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Story Cycles in Chol (Mayan) Mythology: Contextualizing Classic Iconography

with Nicholas A. Hopkins, Ausencio Cruz Guzmán, Ashley Kistler, and Kayla Price



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Project Summary

The immediate goal of this research project was to amplify the known corpus of folk narrative materials in Chol, a modern Mayan language closely related to the language of Classic Maya inscriptions. The motivation for the project was the belief that a systematic study of modern Maya traditions can contribute to the understanding of Classic Maya art, iconography, and hieroglyphic inscriptions. Classic Maya artifacts, especially ceramics, depict many supernaturals and personified animals. Often these characters are shown in activities that are reminiscent of scenes from the Popol Vuh, a sixteenth century Maya document from Highland Guatemala. Some of the episodes of the Popol Vuh stories are in turn reflected in modern Chol (and other Maya) folklore. Furthermore, the structure of traditional narratives in Chol and the rhetorical devices used therein resemble those of Classic Period historical narratives written in hieroglyphics (Hopkins and Josserand 1990). There is a reasonable chance, therefore, that a systematic investigation of the form and content of this folklore will shed light on the scenes shown on Classic vases and elsewhere in Classic Maya art.

There is a certain urgency to the task of collecting traditional folklore. While older generations are still fluent and skilled performers of folktales featuring traditional characters and motifs, the younger generations are less fluent Chol speakers and tend to be focussed on non-traditional culture.

Field work, carried out in the Summer of 2002, was concentrated on recording, transcribing, and translating samples of Chol folklore. We made special efforts to contact older speakers of Chol, and to work with persons who were identified as traditional storytellers. Prior to field work we had assembled and reviewed an extensive collection of published folktales in Chol and related languages, and we continued to acquire more locally published material during the field season.

In the interviews conducted in the field, we attempted to elicit new versions of folktales already known, as well as folktales not already attested. In general, interviewees would first be asked to tell any stories that came to mind, and later would be prompted to tell other stories in the known repertory. While this methodology has certainly not resulted in an exhaustive inventory of Chol folktales, it has resulted in a collection of the most salient folktales and folktale types, the stories and kinds of stories that come first to mind.

Submitted 01/29/2003 by:

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(Please direct any questions to Nicholas A. Hopkins)

Field Work

The field work for this project began in early June, 2002. Principal project personnel (Dr. J. Kathryn Josserand, Dr. Nicholas A. Hopkins, and Sarah Ashley Kistler, a doctoral student in Anthropology at Florida State University; see [Figure 1](#)) flew from Tallahassee, Florida, to Cancún, Yucatán, México, and took a bus to Mérida to pick up a rented van. We then traveled to Zoh Laguna, Campeche, México ([Figure 2](#)), to secure housing for a later phase of field work. Rental of a suitable facility being arranged ([Figure 3](#)), we moved to the area of Palenque, Chiapas, México, to begin the collection of materials in the Chol language. In Palenque, we were joined by our colleague in Chol research, Ausencio Cruz Guzmán, a bilingual Chol and Spanish speaker.

Working from a base in Palenque, we first carried out interviews in the nearby community of La Cascada (south and east of Palenque, on the road to Chancalá and Bonampak; see [Figure 4](#)). Interviews with members of an extended family resulted in several audio cassette recordings, accompanied by digital audio tape and video recordings of the interviews (see [Appendix III: Interviews and Recordings](#)). Another interview was conducted in Palenque, with an elderly monolingual Chol couple from San Pedro Sabana, municipio of Salto de Agua. In this interview, we were joined by Karen Bassie, who was in the area collecting Chol materials for another FAMSI project.

After several days in Palenque, we moved our base to Tumbalá, Chiapas, one of the principal Chol-speaking towns of Highland Chiapas; activities in the Tumbalá area were coordinated with those of Karen Bassie and her colleagues. A series of story-telling interviews was carried out in Tumbalá, including an interview with a bilingual Chol poet (see Peñate Montejo 1999). The last week of June, we retrieved equipment and supplies from a storage facility in San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Chiapas, and transferred these materials to Zoh Laguna to begin the last phase of field work ([Figure 5](#) and [Figure 6](#)). During the final phase of field work we concentrated on the transcription, translation, and keyboarding of materials collected in the initial phase. We also carried out more interviews, in two Chol communities in the vicinity of Zoh Laguna ([Figure 7](#)). During this phase of work, the research team was joined by Kayla Price, a recent Anthropology graduate of FSU. Field work ended in late July with the preparation of materials for transfer to the United States and the return of equipment to San Cristóbal. Work continues on the analysis of materials collected and the preparation of publications resulting from the project.

The 16 interviews carried out during field work were recorded in a variety of media, resulting in 17 audio cassette tapes, 12 digital audio tapes, 13 digital video tapes, and a large number of digital still photographs of storytellers and their families. Standard cassette tapes facilitated transcription of the interviews; the digital media will ultimately be edited together to form an audio-visual corpus of modern Chol storytellers. Transcriptions, translations, and analyses of the folktales recorded will be prepared for publication in suitable formats.



Figure 1. Project Staff, Summer 2002 Field Season. Rear: Ausencio Cruz Guzmán, Kathryn Jossierand, Nicholas A. Hopkins. Front: Kayla Price, Ashley Kistler.



Figure 2. Street scene, Calle Puc Te, Zoh Laguna, Campeche.



Figure 3. Project headquarters on Calle Puc Te, Zoh Laguna, Campeche.



Figure 4. The home of Rafael López Vázquez, ejido La Cascada, Chiapas.



Figure 5. The front room of the project headquarters, Zoh Laguna, Campeche.



Figure 6. The kitchen of the project headquarters, in Zoh Laguna, Campeche.



Figure 7. Street scene, ejido Flores Magón, Campeche. Note the precolumbian ruins (mound at far right).

Results to Date: Dramatis Personae in Chol Folktales

A detailed examination of all aspects of the Chol folktales collected has not yet been accomplished, but a list of the major protagonists in these stories can be compiled. In earlier field seasons, we have documented texts on the Creation (featuring the Moon and her Twin Sons) as well as other stories (Cruz, Josserand and Hopkins 1980, Hopkins and Josserand 1994). Here, we are concerned only with the protagonists of the texts we collected in 2002. In future reports, we will formalize lists of settings, paraphernalia, event lines, and other story elements. In the meantime, for brief sketches, see [Appendix II](#). Most of the actors in these tales are human or near human (including personified animals). In a pioneer study of the closely related tales of the Tzeltal Maya, Brian Stross (1977, 1979), translating the Tzeltal term *pukuh*, referred to this group as "demons." There does not appear to be an equivalent Chol term, and since they are not particularly evil, we prefer to use the more neutral term "human-like characters."

Stories featuring human-like characters often involve an encounter of these creatures and humans, from which the humans barely escape. Two prominent sub-genres of such tales are the Messenger stories and the Comadre stories. In the Messenger stories, men go out to deliver a message and are stranded at night in an abandoned house. During the night the house is visited by witches; they discover the humans, and a chase ensues. In the Comadre stories, women go to the river to grind corn and gather snails, and one is revealed to be a jaguar transformer. The human flees and is chased. Other similar tales involve either humans travelling—often lost—in the deep woods, or visits by human-like characters to isolated human camps or houses. The inventory of the characters as they appear in this summer's collection of texts appears below (and in [Appendix II](#)). A guide to other published and unpublished literature treating these characters is also appended ([Appendix I](#)).

All of the human-like characters seem to represent the same underlying opposition, Culture versus Nature. Mesoamerican supernaturals are notorious for their multivocality (Hunt 1977), and all the human-like characters may ultimately be taken to be expressions of the negative and positive aspects of Nature. They share many features; stories about encounters with them tend to be similar, and the stories express similar values.

On the one hand, one set of these near-humans represents the dangers of Nature as opposed to the safety of Culture. They eat people, they speak brokenly, they are naked; they are often foiled because they do not understand the most basic aspects of civilized life, such as boiling water and cooking food. This set of threatening human-like characters includes Black Man, Spiny Man, Savage, and the Kichañob. On the other hand, other manifestations of human-like supernaturals represent the positive, nurturing aspects of Nature, promising wealth and welfare to the responsible user of natural resources, one who acts in accordance with the values of traditional Culture. This set of benevolent characters includes Chajk, Lak Mam, and Don Juan. While there is a distinct set of tales associated with each of these, they overlap in many features, and in origin they may all be manifestations of Earth Owner, the owner and manager of natural resources known from ethnographic sources as the human-like manifestation most often the object of human activity (prayers and offerings; Vogt 1969; Cruz, Josserand and Hopkins 1980).

The Cast of Characters

'Ijk'al (or *Xñek*). The *'Ijk'al* 'Black Man' or *Xñek* 'Negro' (from Spanish *negro*) is the most salient manifestation of the class of threatening human-like characters. He looks like a large black-skinned human, but displays non-human behavior and characteristics. He lives in the deep woods, and seeks to eat the people he encounters, although he rarely if ever succeeds, since he is not very smart and is easily fooled. He kidnaps human women and carries them off to the woods, where they proceed to give birth to children within a few hours. He has a characteristic whistle (like a mule driver's whistle, wheet

wheet wheet wheet whee-ew [falling]), and his footsteps have a characteristic sound (ch'oj, ch'oj, ch'oj...).

Ch'ix Wiñik. The "Spiny Man" is a large, human-like figure whose body is covered with thorns or spines that stand up when he is in the presence of humans. Like the Black Man, he lives in the deep woods, threatens to eat people, has limited powers of reason, and can easily be tricked. The Aulie and Aulie dictionary of Chol (1978:54) describes him as a "phantom, an evil spirit," and adds "It is said that he looks like an evil man with spines, but he is the creation of God. It is believed that at the end of the world he will eat all the bad people."

Salvaje. The "Savage" is another near-human character that resembles the Black Man and the Spiny Man. He also lives in the deep woods, eats people, and is readily foiled in his efforts. He is usually described as naked, and he may carry a large, crude club. There does not appear to be a Chol term for this creature other than the Spanish loanword *salvaje*.

Kichañob. "Our 'Uncles' [Mother's Brothers]" are more human than the preceding wild men, but they live in the deep woods, behave like savages, and are cannibals. The model for this class of demons is clearly the Lacandón Maya, and the same term is used by Chols and other Highland Chiapas Maya groups to denote the modern Lacandón.

Contrasting with the tales of encounters with frightening demons are the stories of encounters with *Earth Owner*, in his guises of Chajk, Lak Mam, and Don Juan, each of which is more human and earthly than the last. Chajk is the distant Lightning god, remote from direct interaction with people. Lak Mam and Don Juan are manifestations that appear locally and interact with humans (in association with rivers, in the case of Lak Mam, and caves, in the case of Don Juan).

Chajk. We have not collected Chol stories of any encounter of humans with Chajk as such. This manifestation of the Lightning god is distant and non-interactive, although he does respond to prayers made to Don Juan by bringing rain. Chajk seems equally distant from human interaction in a Tzeltal story of the formation of the Agua Azul River (Montejo Vázquez 1994). Note that Aulie and Aulie (1978:46) comment that Chajk is believed to defend communities from evil spirits. Karen Bassie's 2002 field work probed Chol communities for information about Chajk (and junior Chajks), so more details may be forthcoming.

Lak Mam. 'Our Grandfather' is a manifestation of Lightning that is the subject of a cycle of Chol folktales, the most common of which reports an encounter with Lak Mam by a pair of fishermen (Hopkins and Josserand 1980). A "water animal" has Lak Mam's leg in its mouth, and he sends the fishermen to get his hat and shirt from his wife, a huge toad. Putting on his clothes, he then blasts the water animal with a bolt of lightning, freeing his leg and stunning hundreds of fish, which the fishermen take home as their reward. The morals expressed in these tales support obedience to supernatural

authority, attention to performance of tasks, and the reciprocal relationship between humans and deities.

Don Juan. The manifestation of Lak Mam associated with caves is Don Juan, who takes human form and regularly interacts with people in folktales (Cruz, Josserand and Hopkins 1980). The typical Don Juan story has him befriend a human and give him gifts, with the condition he not reveal the source of the gifts, and use them only for his family's welfare. The inevitable violations of these conditions (which require unacceptably antisocial behavior) lead to a withdrawal of Don Juan from contact, often closing his cave and moving himself to other locations. This is the cave god to whom offerings are made to procure good hunting and abundant crops, and we believe his cult has been translated to that of the Señor de Tila, a Black Christ also known as the Señor de Esquipulas, in the Chol pilgrimage center of Tila, Chiapas, where offerings are made for the same purposes (Josserand and Hopkins 1997).

There are other, less human, characters who populate Chol folktales. They may appear at first to be human-like, but they are not really human, and they have non-human powers. They are universally dangerous and/or meddlesome, and stories usually revolve around the means to escape from them.

Xwuluk 'Ok. This character, as his name implies, has his "Feet on Backwards." He lives in the deep woods, and is responsible for causing people to lose their way in the jungle, to become confused and unable to find a trail back to human settlements. In order to counter his effect, people should put their clothes on backwards. This character has been reported under a number of name variants; the Aulie and Aulie (1978:34) Chol dictionary lists him as *bulu oc*: "evil spirit. It is believed that he lives in the mountains. He causes people to lose themselves in the mountains. One may defend one's self by putting one's clothes on backwards. See *ñec, ajal, ch'ix winic.*"

Sombrerón. 'Big Hat' has the appearance of a very short man wearing a very large hat. His behavior is much like that of Xwuluk 'Ok, in that he causes people to become confused and get lost in the woods.

The *Xibaj(ob)*, a set of supernaturals often called 'devil(s)' or 'witch(es)', appear to include some of the supernaturals that are depicted on Classic Period ceramics. The chief witch, Xibaj himself, is a bald human-like figure (also called Tzimajol, 'Gourd Head', i.e., Skull); he commands a party of skeletons and personified animals, including talking owls and foxes. The story line most associated with this cast of characters is the Messenger tale, where witches visit the abandoned house in which two messengers have taken refuge for the night. Owls precede the caravan of witches, foxes follow and sniff out humans, the witches sit down to a meal of human corpse. The humans are discovered and invited to eat; they escape, and a chase ensues. The morals stressed in these stories are that you should carry out your responsibilities in a timely manner, you shouldn't spend the night outside of human habitations, and you shouldn't eat forbidden foods. If you do you will pay with your life and/or soul, giving back a body for the one you consumed.

The *Transformers* are a set of supernaturals that can take human shape in order to deceive humans, usually with the goal of eating them. They may be witches or jaguars that take the shape of human males or females. (Jaguars are often said to be manifestations of Xibaj or the Devil.) In the *Jaguar-Man* stories, the jaguar takes the form of a man he has eaten, and presents himself to the man's wife and family. In the *Comadre* stories, the jaguar manifests as a woman, and accompanies women in their daily tasks of corn grinding (and snail collecting). In another set of stories, a *Flesh Dropper* or Skeleton has taken the guise of a man and lives as the father of a family of human children, who are told never to look in the kitchen at night. They spy and see him drop his flesh and meet with other skeletons, returning in the morning to put on his flesh again. He is dispatched by the children, who powder his abandoned flesh with salt and chile so that he cannot put it on.

Miscellaneous Themes. Several themes recur that are not related to demons, but which involve non-humans. One story which has been recorded in multiple versions is the tale of the *Dog Informer*, who tells his master of his wife's infidelity; they conspire to catch the lover and punish the wife. The dog betrays the woman because she mistreats him; the lover is punished by having his penis cut off (as he urinates through the cracks of the house wall). The penis is fried up with copious salt and fed to the wife as kidneys; she becomes thirsty and drinks so much water that she bursts.

A prominent genre is the *Race* story, in which two inherently mis-matched competitors challenge each other to a race, and the apparently less endowed competitor wins by some form of deceit or virtue. Examples of this tale pit a Deer against a Turtle, a Deer against a Toad, etc. These tales may be of European origin (see Aesop's fables), and it is normal for the animals in these tales to take Spanish titles, i.e., to be called "Mr. Deer" or "Uncle Toad." In one version of the race, the Turtle, a slower animal, wins by perseverance, as the overconfident Deer takes a nap along the trail. In another version, the Toads win over the faster Deer by deceit. The toads line up along the race course; each time the deer leaps forward, a toad leaps as well, but it is not the same toad, and they quickly outdistance the deer.

We have recorded one story about an encounter with the generalized dead rather than specific demons, *The Girl with a Candle*. This tale appears to be of European origin; a version of this story has been published by Díaz Vázquez (1998). A young girl looks out to see the Dead walking on Earth the night of All Saints' Day, and she is given a candle to keep by an old (dead) woman. She later learns that she will be taken to join the Dead the next year if she cannot protect herself, which she does by holding a newborn baby, whose innocence protects her from Death.

Commentary

From a review of the materials we have collected, we can tentatively suggest some relationships to the corpus of Classic art and iconography. Of the characters who figure in modern Chol folklore, certainly the underworld demons (Xibaj) and Lightning (Chajk)

appear on Classic ceramics. The demons include a range of skeletal beings, including large bald men wearing cloaks; compare the dancing skeletons of Flesh Dropper stories, Tzima Jol (Gourd Head) and Yum Xibaj (the Lord of the Underworld). Chajk (the "rain god"), ubiquitous in Codices and a frequent figure on ceramics, is currently manifested as a set of characters that includes Lightning, Lak Mam and Don Juan. While not covered in this report, the Hero Twins depicted on ceramics are the same personages as the children of the Moon in the modern Chol stories we have reported elsewhere (the Older Brother and Younger Brother, Askuñäl and Ijtz'íñäl, in Hopkins and Josserand 1994; see also Whittaker and Warkentin 1965).

The ceramic corpus also depicts fierce black men (the antecedents of the Ijk'al?) and supernaturals who wear extraordinary hats (the model for Sombrerón?). Personified jaguars, deer, dogs, and eagles are depicted, as well as other animals; all of these are prominent in Chol folktales. Spirit companions (*wäy*), frequently shown on ceramic vessels, are the topic of a number of tales. From the folktales, we learn about the typical activities of these near-humans, animals, and spirits, information that may be of assistance in interpreting Classic scenes. The importance of the potential identification of these Classic Period personages with the characters of modern folktales is that we learn much more about them in folktales than we can learn from their Classic appearances alone.

We are not ready to argue that specific modern folktales relate stories that are the subjects of specific examples of the art on Classic ceramic vessels; our expertise lies in the modern language rather than in Classic ceramics. Prior to our fieldwork, Justin Kerr supplied us with a large corpus of rollout photographs of Classic ceramics, to elicit commentary from Chol storytellers. There was no immediate recognition of the scenes being shown, although informants had no difficulty identifying many of the animals depicted and could describe in general terms what was happening in the scenes. In brief, we cannot argue that Classic art directly illustrates the stories attested in modern folktales. On the other hand, we have had no difficulty finding seemingly appropriate scenes from Classic art to illustrate modern folktales.

We believe that a more detailed examination of the folkloric material (as well as the ceramics) will yield more results. We need to accomplish not only a catalog of protagonists and major story lines, but to identify sets of co-participants (characters frequently found together), characterize settings (the locations of scenes), and inventory paraphernalia (the clothing and other objects in the scene). For instance, in Chol folklore, witches (Xibaj) are almost inevitably preceded by owls and accompanied by foxes. Few folktales take place in towns and villages; most are placed in the deep woods, or in caves. Clothing (or its lack) is frequently described, and there are numerous stories that relate snakes being used as rope, including a land whose women tie their hair with snakes. Careful attention to such details may suggest concrete relationships between the elements of Classic art and modern folklore.

The language of the folktales and other materials we have examined also contributes to the study of Classic Period culture and language, including the interpretation of hieroglyphic inscriptions. Three of the elements of royal titles, *ma*, *ch'uj*, and *chak*, still

occur in ritual vocabulary and in a few fossilized expressions. The principal cargo-holder in Tila is the mayordomo of *ma kyumlal*, Great Our-Father. Service to the community is *ch'ujulbä 'e'tel*, 'holy work', using the adjective *ch'uj* ("holy") that was used in Classic times in the royal titles called Emblem Glyphs (Josserand and Hopkins 1996). The term for a powerful storm is *chak 'ik'* 'great wind'.

Most recently, in the folktales described above, we have discovered a probable Chol term for the 'ballgame'; Yucatec Maya sources (Barrerra Vásquez 1980) report the term as *pok'ol pok'* and related phrases; this is surely related to the Chol name *Puk'puk' Jol* 'Bouncing Head', a character reported in the folktales (Cristobalito 1988).

Suggestions for Future Research

There is a steadily increasing corpus of materials available in Chol, much of which includes folktales of the sort we have sought to collect. Government-sponsored educational projects and publication series continuously produce new literature. Although much of this literature is ephemeral, produced on a small scale and available only locally, this corpus should continue to be reported and analyzed by scholars interested in Mayan folklore. We include some of these new sources in the Bibliography below; these sources include versions of stories we have already collected as well as a few tales new to the corpus. This literature should continue to be monitored for traditional stories as well as for new trends, since we have noted many new stories that do not follow traditional patterns of text structure and do not treat traditional themes.

Chol is not the only Mayan language related to the language of Classic Maya culture. Two other modern languages, Chontal and Chortí, spoken in Tabasco, México, and western Honduras, respectively, are also descended from the Classic language, and a number of other Mayan languages are descended from Classic Period languages spoken in the greater sphere of Classic Maya culture, if not in the Classic homeland itself. Tzeltal and Tzotzil, currently spoken in the Chiapas Highlands to the south of the Chol region of Chiapas, are the premier members of the latter set of languages. Yucatecan Maya oral literature has similar literary structures, but its content is distinct and it features a distinct set of protagonists (for example, see Hofling 1991 for Itzaj Maya texts).

Our understanding of Classic Maya mythology would be enhanced if the literatures of Chontal, Chortí, Tzeltal, and Tzotzil were to be examined and extended as we have attempted to do for Chol oral literature. Research on Chol has been particularly critical, since there is no known Colonial material from Chol, and there are at least scattered reports on the other relevant languages. Modern material on Tzeltal and Tzotzil is much more extensive than that which exists on Chol. We have noted, however, that the folktales of the Tzeltal are similar in style and content to the Chol tales we have recorded, and one scholar (Stross 1977, 1978, and elsewhere) has pointed out parallels between the Tzeltal tradition and that of the Tzotzil, which is particularly well reported (Gossen 1974, 1977; Laughlin 1977, 1996).

The comparability of folktales across the Chiapas Mayan languages is readily apparent. Stross, for instance, reports a Tzeltal version of the Dog Informer in which the dog informs on his mistress and the lover's penis is cut off and fed to the wife (Hunting Dog; Stross 1977). His inventory of "demons and monsters" includes Black Demon (Tzeltal *h'ihk'al* or *kichan*), Backwards Foot (*hwalak' 'ok*), Rabid Demon, Tree Moss, and Longhair, more or less corresponding to the Chol Black Man (and the Kichañob), Feet on Backwards, and various Savages. His tales include stories of Transformers like Flesh Dropper.

Recently published Tzotzil stories include The Wild Black Man (Gómez 2000) and Big Hat (López Calixto Méndez 2000). Further afield, but still within the area of Lowland Classic Maya civilization, the character Sisimite, prominent in the folktales of the Belize Maya and Mopan as well as the Chorti and Kekchi (Ventur 1986:xxv-xxvi), has the features of Feet on Backwards, and other characters recall the Chol figures Sombrerón and Salvaje.

In some Mayan languages, the repertory of tales is similar, but there are notable differences. In Hofling's (1991) collection of Itza stories, for instance, a man tricks and captures a jaguar much like Chols deal with the Savage (Man and Jaguar). In another tale, one of two brothers transforms into a jaguar after putting on its fresh skin; he then pursues his human brother like the Chol jaguars that have taken human form (Two Brothers and a Beast). In yet another tale, there is competition, but not a race, between the Rabbit and the Fox. Such Trickster stories are common in some Mayan languages (e.g., Chuj), but do not have a prominent place in Chol folklore.

Even a cursory examination of the corpus of Mayan folklore, much of which is only now becoming available for scholarly attention, is enough to suggest this is a very rich vein to be mined for cultural insights and intergroup relationships. A thorough scholarly examination of the rich folklore of Mayan language speakers in terms of the inventory of characters and the motifs and morals presented, as well as the distribution of variants, could ultimately make key contributions to the understanding of Classic Maya art and iconography.

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Appendix I: A Guide to Chol Narrative Literature

Published and Unpublished Sources for Chol Folktales and Stories, by Major Participants and Motifs. Compiled by Nicholas A. Hopkins, August, 2002

Black Man (Ijk'al)

- ◆ Arcos Mendoza 1999: 66-68 (Iyesomal ijk'al xñek) [Customs of the Black Man]
- ◆ López Méndez, Abelardo, Interview 2002-3
- ◆ López Vázquez, Rafael, Interview 2002-2
- ◆ Morales Bermúdez 1999: 101-104 (El Niek) [The Black Man]
- ◆ Pérez Chacón 1988: 167-168 (Jiñi wiñik x-ijk'albä o xñek, jiñi tyä'luñtyel) [The Black Man, Temptation]

Spiny Man (Ch'ix Winik)

- ◆ López Méndez, Abelardo, Interview 2002-3
- ◆ Morales Bermúdez 1999: 104-105, El Ch'ix winik [Spiny Man]

Big Hat (Sombrerón)

- ◆ López Vázquez, Rafael, Interview 2002-2

Feet on Backwards (Xwuluk 'ok)

- ◆ López Méndez, Abelardo, Interview 2002-3

Savage (Salvaje)

- ◆ López Vázquez, Rafael, Interview 2002-2

Lacandóns (Kichañob)

- ◆ Alvaro Montejó, Juan, Interview 2002-12
- ◆ Moreno, Nicolás, in Alejos 1988: 37-40 (Lak Kichan) [Our Uncles]

Don Juan

- ◆ Cruz *et al.* 1980 (The Cave of Don Juan)
- ◆ Mayo Jiménez 1985, in Hopkins and Josserand 1994, 28 pp. (El cuento de una visita a don Juan) [The story of a visit to Don Juan]
- ◆ Vásquez, Sebastián, in Alejos 1988: 92-98 (I Yum Ch'en) [Lord of the Cave]

Our Grandfather (Lak Mam)

- ◆ Arcos Mendoza 1999: 14-15 (Aläjachaj) [Little Axe]
- ◆ Arcos Mendoza 1999: 115-116 (Ajaw) [Lord]
- ◆ Cruz Guzmán 1986, in Hopkins and Josserand 1994, T'an ti Wajali 44-61 (T'an Lak Mam) [Story of Our Grandfather]

Chajk (Lightning)

- ◆ López Vázquez, Rafael, Interview 2002-2
- ◆ Montejó Vásquez 1994 (Jiñi Chajk yik'oty bajche' tsa' ajñi jiñi Xäx K'elambä Ja') [Lightning and the Formation of the Río Agua Azul]

Flesh Dropper

- ◆ Pérez Chacón 1988: 169-172 (Juntyikil Xiba weñ ñoxixbä) [A Very Old Devil]

Transformers

- ◆ Arcos Alvarez *et al.* 1986, in Hopkins and Josserand 1994, T'an ti Wajali 66-87 (T'an Jini Bajlum Winik) [Story of the Jaguar-Man], and 22 pp. of text with analysis (jaguar becomes man)
- ◆ Arcos Mendoza 1999: 53 (Xbäk'tyesa bajlum) [Frightening Jaguar] (jaguar becomes man)
- ◆ Attinasi 1979 (Do not talk to dogs, they might talk back to you) (dog becomes woman to care for master)
- ◆ López Méndez, Abelardo, Interview 2002-3 (Comadre story; jaguar becomes woman)
- ◆ López Vázquez, Rafael, Interview 2002-2 (Comadre story; jaguar becomes woman)
- ◆ López Vázquez, Rafael, Interview 2002-2 (man becomes woman)
- ◆ Meneses Méndez 1997, Kolen Ik'ajel (La Gran Oscuridad) [The Great Darkness] (includes jaguar-man transformer)
- ◆ Morales Bermúdez 1999: 92-96 (Venturas y desventuras de una mujer que se volvió tapir) [Adventures of a Woman Who Turned into a Tapir] (woman becomes tapir because of her sins)
- ◆ Moreno, Nicolás, in Alejos 1988: 31-36 (Winik-bajlum) [Man-Jaguar] (jaguar becomes man)
- ◆ Moreno, Nicolás, in Alejos 1988: 37-40 (Lak Kichan) [Our Uncle] (Lacandóns become jaguars)
- ◆ Moreno, Nicolás, in Alejos 1988: 65-67 (Xmeba' winik) [The Orphan] (dog becomes woman to serve master; but stops when discovered)

Bouncing Head (Puk'puk' Jol)

- ◆ Cristobalito, in Alejos 1988: 71-74 (Pu'pu'k jol) [Bouncing Head]
- ◆ Arcos M., Miguel, in Meneses López 1986: 64-66 (Ili xtiklaya ik'aba' Xpuk'puk'jol) [The Menace Called Bouncing Head]

Flesh Eaters

- ◆ Díaz, Margarita, in Alejos 1988: 81-84 (Mu'bä i lok'el ti ak'lel) [Things that Come Out at Night]

Witches (Xibaj)

- ◆ Alvaro Montejo, Juan, Interview 2002-12
- ◆ Arcos Mendoza 1999: 87-90 (Bajche' tsa' kolyob lakpi'älob tyi Xiba); see also his X'etelob ti wajali, Josserand/Hopkins field notes [How People Protected Themselves from Demons]
- ◆ Morales Bermúdez 1999: 96-101 (El manjar de los brujos) [The Witches' Feast]
- ◆ Whittaker and Warkentin 1965: 98-101, Killed by the Spirits, a Messenger tale without the messenger motif but with the same episodes; 1965: 130-138; [The Devil and the Cave God, 130-133; How a Man Can Be a Devil, 134; The Cave God, 135-138]

Messengers (X'ak' Jun)

- ◆ Cruz Guzmán 1986, in Hopkins and Josserand 1994, T'an ti Wajali 98-131 (T'an jini Xibaj) [Story of the Devil]
- ◆ Díaz, Margarita, in Alejos 1988: 75-80 (Ak'jun) [Messenger]
- ◆ López Vázquez, Rafael, Interview 2002-2
- ◆ Meneses Méndez 1994 (Che' mi chämel amba i way lak pi'alo'b), a Messenger story featuring a traveling curer [How the One Who Is a Nagual of a Person Dies]
- ◆ Whittaker and Warkentin 1965: 98-101 (Killed by the Spirits), a Messenger tale without the messenger motif but with the same episodes.

Naguals (Wäy)

- ◆ Díaz, Margarita, in Alejos 1988: 85-90 (Tsi' ts'aka i yijnam); a man kills neighbor's wäy because he made his wife sick [He Cured His Wife]
- ◆ Meneses Méndez 1994 (Che' mi chämel amba i way lak pi'alo'b); death of a person with a nagual [How the One Who Is a Nagual of a Person Dies]
- ◆ Morales Bermúdez 1999: 92-96, Venturas y desventuras de una mujer que se volvió tapir [Adventures of a Woman Who Turned into a Tapir]
- ◆ Pérez Chacón 1988: 175-181 (Jiñi x-ixik tza'bä sujtyi tyi tzimiñ); wife becomes prostitute, dies and becomes tapir, because husband never questioned her behavior [The Woman Who Turned into a Tapir]
- ◆ Torres A., Pedro, in Meneses López 1986: 60-61 (Ili wiñik ambä ich'ujlel bajche' tentzun); man with goat nagual bested by man with peacock [pavo real] nagual [The Man Whose Nagual Was a Goat]
- ◆ Whittaker and Warkentin 1965: 90-98 (The Spirit of Man, 90-95; The Men With Two Spirits, 95-98); 1965: 110 (The Woman With a Fox Spirit).

Eagles (Xiye')

- ◆ Arcos, Francisco, in Alejos 1988: 25-30 (Kolem ba xiye'); man is carried off by eagle [The Big Eagle]
- ◆ Sánchez Díaz, Juan, in Meneses López 1986: 62-63 (Ili xiye' tzabu ik'uxu wiñikob); man is carried off by eagle; escapes, taking eagle's wings [The Eagle That Ate a Man]

Jaguars (Bajlum)

- ◆ Arcos Mendoza 1999: 53 (Xbäk'tyesa bajlum); jaguar-man transformer [Frightening Jaguar]
- ◆ Díaz, Margarita, in Alejos 1988: 41-43 (Meba' alälob); tiger wants to marry orphaned woman [The Orphan Children]
- ◆ López Vázquez, Rafael, Interview 2002-2 (Comadre story; tiger wants to eat woman)

- ◆ Meneses Méndez 1997 (Kolen Ik'ajel); man versus jaguar [La Gran Oscuridad]. La mujer y el jaguar, 105-106 (Comadre story; woman hides from jaguar in zapote, leaving her odor)
- ◆ Moreno, Nicolás, in Alejos 1988: 31-36 (Winik-bajlum); tigers teach man how to survive in the woods [Man-Jaguar]
- ◆ Sánchez Díaz, Juan, in Meneses López 1986: 57-59 (Jiñi bajlum yombu mantyar yik'ot wiñikob); tigers wanted to rule over people, but God helped people [The Jaguar Who Wanted to Rule Over Man]

Dog Stories

- ◆ Attinasi 1979 (Do not talk to dogs, they might talk back to you); dog becomes woman to care for master.
- ◆ López Velázquez, Rafael, Interview 2002-2 (Dog Informer; dog informs on cheating wife)
- ◆ Meneses Méndez 1998 (Xu'ok); a dog, Little Foot, transports his master to a strange land to deliver a message from a priest who has taken his wife; (the priest and wife turn into horses and die) [Little Foot]
- ◆ Moreno, Nicolás, in Alejos 1988: 65-67 (Xmeba' winik); dog becomes woman to serve master; but stops when discovered [The Orphan]

Tricksters

- ◆ Arcos, Francisco, in Alejos 1988: 47-50 (Bajlum yik'ot uch) [Jaguar and Possum]
- ◆ Moreno, Nicolás, in Alejos 1988: 51-59 (T'ul yik'ot i ko'); rabbit versus crocodile and jaguar [Rabbit and His Grandmother]
- ◆ Sánchez Meneses 1998 (Jiñi bajlum yik'oty uch) [The Jaguar and the Possum]
- ◆ See also Black Man, Spiny Man, Savage, Sombrerón, and Kichañob stories (Man versus Beast)

Races

- ◆ Alvaro López 1986, in Hopkins and Josserand 1994, T'an ti Wajali 136-145 (T'an ajk yik'ot me') [Story of Turtle and Deer]; see also SIL Primer (Jini me' yik'ot jun kojt ajk); turtle wins over deer [The Deer and a Turtle]
- ◆ López Vázquez, Rafael, Interview 2002-2 (Deer versus Toad; toads win over deer)

Morals and Morality

- ◆ Díaz, Margarita, in Alejos 1988: 75-80 (Ak'jun) (Mensajeros)
- ◆ Díaz, Margarita, in Alejos 1988: 85-90 (Tsi' ts'aka i yijñam) (Man kills neighbor's wäy because he made his wife sick)
- ◆ López Vázquez, Rafael, Interview 2002-2 (Mensajeros)
- ◆ Meneses Méndez 1998 (Xu'ok) (Little Foot, a dog, transports his master to a strange land to deliver a message from a priest who has taken his wife [priest and wife turn into horses and die])
- ◆ Morales Bermúdez 1999: 85-89, Cómo llegan los hombres a la otra vida
- ◆ Morales Bermúdez 1999: 89-92, Las tribulaciones del anciano (Christ visits, rewards the generous)
- ◆ Morales Bermúdez 1999: 92-96, Venturas y desventuras de una mujer que se volvió tapir
- ◆ Moreno, Nicolás, in Alejos 1988: 60-64 (Lak Ña' yik'ot i yalobil) (Son rejects mother; dies)
- ◆ Moreno, Nicolás, in Alejos 1988: 65-67 (Xmeba' winik) (Dog becomes woman to serve master; stops when discovered)
- ◆ Pérez Chacón 1988: 175-181 (Jiñi x-ixik tza'bä sujtyi tyi tzimiñ) (Wife becomes prostitute, dies and becomes tapir, because husband never questioned her behavior)
- ◆ Vásquez, Sebastián, in Alejos 1988: 99-102 (Pantiyel ti alä ch'iton) (Tricked into eating bad food, men die)

Origins and Creation

- ◆ Alvaro Montejo, Juan, Interview 2002-12 (Genesis)
- ◆ Arcos Mendoza 1987, in Hopkins and Josserand 1994, 18 pp. of analyzed text (K'in askunálbä y k'in x'ijtz'inälbä) (the Moon and her children)
- ◆ Arcos Mendoza 1999: 75-76 (Lakch'ujuña') (the Moon and her children)
- ◆ Arcos Mendoza 1999: 151 (Yotyoty Uw, K'iñ yik'oty Lakmam) (the Moon and her children)
- ◆ Cruz Guzmán 1986, in Hopkins and Josserand 1994, T'an ti Wajali 12-39 (T'an Lak Ch'ujul Na') (the Moon and her children)
- ◆ Guzmán Sánchez, Mateo, in Anderson 1957 (How Monkeys Came Into Being; How Snakes Came Into Being)
- ◆ Meneses Méndez 1997, Kolen Ik'ajel (La Gran Oscuridad)(Man versus Jaguar)
- ◆ Morales Bermúdez 1999 [Spanish only]: (El Gran Diluvio, 57-63; La formación del Sol y de la Luna, 63-74); Cómo le fue dado el maíz al hombre, 75-78; Del origen del fuego, 79-81; Cómo viene al mundo el hijo de Ch'ujtiat, 82-85;... La historia de Ajal, 106-109 [creation of the Tulijá River system]
- ◆ Whittaker and Warkentin 1965: Creation Stories, 13-61 (Our Holy Father, the Sun, is Born, 13-17; The Older Brother Tries to Kill the Sun, 17-20; The Sun Kills the Older Brother, 21-29; The Sun Creates Animals, 30-35; Why the Sun Decided to Go Up Into the Sky, 35-42; The Younger Brother Becomes the Sun, 43-45; The Death of a Son of the Holy Mother, 46-49; How the Rat Received Two Eyes, 49-51; How Snakes Came Into Being, 51-54; How Monkeys Came Into Being, 55-57; Why the Sky Was Made So High, 58-60; Where the Buzzards Came From, 60-61)

Witches, Spirits and Curers

- ◆ López Méndez, Abelardo, Interview 2002-3 (Bad curers, false saints)
- ◆ López Vázquez, Rafael, Interview 2002-2 (Bad curers, false saints)
- ◆ Whittaker and Warkentin 1965: 102-109 (The Woman With a Spirit to Raise up Corn), 1965: 122-129; (Communing With the Dead), 1965: 139-154; (The Witch Doctor, 139-148; How the Witch Doctor Offers a Sacrifice, 148-149; When a Child Falls, 149-151; The Evil Eye, 151-153; When the Baby's Birth is Overdue, 153-154)

The Good Girl and the Dead

- ◆ Cruz Guzmán, Ausencio, Interview 2002-16
- ◆ Díaz Vázquez, Crescencia 1998 (Jiñi wembu shi choc yicot jiñi chumeñobu) (the good girl and the dead)

Lost in the Woods, Lost in a Strange Land

- ◆ López Méndez, Abelardo, Interview 2002-3 (Lost in the deep woods, as a child, for three months)
- ◆ Martínez 1994 (El dueño del cerro) (a little girl lost in the woods, spends three months in a cave)
- ◆ Meneses Méndez 1998 (Xu'ok) (Little Foot; a dog transports his master to a strange land to deliver a message from a priest who has taken his wife [priest and wife turn into horses and die])
- ◆ Pérez Chacón 1988: 173-175 (Jiñi x-ixik tza'bä letzi yik'ot tyi käyle tyi matye'el) (a woman lost in a strange land where all ropes are snakes)
- ◆ Torres López, Juana, Interview 2002-3 (lost in the woods until an aunt regaled the mountain)

History

- ◆ Arcos, Francisco, in Alejos 1988: 103-107 (Juan Sol) (formation of the first ejido)
- ◆ Arcos Torres, Lucas, Interview 2002-5 (the Mexican Revolution in Chiapas)
- ◆ Arcos M., Miguel, in Meneses López 1986: 67 (when the church at San Miguel [Tumbalá] was burned)
- ◆ Arcos M., Miguel, in Meneses López 1986: 68-69 (Relato de cómo fueron quemados los santos de las iglesias de Yajalón y Tumbalá) (when the saints were burned in the churches)
- ◆ Meneses P., Miguel, in Meneses López 1986: 69-73 (Ch'ujulbä xämbal ili ch'en cha'an Joloñel) (Santa Cruz prayers, visits to the cave)

- ◆ Oleta Lara 1994 (Bajche' tsa' ipäsbä jini ch'ujulbä laktyaty tyu Tila) (visions and dreams lead to the discovery of the Señor de Tila; the town was previously called Ts'isa)

Appendix II: Story Synopses (Summary)

Ch'ol de Chiapas y Campeche, 2002 Field Season

Black Man (X'ijk'al or Xñek)

Rafael López Vázquez: Two men are asked to take a letter to a priest. They are accosted by a Black Man (Negro, 'ijk'al) on the road. They escape to tell their story... The Black Men used to come into houses and take women off to the woods. They would abduct them at dawn, and by six in the afternoon the women would be producing babies. (2002-2)

Abelardo López Méndez: The *ch'ix winik* is not the same as the *'ijk'al*, but the *'ijk'al* is the same as the *xnek*... A story about the *'ijk'al* in an encounter with ALM's uncles/brothers and their dogs. (2002-3)

Spiny Man (Ch'ix Winik)

Abelardo López Méndez: A story about chicleros and a *ch'ix winik* (Spiny Man) who comes into camp to talk to a woman working there. (2002-3)

Big Hat (Sombrerón)

Rafael López Vázquez: Big Hat (Sombrerón) is a short man who wears a huge hat and lives in the forest. He confuses people on the trails, making them go around in circles... People out looking for palm leaves for weaving ran into a Sombrerón on a trail in the woods. They can be confused if we wear clothing backwards. His shirt is made of the bark of the masamón (ch'ix jun) tree (a fig-like tree with spines); his pants are made likewise... If we are out in the woods and get confused by the Sombrerón, we should make a bow out of mutusay (a tree-climbing vine that drops liana-like roots), and pluck the string to make music. The Sombrerón is fascinated by this music, and will find the

instrument, sit down and play it, and start laughing. While he is distracted and laughing, we can find our way again. (2002-2)

Feet on Backwards (Xwuluk 'ok)

Abelardo López Méndez: A discussion of the *xwuluk 'ok*, a jungle creature whose feet are turned backwards. (2002-3)

Savage (Salvaje)

Rafael López Vázquez: People used to go out into the woods to collect chicle sap (the *chicleros*). Wild Men (*Salvajes*) would find their camps and try to eat them. The Wild Men are large and covered with spines all over their bodies. When they see people, the spines stand up, otherwise they lie down. (2002-2)

Lacandóns (Kichañob)

Juan Alvaro Montejo: When JAM was a young man working on the highway from Palenque to Frontera Echeverría, Chiapas, he was warned about the *kichañob* (a term used for Lacandóns, both real and legendary). He was told they would kill him and eat his flesh. That there was an abandoned house beside the crossroads at the split between the San Cristóbal and Chancalá highways, outside Palenque, and that a man had died there, and his bones were found hanging in the house; the flesh had been eaten by the *kichañob*. (2002-12)

Ausencio Cruz Guzmán: There is a saying that if you burn tortillas (by accident), the *kichañob* will come. (2002-12)

Chajk

Rafael López Vázquez: People go to Chajk to ask for rain. RLV associates Chajk (the Lightning God) with Xibaj (the Underworld lord, the devil). (2002-2)

Transformers (Comadre and other stories)

Abelardo López Méndez: A comadre story in which a woman is visited by a jaguar in the guise of a man. The women meet to grind posol and eat, while the husband is out in the milpa. The jaguar (one of the women) takes the other woman out to gather snails in a

river. When he gets wet his spots begin to show, and the woman notices he has a tail curled up under his clothing. She manages to escape. (2002-3.)

Rafael López Vázquez: Two women (comadres) go out to grind corn to make posol by the river, but one of them is really a jaguar that has taken human shape. They decide to collect snails, but the jaguar doesn't understand what they are doing and begins to fill his bag with small stones, raising the suspicions of the woman. She then notices his tail curling out under his clothing, and begins to get afraid. She excuses herself to go off for a bowel movement. She escapes to hide in a hollow in a large tree, and is pursued by the jaguar, who rakes at the tree with his claws. He is unable to get to her, and begins to cry that he wanted to eat her ears, her head... He leaves and comes back later, and is unable to get to her. A review of the events closes the story. (2002-2)

Rafael López Vázquez: There was man who could turn himself into a woman. He would take women off to the milpa and their families could never find them. (2002-2)

Witches (Xibajob)

Juan Alvaro Montejó: When JAM was about 14, he went to visit a sister who lived in Kuktiepa (Chiapas), where the houses are scattered, not nucleated. A neighbor, an old man, a tatuch, died, and he was taken to see the corpse laid out, before it was buried that afternoon. Next to his sister's house was an abandoned house whose owner had moved away. About 9 at night, his sister told him not to go to sleep, that he should keep his eyes open, because a jaguar (a witch, a devil) would be coming to frighten them. About 10 PM, an owl arrived, hooting, and went to rest at the peak of the abandoned house. Then came a fox, barking. About 1 AM, someone was heard coming nearer beating a drum. They all gathered in the house and began to talk audibly, but nobody could see anything. Much later, he heard the sounds of chopping and then scraping, like someone was cutting bones with a machete. A couple of hours after the witches arrived, a child was heard coming, crying uñé, uñé, uñé... Others came and began to circle around the house where JAM was staying. They went around twice without him seeing anyone, but the third time around, the child stepped up on a table-like rock his sister had placed in front of the house, and it looked like a duck, off-white in color. It stayed there singing for a couple of hours, until dawn, when his sister took out a small gourd and began to sprinkle the inside of the house with tobacco powder, even outside the door, and the witches left. The next day he went out to look at the rock, and the bones of the old man were scattered around there, with strips of tendons still attached, covered with flies. The witches had eaten his flesh in the night. (2002-12)

Messengers (X'ak'jun)

Rafael López Vázquez: A man went out with a companion to deliver a message, got confused on the trail, and took shelter in an abandoned house. In the night, the witches arrived. An owl came in to sweep, and was followed by some evil-looking people. They

brought food, but it was human. One of the messengers recognized it as the body of a recently dead old man and told his companion. They manage to sprinkle tobacco powder on the witches' food, putting them to sleep, climb down from the loft where they have been hiding, and escape. (2002-2)

Dog Informer (Tz'i')

Rafael López Vázquez: A certain man had a wife who, when he went out to work in the milpa, would receive her lover at the house. The man's dog informs on the wife; the dog is mad because the wife doesn't feed him well and beats him badly. She doesn't give the dog tortillas or posol, and she beats him. The dog tells the man that when he leaves the house, the other man arrives, and they conspire to catch the lover. The lover comes to visit the wife, and in the middle of the night has to urinate. She tells him he doesn't have to go outside, he can pee through a crack in the planks of the wall. When he sticks his member out through the crack, the husband cuts it off with a machete. The man takes it back to the milpa and cooks it with lots of salt. He then brings it in to his wife and tells her it is kidneys he has cooked for her. She eats it, and it makes her so thirsty that she begins to drink copious quantities of water. She drinks so much that she swells up and bursts. (2002-2)

Races

Rafael López Vázquez: A deer and a toad (referred to with Spanish names as Tío Venado, Uncle Deer, and Tío Sapo, Uncle Toad) challenge each other to a race, over a distance of 500 meters. The toads conspire to cheat the deer. Every leap the deer takes, a toad takes, but it is a different toad, and the toads win. (2002-2)

Creation

Juan Alvaro Montejo: A Creation story, featuring Adam and Eve, Noah and the Ark, and other Biblical tales. Adam is presented as the older brother (presumably, as in other tales, Christ will appear as the younger brother). (2002-12)

Curers (Xwujt)

Abelardo López Méndez: If people get sick, they go to a curer ('aj wujty, xwujty) with a gift of liquor, rice, beans, etc. He makes a diagnosis of fright (bäk'en), and cures by spraying (wujtyan). Or, he may diagnose some variety of shame (vergüenza de chityam [pig], de muty [chicken], de 'ajtzo' [turkey], etc.), or blood-sucking, etc. Sometimes people get well, sometimes they get mad, because they don't get cured but have to pay

a lot of money –100, 300 pesos. Some cure by prayers, making the sign of the cross with liquor, curing eye of the wind ('ojo de viento), some cure by rubbing the body with liquids. Some diagnose with eggs, but only for children, not for adults. Herbs are also used (kursiyo, yerbamatin). A cross may be set up, or candles burned. Spirits can be called up by using a gourd drum and calling to them. In the church, prayers may be made, scripture read. Different offerings would be made for a boy or girl. Powdered tobacco (man k'ujtz) can be used in curing, like spraying, if a soul has been shut up by a mountain. If people do prayers in the milpa, they take gifts of food and liquor. They ask for pardon so they can do their work; they burn candles. We pray to God to cure us, to keep us from snakes, whatever. We pray to God for strength, valor, for whatever we are waiting for. In the name of God the father and God the son, may we not die, be snakebit, or have any kind of trouble. (2002-3)

Abelardo López Méndez: Also included is a discussion of the late Juan Jiménez, a noted curer who had a talking box [also discussed by Rafael López Vázquez in 2002-2]. (2002-3)

The Good Girl and the Dead

Ausencio Cruz Guzmán: Folktale about a girl who sees the dead walking on Todos Santos, and is given a candle by an old woman. Next year at Todos Santos, she must protect herself by holding an infant (a pure soul) to avoid being taken by the dead. (2002-16)

Lost in the Woods, Lost in a Strange Land

Abelardo López Méndez: A personal narrative about being lost in the woods for three months when he was a small child. During the first month he had a number of encounters with animals, and learned to eat wild foods. The second month he was taken in by a Lady in a "special" house, but he was afraid and fled. The third month his Uncle Pancho came out looking for him with dogs and found him (protected by four jungle cats who surrounded him for protection). (2002-3)

Juana Torres López: A personal narrative featuring a trip to the forest with her aunt to gather ramón. The women have to stay overnight in the woods, and they get lost. They can't find the trail and the aunt prays to God for help and scolds the forest for treating them this way after all their ancestors have done, in elegant language. The women find their way home. (2002-3)

Appendix III: Interviews and Recordings

Ch'ol de Chiapas y Campeche, 2002 Field Season

JKJ J. Kathryn Josserand, Principal Investigator
NAH Nicholas A. Hopkins, Co-Principal Investigator
ACG Ausencio Cruz Guzmán, Research Associate

Interview 2002-1. 9 June, 2002

Rafael López Vázquez, male 70 +/-
Originally from Jochintyol, Salto de Agua, Chiapas
Now resident in La Cascada, Chiapas
Tila Chol, Spanish
Audio Tape: 2001-1, copied to digital D2002-1; copy delivered to informant
Digital tape D 2002-1 (copy of audio tape 2002-1)
Video tapes V-2002-1 (begins with wife, Teodora, making tortillas), and V-2002-2

Digital photos: "La Cascada" folder; copies delivered to informant. FAMSI Report [Figure 8](#).



Figure 8. Rafael López Vázquez, originally from Jochintyol, Salto de Agua, Chiapas, at his home in the ejido La Cascada, Chiapas.

Notes: The informant is one of the founders of the ejido La Cascada, Chiapas, about 45 years ago (ca. 1957). In this session, filmed in his house in La Cascada, he relates his personal history and the story of the migration. See also Interview 2002-2.

Transcription: transcription by JKJ, NAH, ACG.

Keyboarding: by Ashley Kistler, 2002-1 [side A], 21 July, 2002, 32 pp., "La Cascada 2002-1 Entrevista 1"

Interview 2002-2. 13 June, 2002

Rafael López Vázquez, male 70 +/-
Originally from Jochintyol, Salto de Agua, Chiapas
Now resident in La Cascada, Chiapas
Tila Chol, Spanish

Audio Tape 2002-2 [side A], 2002-3; copy delivered to informant
Digital tape D-2002-2 (copy of the audio tape)
Video tape V-2002-2

Digital photos: "La Cascada" folder; copies delivered to informant

Notes: A long series of folktales (comadre, 'ijk'al, Salvaje, Sombrerón, a transformer [man to woman], Chajk, the Deer and the Toad [race], a dog informer on an unfaithful wife, and a messenger tale); discussion of curers and curing.

Transcriptions by JKJ, NAH, ACG. In Cuaderno: NAH 2002, Ch'ol de Chiapas y Campeche, Numbers 2 and 3.

Keyboarding: by Kayla Price, 17 July, 2002, Comadre story, 6 pp., "Comadre-2002."

Interview 2002-3. 14 June, 2002

Abelardo López Méndez, male 50 +/- and his wife Juana Torres López, female 40 +/-
Originally from: [son and daughter-in-law of Rafael López Vázquez, Interviews 2002-1/2]

Residents of La Cascada, Chiapas

Tila Chol, Spanish

Recorded in their house in La Cascada

Audio tapes 2002-3 [side B], 2002-4

Digital tape D-2002-3

Video tape V-2002-3, V-2002-4

Digital photos: "La Cascada" folder; copies delivered to informant. FAMSI Report [Figure 9](#).



Figure 9. Abelardo López Méndez and his wife, Juana Torres López, at home in the ejido La Cascada, Chiapas.

Notes: Personal history of Abelardo López (lost in the woods for three months), and traditional stories (xwuluk 'ok, ch'ix wiñik, 'ijk'al, xñek, comadre); discussion of caves. Personal narrative of Juana Torres (lost in the forest); discussion of tapping trees for rubber, birthing practices.

Transcription: Notes from video tape by NAH. NAH/ACG transcription of Juana Torres' discourse.

Keyboarding: by Ashley Kistler, 22 July, 2002, Juana Torres' narrative, 1 pg., "2002-4B"

Interview 2002-4. 15 June, 2002

Juan Montejo Alvaro, male 70 +/-, and his wife, María Díaz, female 70 +/-.
Originally from San Pedro Sabana, Salto de Agua, Chiapas
Resident in Palenque.
Tumbalá Chol; both are effectively monolingual.

Notes: Recorded in their home in Palenque. Karen Bassie interviews them about the caves near San Pedro (e.g., Joloniel, Actiepá Yochib) with the help of Ausencio Cruz Guzmán and Nicholas A. Hopkins. The session includes a discussion of ceremonies formerly held in San Pedro Sabana, including mayordomía ceremonies, dances, and cave visits; no folktales.

Audio tapes 2002-5 and 2002-5A (copied from digital tape D-2002-4); copy delivered
Digital tape D-2002-4
Video tapes V-2002-5 and V-2002-6

Digital photos: "Juan Montejo, Maria Diaz" folder; copies delivered to informants. FAMSI Report [Figure 10](#).



Figure 10. Juan Montejo Alvaro and his wife, María Díaz, originally from San Pedro Sabana, Chiapas, in their home in Palenque.

Interview 2002-5. 18 June, 2002

Lucas Arcos Torres, male 75 (or 90 +/-)
Originally from Tumbalá, Chiapas
Resident in Tumbalá, Chiapas
Tumbalá Chol; monolingual

Audio tapes 2002-6 and 2002-7
Digital tapes D-2002-5 and D-2002-6
Video tapes V-2002-7 and V-2002-8

Digital photo: None.

Notes: Informant is a native of Tumbalá and a recognized elder. Personal history including a discussion of pre-Revolutionary conditions and events of the Mexican Revolution as they affected Tumbalá. Traditional fiestas and dances, musical instruments, kinship terms; no folklore.

Interview 2002-6. 18 June, 2002

Antonio Arcos Méndez, male 76, and his brother Gaspar Arcos Méndez, male 49
Originally from Tumbalá, Chiapas
Resident in Tumbalá, Chiapas
Tumbalá Chol; both are monolingual

Audio tape 2002-8
Digital tape D-2002-7
Video tapes V-2002-9 and V-2002-10

Digital photos: "Chiapas Altos" folder

Notes: Both informants are natives of Tumbalá and recognized ceremonial practitioners. Discussion of mayordomía practices in the past, and traditional stories. See also Interview 2002-8.

Interview 2002-7. 18 June, 2002

Dominga Lara, female 64
Originally from Salto de Agua, Chiapas
Resident in Tumbalá, Chiapas

Tumbalá Chol and Spanish

Audio tape: microdisk of Karen Bassie's, to be dubbed as 2002-9
No digital recording
No video recording

Notes: The informant is a bilingual Ladina from Salto de Agua, resident in Tumbalá.
Interview and recording by Ashley Kistler.

Interview 2002-8. 19 June, 2002

Antonio Arcos Méndez, male 76, and his brother Gaspar Arcos Méndez, male 49
Originally from Tumbalá, Chiapas
Resident in Tumbalá, Chiapas
Tumbalá Chol; both are monolingual

Audio tape 2002-10
Digital tape D-2002-8
Video tape V-2002-10

Digital photos: "Chiapas Altos" folder

Notes: Recorded in their house in a rainstorm; tapes difficult to hear and video dark. A series of short versions of folktales. See also Interview 2002-6.

Interview 2002-9. 19 June, 2002

Agustina Sánchez Hernández, female
Originally from
Resident in Tumbalá, Chiapas
Spanish and Chol

Audio tape 2002-11
No digital recording
No video recording

Notes: The informant is a Ladina from Tumbalá. Interview and recording by Ashley Kistler.

Interview 2002-10. 19 June, 2002

Juan López Peñate, male
Originally from
Resident in Tumbalá, Chiapas
Spanish and Chol

Audio tape 2002-12
No digital recording
No video recording

Notes: Informant is a Tumbalá schoolteacher. Interview and recording by Ashley Kistler.

Interview 2002-11. 20 June, 2002

Juana Karen Peñate Montejo, female 25 +/-
Originally from Tumbalá, Chiapas
Resident in Tumbalá, Chiapas
Spanish and Chol

No audio tape recording (but cassette copy made from D-2002-9, loaned to XEXPUJ)
Digital tape D-2002-9
No video recording

Digital photos: "Chiapas Altos" folder. FAMSI Report [Figure 11](#).



Figure 11. Juana Karen Peñate Montejo, in her office in the Presidencia, Tumbalá, Chiapas.

Notes: Informant is Private Secretary to the Municipal President, and a published Spanish/Chol poet. Recorded in her office in the Presidencia, Tumbalá.

Interview 2002-12. 12 July, 2002

Juan Alvaro Montejo, male 45-50
Originally from Francisco I. Madero, Salto de Agua, Chiapas
Resident in Ejido Flores Magón, Campeche
Chol and Spanish

Audio tape 2002-13 [side A only]; copy delivered to informant.
Digital tape D-2002-10
Video tape V-2002-11

Digital photos: "Flores Magon" folder; copies delivered to informant. FAMSI Report [Figure 12](#).



Figure 12. Juan Alvaro Montejo, originally from Francisco I. Madero, Salto de Agua, Chiapas, at home with his wife and grandchildren, in the ejido Flores Magón, Campeche.

Notes: The informant was born in Francisco I. Madero, Chiapas, and is one of the founders of the Ejido Flores Magón, Campeche. Recorded in his house in Flores Magón. Discussion of the organization of the ejido and the process of migration. Folktales (kichañob, witches, a Biblical creation story).

Transcription: 12 pp. of single-spaced Spanish translation from the tape, by ACG and JKJ; JKJ Cuaderno.

Interview 2002-13. 13 July, 2002

Juan Guzmán Sánchez, male 51
Originally from the ranchería El Trapiche, Salto de Agua, Chiapas
Resident in Ejido Manuel Castilla Brito, Campeche.
Tumbalá Chol.

Audio tape 2002-1; copy delivered to informant
Digital tape D-2002-11
Video tape V-2002-12

Digital photos: "Manuel Castilla Brito" folder; copies delivered to informant. FAMSI Report [Figure 13](#).



Figure 13. Juan Guzmán Sánchez, originally from El Trapiche, Salto de Agua, Chiapas, at his home in the ejido Manuel Castilla Brito, Campeche.

Notes: Informant is one of the founders of the ejido in Campeche, along with many members of his family. Recorded in his house in the ejido. Story of the migration and local conditions. No folklore (knew no stories).

Interview 2002-14. 18 July, 2002

Ausencio Cruz Guzmán, male 65
Originally from San Pedro Sabana, Chiapas
Resident in Palenque, Chiapas
Spanish

Audio tape 2002-15

No digital recording
No video recording

Notes: See Interviews 2002-15 and 2002-16. Informant has been a colleague of Josserand and Hopkins for 25 years, and has participated in most of their Chol research. Recorded in the project house in Zoh Laguna, Campeche. Personal history from his childhood to late youth, when he moved to Palenque and began to work first with Moisés Morales in La Cañada, and then with Merle Greene Robertson.

Interview 2002-15. 19 July, 2002

Ausencio Cruz Guzmán, male 65
Originally from San Pedro Sabana, Chiapas
Resident in Palenque, Chiapas
Spanish

Audio tape 2002-16
No digital recording
No video recording

Notes: See Interviews 2002-14 and 2002-16. Personal history from his first jobs in Palenque to his work with Josserand and Hopkins at CIS-INAH (CIESAS) in México City in the 1970s, through the Mesas Redondas de Palenque and on to the present, including his fall from the roof of the new site museum at Palenque, and the treatment and cure of his broken hands and back.

Interview 2002-16. 22 July, 2002

Ausencio Cruz Guzmán, male 65
Originally from San Pedro Sabana, Chiapas
Resident in Palenque, Chiapas
Tumbalá Chol

Audio tape 2002-17
Digital tape D-2002-12
Video tape V-2002-13

Digital photos: "Chencho" folder. FAMSI Report [Figure 14](#).



Figure 14. Ausencio Cruz Guzmán, originally from San Pedro Sabana, Chiapas, now a resident of Palenque. At work in the project headquarters, Zoh Laguna, Campeche.

Notes: See Interviews 2002-14 and 2002-15. Folktale about a girl who sees the dead walking on Todos Santos, and is given a candle by an old woman. Next year at Todos Santos, she must protect herself by holding an infant (a pure soul) to avoid being taken by the dead.

[End of interviews and recordings, 2002 field season]

Other Materials Processed during the 2002 Field Season

2001, tape 2001-3 [side A], Interview 4. 25 July, 2001

Maribel Sánchez Gómez, female, and her father, Miguel Sánchez Méndez
Originally from Arroyo Azul, Salto de Agua, Chiapas
Resident in Ejido Chichonal, Calakmul, Campeche
Tumbalá Chol and Spanish

Audio tape: 2001-3 [side A]

Photos: prints delivered to the informants

Transcription: by Ausencio Cruz Guzmán, 2001-2

Keyboarding: by Ashley Kistler, 18 July, 2002, 19 pp., "Chichonal 2001-3 Entrevista 4"

1999 interview by Kristen Smith. 15 January, 1999

Rosa López and her grandmother, María Solís Montejo
Originally from Chiapas (grandmother) and Zoh Laguna (granddaughter)
Resident in Zoh Laguna, Calakmul, Campeche
Tumbalá Chol

Audio tape: Kristen Smith recording; copy sent to JKJ/NAH

Transcription: Ausencio Cruz Guzmán, Kathryn Josserand, Nicholas A. Hopkins, 26 July, 2001.

Keyboarding: by Ashley Kistler, 22 July, 2002, 2 pp., "El cuento de Rosa Montejo"

1999 interview by Kristen Smith. 12 May, 1999

Rosa López, female
Originally from Chiapas
Resident in Zoh Laguna, Calakmul, Campeche
Tumbalá Chol

Audio tape: Kristen Smith recording, copy sent to JKJ/NAH

Transcription: Ausencio Cruz Guzmán, 2001 (partial)

Keyboarding: by Ashley Kistler, 22 July, 2002, 1 pg., "The Curandero"

2001 interview by Karen Bassie. March, 2001

Felipe Pérez Moreno [Montejo?]
Joloniél, Tumbalá, Chiapas
Tumbalá Chol

Audio tape: Karen Bassie recording, copy sent to JKJ/NAH

Notes: Cuento de la Virgen

Transcription: Ausencio Cruz Guzmán, 2001-2

Keyboarding: by Kayla Price, 16 July, 2002, 27 pp., "Bassie-2001"

Ch'ol Plant Names

A list of plant names drawn from the Aulie and Aulie (1978) dictionary by Kathryn Josserand and Kayla Price, augmented by Ausencio Cruz Guzmán, and partially sorted by him into life form, generic, and specific classes; with notes on their uses. Participants: Kathryn Josserand, Kayla Price, Nicholas A. Hopkins, and Ausencio Cruz Guzmán.

Keyboarded: by Kayla Price, 19 July, 2002, 19 pp., "Plant names-2002"

Ch'ol Lessons

A set of beginner to intermediate constructed conversations in Chol by JKJ, designed to introduce common vocabulary, grammar, and discourse style.

Keyboarded: by Ashley Kistler, "Chol Lessons" folder