos convienen, y humildemente te suplicamos tengas misericordia de nosotros admitiendo nuestra justa petición.

Sabra tu Magestad no haber nosotros sido favorecidos por tus gobernadores pasados en la manera que ahora lo somos por tu gobernador Don Guillen de las Casas.

Suplicamos a tu Magestad seas servido de prolongarle el tiempo de su gobierno, porque de tal gobernador tenemos mucha necesidad para que podamos gozar algún tiempo mas del bueno que al presente gozamos, porque le amamos y nos ama haciendo nos obras de verdadero padre.

Ya habrá sabido tu Magestad de la muerte de nuestro querido padre fray Diego Landa, Obispo que era en estas provincias de Maya. Suplicamos a tu Magestad nos envíes otro pastor en su lugar que nos ame y favorezca en nuestras necesidades, y asimismo nos conozca como nos conocía nuestro amado padre. Sobre lo dicho, démos tu Magestad por pastor algun fraile de la orden de San Francisco, porque ellos desde el principio de nuestra cristianidad nos regalan y predicen como verdaderos padres nuestros.

Envíanos señor pastor que nos conozca, y si posible es, que sepa asimismo nuestra lengua para que luego comencemos a gozar de su amor, porque si nos enviare tu Magestad por obispo alguno que no conoce, puede ser que pasemos algun trabajo antes que nos conozca nuestra miseria y natural.

Determina señor con esta cosa, que sea para nuestro consuelo y descanso, así como tu Magestad, no haber sido otros los sacerdotes que al principio de nuestra conversión nos convirtieron con la fe católica y predicaron el evangelio, mas solos los frailes de San Francisco, como queda dicho, nos cristianizaron y dieron la primera nueva de la palabra de Dios, los cuales fueron fray Luis de Villapando con sus compañeros, y el día de hoy, los de su orden son los que nos doctrinan.

Suplicamos a tu Magestad, te apiades de nosotros tus criados y vasallos enviándonos muchos frailes con el sobredicho fray Gaspar Gonzalez de Najera, el cual como dicho es, va a tu presencia a manifestar la necesidad que de ministros de Dios.
In dei nomine

Ah hun yuk oc olal ahau ah tepale.

Yoklal teexil ca chuyic ceex ah tepal, licil ca əaic v uich c’alab olal teex, ti ocaan ti c’ol bay u nah c’ocçic ti c’ol, a yamailoonexee ceex ah tepale, lay ix tah oklal ca əibtic huun teex tu pach padre fray Gaspar de Nájera, ah maya than, cu benel ta tanex v canteex ti baal yan u nah toon loe, okotba ca caah ta taneex ceex ah tepale ca a uokçeex a uicheex c’okol tamuk a uoçciceex ca tibil okotba.

Ceex ah tepale yumileexe ohel teex mail bahun anat aba coon tumen a vichilanobeex, bay ca[nan]tahanil hele, tumen a vichilan don Guillén de las Casase.

Chin pulba ca caah ta tan ca a əacbeçex yaabil culhebal vay v mektan toon ceex ah tepale, yoklal lay hach kanaan toon uchebal c’ilic yutzil kin va bahun bay c’ilmail hele yoklal hach ca yama ca yamai[l] xan tumen bay hahal yum ca caah tie.

A uohelmeex iuil ceex ah tepal əabci u yatzil ca ya yumil ti fray Diego de Landa, yahau caan vay maya cuchie. Okotba ca caah ah tepalileex ceex a tuxchiteex v hel toon yacunicoon yetel anticoon tac numyail, ohelticoon ix bay u cibah ca yum. əabi u yatzile San Franciscoil padre a əabeex ca yumte ceex ah tepal, yoklallobi tzenmailoonlobi, tzeclmaillonlobi ca yumoob talci ca xpianoil uay tac luumil mayae yumile ahaue.

Yohmaon a əabeex ca yuminte yohel ix ca than a əabeex cananticoon, va uchace ca utzac ca əebel kamic v yacunex nah yoklal ua bin a tuxchiteex ti yahau caanil tac yam ma ohmaicoone bin ca ca manez numya ti latulah yoheclicoon yetel yoheltic ca numya yetel ca uincile.

Tumteex yumile tohneb c’ol a cibeex ceex ah tepale, bay taachil a vutzcineexeex, licil iuil a vubiceex mail v yanal padresob payal te toon yetel tzeec toon tu yanumal catolicoil oc olal ceex ah tepale, heuac San Franciscoil padre ocçoon ti xpianoil laix yam tzeec toon tu pectzil evangelio, padre frai Luis de Villalpando yetel ulakoob uchie San Franciscoil padres tzecmailoon hele xane.

Okotba ca caah tah tepalil, ca a uokçeex a uicheex c’okol coon a palil, a əucbcal ca a tuxchiteex u yaabal u pimil padresob toon tu pach padre fray Gaspar de Nájera, ci u talel ta toon u chacaancun yetel u cante ca numyail.
Envíanos señor quien nos parta el pan de la suave palabra de Dios. O si pudiera ver tu Magestad la grande necesidad que tenemos de lo dicho!

Creemos verdaderamente que nos dieras muchos predicadores, que nos predicaran las palabras de Dios y quien nos ayudara a salvar. Sepa tu Magestad que son mas de doscientos pueblos los que están poblados de nuestros naturales en esta patria y los que nos predicen y doctrinan en nuestra lengua de los sacerdotes de Dios, no llegan a treinta. Hace señor gran lastima ver morir a muchos de nosotros sin confesión por falta grande de ministros, y aunque trabajan mucho en nuestra cristiandad los padres que aca están, mas que aprovecha señor que son pocos. Envíanos tu Magestad muchos padres con el sobredicho padre Gaspar Gonzalez de Najera porque a eso va de estas partes [longinquas] a tu presencia. Suplicamostese señor le favorescas y hagas merced.

Bien conocida tenemos la mucha obligacion en que Dios nuestro señor cada dia nos obliga, dandonos salud, paz, y buenos temporales, como al presente lo tenemos, por lo qual le damos muchas gracias. O plugiere a Dios nos concediera ver la benigna y real presencia de tu Magestad! Que contento, que al egria recibieramos todos tus vasallos. Mas, no pudiendo ser esto que deseamos, por estar como estamos tan alejados de sos Rey, nos rogamos a Dios nuestro señor aumente tu imperio y poder sobre la tierra y te de muchos años de vida, con la salud que en nuestros coraçones deseamos tenga tu Magestad.

Fecha en Maya, [seis] de enero de mil quinientos y ochenta.

19 The transcript reads “a consignar”. René Acuña has suggested this correction to match the Mayan text which gives the word nachil = “far” in this place.
Teex loe tac u pimil padresob toon ah tepale ca utzac u xelicoob v cich uahil u than Dios toon. Be yumileex ahau ah tepale va ix ca uchucac a uiliceex ca numyail ca uch lae!

Ocaan ti c’ol binil a ñabeex u pimil yah tzeculoob yanumal ku toon tac than pimcunexcoob yah anatil ca lukul. Yumile, manaan tu pach lahunkal u tzucul cah cahanoob vay tac peten lae hex c’ah tzeculoob tac maya thanile, ma kuchanoob ti lahuncakaloob tac thani. Otzil yilabal u cimiloob ca lakob ti hun hun tzuc ti cah ti mamaac chocichoob tu keban, bacac ix hach ñacaan yol padreob u tanloon ti xpianoil tilobe, bahun u ñab ma pimoob, tayici c’ahau ah tepale pimcunoob padresoob tu pach padre fray Gaspar de Nájera yoklal lay u than likul nachil a uicnaleex ceex ah tepale bin ix a uanteex tamuk a ñaiceex a ñayatzil u mat be.

Ma bahunppel tuba ca payma ti Dios ceex ah tepale uahma u ñamal ca toh olal yetel ca hun olal bay ix ca hanal xane. Cahina yolte c’ilab a icheex; ca tuchie ma iuil bahun ca cici ol ti ceeex. Heuac ma uchac tac thani, yoklal nachileex yan toon, Dios nachcunic v çithan a uahaulileex yetel a tepalileex yokol cab caix u ñaab u yaabal kinteex a cuxhebeex ti toh olal bay u ñib olmail ca pucçikaloon v yanhal teex ceex ah tepale.

Uay ti ñibnoon maya tu uacppel u kinil enero 1580.
THE CUCEB

PROGNOSTICATION FOR 13 KAN

The word “Cuceb” means “that which revolves” from “cuc” (turn, revolve) and “-eb”, an instrumental affix. Both the word “cuc” and the word “cuceb” are also applied to the animal “squirrel”.

In the colonial texts the word “Cuceb” is also applied to a series of year prognostications. This series as it comes to us is probably incomplete since there are only 21 year prognostications in the two copies available to us instead of 52 years. There is a 22nd year in this series, 8 muluc, but this 22nd year is not a prognostication, but rather is a statement by Ah Kauil Chel that he, along with Ah Na Puc Tun and Ah Xupon Nauat, is responsible for “taking this out of the hieroglyphs”. (For further comment on these three men see the introduction to the next selection.) Fifty-two years would make a complete cycle of “U Bubukil Haaboob” (the 52 year cycle of the Mayan calendar which is the result of the combination of the 13 numbered days with the 4 year bearer days) and would be more in keeping with the name “Cuceb” and the nature of most of the other prognosticatory material presented by the colonial sources.

The prognostication for the year 13 Kan, the first prognostication of the “Cuceb”, is a typical example of this prognosticatory material. The language in it is not only very similar to the language of the rest of the prognostications of the “Cuceb”, but also to the language of the other important cycle of prognostications, that of the “U Uuo Katunoob” (the 24 year Katun cycle), as well as other prophetic material in the colonial sources. It is tempting to think that some one person such as Ah Kauil Chel is responsible for this prophetic material. On the other hand it might well be that this uniformity of style is the result of a scholastic system which seems to have been based on rote learning. In any case, the prognostication for the year 13 Kan contains several stock phrases which are to be found throughout the prophetic colonial material and is, as mentioned, a good example of this literature.

For the reader interested in the “Cuceb”, Ralph Roys in his article “The prophecies for the Maya tuns or years in the Books of Chilam Balam of Tizimin and Mani” has done an excellent job of bringing this material together and in translating it. The reader will notice that there are some differences between his translation and the one offered here. That is mainly because there have been some advances in our understanding of certain particulars in the last decades.

See Appendix C for the facsimile of the first page of the transcript of the “Cuceb” as given in the Códice Pérez.

For transcription and translation of the Cuceb see "Post Conquest Mayan Literature" (http://davidsbooks.org/www/Maya/PCML.pdf) and its companion translation (http://davidsbooks.org/www/Maya/PCML%20Translation.pdf)
13 Kan
13 Kan on the first of Poop the clay idol of the katun\textsuperscript{20}
5 Ahau was created in the year 1593.
On the 15\textsuperscript{th} of Zec it is proclaimed.\textsuperscript{21}
Here is the burden which is said to come.
Thus will be the days which will be bred by the katun.
Mayapan is the aspect of the change of the katun.
At this time the sustenance of the quetzal bird,
the sustenance of the blue bird will descend.
At this time the children of women are eaten, the children of men are eaten.
At this time there are three piles of skulls.
Vigil at dawn, vision at dawn.
The wall will be thrice thrown down.
The trunk of the ceiba tree will be thrice stamped.\textsuperscript{22}
At this time the water will dry up.
At this time there will be the scnaty rain god
standing in the water hole in the cave,
standing at the end in the middle of the canal.
The woman with carnal desires shall cry.\textsuperscript{23}
at this time, during that katun it seems
Another prophecy came over the observer, the revered observer,
when it will be born it seems in heaven.
Thus it will happen in 13 Kan,
which falls in the years 1593 and 1594.

\textsuperscript{20} Generally the word \textit{lac} means a deep dish ranging in depth from a soup dish to a pie dish to a casserole dish. In most cases in this translation \textit{lac} will be translated as “plate”. However in this instance the word \textit{lac} means “clay idol”. See CMM: Lac: pronounced breuemente; plato, o cavete en que comen los indios, y tomase por qualquer plato o escudilla. ¶ Item: llaman assi los ydolatras a los ydolos que hazen de barro. / BMTV: Ydolo de barro, llámanle o invócanle los idólatras: lac. ¶ Ydolos biejos, quando ya abian echo otros nuevos: hel lac.

\textsuperscript{21} The day 15 Zec appears to be in error because in a year 13 Kan the day 5 Ahau would fall on 17 Zec. See the table on lines a524-a542 of PCML, last column, to confirm this. However, if the year bearer set used for figuring out what day the day Ahau would fall on in the \textit{uinal} is Imix, Cimi, Chuen, Cib, then the coefficient 17 is correct. See pages 49-50 of “Ti Can Titzil Caan” for a closer look at the significance of the day 1 Imix in relationship to initializing the Mayan calendar.

\textsuperscript{22} There is probably some metaphorical meaning to this phrase, but that meaning has yet to be found. For the same line see line 14 of The Word of Oxlahun ti Ku below.

\textsuperscript{23} Literally “Lady Written in the Heart of the Plumeria Flower” but probably meaning as shown. It is not clear if this is to be considered personal entity. In Post Conquest Mayan Literature \textbf{Ix Óibaan Yol Nicté} appears twice more on lines d086 and d507 and once without the feminine prefix \textbf{ix} on line d543. On line d085 is a companion entity: \textbf{Ix Bolon Yol Nicté}. It should be mentioned that the expression \textit{sib ol} means both carnal desire and imagination.
CUCEB

Oxlahun Kan
Oxlahun Kan tu Hunte Poop chab u lac katun
  ti Ho Ahau ti haab 1593 cučhi.
Tu holahun zec yal kaba.
Heklay u cuch licil u talel ualic lae.
He uil tu kinil hi u chabal katun lae.
Mayapan u uich u kex katun.
Tu kinil u yemel yaal kuk,
  yaal yaxum.24 25
Tu kinil uil chibil al, chibil mehen.
Tu kinil yan ox multun tzek.
Pail akab ppix ich, pail akab chamil.
Ox hublah cot.
Ox ɔaɬab u nak yayche.
Tu kinil uil yan zappal hail.
Tu kinil yan thul caan chacil
  uaan ti ɔaɬ.
  uaan tu xul ix tan beil ha.27
Okom yol ix ɔibaan yol nicte.
Tu kinil uil tu katunil uale
  ti tali u yanal than yokol ah chaante, kinich chaante28
  ca zihi ual tu caanile.
Lay bin utzac oxlahun Kan lae
  tu haabil 1593 yetel 1594 u lubul lae.

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24 While the word yaal is derived from ha = water and in fact usually means “water”, I feel that when it is specifically applied to food that “sustenance” is a better word. In this context yaal is usually paired with uah, tortilla. See for example line d067: yan u uah, yan u yaal and line d087: nicte uah u uah, nicte ha u yaal.

25 The birds kuk (Pharomachrus mocinno / quetzal) and yaxum (Cotinga amabilis / Lovely Cotinga) are often paired together in the texts given in the colonial texts. Both the kuk and the yaxum are highly prized for their feathers. However, René Acuña suggests that in these lines there is the possibility that the mention of kuk and yaxum together refers not to the birds but rather is the symbolic mode of address by which fathers refer to their daughters. There is another suggestion that when so paired that the meaning is metaphorical for “precious children”. See Rémi Siméon 1977, page 426, entry Quetzaltototl and page 770, entry Xiutototl.

26 For the word ɔaɬ in this context see DMSF: ɔaɬ: tierra en medio de cuevas donde hay agua. See lines c101 and d105 of the PCML for a similar phrase: uaan ti ɔaɬ, uaan ti bulux.

27 For the use of the expression tan beil see CMM: Tan beil .l. ah tan beil: cosa que esta en medio del camino y no a la orilla. ¶ Tan beil che, tan beil tunich: arbol o piedra que esta assi.

28 It is not clear if kinich chaante is reference to a behavior in general or if it is a specific person, such as some sort of deity. The term kinich chaante once again later in the Cuceb and shows some sort of a relationship with Buluc Chabtan.
THE PROPHECY OF CHILAM BALAM

In the body of literature written early in the colonial period by the Maya there is a collection of prophecies called “U Tzol Than Ah Kinoob” (“the interpretation (of visions) of the priests”). This collection contains the prophecy by the priest Chilam Balam about the coming of foreigners bringing with them a new religion as well as prophecies by other priests. This is the portion of colonial Yucatecan Mayan literature which has received the most attention by outsiders to the Mayan culture since these prophecies became known by the Spanish friars. A portion of these prophecies was published by Lizana in 1633. Since the prophecy by Chilam Balam is the most important of these prophecies, it is from this prophet that the whole body of native Yucatecan Mayan literature dealing with Mayan history and religion has received its name, namely “The Books of Chilam Balam”.

There are five sources for this collection of prophecies: The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, Lizana, Codex Pérez (Mani), Codex Pérez (Oxkutzcab), and The Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin. With the exception of the introductory remarks found only in the Chumayel, the only complete and continuous source for this collection of prophecies is to be found on pages 65-75 of the Codex Pérez (Mani). The Tizimin would also be a complete source were it not for the fact that its folio 9 has been lost.

It is difficult to give a date as to when these prophecies might have been written. In the Cuceb the writer of that material, Ah Kauil Chel, says that he went on a journey with Ah Na Puc Tun and Ah Xupan Naut to Bacalar, Chetumal, and other places in that vicinity in the year 8 Muluc (probably 1510-1511). He states further that he finished writing down the Cuceb material in hieroglyphs with Ah Na Puc Tun on 11 Chuen, 18 Zac, which fell on the 15th of February, 1544. These three men are three of the six priest which have their prophecies given in “U Tzolan Than Ah Kinoob”. The other three are Ah Natzin Yuban Chan, Ah Na Puc Tun, and of course Ah Kin Chilam Balam. It seems possible that in their journey to the east that the three Uxmal priests might have visited Chilam Balam in his house at Hol Ha (port) Ecab. This would be especially true if the three Uxmal priests traveled by boat along the coast of Yucatan. They would have had to pass Ecab on their journey to and from Chetumal.

There is an introductory remark in “U Tzol Than Ah Kinoob” of how these six priests gathered at Chilam Balam’s house and how they heard a voice speaking over his house. To hear the voice Chilam Balam lay face down in his house in a trance. “Chilam” means “lying down”, “reclining”, and the text says, “He is called Chilam (reclining) because he lies face down.” The core of the prophecy which was heard was “yulmah u netzil uit kuk yetel yaxum” (The quetzal and the blue bird preened its disheveled tail.). It seems that the interpretations of the prophecy given by each of the six priests is somehow based on this cryptic message.

It should be mentioned that much of the prognosticatory material in the Books of Chilam Balam shows a certain uniformity in writing style (grammar, vocabulary, phraseology, etc.). While it is tempting to ascribe this uniformity to the work of a single person, for example Gaspar Antonio Chi Xiu who was a prolific writer in the late 1500’s, this uniformity could also be the result of an educational system in which much of the learning was done by rote.
6. The prophecy of Chilam Balam, the priest to the chanter of Cabal Cheen Mani29
On 13 Ahau the katun will end
in the time of the Itza, in the time of Tan cah, lord,30
the sign of one and only god on high.
The cross shall return. 31 It shall be shown in the towns.
Light (enlightenment) shall happen in the world, lord.32
Quarreling begins, jealousy begins
when the bearers of the sign of god shall come.
Then there shall be priests, lord.
From one shout away, one league away they come.33
You see the mut bird which appears on top of the cross.34
It shall dawn in the north, in the west.35
Itzam Na Kauil shall awaken.36
Our lord is coming, men of the Itza.
Our older brother is coming, (men of) Tan tun.37
Receive your guests, the breaded ones, the ones from the eastern lands,
the bearers of the sign of god, lord.
Will the word of god which comes amongst us be good?

29 The well Cabal Cheen Mani is the fabled well / cenote a couple of blocks southwest of the main plaza of Mani. In legend this well will be the last place on earth which will have water, and the lady named Ix Nuc Mani (Old Woman of Mani) will dispense one nut-shell of water for each child brought to her. The name Cabal Cheen Mani means “Low well of Mani”, so named because it sits in one of the lower depressions in the town.

30 The place name Tancah means “in the center of town”. In the Mayan texts Tancah is often given in conjunction with Mayapan so Roys assumed that Tancah Mayapan is meant, but the word Tancah is also applied to other places so it can be only conjectured that Mayapan is meant here.

31 Uaom che literally means “erect wood” or “erect tree”. Apparently it mostly is applied to gibbet or hanging post. In the various dictionaries the word for “cross” is the Spanish word “cruz”, perhaps because the friars who wrote the dictionaries did not want to associate a post for hanging with the cross. The term “uaom che” appears four times in the Books of Chilam Balam, and it appears from the context that the cross is meant.

32 The word “zazhal”, while literally means “to light up”, is also used metaphorically to mean “enlighten”.

33 “Hun auat, hun lub” means metaphorically “at a distance”

34 The word “mut” actually means a bird of the Cracidae family, but metaphorically means “prognostication”.

35 While the expression “hun xaman, hun chikin” literally means as shown, it metaphorically means “everywhere in the world”.

36 Itzam Na Kauil is one of the aspects of the god Iztam Na (lizard house), who appears to have been the principal deity. The aspect Kauil appears to be associated with sustenance, in particular corn.

37 The place name Tantun is not known. Perhaps it is related to Tancah in meaning. However, Tantun is often associated with the island of Cozumel / Cuzamil.
U THAN AH KIN CHILAM BALAM

6; U than Chilam Balam, ah kin tix Kayom\textsuperscript{38} Cabal Cheen Mani
Oxlahun Ahau u hioil uil katun
ualac uil Itza, ualac uil Tancahe, yume,
u chicul Hunab Ku caanal.
Ulom uaom che. Etzahom ti cahe.
Uchebal u zazhal yokol cabe, yume.
\textepsilon{}uni moctamba, \textepsilon{}uni zauinal
c\textalpha{} talom ti pul chicul ku.
Uchmal ah kin uinice, yume.
Hun auat, hun lub u tal.
A uiliceex mute u tippil yetel uaom che.
Ahom cab hun xaman, hun chikin.
Ahom Itzam Na Kauil.
Talel u caah c’ yum ah Itza.
Talel u caah c’ zucun Tantune.
Kam a uulaob, ah mexoob, ah likin caboob,
ah puloob tu chicul kue yume.
Utz ka u than ku cu talel c’ icnale.

\textsuperscript{38} Lizana and the Chumayel which appears to be derived from Lizana give Coyom whereas the Tizimin gives Kayom. In as much as the word Coyom is not to be found in the vocabularies nor in any other source it would appear that only the Tizimin is correct. See BMTV: Cantores maiores, que señalan los indios en la escuela: kayom. / CMM: Kayom: cantor o musico de canto.
The day is coming when we will live. 
Do not get lost here on earth, lord. 
You one and only god created us. 
Will the word of god be good, lord, the guardian of our souls? 
Whoever is going to receive the true belief in heaven 
is going with him, but there is the beginning of the two-day men. 
Even then the sign should be set up on high. 
Even then should our vision be set there today. 
Even then the cross should be set up on high. 
Miserable was the change which came forth today, the successor to the ceiba of the world. 
It shall be shown today to the world. 
Thus is the sign of the one and only lord on high. 
Thus shall you worship Itza. 
Then you shall worship today the sign of the holy god on high. 
Then you shall worship thus to the true belief. 
Then you shall worship thus our true god. 
Believe in the word of the one and only god. 
Those who belong to us came from heaven. 
Animate yourselves Itza. 
Reason it seems shall come to them. 
They believe during the next katun it seems. 
My word shall spread throughout the world, I, Chilam Balam, 
now that I have interpreted the word of the true god everywhere here on earth. 
I go everywhere in the world. 
The word of the true god, lord of heaven and earth, 
in the ninth year of One Ahau Katun it seems. 
Will the word from heaven be very good lord? 
We decry the rule, we also decry our souls, true god. 
But here they return thus, lord, 
the three offspring of lice, the younger sisters who carry the burden together.

39 Unfortunately the verb numte.t. is not registered in the dictionaries. The translation is based on the 
verb numut ku = misery. However, num is often an adjective meaning “much / too much”, so 
perhaps the line should be translated as “Great was the change which came forth today”.

40 The ceiba tree, called yaxche in Mayan which could mean either “first tree” or “green tree”, is the 
sacred tree and is often to be found in the central plazas of towns.

41 Both expressions, “ox alam ukil” and “ix cuchlum isilnil”, are uncertain and unregistered in the 
dictionaries. The first appears only here and only in the Chumayel. It reads “Ox alam v kil =”. Roys 
by translating as he does has changed it to read “ox al u mukiloob”. However, “ox alam” does have 
its own meaning: “three children”. The question then is should the final part of the phrase be read “u 
kil” or “ukil”. “Kil” can mean “sore, wound”, but it is hard to fit this concept in here. “Ukil” means 
“of or pertaining to lice”. But this is not really a good fit either.
Talel u caah u kin c’ cuxtale.
Ma a zatic uay yokol cabe, yume.
Tech Hunab Ku chab ti coon.
Utz tun u than ku yume, yah canul c’ pixan?
Hemac bin kamic hach ocaan ti yole ti caan
u bin tu pach, heuac u chun ca kin uinicil.
Ca uacun to u chicul caanal.
Ca uacun to c’ pacte hele.
Ca uacun to u uaom che.
Numtetah u kexac hokol helele,
u hel tu pach y yaxcheil cab.
Etzahom helel ti balcahe.
Lay u chicul Hunab Ku caanal.
Lay a kulteex Ah Itzaexe.
Ca a kulte hele u chicul kulil ku caanale.
Ca a kulte to tu hahil oc olal.
Ca a kulte to c’ hahal kue.
Ocez ta uol tu than Hunab Ku.
Tali ti caan a uah thanule.
Cuxcint a uol Ah Itzaexe.
Ahom uil cab tiob.42
Oczicoob ti yol ichil u yanal katun uale.
Yaabtuba in than cen Chilam Balam.
Ca tin tzolah u than hahal ku tuzinile yokol cabe.
Licil in binel hunac tzuc ti cab.
U than hahal ku, yumil caan yetel luum.
Tu bolonpiz haabil Ah Hun Ahau Katun uale.43
Hach utz ka u than ti caan yume?
C’ okol yahaulil, c’ okol ix c’ pixan hahal ku.
Heuac heob ti ulez lae yume
ox alam ukil, ix cuclum ičinil.

42 See CMM: Ahal cab ti: abrir los ojos el que los tenia cerrados, y comenzar a saber de bien y de mal.
43 It is difficult to reconcile this date with the dating system used in the colonial Mayan texts. Using
that system the 9th year of Hun Ahau Katun would be mid-1640 to mid-1641, some 130 years after this
prophecy was supposedly formulated. It has been suggested by some that this is the year in which the
prophecy was written down, but as was stated in the introductory remarks Lizana had already
published this prophecy in 1633. Only by stating that there is an error in the number of the Ahau
Katun can we come somewhat closer to the time of when the event of the six Ah Kinoob gathering at
the house of Chilam Balam supposedly occurred. But perhaps what is meant is that this is the year the
prophecy will come to pass, and indeed by the mid-1600’s the Maya in various remote areas such as
on the island of Tayasal (or properly T’Ah Itza) did struggle on to maintain their independence,
claiming to visiting friars that the time foretold in the prophecies when they would accept the new
religion had not yet come.
Be alert! Dead is their heart towards the plumeria flowers also
those who back talk, the captains of the archers.  
Nacxit Xuchit is the plumeria flower of the others, 
the two day rulers.  
They will be demented on their daises,
they will be demented in their plumeria flowers,
two day men they say.
Two day their chair, their cups, their hats,
the demented day, the demented night, the hobgoblins of the world.  
They twist their necks, they close their eyes,
they spit upon the rulers of the world lord.
Then it comes that there is no truth in the words
of the lords of the towns.  
They shall say very difficult things, 
the children of the men of Seven Deserted Houses, 
the children of the women of Seven Deserted Houses lord.
Who will be the prophet?
Who will be the priest who will correctly speak
the words of the hieroglyphs thus?

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44 Both expressions, “ah uaua tulupoob” and “ah uatan zinaob” are uncertain and unregistered in
the dictionaries. “Tulup” by itself means “to return”, but the CMM also gives “Tulup than”, meaning
“to reply”. “Ah uatan” is “captain”, and “zin” is used in such terms as “zin chulul”, “to string a
bow”.

45 Nacxit Xuchit is a corrupted Nahuatl name, which properly spelled is Nacxitl Xochitl. Nacxitl is
derived from “nau” = four and “icxitl” = foot, i.e. “four footed”. It is one of the aspect names of
Kukul Can. “Xochitl” = flower. The word xuchit is also registered in the Franciscan vocabularies
with the meaning of “orejuelas para chocolate”.

46 The meaning of “two-day” is “temporary”.

47 The word “max” really refers to a type of monkey, perhaps the spider monkey, but by extension
also means elves or goblins.

48 While the word “aul” is frequently equated with “foreigner”, from its usage in today’s language and
from my impression of the usage in the colonial dictionaries a better translation is “lord” / “owner”.

49 The word “talanil” has two meanings: “difficult” and “mysterious”.

50 Uuc tocoy na = “seven deserted houses”. It is not clear if this is perhaps a specific place name.
While the word *coil* in modern Mayan means “rabid” in it various meanings, in order to avoid ambiguity it seems best to translate this word as “demented”. It appears that the sickness rabies did not exist in the Americas until the coming of the Europeans. (See Vos et al, 2011.) While the older vocabularies use the word “rabia” to define Mayan word *coil*, it is clear that it is used only in the sense of “mad”, “crazy”, “demented” or “furious”. It was not until the Diccionario of Juan Pío Pérez, 1877, that *coil* is given as “rabia” meaning hydrophobia. In modern English we also have various meanings for the word “rabid”. See the American Heritage Dictionary in which three different meanings apply to the word “rabid”: rabid: adjective. 1) irrationally extreme in opinion or practice: a rabid isolationist; a rabid baseball fan. 2) furious or raging; violently intense: a rabid hunger. 3) affected with or pertaining to rabies; mad. Origin: L. *rabidus* raving, furious, mad, equiv. to rab(ere) to rave, be mad + -idus.

52 For transcription and translation of the complete text of “U Tzol Than Ah Kinoob” see Post Conquest Mayan Literature (http://davidsbooks.org/www/Maya/PCML.pdf) and its companion translation (http://davidsbooks.org/www/Maya/PCML%20Translation.pdf)
THE WORD OF OXLAHUN TI KU

Amongst the various loose collection of prophecies given in the Books of Chilam Balam there is the following item which has attracted attention because of its poetic nature as well as its prophetic nature. Daniel Garrison Brinton, on page 126 of his 1882 publication *The Maya Chronicles*, gives the text and a translation. This translation has since been used in various publications without critical comparison between it and the original Mayan text.

As stated in the introductory lines, this text comes to us from Oxlahun ti Ku, (Thirteen God) through a prophetic priest, perhaps meaning specifically Chilam Balam himself. Oxluhun ti Ku, along with his nemesi Bolon ti Ku (Nine God) makes frequent appearances in the Books of Chilam Balam. From the texts it is not clear if this is a single deity or in fact thirteen deities. While usually verbal forms in the accompanying text are singular, from time to time they are plural. In the Ritual of the Bacabs this deity or set of deities is written Oxlahun ti Kuob, showing the plural nature of this combined deity.

The text comes to us from two sources: the Tizimin, page 11r, and the Códice Pérez, pages 115-116. For a facsimile of page 11r of the Tizimin see Appendix C.

While there is general agreement between these two versions of the text, there are some lines which differ significantly. For example, the line given here as:

\[ C \text{ḥ}a\text{b}om u \text{n}um\text{t}e\text{i}l \text{c}a\text{b}, u \text{tzuc}t\text{e}i\text{l} \text{c}a\text{b} \text{t}u\text{m}e\text{n}e\text{l} \text{L}ah\text{u}n \text{Ch}an. \]

is given in the originals as follows:

Tizimin: \text{chabo}m u\text{n}um\text{t}e\text{i}l \text{c}a\text{b}, v\text{t}u\text{c}t\text{e}i\text{l} \text{c}a\text{b}, \text{t}u\text{m}e\text{n} \text{lah}u\text{n} \text{cha}a\text{n}

Pérez: \text{c}h\text{a}\text{a}a\text{n} u \text{n}um\text{t}e\text{i}l \text{c}a\text{b}: u \text{l}u\text{c}t\text{e}i\text{l} \text{c}a\text{b} \text{t}u\text{m}e\text{n} \text{lahu}n \text{cha}a\text{n},

It is the nature of the Books of Chilam Balam to use certain stock phrases. Thus, for example, the phrase \text{u} \text{n}um\text{t}e\text{i}l \text{c}a\text{b} appears with \text{u} \text{ya}x\text{c}h\text{e}i\text{l} \text{c}a\text{b} which in turn appears with \text{u} \text{tzuc}t\text{e}i\text{l} \text{c}a\text{b}, leading one to assume that in this case \text{u} \text{tzuc}t\text{e}i\text{l} \text{c}a\text{b} is the correct reading, and not the Pérez alternative, which has only this one occurrence.

As was the case with the Prophecy of Chilam Balam, translating the text of *The Word of Oxlahun ti Ku* proves to be very difficult. There are a combination of factors which contribute to this. To begin with, while now all of the major Mayan-Spanish and Spanish-Mayan dictionaries have been computerized so that searches for words and phrases can be done efficiently, these sources fail to give some words and expressions, as for example the word \text{num}t\text{e} and its grammatical variants, one of which is mentioned above. Beyond this, there are metaphorical meanings to certain phrases which are not recorded, so while the literal meaning can be ascertained, this meaning will not fit the context. An example of a phrase whose metaphorical meaning can be arrived at through the dictionaries is:

\[ \text{Haxbom k}a\text{k tu teel chac}i\text{l yoc}. \]

See the footnote to this line which talks about both its literal and its metaphorical meaning.
THE WORD OF OXLAHUN TI KU

Here is the word of Oxlahun ti Ku as it is recounted by the priest Chilam.53

Thus they say comes this day which is spoken of:

Eat, eat tortillas which you bought,
Drink, drink water which you bought;
On this day the back becomes hunched,
On this day the fruit becomes withered,
On this day the clouds rise up,
On this day the hills rise up,
On this day disputes break out amongst themselves,
On this day there is discord,54
On this day the center leaf of the wild sisal curls up,55
On this day ugly faces are made,
On this day the trunk of the ceiba tree will be thrice stamped,
On this day the child of the monkey shall be a great burden56 57
On this day three vessels of holy water shall be hung up,58
On this day projectile points are dug up,
and they59 are scattered under the trees, under the bushes.
A great hunger shall descend.
The road to war shall be loudly proclaimed.
It shall sweep in from the west, from the north60
and pass over the children of god.

53 It is not clear whether the word chilam here refers to the post of interpreter of omens or to the particular Chilam Balam from whom the sacred Mayan books get their names.

54 Hubul hub can also mean to throw down buildings.

55 The chelem is the wild relative of the domesticated sisal plant. When its center leaves curl up from drought then the drought is sever indeed.

56 As mentioned in the previous selection, the max is a small monkey like the spider monkey but the term is also applied to spirits such as elves and goblins. Roys disagrees with this reading completely and gives “They are defeated in war.” He bases his reading on the expression cuch chimal which literally means “to bear the shield on the back” but metaphorically means “to be defeated”. Maax is another, mostly unused word for “shield”. However, the sticking point is the word yal and how to incorporate it into the meaning of the phrase.

57 This line and the next two are also given in in another text in the Tizimin, p. 16v, and this line and the next are given in the Chumayel, p. 92.

58 Chuyula, literally “suspended water”, is given in the dictionaries as a drink offering for the deities. Even today the gourd in which offerings to the spirits are placed is called a chuyub. The word xuthen is applied to the vessel in which drinks such as chocolate are mixed.

59 The pronoun “they” probably refers to the Itza as will be shown in the line at the top of page 190 where the idea of living “under the trees, under the bushes” is reiterated.

60 The expression tali ti chikin, tali ti xaman, while literally meaning “comes from the west, comes from the north”, metaphorically means “comes from everywhere”.

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The first line in the Pérez reads *uien, uien, bin á man uah* whereas in the Tizimin the particle *bin* is not present. The Tizimin text reads *vien vien a man vah, uken uken a man haá*. It is possible that Pérez felt that the particle *bin* was lacking and added it. For the phrases *a man uah* and *a man ha* see CMM: Man: cosa comprada, que vno ha comprado. ¶ xupi in man ixim: acabadoseme ha el maiz que yo auia comprado. ¶ a man tzimin xalo?: es por ventura este el cauallo que has comprado.

The particle –*lum* used here and in the following lines has usually been interpreted as the word *luum* = “earth” in other translations. For the meaning and function of this particle see pages 108-109 of the Grammar. As noted there, this particle and its companion particles usually transform the root word into an adjective or adverb indicating that the action becomes a group action or brings the objects of the action together.

For some reason the making of ugly faces is extremely distressing to the Maya, especially when it includes the showing of the teeth of the lower jaw. Even today there are loud screams of anguish when one child shows his teeth to another.

There are three parallel texts for this line, two of which give *thin thin* and the other *chin chin*. Both *thin* and *chin* are related to thrown projectiles, although *thin* more specifically is given as “crossbow”. *Thin* means “to stretch tight” and *chin* means “to throw an object”. In reduplicated form only *chin chin* is given in the dictionaries, specifically in the CMM and the DMSF, glossed as “to throw rocks”, but in the CMM also as “from time to time”.

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U THAN OXLAHUN TI KU

He u than Oxlahun ti Ku
tu tzolah ah kin chilam.
Lay bin cu talel u kin ca yalah lae:

Uien, uien a man uah.
Uken, uken a man ha.\(^{61}\)
Tu kin ppuzlum pach.\(^{62}\)
Tu kin thuchlum ich.
Tu kin naclah muyal.
Tu kin naclah uitz.
Tu kin chuclum ɔio.
Tu kin hubul hub.
Tu kin coc yol chelem.
Tu kin eel eel.\(^{63}\)
Tu kin ox ɔalab u nak yaxche.\(^{64}\)
Tu kin ox cuchlahom yal max.
Tu kin ox chuylah xuthen.\(^{65}\)
Tu kin pan chin chin.\(^{66}\)
yetel banhoob yalan che, yalan aban.
Emom chacmitan uiih.
Can pathom u bel katun.
Mizbom tali ti chikin, tali ti xaman.
Manebal yal u mehen ku.

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\(^{61}\) The first line in the Pérez reads *uien, uien, bin á man uah* whereas in the Tizimin the particle *bin* is not present. The Tizimin text reads *vien vien a man vah, uken uken a man haá*. It is possible that Pérez felt that the particle *bin* was lacking and added it. For the phrases *a man uah* and *a man ha* see CMM: Man: cosa comprada, que vno ha comprado. ¶ xupi in man ixim: acabadoseme ha el maiz que yo auia comprado. ¶ a man tzimin xalo?: es por ventura este el cauallo que has comprado.

\(^{62}\) The particle –*lum* used here and in the following lines has usually been interpreted as the word *luum* = “earth” in other translations. For the meaning and function of this particle see pages 108-109 of the Grammar. As noted there, this particle and its companion particles usually transform the root word into an adjective or adverb indicating that the action becomes a group action or brings the objects of the action together.

\(^{63}\) For some reason the making of ugly faces is extremely distressing to the Maya, especially when it includes the showing of the teeth of the lower jaw. Even today there are loud screams of anguish when one child shows his teeth to another.

\(^{64}\) For the same line with commentary see line 15 of the Cuceb above.

\(^{65}\) There is little agreement on the word given here as *xuthen* in the original texts. Tizimin, pp. 11r & 16v: *xotem* (cigar butt); Pérez p. 115: *xuthlem* (meaning unknown); Chumayel 92: *xuthen* (usually the wooden vessel used for mixing chocolate, often called *bobok xuthen*).

\(^{66}\) There are three parallel texts for this line, two of which give *thin thin* and the other *chin chin*. Both *thin* and *chin* are related to thrown projectiles, although *thin* more specifically is given as “crossbow”. *Thin* means “to stretch tight” and *chin* means “to throw an object”. In reduplicated form only *chin chin* is given in the dictionaries, specifically in the CMM and the DMSF, glossed as “to throw rocks”, but in the CMM also as “from time to time”.

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The children of the great Itza\(^67\) shall be lost under the trees, under the bushes to great misery.
The seaside sand will burn, the edge of the sea shall burn
The Mazuy bird\(^68\) shall climb into the tree.
The cloven hoof shall burn
up to the first line of mat of the people of Ñiõomtun it seems
Thirteen years is its burden
The greater part of the earth, the provinces of the land will be taken
by Lahun Chan\(^69\)
The red seated ruler shall be destroyed
The fire shall be lit at the base of the leg\(^70\)
The branches of the ceiba shall be chopped off.
The branches of the plumeria flower tree shall be chopped off.
The wings of the turtledove shall be chopped off.
On this day there is lighting in the sky
The red seated ruler shall scream, the white seated ruler shall be destroyed during the time of 13 Ahau it seems.

\(^67\) The sources texts read \textit{ah num itza} in the Tizimin and \textit{ahnun itza} in the Pérez. There is some question as to what is meant by this phrase and therefore which is the correct reading. The word \textit{num} generally can be translated as “much”, “great” or “greatly”, and the word \textit{nun} most often means “stammerer” or is applied to a person who can not speak Mayan well. Throughout the Books of Chilam Balam this phrase appears using both spellings, and no one context points to a definite meaning one way or the other, with some seeming to indicate one meaning and others indicating the other. Perhaps it is a matter of context, just as in English “right / write / wright” depends on the context in which these homophones are found. It should be remembered that, as pointed out on page 14 of the Grammar, trailing \textit{n}'s tend towards \textit{m}, making the matter even more difficult.

\(^68\) The Mazuy bird has not been identified. It appears a number of times in the Books of Chilam Balam, variously spelled \textit{mazuy}, \textit{maçuy}, \textit{may çuy}, \textit{may cuy} and other variants. As a suggestion, because of its connection in other contexts with animals of prey and also its connection with the seashore perhaps it is the frigate bird.

\(^69\) Lahun Chan means both “Ten Sky” and “Ten Snake”. While his hieroglyphic representation is normally “10 sky” (see below), in the Madrid Codex there are various depictions of sky snakes, some of which have the markings of 10 and the Chic Chan infix on the body. An example of one of these depictions from page 14 of the Madrid Codex is given on the facing page.

\(^70\) The term \textit{hax kak}, while literally meaning “to light a fire with a fire drill”, is used metaphorically to indicate incestuous sexual relations. The term \textit{teel chac} means “thick root”, but is also used metaphorically much as we do in English, as for example in “the root of all evil”. This line could be translated literally as “Fire shall be started (with a fire drill) at the root of the leg”. The BMTV gives a parallel phrase, “Cometer peccado incestuoso, por metáfora: hax kak ti chac bacel. ¶ Cometió así pecado con su hija: v haxah kak tu chac bacel yetel yix mehen.” From this it can be deduced that some similar metaphorical meaning is meant here, namely “Incest shall be committed.”. Incidentally, amongst the Maya, even today, having sexual relations with anyone within either the immediate or extended family is a very great sin. This loathing is carried out to the extent that people having the same name either from the mother’s side or from the father’s side should not marry. Thus, a person with the patronymic and matronymic names of Chan Canul, for example, should not marry someone with either of these last names.
Zathom yalan che, yalan aban
tu chaqtun numya yal u mehen Ah Num Itza.
Elom u chi zuz, elom u chi kaknab.
Nacom ti che ah mazuy.
Elom ñio tu yax tzol poop ah ñioomtun uale.
Oxlahunte u cuch.
Chabom u numtein cabi, u tzucteil cabi
tumenel Lahun Chan.
Paxnom chac tenel ahau.\textsuperscript{71}
Haxbom kak tu teel chacil yoc.\textsuperscript{72}
Chachom u kab yaxche.
Chachom u kab nicte.
Chachom u xik mucuy.
Tu kin lelem caan.
Auatnom chac tenel ahau, paxnom zac tenel ahau
tu kinil Oxlahun Ahau uale.

\textsuperscript{71} The word \textit{tenel} in the names \textit{chac tenel ahau} and \textit{zac tenel ahau} is translated as a derivative of the root word \textit{tem} = “seat / bench”. See DMM: Poyo o grada: tem. However, \textit{tem} has various meanings, among them being “altar”, “ledge”, “step of a stairway”, “satisfied”, etc., but it is hard to apply these meanings here. All four world direction colors are associated with this four-in-one deity which appears 11 times in the Books of Chilam Balam. See lines f037, f038, f049, f059, f068, f232, f253, f254, f255. Roys notes the difficulty with translating the name of this deity in Chumayel, page 102, footnote 8. \textit{Tenel} in the vocabularies usually means “times”, as in \textit{yaab u tenel} = “many times”, but that meaning does not appear to apply here either.

\textsuperscript{72} While both source texts give the verb root as \textit{kax}, with the Tizimin reading \textit{kax bom kak} and the Pérez reading \textit{kaxan kak}, there are no other instances of the verb root \textit{kax} (to tie) being used in conjunction with \textit{kak} (fire), whereas the phrase \textit{hax kak} (to light a fire using a fire drill) is quite common. I am making the assumption that at some point in the process of being transcribed and retranscribed the \texttt{h} in \textit{hax} got changed to \texttt{k}. 

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For transcription and translation of the complete text of the Section called "U Uu Katunoob III" which includes "U Than Oxlahun Ti Ku" see Post Conquest Mayan Literature (http://davidsbooks.org/www/Maya/PCML.pdf) and its companion translation (http://davidsbooks.org/www/Maya/PCML%20Translation.pdf)
“Zuyua Than yetel Naat” (The Language and Understanding of Zuyua) contains two lists of questions and their answers which town officials were expected to know to show that they rightfully held their positions. The first list comes from two sources: the Books of Chilam Balam of Chumayel and of Tusik. This list is broken down into three subsections. The second list comes from the Chumayel only. Since both these lists are quite long only representative samples from each list are given here. From first list the introductory comments, the first three riddles from subsection 1, and riddle 3:18 are given. From the second list riddles 24, 25, 40, 41, 42, and 43 are given.

In the introductory remarks of the first list which are given here is the statement that the interrogation of the town officials with the material from the first list occurred on September 4, 1628, which according to another place in the text is three years before the end of the 3rd Ahau Katun. This correlation between the Mayan and Christian calendars is in keeping with the calendar correlations generally presented throughout the Yucatecan Mayan colonial manuscripts.

Later in this anthology in the selections of modern material there is a collection of modern riddles. While none of these modern riddle are exactly the same as the riddle given in “Zuyua Than yetel Naat”, there is a similarity in style and flavor. While the main purpose of modern riddles is mainly just to pass the time, their use becomes especially noticeable at group gathering occasions such as funerals, weddings, lunches for fiesta guild members, and other such formal to semi-formal occasions.

For transcription and translation of the complete text of the Section called "Zuyua Than yetel Naat" which includes the texts given here see Post Conquest Mayan Literature (http://davidsbooks.org/www/Maya/PCML.pdf) and its companion translation (http://davidsbooks.org/www/Maya/PCML%20Translation.pdf)
THE LANGUAGE AND UNDERSTANDING OF ZUYUA

The language and understanding of Zuyua
for our lord the military governor.
Here on the fourth day of the month of September
in the year 1628,
the unusual Mayan language was composed
so that it appeared written in the heaven
to be known to the men who need it
written in the book of the Language and Understanding of Zuyua.
It will be understood by the town officials
and the governors,
passed on to the mayors and aldermen.
Thus it happened that he came to live in Tzuc Uaxim
which is to the east of Mérida.
There is the land where his orchard and private land was built,
where he came to live.
The day will come he shall finish also.
The word of the governor is delivered, his word is forceful.
Then will arrive his great cape also.
Here is the Language of Zuyua.
Thus will be the word,
thus will be the interrogation of the governors of the towns.
Then will arrive the day of the end of the rule
of Three Ahau Katun.
Then will be seated the other katun, One Ahau Katun.
Thus therefore will happen in the other katun.
Thus it is said.
He is the katun today, Three Ahau Katun.
There are three years to go
so that his reign will be taken away.
The time has arrived for the end of its rule and its reign.
Anyway; it happens that the other katun, One Ahau Katun,
is seated in the house of Three Ahau Katun.
Hallelujah, it is being given a feast by Three Ahau Katun.
Shame they say will be hidden in the town.
The examination which comes in the katun ends today.
The time has arrived for the town officials
to be asked about their knowledge,
if they know that they come the lineage of rulers,
whether or not it is true that all come from lineages,
whether it is said that they come from town officials, from governors,
whether they are from lineages of rulers or lineages of town officials;
to this they speak the truth.
ZUYUA THAN YETEL NAAT

Zuyua Than yetel Naat
utial c’ yum gobernador mariscal.
Helelae tu canppel kin yuil Septiembre,
tu haabil 1628,
lic yutzcintah u yanal maya than
lay chicbezahaa-nil caanal
yoheltooob uinicoob himac yan u uilal
ti u huunil obaanil u Zuyua Than yetel Naat.

Bin u naatabal tumen u batabil cahoob
yetel halach uinicoob
manahantacoob ti alcaldesil yetel regidoresil.
Lay uchic u cahtal ti Tzuc Uaxim lae

tu lakin Ichcaanzhiho.

Ti yan u luum uchic u yantal u pakali yetel u solar,
uchic u cahtal lae.

Bin ix kuchuc tu kin u holol u bel xan.

Talel u than u halach uinicil, chac u than.
Ca bin uluc chac ix u buc xan.
Helelae tu Zuyua Than.
Lay bin u than,
lay bin u kat u halach uinicil cah lae.

Ca bin kuchuc tu kin u uocol u than
ah Ox Ahau Katun lae.
Ca bin culac u yanal katun, Hun Ahau Katun.

Lay tun bin yanac ichil u yanal katun lae.
Bay alanil lae.

He ix katun helelae, Ox Ahau Katun.

Oxppel haab u binel
cu lukuc tu tepal.

Uocol ix u kuchul u kinil u uocol yahaulil yetel u tepal.

Halilibe; manahan ix u yanal katun, Hun ahau Katun lae,
culaan ichil yotoch ah Ox Ahau Katun lae.
Yulate, tan u rabal u chaan tumenel ah Ox Ahau Katun lae.
Zubultzil bin bin balooob tu cahaloob.

Kat naat cu talel ichil u katunil licil u uocol helelae.

Ti kuchul tu kinil u katabal u naatoob u batabil cahoob
ua yoheloob
uchic u taleloob u uiniciloob yahauliloob,

lacaloob camac u than tulacal u chibaloob talicoob
ua tzolaan u talel u batabiloob, u halach uiniciloob
ua chibaloob ahau ua chibaloob batab;
ti u hah cantoob.
Riddles from the First List

1:1; Here is the first word which will be asked of them. They will be asked for his food. 
Gladly will the governor say to them; 
thus will be spoken to the town officials: 
“Son, bring me the sun in my plate, carry it in your hand. 
A lance with a lofty cross is planted 
in the middle of its heart. 
There is a green jaguar seated on top, 
it is bleeding its blood.”
The language of Zuyua is being understood. 
Here is what being asked of them, 
that is a very large fried egg. 
Here is the lance and the lofty cross 
which is stuck in its heart, 
that of which he speaks, it is the benediction. 
Here is the green jaguar seated on top, bleeding its blood, 
it is green chile, it is very hot. 
The language of Zuyua.

1:2; This is the second difficult word which will be asked, 
which will be told to them: 
that they go to take the heaven’s brains 
so that the governor can see how much there is of it. 
“I desire to see it, 
it has been a long time since I have seen it.”
it is graciously told to them. 
Here is the heaven’s brains, it is copal resin. 
The language of Zuyua.

1:3; This is the third difficult word which will be asked, 
which will be told to them: 
that they tie (build) a big house; 
six poles its length, one stick its post. 
Here is the big house, it is a very large hat. 
The language of Zuyua.

3:18; “Son, that you bring me a girl who has very white round calf muscles. 
Here I take off the slip from her calf muscles.”
“So be it, father.”
Here is the girl which he asks them about, it is jicama. 
Taking off the slip means peeling off the skin of the jicama. 
The language of Zuyua.
Riddles from the First List

1:1; He ix u yax chun than bin katabac tiobe.
Bin u katabac tiob u hanal.
Ci bin u than halach uinic tiob;
bay bin alabac ti batabobe:
“Mehene, ca a talez ten kin tin plato, ca a lathab ta kab.
Ti chicaan lanza caanil cruz
tan chumuc u puczikal.
Ti ix culaan yax balam yokol,
u kikic u kikele.”
Zuyua Than u naatabal.
He ix kin bin katabac tiob lae,
lay yahau tzabil hee.
He ix lanza yetel caanil cruz
cichaan tu puczikale,
lay lic yalice lay cici thane.
He ix yax balam culaan yokol, u kikic u kikele,
lay yax ic, balam yanie.
Zuyua than.

1:2; He ix u ca chich than bin katabac,
bin alabac tiobe:
ca xicoob u chaob u òomel caan
utial yilah halach uinic bahun u caah.
“Yan in uol in uile,
uchi in uilae.”
ci yalabal tiobe.
He ix u òomel caane, lay pome.
Zuyua Than.

1:3; He ix u yox chich than bin katabac tiobe,
bin alabac tiobe:
ca u kaxoob nohoch na;
uaç thil u uaan, hun òitil yocmal.
He ix nohoch na lae, lay yahau ppoc lae.
Zuyua Than.

3:18; Mehene, ca a talez ten a huntul chuplal hach zac uolol uol u ppul yoc.
Uay in zilic u pic tu ppul yoce.
Cay bayac be yume.
He ix u chuplal lic u katice, lay chicame.
He ix u zilic u pice, lay u òilic u pache.
Zuyua Than.
Riddles from the Second List

24; Son, bring me here the women who guard the garden,
Light-skinned women.
I am going to take off their slips, then I can eat them.
Father, it is the jicama.

25; Son, bring me a big gallant so that I can watch him.
Perhaps he will not dance badly when I watch him.
Father, it is a tom-turkey.

40; Son, go now therefore
and bring the stone of the field here.
Father, it is the quail.

41; Son, go now therefore
and bring the first of the shamans here;
there are four of them.
Father, here are the gopher and the spotted agouti
and the Mexican agouti and the peccary.

42; Son, go now therefore
and bring the thigh bone of Earth here.
Father, it is the cassava root.

43; Son, go now therefore and bring the green gallant
and the first chanter here.
Father, they are the hen turkey and the tom turkey.
Riddles from the Second List

24; Mehene, talez ten uaye ix ah canaan col chuplalobe, zac chuplalobe.
Ten ix bin lukzic u picoob yokole, ca tun in hante.
Yume, lay chicame.

25; Mehene, talez ten noh tzublal in chaante.
Ma uil lob yokotoob ca bin in uilabe.
Yume, lay ah tzoe.

40; Mehene, ca tun xicech a chab u tunichil chakan uaye.
Yume, lay beche.

41; Mehene, ca tun xicech a chab yax ah menobe uaye, cantulobe.
Yume, heklay ba yetel tzub yetel haleb yetel citame.

42; Mehene, ca tun xicech a chab u chac bacel luum uaye.
Yume, lay sine.

43; Mehene, ca tun xicech a chab yax tzublal yetel yax kayomoob uaye.
Yume, lay cutz yetel ah tzoe.
Housed in the Peabody Museum at Harvard is a collection of papers which concern the Xiu family. This collection is variously known as The Xiu Chronicles, Libro de Probanzas, Xiu Family Papers, Ticul Manuscript and Crónica de Oxkutzcab. The source of these papers comes from Edward H. Thompson who passed them onto Charles P. Bowditch who in turn donated them to Harvard University. Prior to 1919 William Gates made photographs of this collection and in 1919 bound them into single volumes. There were supposedly 20 copies made of which there are at least eight known sets of these volumes. Since these were individually bound, there is some difference in the order in which the pages are presented. These known copies are at Tozzer Library, Newberry Library, Library of Congress, Brigham Young University, UC Berkley, University of New Mexico, Latin American Library at Tulane University and an ex-Tozzer Library which I bought from the library on October 18, 1978.

In the introductory pages of my copy there are the following notations:

THE XIU CHRONICLES
MAYA
The original is in the Peabody Museum, Cambridge.

(on the recto of the following page)
Note of William E. Gates
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The different documents in the Xiu papers have been rearranged chronologically, as far as determinable. And in making up the volume, the right or left of the pages had been disregarded in the placement, to avoid so many blank pages.

In this volume there are 68 leaves of photographs with one side of one leaf left blank, giving 135 photographs. Many of the photographs are quite difficult to read in their present state, but scanned in and subjected to contrast enhancement they become more legible.

However, facsimile photographs of The Xiu Chronicles are now available on-line from Harvard at:
https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:10673001$1i

For transcripts of the Mayan texts given in the Xiu Chronicles see http://davidsbooks.org/www/Xiu%20Chronicles.pdf

In 2001 UNAM published the work of Sergio Quezada and Tsubasa Okoshi Harada: Papeles de los Xiu de Yaxá, Yucatán. In this work there are transcripts of the material contained in the Xiu Chronicles. The transcripts of the documents written in Mayan are also accompanied with Spanish translations. Their transcription is based on the photocopy housed in the Latin American Library in Tulane. In their introduction to their work they note the same problem of the photographs being difficult to read.
An example of the type of material included in The Xiu Chronicles is a petition by Joan Xiu asking for permission to have a gun.

A Letter Asking for a Gun

On May 30, 1662, Joan Xiu of Oxkutzcab dictated a letter in Mayan to the governor asking for a gun which would help him and other Christianized members of his community to round up ah tepp cheob or forest people who were not believers and bring them in to be baptized. This letter was dictated in front of Nicolas Cardenas who seems to have been a local official who was in part in charge of interpreting matters into Spanish. Following the letter is an explanation by Cardenas, in Spanish, explaining what Joan Xiu was asking for.

I, don Joan Xiu, citizen and member of the village of holy Saint Juan Yaxal Kumche which is at the end of the large town of San Francisco Oxkutzcab

My great reverent lord. Here I come to bow at your feet in front of you my great reverent lord to mister Nicolas de Cardenas who is the town interpreter for us Mayan people so that you will copy my words into Spanish so that he will hear my plea because I want that he should give a license to have a gun because for me, lord, it is very necessary for us so that we can serve god and our great king. This is so we can capture the unbelieving forest people so we can bring them to be baptized here into Christianity. Here I and my lineage bring the bones of Mirones and chalice which they took along with the paraphernalia of the sacrament After they bring everything that has to be brought we will go with the will of god to baptize them along with the lineage of the nobles. There is your statement in which the community gives me my garden and my male and female servant each week. This is the reason why I want to be given a license by the lord governor for the gun, not so that I will do harm to your people because I would not know how to make myself the enemy. Thus I beseech you also in the name of my town. Thus I beseech you my dear reverent lord, I, the least of your children kiss your hand.

Don Joan Xiu
Ten cen Don Jhoan Xiu, ah cahalnalen
tu mektan cahil ah bolon pixan San Juan Yaxa Kumche
tu xul v noh cahal san Francisco Ox Kutz Cab.

Yn noh tzicanil yume:
vay lic yn tal chin pul tu ni a voc ta tan ceech
yn noh tzicanil yum ti señor Nicolas de Cardenas,
ah tzol than cahal coon maya vinice,
ca a hochob yn than ychil en caxtila
cavtzac yubic in vokotba than
tumen yn kat ca v oab v licençial ten escopeta ten
tumen tene yume hach kabet v uilal toon
vtial ca tanlic dios yetel ca noh ahau.
Licil ca chucic ah tepp cheob, ma oc olalob,
ca ca talezob ti ocol ha tu polob vai ychil christianosobe tumenel
he toone yn chibalob talez v bacel Mirones yetel caliz
v chaahob cuchie yetel v bal v bail kam.
öoc v talçicob tulacal baix bin ca talçic
cac bin xicoon yolah dios xan ca ococ ha tu polob
yeteli xan v chibal al mehen
yan ca probança vchebal v oabal yn col tumen comunidad
yetel yn vah kam xiblal yetel chuplal amal semana.
Lai v chun yolah ca oabal ten v licencia ten
tumen señor gobernador lay escopeda loe.
Ma vtial in mentic lob ti lae bal a lakobi
tumen ma vohel nupahaan ten.
Lai vokotba than tech yeteli xan tu hol kaba yan yn cahal.
Lay vokotba than tech ceech yn yama tzicanil yum,
ten v oesil a palil vobenic a kab.

don Joan Xiu73

73 For a facsimile of this letter see Appendix C.
“The Ritual of the Bacabs” is a manuscript containing more than 40 chants which would be used by H-Menoob in order to exorcise, placate, entreat, or otherwise communicate with the various spirits which cause sickness and death. The manuscript which comes to us was written in the late eighteenth century, but it is not clear whether or not this is a copy of some earlier document. The language of the chants is quite archaic, indicating that what we have is indeed a copy of earlier material.

Ralph L. Roys has transcribed and translated most of the chants from “The Ritual of the Bacabs” and has also given some background material in his introduction to that work. The interested reader should consult that book. It will be noted that the translation offered here for the chant which has been chosen is somewhat different than Roys’ translation for the same chant.

The chant given here is from pages 130-133 of the manuscript. It is numbered Chant XXI by Roys and Chant XXV by Arzápalo.

Concerning the name of the infirmity which is treated by this chant, Can Tippte, while the term is translated literally here, the Calepino Mayan de Motul has this entry: Can tippte: enfermedad de lombrizes. (Can tippte: infirmity from intestinal worms.)

Later on in this anthology there are examples of modern chants. The modern chants are dialectically different from the chants of “The Ritual of Bacabs”, more so than modern formal speech is from sixteenth century formal speech.

For a depiction of one of the illnesses treated in the “The Ritual of the Bacabs” see Appendix C, Kaua page 3.

For a physical view of the manuscript of “The Ritual of the Bacabs” go to: http://pudl.princeton.edu/objects/ambn999802r

For a transcript and translation of “The Ritual of the Bacabs” go to: http://davidsbooks.org/www/Bacabs.pdf
FOR SNAKE INTESTINAL PAINS IN A PERSON’S STOMACH;\textsuperscript{74}
VERY GOOD

Shortly therefore I seize you,
I who am your mother, I who am your father.
Oh you White Snake Intestinal Pains,
oh you Red Snake Intestinal Pains.
Oh who are you at sunset, oh at dawn?
Oh are you the demented child, the demented creation?
Shortly therefore I stretch you out,
I who am your mother, I who am your father,
White Snake Intestinal Pains.
When I return I seize you White Snake Intestinal Pains.
Immediately I pick you up,
I throw you into the middle of the sea.
Then you enter into the four putrefactions.
Then you enter into the four fishes.
Then you enter into the four “hulub” bushes.\textsuperscript{75}
Then you enter into the four grasses.
Of whom thus then are you dreaming
White Yellow-Drop-Snake, White Seated King during the day?\textsuperscript{76}
Who thus then picked you up, you White Snake Intestinal Pains?
Who thus then is your prognosticatory bird of omen,\textsuperscript{77}
who thus then is your prognosticatory bird?
Oh White Black Pip-Bird,\textsuperscript{78} Oh White Uakeh-Bird,\textsuperscript{79} Oh White Hawk.\textsuperscript{80}

\textsuperscript{74} For the infirmity \textit{can tippte} see the Calepino Maya de Motul: Can tippte: enfermedad de lombrizes.

\textsuperscript{75} See Roys’ Ethno-Botany: Hulub: Bravaisia tubiflora, Hemsl. (Standl.) A bush growing on the sand-hills near Progresso. The Maya text states that it grows beside the sea and its stalks are used to string fish. The bark or exterior is powdered and sprinkled on an abscess of the breast; and the split stalk is employed in a complicated charm connected with lancing the abscess.

\textsuperscript{76} This deity name is made up of two parts: \textit{kan chah} and \textit{cum ahau}. For \textit{kan chah} see the Vienna: Culebra grande, sin poncoña: ah peɔ can. ¶ Otra: kan chah. For \textit{cum hau} see the Vienna: Lucifer, príncipe de los demonios: Cum Hau, Hum Hau .l. Hum Ahau.

\textsuperscript{77} There is some disagreement as to what type of bird the \textit{mut} actually is. Roys’ Ethno-Botany has: Mut. A bird of the Cracidae family. (Maler, 1908, p. 182). The Pío Pérez Diccionario gives: Mut: faizan, ave, y otra que se parecen a tordo con algunas plumas de las alas coloradas. The word \textit{mut} also means “fame, reputation”, but when used as shown here seems to mean “omen”.


\textsuperscript{79} The \textit{uakeh} bird is unregistered.

\textsuperscript{80} See Roys’ Bacabs: Ah ii. “A certain hawk” (Motul Dict.). Resembles the ah chuy, but is smaller; it has a short, curved beak and is yellowish; it is designated Odontiorchis palliatus mexicanus (Pacheco Cruz, Diccionario de la fauna yucateca, 146).
Zam tun bacin in chucech
cen a na, cen a yum.
Cech Zacal Can Tippte be chee,
cech Chacal Can Tippte be chee.
Max bin be chee ceech ocic kin be chee ahic cab be chee?
Cech u coil al be chee, u coil chab be chee?\(^1\)
Zam tun bacin in chelcunech
cen a nae, cen a yume,
Zacal Can Tippte.
Can zutcenac ca tin chuceche Zacal Can Tippte.
Tec chuyen tech,
in picchintech tan yol kaknab.
Ti tun bacin ocech ti can chocili.
Ti tun bacin ocech ti can cayili.
Ti tun bacin ocech ti can hulubili.
Ti tun bacin ocech ti can zucili.
Max tun bacin a uayazba
Zacal Kan Chaah Cum Ahau ti kin?
Max tun bacin tec chuyen tech ceech Zacal Can Tippte?
Max tun bacin a mutil,
max tun bacin a chichil chee?
Zacal Ek Pip chee, Zacal Uakeh chee, Zacal Ah Ih chee.

\(^1\) The word *coil* in modern Mayan means “rabid” in it various meanings, but it appears that the sickness rabies did not exist in the Americas until the coming of the Europeans. See footnote 38 for further information about *coil* and its variations.
Then thus I tie you to the stem of a squash.
Then you arise to the heart of heaven.
Shortly then thus I deliver you to god The Ruler oh so they say.  
Oh so they say he is your child, your offspring.
My word arrives beyond the sky in the east oh so they say.
You left the body it seems as you sit thus on your butts.
Tobacco resin is pressed on the person’s stomach.
Then tobacco juice will be anointed on his stomach.
This is the drink being given to White Snake Intestinal Pains.
Shortly then therefore I create
White Can-Chac-Che-Shrub as his tree.
Shortly then therefore White Snake Intestinal Pains
then is his drink.
This then therefore is his wine.
Shortly then therefore I create the tobacco bush.
This then therefore is his wine, once steeped is his wine.
This thus therefore is what happens when I stretch you out you White Snake Intestinal Pain, Red Snake Intestinal Pain, Yellow Snake Intestinal Pain, Black Snake Intestinal Pain.
Amen.

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82 The word or phrase an bin is unregistered. Roys translates this as “alas”. See the Calepino Maya de Motul: An; cuc: particula del que se quexa.

83 This phrase reads in the manuscript ta culic tun a cul che, in which che appears to be the exclamation chee and is translated as such. See the last two lines on the previous page for other examples of the use of che / chee as an exclamation. However, both Roys and Arzápalo have decided, not without reason, that the final word should be culche which means “image, idol”. Roys translates this as “you seated then your wooden image.”

84 See Roys’ Ethno-Botany: Canchac che. Chioecoca alba (L.) Hitchc. Cainca. (Standl. 1920-26, p. 1386). Described as a shrub, sometimes scandent, with a white fruit 4 to 8 mm. long. The root is employed for snake-bites (60). The leaves or some unspecified part are prescribed for abdominal pains (75), diarrhea (92), worms in the bowels (104), vomiting blood (126), loss of speech (170 & 171), swollen rectum (250), diseases of the skin and scalp (310, 333 & 377).

85 Note that contrary to the usual custom, the world direction colors are presented clockwise starting with the north / white. Usually the world direction colors are presented in a counterclockwise fashion starting with the east / red.
Ti tun bacin tin kaxech ti yoc ca.
Ti nacech tan yol caan.
Zam tun bacin in kuben tech ti ku Ah Tepal an bin chee.
An bin a ual, a mehen.
Cu kuchul in than pach caan lakin an bin chee.
A ppatah hi ix uinicil ta culic tun a cul chee.
Cab kutz bin peabal u nak uinic lae.
Ca nabzabac u kabil kutz tu nak lae.
He yuklil Can Tippte lae bin øabal.
Zam tun bacin chee in chab
Zacal Can Chac Che u che.
Zam tun bacin Zacal Can Tipplah
tun bacin yukul.
Lay tun bacin u ci.
Zam tun bacin in chab Ix Kutz Aban.
Lay tun bacin u ci, hun øam u ci.
Lay tun bacin uchic in chelcunicech
cech Zacal Can Tippte, Chacal Can Tippte,
Kanal Can Tippte, Ekel Can Tippte lae.
Amen.
MEDICAL RECIPES

There is a great quantity of medical recipes to be found throughout the Mayan colonial literature. In the Books of Chilam Balam for example the books of Chan Cah, Ixil, Kaua, Nah, and Tekax have numerous pages devoted to medical recipes. There are also books such as “El Libro de Judío” which are dedicated to medical recipes. These medical recipes seem to be a mixture of native herbal medicine knowledge and European herbal medicine.

Two of these recipes are given here. The first one with remedies for snake bites is a good example of the usual medical recipe which is to be found throughout this material. The second one which gives the sites for blood-letting is unusual in that it is the only one which is about blood-letting. However even today the practice of puncturing specific veins with a sharp instrument such as a sliver of glass in order to alleviate a given ache or pain is still carried on.

For more medical texts see: http://davidsbooks.org/www/TEXT-web.doc
SNAKE BITES

The bite of a rattlesnake or an asp or whatever snake.

If a person is bitten by a rattlesnake or an asp or whatever kind of snake. The root of snake-squash as well as the root of meadow-gourd as well as the leaf of garlic with one crystal of salt and lemon juice are to be found. Then it is to be given to be drunk. The bite-hole is to be cauterized with it.

This is medicine also. Borage is to be found. It is to be ground, then it is to be mixed. Then it is to be warmed. Then it is to be given to him. It will be stopped because of it.

If he is vomiting blood he is to be given a half cup of lard to drink or cooking oil is to be given to drink. There is a herb in the land where medicine rots or in the land of the large trees in the forest. Find the large trees, find the herbs which will grow also out of the earth. Three leaves or four leaves are to be taken. They are to be taken with the root. It is to be ground and then given to be drunk. Then it is to be anointed cold on the bite-hole. Then you will give it as a medicine for an asp or whatever snake.
U CHIBAL CANOOB

U chibal ahau can ua kokob can yetel uabax canile.

He tu chibaal unic tumen ahau can ua kokob can yetel uabax canile caxantabac u ui kum can bay u ui sól chakanile bay u le ajo yetel hunppel u co ajo, hunppel u co tab, yetel u kab limones. Ca ñabac yuke, chuhibil u hol yetel.


Ua tan u xeic kike ñabac medio manteca yuke ua ix aceite de comer ñabac yuke. Yan xiu tu luumil licil u ñucul u ñacal ua ix u luumil nucuch cheob ti kax. Caxbalac nucuch cheiloob, caxbac xiuiloob bin hokoc xan tu luumile. Chabac ox ual ua can ual u le. Chabac yetel u motz. Huchbil tun ca ñabac yuke. Ca ix nabzabac tu hol u chibal ziz. Ca bin a ñaic ca ix kokob caix balac canil u ñacal.
THE PUNCTURING OF A VEIN

Here is the account of where the veins are to be seen by the blood-letter and where in particular they have to be punctured on a person.

1; Here is the vein which is in the middle of the head and behind the skull of a person. This is where it is punctured to stop a headache or a migraine headache of a person whoever it has attacked.

2; Here is the vein in the corner of the eye of a person. This is where it is punctured to brighten a person’s sight. This is when his sight is not good.

3; Here is the vein on the lip of a person and on the tongue of a person. This is where it is punctured to stop the bleeding and foam at the mouth of a person which comes from the lungs of a person.

4; Here is the vein at the wrist of a person. This comes from the heart and the lungs and the head and the skin everywhere on a person also. This is to be punctured to stop the pains in the heart and the lungs and the head and the skin everywhere on a person also and the pain in the bones everywhere in a person and the pain of the gums.

5; Here is the vein under the neck of a person. This is where it is punctured to stop the pain of the eye of a person because of an old wound.

6; Here is the vein which is in the fork of the little finger of a person and in the middle of the index finger. This is where it is punctured to stop the eye ache or the headache or the migraine headache also.

7; Here is the vein which is in the fork of the little finger. This is where it is punctured to stop the pain of a pained dog’s child (spleen) in the stomach of a person. The vein is punctured also so that the intestinal pains in the stomach of a person are calmed.

8; Here is the vein which is in the middle of the head of a person and also in back of the skull. This is where it is punctured to stop reoccurring migraine headaches of a person.
U TOK U BEL NOHOL

Lay u tzolaan u bel nohol licil yilabal tumen ah tok yahoob lae yetel ua tub citan yan u nah tokol ti uinice.

1; He u bel nohol yan tu chumuc u hol yetel tu pach u lec uinice. Lay lic u tokol tu haual kuxub hol ua kinam pol ti uinice ua mac tzayal ti.

2; He u bel nohol yan tu tuk u uich uinice. Lay licil u tokol tu zaziltal u pacat uinice. Lay ma utz u pacate.

3; He u bel nohol yan tu boxel u chi uinice yetel yan tu yak uinice. Lay lic u tokol tu haual puñub chi tub ti uinice lae talel zac ol mac.

4; He u bel nohol yan tu uac u kab uinice. Lay likul tu puczikal yetel tu zac ol uinice yetel tu pol yetel tu cucutil uinice tulacal xan. Lay lic u tokol tu haual u kuxucil tu puczikal yetel tu zac ol yetel tu pol yetel tu ca tzucil tu cucutil uinice tulacal xane yetel u kuxlacil u bacel uinice tulacal yetel u kuxucil tu ninchil.

5; He u bel nohol yan yalan u cal uinice. Lay licil u tokol tu haual u chibal u uich uinice tumen uchben yahoob.

6; He u bel nohol yan tu yam u na u kab uinice yetel yan tu chumuc u tuchube. Lay licil u tokol u haual chibal ich ua chibal pol ua kuxub pol xan.

7; He u bel nohol yan tu yam u thupil u kab uinice. Lay licil tu tokol tu haual u yail u kinam yal pek tu nak uinice. U bel nohol cu tokol xan utial hunbal tippte tu nak uinice.

8; He u bel nohol yan chumuc u pol uinice yetel tun tu pach cae. Lay licil u tokol tu haual uazut chibal u pol uinice.
TITLES OF EBTUN

The Titles of Ebtun is an extensive collection of legal documents which come from the archives of the town of Ebtun, Yucatan. There are some 285 items in this collection, ranging in date from the late 1500’s through the early 1800’s. The type of documents range from land boundaries, land sales, and other land documents to wills.

Ralph Roys transcribed and translated this collection of documents in the book “Titles of Ebtun”. There is an extensive introduction to this work which the interested reader should read.

The following document describes the sale of land in 1708.

For more texts from "The Title of Ebtun" see:
http://davidsbooks.org/www/TEXT-web.doc
TITLES OF EBTUN

Let it be known:

Me I Gaspar Nauat, a resident of Ebtun, the town under the protection of our patron San Bartolome; we sell a certain forest to my lord Don Bartolome Camal for eight pesos. It is my wish to sell it and it is his wish to buy it also. This respected forest thus was granted to me by my father thus.

This is where the forest is located to the north of the savannah of Ti Xac thus.

Here is the first large stone mound thus - northeast of the savannah which is one with Don Andres Camal. Then goes to the north a line of mounds. Then it arrives at the second large stone mound, southeast of the mouth of the cenote of Tix Cox Tutut. Then goes to the west a of mounds which as it goes passes south of the mouth of the cenote of X-Noh Cum Suc. Thus it arrives at the third large stone mound on the highway to Uayma at Ti X-Ppet Suc. Thus it goes to the south beside the road to Cuncunul, the line of the mounds, to the fourth large stone mound on the slop of a rocky knoll which is the one with the large stone mound of Don Andres Camal. Then goes east the line of the mounds and arrives where it began a while ago.

Thus ends my account of the stone mounds of the forest I am selling. I, Gaspar Nauat thus before my lord governor and the magistrates today on May 20, 1708.

Don Bartolome Camal, governor of Ebtun
Gregorio Camal, mayor
Andres Uc and Bernardino Camal, regidors
Don Andres Camal, executor and Minguel May, scribe
TITLES OF EBTUN

Conosimiento

Ten cen Gaspar Nauat ah cahnalen ti cah Ebtun tu mektan cahil ca yumilan San Bartolome lic ca conic hunac kax ti in yum Don Bartolome Camal yokal uaxacppel peso. Tal tin uol ca tin conah tal tu yol ca tu manah xan. He ix talanil kax lae in matan ti in yum lae.

He ix tub yan kax lae tu xaman u chaknil Ti Xac lae.


Bay ñocic in tzolic u multunil in con kax cen Gaspar Nauat lae tu tanil in yum Batab yetel Justisias hele en 20 de Mayo de 1708 años.

Don Bartolome Camal Batab Ebtun
Gregorio Camal Alcalde
Andres Uc = Bernardino Camal Regidores
Don Andres Camal Aluaseas = Minguel May escribano
As mentioned in the Foreword, right from the very beginning of the Spanish occupation of Yucatan the Spanish friars were producing material in the Mayan language in order to convert the Maya to Christianity. The earliest available document of this type of material is to be found in a manuscript often referred to as the “1576 Manuscript”.

In May of 1576 the General Council of the Inquisition in Seville sent a letter to the Holy Office of the Inquisition of New Spain ordering “the suppression of the handbook Ecclesiastes En La Lengua De Los Indios and any other sacred scripture in said tongue or any other vernacular.” Various friars throughout New Spain then set about confiscating all reading material written in indigenous languages, especially if it had anything to do with religious doctrine. The Bishop Diego de Landa was particularly diligent at accomplishing this task, and amassed what apparently was quite a library of this material.

Portions of this amassed material was copied and became available in two known sources: the “1576 Manuscript” mentioned above, and in “Discursos Predicables” and “Doctrina Christiana”, both published in México by Friar Juan Coronel in 1620. Fortunately for the scholar of this material, there is a large portion of the “1576 Manuscript” which is paralleled by material in the “Discursos Predicables”, making it possible to verify various uncertain readings in one or the other of the two works.

During the middle of the 18th century Fr. Pedro Beltrán de Santa Rosa began to publish a collection of works, beginning in 1740 with a “Doctrina Christiana” and a “Novena”, followed by his grammar, “Arte de el Idioma Maya” published in 1746, and finally a reprint of his “Doctrina” in 1757. No known copy of the 1740 “Doctrina” is now available, and it is not certain how much the 1757 edition varies from the original publication.

Fr. Beltrán claims in his “Arte” that his mother tongue is Mayan, and from his work in the grammar as well as his other publications there is no reason to doubt this claim.

Given here is Beltrán’s rendition of “Our Father”. For comparison sake, below it are given two earlier versions, the first one from Coronel’s “Doctrina” of 1620 and a compilation of what must have been the version used before the “1576 Manuscript” was written. The comparison of the three texts is instructive in that in fact not many changes had taken place between the earliest version and Beltrán’s version. One item of note however are the various changes in orthography which are mentioned in this grammar in the section on the alphabet.

See Appendix C for the facsimile of “Our Father” in the 1620 “Doctrina Christiana”. For the transcript and translation of the “1576 Manuscript” see the following on-line link: http://www.famsi.org/reports/01017/section01.htm
OUR FATHER

Our Father, from
Beltrán’s “Doctrina Christiana”, 1757

Our father, you are in the heavens.
Holy be your name.
Bring your kingdom over us.
Make good your will on earth as it is in heaven.
Give us our daily bread today.
Forgive us our sins like we forgive the sins of those who sin against us.
Don’t watch us fall into temptation, but bring us out of evil.
Amen Jesus.

86 Fray Diego de Landa in his Relación, purportedly written in 1566, makes the following comment on p. 13r about a Doctrina Christiana which would have included a version of “Our Father”: y que procurarô saber la lengua lo qual era dificultoso. El q[ue] mas supo fue fray Luys de Villalpando que comenzo a saberla por señas, y pedrezuelas, y la reduxo a alguna manera de arte, y escrivio vna doctrina Christiana en aquella lengua.

Fray Luis de Villalpando arrived in Yucatan in 1546 and died six years later in 1552, so while this is not much time to learn a language well, perhaps he did manage to put together a Doctrina Christiana.

Twelve years after he wrote the Relación, Landasent a report to the Inquisition on January 19, 1578, in which he makes the following sttement: En esta tierra no se a hasta aora traduzido en la lengua de los naturales cossa alguna de la Sagrada Scriptura, ni tienen en la lengua más de una Doctrina Christiana que yo hize ymprimir en essa ciudad [de México] estando en ella, y tambien algunos sermones de mano en la mesma lengua, no ympressos. Y de estos, porque e yo hallado algumas cossas que me an descontentado en algunos, abia ya dias que los andaba haziendo recoxer para examinarlos y ver si tienen quô les quitar. Y, en lo que toca en lo que se a de advertir a los ministros, guardaremos todos el orden que se nos diere, porque el que por acá aora ay es predicar cada uno conforme a las fuerzas que en la lengua y en la sufficiencia tiene. Libros, y cosas prohibidas, con mucho cuydado se a<n> quitado a todos siempre.

In as much as it was customary for the Franciscan friars to borrow from one another without stating who the author was, one can only surmise that Landa’s version and the 1576 version of the “Our Father” are based on a version produced by Villalpando. Unfortunately there is no known copy of Landa’s Doctrina Christiana in order to compare his work against the known versions.
CA YUM

El Padre Nuestro, from
Beltrán’s “Doctrina Christiana”, 1757

Ca yum, yanech ti Caanob,
cilichcunabac á kaba:
tac à uahaulil c okol:
utzcinabac á uolah, ti luum, baix te ti caane;
Ča ca zamal kin uah toon helelae:
zatez ix ca zipil, bay ca zatzic ü zipil ah zipiloob toone:
maix à uilic lubul ti tumtabale, 87 heuac lukezoon ichil lobil.
Amen Jesus.

El Padre Nuestro, from
Coronel’s “Doctrina Christiana” (1620)

Ca yum yanech ticaane,
sanctocinabac akaba.
tac auahaulil cokol,
utzcinabac auolah tiluum, bateticaane,
ɔaca çamal kin uah toon helelae
çateçix caçipil, bay caçaat çic vçipil, ah çipilob toone,
maix aulic calubul, tac tumtabale heuac lukezon, ychil lobil.
Amen Iesus.

El Padre Nuestro, from
Coronel’s “Discursos”, based on the “1576 Manuscript”.

Ca yum, yanech ti Caane,
Sanctocinabac a kaba.
tac à uahaulil c okol:
Vtzcinabac a uolah ti luum, ba te ti caane.
Ča ca çamal Kin uah toon helelae.
Hauez ca çipil ba licil ca hauçic v çipil, &c.
Chanix a uilab ca lubul ti çaalpach, &c.

87The following are two vocabulary entries showing the use of this phrase as an example. Note that this phrase in the “1576 Manuscript” is rendered differently, using “chanix” instead of “maix” and “çaalpach” instead of “tumtabale”.

BMTV: No permitáis que caigamos en tentación: ma a vilic ca lubul tac tumtabale.
CMM: Ma: no. es particula prohibitiua antepuesta en presente de indicatiuo.... Item: es deprecatiua. Ma a uilic ca lubul tac tumtabale: no permitas caygamos en tentacion.
THE CASTE WAR LITERATURE

In the late 1840’s there was a great uprising by the Maya against the Spanish speaking overlords and became known, by the white people of Yucatan in any case, as “La Guerra de Castas” (“The Caste War”). During this war there was quite a lot of writing in the Mayan language produced, mainly in the form of letters and proclamations. A sample of each type of writing is given here.

During this war there was a substantial interchange of letters between the leaders of the rebel Maya and the government in Mérida and also between the various factions of rebel Maya. Much of this writing was done in Mayan, and a very elegant Mayan at that. One of the early rebel leaders was Jacinto Pat, a Mayan hacienda owner from the area of Tihosuco who was apparently well educated and before the beginning of hostilities was a friend of Miguel Barbachano who became governor of Yucatan on March 25, 1848. On April 1, 1848, Jacinto Pat sent a letter to the governmental representative Felipe Rosado acknowledging the receipt of letters from Felipe Rosado, Miguel Barbachano, and the priest José Canuto Vela, also a friend of Jacinto Pat. This letter, which is given here, was the beginning of negotiations between Pat and the Barbachano government. However, other Mayan rebel leaders’ reaction to the treaty produced by these negotiations was very negative and the war resumed.

After the initial successes the Mayan offensive broke into disarray and many of the troops retreated into what were the more or less uninhabited regions of what is now the state of Quintana Roo. These regions were uninhabited because of various diseases such as malaria and smallpox which the Maya were not able to withstand, and many of the new-comers succumbed to these diseases as well.

These Maya who escaped to Quintana Roo brought with them the political and religious structures which they had gotten used to over the centuries under Spanish colonial rule and so as they began to reorganize themselves in their new homeland these political and religious structures were recreated, although this time with Maya themselves being the heads of these organizations.

One of the most important towns to grow both politically and religiously during this period of reorganization was Chan Santa Cruz, today called Carrillo Puerto. It was here that the cult of the “Talking Cross” was established. In 1850 this “Talking Cross” issued a proclamation, the first part of which is given here.

Victoria Bricker gives a detailed overview of this caste war as well as the complete text of the proclamation given here, called “The Proclamation of Juan de la Cruz”, in her book “The Indian Christ, The Indian King”.

For a facsimile of this letter see pages 390-392. For a collection of more than 100 facsimiles, transcripts and commentaries from the Caste War Literature see: http://davidsbooks.org/Tratados.pdf
Mr. Esq. Political Superior,  
Mr. Felipe Rosado,  
Tihosuco, the first of April, 1848,  

My dear great respected venerated lordship. I received your venerated letter dated the 27th of the month just finished. Likewise also I received the venerated letter of lord governor Mr. Miguel Barbachano and of the venerated lord curate Mr. José Canuto Vela. I received also the copy of the act in which lord Mr. Miguel Barbachano received the oath and baton of governorship. I tell my venerated lordship that you have to have patience with me because I haven’t answered quickly to your venerated letters - on the reason that I am waiting so that I can listen to my fellow commandants so that I can hear what they say. Thus now my lord until now it has happened that they have told me nothing those my fellow commandants. I am telling your reverence therefore that I am taking into consideration all that your reverence has told me as well as all that your reverence is requesting me to give consideration to. Our lord god will be content. In the end thus also I will be reduced to dirt also.

I say therefore to your great reverence therefore that I want to come therefore to the town of Peto with all of my troops, also therefore with all of the captains and their troops. It is very necessary that all of the arms taken from them be delivered to me. It is necessary these be delivered by Trujeque and that the government give the order that they be gathered. I say thus to your reverence how many of the arms were gathered, sir: two thousand five hundred arms were taken not counting the rest of the commandants; just my party. I say therefore to your reverence that it is necessary that these have to be delivered to me in the town of Peto by the venerated lord governor so that I can deliver them to my troops in the town of Peto. If I do not receive these arms I am not able to say to your reverence where negotiations can take place with your reverence. Be certain therefore that it is proclaimed to all the towns, and however it will begin that the venerated lord governor Mr. Miguel Barbachano will give me consideration because whichever town it is not proclaimed it is necessary that it is seen as the beginning of the end because he does not wish it to be proclaimed: a sign that they are the enemy. I tell your reverence also that you have to make it heard.
Don L. Superior Politico,
D. Felipe Rosado,
Tihosuco 1. de Abril, 1848;


Cin ualic tun ti a noh talan tzicbenil tune tal in caah tun ti cah Peto yetel tulacal in tropaob, turnen tun tulacal u capitaniloobe yetel u tropailobe. Hach tza ca yanac u kubul ten tulacal le armaobo chab tiobe. Tza ca yanac u kubul turnenel Trujeque yetel u gobiernoil ɔa u ordenil cat yanhi u molchahaltiobe. Cin ualic tun ti a tzicbenile bahun le u armaobo molochahio, yume: dos mil quinientos armas chaan tiobo ma ocaan u chuaan comandanteobi; chen tin partido. Cin ualic tun ti a tzicbenile hach tza cu yanac u kubul ten tu cahil Peto turnenel u tzicbenil yum gobierno tu yoktal in kubic tiob in tropaob ti le cah Peto. Hasta ma in kamic leti le armaobo ma tan in ualic ti a tzicbenil tuux uchac in than Yetel a tzicbenil. Bey bic turnenel tan u ɔa nuctic ten a tzicbenile bicil tan u pronunciarticuba tulacal cahobe yetel hebix licil u ɔa nuctic ten u tzicbenil yum Gobernador D. Miguel Barbachano porque hencex cah ma tan u pronunciarticuba tza cac ilab ix cu cutal yetel u ɔocol turnenel ma u kat u pronunciartubae: señal que enemigoob. Cin ualic ti a tzicbenil xane leti le ca betci yuobo.
I am pursuing these men (and) it is necessary that they be delivered to me also: their names: Trujeque = Jaun Vasquez Vega = Cecelio Camillo = Miguel Bastion = Manuel Muños. These are the ones I am asking which have to be delivered to me. I tell your reverence also that these are the ones which did evil to the south of Tekax.

It is necessary that I arrive in the town of Peto so that I can see which captain I am going to send there. That is what your reverence tells me in your venerated letter. In any case this is the end of my speech to your venerated lordship. Our lord god protect your holy spirit for many years: I

Jacinto L. Pat
Commandant

Cu yantal in kuchul ti cah Petoe cin uilic max capitanil cin bin in tuchi ti. Le cu yalic ten a tzicbenil ichil a tzicben huune. Hali u xul in than ti a tzicbenil yume. C’ yumil ti dios u canaan ta santo pixan tu yabal haab: ten

Jacinto L. Pat
Comate.
Jesus Mary!
In the name of god the father and god the son and in the name of god the holy spirit.
Amen Jesus.

In the month of October on the 15th day I begin my word with my engendered ones here on Earth in the year of 1850, I Juan de la Cruz who live in the town of X-Balam Na (Jaguar House, later called Chan Santa Cruz and now known as Carrillo Puerto).
My dear christian townspeople! Now has arrived the day, the hour that I give you a sign over the land of all my engendered people on Earth so that it can be read to be heard by all of the commandants and all of the captains and all of the lieutenants and all of the sergeants and to be heard by all of my engendered people on Earth so that all of my engendered people will come to know that during this very year it happens that I am passing it below the right hand of my lord for my engendered people here on Earth because only I have offered my spirit to you my engendered people. Because I engendered you. Because I redeemed you. Because I spilled my holy blood for you. Then I engendered you to see on Earth. Thus therefore my beloved people here on Earth in the very hand of the holy crown of my holy lord Jesus Christ I am showing here to their eyes this paper so that they know all of my commandments. Thus my engendered people here on Earth, whoever does not believe in my commandments will receive a draught of suffering without end. Whoever completes my commandments will earn the grandeur of my glory, will earn also my love. I will also shade (protect) him under my right hand. I will also give the end of my glory so the their souls earn even that final resurrection.
U THAN JUAN DE LA CRUZ

Jesus Maria!
Tu kaba dios yumbil yetel dios mehenbil yetel tu kaba dios espiritu santo.
Amen Jesus.

U mesil ti quince u xocol Octubre ca tin hopp in than yetel in zihzahbiloob uay yokol cabe tu haabil 1850 años, ten Juan de la Cruz cahnalen tu cahil X-Balam Na. In hach yamail cristiano caheex! Beyora cu kuchul tu kinil, tu orail in ñaic teex humppel señala yokol u luumil tulacal in zihzah uinciloob yokol cab tioklal ca anac u xocol yub tulacal commandantesoob yetel tulacal capitanoob yetel tulacal tenienteob yetel tulacal sargentoob yetel yub tulacal in zihzah uinciloob yokol cab tiolal ca yanac yoheltcoob tulacal in zihzahbilobe hach u manal u yaabil u menmah cin manzic yalan u noh u kab in yum yoklal in zihzah uinciloob uay yokol cabe tumen halili ten kuchaan in uol ti texe in zihzah uincileex. Tumen ten tin zihzeex. Tumen ten tin lohheex. Tumen ten tin uecah in cilich kikel ta uoklaleex. Ca tin zihzahheeex ti pacat yokol cab. Bey tuno in yamahil uinceex yokol cab hach tu kab u cilich corona in yum h-cilich Jesu Cristo cin chicultic te tu uich lay huuna tioklal ca yanac yoheltic tulacal in ualmah than. Ley in zihzah uinciloob yokol cab, hemax ma tan yoczah oltic in ualmah thane bin u kam hun lukul numyah ti minaan u xul. Hemax bin u ñoocbez in ualmah thane bin u nahalt u nohchil in gloria, bin ix xan u nahalt in yacunah. Bin ix xan in boybeze yalan u noh in kab. Bin ix xan in ña u xul in gloria ti u nahalt u pixanoob tac tu xul caput cuctal.
José Sabino Uc

Local map supplied by Ian Graham
AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTE WRITTEN BY JOSÉ SABINO UC
IN YUCATEC MAYAN IN 1871

The accompanying transcript and translation is an autobiographical note written in 1871 by José Sabino Uc, who was 14 at the time he wrote it. José was adopted by Mayan scholar Karl Hermann Berendt and was with Berendt during Berendt’s stay in New York City during the years 1871 - 1872, and apparently stayed with Berendt for the rest of Berendt’s life.

In April, 1866, Berendt was in Sacluk in the Peten of Guatemala collecting linguistic data. It was in this town, now called La Libertad, that José’s father found a wet-nurse for José in January of 1857. There is a note in Berendt Collection No. 179 by Berendt on what he learned at Sacluk, but there is no mention of José Sabino Uc. Aside from a line drawing showing a young boy teaching a girl how to write with a caption “Juliana Vasquez lernt von Sabino .... Tuxtla 1869,” we have found no other mention of José in the Berendt material. Thus we have no information on how it was that José came to be adopted by Berendt.

José’s autobiographical note, while very short, is interesting on two fronts: it provides us with a look at the Yucatecan Mayan language of the Peten of the late 1800’s, and it gives us some ethnographical information about the Maya of that region.

On the facing page is a map supplied by Ian Graham showing the route taken by Sabino’s father and him from Akul to Sacluk in order to find a wet nurse for Sabino. Above that is photo of José which is now in the Smithsonian Institution and a line drawing of Juliana Vasquez by Karl Hermann Berendt, dated 1870, and thus a year after the line drawing of Juliana Vasquez and Sabino shown above.

For a facsimile of the autobiographical note see Appendix C.
Here in the big town of Mérida
today on the 10th day in the month of February in the year 1871
I, José Sabino Uc being my name,
he of the house of Couoh Uc,
I am going to write the story of my life.

There at the mouth of the big water (lake) of Akul,
there I was born in the land of Peten Itza its name.
He of the house Menche Uc was my father.
she of the house Kin Couoh was my mother,
descendants of forest people which inhabited the lands,
Lacantun was their name.
There died my mother on the very day that I was born,
on the 30th day in the month of December in the year 1856.
My mother being dead
there wasn’t another women in the house of my father,
just three small children, my older brothers.
Then came to the Peten the priest Brother Pedro
with other Capuchins.
There were baptized my father with my older brothers.
José Uc was the name of my father;
Juan and Lorenzo and Juan José the names of my older brothers.
There wasn’t nearby a woman to give me breast milk.
My father wrapped me, he put me in a big basket.
Then he got into a boat,
then they boated to the big river Kancuen,
Pasion is its name.
Then they went up also the little river, Subim is its name.
Two days we traveled.
Sour corn was my drink.
Then we traveled in the forest,
then we arrived in the town of Sacluk.
Then my father went to the house of the chief:
“Lord, here is my motherless small child.
Alive I bring him to you, I give him to you.
I am going to give my child into your hand to be amongst you.”
So were the words of my father, so he spoke to the chief.
U TZOLAAN BEY IN CUXTAL

őibtabi tumen José Sabino Uc

Uay ti noh cah ti Hoo,  
helel tu lahnunil kin ichil yuil Febrero ti haabil 1871, 
ten José Sabino Uc in kaba, 
H-Na Couoh Uc, 
cin bin őibic u tzolan bey in cuxtal. 
Te tu chi noh ha Akul 
ti zihen ichil u luum Peten Itza u kaba. 
H-Na Menche Uc in yum, 
X- Na Kin Couoh in naa, 
kaxil uinicoob tu cahmatil tu cabil u cobol, 
Lacantun u kaba. 
Ti cimi in naa tu hahil kin cin zihen, 
ti lahuncakal kin ichil yuil Deciembre, tu haabil 1856. 
Ciimen in naa, 
ma yanhi ulak x-chupalal ti yotoch in yum, 
chen halix oxtul mehen, in zucunoob. 
Ca tali ti Peten ah kin Fray Pedro 
yetel ulak Capuchinoob. 
Ti oci ha tu hol in yum yetel in zucunoob. 
José Uc u kaba in yum; 
Juan yetel Lorenzo yetel Juan José u kabaob in zucunoob. 
Ma yan naa an x-chupalal utial u әa ten chuuch. 
Tu toahen in yum, tu әahen ti boxac. 
Ca ix oci ti chem. 
ca ix u chemul ximbalnahoob ti noh yoc ha Kancuen, 
Pasion u kaba. 
Ca ix nacoob xn ti chichan yoc ha, Subim u kaba. 
Cappel kin c’ ximbalnahoob. 
Pah keyem in uukul. 
Ca ix c’ ximbalnahoob ti kax, 
ca kuchoon ti cah Sacluk. 
Ti bini in yum tu yotoch batab: 
“Yume, hela in h-ma naa mehen pal. 
Cuxaanto in talez tech, in kubic tech. 
Bin in kube in pal ta kab ich a uicnal.” 
Lay u than in yume, beyo tu alah ti batab.
MODERN H-MEN RITUALS

The next four pieces are rituals by H-Menoob (shamans) during the 20th century. The first ritual which is part of a thanksgiving ceremony was recorded by Alfonso Villa Rojas and published by Redfield and Villa Rojas in the ethnographic study of the village of Chan Kom (“Chan Kom, A Maya Village”, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1934). The second ritual is a curing ceremony performed by Don Felipe Paz of Tecoh in about 1964 and recorded by Carol Leonard. The third ritual, also a curing ceremony, was performed by Don Anotnio Hau of Teabo in 1974 and recorded by the co-author (D.D.B.). The fourth piece is a pair of rituals done for bee hives by Don Felipe Paz. The first ritual was recorded by Carol Leonard in 1964 and the second was recorded by Malcolm Shuman in 1972. There is no significant difference in the language of these four sets of rituals.

Transcripts of the material collected from Don Felipe Paz and his idzat is available at:

http://www.famsi.org/reports/96072/textsrc/index.html

Those which are marked with * are available as audio files in the MP3 format.
A THANKSGIVING CEREMONY

The following ritual is part of a larger thanksgiving ceremony called “U Hanlil Col” (The Feast of the Garden). “U Hanlil Col” is usually given when the first ears of corn in a milpa have gotten to a point where they can be eaten as “corn-on-the-cob”. As part of this ceremony some of these ears are picked and roasted in a fire pit and are called “pibil nal”. Others are picked and the kernels cut off, cooked, and blended into a drink called “za”. Special tortillas, some of which are quite elaborate in their preparation, are also made for this ceremony. All these food items along with other things are place on the ceremonial table and offered to the spirits. The actual ritual in which the food is offered to the spirits is called “U Kub Uah” (The Delivery of the Tortillas) and this is the ritual given here.
THE FEAST OF THE GARDEN; THE DELIVERY OF THE TORTILLAS

In the name of god the father, god the son,
god the holy spirit.
Thrice hail falls my word
to the great east to the oratory of Coba,
to the Four Great Rain-Gods, the Four Great Jaguars.
Thrice hail falls my word to the oratory of Chi Cheen,
to the Four Great Rain-Gods, to the Four Great Jaguars.
Here I bring down my word
here in front of the table of god the father,
here to the table of lord Saint Michael,
here to the table of One Rain-God in the great east.
Thrice hail falls my word to X-Katac Chucmil,
Thrice hail falls my word to X-Labuzubin.
Thrice hail falls my word to Nahcuche.
to god Rain-God, god Jaguar,
to the four corners of the sky.
Thrice hail falls my word to the large town of Valladolid.
Thrice hail falls my word to Pixoy.
Thrice hail falls my word to X-Katba.
Thrice hail falls my word to Uayma.
Thrice hail falls my word to Zacab Cheen.
Thrice hail falls my word to San Antonio.
Thrice hail falls my word to Bubul.
Thrice hail falls my word to Chan Cheen.
Thrice hail falls my word to Hanbe.
Thrice hail falls my word to Ahmula.
Thrice hail falls my word to San Francisco.
Thrice hail falls my word to Zinaan Chac.
Thrice hail falls my word to X-Mex.
Thrice hail falls my word to Oxkin Kiuc.
to Four Great Rain-Gods, to Four Great Jaguars.
Here I bring down my word
in front of the table of holy god the father,
to god Rain-God in the Fifteenth Layer of the Clouds.
My word falls to the White Pauahtun.
My word falls to the Yellow Pauahtun.
U kaba dios yumbil, dios mehenbil, dios espiritu santo.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti noh lakin ti abrencia Cobail ti Cantul Nucte Chacoob, Cantul Nucte Balamoob.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti abrencia Chi Cheen ti Cantul Nucte Chacoob, ti Cantul Nucte Balamoob.
Uay cin uenzic than uay tu tan mesa dios yumbil, uay tu tan mesa yum San Miguel, uay tu mesa Huntul Chac ti noh lakin.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti X-Katca Chucmil.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti X-Labuzubin.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Nahcuche, ti tu dios Chac, dios Balam, ti tu can titz caan.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti noh cah Zac Ii.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Pixoy.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti X-Katba.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Uayma.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Zacab Cheen.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti San Antonio.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Bubul.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Chan Cheen.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Hanbe.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Ahmula.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti San Francisco.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Zinaan Chac.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti X-Mex.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Oxkin Kiuic, ti Cantul Nucte Chacoob, ti Cantul Nucte Balamoob.
Uay cin uenzic than tu tan u mesa cilich dios yumbil, ti tu dios Chac tu Holahuntaz Muyal.
Cu lubul in than ti Zac Pauahtun.
Cu lubul in than ti Kan Pauahtun.
Thrice hail falls my word to X-Tohil.
Thrice hail falls my word to Pamba.
Thrice hail falls my word to Zizal.
Thrice hail falls my word to Colem.
Thrice hail falls my word to Che Balam.
Thrice hail falls my word to Yokdzonot Aban.
Thrice hail falls my word to X-Kalakoob.
Thrice hail falls my word to Pekel.
Thrice hail falls my word to Chumuc Be.
Thrice hail falls my word to Chan Kop Cheen.
Thrice hail falls my word to San Pedro.
Thrice hail falls my word to Chulul.

Here I bring down the word of the Four Great Rain-Gods,
here in front of the table to the holy god the father,
where the word is evened out at Cetelac,
where the word is passed by at the Town of Mani.
In the name of god the father, god the son,
god the holy spirit.
Amen.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti X-Tohil.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Pamba.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Zizal.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Colem.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Che Balam.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Yokdzonot Aban.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti X-Kalakoob.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Pekel.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Chumuc Be.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Chan Kop Cheen.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti San Pedro.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Chulul.
Uay cin uenzic than Nucte Chaciloob,
uay tu tan mesa ti cílich dios yumbilo,
tuux cu cētpahal than ti Cetelac,
tuux cu mancāhal than ti Mani Cah.
U kaba dios yumbil, dios mehenbil,
dios espiritu santo.
Amen.
TWO CURING CEREMONIES

“Santiguar”, which in Spanish means “to bless, to make the sign of a cross over a sick person”, is the name used in Mayan for a ceremony in which a H-Men alleviates the sickness of a person through incantation. The “santiguar” is usually only part of the total curing process. Usually herbal medicines, and today even medicines bought at a pharmacy (penicillin, tetracycline, aspirin, etc.) are also part of this curing process. There are two “santiguars” presented here.
SANTIGUAR BY DON FELIPE PAZ

The first “santiguar” was done by Don Felipe Paz of Tecoh on a young child. It is not clear from the “santiguar” itself what the ailment of the young child is, nor was there any indications through other comments on the tape of what particular ailment this child suffered.

It will be noted that there are many elements in this “santiguar” which are to be found in the following “santiguar” done by Don Antonio Hau. Among these ideas is the idea of sweeping out, cleaning out, and untying the evil spirits (literally kakaz ikoob = evil winds) which are locked up in the body of the person over whom the “santiguar” is being performed.
BLESSING

Jesus Mary in the name of god the father god the son god the holy ghost.

I am going on my knees in front of all the deities to the four corners of the earth to the four corners of the sky to the right hand of virgin holy Mary and the eternal father. I am asking for the power to bless a virgin angel to the four chests of father Jesus Christ. Then certainly also I clean out the spirits all the warming (sickening) spirits: middle light way spirit, scorpion spirit, owl spirit, receive power spirit, square spirit, all the shooting-through spirits to beautiful woman virgin holy Mary eternal father to the right hand certainly of jaguar. To owl jaguar to beautiful woman wash jaguar to also beautiful woman envelopment to woman cesarean to beautiful woman untie-spirits also. I clean out the spirits I untie the spirits I sweep all of the spirits to the holy virgin chests to your beautifulnesses lord. Thirteen times descending came holy god to the middle of the virgin day the virgin night so that the spirit of the virgin angel be cooled and certainly also I am kneeling also. I bless the virgin head the virgin brain virgin lung virgin breast virgin mouth stomach virgin chest. Thirteen times it has just come down in the day thirteen time it has just come down in the night. I untie them I sweep them I fan them I feather-dust them I cut them with the “zipit che” (Bunchosia glandulosa) through the day through the night to the right hand of god the father in the middle of the blue sky to the south to the north.
Jesus Maria tu kaba dios yumbil dios mehenbil dios espiritu santo.

Tan in bin xolaan pix tu tan tulacal le yumptziloob ti can titzil luum ti can titzil caan tu nohol u kab zuhuy santa Maria yetel padre eterno. Tan in katic u poder in santiguartic huntul zuhuy angel ti cuatro homcabil ti yum Jesus Cristo. Ti bacan xan cin chochiktic tulacal kinam ikoob: tan luz be ik, zinaan ik, xoch ik, kam mukul ik, lamayil ik, tulacal dzon ikoob ti X-Cichpam Colelbil Zuhuy Santa Maria padre eterno tu nohol u kab bacan Ah Balam ti Xoch Balam ti X-Cichpam Colelbil X-Ppo Balam ti tun X-Cichpam Colelbil X-Pixatic ti X-Colelbil X-Cesaria ti X-Cichpam Colelbil X-Uachikoob xan. Cin chochiktic cin uachiktic cin miztic tulacal ikoob ti santo zuhuy homcabiloob ti x-cichcelemeex yumen. Oxhuncabalac ca tali santo dios ti tanchumuc zuhuy kin zuhuy akab. Cin chochiktic cin uachiktic tulacal le kam mukul iko le lamayil iko utial u ziztal u yol le zuhuy angelo yetel bacan xan cin xolaan pix xan cin santiguartic tu zuhuy cabecera u zuhuy celebro zuhuy plumon zuhuy pecho zuhuy boca estomago zuhuy homcabil. Oxlahun ca dzu yem kin oxlahun ca dzu yem akab. Cin uachic cin miztic cin pictic cin puztic cin xotic yetel zipit che tu pul kin tu pul akab tu noh kab dios yumbil tanchumuc ti yaxil caanal nohol xaman.
SANTIGUAR BY DON ANTONIO HAU

The “santiguar” given here was carried out on a middle aged woman suffering from anemia. The H-men, Don Antonio Hau, had been making weekly visits to this woman’s house to administer a “santiguar”. The co-author (D.D.B.) was invited by Don Tono, as he is called locally, to go with him to observe the ceremony. This ceremony was carried out in the early afternoon.

When we arrived at the woman’s house we were let in by another woman who then left us in the main room while she went to fetch the patient. Don Tono immediately set about putting his various objects in order on the table which, as is often customary in Mayan houses, already had various religious objects on it. The objects which Don Tono placed on the table included a couple of pre-Columbian clay facial images which Don Tono referred to as “balamoob” (literally “jaguars”), some clear glass marbles which are used for viewing the alter-world referred to as “zaz tunoob” (“clear rocks”), a small drinking cup fashioned from the shell of the jicara (Crescentia cujete) fruit referred to as “homa” which was filled with “zuhuy ha” (“virgin water”) into which the “zipit che” (Bunchosia glandulosa) was dipped during the sweeping away of the evil spirit, and a couple of candles. A teenaged boy happened to appear and Don Tono immediately sent him off in search for seven twigs of the “zipit che” bush, giving him instructions as to the locations of the various bushes nearby. When his preparations were done Don Tono called out the back door to bring the patient in. She was seated on a chair in front of the table which now had become an altar and Don Tono proceeded with the following chant. When he finished the chant he gave the woman instructions as to what her diet should be for the following week. I gathered that the giving of therapeutic instruction along with the chant is standard practice. Thus one could say that a H-Men works on his patients both psychologically and physiologically since he works to satisfy the psychological needs of the patient as well as looking for ways to cure his patients’ physiological illnesses.
BLESSING

In the name of god, god the son, the holy spirit, amen.

Right now I am going on my knees asking for the power to bless a virgin body to the brown-earth-beings, the rulers, the great earth-beings, to the four corners of the sky, the four corner of the earth. Right now also I am going on my knees to ask for the power to sweep a virgin body, its virgin legs, its virgin hands, its virgin back, its virgin breast, its virgin head, its virgin hair of its head with a virgin “zipit che” bush to the brown-earth-beings, the rulers, the great earth-beings to the four corners of the sky, four corners of the earth, the cross of the sky, the cross of the earth, holy sky, holy earth, holy trinity and to the thirteen jaguars, thirteen whirlwinds, thirteen brown-earth-beings, thirteen rulers. Right now also I am going on my knees asking for the power to clean out the spirits, to untie the spirits from the virgin body, virgin everything (ridding it of) the evil spirits, the lying spirit, the sinning spirit, the dirty spirit, the scorpion spirit to the brown-earth-beings, the rulers, the great earth-beings, the Euans, to the four corners of the sky, to the four corners of the earth, to the cross of the sky, cross of the earth, to the holy sky, holy trinity. I clean out the spirits, I untie the spirits, I clean out the spirits, I untie the spirits, etc.

Right now also I am going on my knees in front of the virgin table with virgin jaguars (clay figurines) virgin candles, virgin zip che bushes, virgin saints, virgin everything. Right now also I am sweeping the virgin head, the virgin back, the virgin breast, the virgin hands, the virgin feet, the virgin everything also. I clean out the spirits, I untie the spirits, I clean out the spirits, I untie the spirits, etc.

In the name of god, god the son, holy spirit.

I am just going along, I am just going along, when I come out on a fork in the road. Then I am stopped by our lord in heaven Jesus Christ. Then he asks me, “Who is your father, who is your mother?” Then I say, “My mother is the virgin saint Mary and my father in heaven is Jesus Christ. I am very embarrassed that I should deliver my work to he who is laying down over the land where the sun comes out. You shall come out of the holy glory also and I deliver also my virgin holy work also.”

In the name of god, god the son, the holy spirit, amen, and I four-corner (cross) myself here also.

Amen.
SANTIGUAR

Ich kaba dios, mehenbil dios, espiritu santo, amen.

Ti beyoritas cin bin xolaan pix cin katic u poder cin santiguartic humppel zuhuy uinclí ti Ah Cacaboob, Ah Tepaloob, ti Ah Noh Cabiloob, ti can titz caan, can titz luum. Ti beyoritas xan cin bin xolaan pix cin katic u poder cin miztic humppel zuhuy uinclí, u zuhuy ocoob, u zuhuy kaboob, u zuhuy puch, u zuhuy tzem, u zuhuy pol, u zuhuy tzotzel u pol yetel u zuhuy zipit che ti Ah Cacaboob, Ah Tepaloob, Ah Noh Cabiloob ti can titz caan, can titz luum, cruz caan, cruz luum, cilich caan, cilich luum, cilich oxil yetel ti trece Ah Balamoob, trece mozon ikoob, trece Ah Cacaboob, trece Ah Tepaloob. Ti beyoritas xan cin bin xolaan pix cin katic u poder cin chochiktic, cin uachiktic u zuhuy uinclí, zuhuy tulacal u kakaz ikoob, u tuzbil ik, u keban ik, u kokol ik, u zinaan ik ti Ah Cacaboob, Ah Tepaloob, Ah Noh Cabiloob, Ah Euanoob, ti can titz caan, ti can titz luum, ti cruz caan, cruz luum, ti cilich caan, cilich oxil. Cin chochiktic, cin uachiktic, cin chochiktic, cin uachiktic, (etc., etc. until the whole body has been swept with the bundle of zipit che)

Ti beyoritas xan cin bin xolaan pix actan zuhuy mesa yetel zuhuy balamoob, zuhuy ciboob, zuhuy zip cheob, zuhuy santosoob, zuhuy tulacal. Beyoritas xan cin miztic zuhuy hol, zuhuy pach, zuhuy tzem, zuhuy kaboob, zuhuy ocoob, zuhuy tulacal xan. Cin chochiktic, cin uachiktic, cin chochiktic, cin uachiktic, (etc., etc. until the whole body has been swept with the bundle of zipit che)

Ich kaba dios, mehenbil dios, espiritu santo.

Chen tin bin, chen tin bin, ca hoken ti hunppel xay be. Ca tu uacacinba tumen c’ yumil caan Jesus Cristus. Ca tu choch kat tin chi, “Max a yum, max a na.” Ca tin ualic, “In na zuhuy Santa Maria yetel in yumil caan Jesus Cristus. Zen zublacen utial in kubic in meyah ti max tu chiltal tu yokol cab tuux tu hokol kin. Tech ca hokol ti santo gloria xan yetel cin kubentic xan in zuhuy santo meyah xan.”

Ich kaba dios, mehenbil dios, espiritu santo, amen, yetel tin can titzcinba uaye xan.

Amen.
TWO BEE CHANTS BY FELIPE PAZ

The two chants presented here are chants by Don Felipe Paz of Tecoh, Yucatan, Mexico, recorded on tape by two different anthropologists about a decade apart. The first one was done for Carol Leonard in about 1962 with William Folan in attendance. The second chant was done for Malcolm Shuman in 1972.

In both instances Don Felipe explains in Spanish the purpose of the bee chant. Briefly stated, the bee hive has come under attack from various pests and diseases and the hive owner has failed in his efforts to ward off the attacks. The H-Men is called in to alleviate the situation. It is the job of the H-Men to call on the various spirits which will aid the bees to overcome the distressed situation. While no mention is made by Don Felipe in his discussions of other actions taken by either the H-Men or the hive owner, it should be noted that physical remedies as well as spiritual ones are taken also. (eg. if the xulab ants are attacking the hive then the appropriate steps are taken to make the hive inaccessible to the ants.)

For the bee chants presented here there are these following points which are common in both:

a) certain deities must be called upon, namely Colel Cab, Colel Peten, Colel Hol, and Colel Ek Tun;
b) certain trees which have good flowers for bees are called upon to open their flowers to the bees;
c) the deities called upon above should aid in keeping away the various pests which are destroying the bee hive.

Beyond these points there seems to be no set rule. The first chant is sung in its entirety. The second chant parallels the first in the sung part in the presentation of ideas, but then Don Felipe has added a chanted section which recapitulates the themes except that he leaves out the idea of keeping the pests away.

Just as the words in the sung parts are different, so too are the melodies. In still other examples of Don Felipe’s melodies (in a Cha Chac - rain ceremony - for example) still other melodies are used. How a melody is arrived at is something which we have yet to learn.

Of the deities called upon here at least two are spirits associated with definite places:

X-Colelbil Ek Tun (Lady Black Rock) is a site in the Progresso township lands a few kilometers northwest of the Hacienda San Ignacio which is situated on the road from Mérida to Progresso. The site consists of several early classic or late early period platforms (visual observation by E. Wyllys Andrews V), the highest and most important of which is not over two meters high and roughly 20 meters square. To the southwest corner of the largest platform there is a plain unfaced stela roughly 20 cm thick, 1-1.5 m wide, and above the actual ground level about 2.5 m high (visual observation). This stela is the actual X-Colelbil Ek Tun. The face of the stela is roughly north-south. Around the base of the stela is an altar of rock and rock rubble of about 2 m square and 70-80 cm high. The stela area is covered by a tin roof supported by four chacah trees which seem not to have any particular world direction
as alignment. On the altar, particularly on the south side of the stela, there are various offerings including the remains of vigil candles, flowers (both real and plastic) and tin cans and tin lard cans (five gallon size) of various ages containing various types of offerings. One of these cans sometimes contains monetary offerings, but this cash may be used by a visitor in case of need!!

The people of Kom Cheen (five km south of X-Colelbil Ek Tun) and the vicinity use the spirit of X-Colelbil Ek Tun mainly as an aid for deer hunting since in part it is from this site northwards into the Koxol Ac (“mosquito grass” = savanna) that the deer hunting area begins. Most of the offerings (mainly candles) are offered without any prayers or chants, but it is mentioned that knowledge of the proper words would certainly enhance the offering. No use of the spirit of X-Colelbil Ek Tun for aiding bees in Kom Cheen has come to our attention.

It should be noted that the normal water level in this area is only 2 meters below ground level and that there are several small dzonots about the site. Some are covered over and seem to be sources for zuhuy ha (virgin water) for H-Menoob. X-Colelbil Hol (Lady Hole) as a site is a dzonot in the Calkini region. Since we have not seen it personally the following is a description from various local sources. The dzonot is a “large” one, apparently meaning any dzonot over 3 meters across. The water is deep (over 5 meters?) and at the bottom on good days the actual stone image of X-Colelbil Hol can be seen (imagined?). Some people of Kom Cheen know of X-Colelbil Hol, but no particular power has yet been described to me.

A stack of native beehives
The beekeepers extracting honey
TO LADY BEE

Tu bu, tu bu (sound of the bees)
I drink the wine of gods my lord
to therefore the insects of the lady bee
to lady black rock, to lady rain
tu bu, tu bu, tu bu the wine of the lord god
thirteen days, thirteen nights
thirteen times descending then return our insects certainly
of the beautiful (lady) hole lord
where therefore I place the holy virgin wine
in the path of the lady bee, lady peten
full of water for gathering is the spring of springs my lord
to the beautiful lady foreign divine queen lord
I wash her wings I give strength to her wings
to the flower of ruellia tuberosa
to the flower of ageratum intermedium
to the flower of acacia gaumeri
to the flower certainly of pithecolobium albicans
to the flower of zebalmilobil (unidentified plant) lord
tu bu, tu bu
I drink the wine of god lord my lord
tu bu, tu bu sweet smell sweet smell skywards
anxiously open the flowers of the trees certainly
in the forest my lord
to the beautiful lady wash jaguar
she anxiously washes herself the lady my lord
so that he can certainly be kept away the lord
of the insects certainly of the xulab ant
so that he can certainly be kept away the lord
of the insects certainly of the locust
so that they can certainly be kept away the insects
of the lord of the long tailed cuckoo straight away
so that the ziruhoob (a lizard) can be moved off to the frogs
all the sick ladies are kept away my lord
thirteen days, thirteen nights
thirteen times downwards they come returning
our insects of the gods lord
love me today my lord so that there will be therefore honey
to lady bee lady peten, to lady black rock

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88 peten = province, territory. See Calepino Maya de Motul: Peten: ysla o prouincia o region o comarca.
¶ vay tu petenil Yucatan: aqui en la prouincia de Yucatan.
89 For xulab see Roys (1965): Xulab. A stinging ant (Motul Dict.). Found in moist places. These ants
move in battalions, invade houses, and destroy bees. Designated Atta barbata (Pacheco Cruz, Diccionario
de la fauna yucateca, 308).
TI COLEL CAB

Tu bu, tu bu
cin yukul u vino u diosil in yumbil
tí tun u yikel Colel Cab
tí Colel Ek Tun, tí Colel Chac
tu bu, tu bu, tu bu u vino dios yumbil
oxhun kin, oxhun akab
oxhuncabalac ca zuten c’ yikel bacan
le X-Chipam Holmobil yum
tuux tun cin dzic u santo zuhuy vino
tu bel le Colel Cab, Colel Peten
tixnac uxnač zayo zayobil in yum
tí X-Chipam X-Colel Estranjera Divina Reina yum
cin ppoic u xikoob cin dzic muk u xikoob
tí lol tail
tí lol dzidzilche
tí lol catzimil
tí lol bacan chucmilo
tí lol zebalmobil yum
tu bu, tu bu
cin yukul u vino dios yumbil in yum
tu bu, tu bu ci boc ci boc caanacnac
ci u toppol u loloob u cheob bacan
tí u montañao in yum
tí X-Chipam X-Colelbil X-Ppo Balam
u ci ppocuba xunan in yum
utial nachcunzic bacan le yumen
le yikel le bacan le xulabe
utial u nachcunzic bacan le yumen
u yikel bacan le zakalo
utial u nachcunzic bacan le yikel
le yumen le cipchoho tohol be
utial u nachcunzic ziruhoob ti bacan le muchoob
u nachcunzic tulacal kinam xunanoob in yum
oxhun kin, oxhun akab
oxhuncabalac cu tal u zuten
c’ yikel kuobil yum
yacotunen behlae yumen ca tun ca yan tune cabe
tí Colel Cab Colel Peten, tí Colel Ek Tun
TO LADY BEE

Holy mead my lord
to lady bee, lady god, lady peten
thirteen times downwards comes back our insects of the lady bee
beautiful lady hole
to lady god
love me
then come certainly your beautifulness
to lady bee, lady peten
thirteen times downwards it comes
certainly where it went into the forest
where therefore always then there are flowers
ageratum intermedium its flower
ripe ruellia tuberosa its flower, acacia gaumeri its flower
quickly returning, quickly returning
tu bu it drinks the holy wine
where drink the lady bee, lady peten, lady god
lady god, lady bee divine queen lord
divine sacred constable 90 lord
it drank lord
before therefore lady bee lord not be caught by spiders also
not be caught in the web of the spider nor sucked suckled
moved away straight away moved away also
to the xulab ants close your flower that lady bee lord,
lady peten, lady god
hinhulil, hunhulul 91 come I right back my lord
to where it is full of water for gathering 92 our lord of the water
to lady black rock, lady peten, lady hole
to lady bees lord

90 The word tupilixil is unregistered, but perhaps it is related to tupil which means “constable”, indicating the divinity called upon is protecting the hive. See CMM: Tupil: alguazil. ¶ v tupil meson:.

91 The sound of the bees. Perhaps related to the root word ul which means “to return” in modern Mayan. While in the colonial vocabularies ul / hul in this context is generally given as “venir”, it appears from its usage in colonial texts that the idea of returning from a place where one started the journey is implied.

92 The words sound like ti tixnac uxnacxpil uxbil, which is similar to the words in line 11 of the previous chant: tixnac uxnac. For tixnac see CMM: Tixancal; tixancil: } llenarse la vasija hasta arriba. For uxnac see CMM: Uxaan: lo que esta assi cogido. For uxbil see CMM: Uxbil: lo cogido assi.
TI COLEL CAB

Cilich maben in yumen
ti Colel Cab, Colel Ku, Colel Peten
oxhuncabalac cu tal u zuten c’ yikel le Colel Cab
X-Cichpam Colelbil X-Holo
ti Colelbil Ku
yacotunen
cia talen bacan a cichcelmil
ti Colel Cab, Colel Peten
oxhuncabalac cu talo
bacan tuux penah ti u montañao
tuux tun amal tu ca uil lolol
dzidzilehe u lol
takan tail lol u lol, catzimil lol xan
tzancalac, tzancalac
tu bu u yukul u santa vino
tuux cu yukul le Colel Cab, Colel Peten, Colel Ku Colel Ku, Colel Cab Divina Reina yumen
didivina sagrada tupilixil yumen
tu yukala yumen
antes tune Colel Caben yumen mu kalo ti am xan
mu kalo tu kaan am mix dzudzaan chuchuptonilo
nachcuntic toholtic nachcuntic xan
le xulabobe mudz a lol ti le Colel Cabe yumil,
Colel Peten, Colel Ku
hinhulil, hunhulul talen tzancalac in yum
ti tixnac uxnacxpil uxbil c’ yum hai
ti Colel Ek Tun, Colel Peten, Colel Holo
ti Colel Cabobil yum
(chanted)

to the right holy hand of god send you to the lady bee
to lady peten
to the god of the bees bows down lady to the lady bee
to certainly where the holy bacab is
here it comes down where the divine comes also
to the south east wind west wind south wind
then return our insects also the lady bee comes here lord
if I don’t hand out also the food the honey also
ageratum intermedium they received also
where opens the flower also
to ageratum intermedium and the honey of acacia gaumeri
the honey also of ruellia tuberosa, all the honey of the forest
sweet its smell sweet its vapor of the food also
to our beautiful lady holo kneeling down your beautifulnesses
you beautiful hole
you beautiful lady bees
beautiful lady black rock
your beautifulness then nourishes the virgin god of honey
to the god peten
to the right hand of god lord
(chanted)

Ti noh cilich kaba dios tuxteex ti Colel Cab
ti Colel Peten,
ti kuil le caba tu chilcuntaltic Colel ti Xunan Cab
ti bacan yan X-Cilich Bacab
he cu yemelo tuux tal divino xan
ti nohol lakin ik chikin ik nohol ik
cu zuten c’ yikeloob xan cu tal le Colel Cab uaye yum
ua ma thoxen xan le hanalo cabo xan
dzidzilche tu kamilo xan
tuux cu toppol u cabilo xan
ti bacan dzidzilche xan yetel u cabilo xan catzim
tu cabilo xan x-tailo, tulacal u cabil montaña
ci u boc ci u budz u hanal xan
tu c’ X-Cichpam X-Colelbil X-Holo xacuba x-cichcilicheex
techo X-Cichpam Holmo
texe X-Cichpam Colel Cabeex
X-Cichpam Colel Ek Tun
a X-Cichpamil ca tu tzentah tu zuhuy Kuil Cab
ti Kuil Peten
ti noh kab dios yumbil

A bee inside a bee hut with the hives stacked along the wall to the left. Under the bee’s right foot is a cone of crystallized honey on top of two Kan glyphs, thought to symbolize corn. Sugar, crystallized honey and salt are still sold today in cone shapes in the Mayan highlands.
MODERN STORIES, SONGS, AND OTHER FOLK MATERIAL FROM NORTHWESTERN YUCATAN

The material which follows comes from two collections: that of Manuel J. Andrade and that of our own.

The Andrade Material

Manuel J. Andrade was actively collecting stories during the early 1930’s under the auspices of Carnegie Institution. In looking through his collection we have come to the conclusion that at first he collected his material by copying it down by hand as it was told to him. Then in 1931 he was able to get a aluminium disk recording machine which he used through 1933 to record his material.

There are two microfilms of Andrade’s work on stories available from Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts in Cultural Anthropology: Series 19 No. 108 which is a transcription of the Andrade recordings by Refugio Vermont Salas, and Series 49 No. 262 which is Andrade’s actual transcription work.

It is interesting although at times confusing to go through these two microfilms. This is because in some instances there are parallel stories told by the same storyteller (principally Bernardino Tun of Piste) to be found on each of the microfilms. However, the stories as transcribed by Andrade are not at all the same as the stories transcribed by Vermont Salas when one compares the stories word for word. It is apparent that when Andrade arrived in Yucatan with the recording machine he was able to get some of his informants to retell some of the stories which he had taken down by hand earlier. Naturally enough the retold stories came out differently from the ones he had transcribed.

One of the notable things about Andrade’s own transcriptions (versus the transcriptions by Vermont Salas) is that the Mayan in Andrade’s transcriptions is rather strained and in some instances un-Mayan grammatically speaking. In a conversation in 1991 with Facundo Meex Ocan, a long term resident of Piste and a person who knew the various Carnegie workers including the co-author’s (DDB) father, he noted that Andrade never did have a very good speaking knowledge of the Mayan language, and this would explain the strained Mayan of the Andrade transcriptions. Because of the limited value of the Andrade transcriptions in terms of informing the reader how the Mayan language functions, and furthermore, because the Andrade transcriptions give the reader a mistaken impression of the Mayan language, none of his transcribed material is given here.

It should be mentioned that Vermont Salas has only transcribed 62 of the Andrade disks. The total collection contains 102 disks: thus there is some recorded material not yet transcribed.

Of the various informants with whom Andrade worked only one is known to us. Bernardino Tun was one of the contact men for the Carnegie Institution archeologists who were working at Chi Cheen Itza under Sylvanus Morley. Bernie, as he was called by the Morley group, would help in getting workers for the excavations and would also be a job foreman at a particular site. For example, during the early 1930’s
Bernie Tun was the foreman for the co-author’s father, John S. Bolles, who was in charge of excavations at Las Monjas. We have no information on how old Bernardino Tun might have been at the time, but judging from the various pictures of him and from the fact that he wore a uith (a wrap-around apron worn over the ex (loin cloth), something rarely seen today and worn only by the very oldest men), it seems that he might have been in his 50’s during the 1930’s. He died some years later when rocks fell on him while he was digging a well.

Bernie Tun holding a meter stick in front of La Iglesia at Chi Cheen Itza

The original transcriptions by Andrade and Vermont Salas were done according to an orthographic system developed by Andrade. However in the presentation of the Andrade material here we have altered the orthography to match the one we have been using throughout this book.

Due to various considerations, we chose only one story from the Andrade collection, “John Rabbit And A Big Male Puma” told by Bernardino Tun. This story is based on the recording, but to ensure that what we understand is substantiated by an outside source the Vermont Salas transcript was consulted in conjunction with listening to the recording. It should be mentioned that there are various false starts, extraneous sounds, and other such to be heard on the recordings and Vermont Salas made an attempt to capture all this. However in the transcription presented here such extraneous utterances are not transcribed.

Other transcriptions of stories from the Andrade collection are available on line at the FAMSI website. See http://www.famsi.org/reports/96072/textsrc/index.html.
Mention should be made of the fact that some stories recorded by Andrade are of common knowledge, and the story lines of those which match those of the similar stories told to us by other people have been used to create a composite version of stories written by the co-author (A.K.B.) in a process described below.

Our Collection

Our collection dates mostly from the late 1960’s, but efforts to enlarge the collection continue down through the present. Part of this collection was published in 1972 in a booklet entitled *Tzicbaltabi ti in Mama uch caachi* (Stories my mother was told long ago).

Since the purpose of the material which was published by us was to make readable material available to the Mayan readers the stories were edited. The amount of editing done on any one story depended on the quality of the story as recorded. In some instances very little editing was done but in others the editing was extensive. An example of the type of editing which was done is that if the story line was confused we rearranged the story to eliminate this confusion. Another example is that some of the story tellers would use a considerable amount of Spanish vocabulary when such usage was unnecessary. We decided that in those instances where there is a Mayan word in common use we would replace the Spanish word with a Mayan word. An example of this is that Martina Yu Chan would frequently use *le señorao* (that woman). This we changed to *le xunano* (that woman) which is a common and perfectly understandable Mayan word.

Some of the stories in our collection are of general knowledge. In these cases, especially where we have collected various versions, a composite story was formed from the various versions. In these cases co-author Alejandra Kim Bolles is listed as the story teller since it is in fact her version of the story which is being used.

Following is a list of the story tellers from whom our stories have been collected. Many of these people are relatives of the co-author’s family.

Manuela Chan de Yu, the co-author’s (A.K.B.) grandmother, was born on the Hacienda Santa Rosa near Muna in the early 1870’s and died in Mérida in 1967. She was raised as an indentured servant on the hacienda, or as the Maya themselves say, as a slave. She was married twice; first to a Mayan man who had the last name of Cen, and later after he died to a Korean imported indentured servant José Yu. Mam Uela, as she was called, seems to have been attracted to song and had a store of little ditties, many of which were two or three liners.

Ladislao Cen Chan was born in the 1900’s on the Hacienda Santa Rosa, and was one of two children of Manuela Chan’s first marriage. He lived most of his life in Ticul and died there in 1989.

Martina Yu Chan was born on the Hacienda Santa Rosa in the 1910’s and is a child of Manuela Chan’s second marriage. She learned many of her stories when she was very young from two people: José Cuuc of Cacao and an old lady from Yaxkopil. She is married to a Korean, Andres Kim Jimenez, and after bearing and raising most
of her children in Ticul moved to Mérida, bringing her mother Mam Uela with her.

Ignacia Ku de Cen was born in Yaxkopil in the 1890’s and died in Ticul in 1971. She was the first wife of Ladislao Cen Chan. Concerning her story “Rosario” it is important to know that her ability with Spanish was very limited.

Emiliano Poot Chim was born in Kom Cheen in the mid 1930’s. Aside from supplying the story about the hunchbacks Don Lio has been quite helpful to the authors by listening to and helping with the interpretation of such things as H-Men chants. His knowledge of Spanish is very limited.

Teodosio Tujin was a long-time resident of Kom Cheen and died there in 1987. In the early 1960’s he worked with the co-author (D.D.B.) on excavations under E. Wyllys Andrews IV and it was then that he told the story about how the man-made mounds came to be.

Origin of the Following Stories

Almost all of the material which follows is from our collection. If the subtitle of a story gives only the name of the story teller or if there is no name given then the story is from our collection. The story from the Andrade collection is distinguishable from ours by a note under the title stating that the story is based on the recording of Andrade.

Transcripts of the material we collected available at:
http://www.famsi.org/reports/96072/textsrc/index.html

Those which are marked with * are available as audio files in the MP3 format.
WORLD CREATION STORIES FROM KOM CHEEN, YUCATAN

The three stories which are given here are stories which seem to have a basis in native creation myths rather than in European myths as one would expect if one considers that the Maya of Kom Cheen have been under the influence of the Catholic church since the mid 15 hundreds. The themes of these stories are as follows: story 1), a description of the hunchbacks and the method by which they built the mounds; story 2), how the hunchbacks were destroyed by flood; and story 3), how this present creation will come to an end by fire lit by the cigar butt of the lord of heaven.

The reason for stating that these stories are native and not European imports is based on two ideas expressed in the stories: that there was a previous creation destroyed by flood (as opposed to the continuation of the same creation through a deluge as is the case of the Judeo-christian creation myth), and that the end of the present creation will be by fire caused by the lord of heaven throwing down his cigar butt. The idea of smoking gods is certainly pre-columbian. It is interesting to note that these ideas parallel those from other parts of the Yucatecan peninsula.

The first story about the construction of the mounds was told to me while I was working with some men from Kom Cheen on an archaeological excavation under E. Wyllís Andrews IV. We had come across some rather large stones and were having trouble moving them. Somebody asked how was it possible that these stones were put in position here and don Teodosio Tujin responded with the story.

The second story about the end of the hunchbacks through flood was told to me by don Emiliano Poot after we had come back from his garden plot which happened (as is frequently the case) to be on and around several mounds. While we were out in his garden I was looking at the various pilas (haltun in Mayan) laying around on and near the mounds and I mentioned to him that I wondered what these things could have been used for. Later that day in the late afternoon he came over to help me clean up some of the weeds around the orange trees in our back yard and while we were talking about this and that he all of a sudden mentioned that he remembered what the pilas were for and told me the story about the flood.

The third story about the end of this world was told to me in don Emiliano’s house. We were sitting in the hammocks and one of his “compadres” happened by. The compadre (I don’t know the fellow’s name) is one of the better off citizens of Kom Cheen, and seemingly as a mark of this carries about with him a pack of cigarettes which he frequently offers to the people who are with him. He offered cigarettes to all present, and when he got to the end of his he gave the butt a flick with his fore finger and the butt made an arc through the room to the door. Since the room was somewhat dark one could see the path of the burning butt very well. The compadre said, Ti cu bin u chamal yumil caan! (There goes the cigar of the lord of heaven!) When I asked him what he meant by that he told the story about the end of this present world.
THE LITTLE HUNCHBACKS

told by Teodosio Tujin, Kom Cheen

There were a long time ago little people, very small, who were called hunchbacks. At that time the rocks were not heavy. If you throw a rock in the water, it doesn’t sink, the rock doesn’t go under. Like wood it stays on the water. Those hunchbacks then had power over the water, they knew how to call the water so that the water would come wherever they wanted. Therefore if a hunchback wants to carry a rock he just calls the water. Then the water comes like a little whirl wind. He presses then on the rock with his finger, and afterwards he takes the rock wherever he wants.

Nobody knows what the hunchbacks needed the ancient mounds for, but they are the ones it is said that raised those mounds. For that reason even today there are everywhere here in this land many mounds with very large rocks in them. Only because the hunchbacks have power over the water are they able to raise the large stones on to the ancient mounds.

THE BOATS OF THE HUNCHBACKS

told by Emiliano Poot Chim, Kom Cheen

Wherever there are ancient mounds there are little haltunoob beside them. It is said that the haltunoob are the little boats of the hunchbacks. Because the hunchbacks were bad people then the lord of the heaven thought that he needed to remove the hunchbacks from the surface of the earth. Then he sent Lord Rain so that the world would be drowned.

When the hunchbacks knew that there would be a flood they made their little boats from rock. When the lord of the heaven saw what the little hunchbacks were doing then he thought, “Now I will quickly screw the little devils.” Then he made the rocks become heavy.

Then the lord of the heaven sent the Lord Rain. When the hunchbacks saw that the surface of the earth was going to be drowned by that rain they all got into their boats. As the water rose the hunchbacks all died because the boats all stayed under the water because the rocks had become heavy. Thus was the end of the lives of the hunchbacks.
MEHEN PPUZOOB

tzicbaltabi tumen Teodosio Tujin, Kom Cheen

Yan bin uch caachi chichan macoob, mehentacoob, ppuzoob u kabaob. Ti le kinaco ma al le tunichobo. Ua ca pulic humppel tunich ichil le hao, ma tu dzamal, ma tu bulul le tunicho. Bey che cu ppatal yokol le hao. Le ppuzoob tuno yan u mukoob yokol le hao, u yohloob u thani le hao utial u tal le hao he tuux u katobe. Leolal ua tac u putic humppel tunich huntul ppuze chen cu thanic le hao. Le tun le hao cu tal bey humppel chan mozon ik. Cu pedzic tun le tunicho yetel u yal u kab, cu dzocole cu bizic le tunicho he tuux u kati.

Mix mac u yohel baaxten tun kabet le uchben muulobo ti le ppuzobo, pero letiob bin tu likzahoob le muulobo. Lebetice tac behlae yan tulacal tuux uay te luumila yaabach muulobo yetel zen nohoch tunichobo ichiloob. Chen tumen le ppuzobo yan u mukoob yokol le hao cu paahtal u likzicoob le nohoch tunichobo yokol le uchben muulobo.

U CHEM PPUZOOB

tzicbaltabi tumen Emiliano Poot Chim, Kom Cheen

Hetuuxac yan le uchben muulobo yan mehen haltunoob tu tzeloob. Cu yalale le haltunobo u chan chemoob le uchben ppuzobo. Tumen tun kakaz macoob le ppuzobo ca tu tuclah u yumil caan kabet u tzelic le ppuzobo yokol cab. Ca tun tu tuxtah yum chac utial u bulul yokol cab.

Ca tu yoheltahoob le ppuzobo tan u uchul bulcabil ca tu betaahoob u chan chemoob yetel tunich. Ca tu yilah u yumil caan le baax cu betic le mehen ppuzobo ca tu tuclah, “He in han topic le mehen cizinobo.” Ca tu alcuntah le tunichobo.

Ca tun tu tuxtah u yumil caan le yum chaco. Le ca tu yilah le ppuzobo u bulul le yokol caba yolal le chaco ca tun lah naacoob tu chemoob. Le ca caanchah le hao le ppuzobo dzu lah cimloob tumen le chemoob tu lah ppatahoob yanal ha tumen dzoc u altaal le tunichobo. Bey tun dzocil u cuxtal le ppuzobo.
THE CIGAR OF THE LORD OF HEAVEN

Have you seen the smoking stars (meteors) in the sky? Do you know what those things are? I am going to tell you what the smoking stars are.

The lord of the heaven daily smokes his cigar, the whole day he smokes his cigar. He is watching what the people here on earth are doing while he smokes his cigar. Because there are many bad people here on earth there are days when he gets angry with us. He thinks then, “I am going to finish the life there on earth.” He throws then his cigar butt, he flicks it with his finger.

Only because the beautiful lady virgin Mary feels sorry for us, she saves us. When she sees the lord of heaven has just thrown his cigar she quickly moves her hand. With the back of her hand she flicks the cigar butt into the sea. But the day is going to arrive when the beautiful lady virgin Mary will be fed up with us, she will then let the cigar fall here in the middle of the earth. On that day then the whole surface of the earth has to burn. Thus then all the people here on earth will die.
U CHAMAL YUMIL CAAN

Ta uilah ua le budz ekobo yan ti caan? A uohel ua baax le baalobo beyo? Yan in ualic tech baaxi baal le budz ekobo.


Chen tumen le x-cichpam x-coelbil zuhuy Maria tu cha oltzil ti toon, cu salvarticoon. Le ca tu yilah dzoc u pulic u chamal le yumil caano cu han peczic u kab. Yetel u pach u kab u picchintic u cabo chamal yumil caan ichil le kanabo. Pero yan u kuchul u kin u nacal u yol le x-cichpam x-coelbil zuhuy Maria yetel toon, le bin u chae u lubul u chamal uay chumuc cab. Ti le kino tune yan u elel tulacal yokol cab. Bey tun cun u lah cimil le macobo uay yokol cab.
THE EXPLOITS OF JUAN THUL, THE TRICKSTER RABBIT

The following stories are about the rabbit Juan Thul (John Rabbit) and the various jokes he plays on other animals and on people.

The Trickster Rabbit story cycle was a common story cycle amongst many of the Gulf Coast Indian peoples. It is thought for example that the “Br’er Rabbit” stories got into the American folk culture through the enslaved Choctaw Indians who passed the stories onto the enslaved blacks. Another example of a shared story theme will be found in the following section “Anthropomorphic Animal Stories” in the story “The Deer and the Turtle”. The theme of this story is similar to the Cherokee story “How The Therrapin Beat The Rabbit”, recorded by Charles Alexander Eastman and his wife Elaine Goodale Eastman in their book “Indian Legends Retold”.

At the present time however there are many stories amongst the Maya which have come from such things as Walt Disney movies and Daffy Duck and Bugs Bunny comic books, so it is hard to know in some instances what is truly native to the Maya and what is recycled from outside media. For example, amongst these “Juan Thul” stories there is the “Tar Baby” story. Does this story originate amongst the Maya or is it a recent import? In one of our conversations with Don Alfredo Barrera Vasquez the subject of the “Tar Baby” story came up. He assured us that the “Tar Baby” story was an old story amongst the Maya predating any modern mode of cultural transmission. His assumption was that the wide-spread trade that was carried on in the Gulf of Mexico in pre-hispanic times was responsible for the diffusion of the Trickster Rabbit stories throughout this area.
JOHN RABBIT AND A BIG MALE PUMA

told by Bernardino Tun, Piste

There was once a small Rabbit who came out daily to feed himself on a field of grass. It happened that he was seen by a Big Male Puma. Then the Puma said, “Today I am going to eat you John.” he said to him.

John answered him, “Hey. Why are you going to eat me? Well I have been left to guard this little field so that no one can enter to ruin anything.” he said. “O.K. There is a way that I can come with you wherever you enter. Only if you carry my food of grass so that I can come with you.”

Then the Big Male Puma said, “Well if thus you will come with me O.K. well I will carry your food of grass.” spoke the Big Male Puma, thus he answered. Anyway, John then gathered the two burdens of grass, then he placed them on Puma. He thoroughly tied them on the back of Big Male Puma between the front and hind legs. He tied it everywhere. Then he began to go. Then said John, “O.K.,” he spoke it is said, “since you took my food the grass well onto your back also I have to get up on you so that I can go more comfortably.” John spoke to him it is said.

Then said Big Male Puma, “O.K. Because you are accompanying me well I too will do that which you say.” spoke Big Male Puma it is said. John then climbed on the back of Big Male Puma. Then they began to go. Only as they were going then John lit his cigar. Then Big Male Puma said, “Hey John! Watch out that you don’t light the grass on my back!” spoke Big Male Puma. Anyway John just listened. Then he just contentedly smoked as he went on Big Male Puma. Anyway, when the cigar was finished then he stuck the end of the cigar on the grass which Puma was carrying. Just as John saw that the grass had caught fire they had just arrived at the mouth of a large well, John then threw himself forcefully, then he got off. Big Male Puma then went about beating himself to put the fire out but the grass which he carried only caught fire more. Then he wildly threw himself into the well. Well in there it was put out. After it was out and he made certain it was out he climbed out. Then he said, “John has made fun of me therefore I have to catch him to eat him. He has done to me whatever he has wanted.” spoke Big Male Puma. Then he set on the smell of John.

Anyway. Well as he was following John all of a sudden he caught up with him. He was in a large cave. Then he said like this, “What are you doing. I am chasing you John.”
JUAN THUL YETEL HUNTUL NUC XIB COH

tzicbaltabi tumen Bernardino Tun, Piste

(based on the recording done by Manuel J. Andrade)


“Not me.” said John when he spoke to him. “Me I am here to take care and hold up the world so that it does not fall down. Can’t you see? You can see that I have been here so long that my shit is old.” said it is said John to the Big Male Puma thus he answered. “They have even gone so far as to have made a bell for me here so that I can pull it here.” he said it is said. He said to the Big Male Puma, “It is not I who have escaped you. I was place here long ago by the true god. I take care of the world. Don’t you see that if I take away my hand from here I hold it up it falls?” said John, thus he answered. Just as John took away his hand “weh” then (pieces of) the cave fell. Then he immediately took hold of it again. “If you wish to do me a favor,” he said it is said to the Big Male Puma, “you would hold up the ceiling for a moment. Me not even food for so many days have I eaten I have not eaten.” said John thus he spoke as he said to the Big Male Puma.

Then spoke the Big Male Puma, “If thus you won’t take a long time John well I will hold up the ceiling.” said the Big Male Puma. “But careful that you don’t fool me because I can catch you. Just try to fool me again.”

“No. Not me. Me the true god put here.” said it is said John.

Anyway. Big Male Puma saw himself fooled when he just held up the cave. “If thus you see that after awhile I haven’t come pull the little bell which is next to you so that I will be able to come immediately.” he said it is said John to him. Anyway then the Big Male Puma went and strengthened himself a little to hold up the cave. While he just held it up the Big Male Puma got tired of waiting for the return of John who was out eating. Then he quickly pull the bell which was told to him, then fell down a large hornet’s nest which began to bite him so that the Big Male Puma ran out jumping. Anyway as he came out he said, “Hey but John has really fooled me. I have to capture him so that I will be able to eat him.” said it is said Big Male Puma. Then he went after the smell of John.

As he was going after John suddenly he saw him on a large flat meadow where he was contentedly while holding a vine (lit. “rope of the sky”). He was just playing with it. “Hey John! I am going to catch you.” said the Big Male Puma.

“No. Not me. Me I hold the “rope of the sky” so that it doesn’t fall. If I should let it go by god the world would be destroyed.” said it is said John. “Stay and see how beautiful the “rope of the sky” which I am holding on to is.” said it is said John to him. John then jumped lightly up and said to the vine, “Shrivel yourself up vine! Shrivel yourself up vine! Shrivel yourself up vine!” Thus he spoke as he went up (the vine). Then he says to it, “Extend yourself vine! Extend yourself vine! Extend yourself vine!” as he climbed back down it. Big Male Puma just watched.

Ca tu yalah Nuc Xib Cohe, “Ua tumen ma xantale Juan pues tene cin lath le caano.” cu than Nuc Xib Coh. “Pero bic ma trabarten porque tech in pudzca. Chen tan a ca trabarcen.”

“Ma. Ma tene. Tene hahal dios dzamali uaye.” cu than bin Juan.


“John, you are just fooling me.” said the Big Male Puma.

“No. If you grab the vine you will see how beautiful it is.” said it is said John to Big Male Puma.

Anyway, Big Male Puma says to him, “John. I have to eat you. I am chasing you. You have already done a lot of things to me. I have to eat you.”

“If because of that you want to eat me, then eat me, but then the world must also come to an end. Don’t you see. The thing which I am holding is the rope of the sky.” said it is said John to him. “Grab me! But careful lest you forget to say when you want to that which I told you.” said it is said John to him.

At this Big Male Puma came to see that it was very beautiful then he went just to grab it. Then the Big Male Puma just began to say, “Shrink yourself vine! Shrink yourself vine! Shrink yourself vine!” as he just went up. Then he just says it is said again, “Stretch yourself vine! Stretch yourself vine!” and nicely he just came down again. Well that is what he was doing that is what he was saying when it happen that he forgot. Then he says, “Shrink yourself vine! Shrink yourself vine! Shrink yourself vine!” He forgot to say that which he is to say the Big Male Puma forgets the way it is told to him. Just it keeps on really shrinking until it snaps, then Big Male Puma fell. After he fell and returned to consciousness. Then he said, “Hey! But that John has really very much fooled me! I have now to eat him!” said the Big Male Puma. Then he followed the smell of John.

John went directly to a meadow of a cocoyol palm tree. Anyway, after he arrives then he picked ten loads of palm nuts. Then he splits them. Anyway, then he begins to eat. He is just quite happy as he is eating the palm nuts when the Big Male Puma appears.

“Hey John! It is you who I am chasing!” says Big Male Puma to him. Anyway, well Big Male Puma arrives at his side.

“How then do you know? Me since I was put here so that I can very much split open the palm nuts of all this meadow palm by the true god.” he said. John grabs that palm nut, he holds it with his feet. Dze!, he splits it. He takes it, he eats it.

“John. Well what is it that you are eating like that?”
“Juan, chen tan trabarcen.” cu yalic Nuc Xib Coh.

“Ma. Ua ca machmah le x-tabil caana ha uilic bucaah hadzutzile.” cu than bin Juan ti Nuc Xib Coh.


“Ua tumen a kat a hantcene, hantceni, pero lo que es yokol cab xan yan u xulul. Ma ta uilic. Le in machmah u tab caan.” cu than bin Juan ti. “Machtene! Pero bic tubul a ualic le baax cen a uolt cin ualtechu.” cu than bin Jaun ti.


“Eya Juan! Tech in pudze!” cu than Nuc Xib Coh ti. Haylibe, pues tan u kuchul Nuc Xib Coh t’yiencaledu.


“Juan. Pos baax le ca hantic beyo?”
“Well don’t you see what I am eating? My eggs (testicles) I am eating.” he says it is said. “If you do yours like that (which) are bigger, it should be that the seed inside is very much more delicious it seems.” John says it is said to Big Male Puma. Big Male Puma is just listening. Well just while he was just doing it like that he began to see himself become fooled again. Then he began to go, then he began to near himself beside John. He watched intently. John takes a palm nut between his feet. Dze!, he splits it. He takes it, he eats it. John says to Big Male Puma, “Here! Try the seed of my eggs so that you can taste it.” he says it is said to him. “You taste to see if it isn’t very good.” Then Big Male Puma took it and eat it. Well as he was eating it he felt it was delicious. “If you want you can do yours like that.” said John it is said to the Puma. Anyway Puma just saw himself fooled like that. He sat himself well down on a rock, then he began to take that palm nut, then he began to split it. “Not that one like that! The ones are your eggs! Those are the ones with the good seeds. Not those!” he said it is said. Well anyway in that he is just fooled like that then Big Male Puma went and took out his eggs. Then he laid them on that rock. Whack! Then Big Male Puma smashed his eggs it is said. Then he immediately laid down, then he died. When John saw that Big Male Puma had just died then he jump up running. He is just clapping his hand as he went. Well that which he did like that when he saw that he just killed Puma was that he took off. I was just passing there where John was seated he was very contented because he had just killed Big Male Puma.
There was they say a little rabbit, he was being sought after by a hunter. When he finally got tired of running, then he saw a cave, then he went in. He’s thinking like this, “Wow! If the man comes in here, he has then to shoot me. How am I going to do it? I’m going to hold up the cave. If he comes in here, I say to him since I was born I’m holding up this cave.” Then he held up that cave.

After a while there comes that hunter, he says like this, “Ah, little rabbit. I’ve just found you. Now I’m going to shoot you.”

“Oh, old gentleman, that wasn’t me,” he says to him. “Since I was born, here I’ve been here. I’m holding up this cave. If not, it falls.”

“Oh is that so?” says that hunter.

“Like that.” says the little rabbit. “My mother is in the grass. If you take hold of this cave, I’m going to tell her to come help me, because I’m already tired.”

“O.K.” says that hunter. Then he held up this cave. When the little rabbit saw that he had just fooled that man, then he went. That hunter then is thinking that that rabbit will return. He is waiting the return of that rabbit, but he didn’t return. He made off.
CHAN THUL ICHIL LE ZAH CABO

tzicbaltabi tumen Martina Yu Chan, Ticul
(edited by Alejandra Kim Bolles from a recording)


“Am beyo?” cu yalic le h-dzono.

“Beyo.” cu yalic chan thul. “Ti yan in mama te ichil le zuuco. Ua ca machic le zahcaba cin bin in ual ti ca tac u uanten, tumen dzoc in canal.”

“Malob.” cu yalic le h-dzono. Ca tu lathtah le zahcaba. Ca tu yilah chan thul dzoc u tuzic le maco ca bini. Le h-dzon tuno tu tuelic he u zut le thulo. Tu paatic u zut le thulo, pero ma zunahi. Bin tu betah.
LITTLE RABBIT AND THE SHIT ROLLERS

told by Martina Yu Chan, Ticul

There was it is said a man, who went hunting in the forest. Then he saw a little rabbit, then he said like this, “Now I am going to shoot the little rabbit.” Then he began to go after that little rabbit, then he lost him because that little rabbit ran very hard.

When then that little rabbit arrived at a mound of shit, then he saw there were many shit rollers (dung beetles). He says like this, “Oh my comrades, a man is chasing me with his gun. He wants to kill me. Help me!”

“How am I going to help you?” says one of the shit rollers.

The rabbit answers like this, “When the man arrives then you say like this, ‘Get out of my way comrades. If the spirit of my horse is frightened, what am I going to do? I can’t deliver the load I am taking.’ Like that you’re going to say it.”

“O.K.” say those shit rollers. Then with that that little rabbit went to hide himself.

When that man came, then began to speak the shit rollers like this, “Get out of my way my comrades. Be careful to frighten the spirit of my horse. If you frighten the spirit of my horse, I can’t deliver the load I’m taking.” So say the shit rollers as the man nears. Then he stopped, he waited the passing of that horse, but he sees nothing coming in the road. Thus he did, then he lowered his eyes down, then he saw those little shit rollers. Then he said like this, “Ah, you little children of the devil. For certain it is you who are yelling here.” Then he grabbed one, then he put it in his mouth. When the rest of them saw him just take that one, then they all went.

At that the one who was in the mouth of that man began to say like this, “Listen! Is it true you’ve accustomed yourself with your neighbor?”

At which that man doesn’t answer because if he answers he has to open his mouth. Out will come then that little shit roller.

Then said the little shit roller again like this, “Listen! Is it true you’ve accustomed yourself with your sister-in-law?”

“Howf!” says that man, but he still doesn’t open his mouth.
CHAN THUL YETEL CUCLINTAOB

tzicbaltabi tumen Martina Yu Chan, Ticul

(edited by Alejandra Kim Bolles from a recording)

Yan bin huntul mace, bin dzon ich kaxe. Ca tu yilah huntul chan thul, ca tu yalah beya, “Beyhora cin in dzon le chan thulo.” Ca hoppol u bin tu pach le chan thulo pero ca zat ti tumen le chan thulo zeten chich u alcab.

Le tun le chan thulo kuchi ti humppel chan mul ta, ca tu yilah yaab cuclintaob yani. Cu yalic tun beya, “Ay in uetxibileex! Tu chucbil in pach tumen huntul mac yetel u dzon. U kat u cimzen. Antenexi!”

“Bix tun cin in antech?” cu yalic huntul le cuclintaobo.

Cu nucic thul beya, “Le can kuchuc le maco ca ualiceex beya, ‘Tzelabaex tin bel in uetxibileex. Ua ca hakzic u yol in tzimne bix cin in bete? Ma tin in kuch le cuch cin bizca.’ Beyo can a ualeex.”

“Malob!” cu yalic le cuclintaobo. Ca tun bin u taccuba le chan thulo.


Le tun huntul yan tu chi le maco hopp u yalic beya, “Uye! Tu hahil ua zucech yetel a vecina?”

Le tun le maco ma tu nucic tumen ua cu nucic yan u hapic le u chio. Cu hokol tun le chan cuclintao.

Ca tu yalah le chan cuclinta tucaten beya, “Uye! Tu hahil ua zucech yetel a cuñada?”

“Humf!” cu than le maco, pero leyli ma tu hapah le u chio.
Then that shit roller began to think what then he has to do so that that man opens his mouth. Then therefore he said like this, “Listen! Is it true you’ve accustomed yourself with your mother?”

“Ha!” says then that man. Then he opened his mouth, then came out thereby that little shit roller. Away he went. Then that man looked down so that he could grab another so that he put it in his mouth, but there wasn’t even one. They have already all gone. Then he says like this, “You little children of the devil! Because of you that little rabbit has just escaped me. Now I won’t eat because all you do is lie.” With that he went home.
Cu hoppol u tuclíc le cuclintao bix tun yan u betic utial u hapic u chi le maco. Ca tun tu yalah beya, “Uye! Ha ua zucech yetel a mama?”

LITTLE RABBIT AND THAT PITCH MAN

written by Alejandra Kim Bolles

There was a man, he made his garden. Then he planted an area with chile pepper. When it began to be eaten, then he spied, then he saw that rabbit certainly was eating it. Then said that man, “I have to catch you.” Then he said, “I’m going to make a man of pitch.” After he made it, then he took it into the garden, then he put it in the path of the rabbit. Then he went to his house.

The other day as it became light, then he went into that garden. As he arrived that little rabbit was just coming in. Then he stopped to see, then he heard what that little rabbit says. He says like this, “Get out of my way, you hear. If not, I’ll punch you.” Then he hit the little pitch man, then his hand stuck because it was sticky. When he saw he wasn’t able to pull it off, he says like this, “Are you thinking that I haven’t another hand?” Then he struck again, then his other hand stuck. He sees he can’t take his two hands off that man, he says like this, “You think I don’t have my foot?” Then he kicked, then his foot stuck too. Then he kicked with the other foot, then it stuck too. He says again, “Are you thinking I haven’t got my stomach?” Then he hits the man with his stomach, then it stuck too.

Then the owner of the garden neared, then he took him to his house. The big lady’s spirit was contented when she saw she has to eat that rabbit, then she said to her husband, “I have to make good food.” That man says, “Good. Do it. I’m going to get my compadre so we can eat together.” Then he went.

Then the big lady wanted to grab that rabbit so that she could kill him, but that little rabbit then began to speak, he says like this, “Don’t be quick to kill me. I can dance, you’ll see.”

Then that lady said, “You’re only lying.”

Then said that little rabbit, “Allow me to be able to dance so that you can see.”

“If you don’t go, I’ll let you.”

Then that rabbit says, “I’m not going.”

Then he was let loose, then he began to dance. He hopped, but the only thing was bit by bit he did it so that he got further away until then he went. When her husband came again she was really crying. Then her husband said, “What are you crying about woman?” Then that woman said, “My food the rabbit got lost.” So it was that nobody ate rabbit this day.
CHAN THUL YETEL LE ZAC CIB MACO

dzibtabi tumen Alejandra Kim Bolles

Yan huntul mac, tu betah u col. Ca tu pakah hunkaan ic. Ca hoppol u hantaal ti, ca tu chuctah, ca tu ilah thul bacaan hantic. Ca tu yalah le maco, “Yan tun in chuccech.”


Ulak kin cu zaztale, ca bini ich le colo. Le ca kuchi hach tu ocol le chan thulo. Ca uali u yile, ca tu yubah baax cu yalic le chan thulo. Cu yalic beya, “Tzelaba tin bel, ca uyic! Ua mae, cin malacech.”

Ca tu laalah le chan mac zac cib. Ca taki u kab tumen tatakci. Le ca tu yilah ma tu paahtal u lukzice, cu yalic beya, “Tan ua a tuclic minaan ulak in kab?”

Ca tu ca laah, ca taki ulak u kab. Tan u yilic ma tu paahtal u lukzic u cappel kabobo ti le maco cu yalic beya, “Ta tuclic minaan in uoc?”

Ca tu cochatah, ca tak xan u yoc. Ca tu cochatah yetel ulak u yoc, ca taki xan. Cu yalic tucaten, “Tan ua a tuclic minaan in nak?” Ca tu hadzah le mac yetel u nak, ca taki xan.

Ca tun nadzi le yumil col, ca tu bizah tu yotoch. Cimac u yol le nohoch mam ca tu yilah yan u hantic le thulo. Ca tu yalah ti le u ichamo, “Yan in betic malob hanal.”

Cu yalic le maco, “Malob. Bete. Tene nin caah in chae in compadre ca mul hanacoon.” Ca tun bini

Le tun le nohoch mam u kat u mache le thulo utial u cimzic, pero le chan thulo ca hoppol u than, cu yalic beya, “Ma a zeb cimzcen. Ca okotnahcen, a uile.”

Ca tu yalah le colelo, “Chen a tuz!”

Ca tu yalah le chan thulo, “Chen a tuz!”

“Ua ma ta bine, cin chaisech.”

Cu yalic le thulo, “Ma tin bin.”

Ca chabi, ca hoppol u okot. Tu ppitinpul, chen baale humppit cu betice cu mas naachtal tac ca bini. Le ca tal u yichamo tu zeten okol. Ca tu yalah u yichamo, “Baax ca oktic cole?”

Ca tu yalah le colelo, “In hanal thule pudzi.” Ca ppate mixmac tu hantah thul ti le kina.
ANTHROPOMORPHIC ANIMAL STORIES

Aside from the trickster rabbit cycle there is a large store of animal stories amongst the Maya. There are those stories in which animals interact amongst themselves, and there are those stories in which humans interact with animals. Both these types of stories we have just already seen in the trickster rabbit cycle.

The following stories have no common theme other than they are all about animals. Amongst these stories there are definitely some recognizable imports, albeit that the settings in which these stories take place have been “mayanized” to a certain extent. For example, the first two stories, “Cicada and Ant” and “The Old Woman Possum who wants very much to eat Papaya” are undoubtedly converted Aesop fables, namely from “The Ant and the Grasshopper” and “The Fox and the Grapes” respectively. In the second story in particular “mayanization” is necessary in order for the story to be of any instructive value because neither foxes nor grapes occur in Yucatan in any great abundance, foxes being quite rare and grapes being close to impossible to grow. The substitution of a possum and the papaya tree for these two items is a meaningful and logical one.

A rather perplexing story in terms of its origin is that of the “Old Lady Turtle And Those White Birds”. This story is parallel to the Aesop fable “The Turtle and the Ducks” and is to be found amongst the peoples ranging from Iran to India. However, the story is also to be found throughout the Gulf Coast region and into the Algonquin speaking regions. Different birds, ranging from cranes, as is the case in the story given here, to ducks and geese, are used as the carriers of the stick which the turtle holds onto with its mouth while flying.

There is one story which does seem to have its roots in Meso-American storytelling, that of “Mouse Who Took Cockroach’s Five Cent Piece”. In the state of Puebla there is a similar story, “In Sihuat huan Ipitzou” (“A woman and her pig”) which goes through the same cycle of the subject of the story asking one actor (person, animal or thing) after the next to go after the previous actor in order to get a task accomplished until finally one of the actors agrees to do so, at which point when the previous actor sees the actor coming it runs after the one before it until all comply and the task is done.
CICADA AND ANT

told by Martina Yu Chan, Ticul

There was they say a cicada and an ant. The cicada, because it only sings during the dry days, doesn’t go to find its food. It is raining and sprinkling, the wind is becoming strong, for that reason it is not able to go to find its food. When therefore came the cold, then it began to become hungry, then it went beside a small ant, then it said to it, “Listen, small ant. Loan me a small corn so that I can eat, because for me it is not possible for me to go out to gather it so that I can eat, because it’s very cold.”

“And thus in the dry days, what did you do? Didn’t you find things to eat?”

“Me I only sang.”

“If you only sang, today go dance.”

THE OLD WOMAN POSSUM
WHO WANTS VERY MUCH TO EAT PAPAYA

told by Martina Yu Chan, Ticul

There was they say an old possum, who likes very much to eat ripe papaya. When she went into the garden, then she passed by where there was a papaya plant, leaning over with ripeness. Then she began to climb up, but high up is the papaya, she isn’t able to arrive. She jumps, she falls, she isn’t able to arrive. She did like that, then passed the whole night, she didn’t arrive where that papaya is so that she could pick it, so that she could eat it. Her spirit got tired with not being able to pick it. When she saw it was becoming light, then she said like this, “Humpf. In the first place, I don’t want to eat that papaya. It’s not even ripe.”
CHOCHLIN YETEL ZINIC

tüxcblatibi tumen Martina Yu Chan, Ticul

Yan bin huntul ochchlin yetel huntul zinic. Le ochchlin, tumen chen kay cu betice ti le yax kino, ma tu bin u caxte u yoch. Tan u kaxal ha yetel toz ha, tan u kamtal le iko, le betice ma tu paahtal u hokol u caxte u yoch. Ca tun tal le ceelo, ca hoppol u uihtal, ca bin tu yicnal huntul chan zinic, ca tu yalah ti. “Uye, Chan Zinic. Pay ten humppel chan ixim utial in hante, tumen tene ma tu paahtal in hokol in caxte utial in hante, tumen zeten ceel.”

“Cux tun tu yax kin, ban ta betah? Ma ta caxtah baal a hante?”

“Tene chen kay tin betah.”

“Ua chen kay ta betah, behlae xen okot.”

HUNTUL X-NUC OCH HACH TAC U HANTIC PUT

tüxcblatibi tumen Martina Yu Chan, Ticul


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THE DEER AND THE TURTLE
written by Alejandra Kim Bolles

There was a big Deer and a little Turtle. The Deer said to the Turtle, “If you would want to, let’s make a bet to see who can run faster.”

“O.K.” said the Turtle. Then the Deer began to laugh. Then said the Turtle, “What are you laughing about? I can run very fast. I will leave you.

The Deer answered, “How are you going to be able to run fast? I, because I am bigger, can run faster.”

Then said the Turtle, “Well O.K. I’ll see you tomorrow noon here.”

Then the Turtle spoke with his friends. When he arrives, he says to the rest, “I have just made a bet with Deer about a little catch-up run.”

“Are you going to do it?”

“I told him, ‘Yes!’”

“What day?”

“Mid-day tomorrow I told the Big Male Deer.”

Then the others said, “But Big Turtle! How are you going to beat the Big Male Deer. He can run very fast.”

“Well if you help me I can beat him.”

“How then?”

“Well you are going to line up on the road every 20 meters so that you can answer the call of the Deer as he goes along the road.”

“O.K. We’ll help you.”

The other day the Turtle arrived where he was being waited for by the Deer. Then he said like this, “I have come. Let’s go on the bet.”

“Well let’s go.”
CEH YETEL AC

dzibtabi tumen Alejandra Kim Bolles

Yan bin huntul nohoch Ceh yetel huntul chan Ac. Ca tu yalah Ceh ti Ac, “Ua a kate, coox chan betic hunppel apuesta cac’ ile maax mas chich u yalcab.”


Ca tu nucah Ceh, “Bix tun cun chichtal a ualcab? Tene, tumen nohochen, mas chich cin alcab.”

Ca tu yalah Ace, “Pos malob. Las doce zamal cin uilcech uaye.”

Ca bin Ac u thane u lakoob. Cu kuchule, cu yalic ti u chucaanobo, “Dzoc in betic hunppel apuesta yetel Ceh utial hunppel chan chuclan alcab.”

“He ua tun a betce?”

“Tin ualah tie, ‘Hele!’”

“Baax tun kin?”

“Tancuch kin zamal tin ualah ti Noh Xib Ceh.”

Ca tu yalah u lakoob, “Pero Nohoch Ac! Bix can a ganarte le Noh Xib Ceho. Leti zen chich u alcab.”

“Pos ua ca anticenexe he in ganartice.”

“Bix tun?”

“Pos teexe can a tzolcabaex te beo ti huhunkaan utial a nuciceex u than le Ceho hebix u bin te beo.”

“Malob. He’c anticeche.”


“Pos coox.”
Then the Turtle said, “Well let me go first. When you see that I have gone a little way then I will call you.” Then the Turtle went. When the Deer heard, “Listen Old Woman! Let’s go!” then he started to run.

After a bit Deer stopped to see where Turtle was. Then he heard the call of another turtle up ahead, “Listen Old Woman! Let’s go!”

Deer answered like this, “Let’s go Old Woman. I am coming quickly.”

Poor Deer. Even though he goes faster he is not able to catch up with Turtle. When he gets tired he stops. When he stops then he is called by another turtle up ahead, “Listen Old Woman!” he hears up ahead again. Then Deer starts running so that he can catch up with Turtle. When he just stops again then he is called again by another turtle up ahead.

Thus did the turtles. Then Deer said like this, “That’s it Turtle. I am not able to beat you because I am very tired. I think it is better that we leave the catch-up run.”

“Well if you are tired of running what do you say?” says the Turtle.

“What are we to say?” says the Deer to the Turtle.

Then the Turtle said, “Well not what. Since you have gone back on your word today I am going to pluck (swipe/rob) your hat.”
Ca tu yalah Ace, “Pos ppatic in bin tanil. Le ca uilic dzoc in chan nachtale cin thancech.” Ca bin Ac. Le cu yubic Ceh “Uye X-Nuc! Coox!” le cu hokol yalcab.

Cacate cu uatal Ceh utial u uilic tuux yan Ac. Ca tu yubah u than ulak le aco te tanilo, “Uye X-Nuc! Coox!”

Cu nucic Ceh beya, “Coox X-Nuc! Tene chich in tal.”


Le cu beticoob le acobo. Ca tu yalah Ceh beya, “Dzoc beya Ac. Ma tu paahtal in ganarticech tumen tene dzoc in hach canal. Mi mas malob c’ ppatac le chuclan alcabo.”

“Pos ua dzoc a canal alcabe baax uchac a ualic?” cu than le Aco.

“Baax yan’c ale?” cu than le Ceho ti le Aco.

Ca tu yalah Ace, “Pos ma baax. Bey dzoc a rajartcaba ti le thano pos behlae nin cin toc a p poc.”
OLD LADY TURTLE AND THOSE WHITE BIRDS

told by Ladislao Cen Chan, Ticul

There was, it is said, a turtle, who for sixty years lived at a small lake. The little turtle daily comes out to the edge of that water, to sun herself. One day then came some white birds, big, with very high legs. Then therefore said the little turtle, “You are very contented. You even have your wings, for which reason you are able to go other places to visit. God pays you for coming to visit me.” Therewith the big birds didn’t answer to that old turtle. Then they rose up, then they went. Then that poor turtle’s spirit was hurt.

The other day therefore when that little turtle came out to sun herself. Just then she saw those birds coming again, then she said like this, “My spirit is content that you have come to visit me. If only I have my wings so that I can go with you.”

Then answered a big bird like this, “Grandmother. Do you want to go for a walk?”

“I want to go for a walk with you, but I don’t have my wings.”

“Nothing to it. Say whether you will go.”

“Certainly. Will you take me?”

“Certainly.”

“How are you going to take me?”

“Just tell us whether you will come, we know how to take you.”

“Certainly.”

“O.K. then. But grandmother, just one thing I have to tell therefore. No talking, because if you talk you have to die.”

“O.K. I won’t talk.”

“O.K., grandmother. We will take you.”

“Is that really true?”

“It’s the real truth.”

“O.K. My spirit is contented that I will come.”
X-NUC AC YETEL LE ZAC CHICHOOBO

tzicbal tabi tumen Ladislao Cen Chan, Ticul

Yan bin huntul ace, sesenta años cahacbal ti chichan kanab. Le chan aco zanzamal cu hokol tu hal chi le hao, tu haykinticuba. Humppel kin ca tal dzedzeci zac chichoob, nuctacoob, caanaltac u yocoob. Ca tun tu yalah le chan aco, “Ci a uoleex. Yan tac a xikeex, le olal cu paahtal a bineeex tanxel tuux ximbal. Dios botic a talal a ximbalteneex.” Le tun le nucuch chichobo ma tu nucicoob ti le x-nuc aco. Ca likobe, ca binoob. Ca ya u yol le otzil aco.

Ulak kin tune ca hoki le chan aco, tu haykintuba. Chen ca tu uile tu ca tal le chichobe, ca tu yalah beya, “Cimac in uol dzoc a tal a ximbalteneex. Cexi yan in xik utial in bin ta ueteleex.”

Ca tu nucah huntul nohoch chich beya, “X-chich, tac ua bin ximbal?”

“Tac in bin ximbal ta ueteleex, pero minaan in xik.”

“Mixbaal ti. Uale ua he a tal.”

“Hele! He ua a bizcenexe?”

“Hele.”

“Bix tun can a bizceneex?”

“Chen a ual toon he ua tale. Toone ohel bix cen bizcech.”

“Hele!”

“Malob tun. Pero X-Chich, chen humppel baal kabet in ualic tech tun. Ma tan than, tumen ua ca thane yan a cimi.”

“Malob, ma tin than.”

“Malob, Chich. He tun’c bizceche.”

“Hach ua tu hahil?”

“Hach tu hahil.”

“Malob. Cimac in uol he in tale.”

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Then the big birds found a branch. “Here you are grandmother, sink your teeth onto this stick, but be careful that you open your mouth, because if you open your mouth so that you can talk, then you fall down, then you kill yourself.”

“O.K. I will do it like that.”

“O.K. Let’s go then. Sink your teeth into the middle of the stick, grandmother.” At that that turtle sank her teeth into the middle of the stick. Then came one of the birds, then it sank its teeth into one end of the stick. Another then sank its teeth into the other end, then they went. The spirit of the old turtle was very contented because she was going for a walk. Just then it was seen that they were passing over a small lake, where there were little children catching little fish. When they lifted their eyes up, then they saw that old turtle. They began to say like this, “Eh look at that old turtle they are taking. Isn’t she ashamed? Look how she is being carried.”

The old turtle therefore then said, “What’s it to you?” Then she let loose that stick. Uilele uilele, ppachah, then she fell. There wasn’t any turtle.
Le tun le nucuch chichobu tu caxtoob humppel che. “Hele Chich. Nache chea. Pero bic a hap a chi, tumen ua ca hapiic a chi utial a thane, ca lubul cabal, ca cimzcaba.”

“Malob. He in betic beyo.”

“Malob. Coox tun. Chumuc le cheo can a nache, Chich.” Le tun le aco ca tu nachah u chumuc le cheo. Ca tali huntul le chichobo, ca tu nachah humppel u xul le cheo. Ulak tune ca tu nachah ulak u xule, ca tun binoob. Hach cimac u yol le x-nuc aco tumen tu ximbaltaalo. Chen ca tu uile tu manoob yokol humppel chichan kanab, ti yan yaab mehen palalobe tu chucicoob mehen cay. Ca lik u yichoob caanale, ca tu ilobe le x-nuc ace. Ca tu yaloob beya, “Eh ila le x-nuc aco tu bizaab. Ma ua zublaci? Ile bix u bizaab.”

Le x-nuc aco tun ca tu yalah, “Baax a kateex?” Ca tu chae le cheo. Uilele uilele, ppachah, ca lubi. Minaan ac.
MOTHER SQUIRREL
written by Alejandra Kim Bolles

There was it is said a little squirrel and her little daughter. One day said her little daughter like this, “Mother Squirrel, let’s go borrow a few pumpkin seeds.”

“O.K. Let’s go.” Then they went into the garden. They are eating the pumpkin seed when the owner of the garden comes. Then said the daughter of Mother Squirrel, “Oh, Mother Squirrel. Here comes the owner of the garden.”

“Oh wait while I eat a little bit more pumpkin seed.”

“But Mother Squirrel. The owner of the garden is getting closer.”

“Oh wait while I eat another bit of pumpkin seed.”

“But Mother Squirrel. The owner of the garden has gotten very near.” Then the little child ran, but Mother Squirrel could not run because she was very full.

She was then seen by the owner of the garden, then he said like this, “Little thing. What are you doing here? Today you are going to die.” Then he took out his gun, then he kill her.

Poor Mother Squirrel. When the owner of the garden had gone away, then came running her little child. Then she began to cry, then she began to say like this, “Oh Mother Squirrel! You have just been killed!” Then she grabbed the hand of her mother. Helili helili, then she took her to under the grass.

There she was under the grass with her mother, who had just die, when a little snail passed by. Then he said like this, “What are you doing there, Little Squirrel?”

“Oh! Don’t you know Little Snail? Mother Squirrel has just been killed. I am holding vigil over her.”

“O.K. Let’s hold vigil.”

“O.K., Little Snail.”

That is what they are doing, then a gopher passed by, who says like this, “What are you doing there?”
MAM CUUCEBA

dzibtabi tumen Alejandra Kim Bolles

Yan bin huntul chan cuuc yetel u chan pal. Humppel kin tu yalah u chan pal beya, “Mam Cuuc, coox matic hunppit zicil.”


“Ay ppatic in hantic hunppit mas zicil.”

“Pero Mam Cuuc. Tu nadztal u yumil col.”

“Ay ppatic in hantic mas zicil.”

“Pero Mam Cuuc, dzoc u hach nadztal le yumil col.” Ca alcabnah le chan pal, pero Mam Cuuc ma tu paahtal u yalcab tumen zen naah.

Ca ilabi tumen u yumil col, ca tu yalah beya, “Chan baal! Baax ca betic tela? Behlae can cimil.” Ca tu hozah u dzon, ca tu cimzah.


Ti yan yanal zuuc yetel u mama, dzoc u cimilo, ca man huntul chan urich. Ca tu yalah beya, “Baax ca betic telo, Chan Cuuc?”

“Ay! Ma a uohel Chan Urich? Dzoc u cimzaal Mam Cuuc. Tan in belartic.”

“Malob. Coox belartic.”

“Malob, Chan Urich.”

Le cu betcobe, ca mani huntul bah, cu yalic beya, “Baax ca betceex telo?”
“Don’t you know Little Gopher? Mother Squirrel has just been killed. We are holding vigil over her.”
“O.K. I will stay too.”
There they were when a vulture passes by, who says like this, “What are you doing there?”
“We are holding vigil over Mother Squirrel.”
“O.K. I will stay too.”
They are still doing this when a white horse passes by. “What are you doing there?”
“We are holding vigil over Mother Squirrel.”
“O.K. I will stay too.”
Then they all began to sing:
“Me I am a white horse. Me I am a white horse.”
“Me I am a little snail. Me I am a little snail.”
“Hurururudz. Hurururudz.”
“Hurururudz. Hurururudz.”
“Ma a uohel Chan Bah? Dzoc u cimzaal Mam Cuuc. Tan’c belartic.”

“Malob. He in ppatal xan.”
Ti yanobe ca man huntul chom, cu yalic beya, “Baax ca betceex telo?”

“Tan’c belartic Mam Cuuc.”
“Malob. In ppatal xan.”
Leyli le cu beticoob ca man huntul alazan. “Baax ca betceex telo?”
“Tan’c belartic Mam Cuuc.”
“Malob. Cin ppatal xan.”
Ca hoppol u kayoob tulacaloob:
“Ten tene Alazanen, ten tene Alazanen.”
“Ten tene Chan Urichen. Ten tene Chan Urichen.”
“Hurururudz. Hurururudz.”
“Hurururudz. Hurururudz.”
There was it is said a bird, whose name is dove, and a little squirrel. The dove passes by with her children, then said the squirrel like that, “Why don’t you kill all of the small children? Don’t you see, me not one child do I have.”

“Eh how then am I going to kill them. Don’t you see, they are my children?”

“Like that so that you are able to go for a walk. You don’t need not even one small child to be behind you.”

“Certainly not. Poor ones.”

“What poor ones? It is better like that.”

“Is that what you really say?”

“In truth.”

Then went the dove, then she grabbed her small children, then she smashed them on the ground. Then she said like this, “O.K. I have just killed all of my children. There is not even one.”

“O.K.” says that squirrel.

The other day there went that little squirrel with very many children behind her. Then said the dove like this, “Why did you lie to me like this? Didn’t you tell me that you had killed all of your children? For that reason I just killed all of my children. Now not even one is left to me.”

Then she began to cry, she said like this:
“Heyin!\(^3\) Squirrel lied to me, Squirrel lied to me!”

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\(^3\) **Heyin** is a common expression of pain or distress. In English a somewhat similar expression is “O, woe is me!”
CUUC TU TUZEN

tzicbaltabi tumen Martina Yu Chan, Ticul

Yan bin huntul chiche, u kaba ucum, yetel huntul chan cuuc. Tu man le ucum yetel u palalobo, ca tu yalah le cuuc beyo, “Baaaxten ma ta lah cimzic le mehen palaloob? Ma ta uilic, tene mix huntul pal yan ten.”

“Eh bix tun cin in cimze. Ma ta uilic, in palal?”

“Beyo utial ca paahtac a bin ximbal. Ma kabet mix huntul mehen palal ta pach.”

“Mataan. Otziloob.”

“Baaax otziloob? Mas malob beyo.”

“Hach bix a ualic?”

“Tu hahil.”

Ca bini le ucum, ca tu machah u mehen palaloob, ca tu ueyueppuchtah luum. Ca tu yalah beya, “Malob. Dzoc in cimzic tulacal in palaloob. Mix huntul yani.”

“Malob.” cu yalic le cuuco.


Ca hoppol u yokol, tu yalah beya:
“Heyin! Cuuc tu tuzcen, Cuuc tu tuzcen!”
COCKROACH AND HER FIVE CENT PIECE

written by Alejandra Kim Bolles

There was they say a Cockroach, she is sweeping her house, when she found a five cent piece. Then she began to think, what she’s going to buy. Then she said like this, “If I buy meat it is used up on me. If I buy beans it is used up on me. If I buy corn it is used up on me. Better I buy talcum powder.” Then she went to buy her talcum powder. When she returned to her house, then she powdered all her face. Then she sat at her doorway.

Not long afterwards Rooster passes by, then he said like this, “Oh beautiful Cockroach. Will you finish your road (get married) with me?”

The little Cockroach answers like this, “If you don’t scream very loud.”

The little Rooster answers like this, “No. Not very loud.”

“Let’s see. Sing so that I can hear.”

“Kikiriki!” says that little Rooster.

That frightens the spirit of that little Cockroach, then she said like this, “Oh no! Your voice is very loud! It will frighten my spirit.” Anyway, then the little Rooster went.

Then little Horse passed by, then he said like this, “Oh beautiful Cockroach! What if you have to finish your road with me?”

“If you don’t scream very loud. Sing so that I can hear.”

“Neeeeeeeh!”

“Oh! You scream very loud! My spirit will be frightened at night.” Anyway, then he went.

Then a Bull passes by, then he said like this, “Oh very beautiful Cockroach! Will you finish your road with me?”

“If your scream is not very loud. Scream so that I can hear.”

“Roooooooor!”
X-KURUCH YETEL U CINCO

dzibtabi tumen Alejandra Kim Bolles


Ma zami cu man huntul Thel, ca tu yalah beya, “Ay X-Cichpam X-Kuruch. He ua a dzocol a bel yetel tene?”

Cu nucic Chan X-Kuruch beya, “Ua ma hach kam a auate.”

Cu nucic Chan Thel beya, “Ma. Ma hach kami.”

“Coox uilic. Kaynen utial in uyic.”

“Kikiriki!” cu than le Chan Thelo.

Ca hak u yol le Chan X-KurUCHU, ca tu yalah beya, “Ay ma! Hach kam a than! He a hazic in uole.” Haylibe, ca bin Chan Thel.

Ca tun man huntul Chan Tzimne, ca tu yalah beya, “Ay X-Cichpam X-Kuruch! Yan ua a dzocol a bel yetel tene?”

“Ua ma hach kam a auate. Kaynen utial in uye.”

“Neeeeeh!”

“Ay! Hach kam a auat! He a hazic in uol ti akab.” Haylibe, ca bini.

Ca man huntul Xibil Uacax, ca tu yalah beya, “Ay hach X-Cichpam X-Kuruch! He ua a dzocol a bel yetel tene?”

“Ua ma hach kam a auate. Auatnen utial in uye.”

“Roooooooor!”
“Oh certainly not! Your scream is very loud. You’ll frighten my spirit at night.” Anyway, then he went.

Then little Mouse passes by. “Oh beautiful Cockroach! Will you finish your road with me?”

“If your scream is not very loud.”

Then little Mouse said like this, “liiiiic.”

Your scream is very good. I will finish my road with you.” O.K. They finished their road.

Another day the little Cockroach wants to go to grind corn, then she said to her husband like this, “Little Mouse. I’m going to grind corn. In a bit of an hour you have to go to see those beans I put on the fire, but you have to stir it with the big spoon, no good with that little one.”

“O.K.”

Then went the little Cockroach to grind corn. In a bit of an hour then that little Mouse went to stir the beans, but he had already forgotten to get the big spoon, then he stirred with the small spoon. That’s what he was doing, when he went into those beans. When little Cockroach returned, there wasn’t any husband. When her spirit was tired of trying to find him, then she said like this, “Since my husband is not seated (at home), I want to eat. I am already hungry.” Then she went to dish out her food, then she saw there was meat in it. Then she said like this, “Oh, poor little Mouse. He put pork in these beans. I’m going to take a bit to my neighbor.” When she returned, then she sat down to eat. That she did.

Then came running the neighbor. “Where is your husband?”

The little Cockroach answers, “I don’t know. He’s not here.”

Then the neighbor said like this, “Well don’t you know something, neighbor? You’re eating your husband!”

“Oh don’t tell me!” says that little Cockroach.

“It’s like that, neighbor. Didn’t you see the little hand you gave me in the beans?”

The began to cry that little Cockroach because there wasn’t her husband.
“Ay matech! Hach kam a auat. He a hazic in uol ti akab.” Haylibe, ca bini.

Ca man huntul Chan Cho. “Ay Cichpam X-Kuruch. He ua a dzocol a bel yetel tene?”

“Ua ma hach kam a auate.”

Ca tu yalah Chan Cho beya. “Iiiiiic.”


Ulak kine u kat bin le Chan X-Kuruch tu huche, ca tu yalah ti u yicham beya, “Chan Cho. Nin caah huch. Hunppit ora yan a bin a uile le buulo in dzamah kaako, pero yan a peczic yetel nohoch cuchara, ma malob yetel le chicano.”

“Malob.”


Le cu betice ca tali alcabil le vecina. “Tuux yan a uicham?”

Cu nucic Chan X-Kuruch, “Ma in uohel. Minaan uaye.”

Ca tu yalah le vecina beya, “Pues ma a uohel humppel baale vecina? A uicham le ca hanticco!”

“Ay ma a ualic ten!” cu than le Chan X-Kurucho.

“Beyo, vecina! Ma ta uilah le chan kab ta dza ten ichil le buulo?”

Ca tun hoppol u yokol le Chan X-Kurucho tumen minaan u yicham.
MOUSE WHO TOOK COCKROACH’S FIVE CENT PIECE

written by Alejandra Kim Bolles

There was they say a little Cockroach. She was sweeping her house, when she found a five cent piece. Her spirit contented, she’s thinking what’s she going to buy with it. Then Mouse came, then he took that five cent piece to his home. Then that little Cockroach began to cry, she says, “Little Mouse. Give me back my five cent piece. If you don’t give it back to me, I’ll tell a Cat to eat you.”

Mouse says like this, I’m not giving it back to you, because it is good to my eye (I like it).”

“Well Cat. Come and eat Mouse, because this Mouse took my five cent piece.”

Cat says like this, “I’m not able to eat Mouse, because he didn’t do me nothing.”

“Well Dog. Come bite that Cat, because that Cat doesn’t want to eat this Mouse, because this Mouse took my five cent piece.”

Dog says like this, “Its not possible for me to bite that Cat, because she didn’t do me nothing.”

“Well Stick. Come beat that Dog, because that Dog doesn’t want to bite that Cat, because that Cat doesn’t want to eat this Mouse, because this Mouse took my five cent piece.”

Stick says like this, “Its not possible for me to beat that Dog, because he didn’t do me nothing.”

“Well Fire. Come burn that Stick, because that Stick doesn’t want to beat that Dog, because that Dog doesn’t want to bite that Cat, because that Cat doesn’t want to eat this Mouse, because this Mouse took my five cent piece.”

Fire says like this, “Its not possible for me to burn that Stick, because it didn’t do me nothing.”

“Well Water. Come put out that Fire, because that Fire doesn’t want to burn that Stick, because that Stick doesn’t want to beat that Dog, because that Dog doesn’t want to bite that Cat, because that Cat doesn’t want to eat this Mouse, because this Mouse took my five cent piece.”

Water says like this, “Its not possible for me to put out that Fire, because it didn’t do me nothing.”
CHO TU BIZAH U CINCO X-KURUCH

dzibtabi tumen Alejandra Kim Bolles


Cu yalic Cho beya, “Ma tin zutic tech, tumen utz tin uich.”

“Pues Miz. Coten a hante Choa, tumen le Choa tu bizah in cinco.”

Cu yalic Miz beya, “Ma tu paahtal in hantic Cho, tumen ma tu betah ten mixbaal.”

“Pues Pek. Coten a chie Miza, tumen le Miza ma u kat u hante Choa, tumen le Choa tu bizah in cinco.”

Cu yalic Pek beya, “Ma tu paahtal in chiic le Miza, tumen ma tu betah ten mixbaal.”

“Pues Che. Coten a hadze Peka, tumen le Peka ma u kat u chie Mizo, tumen le Mizo ma u kat u hante Choo tu bizah in cinco.”

Cu yalic Che beya, “Ma tu paahtal in hadzic le Peko, tumen ma tu betah ten mixbaal.”

“Pues Kaak. Coten a thabe Chea, tumen le Chea ma u kat u hadze Peko, tumen le Peko ma u kat u chie Mizo, tumen le Mizo ma u kat u hante Choa, tumen le Choa tu bizah in cinco.”

Cu yalic Kaak beya, “Ma tu paahtal in thubic le Cheo, tumen ma tu betah ten mixbaal.”

“Pues Ha. Coten a tupe Kaaka, tumen ma u kat u thabe Cheo, tumen le Cheo ma u kat u hadze Peko, tumen le Peko ma u kat u chie Mizo, tumen le Mizo ma u kat u hante Choa, tumen le Choa tu bizah in cinco.”

Cu yalic Ha beya, “Ma tu paahtal in tupic le Kaako, tumen ma tu betah ten mixbaal.”
“Well Cow. Come drink that Water, because that Water doesn’t want to put out that Fire, because that Fire doesn’t want to burn that Stick, because that Stick doesn’t want to beat that Dog, because that Dog doesn’t want to bite that Cat, because that Cat doesn’t want to eat that Mouse, because that Mouse took my five cent piece.”

Cow says like this, “Its not possible for me to drink that water, because it didn’t do me nothing.”

“Well come Man. Come kill this Cow, because this Cow doesn’t want to drink that Water, because that Water doesn’t want to put out that Fire, because that Fire doesn’t want to burn that Stick, because that Stick doesn’t want to beat that Dog, because that Dog doesn’t want to bite that Cat, because that Cat doesn’t want to eat this Mouse, because this Mouse took my five cent piece.”

The Man says like this, “Its not possible for me to kill that Cow, because she didn’t do me nothing.”

“Well let me speak to the selectman who will take you all to jail.”

Then that Man went running so that he kill that Cow. When Cow saw that she is going to be killed, then she went running to drink that Water. When Water saw that it is going to be drunk, then it went running to put out that Fire. When Fire saw that it is going to be put out, then it went running to burn that Stick. When Stick saw that it is going to be burned, then it went running to beat that Dog. When Dog saw that he is going to be beaten, then he went running to bite that Cat. When Cat saw that she is going to be bitten, then she went running to eat that Mouse. When Mouse saw that he is going to be eaten, then he went running to return the five cent piece.

Then Cockroach’s spirit was contented again.
“Pues Uacax. Coten a uk le Haa, tumen le Haa ma u kat u tup le Kaako, tumen le Kaako ma u kat u thab le Chea, tumen le Chea ma u kat u hadz le Peko, tumen le Peko ma u kat u chi le Mizo, tumen le Mizo ma u kat u hant le Choa, tumen le Choa tu bizah in cinco.”

Cu yalic Uacax beya, “Ma tu paahtal in ukic le Hao, tumen ma tu betah ten mixbaal.”

“Pues coten Mac. Coten a cimz le Uacaxa, tumen le Uacaxa ma u kat u uk le Hao, tumen le Hao ma u kat u tup le Kaako, tumen le Kaako ma u kat u thab le Chea, tumen le Chea ma u kat u hadz le Peko, tumen le Peko ma u kat u chi le Mizo, tumen le Mizo ma u kat u hant le Choa, tumen le Choa tu bizah in cinco.”

Cu yalic Mac beya, “Ma tu paahtal in cimzic le Uacaxo, tumen ma tu betah ten mixbaal.”

“Pues ppat tin thanic le halach uinic cu bizceex ti carcel.”

Ca bin alcabil le Maco utial u cimze le Uacaxo. Ca tu yilah le Uacax nu caah cimzaalo, ca bin alcabil u uke le Hao. Ca tu yilah le Ha nu caah ukbilo, ca bin alcabil u tupe le Kaako. Ca tu yilah le Kaak nu caah tupbilo, ca bin alcabil u thabe le Cheo. Ca tu yilah le Che nu caah tocbilo, ca bin alcabil u hadze Peko. Ca tu yilah le Pek nu caah hadzbilo, ca bin alcabil u chie le Mizo. Ca tu yilah le Miz nu caah chibilo, ca bin alcabil u hante le Choo. Ca tu yilah le Cho nu caah hantbilo, ca bin alcabil u zute le cinco.

Ca cimacchahi u yol X-Kuruch tucaten.
To finish off the modern stories given in this anthology we give here a group of stories about people. In almost every case these stories paint a very unflattering picture of the people in them. More often than not the subject of the portrait is a woman.

Most of the “people” stories we know of appear to be imported stories. There are two major sources for “people” stories: the “Grimms’ Fairy Tales” and “The Thousand and One Nights”.

Two of the stories given here take their themes from the “Grimms’ Fairy Tales”. One theme is from the story “Frederick and Catherine” in which the wife foolishly takes the front door off its hinges and carries it with her, thinking that is what the husband commanded her when he tells her to make sure that the front door is secure. In the end the couple scare some thieves with the door and gather up their booty. This theme is the basis for the story given here called “The Wife who sold the Pig”. Another theme comes from “Hans and His Wife Gretel” in which the woman, after eating up the fowl which she was cooking for an invited guest, scares off the guest by telling him that the man of the house is fetching his knife to cut off the guest’s ears. This theme is to be found in “A Man who caught Eight Quail”. A somewhat similar story is also to be found amongst the White River Sioux, except that the actors are a spider and his spider wife, and the guest is a coyote. In this case it is the testicles which are to be cut off.

The collection of tales from “The One Thousand and One Nights” is a particularly rich source for many stories about kings and their offspring and other stories involving royalty plus several stories involving magical people and powers. One of these stories, “The Story of the Slave Tawaddud”, found its way into the Books of Chilam Balam under the title “A Merchant’s Servant Girl whose name was Teodora”. Another story, “The Story of the Three Sisters” (titled “Nohoch Halach Uince yetel Oxtul Laktzilooob”, to be found on the FAMSI website as noted in the introduction to modern material), has been told by Bernardino Tun and recorded by Manuel J. Andrade. It is interesting to note however that in the version as told by Bernie Tun the Princess Periezade has the good sense to provide her brothers with “keyem” (corn dough used for making the drink of the same name) as they set off on their journeys in search of the speaking bird. These stories are rather long and are not included here in the Anthology, but are available in Tzicbaltabi Ti In Mama Uch Caachi (http://davidsbooks.org/www/Maya/Tzicbaltabi.pdf).

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94 See Appendix C for a facsimile of Kaua, page 108, with a depiction of Teodora and the other two principal characters in her story.
There were two men lost in the woods who when they found the road to go to town were very hungry. They then passed by a house where the anniversary of the death of a woman was being done. As the men were passing, they saw that a lot of food was being made. Then one of the men said, “Go ask them whether the rosary is going to be done, then tell them we know to pray too.”

Then the man went, so they say. “Is there going to be a rosary here, little mother?”

“There isn’t. We don’t know the rosary. We are only going to light the candles. We are going to speak her name. We are not doing the rosary. There is nobody here to do it.”

“If you don’t mind, I know the rosary.”

“Do you know it little father, do you know it?”

“We know it.”

“Well come on little father. Come on the both of you. I am very contented.”

He went to tell his partner, “Let’s go in here. We only have to do the rosary, and we will have food. Let’s go.”

Anyway, they went. They arrived; “Here we come, little mother.”

“Come on, little father, come on.”

They quickly rolled out their sacks, then they kneeled, then they began to say, “Las capsules, los perdigonés, los fulminantes, los balas (the capes, the bird shot, the detonators, the bullets).” Things like that they said. “Chinga tu puta madre (fuck your mother the whore).”

“That’s the way, little fathers. Bring back memories of my mother. You are bringing back memories of my mother.”

“Las perdigonés, los municiones, las balas, los fulminantes. Chinga tu puta madre.”

“That’s it. That’s it. Bring memories of my mother. I love the way you bring me memories of my mother.”
ROSARIO
tzicbaltabi tumen Ignacia Ku de Cen, Ticul

Yan catul macoob zatoob ich kaxe, le ca tu caxtoob u be utial u binoob ich cahe, zeten tun uiihoob. Ca tun manoob ti humppel na tuux tu betaal le haab cimic huntul xunaan. Ca tun mani le macobo, ca tu uilobe tan u betaal zeten yaab hanal. Ca tu yalah huntul le macobo, “Xen a ualtiobe ua u kat u betoob u rosario; ca ualice c’ uohel resar xan.”

Ca bin bin le maco. “Nu caah ua uchul rosario uaye mamita?”


“Ua ma ppecexe tene in uohel le rosario.”

“A uohleex ua tatito? A uohleex?”

“C’ uohel.”

“Pos coteneex tatito. Coteneex. Hach cimac in uol.”

Ca bin u yale ti u etxibil, “Coox man telo. Ca chan’c bete le rosario, ca paatac hanal. Coneex.”

Haylibe, ca binoob. Cu kuchlobe; “He’c taloone mamita!”

“Coten tatito, coteneex!”

Cu han hayle pita tiob, ca xolahoob, ca hoppol u thanoob, “Las capsulas, los perdigones, los fulminantes, los bales.” Baaloob beyo bin. “Chinga tu puta madre.”

“Beyo tatito! Kahzeex in mama! Ta kahziceex in mama.”

“Los perdigones, los municiones, los bales, los fulminantes, chinga tu puta madre.”

“Beyo! Beyo! Kahzeex in mama. Zeten utz in than beyo ca kahzeex in mama.”
“O.K. What’s your mother’s name?”

“Aurelia.”

“O.K. Chinga tu puta madre Aurelia. So. Ya esta la rosario doñita (That’s the end of the rosary, little woman.)”

“Is that it?”

“That’s it. Now is there pay?”

“There is. Now I will quickly give you your food.” Then a table was brought out, then the tortillas were brought out, then a turkey was brought out. “Eat, it’s yours.” Then one saw how they ate, they gulped down the turkey. When they were finished then she said, “How much do I owe you, father?”

“Nothing, nothing.”

“I will quickly give you two tortillas and a little bit of that meat.”

“O.K. O.K.”

Then she quickly gave them a stack of tortillas, then the breast of the turkey was brought out, the leg of the turkey too, then it is quickly given to them. “Here you are father. God pay you because you just brought me memories of my mother.”
“Malob, bix u kaba a mama?”

“Aurelia.”

“Malob. Chinga tu puta madre Aurelia! Bah. Ya esta la rosario doñita.”

“Dzoc ua beyo?”

“Dzoaan. Beyora yan ua u booli?”


“Mixbaal! Mixbaal.”

“He in han dzic teex cappel uah yetel humpit le bako.”

“Malob. Malob.”

Ca tu han dza tiob humppel dzapal uah. Ca hozabi u tzem ulum, u yoc ulum xan, ca han dzabal tiob. “Helo tata. Dios botic teex tumen dzoc a kahziceex in mama!”
THE WIFE WHO SOLD HER PIG

written by Alejandra Kim Bolles

There was it is said a man and his wife, who were raising a beautiful pig. Then his wife said like this, “Oh husband. What day are we selling the pig?”

Oh wife. When August comes.”

The other day then after her husband went to work, then a man came, then he knocked. Then went the wife to open the door, she says like this, “What do you want big man?”

“Woman. Is there a pig you’ll sell me?”

“We have one, but I am not selling it. I am waiting for August to come.”

“Well woman, I am August.”

“Oh yeah. You’re August? O.K. then. I will sell it to you.” Then she sold that pig.

When her husband returned, then he asked where was that pig, then his wife said like this, “Don’t you know a thing husband? I just sold that pig.”

“But wife. Why did you sell it? Didn’t I tell you that when August comes we sell it?”

“That’s what I did, husband. A man, named August, came, then I sold it to him.”

“But girl! Not the man August is what I am telling you, the month August.”

“I don’t know husband. Me I have just sold it.”

“Well let’s go get it because that pig has a way to go to get fat. Pull the door. Let’s go.”

That poor woman. Because she pulled the door very hard, at once she pulled it out, then she put it on her head to carry it, then she went behind her husband. Since her husband, because he was going very fast, didn’t see what his wife is doing. When they had just walked a little bit, then his wife said like this, “Oh husband! I am already very tired.”
ATANTZIL TU CONAH U KEKEN

dzibtabi tumen Alejandra Kim Bolles

Yan bin huntul mac yetel u yatane, tu chizicoob humppel hadzutz keken. Ca tu yalah u yatan beya, “Ay uicham. Baax kin c’ conic le kekeno?”

“Ay uatan. Can tac Agosto.”

Ulak kin tune dzoc u bin u yicham meyahe ca tal huntul mac, ca kopnahi. Ca bin le uatan u he le hol nao, cu yalic beya, “Baax a kati, nohoch mac?”

“Xunan. Yan ua keken a conteneex?”

“Yan toon huntuli, pero ma tin conic. Tin paatic u tal Agosto.”

“Pero xunan, tene Agostoen.”

“Am, Agostoech? Malob tun. He in conic teche.” Ca tu conah le kekeno.

Le ca zutnah le u yichamo ca tu katah tuux yan le kekeno. Ca tu yalah u yatan beya, “Ma a uohel humppel baali uicham? Dzoc in conic le kekeno.”

“Pero uatan! Baaxten ta conah? Ma tin ualah tech le can tac Agosto c’ conic?”

“Bey tin betah, uicham. Tali huntul mac, Agosto u kabae, ca tin conah ti.”

“Pero x-chupal! Ma mac Agosto cin ualic tech. U mes Agosto.”

“Ma in uohel uicham. Tene dzoc in conic.”

“Pues coox chae tumen le kekeno yan u bin u poloctal. Col le hol nao. Coox.”

Otzil le xunano. Tumen zeten chich tu colah le hol nao humpuli ca tu hodzah. Can tun tu kochah, ca bin tu pach u yichamo. Le u yichamo tumen zeten alcab u bine ma tu yalah baax cu betic u yatan. Dzoc tun u ximbalticoob humppite ca tu yalah u yatan beya, “Ay uicham! Dzoc in zeten canal.”
“Why then are you already tired, woman? I see that we haven’t walked very much.”
Then he turned his eyes back, then he saw his wife carrying the door on her head.
“But woman! Why then did you bring the door?”

“I don’t know. Didn’t you tell me that I should pull it?”

“But I didn’t tell you that you should bring it. I only told you that you should close it.”

“Well I don’t know, husband. Me I have already brought it.”

“O.K., woman. Since we have already come far, it is not possible that we return again. Bring it, so that I can help you.” Then he put the door on his head, then they went.

While they were doing this, it became dark. Then the wife said like this, “Oh husband. I am already very tired. I want to sleep.”

“But where are we going to sleep? There isn’t even a house, there isn’t anything, just forest. Anyway. Let’s find some place to be.” Then they arrived where there was a big tree, then he said like this, “Let’s climb up into that big tree.” Then they placed the door up there, then they laid down to sleep. That’s what they did then.

They weren’t really sleeping, when they heard some men come. And after all they brought their guitars, they made a lot of noise. They are singing, they are drinking rum. They said the wife like this, “Oh husband. What is that thing?”

“I don’t know. I think robbers. Shut your mouth, wife. Don’t you talk. If they hear that we are here, they will kill us.”

Those men played, they sang, then the wife said like this, “Oh husband. I want very much to dance.”

“But how are you going to dance girl? Do you want that we be killed?”

“I don’t know. Me I want to dance very much.” Then she began then to prance around on that door, she makes a lot of noise like that.

Then she is heard by the men who were underneath, then they said, “Machiz! What’s that thing up there? I think there are very many animals up there.” Then their spirit got frightened, then they went running. Then they left very many things down there.
“Baaxten tun dzoc a canal, cole? Tene cin uilice ma yaab dzoc a ximbaltic.” Ca tun zutnahi u yiche, ca tu yilah u yatano u kochmah le hol nao. “Pero x-cole! Baaxten tun ta tazah le hol nao?”

“Ma in uohli. Ma tech ta ualah ten ca in cole?”

“Pero ma tin ualah tech ca a taze. Chen tin ualah tech ca a kale.”

“Pues ma in uohel, uicham. Tene dzoc in tazic.”

“Malob, x-colel. Bey dzoc’ naachtaloon, ma tu paahtal c’ zutic tucaten. Taze ca in uanteche.” Ca tu kochah le hol nao, ca binoob.


Ma hach uencobi ca tu yuboob tu taloob dzedzec macoob. Tu kayoob, tu ukicoob aguardiente. Ca tu yalah le uatan beya, “Ay uicham. Baax le baalo?”

“Ma in uohel. Mi h-ocoloob. Mac a chi, uatan. Ma a than. Ua cu yuycoob uay yanone, he u cimzcone.”

Le macobo tu paxoob, tu kayoob. Ca tu yalah le uatan beya, “Ay uicham. Hach tac in uokot.”

“Pero bix tun can a uokot, x-chupal? A kat ua ca cimzaalcoon?”

“Ma in uohel. Tene hach tac in uokot.” Ca hoppol tun u tzantzanchaktic le hol nao, tu betic yaab hum beyo.

When therefore that girl who was dancing, when she heard there wasn't any playing, then she said, “Finished husband. They just went. Let’s see what they left. I see that they left very many thing down there.” Then they got down, then they saw three bags filled with money, and their guitar. Then they said, “Machiz! Those men certainly were robbers.”

Then the wife said like this, “What are we going to do then?”

“Not what, girl. Let’s take this money. Since you have already sold that pig, let’s take this money.”

“Aren’t we going to get that pig?”

“What pig? Don’t you see how much money we have now?”

“O.K. then.” Then they loaded the bags with money on their backs, then they took them to their home.

Ca tu yalah le uatan beya, “Baax can a bete tun?”

“Ma baaxi, x-čupal! Coox bizic le takina. Bey dzoc a conic le kekeno coox bizic le takina.”

“Ma tan’e bin chae le kekeno?”

“Baax keken? Ma ta uilic bahun takin yan toon beyora?”

“Malob tun.” Ca tu cuchoob le zabucanoob yetel takin, ca tu bizoob tu yotocho.
A MAN WHO CAUGHT EIGHT QUAIL

told by Ladislao Cen Chan, Ticul

There was they say an old man who had a gun, but it couldn’t hit those birds. Then he said to his significant other, 95 “If you could see wife, this gun of mine doesn’t hit the birds.”

“Husband. Why don’t you make a box trap?”

“Your word is true, woman. I’m going to make a box trap.” Then therefore he made it, then he took it into the woods. Then he put it where the quail drink water, then he put a little pinch of corn beneath the box trap. When those little quail came again, their spirits were contented when they saw that corn. Then they went in, then they moved the little cord which held the lid of the box trap up. Then it closed. When the man went to look, there were eight little quail. Then he went running to his home. He arrives, he says to his wife like this, “Wife. I just caught eight little quail.”

“Didn’t I tell you father? What do you want your gun for? The box trap is better. Since you’ve just caught those birds, go tell your compadre to come here. Then we’ll eat together.”

With that the old man went. When he arrived at the home of his compadre, then he said to him like this, “Compadre. You should come to eat at my house. You’re going to eat boiled pumpkin seeded quail.”

“Wow. O.K., compadre. Here I come. I’ll just finish what I’m doing then I’ll come right away.”

“O.K., compadre. I’m going to help my wife. I’ll wait for you there.” That’s what he says, then he went.

When then his wife finished killing all those birds, then she put them to cook with the pumpkin seeds. She stirred the pumpkin seeds, she stirred, she stirred, there began to be more. She counted, “One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten. It’s really true. They’re becoming more. I have to eat one.” Then she ate it. Afterwards, she counted again. There were still ten. Then she ate another. She kept doing that, then there was only one, but she thinks there are still ten in the pumpkin seeds because she is stirring the one that is there in the food. Then she said like this, “I’ll just eat another one.” Then she ate it. She is stirring that pumpkin seeds again, but there isn’t another bird. She has just eaten them all. Then her husband arrives. “Oh husband. Have you just come? Grab that machete. Go bring me a piece of banana leaf so that I can make tortillas.”

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95 The term yet nohchil is a contraction of yet nohochil, “big companion”.
Yan bin huntul nohoch dzule yan humppel u dzon, pero ma tu tzayah ti le chichobo. Ca tu yalah ti u yet nohchile, “Ua ca uile uatan, le in dzona ma tu tzayah ti le chichobo.”

“Uicham. Baaxten ma ta betic humppel arcon.”


“Ma tin ualah tech tat? Baaxtial tech a dzon? Mas malob le arcono. Bey dzoc a chucic le chichobo, xen a uale ti a compadre ca tac uaye caah’c muul hante.”

Ca tun bin le nohoch maco. Le ca kuchi tu yotoch le u compadreo, ca tu yalah ti beya, “Compadre. Ca tacech hanal tin uotoch. Onzici bech can a hante.”

“Machiz. Malob compadre. He in tale. Chen cin dzoczi baax cin betice cin han tal.”

“Malob, compadre. Tene tin bin in uante le in uatano. Telo cin in paatcech.” Bey cu yalice, ca tun bini.

“O.K.” Then he went behind the house to cut the banana leaf. When that compadre arrived, then he said like this, “Where is my compadre?”

“Shut your mouth! Shut your mouth! Your compadre went behind the house with a knife, he’s thinking of cutting your ear.”

“Why?”

“I don’t know, but that’s what he said. He has to cut your ear.”

“Wow. Well let me go.”

“Let me quickly pull out a bit if the food for you to take, compadre. Meanwhile quickly bring me a piece of banana leaf, so that I can cover it for you.”

“O.K.” Then he went out behind the house, then he was seen by the husband of the old lady, he sees then that the compadre has a knife in his hand. He sees he’s going to cut that banana leaf, then he said like this, “Compadre, I’m going to cut just one piece.”

Then answered the compadre like this, “Not one piece. Not one piece.” Then he went running, he didn’t return.

When the husband of that old lady came again, he says like this, “Where is the compadre?”

“Your compadre has just eaten all the meat in the food. Look, there’s only pumpkin seeds.”

“What’s that you say woman?”

“Come see. There isn’t any.” She then stirred that food, he sees there isn’t its meat, only pumpkin seeds. Then he quickly went out behind the compadre, but he wasn’t there. He had already gone. That’s the way it stayed, just that the old lady had eaten that meat.
“Malob.” Ca tun bin tu pach na, u xot u le haazo. Le ca kuchi le compadreo, ca tu yalah beya, “Tun yan in compadre?”

“Mac a chi! Mac a chi! Bihaan a compadre pach nao yetel u mazcab, tu tuclic u xotic a xicin.”

“Baaxten?”

“Ma in uohli, pero bey tu yalah. Yan u xotic a xicin.”

“Machiz! Pues ppat in bin.”

“Ppatic in han halic hunppit le hanal a bize, compadre. Mientras han taze hun xeth u le haazo utial in tohic tech.”

“Malob.” Ca hoki tu pach le nao, ca ilabi tumen u yichan le x-nuco, tu yilic tun u machmah humppel mazcab le compadre. Tu yilic nu caah u xote le haazo, ca tu yalah ti beya, “Compadre, ten cin in xote chen hun xeth.”

Ca tu nucah le compadre beya, “Mix hun xeth. Mix hun xeth.” Ca bin alcabi. Ma zutnahi.

Le ca tal le u yicham le x-nuco cu yalic beya, “Tuux yan le compadre?”

“A compadre dzoc u lah hantic u bakil le hanalo. Ilae! Chen zicil yani.”

“Bix a than cole?”

POP EYED MOUSE

told by Martina Yu Chan, Ticul

There was they say a mother, who sat down to make tortillas. When her boy came, then he said to her, “Oh Mama. I want to eat old lady’s phlegm with pop-eyed mouse.”

“O.K., child. Right now I’ll make it.” Then she got up, she went to catch a mouse. When she caught it, then she plucked out the eyes of the mouse. Then she put them in the corn dough, then she mixed it up. Only thing, she didn’t put lard in, her phlegm like that she put in the corn dough. Then she mixed it up, so that she could make the thick tortillas. When she finished making the tortillas, her child came. “There you are child. I have just made that old lady’s phlegm with pop-eyed mouse.”

“O.K., Mama.” Then she tied them nicely in a piece of cloth, then she gave them to her child. Then he took it.

When he arrived in the garden, then he opened it, then he saw the small eyes of the little mouse in the thick tortilla. Then he said like this, “What’s this thing like this? My Mama certainly did put mouse eyes in the thick tortillas.” He didn’t eat then. He put them on his back, then he took them to his house. He arrives, he says, “Mama. What’s that you gave me to eat like this?”

“I don’t know, child. Wasn’t it you who told me you wanted to eat pop-eyed mouse with old lady’s phlegm? Well that’s what I made for you.”

“Did you really put in mouse eyes?”

“That’s it I suppose.”

“What then was the old lady’s phlegm? What did you put like that?”

“Well like that, my phlegm.”

“But Mama! That’s not what I told you. That old lady’s phlegm, pig’s lard, and the pop-eyed mouse, beans. That’s the thick tortilla with beans I wanted to eat, not the thing you’ve made me. Ahreydobaya. What’s this for me. Fo!” He quickly threw it to the dog. The thick tortillas were eaten by that dog.
PPICHI ICHI CHO

tzcibal tabi tumen Martina Yu Chan, Ticul

Yan bin huntul mamatzile, culah tu pakache. Ca tali u tancelem pal, ca tu yalah ti, “Ay Mama. Tac in hantic hac zeen x-nuc yetel ppichi ichi cho.”


“Malob, Mama.” Ca tun tu ci toah ti hun xeth nok, ca tu dza ti u pal. Ca tu bizah.


“Ma in uohli, pal. Ma ua tech ta ualteni tac a hantic ppichi ichi cho yetel hac zeen x-nuc? Pues leti tin betah tech.”

“Hach ua tun le ich cho ta dzahi?”

“Bey ixtaco.”

“Baax tun le hac zeen x-nuco? Baax ta dza beyo?”

“Pues beyo. In zeen.”

JOHN LAZY

written by Alejandra Kim Bolles

There was it is said a man and his wife, who were very poor because the boy was very lazy. One day the wife says like this, “Oh John. Just go and gather fire wood, because there isn’t even one bit of fire wood so that I can make tortillas.”

“Oh wife. I am very tired. Let me just lie down awhile. After I get up I will go gather fire wood.”

His wife says like this, “O.K., but just awhile.” Then John lay down to sleep.

After an hour passed then his wife said like this, “John. It has just become midday, the sun is becoming hot. Go to gather the fire wood so that I can make a little bit of tortillas for you to eat.”

“Oh wife. Still I am very tired.”

“I don’t know. If you don’t go to gather fire wood, I can’t make the tortillas so that you can eat.”

John says like this, “Oh O.K. then. Bring my sandals.” Then his sandals were brought. “Put them on my feet.” Then they were put on his feet. “Bring my hat.” Then his hat was brought. “Put it on my head.” Then it was put on his head. “O.K. Lift me up.” Then he was lifted up out of his hammock. “Take me to the door.” Then he was taken to the door. “Put one of my feet over the door step.” The one of his feet was put outside. Anyway, then he went with his machete.

When he arrived in the garden, he was already tired of walking. Then he saw an old tree trunk, then he lay down to sleep again. “When I wake up I will go to gather fire wood.” When he woke again it had already become night, then he said like this, “Ave Maria Santisima! It has already become night. I have done a lot of sleeping.” Then he saw a tree trunk by his side, then he said like this, “I’m not going any further. I’m going to chop that tree trunk then I will take it. Tomorrow I come back again so that I can chop that fire wood.”

Then he began to chop that tree trunk, then he saw there was something inside. Then he said like this, “What is there here?” Then he peered in, then he saw, it was like a jar. Then he took off all the debris there was on top of it, then he saw it was full with gold. “Wow! What’s this thing here? I think it is pure gold. Who knows who left it here. Anyway. Since I have just found it, I think it is mine, but I can’t take it all because it is very heavy. I am going to take only two pieces of gold.” Then he took them.

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JUAN MAKOL

dzibtabi tumen Alejandra Kim Bolles

Yan bin huntul mac yetel u yatane, hach zeten otziloob tumen le xibpalo zeten makol. Humppel kine cu yalic u yatan beya, “Ay Juan. Chan xen zi, tumen minaan mix humppit zi utial in pakach.”


Cu yalic u yatan beya, “Malob, pero chen huntzutuc.” Ca chilah Juan uenel.

Dzoc u man humppel ora ca tu yalah u yatan beya, “Juan. Dzoc u chunkintal, tu chocotal kin. Xen ti le zio utial in betic hunppit uah a hante.”

“Ay uatan. Leyli hach caananen.”

“Ma in uohel. Ua ma ta bin te zio, ma tin betic le uah utial a hante.”


When he arrives at his home, his wife says like this, “But John! Where is the fire wood you went to get?”

“There isn’t any, but I found gold. Look. I brought you two. Go to sell them, then you can buy food so we can eat.”

Then his wife said like this, “Where did you find it?”

“There in those woods. Wasn’t I chopping a tree trunk, then I saw there was a thing inside. Then I took off its debris, then I saw a jar full with gold.”

Then his wife said like this, “O.K. then. Go tell the compadre and the comadre to come eat.”

“O.K.” says John. Then he went. When the compadres arrived then they said like this, “What is happening here? Before wasn’t it that you hadn’t any money so that you could eat? Why then today do you have much money?”

John Lazy says like this, “Don’t you know? I found gold.”

“Ah so? How did you do it?” Then they were told everything by John how and where he found that gold.

When they finished eating then the compadre went to his home. Then he began to think how will he screw that John, he thinks like this, “I am going to wait for it to become dark, then I will go there in the garden so that I can grab all that gold so that I screw my compadre John.” That he did.

When it became dark then he grabbed his machete, then he went. When he arrived in the woods, then he saw there really was a jar filled with gold in that tree trunk. Then he said like this, “Now I will take it. I am going to hide it. When my compadre comes to take it, it’s gone. I have already taken it.” He takes off the debris there was on top, then he saw there was purely snakes. Then he was surprised, then he quickly covered the mouth of the jar with stone. Then he said like this, “This little devil my compadre has just lied to me, but now I am going to screw him.”

Then he put the jar on his head, then he took it to John Lazy’s house. When he arrived at John’s house, then he said like this, “Compadre, didn’t you tell me you found very much gold? Well, I am just bringing it to you. Here!” Then he threw it on top of John who was lying there, but when the jar fell, then it broke. Then the gold all spilled out.
Le ca kuch tu yotocho, cu yalic u yatan beya, “Pero Juan. Tuux yan le zi binech a chao?”

“Minaan, pero tin caxtah takin. Ile. Tin tazah tech capelli. Xen a cone, ca a man hanal ca’c hante.”

Ca tu yalah u yatan beya, “Tuux ta caxtah?”

“Te ichil le kaxo. Ma tin chacic hunppel chum che, ca tin uilah yan baal ichil. Ca tin lukzah u zohol, ca tin uilah hunppel ppul chup yetel takin.”

Ca tu yalah u yatan beya, “Malob tun. Xen a thane le compadre yetel le comadre ca talacoob hanal.”


Ca yalic Juan Makol beya, “Ma ca a uohel teexe, tene tin caxtah takin.”

“Am bey? Bix tun ta betah.” Ca lah tzol tiob tumen Juan bixi yetel tuuxi tu caxtah le takino.

Le ca dzocol u hanalobo, ca bini le compadre tu yotoch. Ca hoppol u tuclic bix u topic le Juano, cu tuclic beya, “Nin caah in paate u ekhochentale, ca xicen te ich colo utial in lah chic le takino utial in topic in compadre Juan.” Bey tu betah.


Ca tu kochah le ppulo, ca tu bizah tu yotoch Juan Makol. Le ca kuch tu yotoch Juan, ca tu yalah beya, “Compadre. Ma ta ualah tene ta caxtah zeten yaab takin? Pos, dzoc in tazic tech. Hela!” Ca tu pulah yokol le Juan chilicbalo, pero le ca lubi le ppulo, ca paxi. Ca lah kikitpah le takino.
Then John said like this, “Oh compadre. God pays you very much for just bringing me this gold because I am too tired to go and take it.”

The compadre turned his back, then he went. He was very angry because with him it was purely snakes, with John pure gold. Because of that he was angry. Then he became sick, then it gave him green shit (diarrhea). Then he died.
Ca tu yalah Juan beya, “Ay compadre. Hach dios botic tech dzoc a tazic ten le takina tumen hach caananen ca xicen in chae.”

Le compadre ca tu zut u pache, ca bini. Zeten tun tu kuxi tumen yetel letie puro can, yetel le Juan puro takin. Tu olal le u kuxilo. Ca kohaanchahi, ca tu dza yax ta ti. Ca cimi.
SHORT STUFF

The following is a collection of short things which come up at various occasions.

The first item is something which Manuela Chan told the co-author (AKB) while they were in a cave together weaving palm leaves into long strips which are then bought by hat makers who sew the strips in a spiral to form straw hats. The weaving is done in the cave because it is more humid there and thus the palm leaf is more pliable. Frequently blue tail flies are buzzing about in the caves. Apparently this comment about the blue tail fly is off the top of Mam Uela’s head. However, she was a store of such little pieces, so it is hard to know.

The second item about what the roadrunners are saying is a common ditty. Frequently when the roadrunners are heard someone well repeat the words given here.

The third item about the magpies may also be meant to be a parody of the song of these birds.

The fourth item is a parody of what kettle drums sound like.

The fifth item is just a little joke. As is true of many of the above items, and of Mayan jokes and humor generally, this one is rather crude.

The sixth item is a “Bomba”. During the regional dances, called “jaranas” or “vaquerillas” (cow girls) sometimes the band leader will yell out “Bomba” (bomb) and the person quick with his wits will answer with something. Most of the time these “Bombas” are in Spanish. This is the only Mayan one which has come to our attention, though there are undoubtedly others.
BLUE TAIL FLY

told by Alejandra Kim Bolles

We were in a cave, we are weaving palm leaves. Then entered a little blue tail fly, then my grandmother said like this:

I know what that little blue tail fly says. I am going to tell you what it says. It says like this:
(The following lines are chanted)

   Good day woman.
   What do you want woman?
   I have come to borrow a chile pepper woman.
   What do you want it for woman?
   So that I can stick it in the ass hole of my grandchild woman.
   Drrrrrrum!

SONG OF THE ROADRUNNERS

told by Martina Yu Chan, Ticul

Do you know what the roadrunners say when they begin to sing? They talk like this:

   Your penis is heavy! (You’re lazy!)
   Your vagina is heavy! (idem)
   Your penis is heavy!
   Your vagina is heavy!
   Let’s finish the road! (Let’s get married!)

   Your penis is ugly! (You’re ugly!)
   However that may be!
   Your penis is ugly!
   However that may be!
   Let’s finish the road!
DZINDZIN

tzicbaltabi tumen Alejandra Kim Bolles

Yanoon ich humppel zahcabe, tan´c hithe. Ca oci huntul chan dzindzin, ca tu yalah in chich beya:

Tene in uohel baax cu yalic le chan dzindzino. Nin caah in ualic tech bix cu yalic. Cu yalic beya:

Buenos dias mam.
Baax a kati mam?
Talen in mahant hundzit ic mam.
Baaxtial tech mam?
Util in zot tu hol u uit in uabil mam.

Drrrrrrum!

U KAY BACHOOB

tzicbaltabi tumen Martina Yu Chan, Ticul

A uohel baax cu yalic le bachoob leten cu hoppol u kayoob? Cu thanoob beya:

Hoycepech!
Hoypelech!
Hoycepech!
Hoypelech!
Coox dzocol bel!

Kazcepech!
Cex bicac!
Kazcepech!
Cex bicac!
Coox dzocol bel!
SPOILED CORN
told by Ignacia Ku de Cen, Ticul

There was it is said two magpies, very hungry, when they arrived in the middle of a garden. Then they were sunning themselves, then they began to speak, then they said like this:

   There really isn’t any.
   There is.
   There is, but moldy.
   So?

KETTLE DRUM
told by Julio Dzul, Kom Cheen

Do you know what that kettle drum says when it begins to play? I will tell you what it says:

   Where do I put my penis, where do you put your penis?
   Where do I put my penis, where do you put your penis?

LET’S GO TO MASS
told by Paula Cen, Muna

Let’s go to mass.
I am not going.
Why?
Because there is a stick sticking out of the ass hole of my younger sibling.

BOMBA

I am not kissing your mouth because your nostril is wet (your nose is running).

PICH

So that you take out the seeds of the pich tree from its cover you throw the seed pod into hot ashes. With a stick you stir the ashes so that the fruit heats up really well. Meanwhile you say 20 times like this:

   Throw off your slip, throw off your underwear, throw off your slip, throw off your underwear, ...

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COBIL IXIM

tzicbaltabi tumen Ignacia Ku de Cen, Ticul

Yan bin catul cheloob, hach uiihoob. Ca kuchooch chumuc humppel col. Ca tu haykintubaob, ca hoppol u thanoob. Ca tu yalahooob beya:

Hach minaam.
Yan.
Yan, pero cob.
Cex?

TIMBAL

tzicbaltabi tumen Julio Dzul, Kom Cheen

A uohel baax cu yalic le timbalo lecen cu hoppol u paxe? He in ualic tech baax cu yalic:

Tuux cin dzic in ton, tuux ca dzic a ton?
Tuux cin dzic in ton, tuux ca dzic a ton?

COOX MISA

tzicbaltabi tumen Paula Ku, Muna

Coox misa.
Ma tin bin.
Baanten?
Tumen hokaan chilib tu hol u uit in uidzin.

BOMBA

Ma tin dzudz a chi tumen chul u hol a ni.

PICH

Utial ca hozic u nek pich ti u pix can a pulic u uich pich ichil choco taan. Yetel humppel che can a peczic le taan utial u malob kintic le uicho. Calicil ca ualic 20 mal beyo:

Pul a pic, pul a uex, pul a pic, pul a uex, ...
RIDDLES

As was seen in the selection “Zuyua Than yetel Naat”, the use of riddles in the Mayan language has a long, and in former times, an important role in Mayan society. Today riddles are employed, as far as we know, just to pass the time at such occasions as weddings, funerals, anniversaries of the death of someone, or other such get-togethers. Two of the riddles given here can be traced to the riddles of “Zuyua Than yetel Naat”. The riddle about the jicama comes forth twice in “Zuyua Than yetel Naat”: once in riddle 3:18 from the first list and once in riddle 24 from the second list. The riddle about quail is to be found in riddle 40 from the second list.

For more on riddles and wordplay generally see chapter seven in Allan Burn’s book “An Epoch of Miracles: Oral Literature of the Yucatec Maya”. 
IF YOU ARE INTELLIGENT

If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
  Its back is green, its center is red?
  Watermelon.

If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
  Its back is yellow, its center is iron colored?
  Nances.

If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
  Its back is brown, its center is red, its seed is brown?
  Mamey.

If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
  You take off its slip, it laughs?
  Jicama.

If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
  You are just going, you are just going along,
  when you turn your eyes skywards and you see
  a white jicara which has climbed up over the road?
  Moon.

If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
  Eat hair?
  Hat, because it eats your hair.

If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
  It goes running along, then it falls?
  Pila. (play on words “halal” and “tun”)

If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
  You make it, you don’t touch it?
  Shit.

If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
  You make it, you don’t see it?
  Fart.

If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
  It goes, it goes, but it does not arrive?
  Stone wall.
UA YAN A NAAT

Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   Yax u pach, chac u dzu?
   Sandia.

Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   Kankan u pach, acero u dzu?
   Chi.

Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   Atavacado u pach, chac u dzu, atavacado u nek?
   Chacal haaz.

Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   Ca zilic u pic, cu cheic?
   Chicam.

Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   Chen ta bin, chen ta bine,
   ca likz a uich caanale
   ca uilic humppel zac luch nacaan ti be?
   Luna.

Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   Hap tzotz?
   Ppoc, tumen cu hapic a tzotz.

Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   Halal tu bin, tun tu lubul?
   Haltun.

Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   Tech ca betic, ma ta machic?
   Ta.

Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   Tech ca betic, ma ta uilic?
   Ciz.

Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   Tu bin, tu bin, pero ma tu kuchul?
   Cot.
If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
   Hungry it goes, full it returns?
   Pail; it’s hauling water from the well.

If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
   Full it goes, hungry it returns?
   Rocket.

If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
   It has two necks, two hands, one body?
   Hammock.

If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
   First its ribs are put in place, then its meat is put on?
   House.

If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
   I am just going by the side of the road, it bites me?
   Nettle.
   Why do you say nettles?
   Because if you passed next to that those nettles,
   it will bite you.

If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
   Its back is a hole, its rattle is white?
   Mouth.
   Why then mouth?
   Because that mouth, its back is yellow, inside its white.

If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
   The stones of the field?
   Quail, because if it doesn’t move, it looks like a stone.

If you are very intelligent, intelligent:
   Hungry in the day, full at night?
   Hammock.
Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   Uiih tu bin, naah tu zut?
   Choy; cu paytic cheen.

Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   Naah tu bin, uiih tu zut?
   Volador.

Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   Cappel u cal, cappel u kab, humpell u uincl?
   Kaan.

Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   Tanil u dzabal u chalate, cu dzocale cu dzabal u bake?
   Na.

Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   Chen cin bin tu hal be, cu chien?
   Chinchinchay.
   Baaxten chinchinchay?
   Tumen ua ta man tu tzel le chinchinchayo, he u chiech.

Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   Hol u pach, zac u zoot?
   Chi.
   Baaxten tun chi?
   Tumen le chio, tu pach kankan, ichil zac.

Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   U tunichil chakan?
   Bech, tumen ua ma tu pec, chicaan bey tunich.

Ua hach naatech, naateche:
   Uiih yetel kin, naah yetel akab?
   Kaan.
SONGS

The following songs are just a brief sample of a number of ditties which are common amongst the Maya. Two of these in particular, the first one about the armadillo and the fourth one about the bedbug and the flea, are quite common. However, despite their being very common these two songs appear in many different versions. In all of the armadillo songs which we have heard the theme is at least the same: different parts of the body of the armadillo are some object which belong to a gentleman or lady. On the other hand, there are various couples getting married in the song of the bedbug and the flea. The constant theme in that song is that the couple getting married is very poor and the various things needed for them to get married are provided by the various animals and plants who are the donors of these objects. Just as the words vary considerably in these songs, so do the melodies. We have no explanation for the variations either in the words or melodies. For another version of the armadillo song see chapter 7 in Allan Burn’s “An Epoch of Miracles”.

Beyond these types of songs there are the following types also to be found in Mayan: religious (mainly created by the various protestant religions which are hard at work trying to convert the Maya to their religions. The melodies are mostly based on standard protestant, i.e. English beer hall, melodies.), words set to dance tunes of jarana rhythms, and carnival songs, in particular Coneex, coneex palaleex (Let’s go, let’s go boys).

The following songs were originally typeset using the colonial orthography, and we have left them that way here to give the reader some practice looking at that orthography. See Chapter 1, Section 4 for explanation of the colonial orthographic symbols.
I am going to tell you a little story. This story is a little story about a little armadillo. This armadillo is made fun of very much by those people. Then a little girl came, then she said, “Don’t you make fun of this armadillo because it is very delicious to eat. The only thing is we are going to make a little song about it.”

1) Don’t grab from me, don’t grab from me the tail of that little armadillo, The walking stick of the gentleman, the walking stick of the gentleman, Con tze, con tze, con tzecatetze con tze. (the noise of the armadillo)

2) Don’t grab from me, don’t grab from me the carapace of that little armadillo, The frying pan of the gentleman, the frying pan of the gentleman, Con tze, con tze, con tzecatetze con tze.

3) Don’t grab from me, don’t grab from me the shell of that little armadillo, The harp of the gentleman, the harp of the gentleman, Con tze, con tze, con tzecatetze con tze.

4) Don’t grab from me, don’t grab from me the foot of that little armadillo, The fork of the gentleman, the fork of the gentleman, Con tze, con tze, con tzecatetze con tze.

5) Don’t grab from me, don’t grab from me the head of that little armadillo, The meal of avocado of the gentleman, the meal of avocado of the gentleman, Con tze, con tze, con tzecatetze con tze.

6) Don’t grab from me, don’t grab from me the eyes of that little armadillo, The meal of beans of the gentleman, the meal of beans of the gentleman, Con tze, con tze, con tzecatetze con tze.

7) Don’t grab from me, don’t grab from me the ears of that little armadillo, The spoon of the gentleman, the spoon of the gentleman, Con tze, con tze, con tzecatetze con tze.

8) Don’t grab from me, don’t grab from me the tripe of that little armadillo, The necklace of the gentleman, the necklace of the gentleman, Con tze, con tze, con tzecatetze con tze.

9) Don’t grab from me, don’t grab from me the shit hole of that little armadillo, The ring of the gentleman, the ring of the gentleman, Con tze, con tze, con tzecatetze con tze.
CHAN UECH
kaytabi tumen Ladislao Cen Chan, Ticul


2) Ma machic ten, ma machic ten u bobox chan uecho,
   U sarten dzul, u sarten dzul,
   Con tze, con tze, con tzecatetzex con tze.

3) Ma machic ten, ma machic ten u tzol chan uecho,
   U arpa dzul, u arpa dzul,
   Con tze, con tze, con tzecatetzex con tze.

4) Ma machic ten, ma machic ten u yoc chan uecho,
   U trinchante dzul, u trinchante dzul,
   Con tze, con tze, con tzecatetzex con tze.

5) Ma machic ten, ma machic ten u pol chan uecho,
   U yoch om dzul, u yoch om dzul,
   Con tze, con tze, con tzecatetzex con tze.

6) Ma machic ten, ma machic ten u yich chan uecho,
   U yoch buul dzul, u yoch buul dzul,
   Con tze, con tze, con tzecatetzex con tze.

7) Ma machic ten, ma machic ten u xicin chan uecho,
   U cuchara dzul, u cuchara dzul,
   Con tze, con tze, con tzecatetzex con tze.

8) Ma machic ten, ma machic ten u ne chan uecho,
   U cadena dzul, u cadena dzul,
   Con tze, con tze, con tzecatetzex con tze.

9) Ma machic ten, ma machic ten u hol u ta chan uecho,
   U sortija dzul, u sortija dzul,
   Con tze, con tze, con tzecatetzex con tze.
BEDBUG AND FLEA
sung by Martina Yu Chan, Ticul

1) They wanted to finish their road (get married), bedbug and flea, But what gives, there isn’t their money.
Then answered therefore, a little fish,
“Sunk at the edge of the water, I give their money.”

2) They wanted to finish their road, bedbug and flea,
But what gives, there aren’t their shoes.
Then answered therefore, an old cow,
“When the finishing of the road happens, I give their shoes.”

3) They wanted to finish their road, bedbug and flea,
But what gives, there aren’t their rings.
Then answered therefore, a little chicken,
“Squatting in my little nest, I give their rings.”

4) They wanted to finish their road, bedbug and flea,
But what gives, there isn’t their shawl.
Then answered therefore, a boa constrictor,
“Wrapped around the branch of a tree, I give their shawl.”

5) They wanted to finish their road, bedbug and flea,
But what gives, there aren’t their cloths.
Then answered therefore, an old ivy,
“Stretched out along the wall, I give their cloths.”

6) They wanted to finish their road, bedbug and flea,
But what gives, there isn’t their rosary.
Then answered therefore, a leaping poisonous snake,
“When the finishing of the road happens, I give their rosary.”

7) They wanted to finish their road, bedbug and flea,
But what gives, there isn’t their chocolate.
Then answered therefore, a little chachalaca,
“Squatting on the tree branch, I give their chocolate.”
CHINCHA YETEL CHIC
kaytabi tumen Martina Yu Chan, Ticul

2) U kat dzocl u bel, chincha yetel chic,
Pero baax u dzic, minaan u xanbi,
Ca tu nucah tun, huntul x-nuc uacax,
“Uchuc u dzocol bel, ten dzic u xanbi.”

3) U kat dzocl u bel, chincha yetel chic,
Pero baax u dzic, minaan u dzipit kab,
Ca tu nucah tun, huntul chichan x-cax,
“Thuchlic tin chan ku, ten dzic u dzipit kab.”

4) U kat dzocl u bel, chincha yetel chic,
Pero baax u dzic, minaan u bochil,
Ca tu nucah tun, huntul pay och can,
“Codzlic tu kab che, ten dzic u bochil.”

5) U kat dzocl u bel, chincha yetel chic,
Pero baax u dzic, minaan u noki,
Ca tu nucah tun, humppel x-nuc xlail,
“Haylic tu hal cot, ten dzic u noki.”

6) U kat dzocl u bel, chincha yetel chic,
Pero baax u dzic, minaan u rosario,
Ca tu nucah tun, huntul uolPOCH can,
“Uchuc u dzocol bel, ten dzic u rosario.”

7) U kat dzocl u bel, chincha yetel chic,
Pero baax u dzic, minaan u cacui,
Ca tu nucah tun, huntul chichan bach,
“Thuchlic tu kab che, ten dzic u cacui.”

96 “U kat dzocl u bel” is a contraction of “u kat dzocol u bel”. When sung the “l” in “dzocl” actually appends itself to the following “u” so that in pronunciation the phrase sounds like “u-kat-dzoc-lu-bel.”
8) They wanted to finish their road, bedbug and flea,
But what gives, there isn’t their honey.
Then answered therefore, an old woman bumble bee,
“When the finishing of the road happens, I give it to you in the center of the tree.”

9) They wanted to finish their road, bedbug and flea,
But what gives, there isn’t their godfather.
Then answered therefore, a little mouse,
“Squatting in my little hole, I will be your godfather.”

10) They wanted to finish their road, bedbug and flea,
But what gives, there isn’t their priest.
Then answered therefore, a red headed vulture,
“Squatting on the tree branch, I will be your priest.”
8) U kat dzocl u bel, chincha yetel chic,
Pero baax u dzic, minaan u cabi,
Ca tu nucah tun, huntul x-nuc bolon,
“Uchuc u dzocol bel, ten dzic tu dzu che.”

9) U kat dzocl u bel, chincha yetel chic,
Pero baax u dzic, minaan u padrino,
Ca tu nucah tun, huntul chichan cho,
“Thuchlic tin chan hol, tene u padrino.”

10) U kat dzocl u bel, chincha yetel chic,
Pero baax u dzic, minaan u yum kini,
Ca tu nucah tun, huntul chac pol chom,
“Thuchlic tu kab che, tene u yum kini.”
OLD WOMAN POSSUM

Listen carefully old woman possum, If you don’t behave yourself,
Don’t become good, I burn your home!

FIERY TURTLEDOVE

Fiery Turtledove, where are you, Where are you Fiery Turtledove,
I saw him with you, With you I saw him.

LET’S EAT

Bring your jicara, bring your dish gourd,
So that I give you to fill your ass.

HALF BAKED ARMADILLO

sung by Ignacia Ku de Cen, Ticul

When then you little beautiful woman,
When then you are very beautiful,
When then your beauty passes,
Your face is like a half cooked armadillo.

LADY BEE

sung by Martina Yu Chan, Ticul

I am just going along a path,
When then a bee stings me.
“Get yourself out of here lady bee.
Don’t go and sting my belly button.”
X-NUC OCH

Ci u-xnuc och, Ua ma ta heo-tal,
Ma ta ti-bi-tal, Ten toc a uo-toch!

MUCUY KAK

Mu-cuy kak, tuux yan-ech, Tuux yanech, Mucuy kak,
Tin uila-y tel tech, Ye-tel tech tin ui-lah.

COOX HANAL

Taz a luch, taz a lec, "Tial in sic u butha uit.

KAZ TAKAN UECH

Le tun tech chan xcichpam xchup, Le tun tech hach xcichpamecho,
Le tun man a xcichpam-il, Bey a ulch kaz ta-kan uech.

COLEL CAB

Chen tan in binti humpel be, Len ca u chien yikel cab.
“Tze-la-ba tela colel cab. Ma a man a chi u holin tuch.”
APPENDIX A
Fray Diego de Landa’s Alphabet

In Section 3 on the Mayan Alphabet there is reference to de Landa’s Alphabet. Here is the full text of his comments with drawings. The English translation is from Tozzer’s translation of “Relación de las cosas de Yucatan”.

Facsimile of page 45r from Landa’s Relación
Tozzer’s Translation of Landa’s text, pp 44v-45r

These people also made use of certain characters or letters, with which they wrote in their books their ancient matters and their sciences, and by these and by drawings and by certain signs in these drawings, they understood their affairs and made others understand them and taught them. We found a large number of books in these characters and, as they contained nothing in which there were not to be seen superstition and lies of the devil, we burned them all, which they regretted to an amazing degree, and which caused them much affliction. Of their letters I will give here an A, B, C, since their ponderousness does not allow anything more; for they use one character for all the aspirations of their letters and afterwards another for joining /, and thus they go on doing ad infinitum, as can be seen in the following example: Le means a noose and to hunt with it; in order to write it with their characters, we having made them understand that there are two letters, they wrote it with three, putting as an aspiration of the l, the vowel, e, which it has before it; and in this way they are not mistaken, even though they should be employed in their skilful device, if they wish to. For example:

Then they add at the end, the part which is joined. Ha means water, and, because the sound of the letter H has a h, in front of it, they write it at beginning with a and at the end in this way.  

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97 Page 45r.

98 It has become clear recently that when writing out monosyllabic words which end in a clipped, or glottal-stopped vowel, the convention first in hieroglyphs and then carried over into Latin script was to double the vowel. Thus, in the colonial manuscripts “noose” is frequently spelled lee, “water” as haa, “mother” as nua, “hawk” as ii, etc. In the example of le, or in colonial spelling practice lee, what Landa is showing is that the two hieroglyphs, e and le (the e and first l given Landa’s “alphabet” shown on the next page), are combined to give lee, and that in the example for haa the hieroglyphs a (the first a shown in the “alphabet”) along with h and the hieroglyph for “water” ha are combined to give haa.

99 In the facsimile this line reads: “Ha · que quiere decir agua porq[ue] la haché tiene a · h · antes de si la ponen ellos al principio con a · y al cabo de esta manera.” See Appendix B for a commentary on the letter h (hache in Spanish). It is not clear why Landa felt the need to include the hieroglyph for his letter h behind and attached to the hieroglyph for a, and further why in the letters he associated with the hieroglyphs he did not include h. The hieroglyph for “water” is generally considered to be that as shown, so if Landa was to be consistent with his previous example for lee one would have thought that giving the hieroglyphs a and ha would have been enough.
They also wrote it in parts, but in both ways. I should not place it here nor should I treat it, except to give a full account of the affairs of this people. *Main kati*\(^{100}\) means “I do not wish”; they write it in parts in this way:

Here follows their abc:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{A} \quad \text{A} \quad \text{A} \quad \text{B} \quad \text{B} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{T} \quad \text{E} \quad \text{H} \\
&\text{I} \quad \text{CA} \quad \text{K} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{M} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{O} \quad \text{O} \\
&\text{PP} \quad \text{CU} \quad \text{KU} \quad \text{X} \quad \text{X} \quad \text{U} \quad \text{U} \quad \text{Z} \\
&\lambda \quad \lambda \\
\end{align*}
\]

This language is without the letters which are not given here, and it has others, which it has added from ours to represent other things of which it has need; but already they do not use at all these characters of theirs, especially the young people who have learned ours.

\(^{100}\) Properly this sentence should be segmented as *Ma in kati*. Literally, “not I want.” The phrase is still used in modern Mayan.
APPENDIX B  
Notes on a comparison between Hieroglyphic Writing  
and the Latin Script as applied to the Mayan Language

As mentioned both in the Introduction (pages 3-4) and in the chapter on the Alphabet  
(pages 7-8), it seems most probable that certain members of the Mayan nobility played an important role in helping the Spanish friars adapt the Latin alphabet to the Mayan language. As noted in the chapter on the Alphabet this supposition is based on the fact that, especially in the colonial texts and vocabularies, there are certain spelling conventions which appear to be derived from hieroglyphic practices.

Starting with the work of Knorosov which was begun in the 1950’s it has become clear that the so-called Landa Alphabet as shown in Appendix A is a snapshot of the use of some hieroglyphs as phonetic symbols. There are reckoned to be in total about 250 of these phonetic symbols out of the more than 1,000 known Mayan hieroglyphs. Following this commentary is a syllabary of Mayan hieroglyphs with the columns giving the standard vowels of A, E, I, O, U and the rows giving consonants. Thus, for the consonant B there is a row showing the hieroglyphs for BA, BE, BI, BO, BU, etc. However, as mentioned in the chapter on the Alphabet, there are really 11 vowel sounds as recognized by the writers of the early Mayan texts written with Latin script: A, E, I, O, U, AY, EY, IY, OY, UY, and AU. It is my opinion that not including columns for most, if not all of these vowel sounds is an oversight and represents our narrow way of viewing how a language works by limiting number of vowel sound representations. Thus, while the following syllabary shows the fish symbol in the box KA, it would be logical to assume that a Yucatecan Mayan speaker would pronounce this fish symbol, using the colonial orthographic system used in this Grammar, as cay. It should be noted that while the vowel sound ay appears to be a diphthong in many European languages, in English we do not recognize the ay sound as being a diphthong, but rather as our vowel sound “I”.

The following syllabary also does not show the VC possibilities, of which there are many in the Mayan language. In Landa’s Alphabet for example there is the hieroglyph for the letter H, which is pronounced “a-che” in Spanish, and the representation is a slip knot such as one see at the ends of the hammock where the tie ropes pass through the hammock eyes. One of the words for “slip knot” and the verb root “to tie” in Mayan is ach.

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101 It is often noted that English has in fact some 22 vowel sounds, depending on the regional dialect, with each vowel representation taking on a variety of vowel sounds. Thus, for example, A can represent the standard European vowel sound of A as in the word “father”, but ranges in timbre through Ā as in “can” to Ā as in “nation”. However, in standard English orthography no attempt is made to distinguish between these different vowel sounds.

102 While there are five variations on how each of the standard vowels, i.e. A, E, I, O, U, are pronounced in the Mayan language, as noted on pages 6-7 in the chapter on the Alphabet, from the discussion on pages 7-8 it appears that in hieroglyphs there were ways to represent at least some of these variations through various hieroglyphic conventions.
It would seem then from these comments that the following Mayan syllabary is incomplete and needs to have more columns, both for the additional vowel sounds, and also for the VC combinations.

One interesting observation is that the “alphabets” or syllabaries of the Cherokee and northern plains nations such as the Cree parallel the Mayan syllabary. See the two pages following the Mayan syllabary. It would be an interesting study to see why the Cherokee syllabary in particular was developed by Sequoyah in the way he did. Was there, perhaps, some residual influence from the Mayan or Meso-American writing systems which influenced his decision to create a syllabary instead of applying the Latin alphabet directly to the Cherokee language? Given that there appears to have been cultural interchange between the native peoples of the northeastern Gulf Coast and the Maya in pre-Columbian times, as evidenced and noted in the section of this Grammar on modern stories (see page 271), perhaps there were other cultural manifestations shared by these cultures.

103 While the present Cherokee syllabary has 85 symbols, it is interesting to note that it has been suggested that Sequoyah originally began with some 250 symbols, but cut the number back to 86 and then to 85 symbols as the syllabary came into use. Note the number of 250, which is in line with the number given above in paragraph 2 of this Appendix for the number of phonetic Mayan hieroglyphs. About the origin of the Cherokee syllabary, the book “A Cherokee Encyclopedia” by Robert J. Conley has the following comment: “Whether Sequoyah actually invented the syllabary is controversial. Some believe that it was an ancient system that had fallen into disuse and that Sequoyah somehow managed to salvage it and make it available to the people.” Elsewhere Conley writes: “Although Sequoyah is credited with inventing the syllabary, some Cherokees have taken exception with that claim, maintaining that the syllabary is an ancient Cherokee writing system which was kept secret until Sequoyah decided to make it public.”

104 It is well known that in pre-Columbian times the Maya had an extensive trading network, with the island of Cozumel being one of the central hubs for this network. From Fernando Columbus’ description of a Mayan trading canoe which he saw while on the fourth Columbus voyage of 1502-1504 off the coast of Honduras, the Maya had very large vessels. This one was described as 8’ wide and as long as a galley (65’?). It was manned by 25 men and also carried an unspecified number of women. It was laden with merchandise, some items of which were included in Fernando’s description. It also had an awning to cover the occupants and merchandise. It is known that there was communication between the various islands such as Jamaica and Cuba and Yucatan, plus extensive trade from Yucatan to as far south as Columbia. While there are no records of trade being carried on by the Maya on the northern Gulf Coast, it would certainly not have been out of the reach of the Mayan traders in terms of technological ability. There are some artifacts found in Yucatan which had their origin in the Arizona / New Mexico area, such as turquoise plaques and pot shards, but those could have just as easily have come to Yucatan by some overland route. What is needed to prove that the Maya did carry on trade with the peoples of the northern Gulf Coast are some artifacts, either of the Maya in the Gulf coast region or of the Gulf Coast people in Yucatan.
Mayan Syllabary

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Sequoyah's complete Cherokee syllabary, 1825
Cree syllabary (Plains/Swampy Cree)

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A dot after the symbol = w

Example: q = kwē
APPENDIX C

On the following pages are sample pages from five colonial manuscripts, two colonial vocabularies, one colonial publication and the hand-written autobiographical note by José Sabino Uc. They are given so that the reader can have some idea what these works look like:

1) The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel:
   Compiled by Juan José Hoil, 1782.
   Shown: page 1.

2) Códice Pérez:
   Compiled by Juan Pío Pérez, 1837.
   Shown: page 101.

3) The Chilam Balam of Tizimin
   Compiler's name and date not given.
   Shown: page 11r

4) Doctrina Christiana
   Compiled by Fr. Juan Coronel, 1620
   Printed in La Emprenta de Diego Garrido, Mexico.
   Shown: page 3r.

5 & 6) The Book of Chilam Balam of Kaua
   Compiler's name not given; 1789.
   Shown: pages 3 & 108.

7) Calepino Maya de Motul
   Compiled by Fr. Antonio de Ciudad Real, 1580-1614
   Shown: page 1r.

8) Bocabulario de Maya Than de Viena
   18th century copy of an older vocabulary, possibly that of Gaspar de Náxera, c.a. 1580.
   Shown: page 199r.

9) Letter of the Ten Chiefs, February 11, 1567 with Spanish translation
   In Cartas de Indias
   Shown: Facsimile U.

10) José Sabino Uc’s Autobiographical Note
    In Berendt-Brinton Linguistic, Item 190: Lengua maya: dialecto del Peten
    University of Pennsylvania

11) A letter asking for a gun.
    From The Xiu Chronicles
    Peabody Museum of Harvard University
Códice Pérez, p. 101
EL PÁDRE NUESTRO.

Cayum yancue ticaane, taniqinabac skakan, ba tae anahuallecok, urecinabac auolah, rihuna, batericaane, sace camal kinualtoon, heclea caqesix caqipil, ba caqat ciq cipil, ah caqipil toone, mai x auihe caulhul, tac tun tabale hengi leheze, ychil labil. Amen Iesus,

EL AVÉ MARÍA.

Ciyolnem yanda Marie, churpeq tigracía, yunubil yas aúckol, pax pum aciunchabilih, yekol chapal tucimile paynumix ciqasían, bili aual tileus, yanda Marie, churpeq yhan, Dose, payahchenecokol hele, takintizix ca cimil, coon ah kebene, Amen Iesus.
Page 1r from the Calepino Maya de Motul
Transcript of page 1r of the Calepino Maya de Motul

[De los que comiençan en la letra] A ante a et b.

γ aal: con dos aes, significa cosa vn poco pesada. ¶ Vease adelante en al, que esta despues de ak.

γ aal: el agua que vno toma para beuer. ¶ chaex a ual tu çebal ca xijcex: tomad de presto vuestra agua, e ydos.

γ a: en respuesta; yendo en el fin de la oracion, significa, y como, l. y como que: esto es, afirmando. Vt: vinicech va a vutzcin lic a ualic be:105 εres hombre por ventura para hazer eßo que dizes? vinicena: y como que soy hombre.

γ aal than: 3 silabas; chismear o zizañar: andando con cuentos de vno en otro sembrando discordia. Vt: chan ti aal than: no andez chismeando. ¶ v haçahen in xiblil tumen yaal than Maria: açotome mi marido por el chisme de Maria.

γ aal than: chisme o zizaña aßi.

γ abal: ciruela. es nombre generico.

γ abal ac: ciruela siluestre y su fruta, la qual es pequeña y dulce como ciruela y la comen los paxaros.

γ abich: orinar y la orina.

γ abich puh l. puhuu: orinar podre y materia. ¶ y tambien es enfermedad que causa esto.

γ abich kik: orinar sangre.

γ abich.tah,[te]:106 oinar o mear sobre alguna cosa. ¶ yabichtah in nok Pedro: oriname o meome mi ropa Pedro.

γ abich taan: cosa orinada o meada, sobre que sean orinada.

γ abich thulyan l. abich thulyen: cosa tibia en licores, esto es, ni caliente ni fria, porque dizen es aßi la orina del conejo.

γ abich thulyen haa: agua tibia.

γ abich thulyen .l. abich thulyen: cosa vn poco seca o enjuta despues que se mojo.

γ abich thulyencunah: entibiar aßi algun licor.

γ abich thulyenhal: entibiarse.

γ abil: nieto o nieta de la abuela. esto es hijos de su hija. ¶ vabililo: este es mi nieto, hijo de mi hija. ¶ yabil Maria: el nieto de M[ari]a.

γ abla l. habla: aßi que l. pues que aßi es: es conjuncion ylatiua.

γ ab.tah,[te]: dar matraca. ¶ abtabl. es el paßiuo.

105 Typically in colonial manuscripts the vowel “u” which is the third person pronoun / possessive adjective and the consonant “u” (= w) at the beginning of Mayan words is represented by “v”. However, as can be seen here, the two symbols are used interchangeably.

106 Beginning with the entry “accab. tah, te:” on page 2r transitive verbs which take the consonant “t-” are given with the second and fourth forms of the verb. Later, beginning with the verb root “bak man” on page 43v, these transitive verbs are given as “(verb-root). tah .t.” To preserve a certain uniformity all transitive verbs of this variety will be written out as “(verb-root). tah, te” with the letters enclosed by [ ] being those which are missing from the ms. Strangely enough, the transitive verbs which take the causative marker “-z-” are not treated this way, but rather only the second form is given, namely “(verb-root)zah”. It is interesting to note that transitive verbs are given with their second form and in some instance with their fourth form but the intransitive and passive verbs are given with their general forms. If the dictionary was to be consistent then the transitive verbs would also be given using the general form, namely “(verb-root)ic”, “(verb-root)tic”, or “(verb-root)zic / (verb-root)ezic / (verb-root)bezic”.
Transcript of page 199r from the Bocabulario de Maya Than de Viena\textsuperscript{107}

---------- ...cal cheba...

[Urraca] desta tie[rr]a, o rendajo de cuerpo negro: chel
[Us]agre, especie de sarna: veez, veech, [ç]al

[V]agar o andar bagueando: kaat nachil [.l.] kaka[a]tancil
[Va]gre de agua dulce: ah luu [.l.] luu
Vagres de la mar: ah box
Va[h]ido, enfermedad de cabeza: çut ca[b, çut cab] ich [.l.] çutut cab
Vaydos tengo: çut v cab cab ten
Váyase [e]n ora mala, o bete o idos en ora mala: xijc a vach
Vaina de cuchillo o espada: v c[u]chil mazcab haaab
Vaina [o bolsa] de los testiculos: v chim ton
Vaina [o camisa] de la maçorca del maiz o corbertura: holoch
Vaina o cobertura de auas frijoles y otras legumbres: boxel
Vainillas que echan en el chocolate, olorosas: [ç]ijzbic
Vainilla [o dobladillo que se hace] en la ropa: v chij nok [.l.] v thicil nok
Valor [o] precio [de algo]: tulul
¿Quánto bale?: bahunx v tulul?
   Todas las cosas balen, tiene[n] precio y balor: mabal ma tulul v caah
Valer una cosa más que otra: pot manan okol [.l.] paynum okol
Valiente: ah coo, ah chich ol, holcan, yahau puç[ç]ikal, öonil
Valiente de grandes fuer[ç]as: chich muk
Valladar o ballado de tie[rr]a: tzimin luum, thol luum [.l.]uuumil paa
Vallado [o seto de palos o varas]: tulum che, colol che [.l.] hil che
Valle entre dos montes: kom [.l. h]e[m]
   Aquí en este balle de lágrimas: vay tu kom yaalil ich lae
   El balle de Josaafat: v hem luum Josafat
[Valle en camp]o llano: v hem chakan
   Hoya: [o]koop
[Vallena, pexe grande que] bala: itzam cab ain maçan
[Vanamente o en vano hacer algo]: pakachmabhal [.l.] pakmabhal
[Vanada cosa, vacía y sin sustancia]: hohochil ichil, ixma bal
[Vanagloria, soberia: tz]icbell
[Vanagloriarse así: tzicba]
[Vanquito pequeño para sentarse]: xacam che [.l.] chim che
[Vanquete, convite o fiesta: playal teil [.l.] çuuanil
[Vanquillo, especie de si]lla con pies: yoçliz kanche

\textsuperscript{107} Material in brackets supplied by other contemporaneous vocabularies such as the Solana and Motul II.
Letter of the Ten Chiefs, February 11, 1567

Cartas de Indias, Facsimile U

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que todos los pueblos de v. m. en nuestra tierra se sometan al lo que digo en el caso de los Rey nos deministradores, y que nos demos cuenta y seamos agradecidos por ello, aunque hayamos sido muy fieles a su voluntad. Y que el Rey nos deministradores nos haga justicia y haga justicia a los pobres y a los necesitados. Y que el Rey nos deministradores nos haga justicia y haga justicia a los pobres y a los necesitados. Y que el Rey nos deministradores nos haga justicia y haga justicia a los pobres y a los necesitados. Y que el Rey nos deministradores nos haga justicia y haga justicia a los pobres y a los necesitados.
José Sabino Uc’s Autobiographical Note
Berendt Linguistic Collection, Item 190:
Lengua maya: dialecto del Peten
Letter from Jacinto Pat to Felipe Rosado
Letter from Jacinto Pat to Felipe Rosado
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The reader interested in colonial material should consult the very extensive and detailed listing of those works given in Tozzer’s “A Maya Grammar”. Also of some help may be the introduction to the co-author’s (DDB) book “Post Conquest Mayan Literature” in which the full table of contents along with other pertinent information is given for the various extant “Books of Chilam Balam” and other sources for the material given in that book.

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