

TWO Q'ANJOB'AL TEXTS:
THE STORY OF THE RABBIT AND THE STORY OF THE CAT

DOS TEXTOS Q'ANJOB'ALES:
LA HISTORIA DEL CONEJO Y LA HISTORIA DEL GATO

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SUMMARY. Two texts narrated by Pedro García Pascual in Santa Eulalia, Guatemala in 2012 are presented here with a morphological analysis and gloss, along with Spanish and English free translations. A brief background of the Q'anjobal language precedes the texts. "The Story of the Rabbit" tells of the experience of Saint Eulalia domesticating animals and explains why the rabbit has a short tail. In the "Story of the Cat," a man throws his lazy wife out of the house because she never prepares his lunch. He discovers that the family cat has taken on the task of preparing his food.

KEYWORDS: Q'anjob'al, Mayan, Santa Eulalia, oral tradition, linguistic documentation.

RESUMEN. Se presentan dos textos narrados por Pedro García Pascual y recolectados en Santa Eulalia, Guatemala en 2012 con análisis morfológico y glosa, además de traducciones libres en español e inglés. Una breve introducción precede los textos. La "Historia del conejo" trata de la experiencia de la Santa Eulalia con la domesticación de animales, y explica por qué el conejo tiene la cola corta. En la "Historia del gato", un hombre echa a su esposa perezosa de la casa porque nunca le preparaba su almuerzo. Descubre que el gato de la familia ha asumido la responsabilidad de preparar la comida.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Q'anjob'al, lenguas mayas, Santa Eulalia, tradición oral, documentación lingüística.

Introduction

The following stories were told by Pedro García Pascual, a native Q'anjob'al speaker and resident of Santa Eulalia, Guatemala, approximately 30 years of age. They were recorded in MP3 format through the program Audacity at the speaker's home in August 2012. I elicited these two folktales, among others from the same speaker, during fieldwork funded by the Harry and Yvonne Lenart Graduate Travel Fellowship.¹ I classify them as folktales because they

¹ I am grateful to my Q'anjob'al consultants, Alejandra Francisco and Alejandra Juárez in Los Angeles, and Pedro García Pascual, Angélica García Pascual, Sandra Yeraldiny, and Federico Juan in Santa Eulalia, for teaching me their language. I am also indebted to Anaité Vaccaro and Victoria Mateu for help with the

are artifacts of popular culture passed down through the oral tradition. A *folktale* is a type of story, along with, for example, personal anecdotes and historical narratives; the term *story* refers to any text, written or oral, recounting events. A story is in turn one genre of *text*, as opposed to, for example, instructions or a persuasive speech. Pedro García Pascual's narratives are therefore folktales, stories, and texts, and I refer to them as such interchangeably, though these terms are not synonymous.

The goal of my fieldwork in Guatemala was linguistic documentation of the Q'anjob'al language as part of my dissertation research. Though my dissertation (Acker, 2016) deals with Q'anjob'al grammar and syntax, specifically grammatical voice constructions, I decided to collect folktales in Guatemala because I realized that I would not have sufficient time to collect useful elicitation data directly related to the subject of my research. Angélica García Pascual, my initial contact in Santa Eulalia, referred me to her brother Pedro as a skilled storyteller in the Q'anjob'al oral tradition, and I was able to record five of his folktales and work on Spanish translations during the course of my fieldwork. Though Pedro is a bilingual Q'anjob'al-Spanish speaker, he was not available to provide Spanish translations, and Angélica provided translations, working from the recordings.

Like other folktales in my corpus, the two recounted below are about events *yet payxa tu* or 'in the old days'. They begin with the formula *Okjal yabix'al*, or 'we tell the story' and end with *chyun laqwi*, 'then it ends.' The first folktale, "The Story of the Rabbit", is about the patron saint of Santa Eulalia, referred to as the "Virgin", and her experience domesticating animals. The story explains why the rabbit has a short tail, as it habitually tried to escape, and one time Saint Eulalia tried to catch it by its tail, which broke off in her hands. The second story, "The Story of the Cat," tells of a man with a lazy wife who will never cook his lunch. After he gets angry and sends her away, he finds a meal waiting for him every day when he comes home for lunch. After investigating, he discovers it is the family cat who has been cooking for him. These two stories are humorous and entertaining; two others in the collection are frightening, with the abduction and murder of children as major themes, while the fifth is a very long story about the ancient courtship and marriage practices of the Q'anjob'al. I chose to present these two stories because of their similar thematic elements and because their relative brevity allowed me to spend significant time developing an accurate English translation and morphological analysis with the help of my Q'anjob'al consultants in Los Angeles. To my knowledge these two stories have not been collected previously.

Spanish portions of this paper, and to Pamela Munro and Kathleen O'Flynn at UCLA, as well as attendees of the UCLA American Indian Seminar, for invaluable advice and comments on earlier versions of this work. All remaining mistakes are my own.

The Spanish free translation is adapted from the translation provided by Angélica García Pascual in Santa Eulalia in August 2012 and does not always closely correspond to the Q'anjob'al. Angélica García Pascual's translation was recorded by hand. Portions of the Spanish translation in brackets are my additions or adaptations. Close English translations were prepared with the help of native Q'anjob'al speakers Alejandra Francisco and Alejandra Juárez in Los Angeles, California, in 2012-2013. A version of the texts and the following description of Q'anjob'al appear in Acker, 2016.

Language and fieldwork background

Q'anjob'al (ISO code: kjb) belongs to the Q'anjob'alan subfamily of Mayan, spoken mostly in the Huehuetenango district of Guatemala. There are about 88 200 speakers worldwide (Lewis, 2009), including sizable communities in the United States in Los Angeles, California, and Indiantown, Florida. The language features basic VSO word order and ergative verbal agreement. The dialect exemplified in the texts represents the town of Santa Eulalia in the Huehuetenango district of Guatemala.

The Mayan language family consists of 29 living languages and two extinct languages spoken mostly in Mexico and Guatemala (Campbell and Kaufman, 1985). Q'anjob'al is most closely related to the Guatemalan languages Akatek and Jakalteq, and these three languages form one branch of the Q'anjob'alan subfamily, with the other branch consisting of the Mexican language Mocho'. The Q'anjob'alan subfamily is situated within the larger Q'anjob'alan-Chujean, or Greater Q'anjob'alan, subfamily, together with the subfamily Chujean, consisting of Chuj, spoken around the Guatemala-Mexico border, and Tojolab'al, spoken in Chiapas, Mexico. Campbell and Kaufman (1985) group Greater Q'anjob'alan together with the Ch'olan (or Greater Tzeltalan) branch to form the Western branch. The relationship of Q'anjob'alan to the other Mayan branches is shown in Figure 1. (None of the individual languages within other subfamilies are shown.)

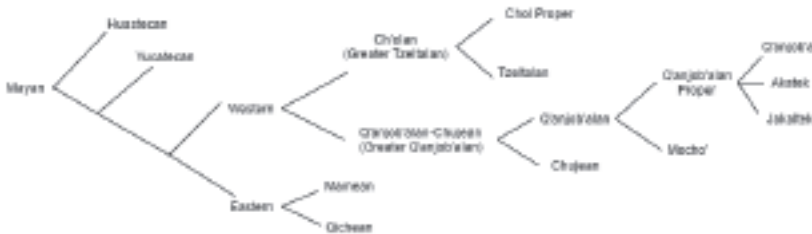


Figure 1. Q'anjob'alan within the Mayan family

Orthography

The practical orthography employed in these texts is that presented in the grammar (Barreno et al., 2005) and dictionary (Txolilal Ti' Q'anjob'al, 2003) published by the Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala (ALMG). There are 25 consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes, presented in Tables 1 and Table 2 below. The phonemes are given in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), and when the practical orthography differs from the IPA symbol, I have provided the orthographic letter or letter sequence in parentheses immediately following the IPA. There is an additional letter in the Q'anjob'al practical orthography, *h*, which does not represent a sound, but rather the absence of an initial glottal stop in an orthographically vowel-initial word. The glottal stop is therefore not represented by any letter at the beginning of a word in Q'anjob'al, but is represented by an apostrophe anywhere else in the word.

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stop/ Affricate	p	t	ts (tz)	tʃ (ch)	tʂ (tx)	k	q	ʔ (')
Ejective		t'	ts' (tz')	tʃ' (ch')	tʂ' (tx')	k'	q'	
Implosive	ɓ (b')							
Fricative			s	ʃ (xh)	ʂ (x)	x (j)		
Nasal	m		n					
Lateral			l					
Flap			r (r)					
Approximant	w			j (y)				

Table 1. Q'anjob'al consonant phonemes

i	u
ɛ (e)	o
a (a)	

Table 2. Q'anjob'al vowel phonemes

Morphosyntax

There are two sets of agreement morphemes in Q'anjob'al, ergative/genitive or A-class markers, and absolutive or B-class markers, as shown in Table 3.

	Ergative (vowel-initial verb stems)	Ergative (consonant-initial verb stems)	Absolutive
1S	<i>w-</i>	<i>(h)in</i>	<i>(h)in</i>
1P	<i>j-</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>(h/k)on</i>
2S	<i>(h)V</i>	<i>(h)a</i>	<i>(h)ach</i>
2P	<i>(h)ey-</i>	<i>(h)e</i>	<i>(h)ex</i>
3	<i>y-</i>	<i>(s)-</i>	\emptyset

Table 3. Agreement markers

The basic active verbal complex follows the order *Aspect-B (A) verb-suffixes*. Aspect markers can be *max* or *x-* for complete, *chi* or *ch-* for incomplete, *hoq* or *q-* for potential (irrealis), or null; the short forms are cliticized to the first pronounced agreement morpheme or, when no agreement markers are present, to the verb. Ergative markers always form a unit with a vowel-initial verb, as in (1), but appear as separate words when the verb is consonant-initial, as in (2). Absolutive markers are always distinct from the verb, as illustrated in both (1) and (2), as well as the intransitive (3). Aspect markers cliticize to independent absolutive, as in (1)-(3), or ergative markers (4), but they cliticize to the verb in the absence of such independent agreement markers (5).

- Ch-ach w-och-e-j
INC-2SA 1SE-like-TV
I like you.
- Ch-ach hin maq'-a'
INC-2SA 1SE hit-TV
I hit you.
- Ch-ach way-i
INC-2SA sleep-ITV
You sleep.

4. X-in maq' jun naq winaq
 COM-1SE hit one CL man
I hit a man.

5. X-maq' ix Malin naq winaq
 COM-hit CL Mary CL man
Mary hit the man.

Verbal suffixes include directional markers, sentence final status markers reflecting the transitivity of the verb, and detransitivizing passive or antipassive markers, among others.

Transitive sentences with pronominal agreement are shown with a vowel-initial verb in (1) and a consonant-initial verb in (2), while an intransitive is exemplified in (3). Note that the object of the transitive sentences and the subject of the intransitive are both expressed with absolutive agreement. There are no ergative or absolutive markers when the subject and object are both third person, and Q'anjob'al has no case marking, as exemplified in (4) and (5).

YAB'IXAL YIB'AN NO' TXITX

THE STORY OF THE RABBIT

THE STORY OF THE RABBIT

(1) We tell the story of the rabbit. (2) In that time, the Virgin lived in her house. (3) She dreamt that she should domesticate animals, (4) that they could abound and multiply in her hands. (5) That's how she was told. (6) She started to buy all different kinds of animals: (7) she bought a pig, she bought a chicken, (8) she bought a turkey, she bought a dog, (9) a cat, she bought a duck, (10) and she bought a rabbit. (11) Then she put all the types of animals together in a pen. (12) All the animals couldn't make themselves live together (13) because they would eat each other and fight. (14) So different pens were built by her, and when the pens were already built, (15) every day she let the animals out into the grass and they ate on the ground, we say. (16) When it got dark the animals were locked up. (17) And then one afternoon, (18) when she checked in the pen, (19) the rabbit wasn't there. (20) Maybe he went out or he left somewhere. (21) Then she said, "I'd better not let this rabbit out. (22) What we're going to do now is close this pen. I will just gather fodder," she said. (23) Maybe she said she wasn't going to let that rabbit out. (24) The next day when she let the animals out, (25) the horse came out, the cat came out, (26) the dog and the chicken came out, the turkey and the duck came out. (27) Then she didn't want to let the rabbit out. (28) It tried to escape from its corral. (29) Then she grabbed it by its tail. (30) When she grabbed it by that tail, (31) it pulled itself away, (32) and half the rabbit's tail was left in her hand. (33) That's why the rabbit has a cropped tail now. (34) This is how the story ends.

YAB'IXAL YIB'AN NO' TXITX

(1) Ok jal yab'ixal yib'an no' txitx – la historia del conejo. (2) [E] yet jun tiempo tu axal xal Virgen [e] ay xal b'ay yatut. (3) Kax xok jun wayich xal tolta x'job' xal no' no', (4) [e] chi sipoj no' yul q'ab' xal ma ay yaxilal yul q'ab' xal. (5) Kay xyun yallay b'ay xal. (6) Tay xman no' xal masanil klase no' no': (7) man no' [no'] txitam, manlay no' kaxhlan, (8) manlay no' ak'ach, manlay no' [no'] tx'i', (9) no' mis, [e] manlay no' [no'] petx, (10) kax manlay [e] no' [no'] txitx. (11) Axa xyunxin xwajb'onoktoq xal masanil no' no' tu yul jun koral. (12) Tay maj [maj] cha' b'a kajay no' masanil (13) porke ay no' [ij] chilejaytoq b'a ay no' chya'lej owal. (14) Entonses ch'okch'ok k'al b'ay xaq koral no' yuj xal axa yet mal watx'ji koral no' tu, (15) entonses jujun k'al k'u xbeq'layeltoq no' xol ak'un kax low no' b'ay sat tx'otx' chyun jaloni. (16) Axa yet ch'q'eqb'ikanayoy kax chmaqlayoktoq no'. (17) Axa yet mayal [e] yay k'ual jun tiempoal, (18) tay [e] yilayteq b'ay yul koral, (19) [no' no' no' txitx tu k'am no'] k'am no' txitx tu. (20) [E] yamta tol x'ela' no' ma b'ay x-toq no'. (21) Tay axa xyalon xal xin, “Nani major maj xa hin jaqiltoq jun txitx ti. (22) A jun jut nani mejor [e] maqay koral ti to'ol qin waj sakate,” xab' xal. (23) Yamta jun xab' xal tay maj xa chjaqiltoq no' txitx tu. (24) Axa yet jun xa k'ual tay kax [e] jaqonelteq xal no' no' tu, (25) jaqlayelteq no' [no'] tx'ej, jaqlayelteq no' [no'] mis tu, (26) jaqlayelteq no' tx'i', no' kaxhlan, jaqlayelteq no' ak'ach, no' petx. (27) Tay axa yet yun xal yochej xal maj jaqlayelteq no' [no' no'] txitx tu. (28) Axa yunej yek'elteq turnaj no' yul koral tu la. (29) Kax yok mitx'an xal yin ne' no'. (30) Axa yet yok mitx'an xal yin ne' no' tu la, (31) Kax tuqonel b'a no', (32) xan [e] kankan nan ne' no' txitx tu yul q'ab' xal. (33) Xan a no' txitx tu nani kutix no'. (34) Tix chyun laqwi jun ab'ix tu.

LA HISTORIA DEL CONEJO

(1) Vamos a escuchar la historia del conejo. (2) En aquel tiempo, la Virgen vivía en su casa. (3) Soñó que podía domesticar a los animales, (4) que podía reproducir y multiplicar la crianza de los animales en sus manos. (5) Así le dijeron a él [ella]. (6) Empezó a comprar diferentes clases de animales: (7) compró cerdos, pollos, (8) chompipe, perros, (9) gatos, patos, (10) y compró un conejo. (11) Entonces reunió a todas las clases de animales en su corral. (12) No pudieron estar juntos (13) porque se comían entre ellos y se peleaban. (14) Entonces los animales fueron divididos en cada corral, (15) y cada día los soltaba del corral para que comieran. (16) A la noche los encerraba. (17) Pero pasado un tiempo, (18) descubrió que entre los animales en el corral, (19) no se encontraba el conejo. (20) Quizá salió o se fue a alguna parte. (21) Entonces la Virgen decidió no volver a sacar el conejo de su corral. (22) Decidió juntar zacate para darle de comer a su conejo en el corral. (23) Quizá dijo que no soltaría a ese conejo. (24) Al otro día, cuando volvía [a] abrir el corral para que los otros animales salieran, (25) salieron el caballo, el gato, (26) el perro, el pollo, el chompipe y el pato. (27) Entonces decidió no sacar al conejo de su corral. (28) El conejo quiso escapar (29) y ella lo agarró de la cola. (30) Cuando le agarró la cola, (31) el conejo se fue; (32) la mitad de la cola del conejo se quedó en las manos de ella. (33) Por esto actualmente el conejo no tiene la cola larga. (34) Así termina esta historia.

THE STORY OF THE RABBIT
AS TOLD BY PEDRO GARCÍA PASCUAL

1. Ok j-al y-ab'ix-al y-ib'an no' txitx
enter 1PE-tell 3A-story-ABST 3E-about CL rabbit

la historia del conejo.

la historia del conejo

We tell the story of the rabbit.

Vamos a escuchar la historia del conejo.²

2. [E] y-et jun tiempo tu axal xal Virgen [e] ay xal
3E-OF one time DEM PRT CL Virgin exist CL

b'ay y-atut.

PREP 3E-house

In that time, the Virgin lived in her house.

En aquel tiempo, la Virgen vivía en su casa.³

3. Kax x-ok jun way-ich xal tol-ta x'-job' xal
then COM-enter one sleep-NMZR CL that-COND COM-raise CL

no' no',
CL animal

She dreamt that she should domesticate animals,

Soñó que podía domesticar a los animales,

4. [e] chi sipoj no' y-ul q'ab' xal ma ay yax-ilal
INC abound CL 3E-IN hand CL CONJ exist green-NMZR

y-ul q'ab' xal.

3E-in hand CL

that they could abound and multiply in her hands.

que podía reproducir y multiplicar la crianza de los animales en sus manos.

² The English translation in the glossed texts is directly related to the English glosses. The Spanish version included is a freer translation from Q'anjob'al made by the speakers from Santa Eulalia.

³ The "Virgin" in this story is Saint Eulalia, the patron saint of Santa Eulalia, Guatemala.

5. Kay x-y-un y-al-lay b'ay xal.
 like COM-3E-do 3E-tell-PSV PREP CL
That's how she was told.
 Así le dijeron a ella.
6. Tay x-man no' xal masanil klase no' no':
 then COM-buy CL CL all kind CL animal
She started to buy all different kinds of animals:
 Empezó a comprar diferentes clases de animales:
7. man no' [no'] txitam, man-lay no' kaxhlan,
 buy CL pig buy-PSV CL chicken
she bought a pig, she bought a chicken,
 compró un cerdo, un pollo,
8. man-lay no' ak'ach, man-lay no' [no'] tx'i',
 buy-PSV CL turkey buy-PSV CL dog
she bought a turkey, she bought a dog,
 compró un chompipe, un perro,
9. no' mis, [e] man-lay no' [no'] petx,
 CL cat buy-PSV CL duck
a cat, she bought a duck,
 un gato, ella compró un pato,
10. kax man-lay [e] no' [no'] txitx.
 then buy-PSV CL rabbit
and she bought a rabbit.
 y compró un conejo.
11. Axa x-y-un-xin x-waj-b'-on-ok-toq xal
 then COM-3E-do-INTNS COM-gather- INCH-DEP-DIR-DIR CL

 masanil no' no' tu y-ul jun koral.
 all CL animal DEM 3E-in one pen
Then she put all the types of animals together in a pen.
 Entonces reunió a todas las clases de animales en su corral.

12. Tay maj [maj] ch-a' b'a kaj-ay no' masanil
 then NEG INC-give RFLX live-DIR CL all

All the animals couldn't make themselves live together

Los animales no pudieron estar juntos

13. porke ay no' [ij] chi-lej-ay-toq b'a ay no'
 because exist CL eat-REC-DIR-DIR RFLX exist CL

ch-y-a'-lej owal.

INC-3E-give-REC fight

because they would eat each other and fight.

porque se comían entre ellos y peleaban.

14. Entonses ch'ok-ch'ok k'al b'ay xaq koral no' y-uj
 so different-RDPL always PREP build pen CL 3E-by

xal axa y-et mal watx'j-i koral no' tu,
 CL next 3E-of already prepare-ITV pen CL DEM

So different pens were built by her, and when the pens were already built,

Entonces se construyeron distintos corrales y cuando los corrales estaban listos,

15. entonses ju-jun k'al k'u x-beq'-lay-el-toq no' xol
 so RDPL-one always day COM-leave-PSV-DIR-DIR CL among

ak'un kax low no' b'ay sat tx'otx' ch-y-un j-al-on-i.
 grass then eat CL PREP face earth INC-3E-do 1PE-say-DEP-ITV

every day she let the animals out into the grass and they ate on the ground, we say.

y cada día los soltaba del corral para que comieran.

16. Axa y-et ch'-q'eq-b'i-kan-ay-oq kax ch-maq-lay-ok-toq no'
 next 3E-of INC-black-INCH-DIR-DIR-INF then INC-close-PSV-DIR-DIR CL

When it got dark the animals were locked up.

En la noche los encerraban.

17. Axa y-et mayal [e] y-ay k'u-al jun tiempo-al,
 next 3E-of already 3E-exist day-ABST one time-ABST

And then one afternoon,

Pero entonces, una tarde,

18. tay [e] y-il-ay-teq b'ay y-ul koral,
 then 3E-see-DIR-DIR PREP 3E-in pen
when she checked in the pen,
 cuando revisó el corral,
19. [no' no' no' txitx tu k'am no'] k'am no' txitx tu.
 CL CL CL rabbit DEM NEG CL NEG CL rabbit DEM
the rabbit wasn't there.
 no se encontraba el conejo.
20. [E] yamta tol x'-el-a' no' ma b'ay x-toq no'.
 maybe that COM-go.out-ITV CL CONJ PREP COM-leave CL
Maybe he went out or he left somewhere.
 Quizá se salió o se fue a alguna parte.
21. Tay axa x-y-al-on xal xin, "Nani mejor maj xa hin
 then next COM-3E-say-DEP CL then now better NEG PRT 1SE
 jaq-il-toq jun txitx ti.
 open-DIR-DIR one rabbit DEM
Then she said, "I'd better not let this rabbit out."
 Entonces decidió no volver a sacar el conejo de su corral.
22. A jun j-ut nani mejor [e] maq-ay koral ti to'ol
 FOC one 1PE-do now better close-DIR pen DEM only
 q-in waj sakate," x-ab' xal.
 POT-1SE gather fodder COM-say CL
"What we're going to do now is close this pen. I will just gather fodder," she said.
 "Lo que vamos a hacer es cerrar el corral. Voy a juntar zacate", dijo.
23. Yamta jun x-ab' xal tay maj xa ch-jaq-il-toq no'
 maybe one COM-say CL then NEG PRT COM-open-DIR-DIR CL
 txitx tu.
 rabbit DEM
Maybe she said she wasn't going to let that rabbit out.
 Quizá dijo que no soltaría ese conejo.

24. Axa y-et jun xa k'u-al tay kax [e] jaq-on-el-teq
 next 3E-of one PRT day-ABST then then open-DEP-DIR-DIR
 xal no' no' tu,
 CL CL animal DEM
The next day when she let the animals out,
 Al otro día, cuando dejó que los otros animales salieran,
25. jaq-lay-el-teq no' [no'] tx'ej, jaq-lay-el-teq no' [no'] mis tu,
 open-PSV-DIR-DIR CL horse open-PSV-DIR-DIR CL cat DEM
the horse came out, the cat came out,
 salió el caballo, salió el gato,
26. jaq-lay-el-teq no' tx'i', no' kaxhlan, jaq-lay-el-teq no'
 open-PSV-DIR-DIR CL dog CL chicken open-PSV-DIR-DIR CL
 ak'ach, no' petx.
 turkey CL duck
the dog and the chicken came out, the turkey and the duck came out.
 el perro, el pollo, el chompipe, y el pato salieron.
27. Tay axa y-et y-un xal y-oché-j xal maj jaq-lay-el-teq
 then next 3E-of 3E-do CL 3E-want-TV CL NEG open-PSV-DIR-DIR
 no' [no' no'] txitx tu.
 CL rabbit DEM
Then she didn't want to let the rabbit out.
 Entonces decidió no sacar al conejo en su corral.
28. Axa y-un-éj y-ék'-el-teq turnaj no' y-ul koral tu la.
 next 3E-do-TV 3E-CROSS-DIR-DIR suddenly CL 3E-in pen DEM EV
It tried to escape from its corral.
 El conejo intentó escapar de su corral.
29. Kax y-ok mitx'-an xal y-in ne' no'.
 then 3E-enter touch-POS CL 3E-at tail CL
Then she grabbed it by its tail.
 y ella lo agarró de la cola.

30. Axa y-et y-ok mitx'-an xal y-in ne' no' tu la
 next 3E-of 3E-enter hold-POS CL 3E-at tail CL DEM EV
When she grabbed it by that tail,
 Cuando le agarró la cola,
31. Kax tuq-on-el b'a no',
 then pull-DEP-DIR RFLX CL
it pulled itself away,
 el conejo huyó;
32. xan [e] kan-kan nan ne' no' txitx tu y-ul q'ab' xal
 CONJ stay-DIR half tail CL rabbit DEM 3E-in hand CL
and half the rabbit's tail was left in her hand.
 y la mitad de la cola del conejo se quedó en las manos de ella.
33. Xan a no' txitx tu nani kutix no'
 why FOC CL rabbit DEM now cropped.tail CL
That's why the rabbit has a cropped tail now.
 Por esto actualmente el conejo no tiene larga la cola.
34. Tix ch-y-un laq-wi jun ab'ix tu.
 this COM-3E-do finish-API one story DEM
This is how the story ends.
 Así termina esta historia.

YAB'IXAL Y'IBAN NO' MIS

THE STORY OF THE CAT

THE STORY OF THE CAT

(1) We tell the story of the cat. (2) Once there was a couple of people. (3) That man told his wife, (4) “Now I’m going to work. Make me some good food,” (5) he said to her [and left]. (6) And then she always gets lazy; (7) she didn’t make his food. (8) Then he went to work. (9) When he came home for lunch, (10) his good food made by her wasn’t there. (11) Then he got mad. (12) And then they went to sleep that night. (13) The next day, (14) “I’m going to work again, (15) but make me some good food. If not, (16) I will get mad at you and I will send you back,” (17) he said to her. (18) But because she was always lazy, (19) then he went to work. (20) She didn’t prepare his food in the morning again. (21) He was supposed to come home for lunch. (22) The cat was sitting. (23) That cat is near the fire and he listens. (24) When the man came again, (25) for lunch the next day, (26) his food was not there. “All right!” (27) Then he got mad (28) and he made his wife go back. (29) Now his wife went back. (30) “I’ll see how I’ll feed myself,” he said. (31) Then she left. (32) Then, the next day, (33) he got up and went to work. (34) When he came home, his food was there. (35) There was a stack of tortillas, his tortillas were in the tortilla warmer, (36) his meat and his atole were ready. (37) Everything was ready and he was shocked. (38) He went to make food for himself and everything was ready. (39) The next day he left. (40) Then, “What’s happening?” he said. (41) The next day, (42) when he came home for lunch, there was good food. (43) There were tamales, there were tortillas, he saw there was everything, (44) there was atole, what he usually eats, we say. (45) So that night he started worrying. (46) “Who is coming and making my food? (47) I’m going to find out,” he said. (48) He couldn’t figure out that it was the cat. (49) When the cat saw that he left, (50) he would put on his apron and knead, (51) and he [the cat] made his [the man’s] food, and he [the man] didn’t know. (52) On that day, he left in a hurry. (53) The next day he went to work, (54) he left before lunch. (55) “I’m going to see what woman is making my food,” he said. (56) He slowly came home. (57) He came very slowly, among the grass next to the window. (58) He stared in the window. (59) The cat was making his food. (60) The cat was wearing an apron, making tortillas (61) and making the food. (62) This is the story of the cat in the old days. (63) This is how it ends.

YAB'IXAL Y'IBAN NO' MIS

(1) Ok jal yab'ixal no' mis — la historia del gato. (2) Ay jun mojan heb' anima yet tu. (3) A naq winaq tu yal naq b'ay yistil, (4) “Anani hintoj mulnajil. Watz' chot hin lob'ej,” (5) xhi ta naq b'ay ix xin. (6) Ax xyunej isaq k'al chyut b'a ix, (7) tay k'am chwatnej ix lob'ej naq tu. (8) Tay xtoj naq mulnajil. (9) Axa yet jay naq yet chuman, (10) k'am lob'ej naq watz' yayji yuj ix. (11) Tay tit yowal naq. (12) To kax waykan ay yet aq'b'alil tu. (13) Axa yet jun xa k'ualil, (14) “Qintoj junelxa mulnajil, (15) pero watz' chot hin lob'ej. Ta k'amaq, (16) hoq tit wawal hen qach wuqtej paxoq,” (17) xab' naq b'ay ix. (18) Pero komo isaq k'alta ix, (19) tay toj naq mulnajoq. (20) Tol maj watz'joq ta ay lob'ej naq q'inib'alil. (21) Tay chuman t'inan chjay naq lowoq. (22) Tay xan a no' mis tu tol chotanoktoq. (23) No' mis tu ti q'a tol chyab' no'. (24) Axa yet jay naq winaq tu junelxa, (25) yet chuman yet jun xa k'ual, (26) k'am pax lob'ej naq. “Bweno!” (27) Tay tit xa yowal naq (28) xyuqton pax naq ix yistil tu. (29) Nani paxan yix b'a. (30) “Xa wil tzet hoq wut low hin b'a,” xab'i. (31) Tay mal toj ix. (32) Tay axa yet jun xa k'ualil, (33) yaj wahan naq toj naq mulnajoq. (34) Axa yunej ax jay naq, ay xa ay lob'ej naq. (35) Paqaqi yayji; pat naq yul motx, (36) i mal watz'ji chib'ej naq i yuk'ja naq. (37) Watz'xa yayji to xa k'ayaj k'ul naq. (38) Tay toj to watnej lo b'a naq to watz'xa. (39) Tay axa yet jun xa k'ual toj pax naq. (40) Tay, “tzet tu yayji?” xhi pax naq. (41) Axa yet jun xa k'ual, (42) jay naq yet chuman, watz' yayji lob'ej naq. (43) Ay tx'ix, ay pat-ej, ay yiloni, ay masanil, (44) ay uk'ja, tzet chlo ta pax jaloni. (45) Entonses x'ok pensar naq yet aq'b'alil tu. (46) “Tzet makwextel ch'ul watnon hinlob'ej? (47) Qwa' wal aberigwar,” xab' naq. (48) Tay nich chnachajel yuj naq tol a no' mis tu. (49) Chyil no' mis tu tol chtojkan naq, (50) tay chya'onok no' gab'acha kax xkawi no', (51) kax chi wanton no' lob'ej naq, ni yoqtaq pax naq. (52) Axa yet jun tiempoal tu la tay choliltoq naq. (53) Jun xa k'ual toj naq mulnajil, (54) ay tok'al yok chuman tay tit naq. (55) “Toj wal wila' maktxel jun ix chwatnon hinlob'ej,” xab' naq. (56) Tay tit naq k'ojon k'ulal ch'an jay naq. (57) Mok'ok'i ch'an jay naq kawil b'entana xol ak'un. (58) Ay yok tukan naq yul wentana. (59) Yan watnen no' mis tu lob'ej naq. (60) Ayik' gab'acha no' mis tu yan patli no', (61) lanan watnen lob'ej no'. (62) Tix yab'ixal no' mis yet payxa tu. (63) Kax chyun laqwi.

LA HISTORIA DEL GATO

(1) Vamos a escuchar la historia del gato. (2) Había una vez una pareja. (3) Ese hombre le dijo a su esposa, (4) “Ahora me voy a trabajar. Quiero que me prepares bien la comida.” (5) Así le dijo él a ella (6) y ella era muy perezosa (7) y no le preparaba su comida, (8) y se fue a trabajar. (9) Cuando él regresó [para el almuerzo], (10) ella todavía no le preparaba su comida. (11) Él se enojó. (12) Durmieron esa noche. (13) [Al otro día,] (14) [“Voy a trabajar.”] (15) Quiero que me prepares bien la comida esta mañana. Si no, (16) me voy a enojar y demandaré a tus padres,” (17) [él le advirtió.] (18) [Pero como ella era perezosa,] (19) se fue a trabajar (20) sin desayunar bien. (21) [Se supone que él había regresado a las doce.] (22) Mientras tanto el gato estaba sentando (23) cerca de la hoguera y el gato nomás escuchaba. (24) Y cuando regresó el hombre, (25) a las doce del otro día (26) no encontró su comida. [“¡Bueno!”] (27) Entonces se enojó (28) e [hizo a su esposa volver]. (29) [Ahora su esposa regresó.] (30) Y le dijo, “Ahora voy a ver qué puedo hacer para preparar mi comida.” (31) [Entonces se fue.] (32) Al otro día, (33) él se levantó y se fue a trabajar. (34) Y lo que pasó cuando él regresó, fue que encontró su comida, todo arreglado. (35) [Había tortillas en el tortillero] (36) y estaba la comida, el atole. (37) [Todo estaba preparado y] se quedó extrañado. (38) [Fue a hacer su comida y todo estaba arreglado.] (39) Al otro día se fue (40) y se preguntó, “¿Que extraño lo que está pasado?” (41) Al otro día, (42) regresó a las doce y estaba su almuerzo todo arreglado. (43) Todo estaba preparado. Había tamales, tortillas, (44) vio que había de todo lo que comían. (45) Entonces él empezó a analizar y a pensar (46) “¿[Quién] estará [viniendo y] preparando mi comida? (47) Voy a averiguar.” (48) [No podía saber] que era el gato el que hacía la comida. (49) Cuando él se iba, el gato (50) amarraba su gabacha y molía el maíz. (51) [el gato preparaba su comida] y él no lo sabía. (52) En ese tiempo, él decidió regresar temprano. (53) Al otro día, él se fue a trabajar, (54) y antes de las doce se regresó (55) y dijo, “Voy a ver quién es esa mujer que arregla mi comida,” (56) y se vino, (57) y se acercó despacio, cerca de la ventana, (58) y miro por la ventana. (59) El gato la estaba haciendo su comida. (60) Estaba moliendo el maíz, el gato, tortillando, (61) estaba trabajando. (62) Esta es la historia del gato. (63) Así termina.

THE STORY OF THE CAT
AS TOLD BY PEDRO GARCIA PASCUAL

1. Ok j-al y-ab'ix-al no' mis – la historia del gato.
 enter 2PE-tell 3E-story-ABST CL mis – la historia del gato.
We tell the story of the cat.
 Vamos a escuchar la historia del gato.
2. Ay jun mojan heb' anima y-et tu.
 exist one couple 3P person 3E-of DEM
Once there was a couple of people.
 En ese entonces había una pareja.
3. A naq winaq tu y-al naq b'ay y-istil,
 FOC CL man DEM 3E-tell CL PREP 3E-wife
That man told his wife,
 Ese hombre le dijo a su esposa,
4. “Anani hin-toj mulnaj-il. Watx' ch-ot hin lob'ej,”
 “Now 1SA-go work-ABST good INC-2SE .make 1SE food
 “*Now I'm going to work. Make me some good food,*”
 “Ahora me voy a trabajar. Quiero que me prepares bien la comida”.
5. xhi ta naq b'ay ix xin.
 say PRT CL PREP CL PRT
he said to her [and left].
 Así le dijo a ella.
6. Ax x-y-une-j isaq k'al ch-y-ut b'a ix,
 PRT COM-3E-do-TV lazy always INC-3E-do RFLX CL
And then she always gets lazy;
 y ella era muy perezosa
7. tay k'am ch-watne-j ix lob'ej naq tu.
 then NEG INC-make-TV CL food CL DEM
she didn't make his food.
 y no le preparaba su comida.

8. Tay x-toj naq mulnaj-il.
 then COM-go CL work-ABST
Then he went to work.
 Entonces, se fue a trabajar.
9. Axa y-et jay naq y-et chuman,
 next 3E-of come CL 3E-of lunch
When he came home for lunch,
 Cuando él regresó para el almuerzo,
10. k'am lob'ej naq watax' y-ay-ji y-uj ix.
 NEG food CL good 3E-exist-DER 3E-by CL
his good food made by her wasn't there.
 la buena comida no estaba hecha.
11. Tay tit y-owal naq.
 then come 3E-fight CL
Then he got mad.
 Él se enojó.
12. To kax way-kan ay y-et aq'b'al-il tu.
 still(?) then sleep-DIR exist 3E-of night-ABST DEM
And then they went to sleep that night.
 Durmieron esa noche.
13. Axa y-et jun xa k'u-al-il,
 next 3E-of one already day-ABST-ABST
The next day,
 Al otro día,
14. "Q-in-toj jun-el-xa mulnaj-il,
 POT-1SA-go one-DIR-already work-ABST
"I'm going to work again,
 "Voy a trabajar.
15. pero watax' ch-ot hin lob'ej. Ta k'amaq,
 but good INC-2SE.make 1SE food if NEG
but make me some good food. If not,
 Quiero que me prepares bien la comida esta mañana. Si no,

16. hoq tit w-owal hen q-ach w-uqte-j pax-oq,"
 POT come 1SE-fight 2SE.at POT-2SA 1SE-chase-TV return-INF

I will get mad at you and I will send you back,"

me voy a enojar y demandaré a tus padres,"

17. x-ab' naq b'ay ix.
 COM-say CL PREP CL

he said to her.

él le advirtió.

18. Pero komo isaq k'alta ix,
 but as lazy always CL

But because she was always lazy,

Pero como ella era perezosa,

19. tay toj naq mulnaj-oq.
 then go CL work-INF

then he went to work.

se fue a trabajar

20. Tol maj watx'j-oq ta ay lob'ej naq
 INTNS NEG prepare-INF POT exist food CL

q'inib'-al-il jun-el-xa.
 morning-ABST-ABST one-PRT-again

She didn't prepare his food in the morning again.

sin desayunar bien.

21. Tay chuman f'inan ch-jay naq low-oq.
 then lunch supposed.to INC-come CL eat-INF

He was supposed to come home for lunch.

Se supone que él había regresado a las doce.

22. Tay xan a no' mis tu tol chot-an-ok-toq.
 then INTNS FOC CL cat DEM INTNS sit-POS-DIR-DIR

The cat was sitting.

Mientras tanto el gato estaba sentando

23. No' mis tu ti q'a tol ch-y-ab' no'.
 CL cat DEM DEM fire INTNS INC-3E-listen CL
That cat is near the fire and he listens.
 cerca de la hoguera y el gato nomás escuchaba.
24. Axa y-et jay naq winaq tu jun-el-xa,
 next 3E-of come CL man DEM one-PRT-PRT
When the man came again,
 Y cuando regresó el hombre,
25. y-et chuman y-et jun xa k'u-al,
 3E-of lunch 3E-of one PRT day-ABST
for lunch the next day,
 a las doce del otro día
26. k'am pax lob'ej naq. "Bweno!"
 NEG as.for food CL EXCLM
his food was not there. "All right!"
 no encontró su comida. ["¡Bueno!"]
27. Tay tit xa y-owal naq
 then come PRT 3E-fight CL
Then he got mad
 Entonces se enojó
28. x-y-uqt-on pax naq ix y-istil tu.
 COM-3E-chase-AF return CL CL 3E-wife DEM
and he made his wife go back.
 e hizo a su esposa volver.
29. Nani pax-an y-ix b'a.
 now return-POS 3E-woman RFLX
Now his wife went back.
 Ahora su esposa regresó.
30. "Xa w-il tzet hoq w-ut low hin b'a," x-ab'-i.
 PRT 1SE-see what POT 1SE-do eat 1SE RFLX COM-say-ITV
"I'll see how I'll feed myself," he said.
 Y le dijo, "Ahora voy a ver qué puedo hacer para preparar mi comida".

31. Tay mal toj ix.
then already go CL
Then she left.
Entonces se fue.
32. Tay axa y-et jun xa k'u-al-il,
Then next 3E-of one PRT day-ABST-ABST
Then, the next day,
Al otro día,
33. y-aj wahan naq toj naq mulnaj-oq.
3E-go.up standing CL go CL work-INF
he got up and went to work.
él se levantó y se fue a trabajar.
34. Axa y-un-ej ax jay naq, ay xa ay lob'ej naq.
next 3E-do-TV PRT come CL exist PRT exist food CL
When he came home, his food was there.
Y lo que pasó cuando él regresó, fue que encontró su comida, todo arreglado.
35. Paqaqi y-ay-ji; pat naq y-ul motx,
stack.of.tortillas 3E-exist-DER tortilla CL 3E-in tortilla.warmer
There was a stack of tortillas, his tortillas were in the tortilla warmer,
Había tortillas en el tortillero,
36. i mal watx'-ji chib'ej naq i y-uk'ja naq.
and already good-DER meat CL and 3E-atole CL
his meat and his atole were ready.
y estaba la comida, el atol.
37. Watx'-xa y-ay-ji to xa k'ayaj k'ul naq.
good-already 3E-exist-DER PRT PRT shocked stomach CL
Everything was ready and he was shocked.
Todo estaba preparado y se quedó extrañado.
38. Tay toj to watne-j lo b'a naq to watx'-xa y-ay-ji.
then go PRT make-TV eat RFLX CL PRT good-already 3E-exist-DER
He went to make food for himself and everything was ready.
Fue hacer su comida y todo estaba arreglado.

39. Tay axa y-et jun xa k'u-al toj pax naq.
 then next 3E-of one PRT day-ABST go return CL
The next day he left.
 Al otro día se fue
40. Tay, "tzet tu y-ay-ji?" xhi pax naq.
 then what DEM 3E-exist-DER say as.for CL
Then, "What's happening?" he said.
 y se preguntó, "¿Qué extraño lo que está pasando?"
41. Axa y-et jun xa k'u-al
 next 3E-of one PRT day-ABST
The next day,
 Al otro día,
42. jay naq y-et chuman, watx' y-ay-ji lob'ej naq.
 come CL 3E-of lunch good 3E-exist-DER food CL
when he came home for lunch, there was good food.
 regresó a las doce y estaba su almuerzo todo arreglado.
43. Ay tx'ix, ay pat-ej, ay y-il-on-i, ay masanil,
 exist tamale exist tortilla-ALN exist 3E-see-AF-ITV exist everything
There were tamales, there were tortillas, he saw there was everything,
 Todo estaba preparado. Había tamales, tortillas,
44. ay uk'ja, tzet ch-lo ta pax j-al-on-i.
 exist atole what INC-eat if as.for 1PE-say-1P-ITV
there was atole, what he usually eats, we say.
 vio que había de todo lo que comían.
45. Entonses x'-ok pensar naq y-et aq'b'al-il tu.
 so COM-enter worry CL 3E-of night-ABST DEM
So that night he started worrying.
 Entonces él empezó a analizar y a pensar
46. "Tzet makwextxel ch'-ul watn-on hin-lob'ej?
 what who.INTNS INC-come make-AF 1SE-food
"Who is coming and making my food?"
 "¿Quién estará viniendo y preparando mi comida?"

47. “Q-w-a’ wal aberigwar,” x-ab’ naq.
 POT-1SE-give INTNS find.out COM-say CL
I’m going to find out,” he said.
 Lo voy a averiguar”.
48. Tay nich ch-na-chaj-el y-uj naq tol a no’ mis tu.
 then can’t INC-think-PSV-DIR 3E-by CL COMP FOC CL cat DEM
He couldn’t figure out that it was the cat.
 No podía imaginarse que sería el gato el que hacía la comida.
49. Ch-y-il no’ mis tu tol ch-toj-kan naq,
 INC-3E-see CL cat DEM COMP INC-go-DIR CL
When the cat saw that he left,
 Cuando él se ha ido, el gato
50. tay ch-y-a’-on-ok no’ gab’acha kax x-kaw-i no’,
 then INC-3E-give-AF-DIR CL apron then COM-knead-ITV CL
he would put on his apron and knead,
 amarraba su gabacha y molía el maíz.
51. kax chi watn-on no’ lob’ej naq, ni y-oqtaq pax naq.
 then INC make-AF CL food CL NEG 3E-know as.for CL
and be [the cat] made his [the man’s] food, and he [the man] didn’t know.
 y él [el gato] preparaba su comida y él [el hombre] no lo sabía.
52. Axa y-et jun tiempo-al tu la tay ch-olil-toq naq.
 next 3E-of one time-ABST DEM EV then INC-roll?-DIR CL
On that day, he left in a hurry.
 En ese tiempo, él decidió regresar temprano.
53. Jun xa k’u-al toj naq mulnaj-il,
 one INTNS day-ABST go CL work-ABST
The next day he went to work,
 Al otro día, él se fue a trabajar,
54. ay tok’al y-ok chuman tay tit naq.
 exist only 3E-enter lunch then come CL
he left before lunch.
 y antes de las doce se regresó

55. “Toj wal w-il-a’ maktxel jun ix ch-watn-on
 go INTNS 1SE-see-TV who one woman INC-make-AF
 hin-lob’ej,” x-ab’ naq.
 1SE-food COM-say CL
‘I’m going to see what woman is making my food,’ he said.
 y dijo, “Voy a ver quién es esa mujer que prepara mi comida”.
56. Tay tit naq k’ojon k’ul-al ch’an jay naq.
 Then come CL slow stomach-ABST DIM? come CL
He slowly came home.
 y se vino,
57. Mok’ok’i ch’an jay naq kawil b’entana xol ak’un.
 very.slowly DIM? come CL close window among grass
He came very slowly, among the grass next to the window.
 y se acercó despacio, cerca de la ventana,
58. Ay y-ok tukan naq y-ul wentana.
 exist 3E-enter stare CL 3E-in window
He stared in the window.
 y miró por la ventana.
59. Yan watne-n no’ mis tu lob’ej naq.
 PROG make-AF CL cat DEM food CL
The cat was making his food.
 El gato la estaba haciendo su comida.
60. Ay-ik’ gab’acha no’ mis tu yan patli no’
 wear-DIR apron CL cat DEM PROG make.tortillas? CL
The cat was wearing an apron, making tortillas
 Estaba moliendo el maíz, el gato, tortillando,
61. lanan watne-n lob’ej no’.
 PROG make-AF food CL
and making the food.
 estaba trabajando.

62. Tix y-ab'ix-al no' mis y-et payxa tu.
 this 3E-story-ABST CL cat 3E-of old.days DEM

This is the story of the cat in the old days.

Esta es la historia del gato.

63. Kax ch-y-un laq-wi.
 then INC-3E-do finish-API

This is how it ends.

Así termina.

Abbreviations

1/2/3	first/second/third person	INCH	inchoative
A	absolutive agreement	INF	infinitive
ABST	abstract	INTNS	intensifier
AF	agent focus	ITV	intransitive status
ALN	alienable	NEG	negative
API	antipassive of incorporation	NMZR	nominalizer
CL	classifier	P	plural
COM	completive aspect	PE	plural and ergative
COMP	complementizer	POS	positional
COND	conditional	POT	potential
CONJ	conjunction	PREP	preposition
DEM	demonstrative	PROG	progressive
DEP	dependent	PRT	particle
DER	derivation	PSV	passive
DIM	diminutive	REC	reciprocal
DIR	directional	RDPL	reduplicant
E	ergative agreement	RFLX	reflexive
EXCLM	exclamation	S	singular
EV	evidential	TV	transitive status
FOC	focus	[]	repeated elements
INC	incompletive aspect		

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