

RHETORIC OF A MAYA INDIAN COURT

June NASH
Yale University

In behavior for which the actors have not worked out cookbook recipes, it is hard to find out not only why people do things, but even what they do. Malinowski has pointed to the importance of language "studied against the background of human activities" to gain understanding of what he called "the mode of behavior in practical matters". The courtroom cases I have analyzed in Tzotzontal, Chiapas, Mexico¹ are a good source of data for this kind of study. The goal of the hearings is not only to assess liability and collect damages, but also to transform a set of social relations. In this Indian community, there is a high incidence of witchcraft accusations and homicide resulting from them. (Nash, 1967.) Court hearings sometimes help divert such an outcome. In the rhetoric of attack and defense, norms are not simply a reference point for evaluating the behavior of the contestants, but are manipulated by the contestants to their advantage. Speech in the court reveals the dialectic of social process in which rules of how to behave are given concrete meaning.

The case analyzed here is based on the transcript of a tape recording in Tzeltal, the dialect of a Mayan language spoken here. I selected it from twelve such cases because of its fullness in exploring the event, its implications, and the past history which led to it. The case concerns an attack on a married woman by a 25 year old man. The crime is classified by the judges as a sexual attack (*tzak ?antz*, or seize a woman). The attack occurred at dusk as the woman was going on an errand to her mother's house accompanied by her child. The defendant intercepted her in the road, seizing her arm. She bit his hand and fled with her child. The incident might have been forgotten except for subsequent events: the woman's child suffered

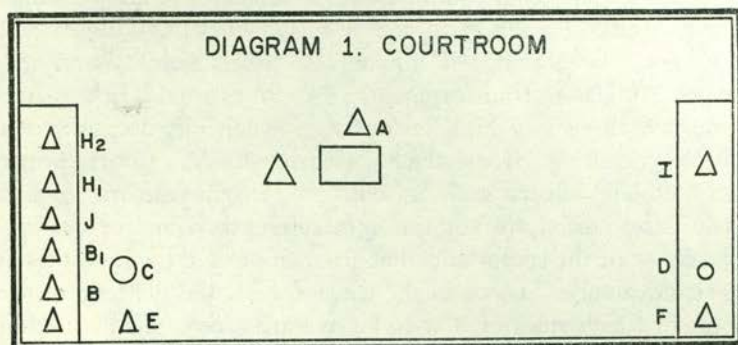
¹ Eighteen months of research in the community were supported by the National Institute of Mental Health and the Archbold Expeditions of the American Museum of Natural History. I am grateful for comments made by Floyd Lounsbury who read an earlier version of this paper.

an illness attributed by a curer to the attack and in addition gossip, spread by her attacker, had provoked the anger of her husband. For these reasons, the woman sought a hearing before the judges.

The analysis of the hearing is organized in terms of (1) the setting, actors and etiquette (2) the strategy of attack and defense and (3) the functions of the court in explicating norms, levying sanctions and channeling aggression. This parallels the format Hymes (1962) proposes for the ethnography of speech: the factors in speech events, speech events, and the functions of speech events.

I. *The Setting, the Actors and their Behavior*

The courtroom, or cold house (*sik na*), is the setting for trying a case. Each of the officials present takes his customary position in the room (Diagram 1).



Actors, in order of remarks made in the text, Appendix 1.

- | | | | |
|------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------------------|
| A | President | F | Husband of claimant |
| B ₁) | Judges | G | All judges talking in unison |
| B ₂) | | | |
| C | Woman claimant | H ₁) | Regidores |
| D | Woman's mother | H ₂) | |
| E | Defendant | I | Drunk who wandered in |
| | | J | Rural Judge |

The court in Tzo² ontahal is primarily concerned with marital and inheritance problems. It provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but the entire

gamut of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking pattern for men means that they are more often the violators of norms.

Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a minimum of explicit rules. Very little is ruled out of order (in this case nothing) and almost nothing introduced is considered irrelevant. The dialogue is primarily between the judge and claimant and secondarily between judge and defendant. In his discourse with the woman, the judge confirms her position, while in his relation with the defendant he is both counselor, advising him what he ought to do, and judge, telling him what he did wrong. No one pretends to be impartial. Personal knowledge is introduced into the discussion. In this case, the president is the first cousin of the claimant and refers to her with the kinship term *kihtzin*, younger sibling.

In this society, there are neither *veniremen* nor specialized advocates. The rural judge (J) and Regidores (H₁, H₂) act as jurors, announcing their approval or disapproval of statements made in unison (all passages marked G in the text). Kinsmen of the claimant and defendant act as lawyers. In this case, the claimant is supported by her mother (D) and husband (F). The defendant has no supporters, a fact remarked upon frequently (C46, B50, B58, A8, B87) in the course of the trial. The failure of his parents to accompany him as is expected is attributed to shame over their son's misbehavior and their own embarrassment for having failed to provide a wife for their son.

Courtroom behavior is ordered in three major acts: (1) the declaration by the claimant (*klarasion*) (2) the questioning of the defendant (*?iç yo?tan*, literally taking of the heart) and (3) giving the fine (*ya wak'tal ?a multa*). These named acts are formally initiated by the judge or president. In this case, the judge introduces the first act by asking the claimant to "Come and speak so that we can listen and hear" (B1, B2).² The woman claimant kneels before the judges as she gives her statement. As she speaks, she holds her scarf before her mouth, not looking at anyone. The judges all sit with their arms folded, legs stretched out and crossed at the ankles. This act ends formally with the woman saying "Good day, elder brother"³ (C34) as she leaves her kneeling position and goes to sit on the visitors' bench.

² Letters refer to the actors (figure 1) and numbers to the order of the remark in the text (Appendix 1).

³ Extension of kin term to non-relatives is the typical form of address.

The judge introduces the second act when he turns to the defendant, who is standing before the civil officials, and says "Speak and we shall listen, boy.⁴ What goes with you?" The youth sums up his defense, maintaining that he didn't know anything because he was very drunk and just passing in the street (E30). Few questions are asked. The judges probe to find out whether he was drunk, whether he had companions, and whether he had had relations formerly with other women. The woman interrupts his discourse frequently, adding to the assertions she made in her declaration.

The president introduces the final act, telling the defendant "When you give a little fine here, then you are free" (A23). The youth tries to get them to lower the fine, but the judges and president are unanimous in rejecting his plea for leniency. Both claimant and defendant pay court fees. Before the term of the incumbent president began, this was paid in two liters of illegally distilled liquor. At the time of the trial, since the president drank only beer, it was paid in two family-sized bottles of beer. The etiquette of courtroom drinking is prescribed: the bottle, referred to as "the gift of the ancestors" (*smahtan me[?]tiktatik*)⁵ is passed to the judge, who goes to the president and presents it to him with a few words of the prayer giving thanks for the gift. The fourth regidor serves the beer, giving the first drink to the president, then to the first judge, and so on around the room in order of the rank of the official, using the same glass for each. The defendant is served last, but it is significant that he is included in the drinking session since it symbolizes his reintegration in the society. The judges end the session with joking references to the trial.

II. *The Strategy and Tactics of Courtroom Behavior*

The study of rhetoric, or the modes of persuasion (Aristotle in McKeon: 1325) reveals the techniques of appealing to cultural norms in building an attack or defense. The text of the court case will be

⁴ The youth, although 25 years old, is addressed as boy (*kere*) because he has not yet been married. Like the Irish countryman, the reference and vocative term boy denotes not an age, but a marital status.

⁵ The logic by which the progenitor terms *me[?]* and *tat* are extended to role categories such as judges and curers lies in the understanding the people of the town have that they are descended from the ancestors who live in the cave near the town. The town constitutes a deme (Murdock 1965: 62), or an endogamous group which senses relationship although exact genealogical connections cannot be made.

discussed in terms of (1) strategy, or major plan of attack and defense and (2) tactics, or verbal ploys which heighten the effectiveness of speech.

The Strategy. The objective of the claimant is to magnify the guilt of the defendant emphasizing her own blameless conduct in order to stop the gossip circulating in the neighborhood, while that of the defendant is to minimize the incident and his own involvement in it. Since the claimant takes the initiative, her strategy will be outlined followed by his response to it. Significantly the claimant follows concerning the incident with the statement "I am not a bitch I am not a whore".

The major line of attack is that the defendant has committed a violation of the norms which is unparalleled in the community. The claimant's mother is the first to state this position, which is reiterated throughout the case by the judges: "Everyone drinks and gets drunk, but no one does this. Never have we seen such a thing happen. Although I am a widow, this has never happened to me" (D2). The claimant's husband agrees to the unprecedented nature of the crime saying "There are many who have come of age (yihubis, or sexually mature) but they do not frighten my wife. Women go where they want to, walking alone, and don't get frightened" (F4).

The defendant's only plea is that he was so drunk that he did not know what he was doing and that he could remember nothing (E4-E7). The president denies the appeal for leniency on the basis of drunkenness saying, "See, all the old men get drunk here, but they do not do this" (A8). This becomes part of the group refrain, as the judges and regidores speak at once saying, "But think truly about what you did. See, although we get drunk all the time, we do not do this" (G26). And later repeat: "We don't do anything such as he does when we drink" (G28). The theme is repeated in the president's speeches (A29, A30, A31, A32), gaining weight rather than losing significance.

Woven into the strategy in which the claimant emphasize the violation of communal norms is the claim that it is characteristic of the defendant's behavior. The claimant introduces early in the case evidence that his attack on her was not an isolated instance. She says, "It is always his custom when our girl is left alone to come in and talk. He comes in to look and talk whenever we go to Himsol" (C3). Her husband adds another case: "You should also hear Me? (mother) Marcela. Hasn't he had dealings with her? She named him (in court)" (F7). This is a reference to charges made by a

woman in her 80's that the defendant had violated her. The defendant, in response, maintains that Marcela had accused him because she owed him money. The judge is convinced, however, of his misbehavior in these other cases as his later statement indicates: "It is your custom to seize as you did" (B53), and later, adding the defendant's crime of frightening the child, says "No, because it is your habit to give fear to children" (B58). He then elaborates the indictment with the charge that the defendant might be a killer too, since he had threatened to kill the claimant if she told her husband, saying "Then truly it is your habit to kill, boy" (B68).

The claimant wants to convict the defendant not only for the act he committed but also for a series of consequences entailed by his act. She accuses the defendant of causing her child's illness provoked by the fright he suffered while accompanying his mother when the defendant attacked her. She claims she has had to consult a curer on two occasions for the diarrhea from which the child is suffering. She then accuses him of spreading gossip about the incident as a result of which her husband has been fighting with her and beating her. From these damaging circumstances, each accepted by the judges as they speak in unison (G1, G2, G18), the woman projects a set of hypothetical circumstances which are likely to flow from them: "He has threatened to kill me, and if I and my husband should die the day after tomorrow, it is he alone who is to blame" (C54, repeated in C62, C65, and C66). She adds, "If my child dies from fear caused by him, I will go up to San Cristobal and have him put in jail" (C69, C70). The claimants press home their real and hypothetical charges until the judges make a satisfactory summary of the crime and its consequences. The parents have just finished saying that if the child's diarrhea begins again, they will again denounce the defendant, when the judge concludes: "And hear this, if this should happen, we will rise (to San Cristobal) for he has killed the child; and hear this, that he himself has killed the child. If he is called in again on the same charge we will arrange it well here and send him to San Cristobal" (B133). It is then that the husband of the claimant is satisfied, and says "Then it is good" (F14).

One of the most successful tactics in rhetoric is establishing identification (Burke 1950:35). This is done in two sets of maneuvers: the woman claimant tries, and succeeds in, identifying her plight with that of the wives of the judges present, so that the are ready to double the seriousness of the crime. To do this she presents an image of herself as a poor hardworking woman whose only reason for being out in

the street alone at this time of the night was on an errand for her mother and this errand had the full consent of her husband (C12). She characterizes herself in the following terms: (C32) "I eat by my suffering, by my work. I ask no one for money, not from anyone." She contrasts this picture of suffering virtue with some women who accept such advances (C6) and with the *kurik*, residents of scattered hamlets within the township who have come from other towns (C28). "There are women who will take on men, but they are *kurik* who live over there." The latter contrast is picked up by the judges, who use the stereotyped image of the *kurik* to contrast with the behavior of all of the townspeople saying "Although we get drunk here in the town, we don't behave like the *kurik*, but when they are drunk, anyone can rape them when they are already drunk" (B25).

The major strategies of the claimant's rhetoric can be summarized as (1) appealing to the cultural norms, maintaining she was conforming to them and the defendant was violating them (2) linking the act which precipitated the case to a habit pattern characterizing the defendant (3) spelling out the implications of the act and inventing hypothetical situations which could extend these and (4) identifying her position with that of women under the protection of the judges, the civil officials, and of the defendant himself. The defense is limited to a repetition of the statement that he was too drunk to know what he was doing.

The Tactics of Courtroom Rhetoric. Courtroom speech includes a skillful use of tropes characteristic of all language usage in the community.

Metaphors are used frequently in the prayers, terms of address and everyday language of the village. The technique of the metaphor, by which the common elements of things compared are contained in reference, heightens the effectiveness of language in that "the stimulus to interpret the false identity comes from the psychic resistance to it" (Empson 345). As cultural data, metaphors reveal some of the psychic identities made by the speakers of the language. In the "cross sorting to make new sorts" (Richards 1936: 332) metaphors indicate some classificatory principles which are not directly indicated in the language. Richards (1936: 135) has suggested the implications of the study of metaphor for the study of the modes of cognition in his statement that "A 'comand of metaphor'—a command of the interpretations of metaphors—can go deeper still into the control of the world that we make for ourselves to live in." In analyzing the metaphor taken from the text I shall be concerned with the modes of

thought that underlie their production as well as with their effect in heightening emotional communication.

The claimant makes frequent use of metaphorical contrast to portray herself as a virtuous woman. She heightens her claim to modesty by saying "I am not a whore; I am not a bitch" (*Ma puta²ukon; ma tz'i²ukon* C2). The metaphor female dog is extended just as in English usage to apply to a promiscuous woman and the male counterpart *mis*, or cat, applies to a man who walks out at night looking for pleasure. In defending her action in bringing the defendant to court, the woman asks "Am I mute (*bol*) to put people in jail." The metaphor "dumb" or "mute" refers to someone without sense as in English. She further contrasts herself with "a little one with disarranged hair" (*Hič č'in patza sholto* C10) in which she makes a claim for her own maturity.

The boy is berated with the metaphorical allusion by the judge, "It isn't as if you were like a dog." (*Ma te yak'al tz'iuk* J2). The claimant calls him "a child of the devil in a black hat" (*snič'an puku^h ²ihk'al sombrero^l* C78). Animal behavior provides a contrast to human behavior controlled by rules in the judge's simile "We do not associate like animals" (*Ma hoitik te čambalame* J2).

Certain verbs have acquired plural meanings by metaphorical extension to provide euphemisms for terms which are so charged that the speech practice is avoided. Since the case concerned an attempted rape, the text is replete with such terms for having sexual relations. The extended meaning in some cases depends entirely on the context, such as "do it with" (E14), *ya pas sok*, or "you are with" (B42) *²ayat sok*, or "to give it with", *wa²be sok*. "Speaks with", *Yalbe sok*, has the same implication in certain contexts as the biblical use of "to know". [A more explicit imagery is found in the phrase "stretched out" (*ben hawal*) apparently an equivalent of "getting laid" in colloquial English.] The claimant accuses the defendant of having "personned his mother" (*škrisiano sme²*) a double metaphor using the Spanish loan *trem* Christian as the verb to have sexual relations with his mother, and the product equivalent to mother-fucker, figuratively standing for the type of person who might do this.

Physiological processes extended to denote an emotional state are common in Tzeltal, and remarkably similar to English metonymic extensions. The heart is believed to be the locus of emotions. This "explains" the following reductions of emotional to physiological states:

<i>Tzeltal phrase</i>	<i>literal translation</i>	<i>extended meaning</i>
C7 ya [?] tal yo [?] tan	work of his heart	suffering
C33 hun ye [?] tan	one his heart	happy, contented
G29 sč [?] ai lek [?] awo [?] tan	Lost well your heart	drunken, in a feverish state
A7 sla wo [?] tan	ends your heart	get angry
B43 [?] ay ta wo [?] tan	it is in your heart	you wanted it

To be of "one heart" is contrasted with "two hearts" applied to an unhappy or deceitful person, a state which causes many illnesses. Motivations are judged in terms of whether they derive from inside the heart (*[?]ay ta wo[?]tan*) or from outside. In this court case, the judge indicates that the defendant was responsible for his action because his crime was inside his heart.

The blood is believed to be a carrier of emotions and thoughts. Body states of heat (k'ank') or cold (sikale) depend on the condition of the blood. When frightened, the claimant says she was "very white in the face" (*ben sak puman* C13) and that she "turned cold", (*te ma ay šan sikale* C96). The judge advises the defendant when he is angry not to let himself get "hot" (B21) referring to the belief that expression of hostility heats the blood and endangers both the angered person and anyone near him. The claimant's mother also warns her when she is beating her assailant that she will endanger her little son by getting hot in this show of anger (D3). These metaphors are common in English, but in Tzeltal they are still connected in "ethnoscience realism" to a belief system concerning physiological processes, whereas in English, as Burke (1945: 5-6) has pointed out, they survive only in "poetic realisms".

The echo, used especially in the dialogue between the woman and the judge (C102, B136, C103, B137, C104, B138) is a reinforcing speech technique and one of the simplest ways of achieving phatic communion, or that "type of speech in which ties of union are created by the mere exchange of words". (Malinowski 1946: 315). Conversational technique in the village, both within and outside of the courtroom is typified by the audience chiming in with the speaker in the terminal phrase of a dialogue. Speech is sufficiently stereotyped so that this can be done almost in unison. Iteration of the same phrases and ideas gives weight to the statement in working out the consensus of the group. The echo and iteration combined provide the major tactics for arriving at a common understanding of what the group

interpretation of an event is, and what course of action should be taken. They provide cues in the course of the speech event for the leading conversants to steer their own course. The claimant pursues those statements which have evoked the most positive responses from the civil authorities speaking in unison (the fear of her child, the boy's disobedience to his parents, etc.). The judge is aware before the end of the questioning of the defendant what the sentiment of the court is. There is no need to take a vote since the reaction of the "jurors" is recorded in the process of the hearing.

In courtroom speech, the favorite tactics include (1) metaphorical contrast to heighten the effect (2) avoidance of direct speech, either turning to metaphors or letting actions serve in place of words (3) repetition of speech elements, either in the same or changing context and (4) the echo to indicate approval during the discourse.

III. *The Functions of the Court*

The courtroom hearing airs disputes that might otherwise result in witchcraft accusations and even homicide. The hearing is one of a series of techniques by which the community maintains harmony. The judges act as social control agents along with elders of the family and curers. As such, they are called "you mothers and fathers" (*me[?]eštateš*) and referred to as "the mother-father group" (*me[?]iltatil*). This is a metaphorical extension (cf. Lounsbury, 1965: 149) of the term *me[?]tictatic* "our mothers and fathers", the collective noun referring to ancestor figures of the community or to elders of an extended family. Another extension of the term *me[?]iltatil* is in reference to the curers. What the three sets of mother-father figures have in common is the function of guardianship. The *me[?]tiktatik* guard the village from a rock near the mouth of the cave in which they live. There they can see all the streets and can detect any evil brought in by an *ak'camel*, or witch. Elders of the family are referred to by the term *me[?]tiktatik* or *me[?]iltatil* when they serve as guardians or advisers at family ceremonials. The curers are referred to as *m[?]iltatil* only when their animal spirit, or *swayohel*, is watching the streets of town. The judges are supposed to be able to watch the curers to see that they do not abuse their power as well as discern whether defendants in court cases are exercising witchcraft.

When conflict arises between kinsmen, the first appeal is made to the elders of the family, the *me[?]tiktatik*. These include any members

of the bilaterally extended group who have served in any of the life crisis ceremonials. Conflicts which they fail to settle and conflicts between non-relatives are referred to the judges in a court hearing. If witchcraft is suspected, the case requires consultation with a curer who fights the evil with his animal spirit in a curing ritual.

In the case analyzed the hearing is requested by the couple in an attempt to forestall what they fear might be witchcraft exercised by the uncle of the defendant. They warn the defendant that if the child should die, or if they should die the day after tomorrow, everyone will know who caused their death and the case will be brought to San Cristobal. They do not make the accusation directly, but when the claimant asks "Why does he want to give fear?" (C19) she is dangerously close to it.

The judges and claimants are concerned not only with establishing the guilt of the defendant, but also with teaching him how he should behave. The claimant, having finished abusing the defendant, proceeds to teach him some rules of etiquette. She says, "Why don't you say this to me, 'I go, aunt' " (C52) and the president seconds her saying "Even more important when you are drunk, it is good to say, 'I go, aunt', or 'I go, younger brother' " (A9).

The technique of identification with others is attempted by the judges in counseling the defendant to change his behavior. They say "You wouldn't want to have your wife with another and have someone seize her when he was out of his mind and then say words such as yours" (B63). They add to this the issue of his younger sister, who was approaching marriageable age: "You wouldn't want it yourself if they went to meet your younger sister to embrace her; you too would be very angry at this" (B95). In this identification process, the judges try to force the defendant to accept his guilt so that he will transform his behavior. The judges are clearly trying to socialize the youth, not to ostracize him. In criticizing him, they point out his error and indicate how he should reform:

(B76) "You never behave yourself, or listen to anything said. Listen, boy, you ought to do nothing; drink your liquor well and only walk. That which you did is truly not good. Truly not good to give fear to a child as you did."

The object lesson is to teach the boy to pay attention to his mother and father, who did not accompany him because they were embarrassed by his behavior and his failure to listen to them (B87). If he

gets angry, he should not let himself get "hot" (J3). Nothing would have happened they say, if he had minded his own business (B154). They provide him with the cues by which he can "listen" and "feel", (*š'awai*, a verb which contains both these perceptions) his way back into the moral community.

The fine is a *piaculum*. The judges say that if the defendant isn't adequately fined, he will give the habit to other boys, or he might do the same thing again (B116). In addition to the fine of \$150 pesos, the woman is permitted to beat the defendant. She says, as she strikes him with a leather strap brought for the occasion, "I will beat you as my husband beat me so that you will feel the consequences of your behavior."

The judges not only explicate the norms, but also evaluate them in terms of the particular roles of the contestants. Thus the judges in unison (G7) assert it is worse to attack a woman who has a husband, and the president adds that it would be better if he went after unmarried girls (A4). There are some differences in the opinion as to what the accepted standards are. While the judge (B14) and the president (A20) maintain that it would be different if the woman was a widow, both the claimant (C27, C37) and her mother (D2) maintain that even women who are alone should not be molested. The judge supports them partially (B95), saying that even widows don't want to be treated as the defendant treated the claimant. But in justifying the amount of the fine, he reverts to his earlier judgment that (B120) "We would reduce it a little only if it were a widow. . ."

In *Tso'ontahal* there are no double standards common to the ladino society of the neighboring villages and cities. In discussing the case of Marcela B. with whom the boy is accused of having relations, the claimant maintains that the old woman had extra-marital sexual relations only after her husband had begun (C35). The judges in unison say "So it is, if a man does it and the woman finds out about it, she goes ahead and does the same" (G8) and then "the husband has no right to scold the woman if she had begun first" (C36).

There are different expectations relating to the behavior of women and men. When the president accuses the defendant of gossiping like a woman (A13) the latter replies that, if he was really like a woman, he would be running to the courthouse complaining (E34), getting in his only sly dig at the claimant. The claimant also berates

the defendant by comparing him to a woman, saying "go wear a skirt if you want to continue gossiping" (C87).

Court action serves as a secondary line of defense against the threat of witchcraft which is preceded, in the case of conflict between kinsmen, by consultation with the elders and is followed, if witchcraft is suspected, by a curing ritual. During the proceedings, contestants manipulate the norms to project an image of themselves in the best possible light. The judges' review of the case indicates what the norms of behavior should be for specific roles and actors. Speech, studied as an event in a particular context, is a clue to the dialectical process of bringing norms of behavior to bear on individual conduct.

IV. Conclusion

The courtroom provides a strategic setting for finding out the modes of interpersonal relationships. In the court proceedings, it becomes clear that norms and values are not simply a stock of set rules which guide behavior, but that they can be manipulated in the interest of the speakers and can even be transformed in the process of application. Successful rhetoric for the contestants depends on sufficient sensitivity to shared values so as to gain the sympathy of the judges and to cast suspicion on the opponent. In working out consensus, the judges and civil officials are able to come to agreement in evaluating the case without any vote through phatic communication employing the echo and iteration. These techniques are an important asset in communities such as *Tzo'ontahal* which emphasize the appearance of solidarity.

Since court procedures are not controlled by due process limitations on what is to be reviewed, the courtroom becomes an arena for examining past and future expected behavior as well as the present case in point. The claimant succeeds in gaining support for her claim that the attack was not an isolated act but a personality trait of the defendant, that as such he was a threat not only to her but to all men's wives. The judges accept the verdict that he acts without fear or shame. Like Camus' stranger, who was sentenced on the basis of how he behaved at his mother's funeral rather than on the evidence concerning the murder he was charged with committing, the defendant is accused and convicted of failure to show shame or fear to his parents or to society.

The judges act as both critics and teachers in the courtroom. They point out the burden of the guilt, and indicate the path toward conformity. As guardians, they share the functions of parents, curers, and ancestors, a functional identity recognized in the term of address *me[?]stateš*.

The hearing succeeds in transforming a given set of social relations. The claimant, by the public airing of the incident, stops the gossip which was upsetting her relations with her husband and neighbors. Her threat that the death of the child or for herself and her husband will be attributed to the defendant could forestall any use of witchcraft. The defendant by accepting his guilt and paying the fine is provided with a means of reinstating himself in the community. Court cases are, thus, an important technique for the adjustment of conflict. The analysis of such proceedings reveals the dialectic of applying rules to a particular set of social relations.

APPENDIX I

TEXT OF COURT

CASE

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------------------|
| A President | E Boy defendant (youth about 25) |
| B Judge | F Husband of claimant |
| C Woman claimant | G All judges in unison |
| D Woman's mother | H Regidor (court clerk) |

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| A1 | Yik'otal <i>ʔ</i> antze, mam kumpare <i>ʔ</i> alkal. | <i>Bring the woman here, mam judge.</i> |
| B1 | Ku [?] u. Yik'otal <i>ʔ</i> awaik yai tut ya yale. Han šabi.
(To the woman) <i>ʔ</i> alatal kaik-tik tuti lihk yale <i>ʔ</i> alatal kaik-tik. | <i>Yes, bring her here and you will hear what she says. So it is.
Tell us so that we will hear what you have to say. Tell us and we will listen.</i> |
| C1 | Mak <i>ʔ</i> aa. Tohon k'al ta be. Ha [?] a stukel hič <i>ʔ</i> a lok'tal ba koral ba č'in be. Mak haa tz'i [?] in me yik'onbal tal be <i>ʔ</i> ay <i>ʔ</i> a niš [?] a winike be yu [?] un <i>ʔ</i> ay trate soke. | <i>Nothing. I was walking straight on the road. He came out of the corral where there is a little road. I did not know until after he seized me that there were any men in the road.</i> |
| B2 | <i>ʔ</i> ay <i>ʔ</i> a niš <i>ʔ</i> a kečeluk trate soke [?] | <i>Had you ever had anything to do with him?</i> |

- C2 Ma puta[?]ukon; ma tz'i[?]ukon. Tal tz'i[?]in snitbon k'aab [?]i škietonbal tz'i[?]in. Tal spičbon k'aab [?]i ha[?] tz'i[?]in č'in kale, š'awawetbayel [?]i tzak ti[?]be sk'abe. Čamen ta [?]ok'el; nunka šč'ab č'in kalel. Mak tz'i[?]in [?]i ya skuyon ta Me[?] Maltzera "Ma me walbe ya amamlal!" Tu[?]un ya yalik te wai [?]ošeb kahwal ta tzakel te te[?]ilbahinel?
- I am not a whore; I am not a bitch. He came after me, grabbed my hand and I ran. He seized my hand. My little child started crying, and I bit (the attacker's) hand. My child nearly died crying, and never did stop crying. Afterward Me[?] Marcela did not believe me. "Don't tell your husband", she said. Why did he say that there were three rapists bothering me?*
- D1 (to the defendant) Te wai čiknahem hoye te kalnakal [?]awahič ya walik sok i hoye.
- Did you hear that? What did you say to your companion?*
- E1 Natik ma hna. Šakubon lok'el.
- I don't know. I came out drunk.*
- D2 Spisiltikaniš [?]a šyakubotike pero ma mač'aa spas hič. Mayuk [?]ilawil tekohi te me[?]hal [?]antze pero ma baya ta hič.
- Everyone drinks and gets drunk, but none does this. Never have I seen such a thing. Although I am a widow, this has never happened to me.*
- C3 Ha[?] yu[?]un to yobra tz'i[?]in yah wolantikhilel kakištike ya š[?]oč sk'opon. Ya š[?]oč yil ya š[?]oč sk'opon te me b'otik ta Himšole kom te me botik ta [?]Alank'inal. Ha[?] naš hič sk'opon. Hilem sme[?] tz'i[?]in ačīštike šbaht ta Himšol sme[?]e š[?]oč sk'opon te naš a la mulanbetik [?]ahk'obal ta sna Me[?] Martin te wa kačiše.
- It is always his custom when our girl is left along to enter and talk. He looks and talks when we go to Teopisca, or when we go to hot country. When her mother went to Teopisca, he came in and talked. We kept it a secret and the girl went to Me[?] Martina's house to live.*
- F1 Te bahta b'atz'il [?]a š[?]oč snutz ta na yayel.
- He went there and truly entered and almost caught her.*
- C4 "Te me la walbe [?]amamlale, yah tzak milat." sč'i[?]. "[?]ak a te me ya wak'e Ma tut ši[?]". La kalbe tz'i[?]in hmamlal la ha[?]bi hal [?]alale natik me ma yič ši[?]el mismo tz'i[?]in bo[?]on sok.
- "If you tell your husband, I will kill you", he said. Give it to me if you are going. I am not afraid. I told my husband afterward what had happened to the child. We didn't know if he had caught fear when I went with him.*
- F2 Mismo tz'i[?]in [?]abi bo[?]on sok ma yanuk tz'i[?]in b'ankil.
- I also went with my elder brother.*
- C5 Sč'i tz'i[?]in [?]a "Ha[?] yu[?]un."
- He said afterward "It is for that" (the attempted seizure).*
- A2 [?]a ma tal [?]a štin [?]abi. Hič a tal tz'i[?]in [?]amamlale.
- Martina didn't come then. Only your husband came.*

- C6 Yu'un wan yobra ?a ?ay wan
ba tzako manyo ?ay stao ?ay
smamlale mak yalbe ha? yu'un
hič k'an spashon ?ay yu'un
baht ?ahkubal štalon. *Because this is his custom. There are
some women with husbands who have
relations (with men). They do not
talk, and so he wants me to do be-
cause I was out at night.*
- B3 Ya wil če ?ay ?aniš ?ahk'ubal. *See it is so, it was night time.*
- C7 Štalotika ?orasion ?aboon k'alo
hukeb yu'un ?ay yahtal yo'tan
me'e. *We arrived about prayortime, about
7 pm because my mother was suffer-
ing.*
- B4 ?ay sluwar ba talat ya yelabi.
Ma lon muk naš. *It is your custom to arrive as you
said? You are not joking.*
- C8 Ha? ta beraluke ha?bi peto či-
kan sluwar ba talon. La sčahp-
bon tz'i'in winikule te me ?ay
ha'ale ma me talan, ha? te me
mayuk ha'ale lame tz'i'in. La
kabehilel sk'ak'al spaying la yak'
ha? ala pe sk'epbal tz'i'in. *It wasn't my custom to arrive there
then. I arranged with my husband
that if it was raining I would not
come, but if was not raining I would
come afterward. I put fire under the
corn gruel. It rained but the rain
stopped.*
- B5 Ha? niš ?abi. *So it is.*
- C9 B'atz'iin k'otat tz'i'in sambon
sti te wai ma kalbe hmamle.
Ha? yu'un ma ?ak'an tz'i'in
ke tal ya smilon ha? ma hk'an
hič. La yalbon to wai yu'un
smilon. Ha? tz'i'in č'in kale
čamen ta ?ok'el. *Hear the truth: he ordered me not
to tell my husband, or else he would
kill me It was after this that my
little child died crying.*
- B6 Ha? yičbal ši?el tz'i'in te ?ala-
le. *He caught fear, your little child.*
- G1 Tučan te ?ok'. *Yes, he cried.*
- F3 Ho'on ma kabe ši?el ta yaku-
bel yorikto ma šwai ta ok'el. *I do not give fear to him when I
drink. Now the child does not sleep
for crying.*
- G2 Ya wite š?ak'awan ta ?utel ta
ska stukel. *See how they are fighting because of
his fault (Refers to fact that man
and wife are fighting since this en-
counter). I never saw him (husband)
beat before, but after this, because
of his fault (defendant's) he is beat-
ing. If it were I who first began to
call, "Come, come put it here in me".
If I had said that, it would be dif-
ferent. We are not like a half-grown
child with hair disarranged because I
already have a child. I didn't want
this grown-up man. Why didn't he
ask for a wife.*
- C10 Ma ba kilo te mahele i stukel
tz'i'in y ta yak'on ta ?utel ta
htukel.
Stukeluk nailuk ?akik'e "la, la
š?anotik, lauk", kute ha'bi. Ma
pa ?olil krišiano hič č'in patza
sholto yu'un ayiš kal?a ta yik'
elon. Ha? yu'un ma hk'an ?a
kolate mamališe. Tut ma sk'anis
yinam?

- B7 Hič ?a niš ?a. *So it is.*
- C11 Te me mamališ ya?i sbae. *When they are grown up they feel the urge.*
- B8 K'e če. *So it is.*
- F4 Mačauk naš yihuben ?orato pero mak yak' ši?el yinam. Bai naš wučlahanuk ?antztik, mak yič ši?el. *There are many who are mature, but they do not frighten my wife. Women go where they want to, walking alone, and don't get frightened.*
- C12 ?ilawil yihuben sme? wiše ha? čik sta pasbek me ya sk'an. *See that his sister is grown up. They are going to want her also.*
- G3 ?ilawil me ya? wilbahin sk'e ?antze mayuk smamlal yu?un me?ba ?antz. Mam kušlehal ya sna ma yakubel če. *See that you bother the women as much if there is no husband or if she is a widow. He was sober. He was not drunk.*
- E2 Hič yakubel ma ba spas hič tuti la tae. Natic me hič tut ya yal. Ma hna. *Yes, I was drunk. I never do that sort of thing. We don't know what she is saying. I don't know.*
- C13 Tut ma sna me yakubel če. Batz'il ma ši?. Baht la tz'i'in kačiše kom ha? nakoliš ?a č'in kereme hič smukule don ?a stikonbal ?a č'in kereme kon ese tuti čikna tz'i'in ke la la ya?be te?il. ?a yič ši?el č'in kereme. Ma la šla ya lulanbe šbaht la ta tamal. Ya la snup'in, la sta ?a. "Ha?a te? la wa?bon tal te? la hk'opona wiše sčila. La mulanbetik kom ?aciš mayuk smamlal. Ha? tz'i'in č'in kereme la yič ši?el ben sak puman. Ha? yu?un stukeliš yu?un ?a ya la sk'an šta tzakhilel. Ya la sk'an ?a stukahilel kom stukeliš yu?un hil tal la snutz yu?un la te wa yak' te?e ha? la ma šla smulin yič ši?el. *How would he know anything if he was drunk? Truly he does not fear. Our little girl was seated with my little boy. She is a little older. I sent her with the little boy. Then we heard afterward that he (the child) hit him (defendant) with a stick. The little boy got frightened. He hardly finished saying it when he threw him down there. "You beat me with a stick when I was talking to your older sister", he said. They concealed it since the girl has no husband. It was after this that the little boy caught fear. His face got very white because he wanted to meet her and bother her. He wanted to shoot if he remained. He ran when he threw the stick. It is because he did not finish his crime that he got frightened.*
- B9 Ya niš ?a yič ši?el te ?alale-tike. *Thus it always is when the children get frightened.*
- C14 Ma hk'an yaniš wan ?a. Ya hk'an ?a spikata te winike pero yu?un ?awak'obe trate tut ?awan sčontal sčukel yu'unuk kak' obeiš ta lek te k'ope. *I do not want another incident. I want to seize this man, but because you have tried, how can I say that I will put him in prison in good faith?*

- B10 Ha? ?abi. Te yil sba me sčukbal tz'into me šnuhpunat sok kom mayuk smamlal, pero ?ay smamlal te ?antze. *So it is. You can see if you will get married after you go to prison, but in this case the woman has a husband.*
- C15 Ma hk'an ma čiiibaluk ?a yu?un ya pas kerem. *I do not want it. I wasn't brought up as was this boy.*
- B11 Tuti winik čee malekuk? Tut ?a ha? ?a wes la ba ?utel ta mahel? *Why is this man not good? Why is he always beating, fighting, hitting?*
- C16 Ha? yu?un ma hk'an. *It is for this I do not want him.*
- B12 Huniš ?awotanik ?ayiš ?anaik. *No, you are happy because you have your house.*
- C17 Yu?un wan ma sk'anotik te yotik ba slumale. Yu?un wan sme? statil ke č'ul balamilal. Ha? yu?un stenotik ta lok'el. *Perhaps they don't want us in their land. Maybe this holy land is all his, and for this he wants to evict us.*
- B13 Ha? yu?un hič tuti spas tz'i'in. *It is for this that he does it.*
- C18 Ha? yu?un hič tuti spas tz'i'in. Ma ho'one ma hk'an yu?un wan yobra. Hič ?a ?ay wan ba stao yu?un ?ay ba tzak'o manyo. Ha? yu?un hiče spas tz'i'in. Tzako manyo smak ta heč, hič te ?achiše ke wa?a yu?untikil, mamal, ya to la slok'es ya to la spok ta witz. Ya yelk'an lok'-el. Ya yehiš k'a te wa me?ele. *It is for this that he does it. I do not want (to put up with) this habit of his. He is accustomed to seizing woman and goes on doing it. He seizes a woman as is his custom, hidden on the side of the road, and whether she has children or a husband he takes her off to the hills. You have already heard what the old woman (mother of the girl the defendant has asked for) said.*
- B14 Ke čee načik štal ?awal tz'i'in ?ek' ?a. *She should come and you should speak to her also.*
- C19 Tut yes stal ya?bon ši?el te yel me smak ?antz kom mayuk mamal. *Why does he want to give fear? Let's see if he looks for a woman who doesn't have a husband.*
- B15 (To the defendant). Naka biyuratike. Mač'atik biura mak ?očeluk me ya yik'bayel. Ho'one ma hk'aniš ?ay mamal. ma sk'an kotantik tut mero pe te ?abersinala. Me ha? la ya k'an bersina ben lek pe yu?un ben lek ben sam sok. Ke wil lek ya k'opon yayiel tut šu? ma šu? yu?un šbawil pe to mač'a k'an ?očuk ta sna ha? tut spas če?e ma lekuk. *Just widows, It wouldn't matter if he stole those who are widows. I do not want this if there is a husband. And since they are neighbors, our hearts do not want it. If the neighbors had wanted it, then it would be alright. But they are good neighbors and very friendly. See that I speak the truth. There are things that one can do and that one shouldn't do, but anyone who enters the house as he does is not good. (Last remark is to general audience.)*

- C20 "Yotikto ba la ta si'be" te wa sme'e. Ha? yu?unto me čamon me lahmon pahel ča?abe. Škutil te wa sme'e lok'otik tal ?aye. Tek'el ta yan sitz. Ha? tz'i'in smam bankile te k'el ta šuhk pwerta. "Bo'on me?, čee Bibi-yan,". Skut tz'i'in. Ma sak tz'i'in. Ma sakbeyat. Ha? ya yaiyi te me ta ?ak'čamele yihtz'ine. Ha? ya yu?un ya č'u?unbe sk'op te tat Lolike. Ma batz'iluk tat, ma batz'iluk kahwal. Yaniš m-male. Yaniš tatin č'inuk ?a. Me mak ?awil ?ay sit yo'tan ?u?ul.
- "Now go get the wood", said his mother. "I may die the day after tomorrow." When I went out, I left word with his mother. He was standing below the avocado tree. His brother was behind the door. I said, "I am going, Vivian." He did not reply. He had heard that his younger brother was causing witchcraft, and he believed the words of Tat Lorenzo. He is not a true Tat, not a true master (of curing). He is another sort, not a tatin (term used for elder curer to show respect). Haven't you seen that he has an animal spirit? (This diatribe refers to cross-accusations of witchcraft arising over defendant's mother's illness.)*
- B16 Yaniš ?a.
- He is of another kind. (Strange, foreign, generally not good.)*
- C21 Mač'atik k'a sna k'inale ha? yu?un tatin ma šu? ya kalbe "Banač ?a ši?el."
- Those who know how to make a fiesta (curers) we call tatin. I cannot say "Go, elder brother".*
- B17 Yaniš k'opon lek ?a te krišianoe si lek šk'opo mak š?ilin.
- Only speak well with a person if he speaks well and does not get angry.*
- C22 Ha? yu?un hk'an kai ha? ma me yu?un kečel k'op sok me?en kečel trate sok. ?ay yal tal batz'il te tut ta sk'opon yu?une me?en ?ay beta sna.
- Therefore I wanted to make clear that it wasn't a half-finished agreement between us. He told me that he had begun to speak to me because we owed money to him.*
- B18 Tut ma sk'an ta lekil k'ope?
- Why doesn't he want to ask with good words?*
- C23 Tušan te.
- So it is.*
- B19 Te ya wak' tz'i'in ?a ha? čik ?ayabi sči hičuke.
- So it is that you respond in this way when he speaks as he did.*
- C24 Ma toholuk šta slok'es sla yo?-tan ta yilbahinon ta be. Ke tal tuti spas pahel čabe mamlal stukel škuč te me čame. Ha? yebuk k'aal šbenon šlok'on ta tetikil yu?un mayuk kontra. Ma mač'a čukba sok č'unulon nuhulon ta hna.
- If I don't pay (the debt), when I go out he gets angry and when he sees me in the road he comes to bother me. If my husband should get sick the day after tomorrow, how many days can I go walking in the woods without anyone against me? No one can keep me prisoner in my house.*
- B20 Ha? i tuti ?aye tal slihkes sk'op yaiyel.
- It is for this that he began his gossip.*

- C25 I tušan te. *And so it is.*
 (To the defendant) ?ayal hamal *(To the defendant) State clearly*
 te me ?ay ba? a kečel k'op soke. *whether there has been any half-*
 Ha? ya hk'an ka?i ya?bi. *spoken agreement between us. I want*
to hear it.
- B21 Ha?at tučan te ha? niš ?a. Lek *You are right indeed. It is good to*
 ?ay čee lek ?ay ?abi če ?awai *hear how it is now.*
 tut ?ay te.
- C26 Hu?un. Ha? kal tem la yič *No (he doesn't speak). When my*
 ši?el č'in kale. Ha? kal tem la *child was frightened, when my little*
 yič ši?el stukul me ya škuč. *child caught fear, it was his fault.*
- B22 Ha' niš ?a porke ?alale ya ši? *So it is because we now know where*
 ya sna ba yič ši?ele porke ?alal *the child caught fear.*
 čee yič ši?el.
- F5 Ilawil ya kikbe yiname me ya *Look, I will seize his wife if he*
 sk'anek če?e. Ba k'an ba sk'an *wants that. Where is he going to*
 šan ?a ma sk'an. *seek it with another who doesn't want*
it?
- G5 Ba k'an ba sk'an šan ?a ma *Where is he going to seek it with*
 sk'an? Mančuk me hič sč'inotso *another who doesn't want it? Al-*
 ya niš šk'ak'uba yu?un ka. *though he is small, he too gets angry.*
(Refers to the fact that the husband
is small.)
- B23 Ya naš ya ?ana č'inuk ?a ?ay *Now you are aware that there is a*
 smamlal. Ya ?ana pisil tut yes *husband. You are aware of all that*
 ya k'opon? *he wants to say to you? (to defen-*
dant).
- C27 Ilawil ben bayal biura pe ma ba *See there are many widows, but he*
 spasbon hič. *doesn't do what he did to me.*
- B24 Mayuk, mayuk. *Nothing, nothing.*
- C28 Ilawil ?ay yaniš ?ilbahinot *See there are women who will take*
 ?antzike ke naka yan lum kurik. *on men, but they are kurik who live*
over there.
- B25 Šyakubel pe ho?otike lumal *Although we get drunk in the pue-*
 bahtike ma ba spas hič i ?ay?- *blo, we do not do this, do the kurik.*
 euk te wa kurike pe yu?un *But when they are drunk, they are*
 šyakubel sta ?ilbahinel ha? te *raped —when they are already drunk.*
 ta šyakubelto ?ek ?abi.
- C29 Tušan te ta šyakubelto. *Yes, it is because of drunkenness.*
- B26 Pwes ha? te wa tuti šba smak *Then the way he goes hurking in the*
 a ta be?el ha? malekuk. Ha? *road isn't good. It isn't good what*
 ma lek tuti spas. *he does.*

- C30 I ha[?] yu[?]un ma hk'an ma štal
spukesbon k'oplal. Pukulnibeliš
te k'ope yu[?]un ta ska tz'i[?]in. Ma
hokon kal k'ael te k'ope. Ha[?]
yu[?]un stukewan yal kael hič
ma hičuk š[?]alot tz'i[?]in [?]a te ma
te yukišbael [?]a te k'ope. *And I don't want him spreading
gossip. There are many gossips on
account of him (defendant). I am
not saying these words. It is because
he is saying such things. He is lying
there is nothing in what he says.*
- B27 [?]abiye če[?]e te ma teyukišbal [?]a. *The gossip is not true.*
- C31 Ha[?] yu[?]un [?]a yal ta hamal te
me [?]a beta snae. *Therefore he ought to speak clearly
if we owe something in his house.*
- B28 Hič [?]a niš [?]a. *So it is.*
- C32 Šweon ta wokol ta trabaho. Ma
Mač'a hk'an talanbe stak'in kri-
šiano. *I eat by my suffering by my work.
No one do I ask for money, not from
anyone.*
- B29 Ma niš [?]a ya k'an stak'in te
šweat [?]a tuti ya naš [?]a te [?]a[?]te. *You don't ask money of anyone for
what you eat; it is by your work.*
- C33 Hun kotan ba šba sna me ya[?]tal
kotan han [?]ihk'inal šbenon. Hun
ko[?]tan čunulon nuhulon ma ba
kilot te mahile te [?]utile. Ha[?]
yu[?]un šta ta yak'an ta [?]utel.
Ha[?] ayin yinam te pahel te
ča[?]bebe š[?]oč sk'opik [?]a te me
hačik [?]a pasbote k'ote sk'opik
[?]a. Ha[?] yu[?]un ya kaibayel
me[?]eš tateš. *I am of one heart-what does he (de-
fendant) know of my suffering when
I walk at night. Contentedly I remain
doing nothing. I never look when he
(her husband) is beating or scolding
me. For this he has begun to scold me.
The day after tomorrow, when he
(the defendant) wants a wife, and
they (his parents enter to speak),
then they will speak of this affair.
For this I listen well to you judges.*
- G5 Heče, tušan.
Hu
Han ša. *So it is.
Yes
Again.*
- C34 [?]utz k'al če ši[?]lel. *Good day, elder brother.*
- G6 [?]utz k'a[?]al. *Good day.*
- (The woman goes to each of the alcaldes, bowing her head. This ends the klarasion.)
- [?]ič yo[?]tan: Taking of the heart (questioning of the defendant).
- B30 [?]al [?]a kaitik tz'i[?]in[?]euk, kere,
Tutbael tz'i[?]in[?]euk? *Speak and we listen, boy. What goes
with you?*
- E3 [?]i bat, [?]i ma hna ko šyakubon
[?]a kom sab'ahonbal čin la kuč
tragu.
Tušahon lahilel tz'ine štalukon
ta kantina tz'i[?]in. Ma hnaiš tuti
lok'onbael. Ma hna me tušahe-
mon tz'i[?]in [?]a kaši wiše. *And truly I do not know. I was
drunk since I went early and drank
liquor. I fell. Afterward I came to
the cantina. I do not know how I
came out. I do not know if I fell
after my elder sister passed. (refers
to claimant as elder sister).*

- B31 Baya *Ah, so.*
- E4 Ma hna tut ?ayonek ?a ma hna k'in al te wa kaš me? wiše. ?ahk'ubal tz'i?in ?abi k'o hna te ba korale, kušbayel ko?tan tz'i?in. Nopol sak'ube, ?očon k'oel ta hna. K'o?on ta hna, kai tz'i?in te wai šk'o te ha? wanuk hilel ta hnae. Kon kaikaiktik tal te mule sčontal. *I don't know how I was. I don't know anything about how my older sister passed at night. After that, I remember I got near the corral where I rested a little. Near dawn, I entered my house. When I arrived in my house, I heard that someone had arrived to say something in my house. I came to hear what they told me was my crime.*
- B32 ?aško wai tal kaibe sluwar tz'i?in. *You heard what had happened.*
- E5 ?i ma hna k'in al batz'il ma hna k'in al to wa tuti pase. *And I don't remember anything truly. I don't remember what happened.*
- B33 Te ma ?ay ?ahoy tz'i?in ?a? *Was there a companion with you?*
- E6 Ba wan štal te hoye? *Where is a companion going to come from?*
- B34 Pe me ben šyakub batz'in ?a? *But were you very drunk, truly?*
- E7 Yu?un ?a nišiben šyakubon ?a. *Indeed I was very drunk.*
- B35 Ba k'an yakuban? *Where do you want to get drunk?*
- F6 Kušlehal. Ma hk'an yu?un ?a. *He was sober. I don't want to hear that.*
- G7 Niš kušul ?a ha? yu?un ya sna tuti spase. *He was sober. That's why he knew what he was doing.*
- E8 Tu?un ba hk'an ba hna k'in al šan ?a yu?un ?a niš ben šyakubon? *How can I remember anything else if I was very drunk?*
- B36 Yu?un ?a niš yu?un ya ?ana tut la ?apas. Yakubel če?e ma sna tut ya pas. *Because you do know what you did. A drunk doesn't know what he did.*
- F7 Ha? tz'i?in hal te wa tz'i-neuk te watz'inek Maltzera Čail. Te me nae trate sokeuk? Te wailabi ?ilteso. *It is also Me? Marcela B. who should hear you. Haven't you had dealings with her? She named you.*
- E9 Yu?un ?a sč'in bet. Ha? wan ?a na ta yakubelban. *Because she owes me money. When she's drunk she thinks of it.*
- F8 Ha ?a slihkes mamale. *The man began it (husband of Marcela).*

- C35 K'o kalbe tz'i'in sme?e k'o
slihkes tz'i'ineuk smamal. *The woman started to do it after her husband had started. (refers to fact that the women indulge in adultery only when their husbands do so).*
- G8 Ha'uk čee taelbayel yaiyel te
?ayaniš yu'unuk yaijol ?ayel
stukelik slihkele lek. *So it is if he does it and she hears she goes ahead and does the same.*
- E10 Č'in trague... Kušlehalukon
?oçel lek ya hna. *A little liquor... If I were sober, I would have entered well I know.*
- B37 Slot. Kušul ha? yu'un ya ?ana. *It is a lie. Your were sober, therefore you knew.*
- C36 La ma yai te me?ele. La ma
yaik te me?ele kom slihkes ma-
male na?ohišek ?a kom slihkele
nail te mamlale. *The woman didn't say anything. He didn't scold the woman because the husband had already begun first.*
- B38 Ha? ya ?ana ya yel te tut ya
walbe te ?antze. ?ay winik pisil. *So you know what the woman said. She too has a man.*
- C37 Kolemuk šan ?a, me?eštateš,
mayuk ta ?ilbahinel. *Although one is alone, judges, no one, ought to bother them.*
- B39 Yu'unuk kalemuk če?e lek stu-
kel me?ba ?antzetik čee ya
šlok' ta steel tut ya swe? tut
ya yuč. Mayuk ta ?ilbahinel.
Tu'un benon ya šbenon ?a ma-
yuk ba pas hič. Me yu'un š?o-
wiyat tz'i'in ?a ?ilawil ben
šyakubotik šlok'otikbayel?euk
pero ma ba pastik. *Although they are alone, it is good that widows should go out to look for what they eat, what they drink. No one should bother them. I go out walking, but never do this unless you are very mad. See, we get very drunk and we go out, but don't do this.*
- B40 Yu'un ?aniš ben ya pas hič ?a
tu'un ta pukuhem. Tu'un ma
ba škuč če?e. Šcotik ke ma ba
škučte šcotik pero me ben
škučo tz'inte yu'un ma ba ya?
be ši?el ?antztik ha?tuti čate.
Ma ba kabetik ši?el ?antztik
komo tutil la te. *Even if you do this, why do you have to spread gossip about it. We say don't bear tales unless it is something good. You ought not to frighten women. This is what they object to. We don't give fear the women as you have.*
- G8 ?i hičon ?ek ?a ma?uk ?a ši?el
pahel čabe šbe?en ta be?euk me
spas hičeuk. *And also don't give fear the day after tomorrow if you go walking on the road. Don't do it.*
- C38 Mas ya wan spas stukel mayu-
nuk ya te me la spas hič te yi-
name. Ya wan snopbal stuk.
Ya wan šba stuk ?ahil ta sna.
Ha? yu'un hiček ?ato ma sk'an
hmamlale. *He himself would do even worse if they did it to his wife. He is going to grab his shotgun, and going to fire it in his house (of molester). For the same reason my husband doesn't want it.*

- A3 Tzak ʔantze čee es ke lo me-reska. *He deserves to have a woman seized too.*
- G9 ʔay yak' čee yaniš ʔilin ʔa. ʔay yak'abi. Ya niš ʔilinin yuʔun ʔa. *That would give him something to get angry about. Just as he gave it. I would get angry about it.*
- A4 ʔilawil čeʔe smamlal čeʔe stukel ta ska yaixel čeʔe. Ilawil čeʔe haʔ. *See how her husband is too because of his fault. See how it is.*
- B41 Šlihik ta ʔalal tuti šlihik čeʔe la yaʔik šʔawetbayel ʔalal skoles-ba. Yuʔun ʔaniš wan spas hič ʔa. *The child began to cry and they hear how much he cries because he was let go (when his mother was seized). So it always is when they do this.*
- E12 Ba k'anuk ba k'an ba pas mayuk ba ya pas ska tragu tut ya pase. *Why would I want to go to do such a thing. I never do such things. For fault of the drink I did it.*
- C39 Ska wan tragu pero ben ya walkael. *Even if it was for the fault of the trago, you did a lot of talking.*
- E13 Huʔun ma ba paso. *No, I didn't do it.*
- A5 Me haʔ ben ya pas sok meʔ Maltzera. *But hasn't he been fooling around a lot with Meʔ Marcela.*
- G8 (Everyone chimes in at this point.)
- E14 Ma ba pas hiče meʔele. Ska tragu. Tuti kalbe yuʔun ʔa sč'in bet. *I didn't do this with women. For the fault of trago. As I said, it is because of her debt.*
- G9 Ba k'anuk yuʔun ʔa niš ʔapa-sohel ʔa sok ʔa meʔele. Haʔ yuʔun ʔabiʔiltes. *Why do you want to do this with women? It is for this you were named. (i.e. called into court).*
- E15 Per ben šyakubon. *But I was very drunk.*
- B42 Yan k'aal ma šʔapas hič tuti a smamlal ʔantztike yuʔun ʔa niš ʔa ʔayat sok ʔa meʔ Maltzera Čaile. Tut yes ʔawuʔun? *Another day don't do this when a woman has a husband because you are always fooling around with Marcela B. Why do you want to do it?*
- E16 Naʔtik me hič hič ma hičuk. *We do not know if it is so.*
- G10 Yuʔun ʔa niš hič ba. Yuʔun tut yes ʔawuʔun. La čahpiš ta kušlehal. Tut yes ya ʔana ʔulan. *Because it is so. Because this is how you want it. You arranged it in sobriety. Why don't you remember it?*
- B43 Ta kušlehal ya ʔawalbe hičuke pwes yuʔun ʔay ta woʔtan haʔ yuʔun. *In sobriety you spoke (gossiped about his exploits) then for this it is something you wanted.*

- E17 Ben ya[?]uk nae pe me ska tra-
gu. *Well if I knew it, but I drank liquor.*
- C40 Te yil me la tzak me ya yilbahin
ma kočeluk. *Let's see if he grabbed me, if he both-
ered me, whether it doesn't matter.*
- B44 Pwes hič čee te yil me ya wal
me ya wa[?]biyan ma wočeluk. *Then so it is; see if you say that it
isn't important.*
- C41 ?ilawil te yipal č'in bario ba
?ayotike ma mač'aa kutik ?a. *See in this little barrio where we live
there is no one who fights.*
- B45 ?ilawil ta[?]otal te če[?]e hun kuš-
lehale ha[?] hoyitikto. *See when I met him, all his compan-
ions were sober.*
- G11 Kušlehal.
Yu[?]un ?a niš kušul ?a ha[?]
yu[?]un. *Sober.
Indeed he was sober, so it is.*
- B46 Lah spas hič. Ha[?] li ben šyaku-
botik ma šu[?] be[?]eltik. *He did it. When we are very drunk
we cannot walk.*
- C42 Ben ?ayuk ba kutohuk ba soke
ha[?] ?abi. ?awiluk me kut ba
sok ha[?] smelol ?a čuk č'ul sik
?awil te ?a metiktatik ?a melt-
zahel ba sok ?a sikil č'ulna
č'ul ?awil šk'ootik ta te me[?]etik
tatik. *If we had been fighting with him,
then it would be different. Then you
would see if I fought with him in this
court proceeding, in this holy cold
house, where we have arrived with
the judges.*
- B47 ?ilawil te me ?ay sla yo[?]tan
tohuk. *Then you would see if he is angry.*
- E18 Ma ba kutbahtik lek našayotik
yaiyel. *We are not fighting. We are only lis-
tening.*
- C43 Mančuk me ?ay sla wotan pero
mak ?alok'es te ?antz. *Even though you are angry, you ought
not to take out a woman.*
- E19 Ska tragu te tuti pase. *For the fault of liquor it happened.*
- B48 Ha[?] ben k'ahk'i mam tate ley
ya wič lok'el. *If your father is very angry, then he
should beat you well.*
- C44 Ha[?]uk ben k'ak'i ?antze lek ya
wič lok'el. *If the woman is very angry then she
will beat you well.*
- B49 Pe ba k'an ba yak' hay ya sč'in
yal[?] *But why does she want to give it
since there is your little child?*
- D3 Ba k'an ba sk'an mahel mas
wan šk'ak'ub. Ya ya[?]be lok'el
mančuk sč'i'inik yu[?]untikilel per
me me ha[?] ?untike šlah ši[?]
hičuk mayuk ?untike le ya[?]be
lok'el. *Why beat him and get more angry?
Let him go. If there were no chil-
dren, but there are. Get over the fear
in this way if there are no children.*

- C45 Ya kabe lok'el tu'un če'e. Hičuk mayuk kuntikil če'e. Ya kabe lok'el lek čamuk kom pahel čamukon ča'be. *I am going to give it well, let it come out, just as if there were no children. I am going to give it well although I die tomorrow.*
- E20 Pero ma hna ska yakubel. *But I didn't know. I was drunk.*
- C46 Ha' smanyo mantal 'a te mam Tate yu'un škešaw ha' yalito. 'ip 'amule ma tz'itz'bahat. *Your father doesn't come here because of embarrassment. Your crime is so great he doesn't want to hear of it.*
- B50 Ma la wak' ta kwenta mamtate ben sakiš shol. Ma la wak' ta kwenta ha' yu'un maktal stakanat. Yu'un 'a niš wan to 'alsadoat 'ay 'a niš 'ame? 'atatal. Hičuke pero yu'unto 'alsadoat k'as 'arason ben tohata ta walohuke pe ma hičuk šlok' 'a'tal. Ma hičuk šlok'at tut 'ayat mero. *You don't pay attention to your father whose hair has turned white. You don't pay attention, and for this he does not come to accompany you. You are as rebellious as if you didn't have a father or mother. You are rebellious although you have passed the age of reason. But it does not come out in your work. Don't go out and do what you have done.*
- C47 Ho'on yak'on ta mahel pisil. Ho'on yak'on ta 'utel yak'on ta mahel. *He (husband) gave me all kinds of blows. He scolded me and beat me.*
- B51 Yotik te wahiš či 'ak'oplal ta teklume. *Now they are talking about this in the pueblo.*
- E21 Mač'a spuk? *Who is spreading it?*
- C48 Ha'at la wal mač'a spuk če. *It is you who are talking, who spread this gossip.*
- B52 Ha'at mač'a če'e pukehem ta teklume. *It is you who are spreading it in the pueblo.*
- G11 'a ya niš wolahan 'a 'antzitike. *Only because the women are walking alone.*
- A6 Te yil sba 'a me ya wik lok'el hal yu'unuk biurae pe te 'a smamlal. Kwalkera me soltera, ya wik lok'el kom kolema. *See if you could take her out if she is a widow, but she has a husband. Anyone who is unmarried, you could take out.*
- G12 (All talk together.)
- B53 Ha' yu'un 'atzako manyo tuti ya pasolane. *It is your custom to grab them, as you did.*
- E22 Pe ba'ay? Mač'aa? Mayuk ba paso. *But where? Whom? I did nothing.*

- B54 I hal te wa[?] me[?] Maltzera Čailte[?] a bi[?] ilte ste. Tut yes[?] awu[?] un[?] a bi[?] če[?] e mayunuk ya k'opon ha[?] niš sok[?] a če[?] e. *And isn't it Me? Marcela B. who named you? Why would she do this if you hadn't talked with her?*
- E23 I stukel naš yal hičabe ya k'opon kučohaniš[?] a. *And she is the only one who is charging we with it.*
- B55 Pe hal te hič ma k'a meltza[?] anabaike tut wan ya wut me yu[?] un ya mil[?] o tut ya wut[?] *So if you don't accept this arrangement, what are you going to do? Kill, or fight?*
- C49 Mak yal te me milawaniš škučo[?] aye. Ya mali hoyuk čee mak yil te[?] antzone Me lek šan[?] a ma k'antik šan[?] a winik. *Didn't you say you were going to kill? If you were waiting for a companion, don't look at me, a woman. If one is good, we don't want another man.*
- H1 Pe tut mak[?] a k'opon ta lekil k'op te me[?] a sla wo[?] tan soke[?] *But why don't you speak well when you are angry.*
- B56 Hu[?] u, yu[?] un[?] a[?] tatzak[?] amanyo, kere. Li[?] a smeltzahat ba lek to. *No, because it is your custom to grab, boy. Here you will arrange it well now.*
- E24 Natic me hič ma hičuk. *We shall see if it is so or not.*
- B57 Yu[?] un[?] a[?] niš[?] a[?] hič[?] a[?] melom šan[?] a[?] š[?] očtal sk'an parte lito. aAk[?] amulta: *Giving the fine*
- A7 a te wa[?] ay sla wo[?] tan manniš[?] aye Yu[?] un[?] hič. Tutil ya wut talan[?] antztik[?] ay smamale. Ha[?] hun kastigo ya wič lok'el to. Pe[?] ayuk ba pas hiče mero un kastigo doble. *You shouldn't be angry for this. Why are you bothering women so much? She has her husband. But now you will have to bear the punishment. But we should make it a double punishment.*
- C50 Tuti[?] awut talan[?] antztike la wič hun kastigo k'alal ta Ho[?] obel. *The way you go about bothering women, we ought to give punishment in San Cristobal.*
- E25 Pe yu[?] un[?] ayuke pe mayuk. *But if it were so, but there was nothing.*
- C51 Donde kiero niš ya yalbelon[?] a te wa ya moes ta Ho[?] obele. *Wherever I go they tell me that I ought to go to San Cristobal.*
- G13 Be šmoatbayel ya[?] iyel me[?] ay naš tut[?] a mero če[?] e. Mančuk me šiyakub ho[?] on me ya čuk hičuke. *Go, walk up, hear if there has ever been such a thing. Although he be drunk, we will put him in prison. (All talk together).*
- E26 Me[?] en yah na batz'il mak hna. *But truly I don't know anything.*

- B58 Hu?u Yu?un ?aniš ?awobra ha? ya waktalanbe ši?el ?untike. Ha? nop ?awai lek malekut tutil ?ayate. Mayuk ?ame? ?atat ta ti ha? yu?un ma tal ?a te mam Tate. Ben k'ašemat ?awa-lohuk ?aye. *No because it is your habit to give fear to children. Think about this, and hear what we say. It is not good what you do. Because you don't pay attention to your parents, they don't come. You have passed out of your senses.*
- A8 Ma la wak' ta kwenta tu mam-tate. Tu?un ?ip š?awuč trago. Pisil to yan šyakub; yakub ban šan pisil pe mak ?apas hič tut ya pase. Ilawil moletikto pisiltik šyakubotik lito. *You don't pay attention to your father. Why do you drink so much liquor? Everyone gets drunk. Although they drink all they do not do what you did. See even these old men all get drunk here, but they do not do this.*
- C52 Hičuke ma tut ya yalbon "Bo?-on me? wiš" ?ayuto hičuke. *Why don't you say this to me, "I go, aunt." You ought to do this.*
- A9 Mas ke yakubele ben sa?am šyakub, "Bo?on me? wiš", "Bo?-on me kihtz'in". Ya wut yu?un šyakubat. *More so when you are drunk it is good when drunk to say, "I go aunt", "I go younger brother". Thus you ought to speak when you get drunk.*
- B59 Yu?un ?a niš batz'il tzako man-yo ya?iyel ?a. ?ay ta yo?tan ya?iyel ?aye. *Instead of this you are accustomed to seize all the time. It is in your heart always.*
- A10 Ke mas ?awa mak šyakub lek ?a. *Moreover, you weren't very drunk.*
- E27 Me me ?ay ben sčukon ya wilik lito če?e yu?un tzakwil ?antz? Batz'il mayuk, batz'il mayuk. *But have you seen me brought into jail often for seizing women? Truly nothing truly nothing.*
- F8 ?albon katik lek me ?ay bet ?awu?un me šbetahon ta na. *Tell me do we owe anything in your house.*
- B60 Ma šyal ma yal hayeb te betile pe yu?un ?a niš wan ?a sla wo?tan ?aye. *He doesn't say how much is owed, but perhaps you are very angry.*
- E28 Mayuk, batz'il ma šbaya k'opon ?a ska yakubel ?abi. *Nothing truly. I did not go speak. For fault of the trago.*
- B61 Pe me yu?un ?ayaniš sla wo?-tan ?ay ha? yu?un. *But you are always angry on account of that.*
- G14 Porke te ta pisiltike ya makbotik kinamtike. Ba k'an ba mak ?antz. *Why don't we all steal women as you stole a woman?*
- C53 Ma me ?awak' k'opohukiš ?a te me hič ?apasbotik yiname. *Don't you give any talk if your wife does this.*

- B63 Ba k'an ba sk'an ma sk'an ba
sk'an šan ʔawinam. Sba tzakek
ta ya la wan č'in hoʔwil k'op
taiwan? *How would you like it if another
person a little mad in the head seized
your wife and spoke as you spoke? .*
- E29 Pe me hičukiš ya yal ʔaye. *But it isn't as you have said.*
- G15 (All speak together.)
- D4 Pe ma hičukiš te sk'op ya yale
haʔ yuʔun la tiʔ *But if it isn't as was said, why did
she bite you?*
- E30 Ba stiʔon. Mayuk ba kičo ke-
čem. Ba k'an ba hičuk ma
hičuk? *Where did she bite me? There is no
wound. Where would it be if it is
not so?*
- B64 Tuʔun me lom šan ʔa yal yawai
ʔantz te state. La me mayuk
špersa haʔ ta ya ʔay pwersa
ʔi tušan te winik tz'iʔin te. *Why would the woman lie that she
bit you? There was no force such as
you have force because you are a
man.*
- C54 Tut me bolon šʔana yuʔun
šlihč čuk lan kričiano šʔana.
Ma bolukon; ma hontolukon
yuʔun sta yak'on ta mahel ta
ʔutel yuʔun te hičuk ma kalbe
te hmamlale. Ma čuʔun te wa
sak smilone haʔ yuʔun la kalbe.
La kalbe hmamlal tz'iʔin ʔabi
me bolon ʔaunke me smilon
čamukon ma hk'anto k'oel la
k'o kalbe yuʔun sta smilon haʔ
yuʔun pahel čaʔbe kome stuke
personal la yalbonbayel stukel
šbičo škuciluk spisil mayunuk. *Am I a fool to begin to put people
in jail? I am not mad, I am not crazy
because it is his fault that he (hus-
band) hits and scolds, because I have
said nothing to my husband. I didn't
believe it when he said he would kill
me. Therefore I speak. If I were
silent because he was going to kill
me, then I wouldn't come here and
speak. Even if he kills me and I die
day after tomorrow as he himself has
said. He was carrying a knife.*
- E31 Slot! Mayuk mayuk kičo ku-
čiluk. Ba hk'an ba na si šya-
kubon. *Lie! I never carry a knife. How
could I since I was drunk.*
- A12 Pe haʔ te wa mak šyakubate. *Yes, but you were not drunk.*
- E32 Meʔen ʔay mayuk mač'a tal,
ma hna. *If there is no one who comes, I do
not know.*
- B65 Ba k'anuk ʔewa batz'il kušleha-
lat kael. Pataheliš ʔabi kušlehal
ʔa. Me ʔay mač'a ta mak pas
hič tuti ʔay ta be batz'il ma
lekuk. *Where would you want it if you are
truly sober when you went in the
morning. No one does as you did in
the road. It is truly not good.*
- E33 Batz'il ma hna. *Truly I do not know.*
- B66 Hiča ta milel hiča smilelat yu-
ʔun ska haʔ bolil haʔ čunuluka.
Tuti ʔayatbayel malekuk ʔa. *So you were going to kill instead of
just bothering. Why are you so bad?*

- C55 Mak ši? yu?un stukel šmilot
naš ke stukel la šmilawan. *He isn't afraid of killing me since he says he is going to kill someone.*
- B21 Tut yes ?abaht sti mam lol
Konsal ?ame?e. Me tikonbil tal
yu?un Mam Lol Gonzal kihtz'in
?ačiš ba ?aye tut batz 'il yu?un
te wa ba sti mam Mayukat tza-
?il. *Why did your mother want to call Mam Lorenzo Gonzalez? Did Mam Lorenzo call for the girl? Why should she say this? Truly you are not good.*
- C56 Ma sak pisil skontra sba sok ma
sak pisil si ma šil be ba sitzok
te mamlal. *He doesn't answer. He doesn't want to look at his face.*
- B67 Ya lo batz'il ?ač'ultukel melom
?a ?oč ?a?tal si škeša ta ?očel. *It is true you are alone that you enter alone because they are ashamed to enter.*
- C57 Lok'em ta sti? te wai tatine
mamale te wa hun k'op sok han
kabiye te wa tate tat lol. Ya
niš tatin ?a te mamale ya?uk
kut ba?uk soke. *He only says that Mam Lol is my father or husband, and that I am having an affair with him. Would this man be my husband if I were fighting with him.*
- B68 Pe tut mak ?awal ta kušlehal
te me ha? sla wo?tan te ya
sk'opon mamlale hičuke. Te me
sla wo?tan la meltza?aniš. No
yu?un mukul milaw sk'an ha?
yu?un. Yu?un batz'il mero ?obra
milawi kere. Yu?un hič čikan
ya mera štuš ?a. Tut yes ?awu-
?un te wai. Š?ak'opon Mam Lol
Gonzal ?i Me? Maltzera Čail
hun ?ak'op sok me?en hoy te
?antzil. *But why didn't you say it in sobriety? When you are angry her husband spoke. Instead of getting angry, it was arranged. You shouldn't hide and want to kill some one. Truly it is your work to kill, boy. It is then that you fell. Why didn't you speak to Mam Lorenzo Gonzalez and Me? Marcela B.?*
- A13 Pe yu?un ?aniš šbačam ta be?a
te me hič če?e mak ?ačam ta
be pe me kunata ?antz tz'ine
ha? yu?un p'al naš k'op ya wai
tz'iin suhtatbayel hičuk ?antz. *But you always go meet in the street when you shouldn't. You are like a woman repeating the same thing you hear. Afterward you are going to turn into a woman.*
- E34 Pe kunikon ta ?antze ben šta
te kabiltu. *But if I were a woman, I would come often to the cabildo.*
- B69 Pe tut yes tz'i?in te wai la čam
ta be ?antze tut yes ?awu?un
te ?antze ba kuitalan ba wak'
ta mahel te ?antze? *But why do you want to wait in the street for women? Why do you want this woman scolded and beaten?*
- A14 Yotikto wa?ben šniket sk'oplal
?antz baye por yu?un ta ka. *Now everyone is spreading gossip about this woman because of you.*

- B70 Batz'il ben šniket sk'oplal ta skas stukel yayiel. *Truely the gossip is widespread because of his fault.*
- A15 Me hu[?] linas [?]ay meltza[?]an [?]a yayielto [?]ora čomoel ta Ho[?]obel. *If we cannot settle it here now let us leave it and go up to San Cristobal.*
- C58 I [?]amook te me šmoe ha[?] to mas lek. *And if you go when I go it will be better.*
- A16 Ha[?] če[?]e. *It is so.*
- G16 (*all speak together*)
- C59 Ma taluk ta ko[?]otan ta čuhk ma lauk lebe smul sital yo[?]otan ma la smul stukel. *I didn't want to put him in jail. I didn't look for any crime. He himself was looking for trouble.*
- B71 Tut slihkub' sleat [?]amul te krisiano si ha[?]at tal ta wo[?]tan Ma čunulukat. *How could anyone else be looking for your crime if it was in your heart? You do not obey.*
- C60 Sok pisil me mak yil talan yanetik pisil mač'atik mayuk sme[?]. Te wala[?]uktal te wa mam Lol Konsal tut [?]a me[?]en ho[?]on nohpobe smilel. Tao ba sok k'op te mamal ha[?]bi. *So it is with all motherless people. When he called Mam Lorenzo, was he thinking of killing me since he is fighting with my husband and me.*
- A17 Pwes hič če[?]e yu[?]unuk ben hiš čiyat soke ha[?]bi pe me ben lek [?]ayeš yayiel tz'in te m-maleuk čunul yayieleuk. *Then it would be good if you spoke with him since he might listen and obey this man also.*
- C61 Tu[?]unuk to sla [?]awotan ta krišiano ma škaik tut [?]aya k'op sok. *Why are you so angry with people and don't hear what they say? (to defendant).*
- E35 Pe ya hna tuti [?]ay slihkib tz'in pletoike. *Well, now I know how the fight began.*
- B72 Pe tu[?]un ma š[?]awal tua [?]ay tz'i[?]in pleto te[?] *But why didn't you say how the fight began?*
- E36 [?]i č'in p'alontik ke kaiyehe. Ma škaik lek spisil. *I just heard a few words, and I didn't hear everything well.*
- C62 Hič [?]a kalbehile te sme[?]e ma čamon pahel čabe ma mač'a škuč ha[?] ya ha[?] čik [?]a yal-bonhilel li wale "Komb'an" šyutal tz'i[?]in te wai Bibiyano. Kon eso ma tzak'hilel "Ba wan k'ansak." Ha[?] ya yaie te wa ya tembe ta [?]ak'čamel yithz'in. Tz'intē škutal Tz'i[?]in winikule *Thus I left word with his mother that if we die the day after tomorrow, no one will bear "the blame but him. I said as I left, "goodbye". Viviano (brother of the defendant) heard this, but didn't reply, "Where are you going." He heard that his younger brother was using witchcraft. Afterward my husband said he be-*

- ʔa haya ʃuʔunbeyik sk'op it tat Lolike. Šutontal tz'iin ʔayo-niš tal ta yamak ʔabi haʔ ma škai tut yuʔun tz'i'in te wa sla yoʔt'anik te wa mamale meʔen ʔay sla yoʔtanik sok tuti haʔ ma hna ʔabi. Baya hoʔone lek ʔayon sok bersina lakna ma kutalan ba sok. Ma yuʔunuk šʔililon hičto hičto hoʔone mak ʔilin tailan.
- lieved the talk about Father Lorenzo. When we arrived at the gate, he was very angry at the man. I don't know why he was angry with him. I don't understand — I get along well with my neighbors on both sides and I don't fight with them. Therefore I have never got angry with them.*
- B73 Mero ʃeʔe smak talan hič to ta hehč smak te ʔantziike mero ma lekuk ʔa.
- Truely he hid there on the side of the road, waiting for the woman. Truely it isn't good.*
- E37 Batz'il ma mač'a may ta be lek čunulon.
- Truely I wasn't hiding in the road. I did nothing.*
- C63 ʔawiluk šboleton me šwučeton mateuk k'alal yuʔun bolukon ʔa ʔay hmamlal ma toyuk k'alal boleuk ʔa te hmamlale kon ke bol smamlal hič č'in woloto, hič č'in yutzito mayuk ta ʔilbahinel mayuk ba spukbe sk'oplal. Ta hun-smeʔstat yuʔun spukutesbe sk'oplal pe to ma sk'an koʔtan pukul nibiliš te k'ope ta ska porkeria krišiano hun patil čiʔel yuʔun ʔa niš wan yihiš pisil ʔa ma wan čiʔelukto.
- Although I walk alone or with company, I am not a mute. I have a husband who is not a mute as some half mute husband. And although he is small, he never goes around spreading rumors, along with his elders. (refers to fact defendant got people older than he to spread gossip). There are youngsters still growing up who are more mature than he.*
- E38 Yuʔun ʔaniš mamaloniš ʔa.
- Because I am a little old.*
- B74 Kola te me ma šuiš ʔawai te winal ʔantze la leiš hičuke te ʔantze.
- If you cannot endure the hunger of a woman you ought to look for a woman.*
- E38 Mačauk naš kilbahine haʔabi pe čunulon. Kewa ʃeʔe ma paso heluk batz'il ma hna.
- If I had been bothering many, but I did nothing. Hear then that I did not do anything — truely I did not.*
- G16 Hil ʔa tantos šbenotik ma ba pastik hič haʔuk stukul haʔi tut ya spas talane.
- See, many of us walk, but we don't do what you did.*
- E39 Kušlehaluk tut ya pase haʔabi pe ma yakubel mak hna.
- If I had been sober when I did it, but I was drunk. Truely I did not know.*
- B75 Ma lekuk ta benolek. Malekuk tut ya pase.
- It is not good, not good at all what you did.*
- E40 ʔi hič malekuk ska yakubel.
- And it wasn't good for the fault of the trago.*

- B76 Pahel čabe ya le ?awinam me yak' k'an ha? čik spasbe la te ke. *Day after tomorrow, you look for a wife if you want to do what you did.*
- E41 Ha? ?abi ma niš lekuk ?a ma hk'an pe te yukiš wan ?a pe yu?un kušulon pe te wai la pas tuti pase mak hna ska trago. *This isn't good. I didn't want it to happen. If I had been sober. But hear that I did it purely for the fault of trago.*
- B77 Lek a če kere, hič lek ?a naš ?amučik trago. *Well, then, boy, you should be good when you drink liquor.*
- E42 Mak hna; č'in trague. *I did not know; a little liquor.*
- A18 Pe tuti ba wilbalin ?antz ta yakubele ?algo ma hnatik te tut ya pastik. *But why go bother women when drunk, something we don't know how to do.*
- D5 ?ilawil keremetike š?ol ?ahk'u-bal šwuč lahan nopol sakub šla ?ačulel pe mayunuk ?ay tut spas talan. Ma ha?uk skes la ba meltzahel; mayuk pe ma ba c'inuk ha čik sčēč talan sk'ab ?antztik, mayuk yu?un sk'opon tios. *See, there are boys walking at midnight alone until dawn arrives, but then never do such a thing. They do not have the custom of going to court and never grab the arm of a woman. They speak with God.*
- B78 Mayuk ce?e čunul čikan mayuk sk'op lal ?awače kere, hičuk kere cunulat ya wuč tragu lek naš šbenat. Ha? te wa tutil ya pase batz'il ma lekuk. Batz'il ma lekuk ya wa?be ši?e ?alal tut ya pas talane. *You never obey, never listen to anything said. Listen, boy, you ought to obey. Drink your liquor well and only walk. That which you did is not good. It is truly not good to give fear to a child as you did.*
- I1 Un alsado, un muchacho el unico este un hijo que se fueron a sacar. *A badly behaved boy, the only one son that they want to throw out.*
- A19 Pwes bweno te ?ayiš ?abi me la wutzibe sk'ab ?ame? ?atat te me wak hiče entonses školat. *Then it would be good if you would kiss the hand of your father and mother. When you give (the fine) you will be free.*
- E43 Ya pas ba ya šan pabor ya yel. *I am going to ask for another favor.*
- C64 ?awai wai čahpal me šbeenon yak'e ele ma kičiš ši?ele. Yak'e te la ya?bo kuč k'ope ma putaokon ma tz'i?ukon šta snitbon k'aab ho?one te naš. Ma ba sta te sme?e te state pe ha? ho?one te naš ?a kabehilel por yu?un ma čahpalukon ya me k'abehilel ma me patiluk čukel. *Hear this, arrange things so that if I go walking I don't catch fear or that gossip is spread. I am not a whore, not a bitch to have someone grab my hand. His father and mother hasn't come here. I will end the case alone because if it isn't arranged I am going to put him in jail.*

- B79 Por eso ?abeya šan hilel me la spas šan hiče. *If he does it again we will give another fine.*
- C65 Es ke me la ta basok šan me ?ay čan tuti spas šlih kabe ba sok me ho?on labon htukel o stukel la la porke ?ay stuk ?a spistola te yil me čamon pahel čabe ma mač'a škuč stukel me škuč. *And if he does it again, if he does anything with me, and if I die for that because he has a shotgun and pistol — if I should die the day after tomorrow, no one else will be guilty but he.*
- B80 Ha? yu?un š?ahčbal sunal stukel la niš sba škuč a ha? če?e ma mač'aiš škuč ?a. *It is for this we raise an act or paper. It is his fault, no one else is to blame.*
- C66 Me milot hmamlal me čam me la stukel ma ya škuč ma me mač'a škučiš. Kom ho?one ma mač'a ?ay kontra ni ha? lito ma mač'a kutba sok, ni ha? č'in bario te ?aye ma kutba sok pe stukele yu?un wan bai ?ay skontra. Ha? yu?un kom stukel ya yalkael te hiče te hič yu?un ?ay wan sbolil. *If he kills my husband, if he dies, it is his fault, no one else is to blame. Since I have no enemy, nor is there anyone who is fighting with me in the little barrio except for him. He himself said that he has an animal spirit.*
- B81 ?ay yu?un ?ay če?e ha sk'an ?ay baya sta te antze. *It is for this he wants to go where he meets women.*
- G17 Pe yu?un ?ay ?ay ba sta?o yai?yel. *But perhaps he has met one before.*
- E44 Pe howiyel stukel tut ya yal ?antzike. Ma hičuk. *But what the woman says is madness. It is not so.*
- B82 Pe yu?un ?aniš hič ?a tut yes ya yal če?e. *But if that is so, why do you speak thus?*
- E45 I pe mayuk k'op. *But I didn't say anything.*
- B83 Pero tut yes ya yilanaba? *Then why did you bother her?*
- C67 ?i te wan ?a yilsba?a ?ayilbahinon me ya tzakon te wan ?akai tzakel ?a ?ilbalinel ?a pe yu?un šyakub winikul yu?un to pukuh. *But you must see how you bother me when you grab me and that you bother me because my husband gets drunk because of this deviltry.*
- G18 Ha?bi tubiera ?ayuk mač'a yute habi lek šyakub tz'inte. *So it is when people fight they get very drunk.*
- B84 Me hačikuk ya spase yu?unto pukuh šyakub pe lek naš ?a *If you didn't do this, then we wouldn't fight when drunk. Don't do as you*

- p'iine. Ma tut ya spas hi'uke
mayuk k'op yayiel yu'un ma tut
ya spas. *did and nothing will be said because
you wouldn't have done anything.*
- G19 Ma lek tut la pase ?alaletike la
yič ši'el. *It isn't good what you did. The child
caught fear.*
- C68 Te me čam ta ši'el ta č'in kale
?ay me wai ma me yu'unuk
šk'ol pwersa šmo'on ma me
ya'uk šk'olat. ?a te me moabi
če'e ma me ya'uk školat ?awai
tut ?ayiš te ?alale ?awai ma
šwai por ta ska ya yič čamel
yu'un ta skahon škrišiano sme?. *If my little child dies from fear, hear
that I shall rise to San Cristobal. Of
necessity I shall rise when my little
child dies from fear, hear this if this
happens, I shall not let you free. When
I go up I shall not let you free
because of what you did for the child.
Hear that he doesn't sleep. For his
fault, he caught sickness, for fault of
this mother-fucker.*
- F9 Mač'aa k'an ya'be ši'el stukel
ta ska ho'on če ma ba kabe
ši'el. *Who wants to give fear? It is he
himself. I don't give fear.*
- C69 Mulukiš wan ?a yu'un la yič
ši'el te kale yu'un ?ay trate
sok ?ay k'op sok te ta'a te to
ma ba kak' trate sok. Ma ba
kak' k'op sok. Ha? yu'un me
čamto bal ?ay me wai me'ešta-
teš ya šmo ku'un. Ma me wal
te yu'un ma šmo ku'une ma
tuškutik a? ?aiwai čee. *It is your crime that my child caught
fear because of this incident. He
fought because I wouldn't have any-
thing to do with him. Therefore if
he dies, hear this judges that I shall
go up there, and don't you say that
I can't.*
- G20 Tal ta yo'tan sle sk'an smul. *It is in his heart to seek a crime.*
- C70 Yotiki ben š'abot tzanel č'in
kal če'e tut yu'un ha? ši'ele. *Now my little child has diarrhea
because of his fear.*
- A20 Ha? mayuk mayuk ya špikot
ta winik stukel ?ay smamlale.
Mančuk me biura me sk'an o
ma sk'an ta pikel ta winik. *There is no one, no man who can seize
one who has husband. Although she
is a widow whether she wants it or
not, a man shouldn't grab her.*
- E46 Mayuk, mayuk. *Nothing, nothing.*
- A21 Mančuk me soltera mančuk me
biura pero hablando, mayunuk
ta lihkel šbaht tzak ba k'an bato
lihkeluk šbaht tzak ?antz. Ma
ha'uk hoitik te čambalame. *Although she is unmarried, although a
widow but talking; never begin to go
seize where you want to start some-
thing with a woman. We do not asso-
ciate like animals.*
- C71 Me to če'e to yobra ?a hič sok
stukel yu'un naš kak'obetik en
pas. Batz'il ya snutz ta pat na.
Ma nakalukotike ya snutz te *If it were only his habit to leave us in
peace! But he is always molesting a-
round the house. When we are not the-
re, he comes in and bothers the girl.*

- ʔačiše. Te k'alal ta sna meʔ
Martin Kut haʔ te wa ʔ'in ke-
reme haʔ te waʔi la yak' teʔe
haʔ te waʔi snop teʔe i te kak'-
obetik en pas ʔabi.
- My little boy heard him when he was
in Meʔ Martina's house and he seized
a stick and hit him and we let the af-
fair rest.*
- B85 Bweno meʔen ma sčamat yaiʔ-
yel tz'iʔin te wai ma šʔakoles
ʔay ta la k'an parte te hičuke
te me yu'un ma sčamate te la
taʔa te la yaʔbe la teʔe.
- Good, then if you don't accept (the
suit of their girl by the defendant)
then hear that he won't go free. It is
for this that you asked for justice. If
you don't accept him, then give him
the stick.*
- C72 Haʔ te me ma ʔ'amote smahta-
nuk ʔaʔ.
- What if they don't receive the gift?*
- E47 K'ohišanis haʔ kaʔi ya la k'o-
pon pe ma sk'an pe ta kušlehal.
- Many have arrive and sought this girl,
but they only want someone sober.*
- C72 Kušlehaluk te me la sčun trate
te ʔačiše lek ʔabi me ma sčun-
une ni modo ke yuʔunin snutz ta
pat na.
- If you were sober than the girl might
have believed it, but she isn't going to
believe you if you hide behind the
house.*
- E48 Mayuk ʔay ʔaniš ʔa k'opon ʔa
pe ta kušlehal.
- I haven't said anything except when
sober.*
- C73 Te me ma sčaiʔune tut ya wut
ʔa tut wan yut lok'el ni modo
ke tikontik lok'el ma huʔ ʔakak-
tik mantaltik ʔay mač'a hapubil
yuʔun ma hičuk naš kolem
mančuk me hič naš kolem **pe**
siempre ma sk'an pwersa ni stu-
kel ʔa te ya šbeʔene te ya
šlok'el pe te ya hič yalel naš
mukul ta yut na tz'usul ta na.
Ma šu ya tz'usbatik yaniš **letik**
tut ya wetik kučtik. ʔilawil yorik
smeʔ wiše me mak sle tut ya
sweʔ tut ya yuč.
- How can I go out and do errands if
there is someone who is going to seize
me. Even if a person walks alone, they
don't want that. One can't go out
walking or leave the house but must
remain hidden inside, imprisoned in the
house, unable to leave even to look for
something to eat and something to
drink. See how your aunt cannot look
for what she eats and for what she
drinks.*
- G20 Yak čeʔe yaniš šlok' ʔa ya sle
tut ya la sweʔ tutil šweʔ yuč
ʔa.
- Yes, she only goes out to look for
what she eats and what she drinks.*
- A22 Tut krišianoe mas ke ya tzakli
komo lekil krišiano me ya wan
k'an hoyob' naš b'a šlihokote
mero sta hodido ʔai wan la kuč
k'op.
- If one wants companionship, it is
only with a good person, not someone
who seizes, bothers one and carries
words.*
- E49 Ba k'an ba pas mak pase k'a
kušlehaloneʔ
- Why would I want to do this if I
had been sober?*

- C74 Tu[?]un me bololonik [?]a kušlehal ya k'an winketik te tekdlum šlah yakub mač'a[?]uk naš ta ta be. *Am I a mute, not someone wide awake, to want drunks who only meet one in the road*
- E50 Mayuk ba pas hič spisil ben šyakubon pe ma ba č'inuk pas. Yipalon k'al ta pašyal ya šlok'on yaniš benon hu[?]un šmal k'aal pe mayuk ba ya pas. *I didn't do anything. I was very drunk, but I did not do a single thing. I was just passing when I came out, I was only walking in the afternoon, but nothing happened.*
- A23 Te me yu[?]un ya wak'li č'inuk č'i[?]in multae entonse li naš školato smeltzahan lito te me ya wak' tal te wa[?]i siento sin-kwenta. Entonses li naš školato te me ma la wak'tal šmoat pahel ta ho[?]obel. *When you give the little fine here then you will be free. It is arranged that when you give 150 pesos then you are free and won't have to go up to San Cristobal tomorrow.*
- B86 [?]i tučan pwersa yak'tal. *And by force give it.*
- C75 Te me ma šyak'e... *If he doesn't give it...*
- G22 All talk together.
- B87 Me lom te ma tal te tate ma ta soyinat lum naš [?]awak' ta kwenta entonses yu[?]un [?]a niš batz'il ma š[?]awak' ta kwenta [?]a te me[?]e te tate čikan ma ta soyin [?]a. *Your father didn't come to accompany you here because you don't pay attention to him. You don't pay attention to your mother or father and so they don't accompany you.*
- E51 Ma natik natik ma šyai tut [?]ay. *The don't know, they have not heard about it.*
- B88 Pe me mulil li tut [?]ayate. *But what you did is a crime.*
- E52 Ta ska yu[?]un šyakubon. *It was because I was drunk.*
- F10 Yu[?]unuk la[?]uk k'an parte k'al ta Ho[?]obele mayunuk li yukato pata moat ku[?]un. *If we had asked for justice in San Cristobal instead of here, you would have to go up there.*
- G23 [?]i ha[?]to mas lek [?]i li meltzahate menos naš č'in tak'in ya lok'es pe te tak'in yak' če puro ta tak'in pero ma [?]alba men hačik ya škol tut li če[?]e. *And it is better to arrange it here because we only charge a little money.*
- A24 Yak! ya šmo te ta Ho[?]obele pero ma školtal ta [?]ora i yak' ya škol pe te tak'in yak' če puro ta tak'in pero ma [?]alba men hačik ya škol tu li če[?]e. *Yes, go up to San Cristobal, but they do not go right away and let you free. And they charge a much higher fine.*

- B89 Me ?ay yišim ya sčom pe kom li našto ?ay ?al niš tak'in ?a. Ha? stuk ?išim sčone kom li našto. *If there is corn, sell it and pay your fine, but there (in San Cristobal) they only want money.*
- A25 Entendido šbaht me la to sk'an tamel yu'un ši?el te ?alale. *Go with the understanding that if a curing is necessary for the fear of the child, you have to come here and give more money for the expenses.*
- B90 Te če?e lito štal ?awak'hilelto me batz'e te ?alale kom la wa?-be ši?el. *Then come here and give it; truly you gave fear to the child.*
- C76 Yan te me čame ?o me koltailele, entonses menos naš tak'in. Te me yu'un čame stukel me me ya smuk te me la muk ta kale ?ay me wai ya me moes tučan te me la muk te kale ma yu'un ya wal te školito šmo ku'un ta Ho?obeles yan te me tamel naš ?ask'ane ?i lek ?abi li naš kolto. *It is another thing if he (the child) should die. But if he is cured, then there will be less money to pay. If he should die and if he is buried, then hear this, I shall go up, yes, when the child is buried, I am not going to let you free. I shall rise then to San Cristobal. If, on the other hand, it is only a curing he wants, and gets well, then only will I let you free.*
- B91 Si ma taluk ta yo'tan sk'an te tak'ine porke stat če?e hun yo'tan mak ya?be ši?el. *He doesn't want to ask his father for money because he doesn't have fear.*
- C77 ?ay šyakub pe ma ba ya?be ši?el ?ayuk ba yuton pisile pe me ma škai tut yaiyel te ?utele ha? yu'un ma to ba ta te ?utele te mahele ha? yu'un ya šlok'on ha? yu'un ya k'o kalbeya mal k'aal. Ha? kal te me la sna ta trague. *There are drunks who do not give fear. He is always fighting me although I didn't go there to fight or to beat. When I arrived, I said, "Good afternoon". But he thinks of it when he is drunk.*
- B92 (To defendant) Por eso ha?at te ya wak' ši?e yaiyel. *For this you give fear always.*
- C78 Yu'un mak ta ?a te mule kalo huke ha? yu'un ho'on ta pwersa mal k'aal yu'un ?ay ba to yal šničan pukuh ?ihk'al sombrerol. *Because I haven't done anything wrong. I went there that afternoon because I had to. He is a child of the devil in a black hat.*
- E53 ?ayuk ba hič če?e mayuk ba pas če?e ha?bi čunulon. *But I didn't go there to do anything. I was behaving myself.*
- C79 Kal me te yičolane ha? yal šničan č'ul teklum. Ha? yu'un šta spiktalan ba?a ?ay smamlale ?ay hmamlal. Te ma š?ak'ane *If he has been baptized in this holy town how can he come and seize a woman who has a husband. How can a neighbor come speak to me in the*

- ha? puyahilel te lume te k'inale, yu?un wan slum ?ame? ?atat ha? yu?un. Ma ha?ukat naš ?ač'ul lum ?ač'ul balamilal. Ha? puyahilel č'in barioe. Ma ha?ukat naš ya hapuhilel spisil yu?un teklum. Ha? yu?un lok'el lok'tik saamotik sok bersinatik.
- street as he did? Is it your father's and mother's land that you don't want to leave me the ground or the earth? Have you seized the little barrio? All the land is not yours alone? You can't have everything. We get along very well with the other neighbors.*
- E54 Ha? me yu?unuk kušlehaluke ha?be pero me šyakubon pero me...
- If I were sober, it would not have been so, but I was drunk, I didn't...*
- C80 Tut yes la wa?bon ši?el sok kal če?e ho?one ma hk'an.
- Why do you want to give fear to my child? I don't want that.*
- E55 Pero batz'il ma hna.
- But truly I didn't know.*
- C81 Wučetik woletuk tut k'an ši? ?ay mamlal.
- If we have to walk alone, why do you want to give fear if there is a husband.*
- B93 Pero tut batz'il yu?un te la wa?be ši?ele mero če?e.
- But why truly do you give fear? It is not good.*
- E56 ?i ska tragu ya?uk hnae ha?bi primero pas ?a hič ?abi ma ba č'inuk ya pas.
- And for the fault of liquor I do not know. It is the first time I did it. I have never done even a little of that.*
- B94 Pero hombre pas ?a pensar č'inuk ma leki tut ?ay ?ate batz'il ma.
- But man, think a little, It is not good what you did, truly not.*
- E57 Pero batz'il manče pas hiče.
- But truly I didn't do this.*
- G24 Batz'il ma lek ?i tut spas hoyitike ma saamuk. Batz'il ma leki tutil ya wutbahin ?antz.
- Truely that which your companions did is not good. Truly it isn't good how you bothered the woman.*
- A26 Ma lek ma lek ?ay smamlal ?ay ta winik ma šu? ta ?ilbahinel ya wak' ta mahel i ya wak' ta č'oheli krišianoe ma samukat ?a.
- It isn't good, isn't good. There is her husband there is a man. You cannot bother one then. He is hitting her and wants to leave her. You are not good.*
- E58 Hun čun hič ?a kal ta ?ora tal han čun ba kaiktal ?a patahel ta ?ora.
- Now that I have heard this this morning, I will obey.*
- B95 Por ha?at ta kayaiyel ha?at ta wišlan lek ?a sok ?antz te winike. ?i ha?at ya lihkes k'op tuti batz'il ba pas č'inuk ha? niš kal
- You have heard that the man treated his wife well until you began to talk about what you did, how you grabbed her. See how you would feel if this*

ʔa tut batz'il sonopo mero ʔila-
wil haʔat ʔatukel če hič ʔa spas
hel la sok ʔawinam čeʔe ma ya
k'anek ʔa ba k'an ba sk'an šan
ʔa ʔay ta winik yai te ʔantze i
ʔa yalbe smamlal ʔilawil yorik
meʔba ʔantztik če ya šʔutawan
ma sk'an tušan te hič ya spas
be la te. Siempre šʔilat yuʔun
ma šʔak'an konko haʔat ʔay ta
štaot ta witzin ya šmeyot me
ya k'an čeʔe šiʔilinat yuʔun.
ʔilawil ke batz'il ben šʔilin yuʔ-
un ma sk'an. Haʔukiš ʔawinam
tz'i'in ʔa hič ya spase baš ma
šʔak'an ya wič ta kola. Tut
wan ya wal buhtz'an šk'opohat
yuʔun mayuk baya pas hič haʔ
yuʔun spewora ʔa šyakub bate.
Ma teyukal tz'iuk ka ta ʔa ʔi
hič čeʔe mayunuk la tate ʔantze
te ma teyukat k'al ta spikel ʔa
te yil sbaʔa pe te yil sba ʔa
kom yik'ohiš k'al ʔa ʔi mak šk'-
opohiš kal kom hičo spasik k'aye.
Ya ke te ʔakubelat k'al tz'ine
ba k'an ba wil mak sk'oponat
si ʔay k'al ta šukubel.

*happened with your wife if she went
with another man. Listen to what the
woman and her husband have said.
The widows are going to beat you if
they don't want you to do what you
did. You are always giving fear. You
wouldn't want it yourself if they
went to meet your younger sister to
embrace her. You would get angry at
this. You would certainly get angry
because you wouldn't want this to
happen to your woman. The woman
isn't a bitch, and she isn't without a
husband, and you mustn't run and
grab her as you did. And you
shouldn't speak as you have done
when you were drunk. When you are
drunk, don't go talking to people.*

C82 Pe mero yuʔun ʔay ta yoʔtan
si hič ʔa lok'talto hič naš ʔa
lok'talto.

*But truly he wanted to do just what
he went out and did.*

B96 Mero čeʔe hič smaliye ʔa te
ʔantztike por eso haʔ yuʔun la
spasbe yil sbaʔa mančuk ʔa
smamlale. Mero kere ma šiʔ pas
tutil ʔay yaʔtel, kere, yuʔun
wan ʔay mač'aa sk'opone i yu-
ʔun wan haʔ ya smali wan
ʔabi.

*Truely you waited for the woman to
do that. But you ought to see if there
is a husband; truly boy, you do not
fear to do what is your habit. You
speak to whomever you want and
wait there for them.*

E59 Tuʔun me bolon me pisil naš
tzak talan ʔantztikʔ

*Then am I a mute? Do I only seize
women?*

B97 Yalo kere, ta benil lekil k'op
ʔikita ya hiča niš ʔa nunka
šʔapas hič porke ʔay ʔantztik
šwolahan šlok' meʔen ya wal
hič naš ʔastuk ʔantztike če por-
ke ʔay ʔantztik šwolahan šlok'
meʔen ya wal hič naš ʔastuk
ʔantztike če porke ʔantztike
tutil ʔantztike ben sčahpalbeʔ-
en.

*Speak in very good words only, boy.
Never do what you did because a
woman is out walking alone. If you
speak this way, the women are going
to walk well prepared (armed with
a stick).*

- E60 Mayuk ba pas hič. La kil ?a I will never do this. I saw what I
tute mak pasiš hič ?a. ought not to do.
- B98 Yak'ete tuti ?ay yale ya wa?be They said that you gave fear.
ši?el.
- E61 Tu?un ya ma ba hič pas hič ya Why did you call me since I didn't
šba kikitál? do it?
- A27 Bwen te ?ayiš ?abi pe me des- Well you did and you will have to
pwesto ?ayat ya wak'hilel te give the fine because you cannot do
multae. Ya wičbe tz'unál porke that.
ma šu? ya pas hič ?a.
- C83 Te me ma sk'an šyake pwera If he doesn't want to give it then I
šmo ta Ho?obel. will go to San Cristobal.
- A28 Te ma š?awak'e pwera šmoat If you don't give, then you must go
yak' ?awil me sinkwenta naš up. Give only 50 pesos and you have
školatal te ta Ho?obele. to go to San Cristobal.
- B99 Te ?ilawil ?a me hič naš i If you give ten pesos, we will let
školat ?o ta lahuneb yak'te you free for the token.
šba pas ta prewato.
- A29 Ma mač'a spas hič ?uniko ha?at There is no one who has done this
?il ?a pase. Tantos šlok'hulel except you. Many have come, but
ma mač'a spas hič la kabe tuti no one did this which you have done.
hayate.
- E62 ?i hič batz'il mak hna ska tragu. And truly I did not know for fault
of the trago.
- A30 Ma mač'a spas hič ?i tut ?ayote. No one has done what you did.
- E63 ?i hič batz'il mak hna. And truly I didn't know.
- B100 Me ek ?a yu?un či?atale yu?un Is it on account of the way you were
štal ?apas hič ?ay ben bayal ?a brought up that you came to do this?
kentike ben k'ahk'ik šla yakub. There are many boys who are very
hot (angry) when they are drunk.
- A31 ?i hič batz'il ba spas talan hič But truly they do not do such things.
ben bayal šla šyakub ben šlah Very many get drunk, and many go
lok' ma spas talan hič. out, but they do not do this.
- E64 I hič hičoneuk. Ben šyakubon And so if I had done it. I was very
pe batz'il ma bayat pas hičuk drunk but truly I didn't do it. I do
?a ma hna tuti yu?un i la pas not know what I did.
hičito.
- B101 Kolat te me ma ba ya pas hiče We would let you free if you did
ba batz'il la nop tut ?ayate. not do this, but truly we know what
you did.

- A32 Ben bayal šla yakub pe ma ba ya spas talan hič tuto ninguna persona. Esta perdid tuti spase. *Many get very drunk but do not do what you did. No one does this. It is lost what you did.*
- E65 Pe kobra niš ?a ya kuč?ilan trague pe batz'il ma baya pas hič tuto ska yakubel. *But my habit is only to drink liquor but truly I didn't go do this which is the fault of liquor.*
- A33 Bweno ya čee me ya wak' hačik ?abi bweno ke te meres. *Good if you give this (fine) then it is just what you deserve.*
- B102 Hič ?a nopk'inal ?a mero kere ma š?apas hič ?ay ya na ma lekuk ha? yu?un te multa če tiene ke ya wak'hilel porke yu?-un mulil. Mak le?ik ?amul. Mayuk ban ?ik' ?atal ?abi ha? ta yak'hilel smulta. Mak šotik por yu?un ?atrasada ya?yel ?atukel la letal ?amul yayiel. *Remember not to do this. You will know that it isn't good. You have to give this fine because of the crime. We didn't look for your crime. You are going to have to give the fine because of the crime. We cannot let it go because you are badly behaved always. You looked for your crime.*
- C84 Sok yu?unuk le k'ope yayiele ha?ti. Ma toholuk lebi smul. *And also for the gossip you spread. You shouldn't look for crime.*
- A34 Kasi stukel spehlehal stukel teklume ben šniket stukelik k'ope. Spehelehal stukel krišianoe yičo sk'op pe me batz'il ma ?aniš mač'a spas hič ?aye ha? yu?un to šniket teklum. *Almost all the pueblo are gossiping because of his words. Almost all of the people take his word but if it is true that you didn't do it, then who spread the gossip in the pueblo?*
- G25 Batz'il mayuk mač'a spas hič ?aye mač'a škešla ?a č'ee ha? ha? škešlal. Pobre ?antzto pobre mamali bae ya niš škešow ?a. *Truely no one would do this who had a sense of shame. The poor woman and her poor husband are completely embarrassed.*
- F11 I yak' če?e ya niš škešawon yu?un ?a. *We are now embarrassed for it.*
- C85 Yak ya škešow. *Yes, we are embarrassed.*
- B103 Yak če?e škešow. *Yes, they have shame.*
- C86 Ya če?e ya škešawon sito šniket te k'oplale. *I am ashamed because of the gossip spread.*
- B104 ?i č'in pal wan stukabi pe ma hičuk ta yo?tan krišianoe. *And if it were only one word, not such as is in the heart of that person.*
- F12 Pal ?a niš wan stuk ?abi pe ma hičukiš ya šlok'a. *Yes, one word, but not as he has been saying.*
- E65 Kal ?aniš ?a pe ma hičuk ya yal teklum. Makalbeiš ?ayal ?a. *I spoke some, but not that which the town says. I didn't say what you said.*

- B105 Pal wan ?abi pe hičukiš ya yal
?a yalo te me ma teyukiš ya
yalbal stuk ?a krišianoetik pe-
wor tz'i?in ba ya lo?iš. *Maybe what they say isn't the same
as what you said. But you say worse
thing than that.*
- C87 ?i tut šan te pebor ha? pahal
?ay tz'ek soke pahal ?ay tz'ek
soke ma ?alba š?abi yan sni?
ščikin yališ kal ?a yah multa
sme?e por ta ska stom a yak'
sme? skrišiano sme? yak'on ta
?utel yak'on ta mahel. *And one other favor is that tomorrow
wear a skirt—tomorrow wear a skirt
or don't talk. Since you talk too
much, I say you ought to give the
fine to his mother for it is her fault
since it is because of this mother-
fucker that he (her husband) is scold-
ing me and beating me.*
- B106 Hič ?aniš ?a por ta ska yu?un
strabiesa ha?i tut ?aye. *Thus it is for her fault that he mis-
behaves and did as he did.*
- E66 ?i na?atik me hič ma ba ya pas
hič tutil ?aye. *And we know that I didn't do that.*
- B107 ?ak' ?a tal tuti yipal sk'anbe la
te si yak'ete mulawe ha? te ma
tuš kal?ek ?a. Tiene ke ?awa-
k'hilel ya ke mula watiše. Ma
tuš kutatek ?a te me ?awak'
čee ?ak'a hilel te tuyipal sk'an-
be late. Ma hu? lektik ?amul
ma hu? ?aba kiktikatal yu?un
tohol hič čuktikat. Tal ta wo?-
otan la le te mule ma čunuyinat
ma la čunube sk'op te me?e te
mamtat ya?iyele. Ma la wak'
ta kwenta ya wan yalbeyat te
mamtate pe ma š?ačuunbe batz'il
mayuk ta kwenta wu?un. *Come and give what they are asking
for. If you give this fine, I am not
going to say more. You have to leave
this for your crime. I am not going
to say anything more if you give
as much as they asked. We didn't
call you here for nothing. Either pay
or we will put you in jail. It is in
your heart to seek crime. You were
not behaving. You didn't believe your
mother or your father. You do not
pay attention to what your father
says, but truly you do not obey and
take nothing into account.*
- E67 Yaniš kai ?a te ya šyakubone
ha? ya yalbon. *Only hear that I was drunk as I said.*
- B108 Ma lek ?ayuyat mero. Ha?
yu?un hič ya wak'hilel tuyipal
sk'anbe la te pa ke yu?un hič
ya nopk'inal ?a. Ha yu?un ma
š?apas hič tut ?a ha? yan
k'aal ma š?apas hič. Ha?
yu?un tuyipal sk'anbe la te
pwersa ya yak'. *You are not good truly. It is for
this you must leave as much as they
want because this will help you re-
member. It is because of what you
did the other day. Don't do this. There-
fore as much as they ask, you must
give.*
- A35 Nop ?awai me ya wak'hil lito
ma?uke me šmoat. *Hear this, if you give it now, you
don't have to go up (to San Cristo-
bal).*
- F13 Te ma šyak'e ?aba spastal pre-
wa. *If you don't give all, you have to
leave a token.*

- A36 ?i hič čē?e. *And so it is.*
- B109 Ma?uk ban pas ?a?tal ?awai prewa ?i la wil me školatal ta tab ?o ta lahuneb te šba wil ta tz'i?in ?a owes ba sčī ?awai pobre mamal te ?i hič čēe nop ?awai me šmoatbale ma?uke mo?iikbael. Sčī ?awaite Ma?ukbael sčī ya waite por yu?un sla yo?tan pwes tučan te ho?okonek ?a sla kotanek ?a. *Well go there and try it. See if they put you in prison for twenty or ten days, then go and see, hear what the poor man and think about it. Whether you go up or whether they go up, listen to what they say. Because they will be angry just as I have gotten angry.*
- A37 Pwes ha?ukiš ?a ?antze šniket sk'oplal ?awu?un pwes ta hodi-do ?a por ta ka tz'i?in kere. *Then you are like a woman spreading gossip. They are bothered for fault of that boy.*
- G26 Pwes hič čē?e. *So it is.*
- E68 Batz'il ma ba pas hič ma hna tu?un la pasito. Batz'il benoniš kobre ?a pe batz'il ma ba ya pas hič tuto. *Truely I didn't do this, I didn't know what happened. Truely I walked as usual but truely I didn't go do this.*
- B110 Pe yu?un batz'il ?aniš ?anopo ta ?antes ?a ha? yu?un la pas hič. *But truely you had thought of it before and it is for this that you did it.*
- E69 Hu?u mayuk ba ya pas hič. *No. I have done nothing like this.*
- G27 Pwes hič čē?e. *And so it is.*
- E68 Batz'il ma ba pas hič ma hna tu?un la pasito. Batz'il benoniš kobra ?a pe batz'il ma ba ya pas hič tuto. *Truely I didn't do this. I didn't know what happened. Truely I walked as usual. But truely I didn't go do this.*
- C28 Pe yu?un ?aniš batz'il snopo ?a ha? yu?un la pas hič. *But think truely about what you did. See we get drunk, but we don't do this.*
- E70 Yauk na čē?e ma bolukon ya paseukto čē?e kobra niš ta?ulan krišianoe. Pe ma ba ya pas hič. Ma bolukon yah pas hič yu?unuk bolukon yah pas hič yu?unuk kušlehaltone. *If I could remember I am not an idiot to do such things. It is my custom only to meet a person. But I don't do this. I am not a mute. I wouldn't have done this if I were sober.*
- B111 Hu?u pe ?ak' ?atal hačikabi hačik ?ay ?abi te me ?awak' hič yipal ?abi. *No, but give me what you can until you can give it all.*
- E71 Kabe sinkwenta ?abi yaniš ?a-pasik pabor č'inuk ?a. *I shall give only 50. Do me a little favor.*

(Judges laugh.)

- B112 Te me ^ʔawak' tal ^ʔalku^ʔuke kom ha^ʔat la la wa^ʔbe ši^ʔel ^ʔa-lale si hai la wilbahin te ^ʔant-ze. *You have to give enough since you gave fear to the child and you bothered the woman.*
- A38 Ma ha^ʔuk naš ya yič ši^ʔel lek stuk ^ʔalale tiene ke ya wak', lek ^ʔaniš gasto ^ʔa. *It is not only that the child got very frightened. You have to give enough for the expenses.*
- E72 Yaniš ya pasbekon č'inuk pabor yaiyel ^ʔa ska yakubel. *Only do me the favor of hearing that it was for the fault of drinking.*
- B113 Tut ^ʔa te pastik pabore ha^ʔ me yu^ʔunuk hič naš ^ʔa letiktal mul^ʔ Ha^ʔbi bal ta wo^ʔtan la le ^ʔamul ma ho^ʔokotik ^ʔa letik ^ʔamul. Ha^ʔ yu^ʔunuk čunulukat če^ʔe ha^ʔbi ma bolukotik yu^ʔun kiktikatal ta kabilat. Tut slihkič kiktikak tal ^ʔače ^ʔilawil me šba^ʔat ta wa^ʔtel. Ma kočeltikuk ^ʔa lora ke la le ^ʔamul tz'ine tal ta wo^ʔtan tale ^ʔamul. La kabeyiš sinkwenta ^ʔabi siempre yaniš pasik pabor ^ʔa pe ^ʔamul batz'il ale. Ma taluk ta ko^ʔ-tantik la letik. Ya wak'tal te tuyipal sk'anbe la te. *Why should we do you a favor since you only seek crime? It was in your heart to seek a crime. We didn't seek your crime. If you were behaving yourself we would, but we are not lie idiots to call you to the cabildo. We called you to see if you go on with your work. It was no affair of ours until you looked for your crime. Give fifty now. Only do this favor. But you looked for your crime. It wasn't in our heart to seek the crime. Give as much as they ask.*
- E73 Ma ba ya pas pisili šyakúbone ma ba ya pas hič. Benouk ya pase ha^ʔbi pe ma ba ya pas. *I do not do it all the time. I was drunk. I don't do this. If it were my custom to do this, but I don't do it.*
- G28 Me batz'il lok'tal wo^ʔtan la lee pe batz'il ma lek te tut la nop-bale. *But truly it was your idea to seek it; truly it was not good to do what you were thinking.*
- E74 Pe yu^ʔunuk nopobale ha^ʔbi pe mak hna ska tragu. *But if I had been thinking of this. But I didn't know for fault of liquor.*
- B114 Yan k'aal hič ba pas šan sbaht ta yan šba pas šan yan hič ba pas naš tak. *Another day you are going to do the same thing again.*
- E75 Hu'u, batz'il ma pas. *No, truly I am not going to do it.*
- B115 Ma lek tuti la pasbael. Yak' tzak manyo ^ʔa stukel kinamtik če^ʔe šwolahan šla baht bai naš ma batuk. Ha^ʔ sta me yut k'altik k'abi ^ʔo ta kayahon ^ʔabi šwolahan šla been stukel kinam-tike. *It isn't good what you did. You will give your habit of seizing our wives to others who walk alone going where they want to go. If you are in the milpa or in the streets walking alone our wives will have to stop going out.*

- E76 Me ma ba škil ya k'opon yu'un ?antz. *If I had seen or talked with this woman...*
- B116 Ha? yu'un yan šan ke tal šba mak šan ta be. Malekuk ha? me yu'unuk hočoluke ha?abi mančuk me hič kal čee ši?el kom mayuk ?alal. Mač'a ya yaniš spas hič ?a če?e te šlok' smanyo ?a ha? me yu'unuk sk'an parte ta Ho?obebe. *You would go again and hide in the road. It isn't good if you go free. You will fear whether or not there is a child. If anyone follows this example and does it again, we will have to ask justice in San Cristobal.*
- C88 Yu'uniš ma wokoluk yai ya ?a te smule. *There would not be any trouble in hearing his crime.*
- B117 Ho?okotik hič naš ?at tzaktikak tal č?e ha?be pe čikan ?ay te mule. Halto če?e multa sleo ske tutil ?aye. Halto če?e tulan lek mulil yu'un stukul bayal maltae to če?e. Batz'il mamal mulil lek sta?o yu'un ?ošeb k'aal pe šo nunka školat šwa yat i teišat te hat hič. Ya nopk'inal yayiel ?a ma ma mulil la tao stukul lito. Ma š?apas hič por ta ka ya wa?be ši?el ?alal. *We have taken you in only to hear the crime. This is the fine sought for what you did. This is a very great crime, and therefore it ought to be a large fine. Truly a great crime he committed. For three days we ought not to let you free to sleep so that you will remember what is said and will not continue to do criminal acts. Do not do this because you give fear to the child.*
- E78 Batz'il ma ba ya pas. *Truely I will not do this.*
- A39 Yak ce ya sčohot ba ben pukuh winike. Man ya wal te ma sčohote. *Yes and her husband is going to leave her because he is so angry. Don't say that he won't leave her.*
- E79 ?i tut ?a batz'il ma hnak'inal la suhton ska yakubel. Ma ba ya pas hič ?abi na ?awai yakubel ma snak'inal. *And truely I don't remember. I returned for fault of liquor. I didn't do that. Hear me that it was because I was drunk I don't remember.*
- A40 Me despwesto ?at ?abi ?o me ma?uk?. *Are you prepared to give it or aren't you?*
- E80 Yaniš ?a koesik č'inuk ?a i ya kak' sinkwenta č'inuk ?a. *Lower it a little, I shall give fifty.*
- A41 Hič pe tut ya wut lok' ta leel ?awu?un. *Yes, but for the fact that you went out looking for it.*
- E81 Ska yakubel yu'unuk kušulu-kone ha?bi pe ma ska yakubel. *For the fault of drinking. If I were sober it would be so, but for the fault of drinking.*
- A42 Ya wak' ta ?utel ya wak' ta mahel ?i ?aske ya wak' ta čohel *He is scolding and hitting her; he almost left her because you seized*

- tut mero če'e tzak sčobael mač'a ta ska čes ha?at ta ka ben ha?at la wak' ši?el yayiel tz'i?ine. Tu?un men ha?at naš ya wuč tragu. *her. If he leaves her it is for fault of you because you gave fear. If you had only drunk liquor—we all drink liquor.*
- G29 Mayuk ba pastik hič stukel šyakubotike. *We don't do anything such as he does when we drink.*
- E82 ?i hičoneuk ma ba pas hič. *And what if I didn't do it.*
- A43 Ha? niš ?ai trague sčotik pe yu?un ma ba škučtikeuk i spehel le hal tz'i?in. *If it was only liquor, let's say, but it's not as though we didn't all drink a little.*
- G30 ?i hič spisiltik yu?un ?ay ta yo?tan meen ska la?a yu?un yakubat, la pas hič tut ?ayate. *And so we all do, but it is what you did after you got drunk.*
- A44 Ma ska sč'ai lek ?awo?tan yu?un stukel trague. *It is not for the fault of liquor that you went mad.*
- E83 Ma ba ya pas hič. *I did not do this.*
- A45 Ba k'anuk si yu?un batz'il ?ay kael ta wo?tan yu?un ?aniš yu?un ?aniš batz'il snopo ?a. *Why would you do it if you didn't want to? Truly it was in your heart.*
- E84 Hu?u batz'il ma nopohuk. *No, truly I didn't think of it.*
- I2 Tuti mamal ?i ba ?aye? ya škaš ta lito lekil škaš ta stohol lito yan špikotbal čiinuk ?a lito, ya šmahotbael yu?unuk ben k'ahk'euk ?antze lek ya yičbael lito. Si hai tutil la spasik ya yak'e si ha? ma lekuk. *That man who passes here often is going to beat you up because the woman is very angry and is going to thrash you her. You get beaten for what you did since it isn't good.*
- G30 Si ha? ya wak' talanbe ši?el ?antze yu?un naš mak yalbe smamlal stuk ?aciš ?antze yu?unuk to pukuhuke ha? smamlale ya yak'bael lek lito yalo yu?un naš. *You gave great fear to the woman because you didn't speak. If this woman's husband were very bad he would beat you up, but he is very good.*
- I3 Ma šlok'bael yu?un ska. *She can't even go out because of him.*
- B118 Tučan. Batz'il ma saamuk tut la spase. *Truely it is not good what he did.*
- A46 Me despwesto?at ?o ma?uk?. *Are you prepared to or not?*
- E85 Pe yaniš ?a k'o'esik č'inuk ?a?. *But aren't you going to lower it a little?*

- B119 Pe yuʔunuk ma muliluk haʔ taohe haʔbi pe me batz'il ma ma mulil. Yaniš ʔa koesik č'inuk ʔa mančuk me biuda me ma sk'an pikel čee š'oč ta lito. *But if it were not a great crime that you did, then we would, but it was truly a great crime. We would reduce it only if it were a widow or if she didn't want to come here.*
- G31 Pwes mero čee ma mulil lek yaket ʔa smamlal ʔantz mač'a la tzak čee merče mas mulil sleuk ma ma mulil ʔaniš ʔa to. *Then it was truly not a good crime, since she has a husband. Indeed it is a great crime you committed.*
- B120 Tučan batz'il ʔay smamlal. Kuk stuk mero čee ba k'an ba ča'uk ta yoʔtan haʔ ya šba sto ta mahel lek stuʔ ʔantze. *Yes truly there is her husband. You are going to have to pay for it with a good beating from this woman to get it out of your system.*
- C89 Te ma sk'an tzakel te ʔantz čee i tzak sčukot ma sk'an winik ʔay ʔolil ʔantz ya yak' trate ya yitz ba sok ʔay ʔolil ma sk'an winik i tzak sčukot. *If the woman doesn't want to be seized and is seized the man has to be put in prison because there are some women who are willing to have relations and then it isn't necessary to put a man in prison.*
- B121 I ya wite ma lo čawal ʔai ʔaniš ʔa sk'an ʔai ma ma sk'an ʔa. *That which you say is no lie. There are those who want it and those who don't.*
- C90 ʔay ma sk'an ʔantze te tekluṃ tzak sčon sba ʔi me ʔay ba petot ta be ʔi ztak sčuk tut yuʔun ma sk'an ʔalbahinel. Multa sleo haʔbi. *There are women who are alone, but who do not want it, who are just out working. And if they are embraced in the road, then the man should be put in prison because they don't want to be bothered. Then they are asking for a fine.*
- B122 ʔa haʔ čee haʔ niš multaʔa. *And it is only a fine.*
- C91 Pe mayuk smamlal te čuʔunluk. *But if there is no husband, they should obey.*
- E86 Ya kak' te sinkwenta bi. *I will give fifty.*
- A47 ʔa ma šuʔ *You cannot.*
- I4 Ma toholuk stukel sk'aes sk'aal stukel naš ʔabi ʔaba ʔočuk. Pa skwenta mak šiʔel yai ʔa yuʔun ma šyak' ʔo haʔ pwersa. Mančuk me šmoat ta Hoʔobel. Šašbael la hunal men hačuk loʔib seya sk'an te ta Hoʔobeke yuʔun la bal tz'usel sk'an haʔ tuti spas čee smulil i mero me yuʔun ma muliluk ʔawalohik. *He is not going to pay. He is only passing the day. He must enter in prison because he doesn't have fear. Either give it or you have to go to San Cristobal, to write out an order for arrest if you think it is just a joke. If you want to go to San Cristobal, they will put you in prison because that is what they do for crimes and truly yours is a great one.*

- A48 Ku, sabahan me čee ma hakat
naš yak'aes k'a'al. *Yes, hurry. You are just passing the day.*
- E87 Pe batz'il ya niš 'a k'oiesik č'i-
nuk 'a ska yakubel ma kušle-
haukon ke tuti pase. *But truly couldn't you lower it a little for fault of drinking? I was not sober, when it happened.*
- B123 Ma lek, kere kušawilbe sit
'antzitik šba pas šan hič yan
k'aal šba pas šan hič ya k'an
hičuke. *It is not good boy, you were sober when you looked at the women and you will go do it again some other day.*
- 15 Tu'un ba baht te mayol čee
tu'un baht te yawee tu'un hi-
čuke la k'anbe yikhilel pe tu'-
un tut snopek mole hičuke la
sk'anbehilel? Tu'un ha' lito lek
no solhilel smam holekte? Hi-
čuke la sk'anbehilel i hič ha'
ma sk'an hilel mač'aa i yi-
čobael. Pe tu'un ba baenital
tz'i'in. *Why did the policeman go with the key? Why didn't he ask leave and tell the old man he wanted to leave—that old one with out hair. He should have asked for it before carrying it off.*
- B124 Ban 'ikatal yu'un čee lum ban
tal Ahk'ole. Tut naš yes 'awu-
'unik č'ul tragu, 'ombre yu'un
'a stu'uneleuk 'i kon ta tul
'abatukeuk. *Go call him then where he went up there. He only wants some holy liquor to serve you, but he went with another.*
- 16 Ba tuk mayunuk mak šbaht
skebi pe la'uk yak'hilel te sya-
we'e i hiče ka ma sk'anbehilel
te yawe'e 'ak' a hilel te la
k'anhilel. *He shouldn't have gone and taken the key without asking for it.*
- B125 Pe me ha' hoitlikto si ya š'oč
č'inuk č'inuk hič 'a niš stukel
'abi 'očuk nailuk 'abi bweno.
Me ya wak' tz'inabi kere te ma
ya wak'e ma ha'ukat naš k'oies
k'aal te maukeiš ba 'očan č'inuk
'aba 'očuk 'abi si ma šyak'
tuyipal k'anbetike entonse pahel
šmoote ta Ho'obel i ya š'ačbael
tz'unat tz'i'in šmoba tz'i'in pa-
hele tučante yaniš 'a š'ahčbael
lek sunal. *But as for this, boy, it is better that you go into jail for a while. You are only passing the day for nothing. You can go to prison until you pay. If you don't give all they ask, then tomorrow you have to go to San Cristobal to raise an act when you commit as great a crime as you did.*
- J3 Tučan. Pahel šmobal ta Ho'-
obele ya šač ba lek sunal si ma
šyak' tuyipal K'anbetike te me
la yak'el lek 'abi 'eso hič 'aniš
stuk 'a te me la yak'e si ma-
mulil ske tuti la spase. *Yes. Tomorrow rise to San Cristobal to raise an act if he doesn't give enough. We are asking for this because he committed a great crime.*

- C92 Ha[?] yu[?]un [?]albikon bal tz'i[?]in
ya to niš šlok' ta [?]ahk'ubal ma
šba spasboniš hič. *Please tell me that if I go out at
night you aren't going to do this
again to me.*
- B126 Yak, ya kalbetikbael men la šan
spasbale tek[?]olališ me ma šk'ola-
bi ya me yiš ma mayunuk. *Yes, we will say that if he does it
again, we are not going to let him
free.*
- D6 Ho[?]onuk ta ka tzak ta [?]utel te
kaale si [?]ay [?]aniš tut šu[?] ku[?]un
[?]a ha[?] yu[?]un ya štalate kaale. *It is my fault that he (claimant's
husband) is fighting her because I
am always asking her to run errands
for me.*
- B127 Ha[?] mulil čee pe yu[?]un toho-
luk berale [?]abiye ha[?] [?]abi smu-
labi. *If she was only passing, it is his
crime.*
- C93 Mayuk baya štal ta beral ha[?] te
ma [?]ay tuti hu[?]ku[?]une ha[?] [?]abi
smulabi. *Nothing usually happens when you
go out walking. It is when there is
something to do that I go out.*
- B128 [?]ay sluwat čikan ba[?]ate štaleke. *It is his habit it seems to be there.*
- C94 I tučan te ma skahuk sberal te
ba[?]ate ba stat te pukuheł čikan
sluwar. *And so it is not my fault I was
passing where I met that devil where
he is accustomed to being.*
- B128 Maniš [?]i [?]a yu[?]un [?]ay smamlal
ha[?] yu[?]un mero čee šta yilat
šta yayiat kom [?]ay ta winik
yayiel. *You shouldn't do this because she has
a husband and you have seen how he
feels about it.*
- C95 Yu[?]unuk [?]ahk'ubal [?]a lok'bal
ha[?] [?]abi pe me sab ta lok'bael. *If it were at night that I went out.
But it was early when I went out.*
- B130 Mančuk me [?]ahk'ubal šlok'bal
pisil tut ya ši[?] bweno mančuk
me sapeat bael stukel [?]abi [?]ay
ta winik mero čee mak ši[?] yayiel. *Although it is evening, everyone goes
out. Why should they fear if all is
well. That man does not fear ever.*
- C96 Ha[?] yu[?]un [?]albonbael lek mam
ši[?]el ha[?] yu[?]un te me [?]ay
šan sikale. Ya šan me š[?]očan
tat ha[?] me yu[?]un hamal ya kal
tz'i[?]in me čami č'in kale ya me
moes te ta Ho[?]obele te ma
yak'hilel tuyipas yak' k'anbe-
yik. *He gave me a great fear. When he
did it I turned cold. If that man
enters again I am going to denounce
him even if my little child dies, I
am going to San Cristobal if he
doesn't give as much as we ask.*
- B131 Hu[?]u ya yak'hilel mero čee
yak'hilel smul ta stukel [?]abi. *No, he will give it, truly he will
give it. It is his own crime.*
- C97 Me yak'hilel smulta hi pe me la
sk'an tamel kale te me ma mel *If he gives the fine, but if it is ne-
cessary to cure my child and if it*

- yu[?]un tamale me čaame ya hmuk
entonses ya me moes ta Ho[?]-
obel. *doesn't pass with the cure and if he
dies and I bury him, then I will go
up to San Cristobal.*
- G29 Hič [?]aniš [?]a stukel smilba yai-
yel te [?]alale si stukel me ya
stuk smuk. *It is the same as if he killed the child
if you have to bury him.*
- C98 Stukel te ma la yai stukelik kale. *He himself is responsible.*
- B132 Tučan te. *So it is.*
- C99 Ha[?] yu[?]un hamal me ya kal
hilel ya šan me š[?]očontal te
me me ma hil te kale š[?]očon
šan tal ha[?] me niš tz'anel stu-
kelik kale. *It is so I shall denounce him if he
comes again or if my child has diar-
rhea again.*
- B133 [?]i wai čee te k'alališ šmobal
tz'i[?]in [?]a kom stukel smilbael
yaiyel stuk [?]alale. I yaiwai tut
stukel smilbael yaiyel te [?]alale.
Ha[?] yu[?]un š[?]očan šan tal ta
[?]ik'el ya čahptik lek i šya
šmobal tz'i[?]in te ta Ho[?]obe-
le ke če ha[?] yu[?]un ha[?]čik [?]ay ya
š[?]očantalikel. *And hear this when this should hap-
pen, we will rise for he has killed the
child. And hear this that he himself
is responsible for killing the child.
It is thus if enters again, call and
arrange it well then rise to after to
San Cristobal then it is for this also
you will be called to come in.*
- F14 Lek [?]ay [?]abi čee. *Then it is good.*
- B134 Lek [?]ay tučante [?]a yu[?]un ha[?]-
čik [?]ay te to šan ya[?] wai ya
wič [?]olilukeuk. Ya wičtal č'in
čahpeuk yaiyeleuk ya wak'hilel. *Good, then hear this. Give half and
you can arrange to give the rest
later.*
- F15 [?]i hičuk [?]abi ya kičtal. *And so I shall take it.*
- C100 [?]abon perton če me[?]eš tateš ya
kabe hilel ča himuk ma toholuk
šta yak'on ta kešlal te me la
smahelone te me la yutelone.
Hič ya kaibe šk'ušul ha[?] yu[?]un
ya kabehileuk i yaiyek [?]a te šku-
šule Pahal pahal yaiyel [?]a ma
toholuk šta yak'on ta mahel ta
[?]utel ta ska mahel [?]abi kilel
hoče labi. *Give pardon, judges, I will give two
lashes. It doesn't make up for what
my husband gave me, for the embar-
rassment when he scolded me. Just as
I felt then pain I shall give it to
him so he will feel the pain. He shall
feel the same, but it does not make
up for the beating and scolding I
received because of him.*
- B135 Hič [?]aniš yaniš šmahawan [?]a. *Thus you will get another beating.*
- C101 Šta yak'on [?]a mahel ha[?] yu[?]un
[?]albon perton m[?]eš tateš ya
kabehilel ča himuk smahelon
pahel ča[?]be por ta ska tz'i[?]in. *Pardon me judges while I give him
two lashes the same as I received
because of his fault.*

- B136 Hič ?aniš ?amahel ?aniš yal ?a. *You may beat him as you say.*
- C102 Yu?unuk beraluke ha?abi. *It was only because I walked out.*
- B137 Yu?unu beraluke hič ?a šlok' ?amanyo ?a. *All because of walking out as is your custom.*
- C103 ?i ha? ?abi. *And so it is.*
- B138 Howiyel ba smak ?a ta be yai-yele. *He is mad to go hiding in the road.*
- C104 ?i tučan te tohonk'ael ho?one. *And I was just walking straight.*
- B139 Tučan te toh naš ha? smak ?a ta be. *And only straight, where he was hidden in the road.*
- C105 ?i tučan toh naš ?a ba smakon ta be ke ma smuluk yayiel ha? yu?un ?abon perton če?e me?-eštateš kabehilel. *And only straight where he was hiding for me in the road. He does not have any sense of his crime. Therefore, give me pardon, judges, to hit him.*
- E88 Ma mač'a stoilansba yu?un štal la mahon?. *She wasn't going just straight along. Why is she going to beat me?*
- C106 Tu?un čee tu?un štal ?awak'on ta mahel štal ?awak'on ta ?utel hičuk ?antzukatek čee me mak smahelatek čee ya kučto. Toh ma tohuk smahelat yu?un. *Why? Why do you think he (husband) is beating me, scolding me? If you hadn't been like a woman, then he wouldn't be beating me. Straight or not, it is for that that I am going to beat you.*
- E89 Hič ya?uk nae te me batz'il mak hna. Ska yakube ?ayuk ba pas ta kušlehale ha?bi ma tohuluk štalat mahon. *If I had known, but truly I didn't know because of drunkenness. If I had done it in sobriety, then you could beat me.*
- C107 Pe me ya wa?bikon permiso me?eštateš. *But give me permission, judges.*
- B139 Hič tuk ya yale si ya wak' ta mahele pobre. *It is true what she says. Give the beating, poor woman.*
- (*Woman starts to beat boy.*)
- C108 Ma mač'a ma ska! *So it's not anyone's fault!*
- E90 Tu?un te ?ayiš ?abi. *Then that's enough.*
- C109 Ba ya ?ičahilek lok'eshilel sla ko?otan ma mak ya kabeyat. Ya kabeyat tz'i'in lek. *Take it then, I shall take out my anger. Don't try to cover yourself. I shall give you enough.*

- E91 ʔi teyiš ʔabi ya ʔukto yilanbe *If I had been saying much, it is for*
ta tohole haʔbi. *your fault.*
- C110 Tuʔun štal ʔamakon ta be štal *Why do you go hiding in the road?*
ʔawak'on ta ʔutele. *Why are you fighting me?*
- D4 Pe me mač'a ta ska haʔat ta ka *But it is no one's fault but yours for*
me mak ʔawil te ʔay ta winike. *not seeing that she has a man.*
- C111 Te ya kak' ʔa te mahele tal ta *I give you a beating because you*
wotan la le te mahele te čukele. *asked for it and imprisonment.*
- E92 Mak to yilan ba ta toho naita *I wasn't saying that I hadn't talked.*
mayuk k'op.
- B140 Yalo hič čee kolate me sna hi- *Now see if you can remember not*
čuke mak spas. *to do this.*
- E93 Yuʔun ʔaniš batz'il mak hna. *Because truly I did not know. If I*
Yuʔunuk ta kušlehaluk haʔbi... *had been sober...*
- B141 Šlok' ʔa manyo ʔa yan k'aal *Get rid of this habit and another day*
nunka šʔapas hič. *never do this.*
- E94 Ma ba ya pas hič kobraniš *It isn't a habit of mine. I only got*
šyakubon ʔa. *drunk.*
- C112 Pe tuʔun ʔatal ʔamakon ta be *But why did you hide in the road?*
te ta ska tz'i'in šta yak'elotik *It is your fault that my husband is*
ta ʔutel ʔa ske sk'an smilon te *scolding me and wants to kill me.*
winike por yuʔun ta ska tz'i'in.
- B142 Ke čel. *So it is.*
- C113 Tučan te ʔay yuʔun yak'on ta *He scolded me because of this boy's*
ʔutel si stukel ta ska tz'i'in. *fault. It is for what he gave me that*
Haʔ yuʔun me ya yak'hilel te *I have spoken here.*
hič yipal tut ya kalhilele.
- B143 ʔa haʔ labi ya yak'hilel mayuʔ- *She gave it to you for what you had*
unuk ya wal škole. Pe tuʔun la *said. Why did you get angry?*
pas hič lok' ta woʔtan?
- E95 Ma toholuk štal ʔa mahulano. *I shouldn't have got a beating. If I*
Me yuʔun toyilan ba ta tohol *were saying what you said I said,*
howiyel tut štal ʔawal talan haʔ *but I didn't say anything to that man.*
winike ma tut ya yal. Haʔat ta *You passed it on to be heard.*
k'aš ʔatal yayel.
- B144 Pe šlok' ʔamanyo ʔa yan k'aal *But get rid of the habit, and another*
ma šʔapas hič. *day don't do it.*
- E96 Pe ma ba ya pas hič. *But I do not do this.*

- C114 Tut slumar i tal ?a mahkon te me ha?at ta wokolat te šlihk smahelon šlihk yutelon če smilon te winike slaheson te winike por ta ska ha? yu?un me la kak' te pikel č'in kale. *Why are you accustomed to come and hide? It is your fault that he is scolding me and wants to kill me. It is your fault that I had to have my little child pulsed.*
- G29 Ha? ?aniš ?a ha? niš ?a ši?ilot tut ?ay ?i bolile lek ?a te ?antze mak šmahot yu?un smamlal yu?unuk ha?ukat čunulate. Yaniš ha?at. *See how he remains like a mute. The woman is good. Her husband wouldn't hit her if you were behaving yourself. So you are something else.*
- A49 Te ?awak' ta mahel kun hič yilel te ben čunulate. Ma sboliluk kihtz'in te ha?at te bolil. Ma ska?uk ?ombre. Spisiltik kučtik trague si yu?un ?ay kael ta wo?tan. Pisiltik ?aniš kučtik stuk ?a trague, pe nunka ma ba pastik hič, ?il ?a yutil teklumto. *You have been given a beating to show you how to behave. My younger sister is not an idiot, like you. It is not her husband's fault. All of us drink liquor, but it is your desire to do more. All of us drink, but never go do this, inside the town.*
- C115 Te wa ma ?alba sk'op ya?biyo stukel ?ame? ?atate. *Don't get your father and mother to spread gossip.*
- B145 Pwes tut yes ?awu?un labal k'ope? *Then how are you going to stop the talk?*
- A50 Konko molto bahtiš ?ahk'ubal ?awai?a ta ka ha? wu?un ha? yu?un hačik ya wak'tal naš tak. *Hear how the old men go on at night because of what you have been saying.*
- C116 Te me la yak'hilel hič yipal ?abi entonses kolesaikbael tz'i'in. Te me ma šyak'e ma me kolesik. Ya me šmo bo?on me, tat, bo?on me, ši?lel. *If you give it (the fine) then we will let you free. If you don't give it, we cannot let you free. Now I go, father, goodbye, elder brother.*
(Woman rises and goes out with her husband and mother.)
- B146 Bančakik. *Go then.*
- A51 Ku če me ya k'an ya wak' ?o Ma?uke šmoat k'al ta ho?obel. *Yes, if you want to give then give. If you don't give anything, you have to go to San Cristobal.*
- E97 Ma?uk wan ?abi. *Then no.*
- A51 Me despwestoat ?a tutil ya kal-tike ?o šba pas ta prewa si batz'il mamulil batz'il mamulil ta?oe. Nunka batz'il ma ba pas hič. *Are you prepared to do what I say or give a token payment? It is truly a great crime that you committed. Never has such a thing been done.*
- E98 Batz'il ma ba ya pas. *Truely I will not go do this.*

- B147 ʔombre tut ma la nopkʼinal hali
tut ʔayote ma lek tut la pase
hičuke čunulat ʔa tragu čee pi-
siltik la kučtik pero tuʔun la
pas hič. *Man, don't forget what you did is
not good. You have to obey. All of
us drink but why do you do this?*
- E99 ʔi batz'il ma ba pas hič si yuʔun
šyakubon batz'i hič. Batz'il ma
hnak'inal tuti hoʔon. *And truly I did not go do this since
I was drunk. Truly I don't remember
what I did.*
- B148 Pe nunka šʔapas hič. Ma leki
tut ʔayote pisil. Mančuk me ko-
lem te ya ta ʔora ʔa. Te me la
tae te me maʔuk ʔa ma sk'an
ʔay ta ma sk'an ʔay ta winik
tz'iʔin te si ma wočoluk ya wak'
ta mahil. Kolemuk šan ma mač'a
sk'an spisil. *But never do this. It is not good
what you did. If we should lower
it now, the next time you meet some-
one who doesn't want you and who
has a husband and who isn't free,
then you must get a beating. Even
if they are free, no one wants that.*
- G30 Mančuk me ʔačiš ya ta nunka
ma s'an i batz'il slihk ʔa ta
tz'iʔin kinamtike. Konko ʔay
ma ba tzakbot yinam ma bayat
sčee čohot sk'aab te ya yal kere-
mil ʔa winike hoʔokiš. Tz'iʔin
ʔato si ya yai tut šniket sk'opla-
le peor tz'iʔin ʔay ba personai-
tike ʔay mač'a ʔilawan ben ba-
yal stuk hente pe ma yališ ta
yoʔtan. Ta yaʔlel ta yaʔbiyan
stuk k'ope peor tz'into ben soke
ta sk'opla. Tučan te ben šniket
sk'opla tuʔun ba tal ma šyabi-
yan si ma saamuk to šniket
sk'opla hiček ʔa malekuk hiček
henteto ya sta yinam ya spasbot
hič tuti tuʔun ba tal ma šʔilin?
Siempre šʔilinoť yuʔun ke hičuk
šnitotbael la wi winamel čee. Tut
ma mak šʔilinat yuʔuneuk čee. *Even if it is an unmarried girl, they
never want to be pulled as you have
done to our wives. Since they wouldn't
grab your wife, you shouldn't grab
the hand of a woman so that her
husband says you are her lover. You
have heard how the gossip has spread
and it is worse than what you said.
When they repeat what you said, their
talk becomes worse. Thus the talk has
spread very far. It would not be good
if people came to your wife and spoke
like this. Why wouldn't he get angry?
People always get angry if their wives
are pulled. Anyone would get angry
for this.*
- B149 Winikonseuk to hič ya spasbot
me kinamek čee ʔaske šʔilinoť
yuʔun. Ya kabe lek ma ma ča
tum kabe. Tuʔun ba talat ma
šʔawaʔabe ya čuʔunaš stu k'ope
(laughter). Tuʔun ba ma šlihk
sla ʔawoʔtan ʔay bal čee. Pe
me hai batz'il tuti ʔaye haʔ ba
ma saamuk pentikto. Mančuk
me mamaloniš ya kaʔabe tuʔun
mančuk me to mamaloniš pe ba
ya kak' lek tut šiʔ be čee. Ba
tut wan k'an ʔawal ke ben haʔal *If I were this man and you did it to
my wife I would get angry for that.
I would sock you well with my fist.
Why don't you give him a beating
(speaks to husband of woman who
has returned with beer), or do you
believe his word? Wouldn't anyone
get angry at this? But if it is true
what he says, this boy is not good.
Although I am old, I would give him
a good beating; even though I am old,
I would give him what he is afraid
of. What would you say if you*

- sme? yiname. Ma hauk naš letik kinamtik kere yu?un če ?ošebotik ?a. Mayuk mehor naš tukel. *caught your wife stretched out? (laughter). Don't just go looking for our woman, boy, to get two or three. Just one is enough.*
- E100 Mayu?unuk k'opon lan ?awinamik kobra niš ?a syakubon ?a. *I am not talking to any other of your wives. My only habit is to get drunk.*
- B150 Yab la pičahol la nop hičuke pe to ma čunulukat. *You ought to think about this and not do that any more.*
- E101 Ma ba sčukon yu?un ska yakubel nada mayuk ba kupine prešo. *I never went to jail for getting drunk; I have never tried out the jail.*
- B151 Pe ma skahuk ?a yu?un ma š?anak'inal yu?un te tuti ya pase. Ya ?ana malekukiš č'ul balamilal yu?un ha?uk yo?tan lom pukuhuk hentikto če lek ya wič lok'el ya?beyat lok'el lek. *But it is so that you won't forget what has happened. You know that you are not good in this holy world because if that man (woman's husband) had a bad heart, he would give you a good beating.*
- A52 Solo porke yu?un ben lek yo?tan kentikto ben lek čunul yalo ha?uk to k'ahk' kentikto lek partado šwebal stukel yak'bal ?antze pe te ma yak'e. *Only because they have a good heart they aren't doing anything. If they were hotheaded people they would divide you up to eat (cut you up like mincemeat) but they don't.*
- B152 Ma yak'e ha?bal ya yak'bael ?antze ha?uk yo?tan kentikto čee. Ha?uk yo?tan kentikto čee lek yak'bael pe to ben čunul ?aytut yak' ta yo?taneuk. Tučan ha? yu?unuk lombol čee ha? tutil yil ?asite ya ya?beyat ma me wal tal to š?awaiye yu?un la wičiš ?a. *The woman isn't going to give you any harm. If they wanted to, they could, but they are well behaved. He could see in your face that you are an idiot. You didn't say anything then about how you felt when you grabbed her.*
- B21 Pwes yai tut ya wut si?ata?ok ma mulil yaiyel. Si yaniš k'ahk'ub ?a ?a ha?at tz'inik ?a ma šuis sk'ak'ubatek ?a. Si?atao lek mulil ya k'an ya pak ?awalohuk ma šu? ?awu?un. Si me ?amule ke tal slihik ?ahk'ubal ?i ?otra mamulik ya ta ma š?ai malekuk šlok' ?ata. *Then it is heard how you fought and caused fear. In the future, if you ever get angry, don't get hot. If you should ever commit another great crime, you won't go on with this work.*
- G31 Ma lekuk ma saam ta kušlehal ya hatik pe yakubele naš ?ana ba la. Peor tz'inuk trague si ma š?awil me ?ay ba škaš ?untik. *It isn't good. It isn't nice. When we are drunk, at least we know where we go. It is worse if you do not see where the children are.*
- F15 Ha?i tut ?ay kaibe sk'oplale tučan. *So I have heard it said.*

- A53 Pe to te wa ?oštulike ?akentik to ma stukeluk nāš ?awai hiče š?alotiš ?awai te pe la niš yil č'inuk ?a hičuke pe me yu?un ma šyal kentikto yu?un ?aniš ?a ya wal?a tuti spuke čee.
But you have said that there were three boys. People don't bother to look, they just repeat what they hear.
- E102 Pe ?ayuk ba kale ma ba lok'em te ti sok te ?ayawal te ?ay hoib ?aye mayuk. Tut bans ya kal ya?uk nae ha?be pe batz'il mak hna hičuk čee habi.
But if I said that —I didn't tell them what to say. How can I say what they said since I don't remember anything truly.
- B153 Bwen ha?uk ya yal ?antz čee la yal hilito malekuk pišlito si yu?un yakete antze. Pe yu?un ?a niš ma čunuluk a ba k'an ba ba kuč k'op šan ?a ma š?apas hič bayuk woletuk ?antz. Ma nunka š?apas hič tuti ?ay ya?te.
If it were the woman who said that, then she wouldn't be good. But you should just behave yourself. Why do you want to go bearing tales again? Don't do this even if the woman does walk alone. Never do this again.
- E103 Mayuk ba ya pas kobariš š?očantal ?a lie mayuk ba ya hič tut.
I am not going to do anything. It isn't my custom to enter. I am never going to do it again.
- B154 Pe yu?un ?aniš ma čunulukat ?a to. Kiktikatal pwes hačik ?ay smil hente ?abi ?ay wan smul ?abi. Mak sčotik si mak natik me ?ay mayuk ?amul halte hič čunuluk ?a če?e mayuk hačik naš ?abi. Tut ya kutikat ba?atiš ?abi ba?atiš ta wa?tel ma hu? ?ačuktikat lito. Tu?un š?anat ta kabiltu yalo batz'il tut yes batz'il mumil. Tut ?aya če?e yalo ma lekul: malekuk ma saamuki tut ?ayate.
But we called you because you were not behaving. Just as killing people is a crime, so there are other crimes. Don't say that you didn't know you committed a crime. If you had behaved yourself, nothing would happen. What could we do if you had gone to your work? We couldn't put you in jail here. Why should you be in the cabildo? Tell me truly why did you want to commit this crime? Tell me it is not good or fair what you did.
- E104 Tut ?a ba ya kič ma ba štal?.
How am I going to get the money?
- B155 I yaniš ?a stukel ?abi ?iškoon-tal ta pašiyal ?ahk'ube.
And if it happens again, come on out walking with me at night.

(All judges laugh.)

END OF CASE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BURKE, Kenneth

1945 *A Grammar of Motives*, N. Y. Prentice-Hall, Inc.

1950 *A Rhetoric of Motives*, N. Y. Prentice-Hall, Inc.

EMPSON, C.

nd. *The Structure of Complex Words*.

HYMES, Dell

1962 "Ethnology of Communication", in *Anthropology of Human Behavior*, Gladwin and Sturtevant, eds. Washington.

LOUNSBURY, Floyd

1965 Another view of the Trobriand Kinship categories, *American Anthropologist*, vol. 67, No. 5, Part 2: 142-85.

MALINOWSKI, Bronislaw

1946 Appendix I, in I. A. Richards and C. K. Ogden, *The Meaning of Meaning*, New York, A Harvest Book.

MCKEON, Richard

1941 *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, Random House, N. Y.

MEAD, George H.

1955 *Mind, Self and Society*.

MURDOCK, George

1965 *Social Structure*.

NASH, June

1967 Death as a way of Life: the increasing rate of homicide in a Maya Indian community. *American Anthropologist*, vol. 69.

RICHARDS, I. A.

1936 *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, New York, Oxford University Press.

RICHARDS, I. A. and C. K. OGDEN

1936 *The Meaning of Meaning*, N. Y., A Harvest Book.