

Eike Hinz

Existence and Identity:
Reconciliation and Self-organization
through
Q'anjob'al Maya Divination



COVER / FRONTISPIECE: The situational setting of divination and counseling. *Left:* The diviner is counting the divinatory layout of the seeds of the coral tree. *Right:* A client family from San Pedro Soloma: husband, wife and toddler. *Background:* Another client waiting. The consultation deals with several separate problems. San Juan Ixcoy 1983. See PLATES 31-38.

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Re-creating Social and Subjective Order
in San Juan Ixcoy and San Pedro Soloma,
Guatemala

Hamburg (and Norderstedt)
2008 and 2010

Hinz, Eike

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Re-creating Social and Subjective Order
in San Juan Ixcoy and San Pedro Soloma,
Guatemala.

English text by Eike Hinz
and corrected by Range Cloyd Jr.

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Internet edition
published with slight corrections
Hamburg 2010

DEDICATION

**In memory of Mateo Raymundo Velásquez,
Ajb'e ('Master of the Road' or Diviner) and Alkal Txaj ('Mayor of the
Ordenanza [Holy Bundle]' or Prayermaker) from San Juan Ixcoy,
to the Q'anjob'al people
and to the idea of Anthropology**

[#1B-1: The Alcalde Rezador in charge of the Ordenanza; cf Ch. E.9]

We make our prayer, on the day *Ajaw*.

It is the case that we nourish this calendar day,
for the health and life of the town, of the whole town of San Juan.

There, we make the *costumbres* (rituals)
together with the *Regidores* (councilors), on *Ajaw*.

On *Watan* we make further *costumbres* for us,
but it is always for the town, for the town only.

We ask for a little bit of health,

we ask for a little bit of food,

we ask for a little bit of maize, of domestic animals, of money for [the town].

On *Watan* we make further ones, [on] *Lamb'at* we make further [*costumbres*].

Mulu', Elab', B'atz', Ewub',

[on] *B'en* we make further [*costumbres*],

on the day for our food, on *B'en*, we make further ones, on the day for our food.

So we arrange it when we are *Alcalde [de la] Ordenanza*.

Ix, on *Tz'ikin*, *Txab'in*, *Kixkab'*,

[on] *Chinax* we make further [*costumbres*],

for the health and life of the town,

for the health and life of the town alone we ask,

for the health and life of the earth (*munto*) we ask,

in all corners, we ask not only for the health and life of San Juan,

we ask for the health and life for God, our Lord, for the earth (*munto*) itself,

we ask for health and life for the [different parts of the] world (*munto*s),

for all the *municipalidades* (towns), for the whole Republic of Guatemala,

on each day of the Maya calendar, on each day *Ajaw*, on the day *Watan*,

on the day *Lamb'at*, on the day *B'en*, on the day *Chinax*.

At that time, then, we ask for a little bit of health for the people,

for a little bit, behind (after), in front of (before) the days.

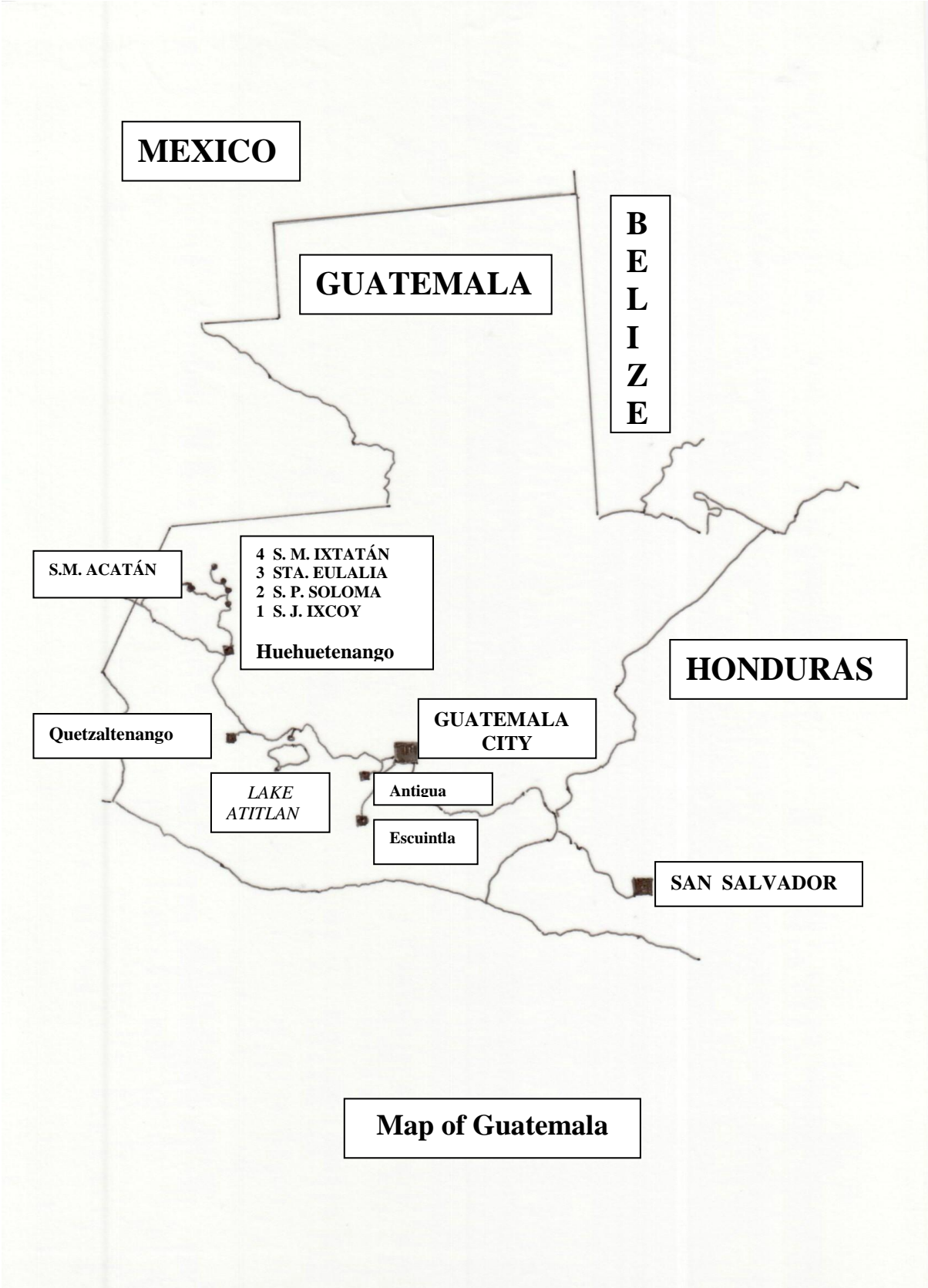
We do not ask only [on] these calendar days <*i.e. the Alcalde days*>

for health and life, we ask also for a little bit of health for us

when we work [e.g., in our gardens or fields],

when the *Ordenanza* is at rest, when the *costumbres* are at rest with us

<*i.e. on the other – non-Alcalde – days*>.



MEXICO

GUATEMALA

**B
E
L
I
Z
E**

S.M. ACATÁN

4 S. M. IXTATÁN
3 STA. EULALIA
2 S. P. SOLOMA
1 S. J. IXCOY
Huehuetenango

HONDURAS

Quetzaltenango

**GUATEMALA
CITY**

*LAKE
ATITLAN*

Antigua

Escuintla

SAN SALVADOR

Map of Guatemala

Eike Hinz

A

**Existence and Identity:
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**Re-creating Social and Subjective Order
in San Juan Ixcoy and San Pedro Soloma, Guatemala**

Norderstedt 2008 and Hamburg 2010

This file [Hamburg 2010] contains slight corrections.

© Published by Dr. Eike Hinz 2010

The library edition of this book has been published by:

**Books on Demand GmbH
D-22848 Norderstedt, Gutenbergring 53, Germany**

ISBN 978-3-8334-8731-6

The book can be ordered from:

www.bod.de

or

www.Amazon.de

**Exchange of personal emails with my colleague B. N. Colby
(UC Irvine, California, USA)**

Copy

Von: "Benjamin N. Colby" <bncolby@uci.edu>
An: Eike Hinz <DrHinz@gmx.de>
Kopie:
Betreff: Re: Intermediate message: Book-file
Datum: 01.11.2008 22:23:59

Dear Eike

Congratulations on your excellent book. Thank you so much for sending me the electronic file, it is very clear with the colored plates at the end. I look forward to reading it.

Hope you are doing well,

All the best

Nick

Benjamin Colby
bncolby@uci.edu

Von: "Benjamin N. Colby" bncolby@uci.edu
An: Eike Hinz DrHinz@gmx.de
Kopie:
Betreff: Re:
Datum: 27.01.2009 16:34:29

Dear Eike

I have received your book and I apologize for not writing sooner. I was waiting until I had a chance to read it, so I could make comments, but alas, I have been so terribly busy in pressing matters that I have not. In any case I want to thank you for sending me the book, it looks very impressive with excellent documentation.

I have just recently been divorced (it took five years of legal proceedings) and I am no longer living close to UCI. I am now in Petaluma, California and have become a farmer, which is why I have been so busy trying to get a farm started and various other projects. I wish you well and I will write you again after I have had a chance to catch my breath and relax a little.

All the best to you,

Nick

On Jan 27, 2009, at 6:30 AM, Eike Hinz wrote:

>I have tried to send a copy of my book by airmail to Guatemala and
>Mexico, but it got stuck somewhere in Frankfurt. On the other hand,
>one got a Mexican mail number, the other a Guatemalan one. Did you
>get a copy? DHL says it should have gotten through to you.
>I know that there have been some extreme troubles in San Pedro
>Soloma and in San Juan Ixcoy, in Guatemala, on a date which I found
>to be preoccupying. So I am trying to keep a "low profile".
>I hope all is going well with you.
>Eike

<In my email I referred to incidents in S. J. Ixcoy and S. P. Soloma, Dec 12, 2008,
2 ½ months after the publication of my book>

Benjamin N. Colby (together with his ex-wife L. Colby) is the author of "The Daykeeper. The Life and Discourse of an Ixil Diviner" whose excellent and exemplary ethnographic work and publication on divination among the Ixil Maya inspired and motivated me. Cf here in this file p.13 (Ch. B.4) and p.22 (Ch. C.2.0).

Email from my colleague Ulrich Köhler (Uni Freiburg, Freiburg i. B.)

Copy

Von: Ulrich Köhler Ulrich.Koehler@ethno.uni-freiburg.de

An: DrHinz@gmx.de

Kopie:

Betreff: Buch

Datum: 29.12.2008 16:00:42

Lieber Herr Hinz,

ich danke Ihnen für Ihr schönes Buch. Es kam zum Glück gerade einen Tag vor einer Bahnreise, und so habe [ich] schon eine Menge darin gelesen.

Ich habe im November ein Buch über die Azteken abgeschlossen, 14 bereits in vier Sprachen und in sieben Ländern veröffentlichte Beiträge und vier neue Kapitel. Ich habe einen Druckkostenzuschuß der DFG beantragt, wodurch sich die Drucklegung verzögert. Wenn es fertig ist, erhalten Sie ein Exemplar.

Werden Sie zur Mesoamerikanisten-Tagung in Bonn kommen? Ich habe einen Vortrag angemeldet.

Mit allen guten Wünschen für 2009

Ihr U. Köhler

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PREFACE

This is an anthropological analysis of divinations and consultations based on my documentation published in 1991. This book was written, in a first draft, while I spent half a year at the University of Western Australia, in Perth (2005), working on an English translation of my *Philosophical Anthropology*¹. The present book has been further elaborated in Hamburg, Germany, since March 2006, in Antigua, Guatemala, and since October 2006 in Tenerife (Canary Islands), Spain. I paid two very short trips to San Juan Ixcoy in June and July of 2006. Sociocultural changes, especially in terms of human geography, have been dramatic there and are not dealt with in this monograph.

The name for the culture, for the language, and for the people with whom I worked as an ethnographer is written either: *Kanhobal*, *Kanjobal* or *Q'anjob'al* in the scientific literature on the subject. The latter form was adopted by the Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala and the Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín, Antigua G., and is also used by me throughout this book.

As I said in the preface to the German edition of the consultations and in-depth interviews (1991/I:VII), the texts quoted in this book are really from my key informant, the diviner Mateo Raymundo Velásquez (cf. here Ch. C.5.1, Ch. 6.9 and App. II [Autobiography]), and his *numerous* clients from San Juan Ixcoy and San Pedro Soloma. My consultants who transcribed the Q'anjob'al texts from cassettes, Fernando Eustaquio Fernández (San Pedro Soloma) and, especially, Andrés Pablo Escobar (San Juan Ixcoy) have been of decisive help in documenting these texts and, thus, making the publication possible. Francisco Pascual (Santa Eulalia) has transcribed some of the interviews. Rough translations into Spanish both by Fernando Eustaquio F. and by Andrés Pablo Escobar were available, but I made my own translations. I marked the differences to Andrés Pablo Escobar's translation and discussed the deviations between our translations with him in Quetzaltenango, in August and September of 1987, on the basis of the Q'anjob'al originals. I translated my German version into Spanish and read it to Don Andrés while he compared the spoken version with the transcription. This procedure contributed considerably to the *decentering of the translation*. Students of mine originally transferred the hand-written Q'anjob'al texts to computer diskettes. The fieldwork itself is described in Chapter C.

I would like to thank the Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín (PLFM) in Antigua for providing me with native Q'anjob'al teachers from Santa Eulalia, in 1980, namely Francisco Pascual and Nicolás de Nicolás Pedro, and in 2006, namely Lorenzo Juan and Diego Adalberto Martínez Estebán. In April of 2006, PLFM brought together a group of Maya Indians, especially from the Q'anjob'al and Akateko area, and we shared a memorable traditional Maya ceremony and nice dinner. After 25 years, I met Francisco Pascual again. Special thanks are

¹ Published as "*Outline of a Philosophical Anthropology. Regulators of Freedom: Reciprocity and Self-organization*" in 2006 by Books on Demand, Norderstedt (Hamburg), Germany.

due to Andrés Pablo Escobar, San Juan Ixcoy and Huehuetenango, with whom I revisited San Juan Ixcoy and exchanged some e-mails in the preparation of this book. I thank CIRMA (Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica) and its friendly staff in Antigua for support of my library research in 2006.

I would like to thank my brother for help in editing the color plates.

In the preface of my 1991 edition of the Q'anjob'al (Kanjobal) texts, I gave credit to the persons who then helped me, and I refer the critical and sincere reader to the acknowledgements published in that edition (see Postscript (6) below).

After careful discussions with my consultant Andrés Pablo Escobar in 1987, we decided, in most cases, to write out the names of the Q'anjob'al people in the divination texts. Being confronted with the well-known peculiar international situation of this project, it seemed that the informants and participants in the divinations were thus better protected, including the villages of S.J. Ixcoy and Soloma themselves, especially after the destruction of the village archive containing the land titles in 1982 and the attempted aggression against the Holy Bundle (*Ordenanza*). In the particular case, some names may be artificial. I am aware that this line of thought might be challenged, but I do assume full responsibility for my action.

The conventions used in the edition of the Q'anjob'al texts and the German translation (1991/I:XXIV) are partially the same. But the speakers in the texts quoted in this book are mostly written out in full.

vi = intransitive verb

vt = transitive verb

... = Statements interrupted by another person, but which are continued.

-- = Word or sentence broken off or uncompleted.

(...) = Omission in texts which are quoted incompletely; *or*: incomprehensible words.

< > = Nonverbal or situative remarks printed in italics. My comments and interpretations on the contents are marked as <Commentary numbered:>

() = Alternative translation or explication of the translation.

[] = Supplement; or questionable transcription of the Q'anjob'al text [?].

For the divinations the following conventions hold:

|| = End of a row of seeds of the coral tree laid out.

| = Mark of "speaking days" (often hypothesized) in the positional schema of the seeds counted.

The texts are identified by the cassette number (#) in the author's former archives.

Range Cloyd, Jr., Language Consultant with offices in Quickborn (Hamburg), Germany, kindly proofread the English text before publication (August-September 2006, August-September and November 2007).

Postscript

The ethnographic process of fieldwork and writing is characterized by several key issues:

(1) A rapid linguistic change in the Q'anjob'al language from the time of my fieldwork in 1980/81 to the revisit in Antigua and Ixcoy in 2006 is evident. This change might have resulted partially from alphabetization, standardization and other educational efforts, introducing Q'anjob'al language and culture into school and adult education. This fact puts my texts and their scientific analysis into a prime position of documentation and comprehension.

(2) Changing scenarios from civil war and vigilance (1980-1985), democratic transit (1986-1996), peace treaty (end of 1996) and more comprehensive Maya Indian participation and autonomy (since 1996) characterize the time lapsed. These scenarios imply the flight of refugees to Mexico and the USA, their re-emigration to the Q'anjob'al area and work migration especially to the USA, with significant economic and cultural changes. These changes are not covered in this book.

(3) These cultural changes are balanced in terms of fuller participation of traditionalists and traditional Maya Indian religious guides and dignitaries. This does not necessarily entail a *Maya Indian renaissance*, but at least an official as well as communal recognition of ceremonial traditions and corresponding offices. But note the presence of *19 different Christian denominations in 2006 in contrast to 6 or 7 (including the Catholic Church), in 1981, in San Juan Ixcoy*.

(4) Differential development in Guatemala – with political peace, regionally bound criminal bands and regional economic ties and chances – seems to characterize the prospect. Drug trafficking seems to play a major negative role in the urban (and possibly border) areas.

(5) Developmental *foreign* agencies now seem to be more plural and thus balanced and neutral in terms of a non-religious, less biased affiliation. Several non-German-speaking European Union countries play a certain role with regard to vigilance, tolerance and self-determined development.

(6) Because of the reconciliatory character of this book, details of the bizarre fate of mine and my ethnographic project are not elaborated here (e.g. the incidental rescue of the Economic Microcensus, App. VIII, from a box of trash in the cellar of the Archaeological Institute in the University of Hamburg by me). They are, rather, referred to in my book "Outline of a Philosophical Anthropology (Preface)" [2006], and are reported on in a separate publication which has been selectively distributed.

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Hamburg, May 2008

I. INTRODUCTORY CHAPTERS

A. PLAN OF THE BOOK: OVERVIEW

Key concepts of the title of the book

Existence is viewed as consisting of different domains of life and daily life. Existence is determined by (objective facts, societal potentials and conditions of) maintenance and togetherness, by the satisfaction of basic needs and by the biocultural life cycle, and is highlighted by the perception of incentives and risks and the experience of misfortune. This leads to questions of its significance. [Cf Ch. 7.1-7.2].

Identity is viewed as the *mechanism* of ego-formation and rebalancing, including the *senses* of affiliation and coherence, and the *results* thereof. [Cf Ch. 6.1-6.2]. Identity is determined by social affiliation, sentiment and frequent interaction, personal development and growth (e.g. in terms of the life cycle and one's capabilities), and autonomy, as well as psychosocial balance.

The *shared features* of the concepts of existence and identity consist of the biocultural life cycle, the satisfaction of basic needs and personal development. We are dealing with cognitive schemata, the autobiographical memory, and the needs of the individual.

The *instrument* to resolve problems of existence and identity is divination involving the use of the pre-Hispanic 260-day divinatory Maya calendar. [Cf Ch. B and Ch. 2].

Q'anjob'al Maya divination is conceptualized as *the (joint) quest for problem resolution, orientation or psychosocial therapy, i.e. reconciliation*, on the part of the various needy clients as well as on the part of the diviner as a professional advisor. The consultations serve the client's *self-organization* and help to re-establish social and mental order in the client's environment and mind through *reconciliation*.

Reconciliation (Q'anj. *mimank'ulal* = 'forgiving', 'patience') is defined as a behavioral attitude *or* want, a state of personal and interpersonal harmony, and a procedure to bring about this state. The formal procedures of reconciliation involve verbal action:

(I) prayer(s), with supernatural addressees or interactants, incl. deceased ancestors; different localities have to be considered for these prayers; *or*

(II) an open declaration ('confession'), mutually between close relatives, i.e. parent and adult child[-in-law], *or* a couple as addressees or interactants; certain topics are to be covered. [Cf Ch. 5.4.2-3, 5.5, 5.6.2, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9.3, 5.11., especially 5.11.2; 10.7, especially 10.7.4].

Certain offerings (copal, candles, elder leaves) can accompany these actions.

Reconciliation can refer to sharing food (within the family, with the 'Lord of Illness').

Self-organization is defined as the search for problem resolution, decision-making, ability to cope with difficulties, to act or proceed, and as the search for orientation in general with regard to:

- *existence (different domains as above).*
- *identity (different dimensions as above).*

Reconciliation and self-organization are viewed as rebalancing and re-creating social and subjective order.

Re-creating social and subjective order:

Social order: Reestablishment or restoration of social relations with different agents in social space (for example, in terms of the therapeutic removal of mistrust or faults; cf Chs. 1.4 and 5.8).

Subjective order: Reorientation through experiential, attitudinal and cognitive interpretation and restructuring; guided orientation by the diviner.

San Juan Ixcoy: Place of my fieldwork 1980-86; many clients are from the neighboring township of *San Pedro Soloma* and have a regular trading relationship with S. J. Ixcoy on market days. Therefore, S. P. Soloma is also mentioned here. The two townships are situated in the *Cuchumatanes* highlands of Western Guatemala. Note that the contextual ethnographic data (Chs. D and E) refer to S. J. Ixcoy whereas the diviner's explications of therapeutic concepts are mostly contained in consultations with clients from S. P. Soloma, 11 km distant.

This book focuses on the comprehension of a culture in terms of subjective identity and existence as presented from the inner conceptual perspective and implied in the communicative interaction of one specialist key informant and his numerous clients.

Q'anjob'al Maya divination is the quest for reconciliation and self-organization, or rather, psychosocial therapy as well as problem resolution.

Psychosocial treatment is directed towards attitudinal and *mental* resolution, *reconciliation with the social environment* and the restoration of social relations. Q'anjob'al Maya divination is thus a *window to study existence and identity* in terms of self-organization, e.g. as problem resolution and orientation, and re-creating social and subjective order.

The present book is a *documentation* based on the transcripts and translations of divinations and consultations of a Q'anjob'al Maya diviner. It presents an *analysis* of the consultations. It provides a *theoretical framework* and attempts to explain several aspects of them. The data base has been collected in my fieldwork (Ch. C). It consists of approximately 50 consultations including divinations, 13 having been transcribed by my Q'anjob'al consultants and translated by me (Hinz 1991/I & II; cf Preface here; the translation procedure has been described in detail in I:XXIII-XXIV; see

Ch. C.2.11 in this book). Moreover, it comprises model dialogs in which the diviner assumes the roles of both the diviner and the client, as well as in-depth interviews on concepts or beliefs and on aspects of the life cycle and of rituals. Statistical data (e.g., an economic microcensus taken by my consultant, and the national census of Guatemala of 1981, data on schooling elicited by my then wife) and data from the ethnographic literature supplement my divinatory and consultative data. Excerpts from a monograph on the customs, beliefs and cultural patterns of Santa Eulalia by one of my consultants (Nicolás de Nicolás [Pedro] 1990), supplement the data on the general framework.

The book is comprised of introductory chapters (Part I), core chapters (Part II), appendices (Part III) and the photographic documentation (Part IV).

Of the *introductory chapters*, Chapter B provides a discussion of the 260-day calendar and the divination, reviewing relevant scientific contributions and aspects of the cultural history of Mesoamerica.

Chapter C presents a detailed report on my ethnographic fieldwork.

Chapter D, providing data on the ethnographic context of the Q'anjob'al Maya, details information on organizations, and the socialization and history of San Juan Ixcoy and surrounding Q'anjob'al (and Akateko) towns.

Chapter E deals with my *discovery* of the *cult of a holy bundle*, called *Ordenanza*, the ceremonies of which I was able to observe and to document. Notes published by Siegel and LaFarge led to further investigations, for example, on the origin of this cult. The religious mayor (*Alcalde Rezador*) is in charge of it. The *Ordenanza* forms part of a community shrine; the cult can be interpreted as a community therapy.

The *core chapters* have, in general, the following structure: I present *verbatim texts* documenting concepts, thoughts and actions of topical interest. The texts are accompanied by my *analytical commentaries* contributing to comprehension. Special emphasis is placed on the *elucidation of concepts, beliefs and procedures*.

Furthermore, the chapters are organized in terms of a Developmental Sequence (the term is borrowed from James Spradley's didactics). The order of the chapters follows, in general, the explication of conceptual and technical presuppositions of divination and counseling, as well as the unfolding of the consultation session: 1. Stating the problem / 2. Divination and (diagnostic) interpretation / 3. Therapy (or counsel). As systematic aspects, ordering individual as well as culturally relevant episodes, I consider the reinforcement of social identity and existential domains representing (daily) life, and finally the session as a whole unit and the learning of participating in it. The book is also intended to be a theoretical one. Inter alia,

identity is viewed within the framework of restitution and balance, divination and consultation are viewed as an instrument for that. Existence is conceived as personal maintenance, development and survival. Both identity and existence are fuzzy categories which might overlap.

The first two chapters deal with some of the presuppositions to understanding a consultation.

Thus, in Chapter 1, the reader is introduced to the technical terminology traditional Q'anjob'al Maya use to communicate about divination and their problems, and to some of the basic concepts and beliefs underlying the counseling process. At this place, the concepts of 'fault', 'mistrust', 'illness' and 'poverty and destiny' are analyzed.

Chapter 2 deals with the day-sign meanings as an instrument of divination and of interpretation. These meanings cover cultural themes of interest which are related to basic needs. Thinking and thought formation within the divination and counseling process are thus guided by basic needs.

The next three chapters deal with the parts of the unfolding consultation session.

Chapter 3 focuses on the analysis of the client's problems, e.g., on the client's and the diviner's questions. Discussions between diviner and client help to shape the problem. Questions relevant in problem development might concern: the identification of a state, the forecast or explanation of an event, the possible mobilization of systems of support, actions of intervention, and decisions. I propose a model of the development and definition of the problem. I highlight some regional problems (and seek to match them with the client's personal ones).

Chapter 4 deals with the techniques of divination and the derivation of statements of interpretation. The procedures and their technical details are described (laying out the seeds of the coral tree, selection of a day to start the count, the count itself with the marking of so-called 'speaking days'). A divination model dialog by the diviner is analyzed; the results are compared to a real divination and interpretation as contained in a consultation. A few episodes are analyzed in terms of how to derive interpretations. In a theoretical paragraph, I try to describe the process of how to expand keywords into contextualized interpretations. I propose a model of the processes of comparing the problem with the keyword meanings, as indicated by the so-called 'speaking days' of the calendar, and of deriving a complete statement of interpretation. This derivation forms the core of the problem solution.

Chapter 5 concentrates on therapy, counseling and psychosocial healing. Several examples of therapeutic proposals are documented and analyzed. This implies salient episodes, central concepts, the outline of procedures,

the group of persons or supernatural beings to be included and verbatim model instructions for the client. An interesting case concerns the reconciliation of a couple within the consultation. The central therapeutic procedure of an ‘open declaration (confession)’, as observed by me, is analyzed and theoretically interpreted, inter alia, in terms of Tomkins’s Dynamic Psychology and Gallese’s neurobiological model of the comprehension of aversion, a central component of the psychosomatic concept of mistrust in Q’anjob’al Maya divination. For this purpose, I have reanalyzed the analytical (scientific) and Q’anjob’al native concepts of mistrust. One consultation documents the diviner as a legal counselor with regard to land inheritance and land rights. I analyze the folk theory of counseling. The concept of reconciliation is explicated and the distribution of the different therapeutic features within the published record of the various consultations is presented.

The following five chapters deal with selected systematic aspects of divination and consultation.

Chapter 6 presents an analysis of the reinforcement of social identity and social control within the context of divinations and consultations. Different theoretical concepts and models of identity are outlined and contribute to the theoretical and functional understanding of identity. Religious conversion, working abroad, serving in the army are highlighted as problems of identity management. Social control is interpreted as being monitored by a cognitive map. The diviner’s self-interpretation serves as an example of the description of a personal and social role identity. A model of giving up one’s traditional Q’anjob’al Maya identity is presented together with a contrast model of resistance, maintenance and conservation.

In Chapter 7, I try to put into order the central cultural aspects of subjective life, as observed in corresponding divination cases, in terms of *existential domains*. Different concepts and models of existence are outlined and cover the mental aspect, in comparison, or rather, in contrast to the ecospatial, physiological, sociodemographic and societal variables; e.g., illness and death, life cycle events (*rites de passage*), work, forced military conscription, marital problems and separation, black magic, etc., are documented and analyzed.

Chapter 8 contains a complete case, analyzed in terms of the Developmental Sequence as the diviner’s and client’s procedural unfolding of the stages of problem development and resolution, including therapeutic proposals. The case itself focuses on illness and embodies unique and recurrent themes and features.

Chapter 9 presents data on the learning of how to participate in a consultation (and, together with data from other Chapters, of how to divine). Two

model dialogs in which the diviner assumes the roles of diviner and client are presented, together with a semi-artificial divination session in which the diviner's granddaughter is instructed on how to ask for a consultation and actually serves as a client. In order to make a film of a divination, I suggested the participation of the diviner's granddaughter and asked for her help. This text is the translated transcript of this *film* of this rather short but serious session.

Chapter 10 provides a theoretical framework, detailing cognitive, psychotropic, heuristic, procedural, therapeutic and communicative aspects. Consciousness and sources of information are aspects covered in the theoretical discussions. A theory of social control by divination is spelled out, as is a folk theory of behavior and beliefs associated with these divinations and consultations. The latter details concepts of locality, causality and norms. The reader is referred to schema theories of knowledge and action. At the center of attention is my outline of a theory of the emergence of ideas (or keywords) as a goal-directed process, potentially underlying thought formation in divination. I present a short discussion of Maroney's "Theory of Divination", and finally a statement on the 'anthropology of reconciliation' starting with a reference to reconciliation as an 'African social technology of shared and recognised humanity' reported by Wim van Binsbergen.

Several *Appendices* document, among other things, statistics on social demography (taken from the National Census of 1981) and subsistence economy (a detailed microcensus of 15 informants), and in-depth interviews with the diviner himself on the life cycle (*rites de passage*), social structure, some beliefs and concepts and his own biography. These appendices support Ch. D on the ethnographic context, and Chs. E, 1, 4, 5, 6 and 7.

The *photographic documentation* consists of 40 color plates which are thematically arranged (e.g., village/ecology, traditional customs and rituals, ceremony for the holy bundle (*Ordenanza*), agents of socialization and identity expression, hypothetical divinatory layouts, and real divinations and interpretations with clients).

B. THE 260-DAY CALENDAR IN MESOAMERICA: DIVINATION AS A FOLK THEORY OF ACTION

B.1 The 260-day calendar, a cultural trait co-defining Mesoamerica

Kirchhoff (1960, originally 1943) defined the old cultural area of Mexico and Central America in which complex (i.e. state) societies have developed in terms of shared cultural traits. These traits are considered to be characteristic and diagnostic, leading to coherent cultural structures. Kirchhoff called this cultural area ‘Mesoamerica’. Agricultural knowledge, methods and cultigens as well as calendars form part of these cultural structures (cf Kirchhoff 1960:8-9). The calendars, both the agricultural 365-day year and the divinatory 260-day period, lead to further temporal cycles if combined and considered together. Astronomical, religious and other ideological aspects were bound to these calendars and the roles of the calendar specialists (i.e. priests, diviners, etc.). The agricultural year serves, inter alia, to start the sowing of maize and to constitute the cycle of monthly public ceremonies which are bound to certain dates. The divination cycle serves, inter alia, the solution of private or individual problems and critical situations. This 260-day cycle might actually have originated in numerical speculations based upon the period of pregnancy (cf Schultze Jena 1933:38). The two calendars form the backbone of structuring (1) community (or state) institutions and the roles attached to them, (2) beliefs, rituals and other actions, including the concern for (several) “basic needs”.

B.1.1 The structure of the calendars

The 260-day calendar is formed by the combination of two cycles which are counted indefinitely in time:

- (a) The numbers (or numerical coefficients) 1-13.
- (b) An ordered list of day names (referred to as I-XX in the literature on the subject).

An actual day is referred to according to the formula:

Number + day name = date (of the 260-day period)

According to my interview data which are not completely free from contradictions, it is not clear if there is a fixed starting point of the 260-day cycle or the ordered list of day names. ‘*1 Watan*’ was mentioned once as a starting point. However, the expression ‘*Oxlajun Winaq*’ (= ‘260 days’) seems to point to a fixed date in the sequence of the 260-day cycles. I hypothesize that this date is the day ‘*13 Ajaw*’, the *completion* of the 260-day

period. The rule of this day (actually *12 Kaq*, the day of the ceremony for the holy bundle and for the *Alcalde* day *13 Ajaw*, implying the idea of the vesper or eventide) had started on the day of death of Mateo Raymundo Velásquez – the cross on his grave bears the inscription “cumplió nueve meses” (‘he completed or served 9 months’). ‘Nueve meses’ can be the translation of ‘*Oxlajun Winaq*’. As far as I remember, this term was used by Don Mateo to refer to October 8 and 9 when we made arrangements for a special visit. Barbara Tedlock’s (1982: 93ff) discussion is of special importance in this context. I have started the table with the name ‘*Imox*’ (cf Chapter 2, Table 1), and I am aware of the fact that this is more of an analytical characterization following pre-Hispanic sources. But note that a different name for *Oxlajun Winaq* seems to be ‘*k’exwal*’, the ‘turning day’, a fit reference to the completion of the 260-day period; cf D.3.3).

The 365-day calendar is formed by combining the *numbers* 1-20 with so-called *month names* (I-XVIII); five additional names, “unnamed”, make up for the rest of the 365-day year. This 5-day period is called ‘*nemontemi*’ (= ‘the idle/superfluous ones [i.e., days]’) in Aztec and ‘*oyeb’ k’u*’ (= ‘five days’) in Q’anjob’al. These days might be counted, but not named (They are, of course, named according to the 260-day calendar).

Number + month name = date (of the 365-day year)

The combination of the 260-day count with the 365-day count leads to 4 possible day names in the fixed list of the 260-day calendar (n=20 items in the list of the 260-day calendar; a leftover of 5 days on the 365-day count: $20:5=4$) by which the 365-day year can begin. These four day names are called ‘*Alcaldes*’ or ‘*Alcalde days*’ or ‘*year-bearer days*’. These 4 year-bearer day names combine with the numerical coefficients of 1 – 13. Thus, a new cycle, comprised of 52 years, is formed:

Number + year-bearer day name (i.e. 1st day of a year) = year within the 52 year cycle

LaFarge (1931:177) describes the ceremony for the year bearer, i.e. for the first day of the year, in Jacaltenango. This ceremony is to be distinguished from the *Ordenanza* ceremonies in San Juan Ixcoy.

In Mesoamerica, the *Alcalde* days might differ from subarea to subarea. The overall count, nevertheless, seems to be identical. See S. Miles in B.4. In the Q’anjob’al area there is a fifth *Alcalde* day called ‘*Ajaw*’. This is not a year-bearer day, but ceremonies for the holy bundle (*Ordenanza*) in San Juan Ixcoy take place (on the preceding day ‘*Kaq*’).

There are “glyphs” or signs in the pre-Hispanic record for the different components of the dates (within the 260-day as well as the 365-day count).

An overview of Mesoamerican calendrical systems has been published by Munro S. Edmonson (1988).

B.2 Archaeological evidence: ancient Zapotecs, classic Maya and their predecessors

Early archaeological evidence concerning the 365-day and the 260-day years date back, at least, to Monte Albán I (600 B.C.) in the Zapotec area (Marcus; Caso 1928, 1967, etc.). According to excavations made by K. Flannery’s team in San José Mogote, the 260-day calendar might have been in use even longer¹. There is a good chance that the calendars date back to early Olmec times (1200-900 B.C.). Massive preservation of classic Maya inscriptions and precursors in Izapa, Kaminaljuyú and Abaj Takalik document the calendars as prominent cultural traits in the Guatemalan lowlands and highlands. The archaeological record (including Aztec, Zapotec, Mixtec and Maya regions) is unbroken up to the Spanish conquest.

B.3 Ethnohistorical sources

The most comprehensive ethnohistorical sources on the *beliefs and functions* of the 260-day calendar as well as on the 365-day year are the *Aztec texts* collected by Fray Bernardino de Sahagun in the 16th century. The texts document the 260-day calendar in the *context* of considering the fate of the newborn child (thus pointing to the pregnancy period [272/273 days] as a possible origin of this 260-day period). The reader is referred to my book on the “Analysis of Aztec systems of thought: Beliefs in divination and educational norms as an everyday life theory of social action” (Hinz 1978, in German). The source gives stereotypical predictions covering the content domains of cultural interest. Sahagun’s texts cover the contexts of beliefs (especially on the concepts of destiny and educational norms), motivations, and ritual actions or interventions (e.g. ritual washings at birth).

¹ J. Marcus & K.V. Flannery 1996:159: “The day-name ‘1 Earthquake’ in Monument 3 at San José Mogote reveals that the *piye* was in use by 700-500 B.C. Our sample of hieroglyphic inscriptions from Monte Albán I is larger, and the 365-day *yza* seems to have been present as well.” Cf Joyce Marcus, “Topic 23: The First Appearance of Zapotec Writing and Calendars”, in: K.V. Flannery & J. Marcus 1983:91-96. Terminology: *piye* (260-day period), *cocijo/pitao* (65-day period), *cocii* (13-day period), *chij* (day of the 260-day calendar); *yza* (365-day year). “As Caso noted (1947:9), the writing of Monte Albán I is the most ancient that has appeared in Mesoamerica” (p.95).

A few *pictorial divination manuscripts* (Aztec and probably Mixtec or Zapotec, both pre-Hispanic and early colonial) have been preserved (cf Nowotny 1961). These manuscripts represent prognostic or interpretative tables in hieroglyphic or iconographic form.

Special documentation is available for the lowland Maya of Yucatan and adjacent areas: three (or perhaps four) Maya hieroglyphic codices with astronomical and calendrical prognostics (editions: for example, ADEVA Graz; Knorozov (ed), vol. I-III, 1998 [Universidad de Yucatan]) and a colonial text written in Yucatec Maya with Latin letters, the Chilam Balam of Kaua, a compilation of predictions (Miram & Miram 1988, Miram et al 2002).

The discovery of summary divination manuscripts written in Zapotec and Mixe in the Archivo General de las Indias in Seville, Spain, is a highlight². A 260-day calendar in Quiché has been edited and translated by Edmonson (1997).

B.4 Ethnographic evidence: survival theories, functions, cognitive & social contexts

Suzanna Miles (1952:273-284) presented a geographical and ethnographical distribution of the 260-day and 365-day calendars in the 20th century. She distinguished between three types:

Type A calendars “are defined by the year bearers [resulting from the combination of the two following calendars and representing the first day of the 365-day year, E.H.], the 365-day year with eighteen cycles [so-called ‘months’ or ‘*uinal*’ (Yucatec), E.H.] of twenty named days and a five-day terminal period, and by the *tzolkin* [=the 260-day calendar, E.H.] and its elements, the twenty named days [I-XX] and the thirteen numbers” (p. 273). S. Miles included San Juan Ixcuy in her listing, but noting the “attenuated structural status” of the ‘*uinal*’ terms. Type A exists in Ixil-, Mam-, Q’anjob’al-, Akateko-, Jakalteko- (Popti’-), and Chuj-speaking towns of the Altos Cuchumatanes. Some of these towns have *Alcaldes Re-zadores* and are religiously dependent upon Santa Eulalia and its cave oracle. The period of office starts on the New Year of the Gregorian calendar. The diviners in the Ixil area are said to come together on New Year at Juil, an ancient Maya ruin in Chajul.

Type B calendars are defined by “the count of the 260-day *tzolkin* round, the permutation of the twenty named days and the thirteen numbers”. Type B persists in Quiché- and Cakchiquel-speaking towns in Guatemala.

² Cf Cristina Zilbermann (t esis de licenciatura, Sevilla); and Jos  Alcina Franch 1966:119ff. Cf Gonz lo de Balsalobre for the 17th century (*costumbres* in San Miguel Sola, Oaxaca).

Type C “is defined by the retention of the 365-day year with eighteen named *uinals* and the five-day terminal period. The 260-day period is lost. This type is confined to Mexico (Tzotzil, Tzeltal, Mazatec, Chinantec speaking townships)”; it might include Zapotec (?).

Miles (p.280) pointed to the year-bearer style: “The Ixil, Mam, and Po-konchi have preserved the Old Empire pattern of *Ik, Queh, E, and Noh*, while the [Codex] Dresden year bearers – *Watan, Lambat, Ben* and *Tcinac* [= *Chinax*] – are retained by the Chuj and Jacalteca [and Q’anjob’al and Akateko, E.H.]” Despite the different year bearers, the counts correlate perfectly among each other. The **correlation** “proclaims the unbroken continuity of the *tzolkin* count” (Miles, p.282). The year-bearer days in the Ixil area are the 2nd, 7th, 12th, 17th days, and in the Q’anjob’al and Jakalteko area the 3rd, 8th, 13th and 18th days. Thus, according to my (E.H.) calculations, the Maya Indian new year should have started in 1981 on March 1 = 8 *Iiq*’ in the Ixil area [= 8 *Iq*’ in the Q’anjob’al language], on March 2 = 9 *Watan* in the Q’anjob’al area. My calculations are based upon ethnographic literature (LaFarge & Byers 1931; LaFarge 1947; Colby & van den Bergh 1969; Colby & Colby 1981) and coincided with my interview and observation data in San Juan Ixcay.

This means that since LaFarge’s fieldwork during 1931 in Santa Eulalia and 1927 in Jacaltenango, the 260-day cycles and 365-day cycles proceeded without any leap-day for over more than 52 years. This unbroken oral tradition is a fact. It does not explain all Mesoamerican calendrical practices in pre- and post-conquest times, but it has to be taken into consideration.

Suzanne Miles (p.282) points to the functions of the 260-day calendar: “Through individual consultation of the shamans, the auspices and authority of the lords of the days and numbers direct economic enterprise, designate the days of agricultural labor, and control life-crises. According to the favor of the days, land is purchased, sales made in the market and profit accrued. The day lords designate the times for planting and harvest. The lords of the days can maintain health and foretell illness or death; betrothal and marriage are guided by the disposition of the days; and obligations to the dead are fulfilled on days affiliated with the souls of the ancestors.” Miles summarizes (p.283): “In some towns the recurrence of the year bearer is marked by the burning of candles, prayer and offerings, and interfamilial confession.” Note the reference to *interfamilial confession*!

Manning Nash (1957:149-55) regroups the Suzanne Miles types into two different regional types, reconsidering the three conceptual categories ‘culture’, ‘society’, and ‘individual’ (p.149). Nash lumps Types A and C together as Region I and contrasts it with Region II (Type B). He points out a

systematic difference in the social and religious organizations in Regions I and II. Thus, a diviner (termed ‘shaman’ by Nash) in Cantel is called into his profession by a private dream. Diviners in Cantel do not form part of the formal civil or religious organization of the community; they do not have a calendar specialist in the hierarchy of offices. The diviner is exclusively an expert for the individual client and his needs, but not for the community.

Santa Eulalia, a Q’anjob’al-speaking town, has a civil-religious hierarchy (which by now is divided into politico-civic and religious functions as in San Juan Ixcoy, possibly a consequence of the *Intendente* system under ex-President Ubico). It centers “about the use of the larger calendrical units [i.e., in conjunction with the 365-day year, E.H.] as well as the divinatory cycle... In this hierarchy is included a soothsayer... The position of the soothsayer is that of adviser and consultant for the body of Prayermakers who head the organization. The calendar expert is appointed for life by the elders of the community. He is a full-time specialist in the use of calendar knowledge and ritual. The post is one of social honor and esteem, as well as one of temporal power... The role... includes important public duties... the setting of dates for important community ritual observances depends upon the calculations of the soothsayer” (p.154).

Nash who has reanalyzed La Farge’s Santa Eulalia data (1947) summarizes (p.155): “Where the calendar expert is part of the formal religious and civil organizations there are one or another of the larger chronological units [involving the 365-day year], and where he is not, only the reduced divinatory cycle is found.”

Meanwhile a reduction of the list of months of the 365-day Maya Indian year seems to have taken place in San Juan Ixcoy as well as in Santa Eulalia. I myself recorded five times a list of ± 12 Maya Indian month names in San Juan Ixcoy (cf App. IV.a). The Instituto Indigenista Nacional group of Q’anjob’al Maya Indians organized by Shelton Davis (1968) document a similar reduced listing for Santa Eulalia, probably intended to reconcile the 365-day and the 260-day years. The 365-day year is celebrated in accord with the Gregorian calendar. **Franz Termer** (1930:391) was obviously still able to document a (nearly) complete list in Santa Eulalia, with 17 (of 18) months and the *oyeb’ k’u* (the five “idle” days; cf Thompson 1950[1st ed]:106, Table 6).

Leonhardt Schultze Jena (1933) documents the observation but not the verbal recording of a real divination, especially the observational data for the counts. Schultze Jena refers to the different types of prayers and to the pragmatic context of the beliefs and procedures involving the deity (e.g., accepting or rejecting the offering of reconciliation). His analytical notes concerning the meaning of the 260-day calendar are elucidating (for instance, 1933:38).

Oliver LaFarge (1931 [& Byers]: Jacaltenango; 1947: Santa Eulalia): Of special interest are the data on prayermakers, diviners, divinations, calendars and the ritual context of festivities, etc. Both monographs document LaFarge's very fine and thorough fieldwork. The significance of his calendrical and divinatory data has already been highlighted in the paragraphs discussing S. Miles and M. Nash. His data on the *Ordenanza* [cult], though not forming the central part of his ethnography, are elucidating and remain outstanding.

Jackson Stewart Lincoln (Ms. 1945; 1942), who unfortunately died during his fieldwork, documents in his field notes his intensive and thorough research with regard to the Ixil diviners and calendars.

Morris Siegel & Francis X. Grolig, S.J. (1938-39; 1959): **Fernando Peñaloso** edited the works of two very different anthropologists on San Miguel Acatán, an Akateko-speaking town in the Q'anjob'al area. Both contribute significant data on the role of the religious mayor (*Alcalde Re-zador*) as well as many observations on aspects of customs, rituals and beliefs (*costumbres*). The thesis written by **Rosalva A. Hernández Castillo** contains many valuable details on the traditional *costumbres* of refugees from the Akateko area, including an attempt to understand the divinatory calendar in terms of the literature available.

Benjamin Nick Colby & Lore Colby (1981): Colby's & Colby's book presents the autobiography of an Ixil diviner, narrated to a young Ixil Maya lady with details of his dreamings and his call to office. A chapter on the philosophy of this diviner is a conceptually dense text on behavioral norms and beliefs. A chapter on Ixil narratives gives new insights into this type of fantasy production and spells out a theoretical model. The study on Ixil Maya divinations is based upon hypothetical (artificial) divinations and presents a formal model of divination which is conceptual and general. The text is both a unique *verbatim* documentation of the diviner's mind and an attempt at an analytical understanding in terms of theoretical anthropology. The Colbys themselves point to the 'psychoanalysis-like' process between diviner and client. Cf also Colby & Colby 1981:155 ("ritual therapy"). At one point they mention the concept of 'two hearts', probably the equivalent of the Q'anjob'al concept of "two stomachs (*kab'k'ulal*)". Like Tedlock's book, the Colbys' publication is a most welcome contribution to the study of Mesoamerican divination as well as to the anthropology of divination.

Barbara Tedlock (1982): B. Tedlock's monograph (originally her Ph.D. dissertation) details the organizational and professional context of diviners in Momostenango, a Quiché-speaking town in the highlands of Guatemala. Consequently, she gives unique information on role, recruiting and training processes as well as on the initiation of future diviners. Her report on the

days of the 260-day calendar specifies rules, especially mnemonic rules, which refer to meaning associations. All these data are very valuable and yield new insights. The chapter on the ‘speaking of the blood’ gives information on “pulsing”, i.e. blood flow as a signaling system as well as the mapping of semantics onto the human body, i.e. localization, meaning association and blood pulsing. One could say that my study complements Tedlock’s: she presents background information and details rules of interpretation, whereas I have real cases or sessions of divination and model dialogs which cover the conversational and conceptual aspect.

Eike Hinz (1984, Vol. 34/No.2:162-183) details his research program on Q’anjob’al Maya divination and ethnopsychotherapy. Some transcriptions of the Q’anjob’al texts (and the corresponding translations) are not without mistakes and are to be replaced by the 1991 edition. This edition comprises 12 complete divination-consultations (+ 1 fragment) and some in-depth interviews [Hinz 1991; Vol.1: Deutsch (German translation); Vol.2: Kanjobal (transcript of the Q’anjob’al text)]. The edition includes model dialogs, a short autobiographic fragment on the diviner’s call to office, and observational data of the divination counts, of two or three ‘open declarations’ within the family of the diviner, and of the so-called *Ordenanza* ceremony for the holy bundle which is analyzed and described in this book (Ch. E). The edition has an overview and an introduction to the concepts and the terminology used in the texts. The edition demonstrates the *functional contexts* of the divinations and consultations, their significance in daily life, and forms one of the bases of the present book.– Cf Ch. C.

Frank J. Lipp (1983) did fieldwork among a Mixe group in Southern Mexico. Ch. 4 deals with the ‘Calendrical system’, Ch. 5 with ‘Ritual behavior’. “Ritual calendar days change at midday” (p. 62). The book contributes to Mesoamerican anthropology, especially, concerning calendrical systems.

Roberto Weitlaner & Gabriel de Cicco (1962:695ff) report on their fieldwork among the Zapotecs in Oaxaca, Mexico, detailing valuable information on the calendar and on deities.

Maud Oakes (1951), “The two crosses of Todos Santos. Survivals of Maya religious ritual” (=Bollingen Series XXVII), Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, has some information on the *Alcalde Rezador* (inauguration ceremony) (p.55ff), a *caja real* (p.66ff), the new year ceremony and the systems of divinatory counts (178ff). Her historic reconstructions should be treated with caution. Answering a corresponding question put by the *Alcalde Rezador*, she considers some diviners as *brujos* (sorcerers; witch doctors). Todos Santos is a neighboring town of San Juan Ixcuy.

B.5 The Mesoamerican calendars as systematizations

Especially the 260-day calendar and the system of divinations attached to it constitute a “*pre-scientific theory of the order of life and the world*”. As a mental systematization, this theory is one of the great accomplishments of the early complex societies or horizons of civilization. The contents of this theory are comprised of ‘naive’ behavior and ethics, decision-making, and existence as a view of destiny, individual development and future; furthermore, of personality type and – in the documented Aztec case – of class structure (This is probably not the case among the Q’anjob’al as studied by me.). The “theory” is made up of temporal structures, of semantic associations and inferences and of behavioral or existential correlates. Components of identity and its reinforcement are highlighted in the old Aztec texts as well as in the Q’anjob’al consultations. This “grand theory” might be compared to the ancient Chinese I-Ging (an oracle “book of [individual or social] changes” dating from the Shan period, a horizon of early state formation).

Actually, the belief systems attached to the calendrical system(s) might be quite different and might *support quite different social functions*. The Q’anjob’al and the Aztec cases bring out this fact.

B.6 The Aztec case (Sahagun)

I hypothesized on the basis of the analysis of Sahagun’s Book IV, written in the Aztec language, that there are two basic prognostic models involved in the Aztec texts (cf Hinz 1978; Hinz 1980).

(1) With two explicit exceptions, the behavior of the person concerned is considered as being decisive for that individual’s future. What are the characteristics of this behavior? In short, to heed the admonitions of the old people and to show humility towards the deity. This implies that fortune is brought about by one’s own accomplishments and by one’s own actions in accord with these norms. Misfortune is, then, thought to be brought about on the basis of one’s own inconsiderateness and laziness.

(2) In two cases, we learn that nothing can be done against foredoomed destiny, i.e., that the person concerned can do nothing against his / her fate.

We are thus dealing with two *folk* (‘naive’) *theoretical models*: (a) the tenet of self-determination, and (b) the tenet of heteronomy (hetero-determination).

The most radical use of these two tenets in a hypothetical, but *identical*, case is presented in the so-called Aztec confession (Sahagun, Book VI, Ch. 7)³:

In the address to the confessing client, the diviner emphasizes the fact that the client had been born under prosperous circumstances and that he himself is responsible exclusively for his misfortune. Aztec text: “For you were good, you were upright, when you were sent here, when your mother, your father *Quetzalcoatl* (deity of creation) made you, created you (...) And really due to your own fault, are you rolling in dirt, are you dishonoring yourself...” In the prayer directed to the deity, the diviner points out that the same client had been born under an unpropitious day and that he is not to be held responsible for his wrongdoings. Aztec text: “In no way did he (the client) act like a free human being, whatever he did, whatever he committed: for it was determined for him as (his) destiny”. The two tenets, appearing as contradictory, fit a consistent motivational *speech act* pattern: to *increase self-responsibility and* to relieve or, even, *exonerate* the person concerned. Similar beliefs are used as “legends of legitimization” in public political discourse (e.g., to justify the high political status, or to exonerate oneself from possible public wrong action).

These beliefs serve the strife for achievement, prestige and property. They subserve self-justification and self-interpretation.

In my article (Hinz 1980), I pointed out some theoretical considerations concerning the social impact of the 260-day calendar (among the Aztecs) and the beliefs attached to its use:

1. Risks and chance-determined everyday life now appear as reasonable.
2. The beliefs help to socialize Man into the system of cultural values and norms.
3. They explain and justify the individual and social differences among human beings. In my opinion, they contribute to the legitimizing of social order by means of conceptualizing this social order as part of a cosmological order which is, to a large degree, removed from any human influence.
4. They project an image of Man whose feeling is seen, accordingly, as being heavily individualized. I hypothesize that contradictory tendencies within Aztec society emerge here: self-responsibility and the personal initiative of the individual are emphasized, but on the other hand, the prede-

³ The Aztec “confession” is very different from the Q’anjob’al “confession” or, rather, open declaration. The main differences are: The Aztec confession is done only once during one’s life. The confession is made by the penitent to the central deity called *Tezcatlipoca*, with no other person being present. Separately, a prayer is spoken to *Tezcatlipoca* by the diviner, and the diviner admonishes the penitent. See Hinz 1978.

termination of a certain social order which cannot be changed is made plausible.

5. The tenet of the heteronomy of Man interprets Man's feelings or situation as a divine, impersonal decision, not as a heteronomy exercised by other human beings.

6. The belief system as outlined, according to which the situation of Man is individualized, might contribute to a decrease in the action of support and in the affective affiliation of fellow human beings. The question is raised if, in terms of such belief systems of interpretation, the solidarity behavior of people in similar or dissimilar situations is prevented.

7. In counseling by the diviner, the client is relieved from his everyday needs, or is, at least, comforted. That is, the client's mental balance is thus maintained or restored. Events such as these are assumed to have contributed to the integration of Aztec society.

B.7 The Q'anjob'al case

The colonial situation in Spanish America created cultural suppression (mental penetration and dominance) and social oppression (marginalization and exploitation) in terms of missionary activities, tax and disease burdens, land robbery and forced labor. Diviners and their organizations managed to go underground and resist cultural and ethnic deprivation and alienation with regard to social customs, institutions, style of life, language and ideology. Marginalization and fragmentation (cf Galtung 1980/V:406) were partially circumvented. The vestiges of this period in the Q'anjob'al area may be seen in the Spanish loanwords which became central religious terms in Maya syncretistic religion, as a camouflage (e.g., *ora* = calendar day [lit. 'hour'], *Ordenanza* = holy bundle [lit. 'decree']; cf. E.6). The cult of the holy bundle (*Ordenanza*) binds several structures together: the 260-day and the 365-day calendars, the political-administrative offices and the religious roles or offices (*cofradía*). See Ch. E.10.

Destiny seems to be conceived as being individualized (cf Ch. 1.6); no explicit social class categorization is present in the data I have collected.

The concept of "fault" (cf Ch. 1.3), of "mistrust" or "aversion/mental reservation" (Q'anj. *kab'k'ulal*; cf Ch. 1.4) as well as of "illness" (Q'anj. *cham justisya*; cf Ch. 1.5) are possibly peculiar for Q'anjobal culture (but cf Colby & Colby in Ch. B.4). A *psychosomatic theory* of illness and of mistrust and an attached *psychosociotherapy* of "confession", or, rather, open declaration, are at the center of Q'anjob'al Maya divination.

Local autonomy, self-determination and identity continue to be challenged, but might also find new channels or forms of expression and organization.

B.8 On the functions of the 260-day calendar in early Mesoamerican cultural history

We distinguish between (1) the calendrical structure and meaning associations of the day names of the 260-day calendar, (2) beliefs attached to the 260-day calendar and its use, (3) domains of application of the 260-day calendar, (4) effects of the different components just mentioned on social behavior.

We can ask some questions with regard to Mesoamerican cultural history.

1. Does this divination calendar point to the emergence of identity patterns according to which human beings conceive themselves as individuals and their fate as individual destiny?

2. By means of using this calendar, do those parts of the kinship system disappear which are incompatible with the emergence of new patterns of rule and power and of new social roles which are to be assumed in the emergence of the pristine state societies?

I assume that the *development of complex societies* in Mesoamerica required the explanation of *new forms of socialization and social statuses*. The concepts of “destiny” (or “fortune and misfortune”), of personalized powers (e.g., days as deities), of existential needs and uncertainties are all blended into this “grand theory” of the 260-day calendar of divination. *Kinship solidarity (and reciprocity) is no longer a unifying social trait, but is replaced by a belief system which explains social differences in terms of characteristics of birth.* In the pre-Hispanic horizons, with their state or chiefdom societies, the 260-day calendar and the related belief systems support the concept of Man as serving and being dependent upon the gods, the distinction of rulers and subjects, of landowners and farmhands.

B.9 Addendum: A tabulation of day names in the 260-day calendars of some different language areas

The following table summarizes some data as given by Edmonson (1988). My selection is based upon the criteria of (1) ethnohistorical documentation and semantic clarity (e.g., Náhuatl = Aztec), (2) hypothesized antiquity (e.g., Zapotec), (3) relevance to classic Maya inscriptions (Chol, Yucatec). The Kanjobal (Q’anjob’al, Kanhobal) names are taken from LaFarge 1947:164; the Náhuatl forms follow Sahagun (mid-16th century). See the

Notes for the Valley Zapotec, the Quiché, the Yucatec and the Chol data. The reader might find Edmonson's book which also deals with other calendar structures quite useful. The difference between independent report and reconstruction using other (e.g., historical) sources is sometimes difficult to establish. The same holds for some archaeological data and their interpretations.

In general, the common historic origin of the Great Tradition of the 260-day calendar can be inferred, in the well-documented *diagnostic* case (Náhuatl), from [the comparative similarity of] the meaning, and, with regard to Maya languages, from [the comparative similarity of] the *phonetic* forms. Note that the orthography of the different authors has been adhered to largely.

Table 1 supplements the different reports and discussions in this chapter. At least the Q'anjob'al *translations* as derived from LaFarge 1947 are questionable in many cases and are obviously inferred and *reconstructed* by LaFarge from other, for instance, ethnohistorical sources of other regions and linguistic areas, e.g. from Yucatan [* = confirmed by dictionary entries and their translations in: Dicc. Q'anj. 1996]. Thus, LaFarge is an effort to retrieve the historic etymology and is not an independently interpreted source, based on Q'anjob'al informants. See Ch. 2 for the *standardized* Q'anjob'al transcription and the associated meanings (which are based on folk etymology and, thus, differ from historical etymology).

Day	Kanjobal Day name (<i>Meaning</i>) Edmonson 190) See Ch.2.2	Náhuatl (=Aztec) Day name (<i>Meaning</i>)	Zapotec (Valley) ⁴ Day name (<i>Meaning</i>) Edmonson 273	Quiché ⁵ Day name (<i>Meaning</i>) Edmonson 236	Yucatec ⁶ Day name (<i>Meaning</i>) Edmonson 247	Chol ⁷ Day name (<i>Meaning</i>) Edmonson 153

⁴ J. de Córdova [1578]: "Vocabulario en lengua zapoteca", México 1578: Pedro Charle y Antonio Ricardo (Reprint: 1942). "Arte de la lengua zapoteca", México 1578: Pedro Balli (Reprint: Morelia 1883) [*contains a description of divination procedures*].

⁵ Ximénez [1720]: "Historia de la provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala de la Orden de Predicadores" (Reprint: Biblioteca Goathemala, 3 vols., Guatemala 1929-31; I:119-120).

⁶ Diego de Landa [mid-16th century] (e.g., Alfred Tozzer [ed.], "Landa's Relación de las cosas de Yucatán", Washington 1941: Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publ.).

⁷ Lyle Campbell 1979: "Yajalón Libro de Bautismos y Casamientos 1554-1568", according to Edmonson; Lawrence H. Feldman 1983: "The structure of Cholan and Mayan surnames in sixteenth and seventeenth century manuscripts" (in: *Mexicon* 5(3):46-53, 1983).

Day	Kanjobal	Náhuatl	Zapotec	Quiché	Yucatec	Chol
a. I	Imux (<i>alligator</i>)	Cipactli (<i>alligator</i>)	Chi (<i>day</i>)	Imox (<i>alligator</i>)	Imix (<i>alligator</i>)	Imox (<i>alligator</i>)
b. II	Ik' (<i>wind</i>)	Ehecatl (<i>wind</i>)	Pèe (<i>wind</i>)	Ic (<i>wind</i>)	Ik (<i>wind</i>)	Ik (<i>wind</i>)
c. III	Watan (?)	Calli (<i>house</i>)	Quéela (<i>night</i>)	Acbal (<i>night</i>)	Akbal (<i>night</i>)	Votan (<i>grain</i>)
d. IV	Kana' (?)	Cuetzpallin (<i>lizard</i>)	Yàce (<i>black</i>)	Cat (<i>lizard</i>)	Kan (<i>iguana</i>)	Canan (<i>iguana</i>)
e. V	Abak (<i>soot</i>)	Coatl (<i>serpent</i>)	Pèlla (<i>snake</i>)	Can (<i>serpent</i>)	Chicchan (<i>serpent</i>)	Chacchan (<i>serpent</i>)
f. VI	Tox (<i>death</i>)	Miquiztli (<i>death</i>)	Quiqueni (<i>head</i>)	Camey (<i>death</i>)	Cimi (<i>death</i>)	Tox (<i>death</i>)
g. VII	Cheh* (<i>deer</i>)	Mazatl (<i>deer</i>)	Chìna (<i>deer</i>)	Queh (<i>deer</i>)	Manik (<i>deer</i>)	Cuc (<i>quetzal</i>)
h. VIII	Lambat (?)	Tochtli (<i>rabbit</i>)	Pèela (<i>rabbit</i>)	Canel (<i>rabbit</i>)	Lamat (<i>rabbit</i>)	Lambat (<i>rabbit</i>)
i. IX	Mulu' (<i>rain</i>)	Atl (<i>water</i>)	Niça (<i>water</i>)	Toh (<i>rainstorm</i>)	Muluc (<i>rain</i>)	Mulu' (<i>rain</i>)
j. X	Elab (<i>dog</i>)	Itzcuintli (<i>dog</i>)	Tella (<i>dog</i>)	Tzi (<i>dog</i>)	Oc (<i>foot</i>)	Oc (<i>foot</i>)
k. XI	Bats* (<i>monkey</i>)	Ozomatli (<i>monkey</i>)	Pilloo (<i>monkey</i>)	Batz (<i>monkey</i>)	Chuen (<i>monkey</i>)	Batz' (<i>howler</i> [<i>monkey</i>])
l. XII	Eyuup (<i>tooth</i>)	Malinalli (<i>grass</i>)	Piy (<i>sun</i>)	Ei (<i>tooth</i>)	Eb (<i>tooth</i>)	Eb (<i>tooth</i>)
m. XIII	Ben (<i>cane</i>)	Acatl (<i>cane</i>)	Quij (<i>cane</i>)	Ah (<i>cane</i>)	Ben (<i>cane</i>)	Bin (<i>cane</i>)
n. XIV	Ix (<i>jaguar</i>)	Ocelotl (<i>ocelot</i>)	Pèche (<i>jaguar</i>)	Ix, Balam (<i>jaguar</i>)	Ix (<i>jaguar</i>)	Ix (<i>jaguar</i>)
o. XV	Tsikin* (<i>bird</i>)	Quauhtli (<i>eagle</i>)	Ñaa (<i>eagle</i>)	Tziquin (<i>bird</i>)	Men (<i>eagle</i>)	Men (<i>bird</i>)
p. XVI	Chabin (<i>spider</i> [<i>monkey</i>])	Cozca- quauhtli (<i>buzzard</i>)	Quilloo (<i>crow</i>)	Ahmac (<i>owl</i>)	Cib (<i>owl</i>)	Chibin (<i>spider</i> [<i>monkey</i>])
q. XVII	Kixkap* (<i>quake</i>)	Ollin (<i>movimien- to, quake</i>)	Tixòo (<i>quake</i>)	Noh (<i>incense</i>)	Caban (<i>quake</i>)	Cabnal (<i>quake</i>)
r. XVIII	Chinax (<i>flint</i>)	Tecpatl (<i>flint</i> [<i>knife</i>])	Gopa (<i>cold</i>)	Tihax (<i>flint</i>)	Etz'nab (<i>flint</i>)	Chaab (<i>obsidian</i>)
s. XIX	K'aq (<i>fire</i>); but see Ch.2.2	Quiahuitl (<i>rain</i>)	Gappe (<i>cloud</i>)	Caoc (<i>rain</i>)	Cauac (<i>storm</i>)	Chac (<i>storm</i>)
t. XX	Ahau* (<i>lord</i>)	Xochitl (<i>flower</i>)	Lào (<i>flower</i>)	Hunahpu (<i>hunter</i>)	Ahau (<i>lord</i>)	Ahau (<i>lord</i>)

**Table 1: Day names of the 260-day calendar
in different languages of Mesoamerica**

C. FIELDWORK IN SAN JUAN IXCOY (1980-86)

C.1 A challenge for traditionalists: missions and the Catholic church; medical service; primary education

In the northwestern highlands of Guatemala live Maya Indian groups among which diviners are still using the ancient 260-day calendar as in pre-Hispanic times, and are counseling their clients with regard to their daily life problems. In recent times, the influence of the Roman Catholic church has increased in this region, and a number of evangelical, fundamentalist groups is missionizing there as well. The value beliefs of the national state have become more effective among the traditional indigenous population as the schooling system is reinforced and extended in the region. The slow advances of the Western medical system in this region also seem to have had an effect on the traditional beliefs and behavioral attitudes of the Maya Indian population.

The roles of diviners and prayermakers as carriers of traditional knowledge as well as its credibility are challenged primarily by the new religious influences. Traditionally, everyday life conflicts and problems in this region were interpreted and resolved by these role carriers using their traditional knowledge. New organizations transmit different, partially contradictory norms, and socialize the Indian population of the region in question (e.g., by missionaries, priests, schools, etc.); their presence highlights the problem of possible changes in the social identity of the Maya Indians.

Thus, the starting point of my fieldwork project concerns: (1) the cultural knowledge by means of which Maya Indian diviners interpret and evaluate their clients' everyday life problems and prescribe their social action; (2) the situations in which the diviners mediate traditional knowledge – evaluations, norms and beliefs; (3) the measures by means of which the diviners try to control or are actually controlling the maintaining of social norms.

My first trip to San Juan Ixcoy took place in August 1977 when I checked it out for potential fieldwork. Observing open ceremonies during this very short stay contributed later to a decision in favor of that place.

C.2 Ethnographic fieldwork phases

C.2.0 Preparation in Germany (1979/80) and at the University of California at Irvine (mid-August – mid-October 1980)

My fieldwork preparation in Germany concerned the gathering of general and ethnographic information on Guatemala, especially on northwest Gua-

temala, on the calendar system and the acquisition of Jakalteko (=Popti') grammar, especially morphology, on the basis of Day's and Craig's works on the Jakalteko language.

Fieldwork was preceded by two months of special preparation by me and my then wife in UC Irvine (discussions with Benjamin N. Colby, Anthropology, who had worked on Maya divination in the Ixil area), involving library research on socialization and related topics. Visits to UC San Diego included discussions with Roy D'Andrade (Cognitive Anthropology), Aaron Cicourel (Cognitive Sociology) and Donald Norman (Cognitive Science) concerning the research design and the methodology to be utilized.

C.2.1 Preparation phase in Guatemala

It was not easy to find suitable field quarters in Ixcoy for the two couples, my then wife and myself, and the two psychologists with their baby who would join us later, in February 1981. In the second half of November 1980, we moved into very simple but well-protected quarters which, in terms of my research interests of working with traditionalists, had the disadvantage of being situated in an evangelical household. My then wife and I adapted ourselves carefully and cautiously to the town, with an extended phase of exclusive observation and participation. We introduced ourselves to the political mayor of the town and explained our project to him, showing our letters of recommendation extended by anthropological institutions in Guatemala. Contacts with the traditional religious hierarchy, especially with the religious mayor (*Alcalde Rezador*), were soon established. Already at the beginning of December, we were able to participate in a traditional ceremony. Our request to do research on traditional customs was received with good will.

At this time, I worked through the Q'anjob'al language course of the PLFM (Diego Antonio et al 1981) under a native language teacher of the "Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín (PLFM)" for 7 hours per day for one month. In this context, I compiled a vocabulary list (dialect of Santa Eulalia which shows only slight variations in comparison with the dialect of San Juan Ixcoy).

Later I elicited raw data for a grammar of Q'anjob'al on the basis of Craig's grammar of Jakalteko (Craig 1977), a neighboring, closely related language. Despite deviations, this turned out to be fruitful. But as this material was elicited from one native speaker only, it would be necessary to recheck it through a second native speaker.

Based on an outline provided by me, my consultant from Santa Eulalia wrote down a Q'anjob'al monograph on his home town, together with a

Spanish translation (Nicolás de Nicolás [Pedro], Hinz (ed.) 1990). This monograph contains, especially, information about the life cycle, seasonal rituals, social and economic structures. This monograph confirms several points in LaFarge's book on Santa Eulalia (LaFarge 1947), but, in part, goes far beyond it.

During the later phases of my fieldwork, I asked my consultant to excerpt the births and deaths in the registers of San Juan Ixcoy in 10-year periods for the first 70 years, and then later year for year. The archives had been burned up in 1898 during the massacre and then once again, by guerrillas, in 1982. In addition, I asked him to take an opportunistic (not representative) sample of 15 people and to conduct interviews based on a detailed questionnaire on economic behavior and structure [App. VIII/IX]. With this questionnaire I tried to capture some insights from Frank Cancian's study (1972). During our fieldwork, the national census was taken (in April of 1981), but we were discouraged by the mayor of the town to duplicate that work.

C.2.2 Crisis and building-trust phase (March - April 1981)

The surprisingly fast contact with the traditional hierarchy seemed, at first, to promise unimpeded work on the documentation of traditional beliefs and customs. It turned out very soon, however, that this was not the case. Requests to be allowed to film ceremonies were turned down at first. Also topic-centered interviews on traditional customs were evaded by our conversation partners. Participant observation was the only viable method left. The son of the religious mayor (*Alcalde Rezador*) of 1981 had promised in mid-January of 1981 to cooperate with me in the documentation of traditional customs and beliefs, that is by the end of February or by the beginning of March when we would return from a visit to the capital. This turned out to be a disaster. We had the misfortune that our return to San Juan Ixcoy at the beginning of March coincided with a missionary campaign of a protestant sect, directed by a Swiss-German. Because we had rented quarters in the evangelical eatery (*comedor*) in town, for lack of alternatives, which now was considered as the headquarters of this campaign, we were under temporary suspicion of being well-disguised missionaries. It took some time and a great deal of effort to dispel these suspicions, especially since both of our collaborators, about whom the traditional people still had to form an opinion, had now arrived.

In the following weeks, I succeeded in intensifying my contact with one of the highest-ranking diviners in San Juan Ixcoy and in motivating him to cooperate with me. He was Mateo Raymundo Velásquez.

C.2.3 First phase of cooperation with the diviner (May 1981)

Based on a pool of elaborated questions, I carried out a series of in-depth interviews with the diviner in Q'anjob'al. Because I barely understood the answers I had to rely on keywords in order to repeat or specify the questions, or continue in the interview schedule.

C.2.4 Second phase of cooperation with the diviner (June–July; end of August 1981)

During this phase I taped consultations and the divinations of the diviner using a cassette recorder. I carried out some special interviews or rather topic-oriented conversations concerning certain issues (e.g., cf Ch. 1.4.1).

By the end of August, I was able to tape approx. 37 complete (or nearly complete consultations of this soothsayer, and approx. 5 fragments (partially published in Hinz 1991/I+II).

Towards the end of July, I was able to film a short scene, namely the conversation of the diviner with a female client immediately before the divination in front of the diviner's house. Unfortunately I had to stop filming because of heavy rain. Towards the end of August, I filmed a complete consultation, together with the divinations, for the diviner's granddaughter. This film originated from my explicit request and details the instruction of the granddaughter about how to ask for a consultation. Under these conditions, it can be considered as authentic. Cf Ch. 9.3.

In July, after the psychologists had left us, I was allowed to participate in several ceremonies in the context of the tasks of the religious mayor and his ritual advisor and instructor, Don Mateo, the diviner. I took Polaroid photographs of the ceremonies for the cult of the *Ordenanza* (a holy bundle), recorded the prayers for it and made participant observations. See Part IV, PLATES 14-19. Cf Siegel's notes on *San Miguel Acatán* (Ch. E). I may have been the first anthropologist to witness the ceremonies in detail and document the prayers.

Towards the end of July, my then wife and I took the representatives of the religious mayor together with Don Mateo, to Santa Eulalia. We visited the religious mayor (*Alcalde Rezador*) in that town. I was asked to write down a preference list of four candidates for the position of the *Alcalde Rezador* for the following year. The regional diviner (*Yul xhila* [= '(He) in the chair']; *Aq'om b'e* [= 'Giver of the road'] according to LaFarge 1947) in charge of the cave oracle (*yalan na* [= 'beneath the house']) was requested to submit this list to the cave oracle. We were able to participate in the pronouncement of the oracle in the house of the religious mayor (*Alcal-*

de Rezador) of Santa Eulalia: the oracle favored the second preference. The cave was not entered either by the representatives of Ixcoy or by us. This visit confirmed the informal religious dependency of San Juan Ixcoy from Santa Eulalia as maintained by LaFarge, especially with regard to the behavior of the Ixcoy delegation. There were other visitors from other *municipios* (towns) in the surrounding area asking for advice.

C.2.5 Phase of archival work / Filming a divination (August 1981)

At the beginning of August, I went through documents of San Juan Ixcoy in the *Archivo General de Centroamérica (AGCA)* in Guatemala City. At least, demographic data for the 18th and 19th centuries were found. The earliest documents on San Juan Ixcoy which I could find date from the second half of the 17th century. Towards the end of August I wanted to participate in the Fiesta of “San Juan Zacarías”. I managed to make a film of a divination as described above, one day after guerrillas had bombed the military headquarters. This happened exactly two hours before I was supposed to meet an old diviner living within the military compound! There were isolated discharges of machine guns and submachine guns during the day, and I preferred to leave town the day following the filming, three days earlier than planned. This was the end of the first phase of my fieldwork.

C.2.6 Follow-up study (February – March 1983): 12 more divinations / Preparing the “Baile del Tilux”

I tried to revive an old dance centering around the “Lord of the Animals”, a deer. This dance – called ‘*Baile del Tilux*’ – had not been performed for more than 10 years. The knowledgeable organizer of the dance had converted to a fundamentalist church. Within two weeks, I was able to document 12 consultations, among them one for myself, and to take photographs of a real consultation [PLATES 31-38]. Furthermore, I was able to photograph a hypothetical divination made by the diviner [PLATES 29-30]. A filmmaker from Spain accompanied me for one week, and I managed to film a divination with an elderly man who was asked to serve as a client.

C.2.7 Reconstructing and filming the “Baile del Tilux” (August 1983)

The religious mayor for the year of 1983 spoke Spanish, was from a different language area and was married to a Q’anjob’al woman. He had made arrangements for the reconstruction of the dance. Together with the

Spanish filmmaker I documented the reconstructible fragments of the dance.

C.2.8 Trying to film “Oxlajun Winaq”, the end, or completion, of the 260-day round (October 1984)

In September 1984, I met my colleagues Dr. Andreas Koechert and Dr. Maria Gaida in Guatemala City. Together we visited Don Mateo in San Juan Ixcoy; he happened again to be the *Alcalde Rezador* of the current year. We made arrangements for a visit of the German ambassador to Guatemala to attend a ceremony for the holy bundle (= 12 *Kaq* = October 8) proposed by Don Mateo, for *Oxlajun Winaq* (completion of 260 days = 13 *Ajaw* = October 9). The visit on October 7 and 8 with a small group from the German embassy resulted in a disaster due to the diviner's and his family's rejection of the embassy people, which later turned out to be quite well-founded. I managed to record the *Ordenanza* prayer on 12 *Kaq*.

C.2.9 Information on the diviner's death (July / August 1985) / Working on the transcriptions during the winter semester 1985/86 in Antigua

When I visited Ixcoy together with my then wife in July of 1985, I learned that Don Mateo had died a few hours after I had left him on October 8, 1984. He was said to have fallen down suddenly. The cross on his grave bore the inscription “cumplió nueve meses” [“he completed or served 9 months”], either referring to *Oxlajun Winaq* or to his time spent in office (i.e. January to September).

During my sabbatical in Antigua, Guatemala, between September 1985 and March 1986, I managed to get the transcriptions checked by Fernando Eustaquio Fernández (San Pedro Soloma) and afterwards again by Andrés Pablo Escobar (San Juan Ixcoy) who suggested many corrections. This latter version served as a basis for my own translations. Moreover, I got a rough translation into Spanish from both my consultants.

C.2.10 Ethnographic excursion to Ixcoy (Aug. / Sept. 1986)

In August 1986, I checked out Ixcoy for a one-month excursion with 4 students of mine. I elicited some data on the formal role of the mayor as *Juez de Paz* (low-level judge, ‘justice of the peace’). I visited the *oyeb' konob'* (‘five settlements’), the five formal prayer places in the township of Ixcoy. The ethnographic fieldwork project was formally terminated by me.

C.2.11 Checking of the translations in Quetzaltenango, Guatemala

In August and September 1987, I checked the translations of the consultations and interviews for the edition to be published. I had prepared my own translations, marked all the deviations from the Spanish rough translations and discussed these discrepancies with my consultant, Andrés Pablo Escobar, who worked with the Ministry of Education in Quetzaltenango.

C.3 Building up trust

At the beginning of March 1981, I again started to visit, together with my then wife, the religious mayor (*Alcalde Rezador*) of the year 1980, Don Mateo, and to concern ourselves with his wife who was not in good health. Towards mid-March I surprised him in his house when making a divination for a client. This way I learned that he himself was a diviner.

As an informant, he seemed to be the ideal person with regard to my project. He had been *Alcalde Rezador* three times, had performed different functions as *Principal* (dignitary), e.g. being in charge of the fiesta of the local patron or of dances; he was a diviner himself and was – as *Maestro de Costumbre* (‘master of customs or rituals’) – a ceremonial advisor or instructor and diviner of the presiding religious mayor who himself had no divination or calendar knowledge and for whom Don Mateo spoke the prayers in the *Ordenanza* ceremonies. Furthermore, Don Mateo had a physical and intellectual energy which gave him at an age of over 70 years the appearance of a very dynamic person.

By mid-April I was ready to try to gain his cooperation. Different factors helped lead to success: (1) my already existing knowledge, especially with regard to the old 260-day calendar; (2) showing him a copy of LaFarge’s book on Santa Eulalia (a place regarded as the religious center of the Q’anjob’al area even in Ixcoy) and thus proving that it would not be that bad to talk about old customs; (3) the propitious result of a divination for me, if I should stay in Ixcoy and if I could study the traditional customs successfully; (4) doing without an interpreter and my efforts to integrate Don Mateo’s wife into the conversation in Q’anjob’al; (5) the offer of adequate payment which was very attractive by local standards (*Mateo*: ‘Hay trabajo’). Moreover, an unusual intuitive relationship and affective harmony between him and his wife on the one hand, and my then wife and me on the other, might have been of some significance. It is my impression that key informants should be sought for according to such an intuitive criterion. I had a similar feeling of such an unmediated relationship only with the highest-ranking diviner of the cave oracle in Santa Eulalia.

I do not want to describe this phase of building up trust in all its details. Mental presence as well as heuristic fantasy, a high degree of reflection and back-up were necessary. The visits with Don Mateo required mental and conceptual preparation. I had to accomplish considerable conceptual work, especially with regard to transforming my own thoughts and proposals into the mentality of my prospective informant. I had to reduce and put aside his preoccupations and anxieties definitely. At the center of my proposals, I placed the ideas of documenting and preserving the old customs and beliefs for the people of Ixcoy.

Perhaps the aggressive missionary campaigns in recent times also led to greater openness for my projected work. My respect for the bearers of traditional knowledge and for the old customs and rituals helped in giving me access to the key persons, the diviner's clients and their information. Striving towards comprehension, as I tried to express in certain actions and requests, resulted sometimes in "transcultural" philosophical conversation with Don Mateo. I never tried to veil my differing beliefs and behavioral standards consciously, but I never tried to offer my beliefs as a norm or to neglect respecting his. I never found it questioned that a stranger (such as I was as an ethnographer) holds beliefs and behavioral standards different from one's own. This was a safe basis from which to start, i.e. not aiming at changing the beliefs or behavior of the people we were dealing with. It distinguished me from other Ladinos, and especially from the missionaries, and enabled us to converge increasingly in our goals and understanding. It seemed to me to be important to mediate my concept that I had not ended up by chance in this town, but after long studies, especially of the ancient calendar. Thus, it seemed that I succeeded in avoiding the equivalence of not yet knowing local traditions with sloppy ignorance. Cf the entries for April 15-17 1981 from my ethnographic journal in Hinz (1985, 1st ed.).

C.4 The ethnographic data

C.4.1 Structured in-depth interviews (traditional beliefs and routines)

By the end of April 1981, Don Mateo agreed to cooperate with me in the documentation of traditional customs (e.g. rituals) and beliefs. At the very beginning I was invited to observe a consultation and divination.

The necessity to work without an interpreter, and my intention to elicit and to document the data in Q'anjob'al, lead to a certain method.

C.4.1.1 Proceeding

In the previous months I had elaborated a pool of questions in Spanish which one of my Q'anjob'al consultants from Santa Eulalia translated into Q'anjob'al. A second consultant retranslated this Q'anjob'al version into Spanish without access to my original Spanish version at this point in time. I compared both Spanish versions, discussed discrepancies with one of my consultants and had the Q'anjob'al text corrected correspondingly. Later I started to elaborate my questions directly in Q'anjob'al. I tried to order these questions in terms of (a) topics and (b) of formal structure, e.g. cause-and-effect or goal-means beliefs.

I read out the questions (at first approx. 300) in Q'anjob'al. Don Mateo answered in Q'anjob'al. I had to decide if I should ask for more information or repeat the question. When in doubt, I inquired in Spanish or Q'anjob'al (Don Mateo's knowledge of Spanish was adequate). My proposal to answer first in Q'anjob'al and then repeat the same in Spanish did not work. I was far from following conversation in Q'anjob'al without effort, and I had to rely upon keywords and a very high degree of concentration and energy.

C.4.1.2 Thematic contents of the interviews

I collected information on the work of the diviners and prayermakers: why clients visit them; why clients regularly had their respective problems; what diviners could do for their clients, etc. In addition, I collected information on prayers, holy places, the calendar, divination, offices, beliefs in destiny, beliefs about tasks and roles of the diviners. I carried out special interviews on (a) seasonal *costumbres* (customs and rituals) [cf Ch. D.3.3; App. IV; Ch. 5.2]; (b) world view and phenomena of nature (e.g. sun and moon eclipses); (c) customs in connections with the life cycle (especially birth, marriage, death) [cf App. I]; (d) the role of the religious mayor (*Alkal Txaj = Alcalde Rezador*) and the ceremonies and beliefs associated with his position and the *Ordenanza*, the "holy bundle" of the town [cf Ch. E].

I obtained a short autobiography (Hinz 1991/I:5, II:9; see, moreover, App. II in this book) from Don Mateo describing his call to office. This information is quite different from Colby's and Tedlock's reports.

I asked Don Mateo to teach me how to divine; first, he hesitated, then he began with his instructions. In order to avoid any wrong ideas, I have to point out that the rules of interpretation and especially the meaning of the numerical coefficients in the calendar dates were not communicated to me. But on the other hand, Don Mateo was quite explicit in analyzing complex divinations and other corresponding learning processes into components: he instructed me on how to count the days by means of the day names on-

ly, then with a numerical coefficient + day name, later, to grasp a partial set of seeds of the coral tree [*erythrina corallodendron*]. Even later, he added evaluations and interpretations to the individual names counts, thus preparing for hypothetical divinations. As a matter of fact, I obtained a lot of direct and indirect information in terms of different model dialogs in which Don Mateo simulated himself and the client in communicative exchange. This relates to the social and psycholinguistic setting and phrasing. He, moreover, gave me several hypothetical divinations which come close to the real divinations I had collected. The *implicit* form of learning, *inferring* rules and components from the example, is brought out in Don Mateo's frequent instructions "*¡mire!*" ('look!'), trying to demonstrate one or the other component.

I had the knowledge of the day-to-day correlation between the Maya Indian and the Gregorian calendar, and this knowledge made me an "initiated person". It made it easier that Don Mateo could present me to his client as his student, thus relieving me of the burden of legitimization.

C.4.2 Documentation of the diviner's consultations

During the second half of May, I made the suggestion to Don Mateo to compile something like a book of traditional sermons ("*sermonario*", Span.) in the Catholic church, but being based on his counsels and consultations with his clients in divination sessions. I started out with the following ideas: to conserve his thoughts for his grandchildren and to document lived and experienced everyday life problems, customs and beliefs in their actual context of use instead of a mere abstract report about them. The idea of a sermon or of a book of sermons had to be adapted to the private face-to-face interaction between the diviner and his client. As before, I was not able to transform these ideas and proposals immediately on the same day. Rather, informal and goal-directed conversation over several days was necessary, with several weeks of slow-paced preparations.

On May 31, 1981, I received the final and "formal" permission to tape consultations and divinations. The following points seem to have facilitated the taping of the consultations:

1. Market days were a special visiting time, i.e. most clients came on Thursdays and Sundays.
2. Don Mateo introduced me to his clients as his student. Thereby, he resolved part of my legitimization problem with regard to the clients. This teacher-student relationship of trust implied self-evidently the exclusion of intensive working contacts with other diviners. Altogether, I had contacts with three diviners in S.J. Ixcoy (and one in Santa Eulalia): with the son of

the religious mayor (*Alcalde Rezador*) of 1981 before I cooperated with Don Mateo; with Don Mateo, and with Don Pascual at the end of my fieldwork. Don Pascual based his divinations not only on the seeds of the coral tree (*tz'ité*) and the 260-day calendar, but also alternatively on cards or an oracle book in Spanish. I had a contact with a fifth diviner in 1986.

3. Before the fiesta of the local patron on June 24 (San Juan / St. John in S.J. Ixcoy) and on June 27 (San Pedro / St. Peter in S.P. Soloma), fewer people were coming to Don Mateo because his ceremonial obligations seem to have been greater due to his official position and because he seemed to be more often excessively drunk (and did not make divinations in such a situation). During the month of July, the number of clients was considerably greater.

4. The fact that the psychologists left us in disharmony by July 1 might have contributed positively to our successful fieldwork in July.

I continually spent the market days with Don Mateo, and often waited all day long without success. However, my sample of consultations in the period of research is not a complete one, since clients might come very early in the morning (as observed in July) and, in principle, on other days than market days.

Altogether, I was able to tape approx. 37 complete or nearly complete consultations and approx. 5 fragments in 1981. The duration of a consultation might vary between less than 10 minutes and up to 70 minutes (or more with breaks). In February and March 1983, I taped another 12 consultations, in 1984 another one (for me myself). This makes up a *corpus* of approx. 50 consultations.

The quality of the recordings is satisfactory in most cases. The fireplace might be a source of noise. Changing the cassettes or replacing the batteries might lead to a loss in recording of 30 seconds to more than one minute. I reduced notes to an absolute minimum during the divination sessions; the notes refer mostly to the layout and the (partially silent) day counts. I wrote down my notes in terms of a standardized situational description on the same day as making the recording.

Interviews about typical consultation problems and typical counsels make it possible to compare the conceptual content of the ethnographic interview with the actual consultations and their pragmatic settings.

My observations on the *Ordenanza* cult (the holy bundle) are covered in Chapter E of this book.

C.5 Social roles: diviner, client, ethnographer

C.5.1 *The diviner*

The diviner with whom I collaborated was Mateo Raymundo Velásquez. According to his granddaughter, he would have become 83 years of age on January 2, 1985. In 1981 I found a newly born person with this name in the birth register of the local archives for the year 1907. I cannot estimate how great the chance is that we were dealing with another person. Unfortunately, I was unable to verify my observations because the guerrillas had meanwhile burnt down the town hall with the local archives. The diviner died on October 8, 1984 (8.10.84, see plate in Hinz 1991 / II). Don Mateo had been *Alcalde Rezador* four times, the highest representative of the traditional Q'anjob'al in Ixcoy (cf Hinz 1985:221ff), e.g. in 1980 when we arrived in Ixcoy and in his year of death in 1984. He was *Principal* of the fiesta of St. John and had supervised the "*Baile del Venado*". He ranked among the central authorities (*Principales*) and was regarded as one of the two highest ranking diviners in the town. He was the diviner and ritual instructor of the then *Alcalde Rezador* in Ixcoy in 1981, and of the *Alcalde Rezador* in the neighboring town in San Pedro Soloma in 1983. The high regard for Don Mateo as a diviner is also brought out by the fact that a substantial percentage of his clients visiting him on the market days (Thursdays and Sundays) were from Soloma. The diviner together with his wife lived alone in the town of San Juan Ixcoy. Apart from a field there, he owned land in the village of Jolomhuitz where a son and a daughter were living. Don Mateo said that he had not learnt how to divine from his father. Cf App. II.

Note: Meanwhile (2006) I learned that one of Don Mateo's daughters had become a diviner. This case verifies the recruitment of female persons as diviners as well as the possibility of a family tradition.

C.5.2 *The clients*

As clients who ask questions, women and men come on their own, in pairs, sometimes with children, and more rarely one parent with his/her adult daughter or adult son. All age groups between approx. 20 and over 70 years of age are represented as clients. I considered it to be impossible to ask clients directly about their ages. In assessing the age of "middle aged" persons considerable scope of subjective estimation has to be taken into consideration. Variation also holds for the residential locality of clients. Many clients are from the larger neighboring *municipio* of Soloma. Many clients are from the hamlets (or villages) of Ixcoy or Soloma. Clients seem to differ considerably in terms of economic status; the amount of remuneration

ration paid to the diviner (between 15 and 75 *centavos* [= *US-cents* at the time] per consultation) might serve as an indicator. In the particular case, considerable losses of money which a client had run into are implied. With regard to socialization, it is important to note that children are sometimes taken along when visiting the diviner.

C.5.3 The ethnographer

I was present during the consultations. My cassette recorder was placed openly and visible on a small separate table beside the small divination table. Some of the clients talked with the diviner or also with me about my work (#23B [Hinz 1991/I:89f], #18A [Hinz 1991/I:32]). Sometimes Don Mateo introduced me to his clients as his student. Taking for granted my participation in the consultation, Don Mateo undoubtedly helped to resolve part of my problems concerning legitimization. It happened only twice that clients asked me not to tape a consultation (both cases concerned marital problems). In the particular case, my presence might have had an influence on the consultation; this is difficult to assess. As a rule, the diviner's wife, sometimes a visitor and sometimes even other waiting clients were present during the counseling, and even participated in the consultation in the particular case.

C.6 Situative characteristics of consultations

On market days, a larger number of clients might come to the diviner. I have observed up to 10 persons with their family members seeking advice. In such a case, some of them used to wait in front of the house sitting on a bench; others used to sit on a bench at the back of the house perhaps participating passively or actively in the consultation for the client.

Diviner and client(s), e.g. a couple, sit opposite to each other at a small divination table on small chairs, without touching each other. On some days, the diviner carries out the divinations under the influence of alcohol (normally illegally distilled sugarcane rum). Sometimes I have noticed that the diviner continues with extensive consultations only if he gets more alcohol (sold by his wife). On the other hand, he refused to make consultations if too drunk.

In terms of emotion, I have observed the diviner sometimes as being very relaxed, but sometimes also as being stressed and reacting a bit impatiently. It can happen that the diviner reacts with much humor, starts to dally childlike in a mildly intoxicated way with a toddler of the female client. But he can also express his admonitions quite sternly and authoritatively.

On the part of the clients, I have seen cases of extreme tension and of obvious relief if a divination showed a positive outcome. On the other hand, I have also observed cases of deep sadness accompanied by heavy weeping.

In most cases the diviner does not know the client and, thus, does not have any knowledge about the person, his/her family or his/her problem.

C.7 Addendum

The project was originally conceived as a multidisciplinary additive project in **ethnological socialization research** under my directorship: (1) the female psychologist investigating the phase of socialization between birth and the seventh month of age, (2) the male psychologist investigating pre-school socialization and helping in the collection of contextual data, (3) my then wife, a school teacher and lecturer in education on an unpaid leave of absence, investigated socialization in school, and (4) I, as a cultural and social anthropologist, carried out research into divination and the traditional community shrine as well as associated social roles (*Alcalde Ordenanza* or *Alcalde Rezador*) as a case of adult socialization. Collaboration with the psychologists eventually broke down, but the core study concerning traditional knowledge, social control and social identity continued to be funded by the German Science Foundation until 1986, including the publication of part of the diviner's consultations in German and Q'anjob'al (Hinz 1991).

The fieldwork took place in San Juan Ixcoy. Military and guerrilla operations from February 1981 onwards prevented research in the villages or neighboring towns, with a few highly circumscribed exceptions. Many clients of the diviner are from San Pedro Soloma but they regularly used to trade in San Juan Ixcoy on market days. Consultations with them highlight the therapeutic process and the concepts involved and are therefore selected for publication. The ideational culture of the clients from S. J. Ixcoy and from S. P. Soloma, 11 km apart, seems to be shared and "homogenous".

As for the **linguistic basis** of grammatical analysis and translation (cf 'Preface'), see *Bibliography*, DICC. Q'ANJOB'AL 1996, DICC. AKATEKO-ESPAÑOL 1996, GRAMÁTICA DEL IDIOMA Q'ANJOB'AL 1996, VOCABULARIO Q'ANJOB'AL, VARIACIÓN DIALECTAL EN Q'ANJOB'AL; D. Antonio et al [KOKUYU7 Q'ANJOB'AL] 1980; Craig 1977, Datz 1980, Day 1973.

Note: This chapter is largely a translation of my fieldwork report published in Hinz 2002 (originally distributed in 1982).

In June and July of 2006 I paid two very short trips to San Juan Ixcoy. See PLATES 1 and 2 and the postscript of the preface.

D. ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

This Chapter provides geographical and historical background information on the region (Ch. D.1, D.2) and describes organizations, or rather institutions, their functions and corresponding behaviors (Ch. D.3, D.4) as well as socialization processes and agencies (D.5), and household (or family) formation in the behavioral and organizational context (D.6). This description implies the distinction between national, communal and individual frames of reference (in terms of costs, manpower, rules or behavioral actualization).

D.1 Cultural and political geography

San Juan Ixcoy, the location of my fieldwork, is a small town with a predominantly Maya Indian population speaking the Q'anjob'al (Kanjobal) language. The Q'anjob'al-speaking towns are in the northern part of the Departamento de Huehuetenango in western Guatemala. This area is characterized by the Altos Cuchumatanes, a steep mountain ridge having an altitude of more than 3,800m. This area used to be extremely inaccessible.

The Q'anjob'al area: In sociocultural and ecological terms, the following *municipios* are grouped together (cf R. A. Hernández Castillo 1988): San Juan Ixcoy, San Pedro Soloma, Santa Eulalia, Santa Cruz de Barillas (all of them Q'anjob'al); and probably San Rafael La Independencia (Akateko), San Miguel Acatán (Akateko). Some of these towns used to comprise highland (2,000 to 3,000m) and lowland ecozones (500 to 1,000m).

The *Q'anjob'al (or Akateko) language and the costumes* of Q'anjob'al men (*capisay*) and women might have been salient identifying characteristics. Note that people from the Mam-speaking villages of the *municipio* (township) of San Juan Ixcoy wear the costumes of Todos Santos, but pray in the Catholic church of San Juan Ixcoy [personal observation; PLATE 11]. The census of 1981 reports a 93% Indian population for San Juan Ixcoy and San Pedro Soloma.

Language: Q'anjob'al, Akateko and Jakalteko [Jacaltenango, Concepción, Santa Ana Huista, San Antonio Huista] are considered to be separate languages, with Akateko closer to Q'anjob'al proper. Kaufman, who promotes and supports this view, considers an alternative grouping of all these languages as dialects of notable distance in terms of historic linguistics and sociolinguistics [i.e., with reference to mutual understanding].

Together with the languages just mentioned, Chuj [San Sebastián Coatán, San Mateo Ixtatán, Nentón], Motocintleco, Tojolabal and Tuzanteco are considered by Terrence Kaufman to form part of *Greater Q'anjob'al*. Cul-

turally significant ecoterms are hypothesized to point towards an early language community, comprising highland and lowland territory, as a candidate of the *origin* of the Maya populations. According to Kaufman (1976:104, 106), this is true for the Q'anjob'al area. Not very much is known about the archaeology of this area.

San Juan Ixcoy: Municipio [township categorized as “*pueblo*”; an area of 224 km²]. The township consists of the *pueblo* (town itself) and 10 *aldeas* (villages) which have 54 *caseríos* (hamlets); 1 *comunidad agraria* and 5 *fincas* (plantations). The villages (*aldeas*) with their hamlets (*caseríos*) are tabulated in Appendix VII.a.

San Pedro Soloma: Municipio [township categorized as “*pueblo*”; an area of 263 km²]. The website of Soloma (2007) lists 37 *aldeas*, 21 *caseríos*, 1 *finca*. Cf App. VII.b.

D.2 History

A good synthesis on Q'anjob'al history is presented by R.A. Hernández Castillo (1988), on whose thesis the details of the following outline are based. Because her thesis is relatively inaccessible, I would like to refer the reader to her significant contribution.

Colonial history: The conquest of the Q'anjob'al area probably took place within the context of the conquest of Zaculeu, after 1525 (cf Ch. E.1 & E.7(3)). By 1549, Santa Eulalia was founded, by 1560 San Juan Ixcoy (*Ixcos*, colonial form) as well as San Pedro Soloma and San Miguel Acatán. The creation of *encomiendas*, rewards for the conquerors in terms of Indians available for forced labor, in exchange for their Christianization, was authorized by the Spanish crown. The first one is documented for San Pedro Soloma between 1548 and 1550 (40 tributaries). Cf Solano 1974:80. The cultural and physical resistance of the Q'anjob'al population is based upon a withdraw from the nucleated settlements of the *reducciones* (population concentrations) to the inaccessible mountains and forests. Christianization was carried out by the Mercedarian Order which founds the first church in Santa Eulalia in 1586.

Olavarreta records for 1740 “51 indios tributarios enteros” for San Juan Ixcos (Hernández Castillo 1988:21). Archbishop Cortez y Larraz (1768) reports in his “Descripción Geográfica Moral...” 114 families and 582 believers for San Juan Ixcos, 66 families and 254 believers for San Pedro Zuluma (Solano 1974:224-225). In 1759, Indian women complain about the *repartimiento* (Spanish access to forced labor) in Santa Eulalia. Complaints about the religious priests and their collaborators about personal psychological abuse as well as economic exploitation, and the complaints

of religious personnel about Indian disobedience are characteristic of the documentary record of the 18th and early 19th centuries. Example (San Miguel Acatán 1743, Hernández Castillo 1988:24): Indians refuse to participate in a confession; the priest asks the mayor for help. “One of the said Indians raised his hand and boxed his [the *padre*’s] ears.”

Epidemics: For 1666, pestilence or, possibly, murine typhus (Span. *tarbaidillo*) is reported for the actual Departamento de Huehuetenango. An epidemic of ‘viruela’ (smallpox) is recorded for 1795 in San Pedro Soloma. For 1806, the towns of San Juan Ixcoy, Santa Eulalia, and San Miguel Acatán are reported to have been nearly completely destroyed by typhoid fever. Nevertheless, Domingo Juarros reports in his “Compendio de Historia...” that in 1808 for the *vicaría* of Soloma there were 5.907 believers.

Independence: The Indian population in Guatemala remained largely outside of the movements for independence from Spain. After a short Mexican occupation of the Huehuetenango area, this region became part of Guatemala in August of 1823. Hernández Castillo points out major changes in the civil and religious organization in the Q’anjob’al area with a strengthening of the role of traditional *Principales* or *Alcaldes Rezadores*. These new conditions held true until the Rufino Barrios government initiated new legislation with regard to landholdings and labor relations. This new legislation required the formal registration of any land, “if possible” (!) as individual property (Lovell in: Davis 1997:223). This step by the Guatemalan government enforced legal litigation onto the Maya Indian communities. By 1894 the Barrios government enacted a law of *mandamiento* (forced labor; here: for private persons) which legalized forced land labor for debts (in: Davis 1997:224).

Davis documents the Indian loss of economic resources and the gain of Ladino (westernized non-Indian) control over 70% of the land which traditionally belonged to Santa Eulalia (Hernández Castillo 1988:31; Davis (1970) 1997:42, cuadro 3). The major political move was the creation of the *municipio* of Santa Cruz de Barillas and the loss of the fertile Ixcán lowland region for the Maya Indians in 1888, separating these terrains from Santa Eulalia.

On the situation in Soloma, Hernández Castillo writes (1988:33):

“On the 14th of September of 1884, Benito Melgar, an authority imposed by Barrios in Huehuetenango, arrived in San Pedro Soloma; with a force of 200 soldiers he confiscated the arms of the population and, without any explanation, he massacred 17 old men and *principales* (dignitaries) of the town.” Cf A. Recinos 1954(2nd ed):209.

G. Lovell writes that in 1893 the Ladino militiamen of Chiantla, forming part of the reserves of the Guatemalan army, claimed communal land for

their services and for their political perspectives; the land thus claimed pertained to the legal claim of 250 *caballerías* by the town of San Juan Ixcoy (in: Davis 1997:231). Lovell points out that San Juan Ixcoy contracted Frederick Koch (Friedrich Koch?), an agent of a plantation named “Buenos Aires”, as a surveyor for measuring the land in exchange for farm labor on that plantation elicited from the male population of San Juan Ixcoy. “As a guarantee, one offered Koch the ‘old titles’ of San Juan”. The measurements turned out to be ‘not favorable for San Juan’ (Lovell). By July 17 of 1898, “Agents of the plantation ‘Buenos Aires’ showed up in San Juan Ixcoy and started to demand farmhands for work on the plantation”, without recognizing the fact that the contract had not yet been fulfilled and especially that the suit concerning the title to the land had not yet been resolved (Lovell in: Davis 1997: 232).

Francis Gall writes about San Juan Ixcoy (1983/III:179):

“El año de 1898 fue particularmente memorable en este pueblo. Las habilitaciones de mozos, con su cortejo de violencias para los indígenas y las odiosas cargas que pesaban sobre ellos, dió como resultado la protesta brutal de los indígenas. Los malos tratos, tributos inicuos, deudas contraídas en las fincas y cuestiones de raza, movieron a los naturales a levantarse y exterminar a todos los habitantes ladinos, lo que verificaron con salvaje ferocidad en la noche de 17 de julio de 1898. Un sólo ladino logró escapar esa noche, ya que comprendiendo la gravedad del caso por el asesinato de todos los demás ladinos, se refugió con sigilo en la iglesia abierta por los indios. Corrió al altar y se ocultó detrás de la imagen de bulto de San Juan. La justicia pesó rigurosa sobre los indígenas de San Juan y consumó la ruina del pueblo. La construcción de la carretera que ahora lo une con la cabecera departamental ha venido, sin embargo, a darle nueva vida al pueblo.”

[= The year 1898 became particularly memorable in this town. The recruitment of young farmhands, with the consequential violence for the natives and the hated loads of work which weighed heavily upon them, resulted in brutal protest by the natives. This bad treatment, the unjust tribute, the contracted debts on the *fincas* and questions of race motivated the natives to rebel and kill all the *Ladino* inhabitants, a fact which they actually brought about with savage fierceness in the night of July 17, 1898. Only one *Ladino* managed to escape that night; understanding the gravity of the case because of the assassination of all the other *Ladinos*, he took refuge secretly in the church which had been left open by the Indians. He rushed to the altar and hid behind the sculptured image of Saint John. Justice reigned rigorously over the natives of San Juan and produced the ruin of the town. The construction of the road which nowadays connects it with the departmental capital has come, however, to give new life to the town.]

George Lovell (1992 [first 1985]:211/note 55) comments:

“Irregularities in recruitment procedures and native resentment of outside control of municipal land apparently triggered the bloodbath. The Indian uprising met with a swift and brutal response. Stadelman, ‘Maize Cultivation’, [1940:] 96-97, records that

‘the retaliation of the Government was prompt, and it has been estimated that perhaps ten Indian lives were exacted for each slain Ladino.’”

Recinos (1954, 2nd ed) reports approximately 30 *Ladinos* killed which would give us an estimated figure of roughly 300 Maya Indians killed in retaliation. The number of Ladinos killed coincides with the newspaper report (*Diario de Occidente*, Quetzaltenango, July 26, 1898; cf Hernández Castillo 1988: 33). I.e., approx. 10-15% of the Maya Indian township population were killed; in the town itself perhaps 20-30% of the Maya Indian town population, depending on the assumed demographic basis for the year 1900; cf Note below.

Later, the Ladino militiamen of Chiantla managed to get 113 *caballerías* in the vicinity of the village of Tocal from the government. A similar gain was accomplished by the militiamen of San Pedro Soloma. “Within several years, the fortunate claimants sold their lands to the *fincas* on the piedmont towards the Pacific.” The Indians, forced to rent land from these *fincas*, were under demand to work on the *fincas* instead of receiving direct payment. This system, known as *fincas de mozos* (‘plantations of young men or farmhands’; ‘*moso*’ means ‘Ladino’ in Q’anjob’al), served for the recruitment of seasonal workers for the plantations (Lovell in: Davis 1997: 233)⁸.

In 1986, during my visit to the *oyeb’konob’* (lit. ‘five towns’, i.e. formal ritual places of the township of San Juan Ixcóy), I learned that one of them, San Francisco, was situated today on Chiantla territory, access being guarded by *Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil* from Chiantla.

The situation in San Miguel Acatán, but also in Soloma and in Santa Eulalia, led to the first emigration, starting in 1886, of Q’anjob’al families to the Mexican countryside, for example, to the Laguna de Montebello in Chiapas. These were the locations of the future refugee camps of the nineteen eighties and nineties during the civil war.

The new legislation seems to aim at the expropriation of communal lands. The *Ley Nacional de 1905* prescribed the conversion of municipal land into individual land titles. Some *Principales* (dignitaries) from the Q’anjob’al area served as formal owners of the land who let the communities dispose of these lands.

⁸ Cf David McCreery, “Rural Guatemala 1760-1940”, Stanford 1994: Stanford University Press, pp. 288-292 on San Juan Ixcóy, the massacre, its context and the consequences, as well as the population figures, on p. 344 [2,213 in 1893 in S. J. Ixcóy; reliability unknown]. Land grabbing by Ladinos and the Indian attempt to rebuy the land in exchange for labor, e.g. from the Herreras (Pantaleón), Finca Helvetia, Nottebohm Co. and Gordon Smith Co., are described on p.289-292.

The following description by Robert Burkitt (1930:59)⁹ holds for Nebaj in 1913 (see Lovell in: Davis 1997:229) and characterizes the vicious cycle of exploiting behavior on the side of the Ladinos, and the growing dependency of the Maya Indians:

“Probably I had struck the place at an especially bad moment. The plantation agents were at the height of their activity, scattering money, advance pay for work, and every Indian was able to buy rum. The rum business and the coffee business work together in this country, automatically. The plantation advances money to the Indian and the rum seller takes it away from him and the Indian has to go to work again. Work leads to rum, and rum leads to work.”

The dissolution of the communal land created the schema of Indian *minifundios* (very small estates) in the highlands and of Ladino *latifundios* (very large estates) in the lowlands. Poverty in the highlands provided for the mechanism of seasonal labor in the plantations (*fincas*) in the lowlands.

President Ubico introduced with the *Ley de Vagancia* (1934), attributed to the German lawmaker Dieseldorf, harsh structural changes: every man owning less than 10 *cuerdas* of land and registered as an agricultural worker, was *forced into paid finca labor for 150 days*, every man owning less than 3 or 4 *manzanas*, but more than 10 *cuerdas*, was *forced to work for 100 days*. Every farm worker had to carry a booklet certifying the fulfillment of the labor requirement (Lovell in: Davis 1997:224; cf Siegel & Grollig 1996:11). This law provides a mechanism for generating a workforce for the plantations and for the exploitation of the individual Indians and their families. Salary was minimal, and labor rights practically non-existent. Moreover, the newly created *Intendente* system under Ubico put centrally appointed Ladino mayors in political control of the Maya Indian *municipios*, thus terminating Q’anjob’al self-administration.

The revolution of 1944, made possible by Guatemala’s entry into World War II against Germany, led to the reestablishment of Indian local government in terms of elections. The *Ley de Vagancia* was suspended. A *Ley de Trabajo* (1947) provided some labor rights. Labor unions arose out of this legislation and the political conditions involved. The modest land reform created military resistance which was organized by the CIA of the United States and supported by the Catholic church and which led to the enforced termination of the Arbenz government. The Q’anjob’al *municipios*, among them San Juan Ixcay, San Pedro Soloma and Santa Eulalia again came under Ladino control. The Ixcay region could not be regained for Santa Eulalia. The issues of land reform, working rights and organizational move-

⁹ Robert Burkitt, “Explorations in the highlands of western Guatemala”, *The Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania* 21,1 / 1930:59.

ments became amplified in terms of international interests, especially after the Cuban revolution, and developed into new cycles of violence.

As Hernández Castillo describes (1988:41), Q'anjob'al groups have emigrated to the Ixcan region since 1964. In 1972, the future EGP ('Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres' = 'Guerilla Army of the Poor') entered the region and got into contact with these Indian groups (Black 1988:106, 74ff; Kobrak 2003: 25-30). In the seventies, the neighboring Ixil area developed into a major focus of *guerrilla* activities. By the very end of the seventies – during my preparations for the project – paramilitary fighters and the Guatemalan army entered the Q'anjob'al area, including San Juan Ixcoy, and tried to destroy the reform movement as well as the guerrilla-oriented organizations. During our fieldwork in 1981, massive damage to Indian communities with heavy losses of human life occurred. The worst hit Q'anjob'al communities were San Miguel Acatán and San Rafael la Independencia. The massacre in the village of Coyá (S. M. Acatán), on July 19, 1981, is an example (Davis & Hodson 1982:50)¹⁰.

The massive flight of people from the Q'anjob'al area to Chiapas, Mexico, originated here.

Missionary history - the Protestants and the Catholics: Between 1915 and 1920, the *Misión Centroamericana* (Presbyterians, Nazarenes, etc.) arrived in Barillas. In 1943, the Maryknoll priests, a Catholic order, started work in the Q'anjob'al area. After the overthrow of the Arbenz government, the Catholic church, inspired by Rome, initiated the *Acción Católica*, an orthodox Catholic movement, among the Maya Indians. This group remained weak in San Juan Ixcoy, but gained significant ground in other Q'anjob'al townships. The work of some Catholic missionaries later became inspired by the Theology of Liberation; they actually supported reformist movements.

In 1982, by a coup d'état, General Efraín Ríos Montt, became president of Guatemala. He was converted to "*Verbo*" (*Gospel Outreach; Asamblea*

¹⁰ Davis & Hodson: "200 soldiers attack the village of Coyá, San Miguel Acatán, Huehuetenango, killing more than 150 people. Helicopters surround and bomb the village, while soldiers throw grenades and fire machine guns on women, children and old people." The report in Kobrak 2003:72 specifies 45 killings. Another conflicting statement in Kobrak (:59) concerns the assassination of the mayor of San Juan Ixcoy on October 15, 1981, allegedly by the EGP. My own personal investigation is not free from contradictions. The guarded version coincides with Kobrak. The more confidential and trustworthy version says: Soldiers were ordered to incur into the rural area to confront the guerrilla, they were afraid to do so and, instead, raped women, taking their radios away. The Indian women complained with the mayor. The mayor brought the matter to the attention of the colonel in the military post in Ixcoy who opened an investigation, punishing the soldiers found guilty, and ordered them to give back the stolen radios, etc., in front of the town-hall. When the soldiers were relieved from their post in Ixcoy, the mayor was killed in retaliation.

de Dios), a fundamentalist evangelical group. Massive US evangelical support for his government and for missions, especially in the conflict zones, e.g. the Q'anjob'al area, characterized his policy. The area became controlled by the Indian *Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil* ('*Patrols of Civil Self-defense*'). In the Departamento de Huehuetenango, the Guatemalan army managed to crush the guerrilla movements, along with massive loss of life among the Maya Indian population and with the destruction of many Maya communities. The overthrow of Rios Montt in 1983 led finally to a democratically elected government at the end of 1985. After many years of civil war, a peace accord between the government and the military as well as the guerrillas was finally signed under the auspices of the United Nations at the end of 1996.

Civil war and refugees (1980-): With regard to the situation in Chiapas, this topic is covered in Hernández Castillo's (1988) thesis. Cf Arriola 1999 for emigrant workers in the USA.

D.3 Political, religious and economic organizations

D.3.1 Political self-government

Most offices of the municipality of San Juan Ixcoy are located in the building of the town hall which was burnt down by the guerrillas some time after we left San Juan Ixcoy. Community taxes: see Ch. 3.4.

The *Secretario Municipal* and his *Suplente*; the *Tesorero*; *Fontanero*; *Juez de Paz = Alcalde* (*Judge of lowest category*); *Telegrafista* were all paid; the *Comisario* might have been paid. The *Regidores* and the *Síndico* only got 'allowances' or 'traveling expenses'. The *Mayores* and the *Alcaldes Auxiliares* were not paid for their work.

The main work of the *Alcalde* consists in resolving legal conflicts (in Q'anjob'al), for instance, a cow having entered another person's field and having destroyed maize plants. Killings or other more serious legal cases had to be handed over to the court in the departmental capital and are subject to investigation by the *Policía Nacional* who were not represented in San Juan Ixcoy (but in San Pedro Soloma) at the time of my fieldwork. The *Alcalde* used to travel to Guatemala to represent the community with national government agencies, after 1985 with regional and even international developmental ones. His obligations included questions of territorial order and social projects (including schools, roads) within the boundary of the township. The holders of the offices of the *Alcalde*, the *Regidores* (*Concejales*) and the *Síndico* are elected in national elections, sometimes based upon local platforms more than on party line affiliation (S.J. Ixcoy).

OFFICE	FUNCTIONS	LOCALIZATION
1. <i>Alcalde (1)</i> ('mayor')	Judge of lowest category (' <i>Juez de Paz</i> ')	Town Hall
2. <i>Regidores (4)</i> ('aldermen, councilmen'); 2 take turns every other week (?).	Substitute the <i>Alcalde</i> in case of his absence; councilors of the mayor, participate in the judgements	Town Hall
3. <i>Mayores (4?)</i> (or: <i>Auxiliares</i> ('helpers')); formerly 15; possibly organized like <i>Regidores</i>	Messengers of the Town Hall	Town Hall
4. <i>Tesorero (1)</i> ('treasurer')	Local taxes, etc.	Town Hall
5. <i>Síndico (1)</i> ('land registrar and surveyor')	Measurement and registration of land (property) in the town archives	Town Hall
6. <i>Secretario (1)</i> ('secretary') & <i>Suplente (1)</i> ('deputy -')	Documents (papers), registration (vital statistics)	Town Hall
7. <i>Telegrafista (1)</i> ('telegraphist'; paid by the Ministry of Communication)	Post mail; telegrams (communicated by telephone to S. Pedro Soloma)	Town Hall
8. <i>Fontanero (1)</i> ('water worker')	In charge of drinking water	Town Hall (?)
9. <i>Comisario (1)</i> ('local policeman')	Investigations (in contrast to <i>Policía Nacional</i>)	In the vicinity of the Town Hall
10. <i>Alcaldes Auxiliares</i> ('auxiliary mayors') (>30; possibly in all the <i>aldeas, caseríos, etc.</i>)	Representatives of the villages, hamlets etc.; messengers in the rural areas; come into S.J.I. regularly on market days	[Villages etc.; meeting with the <i>Alcalde</i> ; waiting in front of the Town Hall]

Table 1: Community offices in San Juan Ixcoy around 1981

D.3.2 Religious organization

Religious committees had been formed under the Ríos Montt government who came to office in 1982: *Evangélicos* (Protestants) and *Costumbristas-Católicos* (Traditionalists and orthodox Catholics who formed one block) were supposed to be united in one committee.

Costumbrista (traditional) organization: The term used for the assembly of traditional dignitaries (*Principales*) was *cofradía* ('brotherhood', normally, in Guatemala and Mexico, a system of religious offices). The *cofradía* might consist of past religious mayors (*Alcaldes Rezadores*), among other dignitaries; the current *Alcalde Rezador* (or *Alcalde Ordenanza*), his advisor and diviner; possibly (some other) diviners; the *Maestros del Baile (de Toro, etc.)*; possibly the musicians; the *Alcalde de la Fiesta del 24 and 29 de Agosto* and his helpers. But this is educated guesswork. See Ch. E.

Santa Eulalia is definitely the regional traditional religious center of all the western Cuchumatanes (see Ch. C.2.4 [Fieldwork], consultation of the cave oracle of *yalan na*).

Traditional mentality and spirituality, i.e. beliefs and ritual action schemata, are covered in the core chapters of this book (see especially Chs. 1, 5.2, 9.1, 9.2; App. III and IV). See Ch. D.3.3 for the annual cycle of feasts and Ch. E for the cult of the holy bundle, the so-called *Ordenanza*.

Orthodox-Catholic organization: Acción Católica, a centralized Guatemala City-based and Rome-inspired official movement of the Roman Catholic church, with *catequistas*, trained religious helpers or educators. In the church (*convento*), the priest from San Pedro Soloma holds mass once a week, but it is also used by the traditional *costumbristas*. The priest is supposed to baptize even the children of the traditional people.

Evangelical organization: Asamblea de Dios, Príncipe de Paz, Carismáticos, Pentecostales, etc., with trained preachers. Most of these evangelical churches (mostly based in the US) hold their services on market days at least, with loudspeakers blaring competitively down the valley.

Knowledgeable traditionalists claimed in 1981 that up to 25% of the population had been converted by evangelical missions. Nevertheless, this seemed to be an extremely large and possibly quite exaggerated number.

D.3.3 Annual cycle of feasts

Traditional rituals and feasts are determined by the 260-day calendar and by the *Gregorian* 365-day calendar. The rituals following the 260-day calendar are treated in Ch. E.4 and E.9. These rituals concern the observation of the *Alcalde* days according to the 260-day calendar and the celebration of unwrapping and rewrapping the holy bundle one day previously (probably involving the European idea of the *vesper* in the sense of eventide).

New Year, Semana Santa, sowing the maize, patron's day of June 24 (San Juan), August 29 (San Juan Zacarías), "Nueve Mesa" (*k'exwal*), Tosanto (=Todos Santos) are all celebrated as feasts and *costumbres* (rituals), obviously of the 365-day year [#2A-10]. See below for 'Nueve Mesa'. Most of the feasts are community-based, with the participation of the other denominations.

Christmas Eve is observed only in terms of the open church, with a phase-illuminated family scene of Joseph, Mary, and Christ, and with hot chocolate being served at midnight.

Evening of December 31 is characterized by a large and festive celebration at the end of the period of the *Alcalde Rezador*, with more than 50 guests. Among other things, meat and *rum* are served, the marimba is

played, and a strongly intoxicated *Alcalde Rezador*, supported or carried by the necessary number of people, is moved out of his house late at night, together with the *Ordenanza* (holy bundle). This bundle is carried by one of the *Principales* (traditional dignitaries) in such a way that it reminds one to the old version of the “Echternach(er) Springprozession” (in French ‘procession dansante’ or ‘jumping procession’), stepping forwards, stepping backwards, and proceeding forwards, making a curtsy. On the morning of the New Year, the *Principales* are waiting for money offered, and the job (of *Alcalde Rezador*) is then offered (though the actual candidate might be already chosen; see C.2.4). The *Alcaldes Auxiliares* (auxiliary mayors) from the villages meet for a formal inauguration into their (unpaid) offices by the *Alcalde Municipal* (mayor of the town) and his collaborators.

Semana Santa (Easter week) is characterized by a play (*corrida de los judíos*) involving Romans, Christ and San Simon¹¹, with the Maya Indian population participating.

The *fiesta* for the patron’s day (St. John, June 24) lasts several days and is organized by the municipality and the (Ladino) teachers. The program presented was quite elaborate, emphasizing Ladino style and taste, in terms of plays, events, and music bands. For instance, the *Reyna Nativa* (‘native queen’) and her partner had to be represented by a couple of Ladino teachers, dressed in Q’anjob’al clothings, obviously because there were no Q’anjob’als willing to volunteer. Performances of the (traditional) *Baile del Toro* (Dance of the Bull) took place. The school children, dressed in school uniforms, participated in marches, in preparation for the celebration of Day of the Nation on September 15. There was modest participation of the public relation group of the military in the *fiesta*.

The *fiesta* of August 29 [San Juan Zacarías], as observed by me in 1983, was then far less elaborated and determined by the attempt to revive the *Baile de Tilux* (Dance of the Lord of the Animals, represented as the deer, not to be confused with the Dance of the Deer). Traditional marimba bands were played.

I spent November 1, 1980, in Todos Santos, and I remember the graves in the cemetery of San Juan Ixcoy being decorated with flowers and colored paper around November 1.

For rituals on *Oxlajun Winaq* (=‘Nueve Mesa’, i.e. *nueve meses* [the Spanish translation], the presumed end of the 260-day period on *13 Ajaw*), cf C.2.8. I have an early interview in which *I Watan* was offered as the turning day of the 260-day calendar (*k’exwal*, a term also used in conjunction

¹¹ Siegel describes and analyzes this dramatization for San Miguel Acatan (Siegel & Grollig 1996:39ff, “La corrida de los judíos”)

with the New Year of 365 days). 1 Watan = Nueve Mesa = 18/IX/81. This corresponds to the internal descriptive order between August 29 and November 1. I hesitate to offer the hypothesis that this might correspond to ‘9 months’ = ‘260 days according to the 365-day calendar’, in an attempt at “harmonizing” both calendars, somehow in the vicinity of the Guatemalan Day of the Nation, or rather in September or October. See App. IV.b.

D.3.4 Economic organization and behavior

San Juan Ixcoy has permanent communal market halls which are centrally located. Some might be open all week. *Market* is held on Thursdays and Sundays. A municipal tax is collected from the traders or salespersons on each market day (according to the estimated sales). Traders come from Huehuetenango, the surrounding *municipios* and villages or hamlets of San Juan Ixcoy. Many traders from outside San Juan Ixcoy seem to participate in the market system of the Departamento de Huehuetenango.

The town of San Juan Ixcoy has a large number of kiosks (shops or *tien-das*); practically every village (*aldea*), and possibly hamlet (*caserío*), around the town has a kiosk as I could verify from visits in 1981 and 1986.

The township used to have two *cooperatives* (apple and wood production; cf Miguel Juan 1995). A few *habilitadores* who recruited farmhands for work in the plantations in the lowlands used to operate in S.J. Ixcoy. These recruiters used to pay cash in advance to the prospective farmhands and to participate in the organization of the transportation of the farmworkers. One of the central plantations (*fincas*) for farm workers from San Juan Ixcoy used to be the Finca “Helvetia” in the Departamento de Escuintla (lowlands) [cf the divination case in Point 5.9 (#30A/B)]. Work on the *finca* is, in general, not liked, and considered to be difficult and unhealthy, low paid and undesirable. During the civil war, the *fincas*, however, were sometimes considered to be safer than one’s own home town (informal data).

Subsistence economy of the indigenous people in San Juan Ixcoy is tied to the household as the unit of production and is largely based on the *milpa* system. Maize and beans are sown together, as are *chilli*, *chilacayote* (huge gourds), *calabazas* (smaller gourds) and sometimes potatoes. Wheat is usually planted apart from maize and potatoes. Herbs, onions, etc. might be planted separately. The American Peace Corps had nursery projects running, with seeds distributed to the interested persons. More recently, apple trees have been planted, and an apple cooperative has been formed. Nicolás de Nicolás (1990:37f) has a list of terms of procedural steps of working on the *milpa*, with the average duration of work associated with each phase name. My opportunistic sample of 15 Q’anjob’al heads of families has data

on the different steps of work, differentiated linguistically with the respective time needed for each step (App. VIII, column 9; App. IX, no. 9). A household might have chickens or goats or even sheep. Avocado and peach trees may be seen, but they do not play a role in my sample.

In examining *economic strategies*, the necessity of *buying maize* in addition to the maize produced can be considered an *alarm index*. The same holds true for beans. Maize and beans are basic goods. If these products have to be bought additionally, we might expect a certain degree of famine or *malnutrition* [number of cases for maize = 8, for potatoes = 5]. Due to the different climatic conditions, i.e. the amount of rain, altitude and soil conditions, *maize planting strategies differ* in the town of S.J. Ixcoy and in the villages.

For instance, in answers given in the Economic Microcensus [column 8a], we read: “Without rain in the *pueblo* (town in the valley at 2,100m altitude) it is too dry to sow much maize, in the *aldea* (village) it is the contrary,” i.e., the conditions are favorable (Case #3). Cf Case #7.

Most of the people interviewed *grow apples* in addition to their *milpas* (n=11). They have just started with this production. Thus, the costs of preparation and development are very high (US-\$ 200-325) while yields are mostly still zero (but notice Case #4 with yields of 20 *quintales* = US-\$ 240; cf Miguel Juan 1995). Qualitatively, we note the differential preference for maize and apples (Cases #4 and #5) in contrast to maize and potatoes (Case #9) whereas other farmers emphasize the equal value of the different crops dependent upon proper care (Case #1, #3, #6, #8, #12). Half of the households (8 cases) have chickens, in addition, some of them (4 out of 5 of the corresponding households) have sheep or goats, too.

Please remember that this sample is a personal one. It comprises the friends and acquaintances of my consultant (a then university student of agriculture), and most of them seem to be close to the ‘apple cooperative’ mentioned. These people might be considered to be more oriented towards *modernization* and achievement, i.e. in terms of alternative economic strategies.

Some kiosks or small shops lead to considerable extra income. Two-thirds of the household heads interviewed work on the *fincas* (plantations of cotton, coffee or sugar cane) in order to earn needed cash. One third of the household heads earn cash money by *selling goods* either in shops (kiosks) or in the market (apples, sheep). Nevertheless, the data suggest that these people are generally rather poor, especially if they have to work on the *fincas*. Cf the educational and economic data and their interpretation in Ch. D.5.2.

In 1981, most of the households in the economic sample ($\Sigma=15$) seemed to have had 20 *cuerdas* (= 8,820m²) of land available for production¹². This is definitely no longer enough to sustain a family of five. See Davis's calculations in his dissertation (1997:136): 30 *cuerdas* for a family of five, and 60 *cuerdas* of "fallow or resting land". But this depends upon the ecological factors (water, altitude, climate, soil) and the cycle of resting (or else fertilizer). Families average around 6 to 7 people in my sample. According to my sample, the *quintales* of maize harvested tend to be supplemented by other crops named, i.e., black beans, potatoes, and a considerable amount of wheat. The fact of working on a plantation points to economic necessity, especially if viewed in terms of months, and the very low income (in part not more than US\$ 20 per month). The fact that much of the land was used without resting for more than 10 or even 12 years points to an extreme situation of land pressure. Only five households have fallow land available (Case #1, #2, #9, #10, #11).

Prices: The following data are based upon my Economic Microcensus [= EM] as well as the market prices [= dated] in Ixcoy written down by my then wife (1 *quintal* = 100 *libras*; 1 *libra* = 453g).

1 <i>quintal</i> maize = 12 Q = \$ [EM]
1 <i>quintal</i> potatoes = 4 Q = \$ [EM]; 1 <i>libra</i> = 0.08 Q = \$ [22.4-12.7.81]
1 chilli = 0.02 – 0.03 Q = \$ [18.6.81; EM]
1 <i>libra</i> black beans = 0.45 Q = \$ [22.4.81]
1 1/2 <i>libra</i> pork meat (no fat, boneless) = 1.65 Q = \$ [23.4.81]
1 <i>libra</i> mutton = 0.80 Q = \$ [18.6.81]
1 egg: small = 0.09 Q = \$, large = 0.10 Q = \$ [7.6.81]
1 <i>libra</i> tomatoes = 0.18, 0.15, 0.35 [22.4., 18.6., 12.7.81]
1 lemon = 0.03-05 Q [22.4.81], 0.02 Q [23.4.81]; 4 lemons = 0.05 [7.6.81]

Table 2: Compilation of food prices in San Juan Ixcoy

The *standard of living* can easily be assessed. *Assumptions:* a family of 6, a daily earning of 1 Q = \$ by *finca* work. No land of one's own. Maize (tortillas), beans and chilli are basic foodstuffs. The consumption of eggs and meat has to be considered as basic in terms of regular intervals (once a week or once a month, etc., for the whole family). Salt, *panela* (i.e. raw sugar) and coffee beans have to be added. Lemon or chilli might supply the necessary vitamin C. How to survive? *Some variables* may be: Wife and / or children join in the *finca* work... No illness... A certain amount of land is available (in that case, *finca* work < 180 days)... Use of fertilizer... Helpers

¹² Minimum = 10 *cuerdas*; maximum = 30 *cuerdas*; median = 20 *cuerdas*; average = 18.2 *cuerdas*. My thanks to Hartmut Lang (Hamburg) for introducing me to Microsoft Excel.

(3-10), only 2 households without helpers (costs are substantial)... Other sources of income ('sales' and shops)... *Otherwise*: a reduction in nutrition (famine)... *A new strategy*: apples...

Male persons over 18 years of age had to pay a communal tax, called *ornato*, 1 Q=\$/yr around 1981, to the municipality.

D.4 "Auxiliary" organizations

D.4.1 Developmental projects

In the *Centro de desarrollo* ('Developmental Center'), training courses were given, for example in sewing or to become a social worker. The housing facilities later became the military quarters. The U.S. Peace Corps realized projects for drinking water and nurseries (and, obviously, for the training of midwives) before we started our ethnographic project by the end of 1980. In 1986, the Guatemalan government realized a canalization project in the town. The town was already connected to the national electric energy network when we started fieldwork.

D.4.2 Medical post

The medical post, organized by the government, used to have a nurse during my first sabbatical of fieldwork, but practically no medication. Since 1986 there has been one nurse and one medical student in his/her last ("social") year who serves as a doctor. There were more medical supplies than in 1981, but far from enough. There were 2 or 3 pharmacies, with one pharmacist at least fairly competent in basic counseling. A few midwives¹³ used to operate in San Juan Ixcoy. I witnessed a few visits by a local healer, a young lady obviously from a very remote rural area (she had an Ixil Maya design on her hat) treating the legs of the diviner's wife. I was told that there was no *curandero* or female *curandera* working in the town of San Juan Ixcoy any longer¹⁴.

¹³ The data on midwives, collected by one of the psychologists in our team, are probably lost. The Peace Corps obviously had a training project in Ixcoy which helped to better standards of hygiene significantly. Statistics on infant deaths and stillbirths were unavailable to me, but a rather high level is to be assumed for the time under consideration.

¹⁴ With regard to curers (*jeqilwom*) (incl. 'sopladores' (*xu7om*)), midwives (*sik'om unin*), and bonesetters (*jeqom b'aqilej*) the reader might find some useful information in: Karin Eder & María M. García Pú 2003. As for general health data (1987-1993), see Eder & Pu 2003:118 [In 74% of the children of the Departamento de Huehuetenango, *retarded growth* is reported for 1987]. Cf Ch. 3.8 [Health] here. As for a description of treatments by midwives, see Eder & Pu 2003:43ff.

Within a systems approach, the treatment of psychotherapeutic and psychosomatic problems could be compatible with the sustained traditional identity and corresponding belief, role and action systems as explored in this book, whereas somatic and clinical problems will certainly be covered by modern university medicine if the government enlarges the medical services in the rural areas. Continued efforts concerning preventive medicine, especially in conjunction with education on nutrition, adequate supplies of food and the coverage of other pertinent basic needs (incl. the problems of birth control) will combine best with the services already mentioned.

D.4.3 Military post

A military post of approx. 150 soldiers has been placed in the *Centro de desarrollo* since February 1981. The frequent combats during the transporting of troops to Ixcoy or to the San Miguel Acatán area, a major guerrilla stronghold, were identifiable in terms of visible evidence, e.g. the neutral transport of soldiers, destroyed windshields, incursions and landings of helicopters. Within the town, the post was under strict discipline. Patrols within the town were reduced to a very small public relations group. In the countryside, things were different. The military presence seemed to have been obviously reduced in 1983. There have been *Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil* (Maya Indian 'patrols of civil self-defense' comprising of the male population over 15 years of age) since 1982 in the township of San Juan Ixcoy and else in the Cuchumatanes.

D.4.4 Transport systems

3-5 bus lines were operating daily in and through the township of San Juan Ixcoy in 1981 (e.g., *Cifuentes*, *Jolom Konop*, one bus from San Sebastián Coatán, another one from Barillas, etc.). At that time, the trip between Huehuetenango and San Juan Ixcoy took between 4 and 5 hours. The *Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil* checkpoints may prolong such a trip considerably. The dirt road from Huehuetenango to Barillas used to be maintained continuously. Mail was usually delivered by one bus line on week days. Telegrams from San Juan Ixcoy had to be spelled out over the telephone to San Pedro Soloma. There, messages were transformed by telegraph and sent, for instance, to Guatemala City.

D.5 Primary and secondary socialization

D.5.1 Socialization¹⁵

Primary socialization seems to be oriented towards the family or household and the local community, town or, possibly, village. Religious affiliation definitely guides socialization and social participation in many cases, especially with regard to Evangelicals and orthodox Catholics. Work on the *fincas*, in work groups from the town, could be another focus.

Observation, participation, and imitation seem to be the major methods in socialization.

My own textual data point to the verbal instruction of adult clients (not only of me as an ethnographer) in terms of simulated dialogs and prayers.

Siegel (1996:54f), writing on *San Miguel Acatán*, points out that the primary goal in the education of boys consists in making them capable of acquiring agricultural techniques on how to cultivate their *milpas*, accompanying their fathers starting at an age of 5 to 7 years. Girls stay with their mothers, learning domestic activities such as cooking, cleaning and washing. This corresponds to a general division of labor: Men take care of the different phases of agricultural work, and only in harvesting the maize do women and their children join in. House construction and, to an overwhelming degree, long distance trade (unless men are accompanied by their wives and maybe their children) are male activities. Female work implies not only domestic activities, but the procurement of water (now facilitated by a direct water supply to the households within town). Compare Grollig's notes (1996:121f) on San Miguel Acatán. In Ixcoy, running the kiosks is a matter of both male and female owners, but children of around ten years of age when not at school might operate a kiosk quite efficiently. For *San Juan Ixcoy*, see App. I [Sex role stereotypes].

Major points of reference with regard to problems or *conflicts* in socialization can be the *separation from father and (/or) mother* and, furthermore, *founding one's own home* and *religious conversion*. Paying a *bride price* and *bride service* might be a major issue and a cause for quarreling. Affiliation with the parents, on the other hand, is close and relied upon in terms of identity, general sentiment, solidarity, ethnic and religious orientation and in case of external or marital conflicts.

Considering socialization and behavioral *customs or norms and beliefs*, the reader is referred to the divination and counseling data (e.g., the concepts and belief system aspects in Ch. E [*Ordenanza* cult] and Ch. 1 and

¹⁵ Cf Grollig's notes on weaning and toilet training in *San Miguel Acatán* (in: Siegel & Grollig 1996:121).

9.1, the high level values in Ch. 2, and the social context of application in Chs. 5-8).

Life cycle: Some aspects of this topic are covered in terms of normative data (customs and rules) in Ch. 7.3. The situation of civil war put much restriction on my work, but everyday life and worries, sentiments and practical thought are captured in the divinations and consultations, especially in Chs. 5, 7, 8 and 9. See App. I [Life cycle], the data are from the diviner.

D.5.2 Education in school¹⁶

At the time of our fieldwork, compulsory school attendance was well established in Guatemala. The school system is organized by the national government. In 1981, S. J. Ixcoy had a primary school with 6 grades and since [at least] 1983 has had a “pre-school” program of *castellanización* in which Spanish and writing in Q’anjob’al are taught. A substantial number of villages in the township of S.J. Ixcoy had schools, but with one class only. A major problem for families working on the lowland *fincas* consists in taking the children out of school and leaving for the *fincas*. Thus the school year, i.e. the ‘grade’, does not get completed and does not count. Although larger *fincas* were obliged to provide schooling, many failed to do so. This is a structural feature which prevented adequate schooling for many Maya Indian children in the highlands. During our fieldwork, the colonel in command of the military post started to run an alphabetization campaign for Q’anjob’al adults in Ixcoy (partially in response to Marxist guerrilla efforts). His courses were visited by adult Q’anjob’al Indians, notably elderly ladies in traditional costumes. The teachers were paid by the national government; they took over alphabetization courses without extra pay.

The following statistics have been collected and kindly communicated to me by Christa Carl, ms. The interpretation is my own.

Commentary: These statistics correspond to one half of the divided class ($\Sigma = 46$). It substantiates that years and grades in school become lost by absence from the town (or village), i.e. in terms of work on the plantations.

¹⁶ The schooling statistics from my Economic Microcensus data are ($\Sigma = 15$ men): average of school attendance = 1.33 yrs; median = 0 yrs; minimum = 0 yrs; maximum = 4 yrs. See the National Census of 1981, App. VI [3.3 Alfabetismo].

Table 3: Age of students in 1st grade/San Juan Ixcoy (2/VI/1981):

Age	Boys	Girls
6	-	3
7	-	-
8	3	1
9	-	-
10	18	3
11	4	3
12	4	5
13	1	-
14	-	-
15	1	-

Table 4: Approximate number of students / Students accepted in terms of grades by school head Sr. Antonio Afre Sosa & Sr. Francisco Félix López (4/II/1981):

1st grade ~60 students (later 97; the class becomes divided in May, one teacher from one of the *aldeas* [‘villages’] is assigned to this new job)

2nd grade ~40 students

3rd grade ~30 students

4th grade ~25 students

5th grade ~20 students

6th grade ~20 students

Commentary: The statistics again show a trend towards losing school children in terms of ascending grades in school. Compare the compilation of ‘years in school’ in the economic interview data.

Table 5: Economic features from the statistics on the 1st grade in San Juan Ixcoy in 1981:

95 students covered in the tabulation; 37 students or families covered in terms of economic data:

Have a <i>milpa</i>	Work on a <i>finca</i> (plantation)
<i>Yes</i> : 35	<i>Yes</i> : 14 [Father works; 9 cases of these families in which the child also works = 25% of the 37 recorded cases]
<i>No</i> : 1	<i>No</i> : 23
Nonsense: 1	

Wages recorded are either ~20 US\$ = Q/month, or in the case with youths, quantity-dependent (time/quantity of crop ratio), work was paid up to 50 US\$/month.

21 cases of *tiendas* (kiosks) or similar businesses.

Table 6: The following statistics hold for the 6th grade in S.J. Ixcoy, in 1981:

18 students considered in the tabulation.

All 18 families have a *milpa*.

7 families have a *tienda* (shop) or a *cantina* (sales of alcoholic beverages incl. hard liquor).

4 cases of *finca* work, probably including the students.

14 families do not work on the *fincas*.

Religious characteristics in this tabulation:

12 *católicos* (orthodox Catholics)

3 *costumbristas* (Traditionalists, of Maya religion)

3 *evangélicos* (Protestants)

Commentary: Note the number of *finca* workers in this tabulation (a bit lower than that for the first grade) and the comparatively low number of *costumbristas*. The latter finding might point to a selection in the schooling system against the Traditionalists, in terms of support of an orientation towards national values and opportunities lying outside of the town.

According to Christa Carl's general notes on the curriculum and her interviewing and participant observation, the students' 'school world' (defined in terms of an orientation towards 'national identity and national values') and 'life world' otherwise (defined in terms of family, locality, customs and environment) often remain separated realities with little interaction.

D.6 Kinship system, marriage, landholding and household formation

It seems that the social system with an originally patrilinear organization of landholdings underwent strong changes and nearly collapsed, probably under the violent pressure of the last 100 years. A patrilinear organization, reduced to three generations of a “patrisib”, is discernible.

D.6.1 Kinship system and naming

Day (1973:126-127) has a compilation of *Jakalteko* kinship terms of reference and of address, differentiating between male and female speakers. I would like to use his description as a standard of reference¹⁷. Grollig has a compilation of *Akateko* kinship terms, differentiating between male and female speakers (*in*: Siegel & Grollig 1996:104-105). Hernández Castillo (1988: 178ff, and Cuadro X-XII) criticizes the fact that terms of address and terms of reference are not distinguished by Grollig. I am uncertain

¹⁷ Note: The *Jakalteko* term *'uxhtaj-e'* [*'hermano'* = *'brother'*] includes *'tío'* (= *'uncle'*) and *'sobrino'* (= *'nephew'*), and *'anab'-e'* [*'hermana'* = *'sister'*] includes *'tía'* (= *'aunt'*) and *'sobrina'* (= *'niece'*). This is not documented for *Akateko* or *Q'anjob'al*. See text below.

with regard to the terms for ‘father’ and ‘grandfather’ presented by Hernández Castillo but after all, the data are from *Akateko* refugees. The tables (XI, XII) are obviously supposed to represent terms of reference. They are a valuable contribution. The same holds for the interesting marking of the group of kin who emigrated together.

According to Hernández Castillo (1988:181), we have in *Akateko* (and in *Q’anjob’al*) a difference for a male speaker between the referential terms ‘*uxtaj*’ [‘hermano’ = ‘brother’ or ‘primo’ = ‘male cousin’; ‘*uxhtaq*’ in *Q’anj.*] and ‘*anab*’ [‘hermana’ = ‘sister’ or ‘prima’ = ‘female cousin’]. For a female speaker, there is one term ‘*no*’ [for ‘hermano’ (= ‘brother’) and ‘hermana’ (= ‘sister’) as well as for ‘primo’ (= ‘male cousin’) and ‘prima’ (= ‘female cousin’); ‘*nuej*’ in *Q’anj.*, differentiated by the noun classifiers ‘*naq*’ (‘male’) or ‘*ix*’ (‘female’)]. There is a reciprocal term ‘*ni*’ used between father-in-law or mother-in-law and the son-in-law, referring to each other. There is another reciprocal term ‘*alib*’ used between father-in-law or mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law, referring to each other. A brother-in-law (‘*cuñado*’) or sister-in-law (‘*cuñada*’) is referred to as ‘*mu7*’ by both a male and female speaker. There is another term, used by both male and female speakers in *Jakalteko* [Day 1973:127], ‘*b’ax*’, (‘spouse’s sibling’). This term is also listed for *Q’anjob’al* [Dicc. Q’anj. 1996:29 (‘brother-in-law’)] and *Akateko*. In *Q’anjob’al*, there is a difference between a male and female speaker in referring to one’s child: ‘*k’ajol*’ (= ‘hijo’ = ‘son’) and ‘*kutz’in*’ (= ‘hija’ = ‘daughter’), referred to by a male speaker; and ‘*une7*’ (‘child’), differentiated by the noun classifiers as ‘*naq*’ (‘male = son’) and ‘*ix*’ (‘female = daughter’), referred to by a female speaker. There is a general term in *Q’anjob’al* for kins, ‘*ikan-ej*’.

According to Hernández (1988:180), we are dealing with an example of the Hawaiian kinship terminology system, while Grollig (Siegel & Grollig 1996:105) seems to be inclined to classify the terms as an example of the Eskimo kinship terminology system.

The *k’exel*-relationship of “name replacements” is important in terms of the kinship system, as a name-giving unit and as a ritual and social mechanism of house (and possibly land) inheritance and maintenance. This relationship might help to bind the *patrisib* (or maybe *patrilineage*) in terms of formalizing and strengthening the grandparent-grandchild bond, even in the presence of possible sentimental conflicts between the son and his wife and his parents (and/or parents-of-law). But see Ch. 9.3, concerning the diviner’s granddaughter (who bears the grandmother’s [= MoMo] forename, *María*, and who lived in the diviner’s house in 1985, taking care of her grandmother after the diviner’s death; this may imply a matrilateral arrangement). Cf also 10.3(3)/Diagram 1 and Note 67 [#31A; Hinz 1991/I:

198ff]. A comparison with the data published by Mondloch (1980) shows significant differences and similarities:

(1) The term '*k'exel*' seems to be reciprocal in both areas.

(2) The elaborated transitivity of the use of terms of address or reference via the node of this '*k'exel*' termed kin, as documented by Mondloch for the Quiché of Momostenango, cannot be corroborated with my Q'anjob'al data. (This means, for example, in the Quiché case, a grandson 'inheriting' the kinship relations of his grandfather might call his father 'my son' and his mother 'my daughter-in-law').

(3) An affective mechanism of special care, strengthening the grandparent-grandchild bond even in the face of conflicts between child (=grandchild) and his/her parents, can be inferred from the Q'anjob'al data, too. An example is the case #20B analyzed in Chs. 5.4 [Comm 8] and 6.3.

(4) In contrast to Mondloch's report, the *k'exel*-relationship does seem to involve inheritance and care, e.g. for the house of the grandparent and its periodic repair. Note that, according to the National Census of 1981, one fourth of the *houses are unoccupied* in the township of San Juan Ixcoy. Something similar holds for the township of Santa Eulalia. See App.VI [National Census 1981].

On the relationship between birth, the naming ceremony for the newborn child and the *k'exel*-relationship in *Santa Eulalia*, cf Nicolás de Nicolás [Pedro] 1990:7 (Q'anj.), :26 (Span.). The text refers to the parents of the newborn child, especially to the father, and to the grandfather and grandmother, i.e. the father's father and the father's mother of the newborn child:

“Ayman kax chi el b'i jun nene⁷ tu tatol winaq, chi ok k'exeloq mam naq winaq tu, tatol ix kax chi ok k'exeloq txutx naq, tatol puch watx' sb'eyb'al cham mamej tu, chi ch'ib' k'exel cham tu, ta yob' sb'eyb'al cham, chi kami k'am chi ch'ib'i, kay, kay k'apax tu chi yun yuj xal txutxej tu.”

= “Después le ponen el nombre de l[a] criatura, si es varón le ponen como tocayo del padre del hombre, y si es hembra la ponen como tocaya de la madre del hombre. Si el padre del hombre es muy amable entonces crece su tocayo, si es un señor malo, se muere, no crece. Así sucede con la madre con su tocaya.”

= “Immediately afterwards the name for the baby is chosen. If it is male, he becomes the namesake of the father of the man; if it is female, she becomes the namesake of the man's mother. If the character (or behavior) of the father of the man is amiable, the old man's namesake grows up; if the character (or behavior) of the old man is bad, [the namesake] dies, does not grow up. Exactly that is what happens [to the female baby] because of the old mother [of the baby's father].”

Otherwise and in more recent years, naming is so confusing, complicated and unpredictable that, for instance, a special investigation in San Miguel

Acatán took place [Hernández Castillo 1988:173/174]¹⁸. Meanwhile (2006), people who have been to the USA might call their child “Bill Clinton”, etc. (in *Santa Eulalia*).

Cf Mateo Raymundo Velásquez’s notes in App. I [Life cycle] on naming.

Institutions of patrilineages, with the characteristics of landholdings and formal guardians for the land title of a lineage (including sites of worship) as outlined by Davis (1997:64ff) for *Santa Eulalia* might have been lost, maybe because of the consequences of the 1898 massacre and the expropriations in favor of the Ladino militias. But see the note on the *Finca Helvetia* (Ch. 5.9, Comm 11/12).

D.6.2 Compadrazgo (godfathership)

Compadres (‘godfathers’) do seem to play a significant role in baptism (choosing a name) and in marriage (App. I [*concierto*]; the parents of the couple are the *compadres*). Data from Don Mateo point to a now lost traditional office of a *maestro de bautismo* (‘*misal*’) (= ‘master of baptizing or of the missal’). He says [#8B-5]:

When the child is born, then the *compadre* is sought, the *padrino* of the child is sought. It is the child’s *padrino* who selects the name which the child will bear, the name of a day, or the name of a saint, or the name of a father, the name of a mother, which the child will bear, which ideas he whose child it is has, if it is the day on which the child is born, in which month, on which date. This is what the child will bear (as a name). But it is the *compadre*, it is he who is *padrino* for the child. It is he who is responsible [for selecting] the name which the child should bear, in front of the *padre* (‘priest’), in the church. There the name is given to the children [involving baptism], to all who are *Costumbristas* (Traditionalists), to all who stand up for traditional prayer. But the others, not anymore.

Pregnancy, birth and naming (baptizing) as customs and beliefs associated with them are covered in Ch. 7.3.2. Hernández Castillo (1988:165) points to the custom of *compadrazgo* in the Chiapas refugee camps which serves to strengthen relations with Mexicans. Remember that most of the

¹⁸ J. Camposeco Rojas & Marcial Maxia 1970. Hernández Castillo summarizes (1988:175): According to LaFarge, the oldest son receives the father’s name *inverted*, the rest of his children receive the father’s first name as family name, a saint’s name as first name. A different system of naming, as used in the colonial Spanish documents of the *encomiendas* (persons obliged to work for a Spaniard) makes use of the relational particle “de” combined with the system as reported by LaFarge: “Ej.: los hijos de Lucas Pascual eran Pedro de Lucas, Juan de Lucas, etc.” (Hernández 1988:176). According to my own observations, clients from San Juan Ixcoy visiting the diviner, obviously use the Guatemalan-Spanish system (first, father’s family name; second, mother’s family name; the individual Christian name is placed before the family names). Naming in Soloma might be different, sometimes following more the information given by LaFarge (cf Ch. 5.4.1 vs. Ch. 3.2.1.2).

refugees were from San Miguel Acatán and San Rafael La Independencia. She writes:

“Desde Guatemala el compadrazgo era una institución muy importante, sobre todo a partir de 1905, cuando la legislación ordenó que las tierras comunales se parcelaran y distribuyeran entre los pobladores de las comunidades; en ese entonces se realizaron alianzas para afrontar el gasto que eso implicaba y fueron generalmente compadres (compalés) los que se unieron para la titulación.”

= “The *compadrazgo*, stemming from Guatemala, has been an important institution, especially since 1905 when legislation stipulated that communal lands were to be parceled out and distributed among the inhabitants of the communities. Thereby they then created alliances in order to meet the costs which all that implied, and in general these were the *compadres* (*compalés*) who united for the process of obtaining legal titles.”

D.6.3 Marriage, bride price, bride service and inherited land

The *costumbres* (‘customs’, ‘action schemata’, ‘rituals’) of a marriage arrangement are described in Ch. 7.3 and App. I. Traditionalists are used to paying a bride price. The couple are used to providing a bride service with the parents of the wife. Don Mateo himself reports an alternative: avoiding the bride price, fleeing to a plantation (*finca*) for work, and returning later. He tends to attribute behavior like that to non-traditionalists. The diviner assumes 1 year to 2 or 3 years of bride service. He points out sentimental and social problems (#8A; see App. I [Life cycle]):

If he whose daughter it is, is of good character, it is one year, only one year, and then his daughter goes behind (follows) her husband [i.e., they leave and found their own household]. If he whose daughter it is has bad thoughts, it is for two years, and then his daughter leaves, once and for all she leaves.

He [the daughter’s husband] helps his father-in-law in his work when the sowing (of the *milpa*) starts, in everything [that] he does whose daughter it is. There the young man works, he who marries his wife. He serves his father-in-law. One sows the *milpa* (maize), one does the work, he does all kinds of work. One year, two years, or three years he serves his father-in-law so that the maize is sown, so that he does the work for his father-in-law as one can say.

According to Nicolás de Nicolás, there is a shift every other week between service with the parents of the husband and with the parents of the wife. This holds for *Santa Eulalia*.

The following statistics (Table 9) give the data on the civil status for *San Juan Ixcoy* and *San Pedro Soloma* (Nat. Census 1981). The statistics show the relatively small influence of the Catholic as well as Evangelical churches in San Juan Ixcoy (*casado* = married vs. *unido* = factually living in union; *soltero* [“unmarried”] might cover quite a substantial group of tradi-

tional marriages. In *San Miguel Acatán*, people who lived together as *solteros* [unmarried] for three years could legalize their union as *unido(s)*.

Estado civil	Total		Hombres	
	<i>S.P.Soloma</i>	<i>S.J. Ixcoy</i>	<i>S.P.Soloma</i>	<i>S.J. Ixcoy</i>
Casado	3,530	701	1,750	350
Unido	3,720	2,882	1,831	1,440
Soltero	10,302	5,508	5,384	2,915
Viudo	469	292	73	68
Divorciado o separado	72	72	10	9
Ignorado	33	11	20	4

Table 7: Civil status

Note the small number of divorced or separated people (*divorciado o separado*), probably involving official recognition (and costs). *Viudo* = widower/widow; *ignorado* = unknown.

Postnuptial residence is largely *neolocal*, at least after providing the bride service. The husband's father has to provide the couple with a **land** plot of their own, and their house would be build on that plot. The land is divided in equal parts among the sons (in non-legalized marriages, only the offspring of the first union are recognized; daughters normally don't seem to count; cf Chs. 5.9 and 7.3.1; but see Ch. 9.3, concerning the concession of a house to the diviner's granddaughter; the case of an adoptive son is dealt with in Hinz 1991/I:130, II:118). See App. I [Life cycle, Transfer of a plot]. See Davis (1997:55ff, especially 76ff) for an elaborated and complicated discussion of the so-called 'ideology of inheriting and its contradictions'. My data are rule-based and case-oriented, and they are quite limited. I cannot substantiate the pattern outlined by Davis with my data, but my case stories in the consultations point to a differentiated pattern, too. Because of the civil war situation, I was careful to avoid touching directly upon questions of land property.

Concerning *Santa Eulalia*, Nicolás de Nicolás (1990:39) writes:

“Anteriormente los antepasados o los bisabuelos son los herederos de los terrenos, cuando los bisabuelos tuvieron hijos, entonces los viejos se tienen que repartir los terrenos a sus hijos e igual manera se está haciendo ahora, los padres de una familia son los que tienen que repartir sus herencia[s] con sus hijos e hijas”.

= “*Formerly* the ancestors or great grandfathers were the inheritors of the fields. When the great grandfathers had sons, then the old ones had to distribute the fields to their *sons*. And likewise one does it *now*. The parents of a family are the ones who have to distribute their heritage among their sons *and daughters*” (italics, E.H.).

D.6.4 Household: composition, residence rule, functions

The household is the functional locality of living as a ‘domestic group’, in many cases as a nuclear family (the couple and their children), in other cases as an extended family. This is the unit which works together for subsistence, which lives together in daily life, which eats together and which forms the frame of reference for primary socialization and even sexual life. In the case that several couples are living together, the frame of reference for sexual life may be separate corners of the house as reported for *San Miguel Acatan*. The data for San Juan Ixcoy, collected from the diviner, point to neolocal postnuptial residence as the norm or preference (App. I [Life cycle]). My economic sample shows a consistent household composition for *San Juan Ixcoy* in terms of a nuclear family: husband, wife, children¹⁹. There is only one household in which the husband’s father and mother also live. Note, however, the cases of single (widowed or separated) parental persons of household heads (case # 6, 8, 12, 13), thus including three generations.

The composition of households in terms of kinship relations elicited in the 1981 National Census is unpublished, but in the 2002 National Census that documentation is covered and might give us some idea of kinship relations of the household head within the household.

<i>Ist line</i> = <i>Category</i>	Popu- lación =1 st column	Jefe(s) del ho- gar =2 nd	Esposo -com- pañero /a = 3 rd	Hijo/a o Hija- stro/a =4 th	Yerno o nue- ra =5 th	Nie- to/a =6 th	Her- ma- no/a =7 th	Padre o madre = 8 th	Suegro o sue- gra =9 th	Otro par- iente =10 th	Los ot- ros no parien- tes =11 th
<i>SJI</i>	19,367	3,074	2,273	10,305	572	2,009	239	274	46	403	173
<i>SPS</i>	35,764	5,910	4,375	20,193	958	2,824	336	366	125	431	246
<i>SE</i>	30,102	4,567	3,685	17,111	871	2,696	182	299	70	391	230

Table 8: Household composition in S. J. Ixcoy, S. P. Soloma and Santa Eulalia (in 2002)

Explication of Table 8:

Ist line = *categories* of the Census in Spanish [1st column: ‘population’, 2nd: ‘household head’, 3rd: ‘husband’/‘wife’, 4th: ‘(step-)son/(-)daughter’, 5th: ‘son-/daughter-in-law’, 6th: ‘grandson’ / ‘granddaughter’, 7th: ‘brother’/‘sister’, 8th: ‘father’/‘mother’, 9th: ‘brother-/sister-in-law’; 10th: ‘other relatives’, 11th: ‘other unrelated persons’]; *2nd line* = *SJI* = San Juan Ixcoy; *3rd line*

¹⁹ The following statistics on household members are taken from my Economic Microcensus (1981) data: average number of members of a household = 6.33 members; median = 6 members; minimum = 4 members; maximum = 10 members. In comparison, the National Census of the population of Guatemala in 2002 is cited here: SAN JUAN IXCOY, average number of persons per household: 6.3 persons.

= SPS = San Pedro Soloma; 4th line = SE = Santa Eulalia. Note the complications in comparison to the normative rules of residence, at least for San Juan Ixcoy.

Nicolás de Nicolás (1990:19f, 39f) contains a folk typology of households in terms of their composition for *Santa Eulalia*:

“En una casa los abuelos viven juntos con su hijo, nuera, y nietos pequeños, ahora los nietos que ya tienen mujeres ya viven aparte (I). En otra casa los padres viven juntos con sus hijos solteros, y con otro que ya tiene esposa (II). En otra casa los padres viven juntos con un yerno y con sus hijos solteros (III). En otra casa los padres viven juntos con todos sus hijos solteros (IV). En otra casa los padres viven juntos con su nuera y con hijos solteros (V). Así es en todas las casas que los padres de familia siempre viven juntos con sus hijos solteros y los hijos casados casi todos viven aparte.”

<Commentary: The last sentence points to a (preferential) rule of postnuptial residence. Residence seems to be neolocal. Type II and V seem to be identical.>

= “In one house, the grandparents live together with their son, daughter-in-law and small grandchildren, but the grandchildren who already have wives live apart (I). In another house, the parents live together with their unmarried sons, and with another son who already has a wife (II). In another house, the parents live together with one son-in-law and with their unmarried children (III). In another house, the parents live together with all their unmarried children (sons) (IV). In another house, the parents live together with their daughter-in-law and with their unmarried children (V). Thus, in all houses, the household heads always live together with their unmarried children, and nearly all of the married children live apart.”

Compare Nicolás de Nicolás (1990:39): “[Cap.] 22: Personas [que] viven juntas. / Las personas que viven juntas en una casa son como: los padres con sus hijos e hijas que no están casados [y] todavía los abuelos y abuelas, son estas personas [que] viven juntas. <This corresponds to Type I.> Ahora una hija casada ya vive aparte con su esposo, y un hijo casado también ya pueden vivir aparte, ya pueden formar su hogar aparte por la razón que pueden suceder problemas con sus padres, si los padres solo tienen un hijo entonces viven juntos no hay problemas.”

= “[Chapter] 22: Persons [who] live together. / The persons who live together in a house are: the parents with their sons and daughters who are not married [and] still the grandfathers and grandmothers, these are the persons who live together. Now a married daughter already lives apart with her husband, and a married son can also already live apart, they can already form their household separately because of the fact that problems with their parents can arise. If the parents have only one son, they live together; there are no problems.”

The description points out problems of sentiment in patrilocal postnuptial residence and argues for neolocal residential preference. With regard to a very different rule system, cf Siegel (1996:43) on the role of the elder brother, extended families and factors operating in favor of their fission for *San Miguel Acatán* before 1940.

The residence terminology in terms of identity categories and residence categories takes temporal process features into account. Native concept formation might look like this [Hinz 1991/I:105, II:96]:

Identity category ► Residence category ▼	Traditional (Costumbrista)	Non-traditional
<i>Dependent temporary residence</i>	'still be together with one's father and mother'	(+)
<i>Independent temporary residence</i>	'provisionally moved' (ceremonies to be held later)	(-?)
<i>Independent permanent residence</i>	'permanently moved with the due ceremonies' = 'tz'umb'il'	'without the ceremonies' 'mass by the priest'

Table 9: Residence terminology in San Juan Ixcoy

(possibly fragmentary as bride service might still not be covered completely in this overview of concept formation; + = existent, -? = possibly non-existent)

D.6.5 Tz'umb'il and k'exel as stabilizing or harmonizing the patrisib

K'exel (Q'.: 'Namesake, replacement') is a special relationship, mostly between grandparent and grandchild, based on the same name and involving the inheriting of a house, with ritual obligations to maintaining it. Being *k'exel* implies ritual responsibility and puts a person in danger even if he or she is not the offender against the house in question but is affected by the parents' misbehavior. Cf. Ch. D.6.1(3), 10.3(4); 6.6, 5.4 [Comm 8], 6.3. I hypothesize a social mechanism of special care, strengthening the grandparent-grandchild bond. (Cf. Ch. 5.4 [Comm 8] and 6.3). This social bond is characterized by the grandchild's **autonomy** (a house of one's own) and **mutual sentiment and obligation** (giving and caring) Cf Ch. D.6.3 and D.6.1. It can balance a parent-child relationship affected by quarrels, e.g. originating from the payment of a bride price or from bride service. Social identity is reinforced in terms of affiliation with the **patrisib** and ritual relationship. Affiliation refers to kinship, land and inheritance. Ritual relationship includes the aspect of limited ancestor worship (*care for the [family] cross in the house*).

Tz'umb'il (Q'.: 'Sown out'); separation from (husband's) father and mother, resulting in a new household, with due mutual rituals and respect. Neolocal residence. *Tz'umb'il* seems to imply **autonomy** (of the couple) and **mutual respect** between parents and child or child-in-law. In contrast, cf Ch. 6.6: The client moved out into a house of his own on a provisional basis. The parents are excluded from direct ritual arrangements.

Tz'umb'il and *K'exel* seem to contribute to the **harmony and stability** of the patrisib.

D.7 Social stratification

Municipal personnel and teachers, regularly paid, as well as salespersons who own a shop (*tienda, farmacia, cantina*) do have a *steady income* to rely upon. In the social sciences, education (achievement orientation, professional skills or know-how), prestige and income make up for ‘social status’, and this holds, in my opinion, also for San Juan Ixcoy. On the basis of educational and economic statistics, differences can be pointed out which can be considered as ‘stratificational’. But note that stratification is quite relative. These data allow for the preliminary assessment of economic and, thus, *existential risk and stress* (household or family size; ownership, size, carrying capacity of land; climate; number of livestock; need for cash; health conditions; possibly debts, massively verified in one case; child work).

D.8 Addendum: Some ideas towards a model of historical explanation

The following variables, extracted from the literature, can serve in a theoretical **model of historical and social anthropological explanation** of salient events as mentioned in Ch. D.2:

- (1) Resistance: passive and active; incidents of violence.
- (2) Disease burden: epidemics and their estimated severity.
- (3) Land: communal land, expropriation; land shortage: land pressure; high legal fees for land titles; measurement problems and resulting conflicts: at least half a dozen different-sized measures of *cuerda* depending on the region (McCreery 1994:273).
- (4) Forced labor: *encomienda* or *repartimiento* (‘assignment of people for labor to private persons’) and *llamamiento* or *mandamiento* (‘obligation to communal labor’); *ley de vagancia* (implying the ‘obligation of (100-)150 days to agricultural work’).
- (5) Self-determination, autonomy: local political institutions (and associated power) in the hands of *Ladinos (non-Indians) vs. Indígenas (Indians)*; potential of social conflicts (divisions).
- (6) Mission: *reducción* (‘concentration of the population in nucleated settlements’, second half of the 16th century; the *polos de desarrollo* [villages controlled by the military] in the areas of civil war around 1982 are comparable); punishments (e.g., public whipping); sense of identity & self-respect; cultural & social autonomy; unity; mental penetration or harm.
- (7) Kinship, alliance, bride price & bride service: quarrel & conflict; sentiment, residence and cooperation.
- (8) Work on a plantation because of economic, legal and existential necessity (by the end of the 19th century). Paramilitary terror: greater safety on the plantation than at home, therefore a preference for plantation work. Cf Item (4).

I present a tentative outline of causal factors and processes. In this process model the physiological notation is used (cf Silbernagl & Despopou-

los, “Taschenatlas der Physiologie”, Stuttgart 1991: Thieme). The following propositions are a conceptual abbreviation. In the propositions, the antecedent event(s) must be temporally and locally contextualized and are to be stated explicitly in order to initialize the model. An adequate operationalization of the theoretical concepts – along the lines of the variables (1) to (8) above – is presupposed. Up- and down-arrows imply a quantification or a structural regularity.

The four following propositions relate the issues of existence and identity to research in history and the role and formation of social memory. Cf Ch. 3.8.

Note that ‘misery’ and ‘disease burden’ cross-connect (1), (2) and partially (4). ‘Resistance’ cross-connects (1) and (4). ‘Unity’ cross-connects (2), (3) and (4). Note the *causal fork* in (3). The *fork* in (4) seems to be a functional equivalent (‘avoidance’ vs. ‘refuge’) leading to the same result.

‘Misery’ may be interpreted as ‘negative quality of life in terms of social, mental and physical integrity’, i.e. deficient legal protection and/or dependency (unfreedom) and/or starvation.

(1) *Land pressure (incl. land robbery)↑↑ & forced labor↑↑ & external violence ↑↑ → resistance incl. violence ↑(↑) & disease burden ↑ & plantation work ↑↑ & misery ↑↑(↑) (Proposition on existence)*

(2) *Local autonomy ↓↓ & missionary (non-local) impact ↑↑ → misery ↑(↑) & social conflict ↑↑(↑) & unity ↓(↓) & disease burden ↑(↑) & mental harm ↑(↑) (Proposition on identity)*

(3) *Ambiguity of perceived / experienced goods / costs* ↑ & neg. family sentiment ↑ → [private avoidance ↑↑ & religious conversion ↑↑ & social conflict ↑↑] U (=or else) [reconciliation ↑ & cultural perseverance ↑ (& unity ↑↑)] (Proposition on identity management)*

(4) *(Organized) avoidance [= dispersion/retraction ↑↑ U (=or) refuge (incl. help) ↑↑] → misery ↓ → resistance ↑ → organization (alliance, family, community)↑ & unity↑↑ (Combined proposition on existence and identity)*

* *Bride service and bride price, for the bride’s family, for losing a helping hand (the bride) in the bride’s family and in exchange for the costs of raising the daughter [cf Ch. 7.7.1(21)]. The couple receives land from the husband’s father [cf App. I]; therefore ambiguity of perceived goods based upon sentimental conflicts.*

Figure 1: Causal relations of historic events in the Q’anjob’al area
(Explication: & = together with; ↑(↑) = (strongly) increasing; ↓(↓) = (strongly) decreasing; U = ‘or (else)’)

E. THE CULT OF THE HOLY BUNDLE (*ORDENANZA*) IN SAN JUAN IXCOY

My work focused on the collaboration with a key informant on Maya divination as a case of adult socialization, ethnopschotherapy, identity reinforcement and on ceremonial organization. His name is Mateo Raymundo Velásquez²⁰. He was a highly respected diviner and four times *Alcalde Rezador*, the highest traditional office in the Maya communities of the western Cuchumatanes Mountains, e.g. 1980 and 1984. Divination and work as *Alcalde Rezador* implies the use of the ritual pre-Columbian calendar of 260 days (*cf B.1*). The diviner died immediately after I had left on October 8, 1984, on *Oxlajun Winaq* (= 260 days), the final day of the period of 260 days, *12 Kaq* (the day of the ritual celebration) or rather *13 Ajaw*, the following day. In 1986, I was able to accompany a close relative of the diviner in a prayer round involving the “Five Settlements” (*oyeb’ konob’*), places of rituals, outside the town of San Juan Ixcoy.

E.1 State of research

Cult of the holy bundle: The presentation focuses on a newly discovered cult of the *Ordenanza* which concerns the origin of the system of both mundane political and religious offices in American Indian colonial communities in Mexico and Guatemala (and probably in Peru). These offices include, moreover, the “brotherhoods” (Spanish *cofradías*) which originally were supposed to help in the conversion to Christianity. This institutionalized system of offices can be regarded as the political, social and ceremonial backbone of Mesoamerican communities.

Cults of holy bundles are reported for Santiago de Atitlán (*Maximon*) and for the ancient Mexica (Aztecs) [see, for instance, the reports on holy bundles mentioned in the inquisition processes against the Aztec Indian nobility in the first half of the 16th century as well as historical data on the Mexica migration]²¹.

Oliver LaFarge was the first person to do serious fieldwork in the Q’anjob’al Maya area (publ. 1947). He reports on the prayermakers (incl. the *Alcalde Rezador*) and their ceremonial behavior. He writes (1947:141): “In most villages [of the western Cuchumatanes] the chest in which the [community] titles are guarded is in its [i.e., the organization of the prayerma-

²⁰ A person with that name was recorded for the year of 1907 in the birth register which, alas, was burned up later in 1982. Internal consistency of the life data hints towards approx. 1910. See App.II [Autobiography]. Otherwise, in 1985, his granddaughter mentioned to me an age of 82 at the time of his death. Cf C.2.8. & App. II <Comm>.

²¹ Cf Mendelson, Ph.D. dissertation, “*Los escándalos de Maximón*” (Seminario de Integración Social, Guatemala 1965). “*Proceso inquisitorial del cacique de Tetzco*” (AGN, México 1910), “*Procesos de indios idólatras y hechiceros*” (AGN, México 1912).

kers'] custody". On the neighboring Mam-speaking town of *Todos Santos* which borders San Juan Ixcoy in the south he writes: "In the procession then held, the box containing the papers of the town is also carried..." He publishes a document from the Q'anjob'al-speaking neighboring town in the north, *San Pedro Soloma*, from the 16th century, written in an Aztecoid variant and translated by Benjamin Lee Whorf (cf App. XI). This document might point to originally Aztec-speaking troops from central Mexican Tlaxcala who were the enemies of the Aztecs and who accompanied the Spaniards as allies in their first incursions into the Cuchumatanes and into Guatemala in general. In this document which refers to offices the term '*alcaldes Ordenanza*' is mentioned without any context.— LaFarge writes (1947:145)²²:

"The writing of this text in Nahuatl is surprising but may be partially explained by an observation of Ciudad Real, quoted by Roys [1932:125]. Ciudad Real, traveling in the 1580's, states that Mam was spoken at Cuchumatlán (Todos Santos Cuchumatán), San Marín, Petatlán, and Uitzitlán. The last two villages named are the present-day Jacalteco villages of Petatlán and San Antonio Huista. Speaking further of Petatlán, he says that "almost all the people of that place speak the Mexican language in addition to their own, and even in their own they have many words of [the language of] Yucatan."

Shelton Davis (editor) and his Maya Indian authors (Instituto Indigenista Nacional, 1968) reports on a "(land) title of the community of *Santa Eulalia*" which is said to be guarded by an "*Alcalde Rezador*". Cf M. Oakes 1951:55ff, 66ff.

E.2 The cult of a holy bundle discovered

After publishing the documentation (Hinz 1991/I, II) and several articles (1982, 1984, 1985), I came across Morris Siegel's work on *San Miguel Acatán* translated by Peñaloso (1996) into Spanish. Siegel writes (1996:7):

"La observancia de los cultos especiales descende en ciertas familiares. Un cofre de madera antiguo, *la Ordenanza (orenasa* en q'anjob'al), es el objeto más sagrado del pueblo. Es el símbolo del poder espiritual más grande, la figura central de gran parte de los ritos y de las ceremonias, y el objeto de *un culto distinto* (!, my italics)...

(1996:21): Un cofre de madera antiguo, *la Ordenanza*, reposa permanentemente en la casa del sacerdote principal. Este cofre probablemente personifica las fuerzas sobrena-

²² Cf Antonio de Ciudad Real, "Relación breve y verdadera..." in: Alvarado, Pedro de, et al, 2000: "Cartas de relación y otros documentos" (= Biblioteca de historia salvadoreña, Vol. 1:167 [...Petatlan... hablan casi todos los de aquel lugar, demás de la suya, la lengua mexicana, y aun en la suya propia tienen muchos vocablos de la de Yucatan"], San Salvador (El Salvador): Dirección de Publicaciones e Impresos. See Roys, Ralph L. 1932: "Antonio de Ciudad Real, Ethnographer" in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 34, No.1, 1932:125.

turales más poderosas que se conocen y sin duda es el objeto más sagrado del pueblo. Un culto se ha desarrollado alrededor de la *Ordenanza*, porque se le ofrecen rezos.”

[*Retranslation*: “The observation of the special cults is handed down in certain families [*or with certain familiars or with certain members of a certain lineage?*]. An old wooden coffer, la *Ordenanza* (*orenasa* en Q’anjob’al), is the most sacred object in the town. It is the symbol of greatest spiritual power, the central item of a great part of the rites and ceremonies, and the object of a distinct cult... (1996:21:) The old wooden coffer, the *Ordenanza*, rests permanently in the house of the principal priest. This coffer probably personifies the most powerful supernatural force known, and is undoubtedly the most sacred object in the town. A cult has developed around the *Ordenanza* because prayers are offered to it.”]

Grollig (1996:159) reports some information on “an *alcalde rezador*”, in *San Miguel Acatán*. He refers to a *caja real*, called the *Ordenanza* (*orenasa*) and reports the rumor that it might contain “historias, concesiones de tierras (=histories, concessions of land), etc.” (:160).

According to my research in *San Juan Ixcoy*, we are there dealing with the cult of a holy bundle. At its center of attention is a closed book, possibly the “Land title of the community of San Juan Ixcoy”, or a “Title for the establishment of political and religious offices of the community”, or the “Norms or prescriptions for them”.

The holy bundle is called ‘*Ordenanza*’, probably in the sense of a royal or vice-royal *cédula* (official document) from the 16th century as one can infer from the prayers associated with it and from my in-depth interviews (see below).

E.3 Documentation²³

It was very difficult for me to obtain permission to take pictures. Part of the Polaroid photographs are deficient. Nevertheless, they are the only visual documents of 1981. See PLATES 14-19.

Filming the ceremony in 1984 had to be aborted, but shows the closed bundle. The reel has not reappeared yet (Archive 1).

The prayer for the *Ordenanza* (the holy bundle) was taped once in a long version (#25A = App. V.c) and twice in a short version in 1981 (#25B & #37). The cassettes have not reappeared yet (Archives 1,2,3). I have only uncorrected computer-printouts of #25A/B which have not been checked against the cassettes (Archive 4a). The recording of the prayer by means of a high quality Narga tape recorder in 1984 [October 8 = 12 Kaq] has not reappeared yet (Archive 1).

I carried out several in-depth interviews in Q’anjob’al which contain information concerning the *Ordenanza* cult (Archive 4a).

²³ Archive 1 = My then wife and her new husband (psychologist, Hamburg). Archive 2 = German Embassy in Guatemala. Archive 3 = University of Hamburg. Archive 4a = Fragmentary archive of Prof. Eike Hinz (e.g., computer printouts). See Part IV, Ch. 1.

A series of observations on the ceremonial tasks of the *Alcalde Rezador* and his helpers outside of his house (prayer rounds in the community and perhaps without the *Alcalde Rezador* outside of the community) were possible on an informal and distant basis. (The community of approx. 900 persons got a garrison of 150 soldiers; after that it became impossible to leave the community because of guerrilla warfare). In 1986, towards the end of my fieldwork, I was able to complete the round of visiting the so-called “five towns (=prayer places)” (*oyeb’ konob’*) outside of Ixcoy in one day, accompanying a close relative of the diviner. The photographs have been – except for minimal damage by water – preserved and have been handed over to me (Archive 4a), the cassettes and my notes have not yet been retrieved (Archive 1).

E.4 Ceremonies for the holy bundle (*Ordenanza*) on the vesper of *Alcalde* days

The ceremonies for the holy bundle are to be seen in connection with the **year-bearer days** of the old Maya calendar. Cf B.1.1: Year-bearer days are determined in terms of 365 days / 260 days: the common denominator is 20, remainder of 5 (out of 365) days, i.e. the 365-day year can start on **four different days** (20:5). In Q’anjob’al: *Watan* [III], *Lamb’at* [VIII], *B’en* [XIII], *Chinax* [XVII]). To the four year-bearer days, a fifth day gets added: *Ajaw* [XX]. These five days (or day names) are called *Alcalde* days, in contrast to the other 15 *Auxilio* day names.

Long version: On the *day before* the year-bearers days and the day *Ajaw* the holy bundle is ceremonially unwrapped early in the morning. The *Alcalde* day and the day before are named in both versions of the *Ordenanza* prayer accessible to me, e.g.,

[#25B/1; 19/VII/81 = 5 *Iq’* (II); this equation is independent of the interview; in the unchecked transcript, the Q’anjob’al words for 5 and 6 are mixed up for the respective day names]:

“...*axam pax yul sq’ab’*, *axam yul yaqan komam ti, kotxutx ti7 o iq’ chi schael yet Santos mispara, komam waq watan.*”

= “...and it is already in the hand, it is already under the foot (i.e., under the rule) of our Lord here, of our Mistress here, 5 *Iq’*, he (= the day) receives on our holy vespers (evening before) our Lord 6 *Watan*...”

[#25A/1; 9/VII/81 = 8 *Ewub’* (XII)]:

“...*b’alon winaq, oxlajon winaq ti yichan tz’aqan yib’an kawil (y)ikisal sat komam waxaq eub’*, *sat komam b’alon b’en...*”; cf below in the prayer: “*tay, kawil yikisal yib’an spixan konob’ b’ay taq woqan, b’ay taq tz’uqan yib’an laq witz, yib’an laq ak’al, yulaq tx’otx’ ti, yul konob’ ti, sat komam waxaq e(w)ub’*, *komam b’alon b’en.*”

= “...9x20 (180), 13x20 (260), commencing, completed above health and life in front of our Lord 8 *Ewub’*, in front of our Lord 9 *B’en*...”; cf further below in the text of the prayer: “Well, health and life above the heart of the town, kneeling there, sitting there

upright, above the mountain, above the plain (i.e. on native country), in this land, in this town, in the face of our Lord 8 *Ewub'*, our Lord 9 *B'en*.”

The European idea of vespers (the evening before *or* eventide) could explain this temporal feature of the *Ordenanza* ceremony. In one interview, I obtained the information that day starts at noon. In no case does that, however, correspond to the documented divinations (Hinz 1991) which start in the afternoon and show the current day as a starting point of the count. Maybe we are dealing with two different traditions, or with a protective camouflage from colonial times.

Note the honorific noun classifier for supernatural non-human persons or rather deities *komam* (and *kotxutx*) in conjunction with the day names.

The term ‘holy bundle’ refers to cloths (Q’anj. *an q’apej*) in which the *Ordenanza* is wrapped. One cloth after another – altogether approx. 25-27 cloths – are opened. After unwrapping, a prayer is spoken (long version: approx. 25 minutes).

EDITED EXCERPT FROM MY ETHNOGRAPHIC JOURNAL:

“Saturday, 4th of July, 1981 (= 3 Chej, precedes *Alcalde* day 4 Lamb’at) /

...around 6 a.m. going to Mateo (the diviner), at 6.45 a.m. to the *Alkal Txaj* (= *Alcalde Rezador*). Mateo and the *Alkal Txaj* start to chat and have an early morning snack. Around 7.30 a.m. ceremony starts. Mateo and the *Alkal Txaj* take the *Ordenanza* package out of the drawer of the red painted table at the back. The *Alkal Txaj*’s wife burns incense (pine resin or *copal or pom*) and meanwhile prays in front of the front table. Mateo and the *Alkal Txaj*, meanwhile, unwrap the *Ordenanza* rapidly (two Polaroid photos = PLATES 14/15). Because we are busy taking pictures, this time we cannot count how many cloths there are. The *Ordenanza* is a book 30x25 cm, bound in leather (?). After unwrapping the *Ordenanza*, it is put on the table, leaning against the wall. A wooden panel (approx. 60x30 cm) which shortly before had been lying covered on the table at the back is placed next to the *Ordenanza*. This wooden panel (which I took at first to be a book) is later called by Mateo ‘*tablo*’ (“panel”) and ‘*milagro*’ (“miracle”), ‘*Segundo Alcalde*’ (“Second mayor”) and ‘*Acalde del 29 de Agosto*’ (= “Mayor of the Fiesta of Saint John Zacharias”). Five candles are placed in front of the *Ordenanza* (see Polaroid photo = PLATE 16). Another “bundle”, obviously a thick book (an “almanac”? [see below], approx. 35x30 cm, 10 cm thick), is lying in a sack of cloth on top of the cloths which lie over the table and in which the *Ordenanza* had been wrapped. The outer cover of the *Ordenanza* (green-white-black, the v-shaped pattern of the “Mixtec band of war²⁴”, see Polaroid photo = PLATE 17) is likewise lying on the table at the back.

After that, Mateo sits back down on the bench, a table is placed in front of him, and he starts to count very small candles (wicks dipped into paraffin wax) and small lumps of pine resin which are quite white (*‘pom de aquí*’ = “Maya resin from here”, as Mateo adds later in the afternoon) and to put them in three small bowls (see Polaroid photos = PLATE 18). Two of the small bowls are put on the altar, one is placed in the

²⁴ Term borrowed from K.A. Nowotny 1961, “Tlacuilolli” (Berlin: Gebr. Mann).

middle on the floor between the house altar and house door (house altar, house door, altar outside in the yard form one [central] line. After that, Mateo speaks a prayer which lasts for approximately 25-30 minutes, (not taped). Ceremony is over at 8.15 a.m. <Alas, two different time recordings by me. The second one says, ceremony started at 8.15 a.m.>

Afterward *atole* (ground maize gruel) is served to us. Mateo, in addition, gets *tamales* (maize dough cooked) and soup... Having a date for 15 (= 3 p.m.) with Mateo in order to go to the *Alkal Txaj* again for the wrapping-up ceremony... On our way we meet the *Alkal Txaj* and his wife on their prayer round. They offer incense at the cross-roads, even when no [wooden] cross [usually a marker] is visible [anymore]. We go to the house of the *Alkal Txaj* in advance. The *Alkal Txaj* and his wife arrive shortly after. First of all, one starts to drink, we also get a small bottle (an *octavito*). Later, the ceremony of wrapping up [the *Ordenanza*] starts. Wrapping up is accomplished very quickly. The *Ordenanza* is packed into the drawer; the green-white-black cover is laid beside the *Ordenanza*. The wooden panel (Span. 'tablo') is put into the cotton bag and put on the table at the back. On top of the bag with the wooden panel, another bag (with an "almanac"?) is placed (...Mateo explains, "it represents the holy numbers of each year..." / "los santos numere, cada año, cada año"). On top of that, the staff of office (Span. 'vara') is placed (compare PLATE 19)."

[Further cases of *Ordenanza* ceremonies observed]

[Long version of the prayer:] "Thursday, July 9, 1981 = 8 XII [Ewub']. Ceremony of unwrapping the *Ordenanza*. When I show up in the house of the *Alcalde Rezador* at 7.15 a.m. the *Ordenanza* is already unwrapped. Don Mateo fills up small bowls with chunks of pine resin and small paraffin wax candles. After a snack, a prayer to the *Ordenanza* is spoken (approx. 25 minutes, 7.45 to 8.10 a.m.) [= #25A, cf App. V.b]."

[Short version of the ceremony:] "Sunday, July 19, 1981 = 5 II [Iq'] (afternoon), i.e. on the day before the year-bearer days, the holy bundle (containing the *Ordenanza*) is *neither unwrapped nor put on the altar-table* in the house of the *Alcalde Rezador*, but some other paraphernalia are put on the altar-table instead. After small bowls with chunks of pine resin and with small paraffin wax candles are filled and put down, a prayer (short version, approx. 12 min) is spoken. The paraphernalia (e.g., the second bag) are later placed back into the drawer of the altar-table without any formalities (PLATE 19 may actually correspond to the short version)."

DESCRIPTION OF THE *ORDENANZA* CEREMONY BY DON MATEO.

[#7B-9; unchecked transcription] "...*hi chi jal yin naq ora yet chi jolel an q'apej tu yin komam ordenansa, weno ka chi ok kokantela sataq, he yet chi ay k'u xin ka chon toj paxhal (...) ka chi jahontoq an q'apej yib'an komam ordenansa hi ch'ay yul kaja...*" = '...and we speak to the Calendar Day when we unwrap the covers on our Lord, the *Ordenanza*, well, and then our candles are placed in front of it, and when the sun falls, we go and pray (...) and then we put the covers on our Lord, the *Ordenanza*, and it is placed into the box...' Note: The description of an afternoon *Ordenanza* prayer in the case of rewrapping the *Ordenanza* does not coincide with my observation. But cf the short version of the ceremony as described above.

E.5 A preliminary note on the counts within the *Ordenanza* prayers

The *Ordenanza* prayers which are difficult to translate give information concerning the function and probably also the origin of the *Ordenanza*.

At the beginning, the prayer addresses the *Alcalde Rezador* and his wife. In the prayer, *localities* are named which belong to the township of San Juan Ixcay as probably the “five towns” (*oyeb’ konob’*, special places for praying). The hypothesis is proposed that they might correspond to the 5 *Alcalde* days. Cf Ch. 10.4. Moreover, *calendrical structures* are named in the prayer, e.g. day counts, permuted combinations of number + day name.

Example [#25B/1]: Starting from the current day [of ceremony, i.e. ‘*o Iq’* = 5 *Iq’*] and the following *Alcalde* day [i.e. ‘*waq Watan’* = 6 *Watan*], the count preserves the order of days, but keeps the numerical coefficient constant and thus reads, e.g.:

*waq watan, waq k’ana7, waq ab’ak, waq tox, waq chej, waq lamb’at, waq mulu7, waq elab’, waq b’atz’, waq ewub’, waq b’en, waq ix, waq tz’ikin, waq txab’in, waq kixkab’, waq chinax, waq kaq, waq ajaw, waq imox, waq iq’, waq watan, chi waj jun ti, chi telk’oj*²⁵ *kax jun ti;*

= “6 *Watan*, 6 *K’ana7*, 6 *Ab’ak*, 6 *Tox*, 6 *Chej*, 6 *Lamb’at*, 6 *Mulu7*, 6 *Elab’*, 6 *B’atz’*, 6 *Ewub’*, 6 *B’en*, 6 *Ix*, 6 *Tz’ikin*, 6 *Txab’in*, 6 *Kixkab’*, 6 *Chinax*, 6 *Kaq*, 6 *Ajaw*, 6 *Imox*, 6 *Iq’*, 6 *Watan*, this [count] comes together, completes [in cycle];”

[The text continues without interruption with the count of days in fixed order with ascending numerical coefficients:]

komam uq k’ana, komam waxaq ab’ak, komam b’alon tox, komam lajun chej, komam usluk’ lamb’at, komam lajkaw mulu7, oxlajun ewub’, komam jun b’atz’;

= “our Lord 7 *K’ana7*, our Lord 8 *Ab’ak*, our Lord 9 *Tox*, our Lord 10 *Chej*, our Lord 11 *Lamb’at*, our Lord 12 *Mulu7*, 13 *Ewub’*, our Lord 1 *B’atz’*.”

[The text continues with reference to decisive points in counting:]

tol kamb’an, waxaqwan, b’alonwan, oxlajunwan heb’ komam kotxutx, mimeqtaq k’u.

= “you see, it is the fours, the eights, the nines, the thirteens, our Lords, our Mistresses, the great days...”

<**Commentary:**> This refers to the numerical coefficients in the dates according to the 260-day calendar. See Ch. 2.1.4 and 2.5. B. Tedlock (1982: 107) might hold the key to interpreting the numerical coefficients of the dates with her data on the Quiché Maya, something along the line of “gentle, weak (good?)” vs. “violent, strong (bad?)” vs. “indifferent”; the “great days” may refer to the *Alcalde* days. Note the honorific noun classifiers for supernatural non-human [male and female] persons or deities (*komam, kotxutx*). See Ch. 4.9.1 (Divination rules).

²⁵ Cf “*telk’oji*” = *caerse al suelo* (Vocab. Q’anjob. 2003:131).

An hypothesis: It is an open question whether or not these texts just preserve calendrical counts and structures, or if they are exercises or if they serve a different purpose altogether.

E.6 Spanish terms and their meanings with reference to Maya religion

The religious keywords are Spanish: *'justisya'*, referring to the Maya concept of illness (literally “justice or judgement” in Spanish), *'Ordenanza'* for the holy bundle, *'ora'* for the Maya calendrical day (literally, ‘hora’ is “hour” in Spanish), *'costumbres'* for traditional rituals or customs, *'jurisdiccion'* (“jurisdiction”) not only has legal, but also ideal and ceremonial significance referring to the place and house of birth with the property around it. Thus, for outsiders, the intended significance cannot be inferred. We are obviously dealing with a kind of security measure (in modern times we have something like that also in Q'anjob'al: “heb' naq xol te”, literally “the men in the forest *or*: between the trees” means “guerrillero” (‘guerrilla-fighter’)).

E.7 On the origin of the *Ordenanza* / An historical argument

Eike H.: [#8B/1] The book of the *Ordenanza* is written in Spanish?

Mateo: Yes. Our Lord, the *Ordenanza*, long ago, from the times of our ancestors came our Lord, the *Ordenanza*, from that place came the word (the order) of our Lord, the *Ordenanza*, from there went out the word (the order) of our Lord, (from) the holy Pope in Rome, from Spain, from there came our Lord, the *Ordenanza*, for our health, for us, the inhabitants, for food and drink, for livestock (domestic animals), for money. From there came our Lord where he, God, is awake. Where God is, from there came our Lord, our Lord, the *Ordenanza*, from Spain, from there it/he came, from the Pope in Rome, there is, from there came our Lord, the *Ordenanza*, from there came the staff of office, the staff of office, it was from the capital, from Santiago Guatemala, from there came the staff of office, “*poder ordenanza*” (the power of the *Ordenanza*). The *Alcalde Ordenanza*, nobody else gives orders anymore, it is only the *Alcalde* (mayor) who is giving orders, the *Alcalde Ordenanza*, the *Alcalde Rezador*, who is giving orders about how *costumbres* (i.e., customs) are as they have then developed, Sir.

Discussion: *I would like to present the following arguments on the contents, meaning and origin of the cult of the holy bundle (“Ordenanza”):*

(1) *The interview obtained from Mateo Raymundo Velásquez might be decisive. It points towards the Spanish colonial political system as one point of reference: [the King of] Spain, the Pope in Rome, [the Audiencia of] Guatemala. See Chapter E.10 (Theoretical model).*

(2) *The document from San Pedro Soloma, quoted by LaFarge, has to be taken seriously. It is in an Aztecoid variant. It contains the phrase: tex-cu-pa [= (in-/i-)tech-co-pa?] alcaldes ordenanza = ‘an Ordenanza concerning*

the *Alcaldes*’ or ‘concerning the *Alcaldes* of the *Ordenanza*’ (App. XI). Cf. *i-tex-cu-pa alcaldes regidores* = ‘concerning *Alcaldes* and *Regidores*’.

(3) LaFarge himself points out the historical situation in neighboring *Jacaltenango* in early colonial times: the population speaking *Jakalteko* and ‘*Mexicano*’, pointing to ‘*Mexicano*’ as an early *lingua franca*. In this context, the dependency of Spanish invaders and colonists on the *Tlaxcaltecs* as auxiliary troops, might be pertinent. This would lead us to *Tlaxcaltec* settlements in the *Altos Cuchumatanes*. Cf. the “*Lienzo de Tlaxcala*” [e.g., the *entrada* (entering) listed for *Quauhtemallan* = ‘*Guatemala*’].

(4) I would like to point to *Luis Reyes García*’s publication (1972) on the “*Ordenanzas*” for the offices in *Quauhtinchan*, *Puebla*, *Mexico*, written in *Náhuatl*. These “*Ordenanzas*” are norms or prescriptions of behavior for office holders, and administrative procedures. They would fit the *Soloma* document in terms of intentions. A compilation of norms like that might be the basis of the “*Ordenanza cult*” in the *Q’anjob’al* area.

(5) It would point to the legal importance of the *Ordenanza cult* as establishing the colonial system of local or communal administration and the legitimation of the “*costumbres*”. See Ch. E.10.3. These “*costumbres*” became a local tradition and blend of elements of old *Maya* and *European* origin.

(6) The contextualization of the “*Ordenanza cult*” by the old *Maya* calendar of 260 days, i.e. the rituals held on the [eventide of the] year-bearer days (+ the day ‘*Ajaw*’), as well as the aspect of a “*holy bundle*” point to the pre-Hispanic component of this cult. We might even be able to point to a pre-Hispanic origin of the offices, too, but I leave that open (we might be dealing with a convergence of pre-Hispanic and colonial Spanish items). The staff of office has probably a pre-Hispanic component.

E.8 Excerpts from an interview on the *Ordenanza*: explication of meaning and function

Eike H.: [#7B-10 middle] What bears the name of ‘*Ordenanza*’? Is it a book?

Mateo: A book (together) with a Christ, together (with a) saint is placed in the drawer²⁶, it is a book, a saint is in it.

Eike H.: Ah, yes.

Mateo: Therefore it is called ‘*holy Ordenanza*’, ‘*holy Ordenanza*’ (in Indian Span. ‘*santos Ordenanza*’). There is a miracle (‘*milagre*’), there is a saint in it, between the pages, there in the *Ordenanza*.

Eike H.: Ah, yes, and what is in it?

Mateo: Just as I then say, there is a book in it and–, and there is a saint in it.

²⁶ Text has ‘*gabetero*’; derived from ‘*gaveta*’ = drawer?; ‘*gabinete*’? (=cabinet?).

Eike H.: Ah, yes, yes. And what is arranged with the help of the *Ordenanza*, what is the *ordenanza* asked for (or used for)?

Mateo: One arranges it (puts it into order), you see, we ask for a little bit of **health** for us so that we continue to live on, we ask for **food** for us, we ask for **drink** for us, we ask for **domestic animals (livestock)** for us, we ask for **money** for us, we ask that we might not incur a **disease**. Therefore, we look after the *Ordenanza*, therefore the *Ordenanza* is with us, the holy *Ordenanza*, our Lord, the *Ordenanza*, as we say...

[10, last line:] And when our *costumbres* (rituals, customs) are finished we cover the *Ordenanza* with cloths, and then we store it away in the drawer [of the house altar; or in a box]...

[11, middle; on the use of *xaq an* (a type of elder):] In the yard of the house, where the cross is, in the path, in the path, [there] is left, bundle for bundle (each handful), each handful, each handful of [*xaq*] *an* (elder)... <Commentary: *The elder leaves are bound together as small bundles of five very small branches, according to my observation of a ceremony as of December 8, 1980*>.

In the yard of our house, there the elder leaves are laid down... for our *costumbres* (rituals, customs)...

For health and life of God, our Lord, health and life of our Lord, the *Ordenanza*, health and life for the sons, for the daughters in (= *ch'ok* = 'entering'?) the town, health and life for the earth (Span. '*mundo*'), for the official inspection (or for the days of judgement; or for the *outlets* of the parish; Span. '*visita*'). Thus, we come to speak to the elder leaves. That way are our *costumbres* (customs), that way we come to speak in the yard of our house, we come into the yard of our house, we carry our fire, we carry our incense burner (Q'anj. *ko-yal txayib'*), we carry our staff of office (Q'anj. *ko-wara*) and come."

<Commentary:> '*Munto, visita*' could also mean "affliction", "punishing judgement" and might connect with the highland Maya Indian concept of earth (*Dyos mundo, ko-b'atx'-om-al*) as well as with the Spanish practice of "visitas" ('visits' to or inspections of towns etc. by Spanish colonial officials, possibly together with a priest).

E.9 Excerpt from an interview on the functions of the *Alcalde Rezador*

"*Mateo*: [#1B-1]...we make our prayer on the day *Ajaw*, so that we give food to the calendar day, for health and the life of the town, of the town, of the town, of the whole town of San Juan. There we make the *costumbres* (rituals) together with the *Regidores* (town councilors), eh-, on the (day) *Ajaw*, on the (day) *Watan* we make further *costumbres* (rituals) for us. But it is, under any circumstances, for the town, only for the town. We ask for a little bit of health, we ask for a little bit of food, we ask for a little bit of maize, we ask for a little bit of livestock, for a little bit of money for (the town). And on the (day) *Watan* we make a further (prayer), on *Lamb'at* we make a further one. [Counts:] *Mulu7, Elab', B'atz', Ewub'*, (on) *B'en* we make a further (prayer), on the calendar day for our food, on the day *B'en* we make a further (*costumbre*, i.e. ritual), on the calendar day for our food. Thus, we arrange it if we are *Alcalde Rezador*. [Counts:] *Ix*, the day *Tz'ikin, Txab'in, Kixkab'*, on *Chinax* we make further *costumbres* (i.e. rituals) for the health and life of the town, for the town alone we ask for

the health and life, We ask for the health and life of the world (*munto*), in all corners, not only for San Juan, do we ask for health and life. We ask for the health and life of the world itself. We ask for health and life for God, our Lord, for the world, for all the *municipios* (townships), for the whole Republic of Guatemala. On each calendrical day, on each day *Ajaw*, on each day *Watan*, on each day *Lamb'at*, on each day *B'en*, on each day *Chinax*. At that time, then, we also ask for a little bit of health for the town, for a little bit, both after (and) before the calendar days. We ask not only *these* days for health and life, we also ask for a little bit of health for us when we work [e.g., in our gardens or fields], when the *Ordenanza* is at rest, when the *costumbres* (customs, rituals) are at rest with us (i.e., on the other – non-*Alcalde* – days). This is a further (topic).

Eike H.: Ah.

Mateo: Maybe the machine (the cassette recorder) has listened to what I have said.

Eike H.: And in what does the difference of the work of an *Alcalde Rezador* (religious mayor) and a *Regidor* (town councilor) consist?

Mateo: It is no remunerated work [the Spanish and Q'anjob'al word are interpreted as "remunerated work or normal daily work"], we make only *costumbres*. The *Alcalde Rezador*, there is no (normal) work on his part, he has no (normal) work, he is only concerned with *costumbres* (customs), the *Alcalde Rezador*. He only looks for *costumbres* (customs), the *Regidor* (town councilor), no other [type of] work it is, under no circumstances can he go to fetch firewood, in no way can he pursue (normal daily) work. No, it is only the *Ordenanza*, which he serves as his duty, it is only the *costumbre* (ritual or customs) which he thinks of day after day, day after day, day after day, day after day, day after day. When one year is completed (?) then the *Ordenanza* is transferred to another house. Here is his office. But the *Alcalde [Rezador]* exits from his duty, no, not from his work [which would be remunerated], only candles are the work of him and of [his wife,] *Lady Alcaldeza* (the female mayor)²⁷, they arrange only for candles, prayers, they make prayers, no, they do not do (remunerated) work, the officials, no (remunerated) work do they make, only *costumbres*, only *costumbres*, *costumbres* (rituals).

Mateo's wife: Candles, copal [i.e., pine resin].

Mateo: It is only *ocote* [i.e., a piece of pine wood full of resin used to light a fire], only a shaving of pine, only copal (pine resin), only candle(s). That way is how the *Alcalde (Rezador)*, the *Regidores* (councilmen) arrange it. Now it is the *Alcalde (Rezador)* alone, not the *Regidor* (councilor) anymore. Another religion has come to our town [i.e., orthodox Catholics and Evangelicals]. They have come, all the *compañeros* [the *guerrilleros*, especially of the EGP (= 'guerrilla army of the poor')], all of them, of the (political) parties. They don't want the *costumbres* (rituals) anymore. But we, since ancient times then, what we want are exactly the *costumbres* (rituals)....

Mateo: ...[1B-2] therefore maize now is very scant, maize cannot (grow) anymore because people are about to give up the *costumbres* (rituals).

Mateo's wife: The *costumbres* (rituals) have ended. No *chilacayotes* [kind of huge gourds], no *calabazas* [small gourds], no beans, no maize, no apples, no peaches, suddenly the spirit of life (Q'anj. *pixan*) is gone, the *costumbres* (rituals) are terminated.

²⁷ The *Alcalde Rezador* in 1985 and 1986 was a lady (the same in both years), called *xal Alkal Txaj* (*Alcaldeza Rezadora*, Span.). In 2007, it was Mateo Raymundo Velásquez's daughter.

Mateo: The *costumbres* are finished, the town doesn't want the *costumbres* (rituals) anymore.

Mateo's wife: Neither the Catholics nor the Protestants."

<**Commentary**> The *Alcalde Rezador*, together with a consultant and, if the *Alcalde* is not a diviner himself, a diviner too, are chosen for a period of one year. I have witnessed one expedition to the religious center of the western Cuchumatanes, Santa Eulalia, to choose a candidate; the process involves a cave oracle. The cave (*yalan na*) is absolutely guarded against white people. In 1898, the Q'anjob'al Maya of San Juan Ixcay revolted against abuse and killed all *Ladinos* (Spanish-speaking nationals), except one boy. The military came in and is supposed to have shot 10 people for every person killed by the Indians in the massacre (i.e., in the proportion of 10:1). This would mean approx. 300 to up to 350 killings. Cf D.2.²⁸ Since the massacre, the *cofradía* (the religious "brotherhood") obviously broke off from the system of offices, became truncated and went underground²⁹. The dignitaries met during my fieldwork but the organization itself was well-protected and largely unrecognizable. The system of religious offices in Zinacantan, a township in Chiapas, Mexico, is a standard point of reference in Mesoamerica. Cf Frank Cancian 1965.

E.10 System-theoretical considerations of the cult of the holy bundle

Coherence: The cult of the holy bundle (*Ordenanza*) integrates conceptually beliefs, customs or routines, roles (offices) and actors, goals and needs, and thus, communal institutions (i.e. local government) and their functions. Historical aspects originally, i.e. before the uprising of the Indians in 1898 in San Juan Ixcay, the probable unity of the political and religious offices of the (Maya) Indian community as elsewhere in Mesoamerica, and synchronous functions nowadays are to be distinguished.

Critical vs. calendrical situations: According to Mischa Titiev ("The Science of Man") we distinguish critical from calendrical situations in functional terms. In our case two roles are associated: diviners and the religious mayor (plus helpers).

Critical situations concern *acute*, mostly *individual* crises or causes (need, distress, perils). It is the role of the diviner to take care of these situations [Q'anj. *Ajb'e7* (= 'keeper of the way or method'), *Ajtxum* (= 'he who figures out, divines')].

²⁸ When the road was built and the telegraph line was installed around 1939 unrest started again (H. Mann, 1981, personal communication).

²⁹ The *Intendente* system under Ubico definitely implies a split between the political administrative and traditional religious offices.

Calendrical situations concern *communal* prevention and system maintenance. It is the role of the “religious mayor“ to take care of the corresponding situations [Q’anj. *Alkal Txaj* or *Alkal Ordenanza* = *Alcalde Rezador* or *Alcalde Ordenanza*].

E.10.1 The cult of the holy bundle (Ordenanza) is system-forming

Population: The cult of the holy bundle involves, in principle, all the inhabitants of the township of San Juan Ixcoy, and factually those who are traditional.

Communal offices (local government): The cult marks their establishment in the early Spanish colonial period. The offices (positions) are constant system identifiers over time.

System-goals: “Cultural themes” implied in this cult are the satisfaction of basic needs. There are ceremonial instruments or means to achieve that, for instance, prayers, copal [pine resin], *xaq an* [(leaves of the) elder]. The basic needs imply, e.g., food, money, health.

Territory: The cult of the holy bundle covers the community and township of San Juan Ixcoy with its municipal rights and landholdings.

Calendrical, cyclical dates: The cult of the holy bundle activates cyclical calendrical dates. Fiestas, e.g., of the local patron or saint, and the so-called *Alcalde* days are ceremonially and cyclically marked.

E.10.2 The cult of the holy bundle contributes to control

Control of the population: The population is controlled in terms of offices, beliefs and power.

(a) Religious offices as agencies of control: 1 *Alcalde Rezador*, 3 *Regidores* (councilmen), 1 scribe (Q’anj. *Aj-tz’ib’*), Second *Alcalde Rezador* (according to an interview with Mateo Raymundo Velásquez).

(b) Beliefs which reinforce behavior (For example, “many people have given up their traditional customs and have changed religions. The results are the ongoing difficulties, problems and perils, including civil war”).

(c) In former times the cult of the holy bundle was obviously the focus of true political power. Most offices were already obsolete at the time of my fieldwork.

Control of system goals: “Frequent, repeated” actions are believed to control the system goals.

(a) Customs and rituals (*costumbres*) on the *Alcalde* days to serve the holy bundle (*Ordenanza*).

(b) Customs and rituals (*costumbres*) on the *fiesta* days, with the participation of the *Alcalde Rezador* (cf Ch. D.3.3).

E.10.3 Legitimation of the cult of the holy bundle

The cult of the holy bundle is legitimized in the following terms [cf E.7]:

With regard to religion: Rome and the Pope.

With regard to political structure: Spain [and the unmentioned King].

With regard to attributes of power (staff of office): Guatemala [and the unmentioned *Audiencia* as an administrative and legal organization].

The ultimate purpose is to legitimize “the *costumbres* (customs)”.

E.10.4 Focuses of coherence

Coherence integrates conceptually or informationally, e.g., human beings in their thoughts, acts or identities. We have seen that the cult of the holy bundle generates the following concepts, or relations:

(a) Temporal relations.

(b) Local and geographical points and relations.

(c) Crop plants identified by their names, seasonal meteorological phenomena related.

(d) Ritual instruments and paraphernalia, e.g., candles, prayers, elder leaves (Q’anj. *xaq an*).

(e) Recipients or addressees (e.g., of prayers, offerings): saints, calendar days, God, holy bundle (*Ordenanza*), *Alcalde Rezador*.

In terms of calendrics, *Alcalde* days (=year-bearer days, plus the day *Ajaw*) and *Auxilio* days are distinguished (*Auxilio* = low-level communal office; refers to the other days). The calendrical reign of the days (“offices of the calendar days”) corresponds to the political-religious hierarchy of a system of offices.

From an interview:

“ [#2A/10] Here is the office of the calendrical days, since times of old, since times of old, since times of our ancestors (...) We were not the ones who invented that. It was long time ago that all the calendrical names came and stayed, a long time ago, they (the calendrical days), they, the five *Alcalde* days.”

E.10.4.1 Two semantic hypotheses on local-temporal structures

(1) The concept of five towns (Q’anj. *oyeb’ konob’*) corresponds possibly to the *Alcalde* days (temporal = local structure). The names of these five localities (‘aldeas’ = ‘villages’) seem to be:

Tok’al, K’isil, San Francisco, Yajaw K’u, Txitamil (#1B-8, 1981).

According to Andrés Pablo Escobar [e-mail, 19.12.2006]: “Los lugares sagrados llamados “OYEB’ TX’O’ [=TX’O7] KONOB’” son *Tontaj*, queda en el caserío Kojkan. *Yajau Qa’* (=Qa7), queda in Yinkulus, actualmente San Sebastián, cerca donde se filmó el baile de venado. *Xhan Lukach*, queda en el caserío San Lucas K’isil. *Q’ata’* (=Q’ata7), que[da] en la aldea K’isil, mas del puente de esa comunidad. *Konob’ chil*, que[da] en San Francisco, municipio de Chiantla.”

A geography of sacred places within the *Ordenanza* prayers (e.g. names of [local?] saints) is feasible, but cannot be proven at this point in time. But compare the following excerpt from the unchecked transcription of the *Ordenanza* prayer [App. V.b, #25A-1-lin15ff]:

b’ay b’atxan, b’ay chelan komam ordenansa, b’ay b’atxan, b’ay chelan heb’ komam hoyeb’ konob’, pojchaji, hoyeb’-oq k’u, kaneb’-oq aq’wal, b’ay b’atxan, b’ay chelan kowitzalil, jak’alil ti7

“where is put upright, where is sitting our Lord, the Ordenanza, where are put upright, where are sitting the “five towns (settlements)”, separated (or: born, created), [as/like?; -oq] five days, four nights, where are put upright, where are sitting (i.e. located) our mountains, our valleys (i.e. our home country).”

An alternative hypothesis would refer us back to the unnamed “five days” which terminate the 365-day year (Q’anj. *oyeb’ k’u*; Azt. *nemontemi*; cf B.1.1). This hypothesis might fit the “four nights”.

(2) Moreover, there seems to be a structure of four mentioned in the prayer for the holy bundle (*Ordenanza*) [#25B-2]:

chilay tx’otx’, chilay konob’, b’alon k’ual, oxlajun k’ual yintaq sataq komam chib’al tx’otx’, chib’al konob’, kaneb’ pop, kaneb’ chem, kaneb’ suelo, kaneb’ mesa

“...one looks after the land, one looks after the town, for 9 days (or: 9x20?), for 13 days (or: 13x20?), behind, in front of our Lord, *chib’al* (?) land, *chib’al* (?) town, four mats, four benches, four soils (or grounds), four tables (altars)...”

Meanwhile the interview (February 1983) in which I read this transcribed text to Don Mateo has been found. He corrects the transcription [#40B-1/2]: “...no es *chib’al*... [es] *txilan*, no es *txilal*, *txilan tx’otx’ konob’*... *txilan es San Francisco [Aldea San Francisco]*” = “...it is not *chib’al*... [it is the place] full of fruits (or: fires), it is not *txilal*, it is the land, the locality of *txilan*... i.e. [the village of] San Francisco [nowadays in the township of Chiantla] ...” Don Mateo points out that *suelo* is to be read as *xhila* (*silla*): “...four chairs, four tables...”. I have the idea that *chilay* in the beginning of the quotation should read *txilan*, too. The text refers to San Francisco, one of the *oyeb’ konob’*.

Notes: *txilan* = ‘full of fruits or lights’; or possibly: ‘the place of plenty’ (*Dicc. del Idioma Q’anj.* 1996:291, ... P.D. *Chi ok txilanoq* = ‘encendidos: muchos focos o luces’; [Te kapulin toxa k’al] *txilan [ok sat te’]* = ‘[El cerezal está] bien cargado [de frutas]’). Cf. ‘*Konob’ chil*’ [above, APE]. My erudite commentary in the 1st printed version is obsolete.

The territorial aspect is identified: *tx’otx’* = ‘land’, *konob’* = ‘town’. Note also the temporal aspect (9 or 180 and 13 or 260 days).

'*Four mats*' [symbols of power in Mesoamerica]: In pre-Columbian times many townships had rules of four, and in Spanish colonial times there are very often four councilmen involved in the town-hall (cf the *Governadores* system in Tlaxcala, 16th century) or four *Alcaldes* (mayors) in geographical or ritual terms (cf Nebaj, Ixil area; participant observation in 1978, E.H.).

E.10.5 Conclusion

1. The *Ordenanza* is probably a *Spanish colonial* document from the 16th century, either the *land title* of the *colonial community*, or the *establishment* of the Spanish colonial *community administration*, or the *norms* for these administrative offices.

2. The *Ordenanza* is kept as a Holy Bundle and represents the focus of a *cult*. In San Juan Ixcoy, ceremonies and prayers are directed to the *Ordenanza*. It forms the central component of a *community shrine* in the house of the *Alcalde Rezador*, the religious mayor who is in charge of the *Ordenanza* in the corresponding year. For additional components, see PLATES 16-19.

3. Ceremonies take place one day before the *Alcalde* day, obviously intended as the *Alcalde* day's *vespers* ('*vispera*'). Cf E.4 (5 Iq'). The ceremonial shift which may be a camouflage is thus partially explained.

4. Functionally, the *Ordenanza* cult can be interpreted as the focus of a *community therapy*.

Note: This is an edited and enlarged version of a paper read at Charles Darwin University, Darwin, N.T., Australia, in October of 2004.

II. CORE CHAPTERS

1. DIVINATION AND COUNSELING: TERMINOLOGY, CONCEPTS AND BELIEFS AS A SYSTEM

A *standardized terminology* is used in the interviews elicited and in the divinations or consultations. Frequently, complex action processes or events are only referred to in abbreviated form, i.e. as a template or schema of action. A knowledge of these action schemata is basic for the comprehension of consultations. Starting with the interviews has the advantage of recovering the beliefs and the terminology independent of specific action purposes or situational intentions. Furthermore, the *belief system* is developed more systematically in the interviews than in the consultations. The consultation, and, correspondingly, its questions, answers and the terminology used refer to a complex *model of events* and situations. This model of events is described later in Chs. 1.2 and 10.4. I am looking for content-specific instantiations or concrete exemplifications for the action schemata as used in the texts. This means, schemata are applied and can be defined by examples. The concepts of ‘fault’, ‘mistrust’, ‘illness’ and ‘poverty and destiny’ are analyzed. Methodically, cf Spradley 1979 & 1980.

1.1 Extraction of the terminology and its meanings from interviews and model dialogs

1.1.1 Texts and conceptual analysis

In the model dialogs and in many consultations, demands are made and questions are asked to identify the goal of the client’s visit. The diviner assumes both the role of the diviner and the client (#1A):

(Fictitious) client: “I have a request.”

[ay jun hin-mandar tet.]

Diviner: “What is your request?”

[tzet ha-mandar?]

The term *hin-mandar* or *hin-cheqb’anil* (‘my request’) identifies the visit as being purposeful or goal-directed in contrast to a casual meeting and chat in passing by. The client answers:

Client: “Make a divination for me; for I am ill.”

[aq’ jun hin-prewa, tol ay junoq hin-yab’il ayok w-in.]

The client asks for a divination (*hin-prewa* = ‘a divination for me’) and identifies the initial problem briefly (*ay hin-yab’il* = ‘I have an illness / I am ill’). A more specific way to ask for the purpose of the client’s visit presupposes that the visitor has already been identified as a person who seeks advice.

Diviner: “What is your pain?”

[tzet ha-pena?]

The expression (*ha-pena* = ‘your pain’) refers to the initial problem of the client. Permission was granted to me to film a consultation between the diviner and his granddaughter. In the model-like dialog, the goal-identifying questions are juxtaposed (#39A):

Diviner: “Alright, [young] lady, what is your request, what do you ask for, what kind of pain do you have?”

[Tay txutx, tzet xhi ha-cheqb’anil, tzet yet ch-a q’anle7, tzet yet ha-pena?]

The answers show that *ha-cheqb’anil* (‘your request’) and *ha-pena* (‘your pain’) are nearly synonymous (#1A):

Client: “I don’t have [another] pain, I have [only] this pain I am asking for; I would like to have some health, I would like to have some food for myself, I would like to have (my) useful animals [e.g. livestock: may include pigs, chicken, sheep, goats], I would like to have (my) money and I don’t want to die.”

[k’am jun hin-pena, tol ay wal jun hin-pena ch-in q’anle7, tol hoq w-oche jab’oq hin-kawil, hoq w-oche jab’oq hin-lob’ej, w-oche jun hin-w-asiento, w-oche jun hin-tumin, i man hoq w-oche hoq hin-kam-oq.]

The female client specifies different GOALS; e.g., the female client wants to be instructed on how to obtain and secure health. (HAVING) HEALTH, FOOD, DOMESTIC ANIMALS, MONEY are sub-goals representing basic needs or values.

In another model dialog (#15A), different INITIAL PROBLEMS (events) are specified by the diviner in the fictitious role of a client:

Client: “We want a divination for a marriage contract for us or for our life, our health, or for a case of death, of a termination, or for a sad dream, you know.”

[chi j-oche wal junoq ko-prewa yet junoq ko-konsyerto, ma yet junoq kawil j-ikisal, ma yet junoq kamich lajwil, ma yet junoq wayich kusil, la.]

With a further question, the CAUSES or REASONS for the initial problems are covered (#15A):

Client: “And what is our fault, what is our problem?”

[i tzet wal ko-palta, tzet wal ko-q'anejal?]

The expressions *ko-palta* ('our fault') and *ko-q'anejal* ('our problem / matter') refer to TRANSGRESSIONS and/or negative FEELINGS (resulting from them) which led to the initial problems.

The coordination of conceptual structures explicated so far is contained in the following excerpt from a model dialog (#1A):

Client: “There is our Lord, an illness, with us. It is the case that a fever is nagging us. There is a judgement which is with us in our house. Therefore, we come in order to ask questions, to listen to a divination for us, concerning—, concerning the pain. Well then, what is our fault, what is our transgression? Therefore, we come to ask for a divination, to ask, to listen to what it is. Will a (serious) illness happen to us, will a case of death happen to us?”

[ay jun cham komam ya7 jolom ay-ek' j-et-oq, wal q'a chi low j-in, ay jun cham justisya ay-ek' j-et-oq b'ay ko-na, yuj-tu ch'ul ko-q'anle j-ab'e jun ko-txum, tet, haa, tet pena, ti nani xin, tzet ko-palta, tzet ko-mul, por eso chi ul ko-q'anle jun ko-txum, ko-q'anle j-ab'e tzet yetal, hoq mi ek' jun cham ilya7 tu j-in, hoq mi ek' jun cham kamich tu j-in?]

The INITIAL PROBLEM is described as *ay jun cham komam ya7 jolom* (= 'there is our Lord the headache') and *ay jun cham justisya* (= 'there is a judgement'), referring to the Lord of Illness (see Ch. 1.5.3). 'Komam' is a honorific noun classifier for non-human male divine or supernatural beings. 'Cham' is a honorific noun classifier for honorable male persons.

The expressions *ko-palta* (= 'our fault') and *ko-mul* (= 'our transgression') are used in juxtaposition and refer to the CAUSE or REASONS for the current INITIAL PROBLEM. A question is made concerning two (negative) FUTURE STATES: *cham ilya7* (= 'illness') and *cham kamich* (= 'death', 'a case of death'). Death is conceptualized either as the anticipated result of 'time having run out' (i.e. fate), or 'transgression' which can be compensated by proper rituals (App. I) if these are carried out in good time.

The following excerpt shows the coordination of CAUSE or REASONS for the present INITIAL PROBLEM (the commencing illness) and prescribed THERAPEUTIC MEASURES (from #1A):

Diviner: “...because of which reason your daughter is ill. Now then, put it into order, pardon all your thoughts about your poverty or about your neediness or whatever it is. Ah, put in order that from your father.”

[...tzet yuj xan ya7ay jun h-alib'. ti nani xin, jatne, aq' s-mimank'ulalil, jantaq ha-pensar yin ha-meb'il ma yin ha-powreal ma tzet y-eji, hee—, jatne7 jun y-et ha-mam.]

What should be arranged are THOUGHTS or negative FEELINGS (*yob'-taq s-k'ul* = 'bad intentions, hate'). The THERAPEUTIC MEASURES (PUTTING-INTO-ORDER) here relate to RECONCILIATION (*aq' s-mi-mank'ulal-il*) with oneself (2nd person singular possessive: *ha-pensar*) and with other persons (*yet ha-mam* = 'that from your father'). Cf Ch. 5.11.2.

In one of the model dialogs we read (#1A):

Diviner: "So if there are still faults after all, then put it into order. Why have you not put it into order yet? I have already told you that you must completely put into order all our (i.e., your) faults, all our (i.e. your) mistrust, all our (i.e. your) preoccupations and all our (i.e. your) pain and all your problems (affairs)."

[entonses ta ay-to palta xin, entonse jatne-w-eq junoq-xa, tzet yu[j] xan maj he-jatne7? Toxa x-w-al tik'a, tol tz'akan ch-e jatne jantaq ko-palta, jantaq ko-kab'k'ulal, jantaq ko-b'ilk'ulal, hi jantaq ko-pena, he jantaq he-q'anejal.]

Here we have *ko-palta* ('our = your fault'), *ko-kab'k'ulal* ('our = your mistrust / double thought / dislike / mental reservations'), *ko-b'ilk'ulal-il* ('our = your preoccupations'), *ko-pena* ('our = your pain') and *he-q'anejal* ('your problem / affairs') as parallel expressions. The THERAPEUTIC MEASURES (PUTTING-INTO-ORDER) refer to TRANSGRESSIONS and NEGATIVE FEELINGS which form the CAUSES or REASONS for the INITIAL PROBLEM (in this case: DREAMS and OMENS).

THERAPEUTIC MEASURE as a procedure, e.g. as an OPEN DECLARATION, is termed: *chi ko-jatne* = 'we put it into order'; *chi ko-mitx' ko-q'ab' y-et-oq [...]* *naq anima ha-mam ko-jatne-n el-oq* = 'we [used to] grasp our hands with the deceased father of yours, so that we put it completely into order' (cf Ch. 6.3 <Comm 2>, Hinz 1991/II:68). There are more specific terms to be found in the divinatory consultations.

The following excerpt mentions the PLACES in which the therapeutic measures or ritual actions shall take place. Two of these measures or actions are named (#1A):

"They put it into order in their house, they go to put it into order in the Calvary [i.e. cemetery], in the cemetery, they put into order all their faults, in the church, they go to the place of prayer, to the places of prayer, to the "five settlements", to the house of birth, for they are going to make an open declaration [in the form of a confession], for they are going to make our *costumbres* (rituals), in them (i.e. the places) so that there might be health, so that there might be no illness, so that there might be no case of death, that there might not be any captivity, any punishment, so that there might be no quarrel, tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, in three days, in 20 days,

in 13 years, in 9, in 13 years. We want this with God, our Lord, we want this with the holy Earth, with the holy World, in this way.”

[chi s-jatne heb' b'ay s-na, chi to[j] s-jatne heb' b'ay karwal, b'ay sementerio, chi s-jatne heb' jantaq s-palta, b'ay iglesya, hi to[j] heb' b'ay cham txoj, b'ay heb' cham txoj, b'ay heb' cham oyeb' konob', cham pojjob' aljub', tol chi to[j] heb' y-al s-b'a, tol chi to[j] ch'an heb' cham y-aq' kan jab'oq ko-kostumbre, b'ay heb' cham yet ka ay kawil, yet k'am ilya7, yet k'am kamich, yet k'am preso, yet k'am multo, yet k'am owal, yet yekal, yet kab'ej, yet oxej, junq'ej, yet oxlajunab', b'alon oxlajunab' xin, chi j-oche jun b'ay ko-mam Dyos, chi j-oche b'ay santos tierra, santo mundo, así.]

The THERAPEUTIC MEASURES or RITUAL ACTIONS are:

PRAYING <chi s-jatne heb' b'ay [PLACE] = 'they arrange it in [PLACE] (in terms of a prayer)'>.

MAKING-RITUALS <tol chi toj heb' cham y-aq' kan jab'oq ko-kostumbre = 'for they go to leave or to offer some rituals (or ritual offerings)'>.

OPEN DECLARATION (CONFESSION) <chi toj heb' y-al s-b'a = 'for they go to speak to each other (express themselves)'>.

The PLACES in which these measures or actions are to be carried out are: one's HOUSE, the CEMETERY (where prayers are made to the deceased parents or ancestors), the CHURCH (where prayers are made to the patron of the town), the PLACES OF PRAYERS [e.g. the OYEB' (TX'O7) KONOB' = 'the five settlements', i.e. Tontaj (in Kojkan), Yajau Q'a (in Yin-kulus), Xhan Lukach (in San Lucas K'isil), Q'ata7 (in K'isil), Konob' Chil (in San Francisco, Municipio de Chiantla); cf Andrés Pablo Escobar, e-mail, Ch. E.10.4.1], the HOUSE OF BIRTH.

The GOAL-STATE is named which is to be achieved by means of the THERAPEUTIC or RITUAL MEASURES: yet ka ay kawil = 'so that there might be health'.

Furthermore, the PREVENTION OF NEGATIVE FUTURE STATES is named: yet k'am ilya7 = 'so that there might be no illness'; yet k'am kamich = 'so that there might be no death'; yet k'am preso = 'so that there might be no captivity'; yet k'am multo = 'so that there might be no punishment'; yet k'am owal = 'so that there might be no quarrel'.

Moreover, two ADDRESSEES (RECIPIENTS) of RITUAL ACTIONS are specified: komam Dyos = 'God, our Lord' and santos tierra, santo mundo = 'the Holy Earth' (called ko-b'atx-om-al = 'who carries us, our carrier' in other texts). See Ch. 9.1 [Beliefs, supernatural beings].

1.1.2 Summary reference to the client's and the diviner's goals and actions

Goals and actions of the (fictive) client are referred to in a summarizing form in the texts:

Diviner: “The whole town comes to verify [e.g. what the dreams or omens mean].”

[chi ul y-aq’ wirigwar jan konob’ tu.]

Construction of transitive verbs: *aq’(a)* + *Spanish verb [averiguar]*.

Diviner: “They come to ask questions.”

[chi ul s-q’anle heb’ tu7.]

Note: The narrating person is the diviner. He refers implicitly to the process of divination and consultation.

The diviner refers to *his* goals and actions in a summarizing form (#1A):

Diviner: “I will find out what your fault is and what your problem is.”

[ok hin-say w-ila tzet yet jun he-palta i tzet jun he-q’anejal.]

Ok hin-say w-ila = ‘I will search, I will see = I will find out [in the divination]’

Diviner: “I make a divination for us (=for you).”

[chi w-aq’ jun ko-txum.]

Ko-txum refers to the ‘divination (for us)’. Verb: *txum-li* = ‘to figure out’, ‘to divine’. Instrumental noun: *txum-b’al* = ‘instrument of divination’, ‘tz’ité’, ‘seed of the coral tree [erythrina corallodendron]’. The expressions *txum* (‘divination’), *b’e* (‘way/path’), *prewa* (‘divinatory probe’), *sentido* (‘interpretation’), *rasón* (‘reason/interpretation’) are nearly synonymous (‘divination’, ‘interpretation’, ‘counsel’). Note the Spanish loanwords (*prueba*, *sentido*, *razón*).

Diviner: “I put into order the town or the people.”

[ch-in jatne el konob’.]

Jatne ([vt]; = ‘to put into order’) can refer to the divination and the ritual measures taken by the diviner on behalf of the client. Note that the same word is used by the *client* (and *diviner*) to refer to the *open declaration* (confession) and to *ritual prayer* (involving candles, copal or *xaq an* [= elder leaves]) in the stricter sense. One should note that the diviner is normally not present in the client’s confession.

1.1.3 Concept formation systematized

The following matrix (Table 1) summarizes the steps in concept formation. ‘Etic’ (= analytical or analyst-specific) dimensions are defined in terms of semantic-pragmatic features and syntactic localization within a sequence of events. ‘Emic’ (= folk or culture-specific) dimensions are based on the Q’anjob’al expressions and try to capture the semantic meaning of these expressions in Q’anjob’al culture. The Q’anjob’al expressions (‘emic’ glosses) and their translations may be based on examples (exemplary definitions).

‘ETIC’ DIMENSION	NOTES ON FEATURES	‘EMIC’ TRANSLATION (examples)	‘EMIC’ GLOSS (examples)
INITIAL PROBLEM	e.g., events	<i>ILLNESS (1), OMEN (2) or DREAM (3)</i>	“ <i>ilya</i> ” (1), “ <i>lab</i> ” (2), “ <i>wayich</i> ” (3)
GOAL (of visit)	e.g., syntax: final construction; pragmatics: resolution	e.g., <i>FOR</i> –	e.g., “ <i>y-et</i> –”
CAUSE/REASON (for initial problem)	e.g., norms: transgression	<i>FAULT (1); MISTRUST (2), SORROW (3)</i>	“ <i>ha-palta</i> ”, “ <i>ha-mul</i> ” (1); “ <i>ha-kab’k’ulal</i> ” (2), “ <i>ha-b’ilk’ulal</i> ” (3)
FUTURE STATES	Negative and positive: physical health	<i>ILLNESS (1), DEATH (2); HEALTH (3)</i>	“ <i>ilya</i> ” (1), “ <i>kamich</i> ” (2); “ <i>ha-kawil h-ikisal</i> ” (3)
THERAPEUTIC MEASURES	Communicative & ritual measures defined in terms of goals to be achieved	<i>OPEN DECLARATION</i> (‘we grasp our hands’, ‘we talk to each other’)(1); <i>PRAYER</i> (‘we pray’, ‘we recite’)(2); <i>RITUAL OFFERING</i> (‘we offer our copal, our candles’) (3)	“ <i>chi ko-mitx’ ko-q’ab</i> ’, <i>chi j-ala ko-b’a</i> ” (1); “ <i>ch-on txajli</i> ”, “ <i>ch-on paxhalwi</i> ” (2); “ <i>chi j-aq’ ko-pom, ko-kantela</i> ” (3)
CONSEQUENCES (relative; reclassify etic dimensions)	e.g., event category: [see CAUSE; FUTURE STATE]	e.g., <i>manifest phrase markers (AND THEN (1); THEREFORE (2), etc.) or implicit order</i>	e.g., “ <i>ka</i> ” (1); “ <i>y-uj-(tol)</i> ” (2)
PLACES	Operationalized in terms of prayers and rituals	<i>OWN HOUSE (1); CEMETERY (2); CHURCH (3); (our) PLACE OF PRAYER (e.g. ‘5 TOWNS’) (4)</i>	“ <i>ko-na</i> ” (1); “ <i>kar-wal</i> ” (2); “ <i>iglesya</i> ” (3); “ <i>ko-txoj</i> ”, e.g. “ <i>oyeb’ konob</i> ” (4)

Table 1: ‘Etic’ vs. ‘emic’ concept formation

1.1.4. Epistemological status of the concepts reconstructed: ‘etic’ vs. ‘emic’

The analytical, i.e. “etic”, classification as “*antecedents*” and “(*sequences of*) *consequences*” seems to be obvious. One might argue that this classification is not verbalized emically, but is consciously present in behavioral terms, i.e. reactions mentioned correspond to and coincide with the conceptual distinctions. Alternatively, the distinction can guide semantic exploration and can lead us to the uncovering of native or folk, i.e. “emic”, classification. Cf Table 1 of Paragraph 1.1.3 above.

The proposed *emic* classification is an *approximation* based upon:

- (a) the categorical place in a sequence of actions, morpho-syntactically defined, and
- (b) exemplifications (concrete examples of items or acts verbalized).

1.2 The relational coordination of concepts: the belief system reconstructed as a situational model

In this Subchapter, I present a model of the concepts and relations analyzed so far. The resulting belief system model represents the structure of events which are considered to be relevant for the Q'anjob'al people.

CAUSES (e.g. transgressions by x) *lead to* QUARREL between x (=husband) and y (=wife): this *leads to* MISTRUST of x/y that *leads to* ILLNESS of x, y or z, and finally *to* DEATH of x, y or z (= children).

The INITIAL PROBLEM *points towards* the CAUSES and CONSEQUENCES.

If the THERAPEUTIC or RITUAL MEASURES of x and y are *carried out*, the CAUSES *become regulated*, MISTRUST *becomes removed*, ILLNESS *is prevented* (if it has not yet started) or *is removed* (if it has already started) and, finally, DEATH *is prevented*. LIFE or HEALTH *is enabled*.

The CAUSES (transgressions by x) can also *lead directly to* ILLNESS or DEATH of x (the culprit).

Finally, CAUSES (transgressions) and even MISTRUST can be *localized mutually with* x and y (e.g. in the case of a marital couple).

Note the different *types of relational coordination*:

'leads to' *or* 'causes'; 'enables' (*or* 'makes possible'; *or* 'is enabled'); 'prevents' (*or* 'is prevented'); 'deletes' (*or* 'is removed'); 'indicates' *or* 'points towards'; '[measures] carried out'; '[transgressions] become regulated'.

The model of events or situations outlined probably has only limited validity: it can probably be applied only in cases in which a definite event or state has already started and is now to be interpreted. For more global marriage and child birth forecasts (on 'destiny'), a different model might hold (but see Ch. 9.3 [Destiny forecast]).

The following formal representation of some components of the belief system integrates the analysis here in Ch. 1.2 with the interview data in Ch. 1.1 and 1.4 [Mistrust]. The labeled arrow points towards the event produced or expected. See Ch. 10.4(4)/Fig.1 [Divination script] and Ch. 1.3 together with Schema 1 [Faults] in Ch. 3.6.

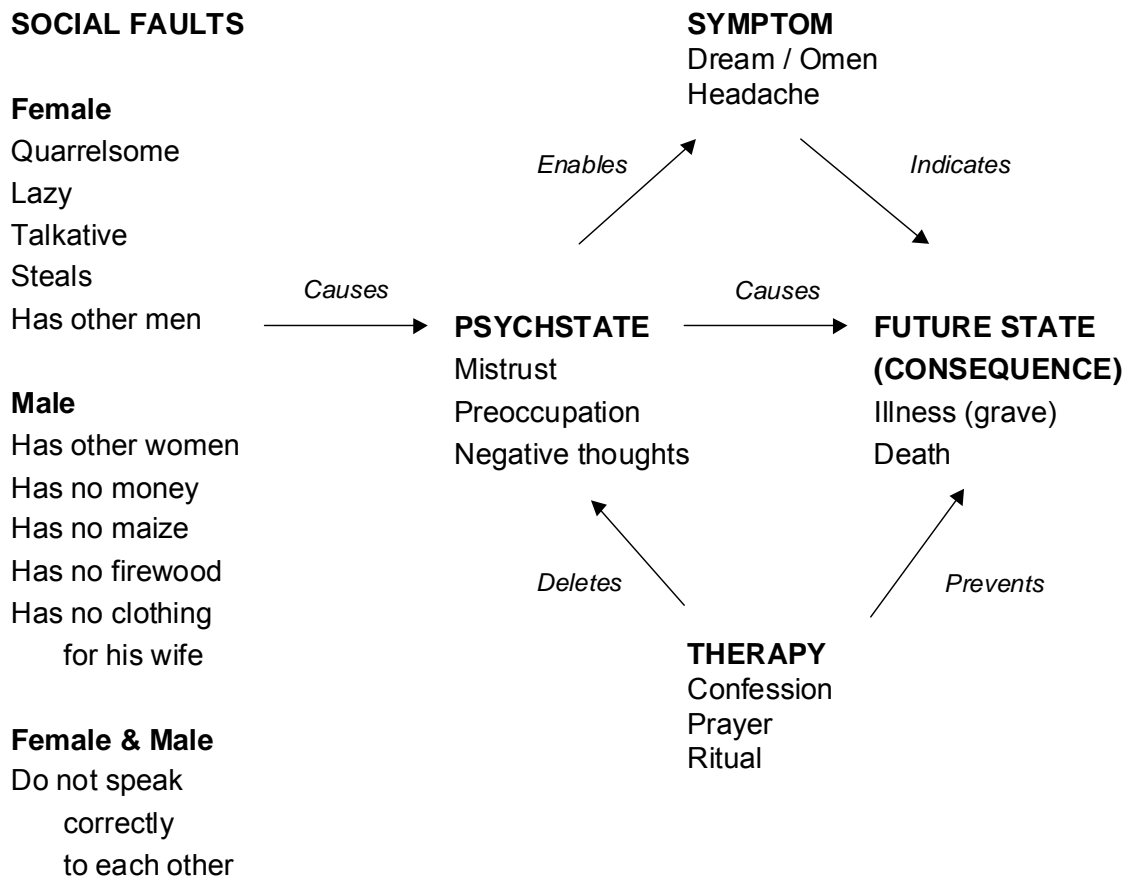


Figure 1: A formal representation of some central beliefs and concepts in context

1.3 The procedural concepts of ‘fault’ or ‘cause’: the determination of the problem and the search for causes

1.3.1 Translation of interview data

From: #1A; Hinz 1991/I:10; II:12f.

I will now try to find out what your faults are and what your problem is: If it is from your father, if it is from your mother, if it is from your (ancestral) cross, if it is from your house, if it is from your land, if it is your place of birth, because of which your wife is ill, because of which your son is ill, because of which your daughter is ill, because of which your daughter-in-law is ill. Now, put it into order, pardon all your thoughts about poverty, about your necessities or whatever it is. Ah, put into order that from your father, that from your mother, that from your place of birth, that from your (ancestral) cross, that from your house, that from your land, that from your terrain;

and you shall also pardon the other person,
(i.e.) do we know which neighbor has bad thoughts, bad intentions?

1.3.2 Analytical commentary

The excerpt represents a catalog of some *procedures of searching for and checking-up on faults or other causes*. We are told what the diviner has to look for. Cf Ch. 9.2 for the full text and Ch. 3.6/Fig.2. See Ch. 5.11.2 for a procedural definition of reconciliation or pardon.

Find out what your faults are and what your problem is: The model dialog directs our attention to the determination of “faults” in their content or problems. ‘Fault’ has a moral and social implication and refers to behavior, to behavioral norms or customs.

If it is from your father: A heuristic alternative is formulated. We are dealing with a cognitive schema which refers to possible norm-breaking behavior on the part of the father which took place sometime in the past. Such behavior is assumed to have a possible impact on the next two generations, including affinal kinship in terms of the daughter-in-law or son-in-law. The same holds for the mother of the person concerned (*from your mother*).

If it is from your (ancestral) cross: This heuristic alternative refers to a hypothetical case of religious conversion within the family of the person concerned. Catholic or Evangelical converts usually throw out the ancestral or, rather, family cross from their altar, inside or outside the house where they live. This is considered to be aversive to health and life.

If it is from your house: This refers to the moral norm and obligation of maintaining and repairing that house which is owned by the namesake of the person concerned. This special social relationship, called *k'exel*, normally holds between the grandfather (or: grandmother) on the father's side and the grandson (or: granddaughter).

If it is from your land: This can refer to black magic or to an arbitrary and secret change of land boundary stones (a very serious crime) or to the neglect of the reconciliation of transgressions made by the elder generation (including the grandparent generation).

If it is your place of birth: This might refer to faults or moral transgressions mentioned so far. The term covers both ‘land around the birth place’ and/or ‘house of birth’.

Because of which your wife is ill: The faults or moral or social transgressions *cause* illness. We are thus dealing with a folk theory of the social or moral origin of illness. Illness is considered to originate in social behavior, less so in causes to be explained in terms of nature. Medication might be

considered to be effective *in conjunction* with rituals or other sociotherapeutic efforts. Accidents might be partially considered as being different.

Wife, daughter, daughter-in-law: The circle of persons is partially mentioned (husband, son, son-in-law, ego form also part of this sphere of influence in terms of responsibility and social implication, i.e., in terms of actions affecting the nuclear family and primary affinal kin). Cf Hinz 1991 / II:12 and Ch. 1.4.1.

Put it into order, pardon all your thoughts about poverty, about your necessities or whatever it is: The analysis of the problem leads to a therapy of reconciliation. As we have seen, ‘put into order’ relates ideas (or worries, i.e. ideas with an affective weight) to the therapeutic measures of rituals (e.g., praying) or an open declaration (‘confession’). The object of the thought is specified as poverty or necessities taking us back to the level of considering *basic needs* (cf Ch. 2).

Put into order that from your father (mother): The diviner goes through the aforementioned alternatives of causes for illness. The topic to be covered either in prayers or rituals of reconciliation or in the open declaration (‘confession’), perhaps together with the father or mother, are the problems created by the father’s or mother’s misbehavior.

You shall also pardon the other person: This refers to the neighbors, their bad behavior, their possible black magic and their envious or otherwise evil thoughts. Direct interaction is not implied. It obviously does not matter if exact information, assumption or simply possibility is involved. An act of pardon is prescribed which means that no act of retaliation or bad thought should take place. It might simply serve for the prevention of evil intentions becoming reality.

1.4. The concept of mistrust

1.4.1 Translated texts

The following excerpt is from an interview on MISTRUST and other problems of the clients [#23A; Hinz 1991/I:15, II:17]:

Eike H.: If there is a person who comes to you and if there is a mistrust in his (/her) house, what are the words which you tell to the person here?

Diviner: Well, a person comes in order to ask for the way (i.e. a divination), to ask for the way as we say. If a person here has a mistrust with regard to her husband or with regard to his wife, then they have a mistrust, they have a quarrel, maybe because of their expenses or because of their money or because of their clothing or because of their food, or because of their (sexual) transgressions, maybe because of a woman, maybe because of a man. Therefore they have a mistrust. Therefore, there is an illness,

there is a case of death which occurs to them. Therefore, we put it into order for them, therefore we order (them) to put it into order, the people who come here, the Christians who come here, who come here in order to ask for the way.

Compare the following excerpt (#23A; Hinz 1991/I:19f, II:20f):

Eike H.: ...And another question which supplements what I have asked you, ah–, if there is a person who comes to you and has a mistrust with regard to his (/her) house, ah–, what can this person do, what can the person do who comes to you and has a mistrust with regard to his (/her) house?

Diviner: Well, the people who come here and have a mistrust with regard to their house(hold), since who knows what kind of faults the wife has, who knows what kind of faults the man's wife has who is in his house. Perhaps that the wife is ill, is ill, perhaps that she (is) ill or that she steals (is a thief) or that she, then, is lazy, these are three [faults], that she, then, is a sinner (in the sexual sense), these are four [faults], or that she, then, is talkative, these are five faults: therefore, there is their mistrust in their house. The wife, five faults has that wife, maybe that she is ill or that she is a thief or that she is quarrelsome or that she is lazy, or whatsoever may be the caprice (delicate mood) which she has in their house. She does not consult with her husband with correct words. Therefore they have a mistrust. 'I come to speak, I come to ask for a divination for me about the way I have to live together with my wife,' says he, that man who comes here. [II:21] Well, it is the same with the woman who comes to speak, eh–, also the woman comes to speak. If not, the man comes to speak..... and also in the same way the man speaks. Eh, also in the same way the woman speaks about the man. The man, may be he has no means (money) in his hut, may be he has no maize in his hut, or she has no clothing in his (their) hut, or he has no firewood or he has no pine wood in his hut. Here is the origin that the woman on her part then has a mistrust towards the man. Here is a mistrust of those in their house, in their house. As their utterances are, so is their mistrust in their house. Such is the case with the person here. There are many points (it is much), it is not only one point (...).

1.4.2 Analytical commentary

The REASONS FOR MISTRUST given in the interview are '*quarrels*'. The OBJECTS, REASONS, SUBJECT MATTER OF MISTRUST or QUARRELS are referred to in terms of the *causal construct* '*because of-*'. In detail: '*their expenses*', '*their money*', '*their clothing*', '*their food*', '*their sexual mistakes*' [*'a woman*', '*a man*'].

The wife's faults which are reasons for mistrust include: *'is ill'*, possibly implying a fault which has led to the illness; *'steals'*, *'is lazy'*, *'is a sinner'*; *'is talkative'*; *'whatsoever the caprice might be'*; *'she does not consult with her husband with correct words'*. At least the last three items refer to the mode of communication. Included in the husband's faults which are reasons for mistrust are *'no money'*, *'no clothing'*, *'no corn (maize)'*, *'no firewood'*. To provide these items form part of the husband's duties.

The CONSEQUENCES OF MISTRUST are outlined in summary: *'therefore, there is an illness'* and *'[therefore,] there is a case of death'*, referring to negative states. The expression *'therefore, we put it into order'* refers to the THERAPEUTIC MEASURE of RITUALS and OPEN DECLARATION (so-called confession).

1.4.3 The analysis of conceptual structure

1.4.3.1 Mistrust refers to a relation and/or an object or reason

"Mistrust" is introduced as a *social relation* 'to hold a mistrust with regard to': 'person *x* holds a mistrust with regard to person *y*'.

This relationship can be *mutual* or *reciprocal* between the two persons involved.

The interview text refers to the relation of mistrust: *'if he (/ she) has a mistrust with regard to his wife or with regard to her husband'*; *'they have a quarrel'*, implying mutuality. The same: *'they have a mistrust'*.

The relation of mistrust involves an *object* or a *reason*. Mistrust can be counted in terms of *cases (incidents or events)*, *persons or objects involved* (cf *'jun ha-kab'k'ulal'* = *'one mistrust on your side'*). Conceptualizing mistrust as a definite and episodic event or case becomes a procedural presupposition of an "open declaration (confession)" and of ritual action (e.g., in terms of the numbers of candles). Mistrust is, thus, not conceived as being an unspecified overall feeling, but is anchored in and generated by particular episodes.

The diviner tries to assess and specify the persons, objects and episodes involved as to who or what *generates* mistrust and participates in a *network of mistrust as points of reference*.

1.4.3.2 Mistrust is described in terms of antecedents and consequences

We can think of mistrust in terms of a *disposition*, i.e. a *personality trait*, *personality state (description)* or a *sentiment* (an *affect* or *feeling* with a *behavioral* or *cognitive* structure associated). Mistrust is characterized in terms of *antecedent-consequence relations*, i.e. as an *attribution* of what leads to mistrust and what follows from mistrust, in accordance with attribution theory. Thus, the Q'anjob'al texts and their analysis can be integrat-

ed into the literature of the attribution of affects in terms of antecedents and consequences.

1.4.3.3 *Mistrust in psychosomatic terms*

A look at the Q'anjob'al synonyms might carry our analysis a bit further: *ha-b'ilk'ulalil* = 'your preoccupation/worry', definitely refers to a sentiment or affect in psychosomatic terms; *ha-pensar yin* – = 'your thought about –', referring to the object or topic of thinking which is marked in terms of *affective charge*. 1.4.3.1-2 hold for these terms analogously.

The term for mistrust, '*ha-kab'k'ulal*' (= 'your mistrust') literally means "two stomachs". It could be glossed as 'double thought', 'mental reservation' or even 'aversion' (rendered as 'disgusto', 'enpado' [= 'fed-up', 'angry'], 'desconfianza', 'resentido' [= 'offended, irritable, unforgiving'] in Spanish [Nicolás de Nicolás 1990:49]), which normally is *hidden* or *veiled*. This constitutes one presupposition for the specific cure: an *open declaration, naming or uttering of the problem in front of the person concerned, i.e. parent – adult child, or couple*.

1.4.3.4 *A possible functional physiological implication*

Many terms of affect, sentiment or psychosomatic thought are constructed as a composite of the root *-k'ul* = 'stomach'. One contrast to "mistrust" is called "pardon", "reconciliation" (*ha-mimank'ulal* = 'pardon by you', 'reconciliation by you', 'forbearing by you' [Span. 'paciencia'], literally '(your) big / great stomach'). It is a completely open question as to whether or not there could be a relationship with the concept of functional physiology: the distinction between *proximal* (the upper part) and *distal* (the lower part of the) *stomach*. The region marking the distinction corresponds to a pacemaker zone and is probably constituted by a ring muscle which goes all around the large and the small curvature of the stomach as well as by at least two of the three lateralized muscles. (Both play a role in so-called iris diagnosis.). Mistrust (*kab'-k'ulal* = 'two stomachs') would refer to the division (=desynchronization?) of the stomach, i.e. to the upper vs. lower parts of the stomach, and this would be contrasted with the unity of the stomach (*mimank'ulal* = 'big / great stomach as reconciliation'; *miman* = 'great'): the dimension of mistrust, aversion or preoccupation vs. reconciliation. The latter construct of *mimank'ulal* (= 'reconciliation', 'patience') could be contrasted with a similar one: *hin-jun-k'ulal* = 'my one stomach' = 'calmness of mine, even in the face of dangers'; 'tranquility, peace, harmony' [Dicc. Q'anj. 170]. The semantic dimension differentiated is 'calmness, unshakeability; tranquility' [vs. 'reconciliation'] vs. 'preoccupation or mental reservation'. Cf *b'ilk'ulal* (= 'sorrow, worry, preoccupation'; <*b'il-i = 'move'?) possibly implying '(irregular) peristalsis (of the

stomach)’ [Ch. 4.5.1, Comm 2; cf *b’il-i* [vi] = ‘move’, ‘to be noisy the stomach’ (*Hacer ruido el estómago*), Dicc. Q’anj.].

Please note that it is perfectly possible to have the lexical constructs without the (possible) physiological deep meaning.

1.4.3.5 Ideas towards a dimensional analysis of (holding a) mistrust

(a) A first dimension of mistrust would be based on the difference of temporal and agentive features:

- Past episodes (blame agent of [past] wrongdoings; proved agency) [cf #20A: ‘to be left poor on the way’, ‘to drive the family of the client out of the house’, ‘to spread lies about the client’s debts’, Hinz 1991/I:45f, II:42-44, Ch. 5.6.1(2,7)].
- Imminent decisions *or* future actions or behaviors (expected agency of wrongdoings) [cf #30A/B: following the husband and his mistress to the *finca*, Ch. 5.9.2(10,15)].

(b) Affective or emotional components include and differentiate between:

- Anger (implying past or present episodes as causes) [cf #20B, Ch. 5.3, Comm 6].
- Hurt / humiliation (experienced and / or expected) [cf #20B, Ch. 5.3, Comm 6; #20A, Hinz 1991/I:46, II:44: ‘*the transgressor* enjoying the misery of the opponent *as a victim*’].
- Mental reservation and/or suspicion (based on experience or expectation) [cf #30A/B: ‘perhaps there will be hate of the mistress towards the client’s son’, Ch. 5.10(10)].

c) ‘Experience’ (past) and ‘expectancy’ (future) are the differential epistemic features which characterize the affects and the (temporal and agentive) orientation towards events and actions. This coincides to a large degree with the scientific concept of mistrust which might center more strongly around the features of suspicion and hurt/humiliation, but also of anger, as a reaction to the *other person’s emotion and action*.

Cf K. M. Colby 1975; K. M. Colby in: Schank & Colby 1973.

d) The characteristics of ‘aversion’ and/or ‘disgust’ refer to the reaction towards ‘*another person’s* behavior or character’. This reaction is probably transposed or coupled to “one’s *own* gustatory reaction, i.e. digestion”.

e) The observation might be relevant that divination case # 23B (cf Chs. 3.3.4 & 6.5) does not refer to ‘*mistrust*’ or ‘*mental reservation (aversion)*’, but to ‘*fault(s)*’ or ‘*transgressions*’. We are thus referred to the normative meaning of the events, but not to the psychosomatic implications. Note that the son in military service is already an adult person and that his father asks the diviner to act on behalf of him. Thus, the attitude is not really *corresponsibility in action*, or *critique*, but *support*.

1.5. The concept of illness

1.5.1 Translation of a model dialog and commentary

In different interviews, I asked about the healing of illnesses. In one model dialog, the diviner assumes the role of a fictitious client (#1A; Hinz 1991/I:9; II:12):

Client: Ah, now we come to ask questions. There is an illness with us, fever is undermining us, there is a Judgement (Span.-Q'anj. *justisya*) with us in our house..... (see [here](#) Ch. 1.1.2).

The terms and the underlying concepts referred to are: *jun cham komam ya7 jolom* (= 'an ill head', or 'a serious illness'). Different honorific noun classifiers are used: *cham* (= 'male honorable person') and *komam* (= 'non-human male supernatural being'; note: *ko-mam* = 'our father' vs. *komam* = '(our) Lord'). The concept of *cham justisya* ('male honorable person the Judgement') is central. Judgement is a key term taken from Christian theology. Note that with the Q'anjob'al Maya, key religious terms referring to pre-Columbian beliefs and practices are Spanish and served formerly as a safety measure of camouflage against the colonial Spanish administration (see E.6.). A conceptual analysis may highlight the difference between the Mayan concept of *justisya* and the colonial and ecclesiastical concept of *justicia* (and possibly, of "(Last) Judgement").

The diviner continues (#1A; Hinz 1991/I:9, II:12):

Diviner: For the men come to me. 'My wife is ill,' so says one, 'and my child is ill,' so says another, 'my son is ill,' so says another, 'my daughter is ill,' so says another, 'and my daughter-in-law is ill, and my son-in-law is ill,' so says another.

Social causation: The concept of the *social causation of illness or other misfortune* is brought out in this excerpt: such social causation is strictly *descendent* from parent generation to child generation in terms of parental responsibility and includes one's children's wives or husbands.

Children under legal age (18 years of age) are not yet responsible. If they are ill, it can be the parents' fault. The fault rests with the parent generation, unless the patient is a grown-up. If he or she is married, it might be considered to be a husband-wife issue. Nevertheless, faults on the side of the parents might be involved, especially in terms of bride price arrangements and bride service. Both are highly sensitive topics, often involving injustice or disregard for the other person's will.

The grandfather generation might indirectly affect children, even as adults or a couple. This means that quarrels which have taken place in the house concerned and have not been taken care of ritually, or for which no reconciliation has taken place yet might affect the grandchild generation. This may involve a concept of ‘local causality’ (see Ch. 10.4).

1.5.2 Types of illness mentioned

‘Headache’, ‘there is pus’, ‘there is an inflammation’, ‘there are measles’, ‘there is whooping-cough’, ‘there is smallpox’, ‘there is stomach pain’, ‘there is vomiting’, ‘there is a tumor’ (#8B; Hinz 1991/I:11, II:14). ‘Malaria’ could be added to this list (e.g. #17B; Ch. 8.1(9/10)). Moreover, ‘diarrhea’, ‘cramps’, ‘fever’, ‘earache’, ‘tooth (ache)’ are mentioned (in #9B; Hinz 1991/I:13, II: 15). Some of these illnesses refer to epidemic diseases, others refer to phenotypic symptoms.

1.5.3 The “Judgement” as Lord of Illness

In the interviews and consultations, illness or the Lord of Illness is conceptualized as a personalized being, with humanlike personality traits. I discuss the concept of Judgement as the Lord of Illness in terms of cognitive beliefs and behavioral consequences.

1.5.3.1 Translated text

From: #8A; Hinz 1991/I:11, II:14.

Diviner: It is the Judgement (or: punishment; Span.-Q’anj. *justisya*) which comes in order to draw our attention to where we have a fault in front of God, our Father, in front of the Calendar Days... it has a commission, because it is a police squad on behalf of our faults, on behalf of our arrogance (pride), on behalf of our quarrels or something else of us... And then we shall calm it... for we shall calm the Judgement. We express our sorrow in front of it, we express our pain and the Judgement does not kill us. It gives us some health.

We are already putting into order our preoccupation, we are already putting into order our mistrust, we are already putting into order our problems, in front of God, our Father, in front of the Calendar Day.

‘We are already putting into order our problems in front of your heart, in front of you, the Judgement. Pardon us, do not send us any illness, do not send us death.’

So we speak to the Judgement with our candles, with our copal. Such is the best way.

But now there is no respect anymore with regard to the Judgement, there are only injections, injections. Well, no, we shall not wound the Judgement. For the Judgement cannot cause anything on its own. It is sent by God, our Father. This is the peculiarity (property) of the headaches, of the Judgement... We shall make *costumbres*..... [I:12]

We shall put ourselves into order, [II:15] we shall purify our hearts, we shall purify our soul so that the Judgement will free us, so that it will not give us death. This is what we shall arrange with the Judgement.

1.5.3.2 Analytical commentary

(a) The Judgement, i.e. the illness, is a sign sent by God:

'The Judgement... comes in order to draw our attention to where we have a fault in front of God, our Father, the Calendar Days'. The transgression (*ko-palta* = 'our fault') is a transgression of divine norms (= 'in front of God....., the Calendar Days').

'It (the Judgement) has a commission'. The Judgement is compared to 'a police squad'. Its intentions are specified in item (b) below.

The following belief in the same interview (#8B) is relevant: *'...the Judgement cannot cause anything on its own; it is sent by God'*. This means: the Judgement has no autonomy of action. It acts by the order of God.

(b) The meaning of the sign:

'It (the illness) is a police squad on behalf of our faults, on behalf of our arrogance'. The illness indicates the transgressions and quarrels of the person concerned (Hinz 1991/I:11; II:14).

(c) The Judgement is to be respected:

'But now there is no respect in front of the Judgement, only injections, only injections. No then, we shall not wound the Judgement'. Respect involves not to give injections which are thought to hurt the Lord of Illness (the Judgement) which is compared to a human body. The literal translation of 'respecting' is to 'address (it) prayer-like in the form of a confession'. Or: 'Why are we humiliating the Judgement (lit. 'treating it like a child')?'

(d) The Judgement has to be asked for pardon and calmed:

Sorrow and pain have to be expressed frankly, preoccupations, mistrust and related problems are to be put into order (Hinz 1991/I:11; II:14):

'We calm it (the Judgement), for we let it sit down, just the same as we are sitting here together with you, for we let the Judgement calm down.' Treating the Judgement politely is the key to calming it. It is compared to "a difficult guest". The way of calming is specified:

'We express our sorrow in front of it, we express our pain. And the [Judgement] does not kill us. It gives us some health.' An open declaration ('confession' or frank expression of preoccupations) is the method of communication and of reestablishing health.

'Already we put into order our sorrows, already we put into order our mistrust (our reservations), already we put into order our problems, in front of God, our Father, in front of the Calendar Day.' The contents of the frank expression are outlined: the naming of 'our sorrow', 'our pain', 'our mistrust', 'our problems' as, for instance, specified in the paragraph on the concept of mistrust. In addition to the Judgement or illness, God and the Calendar Day are specified as addressees of prayers.

The diviner interviewed addresses the Judgement directly:

"We are already putting into order our problems, in front of your heart, in front of you, the Judgement. Pardon us, do not send us any illness, do not send us death." We say this to the Judgement with our candles, with our copal (resin).' Curing the illness is procedurally or behaviorally defined and is attributed as an ability to the "Judgement". Interaction with the Judgement is procedurally defined in ritual terms.

(e) The goal of the interaction between the "Judgement" and Man is to clean the heart and soul (Hinz 1991/I:12; II:14-15):

'We shall put ourselves into order' (i.e. we shall confess) is further explicated as *'we shall cleanse our hearts, we shall cleanse our souls, so that the Judgement liberates us, so that it does not give us death. That is what we shall put into order with the Judgement.'* Frank expression as outlined above leads to inner purification and to a cure which is attributed to the Judgement. Frank expression is a presupposition for avoiding death.

See also the text in: App. I ['Illness'; from: #9B; I:12, II:15].

(f) Addendum: A chicken shall be offered to the "Judgement" as a meal and in reconciliation (#20A; Hinz 1991/I:60-61):

'It is really not the [Judgement]... which will eat the chicken. For it is you in any case who will eat the chicken... It shall have only the smell.' The whole family of the client shall eat the meat and share the food with the "Judgement". The Judgement is to smell the chicken soup only.

'After you have eaten, you shall offer smoke (of copal) to the [Judgement] and the Judgement shall go away into another house...' Part of the ritual is to offer food and copal (pine incense) to the Judgement as Lord of Illness. Note the belief that the Judgement is supposed to look for people's faults and is hoped for to leave the patient for another household.

1.6. The concept of poverty and destiny

Cf Ch. 6.4.1 [Calendar days mark the destiny], Ch. 8 [Birth date].

The following interview excerpt contains beliefs about the relationship of destiny and poverty [Hinz 1991/I:15; II:17].

Eike H.: And if there is a poor person who comes to you and has no money what are the words which you say to this person?

Mateo: He (or she) asks God, our Lord. If the person is poor, he (or she) asks God, our Lord, he (or she) asks the Calendar Day here, he (or she) asks for a divination here. They ask for it because they are poor, they ask God for their money, they ask for their food, they ask for some useful animal, or what(ever) they wish, they ask God, our Lord, for it. It is God, our Lord, who will give some food or some money to all the poor people.

<Later I repeat the question; Hinz 1991/I:20; II:21>

Eike H.: And what can a poor person do who comes to you and has no money, what can he do?

Mateo: Ah, they (the clients) do nothing. But it is God who sees it. Perhaps it is (the client's) destiny to be poor, or it is his destiny to have no money. Or it is his destiny to have no maize, or it is his destiny to have no work. Second, it is because of the destiny which was left with them, the people there. 'We have no maize, we are poor,' they say, 'we have no money, we have no clothing,' they say. Well, 'put up some candles for God³⁰, our Lord. Ask God, our Lord, for our food, because it is God who will give us our food. It is God who will give us our clothing, it is God who will give us our money,' I say to that person who is poor, who, at least, has no money, has no maize³¹. 'Here is what shall happen,' I say here.

<Commentary:> It seems that the concept of destiny is constructed with a locus of control largely outside the person concerned. Thus, we have an operationalization in terms of 'no food', 'no money', and in terms of 'doing nothing (i.e. the inability of doing something)'. Actually, a 'shift of agency to God as a giver of food, money, etc.' is proposed.

Note that 'illness' is not included. It seems that illness is thought of as containing a component of fault or self-infliction if we consider the preceding conceptual analysis. With the concept of illness, a locus of control is assumed which is centered within the sick person. Note that parents are responsible for their young children. We are, thus, dealing with a folk theory explaining the origin of illness in terms of norm breaking.

³⁰ *Q'anj.:* "A-weq ok jun ko-kantela b'ay komam Dyos, q'anej..." The verbs are imperative forms. The diviner addresses the clients. The German translation has to be corrected.

³¹ I tend to subordinate the following sentences to 'that person' ('jan ánima') and correct the German translation correspondingly.

2. DAY-NAME ASSOCIATIONS: CULTURAL THEMES AND BASIC NEEDS

The bases of divinatory interpretations are the day names or date names (incl. the numerical coefficients) according to the 260-day calendar. Several lists of the day names and their meaning associations are recovered from the interviews, and possible rules for the formation of the meaning associations are discussed. The day-name meanings imply cultural themes, or rather, basic needs which guide the interpretation process in the consultation.

2.1. Interview data

2.1.1 *First list of day-name meanings*

The following text is an excerpt from interview #7B on the meaning associated with the day names of the 260-day calendar (Hinz 1991/I:3; II:7).

IMOX here is the calendar day of our earth. Imox is its calendar day.
K'ANA7 is the day of those who are malevolent, of the evil spirits, their day is on K'ana7.
AB'AK is the day for our food, for our drink.
TOX is for our money.
CHEJ is for our useful animals.
LAMB'AT is for our health (our life).
MULU7, for evil spirits is that day.
ELAB' is for them [i.e. the evil spirits].
B'ATZ' is the day for our place (town), our place of birth (our mountains, our valleys, i.e. our homeland).
E(W)UB', E(W)UB' and B'EN correspond to each other (form a pair), the day for maize, the day for food, for drink;
and IX is for the evil spirits.
TZ'IKIN is for birds, "speaking" (or: crying) useful animals [i.e. livestock].
TXAB'IN, TXAB'IN and KIXKAB' correspond to each other (form a pair), the day for the earth.
CHINAX, our health (our life).
KAQ and AJAW correspond to each other (form a pair).
And nothing further (no further day).

2.1.2 Second list of day-name meanings

From interview #2A; Hinz 1991/I:3; II:7.

IMOX, day of our earth here.

IQ', for those who walk around at night, who have diabolical intentions, those with whom we cannot (we are not allowed to) speak. That is on Iq'.

WATAN, for our life.

K'ANA7, in the same way it is that K'ANA7 and IQ' correspond to each other. The day is today. We cannot speak with them because they are different (i.e. sorcerers).

AB'AK, on the day of our food, on the day of the *milpa*, of the maize.

TOX, for money.

CHEJ, day of the useful animals, of the mule, of the animal which carries our firewood, which carries our suitcases, which carries our loads, on [the day of] CHEJ.

LAMB'AT, for our life, for our food.

MULU7, we cannot talk with these because they are different (of a different nature, i.e. doing black magic).

ELAB', they are also different (of a different nature, i.e. doing black magic).

B'ATZ', for our birth place, our land, our place.

E(W)UB', for our food.

B'EN, for our food.

IX, we cannot speak [with them, i.e. those doing black magic].

TZ'IKIN, day of our useful animals, our sheep.

TXAB'IN, we cannot speak with [them who are doing black magic]

KIXKAB', no.

CHINAX, for our life.

KAQ, for our life.

AJAW, for our life.

2.1.3 Third list of day-name meanings

From #2A-10 [further unpublished data on the calendar days]:

Q'anjob'al	English
Ha nani7, K'ana7 cham nani, k'ana7 sábadó, tol hoq hon paxalwoq, tol oq kob'osb'a naq ilya7, naq kamich laj(w)il, k'ana7.	Today, the day K'ANA7 is today, K'ANA7 is [a] Saturday, so that we will formally pray, we clean (remove) the illness, the death, the end, [on] K'ANA7.
Ab'ak, tol hoq koq'an jab'oq kolob'ej,	AB'AK, it is the case that we ask for a

b'ay kona.	little bit of our food, in our house.
<i>Tox</i> , hoq koq'an jab'oq kotumin, b'ay komam Dios.	<i>TOX</i> , we will ask for a little bit of money for us, with our Lord.
<i>Chej</i> , [hoq?] koq'an junoq kochej, koq'an junoq komulu, <i>Chej</i> .	<i>CHEJ</i> , we will ask for some transport animal, for some mule, [on] <i>CHEJ</i> .
<i>Lamb'at</i> , alcalde.	<i>LAMB'AT</i> , <i>Alcalde</i> day.
<i>Mulu7</i> , tol hoq kob'osb'a jantaq mak chi chichon sk'ul jin, ay naq contraparte, ay naq wesino, ay naq chi yal sk'ul chon 7aqon joder, ay naq chi yal sk'ul chi tz'aqon aj jun komul b'ay komam Dios, por eso ti yet naq mulu7.	<i>MULU7</i> , it is the case that we will clean (remove) all those who hate (or: envy) us. There is the enemy, there is a neighbor who wants to smash us up, there is somebody who wants to invent (pretend) a transgression of ours in front of God, our Lord, therefore, on the day <i>MULU7</i> , [we make <i>costumbres</i>].
<i>Elab'</i> , lo mismo.	<i>ELAB'</i> , the same.
<i>B'atz'</i> , lo mismo.	<i>B'ATZ'</i> , the same.
<i>Ewub'</i> , <i>Ewub'</i> yet jaboq kokawil	<i>EWUB'</i> , <i>EWUB'</i> [is] for a little bit of health for us.
<i>B'en</i> , alcalde.	<i>B'EN</i> , <i>Alcalde</i> day.
<i>Ix</i> , chi kob'osb'a jantaq masanil chi kojatne yib'an q'inal.	[On] <i>IX</i> we clean (or: remove) all, everything, we arrange (put into order) bad spirits.
<i>Tz'ikin</i> , tol chi koq'an junoq kojasiendo, chi koq'an junoq kome7, junoq kokaxhlan, junoq kotzet noal koq'an b'ay naq <i>Tz'ikin</i> .	<i>TZ'IKIN</i> , it is the case that we ask for a domestic animal for us, that we ask for a sheep for us, for a chicken for us, for whatever animal for us we ask on the day <i>Tz'ikin</i> .
Naq <i>Txab'in</i> , tol chi kob'osb'a naq kamich jin	[On] the day <i>TXAB'IN</i> , it is the case that we clean (remove) the death against us
Naq <i>Kixkab'</i> ayta mak xontenon, ayta mak xontenoni.	[On] the day <i>KIXKAB'</i> , there might be (or <i>vetative</i> : that there might not be) somebody who has moved us, (<i>that?</i>) there might (<i>not?</i>) be somebody who has moved us [i.e. in terms of an earthquake]
Naq <i>Chinax</i> alcalde, <i>Chinax</i> .	The day <i>CHINAX</i> is <i>Alcalde</i> day, <i>CHINAX</i> .
Naq, naq <i>Kaq</i>	He, the day <i>KAQ</i> .
Naq <i>Ajaw</i> .	The day <i>AJAW</i> .
Naq <i>Imox</i> , lo mismo tol chi kob'osb'a b'ay naq ilya7	[On] the day <i>IMOX</i> , it is the case in the same way that we clean where the illness is.
Naq <i>Iq'</i> , tol chi kob'osb'a kamich, lajwil	[On] the day <i>IQ'</i> , it is the case that we clean (remove) death and end.
<i>Watan</i> , alcalde.	<i>WATAN</i> , <i>Alcalde</i> day.
Tix ton yopiso naq ora tila, yet tax–, yet tax jichmam tiempo, yet tax jichmam tiempo, manaq hon max konaajoq,	This is the office of the calendrical day, since ancient, since ancient times of our ancestors, since ancient times of our

<p>yet tax anteriormente max tit kan jan heb' cham ora ti7, anteriormente heb' cham ti7, heb' cham ti7, heb' cham owan alkalde.</p>	<p>ancestors, we are not the ones who have invented them. In ancient times, a long time ago, came all the calendrical days and stayed, a long time ago, they, they, the five <i>Alcalde</i> days.</p>
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Within the further course of the interview #2A (Hinz 1991/I:3; II:7):

AB'AK, day of our house, day of our food, day of maize.

TOX, day of money.

2.1.4 Fourth list of day-name meanings

In 1983 I read a first transcript of one Ordenanza prayer to Don Mateo and recorded his commentary on that Ordenanza prayer (#40A; Hinz 1991 /I:4, II:8).

We make our *costumbres* in front of 4 TOX, 8 Tox, 9 Tox, 13 Tox, for the purpose that we would like to have our money (...)

We make our *costumbres* in front of 4 MULU7, 8 Mulu7, 9 Mulu7, 13 Mulu7, we do not want death, an end, tears, sadness, captivity, penalty, sorrow, punishment (...)

We want to make our *costumbres* in front of 4 B'ATZ', 8 B'atz'. 9 [B'atz'], 13 B'atz', it is the day for our birth place, in front of which we make *costumbres* (...)

We want our *costumbres* in front of 4 E(W)UB', 8 E(w)ub', 9 E(w)ub', 13 E(w)ub' because we want [to have] our food, our drink, our bird, our useful animal (?) (...)

We will make our *costumbres* in front of 4 B'EN, 8 B'en, 9 B'en, 13 B'en because we would like to have life and health, so that we will see food and drink [following the alternative translation, in Hinz 1991 / II:7/note 1] (...)

We shall make our *costumbres* in front of 4 IX, 8 Ix, 9 [Ix], 13 Ix, if we do not want death, if we do not want a sorcerer (doing black magic) (...)

We want our *costumbres* in front of 4 KIXKAB', 8 Kixkab', 9 Kixkab', 13 Kixkab', because we would like to have rain, [so that] there is water for our seed, so that there is water for the *milpa*, the herbs, the gourd (*chilacayote*), the *calabaza*, everything. Therefore, we want [to have] *costumbres* in front of the day Kixkab', the fours, the eights, the nines, the thirteens, in front of the day Kixkab', the mover of the earth, the mover of the world (i.e. the earthquake) (...)

We want our *costumbres* in front of 4 KAQ, 8 Kaq, 9 [Kaq], 13 Kaq, we shall not want quarrel, we shall not want to quarrel in our house, [we shall

not want to quarrel in front of God]³², we shall not want to quarrel in front of our Earth which carries us (*mundo kob'atx'omal*). We make our *costumbres* in front of [the days], so that we nourish them (...)

We do not want anything bad, we do not want any illness, we do not want to die. Therefore there are our *costumbres* in front of the day IQ'.

Note on the diviner's commentary: It seems that a special cognitive structure is involved in the combinations of 4, 8, 9, 13 + calendrical day name. Cf Barbara Tedlock who points to general value assignments to the coefficients in her Quiché data (cf Chs. 2.5 and 4.9.1).

2.2 Integrated data

Day name	Meaning association
Imox (I)	'(for) our earth'
Iq' (II)	'sorcerers / witchcraft'; 'illness'
Watan (III)	'(for) our life'
K'ana7 (IV)	'sorcerers'
Ab'ak (V)	'(for) our food, our drink; <i>milpa</i> , corn'
Tox (VI)	'(for) our money'
Chej (VII)	'(for) our useful animal; mule, carries load'
Lamb'at (VIII)	'(for) our health, our life, our food'
Mulu7 (IX)	'evil spirits; death, sorrow, punishment'
Elab' (X)	'evil spirits, sorcerers'
B'atz' (XI)	'(for) our place, house of birth; land'
E(w)ub' (XII)	'(for) our food, drink, useful animals'
B'en (XIII)	'(for) our food, drink; life, health'
Ix (XIV)	'evil spirits, sorcerers'
Tz'ikin (XV)	'(for) useful animals, sheep; chicken'
Txab'in (XVI)	'sorcerers / evil spirits (witchcraft)'
Kixkab' (XVII)	'rain, water for seed and <i>milpa</i> ; earthquake'
Chinax (XVIII)	'(for) our life, health'
Kaq (XIX)	'quarrel'; '(for) our life'
Ajaw (XX)	'(for) our life'

Table 1: Integrated list of day-name associations

The list combines the meaning associations for the calendar day names from the different sources.

³² Not in the printed Q'anjob'al text but in the German translation. The sentence might have been deleted by accident during corrections.

2.3 A hypothesis of the meanings associated with the day names

B. Tedlock (1982) offers a hypothesis concerning the meanings associated with the calendrical names in the Quiché Maya 260-day ritual calendar. She points out the phonetic similarity between day names and certain word concepts. A rule like that has never been mentioned to me, but the plausibility of such an hypothetical rule is obvious in my data, too.

Undoubtful examples are:

Chej ≡ *chej* (= ‘deer’, ‘mule’, ‘horse’, ‘donkey’ ≡ ‘animal for carrying burdens’).

Mulu7 ≡ *mul* (= ‘transgression’, ‘sin’).

Tz’ikin ≡ *tz’ikin* (= ‘bird’).

Kixkab’ ≡ *kixkab’* (= ‘earthquake’).

Kaq ≡ *kaq* (= ‘quarrel’); cf *kaqlejb’a* = ‘enojarse’ (Dicc. Q’anj. 139),
‘*kaja7*’ (vt) = ‘despreciar’ (Dicc. Akateko 69).

Ajaw ≡ ‘*ajaw*’ (= ‘Lord’).

More doubtful examples (i.e. rules inferred) include:

B’atz’ ≡ [*ko-*]*b’atz’-om-al* (= lit. ‘carrier [of us]’; i.e. ‘earth’, ‘home’).

Tox ≡ probably related to *tomin/tumin* (= ‘a certain colonial coin’ ≡ ‘money’) or (*s-*)*toj-ol* (= ‘price for it’).

Ix, possibly in composition with the numerical coefficient, for example
kab’ (= ‘two’) = ‘two women’ (*ix* = ‘woman’).

Iq’ ≡ *jiq’ ojob’* (= ‘whooping cough’).

The *historic etymology* of Q’anjob’al Maya calendar names as derived from ancient Maya or other Mesoamerican languages is partially quite different. See B.9. So we are really dealing with a kind of “*folk etymology*”. The rules for this folk etymology seem to be (*socially*) *standardized* and are *not projective ad hoc associations* with the calendar names.

2.4 Cultural themes in the meaning associations of the day names

Cultural themes emerge which correspond to *basic needs*:

- (1) Life, health.
- (2) Food, drink; clearly related to life and health.
- (3) Earth, *milpa*, rain / water for seeds; clearly related to food and home and land property.
- (4) Useful animals.
- (5) Home and land property.

- (6) Money.
- (7) Quarrels (also: war?), earthquake; natural and social disasters?
- (8) Illness, punishment; clearly related to black magic (paranoia?).

The calendar day names can serve as a *semantic network* which stimulates culturally – and existentially – meaningful search and thought and which could possibly guide communication, discussion and problem resolution consciously and preconsciously. The technique would, thus, imply *charged associations in terms of existence and identity*.

We are now able to discuss cultural themes in terms of basic needs (cf Galtung 1980 *in*: Oelgeschlager et al 1980; v. Wright 1989 with commentary by Th. Schwartz). Basic needs have a neuronal basis, be the information somatic or cognitive. Some of the basic needs mentioned in the Q’anj’al data serve for the maintenance of the physiological system in terms of survival and health (land, livestock, i.e. food; housing, i.e. shelter; health or illness), and safety and peace (black magic; punishment; quarrel). There are several meaningful classifications of basic needs available (e.g., life and health; social; safety): *basic physical needs* (incl. sustenance and safety needs), *community solidarity needs* (belongingness, affection; self-esteem, recognition), *subjectivity needs* (self-actualization, personal growth and development). See Christian Bay 1981:97f. Another classification (cf Hinz 2006:37f) could distinguish between: *basic physiological needs*, *basic social needs*, *basic needs for safety and orientation*, *basic needs for self-realization* (incl. new experiences, cultural stimulation). Mario Bunge, in his book on ethics and normative moral philosophy (“Treatise on Basic Philosophy, Vol. 8”, 1989:1-40), distinguishes between *primary needs* and values serving survival; *secondary needs* and values serving health; *legitimate wants* (tertiary needs and values), e.g., love, advancement, security, should not be fulfilled at the expense of other people’s needs. A *quaternary need* or value contributes to meet a *fancy* which must not be antisocial. Bunge calls primary and secondary needs ‘basic needs’.

I differentiated between (1) psychological well-being, (2) health in medical terms, (3) material-existential welfare when discussing basic dimensions of freedom (Hinz 2006:85, D.7(2)) and the concept of moral conscience (:155, F.1[1(5)]).

Considering the day-name associations (a) in the context of a semantic network and (b) as referring to basic needs, is theoretically fruitful. We comprehend the instrument or basis of divination as a culturally meaningful heuristic. Underlying this heuristic, is a culture-specific theory of the resolution of *individual* (in contrast to societal) problems, in terms of infor-

mation-processing and constant reorientation of the client towards basic needs and their possible impact on him. See Ch. 10.6, Point (3) and (4).

2.5 On the meaning of numerical coefficients in date names

Numerical coefficients and day names make up for the names of the date, according to the 260-day calendar.

In Ch. 2.1.4 I have reported on the possible significance of the numbers 4, 8, 9, and 13 in conjunction with the day names. I have no direct interpretation for the significance of these numbers. But they play a certain role in the formal recast of the problems, alone or in combination with each other, as reported in Ch. 3.3.2 and 3.3.3. I suppose that the fact of specifying 8 and 9, for example, implies that a *range* between 4-8, and 9-13 (and possibly, between 1-3, or rather, 13-4) is defined. The numerical coefficients might contain *evaluative* information.

I refer to Barbara Tedlock (1982:107f): numbers 1, 2, 3 are considered as being ‘weak or gentle’ [“low numbers are considered to be gentle or weak because they indicate something young or new”]; 7, 8, 9 as ‘indifferent’; 11, 12, 13 as ‘powerful or violent’ [“higher numbers are powerful and even violent, since they indicate older, riper, more serious matters”].

The numerical coefficient 2 (*kab*’) is definitely associated with *kab’k’ulal* (‘mistrust’, ‘aversion’, ‘double thought’) if combined with a day name in a “speaking position” (cf Ch. 4.4).

3. THE ANALYSIS OF THE CLIENT'S PROBLEMS

Problems covered in the consultations are quite diverse. I exemplify the question-answering process between diviner and client in terms of routines and formal requests directed to the calendar days by the diviner. Thus, problem development depends upon the dialog between diviner and client, and upon algorithms for checking, proceeding with and limiting the problem. A core component of the analysis of the (joint) exposition of the problem consists of a classification of sentence types which forms the basis of the later interpretation. The development of the problem and its statement are modeled. I try to match regional problems with the client's personal ones.

For references on the concept of problem, cf Bunge 1967/I:173ff; Aepli 1981/II:13-82; Hinz 2006:18ff, and 184ff; Schank & Colby 1973.

3.1. Problems differing in content

The problems dealt with in the consultations cover the following topics:

- Financial problems, e.g. if the client's money has been stolen.
- Problems of relationship and marriage: if the wife has left (or will leave) her husband or the husband his wife; or if a bride price had been paid and the marriage has broken up.
- Questions about what is going to happen if the client goes to work on a *finca* (plantation) in the lowlands; or if the husband has not returned to the client by a fixed point of time.
- Questions about the meaning of omens, e.g. if an animal (e.g. a cat) has yowled at the client.
- Questions about the meaning of dreams.
- Prognostics about the perspectives of a possible marriage, e.g. if a couple match each other; sometimes an alternative matching might be presented as a problem.
- Questions about the outcome of a pregnancy and about the fate of the still unborn child.
- Questions about the fate of the son who has been recruited for military service.
- Disputes about land, sometimes involving black magic.
- Diseases, as to what might be their origins and what might be their outcome.
- Questions about a business trip or a new enterprise (e.g., opening a bakery).

3.2 Stating the problem and routines of questions

3.2.1 Translated texts and analysis of questions

In most cases the diviner asks the client explicitly to state his/her problem.

3.2.1.1 First example: an omen

From: #18A; Hinz 1991/I:31f, II:30f.

Diviner: What says (is) your other problem, madam?

Female client: It is because of a cat, why is it twisting and turning? And is it my misfortune, is it an omen for me at least, or is it only [unintentionally] a chatting (busybody) omen for me? And will I come to see a [case of] death?

Diviner (short interruption by another visitor leaving): (...) the speaking animal, the domestic animal, the speaking animal, the domestic animal–, how long ago did it start to yowl?

Female client: Well, it was yesterday, yesterday, when it was getting light, it yowled when it was getting light, then it yowled, Sir, when the rooster was already crowing, then it yowled, it twisted and turned in the corner of the house. And will an illness happen to me, or is the [animal] simply yowling, or is it simply [unintentionally] a bad omen for me? And is it for me or is not for me? This, primarily, is in my mind, Sir, for God's sake.

Diviner: Hahaha (*laughs*), well.

Female Client: Yes, it is much that I am thinking about, Sir, oh father, for God's sake.

Diviner: Ah, the animal says the truth, Madam, yes, it [signifies] an illness. What are you doing, what? For God's sake, the animal tells the truth. It is probably a matter of a bad omen, this is probably the matter, this is probably the issue.

Diviner's wife: (...) You have told everything that you have to tell?

Female client: Yes, yes, listen. The recorder now documents what we will say, what–? [*refers to Eike H. and his ethnographic work*]

Diviner: Yes, Madam. Here your words will arrive in his town as you have already said.

Female client: So it is, it will now arrive there, it will arrive there anyway, the recorder takes it along.

Eike H.: Hahaha (*laughs*).

Diviner: Well. Speaking animal, what does it say, what does it hiss, with the hands, with the feet of our father, of our mother, in the house, in the corner of the house? Oh, our Lord San Pedro (St. Peter), our Lady (*could*

refer to the moon or to the Virgin Mary), haha. [It was] yesterday, did you say, as I heard?

Female client: What?

Diviner: Yesterday, you did say?

Female client: Yes, yesterday, yesterday.

<Commentary:> *The problematical event is mentioned: the yowling of a cat in the house as a possible bad sign. The questions of the client center around one's interest if it is a bad sign or not, and if yes, if it relates to the client. The **request for the divinatory interpretation** is recast by the diviner in formal standardized terms referring to the domain of influence or rule ('with the hands and feet') of the patron, i.e. saint of the town of San Pedro Soloma, the neighboring township of San Juan Ixcoy. The patron can be thought of as a couple [komam = honorific noun classifier for male non-human supernatural beings = 'Lord' or 'our Lord'; kotxutx = honorific noun classifier for female non-human supernatural beings = 'Lady' or 'our Lady'; these classifiers are used in contrast to the kinship terms 'komam' ('our father') and 'ko-txutx' ('our mother'), 1. person plural possessive].*

A further question refers to the date the event happened. It turns out to be the start of the count of the 'tz'ité' for the divination.

Analysis of the questions: The client outlines his/her problem and may do so by asking questions. The diviner may ask further questions so that a clearer and more in-depth exposition of the client's problem might be developed in the dialog.

1. **What says (is) your other problem?** [*asks for the identification of the problem*]
2. **And is it my misfortune, is it an omen for me anyway, or is it only [unintentionally] a chatting (busy-body) omen for me? And will I come to see a [a case of] death?** [*F. client asks for her involvement*]
3. **How long time ago did it start to yowl?** [*identifies the date of the event*]
4. **And is it for me or is not for me?** [*F. client asks for her involvement*]
5. **You have told everything what you have to tell?** [*asks for further relevant information left out*]
6. **[It was] yesterday, did you say, as I heard?** [*verifies date*]

3.2.1.2 **Second example: the daughter's illness**

From: #22A; Hinz 1991/I:82-83, II:75-76.

The client outlines his problem and asks questions himself.

Diviner: Ah, ah. What says your problem?

Male client: I have a problem, Sir. I have a daughter who is very ill. Why is she ill? Isn't therefore a divination coming out for me? For a little child of mine is already ill, this means [?], my daughter. How serious is her illness, and how much strength of living does she have? Will not a sign speak (to me)?

Diviner: Well, then, what is your name?

Male client: My name is Gaspar Tomás.

Diviner: Gaspar Tomás.

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: [From] which village?

Male client: The village of San Antonio, in the Municipio Soloma, <repeating> San Antonio—

Diviner: Ah, yes. San Antonio Mimanhuitz.

Male client: Where the exit of the central town is situated.

Diviner: Ah, close to Ixtenam.

Wife of the diviner: Yes.

Male client: Yes, exactly.

Diviner: Ah, ah.

Male client: Yes, exactly.

Diviner: What is the name of your wife?

Male client: Ah, my wife?

Diviner: Yes.

Male client: Her name is Lola González.

Diviner: Lola, González, ah. Well, what is your pain?

Male client: Ah, it is the case that we have a daughter who has a headache. Does she perhaps have no strength for living, Sir? Does perhaps no luck come out for her, Sir, so that she will die due to us, due to the illness with me? Therefore, I have come to ask questions about the destiny of my daughter, Sir.

Diviner: What is her name?

Male client: Cipriana Angela Tomás González is [her name].

Diviner: Aha, Cipriana Angela Tomás. Has already [some time] passed since it started?

Male client: What?

Diviner: Has already [some time] passed, since it started?

Male client: Well, some fifteen days may have passed that her illness became noticeable.

Diviner: Ah.

Male client: [Some time] has already passed, Sir, [some time] has already passed.

Diviner: Does she already have a husband, does she already have a husband or not?

Male client: Yes, she is married [by the church], she has a husband.

Diviner: [She] is already married [by the church].

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: How many children does she have?

Male client: She has only two children.

Diviner: Ah.

Male client: Please, find out something [about] her destiny for me, Sir.

Diviner: Pray, Sir. We are not dealing with many *Ordenanzas*, concentrated in one place is the *Ordenanza*.

Male client: Well, Sir.

Analysis of the questions:

1. What says your problem? [*identifies the problem and elicits a short description*]

2. Why is she ill? Isn't therefore a divination coming out for me? How serious is her illness, and how much strength of living does she have? Will not a sign speak (to me)? [*Client asks for the cause and consequences of the illness (in terms of dangers and chances)*]

3. What is your name? [*identifies the client (in front of the supernatural beings)*]

4. [From] which village? [*identifies the place where the client lives*]

5. What is the name of your wife? [*identifies the client's wife (in front of the supernatural beings)*]

6. What is your pain? [*identifies the object of sorrow*]

7. Does she perhaps have no strength of living, Sir? Does perhaps no luck come out for her, Sir, so that she will die due to us, due to the illness with me? [*Client asks for the chances of his daughter's survival*]

8. What is her name? [*identifies the client's daughter in front of the supernatural beings*]

9. Has already [some time] passed since it has started? [*identifies the time elapsed since the illness has started*]

10. Does she already have a husband, does she have already a husband or not? [*identifies her marital status*]

11. How many children does she have? [*identifies the number of children*]

Cf the "complete case" (#17B; Hinz 1991/I:22f, II:22f) translated and analyzed in Chapter 8. Cf Ch. D.6.1, Note 18 [Name giving].

3.2.1.3 Excerpt from a model divination

Diviner: [#2B] And what are you coming to ask for now?... And what is your name, as one says?

Fictitious client: I do not have [another] name, I am [only] Xhinik (=Juan), one says, or Xhuwin (=Juana), one says.

The diviner asks for the identification of the client's problem and for his / her identification in front of the supernatural beings.

3.3 Recast of the request (or problem) into formal terms

We have seen that the diviner recasts the client's request for a divination into a formal statement of the problem contextualized in personal, relational and geographical terms. Cf 3.2.1.1. This is not always the case. Some examples follow which illustrate the variance of phrasing.

3.3.1 Outcome of a pregnancy

From #29A/B; Hinz 1991/I:143, II:128.

Male client: Well (...) There is something more that I would like to tell you, there is something more. I have a daughter-in-law who is pregnant. Perhaps you can do me the favor to try to find out [about] her destiny for me if she will come free (i.e. survive), if she—

Diviner: What is her name?

Male client: Her name is Rosa Mateo; my son, then, is Diego Gaspar.

Diviner: No, it is only she...

Male client: Only she.

Diviner: ...for whom we will verify (or find out about) it.

Male client: Ah. Well, her name is Rosa Mateo.

Diviner: Rosa Mateo. [From] which village?

Male client: She is also from Pajaltac.

Diviner: It means she is from the same place?

Male client: Yes from the same village.

Diviner: Ah, Rosa Mateo, split off, born, carried, carried by the heart of Rosa Mateo, under the hands and feet of our Lord, 2 Kaq, 3 Ajaw—

<Commentary:> 2 Kaq, 3 Ajaw are called up as current / actual calendar days (16.7.81=2 Kaq), a date for the ceremonial opening of the holy bundle, one day before the Alcalde day Ajaw. "Under the hands and feet of our Lord" refers to the rule of the two calendar days.

The name of the pregnant woman and of the village is specified. The expressions ‘split off’, ‘born’, ‘carried’, ‘carried (by the heart of–)’ refer to the pregnancy or still unborn fetus.

3.3.2 Outcome of the daughter-in-law’s illness

From: #29A/B; Hinz 1991/I:144, 145, II:129, 130.

Male client: [II:129] What does it say [in the divination (on the client’s daughter-in-law)] ... if she comes free for me because I fear for her (...)

Male client: [II:130] Yes, well, please do me this favor, that there will be no illness at all for me and my family and my whole household. But please do me this favor. (...)

Diviner: Well, the hand, the foot (i.e. the child) of him, with him, our Lord San Pedro (St. Peter), well then, will it be good? Is there no illness, no death, no end, fever, cold fever, vomit, diarrhea above their hearts (souls)? Our Lord, the Judgement, it already arises, it sets out to be making tracks, it goes, it comes out to see the sons, the daughters, to listen to them among the people. The Judgement inspects the whole world to see, to listen. And it has been sent at the behest, at the command of the holy Pope in Rome, Spain, from there is a license, came the Judgement in order to see. It comes in order to listen to whatsoever may be the uttered words, whatsoever may be the uttered reservations, whatsoever may be the faults (disobediences) which happened, which one might say perhaps, which the people, the son, the daughter say. Well, now then, they will put it completely into order. 4 Watan, does no sorrowful word (utterance), no preoccupation remain above their heart, is it calmed?

*<Commentary:> The client’s daughter-in-law is under the jurisdiction or power and protection of the patron of San Pedro Soloma, St. Peter. The possible health problems are enumerated. Reference is made to the “**Lord of Illness**”, the **Judgement**. An old formula as conserved in the prayer for the Ordenanza and in the in-depth interview on the Ordenanza is used: “inspects the whole world”, “at the command of the holy Pope in Rome, Spain”. These colonial Spanish and Catholic concepts are co-mentioned together with the native concepts of “**uttered reservations**”, “**faults**”. The calendar day invoked as a temporal rule marker [4 Watan] is not the current day [= 16.7.81=2 Kaq]. 4 Watan would correspond to May 1, 1981. 4 Watan is an Alcalde day and might be the aspect of juridical judgement associated with it.*

3.3.3 Outcome of the daughter's illness

From: #20A, Hinz 1991/I:57, II:54.

Diviner: And what is the name of your daughter?

Male client: The daughter is the replacement (*k'exel* = *namesake*) for my dead mother, she is named Sebastiana, Sebastiana, Sebastiana Alonso is this daughter, because—

Diviner: Ah, well, what says the life, the health about the heart of Sebastiana Alonso, what says the Judgement, what is it then, what kind of an illness does she have as you perceive her?

Male client: It is fever, pure fever, Sir, fever. We have given her some mineral water. That is exactly what diminishes the (fever). We have rubbed her with vinegar, only that. Actually, she goes for a walk, she eats, she goes for a walk. But, as it seems to be, it is just the case then that it gets worse for her, as it seems to me. But maybe it is all that asks against us [= all the unclarified problems are directed against us “complaining”]. And therefore I ask questions, Sir.

Diviner: Sebastiana Alonso, what does God, our Lord, say, what does the Calendar Day say, what does our Lord say, the Judgement (i.e. the illness), our Lord, Four Fever, Eight Fever which is sitting, which lies above the heart of Sebastiana Alonso? And will it perhaps calm, cool down? And in what consists, what is the problem of Sebastiana Alonso? Sebastiana Alonso—

*<Commentary:> The problem is referred to as ‘Judgement’, ‘our Lord Four Fever, Eight Fever’. The problem itself is **differentiated**: Will the illness disappear? In what consists the problem? The numerical coefficient ‘four’, ‘eight’ might refer to the evaluation (cf here Chs. E.5, 2.1.4, 2.5 and 4.9 [Divination rules]).*

3.3.4 Outcome of the son's service with the military

From: #23B; Hinz 1991/I:93f, II:85.

The son had been recruited by the military and had been serving in different localities. The diviner recasts the client's doubts ‘who knows if he has luck to a certain extent’:

Diviner: Juan Mateo, what does the destiny say of him, with the hands and feet of the Lords (i.e. the commanders, officers), the *Ladinos* who control (the) life. One year ago, Juan Mateo took off, started out for the military service, in the hands and [under the] feet of the presidency. *<Interruption by other people. The diviner starts again and recasts the problem formally and differently from the first formulation>.*

Juan Mateo, what does his destiny say about the military service, under the hands and feet of our Lord, Espíritu Santo Quetzaltenango (Holy Spirit Q.). One day he leaves [the military quarter], one day he enters [it], Juan Mateo. Is it good, is there no illness, no death, no end, no tears, no sadness above the heart of Juan Mateo with regard to the military service, in the hands of the *Ladinos*, of the commanders of the [presidential] candidate?

<Commentary:> Reference is made to the central concept of **destiny which is supposed to speak about military service**. The **sphere of influence of the local patron** is called ‘under the hands and feet of our Lord Espíritu Santo Quetzaltenango’. The **sphere of military rule** is referred to as ‘in the hands of the *Ladinos*, the commanders of the [presidential] candidate’. The **content of destiny** is specified as a question of decision: ‘Is there no illness, no death, no end, no tears, no sadness above the heart [name of the person under consideration]?’

3.4 Deepening the problem

In Ch. A I referred to the Developmental Sequence, Point 1 ‘Stating the problem’. This Point 1 can now be modified as follows:

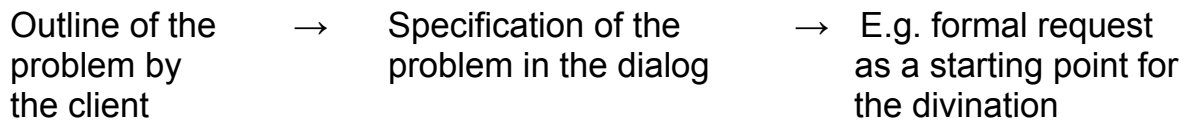


Figure 1: Process of problem development

This schema can be repeatedly applied in the consultation. See Ch. 8.

3.5 Structural differences of problems: predictions vs. explanations; locus of control: self vs. non-self; finding clues vs. deciding between alternatives; factual statements vs. normative commands

A problem might concern the **identification of a state**, of an event, of an agent who is benevolent or malevolent.

- (a) $X, Y...N =_{ex} P$
X, Y...N are predicates (P) and refer to characteristics.
- (b) $X, [Y, Z, A] = P$
X = fever, Y = caught in the lowland, Z = pale face, A = long-term; folk explication (‘folk definition’) of malaria (P).
- (c) $P(x)$
x is a variable and refers to a person.

Explication: (a and b) The characteristics fever (X), caught in the lowlands (Y), pale face (Z), long-term (A) explicate (_{ex}) the concept P (malaria). (b) X, [Y, Z, A] is P (malaria) and (c) person x *has* P (malaria). This is an identification which says nothing about the causes or consequences. Cf Ch. 8.

Some problems concern the **prediction** of events in the *future*, e.g. the success of a possible marriage, or of going to a *finca* (plantation) to work or of business travel.

Other problems concern the **explanation** of events which have already happened or manifested themselves in the *past* (or in the observable *present*). These events might include illnesses, omens or dreams.

There is a structural similarity but also a structural difference between scientific problems and problems of divination:

Predictions:

- (a) If event E, then event F.
 - (b) Event E has happened.
-

(c) Therefore event F will happen in the future.

The if-then clause (a) is called an *empirical law*.

Clause (b) is called an *antecedent condition*.

Clause (c) is concluded from the empirical law (a) in conjunction with the antecedent condition (b) as a *prediction* for the future.

Explanation:

- (a) If event E, then event F.
 - (b) Event E has happened.
-

(c) Therefore event F has happened or is happening.

Clause (c) describing event F can be deduced from the empirical law (a) in conjunction with the antecedent condition (b) and event F is thus *explained* as having taken place in the past or as taking place in the present.

In divination beliefs we, of course, often are not dealing with empirical laws but with non-empirical beliefs which are often joined by questionable procedures in an *arbitrary* way.

Another type of divination problem might concern an **intervention** in terms of goal-directed action or **prevention**. Note that the premises contain norms [both cases of (a) and (b) as well as (f) and (g)]:

Intervention:

- (a) If action A1, then state-event E1.
 - (b) State-event E1 is desirable (i.e. should be wanted).
 - [(c) Action A1 which leads to E1 is permitted].
-

(d) Therefore action A1 should be carried out.

Prevention:

- (a) If action B1, then state-event E2.
 - (b) State-event E2 is undesirable (i.e. should be prevented).
 - [(c) (All) actions B(1) which lead to E2 are to be avoided].
-

(d) Therefore action B1 has to be avoided.

AND POSSIBLY:

- (e) If action A1, then state-event E2 is prevented.
 - [(f) Action A1 which prevents E2 is permitted].
 - [(g) Preventing E2 is desirable (i.e. should be wanted)].
-

(h) Therefore, action A1 should be carried out.

Divination problems include further pragmatic dimensions. These become clear as we deal with the relationship between problems outlined by the clients and interpretative clues generated by the divination techniques (cf Ch. 4.9-10, tables + schemata). But they might already be discernible in the problem outline. The events dealt with in the divinations include cases which might be more or less *under the control of oneself or of others*.

Examples are cases of illness, the case of the son doing military service, the cases of pregnant mothers. The diviner is careful to *clarify* the *individual role, possibility (or personal potential)* and (causal) *influence*; this includes, for example, the family of the person concerned, but might include other entities or beings. This holds for predictions (e.g. marriages) as well as for explanations, because in both cases further actions, attitudes and expectancies or fortunes are involved. The *resources* to act include the reestablishment of *social relations*, clearance of *one's own mind*, ritual means with regard to the saints, God or calendar days (i.e. *supernatural beings*) as *systems of support or agents who are thought to be contracted*.

Another pragmatic dimension concerns the difference between *finding a clue* in terms of content and heuristics, and *deciding between alternatives* in terms of decision-making. The first difference consists in associations inferred from clues. These clues or associations can lead to *identifications*

(of events, causes, consequences, conditions, qualities etc.). The second difference consists in “decision-making *criteria*”.

Utilizing a clue for a *factual statement* (as in the case of events which have happened) vs. for a *normative command*, e.g. *an interdiction*, refers to the pragmatic deep structure: identification of a state, or explanation of an event vs. preventive action.

3.6 Problem development: algorithms for checking, for proceeding and for limiting the problem

The following Matrix (Table 1) captures some of the dimensions, i.e. action focus and pragmatic-epistemic categories. The assessment of responsibility (see below: relevant questions (5), algorithms for checking and for limiting the problem) is covered in the column labeled ‘control self-centered’. Part of the problem development may actually take place as a back-up of the interpretation process covered in Ch.4. Cf Ch. 8 as an example.

ACTION FOCUS ► PRAGMATIC- EPISTEMIC CATEGORY ▼	<i>Finding clue(s)</i>	<i>Control self-centered</i>	<i>Control hetero- centered (scope)</i>
Identification (of state)	<i>Features / attributes (e.g. relevance)</i>	<i>Degree of responsibility; (limit of problem)</i>	<i>Scope left; shift agency; other people’s fault</i>
Prediction	<i>Features (future; network connected; cause–effect)</i>	<i>Degree of capability of control / Responsibility</i>	<i>Scope left; shift agency (systems of support); other people’s fault</i>
Explanation	<i>Features (past/ present; network connected; cause–effect)</i>	<i>Degree of one’s own fault (or control)</i>	<i>Scope of action left; shift of agency (systems of support); other people’s fault</i>
Decision	<i>Enablements; difficulties; impediments; payoffs</i>	<i>Formation of goal(s), plan & action(s); alternatives of actions</i>	<i>Contract agency (systems of support); reaction formation; [other people’s fault]</i>
Intervention (incl. prevention)	<i>Agency, interactants; goals, skills/routines, means (of action). Things to be avoided or accomplished</i>	<i>Degree of capability to act; plan, action</i>	<i>Scope left; shift agency (systems of support); [other people’s fault?] Limitation of problem?</i>

Table 1: Property Matrix of “action focus” and “pragmatic-epistemic category” in problem development

According to 3.5, the *questions relevant in problem development* might be:

- (1) What does the ‘problematic’ event or **state consist of**?
- (2) What is the (law-like or rule-like) **context of events** that *predicts* future outcomes *or explains* present situations?
- (3) What can be done, **what shall be done**?
- (4) What are the **systems of support** that can be mobilized (e.g., God, saints, etc., whose **agency** can be contracted)? Proper rituals and prayers are here considered as a means of the contraction of agency.
- (5) **Who is implied** in a problem, and **what belongs** to the problems of a client? This question asks for the *responsibility* for an action or an episode, for the participation of a client, a person to be helped and for the *contribution* of one or more events to a problem and its potential solution.

As an example for an outline of *an algorithm for proceeding and checking* see Fig. 2 below. Cf Ch. 1.3 [Concept of fault and cause]. This process may actually form part of the derivation of an interpretation or be a backup of it (cf Ch. 4). [▶ = go to; *or* find out about ‘cause’ / ‘consequence’ / ‘regulating requirement’.] Starting point is ‘Consequence’ = current state. Checking operates in both directions.

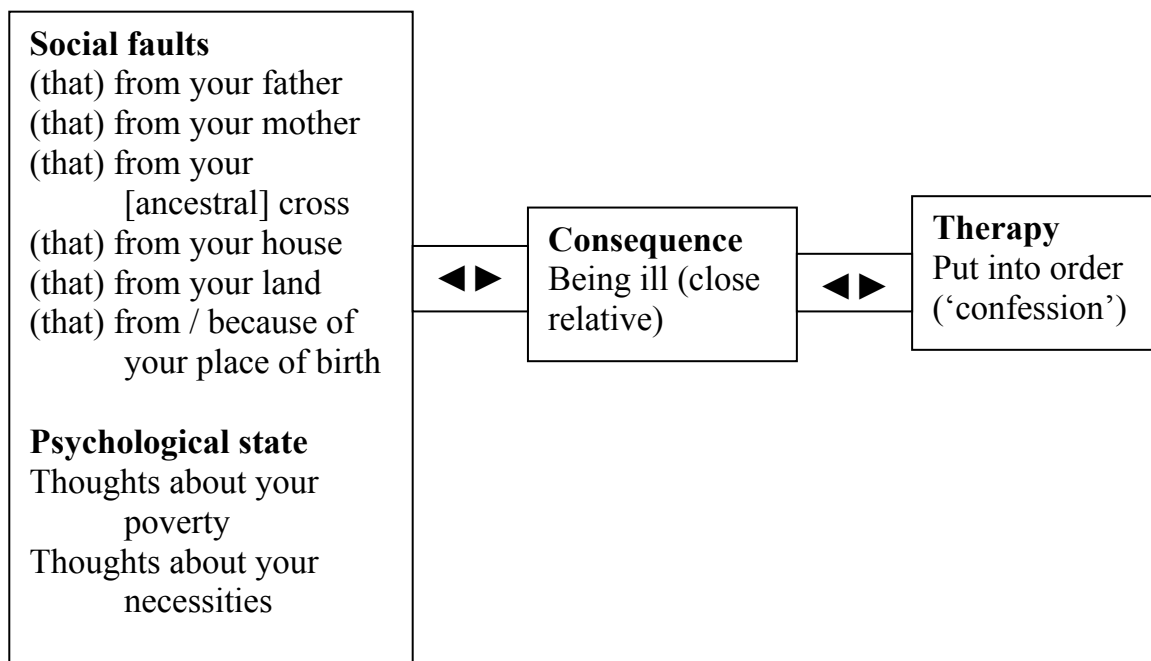


Figure 2: An algorithm for proceeding and checking based on beliefs about the origin of illness (localization of faults or responsibilities and worries) and therapeutic procedures

We can add a similar *algorithm for limiting the problem*.

See Ch. 5.9.2 <Commentary 3: ‘Okay, okay, don’t–, don’t interfere with it, don’t do that, don’t mess it up!’>; Ch. 6.5.1 <Commentary 11: ‘Well, how many things rest in his own responsibility, how many faults rest in his own responsibility...’>; Ch. 6.6.1 <Commentary 1: ‘But the cross which the brethren have burnt, boy–, one need not intervene on behalf of it...’>. Here, the *limitation of responsibility or concern* is assessed. What is *outside* of the *direct responsibility of the client* is not considered as being part of the client’s problem in the divination unless it leads to preoccupation. The concern may, however, include *features of locality* (e.g., in terms of a sphere of influence and of wrongdoings by the grandparents).

The algorithms mentioned hold for both the diviner and the client.

3.7 Model of the development and definition of the problem

We can think about the development of the problem in terms of the following components and items:

1. The client’s *problem outline* and the specification of the problem description *based on questions and answers*. For a divination to be made, the client has to ask a question which refers to a problem (*my* summary of an explication given to me by Don Mateo).
2. The diviner’s formal problem formulation (recast).
3. These processes can be repeated several times in the same consultation, with regard to the same problem case <cf Ch. 8>.
4. Based upon a dimensional analysis of question-answering processes and descriptions in the consultations, we can distinguish the following *dimensions* of questions, answers or, simply, problem descriptions:

Dimensions of Questions and/or Answers (=A) and/or Descriptions (=D)

Questions/A/D = Client’s questions/A/D | Diviner’s questions/A/D

Client’s questions/A/D = Want | Worry

Want = cf 5 below ; see ‘Problem features’ below

Worry = ‘Comment’ below | Positive outcome | Negative outcome

Positive outcome = e.g., life or success

Negative outcome = e.g., death

Diviner’s questions/A/D = Client features | Problem features

Client features = Name | Family members’ names | Residence | Marital status

Problem features = Topical frame | Episodic frame

Topical frame = Theme | Control

Theme = Money | Marriage | Work | Fate | Sign (Omen)

Money = Loss | Gain

Marriage = Outcome | Fit

Work = Success | Problem (Incident)

Fate = Illness | Military Service | Pregnancy
 Comment = Life | Survival | Danger (see Weight)
 Sign (Omen) = Dream | Omen | *possibly* (lighter) Illness
 Control = Self | Non-self
 Episodic frame = Event features | Special features
 Event features = Time | Locality | Actions *or* Incidents | Actors
 These categories can be combined with each other.
 Special feature = Bad treatment experienced | Transgression done
 | Weight
 Bad treatment *or* Transgression = Originator (Causal Agent) | Relation
 Originator (Causal Agent) = *e.g.*, Self | Kin
 | Neighbor
 Relation = Social Relation | Intimate Relation
 Weight = Danger | Loss | Survival

5. I characterize the structure of the problem in terms of the following *problem statement frame*:

Problem Statement Frame (of Client's Wants)

Problem statement frame = Identification | Explanation | Forecast | Decision | Intervention

<Ch. 3.5, 3.6 Table 1.>

6. The diviner's **answer to** the needy client's **wants** can be translated into, or expressed as, a proposition, exhortation or (affirmative or negated) command. Thus, the *problem statement frame* serves as a (*pragma-syntactic*) *template* for the verbal expression of the *interpretation*. In the on-line interpretations there can be further statements referring to details or interventions. Cf Ch. 4.9 and 4.10.

3.8 Existential and regional structural problems

In considering *health*, we refer to the poorly covered medical provisions in the indigenous Maya area, such as in the Q'anjob'al Maya country around 1981, and the general deficiency in nutrition among the indigenous population in the Departamento de Huehuetenango at that time (unpublished US American data as distributed by the American Embassy). Cf Balderston & Wilson & Freire & Simonen 1981 [covering the Departamento de Progreso]. Cf Ch. D.4.2, Notes 13 and 14.

The *economic situation* is characterized by low-paid wage labor in the plantations of the lowlands of Guatemala and the necessity for cash, *e.g.* to buy extra food, or fertilizer, etc. for home crops. The non-representative, opportunistic sample of economic data (15 cases) demonstrates a definite necessity for wage labor. Cf Ch. D.3.4 and D.5.2, Table 3 and 4.

In terms of *land tenure* in the Q'anjob'al area, especially in San Juan Ixcocoy, the Maya population suffered from the enforced abolition of communal landholdings (cf Ch. D.2). The absence of fallow periods in my Economic Microcensus is possibly an index of land shortage or severe stress on land.

After military incidents in the Q'anjob'al area, but especially with the EGP ('Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres') in Chajul (Ixil area) and in San Miguel Acatán, *security* was considered to be *higher in the fincas* (plantations or estates) of the lowlands than in Q'anjob'al country.

Working abroad, e.g. in the USA or in Mexico, poses problems such as the separation of families, separation from identity-reinforcing agencies and other normal and traditional socialization agents.

Working on the Guatemalan fincas (plantations for coffee, sugar cane or cotton) might include separation from families and even marital bonds. Stress on family and private life is obvious.

Similar features hold for forced, non-voluntary *military recruitment* by means of which social identity is normally changed over a period of 30 months of enforced military service of Maya Indians. Preoccupation of the family members concerning the life of the recruit is documented in my ethnographic record.

Religious conflicts concern (1) the influence of the orthodox Catholic Acción Católica which weakened during the military conflict in San Juan Ixcocoy, and (2) the divergent spectrum of US based fundamentalist Evangelical groups which expanded during the Rios Montt government 1982-1983. The consultations intensively document this aspect, in terms of family conflicts and other social relationships.

Support from outside might tip the balance in any direction in terms of aggravating the problems or reducing them. Cf D.8, Figure 1.

In considering the regional and structural problems, we might be able to follow up their effect on individual persons in the consultations. The most recent changes in the structural and living conditions in the rural regions since the peace contract are not dealt with here.

4. TECHNIQUES OF INTERPRETATION AND THE DERIVATION OF INTERPRETATIONS

Divination forms part of the diviner's interpretative process. This Chapter deals with the techniques of divination and the derivation of statements of interpretation. The divinatory procedures and their technical details are described (laying out the seeds of the coral tree, selection of a day to start the count, the count itself with the marking of so-called 'speaking days'). A divination model dialog by the diviner is analyzed; the results are compared to a real case of divination and interpretation as contained in a consultation. A few episodic cases are analyzed. They exemplify the derivation of interpretations. I propose a model of the processes of comparing the problem with the keyword meanings as indicated by the so-called 'speaking days' of the calendar, and of deriving a complete statement of interpretation. This model addresses the question of how to expand keywords into contextualized interpretations. This derivation forms the core of the problem solution. The reader is referred to the example in Table 4. For theoretical references cf Ch. 10.4.

4.1 The diviner's procedure

A very general outline of the diviner's procedure looks like this:

1. The technical instruments of divination are the brilliant red seeds of the coral tree, *erythrina corallodendron*, Q'anj. 'txumb'al'; also called 'tz'ité', a Quiché word, by the diviner. Before taking a partial set of these seeds of the coral tree (altogether 55-60), the diviner may put aside some *tz'ités* which represent, for example, the number of problems or persons involved in the problem put forward by the client (the number of *tz'ités* forming the complete set of *tz'ités* will vary correspondingly).
2. In most cases a partial set of *tz'ités*, i.e. a "handful" (averaging 20-30), is taken from the complete set of *tz'ités* on the divination table.
3. This partial set is laid out in a row of positions, each position being made up by two *tz'ités* (the last position can be formed by a single one).
4. The row of positions will be counted several times (in most cases observed, four times) by names of the days of the 260-day calendar.
5. Certain positions (the calendar names naming them) are decisive for the divination's outcome. They are called 'speaking days' ("*cham ora ch'aloni*" = 'it is the day that speaks') and may be interpreted or not.
6. When counting through the row of positions, the diviner will mark – by spacing – how often he has already counted through it. Generally, these marked positions correspond to the 'speaking days'. See Fig. 1 below.

4.2 Example of a divinatory layout

See: #30A, Hinz 1991/I:155 [3rd divination]; II:138 [3a. adivinación]; 16.7.81. The consultation concerns the illness of the client's children. The divination under consideration is supposed to answer the question: Is it possible to carry out the ceremony of reconciliation in the front yard of the client's house?

In this example, the layout is counted four times, and the calendrical days – which name the positions in the layout – are counted continuously. The layout looks like this after each of the four counts:

The example happens to have **12 positions**. The **starting day** is *2 Kaq*. The **speaking days** – the last day(s) corresponding to the spatially marked number of counts – are: *13 Elab' ||*; *11 Imox |*, *12 Iq' ||*; *9 Ewub' |*, *10 B'en |*, *11 Ix ||*; *7 Watan |*, *8 K'ana' |*, *9 Ab'ak |*, *10 Tox (the last day) ||*. [*||* = final position; *|* = speaking days in other – pre-final – positions].

0 = seed of a coral tree; two in each position, except for the last position which can be single.

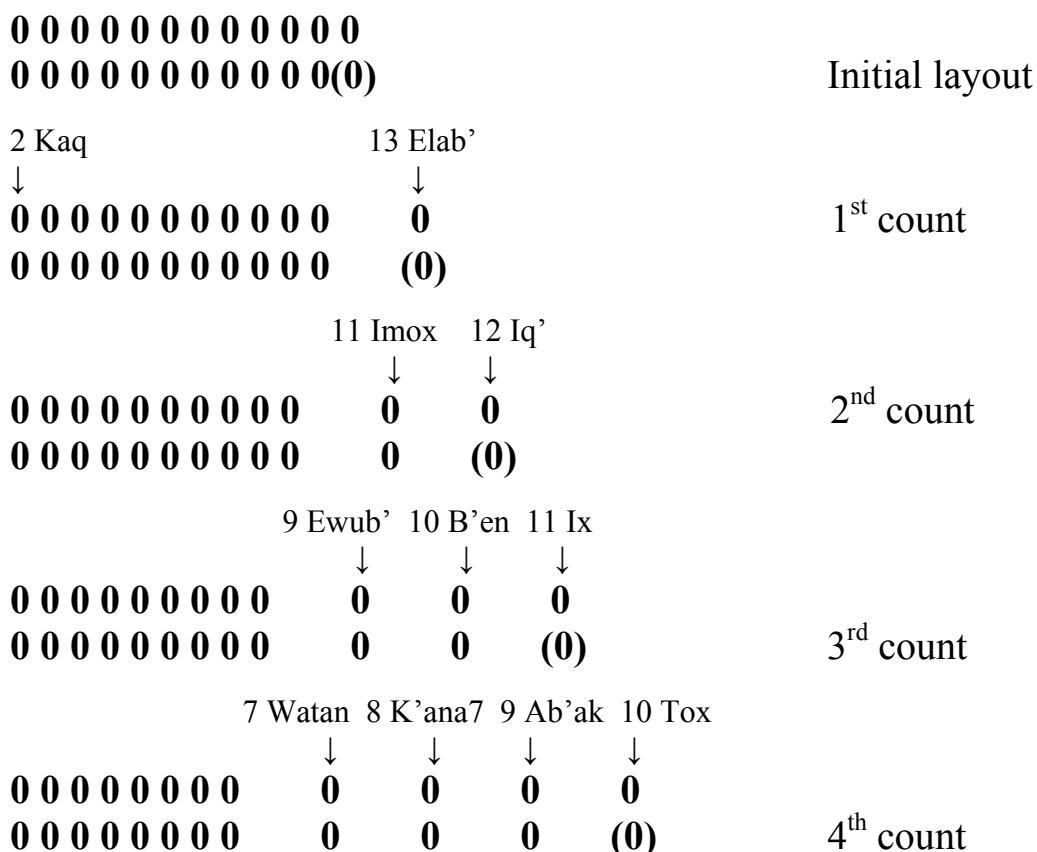


Figure 1: Example of a layout of the seeds of the coral tree (speaking days set apart)

Note: *8 B'atz'*, which is not a speaking day according to the layout, is actually interpreted in the text [“it says, it (the Judgement) will only report to

the places of birth”]. This day seems to be highlighted in accord with the question asked [‘birth place’ = front yard of the house]. The following day, 9 *Ewub*’, is a speaking day: 9 *Ewub*’ = “it is from his place of birth”; 7 *Watan* = “it will only be made known to the ancestors”; 9 *Ab’ak* = “so that all the evil can disappear”; 10 *Tox* = “it is good”. Interpretation: “The reconciliation ceremony can be carried out in the yard of the client’s house and in front of the church of San Pedro Soloma. Then the illness will disappear” (Hinz 1991 / I:155). Actually, the first speaking day, 13 *Elab*’, which is not interpreted, might contain the topical key: “to be possible, to come out o.k.” [*el-i (vi) = ‘to come out’?*].

4.3 Procedural variations observed

I have noticed a considerable variation in the divination techniques and counting procedures which, to date, are unreported in the literature on the subject. Variations observed by me concern:

(a) The formation of the positional row(s). With some problems several rows are formed (e.g., in wedding prognostics, two rows, one for each partner).

(b) The number of counts of a positional row.

(c) The day with which a count begins. In many cases it is the current day of the consultation; otherwise it might be the day when the event in question was first noticed or happened, e.g., an illness or an omen: participant observation suggests the priming of the divination in certain cases.

(d) The “speaking” positions. In most cases these are the end positions or the positions immediately preceding the end position (the positions optically marked in counting through the positional schema). In certain cases it might be a position in the middle of a row named by a *salient* day with a certain coefficient; or it might be the comparison of numerical coefficients of the first and the last days in the count, or the comparison of the numerical coefficients of the last day in two different rows of coral tree seeds counted.

(e) The continuity of the counting of one or more positional schemas (‘jumps’).

(f) I observed one divination without *‘txumb’al (tz’ité)*, i.e. without the seeds of the coral tree, in Jolomhuitz when the diviner was without his usual divination instrument. The diviner holds his arm open downwards away from his body, watches it and counts localized points *on* it as calendar days with the fingers of his other hand (Hinz 1991/I:XXXVI). In detail, this might correspond to the phenomenon of “*brincar del sangre*”, the sensible movement of the blood.

Cf Tedlock 1982:138: "...that a calendar diviner can undertake the exploration of a client's question even when the *baraj* (containing the divinatory paraphernalia) has been left at home... In such a case, the diviner will simply count the days on the fingers (starting with the day to which the question pertains), stopping to give an interpretation whenever the blood speaks, until all twenty day names have occurred twice."

(g) In around 10% of the divinations observed, counting took place silently so that visual observation was especially important.

I managed to observe, outline, and record approximately 180-200 separate divination layouts and their counts within the sample of consultations.

4.4 Establishing interpretative rules: illustrations

A fairly complicated system of rules seems to underlie the divination itself. These rules are not completely known to me in all their particular features. This preliminary Paragraph is later specified (see Ch. 4.9).

The 20 calendar day names are associated with divinatory concepts. I obtained several lists of such associations in interviews. See Ch. 2.1.

[→: 'implies; means; is associated with']:

Example: *Tox* (VI) *Tox* → money

The 20 day names can be combined with the numbers 1 to 13. It seems that these numbers are associated with certain concepts. In terms of numerical associations, 2 at least is a number which seems to have a definite meaning:

Example: number 2

2 → somebody has a mistrust or a dislike of someone/something.

(In Q'anjob'al, *kab'* (= 'two') seems to be associated with *kab'k'ulal* = 'mistrust, dislike, reservation, reluctance'; literally 'two stomachs').

For more hypotheses on the meaning of numerical associations, see Ch. 2.1.4 [Note], Ch. 2.5 and Ch. 4.9.1 [**Divination Rules].

In general, the day *Tox* seems to be positive; but in combination with the number 2, the day definitely has a negative meaning.

Example: the day '2 *Tox*'

'2 *Tox*' → 'money problems, loss of money, mistrust/quarrel about it'

For reconstructing certain possible rules of coordination between days and divinatory meaning, it is important to note that the diviner often interrupts the count and intercalates preliminary interpretations for the speaking positions, e.g.:

Diviner [#18A]: 11 *Txab'in*, 12 *Kixkab'*, 13 *Chinax*, 1 *Kaq*, 2 *Ajaw*, 3 *Imox*, 4 *Iq'*, 5 *Watan* – ah, indeed an illness (Judgement) is already approaching you, yes..." [*continues to count the seeds*].

[usluk' txab'in, lajkaw kixkab', oxlajun chinax, jun kaq, kab' ajaw, ox imox, kan iq', ho watan, aa, ya mero ch'apni justisya hin, ja, ja...]

In this case, the speaking day 5 *Watan* ('authority') is interpreted. Though it was not feasible to present a systematic permutation of coefficients and day names to the diviner, I did record a limited number of hypothetical divinations which are helpful in reconstructing the rules of coordination.

4.5 The diviner's model of a divination and interpretation (a simulation by the diviner)

4.5.1 Translated text and analytical commentary

From #2B, an interview on divination in the case of illness (cf App. V.a). The diviner presents a model dialog in which he simulates both the client and the diviner (the count is abbreviated by a hyphen):

Diviner: If there is a Christian who has a headache or is ill or has who knows what, then it will speak here now [in terms of the days in the divination]:

5 K'ana7, if somebody is ill, so it says, 5 K'ana7, 6 Ab'ak – 2 Ix, 3 Tz'ikin. Well, here are the days (*or*: Now the days are speaking here):

2 Ix, 3 Tz'ikin:

Put into order your mistrust! Because you have a mistrust, therefore you are ill, therefore there is a sick person,

2 Ix, 3 Tz'ikin,

here the days speak, here the days arrange it (put it into order).

2 Ix, 3 Tz'ikin, 4 Txab'in – 2 Chej:

You really have a mistrust, so it says. 2 Chej,

3 Lamb'at – 1 Kaq:

Why is it that you have a mistrust, why do you quarrel, so it says. There is a quarrel which you pick. Therefore, you are ill, so it says, therefore there is a sick person.

3 Kaq, 4 Ajaw – 12 Lamb'at:

If you put it into order, then you are free, so it says, 12 Lamb'at,

13 Mulu7:

It is your fault. Why do you quarrel, why do you have a mistrust? 13 Mulu7, 1 Elab', 2 B'atz'. This is the office of the days, so it says.

Eike H.: Is there a question, if (the illness) already started a few days ago?

Diviner: How many days ago did your illness begin, so it says.

Fictive Client: Oh, it is already one week ago, or a fortnight or 20 days or one month or three months or half a year, or it is already one year ago that my illness started.

<Commentary 1: The simulated divination starts with the current day 5 K'ana, May 2, 1981. The first days to be evaluated are 2 Ix, 3 Tz'ikin. The interpretation is “you have a mistrust”. This is the “cause of illness”. The diviner instructs the fictive client to intervene (“put it into order”). This is a clear syntax of events and of actions. I will tabulate such ‘pragma-syntactic categories’ in Ch. 4.5.2. 2 Chej is interpreted as “you have a mistrust”. “Mistrust” (kab'-k'ulal) is inferred from “2 (kab')” Chej. The next day, 1 Kaq, is interpreted as “there is a quarrel which you pick”. This interpretation is directly derived from Q'anjob'al kaq = “quarrel”. An implication follows: “Therefore you are ill”. 12 Lamb'at: “If you put it into order then you are free”. I suppose that Lamb'at, as an Alcalde day, represents the “Judgement” as the Lord of Illness who can concede health. This is brought about by the necessary ritual or therapy (e.g., an open declaration = the pragmatic meaning of ‘to put into order’). 13 Mulu7 is interpreted as “it is your fault”. ‘Fault’ (Q'anj. mul) is derived from Mulu7. The questions asked by the diviner (‘why...’) are not rhetorical ones, but point to topics to be covered in the open declaration and to be expressed.>

<The diviner again starts with a model counseling dialog. This dialog is again simulated with the different roles by the diviner. There are metaexplanations for me (not for the fictive client). The context isolated and analyzed in detail in Chapters 2.1.2 and 3.2.1.3, is repeated so as to ensure the completeness of the data base for the reconstruction of rules of inference.>

Diviner: Ah, well, well then. What are you coming to ask for?

Fictitious client: I come in order to ask if I will recover or if I will not recover. Therefore, I come to ask for my way, for a divination for me.

Diviner: Well then, we will see. And what is your name, *so one says*.

<Divination includes the client's identification by name.>

Fictitious client: I don't have another name, I am Juan (Xhinik), *so one says*. Or: I am Juana (Xhuwin), *so one says*.

Diviner: We will see why you have your illness.

<The diviner starts to count the red seeds of the coral tree (erythrina corallodendron; 'tz'ité', 'txumb'al') with the current day, 5 K'ana7 = May 2, 1981. The current day is the beginning of the count in most problems.>

5 K'ana7, 6 Ab'ak – 5 Kixkab':

You have sorrows with regard to your work, 5 Kixkab', you have sorrows with regard to your work, you have a mistrust (a disgust) towards your

food, you have sorrows with regard to your money, 5 Kixkab', 6 Chinax – 4 Mulu7:

The faults are yours. Why do you have sorrows? 4 Mulu7. The faults are yours. Why do you have sorrows? 4 Mulu7.

5 Elab', 6 B'atz':

You have sorrows in your place, in your house, 6 B'atz':

You did not put yourself into order, you did not arrange what your sorrows are before you left for the plantation (*finca*). And you have left where you have left for. Therefore you came to catch your illness in another place.

[6] B'atz', [7] Ewub', 8 B'en – 5 Watan.

Therefore there is a headache which appears with you, 5 Watan, 6 K'ana7:

Therefore there is this diabolical (thing) which you have come to feel. If not–

7 Ab'ak – 8 Kaq:

And put it into order. You should put it into order. If you do not put it into order–, 8 Kaq,

8 Kaq, 9 Ajaw – 10 Ix:

Put yourself into order together with your wife (in terms of an open confession). You shall put yourself into order together with your wife. If you do not put yourself into order together with your wife, then you will see it, 8 Ix, 9 Tz'ikin – 10 Mulu7,

so you are. Why didn't you put yourself (*or*: yourselves?) into order, before you went to the plantation or where else you went to again?

9 Elab', 10 B'atz' – 12 Tox:

But it is the money which you have lost.

10 Tox – 10 Kaq:

You did fight because of money, 10 Kaq,

11 Ajaw, 12 Imox:

Therefore, there is a death, there is sorrow with you,

13 Iq':

Therefore you are sick. You will recover or you will not recover. Put the money into order, you look for all the money because of which you are quarreling. There is wasted money as the days say, as the diviner, the counselor (*Ajb'e*) says.

<Commentary 2: The interpretation of 5 Kixkab' remains obscure. "You have sorrows" might be reduced in the following way: b'il-ku'lal ('sorrow'): cf b'il-wi [vi] = 'to move' (Dicc. Akateko 22), b'il-i [vi] = 'Moverse. Escuchar tronar. Hacer ruido el estómago' = 'to make a noise in the stomach' (Dicc. Q'anj. 35); this fits the meaning of Kixkab' = 'earthquake', also called 'mover (Q'anj. tenom) of the earth'. 'Mistrust' might

be implied by Kix-kab (implying 'two', cf Ch. 4.4). The objects of sorrow ('work, food, money') may be standard basic needs which are to be supplemented. Cf kix = 'culazo' = 'push, shock'.

4 Mulu7 is phonetically associated with: mul = 'fault'.

6 B'atz is interpreted as 'you have sorrows in your place, in your house'. B'atz is phonetically associated with ko-b'atx'-om-al = '[the earth] which carries us', i.e. 'our home or terrain [around our house]'. The diviner appeals to a belief molecule: Omission of putting into order preoccupations before leaving the home town (e.g., for finca work in the lowlands) enables or leads to illness.

5 Watan is an Alcalde day, i.e., the 'Judgement' or 'Lord of Illness' represented as 'a headache' (ya7 jolom). Cf Ch. 1.5.1.

6 K'ana7 is interpreted as 'therefore there is this diabolical (thing)', K'ana7 being associated with 'witchcraft' (cf Ch. 2.2). This day name might be phonetically associated with q'ana7 = 'to ask for s.th. [in the negative sense of against s.o.]', cf 9.3, Comm 4 (jun txaj q'an-b'il h-in = 'a prayer asked for against you', forming the interpretation of 2 K'ana7).

8 Kaq is interpreted as 'put it into order': 'quarrel', already mentioned, might be suppressed as the object of the therapy.

10 Ix is interpreted as 'put it into order with your wife'; 'wife' might be implied by the day name (ix = 'woman'; female noun classifier).

10 Mulu7: Again, the object of the therapy might be suppressed as was previously mentioned. The diviner refers to the episodic feature of work out of town.

12 Tox: Tox is associated with money, either (s-)toj-ol ['price (for it)'] or tomin ['money']. 12 (laj-kaw) may give us laj-wi ('to terminate'), but this interpretation is completely guesswork.

10 Kaq: 'You did fight because of money'. See the interpretation above. 'Money' has been primed by a jump in the count, with a new start on the day 10 Tox. See below.

12 Imox: 'There is death'. Imox is associated with 'earth' (cf Ch. 2.1.1 and 2.1.2) and may imply the 'Lord of the Earth (Dyos Mundo)'.
13 Iq: 'Therefore you are sick'. Iq is associated with 'illness'.

Finally, an integrated interpretation is presented by the diviner in terms

of a consistent story: 'You will recover or you will not recover [a forecast]. Put the money into order [probably implying a ritual, praying or an open declaration]. You look for all the money because of which you are quarrelling [This implies marital trouble and the clarification and reconciliation among husband and wife; i.e., the topics of the 'confession' are hinted at.]. There is wasted money as the days say, as the diviner, the counselor says [A component of the problematic event is specified. The authority or

source of that information is based on the calendar and knowledge about it.].’>

Note the systematics of jumps within the day count:

- 1 Kaq → 3 Kaq
- 10 Ix → 8 Ix
- 10 Mulu7 → 9 Elab’
- 12 Tox → 10 Tox

The text of the model divination can be seen as a document of such intended jumps.

4.5.2 The structure of semantic associations: a qualitative content analysis (Table 1A/B)

The *categories* are, for example: reason, cause, consequence, forbearance or omission, therapy; asking, instructing. These are preliminary categories which classify pragma-syntactic relations, i.e. actions and their sequence. Cf Ch. 4.9 and 4.10. *Semantic assignment* covers concepts as explicated in Chs. 1.1-1.5 and 2 (e.g., mistrust/quarrel, death/sorrow, faults, illness, putting-in-order, work [cf Ch. 7.1.3], food, money, etc., locality, time).

Basis: day name	Semantic assignment	Pragma-syntactic category
<u>2</u> (=kab’-k’ulal = mistrust) Ix	Arranging <u>mistrust</u>	Therapy of Consequence 1
	Mistrust; therefore illness	Consequence 1 → Consequence 2
1 <u>Kaq</u> (= <u>kaq</u> = quarrel, war)	Origin of mistrust	[Asking for] Reason 1 for Consequence 1 [Consequence 1 = Reason 2]
	Origin of quarrel	[Asking for] Reason 1 for Consequence 1 [Consequence 1 = Reason 2]
	Picking <u>quarrels</u> [Therefore illness]	Reason 2 → Consequence 2
<u>12</u> (lajkaw) <u>Lamb’at</u> (<i>Alcalde day</i>)	Putting into order. Therefore relief.	Therapy [of the cause/reason 1 + 2] → Consequence 3
<u>13</u> <u>Mulu7</u> (=mul = fault)	<u>Fault</u>	Reason 1 [+ question for it]
	[Therefore quarrel]	→ Consequence 1
	[Therefore mistrust]	→ Consequence 1 (see above)

The second part of the model divination reads like this:

<i>Basis: day name</i>	<i>Semantic assignment</i>	<i>Pragma-syntactic category</i>
5 Kixkab' (→ <u>kab'</u> = 2?)	<u>Preoccupation</u> about work, food, money	Reason 2 / cause 2 (identified) = Consequence 1
4 <u>Mulu7</u>	<u>Faults</u> (<i>mul</i>), sorrow	Cause 1 (→) Cause 2 = Consequence 1
6 <u>B'atz'</u>	Sorrows in the home place, in one's home / house = locality	[Cause 2] identified & localized
	Sorrows not settled before beginning work on the plantation = time & locality	Cause 3 = Omission
	Therefore illness in the other place	(Cause 3) → Consequence 2
5 <u>Watan</u>	Therefore <u>illness</u>	(Cause 3) → Consequence 2
6 <u>K'ana7</u>	Therefore <u>evil</u>	(Cause 3) → Consequence 2
8 <u>Kaq</u>	Putting into order. Otherwise–	Therapy
10 <u>Ix</u>	Confession <u>made together with one's wife</u> (=social participants); Otherwise–	[Instruction to] therapy; omission
10 <u>Mulu7</u>	<u>Fault</u> (=reason for forbearing of therapy before work on the plantation (= local contrast))	Omission; (questions for its) reason / cause
12 <u>Tox</u>	Losing <u>money</u>	Reason / Cause 4 (identified)
10 <u>Kaq</u>	<u>Quarrel</u> because of money	(Reason / Cause 4) → Consequence 1
12 <u>Imox</u>	Therefore <u>death, sorrow</u>	(Consequence 1 = Reason 2) → Consequence 4
13 <u>Iq'</u>	Therefore <u>illness</u>	(Consequence 1 = Reason 2) → Consequence 2
	Further course: betterment (+)	Forecast
	Putting-into-order of money problem	Therapy
	Quarrel because of wasted money	Cause 4 → Consequence 1

Table 1A/B: Qualitative content analysis of the model divination

The tabulation – with the dimensions of day name, semantic assignment and the implicit pragma-syntactic category – is extracted from the interview data.

4.5.3 Reordering of the data

The data of the qualitative content analysis (Table 1A/B) are reordered:

Causal links:

Reason /Cause 1 → Reason/Cause 2 (= Consequence 1) → Consequence 2

Reason/Cause 2 → Consequence 2

Therapy of [Reason/Cause 1 & 2] → Consequence 3

Reason/Cause 3 → Consequence 2
Reason/Cause 4 → Consequence 1
Consequence 1 (= Reason/Cause 2) → Consequence 4

Definitions:

Reason/Cause 1 = ‘fault’
Reason/Cause 2 = ‘sorrow, preoccupation [work, food, money; in home town],
mistrust; quarrel’ (=Consequence 1)
Reason/Cause 3 = ‘sorrows in home town not settled’
Reason/Cause 4 = ‘losing money’
Consequence 1 = ‘mistrust’, etc. (=Reason/Cause 2)
Consequence 2 = ‘illness (in other town), evil’
Consequence 3 = ‘relief’
Consequence 4 = ‘death’
Therapy [of Reason/Cause 1/2] = ‘putting-into-order (i.e., confession)’

4.6 An interpreted episode: events, faulty social behavior and decisions

The following excerpt from a complex divination session is *a case fairly close and comparable to the model divination*. The adopted son does not want to go back to and live in the house of his deceased father. The client wants to give him land to build a house on directly adjacent to his own plot. See Table 4 in Ch. 4.10 for the corresponding process model.

4.6.1 The text translated

From #29A; Hinz 1991/I:133f, II:120f.

Male client: But then his house will be put into order a little bit..... while his house will be build up completely..... and therefore I try to find out if it will be good.

Diviner: But it must be with your whole interior [will].

Male client: Yes, I [want it] with all my heart.

Diviner: In such a way, it is your decision.

Male client:Although [our property] is limited in such a way, we can build our houses directly side by side. It doesn't matter, yes, it doesn't matter, Sir, it doesn't matter.

Diviner: <Divination 6a.>

2 Kaq, 3 Ajaw, 4 Imox, 5 Iq', 6 Watan, 7 K'ana7, 8 Ab'ak, 9 Tox, 10 Chej, 11 Lamb'at, 12 Mulu7, 13 Elab', it is possible in any case.

Male client: It will be possible, Sir?

Diviner: It will be possible.

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: <Divination 6b.>

1 Elab', 1 Elab', 2 B'atz', 3 E(w)ub', 4 B'en, 5 Ix, 6 Tz'ikin, 7 Txab'in, 8 Kixkab', 9 Chinax, 10 Kaq,

only that they shall not quarrel, so it says.

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: 10 Kaq,

11 Ajaw, 12 Imox, 13 Iq', 1 Watan, 2 K'ana7, 3 Ab'ak, 4 Tox, 5 Chej, 6 Lamb'at, 7 Mulu7,

they shall not seek their transgression, so it says,

7 Elab', 8 B'atz', 9 E(w)ub', 10 B'en, 11 Ix, 12 Tz'ikin, 13 Txab'in, 1 Kixkab',

under any circumstances, it will also be possible as this contract of theirs is, so it says,

2 Chinax,

only that they shall not have a mistrust, so it says,

3 Kaq,

[it shall be] no quarrel, so it says,

4 Ajaw, 5 Imox, 6 Iq', 7 Watan, 8 K'ana7, 9 Ab'ak, 10 Tox,

also the money, it is not lacking, there is money, so it says, Tox,

11 Chej, 12 Lamb'at, 13 Mulu7,

only that they shall not seek their transgression with [the] money, and there is money, so it says.

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: Hahaha.

Male client: Well, then, Sir.

Diviner: Well, then, Juan.

4.6.2 Analytical commentary

The following *inferences from the "basis"* are to be noted. The difference between *norm* and *descriptive statement* is relevant:

Elab', possibly in association with the Kanjobal verb *el-i* ('to come out', 'to happen', 'to come free') = 'being possible' (?). My reduction of the interpretation is questionable, but note the 'priming' of the divination in terms of the jump in counting, 13 Elab' to 1 Elab'. Cf Ch. 4.2 (13 Elab') and #23B (Hinz 1991/I:88, 94: 13 Elab' = 'they will not be free').

Kaq ('quarrel') = '[they shall not] quarrel', construed as a norm.

Mulu7, in association with the Kanjobal noun *mul* ('transgression') = '[they shall not seek] their transgression', again construed as a norm.

Note the jump from 7 Mulu7 to 7 Elab' which obviously 'primes' the following divination, perhaps in the sense just explicated ('to come out').

1 Kixkab': = 'it is possible as this contract of theirs is'; the association is unknown and cannot be derived at this point in time. Cf Ch. 4.5.1 [Comm. 2]: *-kab'* might imply two partners, e.g. in a marriage contract or in a convention between two sides. This is uncorroborated, but consider the expression 'this contract of theirs'. Documented meaning: earth(quake), field and rain, crops. The result of the divination might emphasize "one" (1 Kixkab'), or something like "unity". Cf Ch. 4.8.1 <Comm 2: 4 Kixkab'>.

2 Chinax, in association of *kab'* ('two') with *kab'-k'ulal* ('mistrust') = '[they shall not have a] mistrust', construed as a norm.

3 Kaq = '[no] quarrel', construed as an elliptic norm.

10 Tox, possibly in association with Kanjobal noun (*ch'en*) *tumin* (= 'money', the colonial coin 'tomin') or *s-tojol* (= 'its price'), = '[there is] money', construed as a descriptive factual statement.

13 Mulu7: see above; = '[they shall not seek] their transgression [with money]', construed as a norm in conjunction with the foregoing statement referring to money.

Note the jumps in the day counts: from 6a. to 6b. (*13 Elab' → 1 Elab'*) and from *7 Mulu7* || → *7 Elab'*.

The interpretation is "on-line". The story is just a string of interpretative statements and covers several features: (1) To build a new house in the immediate neighborhood is possible; (2) no quarrel, no mistrust, no transgressions shall be done; (3) there will be money; (4) but no transgression with money shall be done. We see that the diviner is referring to basic needs and is directly reinforcing social norms and is, thus, exercising social control.

4.7 A further episode: the interpretation of a dream

4.7.1 The text translated

From #29A; Hinz 1991/I:124-126, II:112-114.

Male Client: Ah, Sir, but I always have a dream. What does it mean? Well, sometimes I make a journey, sometimes I dream that I travel in a car, at short intervals I always dream of it, Sir, at short intervals I always dream of it night for night, but who knows what it might mean, I say to myself. Sometimes they take me here, sometimes I am then left here. And at least, that is what happens, [that is what] I see in my dream, Sir. Who knows what it means as I say to myself. Once, Sir, I began to dream that they just took me here. But when I arrived, there was this car, you know [i.e. in the dream image], it was just there. Oh, now it doesn't go on anymore. "You cannot continue to travel," someone told me. "Alright," I said, "for I

don't carry anything with me," I said. "No, I will keep vigil, Sir," so I was told. "But I do have money with me," so I was told. Here is the money, therefore one cannot pass now. "You will continue [to travel]," so it was said. "But I, I will climb up here where I can perhaps pass by (*or*: circumvent) the sides. I, certainly, will continue to walk," so I said. But while I was still talking that way, Sir, I suddenly woke up. I no longer saw what would happen to me if I continued to walk. Therefore, this bothers my stomach. Perhaps it comes out for me [in the divination].

<Commentary 1: The problem is stated by the client: What does the dream mean?>

Diviner: Juan Matías who lives in Yichlaqwitz, what does his destiny say about our (=his) travel? Does he leave, does he come here, does he come back in two, in three, in six days, under the hands and feet of our Lord, San Pedro [Soloma], under the hands and feet of our Lord, San Juan Zacarías [Ixcoy], under the hands, the feet of our Mother, the Virgen de Concepción in Mazatenango.

<Commentary 2: The problem is recast by the diviner into a formal request. The client and his localities of living and of traveling are identified in terms of spheres of influence or rule. The question is asked about his destiny, his leaving and his returning.>

<Divination 3a>

13 Tox, 13 Tox, 1 Chej, 2 Lamb'at, 3 Mulu7, 4 Elab', 5 B'atz', 6 E(w)ub', 7 B'en, 8 Ix, 9 Tz'ikin, 10 Txab'in, 11 Kixkab', 12 Chinax, 13 Kaq.

So it says, do not quarrel with your workers. Do not quarrel with all those who are your workers, so it says, yes, yes. For if you quarrel, then they will be exactly those who will leave our (= your) burdens there. So it just says, ah, but watch out! Do not quarrel with them! For if you quarrel, then you will see what remains, so it says. But therefore there is this bad sign for you, so it says, therefore you have this dream, so it says.

Male client: Yes, certainly, Sir.

Diviner: Yes.

Male Client: Ah.

Diviner: Listen, and then you shall—, you shall see, but you shall treat well our fellows, our carriers, you shall behave well, but you shall not—, even if a mistake happens, one shall be lenient. What [else] should we do?

Male client: Yes, Sir, certainly.

Diviner: Perhaps there is something what they have done wrong, something (done) [by them][?], if they perhaps took some money. But when we pardon, the [divination *or* future] will say how we can regain it. It will

come back doubled, so it says, yes, but you shall not quarrel, and you shall not be preoccupied (have sorrows), you shall not have any mistrust, so it certainly says here.

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: You will consider it, haha.

Male client: Yes, Sir, certainly.

Diviner: You will consider it.

<Divination 3b>

2 Kaq, 3 Ajaw, 4 Imox, 5 Iq', 6 Watan, 7 K'ana7, 8 Ab'ak, 9 Tox, 10 Chej, 11 Lamb'at, 12 Mulu7, 13 Elab', 1 B'atz', 2 E(w)ub',

It says, you shall not have any mistrust, so it says. If you have a mistrust, then—,

2 E(w)ub',

3 B'en, 4 Ix, 5 Tz'ikin, 6 Txab'in, 7 Kixkab', 8 Chinax, 9 Kaq, 10 Ajaw, 11 Imox, 12 Iq', 13 Watan, 1 K'ana7, 2 Ab'ak, 3 Tox,

it says, if you will have a mistrust, then money will suddenly end, so it says, 3 Tox,

4 Chej, 4 Chej, 5 Lamb'at,

no exaggerated ideas (imagination)³³ shall be left, so it says,

4 Chej, 5 Lamb'at, 6 Mulu7, 7 Ab'ak, 8 B'atz', 9 E(w)ub', 10 B'en, 11 Ix, 12 Tz'ikin, 13 Txab'in, 1 Kixkab', 2 Chinax,

it says, at least inconsiderate is mistrust in front of our Lord San Pedro Soloma, in front of one's ancestors at the cemetery, and in front of our (i.e. your) house, our (i.e. your) hut, which you have built,

3 Kaq, 4 Ajaw,

if not, an illness, a case of death, an end is possible at least, so it says, 4 Ajaw,

5 Imox, 6 Iq', 7 Watan, 8 K'ana7, 9 Ab'ak, 10 Tox, 11 Chej, 12 Lamb'at, 13 Mulu7, 1 Elab', 2 B'atz',

it says, you shall not mistrust your place [of birth] which we (i.e. you) pass by, which we (i.e. you) go down to, which we (i.e. you) climb up to, so it says, but with a grandfather of ours (i.e. yours), where at least the number is [under which] you are...

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: ...so it says. Well, hahaha.

Male client: Ah, well.

Diviner: Listen to it, Sir.

³³ Cf Voc. Q'anj. 2003:78: *Jitza* = 'Alargar, ampliar, mover'; *Jitztoq* = 'Hágalo más allá'; 'arrimar'. Cf Dicc. Akateko 1996:53: *Hitza* (vt) = 'arrimar'; a possible, but uncorroborated association with regard to *Lamb'at*: see Dicc. Akateko 1996:96: *Lamb'a* (vt) = 'sacar un montón de cosas'.

Male client: And then it will be good (okay) now, does that mean at least, Sir? I shall put into order only that, does it mean that?

Diviner: Only that.

Male client: Ah.

4.7.2 Analytical commentary

Stating the problem: The client tells his dream which he had dreamt twice. The dream is about traveling and earning money. But it doesn't seem to be the client who is carrying the money.

The dream refers to a money problem. It seems that, therefore, the start of the count is chosen as 13 Tox. The speaking day is 13 Kaq, indicating a quarrel (Q'. *kaq* = 'quarrel'). The diviner knows the client personally as well as his locality (asking in the beginning: 'How is the maize mill?'). So some trouble with the workers, helpers or farmhands of the client is probably known to him. The diviner refers to money possibly taken away from the client. The starting day for the second count is 2 Kaq indicating (mistrust due to) a quarrel. The first speaking day is 2 E(w)ub'.

The next two speaking days, 2 Ab'ak, 3 Tox give the information: 'Two' = 'mistrust', *Tox* = 'money'. The combined information is translated into the statement: 'If you will have a mistrust, then money will suddenly end'. The derivation of the information of the immediately following speaking days 4 Chej, 5 Lamb'at ('No exaggerated ideas shall remain') is opaque. But see Note 33 and the glosses quoted. The following 4 speaking days are interpreted: 2 Chinax, an *Alcalde* day, is translated as 'Inconsiderate is mistrust in front of our Lord, San Pedro Soloma, in front of our (i.e. your) ancestors in the cemetery, in front of our (= your) house, our (= your) hut which you have built'; mistrust being implied by the numerical coefficient 'two', and the supernatural beings or local spirits are probably implied by the *Alcalde* day. The expression 3 Kaq, 4 Ajaw is translated as 'if [you do] not [put into order your mistrust] an illness, a case of death, an end is possible', probably implied by the fact that 4 Ajaw is an *Alcalde* day (of justice). The last speaking day is 2 B'atz' (with 3 E(w)ub', 4 B'en and 5 Ix probably suppressed). 'Two' implies mistrust; *B'atz'* indicates the place or house of birth. The gloss 'mistrust with regard to the house of birth' is translated into the interdiction 'Don't have a mistrust with regard to the birth place!'. The diviner specifies the place as being associated "with a grandfather of ours (= yours)", probably referring to a *k'exel*-relationship, i.e. a namesake and substitute who inherits the place and takes care of it (and possibly even lives in it).

Note that the two beginnings of counting, 13 Tox and 2 Kaq, seem to prime the semantics and pragmatics of the divination. The day 2 Kaq is the current day, i.e. July 16, 1981.

4.8 Variations in the derivation of interpretations: the comparison of two persons

4.8.1 A marriage forecast

From: #23B; Hinz 1991/I:90-92, II:82f.

Two sets of seeds (representing the prospective couple) are taken, laid out and counted. The problem is outlined and the divination together with an interpretation is given.

Diviner: Well then, what is the name of your son, Sir?

Male client: Armando Mateo.

Diviner: God, Lord, well then, you Calendar Days, you Days, you Nights. Here is [day] Ab'ak. You will talk about Ermindo's heart, Ermindo, did you say?

Male client: Armando.

Diviner: Armando Mateo, what says his destiny about the marriage contract? And what is the name of this lady?

Male client: Well, [her name is] Rosa, Rosa Antonio, Anton[io] is her father, Rosa Antonio.

Diviner: But what says the destiny of Rosa Antonio and Armando Mateo? In which village are you living?

Male client: [In the] village Yulhuitz.

Diviner: You are living in Yulhuitz?

Male client: In Yulhuitz.

Diviner: And she?

Male client: Near Yajawk'u (Yajau Cu), we are always close to each other.

Diviner: Well, [that] is nearly the village Yulhuitz, isn't it?

Male client: Yes, nearly, yes.

Diviner: Armando Mateo, what says the destiny about him and about Rosa Antonio, the hands, the feet, the children of our Lord San Pedro, who sit, who are sitting beneath the hands, the feet of our Lord Yulhuitz? Is perhaps Rosa Armando's destiny (luck), and is perhaps Armando Mateo Rosa's destiny (luck) with regard to a marriage contract?

<Commentary 1: Several questions identify both the prospective male and female partners in a marriage contract, their respective villages, and the destiny (addressed as day "Ab'ak" and as "you Calendar Days, you Days, you Nights"). The problem is recast as a formal request to the "destiny".

The destiny is objectified as a hope for mutual good fortune among the two prospective partners. The couple is referred to as children (hands and feet) of their village conceptualized as a ruler, “Lord Yulhuitz”.>

Male client: (...)

Diviner: Armando Mateo, 4 Kixkab’, does this lady belong to him, this marriage contract (this marriage), [both] from the same village Yulhuitz, <I.a divination>

4 Kixkab’, 5 Chinax, 6 Kaq, 7 Ajaw, 8 Imox, 9 Iq’, 10 Watan, 11 K’ana, 12 Ab’ak,

and Rosa Antonio:

<I.b divination>

4 Kixkab’, 5 Chinax, 6 Kaq, 7 Ajaw, 8 Imox, 9 Iq’, 10 Watan, 11 K’ana7, 12 Ab’ak,

they fit each other perfectly, I can add nothing more.

Male client: Perhaps really, Sir, well, perhaps really.

Diviner: The result was the same.

Male client: The result was the same...

Diviner: The same.

Male client: ...for both of them?

Diviner: The result was the same.

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: You did already see it, I didn’t count it [manipulatively], it was not me (i.e. I didn’t make up the count)–

Male client: Yes, so it is. No, certainly.

Diviner: It is the number which determines, it is the calendar day which determines. (...) And it is also the destiny which determines.

*<Commentary 2: The **same speaking day** (12 Ab’ak) in both divinatory counts for each of the prospective marriage partners signifies ‘**perfect match**’. The comparison of the counts of **two layouts** for the marriage forecast seems to be basic and differentiates divination techniques in topical terms. The reason for the choice of 4 Kixkab’ as the beginning of the day count is unknown (reference to fertility of soil [= family] or earthquake [= two different foci])? But cf the note on two possible contract partners as implied by the syllable -kab’ in Chapters 4.5.1/Comm 2 and 4.6.2.>*

4.8.2 Fission in a household: reoccupying the house of birth

From #29A; Hinz 1991/I:122-123, II:110-112.

*The client was sharing a house with another man, and the other man has now moved into a **house of his own**. The diviner shall find out – for this other person, too – if everything will be fine.*

Male client: Well, then, the man has given [to me][my property][?] exactly in that form. He has built [his house] in another [place]. He moved there. So it is, well now, that is it why I come here to ask questions. Well then, he moved out (he became independent), so it is, we just shared our fire. Now he has his own separate fire, and elsewhere (separately) was left mine. And then he sent me out with an instruction: “Go and try to find out for yourself if it is left well, because it was on the day of San Pedro that we did separate, yes. Maybe it is left well, maybe I still have a transgression then. Do [me] the favor, go and try to find out what I am asking for. For I myself, then, it will not come out that way if I will do it,” he said to me. “Well then,” I said. And therefore I come, Sir, and therefore–, and therefore I come to ask questions, to be informed what it is, if the Calendar Days are saying something about me. And therefore, I will work together with the calendar days.

Diviner: Yes.

Male client: At least, [the house of the other person] is not as our hut, as our hut now. But it always makes them, the other gents, feel uneasy, well, it certainly is that, Sir. Yes, therefore I come and ask questions and listen to what it (the divination) answers. And is it good what it transmits on behalf of him at least, or is it rather me who has a transgression, because I did not know it, Sir, when we moved there. “Well now, this is your property, you will stay in your property, I will move away, and I will enter into the property of my father,” eeh, and so it is, it was elsewhere where his father made his seed [and build his house].

Diviner: Ah, well.

Male client: And he [i.e. the other person’s father?] went elsewhere to found his home [with the corresponding ceremonies] when he arrived there in the very beginning.

Diviner: Exactly.

Male client: And then I entered into his legal position, yes, since we shared our boundary stones at least as we shall call it, yes. Therefore, please, do me the favor, Sir, and try to find out how it is, if it is the case that something hits upon my children, Sir. For they are already caught [by an illness].

<Commentary 1: The client spells out his problem as already mentioned above. The former partner asked the client to visit the diviner. Both feel a bit uneasy about whether or not everything is okay or if one or the other

still has some transgression which would need ceremonial attention. The client wants to 'work together with the Calendar Days'. The client points to the fact that his children seem to be ill.>

Diviner: House of birth, place, what does it say, 13 B'atz', is it good, the land of Juan Matías?

<Divination 2> 13 B'atz', 1 E(w)ub', 2 B'en, 3 Ix, aha, 4 Tz'ikin, 5 Txab'in, 6 Kixkab', 7 Chinax, 8 Kaq, 9 Ajaw, 10 Imox, 11 Iq', 12 Watan, 13 K'ana7.

No, it is the same number (i.e. the same numerical coefficient). Well, where he gave it to you at the very beginning, there you shall continue with it.

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: But if you go to another [place]–

Male client: No, it is always the place which he gives to me. Yes, he does not leave it as a joint property. Yes, exactly where we had arrived with him, we two [parties], there exactly he leaves it with me again, yes.

Diviner: But if you go elsewhere–

Male client: No, no, Sir, why should I want to lie then? It was exactly like that. There I entered in his position where– where his property first had been.

Diviner: But you shall not move elsewhere, to another place, no. So it says here exactly. Why should I lie here?

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: Your numbers are the same, yes. The number, it is counted. Is it the case that...

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: ...the Calendar Day is a toy, you know?

Male client: Ah, no.

Diviner: Is it the case that the birth place, the place is a toy? Is it the case that the place of prayer is a toy? Does it mean that God is a toy, the Calendar Day, the Day, the Night? No, not at all. Exactly in the same way as you have come there...

Male client: At the very beginning?

Diviner: Yes.

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: ...exactly in that way you shall continue.

Male client: Ah, well, Sir.

Diviner: Then it is good. There is a little bit of health and life strength for that. If not, then at least it (i.e. the land) will come to a bad end.

<Commentary 2: The divination count is primed by the day “13 B’atz’”, referring to home, house of birth or the terrain around it. In the interpretation, the term ‘same number’ probably refers to ‘13’ in 13 B’atz’ and 13 K’ana7. It refers to **continuity and invariability of living on the property, i.e. on the land and in the house given**, in the same place in which the client has started to live in the very beginning. The client shall stay in that place and he shall not move to another place anymore.>

4.9 Dimensions and determinants of interpretations

4.9.1. Rules and data in the consultation (interpretation) process

The following content analysis tries to establish the distinction between *data* and *rules* as components for the *three cognitive phases* of problem development, divination layout and diagnostic interpretation. A further distinction is drawn between ‘data as a *story* or *string*’ and ‘data *recast* in a formal *salient procedure*’. Note that ‘therapeutic proposals’ are treated as ‘interpretation data recast in a formal salient procedure’ as they are based on the interpretation. The Matrix (Table 2) of the process (phasic) and categorical (componential) aspects details the labeled procedures or results as mental or cognitive frames (schemata).

***Problem rules.** *The client’s questions* express his/her wants (and the corresponding features). *The diviner’s questions* identify the problem features. Cf ‘Interpretative rules’ below.

****Divination rules.** *Numerical coefficients* of the calendar days might convey *evaluative information*. Cf Ch. 2.5 and Tedlock 1982:107. *Day names* form a basis of *associations*. They can be matched with *cognitive and / or action categories* (in conjunction with interpretative rules). The start of the count (unless the current day) or the address of a day in the recast of the problem is informative and may be primed by the problem.

*****Interpretative rules** transform keywords (*i.e., day-name associations*) and *problem features* into *interpretative propositions*. *I.e., keywords are contextualized and transformed into a propositional format*. See 4.9.2 below. The structural differences of problems are taken into consideration (cf 3.6, incl. Table 1).

Interpretative rules are based on comparison (incl. inference, combination and/or coordination). The semantic-pragmatic deep structure of the *problem outline* is compared to the deep structure of the (potential) *clues or keywords* (e.g. assessing and matching of shared features in both sets of items, feature elaboration, compatibility assessment).

COGNITIVE PHASE ► COMPONENTS ▼	PROBLEM DEVELOPMENT	DIVINATION (LAYOUT & COUNT)	INTERPRETATION / DIAGNOSIS
<i>Rules</i>	Client's & diviner's questions & answers ; Problem features extracted by diviner*	Layout; start; count; list of meanings associated with days ; evaluation of numerical coefficients**	Meaning of "speaking days" matched with problem features: selection of "speaking days", their transformation in accord with problem features into interpretative propositions***
<i>Data (story or string, setup)</i>	Problem outline & specification	Grasp of seeds; layout; day count (incl. start)	Interpretation & further specification
<i>Data recast (saliency)</i>	Formal problem formulation	"Speaking days" (marked)	Therapeutic proposals

Table 2: Property Matrix on how to order interpretative components and derive interpretations (interpretative statements)

4.9.2. From problems to keywords / Keywords expanded to propositional forms (frames) and contextualized by propositional arguments³⁴

(1) The **problem** is **formally defined** in terms of a "problem statement frame" ('|' separates alternative frames):

Identification | Explanation (Cause) | Prediction | Intervention (Action / Therapy) | Decision.

The **problem features** are, moreover, **elaborated** as:

Topical frame | Episodic frame
(for details, see Ch. 3.7)

Episodic features of problem content are exemplified by:

Bad treatment *or* transgression = Originator & Intimate *or* social relation.

(2) **Keywords** (day-name associations) are **derived by comparison** of potential '**speaking days**' in the layout to the **problem**.

³⁴ A 'frame' or 'schema' in cognitive science can be thought of as being a 'form' (e.g., a syntactically complete 'sentence' or rather 'proposition', or just a 'relation' or 'higher order predicate' with its variable(s), without arguments filled in or concretized) in the sense of modern logic. The 'arguments' filled in correspond to 'terminals' in Minsky's frame theory.

(3) **Keywords** (day-name associations) **are then expanded into propositional sentence forms**. These propositional sentence forms **correspond to the problem statement frames** (of the client's wants *or* of the diviner's problem recast) and are **contextualized** as follows:

Propositional sentence form (frame) + propositional arguments
[e.g., situational features, agents, objects, acts]
= statements of interpretations.

The following **bold** propositional sentence forms and / or pragmatic clues are supposed to answer the questions in *italics*.

Factual statement: e.g. identification of a fact (event). *What is the case?*

Factual statement as an explanation (event; cause, consequence). *What is the case and why is it so?*

Forecast or predictive statement (event; cause, consequence; "own action"). *What will be the case and why will it be so (on what grounds)?*

Intervention vs. prevention: e.g. norm of action (situational features; concomitant actions expressed as affirmative commands vs. prohibitions); **deontic** instead of propositional arguments. *What shall be done/avoided?*

Locus of control: Addressing and/or contracting other agents; own plan. *What is under the client's or other persons' control?* (Cf #23B on military service). *Leads to Intervention or Decision.*

Finding clues: Specification of features of content; "implicated features, events or actions". *Which features, states or state changes are salient? What can be inferred from them? Leads to factual statement.*

Decision: Alternatives, deliberations, normative or evaluative criteria. *Is a reduction to two alternatives possible (and what do they look like)? What are the decision-guiding values? (E.g., alternative 'a' is better than 'b' because of value 'x'). Leads to a normative recommendation (affirmative or prohibitive).*

Affirmation vs. negation: *Under what conditions is a feature or event affirmed or an action prescribed? Under what conditions is a feature or an event disputed or an action prohibited? Leads to affirmative or negated statements or commands.*

The features of **danger, loss or** (chances of) **survival** seem to determine the switch from propositional to deontic sentence forms and the consideration of locus of control (e.g., contracting agents of support).

4.9.3 Derivation of differential statements of interpretation from the same day-name association depending on the problem

The day name **B'atz'** (meaning: basic need for housing and communal affiliation; house; house of birth, home incl. terrain around the house; hometown) appears as a basis in different interpretations:

Identification or diagnosis: “You have sorrows in your place” (Ch. 4.5.1 / Comm 2 [6 B'atz']); cf Ch. 5.5.1 [1 B'atz'].

Decision: “It is better at home: stay at home; don't seek work in the USA”. Cf Ch. 4.8.2/Comm 2 [13 B'atz']; Ch. 6.4.1.2.

Forecast: “Will he be all right when he comes back from his travels?": “It is good” (Ch. 6.4.1.1/Comm 1 [1 B'atz']); cf Ch. 9.3.2/Comm 4 [2 B'atz'].

Explanation: “You did not put yourself into order... before you left (home) for the plantation... Therefore you came to catch your illness in another place.” Cf Ch. 4.5.1/Comm 2 + Text [6 B'atz'].

Intervention: (a) *affirmative*: “Do your rituals in your house (of birth), in your hometown, etc.”. Cf Ch. 6.4.1.1(2). (b) *negative*: “Don't have a feeling of mistrust in your house (home town, etc.) or with regard to your house of birth”. Cf Ch. 4.7.1/2 [2 B'atz']; Ch. 9.3.2/Comm 4 [2 B'atz'].

4.10 Interpretation as comparison and match: a process model

4.10.1 The general character of the processes

Having analyzed the dimensions and determinants of interpretations I try to present the outline of a *model for the cognitive processes* of comparison and matching. I will outline the model in general terms (Table 3) and give an example (Table 4).

We are dealing with *two different sets* or lists *of items*:

- The list of “semantic and pragmatic features of the problem definition”.
- The “list of associations of the (potentially) speaking days or of the names of the date”.

The second “list of associations of the (potentially) speaking days, etc.” *compared to* the first list of the “meanings and pragmatics of the problem definition” leads to:

- (1) the *selection of the salient speaking days*,
- (2) the *interpretative, i.e. contextualized, sentence form* together with
- (3) its *meaningful verbal expression*.

Thus, the matching process involves:

- (a) the problem features (i.e. problem statement frame <cf Ch. 4.9.2(1)>, topical and episodic meanings or details) which *prime* the process,

- (b) formal derivation of the “speaking days” from the divination layout,
- (c) the comparison of the list of salient problem features with the meaning of the potential “speaking days”,
- (d) the matched selection of the latter salient ones, and
- (e) the interpretation <cf Ch. 4.9.2(3)> or, rather, verbalized expression <e.g. Ch. 4.9.3>.

Comparison =_{df} Searching for and assessing formal identity, equivalence, similarity, implication or negation of features of the two different sets.

Selection =_{df} Good or best fit of an item or various items from the two different sets.

Read-out =_{df} Verbalized interpretative (*or* exhortative) statement.

The following Table 3 details the matching process as a comparison which leads to the interpretation: The components (A-C) and their respective results as listed above (a-e).

‘Intervention’ (or ‘decision’) normally accompanies ‘identification’, ‘explanation’ or ‘forecast’ as a second variable in the interpretation.

‘Intervention’ and ‘decision’ are normally *translated into prescriptive sentences*. ‘Identification’, ‘explanation’ and ‘forecast’ are normally *translated into descriptive sentences*.

<p>Problem exploration and definition (A)</p> <p>Dimensions of Questions <i>and/or</i> Answers <i>and/or</i> Descript. <Ch. 3.7> Questions/A/D = Client’s questions/A/D Diviner’s questions/A/D Client’s questions/A/D = Wants Worries Diviner’s questions/A/D = Client features Problem features Client features = Name Family members’ names Residence Marital status Problem features = Topical frame Episodic frame Topical frame = Theme Control Theme = Money Marriage Work Fate Sign (Omen) Control = Self Non-self Episodic frame = Event features Special features</p> <p>Problem Statement Frame (of Client’s Wants) <Ch. 3.7> Identification Explanation Forecast Decision Intervention <Ch. 3.5, 3.6 Table 1. Details see below.></p> <p>Problem outline & specification based on questions and answers Formal problem formulation (recast) These processes can be repeated several times in the same consultation, with regard to the same problem case <cf Ch. 8>.</p>



[continue]



Counted layout and “speaking days” marked (B)

Layout of the seeds & count of the layout <Ch. 4.2/3>

(Row is normally counted 4 times; count starts with current day or with a priming day)

Speaking days marked / Rules

(1st count: ultimate; 2nd count: penultimate + ultimate; 3rd count: ante-penultimate + penultimate + ultimate; 4th count: pre-ante-penultimate + ante-penultimate + penultimate + ultimate positions. All 10 positions are speaking days. Not all might be translated into verbal statements of interpretation). <Ch. 4.2>

[Day name meaning | Name of date: Extraction of numerical coefficient meaning] <Ch. 2.2, 2.4, 2.5>



Interpretation (Interpretative sentence frames) (C)

Meaning of “speaking days” matched with problem features: selection of salient days (*implicit process*).

Potential “Speaking days” + Problem features = Salient “speaking days” selected

Meaning of selected salient days transformed into contextualized and interpretative propositions

<According to (A), Ch.3.7 & 4.9.2 (= pragma-syntax of problem statement frame)>

[Problem statement frame + problem feature + selected “speaking day”] →

[sentence (description or command)] (*repeatable*)

I.e.: Interpretation & further specification (description or command)

Therapeutic proposal (command/exhortation; procedure prescribed) <Ch. 5, 10.4/Fig.3>

Table 3: Model of components and results of the matching process

4.10.2 Exemplification of the process model

The example in Table 4 below is taken from #29A, Problem 6 (Hinz 1991 / I:119; 130-134). See Ch. 4.6 for the text and the analytical commentary, especially the note on the on-line interpretation. A and B in Table 3 correspond to the left and right text field, respectively, in Table 4. C in Table 3 corresponds to the lower text field as well as to the upper middle field labeled ‘comparison = matching’ in Table 4.



<p>Meaning and pragmatics of the problem definition</p>	<p>  COMPARISON = MATCHING  </p>	<p>List of associations of the (potentially speaking) days as determined by the divinatory layout</p>
<p>The adopted son does not want to live in the house of his father who died shortly before moving in. The land around it has been sold. The father's milpa is in a different place.</p> <p>The client wants to concede land next door to the adopted son and his wife for building the house. The adopted son has already made the necessary preparations for it. He wants to make some more money and start construction work in one month. The client asks if things will turn out well.</p>		<p>For the day-name meanings ['gloss'] see Ch. 2.1, 2.2., 2.3.</p> <p>(6a) [12 positions of seeds counted once] 13 Elab' ['sorcery'; <i>eli</i> = 'to come free', 'to come out?'] </p> <p>(6b) [10 positions of seeds counted four times]</p> <p><i>1st</i> 10 Kaq ['quarrel'] </p> <p><i>2nd</i> 6 Lamb'at ['authority'] </p> <p>7 Mulu7 ['fault'] </p> <p><i>3rd</i> 1 Kixkab' ['earthquake'] 2 Chinax ['authority'; 2 = 'mistrust'] 3 Kaq ['quarrel'] </p> <p><i>4th</i> 10 Tox ['money'] 11 Chej ['useful animal'] 12 Lamb'at ['authority'] 13 Mulu7 ['fault'] </p>
▼		▼
<p>SELECTION</p> <p>Problem: [Intention &] forecast. For the interpretation, these become: [Decision] & forecast & prevention. Forecast & prevention = Corresponding propositional forms selected. Bold items in (6a/6b) = Speaking days <i>selected.</i> Speaking days glossed = Keywords ['...']. Keywords are expanded to propositional forms + arguments of context = Interpretations.</p>		
<p>Interpretations (= READOUT)</p> <p>(6a) <i>General interpretation:</i> 13 Elab' = It is possible [elliptic forecast or decision]. (6b) <i>Special features brought out in the interpretation:</i> <i>1st</i>: 10 Kaq = They shall not quarrel [prohibition]. <i>2nd</i>: 7 Mulu7 = They shall not seek their transgressions [prohibition]. <i>3rd</i>: 1 Kixkab' = Anyway, it will be possible as their agreement is [forecast]; 2 Chinax = They shall not have a mistrust [prohibition]; 3 Kaq = No quarreling! [elliptic prohibition]. <i>4th</i>: 10 Tox = There is money [forecast]; 13 Mulu7 = They shall not seek their transgressions with the money [prohibition].</p>		

Table 4: Exemplification of the process model

(►, ▼ = go to)

Upper left text field in Table 4: The **bold** features in the problem description *prime* the further process. *Upper right text field:* The **bold** ‘speaking days’ are considered to be *salient*. Kaq (‘quarrel’), 2 [Chinax] (‘mistrust’), Mulu7 (‘fault’, ‘transgression’) are normative items. *Lower text field (selection / read-out):* The selection of the salient speaking days is the result of the comparison and matching between problem description and potential speaking days. This is, of course, a hypothetical reconstruction of this part of the information processing. For 6a., 13 Elab’, cf possibly Ch. 9.3.2 <Divinat. 4.b>: 8 Elab’, 9 B’atz’ = ‘all the land and the place of birth *shall become well (good)*’, unless the italicized information is contained in the numerical coefficient. Cf #23B (Hinz 1991/I: 94): 13 Elab’ = ‘they will not be free’, Ch. 6.5.1 <Comm 5>. Cf Q’anj. *el-i (vi)* = ‘to come out; to become (e.g. free or unfree)’. Note the primed change from 7Mulu7→7 Elab’ (cf 4.6.2, Divination 6.b) which probably co-determines the interpretation of 1 Kixkab’ (‘it will be possible’).

5. THERAPY, COUNSELS AND PSYCHOSOCIAL HEALING

5.1 “Psychosocial healing” and “counsels”: reconciliation and self-organization

My objective here is the description of therapeutic and advisory measures or suggestions, as mentioned, proposed and applied by the diviner in his consultations.

Recovery, reconciliation, prevention and protection, restitution and justice are *goals* of therapeutic measures and psychosocial healing which can also include *counsels*, e.g. *legal* ones.

It is decisive in terms of *locus of control* that action determining the further destiny of the client (or the person concerned for whom a divination is asked) is attributed to the client (or the person concerned) himself/herself, or to close third persons who can be influenced by the client in most cases. This can include supernatural beings who can become the *agent on behalf of the client* in terms of a “shift of agency” from the client to such a being.

Establishing the ability to act, in terms of clarifying the locus of control including the recruitment of systems of support, forms part of self-organization and leads to the “*re-creation of subjective order*”. This re-creation is based on information processing, the generation of interpretations, the orientation towards what to do, what to expect and what to assume responsibility for (and what to leave aside), and on the doing itself.

I will analyze the concept of an *open declaration* (‘confession’) and of “*costumbres*” (*customs, rituals*) or *prayers* to various supernatural beings. Both concepts seem to be quite similar in content, style and presentation. The difference is that prayers explicitly include the shift of agency from the self to the supernatural being and represent a kind of one-way communication only (as a rule, the supernatural beings are not answering directly). Praying and accompanying rituals are not just ‘healing rituals’. Praying seems to imply the same *mental and psychosomatic mechanism* as the open declaration among parent and [adult] child or husband and wife (cf Ch. 5.8). ‘Open declarations’ and ‘prayers’ consist in the *quest for reconciliation* (with other human persons or supernatural beings). They lead to the “*re-creation of social order*”, and in conjunction with the above-mentioned self-organizational cognitive aspects, contribute to the “*re-creation of subjective, i.e. individual and mental, order*”.

5.2 Concept of “*costumbres*” (rituals incl. prayers)

5.2.1 Translation of an interview excerpt

From #6A, an interview with the diviner on “costumbres”.

“Nothing [else than] our *costumbres* (customs and rituals) put things in order, because [only] due to our *costumbres* there is maize, due to our *costumbres* there is wheat, due to our *costumbres* there are our potatoes, due to our *costumbres* there are our beans, because of our *costumbres* there are broad beans, our *chilacayotes*³⁵, our *calabazas*³⁶. For we offer *costumbres* to our *ordenanza*, for we offer *costumbres* to our town, to our God, to our patron (saint), we offer *costumbres* to the terrains (mountains, valleys, i.e. homeland), to God, our Lord, to our Calendar Day. Therefore we offer our *costumbres*, therefore there is our food, therefore there is some money for us, therefore there is some clothing for us, therefore we eat, therefore we drink. We pray to God, our Lord, when it is getting light, we kneel, we light our candle when evening comes, we light our candle when day falls, we light another candle of ours when we go to sleep. So are our *costumbres* here in our place (village), here with our Lord San Juan. Here are our *costumbres* so that there might not be any illness among us, so that there might not be any case of death, that there might not be any crying, that there might not be any sadness, that there might not be any captivity, that there might not be any punishment, that there might not be any wound, any fracture (or rupture), that there might not be any evil man (person) who attacks us. But it is with our *costumbres*, with our *copal* (resin), with our candles. Thus we speak to God, our Lord, to the Calendar Day, thus we speak to our cross, thus we speak to our hut, to our terrain, on which we kneel, and therefore we are flourishing (*or*: we are *Principales*), day after day, day after day, day after day, day after day we offer our *costumbres*.”

5.2.2 Analytical commentary: conceptual categories

The *costumbres* include *actions* such as praying, burning candles and *copal*, or rather, *pom* (pine resin). Thus, *ritual instruments* or *paraphernalia* include candles and resin. *Places* (terrain, house altar, [in front of] the holy bundle), *points in time* (evening, when dusk begins to fall; morning when it is getting light), *agents or recipients* (God, Calendar Days, village patron St. John [San Juan] or St. Peter [San Pedro], the [family?] cross, the home-land), the *Ordenanza*), *goals or purposes* (having or obtaining various

³⁵ A kind of very large gourd.

³⁶ A smaller kind of gourd.

crops, i.e. food, and drink; money, clothing; *prevention* of illness, death, sadness or depression, wounds, black magic or threat) are arguments or “cases” of these actions (as relations). ‘Putting-into-order’ (*Q’anj. ‘-jatne’*) seems to cover both *productive and preventive actions*.

5.3 Example 1 of a therapeutic counsel: an old lady who sells rum illegally has lost money

5.3.1 Translated text and analytical commentary

From: #20B, Hinz 1991/I:68-71, II:63-66.

The year before this old lady had paid a fine of 40 Q (Q=\$).

Diviner: (1) Ah, Lorenza Antonio, what kind of sorrow does she have? What kind of misfortune does she have? Why is the money of God, our Lord locked away, hidden, the cross of God, our Lord, 4 Tox, 8 Tox, under the hands, the feet of our Lord, Ix Nankonop? She only sits down, she sits under the hands and feet of our Lord San Pedro [Soloma], as our Lord, 2 Ajaw, did it on Sunday, when the money got lost. What is the cause of it, what is the problem, what is Lorenza Antonio’s fault? (...) <follows divination>

<Commentary 1: The female client’s problem is recast in formal terms. She is identified by her name (Lorenza Antonio) and her village (Ix Nankonop) in San Pedro Soloma. The diviner tries to determine the problem: the money lost, addressed as “our Lord, 4 Tox, 8 Tox”. The cause of the problem is considered as being the client’s “fault”. Cf Ch. 5.4, Comm 3.>

(2) But now, Madam, you pardon (or: be patient), you shall not cry, you shall not be sad for the money. It says, it is this money which will further you, and you will be freed of your pain, of this divine Judgement, of this divine Illness which is inside you, so it says, as the Calendar Days say.

<Commentary 2: The diviner turns to the client’s emotional problem and readdresses it in terms of cognitive considerations. He tries to stabilize the client. He points out that the money is the price of becoming free of illness.>

(3) But now it is you at least, so it says, whose fault it is. Therefore you are becoming ill, it is you, so it says, who has a mistrust. It is you, so it says, who has a preoccupation.

<Commentary 3: The diviner attributes the fault to the female client herself: she is caught up in a mistrust and is preoccupied. This personal mistrust and preoccupation are the reason for the client's illness.>

(4) Is there now something deep inside you? Why do you have a mistrust, do you have sorrows? Maybe you have sons who do not care about you (*or*: do not obey you), or—, maybe who knows from where you have received your mistrust, your sorrow in which you are caught up, in which you remain sitting. Therefore, at least, you became sick.

<Commentary 4: The diviner speculates about the reasons of this mistrust: maybe the sons do not care about her. The diviner obviously infers this information from the talk with the client.>

(5) But now the time has not yet come for you to die. Therefore it is the money which was lost now in order to release you, so it says here.

<Commentary 5: The illness is not mortal, so death is not yet imminent. The loss of money becomes interpreted as the means of becoming free [from the Judgement, i.e. the illness]: the money lost is the price for life.>

Female client: (6) Yes, so it is. But last year it was 40 quetzales (=US-\$) which I paid [as a fine]. There was a little bit of rum which I sold (...) “Therefore we are already ashamed when one says that it is because of your [illegal] money that we are able to clothe ourselves” [*quotes her sons*]. I was already used to it, Sir. Sometimes there is anger. Why [else] is my illness coming? Sometimes there is anger.

<Commentary 6: The female client elaborates on the episodes. The woman speaks about the fine for illegal rum selling in the past year. She attributes part of the failure to the sons who did not watch out enough for the “Guardia de Hacienda”. She considers them to be too lazy and inactive (“But the lazybones were still sleeping... He [=the son] was probably reassured”). She continues with the emotional problem posed by her sons: they are ashamed of her and her illegal business, and, especially, of the reputation that they depend on her money. The woman talks about her anger thus motivated and attributes her illness to this affect. The affects of shame, anger and, possibly, humiliation are referred to and make up for a substantial portion of the components of mistrust.>

(7) What shall I do, Sir? I will go to look for it (the money) because I will need it. I am already used to it (i.e. to selling *kuxha*, illegally distilled rum). Well then, I do not want to give up [selling]. I have paid 40 quetzales [as punishment], Sir. (...)

<Commentary 7: The woman insists that she does not want to give up her business because of the income.>

(8) For they are my sons, they are three. (...)

Diviner: For they are greedy to collect their money.

Female client: They love their centavos. Oh, how much would they like it that I would give even more to them! So I speak, Sir: “Where [must] I go to earn it, you know, where must I go to earn the money, to move (travel) around? But you men, will [the money] perhaps not run out? You pretend that you do some work. But look now! For I come to buy my vegetables (herbs), one centavo [for] my chilli. Where else shall I earn the money, only by means of it I do earn my living, by means of it I do earn my living.”

<Commentary 8: The woman quotes her conversational exchange with her sons and compares her business and activity with the sons’ lazy and naive attitude and behavior. She depends upon her business, and that enables her to buy food.>

Diviner: **(9)** Well, Madam, at least you will now put into order all your worries, everything starting from that time since it began with the rum, since it commenced that you worried. You will arrive at the roots with our –, with our –, with our –, with our –, you will arrive at the roots of it with our elder (*xaq an*), You must lower yourself and sit down alone. Put it into order with our elder (*xaq an*), put it into order with our copal, with our candles.

Female client: Ah.

<Commentary 9: The diviner counsels the old lady to arrange her affective problems, remembering the episodes of preoccupation starting with the time when she began to sell rum. She must do all this on her own when praying and putting into order her disturbing problems or feelings. The ritual means are specified: elder leaves, resin (‘copal’ or ‘pom’ [Q’anj.]).>

Diviner: **(10)** You go back to the beginning, how great your sorrow might be, because of your food, or because of your clothing, or because of your money, or because of your work, why, for which reason you then had your worries.

<Commentary 10: The diviner repeats that the woman should go back in remembrance to the time of the start of her business. She should remember her worries (and probably express them in prayer) and the reasons therefore, i.e. the daily needs, exemplified as food or clothing, or the preoccupations, as for instance, the aspect of money or her work.>

(11) Ah, perhaps then, ah, perhaps it is the case that it is your wage (or: lot?), for that reason you sell your rum, and they only help you with [gaining] your money. Therefore you have a worry, you have a mistrust (inner reservations).

<Commentary 11: The diviner looks at the client's problem simply in terms of her purpose to make a living, therefore selling rum. The sons only help her.>

(12) “And what's this all about, the 20, 40 years that I became an adult, that I grew up? Since then it is that I began to get my ideas. It says, therefore my illness did begin. It says, therefore, at least, there is the [illness] for which there is a medicine, [and] that for which there is no medicine, *Tx'ayxil* (not serious, but long-lasting weakness), *Julxil* (acute pain), the weakness, the weakness within me.

<Commentary 12: The diviner instructs the lady on how to phrase her praying in terms of an “open declaration”. Becoming an adult person (from age 18 onwards) marks the entrance into self-responsibility. ‘(Worrying) ideas’ are the final cause of illness. The contents of these ideas are, probably, to be specified.>

(13) It says, therefore, the 47 quetzales disappeared. I have already put into order all my thoughts, it is already exactly that way, I have already patience (equanimity) with regard to the pain, the vengeance of the money. And where will I get the money back from or where will I regain the money from? But I only came to listen to what the diviner has said.

<Commentary 13: Abbreviated reference is made to the episode of money loss. Ideas become controlled, the affective feeling (‘pain’), labeled ‘vengeance of the money’, is stopped or controlled.>

(14) There are probably only my sorrows because of which everything has concentrated within me.

<Commentary 14: The diviner continues in the role of the client with reference to the cause-consequence relationship: sorrows cause sickness.>

(15) Therefore, I am ill, therefore I became sick. Well then, so it says, it is not my destiny that I die. Therefore it has become the money which simply has liberated me. So it happened at least with the 40 quetzales last year.

<Commentary 15: As a result of the divination, it is not yet the client's death which is the issue. The lost money is seen in exchange for the liberation from sickness.>

(16) Well now, pardon [me], for I put into order everything in your hand, [under] your foot, you who are my shadow(-giver), you who are my roof (i.e. my house), you who are my [birth] place, where there are, where sit my heart (=I myself), my hands, my feet, my children.

<Commentary 16: Here, the woman is supposed to start to ask for pardon certain sacred places and entities. The first is the house of the client in which she and her children are living. This place is addressed as a sphere of influence or reign (“in your hand, [under] your foot”).>

(17) Ah, now everything comes into order in your hands, [under] your feet. Well, I will already go to the Calvary (cemetery), to father, mother, to the ancestors, I will already go to our Lord, San Pedro. How does illness come to peace and how will my money get replaced again? Concede pardon onto my heart, you Calendar Days, you Days, you Nights, Moons.” Well, so you speak, Madam.

<Commentary 17: The diviner continues to specify the localities with the entities to be addressed in prayer: the cemetery where father, mother and the ancestors are buried; the church in San Pedro Soloma, with the local patron St. Peter. Reconciliation with illness and the possible restitution of the money are considered. “Days” and “nights” are solemnly addressed (‘Calendar Days’, ‘Days’, ‘Nights’, ‘Moons’) and asked for pardon.>

Female client: (18) Thank you very much, Sir, thank you very much.

Diviner: You shall do it that way, I say it here, I order it here once and for all, you shall not–, you shall not cry for the money...

Female client: Well, Sir.

Diviner: ...which is already lost, which is here already lost, the money, who knows where it then...

Female client: Ah, who knows–

Diviner: ...has remained? You shall not bother about finding your money again.

<Commentary 18: The diviner points to the (permanent) loss of the money which should not be a focal point of emotional concern any longer.>

Female client: (19) Ah, from where should it come, Sir, from where should it come?

Diviner: Don’t cry because it is probably because of your money that you–

Female client: I only bother a little bit if already a misfortune comes to me unforeseen. For the daughter-in-law now does not show up, at least she is not used to it, she does not talk anymore.

Eike H. <is probably offered rum>: Thank you.

Diviner: You shall no longer think that you will get back the money, [you shall think] only that you free your heart. What is your pain, what is your pain? Therefore it is that you are ill. Well, now is not yet time for you to die. Therefore, [because] of the money it is.

Female client: It buys my life.

Diviner: Yes, it is exactly that way, Madam.

<Commentary 19: The idea of getting the money back is to be given up; this idea is to be replaced by the idea of freedom or liberation [bought by the money].>

5.3.2 Analytical interpretation

The diviner's *therapeutic counsel* starts with the general schema:

'At least you will now put into order all your worries' = Q'anj. *(h)a k'al ijan hoq ha-jatne-n nani jantaq ha-b'ilk'ul-al*. 'To put into order' (Q'anj. *jatne(7)*, vt) can refer to an "open declaration" or to "prayers" as well as to the use of the ritual paraphernalia of elder leaves (Q'anj. *xaq an*), copal (resin; Q'anj. *pom*), candles. *Xaq an* are certain leaves, elder-like, used in rituals and in the sweatbath (cf Hinz 1991/II:8-9 [Plate V below]).

It seems, though, that the lady is exhorted to talk about her worries and preoccupation in the form of an *inner dialog* or of *prayers* as the two following expressions suggest: (1) 'you must kneel down, sit down all by yourself' = Q'anj. *ayan woqan ha-tx'oqlil*, possibly implying an inner type of purification with no other *human* person present, in contrast to a mutual purification or mutual confession by two people. (2) 'with your elder leaves, of copal and candles'. The diviner continues to outline the *specifics* of the selftherapy. The woman shall start her "open declaration" by reflecting on the beginning of her pain and, especially, of her career as an illegal rum-seller, and thus of the origin of her mistrust. The diviner *instructs* the female client in *phrasing a prayer as an open declaration or confession directed to the house (of living) and the corresponding terrain, to the calendar days (the days and the nights) in the first person singular*. Further places of worship (cemetery and possibly the church of San Pedro Soloma) and addressees of worship (mother, father, ancestors; and the patron saint of the village, St. Peter) are mentioned.

The family is viewed metaphorically as organs or parts of the body:

Q'anj. *hin-pixan* ('my heart'); a central concept, it seems to refer to the moral or spiritual aspect of Man.

Q'anj. *hin-q'ab'*, *w-aqan* ('my hand, my foot'); refers to the lady's children.

'My shade giver, my roof, my mountain, my plains (= home)' = Q'anj. *w-enel, w-axub', hin-witz-al, w-ak'al-il*. This refers to the old lady's house (of birth [?] and her land property) which is addressed here and in which she is supposed to pray in front of the shrine with its [family] cross.

'I am on my way to the cemetery, to father, to mother, to the ancestors' = Q'anj. *ch-in toj b'ay karwal, mam-ej, txutx-ej, ichmam-ej*. This means, the lady will pray to her parents and ancestors at the cemetery. The role of the dead ancestors can be of central importance for actual social relations and for the actual personal situation, also in other Maya communities in the highlands of Guatemala and Chiapas (e.g., Colby & Colby 1981).

'I am on my way to our Lord St. Peter' = Q'anj. *ch-in toj b'ay komam San Pedro*. The lady is from San Pedro Soloma. Prayers are to be directed to the patron saint of the village in which the client lives, normally in the church. Note the honorific classifier for non-human male supernatural beings, 'komam'.

'You Calendar Days, you Days, you Nights, Moons' = Q'anj. *ora ex, k'ual ex, aq'b'al ex, xajaw*. Reference to the calendar days might imply the life span left.

This text documents the aspects of adult socialization, social control and reinforcement of traditional identity. The diviner himself summarizes and *rephrases* the analysis of the problem and the interpretation developed in cooperation with the female client. Different episodes of mistrust and sorrow might be captured in the terms referring to different addressees or recipients and places of ritual action.

5.4 Example 2 of a therapeutic counsel: the granddaughter's whooping cough

5.4.1 Translated text and analytical commentary

From: #20B, Hinz 1991/I:72-76, II:66-70.

The client is the old lady as in Example 1. The consultation is complex. This part relates to the granddaughter.

Diviner: (1) What is your son's name?

Female client: José Alonso. The mother [i.e., the old lady's daughter-in-law] is Eulalia Salvador.

Diviner: José Alonso, you did say, yes?

Female client: Yes.

Diviner: And what is the name of your daughter-in-law?

Female client: Eulalia Salvador.

Diviner: Eulalia Salvador. What is the name of the little girl?

Female client: Lorenza José.

Diviner: Lorenza José.

<Commentary 1: The diviner asks for the identification of the son (José Alonso). The same holds for the daughter-in-law (Eulalia Salvador) and for their child, the female client's granddaughter (Lorenza José). The name given to the granddaughter seems to be in agreement with LaFarge's remark in Ch. D.6.1.>

(2) What says our Lord, the Judgement (illness),— whooping cough is it as you said, yes?

<Commentary 2: The diviner asks for the intentions of the Judgement, i.e. whooping cough. In this connection, a separate divination is made for each of the three persons mentioned.>

Female client: Yes, whooping cough, Sir.

Diviner: (3) Our Lord 4 jiq', 8 jiq', 9 jiq', 13 jiq' ojob' (whooping cough), what says the destiny, what are the uttered words (affairs, problems) of the child's father, what are the uttered words (affairs, problems) of the child's mother, what are then their faults? José— <follows divination 2a> (...)

Eulalia Salvador. What says it (i.e. the divination) about her? <follows divination 2b> (...) Your daughter will die, Madam, your daughter will die, your daughter will die... <divination continues> (...)

<Commentary 3: The first divination is for José Alonso. The whooping cough is formally addressed as 4, 8, 9, 13 jiq' ojob' like the calendrical names in the Ordenanza prayer, or, rather, the diviner's commentary on the Ordenanza prayer (cf Chs. E.5 and 2.1.4). The numerals might refer to a classification of the days comparable to B. Tedlock's account (cf Ch. 2.5, in this book). Jiq' (glossed 'tosferina') might be associated with the calendar day Iq' (from the diviner's comment on the Ordenanza prayer: "we do not want any illness..."); ojob' is glossed as 'catarro, gripe'.

The diviner asks for an elucidation of the destiny (ix swerte) or problem (ix s-q'anejal) of the daughter-in-law. The diviner asks for the style of communication, i.e. quarrels and possible verbal insults expressed by the couple, and their transgressions. The second divination 2b for Eulalia Salvador points to the death of the client's daughter-in-law.>

(4) [II:68] Lorenza José, will it be the case that only by their uttered words (affairs, problems) the girl will die, that is, due to our Lord 4 jiq', ojob' (whooping cough)? <follows divination 2c> (...)

And is your son now here or is he not here?

Female client: It is the case that he actually left in order to sell something, Sir, and it is his brother, he sells it for a little bit of money, but he comes back tomorrow, yes, he comes back tomorrow.

Diviner: But how about the Judgement (the illness), is the Judgement placed by you on a comfortable seat or do you look after it with disregard only?

Female client: Ah, of course, the Judgement is placed by us on a comfortable seat, we give it, of course, its maize.

Diviner: Aha, then you shall not lose sight of this problem (lit.: word). Well, [when] your son comes back [to town], Madam, then he shall open his stomach (inner feelings) with regard to the daughter, so it says, for he must open his stomach (inner feelings) completely, for his faults (disobedience), his dirt, are completely locked up deeply within himself.

<Commentary 4: The diviner puts the question if the young girl, the client's granddaughter, will die due to her parents' quarrels or verbal insults. The agent for this would be the "Judgement", whooping cough. Therefore, the diviner asks the lady if she is already looking after the illness in ceremonial terms ("...is the Judgement placed by you on a comfortable seat?...") or if she is ignoring it. He insists that the female client's son should confess his wrongdoings (and, possibly, aversions) in an open declaration. 'Locked up deeply': refers to the psychosomatic aspect of the short-circuited reflexes or unbound resonances (cf 5.8.1.2ff).>

Female client: (5) Ah, well, this is already different (i.e. they changed religion), they don't listen to it anymore because they are already married [by the church], and—.

<Commentary 5: At this point in the consultation, the old lady talks about the conversion of the couple to orthodox Catholicism. This part of the conversation is completely covered in Chapter 6.3 on social identity (though it deals with healing).> [I:75f., II:69f.]

Diviner: (6) (...) For it is [her] daughter (i.e., the old lady's granddaughter) whom we want to save, for it is the daughter. For they shall pick up elder leaves (*xaq an*)...

Female client: Exactly, that is what I say.

Diviner: ...it is hardly in front of the catechist, or hardly in front of the evangelical preacher, or— They shall go in order to offer elder leaves (*xaq an*). They shall arrange it in any case in their own responsibility, jointly in their house.

Female client: Exactly, Sir, certainly, if you agree, your child stays, but if you do not agree—

Diviner: Then the (girl) will die.

Female client: Yes, then she will die, then she will die, then she will die.

<Commentary 6: The formal open declaration among husband and wife only and the offering of elder leaves is necessary. If they agree, their daughter will survive. Otherwise, she will die.>

Diviner: (7) Ah, therefore he must open his stomach (his interior), because he “carries the soul”, the daughter (i.e. he is responsible for the daughter’s well-being), and as it is now, so it says, it is the case that he has a quarrel with his wife. *<Short interruption.>*

Diviner: It says, [the quarrel] he carries on with his wife, that he shall put it into order, [i.e.] in what their mutual mistrust consists. Perhaps your daughter-in-law thinks about returning home [to her parents], or he thinks about replacing her. Therefore, he compromised their [marital relationship] with another woman, earlier, in the past...

Female client: Ah.

Diviner: ...I didn’t say that his problem originated yesterday only. No, he knows when that from him (his affair) took place.

Female client: Certainly, Sir. Certainly, certainly, certainly.

Diviner: Ah, he shall put into order everything, he shall put into order the transgression against the daughter. Well, and then he will still put into order his mistrust (his reservations), together with his wife, what she thinks about her husband, your daughter-in-law, what she thinks about her husband, and what your son, what your son thinks about his wife. Well, exactly for that reason the Judgement (the illness) is serious.

Female client: Well, Sir, thank you, thank you, Sir.

<Commentary 7: The client’s son must declare his quarrel with his wife, and both must clarify their mutual mistrust. The diviner speculates on the reason for the quarrel: The client’s son seems to have a mistress; perhaps he wants to substitute her for his wife. Perhaps the son’s wife is thinking about returning to her parent’s home. The affair might have taken place some time in the past. In the “confession”, the son shall express his thoughts and feelings of mistrust (reservation) about his wife, and his wife shall express her thoughts and reservations about him. Due to these (mutual) thoughts and reservations, the illness is serious. These thoughts, reservations and actual actions are thought of as affecting the still dependent, minor child.>

Diviner: (8) When you will arrive, then you will say so that the [Judgement] hears it: “They will already put it into order, my male hand, my male foot (i.e. my son), my daughter-in-law, their quarrel, their change in behav-

ior, their mistrust (aversion) against each other. [Listen], you Judgement, exactly in this way he puts into order all his faults, his dirt, his words, his feelings, his dirt, his dust. As soon as he comes back he will put it into order; I call your attention to that. Pardon (them; be patient [with them]). They will say when they will have finished putting it into order: we will again notify you that we will prepare the table (i.e. the meal) for you, exactly that way, on behalf of [my son's] daughter. You cannot do that against us, leave [my son's] daughter with me, for she is my 'replacement' (namesake)," you say...

Female client: Certainly, Sir, certainly, Sir.

Diviner: ...you speak thus clearly [to the illness].

<Commentary 8: The diviner instructs the old lady on how to address the "Judgement" (i.e. the illness), announcing the open declaration of the couple concerned. The diviner takes the old lady's role simulatively and speaks the address in the first person singular. A ceremonial "mesa", in the sense of a meal, is promised to the Judgement. The old lady's k'exel relationship is pointed out: the granddaughter is her namesake (Q'. k'exel) and will inherit her house.>

5.4.2 Conceptual commentary

We note the following concepts, beliefs and procedural instructions:

'What are the uttered words (Q'anj. *s-q'anej-al* = 'their word(s), problems') of the child's father (...) of the child's mother, what are their faults (Q'anj. *s-palta-il heb'*)? [II:67]' The issue of the divination consists in verbal insults and moral or social transgressions.

Cf 'He must open his mouth (Q'anj. *chi s-jaq wal naq s-ti*), his stomach (Q'anj. *s-k'ul*), (...) he must open his transgressions with regard to the daughter' (Q'anj. *chi s-jaq naq jun s-mul y-in ix unin*).

'Therefore he must open his stomach (Q'anj. *juntu chi s-jaq naq s-k'ul*), because he "carries the soul (the heart), the daughter' (Q'anj. *porke ha naq hiq pixan-ej ix unin*), (i.e. he is responsible for the daughter's well-being). 'To open the stomach' means to confess one's inner thoughts and feelings. The following belief seems to be involved: the client's son has done something which caused his daughter's illness, and his actions seem to imply a breaking of social norms. Later, the diviner speculates about these wrongdoings.

'He has a quarrel (Q'anj. *owal*) with his wife'. This points to the form of marital interaction.

'Perhaps your daughter-in-law is thinking about returning home (to her parents), or he is thinking about replacing her' (Q'anj. *yamta, chi s-na ix*

h-alib' s-paxi, ma-tol ka chi s-na-[o]n naq s-k'ex-on ix). The couple shall make an open declaration ('confession') to each other about certain topics or episodes which relate to marital or sexual problems.

'*He shall put into order the transgressions against the daughter... For that reason, the Judgement (illness) is serious*' (Q'anj. [*chi*] *s-jatne [naq] jun s-mul ti y-in ix unin*). This refers to the open declaration and the ceremonial restitution of the transgression. Here again, the above mentioned belief is implied. Ritually and procedurally, the aspect of transgression is emphasized.

'*[My male hand, my male foot (i.e. my son), my daughter-in-law], they will already put into order their quarrel, their change of behavior, their mistrust (aversion against each other)*' (Q'anj. *ti ok s-jatne heb', naq hin-q'ab', w-aqan, ix w-alib', jun y-owal tu7, jun s-k'exan-il tu7, jun s-kab'-k'ul-al yinlaq*). This statement refers to the open declaration. Ritually and procedurally, the aspect of affective interaction and feeling is emphasized.

'*Exactly in this way, he will put into order all his faults, his dirt, his words, his feelings, his dirt, his dust*' (Q'anj. *axka naq jantaq s-pech naq, s-q'alem naq, ti7 naq, k'ul naq, s-tz'il-al s-pub'aq-il naq (...)* *ka hoq s-jatne-n*). This refers to the moral, verbal and sentimental problems.

'*We will prepare the table for you*' (Q'anj. *ja[7o]n pax ok jun ha-mesa*): This appeals to the Lord of Illness as a humanlike being who deserves honorable treatment.

5.4.3 Therapeutic features of the open declaration ('confession')

The following features seem to characterize an open declaration:

a) *Opening oneself, declaring all one's feelings and thoughts about a specific person or specific persons, episodes or situations.*

b) Declaring these feelings and thoughts to a specific person *involved* i.e. children or children-in-law with the parents or parents-in-law; between husband and wife; no other types of people seem to be reported ethnographically. [The 2006 meeting mentioned in Ch. 5.8.1(4), Note 40, confirms the kinship relations specified. The inclusion of *padrino*, grandfather and grandmother, and siblings (brother, sister) is open to discussion (? , E.H.), but neighbors as participants were definitely excluded]. Cf Ch. 1.5.1: 'social causation' of illness as an indicator of participation in the open declaration.

c) Declaring these feelings and thoughts *mutually*.

d) Taking *certain topics* into consideration which are relevant to the relationship with that specific person. The diviner may suggest certain themes which should be covered in the confession.

5.5 Reconciliation of a couple within a consultation

5.5.1 Translated text and analytical commentary

From: #30B/31A, Hinz 1991/I:187-193, II:165-170. Cf Ch. 7.5-6.

Male client: Do me a favor, Sir, find a–

Female client: Good afternoon, Sir, good afternoon.

Diviner: Good afternoon.

Male client: Find out for me [in] a divination if nothing is happening to me, perhaps, quite suddenly, [there is] an illness which comes to me, Sir.

Diviner: What is your name?

Male client: Tomás Gaspar.

Diviner: Tomás Gaspar. What is your name, Madam?

Male client: Felipa, Sir, Felipa Nolasco.

Diviner: Felipa?

Female client: Yes.

Diviner: Well, Felipa Nolasco [from the] village of Pajaltac [in Soloma].

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: Ha, ha, ha. How many children do you have?

Male client: Only one, Sir, I only have one son.

Diviner: Together with this woman?

Male client: (I) Yes, it is only his life, if a way comes out here for him [in the divination].

Diviner: <Divination 1a> (...) –it is good, 1 B'atz' ||, it is good, it is good, don't be afraid <Divination 1b> (...) – 9 Kaq ||, (...) –4 Chej |, 5 Lamb'at ||, (...) –12 Tz'ikin |, 13 Txab'in |, 1 Kixkab' ||, where is the bone which gets you down, Sir? There surely is one...

Male client: Perhaps [yes], Sir.

Diviner: ...an animal bone which gets you down.

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: Perhaps it is one of your father's, of your mother's, or of yours, or it is of your father, of your mother, with whom the bone of the animal is stuck, those antlers, ha, ha.

Male client: There is none, Sir, or–?

Diviner: Well, yes, yes, yes, [there is one]!

Male client: Only if it is from my grandfather, for [otherwise] not.

Diviner: You step in front of [the bone of] the animal, so it says [in the divination].

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: There is a serious misfortune for you in front of the [bone of the] animal, so it actually says.

Male client: Perhaps, Sir.

Diviner: The bone [of that animal], the bone of that animal, those antlers. As we say, it is a...

Male client: Well, it is that way.

Diviner: ...deer.

Male client: Yes, yes, so it is, yes.

Diviner: Ha, ha, ha.

Male client: Only if [the bone of] the animal is from my grandfather, for [it is] certainly not from my father, at the most, perhaps, it is from them.

Diviner: You will surely see it.

Male client: Yes, so it is.

Diviner: It probably is in front of the [bone], so it says.

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: It probably is in front of it, so it says.

Male client: Eeh!

Diviner: It probably is in front of it, so it says.

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: Ha, ha, ha (...) but now, Sir, be patient, if you have sorrow with our Lord, the judgement...

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: ...because—, for aren't you in Maq'b'alpotz? There all your badness shall be calmed, [there] it shall be, yes, close to Ochewal, close to K'ana7, close to—

<Commentary 1: The client asks, in general terms, for the health of his family, and especially of his son. The diviner asks for names of the client and his wife who accompanies him, as well as for the number of their children. The diviner has reached the conclusion that bones from a deer have been inadequately treated and are a major problem in the client's house or place (possibly derived from 4 Chej and 12 Tz'ikin). The salient "speaking days" are 1 B'atz' ("home, one's house") and 12 Tz'ikin, 13 Txab'in, 1 Kixkab' ("domestic animals", "bad spirits", "earth, earthquake"). The conversation centers on the question as to from whom this problem might have originated. The client points to the grandfather as a possible originator. The three toponymic names mentioned by the diviner seem to refer to places specific for certain rituals.>

Male client: (2) [There are only two places to which one used to go][?], Sir. For I am already married [by the church], yes. [I:189]

Diviner: You, okay, you cannot compensate for it, ha, ha, ha.

Male client: Ah, ha, ha.

Diviner: Perhaps the chain is fixed around your neck, or whether both of you will be, therefore, Catholic in front of the Padre (priest) [of] Jesus Christ, under the hands, under the feet of our Lord San Pedro, perhaps therefore you cannot pray, or—?

Male client: Of course, I, I always pray, but what shall I do in your opinion? Well, only to those places of birth [lit.: mountain and valley, i.e. homeland] I do not go anymore. I, I pray.

Diviner: Continue to make, continue to make your *costumbres* (customs and rituals).

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: If you do not continue, then someone [in your family] will die, ha, ha, ha, yes. I ordered it here once and for all. Oh, it is perfectly possible that this child of yours will go away (will die). How about this one? It is the case that it will surely leave us [i.e. die], it will surely leave us [die]. But how about the *costumbres* [customs] which you give up, how about the *costumbres* [customs] which you are losing? No, or does the Padre (priest) say: “Stop, stop with your *costumbres* [customs]!” Is it that which the Padre (priest) says, the Padre [of] Jesus Christ [who] celebrates the mass in front of the holy altar, in front of our Lord, the Lord St. Peter (San Pedro), in front of our Lord, the Lord St. John (San Juan)? What were you ordered [to do]? “Forget your *costumbres*, burn your cross, yours, made of wood!” Does he say that, or doesn’t he talk that way, the Padre (priest), ha, ha, ha? Therefore it is our illness that is about to come.

Male client: Yes, yes.

Diviner: Therefore we (i.e. you) have gotten all this.

Male client: Yes, so it is.

Diviner: You shall not cease with the *costumbres* (customs).

Male client: Well, yes, Sir.

<Commentary 2: It turns out that the clients are already married by the Catholic church. The chain mentioned refers to the sign of orthodox Catholic marriage. The diviner admonishes the clients to continue with the *costumbres* (traditional rituals). Illness will result if the family cross in the house has been burned.>

Diviner: (3) Put it into order, put it completely into order. You know our (=your) pain, in front of the [Judgement].

Male client: Yes, so it is, of course. Yes, all that we want to put into order.

Diviner: One has to—, one has to clean it completely.

Male client: Yes, in any case, I will put that into order.

Diviner: Well, put it into order, yes, ha, ha, ha.

Male client: And therefore it disappears, when I— ?

Diviner: Wait, wait, then, what does that signify, Madam? And will you be with him or won't you be with him? Ha, or is it still you who will be seized, ha, ha?

Female client: Yes, so it is, Sir. [I:190]

Diviner: Yes. And are you then together with him or—?

Female client: Yes, I am together with him.

Diviner: Do you want it under any circumstances (i.e. with all your heart)?

Female client: So it is.

Diviner: Like *panela* (unrefined brown sugar) or caramel (i.e. amiable, loving) do you want to be together with him?

Female client: So it is, yes, Sir.

<Commentary 3: The diviner starts to talk about the ritual restoration of the bond and the reconciliation between the two clients. The details are supposed to be known to the client. The ritual is to be addressed to the Judgement, either illness or mental pain. The client wants to get directly to the information about whether or not a possible illness or danger will disappear. But the diviner insists on the process of clearing and reconciling the relationship first, and turns to the wife of the male client. The detailed steps or features in verifying the female client's wants are outlined: if she wants to be together with her husband, under any circumstances, in love.>

Diviner: (4) Ah, it isn't sometimes the case that he beats you, that he does something to you?

Female client: I do not think so—

Diviner: But do not conceal it! Make sure to be cautious, because—, yes.

Female client: Only when we had a case of death, we certainly did quarrel sometimes. I had a son who went away (died).

Diviner: But then it is the Judgement which is present, which is with you (lit.: us) as “police”.

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: Ah come closer, sit down, ah, damned, sit down, eeh, and will you bear it or won't you bear it?

Female client: It is that way, you know, Sir, we are already married, you know, we have already united with each other, we will hardly separate now, we already have bound ourselves (committed ourselves) to each other firmly, you know.

Diviner: Ah, but why do you have sorrows here with regard to them *<pl., i.e., him and her child>*, with regard to yourself, why, why?

Female client: Ah.

Diviner: You do have sorrows because of him.

Female client: Perhaps it is sometimes the case that we have our thoughts, Sir, somehow.

Diviner: And do you make peace or don't you make peace?, so it says here.

Female client: So things are, as we say. Perhaps there is something which makes me think about him, I am a human being [with feelings].

<Commentary 4: The diviner insists upon whether or not she is sometimes beaten by her husband. She tends to deny the question. The diviner insists again about not concealing a fact like that. She comes up with an episode of a serious quarrel focussing on the death of a son. We have to remember that the cause of illness is sought in social transgression. The diviner interprets this case of death as the presence of the Judgement (as a Lord of Illness). He attributes the function of the "police" to the Judgement. The diviner dramatizes the seriousness of the problem by his question about if she can bear it. The female client emphasizes her firm commitment to the husband and to the union. The diviner insists that she has sorrows about her husband and about herself. He asks for the reasons. The female client concedes cautiously that they – the couple – "may sometimes have thoughts, somehow". The diviner insists if she makes peace or not with her husband. The answer of the woman is guarded. There is, perhaps, some reason which makes her think about her husband. After all, she is just a human being with feelings.>

Diviner <after a short interference>: (5) And your problem, Sir, what will you do? In what does this transgression consist? And can you forgive this woman here or can't you do so?

Male client: [Yes,] of course, Sir, why not? Yes, certainly yes.

Diviner: But what a transgression does she have [with you], does she have a transgression, is [she] beating you? Or what is the case? [I:191]

Male client: Whatever it might be, perhaps she really broods [over something] because I can hardly go inside her mind, ha, ha, ha, yes.

Diviner: And do you then have forbearance (lenience) or not?

Male client: Yes, certainly, what else? Yes!

<Commentary 5: The diviner now turns to the husband. He asks him what his wife's transgression consists of and if he can forgive her. The husband generally agrees that this is "certainly" and "of course" not a problem and "why not?" The diviner insists on the episodic features of the transgression. He asks him if she is beating him or what the problem is. The male client is uncertain and hypothesizes about the mood of his wife ("perhaps she is really brooding"). The couple obviously do not communicate

on such an issue. The diviner continues if he – the male client – can forgive her or has patience with her.>

Diviner: (6) Then settle [your issue], both of you with each other! And then I will put it into order here completely. Both of you, you will put into order yourselves [mutually] since there is pardon for it (or: since you pardon [her]).

Male client: Of course, we will put it into order since it still is our problem.

Diviner: Or do you have no patience, or do you have no patience with her (i.e., can't you pardon her)?

Male client: Well, yes, Sir, why not? We will put it into order, we want to put it into order whatsoever it might be, what we reflect upon, therefore.

Diviner: Till it is resolved, at least.

Male client: Yes, no, Sir, we will surely put it into order.

Diviner: Well, but put it into order.

Male client: I think, we will ask for pardon whatsoever our pain says, if there is something that we reflect upon, yes.

Diviner: Yes, so it is.

Male client: Yes, but I will beg pardon.

Diviner: And you, you shall beg pardon, Madam, you shall beg pardon on behalf of them.

Female client: Yes, certainly, yes, but certainly, Sir.

Diviner: And then you pardon our mothers here, Sir?

Male client: Yes, so it is, so it is, why not? Yes, certainly!

<Commentary 6: The diviner now turns to both the clients. They can arrange their problem in the form of a mutual open declaration or confession. The presupposition, that is, reconciliation between the couple, is fulfilled. The diviner starts out again to make sure that this is the wish of the male client. The client agrees. He expresses the intention to 'put things into order' "what we reflect upon", i.e. in terms of the contents of silent thought. The male client agrees that he will beg his wife's pardon. And the diviner insists that the female client begs pardon for the different ideas ('yib'an heb') with her husband.>

Diviner: (7) If you end up being alone, who shall kindle our (=your) fire a little bit as we would like to phrase it?

Male client: It is just that, possibly, Sir.

Diviner: Yes.

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: Well, and do you pardon then, Madam? I already have your problems in front of me (lit.: I already dissolve your papers).

Female client: And my child, will it live?

Diviner: Wait, Madam, it still lasts a little bit, till this other [problem] here is duly listed, do you understand? (...) Then we will come back to it, I think, Madam.

<Commentary 7: The diviner points out the undesirable alternative that the male client might end up alone. He then turns to the female client and asks her if she can pardon her husband. The woman asks about the health of her child, but the diviner tells her to wait because the current issue is not yet finished.>

(8) For it is the case that you are rather angry. As it says here, in the same way, he is angry, he also is angry here. In the same way, both of you are quarrelsome.

Male client: Yes, in the same way it sure is, Sir.

Diviner: Ah, ha, ha, ha.

Male client: Ah, in the same way it surely always is.

Diviner: Ha, ha, ha.

Female client: Ah.

Diviner: Well then, you [both] shall end this quarrel, Madam.

Female client: Well, Sir.

Male client: Well, certainly yes, Sir, well, certainly yes.

Diviner: Only correct words [shall be]!

Male client: Yes, that is true.

Diviner: Yes, so this is what shall happen. If you do not stop quarreling then you will be in bad shape (lit.: then you will go to the mountains with it).

Male client: Yes, well then, well, Sir, certainly yes.

Diviner <obviously to the female client>: And will you cease quarreling or not?

<Commentary 8: The diviner points out that she and her husband, both of them, tend to be angry and quarrelsome. The male client agrees. The diviner admonishes both to stop quarreling. Both agree to do so. The diviner insists that their communication should consist of “correct words only”. The diviner asks the female client if she will stop quarreling.>

Female client: **(9)** But so it is, you know, Sir, it was only before, when we were shortly together that we did quarrel and when I surely experienced that case of death. Well, we tried, you know, to separate. Later we thought about it, and then we discontinued it (the quarrel). Perhaps then we received something bad because of the case of death, you know.

Diviner: And will you, then, cease with it or won't you cease with it?

Female client: We will cease doing it, Sir.

Diviner <to the female client>: You shall not make a fool of this man. *<To the male client:>* And in the same way, you, Sir, you shall not make a fool of [her].

Male client: Of course, Sir, that is true, yes, it is true, yes.

Diviner: Who knows what then happened to both of you, yes, you have listened to what now has been said.

Male client: Yes, so it is.

Diviner: Well then, you shall not quarrel with each other.

Male client: Well, certainly, yes, Sir.

Diviner: Do not quarrel, be cautious only! But if you will quarrel it means that it is perhaps you who will die, or it is she who will die.

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: Then it is finished.

Male client: So it is, anyway.

Diviner: Ha, ha, ha, yes, yes. It is already finished. Who will be your [female] companion with you?

Male client: Yes, who?

Diviner: But now you shall pardon.

Male client: Of course, Sir, so it is, yes.

Diviner: Well, put it first into order completely. Well, then, so we do it.

<Commentary 9: The female client starts to talk about the episode of her son's death. She points out that they had a serious quarrel and tried to separate. They thought about the quarrel and ceased doing it. Maybe some mental harm was left. The diviner instructs the couple to be serious about stopping quarrels. Otherwise, one of them might die. Turning to the male client the diviner asks "who will [then] be your (female) companion?" The couple shall confess to each other and shall pardon each other.>

5.5.2 The central episodes and their therapeutic significance

The diviner speculates on whether or not the husband has beaten his wife, or if she has beaten her husband. In a formal interrogation the *diviner asks the couple to reconcile themselves* with each other. An *episode* is remembered by the female client, *the death of her son*, which was a *cause of a quarrel*. This feature comes close to a formal open declaration ('*confession*'). Normally, the diviner is not present in a confession unless it is a case within his own family. The woman tells that they tried to separate, but they decided to live together again. This topic is touchy. During my fieldwork, two clients asked me to turn off the cassette recorder because of the

marital problems they wanted the divination for. Therefore, the consultation presented here can be considered a valuable and rare document.

Cf. Ch. 5.11.2 [Procedural definition of reconciliation].

5.6 The abuse of a family father by his stepmother

5.6.1 Translated text and analytical commentary

From: #20A; Hinz 1991/I:43-57; II:41-54.

The issue is a dream reported in Ch. 7.4.3. The outcome of the divination refers to the client's mistrust: 'equal is the quarrel which originated with your father or with [his] second wife'. The client's father died some 180 days ago and discussion is focussing on the completion of these 180 days.

Diviner: (I) [I:43, II:41] Well, now, put yourself together with your wife into order. [II:42]

Male client: Well, Sir.

*Diviner: You start out from the ground. And there come our leaves (i.e. elder leaves, *xaq an*), there come our candles, there comes our copal (*jaq'-b'al*), you shall put into order your and her [problems]. Put into order what your uttered and interior faults and your aversions (mistrust) are, together with your wife (...) what your father said, what [his] second wife said, all the calumnies (persecutions) which the second wife committed against her (i.e. your wife), you shall put it into order completely, together with your wife, then (...) you burn our (=your) candles (...) so that you clean your heart, so that you clean your heart of whatsoever your father and [his] second wife, this Ana, have done to you.*

Male client: Yes, I know it, Sir, I do know what it was.

Diviner: Take it out, at least. If not, you are gone, we can achieve nothing. There is possibly something which will happen to us (= you).

Male client: No, Sir, it is present to [me].

Diviner: Your work is not in vain. (...)

<Commentary 1: The diviner prescribes an open declaration ('confession') to the client and his wife. The Q'anjob'al expression is '-jatne' (vt), 'to put into order-'. The client is ordered, in simple descriptive words, to go back to the beginning. Ritual paraphernalia, e.g., elder leaves, candles and resin (copal) are to be used. The incorrect and aversive communication and inner feelings of husband and wife are the object of the open declaration. To recall the calumnies and lies the client's father and his second wife committed against the client's wife is of special importance.

The client assures the diviner that he recalls the facts. The diviner insists that the verbal insults and inner feelings must be expressed by the client.>

Diviner: (2) And in just the same way your wife [shall do it] so that she cleanses her heart then of what her deceased father-in-law has said, what has been done to her by this deceased old man, what has been done to your wife by that second woman, by that Ana (...)

Diviner: (...) he comes up, the deceased one, eh, how many reservations he had against you, how many reservations he had against your wife (...) and then arise the problems of that Ana how many reservations she had against you, how many reservations she had against your wife. For she came to give bad advice, she wanted to drive you who knows where.

Male client: She wanted for me to remain lying on the way without anything.

Diviner: Exactly, exactly. [II:43]

Male client: She wanted that I would fasten my net (i.e. tumpline; mecapal) on my forehead, that I would go to the east.

Diviner: Yes, with your children and with your wife so that she [alone] would be left enjoying [everything] in the house, so that there would be nobody left who would molest her. Therefore, then, she put you down, therefore she made up lies against you³⁷, and she went to complain or who knows what. (...)

Male client: Yes, who knows what she did all against me in terms of mistreatments. (...)

Male client: I will do it, Sir, I will do it for that.

<Commentary 2: The diviner elaborates on the topic. He orders that the verbal expressions and behavior of the client's father and the father's second wife against the client's wife shall be attended to. The mistrust, or mental reservations, of both the client's father and his second wife are to be remembered and specified. The diviner becomes specific about this second wife, Ana. He refers to her "bad advice", to her intention "to drive the client and his family away". The client returns the diviner's suggestion with the remembrance of bitter feelings: that the second wife wanted him with his family to "remain lying on the way without anything" and "going to the east, with the tumpline fastened (to carry burdens)". The diviner refers to strong emotionally charged events: "She put you down (ch-ex y-aq' joder xala)" (humiliation, mental harm), "she made up lies against you" (spreading false rumors, producing a bad reputation; probably producing

³⁷ *Q'anj. yujtu7 xan stz'aqon ok xala sb'a hin. I prefer a correction of the German translation in correspondence to this translation (Hinz 1991/I:54).*

shame, humiliation and anger), “*she went to complain*” (*involving persecution, shame, and probably anxiety*). Note the client’s report on the gossip about this second wife of his father: that six men were supposed to have had intercourse with her [*cf* Hinz 1991/I:55].>

Only if my eye cannot recognize [the problems], it would be a misfortune for me. But if that is not the case, I will do it, I will then (*or*: certainly?) do it, Sir.

Diviner: (3) (...) This is the problem of both of you (...)

Diviner: And here is that of your father against you (...) and against your wife (...) And here is that of that woman against you...

Male client: [Of] that second wife.

Diviner: ...and against your wife (...) because that woman put you down completely (...) For that we shall cleanse with regard to our (=your) house, our cross, our place, our place of birth (our native land), our food, our domestic animals, our money. And in such a way we shall set out to cleanse it with regard to our six children. They are six, aren’t they?

Male client: Yes, they are six, Sir.

Diviner: We (=you) will give our (=your) children, six of them, peace. At least³⁸, you will give peace to your life, to your and your wife’s health. Will, for that reason, perhaps still come illness, death, end, crying, sadness? Will we perhaps, for that reason, still suffer from imprisonment and [I:46] punishment, under the hands of the cross, under (beneath?) the shade-giver, the roof, the place, the locality (mountains and plains, i.e. the homeland) where that was possible, where that came into being? (...) Where the deceased old man brought you into the danger of death?

Male client: Yes, that’s it, Sir.

Diviner: The issues of that second wife.

Male client: Well, sometimes I shed tears, or, as I said, I really did cry, Sir, for it is true, therefore—

Diviner: Well, exactly. [II:44]

Male client: Indeed, Sir, for that, I certainly remember. But I do not think about it. But I will dedicate myself to [her].

Diviner: Yes, we want to take it out, Sir.

Male client: I will do so, Sir.

Diviner: We shall not do it superficially (...) If we do it superficially, it is quite possible that it (=misfortune) will come over us (...)

³⁸ *Q’anj*. hoq haq’ em hatoka (= em–, ha to-ka–), hoq aq’ em pas... = you shall still–, you shall give [them] peace... The first phrase is incomplete, taking up the Spanish ‘en (paz)’ [> ‘em p*’ in *Q’anj*.] of the antecedent phrase, followed by an indefinite demonstrative ‘(h)a’ (Day 1973:76, §3.3.1), called ‘clefting’ by Craig.

*<Commentary 3: The diviner repeats that it is a matter of both the client and his wife to make the open declaration. Rituals of purification shall be made for a series of basic goods or needs: for the house and the terrain, for the family or ancestral cross, food, domestic animals and money. The client will bring “peace” to his six children, to himself and his wife, in terms of health. The diviner seems to simulate or anticipate preoccupations or existential questions in relation to the problems to be treated: illness or death, prison or punishment. ‘Under the hands of–’ = under, or within the sphere or the influence [of the family cross, the house and the terrain]. The diviner refers to the father’s malice of endangering the client; the client recalls generalized situations of extreme distress and helplessness: “I really did cry (tuton x-in oq’-ton ta7wal)”. The client’s description is quite elucidating: He remembers, but he does not think about or dwell upon the sentiment; he will turn to it and name it (“we want to take it out”). It shall not be done superficially. Further course of action (left out): The diviner specifies the different places of rituals, with the different addressees of prayers of reconciliation, with the number of candles itemized for the different problems. The different points of time, 180 and 260 days after the father’s death, are considered. Note the ceremonial period of **180 days!**>*

Diviner: (4) [I:47, II:45] (...) At least this mistrust, it must come out, one after another.

Male client: Certainly, Sir.

Diviner: Well now, all the faults and dirtinesses of your deceased father. What happened when he grew up with his father, with his mother, in their place of birth. This is a further problem which you shall arrange (lit. carry away) (...)

Diviner: In the same way, your mother, what happened when your mother grew up with her father, with her mother, in her place of birth, what their words (problems) are, what they have done to you, starting from the beginning when you grew up, starting from your childhood, in that way here (...) Yes, so is what you shall take out of this house (...) of your cross (...) also of your work, also of your children, of yourself and your wife (...)

Diviner: [I:48] After that, in the same way, your wife, even though they [her parents] may not have any problems because of her, no, how she came into being by her father, by her mother. And what are their problems, as we would like to say? (...)

<Reconciliation mentioned>

<Commentary 4: The diviner details life episodes of the client’s father and mother to be covered in very general terms: their socialization with the grandfather and the grandmother on the father’s and the mother’s side.

The locality of this rite of purification is marked as the client's house and family cross. The client's wife's socialization and her parents' problems are to be dealt with in a similar way. Please remember that the account of the open declaration is cognitive and narrative and might describe sentiments and actual verbal utterances.>

Diviner: (5) [I:49, II:46] Well, you will still hand it over, all our (= your) prayers, at least, which we (= you) make, [for] all the evil men who have calumniated you (...) [II:47] It is one candle for 5 centavos which we (= you) shall put up, at least (...) for him who has envy against you, as we would like to say.

Male client: Yes for him who always wants that something happens to me, whatsoever, yes. (...)

Diviner: [I:50, II:47] And the neighbors, how many neighbors of the property you have, how many brothers of ours, hermanos of ours there are.

Male client: For we are encircled (surrounded), as we would like to say.

Diviner: Exactly (...) How many uttered and inner thoughts of them there are against you because you stayed with the house, because you stayed with the place of ours (=yours) (...) But it is God who has seen that it wasn't you who has done evil (damage) to your father. Because he is already dead, therefore– (...) therefore you stayed on our (= your) terrain (...) with our (= your) house (...)

Diviner: Here is one candle, for all those who are evil (...) Here is another [candle], for all that from the neighbor (...) Yes, that's what you shall cleanse tomorrow. (...)

<Commentary 5: The diviner continues to specify the recipients of the ritual prayers (probably of reconciliation, definitely not of black magic as this is outlawed by the diviner) and the objects of the open declaration: the evil men who have calumniated the client. The diviner refers to these persons as 'having envy'. A candle for 5 centavos – a more expensive one – is suggested by the diviner. This type of person is defined by the client in terms of '(somebody) always wishing that something happens to me'. Furthermore, the diviner points to neighbors. The question of property (and, thus, possibly of land markers) is implied. The term 'hermanos' (= 'brethren', Span.) might refer to Evangelicals and, thus, to religious incompatibilities – but this remains open. The diviner refers to the recalling of the 'uttered thoughts' and the 'inner thoughts or attitudes' in causal relationship with the client's perseverance of staying in the house and on the terrain. The diviner specifies the ritual means, candles, and their quantity.>

<The diviner admonishes the client to go to the cemetery to make rituals.>

Diviner: (6) [I:52, II:49] Ah, how are things, is it perhaps the case that you do not yet go to the roofed structure in the middle of the cemetery?

Male client: I go there, Sir (...) For I always go there to call them, my...

Diviner: – Ancestors –

Male client: ...grandfathers, and my–, who are already dead. I go, I go, Sir (...)

Male client: Yes, there is a big roof which is standing there. There we go, we always go there so that I call to them– who are my fathers, my ancestors. I did not see them, [II:50] I have only heard their names still mentioned what [the issue is], and I–, I go there in order to offer–, to light a candle for them (...) [I:53]

Diviner: Well, in front of the door of our Lord San Pedro, there you will offer a further 13 [candles] (...) for your health and your hut, your [family] cross (...) your land, your place, your food, your livestock, your money (...) for the life and health of the six sons (...) because of, for your life and your health, and your father and your wife (...) so that there will be no sickness, no death, no end, no crying, no sadness, no imprisonment, no punishment, during the 180 days, 200 days, 220 days, 240 days, 260 days [after the father's death] (...)

<Commentary 6: The diviner specifies the different locations for prayers and rituals, e.g. burning candles. First, he asks if the client is accustomed to going to the cemetery to pray to the ancestors. The information of interest is that the client did not know the persons anymore, but heard their names mentioned as well as the issues related to them. Second, the door of the church of St. Peter in San Pedro Soloma is mentioned. The purpose of the ritual is specified in terms of basic needs, wants or values: health, house, family cross, the terrain, livestock, money, in favor of the client, of his wife and their six sons. The negative items to be prevented include: sickness, death, sadness (resulting from death), imprisonment and punishment, especially during the period of the 180 to 260 days after the death of the client's father, possibly a period of special exposure to dangers. The same number of candles is suggested to be burnt at the entrance to the yard of the house.>

<Left out. Client and diviner talk about the false accusations by the deceased father's second wife that the client would have huge debts with her. Report of a conversation with the husband of the client's deceased sister Patricia [I:55/56, II:52/53]:>

Diviner: (7) Why is she spreading lies about you? Why then? 'Doesn't it appear to be true what she says? Doesn't she appear to say the truth?' So the other people think, Sir.

Male client: Exactly, that is what I say, yes. The people are now only grinning (gloating?) into my face.

Diviner: Well, only that.

Male client: Yes, well, only that, yes. But there is actually nothing.

Diviner: Then it is only lying. ‘Thank God’, you say now, and then your candles become completed to 14.

Male client: Okay, Sir, well, Sir.

Diviner: For it is her malice (...) You shall fold your hands in front of God, in front of the Earth who carries us (*ko-b’atx-om-al muntos*): ‘Why [is there all this trouble]? I do not owe money. I eat if there is something, if there is nothing. Therefore, why does she say that I would owe money? You, God, you, Earth, pardon! My face is ashamed, my shadow is ashamed, my hand is ashamed, my foot is ashamed (i.e., my children) among the people because of her. Why does she say that I would owe money? You will still see what will happen to her’, you say.

Male client: I will do so, Sir.

Diviner: Only leave her in the hands of God, our Lord.

Male client: Well, Sir.

Diviner: God will come to clarity about (...) what will happen to her, because of her malice, because of her lies.

Male client: Yes, it is that way, Sir. [II:54]

Diviner: Well, so it says [in the divination] what you shall do.

<Commentary 7: The diviner refers to the lies of the client’s father’s second wife. To other people, the lies might appear to be true. Thus, the affect produced with the client can be humiliation, shame and/or anxiety. Other people’s behavior is described by the client: ‘The people are only grinning into [my] face. (...) Only that’. This can produce humiliation or shame, but it might be interpreted differently (e.g., as bad humor). The diviner draws the conclusion that it is the father’s second wife’s malice crystallizing in lies. In an interesting move of adult socialization, the diviner instructs the client on how to pray to God and the Earth, quoting her lies and asking for the reasons for her doing so. We should not overlook the speech act: “You, God, you, Earth, pardon!” The affect of shame in front of other people is highlighted in ceremonial language: “My face is ashamed, my shadow is ashamed, my children are ashamed among the people because of her.” The motivation for accusing the client of owing money to this woman is phrased as a question directed to God. The diviner suggests to the client to leave the father’s second wife in the hands of God. This attitude is different from cursing or doing witchcraft. Nevertheless, it plays a role in considering the affect of humiliation, wrong public accusa-

tion, and mistrust or mental reservations in relation to the sphere of supernatural justice, or rather “insight”. Thus, a release mechanism for this affect is constructed which is based upon religious beliefs and a delegation of the problem to “higher spheres” of agents: the affect becomes “dispersed” in terms of concern or import (with the implicit imperative: ‘Don’t care anymore!’).>

5.6.2 Conceptual notes on the therapeutic measures and summary

In the consultation the following ideas are mentioned and discussed:

1. An open declaration between the client and his wife is prescribed as a therapeutic measure. The ritual paraphernalia (elder leaves, candles, resin, or, rather, *pom*) are specified.
2. The object or topic of this open declaration covers episodes of incorrect and aversive communication and inner feelings.
3. Affect-driven calumnies and lies, especially against the client’s wife, are to be seen to.
4. The sentimental problems are specified in terms of feelings on the client’s side and bad intentions and actions on the side of the client’s father and his second wife. In detail:
 - 4.1 The second wife: “bad advice”, her *intention* “to *drive* the client and his family *away*”.
 - 4.2 The client: *bitter feelings*: that the second wife wanted him with his family to “*remain lying on the way* without anything” and “*going to the east, with the tumpline fastened* (to carry burdens)”.
 - 4.3 The diviner on the client’s stepmother: “She *put you down*” (*humiliation, mental harm*), “she spread *false rumors*” (*damaging reputation*), “she went to *complain*” (involving *persecution, shame, and probably anxiety*).
 - 4.4 Extreme distress of the client: “*Crying*”.
 - 4.5. The concept of mistrust, or mental reservation and reluctance, is thus broken down into several dimensional components: the experience, perception and expectancy of evil intentions (malevolence); distress; humiliation and the experience of mental harm and terror; persecution and shame. These components correspond, to a large degree, to the scientific concept of mistrust (cf Ch. 1.4.3.5).
5. The facts, sentiments, episodes are to be named only.
6. As a further topic, the socialization of the father and mother, as well as the respective grandparents, is to be addressed and dealt with, presumably in very general terms of prayers of reconciliation directed to these different ancestors or deceased relatives.

7. The diviner specifies the therapy as a true psychosociotherapy. He specifies further addressees who wanted to do malice to the client: enemies, neighbors who are envious.

8. Further purposes or objects of the open declaration are mentioned: basic goods to be achieved, negative items to be prevented.

8.1 Obtainment of basic goods or satisfaction of basic needs: the house and the terrain, [“favors”] for the family or ancestral cross, food, domestic animals and money. The client will bring “peace” to his six children, to himself and his wife, in terms of health.

8.2 Prevention of sickness, death, sadness (resulting from death), imprisonment and punishment.

9. An explicit instruction on how to pray to God and the Earth is given by the diviner in the form of a simulated prayer or formal address. Instead of a direct reconciliation which is, of course, impossible, action against the wrongdoers is left to God.

5.7 Cases of open declarations (‘confessions’) observed

*Edited excerpts from my ethnographic notes (Hinz 1991/I:XXXVI):
Thursday, 11.6.81*

Date at 13.00.– At 13.00 with Mateo (till approx. 15.00). No client shows up during this time. But Mateo’s son together with his wife and two children are there. They are sitting in front of the house and are apparently discussing money lost by Mateo’s son (100Q, 115Q or 15Q; 1Q=1US\$).

Mateo recites an elaborated prayer on behalf of his son (?) in front of the altar. His son’s wife has picked up two big green leaves from the field (*milpa*). Mateo places a part of the leaves below, in front of the altar, and above, on top of the altar. After that, Mateo and his son sit down in front of the altar, facing each other, but their respective glances are turned away from each other to each respective side. They hold hands as if greeting one another and saying “good morning”, the son looks aside and down at the ground. They shake and hold their right hands. In his left hand the son holds a small bowl with very small candles in it. First (?), the son speaks a prayer-like text, then Mateo. After that, Mateo’s wife sits down facing her son but looking towards one side. She now speaks a prayer-like text. In the prayer-like text the term ‘*cruz*’ (‘cross’) and the money in question (*amount of ‘quetzales’*) are mentioned.

Tuesday, 16.6.81 [partially recovered from the inventory]

Early in the morning we visit Jolomhuitz, together with Mateo. Breakfast is in the hut of Mateo’s son. After that, Mateo’s son and his wife utter their thoughts, prayer-like, speaking rapidly at the same time. These prayer-like

statements were taped by me on a cassette recorder (#21B). The transcription is difficult because of the simultaneity of the utterances³⁹.

Thursday, 9.7.81

Afterwards to Mateo... Some clients are already waiting. First of all, Mateo begins with a ceremony for his daughter and his son-in-law as I have witnessed some weeks ago for his son and his daughter-in-law.

The son-in-law sits down facing Mateo, holds his hand, has a small bowl with small candles in the other hand. Both are glancing aside and away from each other [each to the side]. First, the son-in-law speaks, then Mateo. Then the same happens with his daughter [*I explicate*: First, his daughter speaks, then Mateo]. After that Mateo's wife sits down with her son-in-law, then with her daughter. [*I explicate*: First, the son-in-law speaks, then Mateo's wife; after that, her daughter, then Mateo's wife again].

<Commentary added: The statements are short and rapidly spoken. I remember them as representing a certain level of stress for the persons speaking. The situation appeared to be intimate, so as to place the ethnographer into a semi-voyeur role. The same holds for the events described for 11.6.81>.

5.8 A theoretical outline of the therapeutic significance of the “open declaration (confession)”

Let us look at the observational data as given by me. The open declaration as taped [16.6.81] does not last for much longer than 10 minutes for both persons. In the other untaped situations [11.6. and 9.7.81], the successive open declarations of each person are quite short and might not have lasted for much more than five minutes (each). I didn't take notes concerning the actual duration, partially due to the surprise effect. The session with *Principales* (dignitaries) mentioned in Note 40 confirmed the time estimate (“normally more or less 5 minutes” for each open declaration).

After resuming the conceptual analysis of mistrust and worry, I present some causal and interventional arguments concerning vocalization of affect, syncopation, affect amplification (i.e. the acquisition of ‘mistrust’ or ‘aversion’), and the affect-releasing mechanism, a culture-specific technique and its possible explanation.

³⁹ The cassette (Archive 1, Psychology in Hamburg; cf Ch. E.3, Note 23) may have been ruined when the basement where it was stored was flooded by rainwater.

5.8.1 Adult affect is backed-up suppression of breathing and vocalization of affect after Tomkins 1991

Tomkins writes: "...free expression of innate affect is extremely contagious... all societies, in varying degrees, exercise substantial control over unfettered expression of affect... strict control over affect expression is instituted, and such control is exerted particularly over the voice in general, whether used in speech or in direct affect expression..." (Tomkins 1991/III: 13/14).

I would like to remind you of the systematic works of functionalist sociologists such as Marion Levy or Talcott Parsons who pointed out that control of the expression of affect is a crucial social variable related to the development of the justice system. Tomkins asks the question: "If all societies... suppress the free vocalization of affect, what is it which is being experienced as affect? It is what I have called pseudo-, or backed-up, affect. It can be seen in children... by tightening their jaw not to cry out in anger... one is truly holding one's breath as part of the technique of suppressing the vocalization of affect... much of what is called 'stress' is indeed backed-up affect..." (1991:14).

"...there could be a permanent elevation of blood pressure as a consequence of suppressed rage..." (1991:14). *I.e., physiological systems can be changed and adjusted to new norms due to behavioral suppression.*

"One can uncover repressed affect by encouraging vocalization of affect, the more severe the suppression of vocalization has been" (1991:15).

<Commentary:> *I doubt that there is a direct correspondence between encouragement of expression, readiness to response and severity of suppression without appropriate situative control in terms of a technique. This might be exactly what the Q'anjob'al therapy (open or frank declaration or expression, so-called confession) might be able to achieve in conjunction with divination.*

5.8.1.1 The Q'anjob'al concept of mistrust (aversion) according to Ch. 1.4: cognitive-conceptual vs. affective-physiological structures

(1) Mistrust is described in terms of *antecedent events* ('there is a reason A for mistrust') and *consequences* ('from mistrust follows B').

(2) Mistrust is conceptualized in terms of a *social relation*: 'x has a mistrust with regard to person y'.

(3) Conceptualizing mistrust as a *definite, countable and episodic event or case* becomes a procedural presupposition of an "open declaration (confession)" and of ritual action (e.g., in terms of the numbers of candles). Mistrust is, thus, not conceived as being an unspecified overall feeling, but is anchored in and generated by particular episodes. The diviner tries to assess and specify the persons, objects and episodes of

speech, thought and behavioral intention involved as to who or what generates mistrust and participates in a network of mistrust as points of reference.

(4) Synonyms, to be glossed such as ‘sorrow’ and ‘thoughts about–’, point to an *affective charge* and thus to a *psychosomatic meaning*.

(5) Mistrust in Q’anjob’al, *kab’k’ulal*, means literally ‘two stomachs’. It is glossed as ‘disgusto’ [disgust, aversion], ‘enpado’ (Guatemalan Indian Span. = ‘enfado’) [being fed up], ‘desconfianza’ [mistrust], ‘resentido’ [irritable, unforgiving; annoyed]. It could be glossed as ‘double thought’, ‘mental reservation’, ‘aversion’, ‘without reconciliation’.

(6) Mistrust is normally *suppressed*, veiled or hidden. This is one *presupposition* for the cure: naming or uttering the problem in the presence of the person centrally concerned.

(7) A deeper *physiological* meaning is possible hypothetically. Physiologists distinguish between the “proximal” and the “distal” stomach, the transition between both zones representing a pacemaker: hypothetically a “segmented” vs. “integrated” stomach. Is it possible that we are dealing with a “synchronized or synchronizing” vs. “shifted or shifting” stomach system in terms of *peristalses*? Cf Silbernagl & Despopoulos, “Taschenatlas der Physiologie”, Stuttgart 1991(4thed): Thieme.

(8) *Terminological note*: Affect terminology in Q’anjob’al as well as in other Maya languages is partially based upon using the noun root *-k’ul* (‘stomach’). Two contrasts to *kab’-k’ulal* (lit. ‘two stomachs’; ‘mistrust, mental reservation’) are pertinent: (1) (*ha-*)*miman-k’ulal* (lit. ‘[your] big stomach’) means ‘pardon [by you]’, ‘reconciliation [by you]’, ‘patience [on your side]’ (Span. ‘paciencia’) and is a key term in the confession or open declaration. (2) (*ha-*)*jun-k’ulal* (lit. ‘one stomach [of yours]’) means ‘calmness [of yours], even in the face of dangers, [your] unshakeability’ [Ms Dicc. Q’anj. 1980]; ‘peace’, ‘harmony’ [Dicc. Q’anj. 1996:170]. Please note that the contrastive analysis of the lexical constructs do not necessarily presuppose the hypothetical physiological deep meaning.

(9) *A note on “aversion”*: The glosses in Spanish for the Q’anjob’al term involve the meaning of aversion, either in a gustatory and socio-interactive sense or in the sense of “reluctance”. The latter meaning would cross-refer us to learning and behavioral-cognitive factors and possibly a corresponding therapy (cf Gray for the limbic system, with the subiculum and the nucleus accumbens, and Depue et al for the nucleus accumbens; cf the references quoted in: Hinz 2006:166, 63, ref. no. 38, 64, 65 therein).

5.8.1.2 Acquisition of the affect and its amplification

I try to consider the theoretically interesting phenomenon of **syncopes**, syncopation, and, eventually, spikes, and cramps in semantic and physiological terms:

(1) **Cognition**: Affective arousal might block one’s immediate memory or memory of attention as well as the short-term memory. Thus, *alternative tracks* of attention and proceeding might be *blocked*; i.e. access to normal and/or alternative behavioral and cognitive schemata might be diminished and restrained from free expression or use. *Syncopation* refers to a *loss of links* in a procedural chain of actions or in planning, or to a temporary *inability* in the *coordination of focal points*, e.g. in speech, body rhythm and

contents (Hinze 2006:17f. [A.15]). Physiological maladaptation (e.g., breathing and possibly regional cerebral blood flow) may be the cause. Syncope implies the *lack of conscious and situative control of entering, coping with, and exiting from a situation*. Cf Schank & Abelson 1977 [entrance and exit conditions of a script]; Hinze 2006:145[E.29(6)].

(2) Social activator: The vision of a *disagreeable face or person*, or the expectancy of a *disagreeable interaction* leads to avoidance or withdrawal, or, alternatively, to anger, quarreling and fighting. Thus, the *integrating and amplifying function of consciousness* might become *reduced*.

Integration: cf Gaffan & Parker 1996 [memory for object-in-place = topographic contextualization]; amplification based on self-consciousness and attention in social space, e.g. by means of different parts and afferents in the Papez arc, as, for instance, the subiculum, the mamillary body or the thalamus; cf Hinze 2006 [C.2.2.2].

Instead, the *affect* as postulated in Tomkins's theory might become *amplified* or *magnified*. Affect or a simpler and less uncomfortable routine might override goal-directedness or problem resolution. Actually, a mistrust-centered affect script may be formed:

- *Learning and memory conditions:* Past and present affective-situative factors (with regard to persons and topics) are deadlocked.
- *Communicative conditions:* Break-down of communication, of direct affect expression or of possibilities of clarification: repression, non-verbalization, veiling of affect.
- *Entrance conditions of the script (of affect-driven situations):* Activator and behavioral response are magnified by affect and vice versa. Affect is unremovable / uneliminable if activated by scenic (e.g. personal or facial) information. The person imitates his/her own acquired reflexes which seem to be short-circuited or automated. This aspect is not voluntarily well-controlled. The avoidance or escape mechanism might be activated, together with the mechanism of producing anger. *Exit conditions of this script (i.e. leaving the situation) are relatively uncontrolled.*

(3) Magnification or amplification of the affect (after Tomkins): What might be the reasons for the amplification of the affect of “aversion, disgust or mistrust”? Humiliation, experienced dominance, quarrels or moodiness, anxiety concerning relational (e.g., marital) changes seem to have played a significant role in continued behavioral avoidance, escape and related stress. That is, existential economic aspects and the need for affiliation and social norms or normative pressure are probably at the basis of this. The features mentioned imply **self-esteem**. Following Kenneth Mark Colby, I regard self-esteem as a **monitor**. Self-esteem **overrides** other functions. Cf Hinze 2006:124 [Self-esteem as a monitor]. This monitor function may explain **magnification** or **amplification**.

(4) Non-communication: Non-communication is trained, and after a few incidents, situations or cases, it is an introduced pattern, selective with re-

gard to certain persons or certain types of persons. *'Alexithymia'* might be a questionable, but feasible label in terms of established psychotherapeutic research (i.e. in the sense of incapability to communicate). But, reviewing the Q'anjob'al data, I would still insist on an intentional component (incidentally, cf Greek θῦμος [thymos] = 'will'), i.e. *reluctancy* to talk or communicate. Non-communication is, of course, not necessarily a neurotic phenomenon but a social attitude characterized by aversion and mental or behavioral reservation or disgust. If the need arises to communicate or to resolve a problem *together*, a technique is necessary in order to reestablish a channel of communication.

Note: Asking the diviner's wife about how her son was, she answered: "No comunicamos" ('we do not communicate'). Cf Ch.5.9.3 & 5.7.

5.8.1.3 Regaining the 'locus of control', not over the other person, but over the problem or issue

The goal is to overcome helplessness, possibly depression or unfreedom.

(1) Reestablishment of communication: Reestablishing communication, or, rather, verbal expression – both focused and contextualized – resolves the blockage and helplessness. Remembering and expressing past episodic features, ideas and feelings which are relevant for the current situation, help to *restructure* the interpersonal relationship with regard to the hidden or suppressed considerations. That means, the situations experienced and one's role in them might become restructured in one's memory in terms of missing elements: (a) being clear oneself and (b) probably clarifying the other person in terms of reconciliation, (c) dissolving the episode(s) and its (their) affective weight in memory.

(2) Communication is action: Communication or verbal expression – in a confession – is action (doing), and means *regaining control over the problem*, not over the other person (the locus of control is problem-focused). I interpret the open declaration (or 'confession') as a shift from (1) the avoidance or flight system, (2) the fight or attack system and/or (3) the anger system to the (4) knowledge and verbal communication system and (5) information-processing system: from affects to the consideration of episodic antecedent-consequence relations and episodes shaping attitudinal features (cf attribution of episodic antecedents and consequences of affects in attribution theory).

5.8.1.4 Intention of reconciliation

The intention of reconciliation forms part of the "open declaration". This is at least the intended spirit of the "open or frank declaration". Cf Ch. 5.5 [Positive case] and 5.9.3 [Negative case]. See Ch. 5.11.3.

(1) Re-creating social order: The intention of reconciliation leads ideally to the reestablishment of the social relationships disturbed (“harmony, reciprocity or balance”).

(2) Psychosociotherapy: We are dealing with a psychosociotherapy; the circle of persons who are supposed to be affected or who are supposed to act and to react can be determined and can participate in the therapy. As mentioned in some of the texts, “social localities” and their supernatural guardians are reconciled in prayer (and ritual) which is analogous to an “open declaration” between human beings (one-way communication only).

(3) Supporting belief system: The belief system supports the pragmatics of reconciliation and helps to restructure and restore social relations in terms of an individual perspective. It provides a mental map of social space.

(4) Healing ‘mistrust’: One meaning component of *kab’k’ulal* is to be considered as ‘unforgiving’, ‘without reconciliation’. Therefore, removing *kab’k’ulal* means to reconcile with each other (cf Paragraph 5.8.1.1).

5.8.1.5 The open declaration as an affect-releasing mechanism: the theoretical interpretation of observational data

(1) Glancing aside and not looking into the eyes of the other person⁴⁰: This might help to *avoid further suppression* of the topic, problem or issue as well as further *manipulation* of or by the other person or even self-suppression in terms of one’s own escape, fantasies or plans. Avoiding mutually centered eye contact means: it is neither hate, nor love, nor mistrust, nor aversion, nor objection, nor pity, nor sadness, nor dominance with regard to the other person and to one’s own version, nor an attempt to convince.

(2) Uttering the episodes, focussing on the topic and not on the shared development of an argument – or even on a shared feeling – with the other person: The case of a confession spoken simultaneously by a couple as reported in Ch. 5.7 (16.6.81) emphasizes the process of uttering, and not of listening and reacting to the partner’s ideas. Communication is verbal ejection of emotionally charged, burdensome or oppressive ideas.

(3) Not dwelling upon the affect: Emphasis is not on emotion, its elaboration or deepening, but on relevant episodes, cognitive features and possibly sentiments. This means, the antecedents and consequences of the affect are specified. A(n affective or information-based neuronal) resonance

⁴⁰ In a meeting with *Principales* (dignitaries) on July 1, 2006, I could verify this Point in terms of questions, graphic sketches and photographs. The *Alcalde Rezador* for the year of 2006, Miguel Paíz, and the former *Sacristán* in 1981, Miguel Bernabé, who still knew me (age 84 in 2006), were present.

is closed (1) by *binding to* one or several *episodes*, and (2) by *binding to* a newly and formally established *behavioral metalevel of conscious control*, the “open or frank declaration”. This level allows expression and, thus, disambiguation and decay, stopping or completion of the resonance. The episodes are *contextualized*. The structure of a “confession” in topical or thematic terms can be inferred from the following outlines as suggested in Ch. 5.3.1 [Comm 9-17, especially 19], 5.4.1 [Comm 7-8], 5.5.1 [Comm 4-8], 8.2.3 [Points 20, 21], 9.3 [Comm 16], 6.3 [Comm 7].

(4) Explaining the therapeutic effect in terms of the neurobiological mechanism of *habituation* or *decay*: In contrast to affect-schema formation, we are dealing with an *optimizing mechanism* by means of which a quasi-repetition of the situation possibly simulates, completes, deletes or corrects the affective resonances.

I tend to think about this function in terms of an amusing anecdote: Somebody is falling asleep in bed when he hears his neighbor playing a classical piece of music, the neighbor stops abruptly leaving the last movement unfinished. The man cannot help but rise from his bed, and sitting down at his own piano, finish the piece of music himself.

As an *example*, cf Vinogradova & Brazhnik 1978 (in: Weiskrantz 1978:145): With normal septohippocampal connection, extracellular sensory stimuli produce habituating reactions in the hippocampus. But there is no habituation after septohippocampal dissection, lesion (in the tractus perforans) or, e.g., absent hippocampal input to the septum. [An intact feedback loop between the hippocampus and the septum seems to be necessary.] An explanation in terms of the two theta-wave generators in the hippocampus and gyrus dentatus – 180° out of phase with regard to each other and thus deleting each other – is possible (cf Schwartzkroin & Muller 1987). In accord with bioresonance theory, this can, perhaps, be regarded as a mechanism for deleting the resonances of, e.g., the heavy metals or of other disturbances [Actually, there is a third generator in hippocampal area CA3c.]. Resumé: It seems that an inhibition (or binding or deletion) of the resonances becomes activated.

(5) Note: The *therapeutical theory* has been reconstructed in terms of pragmatic-behavioral (e.g. verbal ejection), cognitive-conscious (system of conscious control, contextualization, episodic outlines, conscious attitude of reconciliation) and physiological *functions*.

5.8.2 ‘Immediate resonance neurons’ of disgust – a theoretical outline (after Gallese et al)

(1) ‘Disgust’: Disgust is understood as being a central component of mistrust or of the Q’anjob’al concept of *kab’k’ulal*.

(2) Mirror neurons: The theory of ‘mirror neurons’ (Gallese et al 2003) can be applied here: disgust is interpreted on the basis of shared neurons

when observing another person's disgust and when feeling a disgust oneself. This will hold for different situations.

(3) Mutual neuronal activation: A reaction of (having or understanding) disgust involves 'immediate resonance neurons' (a subclass of 'mirror neurons') which can be mutually activated.

(4) 'Direct perception': There might, thus, be more direct neurobiotic perception and affective information-processing involved in the diviner's consultations, especially on the diviner's side. This would presuppose the existence of a different channel of perception and information access.

(5) Data integration: The phenomenon of resonances has a neurobiotic substrate and helps us to integrate Tomkins's and Gallese's (et al) research and our Q'anjob'al data.

5.9 Legal advice

5.9.1 Analytical overview

The following case concerns a woman from San Juan Ixcoy who visits the diviner together with her two sons, one of them being some 8 years old. The marriage is about to break down, her husband is courting a new woman. The husband has dreamed about his new mistress. The female client's husband had dreamed that he had locked his new mistress together with her – the mistress's – child in jail, with him acting in the role of a "Regidor" (town councilman or alderman). The client's husband said that his mistress urinated and defecated on his hands in the dream. The client would like to know what the dream signifies.

The diviner obviously knew the client by name as well as her case. The diviner sorts out negative thoughts against the husband's mistress and their common child, and directs the female client's thinking towards existential survival.

The diviner obviously regards the dream as an indication of an aspect which only concerns the client's husband and his new mistress. It is up to them to put that in order, and the female client should abstain from interference or from second thoughts, especially if her husband and his mistress have started to purify themselves, e.g. in terms of a "confession". The diviner finally interprets the dream as an indication of a pending punishment for the client's husband.

The diviner wants to find out if the children present in the divination are children which the female client has together with her husband or with somebody else. In asking the question, the diviner asks for pardon should he insult her. The woman agrees that they are their common children. If

her sons think otherwise she should not quarrel, the diviner says. The woman should stick to the plot, i.e. the piece of land which her husband has to hand over. She should get legal title in favor of their son. The diviner is quite adamant on how to proceed: verifying the birth register ('cédula', i.e. identity card of the boy(s)); measuring the land; transfer of the plot as a legal land title). In case of a quarrel, there will be the Alcalde (the mayor) in the Juzgado (town hall) in his capacity as a 'low-ranking juez de paz' (justice of the peace). If her husband is not yet in possession of the title to the land, he himself first has to make legal arrangements with Juan Antonio, the land manager and land distributor of the finca "Helvetia" (Dep. de Escuintla; cf Ch. D.2 incl. Note 8). The diviner offers personal help to the female client. People who worked on that finca (plantation) could acquire land for work. Details are given in the text. The diviner talks to the children and to their mother, i.e. the female client, and says that they should stay with her, and that she should take care of them. He also says the children should not insult their mother nor their father though he might be a bad character.

5.9.2 Translated text and analytical commentary

From: #30A/B; Hinz 1991/I:169-173, 176-179, 184, II:151-154, 156-159, 162-163.

Diviner: (1) But now, Madam, pardon! For what reason do you have a mistrust, do you have sorrows? You shall live together with him, you shall stay with him because he has children together with you. But in case that you think of going elsewhere, you will act in the same way as this woman, so it says. [He] has to die, ha ha, why, deceived is one woman, deceived is the other woman.

Female client: So it is, Sir.

<Commentary 1: The diviner confirms a mistrust with the female client. He starts out to insist that she should stay with her husband because she has a family with him. This position of the diviner changes later. 'Equal to the other woman' means possibly 'to follow another man'. Both women are deceived, according to the diviner's value judgement.>

Diviner: (2) Do you know the hook [which might get you into a deadlock], or don't you know it? Deception, deception (...) It is immature behavior which he is now doing. He isn't doing good right now. But take care of your children!

<Commentary 2: The diviner criticizes the client's husband because of his behavior. He redirects the female client's attention to her children.>

Female client: (3) Yes, so it is, Sir. For, possibly, I am having bad luck, and therefore I have come to ask some questions. Either it concerns my children, so I speak to myself, [or] if it is his daughter (with the other woman) who is having bad luck. So it is roughly, well, because he tries to find out about it as he said, you know.

Diviner: Okay, okay don't—, don't interfere with it, don't do that, don't mess it up!

<Commentary 3: The female client is preoccupied with the possibility that she and her children are the recipients of the dream's message, indicating bad luck for her or her children. The diviner strictly informs her that it is the problem of her husband and his mistress and not her problem. The diviner draws a strict line of responsibilities and throws out anything which is not of importance for the solution of the current problem. This implies a rigorous reduction in terms of social implication, affective charge and content structure. It gives us an idea about how to manage a complex existential problem.>

Female client: (4) Yes, so it is, Sir.

Diviner: Settle down, sit down (i.e. stay), what else should we do?

Female client: Yes, Sir.

Diviner: Thank God, there is still a piece of land which he has given to you. If there is still something he has allotted to you, settle down, sit down on this terrain. For you will see what will still happen.

Female client: Yes, so it is, Sir.

<Commentary 4: The diviner becomes more specific on how to resolve the existential situation of the woman and her children. He points out that she has a right to a plot of land which her husband has to allot to her. She should stay there and settle on it.>

Diviner: (5) It is a treasure (a blessing)—, only, so that I will not insult you, [but] are they children of his, children by Matías and you, Madam, or are they coming from another side, or is their father different? Or how are things, ha, ha, ha?

Female client: No, Sir, they are with him.

Diviner: They smile, ha, ha, ha, they smile, yes.

Female client: Perhaps my father is somebody else, oh, he might well say to himself, ha, ha, ha.

Diviner: Ha, ha, ha, then you must bear it.

Female client: Yes, Sir.

Diviner: Don't be stubborn, and neither shall you quarrel.

Female client: Alright, Sir.

Diviner: If you quarrel, then all is lost, ha, ha, ha. Do not do the same as him. Let him [do] what he does. Only settle down, sit down, stay.

Female client: Yes, Sir, so it is.

<Commentary 5: The diviner verifies if she has had her sons with her husband, Don Matías (i.e., if he is the father). She should accept doubts about her version which possibly may be expressed by her children. She should not quarrel with her husband and retaliate, but simply let him go without further emotional involvement. She should stay on her, or, rather, her children's property.>

Diviner: (6) The time will already come, the time will already come when something will happen to him. Then he will notice it, then he will reflect about it, what the punishment looks like which will haunt him. There is a punishment which will come. Well, it is not the case that—, ah—

Female client: Well, over my husband, so to say?

Diviner: Yes, so it is, [it will come] over the father of this boy, you know, ha, ha, ha.

Female client: Yes, so it is, Sir, he really speaks so, too.

Diviner: Ha, ha, ha.

Female client: He says, therefore at least he dreams as I have said, and therefore he dreams that he messes himself with urine, as he said, therefore—, who knows who it is.

Diviner: It is he himself who destroys himself. What does he deceive you for, and also these sons and also the other woman, whom he takes along (...) and also the other son who was born? Isn't it only one, as you said, as I have heard, or how—?

Female client: Yes, so it is, yes.

<Commentary 6: The diviner finally interprets the dream of the client's husband. The interpretation by the diviner is a moral one: The dream hints at a punishment. The client's husband deceives both women and their children, and ruins himself. The diviner does not elaborate on this issue. [Actually, the husband has a daughter with his mistress.]>

Diviner: (7) And these boys, and the boys here, they are the first [ones], well, these boys are those who have accordingly the rights [no matter] how many they are. *<Turning to the elder son:>* Well, now, children I only talk to you, you must get the document quickly, you must get the [title of property] quickly. “Are we your children, father, or are we not your children,” you say together with your brother here. Get the document (the title of property). Then, if he says “No”, there is that superordinate to us (lit.: above

us), there is the office [of the *Alcalde*], then, you will show up there, thus, they will already come with you, and then you (i.e. the client) will give them (the boys) their rights. “Why won’t my father give me my plot? Whose offspring am I according to the *cédula* (the identity card) or according to the birth certificate?” And then we will go to the Tesorería (office in the town hall), there it will still be put in order. For God’s sake, why does he make you cry, does he make you sad? (...) For God’s sake, you shall verify your right. <The counseling continues.>

<Commentary 7: The relationship with this woman is the first her husband had. According to Guatemalan law (around 1981), inheritance, including land property, goes to the (male) children of the first union, exclusively. “They are the first ones”, “they have, accordingly, the right (to inherit)”. The diviner turns to the sons. They have to verify their descent, that is the status of Don Matías as being their father, in formal terms, i.e., in accordance with the *cédula* (identity card), the birth register. They have to get the land title. If the father refuses to do so, the *Alcalde*, the mayor of the town as “*Juez de Paz*”, will intervene in favor of the sons. Documentation in the *Alcaldía*, the *tesorería* (the register), is the basis.>

Female client: (8)...Therefore it is— <cries> (...)

Diviner: Do not cry, no—, do not cry, Madam. Oh, till it is ascertained how large the plot is, well, although his daughter intervenes. Although a certain woman (i.e. the husband’s mistress) intervenes, therefore you fight for it, therefore! If he doesn’t want that, then we still have to go to this holy office. “But where do I go (i.e. turn) to? What [else] shall I do?”, you say. <To the boys:> You, you will ascertain it. But our (= your) mother here does not intervene for it anymore. (...) [I:173]

<Commentary 8: The diviner turns to the emotional aspect of the client’s problem who obviously feels helpless and starts to cry. Even if there should be a fight with the new woman, the legal situation is clear and requires resistance in terms of attitude and action on the mother’s part. The boys legally have the right and are encouraged to act. Thus, the diviner helps to overcome helplessness.>

<To the female client:> (9) “Let me come to the town,” you say. You shall not let these children run from one side to the other (between you and your husband). But what will the children eat in the distant future? They are sons, in such a way that they shall occupy their father’s land, in such a way that they shall appropriate his land, definitely. But all the [others] still remain outside this [ruling]. But secondly, definitely get the title of property for it. (...)

Press for the title of property, it is only the title of property which will document your property. Or how is it?

<Commentary 9: The female client will settle in the town. There will be no ambiguity for the children in terms of their affiliation, housing and living, according to the diviner's concept. The diviner appeals to the legal Guatemalan situation ("all the [others] still remain outside this [ruling]"). Documentation of property is considered to be decisive.>

Female client: (10) No, Sir. For as he always said, he always wanted me to go with him to the plantation, one year ago, two years ago. As he says, for we might only get ill. "I at least go to earn money," he says, "and the document shall be arranged in—, in the *Juzgado*," he says, and therefore, perhaps, I would like at least—, perhaps to join him in leaving, Sir, as I say to myself (...)

<Commentary 10: The female client talks about her husband's suggestion to join him in working on a plantation. He is said to have the intention to get the document arranged in the town hall (Alcaldía, Juzgado). The client is inclined towards joining her husband's leaving for the plantation.>

Diviner: (11) No, not in the *Juzgado*, but only with Juan Antonio it is. It is him who shall put it into order because it is the land of Juan Antonio, there in Jolomhuitz, ha, ha, ha.

Female client: Ah.

Diviner: There we go in order to reach an agreement. If you agree, we will talk to him. It is Juan Antonio (...) "No", if Juan Antonio says that, then— How often you might go to the plantation, but he says "No!" (...) It is only Juan Antonio. But if Matías has already received it, if Matías has already received the property title, then only a copy is drawn and then the transfer of your land is completed properly.

<Commentary 11: The diviner is alarmed and makes the correction that it is the representative of the well-known finca 'Helvetia' in the Departamento de Escuintla who has to verify and concede the land property title (in exchange for work on that plantation). The diviner offers personal help to talk to this representative. Things will be easy if the client's husband has already received the land property title.>

Female client: (12) That is what he says at least, he has already received the document, he has already received it, so he says as I hear. For then, he only needs to go to the *Juzgado* in order to give his signature, as he says. Then it will be perfectly all right in this *Juzgado*, as he certainly said. There he arranged his land title in favor of his brother-in-law, completely.

It was just in the *Juzgado* that the land title was definitely produced for his brother-in-law. And then he transferred it to his brother-in-law, because he owned land which he sold to his brother-in-law, in Jolomhuitz (village of S.J. Ixcoy).

Diviner: Ah, why does he sell the land? We shall not do so! Therefore, we are not about to sell the land. Juan Antonio didn't want that. Therefore he renounced (waived) the land (...) in the *Juzgado* of "Helvetia" (a *finca* in the Departamento de Escuintla). Therefore then we do not pay with obligations (of labor service of 80 days per year) anymore. If not we would now still be under obligations (of labor service).

Female client: Yes, so it is, Sir. (...)

<Commentary 12: The female client talks about the documented selling of a piece of land by the husband to his brother-in-law. The diviner vigorously talks against any selling of land. He points out the character of the agreement between Juan Antonio and the Finca Helvetia (cf Ch. D.2, Note 8).>

Diviner: (13) [I:176] In any case, if these children aren't all his own (...) then they have no rights, – that is, if not all these children bear his name or if all the children got his name by birth there in the town hall (*alcaldía*) – then the land is not your property, ha, ha, that is according to the law.

Female client: Well, yes, they have his name at least, his name. At least he went to register. When they were born, sure he went to this *Juzgado* in order to notify (register). For he also got the papers for them.

Diviner: So things are. The children do not [need to] go [else]where.

Female client: Yes, so it is, Sir.

Diviner: Even if she has a son as a further child, they are here those who have the right to dispose of the land, depending on who has the papers, the writing and the document. If he possesses it then they are here those who have to take possession of it. <Turning to the son> He is the person, therefore–, because he is the oldest son as we would like to point out (lit.: to say) (...)

<Commentary 13: The diviner points out the legal situation again, but the female client confirms that their sons got the identity papers in the father's name. Children of the first union inherit the land, especially, if the mistress interfered with the marriage. Procedure: (1) Verification of descent, (2) verification of land titles, (3) assessment of the inheritance of land property.>

Diviner: (14) [I:177] Yes, why does he cheat you, ah. Here it is possible that a misfortune can happen if you want to enter into a quarrel [with the

other woman and her child]. Otherwise it is quite feasible that we can regulate it (...) [II:157] Ah, do not quarrel, do not yell, let it be! Only observe what he will do, how he will act. What he is about to do, it doesn't matter. It is a door to your right of disposal which you are waiting for. It is your right of disposal you are waiting for so that your children will stay on that land (...) In any case, you will stay with them (the children). Young man <to the boy>, you will not go somewhere [else], your mother will stay with you, young man. (...)

<Commentary 14: The diviner repeats the warning against a quarrel with the husband or, rather, his mistress. The client shall not become emotionally involved (“only observe...”). The diviner admonishes the mother and her sons to stay together and not to join the husband, or, rather, the father of the children.>

Diviner: (15) [I:178] What is it good for that you go with him to the plantation? Let it be! He shall go to the plantation, he shall experiment a little bit, as it says here now (...) Yes, it is your work you shall do, your food, your drink, all that you shall prepare yourself, in our town, with our saint. Thus you shall do it (...) on your piece of land which he has given to you (...) Let him do all this, let him do it. He shall go and screw around with her, he shall really do it! It must be in our town, in our house where he gives you the right of disposal [over a plot], yes. Or does all that which you sow not grow well? Sow your vegetables, sow your *milpa*, sow your beans or sow whatever, for these sons are male persons [who could help you], ha, ha, ha, ha (...) [I:179] Well, Madam, for if you go to the plantation–, it is never possible, no permission is given here, ha, ha (...) Even if you do not have a cross, even if you do not have a house, you shall work, for you shall eat, for you shall drink by means of your work. Your hands are dirty [when] you eat, drink. You shall instruct your sons: “Go and carry our fertilizer there, my children, go and carry our fertilizer, so that we–, *mata* for *mata*, *mata* for *mata*⁴¹, [we] will [have] our vegetables, our *chilacayotes*, our beans, our maize plants, our food, our beverages.

<Commentary 15: The client and her sons shall stay in the home town (“with our saint”). On their own plot they shall do their own work, produce their own food and drink. He specifies the crops: vegetables, maize, beans, etc. The sons are able to help in the work. The diviner becomes very normative: The female client shall not join the husband in going to the plantation (“no permission is given here”). Even if they do not have a house of their own, with the family cross and the proper inaugural ceremo-

⁴¹ *Mata* (Span.) = ‘bush, stalk, stem’; implying a “spatial concept”.

nies, they shall stay in the town, and on the land. She shall instruct her sons in agricultural work. She shall detach herself from her husband emotionally and she shall not bother (“Let him do all this, let him do it. He shall go and screw around with her, he shall really do it!”).>

(16) If the [sons] will not obey [to] what you will say, then they will necessarily be disadvantaged, ha, ha, ha (...) <*To the elder son of the client:*> For when your mother instructs you, young man—, what is his name?

Female client: He is Gilberto, Sir.

Diviner (to the boy): Gilberto, although we do not have a rope, although we must use something as our fertilizer, we will go to collect it, but we have to get our fertilizer from somewhere. What will we get our fertilizer for? Because we want to have a *mata* of beans, we want to have a *mata* of maize, we want to have a *mata* of *chilacayote*, or we want to have whatsoever we want to sow, one *mata*. But though we have no *mecapal* (tump-line), we will still figure out (*lit.* it will still be resolved) how we have to seize it. It is by *mata*, *mata* by *mata* we will have work here. Then, we want to eat, as my mother here (i.e. the diviner’s wife) has said, my mother, the *Alcaldeza*. It will follow how we will get a pound of salt, a pound of crude brown sugar (*panela*) or a pound of maize or whatever. But it is with your work that your hands are dirty, not that your hands are clean, that your hands are dirty with your fertilizer. So it is that we will eat.

<*Commentary 16: In an insistent move, the diviner turns to Gilberto, the elder son, and speaks to him, specifying the meaning of work: He talks about the fertilizer, and where to get it from, about the different crops, maize, beans, chilacayote, etc. He talks about the task to stay inventive and figure out the components of agricultural work. Salt, sugar, maize are specified as goods to be obtained. Agricultural work means to get dirty hands.*>

(17) For if you will follow your father, my youngster, then it is impossible. Look at your father’s affair, look how he cheats both women. Here it is never possible. Well, see you again, see you again, Madam <*The female client asks the diviner to continue.*> (...)

Diviner: [I:184; II:162f] Pardon, do not cry, do not be sad.

Female client: Yes, Sir.

Diviner: Well, your children are those you shall care for.

Female client: Yes, Sir.

<*Commentary 17: The diviner continues to talk to the client’s son and summarizes his position on the father’s behavior. The diviner consoles the*

client in her distress or sadness who is crying, redirecting her attention to the task ahead: that she shall care for her children.>

*Diviner <again to the children>: (18) Do not mistreat [her], children, do not be disobedient towards your mother here. You shall at least walk a bit behind her. God will say how you will get your drink, child, [you together] with your other brother. Make sure to be cautious. So speaks the diviner, as you say, because it is that way, that way it is that he gives instructions. It is not me (i.e. you) who gives the instructions. You shall not insult your mother, do not insult her, you know, like Sr. Matías. Shitty Matías, do not insult [him] either! He will give you a little bit of land. Luckily, there is some [land] on which you can live, yes, ha, ha, ha, ha. Then it is that what you will do. For the document of partitioning the land, the official document (land title) will get arranged. Oh, insist on it, that house, not–, it is not necessary for you to live in that large house, boy. There is still some property of our (=your) mother here which she has left. Then he shall give the official document (title of property) to you, he shall carry out the transfer, but in accordance with Juan Antonio, he is the person who shall hand it over. It is Juan Antonio who has the terrain at his disposal. And then we will go to the office [of the mayor], and then we will–, our *Síndico Municipal* (in charge of the land register), he is at least still [the person] who measures how many *cuerdas* it will be for each, how it turns out piece (plot) for piece (plot), you know, how large the strip of land may be for each [person]. What [else] shall we do? For, as for the land, it is not easy to find another place there. No, God, our Lord, will certainly say how it must be. Our mother, the Virgin Mary, will say what it is, as she says. They will tell [you] where we (=you) will eat, where we (=you) will drink. [It is] only that the right of disposal [of the land] remains with us (=you) if we have a piece [of land], so it says, so it is said, young man <addressing the boy>. Good bye, Madam.*

<Commentary 18: The diviner admonishes the client's sons to respect her, to abstain from disobedience and insults. They shall not insult the father either who is supposed to hand over a plot of his land property (despite the diviner's remark of calling him "shitty Matías [Matías mierda]"). Living in the main house is not the central issue. The diviner, again insists on the proceeding: transfer of the land in accordance with the representative of the finca, Juan Antonio. The diviner offers to accompany them when going to the "Síndico Municipal" in order to measure the land. Thus, the diviner offers help and relief in an existentially difficult and decisive situation.>

**5.9.3 A case of therapeutic contrast:
no reconciliation or open declaration ('confession') intended**

The female client asks for a divination about her mother's health. The diviner specifies that her mother will continue to live but that her mother should not have a feeling of mistrust about the local place and the family, i.e. the female client and her children. The diviner turns again to the female client [Hinz 1991/I: 183f]:

Diviner: Ah, it is necessarily your turn now, Madam, and are you sure that you will stay together with Matías, or—, or are you only thinking in your interior to belittle him?

Female client: Who knows, Sir, for we do not put anything into order, as he certainly says, listen, and therefore we have an aversion against each other. "You do not arrange anything at all with me, you do not put anything at all into order with me. Let it be, for I will certainly go to the plantation," says he. "Therefore I set out, as I think." But when he said that, I said to myself, "let it be," and therefore I have now certainly given up the idea (i.e. of staying together), no. "As I have said, I still had some debts when I fell ill," as he says, "and therefore I thought of leaving." As he says now, as it is said: "My child earns money already," as he says. "But why do I tell you that? It is, however, certainly the case that my debts have now to be paid back. You are hardly going to give me the money," as I now hear and as we want to say, "because of my debts. And therefore I leave, as I say, well, and therefore it is unimportant, you shall put nothing into order" (...) But there are still debts where he has to travel to, so it says. "In any case, you are hardly going to come with me," as I now hear. "And therefore, I think, we talk to you and therefore we consult with you," as he says. But as I say, "I have no interest, and I have now certainly ceased [to think about it], as we now communicate with you." And it is certainly only God, [who knows], what I will do as I now say. For so it is certainly that he (the husband) [can do what] he wants [to do], as you have said, imagine—

Diviner: Yes.

Female client: It is God who will arrange it, who will arrange it, imagine.

Diviner: But now, you shall settle down, well, our (=your) mother, she has life and health, but she has sorrows because of you, she has sorrows because of the boys here (...) if you will perhaps have life and health or if perhaps both these sons have life and health with Juan Matías.

Female client: Yes, that certainly is it what my mother thinks, because—, because she certainly sees how things are with us (...)

Diviner: Well now, you shall not think about it (*or*: brood over it), so it says [in the divination] (...) If you brood [too] much over it, then a fever will certainly enter your heart (...) and then one after the other will die...

<*The client starts to cry.*>

<**Commentary:**> *The diviner asks for the female client's intention and determination to stay together with the husband. 'We do not want to reconcile, express and cleanse in terms of problems and ideas' is the message and that is the reason for a continuing feeling of mistrust or aversion against each other. The mutual sentiment stays negative. The husband is obviously not interested in, and does not want, a reconciliation and an open declaration of the problems. He tells her to stop thinking about it and, therefore, she comes to the same conclusion.*

The husband has debts which he must repay. He wants to go to work on a plantation (finca) to earn the money. Some details are commented on:

(1) "My child earns money already," as he says: *The husband obviously thinks about taking at least the elder son to the plantation as an addition to the work force.*

(2) "...because of my debts. And therefore I leave, as I say, well, and therefore it is unimportant, you shall put nothing into order" : *The husband refuses to reconcile and tells the client to stop ritual therapy and clearance.*

(3) "In any case, you are hardly going to come with me," as I now hear: *The husband is obviously aversive to taking his wife to the plantation.*

(4) But as I say, "I have no interest, and I have now certainly ceased [to think about it], as we now communicate with you": *The client communicates her disinterest in the relationship and in its maintenance.*

(5) It is God who will arrange it: *This summarizes the helplessness of the female client and underlines the reaction by crying of the female client. The locus of control of the problems is allocated to God.*

The female client reports an emotionally strong argument and quarrel. It involves a hair-raising idea about the family (child labor for canceling the debts) and a blunt breaking-off of marital bonds. This part of the dialog demonstrates the importance of clearing one's own wants or intentions and one's own attitude. The attitudinal prerequisite for entering into an open declaration ('confession') is emphasized and must not be overlooked.

Looking at the whole consultation session, it seems to me that it reflects the course of the couple's communication process as well as their finding of the decision with regard to the relationship. This fact comes close to assessing the conditions (of the relationship), the contents (verbatim quoted

quarrel as part of the relevant episodes) and, in contrast, the effects of an open declaration.

5.10 A theory of (Q'anjob'al) counseling

(1) Proposals are existential, long-term and sustained, instead of short-term satisfaction.

(2) Land property must be documented in order to gain legal value.

(3) No revenge, a peaceful, but legalized settlement. No double thoughts, no negative thoughts, emotions or fantasies.

(4) Children stay with the person who would offer the most care (in this case the mother).

(5) The diviner offers personal help with the administration, i.e. the "Alcalde" (mayor) in the town hall and the "Síndico" (land registrar and surveyor) in the "tesorería", as well as with the representative of the Finca Helvetia.

(6) He details procedures and legally binding agents.

(7) The hypothesis that divination and the role of the diviner in Maya communities contribute to social control, e.g. also with regard to the suppression of witchcraft accusations, killings and violence in general⁴², is supported by my limited normative and psychosociotherapeutic data.

(8) Practical advice includes the acceptance of provisional housing, provisional fertilizer, and hard work, but on one's own plot of land.

(9) Existence is defined in terms of land, housing, food, drink, work in cooperation and legal safety. Food is specified in terms of crops.

(10) The diviner insists on the clarification of personal wants, intentions and decisions [Hinz 1991/I:175; II:155]:

Female client: But he now says that I should stay in his house, as he says, he has chickens, he has dogs and cats, you know, and therefore I shall stay in his house as he says.

Diviner: Well, what now, **will you stay or won't you?**

Female client: Anyway, therefore it is the case, as he says, that—

Diviner: **It is still you who has to make up your mind if you will stay or if you will not stay.**

Female client: But what, but—, no, Sir, my mother went in order to find out about his reasons at least from a different side [i.e., independently], and she asked [him], if—, if he would go and leave that woman [his mistress] in his house. "And your child will go together with his mistress to the plantation (*finca*)," [says my mother]. "And maybe the woman hates me," says he (my son) in the same way as my mother [says?] <probably referring to the client's mother's opinion>, you know. So it is that I come

⁴² B.N. Colby comparing Chiapas with the Ixil area around 1970 or 1973, personal communication.

to ask [you] for advice. Maybe it is true, we do not know it. But each of us is not thinking the same. Perhaps the woman will hate my child, that woman shall not go together with [my son] (...) for working on the plantation, as [my mother] thinks.

5.11 Summary: a truly psychosomatic therapy based on reconciliation

Referring to the text analyses in Ch. 5.2-5.6 and to the observational data in Ch. 5.7 as well as to the theoretical analyses in Ch. 5.8 we are dealing with a truly psychosomatic therapy which concentrates on the concept(s) and episodes of ‘mistrust’, or rather, ‘aversion’, resulting behaviorally in the reluctancy to talk or to communicate. In terms of comparative anthropology, the Q’anjob’al concept of an open declaration is potentially a novel procedural concept and a theoretically intriguing case.

5.11.1 Distribution of therapeutic and consultative elements

The Table 1 below contains the following information on therapeutic features or concepts in the published consultations (Hinz 1991/I&II):

- A: Consultation *sessions* (cassette number: #) vs. divinations as *cases of separate problems*, also within the same consultation session (appended numbers: -1, -2, etc.). Several divinations may be lumped together as one separate case if they belong to the same context.
- B: Reference to the published edition (Hinz 1991/I: or II:).
- C: Reference to the text quoted in this book.
- D: The concept of ‘reconciliation’ (= ‘being patient’, ‘asking for pardon’, ‘eating in peace’). Reconciliation only *indirectly implied* by reference to the norm of confession or prayer is *not* counted. Cf Ch. 5.11.2.
- E: The concepts of ‘confession’; ‘prayer’ & ‘offering’ (viewed as confession-analog). Cf Chs. 5.1/2, 5.4.3, 5.5; 5.7/8; 5.9.3; 10.4(4).
- F: The concept of ‘mistrust’, ‘sorrow’ or ‘worry’. Cf Ch. 1.4.
- G: The concept of ‘(Lord of) illness’. Cf Ch. 1.5.
- H: Places of ritual, i.e. prayer and offering: Own house (*H*) or (grand-)parents’ House (*H**) / Cemetery (*C*) / Church (*Ch*) / Place of prayer, e.g. ‘oyeb’ konob’’ (*5*) / *Ordenanza* (*O*). Cf Ch. 1.1.1 [Places].
- I: The concept of ‘fault’ or ‘quarrel’ (incl. ‘beating’). Cf Ch. 1.3
- J: A *k’exel* relationship (cf Ch. D.6.1) and/or a house deserted and to be kept or to be occupied.
- K: Initial problem: Illness / Omen / Dream / etc. Cf Ch. 3.1.

A: Consul-tat./Case	B: Hinz 1991/I+II	C: Page here	D: Recon-ciliation	E: Confess. / Prayer	F: Mistrust	G: Illness	H: Places of ritual	I: Fault/ Quarrel	J: House/ k'exel	K: Initial problem
#17B-1	I:22-; II:22-	279		X	X	X	H;C;Ch	X		Illness
#18A-1	I:31-; II:30-	110	(X)	(X)		X	H;C;		X	Omen
#18A-2	I:36-; II:35-		X		X					Illness
#20A-1	I:38-; II:37-	175 256	X	X	X		H;C;Ch	X		Dream
#20A-2	I:57-; II:54-	116	(X)	X	X	X	H;(Ch?)			Illness
#20B-1	I:64-; II:60-	155	X	X	X	X	H;C;Ch			Money Loss
#20B-2	I:71-; II:66-	161 213	X	X	X	X		X	X	Illness
#20B-3	I:76-; II:70-		(X)			X	H;C	X		Illness
#22A	I:82-; II:75-	111		X	X	X		X		Illness
#23B-1	I:88-; II:80-	141								Future marriage
#23B-2	I:92-; II:84	116 220	X	X	(X)	X ?	H;C;Ch	X		Military (Future)
#24A-1-3	I:101-; II:92-	228	X	X	X	X	H;H*; 5;Ch	X	X	Illness
#29A-1	I:118-; II:107-					X				Health?
#29A-2	I:121-; II:110-	143						X?		Split of househ.
#29A-3	I:124-; II:112-	137	X		X	X	H;C;Ch	(X)		Dream
#29A-4	I:126-; II:114-	218								Work in the US
#29A-5	I:128-; II:116-		(X)	X	X	X			X?	Preg-nancy
#29A-6	I:130-; II:118-	135			X			X		New re-sidence
#29A-7	I:134; II:121	217		X	X?					Busi-ness trip
#29A/B-1	I:136-; II:122-		X	X		X	H;(H*)		X	Illness
#29A/B-2	I:143-; II:128-	114	X	X				X		Preg-nancy
#29A/B-3	I:145-; II:130-	115				X		X		Health
#29A/B-4,5	I:146-; II:131- I:149-; II:133-	266 270	(X)	X	(X)	X		X	X	Death; Resi-dence
#30A-1	I:155-; II:138-		X	X	X	X	H?;H*?	X	X	Illness
#30A-2,3	I:162-; II:144-	126	X	X		X	H*;H; Ch;O;5		(X)	Illness
#30A/B-1,2	I:169-; II:150- I:175-; II:155-	192 253	X(also neg.)		X	X		X		Dream/ Work/ Divorce

#30A/B -3,4	I:180; II:159		X	X	X	X		X		Health (Pregn.)
#30A/B -5	I:181-; II:160-				X					Health
#30B/ 31A-1	I:186-; II:164-	167	X	(X)	(X)	X	(5*)	X		Health
#30B/ 31A-2	I:193; II:170		(X)	(X)	(X)			X		Health
#30B/ 31A-3,4	I:193-; II:171-	262 264	X	X	X	X	H?;C?	X		Black magic?
#31A	I:198-; II:174-	316	(X)	X	X	X		X	X	Health
#39A- 1,2	Ms.	300	(X)	X	X			X	(X)	Health/ Future

Table 1: Distribution of therapeutic and consultative features in the sample of published cases of divinations and consultations

The following tabulation enables us to assess the structure of the data in terms of different *units of investigation*, i.e. as *consultations* vs. *different / separate problem cases*, as well as in terms of *feature dimensions*:

Dimension ——— <i>Unit of In- vestigation</i>	Confession / Prayer (E)	Reconci- liation (D)	Mistrust (F)	Quarrel / Fault (I)	Illness (G)	House deserted / K'exel (J)
<i>Consulting Sessions</i> $\Sigma=14$	14	12	13	13	13	8
<i>Separate Problems</i> $\Sigma=33$	22	23	23	21	22	10

Table 2: ‘Units of investigation’ and ‘(Feature) dimensions’

Note: D-G/I may imply each other; J is a different content component. Quantitatively, the structure of D-G/I seems to be conserved with the different units of investigation.

5.11.2 Reconciliation in prayer or open declaration (‘confession’)

1. Reconciliation (*Q’anj. mimank’ulal* = ‘forgiving’, ‘patience’) – within the context of an open declaration or a prayer – is a behavioral attitude, a (verbal) action and a state of personal and interpersonal harmony. In talking about reconciliation, the **categorical supplement** of reconciliation, i.e. the relational aspect in terms of linguistics, is brought out in the text analyzed in Ch. 1.3: [*topical object:*] *y-et ha-mam* = ‘the (faults) caused by your father’; [*topical object:*] *ha-pensar* = ‘your thoughts (in content)’.

The action is referred to by the verb *jatne* (*vt*) = ‘to put into order’, or *aq’ wal mimank’ulal* (*vt*) = ‘forgive!’ (imperative). Interpersonal harmony is referred to by the expression *em pas* (*Span.-Q’anj.*) = ‘in peace’; verbal expression: *kam chaq’on en pas, ma man chaq’on en pas...?* = ‘do you make peace or not?’ [Hinz 1991/II:168] (Ch. 5.5.1(4)). Cf Dicc. Q’anj. 170: *Junk’ulal* (*junk’ulal w-et*) = ‘tranquilos, paz, harmonía’ (= ‘tranquility’, ‘peace’, ‘harmony’). Note the difference between (a) actively ‘conceding reconciliation/pardon’ (‘forgiving’) = *aq’ wal mimank’ulal* and (b) receptively ‘asking for reconciliation/pardon’ = (*ha-*)*q’an mimank’ulal*.

The **relational definition** of reconciliation in the Q’anjob’al texts seems to correspond to the following features and social dimensions, for example: ‘no quarrel’, ‘no physical aggression or harm’, ‘sympathy’, ‘affection’ in the case of *a couple*; ‘amiability’, ‘friendliness’, ‘recognition’ in the case of *parents (-in-law)*, and simply ‘no quarrel’ in the case of *neighbors*; ‘respect’ in the case of the *Lord of Illness*, and possibly the *Patron Saint* of the town in question and the *dead ancestors*; ‘obedience’ in front of *God* and possibly the *Calendar Days*.

2. This **form** of reconciliation is private (not public) and takes place among individuals (incl. supernatural beings). It has a mental, psychosomatic and interpersonal, i.e. social, aspect.

3. It is based on a **procedure** (a script as analyzed in Ch. 10.4/Fig.3, applied in an episodic context).

4. It has a descriptive **result**, re-structuring a social microcosmos.

5. In accord with Points 1 and 3, it is **defined** in terms of a **procedure** (i.e. doing), a **function** (re-creation of order) and an **effect** (cathartic, removal of mistrust; affect resolution: resolution of short-circuited reflexes; cf Ch. 5.8.1.2(2), 5.8.1.4 and 5.8.1.5(4)).

6. Reconciliation implies **consciousness** (with regard to verbal exchange, behavior and attitude) and **maxims of communication**: ‘only correct words’ (Grice; cf Hinz 2006:38, Note 4).

7. Reconciliation is based upon **reciprocity** (among human beings).

8. Reconciliation is embedded in a **belief system** which integrates nature, different human partners and supernatural beings in terms of a re-created social and subjective (i.e. mental) order (cf Ch. 7.2.3).

9. In analyzing and understanding the reconciliatory function of the *costumbres* (‘customs’, ‘rituals’), the concepts, beliefs and verbal actions and interactions (prayers or mutual open declarations = ‘confessions’) seem to form the **core data**, **supplemented** by the instruments of ‘higher’ perceptual communication and their meaning as offerings (‘candles’, ‘incense’ [*pom*] smelt by the deities, ‘elder leaves’ [*xaq an*]).

5.11.3 *The re-creation of social and subjective order and an extension to communal order*

Reconciliation and self-organization bring about the re-creation of social and subjective order. This order consists of the restoration of the social bond, locally and face-to-face, and interpretative or epistemic orientation or problem resolution in divination and consultation. Legal counsel leads to self-organization and existential safety and regulates, or even reproduces, “order”.

Special reference shall be made to the *affective aspect*, i.e. mistrust, aversion, anger, avoidance, worries, preoccupation and negative thoughts, as explicated and theoretically explained in Ch. 1.4 and Ch. 5.8 in detail. These psychosomatic features are highlighted in the therapeutic proposals. The procedural or therapeutic removal of these negative affects are carried out in the spirit of reconciliation. This leads us to the study of Q’anjob’al culture as a spiritual and atmospheric phenomenon. As already pointed out spirit and atmosphere are largely *non-punitive*. This holds despite the concepts of fault, quarrel or aggression mentioned by the client as well as the level of stress and uneasiness, observed by me, in the consultations. This non-punitive aspect itself accounts for the largely *reconciliatory* character of psychotherapeutic problem resolution in the data.

There are at least two different culture-specific (*emic*) models of reconciliation available and actually used: (1) a private (self-)therapy (interpersonal confession or individual prayer), and (2) a private therapy (e.g. praying) in front of the *Ordenanza* (‘holy bundle’) carried out by the *Alcalde Reza-dor* on behalf of the individual.

This latter private ritual is to be distinguished from the *Ordenanza* (‘holy bundle’) ceremony which addresses the supernatural beings in favor of the community of San Juan Ixcay, the Republic of Guatemala and the whole world. Generally, health and well-being are asked for cyclically in this *Ordenanza* ceremony on the vespers of the so-called *Alcalde* days. In temporal and geographical terms, a spiritual or mental sphere of reconciliation (or, harmony) is established. I tend to look at this *Ordenanza* ceremony, i.e. the cult of the ‘holy bundle’ of the township, as a *community therapy*, in communal and global spirit and intention (cf Dedication, p. V; Ch. E.9).

The phenomena summarized here invite us to explore their further potential for an ‘anthropology of reconciliation’. I will outline a corresponding program in Ch. 10.7.3.

6. REINFORCING SOCIAL IDENTITY AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Divination and consultation are considered as *situations of social control reinforcing social identity and the belief and norm system* of the clients, especially with regard to their social environment, within Q'anjob'al Maya society. This means, we are dealing with *cause-and-effect processes* in which divination, or rather, counseling is a cause of learning, accepting, or applying a system of norms, attitudes and procedures. This is a case of adult socialization which makes possible the study of social learning, social cognition and the repeated and frequent enactment of sociocultural themes. I will consider some concepts and models of identity as well as their corresponding translation into Q'anjob'al culture. I turn to the problem of identity management in terms of affiliation, orientation, closeness and sentiment, for example, when being out-of-town, being recruited in the military, or in the case of religious conversion of family members. I finally characterize traditional identity in terms of a model and an individual case, i.e. diviner's autobiography. Cf 6.7 [Social control as a mental map].

6.1 Concepts and models of identity

6.1.1 Robbins's model

Robbins's model (1973) can serve as a starting point. Accordingly, identity can be viewed in connection with world view, i.e. beliefs about Man, society and nature, including supernatural beings (*'world view model'*). Viewing identity as being shaped by social interaction with other people is called the *'interaction model'*. Another model views identity as maintaining and (re)establishing mental health or health (*'health balance model'*).

6.1.2 Dimensions of individual and social identity

The following dimensional analysis is taken from my book: Hinz 2006, Ch. E.19 (Theses 1 and 3-6); the reader is referred to chapters in that book.

'Developmental mechanism' and the 'sense of belonging, affiliation', especially, refer to *social identity* and co-define the feature of *familiarity*. The last-mentioned dimension 'mechanism to produce personal *balance*' can imply self-esteem, affects like mistrust or aversion, and, again, is pertinent for the analysis of Q'anjob'al data. The discussion as summarized in the table reprinted leads to the model explicated below.

DIMENSION	FEATURES SPECIFIED
Resistance, immunity; sense of survival	Health, sex; against hypnosis & indoctrination (E.19, Th. 1); cf G.2/3; against stigmatization & marginalization (B.12D)
Congruence of thinking, wanting, acting	Self-image (E.12); value hierarchy; (social) conscience (F.) & self-organization (E.V); cognitive, moral, social judgement (E.13)
Developmental mechanism: differential development in social interaction	Contrast, commonality (Th. 3); coherence (E.14-16); autobiography (E.12); curriculum (E.11)
Social role identities (<i>R. Keesing</i>)	Capabilities, (social) competences
Sense of belonging, affiliation	Locality, social context; loc. & social context cross-connected; legal sphere (Th. 4); historic memory
Self-realization (incl. self-actualization)	Conscious; unconscious = identity loss (Th. 5; D.0.2(3)); autonomy (E.31); E.V; E.32 (“zest for life”)
Mechanism to produce personal balance	Consciousness: cognitive-affective, psychosocial, health balance (Th. 6; F.1; D.18); “peace of mind” (E.33)

Table 1: Dimensions and features of identity and identity development

6.1.3 Identity defined as points of reference and in terms of coherence

A simple model defines “identity” conceptually as points of reference or prototypes:

- *Points of identification*: community, birth place, saint or patron of the community, family or kinship group. These points of identification would thus define the relation of belonging to, or affiliation with, local-territorial, social or cultural-linguistic units. Historic memory can play a significant role in ethnic affiliation.
- *Points of balancing or restoring balances of mental features or social relations* (ritual, divination; confession, prayer; vs. attending church service).
- *Points of frequent interactions* (work; community; household or family or kinship group).
- *Points of autonomy* (having a household and / or a nuclear family of one’s own; having the responsibilities of an adult person).
- *Sex, age, health and property* (house, useful domestic animals, etc.) as *points of reference*. References to “basic needs”.

A pattern of coherence can emerge which integrates these different points of reference and comprises different diameters of social space and social relations with persons of reference in harmony, balance and/or autonomy. To avoid a “harmony bias” possibly introduced by me, the ethnographer, on the basis of my personal outlook, special emphasis is given to conflicts, issues and disturbances: how to handle them, how to resolve them and how to avoid interferences.

The Item ‘Points of autonomy’ can be discussed under the following headings: (1) *dependency vs. independence*; (2) *hierarchization (as a stratificational mechanism in terms of dominance or submission) vs. equality*; (3) *individualization and affiliation*.

The expected result is: traditionalists are possibly *maintaining a position* within the ideological-social field of the Q’anjob’al townships. A millenarian or nativistic movement on the superregional level is nearly excluded since traditional social identity is predominantly community based. Cf Ch. 10.7.4 for an alternative pathway.

Cf Hinz 2006, E.19 [Theory & concept of identity].

6.1.4 Freedom and identity (J. Galtung)

Violence and enforced *normative pressure* to change one’s (social or ethnic) identity create a situation of oppression, intolerance and deprivation. Asymmetric work and interaction relations create *exploitation*. The prevention of association and solidarity of the governed creates *fragmentation* and concerns the organizational aspect. The exclusion of the governed creates *marginalization* and might concern, for instance, minority rights. *Mental dominance* is based upon normative or cultural intolerance and disrespect against the governed and focuses on the withholding of educational and cultural self-determination.

6.2 Traditional identity in the Q’anjob’al texts

6.2.1 Features of traditional Q’anjob’al identity

The following traits defining traditional identity seem to play a major role in the consultations. (For further clarification see, for instance, Ch. 1 and the texts and the commentaries in other Chapters). I begin with *localities*:

a) The house of birth relates to parents and grandparents and to the earth. One should return to this house, keep it repaired and care for the ancestral or, rather, family cross in it. The role of parents and / or grandparents is highlighted in the consultations.

- b) The shrine and the family cross in the current house which relate to one's own nuclear family and to the land or *milpa* around it.
- c) The cemetery which relates to the dead ancestors.
- d) The church which relates to the patron of the town as a protector of the life of the whole town and the well-being of the individual person.
- e) The *Ordenanza*, the holy bundle, which represents the well-being of the whole town.

We seem to be dealing with localities and sets of persons, dead or alive, human beings or supernatural powers to whom the individual relates *harmonically* or – in case of disturbances – with whom the individual restores harmonic relations. Other supernatural beings addressed in prayers can imply: God, the Calendrical Days and possibly the “Judgement“, i.e. an illness or the Lord of Illness addressed as a person.

Ethnic identity, specifically “*being traditionalist (Costumbrista)*”, is defined in terms of certain ***routines or customs***:

- f) Addressing the beings or persons mentioned in the specified localities by means of prayers of pardon.
- g) Offering elder leaves (*xaq an*), resin (*copal/pom*) and candles.
- h) Carrying out the open declaration, if psychosocial balance is disturbed, within one's own family together with one's own parents or parents-in-law or children over 18 years of age (i.e. not minors), or simply between husband and wife.

6.2.2 Identity management as specified in the Q'anjob'al consultations

Identity management deals with the issues of *preserving, confronting, resolving and applying features, attitudes and/or procedures* connected with (traditional) identity or its challenge. In the Q'anjob'al Maya consultations, the following features or dimensions of identity and its management are highlighted in situations of existential events, decision-making or action:

- (1) Situations which are *remote from affiliation or closeness and the familiar*. This holds for work out of town, for business travel and for leaving the country. See Ch. 6.4.
- (2) Situations of *religious conversion and resulting problems of intrafamilial orientation, affiliation and sentiment*. See Ch. 6.3.
- (3) Situations of *constraint, coercion and alienation*, i.e. forced military service. Again, questions of affiliation, closeness, familiarity and orientation are implied. See Ch. 6.5.
- (4) Situations which are *rites de passage* and mark “critical” stages in the individual *life cycle*, e.g. marriage or pregnancy. See Ch. 3.3.1. In terms of

identity, a remarkable document is the autobiography, or, rather, *curriculum vitae*, of Mateo Raymundo Velásquez, who reports *salient* events in his life. See App. II and Ch. 6.8 here.

(5) Situations in which the feature of *responsibility* (starting at 18 years of age) is decisive. This includes, for instance, *illness as an indication of personal transgression*, or a household of one's own as indicating *autonomy*. See Chs. 3.3.2, 3.3.3, 8; 7.7/Comm 25; 6.5/Comm 10.

(6) Situations which require the application of *traditional rituals or therapies*, i.e. prayers and confession, to reestablish *balance*. See Chs. 5.3, 5.4, 8.

(7) Situations which *imply basic existential issues or threats*, e.g., the breakup of a marital relationship, or the question of land property, and *require identity management* in terms of affiliation, legal rights, value orientation and harmonization of sentiments. See Ch. 5.9.

Affiliation, orientation, closeness and sentiment, e.g. preoccupation, are brought out as a problem of identity management in the following excerpt. From: #20B; Hinz 1991/I:76, II:70:

<The old lady talks about her other granddaughter's illness. It becomes clear that her son and her daughter-in-law do not want to have anything to do with traditional religion. The diviner calls them 'Ladinos' (non-Indians). Cf Q'. k'exel: Ch. D.6.1.2, D.6.5.>

Female client: “[She is] possibly still in Mazatenango, there she is, my replacement (or: namesake, i.e. granddaughter). It is exactly that way. Well, they do not offer their smoke [of *copal* or resin]. What are they up to? Maybe it is good, maybe they behave well.

Diviner: They act like Ladinos, they behave like Ladinos.

Female client: They behave like Ladinos.

Diviner: The more the Ladinos still have their *costumbres* (customs), the more it would fit us as indigenous people [to conserve ours]... ”

6.3 Conversion of son and daughter-in-law: beliefs, practices, communication within the family, possible consequences

From: 20B; Hinz 1991/I:73ff, II:68ff.

The diviner counsels an old lady on how her son and her daughter-in-law should proceed with regard to the granddaughter's illness: they shall 'confess' in terms of a mutual open declaration. It turns out that the couple has changed religions.

Female client: (I) Ah, well, this is already different (i.e. they changed religions), they don't listen to it anymore, Sir, because they are already mar-

ried [by the church], and—. Of course, he pays attention to what I say to him since I stand up for it (i.e. I am a *costumbrista* in terms of religious affiliation). But it is her father: “What [is] the prayer [good] for, what for, what do they want it for?” They do not offer their *copal* smoke anymore. Within me, wrath came up, I went to offer *copal* smoke, and I say: “You are like him. He keeps walking around, you keep walking around, are you perhaps talking to the cross [of the family or ancestors]?” And there is already somebody who says: “At least do not put into order your problem, each of you on his/her own.” (...) A case of death is already happening, they are about to throw it [the cross] away.

<Commentary 1: This paragraph illustrates the discussion within the family or kinship groups involved following the religious conversion of family members. Characteristics involve emotional reaction (‘They don’t listen’; ‘Within me, wrath came up’); differentiation of the attribution of fault (‘He pays attention to what I say to him’ vs. ‘But it is her father’); the refusal of the use of ritual paraphernalia, for instance, *copal* smoke; the cessation of praying to the family cross; quoted opinions like counsels not to use the open declaration (‘confession’) anymore; the (quoted) intention to destroy the family cross in the house.>

(2) And I tell them: “It is not my problem anymore (i.e. you are now of adult age), for you are grown up with me (i.e. you are now self-responsible), oh God, it is the case that we put it into order, we grasped our hands, together with...”

Diviner: Exactly.

Female client: “...your deceased father in order to put it into order. I arranged my thing, he arranged his thing. We carried it in order to leave it (*refers possibly to candles, etc.; or: sorrows*) with our Lord, St. Peter, in front of the church door (i.e. in San Pedro Soloma).

<Commentary 2: The son is grown up, it is no longer the parent’s responsibility. In ritual terms, the consequence is to leave restitution to the adult person directly concerned. She reminds her son of the customs, especially the open declaration (‘confession’). Cf Ch. 5.7 [Observational data]. Linguistically, *chi ko-jatne* = ‘we put it into order’; *chi ko-mitx’ ko-q’ab’ y-et-oq* [...] *naq anima ha-mam ko-jatne-n el-oq* = ‘we grasped our hands with the deceased father of yours, so that we put it completely into order’. ‘I arranged my thing, he arranged his thing’: This might refer to the mutual declaration of worries and relevant episodes. >

(3) But now, we are not allowed to kneel there anymore. Go to the gate of the cemetery...”

<Commentary 3: The Catholic priest obviously prohibited traditional praying in front of the church of San Pedro Soloma as happened in other Maya villages of highland Guatemala. I remember to have seen people praying at the entrance of the cemetery in Soloma.>

Diviner: (4) Exactly.

Female client: "...or it says, there isn't anything, is there? So it has to be, that is, one must be prepared, be prepared for that which you seize [as ceremonial material] and what you put into order since our Lord, the Judgement, is here.

<Commentary 4: The Judgement, i.e. the illness, is the reason for an open declaration or for rituals ("costumbres").>

Diviner: (5) Yes, Madam, yes.

Female client: "If only the illness would come to you, if it only would hit [you]! How unfortunate is the poor little angel (i.e. the girl), the child." (...) But she is my name replacement (namesake). Ah. Jesus Christ, Virgin [Mary], if she would already be grown up, Sir, she would already have strength, that's what she would have, Sir. As I at least say: "What then is the daughter's transgression? Therefore she is how she is because [II: 69] you cause her problems. But if it were not [like that] it would perhaps be less what the daughter would feel as pains."

Diviner: Well, so it is; well, so it is.

Female client: For she isn't grown up yet, she is still without transgressions (faults, sins), she is still without aberrations, there is still nothing. But then it is only that—

<Commentary 5: The old lady's statement illustrates the style and content of communication within the family. The verbatim quoted expressions come close to a curse of her granddaughter's parents, i.e. her son and her daughter-in-law. The granddaughter is the old lady's namesake and "replacement" who would probably inherit the grandmother's house. The quoted text points out the belief that parents are responsible for the well-being and welfare of their minor children. The granddaughter is still without transgression because she is still a minor. It is the parents' fault. The granddaughter's illness is considered to be the proof; i.e., an illness is caused by social transgression; in the present case, it is really caused by the parent's transgression.>

Diviner: (6) Your son shall pardon (shall be patient), Madam, José shall be forbearing, he shall open his mouth, his stomach (i.e. reveal his inner feelings), he shall open his yellow mouth (i.e. reveal his utterances he made in

quarreling and wrath), he shall reveal his transgressions with regard to their daughter. “No, I do not want to do it,” he says if he listens to bad advice, “I do not want to put it into order, thus I will act,” if your son says that, then [their] daughter will die. Pardon [so it shall be]. That you tell it to him in calm, that you make him considerate (bring him to his senses), that he puts himself into order together with his wife. (...)

<Commentary 6: The old lady shall admonish her son to follow the custom of open declaration. The topic is mentioned only as “he shall reveal his offence with regard to the daughter”, perhaps referring to another sexual relationship. Lexically, “to open the mouth, the stomach (express the inner feelings)”, “to open the yellow mouth (reveal the utterances made in wrath)” should be noted. The justification for the open declaration is to “save the granddaughter” (who otherwise would die). The style of communication is touched upon as ‘calmness’ and ‘considerateness’ in persuasion, thus avoiding an emotional argument or quarrel.>

Diviner: (7) [I:75] He shall put it into order in front of his wife. Nothing at all serves [ecclesiastical] marriage, nothing at all, nothing at all serves marriage. [Is it] only because your name gets registered with marriage? Why do they listen to bad advice, do they listen to it? The *costumbres* (customs) were not like that in ancient times. For we grew up under the *costumbres*.

Female client: Yes, it is that way, Sir.

Diviner: This other issue of theirs (i.e. the new religion) began only a short time ago with us. He shall not pay attention to those words, your daughter-in-law shall not pay attention to these words (these wrong opinions). For it is [her] daughter (i.e., the old lady’s granddaughter) whom we want to save, for it is the daughter. For they shall grasp (elder) leaves (*xaq an*)...

Female client: Exactly that is what I say.

Diviner: ...it is hardly in front of the catechist, or hardly in front of the evangelical preacher, or— They shall go in order to offer elder leaves (*xaq an*). They shall arrange it in any case in their own responsibility jointly in their house.

Female client: Exactly, Sir, certainly, if you agree, your child stays, but if you do not agree—

Diviner: Then the (girl) will die. (...)

<Commentary 7: It is clear that the psychosomatic therapy of an open declaration or confession forms a central part of Q’anjob’al Maya tradition. This therapy regulates personal and microsocial identity and can thus be understood as a central component of traditional identity within the framework of the ‘identity model of balance or restoration of (mental) health’

(following Robbins). Using the elder leaves, xaq an (*Q'anj.*), forms part of the customs. The parents shall avoid the daughter's death. 'Putting the problem into order' refers to the complex of the individual confession of the husband and wife at home, and their rituals. The diviner argues explicitly against the "new religions" which do not form part of the *costumbres* (traditional rituals and customs).>

6.4 The role of the home town in travelling and working abroad

See Ch. 2.2.3 [*Beliefs about land*] for the general conceptual structure.

6.4.1 Translated texts and analytical commentaries

6.4.1.1 First excerpt: leaving town for a business trip

In the first excerpt [#29A, Hinz 1991/I:134, II:121] the male client asks about the destiny of his adopted son as he wants to leave town for business.

Male client: (1) Nevertheless, Sir, will he be fine when he comes back from his travels? That it is, you know. For you have told me before that his money would get lost, as you told me, before Maundy Thursday. In fact, Sir, it did get lost. Therefore, I always remember you. "And I will still look after it (or find out about it in a divination)," I said to myself. And therefore I come [to you] alone, Sir. And will he return safely with his money, won't he incur something at some place?, for—, because he will set out tomorrow to do his buying, yes. Then he will already set out directly [from there to sell, i.e. acting as a middleman or retailer].

Diviner: On [the day] 3 Ajaw he sets out, tomorrow does that mean, on Friday?

Male client: Yes, tomorrow he sets out, Sir, he goes to Huehuetenango.

Diviner: Friday is tomorrow and [it is] 3 Ajaw.

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: < *Divination 7* > 3 Ajaw – 1 B'atz', it is good, so it says, it is good, there is no pain.

<*Commentary 1: The diviner starts the count on the day the trip starts. The speaking day, 1 B'atz', ("home, house, home town") matches the question "will he be fine when he comes back (i.e. home)?" perfectly well.*>

Male client: (2) It is good?

Diviner: He shall simply put down [like a burden], once and for all, all his uttered and interior thought sorrows, everything he thinks. He shall not take it with himself to that place. But otherwise [his business] will not succeed. Well, goodbye, Juan.

Male Client: Goodbye, Sir.

Diviner: Yes.

Male Client: Well, Sir. If it shall happen that way, I will tell it to them. But they will put it into order, they will put it into order, Sir, yes. And then it shall happen that way, Sir.

<Commentary 2: It is decisive that problems, and communicated or silent thoughts and sorrows, have to be arranged before traveling to other places. The ritual and formal purification (open declaration) referred to is explicitly a reinforcement of traditional identity.>

6.4.1.2 Second excerpt: looking for work in the USA

The following excerpt is quite similar [#29A; Hinz 1991/I:126f; II:114f]. The same male client considers looking for work in the USA. He asks for a divination.

Male client: (1) But there is something else I—, what I reflect upon, Sir. What shall I [do]—? Please do me a favor, make a divination for me. I want to give up the work which I am doing right now. I want to go a little bit to the north, to the USA so that I take off with all of them, one [of them] is my adopted son who is with me, if—. But I haven't told him anything yet, but I haven't told him anything yet. For he came back only this week. And I think, as I would like to say— You know, the money disappears rapidly. I do not possess anything anymore. And then, I will earn a little bit there, so I said to myself. And is it possible, or is it better that I continue to stay in my hut? Well, please do me the favor, Sir.

Diviner: Well.

Male client: But [find out in the divination] how it shall happen, if it is better where I am working [now] or if it is better for me to earn a little bit in that [other] place as I surely say. You know about the money, it is easily spent with our work. What [else] shall we do?

<Commentary 1: The client asks if it would be better to work in the USA for some time or to stay in his hut. The client thinks about making money, but possibly of uncertainties, too.>

Diviner: (2) Ah, well, Juan Mat—, Juan Matías, what shall he do? He says, he travels, he sets out for our travel, our voyage, and the money, God, the [ancestral] cross, God. Ah, or should he dedicate himself to his work [here]? He has land, he has a piece of land, under the hands and feet of Yichlaqwitz, with the Saint, Lord, and, and—, well, just as you are Calendar Days, are Markings of Thursday, you (*or:* it) shall mark what the destiny

tells of him, where he shall go to, he then, well, with God's money. (...) <Several divinations 4a-b>

<Commentary 2: The diviner recasts the request in formal terms. The client is identified by his name, Juan Matías. 'Money' refers to the goal to earn money ('sets out for... money') in the USA. The problem is phrased as a question of a decision between two alternatives. Alternatively, the client could work on his property and, thus, make a living. The land is situated in Yichlaqwitz. In terms of lexical expressions, the Calendrical Day 'shall mark what the destiny tells of him' (Q'anj. chi y-aq' markar tzet xhi swerte naq ti).>

(3) No, Sir, do not lose control and do not think too much, stay and do our (= your) work always close to our home (= your house). Out of what kind of desire should you leave for that [other] place, and same our (= your) workers, the carriers, who— (...)

Well, work!, so it says [in the divination]. (...)

Work on your piece of land, on your terrain, on your rectangular plot where you are, so it says [in the divination], there, so to say on your rectangular plot, for it is on your rectangular plot that you are working. But out of which desire should you then go thereto? But out of which desire would you go elsewhere? No, it is better to have to work, no, there is still a little bit of inherited land for you. (...) [I:127, II:116] It is better to stay. You shall not think anymore of leaving.

< Commentary 3: The diviner is explicit in counseling. He reinforces the decision of staying and of working on one's own plot. The client should not worry. The diviner implies the following contrast sets of meaning: (locus of) control or balance; worries, an (undefined?) desire vs. staying at home, work, one's own land and support (workers, carriers). These dimensions may be dimensions in terms of identity, need for affiliation, and need for achievement. They might **guide counseling** and direct our attention to decision-making criteria relevant in Q'anjob'al culture. >

6.4.2 Q'anjob'al Maya Indians abroad

Working abroad would certainly challenge social identity under certain circumstances: working in isolation instead of being socialized into ethnic-linguistic and/or social working groups. For example, the Q'anjob'al people and/or temporary Q'anjob'al workers in the Los Angeles area were organized in the eighties. They published their own newsletter. The organizations supported cultural and identity-related aspects of life. The same holds for southern Mexico (e.g., Tabasco, Quintana Roo, etc.) in the context of

refugee relief work. So working abroad does not necessarily entail the loss of social identity, not even of the traditional one (cf Hernández Castillo 1988).

6.5 Military service in the Guatemalan army

The forced recruitment of Maya Indians from the Q'anjob'al area certainly constituted a major threat to the Maya Indian or even traditional identity. Military service lasted 30 months. Cut off from family and the local community, the experience of civil war on the military side, socialization during this period of time (being quartered in barracks) highlights the features which might affect identity change.

6.5.1 Translated text and analytical commentary

From: #23B; Hinz 1991/I:92f, II:84-90.

Male client: (1) I have a son who is with the soldiers. He is now there, in Quetzaltenango.

Diviner: Ah.

<Commentary 1: The client introduces the topic of the consultation.>

Male client: (2) He got caught at that time, one year has passed by since they put him among them. I didn't succeed in freeing him, and he only got into difficulties. But because times now are very bad, therefore I am preoccupied on account of him. Suddenly they meet upon the "people from the forest" (the rebels, *guerrilleros*), I say to myself. That is what I think. Listen, in Quetzaltenango, there he is now. Therefore—

Diviner: There he is in the military service.

Male client: There, there in Quetzaltenango he is now. He came to Mazatenango, he came to Máquina. He then moved up [to the plateau], for to Huehuetenango they (the soldiers) always come in order to learn (to be trained). Then, they went there, they moved up to Quetzaltenango, there he is already now. It is now already one month since he arrived in Quetzaltenango.

<Commentary 2: The client expresses his frustration (to free his son from military service) and his sorrows and preoccupations for the survival of his son. He imagines attacks by the guerrillas, involving his son in combat. The different stations or military quarters are mentioned: Mazatenango, Máquina, Huehuetenango, Quetzaltenango.>

(3) [Who knows] whether he will be lucky to a certain extent, in that way, whether he will fare more or less well. For in July, it will be one year.

<Commentary 3: The client again expresses his worries about his son's future in the context of civil war.>

Diviner: (4) That means, he left in July?

Male client: Yes, it is the case that he left on July 25.

Diviner: On the fiesta of Santiago he left, does that mean?

Male client: After the fiesta of July perhaps, perhaps on the 26, then they caught him in the market on a Sunday as now.

Diviner: Here in [San Pedro] Soloma?

Male client: Yes, in Soloma, here in Soloma they snatched him, it was a Sunday that he got recruited. We didn't manage to free him and then he had to enter service. That he might be lucky where he is now, and therefore I have my thoughts about him. That he might simply fare more or less well, without incidents, oh God! For it is now still 1 1/2 years till he will come back. For 2 1/2 years they leave now, so one says.

<Commentary 4: The father, the client, comes back to the central episode of the loss of his son's liberty. The client refers to his sorrows and worries, his wishes and desires with regard to the personal integration of his son.>

<For the phrasing of the problem, cf Chapter 3.3.4. The result of the divination is [I:95-99, II:86-90]:>

Diviner: (5) (...) – 13 Elab', they will not be free, so it says (...) He is not free.

Male client: Oh, damn!

Diviner: There is war (combat), so it says. (...)

<Commentary 5: The divinatory interpretation is bad. The day 13 Elab' may be associated with Q'anj. el-i (vi) = 'to escape, to come out (free)'. Cf Ch. 4.6 and 4.10, Table 4 (13 Elab', with a positive interpretation).>

Diviner: (6) We cannot add anything more. Well, Sir, but now, due to our Lord, the Calendar Day, it results that there is an illness (misfortune, danger) for your son who is in the military service.

Male client: Yes.

<Commentary 6: The diviner reconfirms the unfortunate prospects for the client's son, based on the divination.>

Diviner: (7) Now you shall put yourself into order, together with your wife. Take out your mouth, your stomach (i.e. your expressed and inner

thoughts and feelings). Possibly then, what it says, he will suddenly come free from it.

Male client: Well, well.

<Commentary 7: The diviner starts to outline a procedure and a possibly positive outcome: the couple, the client and his wife, should declare their thoughts and inner feelings openly. As a result, the liberation of the son from his dangerous situation will be possible.>

Diviner: (8) For you shall start [with it]. You know what happened when he was born. You know what happened when your son grew up.

Male client: Yes, well.

<Commentary 8: The diviner barely outlines what should be covered in the open declaration ('confession'). He appeals to the client's knowledge (in terms of sensitive experiences) with regard to the time of the son's birth and his coming of age.>

Diviner: (9) Put your stomach (i.e. your interior) in order. She (your wife) shall put her interior in order. Get our (=your) leaves of the plant (i.e. elder, *xaq an*), get our (=your) resin, our (=your) candles, like the candle of this man which is burning here *<refers to Eike H.'s candle>*.

Male client: Well, yes.

Diviner: You put everything well in order, you shall put yourselves in order completely.

<Commentary 9: The client and his wife should declare their inner feelings to each other. Ritual paraphernalia – elder leaves (from the elder tree or shrub), pine resin, and candles – should be offered.>

(10) With regard to women, has he already completed 18 years? This is, therefore he is away [in military service].

Male client: Yes, he has completed them, he is perhaps already 19.

<Commentary 10: While asking this question, the diviner remembers that the client's son, of course, has already completed 18 years of age, and, therefore, could be recruited for military service. The implication is that possible sexual intercourse might be a cause for problems and ill-being.>

Diviner: (11) Well, **how many things rest in his own responsibility**, how many **faults** rest in his own responsibility since he became grown up, as we would like to say.

Male client: Yes, well, but he has his thoughts already.

<Commentary 11: The argument is elaborated in terms of responsibility and transgressions of norms. Upon entering adult age, self-responsibility starts.>

Diviner: (12) He already has his thoughts or he has already screwed a woman.

Male client: Yes, it is that way, perhaps it has already happened, yes.

Diviner: You know, he is already a young man. Do we perhaps follow them? Who knows where they go for a walk.

Male client: Well, it is perhaps already that way, especially now where they are. For it is possibly the case that they get time off in order to have a walk in that town. Perhaps they pay in order to enter where there are the women, now. There are women who are quartered, who—

Diviner: They do exist at least.

Male client: But [they] do exist, they do exist, since he is already grown up.

<Commentary 12: The diviner refers directly to prostitutes, according to the discussion.>

Diviner: (13) And separately, you must put into order what his thoughts were here in our place (town).

Male client: Well.

<Commentary 13: Apart, the thoughts, sentiments, or worries of the son in his home town are to be considered and to be taken care of by the client, the father.>

Diviner: (14) You must put it into order separately, if he sometimes had intercourse with women wherever he was [stationed] then, there at least in Mazatenango, Mazatenango, as you have said, as I have understood.

Male client: Yes, he left Mazatenango, and now he went up to [the plateau] of Quetzaltenango.

Diviner: Perhaps there is a woman with whom he had a screw in Mazatenango, in—, in Máquina.

Male client: Yes, yes, of course, and therefore I must possibly ask for pardon, anyway.

Diviner: But also in Quetzaltenango where your son is. (...)

<The diviner continues [II:88]:> He already leaves and, in the end, suffers death, so it says here, Sir.

Male client: So it is, Sir.

Diviner: Therefore, you shall begin here with me.

Male client: Yes, yes, well, Sir. No, I will put it into order.

<Commentary 14: The diviner specifies each locality in which the client's son was stationed as a soldier. Pardon has to be asked with regard to these localities on behalf of the son.>

Diviner: (15) Well, and then you shall put into order the problems of your wife. First, put in order [that of] yours, and then that of him will be put into order completely.

Male client: Well, yes, yes.

Diviner: And then the problems of your wife are put into order what the issue is, how things are with regard to her father, her mother, with regard to her house of birth, how it happened, that you asked for her, how it happened, how you are living with her, how you have lived at least with your children, with your son, with her (=your wife) at each point of time.

Male client: Aha.

<Commentary 15: The diviner outlines schematically the 'confession' with regard to the client's wife: what the problems with regard to her father and mother are, episodic events which are pertinent and happened at her place of birth. The details of the marriage arrangement, probably involving sentiments and worries, are to be specified. Furthermore, the couple should address the current problems of living together.>

Diviner: (16) But then also your problems will be seized (*or:* addressed), you arrange everything, the problems of your father, you arrange the problems of your mother, of the place of birth, how, in what condition it is. [But] it is for him, [but] it is him whose things you shall clean.

Male client: Ah, well, it is certainly that on behalf of him.

Diviner: You shall not do it for your life, for your health, no, but that he might come free from war (...)

<Commentary 16: The diviner outlines schematically the problems of the client which are to be addressed in the open declaration. Sentiments and thoughts relating to the client's father and mother as well as actions and attitudes relevant towards the client's place of birth are to be addressed. The latter might imply questions of the following kind, e.g., if the birth house is decaying, has been repaired, if the family cross is being taken care of, or if somebody is going to occupy the house. The client's son is the issue and remains at the center of attention.>

(17) [I:97, II:88] But there is still something else, there is still another side (party) which is pointed out here. There are some neighbors who are full of envy (*or:* hate) against you, against your sons, against your children...

Male client: Ah. [II:89]

Diviner: ...that is, because of your terrain, because of the place. You probably know it deep in your heart what it is all about your neighbor.

Male client: Yes, possibly yes, we surely still have some neighbors, we surely still quarrel with them.

Diviner: Well, listen!

Male client: Yes, there are a few.

<Commentary 17: The client shall, moreover, address the problems with the neighbors. The diviner assumes hate (or envy) against the client's family, especially his son, and the client's terrain. The client should remember and utter the relevant episodes of conflict.>

Diviner: (18) You shall take out their words, their utterances about you. We hardly know...

Male client: Yes, so it is.

Diviner: ...how they talk, perhaps it is by means of their prayers, perhaps it thus happens by means of their prayers at the place of birth, on that terrain (place).

Male client: Yes, quite possibly yes, since our stomachs (our thoughts and inner feelings) are different.

Diviner: Yes.

<Commentary 18: The diviner specifies the problem as verbal expressions or insults by the neighbors. They might have prayed against the client, his house and his land property.>

Male client: (19) Yes, different are our stomachs (i.e. we think and feel differently). There are some [neighbors] who are quite direct (in confrontation) as soon as one does something wrong, as soon as...

Diviner: Exactly.

Male client: ...a little bit goes wrong, imagine. Therefore it is then that everything begins to accumulate against us.

Diviner: Yes, listen, and this here is something else.

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: For it is because of your son, it is his problem, his problem, his problem, we are clearing only him...

Male client: Yes, yes, it must be exclusively his matter.

Diviner: ...in your house...

Male client: Yes, so it is.

Diviner: ...at the cemetery...

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: ...with San Pedro (St. Peter).

Male client: Ah, yes, yes. No, I will do so, Sir.

<Commentary 19: The diviner delimits the problem and suggests the places of prayer, i.e., the client's house, the cemetery and, possibly, the church entrance, or, rather, with St. Peter as an addressee of the prayers.>

Diviner: (20) Our Lord, San Pedro (St. Peter), will still arise, as force of his [the client's son], as fighting spirit of his, as capability of his to produce terror⁴³, as a protection of his, between, among them...

Male client: Yes, so it is, yes, yes.

Diviner: ...those who wage war, those who bring death, the end.

Male client: Yes. No, I will go to make my ancestors stand up (arise).

<Commentary 20: St. Peter, the saint of Soloma, is supposed to become the force and protection of the client's son when in combat.>

Diviner: (21) The ancestors will arise, our Lord San Pedro (St. Peter) will arise as his reinforcement, as his fighting spirit so that he might escape war, so that he might escape death. There are only two words which you grasp.

Male client: Yes, so it is.

<Commentary 21: The ancestors and St. Peter are jointly asked to protect the client's son and help him to escape the dangers of life. Thus, protection is sought in local and "traditional" agents. "Two words" = two agents? >

Diviner: (22) For what is it, what will happen to him? It is only their war.

Male client: Well, it is this. For what else is it? As we say, all this does not take long, since this is certainly like a fire.

Diviner: Suddenly, war starts due to them, death comes already.

Male client: Like a fire which now starts to burn, quite suddenly, so to speak, as if a fire flares up, instantaneously, you hardly notice it.

Diviner: So it is.

Male client: Yes.

<Commentary 22: According to the diviner, there is no identification of the client's son with the war or the warring parties. It is "their" war, and it is caused "by them" (the Ladinos). And war is "blind", uncontrollable like a fire.>

Diviner: (23) Therefore it is that you intervene on behalf of him as we would like to say.

Male client: So it is, for if not—

⁴³ May sq'aq'al = costumbre que se hace por el bien de uno (Diccionario Akateko 1996:110, PLFM).

Diviner: Only God [knows] what will happen and if he might at least come free.

Male client: Yes, yes, possibly he suddenly will be set free.

Diviner: Exactly.

Male client: Yes, for he will still be set free. <*Short interruption.*> Well, I will put it into order, Sir.

Diviner: Well.

Male client: Yes, I will take it out for [that reason].

Diviner: Take it out on behalf of him, take it out on behalf of him.

Male client: Yes, I will take it out on behalf of him, yes, I will take it out on behalf of him. That is it, in that way my sorrow on behalf of him disappears. For he is away from home without interruption. It is already quite some time that I set off to see him, it certainly is quite some time, already four months ago I set off in order to see him. <*The client continues to talk about his expectancies and feelings.*> Yes, we will take out our inner thoughts and feelings with regard to him.

Diviner: Exactly.

<*Commentary 23: The client shall make the open declaration. There remains the possibility of freeing his son.*>

The last Points 20, 21 and 22 seem to be especially relevant in terms of assessing social identity and conceptualizing it. This is the contemplative aspect of social identity. Doing, the ritual praxis of an attempt to reestablish a social balance, is the active aspect of social identity.

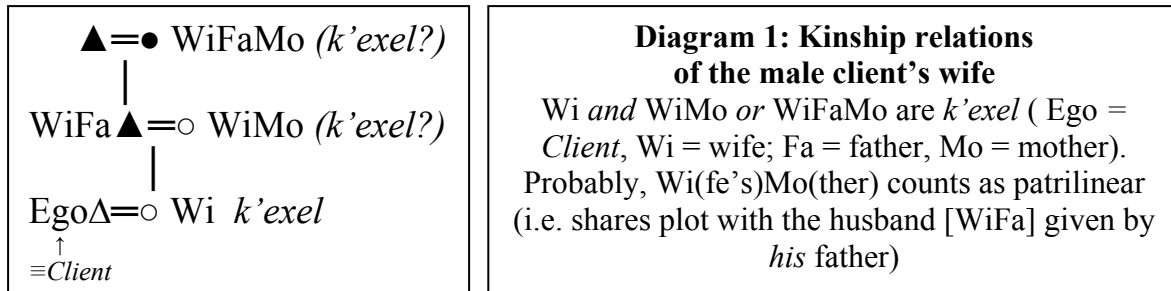
6.6 What to do if family members are living in different socializing or religious frameworks

The wife of a young man from San Juan Ixcay, village of Tajal, has been ill for quite some time. The diviner asks if the client's and his wife's parents are still alive. *His father-in-law is dead. His mother-in-law has given up the traditional Maya religion.* This means that the [ancestral or family] cross in the client's wife's house of birth was *burned. Bones of game animals, kept in that house, were burned, too.* The client moved into a house of his own on a provisional basis only. The diviner asks about the faults of the client's wife.

Deepening conversation: Immediately after the death of the client's father-in-law, the house of the deceased burned down. A direct inquiry was, thus, not possible anymore.

Interpretation: The woman is in mortal danger because she might be the "replacement" (*k'exel*) of her mother or, rather, of the *client's father-in-*

law's mother. This *k'exel* relationship may imply maintenance functions for the house which burned down. Obviously, this kinship relationship has to be considered as a *patrilinear* one. The client's wife shall give the information necessary, and the client shall ask for pardon for the burned cross with his own parents.



Again, the client and *his* parents are not only living apart, but, obviously, have communication problems even though they are *Costumbristas* (traditional Q'anjob'al Maya).

6.6.1 Translated text and analytical commentary

From: #24A; Hinz 1991/I:110-113; II:100-102.

Diviner: (1) Something serious wants to come over her [the clients' wife]. But the cross which the brethren have burned, boy—, one need not intervene on behalf of it. It shall only happen directly that you pay for your fault, Sir. (...) Only they were those who burned the cross. Is it still necessary to intervene for it? It is hardly you who has commissioned them to do it, listen.

Male client: Yes, so it is.

<*Commentary 1: The client has to look after his own faults only, not of events which he has not formed a part of.*>

Diviner: (2) You shall take it out only directly, from it, from her and from your child, in case that you possibly have a child together with her. Directly, you shall take it out from you, you shall find out about the retaliation (revenge) of the cross which has been burned.

Male client: Well.

<*Commentary 2: The client should assess the possible damage of the burned cross only with regard to members of his nuclear family.*>

Diviner: (3) Ah, but it is because they ceased [with the *costumbres* (customs)], and [it is because] of the pains, of the sadness of the house which burnt down exactly at that time when your father-in-law was buried.

Male client: Yes, so it is, Sir.

<Commentary 3: Misfortune has happened due to giving up “costumbres” and the burning of the house. The house is thought of as a personlike being which can feel pain and sadness. Pain and sadness are probably caused by the burning and the irreverent acts against traditional religion.>

Diviner: (4) It is two candles, anyway.

Male client: Yes, two candles.

<Commentary 4: Candles are to be burned, the quantity depending on the number of causes or relevant events specified, or on the number of agents or beings supposed to be involved.>

Diviner: (5) The third–, third candle, because of the [bone], i.e., how many bones of the animals of the forest (place of birth) there are. Due to her (the client’s wife), the [bone] cries. And the fourth candle is already for the case that she is the “name replacement” (*k’exel*). Then, however, there are four candles (...)

<Commentary 5: On ‘bones of the animals’ of Ch. 7.6. The client’s wife who is seriously ill might be the “name replacement” (k’exel), i.e., she might be in the social and ritual obligation of seeing about the house which burned down.>

(6) And the fifth–, there are five candles which shall be put up. For we would like to say that–, that you look only carelessly, so we would like to say. And then you should still verify what is going on with her. So it is.

Male client: Yes, so it is. It cannot be guessed by us, so to say.

Diviner: Well, and therefore one cannot guess it, and therefore there are five candles which you shall put up.

<Commentary 6: The fifth candle represents the idea of carelessness and of assessment of the wife’s illness.>

Male client: (7) They are five which are put up.

Diviner: Five in your house, right?

<Commentary 7: In each place, five candles as determined in the therapeutic counsel are to be burned in different places, starting with the client’s house.>

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: (8) Five also with your father, with your mother, if your father is still alive, if your mother is still alive. I can agree on (confirm) nothing

because you spend the nights outside the [house of your parents] together with your wife (?).

Male client: Yes, it is, however, exactly like that, and therefore we moved out quickly. (...)

Diviner: Perhaps, it is possible, perhaps that you will light your candle there, that you will light your candle there?

Male client: No, Sir.

Diviner: No?

Male client: No, because here we speak as if my heart is still about to enter like a child (as if am still growing up to adulthood), so to say, you know, and–, and therefore I am still alarmed, you know. Well, so it is *her* problem. Listen, *they* do not understand anymore what *we* offer, you know, and therefore (...) so to say.

<Commentary 8: The client seems to draw a strict line between the problems of his parents and his own problems, and he obviously wants to exclude his parents from what would constitute his own open declaration together with his wife. Communication between the client and his parents has apparently broken down. The couple are on their own.>

Diviner: (9) Yes, certainly.

Male client: Listen, and therefore it is not possible anymore, you know (...) if they only put it into order. Well, therefore we give them our candles, so to say.

<Commentary 9: The client wants to give his parents the ritual material, and he wants them to do the ritual alone.>

Diviner: Well.

Male client: (10) Therefore, it is only a little bit, right?

Diviner: Yes.

Male client: Therefore, I ask, Sir, what it is. It is incomprehensible. But what is it?

Diviner: But now, Sir, it is said, as you will speak [to them]: “Now [it is] one candle for it, it says, you shall calm the illness in the woman. And listen, you shall calm the [illness] at once. Perhaps because it is only fever or a shivering fit or a cramp or whatsoever, and [then] we will only look after the Judgement (i.e. the illness) within her cautiously. It means that you shall calm it, [only] at once, you shall not give it (i.e. to the illness) its sleeping place [any longer?], you shall do nothing [else anymore?], no, you shall only...”

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: "...calm [the illness] in front of our—, our shrine here, in front of our *costumbres* here, in front of our prayer here. You shall do it (...), the illness, after all, shall only be calmed within her. Listen, if not, it will become worse for her."

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: "It says, you shall calm it (the illness), so says the diviner ('the master of the way')."

Male client: Yes.

<Commentary 10: The diviner instructs the client on how his parents should do the ritual and what he should explain to them. The concepts of "calming [only] the illness [in the daughter]", i.e. a light situation, vs. "giving the illness its sleeping place [with corresponding ritual expenditure]", i.e. a longer-lasting situation, are introduced.>

Diviner: (11) Well, now is here the word: "First, it shall be paid the pain, the retaliation of the cross which the young men have burned who had remained with it (*or*: to whose custody it had passed)."

<Commentary 11: One candle corresponds to the family cross burned.>

Male client: [I:112] Yes.

Diviner: (12) The house burned down while her father was still about to be buried.

Male client: Yes, so it is.

Diviner: "Ah, it is a bone. It says, it is its pain. It says, it is its crying. It says, it is its sadness. It says, it is its heat, its coldness, its cramp, of this bone. That it is what she has as the diviner says."

<Commentary 12: The diviner refers to the burned bones of the deer and continues to instruct the client.>

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: (13) Well, now—, well now, ah, perhaps the woman is a "name replacement" (*k'exel*)—, "because the woman then is possibly her mother's name replacement, therefore, you see, it has hit her," as you say, "and [therefore] pain, revenge of the bone, everything that could happened comes over her."

Male client: Yes.

<Commentary 13: The diviner points out that being a k'exel (name replacement) of her mother enables the "revenge of the animal bones" to take place since the client's wife is supposed to take care of the problems with respect to the house which has burned down. This is possible though

she is not the culprit. This is a further illustration of social causation (cf Ch. 1.5.1)>

Diviner: (14) Four candles.

Male client: Four?

Diviner: Ah (...) it gets completed with five candles in front of our (=your) cross here, five you shall put up in this house, as pardon, as forgiveness for her...

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: ...and five [candles] at the top of the courtyard (i.e. in front of the altar in the courtyard), [for the purpose of] what her problem is where she grew up, where she came from. We hardly know what the case is. "For you shall calm it as it says," so you speak.

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: "Five forgivenesses (=candles) in the house on top of the altar."

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: "Five candles put up at the top of the courtyard (...) Now shall be paid all the bad words," you say.

Male client: Yes, well, Sir.

<Commentary 14: The diviner orders the client's parents to burn 10 candles, 5 in front of the family cross within the house, and 5 in front of the altar in the courtyard. The goal is to address the problems of the client's wife's place of upbringing.>

Diviner: (15) "Well, then you shall go to leave [the candles together with prayers] in Q'ata7," you say.

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: "But five [candles] also in the place of prayers in Q'ata7 and five [candles] also at the top of the courtyard. Five [candles] also in Q'ata7, there, her problems, her misfortune shall calm down. Well, already, so it says, she gets up, already, so it says, she has life and health. For if [you do] not [do it], then it will certainly get worse, there will be possibly, as it says, death, an end for her. So speaks our way (=divination)," you tell them...

Male client: Yes, so it is, Sir. [113]

Diviner: ...them, your father, your mother. (...)

<Commentary 15: 5 more candles are to be offered in the place of prayer at Q'ata, possibly one of the oyeb' konob' (Q'anj. 'five villages'), special prayer places within the township of San Juan Ixcoy. There the client's parents' problems should be addressed. In such a case, the client's wife will recover and survive. Otherwise she might die, according to the divination. Oyeb' konob': cf Ch. 1.1.1 & E.10.4.1(1). >

(16) “Well, now, you shall put it into order, and due to you the Judgement (the illness) is sitting everywhere within her and in our children,” so you say. And how many children do you have?

Male client: One, Sir, only one, Sir.

Diviner: “And the only child of ours. Perhaps, so it says, it will therefore come down on the child (i.e. it will incur to him). In a similar manner, you shall remove it in her and also in the child,” you say to them.

<Commentary 16: The diviner orders the client’s parents to put into order the illness ritually, either by praying or, possibly, even by a formal declaration (the expression ‘you shall put it into order’ can cover both procedures). The only child of the client and his wife is also in danger and has to be taken care of ritually, too. This suggests that responsibility is genealogically descending, parents causing harm to their children and maybe even to their grandchildren in terms of unreconciled misbehavior or transgressions.>

6.7 Social control is monitored by a mental map

The following text is an excerpt of an interview with the diviner, Don Mateo, on omens. The text summarizes the social control exercised by the diviner, in terms of the reinforcement of beliefs, norms and behavioral patterns which form part of social identity. The diviner’s statement consists in a guideline which he uses to re-create social and subjective order, i.e. reconciliation and orientation, with the clients.

From: #6B-11 (Archive 4a), unchecked ms.

Eike H.: ...What are the customary actions which people here do when there is an omen or a bad animal, an animal or a person, or [when] people see an animal?...

Mateo (in both roles of fictive client and diviner): ‘...(1) and therefore an omen has happened to us, and we have seen this animal in the vicinity of the homeland, (2) perhaps an illness will befall us, perhaps death will befall us. (3) And now, only God, our Lord, is with us... maybe it is a headache or whatsoever that will befall us (...) (4) we will listen to what the animal says, if we will die, or our children, our family, whosoever it is who will die; (5) therefore we have experienced this animal as an omen,’ say these people here (...) (6) And they go to the diviner, (7) and it is the diviner who says (8) what fault it is, if there is a quarrel which people have with their husband or wife, or with their son, or with their daughter, or with their daughter-in-law, or who knows what they do (?), or who knows what they commit in front of God, our Lord. (9) Therefore there is a bad omen,

(10) therefore there is an illness, therefore there is a case of death, (11) therefore an animal appears as a sign for the people, and (12) now there is the diviner. It is him who will talk. For the diviner is [like] the *Alcalde* in front of God, our Lord. Like the *Alcalde* in his *municipal office*, with the *President [of the Republic of Guatemala]* in the capital, so is he (the diviner) (...) But it is he (the diviner) who will say: (13) ‘Why are you quarreling, why do you have a mistrust, why do you have worries? (14) Put into order, arrange, resolve your problem, that from your father, that from your mother, put it completely into order, arrange it (ms. *toj leq* = Q’anj. *toj-len-eq?*), (15) ask for pardon in front of God, our Lord, ask for pardon in front of your house, in front of the (family) cross, ask for pardon in front of our Carrier (the Earth), [*the world*][?] (*ko-b’atx’om-al mientras* = ~ *mundos?*), ask for pardon in front of the Calendar Day, (16) so that no death happens to us (=you), so that no illness is coming. (17) That’s what you will do. (18) You will ask for pardon in front of God, our Lord. (19) Therefore you will be free. (20) If you do not ask for pardon in front of God, then there will come illness, death to you’. (21) That is what the problem of the people here says (...), of all the people.”

(1) Mental maps as maps of points of reference: The diviner provides us with a *mental map of points of reference*. These points refer to *events* (omens, incidents of faulty behavior (1, 2, 8-11)), to *social relations* and (critical) *localities*, and to *psychosomatic affect states* (mistrust, worries, quarrels)(13). This map contains the outline of *how to restore* social relations. It provides us with information on “ritual repair”. It *re-orient*s the potential client *to reconciliation* as a condition of becoming free from retaliation, or punishment (18, 19). *Social control is monitored by this map*.

(2) Operationalization of the mental map: A *cultural rule for entering the map* is implied: If there is an animal yowling in a peculiar way in the vicinity of one’s house, there may be danger and the event may be a sign of misfortune (1,2) which needs professional interpretation. The *social relations* are *exemplified* by husband, wife, son, daughter, daughter-in-law (4, 8). The *diviner compares himself* to the Alcalde Municipal, in collaboration with the President of the Republic (12). The diviner *instructs* the clients of the *therapeutic or ritual measures* (‘put into order, arrange, resolve your problems’), obviously implying prayers and ‘confessions’ (13, 14). Members of the family as well as supernatural beings are the addressees (15). The diviner will find out about the details and the *reasons* or *causes* (‘that from your mother, that from your father’(14)) and refers to *faults* and *quarrels* (8). The *core belief* is to ask for pardon, i.e. *reconciliation* in different localities, e.g. house, family cross, land; with the Calendar Day, God, the Earth; cf (15-20).–

The mental map may fulfill two functions: (1) to *explain* or *predict* the actual behavior, including complex interactions, of other persons, (2) to *guide the actions* of the user(s) of the map. See Chs. 1.2 & 10.4(4). Cf Hinz 2006: 165.

6.8 The diviner's self-interpretation as exemplifying a traditionalist's personal and social role identity

In Ch. 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 I have considered the features of traditional identity and identity management. These general features of social identity, social situations and their identity-challenging aspects become transformed into personal fate, self-interpretation, consciousness of affiliation and contextualization within daily life.

The diviner summarizes his self-interpretation in an autobiographical fragment (App. II here):

Diviner: This here is the property of my father, but it is the house, it is the place (land) of my father's mother (...) it is the property of my grandfather, of my grandmother before (...) When the straw rots, I am the one who certainly changes the roof so that the adobes will not perish, all the wooden pieces, so that they might not rot because of rain (...) Here my father and my mother used to work, we, we did not go to a plantation (*finca*) (...) He worked for his food (...) I do not go to a plantation (...) I grew up by means of my father. I became a young man and I worked for the *milpa* (field), I worked for the potatoes, the beans (...) I worked with a hoe, I worked with a machete, I worked with an axe. I became an adult person, I had maize, I had my *milpa*, I had my things. Well, and then I had my office...

Pointing out *kin* (or lineage?) *descendants*, the relationship to house and field is highlighted in terms of *typical activities and obligations*: thus, keeping the house repaired – as in accord with a *k'exel* relationship (Ch. D.6.1) – and working on the *milpa* as a *campesino* (*farmer*) for the subsistence of his family is detailed as are the different crops, the use of fertilizer and the different steps in cultivating the *milpa* (see Nicolás de Nicolás [Pedro] 1990). The *continuity of generations* is outlined.

In narrating his life history, Don Mateo emphasizes that he, like his father and grandfather, *never* worked on a plantation (*finca*), but on his father's, or rather, his own land. He mentions that he participated in *communal work* for the road, but not in the sense of the *forced labor* under President Ubico of which he is keenly aware ('hardship', 'quite hard'). He mentions the construction of the road and the telegraph line. His office by then was serving the *costumbres* (rituals, etc.), serving in public traditional roles and serving as a diviner. Thus, he became exempted from forced labor (draft).

His call to the *office* of a diviner was at age 10 (#9B) or, rather, 15 (App. II). His self-interpretation of his vocation is highlighted (Hinz 1991/I:5):

Diviner: Our divination table is destiny given by God, our Lord. It is something that we did not learn. We did not study at some place. We did not study the prayers, we did not study the *costumbres*, we did not study divination (...) It is destiny which God, our Lord has given (...) On which calendrical day were we born? If it was on the day *Ajaw*, on which we were born, if it was on the day *Watan*, (...) *Lamb'at*, (...) *B'en*, (...) [or] *Chinax*, that we were born, that is the fortune, therefore we became a diviner (...) It only came into my head that we care about each *costumbre*, it came into my head what divination is about (...) If there is perhaps already a bad word, if it is bad, we shall not dedicate ourselves to it.

The diviner emphasizes that it was not a formal study as in the bible studies of the Evangelicals or as in school. The date of birth seems to play some role, and the concept of *destiny* (in contrast to *achievement*) is introduced as an explanatory argument. In going through the autobiographic texts (#9B, Hinz 1991/I:5-8; in addition here, App. II = #13A) it seems to me that teaching and / or acquiring knowledge is less emphasized than becoming 'officially' *recognized* as a diviner. The diviner relates how he was called to his office as a diviner. The *moral quality* of the vocation (in contrast to *black magic*) is emphasized. This is in accordance with his beliefs brought out in Paragraph 7.3.3.2 ("I do not want to permit it that they wish death upon each other, mutually, in prayer...").

The role identities of the diviner as a *Costumbrista* can be specified (a) as largely *temporary functions* of a *Principal of the Saint's Fiesta* or the *Baile del Venado* ('Dance of the Deer'), and *Alcalde Rezador* ('religious mayor'), (b) as *permanent functions* of a diviner (*Ajb'e*), (c) in terms of a confronting and *perseverative attitude* ("I will never give up the *costumbres...*", similar to an appeal to moral conscience or to the right of upholding traditional customs, confronting the intruders, troublemakers and mental militants). He characterizes his work as *servicing the community, or, rather, the people's* demands. See the dedication on page V and Ch. E.9.

Cf Hinz 1991/I:7f [Call to office as a diviner]:

Diviner: "And it might have been already him (his first client, the *Principal del 24 de Junio* = 'Principal of the Saint's Fiesta') who talked about it (...) and people came already in large quantities to me. 'Are you here, Sir?', so one called, 'we have a house which has to be put into order, we have a (family) cross, Sir, which shall be put into order, we have a marriage contract, Sir, we have children who are ill, and our wife is ill.' And I already started that I simply put it into order, it simply happened that way (...) I went to no place to learn it. It was only that man who had come in order to talk to me, and therefore I obeyed that I put it into order."

In talking about his life, the diviner does mention his grandparents, parents and their marriage contract. In this session he does not talk about his marriage to his wife, nor about his children or grandchildren. The latter fact might point to the independence of his children (but see Ch. 9.3 and Ch. 5.7 for some details).

It is my impression that Mateo Raymundo Velásquez, in characterizing his identity in terms of structural and normative data, represents a contemplative and ‘homebound’ personality who was able to avoid hardship, injustice and dependency. This fact might have been a basis, not only for becoming, but for further self-development as, a spiritual guide in his community. *Commitment to the community* of San Juan Ixcoy, and even to San Pedro Soloma (Don Mateo serving as an instructor of the local *Alcalde Re-zador* there in 1983), is brought out in the interviews with him.

6.9 Giving up or reinforcing traditional (*Costumbrista*) identity: two alternative directions

6.9.1 A point-of-reference-based model of giving up traditional identity

- a) Burning the ancestral or, rather, family cross.
- b) Not taking care of the house of birth (not taking care of the *k'exel*-relationship of the grandparent – grandchild generations).
- c) Ceasing with the custom of ‘confession’, of traditional prayers, of offering *xaq an* (‘elder leaves’), candles and *pom* (‘copal, resin’).
- d) Ignoring proper conduct in face of the Judgement (*justisya*) and the Lord of Illness, and the respective beliefs.
- e) Not caring about the proper ceremonies when founding one’s own household [*tz’um-b’il* = ‘sown out (as seed or as offspring)’. Cf Ch. D.6.4. [Table 9], D.6.5.
- f) Not taking care of the relationship of one’s own home township and a new locality outside (e.g., the plantation one goes to in order to earn cash money): leaving a problem unregulated in terms of an open declaration (confession) before leaving one’s home town.

These features or components are central to Q’anjob’al Maya traditional identity. But these are *only part* of the set of features which make up personal and social identity in that traditional segment of the population. Other ritual and institutional aspects are covered in Chapter E on the “*Ordenanza* cult (holy bundle)”.

6.9.2 *A model of reinforcing resistance and traditional identity*

A model of reinforcing resistance in terms of traditional identity might look like this:

a) The conservation of *institutions* marking the presence of traditionalists (for example, the position of *Alcalde Rezador*, a *cofradía* (as a body of dignitaries [*Principales*], diviners [*Ajb'e*], etc.).

b) *Opportunities* to enact traditional identity (e.g., public sessions in the town hall with the presence of traditional dignitaries).

c) The maintenance of a *considerable percentage* of traditionalists in the population.

d) The *success* of traditionalists is *facilitated* by the following behavioral features: tolerance, comprehension, integration, self-respect, the corporate community (boundedness), conservation of native land tenure (possibly with a prohibition on selling land to outsiders).

e) A general community-inspired *value system* is consciously oriented towards identity and existence, autonomy and self-determination, self-respect and self-rule.

f) *Factual actions or behavior, or praxis*, in the sense of preserving and actualizing the features or components mentioned in Paragraph 6.2.1 (and correspondingly 6.9.1, Points a-f), reinforce traditional identity, in accord with behavioral sociology.

g) An *attitude of confrontation and resistance* on the part of the traditionalists with regard to socialization agents from outside: the perception of intrusion and disrespect for local, traditional and native customs and beliefs. For instance (App. I [“There are no *costumbres* anymore”]):

“...at night they [the Evangelicals] want to become noisy, they want to sing the bible, they start to sing the word of God...” Imagine the house of the diviner being squeezed between two loudspeakers, of the *Carismáticos* (Charismatics) and the *Pentecostales* (Pentecostals), on market days when consultations take place. “The town already goes into the water (...) in a lagoon, there the town is baptized on a name...” “...only quarrels are what the town is doing now, criticizing unjustly, stealing.” “...the Evangelicals, those are the ones who provoke us, those are the ones, who mess us up.”

h) A look ahead: *Legal guarantees*, in terms of civil or human rights, local autonomy, or a peace treaty the results of which can be watched internationally will become the *framework* for social, ethnic and national identities. This can provide the necessary existential space for the development or cultivation of the *contributing potentials* of traditional identity, spirituality and cultural survival within a plural or multicultural society. Cf Ch. 10.7: *Peace as reconciliation* encompasses the *whole society of Guatemala* and *incorporates* traditionalist Maya Indian ideas and social role identities.

7. EXISTENTIAL DOMAINS: CORRESPONDING DIVINATION CASES AND BELIEFS

In this Chapter different concepts and models of existence are outlined. Central cultural aspects of subjective life, as observed in corresponding divination cases, are ordered in terms of *existential domains*. In addition to the cases of work (Chs. 6.4; 4.7), forced military conscription (Ch. 6.5), marital problems and separation (Ch. 5.9) which are analyzed in other Chapters of this book, life cycle events (*rites de passage*), such as illness and death, dreams and black magic, etc., are documented and analyzed.

7.1 On the concept and theory of existence

7.1.1 ‘Existence’ defined in terms of points of reference (variables)

A simple model, probably sensitive to many non-Western societies, defines ‘existence’ as points of reference:

land (size; crops),

house (heritage; ritual)

family (size; manpower; problems)

domestic animals (utility)

money / work (*finca* / plantation, trade / sales, business plans, etc.)

social / religious participation (community; religious organization)

life cycle / current state

problems of balance or control (preoccupation, worry / danger / loss⁴⁴ / guilt / fault)

health (prevention; illness)

The points of reference represent (or access) existential domains in terms of parameters or variables of existence. These points of reference capture the analytical ‘*etic*’ meaning of existence.

This means, the points of reference can be recast as *empirical, and even theoretical, parameters or variables*: relation to ‘identity’; economic yield (domestic animals, land size, family size; manpower), work group (manpower; money), money (surplus sales, other sales, *finca* work, other paid

⁴⁴ Loss generates a negative affect, according to Izard, “Emotions as Motivations: An Evolutionary-Developmental Perspective” in: ‘Nebraska Symposium on Motivation 1978’, vol.26, 1979).

work), prestige or social standing (community or religious participation), uncertainties (=health, war, family separation, climate; “black magic”?, preoccupations) are the basic dimensions of existence.

The concept of existence is grounded in the theory of *basic needs* and *self-organization*, especially in the *sense of coherence*.

Existence =_{ex} (1) maintenance, continuity, (auto)biography, togetherness; (2) life as the satisfaction of basic needs; (3) development (in terms of cognitive growth and the life cycle); (4) meaning(fulness).

7.1.2 Coherence: the conceptual integration of existential events

I would like to emphasize the *aspect of coherence*, i.e. the *conceptual integration of existential events*, their characteristics and their enduring or determining direction⁴⁵.

(1) Cultural themes (often value-determined), (2) basic needs (physiologically, neurally and often cognitively organized), (3) biographical or fateful incidents (determined by learning and experience, sometimes resulting in physical or mental traumas, as affects or as behavioral incapability to think and to act adequately, as behavioral *syncope*s [cf Ch. 5.8.1(6)], blockades or aversions), codetermine a fruitful anthropological concept of existence.

I assume that considerations of coherence (conceptual, i.e. cognitive or informational integration and organization) tie all these items together. Conditions and parameters of the *systems of Man* and his/her environment, including society, are considered as defining ‘human existence’ according to Rudolph & Tschohl (1977). It seems to me that their systemically fruitful and empirically and substantially well-thought out concept of human existence is completely compatible with my reduced (‘*etic*’ and ‘*emic*’) concepts of existence as outlined in this paragraph, representing the *mental image* of existence as a personal, experiential, cultural or even analytical construct. The conceptualization of existence in terms of *system models* and the postulates of a sense of coherence (following A. Antonovsky) underlying life or existence are to be considered as theoretical aspects of existence.

⁴⁵ See Hinz 2006, ch. E.14-16. Cf Gordon Lakoff & Mark Johnson, 1980: “Metaphors we live by”. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

7.2 Towards an ‘emic’ concept of existence in the Q’anjob’al consultations and in-depth interviews

7.2.1 Existence conceptualized in the consultations

Here we look at existence as a more or less native, i.e. ‘emic’ concept which is to be inferred from verbal communication in the consultations.

(1) With regard to the Q’anjob’al consultations, ‘existence’ does *not* mean *life* in all its details, but only *personally relevant aspects*.

(2) Discussion and counseling focus on *episodic events, on structural scope or constraint* of living.

(3) *Thematically*, these events concern: needs, basic risks, uncertainty, danger, guilt, poverty, loss, restitution or even accomplishment, as well as socially meaningful *rites de passage*.

(4) We are dealing with *recalled* events, not with the events themselves.

(5) The events are *reflected in thought*, are *interpreted*, and their *behavioral consequences* are *discussed*.

(6) *Problems or conflicts* are emphasized when talking about matters of existence.

(7) *Therapeutic or ritual procedures* characterize the way to manage or to cope with the episodic events.

7.2.2 A commented overview of the existential domains covered in the Q’anjob’al consultations

In this Paragraph I review the existential situations, or, rather, domains as contained in my ethnographic data. Many of these existential domains have already been dealt with in the preceding Chapters. Some others are dealt with in this Chapter on the systematics of existence.

The following existential domains are covered either in this Chapter or in the locations indicated.

1. Illness & cures [beliefs: Ch. 1.5; cases: #17B = Ch. 8.1; #20B (old lady whose money got lost = Ch. 5.3; case of her sick granddaughter = Ch. 5.4); #24A = Ch. 6.6]. <Commentary: *In existential terms, illness affects the ability to work, the dependency upon one’s family, and implies preoccupation, danger and the possible loss of life. This holds especially in the presence of malnutrition and a miserable health care service. The concept of illness and the beliefs about it conceive of it as being caused by personal transgression or fault. Children might catch an illness because of their parents’ or even grandparents’ fault. Note the personal conception of the Lord of Illness as conceding health or severe illness and death.*>

2. Marriage & marriage contracts [beliefs: Ch. 7.3.1; Ch. D.6.3; App. I [*concierto etc.*]; case: #23B = Ch. 4.8.1]. <Commentary: *This existential domain deals with the establishment of an alliance or a social bond between the two families. A bride price is paid to the bride's parents by the husband's father, and a bride service is provided for the bride's parents, or as reported for Santa Eulalia, for both parents by the couple. Sentimental problems can arise out of this service and payments. The husband's father concedes land to the couple, and a new house is build on it. These are basic needs: land to produce food (subsistence) and housing. Sentimental problems notwithstanding, a social and sentimental bond is established: both parents serve as compadres ('godfathers', or rather 'godparents' of the couple.)*>

3. Dreams & omens [cases: #29A; 18A; 30A/B; 20A; Ch. 7.4 (dreams); Ch. 3.2.1.1 (omen)]. <Commentary: *Dreams and omens can be warnings and signs of imminent danger. They cause worry or preoccupation and the expectancy of misfortune for oneself or for one's family. They warrant professional interpretation. Dreams or omens can point to faults or transgressions and are messages sent by supernatural beings. They interrelate the human sphere of everyday life with the supernatural one, and order interaction among Man and supernatural beings, e.g. God, the Earth or the Lord of Illness. This existential domain is thus characterized in terms of informational significance, exchange between Man and the supernatural beings, and possibly forgotten misbehavior.*>

4. Work on a *finca* & concept of home/own land [beliefs: Ch. 7.3.3.1; cases: #17B = Ch. 8.1; #30A/B = Ch. 5.9; #29A = Ch. 6.4.1]. <Commentary: *This existential domain implies the dimensions of subsistence or wage labor and social affiliation at home. Labor on a plantation is considered as being undesirable: it is hard work, unhealthy (prone to malaria and other tropical diseases), badly paid (approx. 20 Q = 20 US\$ per month; or paid per harvested load), a wearing-out rhythm of labor if paid per harvested load. Moreover, knowing that one works on another person's land instead of one's own land makes things different. Thus, going to a plantation depends upon poverty and the necessity to earn cash money. Social affiliation goes with the home town and one's household there. The situation of working on a plantation is viewed as changing spheres of influence, for example, of supernatural beings, i.e. passing from the home town (and its saint) to the plantation: problems in the home town have to be settled before leaving town. Otherwise misfortune, such as catching a disease, becomes possible. This domain relates existence with identity in terms of affiliation and neediness.*>

5. Land, boundary stones, black magic [beliefs: Ch. 7.3.3.2; case: #30B / 31A = Ch. 7.5.1]. <Commentary: *This existential domain concerns one's own property such as housing and the milpa, i.e. as subsistence. Land property is to be documented, is invulnerable, is conceded to Man by God. Boundary stones ('mojones') are legal, invulnerable and based upon legal documentation and measurement. Moving them arbitrarily is a severe crime and a source of black magic or the suspicion of it. Black magic is a severe crime against God and the earth. Thus, the property spheres of one's own and of the neighbor(s) are defined by legal norms and norms of mutual recognition.*>

6. Bones of the deer burned [cases: #30B/31A = Ch. 7.6; #24A = Ch.6.6]. <Commentary: *This existential domain concerns the relationship of Man to wild animals in nature. It concerns the aspect of reverence and of pardon for hunting and eating the animal (e.g. the deer) and for handling the bones left over in a ceremonially adequate way.*>

7. Marital conflicts and typical conflicts within a household [beliefs: Ch. 1.4/1.5; cases: #30A/B = Ch. 5.9/5.10, #30B/31A = Ch. 5.5]. <Commentary: *This existential domain concerns domestic peace or trouble. This means the central aspect of daily life problems, e.g. sexuality, temperament, care or diligence, togetherness, and sentiments such as mistrust, quarrels or aversion are covered here. This domain is regulated in terms of norms (asking for pardon, purification) and the corresponding procedures (e.g. the 'confession', or, rather, open declaration). The care for children is conceived as being central, and the diviner's counsel might focus on this issue. Negative sentiments, especially cursing and hate, are prohibited by the diviner and should not be reciprocated. Cf App. III on 'Talking about mistrust'.*>

8. Pregnancy & birth [beliefs: Ch. 7.3.2, App. I; cases: #29A/B = Ch. 3.3.1; cf #30A/B, 3rd & 4th divination, Hinz 1991/I:180,II:159]. <Commentary: *This is an existential domain of uncertainty and need in terms of health, social support and interfamilial solidarity. We thus find both the families of the husband and of the wife involved in interfamilial confession. This seems to be the major therapeutic or ritual measure to regulate this domain. At least the wife's parents ask the diviner for advice. Pregnancy and birth are crucial events in terms of 'rites de passage'. Alas, I have no direct case of a divination about the future of the newborn child.*>

9. Traveling vs. staying at home [2 cases in #29A = Ch. 6.4.1 (travels of the adopted son; plans of working in the USA)]. <Commentary: *These cases are similar to Point 4 above, i.e. to work on a plantation. Settling things before leaving town is also important here. Working on one's own*

land, if possible, has the preference over working out of town. This domain is considered as being central to identity, too.>

10. Military service [case: #23B = Ch. 6.5]. <Commentary: This existential situation puts extreme stress on and provokes sentimental concern of the family of the recruited family member. This domain is defined as being a sphere of Ladino dominion, in terms of control, action and fortune or misfortune. Extreme danger and fear for life characterize this domain in which death might invade prominently, and guilt or moral fault might play a role. We witness an extreme attempt to mobilize systems of support (for example, the ancestors, the patrons of the respective towns involved, and, of course, one's own family, etc.). Again, this existential domain relates to identity and its management.>

11. Death in the family [beliefs: App. I [Life cycle]; case: #29A/B = Ch. 7.7]. <Commentary: The case reported is a case of military combat or of related action. This domain concerns the future of the ones left behind, e.g., the wife and the children. We are learning about the problem of residence after the death of the partner, and thoughts, or, rather, criteria which might be relevant for the decision to be taken. Again, intrafamilial support is demonstrated, and we learn about aspects of attitude, sentiment and behavior: We are dealing with a "spirit" in which to receive the widowed family member. The social dimension of respect, membership or affiliation, and recognition is well covered and demonstrates an informal aspect of social culture and social solidarity.>

12. Founding a new household [beliefs: D.6.4/6.3; App. I; relevant case: cf Point 11 = Ch. 7.7; #29A = Ch. 4.8.2; #29A, 6th divination = Ch. 4.6 (Hinz 1991/I:130ff, II:118ff)] <Commentary: Customs and obligations of the husband's father are covered in 7.7. The exact features of tz'umb'il have not been described to me in detail, but the existential spirit of reconciliation is defined. Ch. 4.8.2: This is a case of two men who shared their fire in a common household. One of them has now moved into the former house of his father. They are preoccupied about whether or not everything was correct upon splitting up. This domain of existential action shows proper rituals to be of importance, carried out in the spirit of reconciliation and friendliness. Ch. 4.6: In a different case, the same client wants to receive his adoptive son – who does not want to live in the house of his deceased father – and transfer a plot of land to him for building a house of his own.>

7.2.3 Existential order: Man, nature and the supernatural

In the dedication (p. V), we learned about the context of prayermaking and rituals on [the eventide of] the *Alcalde* days, when the holy bundle of the town is ceremonially opened and later closed again. This context refers to the *temporal and spatial order* of existence of Man, nature, and the supernatural. Basic needs and existential values or wants are the object of ritual action. *Health, life and food co-define nature.*

In another text, different crops are at the center of attention.

(#1B-6): “(1) We make our *costumbres* so that our maize grows, we make our *costumbres* so that our beans grow, our *chilacayotes*, our apples. We make our *costumbres* so that our peaches grow, so that our prunes grow, so that our herbs grow. We make our *costumbres* so that the rain comes.....We offer our candles to God, our Lord, to our Earth, to our Home mountain and valley, to our Place (*i.e. in our individual piece of land*)..... (2) And then come our *costumbres*, in front of our Lord, the *Ordenanza* (*i.e. in front of the community shrine*)... there is our health, of all our people, in front of the *Ordenanza*... And it is in front of our Lord, the *Ordenanza*, there it is, there we go and ask for rain with our *costumbres*. And then comes the rain, the rain comes down. Well, and then our beans grow, our food grows, it grows, our *milpa*, everything grows. (3) And then our work gets done. We clear the sown field, with our hoe, we clear the sown field with our hoe, we clear it with our machete, we clear our *milpa*. And now it grows... and when the year ends there is our crop of maize, at the end [of the year] there is our crop of maize. Our work is being done, [i.e.] we make loose [the soil of] our land with the hoe, we make loose [the soil of] our place with our hoe, we put in already our maize, [for] another crop, [of] another year...” [Cf Appendix IV.c].

Milpa, rain and crops form an aspect of *nature*. *Man* appears as the *campesino* (peasant) and the *Costumbrista* (traditionalist), and his thought focuses on the *milpa* (sown field). The *supernatural* beings or supernatural places mentioned are: God, the Earth, the Homeland, the individual Terrain; the *Ordenanza* (Holy Bundle).

Costumbres (rituals) are necessary to bring rain and to let the crops grow. On the other hand, the work in the *milpa* (maize field) is carried out in the culturally patterned way, and the diviner emphasizes this agricultural work (see, for instance, Nicolás de Nicolás [Pedro] 1990, for Santa Eulalia; cf App. IX, Item 9ff). Existence and identity are forged, and “converge”, in terms of *agricultural work*, following the steps of preparing the maize field, and *rituals and prayers*, first, in one’s own place, and second, in front of the community shrine, i.e. the holy bundle (*Ordenanza*). In the context of prayers to this latter shrine (cf Ch. E.8), we are introduced to a list of values, basic needs or wants (‘life, health’; ‘food, drink’; ‘chicken, domestic animals’; ‘money’). Rain is asked for ritually. See Ch. 9.1 and 9.2 for further relevant beliefs and their analysis. Cf Ch. 5.2.

7.3 Beliefs on marriage, pregnancy, land and work

7.3.1 Marriage

Cf Ch. D [Ethnography] and App. I [Life cycle] for full text. Marriage is formally arranged. A divination might be asked for. Cf Ch. 4.8.1.

According to the diviner, my key informant, the son's father asks the future wife's parents for their daughter as the prospective wife of his son. The process takes time and is repeated. A formal bride price is paid to the father of the woman when the contract (concierto) is accepted. A bride service for the couple is provided for the parents of the wife; this service lasts from 1 to 3 years (in San Juan Ixcoy).

“One year, two years, three years, he is in the service of his father-in-law. Then his wife goes behind (follows) him. If he whose daughter it is, is of good character, it is one year, only one year, and then his daughter goes behind (follows) her husband. If he whose daughter it is has bad thoughts, it is for two years, and then his daughter leaves, once and for all she leaves” (#8A-2; App. I).

This points to potentially massive sentimental problems.

In Santa Eulalia, the newly married couple live with their parents: one week they live in the husband's father's house, and the son together with the daughter-in-law serves in the household there. The other week the couple lives in the wife's father's house and the daughter together with the son-in-law works in the house there. After this, the couple founds their own home on a plot given by the husband's father (Nicolás 1990: 23 / 24). He partitions the land equally among his children (sons).

In the monograph on Sta. Eulalia we read:

“Cuando hacen sus servicios semanalmente a veces la suegra de la muchacha es mala gente, le hace sufrir mucho a la muchacha en su trabajo. Así pasa con el muchacho si los suegros del muchacho son mala gente le dan trabajo mas duro al muchacho o le dan trabajo por tarea para ver si él es tan hombre, si él es trabajador y no pone vergüenza delante sus suegros, si la muchacha tiene hermanos, estos hermanos le joden más a su cuñado, asi pasa con la muchacha [si] tiene hermanas, estas hermanas del muchacho joden mucho a su cuñada, le dan trabajo más duro a la mucha[cha] para ver si ella es mujer, si ella sabe mantener un hombre, cuando la nuera va ir a dejar almuerzo al campo ella tiene que cargar unas tantas jícaras de bebida muy pesadas para los mosos, a veces solo la mujer del hombre trabaja ya no quieren trabajar las hermanas del hombre” (Nicolás 1990:24).

= “When they make their weekly service, the mother-in-law of the young lady is sometimes a bad person; she makes the young woman suffer much in her work. The same happens with the young man if the parents-in-law of the young man are bad persons they give the young man harder work or they give him a work load (*or*: a task?) to see if he is such a man, if he is a worker and has no shame in front of his parents-in-law. If the young woman has brothers, these brothers often put down the brother-in-

law. The same happens with the young woman if he [=her husband] has sisters, these sisters of the young man often put down their sister-in-law; they give harder work to the young woman in order to see if she is a woman, if she knows how to maintain a man. When the daughter-in-law takes lunch to the field, she has to carry some very heavy drinking vessels (*jicaras*) for the young men. Sometimes only the wife of the young man is working; the sisters of the man do not want to work anymore.”

In San Juan Ixcay, after the bride service, the couple leaves to settle on a piece of land given to them by the father of the husband. There, a new house is built (neolocal postnuptial residence) [#8B-4; App. I]:

“*Eike H.*: And where do they go to live, and for how long?

Mateo: It depends on how much land he has whose son it is, and he divides it up (distributes it). He concedes one plot to the son, to his daughter-in-law. And their hut can be built definitely on the terrain. The son, as a party [in the property claim], can take away no other piece of land⁴⁶. But it always depends on how much [land] it is, and how many sons he has. And accordingly the terrain is divided up in plots. A plot is given to the son, to the daughter-in-law.

The daughter-in-law goes and stays with the father of him (i.e. of her husband).

After that, the son and his wife are *sown out* outside (i.e., their own household is founded with the appropriate ceremonies)⁴⁷ and his house gets constructed outside. As one says, the father receives his daughter-in-law. After that, the hut of the son and his wife is started to be built. And he leaves as the other house is built now. There is the plot of the son where the land of him, whose son it is, is. There he (the son) settles. They do not go to another place. No, regularly it is that way.”

7.3.2. *Pregnancy and Childbirth*

In order to safeguard the outcome of pregnancy, an open declaration or confession between husband and wife as reconciliation and restitution of trust is mentioned by the diviner (#8A; Hinz 1991/I:14, II:16):

“She (the pregnant woman) puts into order all her sorrows, all that which she and her husband use to think; or all their reservations (all their mistrust) or all the reservations (all the mistrust) of her and her husband. She puts this into order when the son (=the child) is about to be born, and she tells of her pain to her father, her mother. [Her husband] transmits his pain to his father-in-law. He kneels in front of his father-in-law, in front of his father-in-law, in the same way she, she kneels in front of her mother-in-

⁴⁶ *Ms. has* “(k)’am junoxa tx’otx tx’otx’ chi toj naq parte...” *Chi toj*: cf ‘toq’-o’ (vt) ‘quitar, jalar’. Dicc. Q’anj. 1996:277, Dicc. Akateko 1996:164. This meaning seems to be intended (A.M.). In contrast, the form ‘toj-i’ (vi) = ‘to go’ has locatives. See the paragraph quoted below: “They do not go to another place” (*k’am b’ay; b’ay junxa parte*). Cf Ch. 7.3.1, Note 46. Adalberto Martinez has: “no puede quitar el una parte de otro terreno” (‘No part of another plot can he take away’); ‘naq parte’ = *probably*: ‘as far as he is concerned’]. See here in this App. I, Note 76, below.

⁴⁷ *Q’anj. ‘tz’unu7’* (vt): cf D.6.4, Table 1 [*tz’umb’il*].

law, so that the son (=child) can be born. Such are the *costumbres* which they make when the son (=the child) has not yet been born.”

With childbirth, the diviner is consulted about the child’s future destiny. Furthermore, various rituals are mentioned which are to be carried out (#8B, 22.5.81; Hinz 1991/I:14, II:16):

“When a child is born, one prays that it grows with the *costumbres* (customs or rituals). When the child is born one asks the *Ajb’e* (‘master of the way’, diviner) what destiny says if it (the child) will grow up or if it will not grow up. So the father of the woman, the mother of the woman go and speak to the diviner, to the diviner, to the *Ajab’e* (‘master of the way’). And then he (the diviner) will say if it has luck or if it has no luck, with regard to that the child grows up. (...) When a child is born, then one prays to the cross, one prays to the *Ordenanza*, one prays to the house of birth, for the purpose that the child grows up, for the life of the child, for the purpose that then also the woman, the mother of the child, regains her strength, so that she does not die when the child is born. Such are the *costumbres* (customs) of him who has a son, such are the *costumbres* (customs) of him who has a daughter whose child is born.”

I asked the diviner what he tells the clients who ask about the future of a newborn child (from #23A, 2.7.81; Hinz 1991/I:18f, II:20):

Eike H.: ...And if there is a person who comes to you and asks what should be done with his (or her) small child which has just been born, which are the words which you say to the person here?

Mateo: ‘If you give up your quarrel, if you give up a quarrel, if you give up a mistrust, then your child will already grow up. [I:19] If you do not give up the quarrel, if you do not give up the mistrust, then your child will not grow up.’ In such a way I arrange it with that person.

Eike H.: Ah, and what can this person do who comes to you in order to ask what will happen to the child that has just been born?

Mateo: I command them this: ‘Eh, do not quarrel among yourselves, do not have any mistrust, do not have any sorrows. Eh, if you follow up a quarrel, a mistrust, then your child will already die. Here you will cry, here you will go to the cemetery⁴⁸.’ In that way I talk to the people.

7.3.3. Beliefs about land and work

The following matrix summarizes features and ethnographic data.

⁴⁸ *Q’anj. reads:* “tiwal oq hex oq’oq, oq hex to[q] b’ay sementer.” The German translation has to be corrected correspondingly (I:19; II:20).

Features	Text passage (here or in Hinz 1991)
Inheritance of land: equal partitioning among children (with <i>uniones de hecho</i> only the children (sons) of the first <i>unión</i>); legal documents	#8B [interview] = App. I [Life cycle]; #30A/B [consultation], Chs. 5.9; D.6.3
Taking care of the house of birth	Various consultations, e.g. #29A App. II [Property of my grandfather]
<i>K'exel</i> -relation, occupying and preserving the grandparent's house	Various consultations, e.g., #24A, Ch. 6.6.1 <Comm 13>; Ch. D.6.1
Black magic; shifting boundary stones	#23A [interview] = Ch. 7.3.3.2
Residence patterns	Chs. D.6.4, D.6.3; App. I
Relationship between home and one's own land, and work on a plantation or abroad	#23A [interview], Ch. 7.3.3.1; Ch. 6.4

Table 1: Points of reference to *land and home*

7.3.3.1 Concerning work on a plantation

From: #23A; Hinz 1991/I:19, II:20.

These data are an excerpt from an in-depth interview in which the diviner presents a model dialog and assumes the role of the fictitious client, of the diviner and of the commentator for the ethnographer.

Eike H.: ...And if there is person who comes to you and is working on a finca (plantation) in the lowland, what are your words which you tell this person?

Mateo: Ah, well, eh, the people come, they come, they come to me⁴⁹. 'Now, it is the case that we come to ask, what the [divination] says. Is it good how we will come back from the plantation, is it good, how we will come back from the lowland? We are already about to leave together with my children, we are about to take off together with my wife. I am poor, I have no money, I have no food, I have no maize, and therefore I will thus go to the finca (plantation)...

Eike H.: Ah.

Mateo: ...and therefore I then come to ask for a counsel, to ask for a divination for me, if it will be good, how I will come back, or [if it will be]

⁴⁹ *The Q'anjob'al text should read: *Z:* ha baya, he, ch'ul chi jaw jan ánima tu xin chi jaw b'ay inti... [or: ...ch'ul chi jay jan ánima tu xin chi jay ayinti...] (II: 20). The German translation should be corrected correspondingly (I:19).*

bad, how I will come back,' say those people. Well, and then I make a divination for them.

Eike H.: Ah.

Mateo: 'No, it is good, how you will come back, there will be no pain, may you go, but you definitely shall have arranged your problems, you shall have arranged your prayers, you shall have put into order your sorrow, whatsoever is your sorrow. For that reason, you will go to the lowlands, because it is the work that you will go (leave). It is no play that you will leave. It is work, work it is that you will leave. You shall not take your mistrust along with you, you shall not take your mistrust (*or:* mental reservation, double thought) along with you to the plantation. Because we (= you) are still poor, you are still poor, therefore you are then being about to go to the plantation. And if you take your mistrust with you, then there will be a headache. Then there will be something that will happen to you on the plantation, or— No, you shall put it well into order,' I say to these persons if they go to the plantation.

A reason to work on the plantation is poverty. Furthermore, a certain amount of cash is needed even though enough land for subsistence may be available. A precondition which is also brought out in the consultations is to leave home and one's own land in "peace", i.e., with all the problems, preoccupations and mistrust or double thoughts ritually and socially solved and arranged. See Chs. 5.9 and 6.4.

7.3.3.2 Concerning boundary stones, neighbors and black magic

From: #23A; Hinz 1991/I:17, II:18f.

The following data are again taken from an in-depth interview with the diviner who presents a model dialog with the fictitious clients:

Eike H.: (...) If there is a person who comes to you and has a mistrust towards his (or her) neighbor, what do you say to this person?

Mateo: Ah, towards the neighbor, well, the neighbor—, if they have a quarrel, the person who comes here—, well, the person here who has a quarrel with his (or her) neighbors—

Eike H.: Ah.

Mateo: Eh, why is he (or she) quarreling with his (her) neighbor, because of the land? Eh, perhaps that it is the neighbor who comes. If it is the neighbor who fiddles around with (*or:* moves) the boundary stone, or that it is this (person) who fiddles around with the boundary stone of the neighbor, then the quarrel starts. Perhaps it is the neighbor who fiddles around with their boundary stones, or they (themselves) here are (the persons) who fiddle around with the boundary stones, then the quarrel starts (...) then it

starts that they wish death upon each other in prayers. Then they start to wish death mutually upon each other, or they go to a center [of spiritists]⁵⁰, but only because of the land (plot), they quarrel because of the holy place (=of the holy earth). Therefore, quarrel emerges. And then they start to ruin each other. And then they come here, these people, they come here [II:19]: “In such a way are we. Here is the quarrel about our land, about our place.” Well then because I am like the office [of the *Alcalde*], because it is me who then investigates and verifies it. And then I investigate and verify it for them. “What is the condition of that land and what do your papers (documents) look like? And are you then in possession of your papers (documents)? Do you then possess your documents or titles of property? What is going on with you that you are quarreling, for the land? It is prohibited in front of God. You should not quarrel for the holy place! What for is the neighbor fiddling around with your place, what for are you fiddling around with the place of the neighbor? What for are you moving the boundary stones? Once and for all, they are boundary stones. They are boundary stones, you shall not touch them, you shall not touch them. Now, because of a quarrel⁵¹ which you have about your land, about your place, therefore you will die. Or who knows where—, what you are just doing secretly against your neighbor? Perhaps it is the case that you wish death upon each other mutually in prayer. Perhaps it is the case that you offer *copal* for yourselves⁵², perhaps that—, or who knows what kind of disaster you are just about to cause. Maybe you set out to complain in the Calvary (cemetery), in the cemetery, perhaps you go to a [spiritist] center, or you are going to a mountain, or you are going to a rock, or you are going to a water (lake). No, you should not act like that. If you act like that it is prohibited (i.e. it is injustice). Or who knows who of you it is whom you perhaps—, whom you will hit, perhaps that it is your neighbor who will hit you, or that it will be you who will hit him. You shall not do any injustice (disaster) in front of God, since it is our place. It is prohibited that we quarrel because of our place (our land). We must not pick a quarrel about our place (land), since our place (land) is not our possession. What is our possession is [in reality only] rented (borrowed). God, our Lord, knows how he has made the holy place. Why do you start to quarrel about it?” In that way I then speak to the people.

Eike H.: And what does this person do who comes to you and has a mistrust towards his/her neighbor?

Mateo: Well, he/she has a mistrust because there is quarrel about the land.

⁵⁰ Explication by APE. Cf Ch. 9.2, Note 59 (‘doing witchcraft’).

⁵¹ German translation to be corrected in accordance with the Q’anjob’al text.

⁵² German translation to be corrected in accordance with the Q’anjob’al text.

Eike H.: Ah, ah.

Mateo: They quarrel about the land, about their land, [about] the place (land), about that they pick a quarrel.

Eike H.: Ah, ah.

Mateo: Therefore, then, he (she) has a mistrust towards his (her) neighbor, towards him then, and therefore it is then that they do not communicate on good terms with their neighbor...

Eike H.: Ah, ah.

Mateo: ...that is, about the boundary stones, about the boundary stones for their piece of land. Therefore, then, a quarrel starts, and then they do not communicate with their neighbor [about the problem].

Eike H.: Ah, ah.

Mateo: They come here to complain with me, and then I do arrange it in good terms. For I here, I do not allow that they complain in front of God, I do not want to permit it that they wish death upon each other, mutually, in prayer. I do not allow them to go to a center [of spiritists]. That is prohibited.

Eike H.: Ah.

Mateo: I here, I do not permit them to go to the cemetery. I here, I do not permit them to complain with a water (a lake), on top of a mountain, with a rock. No, "I do not give permission," I say to them.

Eike H.: Ah.

Mateo: Thus I speak to the person who comes here.

Eike H.: Ah, ah. And what does 'center' mean?

Mateo: This center is prohibited, is bad, is bad, is bad.

Eike H.: Ah.

Mateo: [II:20] The center is bad <cf Ch. 9.2, Note 59: *sentro chi yak jin*>.

Land and its legal boundary stones are considered to be integer and 'holy', i.e. invulnerable. Social control focuses on this fundamental existential good and need and its conservation. The basis of territorial claims is written legal evidence in the township archives, called 'land title'. The diviner highlights his impartial, legally bound role as a person who prohibits black magic, mental and social hate. Places for cursing or doing black magic are specified in terms of their typical features.

- *Land rights are controlled by legal documents.*
- *In case of disputes, strict adherence to legal evidence in procedural terms is necessary.*
- *The role of the diviner is impartial, geared towards reinforcement of social control in legal terms, i.e. not arbitrary.*

- *Black magic is a form of an extreme break in social norms. It is prohibited and counteracted by the diviner. See Ch. 7.5; App. I [Social age role stereotypes: Teaching respect for the boundary stones].*

7.4 Dreams and omens

7.4.1 Case 1: translated text and analytical commentary

From: #30A/B; Hinz 1991/I:170, II:151.

The diviner knows the woman and, obviously, knows the case.

Female client: My husband had a dream on Monday, on Tuesday one week ago, Sir, one week ago. Now as calculated from the day before yesterday (...) <*The diviner admonishes the woman's son to listen.*>

Female client: The day before yesterday it was one week that he dreamt. Who knows what his dream means, Sir, maybe that he will have misfortune, maybe that it is the woman who is with him (*lit.*: us; i.e. his mistress) who will have misfortune. It says that he has dreamt that that woman got herself dirty [with excrement]. "I have dreamt that she got herself dirty, it says, that I was [acting in the role of a] councilor (*Regidor*). She held embraced the small child. And then I went and took the small child away from her. And then I went and took it to jail, so it says [in the dream], we put the child into jail, and then we locked the door. And then I went and took the woman there, too. I also put her [into it]. She stayed [there] together with the child. And then, so it said [in the dream], and then I went and lifted [her], I think, and then I sat [her] down, and there, so it said [in the dream], she pissed on herself, at least my hand got dirty," so he said, "with her urine (*or*: shit)," so he said. Who knows what his dream means, Sir. Maybe it [the dream] hints towards me or towards that woman who [will] have misfortune, so I say to myself, Sir. That is the [problem].

Diviner: Mateo García.

Female client: On Tuesday one week ago, the day before yesterday it was one week ago.

Diviner: As I hear, Mateo García, Lucía Loarca, ahem, Pérez, so it says, does it?

Female client: Yes, so it says.

Diviner: Lucía Loarca Pérez.

Female client: That is my name.

Diviner: Yes.

Female client: (**I**) So it is at least, so it is. Perhaps a misfortune will happen [to him], or a daughter [with the other woman] will have a misfortune.

<Commentary 1: The client speculates about the meaning of her husband's dream told to her by him. The dream might refer to misfortune concerning the husband or his mistress's daughter.>

Diviner: (2) Wait, Madam, wait if he will put it into order at least (...) Are you the person who gives the orders? For if you give orders then arrange it there, too. Do not molest me here (...)

<Commentary 2: The diviner warns the female client. He points out that the husband might put things into order with the other woman. She – the client – shall not interfere with this process since it is not her business. It thus becomes understandable that the reported dream is not at the center of the female client's problem and, accordingly, receives less attention on the diviner's side. Moral ("dirty"), legal and relational aspects seem to be implied in the dream imaging.>

<Short interruption; after that he continues:> [cf Ch. 5.9 (Legal advice). Only those ideas necessary to understand the interpretation of the dream follow.]

(3) But now, madam, pardon, what is the reason for your mistrust, for your sorrows?

<Commentary 3: The diviner tries to identify the problem: the client's mistrust and sorrow and their cause.>

(4) You shall live with him together, you shall stay with him, because he has children with you. But if you should think to go to some place else, then you will do it as this woman does, so it says. [He] already has to go (i.e. die), ha, ha (...) [I:171, II:152]

<Commentary 4: The diviner refers to the children and suggests to the woman that she stay with her husband. The diviner interprets the dreams for the first time. See No. 7.>

Diviner: (5) Don't be stubborn, and you shall not quarrel either.

<Commentary 5: The diviner directs the female client away from unconstructive negative emotion.>

Female client: (6) Alright, Sir.

Diviner: If you quarrel, then all is gone, ha, ha, ha. Do not do the same like him. Let him [do] what he does. Only settle down, sit down, [i.e. stay on the terrain her husband has to concede to his son].

Female client: Yes, Sir, so it is.

<Commentary 6: The diviner redirects the female client towards constructive action. See Comm. 8.>

Diviner: (7) The time will already come, the time will already come when something will happen to him. Then he will notice it, then he will reflect about it what the punishment looks like which will haunt him. There is a punishment which will come. Well, it is not the case that–, ah–

Female client: Well, over my husband, so to say?

Diviner: Yes, so it is, [it will come] over his father (i.e. of this boy), you know, ha, ha, ha.

Female client: Yes, so it is, Sir, he really speaks so, too.

Diviner: Ha, ha, ha.

Female client: He says, therefore certainly he dreams as I have said, and therefore he dreams that he messes himself up with shit, as he said, therefore– who knows who it is [who will die].

Diviner: It is he himself who destroys himself. What for he deceives you and also these sons and also the other woman, whom he drags along (...) and also [II:152] the other son who was born (...)

<Commentary 7: The diviner finally seems to interpret the dream as referring to the client's husband and his wrong-doing. The meaning of the dream is the forecast of punishment. See text No. 4.>

(8) For God's sake, you shall go to ascertain your rights.

<Commentary 8: The diviner redirects the client's interest and attention to the urgent necessity of securing the legal land title for her son(s) immediately; because her husband is about to leave town for work on the plantation. See No. 6 and Ch. 5.9-5.10.>

<The counseling continues; cf Ch. 5.9 for complete arguments.>

7.4.2 Content summary

The client speculates about the meaning of her husband's dream. Warning the female client, the diviner draws a very sharp line between the client and the husband, and the husband and his mistress. It thus becomes understandable that the reported dream is not central and, accordingly, receives less attention on the diviner's side. The diviner directs the female client away from unconstructive negative emotion towards constructive future-oriented action. Thus, the diviner redirects the client's interest and attention to the necessity of securing the legal land title for her son(s). See No. 6 and Ch. 5.9-5.10.

The moves, i.e. the proposals or demands and their implications (→), are:

‘stay [with husband, in home town]’ → ‘care [for children, land title]’

This later turns into the advice:

‘stay [in home town, on one’s own plot, with children]’ → ‘(do) not go [to plantation]’, ‘(do) not stay [with husband, his mistress]’

7.4.3 Case 2: translated text and analytical commentary

From: #20A; Hinz 1991/I:39ff.

Dream of a male client from San Pedro Soloma; cf Ch. 5.6

Male client: (1) Now it is every night, every night. Only today, I can recall nothing in my stomach (= interior), Sir. Today nothing is left in my memory. Only a few things, only a few things then, only a few things. I only take it out in this way, nothing is left in my remembrance.

When it became light yesterday, I dreamt that I quarreled with the deceased person who bears the same name as you.

<Commentary 1: The client dreams repeatedly about a quarrel with his father.>

(2) I quarreled with him. Obviously I dreamt that she was there, that my deceased mother was there, that she was there. I really dreamt that I surely quarreled with my father. It appeared that I beat him up, with a stick or whatever I beat him up with. Imagine, I really dreamt that it was my deceased grandmother, the mother of my mother, that is, his (my father’s) mother-in-law, yes, the deceased mother of my mother. And I dreamt that one asked for her [as a wife], and he (i.e. my father) married [her].

<Commentary 2: The client dreams that he had quarreled with his father and that his dead mother was present. In the dream, he had beaten his father. The male client dreams that his father is going to marry his mother-in-law, the client’s mother’s mother (i.e. the client’s grandmother). The client’s mother and father were supposed to be present in the dream, besides the client’s father’s mother-in-law.>

(3) As a matter of fact, this was the reason that I then said: “What is going on?” “At least you do not understand (obey) anymore, and also, is it a toy?” “Why?”, said I, “I will tell it to my grandmother.” As I said, this is the reason [for the quarrel] for us with him. It was a heavy fight which I had with him when it became light yesterday, Sir. When I woke up, when I woke up, my stomach was still pounding. I had a heavy fight with him as I dreamt.

<Commentary 3: Comprehension or unintelligibility of the dream imaging is itself dreamt and a moral-behavioral level which remains obscure is introduced in terms of quarreling and physical beating.>

(4) Since then it has been exactly the same. Yes, well, yes, twice. Yes, well, yes, it now happened exactly twice, when dawn was breaking today I dreamt it again. But today nothing was left in my memory.

Diviner: Nothing remained in your memory, how it–

Male client: Absolutely nothing remained in my memory of what happened when I dreamt.

<Commentary 4: The dream is repeated. Hardly anything is remembered.>

(5) What happened to me two days ago – today, it was two days ago – is that I was obviously working. I only looked a little bit about the land which will probably remain in the son’s possession since it is situated all around the house.

Diviner: There, in Huajb’al?

Male client: No, there–, not that land.

Diviner: Yes, then it is the land in Yulha?

Male client: It is the land around the house, around the house, only because the land is bought; it is not our heritage which was left behind by my deceased namesake (i.e. grandfather), let us say, it is not that land, only that it is bought land anyway. Only the boundary stone is the same [which marks the terrain] which borders. Obviously, I was seeing (in the dream) that work had already been done, since it is me who is now sowing the maize because the maize is for all. Why are the children [of the second wife?] and the **second wife** turning against me? For my maize has been sown, but the maize did not come up. There are [places] on which the land remains without yield. And I will only simply sow out the maize between maize stalks, in that way, but I will possibly only turn to that starting next week, I think.

<Commentary 5: The setting of the second dream places the client in a situation of working on one of his plots of land. See No. 15>

(6) Who knows, perhaps because I don’t care very much about it, because I haven’t yet cared about it very much, because I thus haven’t cleared the *milpa*, has this [dream] perhaps happened, quite suddenly, let us say. It is impossible to figure that out.

<Commentary 6: The client speculates if his attitude towards milpa work might be the reason for the dream. For this he adds an argument:>

(7) He (i.e. the client's father) was quite clear about it, when he was still alive: "Perhaps only because I am not anymore? If there should be anything, you shall always care about it, it is always you who has the responsibility for it," so he said, as he was still alive, but already ill. And, thus, I reflect what this dream might mean, you know.

<Commentary 7: The client's father appealed to the client's future responsibility for the land, probably addressing a moral level. The client might wonder if a moral obligation has been touched upon.>

Diviner: (8) It was today, wasn't it?

Male client: Imagine that I will perhaps go on the [day] Mulu7 which is coming, and by then the 180 days since he has died will have passed. (...)

Diviner: It is certainly still the day which will speak.

Male client: Yes, Sir.

Diviner: For it is the dream which will come true.

Male client: Yes, it is the dream which I want now [being interpreted].

Diviner: What does God, our Lord, the Calendar Day, the Day say with regard to the heart of Alonso Mateo, hand, foot, child of our Lord, San Pedro Soloma? What is it what one let him see yesterday at the breaking of the day in the face of our Lord 5 Watan, on Wednesday,

<Commentary 8: In the discussion, a link between the end of the 180-day period after the father's death and the dream seems to be suggested. The diviner asks for the meaning of the message the dream might contain and for the significance of the dream imaging. As authors of the message, God and/or the Calendar Day are specified. The client, Alonso Mateo, is from San Pedro Soloma and is, thus, considered to be a subject ('hand, foot, child') under the rule of St. Peter. The calendar day is '5 Watan' under whose rule the dream had happened.>

(9) what then—, they (i.e. the illnesses) are then still damaging?

Male client: They will damage.

Diviner: The deceased Christian person Mateo Alonso, he has been already laid down, he has already been put to rest in the holy cemetery, under the hands, under the feet, of our Lord San Pedro,

<Commentary 9: This is an intrusive question which might refer to the second divination problem, the illness of the client's daughter, and its temporal or concomitant import or seriousness. The client might have talked about this subject informally before the consultation started.>

(10) and what is the name of your mother?

Male client: Sebastiana Anselmo.

Diviner: Sebastiana Anselmo. Oh God, Sebastiana Anselmo, she has already died⁵³.

<Commentary 10: The diviner asks for identification of the client's mother.>

(11) Why did she show up in the dream, as a bad omen, when it became light yesterday, in front of our Lord, 5 Watan? And were they the same yesterday, too? Did you see [in the dream] that your father married your grandmother?

Male client: It was also the same when it became light yesterday, Sir.

<Commentary 11: The diviner asks for the reason of the appearance of the client's mother in his dreams. The repetition in the second dream is ascertained.>

Diviner: **(12)** And what is the name of your grandmother?

Male client: Patricia, ah–, Mateo [am I][?], Sir.

Diviner: The deceased woman, the deceased female Christian person, Patricia Mateo.

<Commentary 12: The diviner asks for identification of the client's grandmother.>

(13) Why did they let Alonso see that [in the dream], Christ, the father, and Mary, the mother, why did they let him, Mateo Alonso, see her, Patricia Mateo, in the dream⁵⁴, so it says, so all these things are, as it says.

<Commentary 13: The diviner asks for the reason for the client's grandmother's appearance in the dream.>

(14) <1st divination> 5 Watan – 2 B'en, the result is always the same.

Male client: The same, Sir.

Diviner: It is the same how much mistrust it has left with you...

Male client: Ah.

<Commentary 14: The interpretation emphasizes mutual 'mistrust' (2 B'en; 2 = Q'anj. kab', implying kab'k'ulal = 'mistrust') between the client and the second wife of the client's father.>

Diviner: ...has remained within you and **(15)** within this second wife (...)

⁵³ ánima xa ix = 'she is already dead', in contrast to: 'ix ánima' = the female person.

⁵⁴ *Alternative translation:* Why did they let [Alonso] see Mateo Alonso, Patricia Mateo in the dream? *Or corrected:* Why did they let Alonso Mateo see Patricia Mateo in the dream? *Possibly:* not the dreaming person, but the dream image itself (the father) as the point of reference. 'See' = 'meet'? See Ch. D.6.1, Note 18 [Name giving].

<Commentary 15: The information that we are dealing with Ana Nolasco, the **second wife of the client's father**, is mentioned in the consultation and might have been communicated to the diviner in the conversation before the divination started and before I showed up in the diviner's house. Both the diviner and the client were working in the diviner's garden when I came. Cf No. 5 of this Paragraph ["second wife"].>

(16) (...) – 2 Ab'ak, it is always your mistrust (...) – 3 Kaq, it is the same, the quarrel which comes from your father (...) or from this second wife (...)

<Commentary 16: The interpretation again emphasizes mistrust (2 Ab'ak) and quarrels (3 Kaq) originating with the client's father and his second wife. The diviner discusses the rituals of purification and reconciliation in connection with the 180 days [after the father's death] and the 260-day period. The diviner summarizes the interpretation of the dream:>

Diviner: [p.I:54; II:51] (17) (...) But this is something bad that you have dreamed that your father (...) would marry your grandmother (...) Only transformed must you have seen it. For you have seen the damned Ana. Your grandmother has occupied her place [in the dream], ha, ha, ha.

<Commentary 17: The significance of the client's dream is bad. The dream image of the client's grandmother represents actually his father's second wife, the client's stepmother, Ana. This stepmother is supposed to have abused the client greatly.>

7.4.4 Reconstruction of kin relations

The names are confusing.

0. Alonso Mateo

0.1 the client, coincides with 6; cf 3.1 below. Cf Ch. D.6.1, Note 18.

1. Mateo Alonso (= the client's father); see Point 3.1 below:

1.1 his father = 'Mateo', same name as the diviner's.

2. Sebastiana Anselmo.

2.1 client's mother.

2.2 client's father's wife.

3. Patricia [Mateo: not part of her name?].

3.1 client's grandmother [Cf No. 12; *Q'anj.*: corrected: "Patricia, ha-, Mateo hinmam = Patricia; Mateo is my father" or "Mateo in, mam=I am Mateo, Sir"].

3.2 mother of the client's mother.

3.3 mother-in-law of the father of the client.

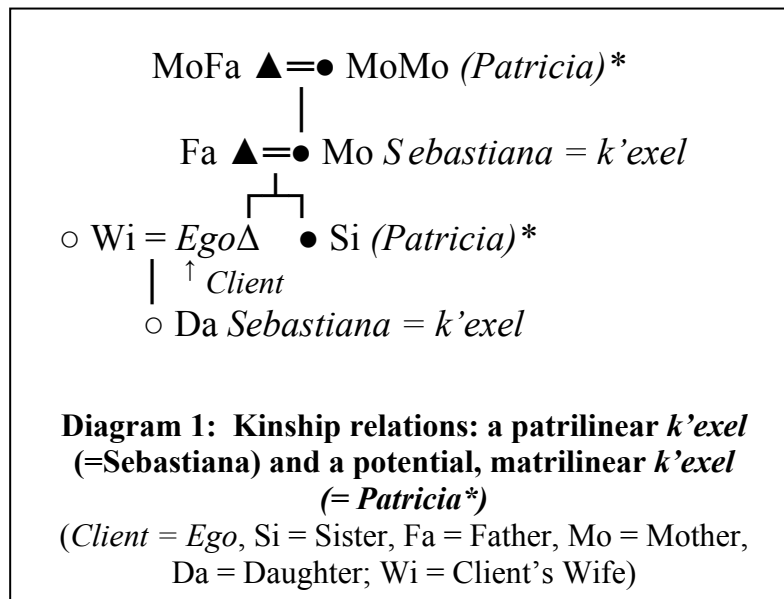
4. Sebastiana Alonso.

4.1 client's daughter.

4.2 specified as her grandmother's (= client's mother's) replacement.

- 4.3 ‘Sebastiana’ = namesake (*k’exel*).
5. Patricia. [Text not quoted; cf Ch. 5.6 <Comm. 6>]
- 5.1 client’s sister [Hinz 1991/I:55; II:52: “...the deceased Patricia, my sister”].
[[5.2 replacement - ? - of Patricia Mateo, her grandmother (Client’s MoMo); not confirmed]].
[[5.3 ‘Patricia’ = possibly namesake, but unconfirmed]].
6. ‘wuxhtaq’ Alonso.
- 6.1 the client, addressed by his (ex-)brother-in-law, ex-husband of the deceased client’s sister [‘w-uxhtaq’ used as term of address by the brother-in-law].
7. Ana
- 7.1 The client’s father’s second wife
- 7.2 The client’s stepmother

The case of *Sebastiana Alonso* (*k’exel* of *Sebastiana Anselmo*) points to a rule of inheritance of the house within the patrilineage (father’s father or mother). The case of *Patricia*, the client’s deceased sister, might point to a *k’exel*-relationship with *Patricia Mateo*, possibly a matrilinear arrangement (??; mother’s mother). But note that the term ‘*k’exel*’ is not used in the text. See Diagram 1.



7.4.5 Summary

The client dreams that he had beaten his father with a stick and that his father is going to marry his mother-in-law, i.e. the client’s grandmother. The diviner asks the Calendar Day for the meaning of the message the dream might contain and for the significance of the dream imaging. In the interpretation mistrust and quarrels originating with the client’s father and his second wife are highlighted and purification and reconciliation are dis-

cussed. The diviner summarizes the interpretation of the dream: The significance of the client's dream is bad. The dream image of the client's grandmother represents actually his father's second wife, the client's stepmother, Ana, who has abused the client.

7.5 Suspicion of black magic

7.5.1 Translated text and analytical commentary

From: #30B/31A: Hinz 1991/I:193-195, II:171.

The client asks questions concerning the health of his family, especially of his sons. The forecast is not bad. In the divination, the diviner gets a hint towards "burned bones" in the client's house. Cf Ch. 7.6. The client continues to ask:

*Male client: (1) Aren't there *costumbres* (customs) which are made against me? Is there nobody who makes *costumbres* against me, with regard to the [bone] of the animal, if sometimes witchcraft is committed against me, words are uttered in front of the [bone]?*

Diviner: Because of this bone?

*Male client: Yes, it is the bone which shouts at me. But isn't there perhaps somebody who makes *costumbres* against me, against me?*

<Commentary 1: The client is confronted with the hypothetical issue of "burned bones" in his house. He tries to figure out if black magic is involved against him, i.e. a curse.>

Diviner: (2) Ah, there is already evil (or: much) work. But at least it must be all that what can be effected with me (or: but at least it's the rum which keeps things moving with me), ha, ha, ha, ha.

Male client: Yes, for it must be that, Sir, yes.

Diviner: This bone, you did say, as I have heard?

Male client: Yes, so it is. For it is that what shouts at me.

Diviner: That is what happens?

*Male client: Yes, for so it is. And are still *costumbres* made against me somewhere? If there is somebody who then—*

<Commentary 2: The diviner agrees on the issue of black magic. In a twist of viewpoints, the client takes up the diviner's suggestions and tries to elaborate on them.>

Diviner: (3) Earth, animals of the place of birth, under the hands and feet of our Lord Pajaltac—, so it is?

Male client: Ah, so it is, Sir.

Diviner: So it is.

Female client: So it is.

Diviner: Pajaltac.

Female client: Yes, so it is.

Diviner: Ah.

<Commentary 3: The diviner recasts the problem in formal terms, addressing the earth and the (bones of) the animals buried or burned in the place of birth, under the rule ('under the hands and feet') of the village of Pajaltac, a larger village in the Municipio of San Pedro Soloma, conceptualized as a personlike ruler ('Lord').>

(4) *<3rd divination>* 13 Tz'ikin – 12 Chej [I:194].

It is really the neighbor who smashes you up.

Male client: Yes, perhaps, Sir.

Diviner: [It is] really the neighbor, really the neighbor. You know what it is. At least it is that as we say.

<Commentary 4: The divination yields the interpretation that it is the neighbor. Both the beginning day Tz'ikin ('bird') and the last, probably "speaking day", Chej ('deer, horse') refer to animals (domestic and / or wild animals?). The client is asked to remember episodic details.>

(5) And do not quarrel with the neighbor, do not quarrel.

Male client: Of course, certainly, Sir, yes, yes.

Diviner: For so it is, there is a bone in [your] vicinity, close to you.

<Commentary 5: The diviner admonishes the client to avoid quarreling. The diviner's behavioral pattern is completely different from witchcraft accusation: "Do not quarrel!" [Witchcraft or, rather, black magic, might be associated with problems with the neighbors].>

<after changing the cassette>

(6) But will the [neighbor or: bone] understand this?

Male client: Here?

Diviner: The way people put themselves into order, is already different *<probably due to a change of religion>*, ha, ha, ha. But be cautious at least, so it says here, well. *<short interruption of the consultation>*

<Commentary 6: Some relevant information might be missed due to changing the cassette. The crucial argument may be contained in the following sentences: The diviner may refer to a change in religion, and, therefore, to a breakdown in communication. This leaves only general caution as a behavioral norm. Note that there is no witchcraft accusation!>

7.5.2 Summary

The client is confronted with the hypothetical issue of “burned bones” in his house. He tries to figure out if black magic is involved against him, i.e. curses. The divination yields the interpretation that it is the neighbor. The diviner admonishes the client to avoid quarreling. The neighbors might have changed their religion, and that might be the reason for a breakdown in communication. General caution as a behavioral norm is suggested.

7.6 Bones of the animal – e.g. a deer – burned

7.6.1 Translated text and analytical commentary

From: #30B/31A; Hinz 1991/I:195-197, II:172-173.

The clients are the same as in Ch. 7.5.1. This text forms part of the same consultation.

Male client: (1) But what shall I do according to your opinion, so I say? How do I have to ask for pardon with regard to the animal’s [bone] which is brought up [as a problem]?

<Commentary 1: The male client asks of how to proceed ceremonially in asking for pardon because of the mistreated bone(s).>

Diviner: (2) <4th divination, partially in silence> 13 Iq’, 13 Iq’ [5 Chinax – 13 Tox], 1Chej, 2 Lamb’at, you shall not have a mistrust with regard to the bone of the animal, that one, with regard to that deer, you shall not have a mistrust,

2 Lamb’at, 3 Mulu7, if you continue in your faults with regard to the animal of the place [of birth], because it is the animal, because it knows how the earth has heated up, has caught fire.

Male client: Yes.

<Commentary 2: The two last days are spelled out aloud and are, thus, probably, ‘speaking days’: “1 Chej” might refer to the bones of the animal, or, rather, deer (‘Chej’ means ‘deer’). “2 Lamb’at” implies “mistrust” (2 = ‘kab’ ≡ ‘kab’k’ulal’), possibly “justice” (‘Lamb’at’, an Alcalde day). “3 Mulu7” implies “transgression or faults” (‘mul’ = ‘fault’, ‘trespassing’). The sentence form is elliptic: If you continue, you will be in danger. The bones are obviously conceived as personlike beings with the ability of remembrance or knowledge of episodic facts. The fact seems to consist in the burning of the bones (on the ground, etc.).>

Diviner: (3) You shall not– Although you will hunt the animal, its bones must be conserved with you on top [of the altar; or: in the attic]. You must

not destroy the bone of the animal. If you destroy that bone it is the same as with all those men who have burned the cross.

Male client: Yes, so it is.

Diviner: For then, ah, ah, ha, ha, ha, it never calms here, it never calms. We shall not burn the bone of the useful animal—

Male client: Yes, well, no, Sir.

Diviner: —the bone of the mountains and of the plains (*or:* of the place of birth). (...)

Male client: So it is.

Diviner: ...below the place of birth. Why should we burn the [bones]? Ah, it is as all of that, the holiest passion, we have our cross on our breast, here, look! Why should we spoil it (put it down)? No, let us make our customs (*costumbres*).

Male client: Of course, so it is.

<Commentary 3: Correct and reverential behavior towards the hunted animals requires that the bones be preserved. The action of destroying the bones of the deer is compared to the burning of the family cross when giving up traditional customs and following a new religion. The diviner expresses his belief that in such a case, retaliation or punishment can never be calmed. The bones of the deer are assigned to the terrain of the place of birth or living and seem to express a strong relationship of these hunted animals with their hunters and their respective territories or, more specifically, homes.>

Diviner: (4) Let us make *costumbres*, and let us say the rosary, let us do it, because they are two persons, as it says, on one side for our Lord, on the other side for this Place of birth, our Earth (land), our Town, so it says.

Male client: Yes, certainly, Sir.

<Commentary 4: Rituals ('costumbres') and saying the rosary are specified as actions. The recipients are thought of as two persons, probably God and the Earth as place of birth or hometown. These actions (or action schemes) or beliefs are identity-related.>

Diviner: (5) Ah, yes, yes, and therefore there is still a Judgement, for it is a Judgement, a “police”.

Male client: Yes, certainly, Sir.

<Commentary 5: A suppressed premise could be: There are still faults and wrongdoings (with regard to the burned bones), and therefore there will be a Judgement, a punishment, compared to the “police”.>

Diviner: (6) Yes. We do not know what the Judgement looks like that will overcome us. It will be in order when the dirt will have been swept away. Then, at least the Judgement cannot catch us.

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: Such is its effect on the holy cemetery. If things are bad with us (i.e. you) then you will die here, so it says at least [in the divination]. Ha, ha, ha, yes, both of you shall put yourselves into order, Sir.

Male client: Yes, Sir.

Diviner: Well, goodbye.

Male client: Goodbye, Sir.

<Commentary 6: The punishment is unknown. If the cleansing ceremony is carried out then the illness (or punishment) will be ineffective (“when the dirt will have been swept away”).>

Cf Grollig (in: Siegel & Grollig 1996:147-148) on deer hunting and on the preservation of the deer bones: these are kept on an altar, or are brought to a cave called ‘kawile’ [This might be derived from ‘kawil ikisal’ = ‘life and health’ (E.H.)].

7.7 Death of a family member

In a complex divination case, a client from Pajaltac (San Pedro Soloma) asks for a divination about the wish of his deceased son-in-law who died in combat. The son-in-law is survived by the client’s daughter and her children who are still small. The client would like to have them in his house.

7.7.1 Translated text and analytical commentary

From: #29A/B; Hinz 1991/I:148-154; II:132-137.

Male client: [I:148] **(1)** (...) As I then say here, I also have a son-in-law who has died. And therefore I ask to hear what shall be done with him. For the nine days (i.e. the vigilance for his death, the *velada*) shall be celebrated on this Sunday, on Saturday he died, and on Sunday the nine days dawn for him. Anyway, it was a sudden (i.e. violent) death which happened to him. He suffered very much from what happened to him.

<Commentary 1: The question identifies the person for whom the divination is made.>

(2) For I ask to listen—, because he has two children who were left, since it will be perhaps with me—, who knows where he might have left them luck, where he might now have left them, his children, a home. Maybe it is me

whom he has left them. For now she is almost decided, she, for she is my daughter whom he had married. Two children of his are left. Or will they perhaps go to his brother?

<Commentary 2: These statements and questions identify the problem: two children who survive the dead father. Shall they stay with the client or with the uncle, the brother of the deceased person? The problem is phrased as a question of alternatives between which a decision has to be made.>

(3) Therefore I would like to know what his heart says, of his who is already dead.

<Commentary 3: The client asks the diviner to find out about the deceased son-in-law's will.>

(4) They were the damned men who took him with them, and therefore he died, yes.

<Commentary 4: This is to be seen in conjunction with a later explication (Point 23). It identifies the death as a violent one and identifies the client's son-in-law possibly as a guerrilla (or a captive of the guerrillas).>

Diviner: **(5)** Ah. What is his name?

Male client: Pedro Jesús is his name.

<Commentary 5: The question identifies the person as the target of the divination for the calendrical days.>

Diviner: **(6)** And what is the name of his wife?

Male client: Dominga Gaspar. For Dominga is my daughter, the woman there.

<Commentary 6: The question identifies the client's daughter for the calendrical days.>

Diviner: **(7)** How many children of his are left?

Male client: Two, two.

Diviner: Women [or] men?

Male client: Women, both are females.

<Commentary 7: The question verifies the number of children of the son-in-law together with the client's daughter as well as the children's gender.>

Diviner: **(8)** *< A silent count follows: Divination 4 >*

Both of them will pass away (i.e. die), Sir, pardon!

Male client: What?

Diviner: They will pass away.

Male client: They will pass away!

Diviner: Be prepared for it!

<Commentary 8: The divination yields the forecast that the two children will die. As the divination is silent there is no further clue to the interpretation available, apart from the guerrillas or a fighting-related accident. But note the following hypothesis: the current day is 2 Kaq, possibly marking the start of the count of the palo pito seeds. According to my observation which I recorded, 13 or 15 positions were counted twice; this might yield the following schema:

(a) 13 positions x 2:

2 Kaq – 1 B'atz',

2 Ewub' – 13 Watan, 1 K'ana7.

The start, 2 Kaq, would give us “a mistrust towards war or quarrel”, 1 B'atz' would refer to “home or house of birth”. 13 Watan, an ‘Alcalde day’, would imply “justice”, while 1 K'ana7 might refer to “death” (even on the basis of black magic).

(b) 15 positions x 2:

2 Kaq – 3 B'en,

4 Ix – 4 Chej, 5 Lamb'at.

3 B'en, an ‘Alcalde day’ might refer to “justice”, 4 Chej might refer to domestic animals, while 5 Lamb'at, another ‘Alcalde day’, would bring us back again to “justice”.>

(9) The reason is anyway the place of birth which has been left deserted. How about it? Oh boy, why does he commit an offence against his father's cross, his house, his health and his life by means of [changing the house]? Due to it, it was at all possible to destroy him. But now it will be you who becomes involved into (suffers from) that problem together with your daughter; she will be involved (suffers from it), in the same way as your grandchildren. All at once we (= you) will pass away, so it says now.

Male client: Ah.

<Commentary 9: The diviner interprets the forecast and specifies the cause for the disastrous expectancy: the abandoned birth place, the change in religion or ideology (implying the burning or throwing away of the father's cross, i.e. shrine for praying). The diviner obviously implies a danger either for the deceased person's own (=the client's son-in-law) or his father's life (possibly referring to the client's ‘co-parents’.>

Diviner: (10) There is an accusation. *<Turns shortly to the mule and continues:>* There is an accusation, it is not a trifling matter.

<Commentary 10: The diviner reinterprets the problem as a message which means “legal action or punishment”.>

Male client: (11) Yes, for it is the case that he had just put his house in order. For it was one–, one, two years ago that his house was built. It is perhaps not yet–, it is perhaps not yet two years that his house has been built. For he–, it was not him who remained in the responsibility of his father. For he was already living on his own [together with his family]. But who knows what is now going on with him. For they, of course, are no longer *costumbristas*, since the father was married according to the Church. And therefore, he does not practice [the *costumbres*] anymore. (...)

<Commentary 11: The client substantiates the diviner’s claim. The son-in-law gave up traditional customs or rituals.>

Diviner: (12) Ha, ha, ha, how shall that be possible that you should give up the *costumbres* of the ancestors, of the *Principales* (dignitaries) themselves at least, of the ancestors at least, as it used to be cleansed by your fathers? It is so from the part of our fathers, it is determined by their part how exactly *costumbres* have to be, you see. Why does he give up the *costumbres*, why does he give up his place of birth, the house?

Male client: Therefore it is already that you become [like] God for me, father, and therefore I ask why he has died, what has been his worry?

Diviner: Well, that is always because he has changed his religion, because he has changed [it], the poor guy. [The place] was left lying on the back, on the belly (i.e., was given up), [the place] in which he has been born, the [heritage] of his father, of his ancestors. Why doesn’t he continue to maintain it?

Well, so this is then, Sir, pardon.

<Commentary 12: The diviner’s discourse reinforces traditional identity, comprising also the relationship with the house of birth as a crucial point of reference.>

Male client: (...) (13) One is already waiting for you. I will help you by asking [only] a very short question since I would like to celebrate the nine days for him. What does his heart say, what does his soul say? That’s what I would like to ask for. But do not simply do it to me [by undoing it], father. I would like to have the children staying with me. [But] who knows what he says [about it]. In that way you become already like God for me if you suddenly produce a divination for me. How about if I meet upon my misfortune, if they will perhaps die, because they will stay with me in two, in three days, with me.

<Commentary 13: The diviner is starting to be in a hurry. The client expresses his desire and option of choice explicitly. He is quite positive about receiving his daughter and their children in his house. But he would like to know the intention of the deceased.>

(14) Now on Sunday, on Sunday I will receive them definitely, because the nine days for him will terminate, because he died on Saturday. On Sunday the nine days for him are over, and then I will receive the children definitely.

<Commentary 14: After the velada of the 9 days for the deceased person, the date for the reception of the family is set.>

(15) I would like to know their fate. If they will not be fortunate with me, it might be better that they stay with the brothers [of the deceased one]. Before I will receive them definitely with me, as I think, I thus ask for his heart what he wants, if–

<Commentary 15: The client is explicit that if his daughter and her children have no fortune with him, staying with the deceased husband's brother might be preferable.>

Diviner: **(16)** That means, we are dealing with two alternatives (lit.: two words).

Male client: Yes, and therefore I would like to ask for it.

Diviner: With you or with the brothers.

Male client: Exactly, yes.

<Commentary 16: The diviner makes sure he understands the structure of the problem. The diviner recasts the problem in terms of an alternative of decision-making.>

Diviner: Permit me to leave for a moment to urinate, ha, ha, ha.

Male client: Of course, Sir, leave. I will wait. Leave, Sir. I will wait.

<Short conversation with another client waiting; the diviner returns>

Diviner: **(17)** Well, how about this other problem, Sir?

Male client: Well, as I certainly say, Sir, I would like to know what my son-in-law wants, if he is pleased to leave all the children with me or if they will rather die. Is there nothing left that I myself must put into order together with the mother [of both children, i.e. his daughter] because my daughter will now come back to me? Yes, she will come back, I will bring her back. And she should not stay in his house. The children are small, it is like that (so it is). One is perhaps four, five years old, the other one is still

carried. Therefore, I would like to know what his heart says (i.e. what he wants), [if] he leaves [her] with me or if she should stay with the brothers. That is what I would like to figure out with you, father (=Sir). Please, do me this favor. For it was a sudden (violent) death–

Diviner: Well, today is Thursday, eh, *Kaq*, eh, Friday is *Ajaw*, and Saturday is *Imox*.

Male client: He died on Saturday, it was on Saturday that it has happened.

Diviner: It was *Imox* that he passed away, that is meant.

Male client: Well, it was perhaps *Imox*, because he has died on Saturday. At this point in time, at this point in time his seven days will have passed, on Saturday, that is, in two, three days, it was four days ago (!). But he was healthy, full of life, he was not ill at all, for he had nothing at all, in [full] health he passed away (i.e., they took him away by force⁵⁵), yes, in [full] health he passed away.

Diviner: Nine days, did you say?

Male client: Yes, nine days, on Saturday, seven days ago.

Diviner: The deceased Christian fellow, over Saturday and Sunday, nine days, nine nights here that he fell down, that he tumbled, as you said as I heard, Sir?

Male client: Yes.

<Commentary 17: The client repeats his question and elaborates on the date of his son-in-law's death. The client is preoccupied as to whether or not anything is left which still has to be regulated ritually or in terms of a confession (open declaration). Some considerations or criteria for a joint household are mentioned by the client: The children are still very young, and the mother, thus, needs some help.>

Diviner: (18) <Divination 5>

13 *Imox*, 13 *Imox*, 1 *Iq'*, 2 *Watan*, 3 *K'ana7*, 4 *Ab'ak*, 5 *Tox*, 6 *Chej*, 7 *Lamb'at*, 8 *Mulu7*, 9 *Elab'*, 10 *B'atz'*, 11 *E(w)ub'*, 12 *B'en*, 12 *B'en*,

13 *Ix*, 1 *Tz'ikin*, 2 *Txab'in*, 3 *Kixkab'*, 4 *Chinax*, 5 *Kaq*, 6 *Ajaw*, 7 *Imox*, 8 *Iq'*, 9 *Watan*, 10 *K'ana7*, 11 *Ab'ak*, **12 *Tox***.

But how about the money here, was there perhaps still money which he had given to you, or was there money which you had given to him?

Male client: Me?

Diviner: Yes, how is this matter, how about this money, ha, ha, ha?

⁵⁵ *APE*: max y-i ek'toq ('se fue por fuerza').

Male client: Nothing, he gave me no money. My daughter simply left with him, she simply ran away. Nothing at all did he give me, nothing (i.e., no bride price was paid). She simply ran away with him. It was simply arranged that way. Oh, it is now already a considerable amount of time, it was already some—, some 11 years ago that she left, it was 11 years, 12 years ago that she took off with him.

Diviner: But how about that money? Perhaps she had debts with you, or you wanted some...

Male client: Me?

Diviner: ...some money for her, ha, ha, ha.

Male client: Nothing.

Diviner: Ha, ha, ha.

<Commentary 18: The day Tox is associated with “money”. The diviner asks if the deceased son-in-law had paid a bride price or, to the contrary, if the client as father(-in-law) had supported the couple by giving money to them. The client denies having received any money. The client’s daughter simply ran away.>

Male client: (19) Yes, there was no price for her, I wanted nothing. We only quarreled a little with him at that time when she ran away because she was 11 years old when she took off with him. Well, she was 11 years old, when she ran away with him.

Diviner: Ah (...) she was still a little girl, ha, ha, ha.

Male client: Yes, she was only that (i.e. her age was only that) and then she ran away.

Diviner: 11 years (...) that does not work yet, he—, [she] was inexperienced in it, ha, ha, ha.

Male client: She was aged 11 years when she ran away with him, only [of that age] and then she ran away with him, because his father was still alive, as I say, when she ran away. So it was, but I didn’t go to the *Alcalde* (mayor), but I, I did not go to the *Alcalde*. And it simply terminated like that, I did not go to the *Alcalde* on behalf of her. “Let her [go], he will hardly take her,” I only said to myself. I thought that he would not take her. And time passed by, time passed by, and then the children of his came with her. It was only that. I will hardly take her away from him. And I want nothing at all from him as a price for her, nothing at all. It was only that. Little by little time passed by, time passed by, and he only came to me, as we would

like to say, he certainly became a member of the household. So things were with him, as we would like to say, and I ended up together with him⁵⁶.

<Commentary 19: The client denies that a bride price had been paid, but points to quarrels with the son-in-law because of the extremely low age of the client's daughter at that point in time, i.e. she was 11 years old. The client points out that he did not have the Alcalde intervene in legal terms. The couple obviously remained for some time in the client's household.>

(20) It was no money that I wanted to ask from him, and he did not give me money, either.

Diviner: Eh, but it passed through your mind. [II:136]

Male client: Well, it actually passed through my mind, that is sure, it passed through my mind because she had run away. It was only that. He will hardly die because of my thoughts, Sir. He has hardly died [because of it]. Only in case that he committed an offence within that context.

<Commentary 20: The client denies the intention of having asked for and the actual fact of having received money from his son-in-law. The diviner insists on the issue and lets the male client specify that he actually thought about a bride price, considering the difficult circumstances of the daughter's behavior. The client does not believe that his thoughts killed the son-in-law. An additional condition with the son-in-law would be necessary for that: that he, the client's son-in-law, would commit an offence within that context.>

Diviner: **(21)** Yes, that is it, that is it, what you should take out (i.e. cleanse in the prayer or in the open declaration or confession) completely during these nine days.

Male client: Ah, well, these—, these—, these worries of mine.

Diviner: Yes, exactly.

Male client: Ah, well.

Diviner: Yes, because you wanted some money for your daughter and he did not give you money for her.

Male client: Ah, well.

Diviner: Or, do you know, for how much [money] she has grown up, your daughter has grown up (i.e., how much it has cost to raise her)?

⁵⁶ Ka xin kamel yetoq naq or ka xin kan el yetoq naq. *APE:* “en el sentido: él se murió estando en mi casa; otra posibilidad: xin kan = yo me quedé con él.” The client's statement has to be seen in conjunction with the later one which describes the moving of the son-in-law into a house of his own. It remains unclear if the client's daughter and/or his son-in-law served in the house (as a kind of “bride service”). The ‘twisted statement’ by the client might reflect his playing down of his attitude towards money (or payment).

Male client: Yes, of course, certainly, yes, of course, certainly. Otherwise I can put this in order completely, Sir, it is no problem at all.

<Commentary 21: The diviner agrees that the issue is not that the client might have killed the son-in-law in terms of his ideas or thoughts, but that he, the client, had worries. The client should purify himself, in terms of prayers or of an open declaration (with the daughter?), and free himself from the affective bonding by the worries.>

Diviner: (22) Sweep it away (i.e. cleanse it), then you will be able to celebrate the nine days.

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: If not, your daughter together with her children will be made to die, and then you will certainly remain alone.

Male client: What?

Diviner: A big quarrel, so it says, ha, ha, ha.

Male client: It is for that reason that I am asking you about the fate (destiny), Sir.

<Commentary 22: The diviner admonishes the client to do the ritual; in that case he will be successful. Otherwise he would fail, and his daughter and her children will die.>

(23) But only said between me and you, it was the case that the men, the *guerrilleros*, took him along. It was no Judgement (i.e. illness), he had nothing.

Diviner: But continue.

Male client: Therefore it came as a complete surprise. And therefore I ask now for her destiny if she will pass away suddenly (i.e. will die). Perhaps I can bring her back, I said to myself, and not any longer, but just on this Sunday I will bring her back, as I say to myself.

<Commentary 23: It is unclear if the client had joined the guerrillas or was executed by them. See Point 4. The client should continue with the ritual purification.>

Diviner: (24) But how are things? Had you been going to found a new household [for her] with the due ceremonies or had you not yet been going to found a new household [for her] with the due ceremonies?

<Commentary 24: The diviner redirects the client's attention back to housing and the question of traditional ceremonies associated with it. This again is a feedback to the issue of traditional identity. Cf Ch. D.6.4

(“tz’umb’il” = ‘sown out’; tz’unu7 = vt, ‘to sow out, to found a household with traditional ceremonies’. Cf App. I [Transfer of a plot]). >

Male client: (25) I did not found any new household at all with the due ceremonies, not at all, not at all.

Diviner: Then you shall bring her back before she comes free now (becomes cleansed).

Male client: Yes, I did not found a new household for her in due ceremonial (i.e. traditional) form, not at all. Their house was simply (i.e., without the traditional ceremonies) built because they—, because they are Catholics. He simply built his house, and then a mess took place in his house.

Diviner: Just like a communist.

Male client: Exactly, and so it was, it was then simply in his house.

Diviner: Ha, ha, ha.

<Commentary 25: The household was founded without the help of, or intervention by, the client. At that time, the couple followed the orthodox Catholic pattern. The non-traditional behavior is compared to the “communist” pattern of the Marxist guerrillas.>

Male client: (26) And he said nothing to me, he did not talk about it with me when he moved into his house. I have only heard that a mass took place for him. “I have already moved simply into my house,” he said. “Eh, move in, Sir, move in, it does not [bother] me at all.” “Well,” said he. And then I have only heard that a mass had taken place for him. He did not notify me at all, not at all. He only simply moved into his house.

<Commentary 26: The client emphasizes that he had not been involved at all in the decisions of his son-in-law and that there was hardly any communication at all at that time.>

Diviner: (27) Well, that is the reason.

Male client: Yes

Diviner: Well, therefore (...) ha, ha, ha.

Male client: I, I did not even think about him or if he would die. But suddenly there is still something with regard to all of them, our children, I cannot know that.

<Commentary 27: The diviner considers the behavior of the client’s son-in-law as the reason for the current misfortune.>

Diviner: (28) No, you should let her come back, you should let your daughter come back.

Male client: Then I will let her come back definitely, that is what I want—

Diviner: You should let her come back completely, then she will stay completely with you.

Male client: Yes, and therefore—

<Commentary 28: The diviner supports and strengthens the client's intention of receiving the daughter and her children in the client's household.>

Diviner: (29) And she shall not be only somebody [for you]. It shall not be the case that only because he is dead she would then be simply [treated like] somebody who speaks to another person [i.e., to you as a stranger], no, no, no, not like that. Otherwise, your daughter will only pass away together with all her children of his in the same way [as he did].

Male client: Exactly. So it is, therefore—

Diviner: They will carry each other away [into death], ha, ha, ha.

Male client: They will carry each other away?

Diviner: Yes.

Male client: Yes, therefore—

Diviner: Well, goodbye, Sir, be patient. So we do it.

Male client: So we put it into order.

Diviner: Yes.

Male client: If it says so [in the divination] that that happens with you, then at least—

Diviner: So we want to do it, Sir, please excuse me.

Male client: Yes, so it is what I should put completely into order. It means I am not yet arranging anything.

<Commentary 29: The client shall receive his daughter and her children in friendliness and affection. He shall not behave like a person being compelled to help out, and he shall not treat her like a stranger, but as his daughter. Otherwise, the daughter and her children might die.>

Diviner: (30) You only take out [your worries] (*suppl.:* in the cleansing ceremony) within these nine days.

Male client: Ah, yes, yes.

<Commentary 30: The diviner highlights the task of putting the worries or preoccupations in order. This is the only thing to be done, and it should be done within the ceremonial period of the nine days of vigil for the deceased person.>

Diviner: Yes, Sir. *<To the mule:>* Sh, sh, sh. *<To the client:>* Goodbye, Sir.

Male client: Well, then.

7.7.2 Summary

The client's son-in-law has died; together with the client's daughter, he had two children who survive their dead father. Shall they stay with the client or with the uncle, the brother of the deceased person? The son-in-law was possibly a guerrilla fighter or a captive of the guerrillas who died violently.

The divination yields the forecast that the two children will die. The diviner points to the cause for the disastrous expectancy: the abandoned birth place and the change in religion or ideology (implying the burning or throwing away of the father's cross, i.e. shrine for praying). Thus, the diviner's discourse reinforces traditional identity.

The client is quite positive about receiving his daughter and their children in his house. But he would like to know the intentions of the deceased. The client is explicit that if his daughter and her children have no fortune with him, staying with the deceased husband's brother might be preferable. The diviner recasts the problem in terms of a decision-making alternative.

In the divination, the day *Tox* is associated with "money". The diviner asks if the deceased son-in-law had paid a bride price or, to the contrary, if the client as father(-in-law) had supported the couple by giving money to them. The client denies that a bride price had been paid, but points to quarrels with the son-in-law because at that point in time his daughter was only 11 years old. The client points out that he did not have the *Alcalde* intervene in legal terms. The diviner insists on the issue, and the male client specifies that he actually thought about a bride price. The diviner agrees that the issue is not that the client might have killed the son-in-law in terms of his ideas or thoughts, but that he, the client, had worries. Thus, the diviner insists on covering the mental aspects of actions, intentions, or silent ideas which might constitute worries and affect the client himself or his family.

The client should purify himself, in terms of prayers or of an open declaration (with the daughter?), and free himself from the affective bonding of the worries. Otherwise he would fail, and his daughter and her children will die. The diviner redirects the client's attention back to the question of traditional ceremonies associated with the founding of the daughter's current household, again implying the issue of traditional identity. The ceremony is supposed to strengthen the bond of sentiment between father and child or child-in-law. At that time, the couple followed the orthodox Catholic pattern. There was hardly any communication at all between the client and his daughter and son-in-law at that time. According to the diviner, this is the reason for the current misfortune. The client shall receive his

daughter and her children in friendliness and affection. He shall not treat her like a stranger, but as his daughter. Otherwise, the daughter and her children might die. The dialog specifies and highlights the sentimental and affective features of interaction within the household.

The diviner requires the client to put the worries or preoccupations in order. Only this should be done but within the ceremonial period of the nine days of vigil for the deceased person.

8. AN ANALYSIS OF A COMPLETE CASE: THE DAUGHTER'S ILLNESS

In this Chapter I present an analysis of a complete case. I analyze the sequential development of the problem, the interpretation or problem resolution and the therapeutic proposals. The diviner's and client's *joint* discourse and the *unfolding* of the arguments in context will become clear. For a further complete case, I refer the reader to Ch. 9.3 (the transcript of a case which I had filmed), and to Ch. 5.5 in conjunction with Ch. 7.5-6.

8.1 Translated text of consultation and divination

From: #17B; Hinz 1991/I:22ff, II:22ff.

Diviner: (1) Well, what is your problem?

Male client: Well, my problem, Sir, is if you can do me a favor. I do have a daughter who is ill. She is a daughter-in-law. Actually, she has an illness, pains have built up in her <incomprehensible> if there is something that happens to her, if there is something in that she incurs. Therefore I would like to be informed, Sir.

Diviner: Well.....

Male client: Actually, she did take off already some time ago as daughter-in-law, they do not get separated anymore, you know, she already has had a family for some time, actually she already did take off some time ago.

Diviner: (2) What is your name?

Male client: Salvador Miguel.

Diviner: Salvador Miguel?

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: (3) [From] which village?

Male client: Snan konob' (Ix nankonop).

Diviner: Ix nankonop.

(4) What is the name of your wife?

Male client: Andrea Lucas.

Diviner: Andrea Lucas.

(5) What is the name of your daughter?

Male client: Juana Salvador.

Diviner: Juana Salvador.

(6) How many years ago did you sell her? You did sell her, or-? <refers to a formal marriage contract, with the reception of a bride price>

Male client: Perhaps it is already some-, ah, perhaps it is already seven or eight years [ago].

Diviner: That is not yet ten years. You will put into order your problems, one after another!

(7) And what is now the name of your son-in-law?

Male client: Ah, Miguel José.

Diviner: **(8)** In which village is he living?

Client: Pajaltac.

Diviner: Miguel José, [from the] village Pajaltac, with our Lord San Pedro, **(9)** what does she have [according to] that you recognize?

Male client: Her body is completely pale. It happened already some time ago that she took off with me for the south (lowlands). Perhaps there is something that has happened to her. She has become quite weak now and cannot walk around, and she does not eat. And she has become quite frail, that is what I see, let us say that, yes.

<After a pause, the consultation continues:>

Diviner: *<Divination 1.a:>*

(10) 12 Kixkab', 13 Chinax, 1 Kaq, 2 Ajaw, 3 Imox, 4 Iq', 5 Watan, 6 K'ana7, 7 Ab'ak, 8 Tox, 9 Chej, 10 Lamb'at. *<Pause>*

<Divination 1.b:>

10 Lamb'at, 11 Mulu7, 12 Elab', 13 B'atz', aha, 1 E(w)ub', 2 B'en, 3 Ix, 4 Tz'ikin, 5 Txab'in.

<murmurs something incomprehensible> Well, then, Sir, it is marsh fever, as it says [in the divination].

Male client: Marsh fever.

Diviner: It is malaria...

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: ...that your daughter has.

Male client: Well, Sir, maybe it is that because—

Diviner: **(11)** But it says, she had a mistrust (dislike or disgust)...

Male client: She had a mistrust (dislike or disgust)!

Diviner: ...when she went to the hot lowlands, so it says. Therefore, she came to receive this Judgement (punishment), as it says [in the divination].

Male client: Yes, possibly.

Diviner: Yes.

(12) But now then, you have a mistrust (dislike) yourself, a mistrust has your wife.

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: And also your “co-parents[-in-law]” (*compadres*) have a mistrust, eh, who asked for the hand of your daughter, the ones who are father and mother of the man who took your daughter [as wife].

Male client: Yes, exactly, yes.

Diviner: (13) And also that woman has a mistrust (dislike), as it says, perhaps because they already have had who knows how many quarrels with each other. But it is their problem (i.e. it is their responsibility), it is not your problem, Sir, it is their problem. Therefore, it happened to her in the company of this man in the town in the hot lowlands. Therefore, she could fall ill that easily, so it says. <giggles>

Male client: Ah, Sir, for it hardly took long that she fell ill. Yes, she immediately fell ill. And she always continued to have it, there was obviously something. But now, he might be actually curing [her], getting here an injection for her. Therefore, who knows if she has an illness or not.

Diviner: Well, I definitely say here, that it is marsh fever, malaria which your daughter has caught. It is your daughter as you say?

Male client: Yes, my daughter, Sir, my daughter.

Diviner: Does this mean that she recovered – how much medication for malaria [she might have taken]? No. Well, perhaps it is the case that it will get worse for your daughter.

Male client: Yes, Sir.

Diviner: The message has arrived. So what? When I have received the letter [i.e. the confirmation], then I will tell you. Otherwise I cannot tell you anything.

Male client: Yes, certainly, Sir. That is true, Sir.

Diviner: Just as a mayor (*Alcalde*) would do it, eh.

Male client: Yes, certainly.

Diviner: Yes.

Male client: This is true, Sir, what you say–

Diviner: (14) Well. Now your daughter will restore her stomach (i.e. put into order her feelings and thoughts), that she cleanses herself, that is, completely. Then it will be possible to break this mistrust (the dislike). If it is forgotten, if it remains, if your daughter's problems have been left deeply in her interior and one then starts to break down the mistrust (dislike), then we cannot achieve it.

Male client: Yes, really.

Diviner: (15) We must leave (i.e. die) under any circumstances.

Male client: Yes, so it is, so it is.

Diviner: <giggles> (16) Well, good-bye, until she restores herself (puts herself) into order completely.

Male client: She shall first put into order her [problem] completely.

Diviner: Exactly.

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: [She] has to cleanse [herself], [she] must throw it away...

Male Client: Ah.

Diviner: ...as we now throw something away, throw it away once and for all so that our heart becomes cleansed.

Male client: Ah, it becomes completely cleansed, our heart becomes cleansed?

Diviner: Exactly. Then, at least, mistrust (disgust) will be broken completely. Then, at least, the remedy will be effective, so it says.

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: So it says, Sir. Have patience! <giggles>

Male client: (17) Well, for it is true, Sir, so that we know about what they can do, if they can do anything.

Diviner: (18) If she does not restore herself (put herself into order), she [nevertheless] knows what kind of pain she has in her interior. She must put it into order in front of her mother. Is her mother still alive or—?

Male client: Yes, she is alive.

Diviner: Ah.

Male client: She is alive, she is alive.

Diviner: Ah, it is in front of the mother, in front of whom it shall be put into order.

Male client: Yes, so it is.

Diviner: It shall not be put into order in front of you.

Male client: Ah, no.

Diviner: (19) In front of her mother, there she shall cleanse her heart, [of] what happened when she became an adult person (lit.: ‘when her soul (heart) entered’), exactly like that, you know. <laughs>

Male client: Exactly. Yes, certainly.

Diviner: (20) Then, at least, she will report once more on how you handed her over <refers to the parents’ responsibility for the marriage contract>. And were you the ones who arranged the marriage contract or weren’t you the ones who arranged it?

Male client: We, we [were the ones]. For he came to ask [for her]. Exactly like that. For we then tried to figure out if they would get along well with each other, as we would like to say, and then we arranged it. As a matter of fact, it went well. But now it is [suddenly] about to come over her, as we note. Therefore, she became ill, you know, aha.

Diviner: (21) Well, first then in front of the mother. And then she shall put into order the matter as it is, what happened when you arranged the marriage contract with regard to her. And after that, the woman shall tell her pains, what the husband is doing to the wife, your daughter, what [it is], if he has hit her or what your son-in-law is doing, how it happened that they went to the cotton plantation, how it happened that they took off for the town in the hot lowlands, yes.

(22) And then she will certainly get better, for that reason if it gets put into order in your house, in the place of her birth...

Male client: Well, Sir.

Diviner: ...perhaps also in the cemetery in front of your father, of your mother and in front of—, are they already dead or are they still alive?

Male client: They are already dead, they are already dead.

Diviner: Well, [there] it is. You go to the cemetery.

Male client: They are already dead.

Diviner: Go in front of the church door in San Pedro [Soloma].

(23) Well, your daughter is recovering already, the remedy is obtained (*or:* taken). <Short pause> She will leave (i.e. die), Sir.

Male client: She will do so?

Diviner: She will go [away, i.e. die] like a—

Diviner's wife: Sh, sh <to the chickens>.

Diviner: (24) Here I say it once and for all, somebody will leave [i.e. die], ah, your mere—, but what can we do with it? <murmurs something incomprehensible and giggles>.

Diviner's wife: Sh, sh <to the chickens>.

Diviner: (25) You do not remember on which calendar day she was born?

Male client: Sir, we hardly know anymore, we don't know anymore which day it might have been on which she was born, maybe—, if it wasn't [the day] B'en or 13 B'en.

Diviner: Her problem, however, shall be resolved immediately.

Male client: Ah, by God!

Diviner: [Ah, well][?].

Male client: We will pay attention to it.

Diviner: But you shall think about it very thoroughly, and you shall not let us be mistaken in this place, and we are not allowed to make a mistake [with regard to it].

Male client: Ah, well, Sir.

Diviner: You shall think about it quite exactly.

Male client: Yes, of course, certainly. Is not the current calendar day possible?

Diviner: Who knows what numbered day (of the count) it was (lit.: 'how many feet it has')?

Male client: Sir, it might have been 13, it might have been—, presumably it was (or: 'were') 13.

Diviner: Ah, well.

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: (26) The destiny, for the hands and feet of our Lord 13 B'en, what says the destiny that she can cleanse herself? For she has to pray in front of

13 B'en, in front of her father, in front of her mother. Well, I listen, how many doubts of her, how many reservations of her (*or*: how many uttered and concealed reservations), how many preoccupations of her there are. And does she come free or does she go away [i.e. die]? Well,

<Divination 2>

(27) 13 B'en, 1 Ix,

ah, no, it is a woman <*murmurs*>,

1 Ix, 2 Tz'ikin, 3 Txab'in, 4 Kixkab', 5 Chinax, 6 Kaq, 7 Ajaw, 8 Imox, 9 Iq', 10 Watan, 11 K'ana7, 12 Ab'ak,

13 Tox,

ah, good, good is the money which she has. Good is the money which your daughter has, Sir.

Male client: Ah, really, Sir.

Diviner: 13 Tox, 1 Chej, 2 Lamb'at,

it is she who has a mistrust.

2 Lamb'at, 3 Mulu7, 4 Elab', 5 B'atz', 6 E(w)ub', 7 B'en, 8 Ix, 9 Tz'ikin, 10 Txab'in, 11 Kixkab', 12 Chinax,

13 Kaq, 1 Ajaw, 2 Imox, 3 Iq', 4 Watan, 5 K'ana7, 6 Ab'ak, 7 Tox, 8 Chej, 9 Lamb'at, 10 Mulu7 <*murmurs an incomprehensible interpreting statement*>, 10 Mulu7, 11 Elab', 12 B'atz',

13 E(w)ub', 1 B'en, 2 Ix, 3 Tz'ikin, 4 Txab'in, 5 Kixkab', 6 Chinax, 7 Kaq, 8 Ajaw, 9 Imox,

ah, God, it is her destiny that she hasn't ended up in the cemetery,

9 Imox, 10 Iq', 11 Watan, 12 K'ana7,

ah, ha, ha <*laughs*>. What is it, Sir, have patience, there is said to be a man who has told her a sin, or a man who wanted to marry her the first time (*or*: in the very beginning).

Male client: Yes, indeed, she ran away. It certainly is the case that she has been [living] with them—, with two men.

Diviner: (28) It is her transgression (fault), so it says; what could I achieve here, I—

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: I—, there is no way that we could arrange it here.

Male client: Yes, certainly, Sir, certainly.

Diviner: It is their fault, as it says.

Male client: (29) Actually, she ran away. Actually, the first time it was on her own initiative. The second time, it was me myself. We arranged it for

her. For they did not get along well, and therefore she came back once again. And it is now already the third time that she is in [a situation like that].

Diviner: But then she has to tell her problems. If she does not tell her problems, then she will die under any circumstances. Therefore we are now dealing with her. As the sheep are tied up when they – how is it called? – are shorn, when we shear their wool, just so she is now.

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: (30) If she tells [all], (i.e. confesses), she is free. If she does not tell it, then it will become worse for her, so it says [in the divination], then she will die under any circumstances, so it says [in the divination]. It will happen exactly this way as it appears here.

Male client: Yes, certainly, Sir.

Diviner: Yes.

Male client: (31) Certainly. Actually, it really is something, she really has something, yes, certainly, Sir. Well, therefore certainly, she has then left, she has left [her husband]. But we don't know what she shall put in order with me! Yes, only if everything is exactly that way– Well then, for all that who knows how it is. I will–

Diviner: Yes, so it is. [I:29]

Male client: Yes.

Diviner: So it is, I say to you, and then she shall take it out from her interior.

Male client: Ah, certainly then.

Diviner: (32) If she takes it out of her interior completely, then at least it will get sealed, then she gets free. If she does not take out her problems, her words (her thoughts), then it cannot be sealed, then she will go (i.e. die) under any circumstances.

Male client: Well, Sir.

Diviner: Then it is really excellent, excellent, excellent, excellent. Then she gets the “free stamp“, then she becomes free, then she is already stamped free, then there will be no further problems (molestation).

Male client: Ah, not anymore.

Diviner: Not anymore.

Male client: Ah, not anymore, Sir.

Diviner: But if she does not take it out, then...

Male client: Of course, what else?

Diviner: ...then there will be no “free stamp“, then there will be no–, no “free stamp“, she is not stamped free by our Lord, the Illness (*or:* the Lord of the Illness).

Male client: Ah, well, no, of course we will do it, it will be arranged. Therefore, I indeed will come myself in order to know what my child has. Therefore, we will, however, still do it, we will arrange (*or*: restore) it with her.

Diviner: Well.

Male client: Ah.

Diviner: Thus it says.

Male client: Yes, we want to put it into order, Sir, thank you.

Diviner: Yes, alright, Sir.

Male client: Yes. This is my request.

Diviner: Well.

Male client: Yes, this then is my request, Sir, if [she] can put it into order somehow. We thus will put it into order.

Diviner: (33) Put it into order! She shall put it into order! It is she who shall put it into order. For she has already been raised by you.

Male client: Indeed, certainly.

Diviner: Like a palm leaf has she been raised by you.

Male client: Yes, already.

Diviner: It is already she who ruins herself in her own responsibility.

Male client: Well, it is already her, already, who does injustice.

Diviner: Yes.

Male client: Well, then, Sir (= goodbye!).

Diviner: Well, then, Sir (= goodbye!).

Male client: Thank you, Sir.

Diviner: Well.

Male client: Well.

Eike H.: Well, then (= goodbye), Sir.

Male client: <to Eike H.> With your permission.

Eike H.: Adiós (goodbye).

8.2 Analysis of, and comment on, the consultation

8.2.1 Analysis of questions defining the problem

- 1. What is your problem?** [*categorizes the problem (= illness), gives the persons involved, their kinship relation, problematic attributes, change of locality*]
- 2. What is your name?** [*identifies the client, for example, in front of the calendar days*]
- 3. [From] which village?** [*identifies the place of living, for example, in front of the calendar days*]

4. **What is the name of your wife?** [*identifies her in front of the supernatural beings*]
5. **What is the name of your daughter?** [*identifies her in front of the supernatural beings*]. Cf Ch. D.6.1, Note 18 [*Naming*].
6. **How many years ago did you sell her? You did sell her, or—?** [*identifies the age of marital relation together with the traditional transaction of a bride price, a possible source of mistrust or reservation*]
7. **And what is now the name of your son-in-law?** [*identifies him in front of the supernatural beings*]
8. **In which village is he living?** [*identifies his place of living*]
9. **What does she have [according to] that you recognize?** [*gives a rough sketch of the problem, i.e. some features of the illness*]

8.2.2 Diagnosis / Interpretation

10. **“It is marsh fever, as it says [in the divination]... ..that your daughter has.”** *This might be derived from the divination 1.a and 1.b, last day, ‘10 Lamb’at’ (=Judgement) and ‘5 Txab’in’ (=‘Tx’ayxil’ as phonetic association? No evidence for the association other than the sound form is available; Spanish gloss in one interview: ‘no serious disease, takes long time; no appetite, disease can be felt all over the body’).*
11. **“But it says, she had a mistrust....”** *This might be inferred from “2 B’en” which is an Alcalde (Judgement) day, but is not highlighted directly as a speaking day, not even in terms of an intercalated interpretation. Alternatively, it could be concluded from a belief which says: if you take your problems unregulated out of your home town to a new place, you might easily catch a disease (cf Chs. 7.3.3.1 and 6.4). One of the intervening variables is mistrust (cf Ch. 1.2/Fig.1).*
12. *The circle of persons who share a mistrust is specified.*
13. *The diviner speculates about the causes of mistrust (or dislike, aversion), e.g. quarrels. This enabled the fact of catching the disease (again implying possibly the belief of the unregulated mistrust in the home town). But the couple are adult people, so it is not the responsibility of the client.*

8.2.3 Detailing and discussing the therapy

14. **“Now your daughter will restore (put into order) her stomach (i.e. her feelings and thoughts), that she cleanses herself, that is, completely. Then it will be possible to break this mistrust (the dislike). If it is forgotten, if it remains, if your daughter’s problems have been left deeply in her interior and one then wants to start to break down the mistrust (dislike), then we cannot achieve it.”** *“To put one’s stomach into*

order' refers to one's inner thoughts and feelings and their expression in an open declaration ('confession'). This expression has to be "complete", and is then the presupposition of destroying the affect of mistrust (aversion). If part of the issue is forgotten and remains, the affect of mistrust is not released. The act of the open declaration ('confession') is called 'to cleanse oneself'.

15. *Not expressing the problem leads to one's death.*

16. *Complete "confession" or "inner cleansing" destroys mistrust and this is the enabling condition for the efficacy of medical remedies.*

17. *The client reassures himself.*

18. *The daughter might not be able to cure herself. But she knows her pains. She shall express herself freely in front of her mother, not in front of the client, her father.*

19. *The daughter shall express herself about the events when she became an adult person.*

20. *Diviner: Then, at least, she will report once more how you handed her over <refers to the parents' responsibility for the marriage contract>. And were you the ones who arranged the marriage contract or weren't you the ones who arranged it? This refers to the events of marriage and the conditions of the marriage contract, probably involving the considerations of the daughter's intentions and the possible conditions of living with the parents-in-law. The diviner emphasizes the agency and responsibility of the client.*

21. *Diviner: Well, first then in front of the mother. And then she shall put into order how the matter is, what happened when you arranged the marriage contract with regard to her. And after that, the woman shall tell her pains, what the husband is doing to the wife, your daughter, what [it is], if he has hit her or what your son-in-law is doing, how it happened that they went to the cotton plantation, how it happened that they took off for the hot lowlands, yes.*

(a) The daughter shall tell her version of the episode of the marriage arrangements, and shall probably express her sentiments in front of her mother. (b) She shall specify her pains and the possible wrongdoing against her, e.g. physical attack by her husband. (c) Moreover, she shall talk about the reasons or motives for going to the plantation.

22. *The diviner specifies the different places in which forgiveness is to be asked for. This involves different agents or partners in the daughter's life. The diviner expects the recovery of the client's daughter. The diviner suggests the (confession-like) prayers or rituals: in the client's house (house of birth), in the cemetery (with the deceased grandfather and grandmother), in front of the church door in San Pedro Soloma, possibly involving*

the local patron of the town, St. Peter. These rituals and prayers aim at the mobilization of support systems as well as asking for pardon.

23. Well, your daughter is recovering already, the remedy is obtained (or: taken). <short pause> **She will leave (i.e. die), Sir.** This a dramatic turn: first the diviner concludes from the rituals in the different localities that the daughter recovers. After a short hesitation, he predicts her death.

24. Diviner: Here I say it once and for all, somebody will leave [i.e. die]. The diviner is certain, but now chooses a relatively neutral phrasing: “somebody will die”. It seems as if the diviner has received a signal of information or has retrieved a context.— The diviner gets an idea on how to continue.

8.2.4 Deepening the problem and recasting it

25. Diviner: You do not remember **on which calendar day she was born?** This question becomes the clue to how to continue and how to retrieve more and decisive information.

26. After some discussion about the birth day and warnings against the arbitrariness of memory which must be avoided, the diviner recasts the problem:

Diviner: **The destiny, by the hands and feet of our Lord 13 B'en, what says the destiny that she can cleanse herself?..... Well, I listen how many doubts of her, how many reservations of her, how many preoccupations of her there are. And does she come free or does she go away [i.e. die]? The diviner simply formulates a question of decision: Will the client's daughter come free or will she die? The birth date is assumed to be “13 B'en”. The diviner starts the count with this day “13 B'en”. The layout involves 13 positions. The divinatory interpretation with its speaking days is read out.**

8.2.5 Elaborating on the interpretation and diagnosis

27. Single-day interpretations:

The association between dates and interpretations in (a.-d.) is straight forward.

a. [1] Ix (‘ix’ = ‘woman’); the sentence frame is an identification statement.

b. [13] Tox (‘tomin’; or ‘s-tojol’ = ‘price for–’, meaning ‘money’); the sentence frame is a positive evaluative statement (‘good’, implied by the number ‘13’?).

c. 2 Lamb'at (2 = 'kab'' = 'two'; implication: 'kab'k'ulal' = 'mistrust'); the sentence frame is a statement which consists in an attribution of the disposition to the person who constitutes the central focus or target.

d. [9] Imox ('imox' becomes associated with 'earth', possibly implying 'burial' (?)). The numerical coefficient 9 might be meaningful. The sentence frame is a negated statement of fact (explanatory, not predictive).

The associations between dates and interpretation is difficult to establish: '[11] Watan', an Alcalde day, might refer to 'judgement'. With regard to '[12] K'ana7', q'ana [vt] ('ask for', 'curse [in love affairs]') may be the phonetic association and the meaning implied; 'laj-kaw' [=12; lajun=10, kaw / kab' = 2; laj-wi = 'terminate'?] might refer to 'two'. The interpretation refers to previous love affairs. The sentence frame is a factual-affirmative statement which refers to a past event and fulfills an explanatory function. The client details that his daughter had lived with two men before. This can imply normative transgression or problems with a possible bride price.

28. The diviner confirms that he can do nothing because it is the client's daughter's and her husband's fault. They have to do the ritual themselves.

29. The client details the episodes and his involvement in the second incident.

8.2.6 Recast and further elaboration of the therapy

30. The diviner reshapes his prediction: The daughter will be free if she expresses herself in an open declaration. Otherwise she will die.

31. The client reassures himself on what to do.

32. Diviner: **"If she takes it out of her interior completely, then at least it will get sealed, then she will become free. If she does not take out her problems, her words (her thoughts), then it cannot be sealed, then she will go (i.e. die) under any circumstances."**

The diviner might refer to one of these three ideas:

a. Complete expression of interior problems, preoccupations, aversions, etc. Everything named.

b. The idea of an official "free-stamping" might be alluded to, e.g. involving 'papel sellado' (official paper for documents, with administration fees per page paid in advance). A legal metaphor would be borrowed to cover this psychological, moral, and existential aspect.

c. The process of sealing – that is, giving weight and importance to, and closing – the episode and its affective meaning. This could be interpreted in the sense of stopping a short-circuited resonance.

33. *The diviner emphasizes the client's daughter's responsibility and points out the fact of her adult age, thus exonerating the client as a father.*

8.3 The “Developmental Sequence” of the consultation

We see a clear development of arguments in the consultation. The client collaborates in the elaboration of the consultation, and this fact is brought out in the conversation.

1. Questions defining the problem:

This includes the identification of the client's daughter and her husband, of the locality of influence or affiliation, of the age of marriage (and the bride price paid) and the illness in relation to the lowland (and plantation work there).

2. Diagnosis / Interpretation:

The diviner specifies a diagnostic identification of the illness (malaria). Quarreling and mistrust are the original causes which the diviner identifies. He argues that the mistrust was not treated before leaving town.

3. Detailing and discussing the therapy:

The diviner suggests the person(s) and the supernatural beings as addressees of the open declaration. The diviner suggests some topics to be covered in the open declaration: becoming an adult person, details of the marriage contract, i.e. the daughter's treatment and sentiment, and possible physical aggression by her husband.

4. Deepening the problem and recasting it:

The diviner might suddenly remember that the client's daughter had already taken medication so that the case might be more serious. We don't know. The diviner refers to ‘doubts’, ‘mental reservations’, ‘preoccupations’ on the part of the client's daughter.

5. Elaborating on the interpretation and diagnosis:

The diviner and the client come down to more specific biographical details in the daughter's life, i.e. previously broken love relationships. These episodes have to be taken care of in psychotherapeutic terms. The interesting statement is: The diviner can do nothing; it must be the daughter herself who acts. This again points to the private character of the “confession” or open declaration.

6. Recast and further elaboration of the therapy:

Spelling out the (psychological) problems completely is the condition of breaking the affective and interpersonal resonances and sealing the psychosomatic system. Recalling and verbalizing the relevant episodes may be sufficient. I propose, however, the *hypothesis* that this sealing consists in the acquisition of a mechanism of control which inhibits repetitions of af-

fects, for example, a conscious reflex of the volition or intent to stop the affect and to be as completing as possible. Such a reflex could include the remembrance of the fact of reconciliation. Cf Ch. 5.5: In that consultation, assuming an *attitude of reconciliation* is the prerequisite for the open declaration. Contrast that with Ch. 5.9.3.

8.4 Syntax of arguments / Patterned and unique features

The questions asked by the diviner and the client's observational description lead (→) to the interpretation. The confirmation of the presence of mistrust leads to further specifications and therapeutic proposals. The *syntax of arguments* is brought out in the following recast of the data:

- (1) Questions → Answers [Features of illness; work in the lowlands; marital status].
- (2) Answers + Divination [*Lamb'at* (*Alcalde* day) = 'illness'; *Txab'in* (*tx'ayxil?*) = 'long-lasting illness'] → Interpretation [Malaria; presence of mistrust (inferred from: Illness + Problems unregulated when leaving for the lowlands?)] (cf. Ch. 3.5 (identification of a state); Ch. 7.3.3.1 (problems arranged before going to a *finca* for work)).
- (3) Mistrust [+ Marriage contract network] → Specification of the persons involved in the network of mistrust.
- (4) Mistrust → Therapeutic proposal [Open declaration, or 'confession', in front of the mother; topics to be covered: 'marriage arrangement', 'possible marital aggression', 'work on the plantation in the lowlands'].
- (5) Concept of the therapy of mistrust ('confession'): remembering, verbalization, throwing away the sentiment or thoughts; rituals (involving prayers) in the following locations: client's house, cemetery, church.
- (6) *A change in the forecast*: Death is imminent; this is a feature unique to this case.
- (7) The concept of the date of birth is introduced as "determining destiny". The birth date (*13 B'en*) primes the forecast.
- (8) Problem recast (destiny) → Divination [*K'ana7*; cf *q'ana* = 'ask for'; 'curse', in love affairs].
- (9) The client specifies the episodes concerning foregoing lovers.
- (10) The diviner reconfirms the necessity of the open declaration, i.e. 'confession', among the client's daughter and her husband.
- (11) Counsel: 'Confession' carried out correctly → Health; otherwise: death.

The features of questioning, answering, divining, interpreting and therapeutic counseling are *patterns (scripts)* which can also be observed in other consultation cases. The episodes and the communication between diviner and client contain *unique* features. The sudden reversal of the forecast finds no correspondence in the published record. Furthermore, we notice the **birth date** as **priming** the divination with regard to **determining** the daughter's **destiny**. The outline of the therapy follows the pattern mentioned elsewhere. The features of 'throwing away' the sentiment of mistrust and of 'sealing the interior mind' may be novel or additional ones.

9. LEARNING HOW TO PARTICIPATE IN CONSULTATIONS (AND HOW TO DIVINE)

In the article on my fieldwork⁵⁷, published in the first edition (and deleted from the second edition) of Hans Fischer's "Feldforschungen", I described the process of trust formation. I did not publish the exact procedure and the phrasing of my explications in my own idiosyncratic Q'anjob'al at the outset of my work on divination.

The diviner had started to teach me how to divine. The teaching was not as formalized as with B. Tedlock. Especially at the beginning, the diviner Mateo Raymundo Velásquez was careful to give me pertinent background, conceptual and technical information. He often said "¡mire! (look!)", thus emphasizing the observational component. Don Mateo was explicit about the pragmatic setting. The model dialogs are a most interesting and fruitful type of data, capturing the psycholinguistic or pragmatic rule structure.

The data documented here include: the simulated situation of asking for a divination (#1A) and a filmed and transcribed hypothetical divination with the diviner's granddaughter who was asked to be a client (#39A). The instructions to the granddaughter are simple and straightforward: she is told how to ask a question. And these instructions are repeated in the additional case immediately following. To this data base, the list of day-name associations (#2A; #7A; etc.) and a simulated day count and divination (#2B) have to be added. The simulated day count and divination (#2B) has been translated and analyzed in Chapter 4.5 (cf App. V.a). The different lists of day-name associations can be found in Ch. 2.1.2-3.

9.1 Model dialog: reasons for a divinatory consultation

9.1.1 Translated text

From: #1A [Archive 4a].

Eike H. asks the diviner for the reasons for a divinatory consultation [29.4.1981]. The diviner phrases his response in terms of a model dialog (Client = fictitious client; Diviner).

Client: Hello.

⁵⁷ Eike Hinz, "Arbeit mit einem Hauptinformanten" (in: H. Fischer, "Feldforschungen", Berlin 1985, 1st ed., Reimers Verlag); Eike Hinz, "Traditionelles Wissen, soziale Kontrolle und Identität der Kanjobal-Indianer von San Juan Ixcay, Guatemala" (in: "Mesoamerikanistik als Sozialwissenschaft. Soziale Evolution, soziales System, soziales Verhalten und soziale Kognition in Mesoamerika", Hamburg 2002:177ff., Wayasbah-Verlag).

Diviner: Yes.

Client: Are you here?

Diviner: I am here.

Client: Are you fine?

Diviner: I am fine.

Client: I have a problem (mandate).

Diviner: What is your problem?

Client: Make a divination for me. For I am ill.

Diviner: Ah, come in, rest yourself. We will make a divination for you.

Client: Well.

[*Eike:* (...)]

Diviner: What is your sorrow?

Client: **(1)** I have no [other] sorrow, but I do have this sorrow because of which I am asking. For I want to have some health for me, I want to have some food, I want to have some useful animals, I want to have some money for me, and I do not want to die. Thus, it is a divination I am coming to ask you for, Sir, diviner. Make a divination for me. I will make my *costumbres* (traditional rituals) in front of God, our Lord, so that there will be no illness within me. In that way, I would like (to do) it.

Diviner: It is good. Here I put it into order. I will make the divination. **(2)** But be respectful (be obedient). If you will be disobedient, then you will be gone, (or) worse, there is death, there is illness within us (=you). **(3)** But you shall pray when God, our Lord, dawns (i.e., in the morning). You shall pray when God, our Lord [implies the **Sun**], falls (sinks, i.e., in the evening), when we go to sleep, when it becomes completely dark, then God, our Lord, hears it. Don't be disobedient. **(4)** And when day ends, then make the sign of blessing in such a way: Cross yourself on your forehead and do it! **(5)** You shall not say an evil word, you shall not say a bad word. You forebear it, when it becomes light, when God, our Lord, stands at noon, when our Lord descends, when we rest in our hut. So it is. **(6)** If-, if you do not put that in order, then there will be death inside you and there will be something you will brood over. **(7)** And you shall not brood over your-, over your problems. **(8)** You shall not quarrel with your wife, do not quarrel with your wife, you shall not quarrel with your wife! **(9)** For you shall eat in harmony (peace), in health, you shall not be angry. **(10)** And if you will become angry against each other, you will incur a case of death, you will incur an illness. Who knows what will happen to you if you quarrel with each other. **(11)** But God, our Lord, does not want us to quarrel (to become angry against each other). For it is the Lord, the Mistress-. **(12)** For God, our Lord, wants us, the Calendar Day wants us, to work so that we will eat, so that we will drink, so that we will grow up (continue to

live), so that our useful animals grow up, so that we will see our money, that we work, that we do not steal. **(13)** If we will steal, then this is something bad; there is jail, there is punishment if we then will steal. **(14)** For we shall *work* with our hands. Then (in that case) it is good. Also there is no pain.

Client: Ah, yes, exactly, Sir, in such a way I will ask. I want a counsel in the good sense. My sense is not tuned towards something bad. Therefore I come to you to ask for a divination here in your house.

Diviner: **(15)** Well, here you shall put it into order. On the—, on the calendar day, a candle is put up. You ask God, our Lord, for some health for us (i.e. you). You ask God, our Lord, for some food, for some drink. You ask God, our Lord, for some money. [Of course][?]⁵⁸ we put up our candles with our *costumbres* (rituals), on top of our altar, [of course][?] there is *copal*, [of course] there is *pom* (resin as incense), [of course][?] there are candles, **(16)** for we give food to God, our Lord.

(17) And it is not God, our Lord, who actually “eats” the candle, who “eats” the *copal*; but it is only like the smoke which God, our Lord, smells (perceives); our Earth, our terrain (mountain, valley, i.e. homelands), our land, our village are those who “eat” some pine wood, *ocote* (pine wood full of resin used for lighting fires), pine wood, *copal*, the candle. **(18)** For we ask our Earth, the World for our food, we ask for our health, we ask for our life. In such a way you shall arrange it (put it into order).

Client: Well, Sir. Such is my request because of which I come to you to find out about it. And here I also leave.

Diviner: So it is. [This is] a further thought (*or*: instructive argument).

9.1.2 Analytical commentary and notes on Q’anjob’al Maya spirituality

The model dialog specifies psycholinguistic and general normative characteristics. The general framework of beliefs relevant for contacting the diviner, following his instructions, etc., is elaborated upon. Terminology, concepts and beliefs are analyzed in Chapter 1. Note the concepts of God as the sun, of Earth as the homeland and village, and of the Calendar Days as deities. ‘Mistress’ might refer to the moon (or even to the night?).

Ways of communication and perception are specified. This text can serve as an introduction to Q’anjob’al Maya spirituality.

(1) *The fictitious client refers to his ‘sorrow’, i.e. want of things, or states missing or to be avoided (‘health’, ‘food’, ‘useful animals’, ‘some money’; ‘no death’, ‘no illness’).*

⁵⁸ *Ms has yiq b’ita and yiqb’etal (= ‘obligatoriamente’?) in the following two cases.*

MAKING-RITUALS (norm = action prescribed) → NO-ILLNESS
(action consequence = prevention of a negative future state)

(2) *This very general norm (COMPLY; DO NOT COMPLY) looks like an empty formula. But it can be explicated as an elliptic abbreviation: ‘comply with the following norms which are specified’, thus having empirical, social meaning. In ‘naive’ normative discourse, the norm is justified in terms of hypothetical reasoning about the possible negative consequences of omission:*

NOT-COMPLYING (norm disregarded) → ILLNESS & DEATH
(negative consequences)

(3) *The way to proceed is communication with God and other supernatural agents, i.e. to pray at different temporal points during the day. ‘God listens’ is the ontological **belief** presupposition of this proceeding.*

(4) *This refers to the Christian norm within a temporal context.*

(5) *This refers to a very general social norm of communication (and interaction). Points 6-11 elaborate on this topic. A central item of transgression (‘fault’) is a ‘quarrel’ forming a reason for ‘mistrust’.*

(6) *This might refer to an elliptic statement: ‘**If there is a quarrel and if you do not put that into order**’. ‘Brood over’ is identical with ‘preoccupations’ or ‘sorrows.’*

NOT-PUTTING-INTO-ORDER (omission of prescribed action) →
DEATH or SORROW (negative future health or mental state)

(7) *Negative norm concerning the topic of preoccupation (‘problems’).*

(8) *Repeats Point 5.*

(9) *Specifies the norm in gustatory terms (‘eat in harmony, in health’).*

(10) *Repeats Point 6.*

(11) *As with many naive and religious normative belief systems, this Point introduces God as an authority who is modeled as a being with humanlike intentions (cf Ernst Topitsch 1958, “Ursprung und Ende der Metaphysik”, Heidelberg: Springer). The norm is justified in terms of God’s will.*

(12) *God wants Man to work, and this leads to the fulfillment of human wants as mentioned in Point 1. We thus have the belief sentences:*

WANT (Agents: God, Calendar Days; Topic: Work by Man)
WORK (by Man) → HAVING: FOOD & DRINK & LIFE & USEFUL ANIMALS & MONEY (positive consequences)

(13) *The norm of not-stealing is introduced as a complement of the norm of working (‘with our hands’).*

STEALING (prohibition disregarded) → NEG. SOCIAL STATE
(consequence of action: 'jail')

(14) *The positive norm is stated and **absence of pain** (or trouble) is predicted.*

(15) *The norm of PUTTING-INTO-ORDER is detailed:*

PUTTING-INTO-ORDER & PRAYING & MAKING-RITUALS
(*Instruments*: [burning] candles, copal (resin)) → HAVING: FOOD
& DRINK & MONEY (positive consequences)

(16) *This Point specifies the instrumental action: to **nourish God**. This might resemble and be a peaceful equivalent to the Aztec belief of nourishing the Gods in terms of human sacrifice or bloodshed in war.*

(17) *The idea is elaborated in ontological terms: 'God does not eat the candle, he only smells the smoke. In contrast, the Earth, as a territorial agent, eats the candle, the resin, the pine wood'.*

(18) *Thus, these instrumental objects **serve communication** ('ask') and **fulfillment of wants** ('food, health, life').*

9.2 Model dialog: omens, dreams and illnesses

9.2.1 Translated text

From: #1A (29.4.1981); Hinz 1991/I:9f.

I asked the diviner about dreams which the clients might want to have interpreted. The diviner assumes both the fictitious roles of the client and of the diviner:

Client: (1) Now we have a dream, we have an omen. And it is the case that we have seen in the dream that we will die. And there is a mountain cat which yowls. Therefore, I come to ask for a divination. Suddenly there is an illness, suddenly there is a case of death. Therefore we dream, we have actually dreamt that we end up in the cemetery. And what is our fault, because of which we dream our dream, because of which a domestic animal is yowling at us within the bounds of our house? And therefore we now come to listen to it (or: to understand it).

Diviner: Well, okay, do you mean that you have dreamed?

Client: We have dreamed.

*Diviner: (2) Well, then, why aren't you making *costumbres* (your rituals). Make *costumbres*. As a matter of fact, you shall make *costumbres* in front of God, our Lord. You should make *costumbres* in face of our holy land, of our Earth which carries us. You should make *costumbres* so that there will*

be no case of death with us, that we will not end up in the cemetery, that no animal will yowl within the bounds of our house. Eh, if you do not make our *costumbres*—, just that, let us have stated that already. (3) You shall have no quarrel, no quarrel with your wife. <Turning to the fictitious client's wife> And also you, Madam, you shall not have any quarrel with your husband. For you shall eat in calm, without quarreling, completely in calm, and day for day, day for day, day for day, you shall not quarrel. If you will quarrel, it might be you, Sir, it might be you who will die, or it will be you, Madam, or it will be you who will die, or who knows who will die. Therefore, we see the dream, you dream that you will end up on the cemetery, on the cemetery. And therefore there is a domestic animal, in the bounds of your house, which yowls on your way, in front of you. But now, do arrange yourselves, here are faults of yours.

Client: All right.

In the further course of the interview, I asked about the illnesses which the client wanted to have interpreted:

Client: Eh, now we come to ask questions. (4) There is an illness with us, fever gnaws at us, there is a Judgement with us in our house. Therefore, we come to ask for a divination for us because of the pain. What then now is our fault, what is our transgression? Therefore we come to ask for a divination for us, to ask and to hear what it is, if perhaps an illness will happen to us, if perhaps a case of death will happen to us.

[Diviner's commentary:] For the men are coming to me.

Client: (5) My wife is ill, so it says <diviner's commentary>, and my child is ill, so it says, my son is ill, so it says, my daughter is ill, so it says, and my daughter-in-law is ill, so it says, and my son-in-law is ill, so it says.

[Diviner's commentary:] But now, then, I therefore make a divination, I therefore, then, make a divination here.

Diviner: (6) For, now, I will try to find out, what is your fault and what is your problem, if it is from your father, if it is from your mother, if it is from your cross, from your house, from your land, from your home place, from your place of birth, because of which your wife is ill, because of which your son is ill, because of which your daughter is ill, because of which your daughter-in-law is ill. Now, then, put it into order, pardon all your thoughts about your poverty, about your neediness, or whatever it is, eh, put into order that from your father, that from your mother, that from your place of birth, that from the cross, that from the house, that from the land, that from the terrain, and pardon also this other (person), do we perhaps know which neighbor has bad thoughts, bad intentions? (7) Suddenly there is a neighbor who puts us down, suddenly there is a neighbor who prays against us, suddenly there is a neighbor who bewitches us, suddenly

there is a neighbor who is doing witchcraft⁵⁹ against us or is doing who knows what against us. But God is watching [us] secretly, the Earth is watching [us] secretly. For you shall ask for pardon with me. You shall not do the same like him. If you do the same like him then you will experience a case of death for it, then your wife will die under any circumstances, or your children, or your son or your daughter-in-law will die. Do not do the same like him. You shall behave well in front of God, our Lord!

9.2.2 Analytical commentary

The model dialog specifies the details of the psycholinguistic and communicative proceedings. The diviner elaborates on the concepts and beliefs involved in the interpretation of dreams and illnesses.

(1) See Ch. 7.4 and Paragraph 1.3.1.

(2) The diviner assumes negligence or omission of making the rituals as a cause for dreaming or experiencing an omen. Making the proper rituals is a way to avoid punishment.

(3) The client has to forbear quarrelling. Prototypically, quarrelling affects eating, and might lead to death. 'For you shall eat in calm, without quarrelling (...) you shall not quarrel'. See Paragraph 9.1.2 (9).

(4) See Paragraph 1.5.1.

(5) See Paragraph 1.5.1 ('social causation').

(6) See Ch. 1.3 (the procedural concepts of 'fault' or 'cause').

(7) The following statements refer to witchcraft and how to deal with it. The diviner is clear: Do not retaliate by doing the same! God is watching, and breaking the norm, i.e., doing witchcraft, leads to death within the nuclear family. The beliefs implied:

WATCHING (Agent: God; Topic: Client's retaliation) **E** (enables):
 RETALIATION (Agent: Client; Recipient: Other person; Action:
 Doing witchcraft) → ACTION (Agent: God; Recipient: Client) →
 DEATH (Recipient: Family member)

'You shall ask [God] for pardon with me (i.e. in my presence)': The diviner defines his role (not allowing the client to do black magic). The spirit of reconciliation – asking for pardon – is highlighted.

⁵⁹ Ma ch'aq'on brujar jin, repente ay junoq wesino matol sentro chi yak jin (Hinz 1991/II:13).

9.3 An invitation for a divination: the diviner's granddaughter is asked to cooperate in a film as a client

9.3.1 Introduction

I asked the diviner, Mateo Raymundo Velásquez, to agree to the filming of an artificial divination and to ask his granddaughter to participate as a client. I did the filming and taping on August 25, 1981, one day after the bombing of the military quarters in San Juan Ixcoy by the Guatemalan guerrillas.

Background information on the situation of the granddaughter and her parents had not been given to me. The parents' (and, thus, the diviner's daughter's) marriage is obviously going to break down. The granddaughter obviously has a child and a broken relationship implying separation or divorce (cf reference to the "Shulines family").

In the first case, the diviner's wife instructs the granddaughter on how to ask for a divination. The granddaughter takes up the suggestion and elaborates on it. In the second case, it is the diviner himself who takes up the role of the instructor on how to ask for a divination. In some cases the layout of the seeds of the coral tree and the corresponding counts cannot be reconstructed as the visual document is inaccessible.

9.3.2 Translated text and analytical commentary

From: #39A (Archive 4a).

<After a visitor has left, the diviner turns to his granddaughter:>

Diviner: Well, what is your request? What are you asking for? What is your pain?

Female client: Ah.

Diviner's wife <simulating the granddaughter's role>: Pardon, Sir, what might there be in terms of health? Will there be health in the distant future, will that be the case?

<Commentary 1:> The diviner's wife instructs the granddaughter to ask about her health in the future, for example, in very general terms.>

Diviner: Ha, ha. [*or: Aha*].

Female client: I ask you, Sir, what my destiny says, what my health says, what my destiny says with God, our Lord, if it is my fortune to have some more life, if there is health for me, if—, how my destiny will turn out in the future, what will happen. And will there be a husband for me or will there be no husband? What says my destiny, and will I have the good luck to live

on, to have a future? And will it be my fortune to eat, to drink, with regard to my money, to my health?

<Commentary 2: The granddaughter elaborates on her grandmother's suggestion concerning a request for a divination about her health and her future destiny. She specifies as to whether or not she will have a husband.>

Diviner: Ah, Lord, God, what does God, our Lord, say about the heart of María Tercero...

Female client: María Tercero Raymundo.

Diviner: ...Raymundo? What does her health say, in the hands, under the feet of our Lord 3 Kaq?

<Commentary 3: The diviner recasts the granddaughter's question into a formal request. The problem is phrased as a question directed to God and to the current calendar day under whose rule the granddaughter is. The current day, 3 Kaq, selected as the starting point of the count, was the 25th of August, 1981.>

<Divination 1.a>

3 Kaq, 4 Ajaw, 5 Imox, 6 Iq', 7 Watan, 8 K'ana7, 9 Ab'ak, 10 Tox, 11 Chej, 12 Lamb'at, 13 Mulu7, 1 Elab', 2 B'atz' ||,

well, Madam, so it says, do not have a mistrust, do not have a preoccupation. For you shall care for the land property of your father, for the land property of your mother, for the birth place, for the land (of your house of birth). If you have a mistrust with regard to the terrain, then it will say what you shall do (*or*: what shall happen), so it says (in the divination).

2 B'atz',

3 Ewub', 4 B'en, 5 Ix, 6 Tz'ikin, 7 Txab'in, 8 Kixkab', 9 Chinax, 10 Kaq, 11 Ajaw, 12 Imox, 13 Iq', 1 Watan |, 2 K'ana7 ||,

but there is a curse, there is a negative prayer, it is said that there is a prayer which has been spoken against you.

2 K'ana7,

3 Ab'ak, 4 Tox, 5 Chej, 6 Lamb'at, 7 Mulu7, 8 Elab', 9 B'atz', 10 Ewub', 11 B'en, 12 Ix, 13 Tz'ikin |, 1 Txab'in |, 2 Kixkab' ||.

There is said to be this prayer. Do not care about it, nor be preoccupied with it, so it says.

2 Kixkab',

3 Chinax, 4 Kaq, 5 Ajaw, 6 Imox, 7 Iq', 8 Watan, 9 K'ana7, 10 Ab'ak, 11 Tox, 12 Chej |, 13 Lamb'at |, 1 Mulu7 |, 2 Elab' ||.

If you will have a mistrust⁶⁰, then you will certainly see [what will happen], so it says here anyway.

Female client: Yes, so it is, Sir, thank you.

<Commentary 4: Some speaking days are highlighted and yield the basis for creating a coherent interpretative story. The speaking days selected are the days named in the last position when counting the row of 'palo de pito' [*Erythrina corralloendron*] four times. These days are: 2 B'atz, implying as associations 'house', 'land property', 'place of birth' [the phonetic or, rather, mnemonic association might be '(ko-)b'atz'-om-al' ("earth"; "who carries us")]. 'Two' implies 'mistrust' or 'preoccupation'. The sentence frame selected is an interdiction (prohibition) and a forecast. Cf Ch. 4.10. 2 K'ana7: The mnemonic association might be 'q'ana7' ("to ask for") and the semantic interpretation is: 'sorcerers' and, possibly, 'illness'. A 'negative prayer' corresponds well to 'sorcery'. 2 Kixkab, "earthquake", corresponds according to Ch. 2.1.1 to Txab'in ('sorcery'). The numerical coefficient 'two' refers to 'mistrust', 'preoccupation'. As a sentence frame, again a prohibition is chosen ("do not care", "do not be preoccupied"). 2 Elab' yields the numerical coefficient 'two' = 'mistrust'; el-i = 'to come out', 'to happen'. The sentence frame selected is a conditioned prediction 'if there is a mistrust then -'.>

<Divination 2; the layout has not been recorded apart from the film itself, the film reel has, possibly, been destroyed. 4 X 9 positions counted?:>

Diviner: 2 Elab',

2 Elab', 3 B'atz', 4 Ewub', 5 B'en, 6 Ix, 7 Tz'ikin, 8 Txab'in, 9 Kixkab', 10 Chinax ||,

11 Kaq, 12 Ajaw, 13 Imox, 1 Iq', 2 Watan, 3 K'ana7, 4 Ab'ak, 5 Tox |, 6 Chej ||,

7 Lamb'at, 8 Mulu7, 9 Elab', 10 B'atz', 11 Ewub', 12 B'en, 13 Ix |, 1 Tz'ikin |, 2 Txab'in ||,

3 Kixkab', 4 Chinax, 5 Kaq, 6 Ajaw, 7 Imox, 8 Iq' |, 9 Watan |, 10 K'ana7 |, 11 Ab'ak ||-

But it is only this, you put into order this, so it says, 11 Ab'ak, the idea comes up that you will put it into order, so it says.

Female client: Yes.

<Commentary 5: The speaking days and the interpretation derived from them remain unclear in their implicative coordination. It might simply be

⁶⁰ Ms. has: hoq yal wal aq'on kab'k'ulal = It will say if (that) you have a mistrust. Then, in that case... Or correction: hoq k'al wal aq'on kab'k'ulal = Depending on if you will have a mistrust...

the case that there is no new information to be added and that one has to consider therapeutic measures in general.>

Diviner: Is it true or is it not true? Ha, ha.

Female client: Yes, Sir, it is true. It is certain that I will rebuild the house, for–, because my father bequeathes it already (to me), so I say. Yes, so is the house. In any case, I receive it, as I say. This is what I think, what I tell him.

Diviner: Well, you shall not worry. You shall not brood over what you should give (him, your father) to eat, so it says (in the divination). That is what your service for him (your father) consists in, so it says.

Female client: Yes, so it is, Sir.

Diviner: Do not have a mistrust, a preoccupation any longer with regard to it, so it says.

<Commentary 6: The granddaughter confirms that her father is about to give her a house of her own and that she will rebuild it as required by normative customs. The diviner obviously refers to service for the father in exchange for the house. (This might be a norm in analogy to the bride price and bride service and the land to be expected as a marriage gift.) The granddaughter should not be preoccupied with questions like that.>

Female client: Yes, so it is. Thank you.

Diviner: So it says.

Female client: Yes, imagine that.

Diviner: The money, it shall speak, how the money will come into existence in your hands. It is only God who will take care of it, and only our Earth, the World (*kobatx'omal mundo*), will take care of it, will look for it how it will happen that you will gain the money, so it says. Don't let it go! If you let it go, it will necessarily get lost, so it says here.

Female client: Yes, imagine that, Sir, yes.

<Commentary 7: The diviner speaks about how to get money, and refers the granddaughter to God and to the Earth.>

<Divination 3:>

Diviner: 13 Elab', 1 B'atz', 2 Ewub', 3 B'en, 4 Ix, 5 Tz'ikin, 6 Txab'in, 7 Kixkab', 8 Chinax, 9 Kaq, 10 Ajaw–

Listen, pay respect at least to what your father says, so it says.

10 Ajaw, 11 Imox–

Listen, you shall receive it at least, if it has not happened yet (*or*: receive at least his property, he is not yet dead), so it says.

12 Iq', 13 Watan–,

you shall not be afraid of it, so it says.

13 Watan,

1 K'ana⁷, 2 Ab'ak, 3 Tox, 4 Chej, 5 Lamb'at, 6 Mulu⁷, 7 Elab', 8 B'atz', 9 Ewub', 10 B'en, 11 Ix, 12 Tz'ikin, 13 Txab'in, 1 Kixkab'–

Try⁶¹ some life (health) for you, try some food for you, some drink for you.

1 Kixkab', 2 Chinax –,

but be careful, do not have a mistrust,

2 Chinax, 3 Kaq, 4 Ajaw–

You will stay healthy, so it says here at least, Madam.

Female client: Yes, that is true, Sir.

<Commentary 8: 10 Ajaw is an Alcalde day of “judgement or authority”. This association gets translated into the statement “pay respect at least to what your father says”. 11 Imox associates with ‘earth’ (according to Ch. 2.1.1; the diviner might refer to the transfer of the land property). 13 Watan is again an Alcalde day of authority and justice; this time the association gets translated into a negative exhortation “don’t be afraid of it”. 1 Kixkab', “earth”, can refer to crops (cf Ch. 2.1.4). The translation into a statement is a normative one: “Try some life, some food, some drink”. 2 Chinax, the ‘two’ refers to ‘mistrust’. The association becomes translated into a negative command: “Do not have a mistrust”. 4 Ajaw is again an Alcalde day (‘Judgement’, ‘Lord of illness’), according to Ch. 2.1.2, “for our life or health”. The translation is a prediction: “You will stay healthy”.>

Diviner <to Eike H.>: Ha, ha, ha. Finished or not?

Eike H.: Yes.

Diviner: Finished.

I try again to motivate the diviner to make a further divination. This divination is again filmed by me.

Diviner <to his granddaughter>: Ask again: ‘What is it then that I want?’, so you speak. ‘And is it so, no–, as it is already? Will there be health for my father with me, will there be health for my father with me, will there be health for my mother with me?’, so you speak.

Female client: Yes, that’s it.

<Commentary 9: This time, the diviner instructs his granddaughter. He starts out with an unspecific question, simulating the client, in the 1st person singular (‘what is it then that I want?’). He suggests more specific questions about the health of her father and her mother.>

⁶¹ Q'anj. haq'ej corrected to haq'lej.

Diviner: Because it went well so far.

Female client: Well, I ask, Sir, is there thus health for my father with me (i.e. in my presence or in my divination)? Is there thus health for my mother with me? And will I have the health to live on (*or*: grow old) with my partner, my heart, (with) all? Perhaps there will be no illness with me? And perhaps all of us will live on with my mother? If there will be a [further] child of mine, listen, will there be health for my child, and will my child be delivered?

<Commentary 10: The granddaughter repeats the questions suggested by the diviner. She elaborates on the suggested ideas of putting a question when she includes herself, a potential partner, and her children. She becomes specific as to whether all of her own (nuclear) family will have life when they will live together with her mother. She asks for the health of a potential further child of her.>

Diviner: Well, María Tercero Raymundo, what does it say about the health, the life of the father of her, the Christian lady, of him, Antonio Tercero *<the diviner's son-in-law>*, of her, Catarina Raymundo *<the diviner's daughter>*, and of María Tercero Raymundo *<the diviner's granddaughter>*. What does it say (in the divination) about health, about life of her hands, her feet *<probably referring to her child>*, of her, Margarita *<this is obviously a child of the client, a great granddaughter of the diviner; see below>*.

Female client: Margarita Tercero Raymundo.

<Commentary 11: The mother – Maria Tercero Raymundo, the diviner's granddaughter – is on her own according to A.M.>

Diviner: Margarita Tercero Raymundo, 3 Kaq, Antonio Tercero, what does it say (in the divination) about his health, about his life, together with his daughter, his children and his whole family? He and María Tercero Raymundo,

<Divination 4a:>

3 Kaq, 4 Ajaw, 5 Imox, 6 Iq', 7 Watan, 8 K'ana7, 9 Ab'ak, 10 Tox, 11 Chej, 12 Lamb'at, 13 Mulu7 ||.

And it says: He shall not seek his transgressions and he shall not have a mistrust, your father⁶² shall not do so as I have told you. But if he will do so, then he will follow up his transgressions.

Female client: Yes.

⁶² Ms. has *kamam* = *ha-mam*; *or*: *kamam* = *komon* = he shall not do vulgar things.

Diviner: So it says here.

Female client: Of course.

<Commentary 12: The diviner invokes the current calendar day, 3 Kaq. The formal request concerns the health of the client's father in relation to her. The speaking day, 13 Mulu7, yields the interpretative association 'transgression' (Q'anj. 'mul'). Despite the uncertainty of the reading of 'ha-mam' vs. 'komon', the message is clear. The sentence frame is a prohibition, referring to the client's father: "He shall not seek his transgression". A conditioned prediction follows.>

<Divination 4.b:>

Diviner: 3 Kaq, 4 Ajaw, 5 Imox, 6 Iq', 7 Watan, 8 K'ana7, 9 Ab'ak, 10 Tox, 11 Chej, 12 Lamb'at, 13 Mulu7 ||,

1 Elab', 2 B'atz', 3 Ewub', 4 B'en, 5 Ix, 6 Tz'ikin, 7 Txab'in, 8 Kixkab', 9 (Chinax), 10 Kaq |, 11 Ajaw ||–,

but you (?) shall do well what you put into order, so it says, 11 Ajaw, 12 Imox,

(it is) the land, the place of birth, as it says, 12–,

13 Iq', 1 Watan, 2 K'ana7, 3 Ab'ak, 4 Tox, 5 Chej, 6 Lamb'at, 7 Mulu7 |, 8 Elab' |, 9 B'atz' ||.

It says, all the land and the place of birth shall become well (good), no matter how many you might be, how large your family might be.

Female client: Yes.

<Commentary 13: The row of 11 positions, counted three times, is my reconstruction. 11 Ajaw is an Alcalde day of authority and justice, possibly suggesting "you shall do well what you put into order". The sentence frame selected is a positive command. 12 Imox, according to 2.1.1 and 2.1.2, refers to "earth", corresponding closely to the interpretation "land, place of birth". The sentence frame selected is an identification statement ("it is the place of birth"). The speaking position, the first one in the row, is unusual. 9 B'atz', becomes straightforwardly transformed into a positive command "all the land and the place of birth shall become good", for the client's whole family ('B'atz', associated with 'batx'-om-al' = 'earth').>

<Divination 4c; 12 positions:>

Diviner: 1 B'atz', 2 Ewub', 3 B'en, 4 Ix, 5 Tz'ikin, 6 Txab'in, 7 Kixkab', 8 Chinax, 9 Kaq, 10 Ajaw, 11 Imox, 12 Iq', it shall be done well, so it says.

Female client: Yes, so it is, Sir.

<Commentary 14: Note the jump from 9 B'atz' in divination 4.b to 1 B'atz' in divination 4.c. The speaking day, obviously 12 Iq', is opaque and refers to intervention action.>

<Divination 4d; 9 positions:>

Diviner: Catarina Raymundo .

3 Kaq, 4 Ajaw, 5 Imox, 6 Iq', 7 Watan, 8 K'ana7, 9 Ab'ak, 10 Tox, 11 Chej ||, 11 Chej <repeated>, 12 Lamb'at, 13 Mulu7, 1 Elab', 2 B'atz', 3 Ewub', 4 B'en, 5 Ix |, 6 Tz'ikin ||–

and your mother, it says, she wants to go back to her father, to her mother. And now you will remove the evil from her side, sitting here, sitting upright here with your father, with your mother. Perhaps there is a neighbor who arises (in enmity), perhaps there is somebody else who is envious (in enmity). Therefore, your mother wants to acknowledge her father, her mother. But, now, though your mother will acknowledge her father, her mother, your mother will nevertheless control her pain, that woman will bring it under control here, your mother will get it under control here, as we would like to say. That is it what it says about your mother (or: Thus you shall speak to your mother). If not, she will be gone anyway.

Female client: Yes.

<Commentary 15: With regard to the layout, a row of 9 positions might have been counted twice, with 11 Chej in the end position in the first count and repeated in the first position of the second count. This text concerns the diviner's daughter, the mother of the client. Implicitly, we have to assume the following which is, of course, known to the diviner. The marriage between the diviner's daughter and the diviner's son-in-law is obviously going to break up ("wants to go back to her father, to her mother"). It is not clear if "Therefore, your mother wants to acknowledge her father, her mother" refers to the procedure of an open declaration between the diviner's daughter and her parents. We might speculate about affectively touched upon social bonds. A scene like the following emerges: "And now you will remove the evil from her side, sitting here, sitting upright here with your father, with your mother." This seems to refer clearly to an open declaration ("confession") between the diviner's daughter (Catarina Raymundo) and her husband (Antonio Tercero), and their daughter, the diviner's granddaughter (María Tercero Raymundo): Removal of the evil from her (the client's) mother's side which might have affected the daughter, the diviner's granddaughter. Despite ('though') the (possible) therapeutic procedure ('recognizing her parents'), the client's mother, Catarina Raymundo, "has to bring her pains under control", probably referring to psycho-

logical pain. It seems that the confession is aiming at this control. The issue is serious (“if not–”).

The diviner speculates about neighbors, and thus about envy or possibly even black magic.>

<Divination 4.e; 11 positions:>

Diviner: María Tercero, with all her hands, her feet, her child,

3 Ix, 4 Tz’ikin, 5 Txab’in,

María Tercero with her whole hand, with her (whole) foot, with Margarita,

3 Ix, 4 Tz’ikin, 5 Txab’in, 6 Kixkab’, 7 Chinax, 8 Kaq, 9 Ajaw, 10 Imox,

11 Iq’, 12 Watan, 13 K’ana7 ||–

And how shall they come to an end⁶³, the evil words from the side of the men, (...) from the side of the men of the Shulines [family?].

Female client: Yes, so it is.

Diviner: Yes, not anymore. There is still the enemy, the man who hates (or: envies). Maybe that the woman came once more, [she who gave up, the female person that had left there][?], and maybe that there is something wrong (or: going on) with these men⁶⁴. But we want to find it out. And you tell it to your father, you tell it to your mother. Then, it will become different. How did it happen that you have followed the men, and how did it happen that you have come back [here]?

Female client: Well.

Diviner: [And how it happened that you asked ‘Is there something or is there nothing?’ for your life and from your father’s side (i.e. of his possession) and from your mother’s side (i.e. of her possession)...

Female client: Yes.

Diviner: ...for your life and health when I move (or: come out, agree?)[?]. And then everything of yours (pl.) will come to peace again (or: will get settled).

Female client: Ah.

Diviner: Well. (...) Within three months we (will) transfer it (the money?, the land title?, the house?), as it says⁶⁵, yes, well. Good bye, good bye, Madam.

⁶³ *slaj b’ay* = *slajw[i] ay*

⁶⁴ Ms.: *matol ka hatu xtit ix ix junilxa jun x7aq’on kan jun ix anima xtoj tu, matol xin ka ay tzet yej heb’ cham ti7*. The transcription is doubtful and unchecked, and so is the translation. A.M. translates: “...esta mujer que se dejó a la persona que se fue...” Alternative: =*junxa kan-kan* <present tense>, *jun ix anima xtoj* <past tense> *tu* = “(i.e.) that the other one stays definitely, the female person that had left there...”

⁶⁵ *Q’anj.*: (.....yamta x-toji, hax y-un ta7 y-al-on-i), ha yet ox-eb’ xajaw ka chi j-aq’-on entregar, xhi. “Aq’(a) entregar” (vt) possibly implies the title (*título de la tierra*) or the house.

Female client: Good bye, Sir.

<Commentary 16: The formal association of 13 K'ana7 (derived from q'a-na7 (vt) = 'to ask for', 'to curse') yields the interpretation "evil words". A sentence frame is provided which implies a question of modality ("how?"). Again, an unknown episode which is known to the diviner has to be reconstructed. This episode can be characterized as follows: The diviner's granddaughter had a relationship (possibly an 'unión de hecho'), and seems to have one child (named Margarita Tercero Raymundo) as a result of this relationship.

'Evil words from the side of the men of the Shulines family': This seems to refer to the family with whom the relationship existed; evil words, either insults, threats or black magic. The diviner talks about "enmity" and "hate". The episode implies another woman who had obviously left, who returned and stayed. This can refer to a sexual relationship, to a triangle situation and to the question of a permanent perspective. The diviner is obviously not informed about the details.

The following few sentences are decisive. They outline the procedure of an open declaration ("confession") and the topic to be covered. The episode shall be told to the mother and father by the diviner's granddaughter in detail, and possibly not to him as he is not directly concerned. The parents of the diviner's granddaughter are probably affectively and socially implied. ["But we want to find it out. And you tell it to your father, you tell it to your mother. Then, it will become different. How did it happen that you have followed the men, and how did it happen that you have come back?"].

The diviner maintains that things become different if verbally expressed. The diviner specifies the situation which should be described in detail ("following the men", "coming back"). Peace of mind will be restored by means of the open declaration.

The reference to a transfer [of money, a land title, the house, or something else?] is obscure, too. If it is not the repayment of a bride price, it could be the transfer of the title of the land referred to in the first divination. The granddaughter may have asked her parents for land and the diviner may still be implied ("move out" or "agree").>

Diviner <to Eike H.>: What else, what else remains?

Other woman <to Eike H.>: Spell it out.

Diviner: But rain is already coming.

<The divination ends here; rain is about to start. The divination took place outside the house because of lighting conditions.>

9.3.3 Summary: understanding the episodes

In order to understand the divinations and the consultation translated here the following episodic features had to be clarified:

1. It seems that a sexual relationship between the diviner's granddaughter and her partner has come to an end.
2. We do not know if a bride price was paid or any bride service was carried out.
3. The granddaughter has a child.
4. We are informed about an episode which might be a key: Another woman had left the family in which the granddaughter had lived, and has now come back to stay there (?).
5. The diviner specifies that there is a curse and a prayer against the granddaughter, in terms of black magic.
6. The diviner refers to the hate, envy, enmity on the part of the family she had lived with.
7. The granddaughter will receive a house from her father. She will rebuild it. The diviner might refer to something like a 'care service' for the parents in exchange for this house ('Don't worry or brood about food for them').
8. The marriage of the diviner's daughter, the client's mother, seems to be broken up. The diviner's daughter obviously thinks about going back to her parents' house.

10. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF Q'ANJOB'AL MAYA DIVINATION AND CONSULTATION

The following considerations of Q'anjob'al Maya divinatory consultation provide a *theoretical framework* detailing cognitive, psychotropic, heuristic, procedural, therapeutic and communicative aspects. I highlight the 'relative rationality' (in terms of the cognitive consistency of the application of rules), 'heuristics' of problem development and the relation between interpretation and 'existence' (e.g. in terms of basic needs) and 'identity' (in terms of reinforcing social norms and affiliation). I consider *sources of information* in the divination process and refer to Gallese's finding of so-called mirror and immediate resonance neurons. I discuss the *social control* exercised through divinatory consultation: for instance, reinforcing an accommodation-keeping mechanism. I focus on theoretical aspects of the analysis of *belief systems*, especially of the concepts of *causality and locality* in the divination cases, and on *folk theories of behavior*, especially on the schema theory of *scripts*. A model of *search schemata* and the *emergence of ideas* is presented as part of a general theory of thought. I discuss Maroney's "*Theory of Divination*", and I finally outline some ideas on an "*anthropology of reconciliation*".

A theory of releasing the affect of mistrust (or aversion) has been presented elsewhere (see Ch. 5.7 and 5.8). The release of this affect is suggested as a therapy and is seen as part of the reconciliation process (see Ch. 5.11).

10.1 A general theoretical framework: rules, psychotropics, communication, semantic networks and procedures

I start out with the following descriptive schema which tries to capture *dimensions* and *forms of attention* in "divination-like" behavior. Thus, ethnographic reports on quite different divination systems, e.g. from African societies, can be compared to the Mesoamerican data. The schema tries to differentiate between *forms of attention*: medial trance, or conscious cognitive procedural systems; and *dimensions and their characteristics*: functions (individual vs. sociopolitical); mechanisms of control (i.e. skill or chance); focal orientation (interpretation-, decision- or clue-oriented). I avoid the concept of revelation in which the *source of authority* tends to be confused with the *mode of attention* to messages and their interpretation. Cf Peek 1991 [Introduction]; Caquot & Leibovici 1968/I-II [Collection of studies in different societies].

DIMENSION ►	Function: individual vs. sociopolitical, e.g. individual interpretation vs. state oracle	Mechanisms (control = skill, e.g. dialog, vs. chance)	Focus: decision-making vs. interpretation or heuristics (clue-finding)
ATTENTION ▼			
Medial trance	Sociopolitical / individual (oracle in <i>Delphi</i>)	more chance or hetero-determined; to be interpreted	Decision-making or yes/no-interpretation(s)
Conscious attention	Sociopolitical: cave oracle in <i>Santa Eulalia</i> ; probably <i>Tibetan</i> state oracle; <u>individual</u> : <i>S. J. Ixcoy</i> ; coca leaves in <i>Peru</i>	Pure chance determination (e.g. <i>Azande</i> poison oracle) vs. discussion between diviner & client	Decision-making (=do!/don't do!) vs. interpretation (a is b) or heuristics (x points to a or b)

Table 1: Descriptive schema for the classification of divinations

(1) *Divination as cognition*: Q'anjob'al Maya divination as documented by me seems to consist largely in cognitive rules of comparison, inference, conclusion or coordination ('procedures', 'algorithms', 'semantic molecules or meaning associations'). That is, the diviner tries to 'find or figure out', what is, what will be, what shall be done, what must be avoided.

(2) *Medium, trance and psychotropics*: Q'anjob'al Maya divination does not seem to imply mediumistic abilities on the part of the diviner. Nevertheless, a stimulating means is sometimes, but *not always* used during the consultation, i.e., rum (the local, illegally prepared *kuxha*; or alternatively, the state controlled *Quetzalteca* which is legal and taxed).

(3) *Use of alcohol learned*: The importance of the use of alcohol has to be determined. If the diviner is too drunk, he refuses to make a divination and suggests another day to the client. Sometimes the wife of the diviner might tell clients to come back on another day. It seems that the use of alcohol, in conjunction with divination and counseling, is learned and thus constitutes a culture-specific procedure of stimulating directed fantasy, problem resolution and tuned problem-oriented interaction with the client. Inhibitions in general are obviously unreduced: The diviner stays quite friendly, might joke, but is very straight and remains cognitive, as if sober. This holds although he might be a bit intoxicated: Speech and thinking abilities are upheld.

(4) *"Rationality"*: A theory of divination, meaningful in terms of Q'anjob'al Maya data, centers on cognitive and semantic structures and processes. In this sense, divinations and consultations appear as "rational" *relative* to the rule system. "Jumps" in the counts of the days, sometimes referred to as "errors" on the side of the diviner in the published literature (e.g. LaFarge), turn out to be systematic and obviously intended (as *priming*) in my data. They figure prominently even in the "model counts" (no real

client involved) given to me by the diviner as a basis for learning and studying the system of divination.

(5) *Meaning as “points of interest”*: At the basis are the meaning associations of the day names [I-XX] (and, possibly, of the numerical coefficients [1-13] of the date; cf Ch. B.1). These day-name associations correspond to *cultural themes* which are *points of interest* and are related to *basic needs*.

(6) *Points of reference (basic needs) form a semantic network*: These cultural themes or basic needs can be viewed as part of a *semantic network* which helps to structure and to direct reasoning during divination and consultative exploration in the discourse between the diviner and the client. I.e., the semantic network consists of ‘semantic nodes’ or ‘points of reference or interest’.

(7) *An active semantic network*: Basic needs (cultural themes) have to be seen in conjunction with other *semantic levels* which help to elaborate the *points of interest*. These additional semantic levels are represented as *meaning structures and procedures*: (1) of *problem definition or development* (Ch. 3.7), (2) of how to generate “*speaking days*” in the divination layout (Ch. 4.2), (3) of *comparing* the problem statement with potential speaking days, (4) of how to *select salient speaking days and expand contextualized keywords* (the meaning of these salient speaking days) to *propositional schemata* (4.9.2), and (5) of how to *derive interpretations* (4.9.3, 4.10; cf 4.9.1: Table 2).

(8) *Central focus of the semantic network and the procedures*: The integrated semantic network, consisting of the day-name associations (referring to basic needs) and the additional procedural semantic levels, focuses on *points of interest, transgressions and possible interventions*. These three topics lead to the reinforcement of social identity – especially in terms of social control (normative aspect) and mental health – and to questions of existence – especially in terms of basic needs, including health.

(9) *Procedural definition of situations of impasse*: Q’anjob’al Maya divination concerns the characterization of *situations* in which there is often *no communication* possible and in which there is, thus, an *impasse* in decision-making. My theory says that there is a *starting point* provided within the framework of Q’anjob’al Maya divination. This starting point may be rather arbitrary. There is a *backup* provided on *how to continue* in the interpretation or decision-making process. A core component consists in feedback with the client, i.e. in jointly clarifying discourse or even discussion.

(10) *Interactive aspect*: The *client collaborates actively* with the diviner in most cases observed. He/she contributes in shaping the direction that the explorative and communicative process takes. I.e., interaction between diviner and client is feasible, topically centered and determined.

(11) *Divination as a coherent goal-directed process*: The theory of divination looks at the processes of divination as ‘*moves in a game (or steps in a strategy)*’ which lead to *therapeutic or legal counsel*.

(12) *Underlying belief system and therapy concept*: Divination is embedded in a belief system in which the concept of *mistrust* and similar *psychosomatic concepts* figure prominently (cf Chs. 1.4 and 5.8). A therapy of mistrust, disgust or mental reservation is suggested by the diviner. I describe this therapy, and I even try to explain it (Ch. 5.8.1). Cf V. Gallese’s recent discovery of shared neurons of disgust when observing another person and when feeling the disgust oneself (Ch. 5.8.2).

(13) *Divination as a centered channel of problem development*: The thesis is: In spite of the frequent arbitrariness of the starting point, the semantic network component oriented towards cultural themes (points of interest) and basic needs, and the additional procedural semantic levels provide a *guideline* which either leads to ‘satisfaction and reduction in the charge and burden of decision-making of the client’, to the ‘solution of the decision problem’, to ‘action in face of uncertainty and impasse of action’ or to ‘shift to new issues’. The development of ‘side issues’ is reduced by the feedback between the diviner and the client.

(14) *Arbitrariness, falseness, and heuristics*: Can there be wrong decisions (identifications, etc.)? Definitely yes, as in any other system. *Illusion of control* and suboptimal truth assessment are possible. Mario Bunge’s idea of a *phantom theory* (with the concomitant tenet of the incorporation of empirically valid, besides centrally invalid, components of beliefs, actions, etc.) might hold (M. Bunge 1967/I). Often the degree of chance, self-control and hetero-control of events cannot be determined. Many questions are not truth-sensitive but relate to fairly arbitrary or subjective choice(s). Channeling the development of problem resolution towards ‘basic needs’ seems to ensure some (subjective or culture-specific) *relevance* at least.

(15) *Heuristics with regard to existence and identity*: Divination is a system of meaning and procedures which leads to decisions, that means it is a backup, in existence (decision-making, self-organization) and identity (personal balance, social therapy, normative social affiliation). The process of divination is guided by heuristics and is itself a heuristic process. It emphasizes *questions of finding and normative restoration of health or balance*.

10.2. Consciousness, epistemology and sources of information

(1) What we can infer from protocols (consultation sessions transcribed and translated) seems to be: information becomes conscious, becomes

named (though not the computation process), is mostly conceptual or is translated into concepts.

(2) Epistemological foundations might include rule-based inferences from signs to propositions.

(3) The role of alcohol as a cognitive-perceptual, neural and humoral medium to channel information, to filter out disturbing components, to amplify or to reduce components or aspects is to be clarified. This would even imply a certain degree of modulation in addressing, synchronizing, or inhibiting or disinhibiting semanticized neurons. We hardly know anything about the effect of methylization in this context. It plays some part in optical information processing and in posttranslational processes in the human physiological system.

(4) The work of several anthropologists, e.g. LaFarge in the Q'anjob'al area or B. Tedlock in the Quiché area, points to the phenomenon called "brincar del sangre", the "speaking of the blood". I refer to Paul Nogier's auriculotherapy and the role of the Lérique-Nogier reflex in the index finger (corresponding to the RAC = *réflexe auriculo-cardiaire*)⁶⁶. Is it possible that this reflex (with its corresponding blood wave pattern) becomes modulated and, thus, semanticized? For example, the following observation of monkeys in the wild would be pertinent. When hurt and bleeding, they search for and harvest leaves which potentially could be beneficial in healing ('self-medication'). It is improbable that these monkeys have the ethnobotanical knowledge of the local pharmacopoeia with the corresponding test series. This would indicate a *sensing system* processing semanticized resonances and being capable of distinguishing, e.g., toxic vs. non-toxic, without effect vs. beneficial, or edible vs. non-edible, etc., which would allow for meaning identification. Such a phenomenon would also explain pharmacological folk knowledge if you think of illiterate societies unused to recording crucial and contrastive experiments.

(5) The most recent discovery by Vittorio Gallese, concerning '*immediate resonance neurons*', i.e. shared ego-centric (goal-motor-action by self) vs. allo-centric (perception of another person) neurons, suggests a more direct and so far unexpected access to the other human being in terms of affect, cognition, and intention. Correspondingly, the diviner might have more direct access to relevant information from the client during divination.

⁶⁶ Cf René Lérique, "Pathologie et Chirurgie des Artères", 1945 [not consulted]. This reflex is also called '*vascular autonomic signal*'. For instance, cf Bryan Frank & Nader Soliman, "Obesity treatment through auricular therapy and auricular medicine", in: "Medical Acupuncture. A journal for physicians by physicians", vol. 14 / no. 1. This reflex can be measured in the radial artery pulse; it is a signal of stress. The use of filters points to a possible semanticization of this reflex or signal in terms of a stimulus-response relation.

10.3 Social control by divination

(1) The system of divination, in conjunction with the actualized role of the diviner and his high status, leads to the consideration of components of social significance: sending norms, insisting argumentatively in keeping them, excluding certain types of *anti-social and illegal* attitudes and behaviors. At least one consultation highlights the role of the diviner as a legal consultant, e.g. in questions of land rights (cf. Ch. 5.9-10).

(2) Normative pressure is thus exerted to conform to behaviors, beliefs and rituals which make up for a coherent *traditional* identity of individual clients. Rituals of reconciliation characterize the specific spirituality and its atmosphere in traditional Q'anjob'al culture (i.e., appearing as largely non-punitive and normatively free from black magic).

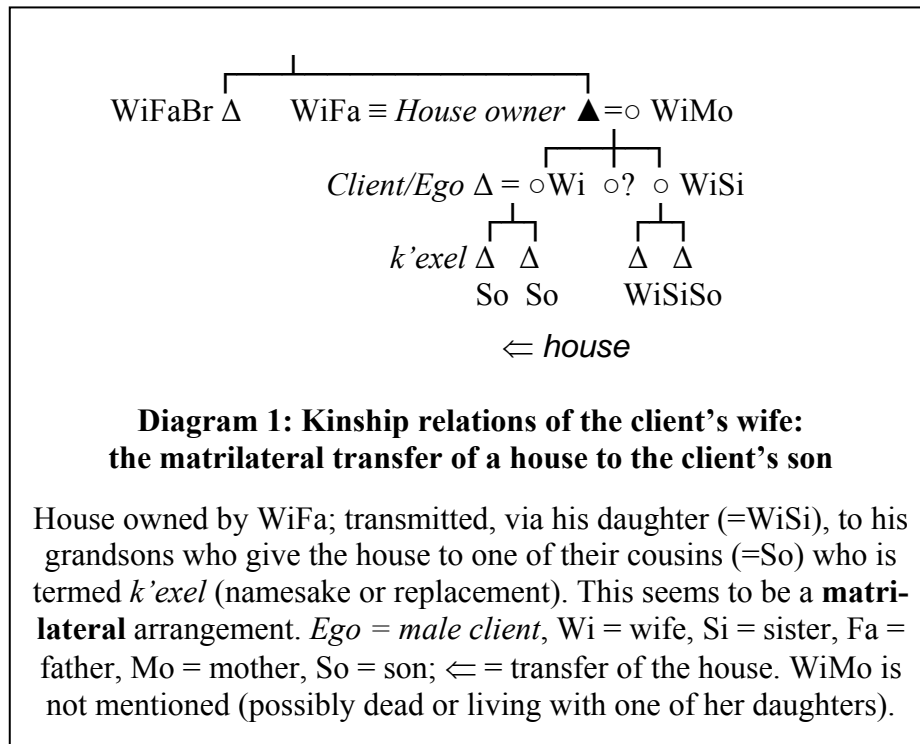
(3) A very special feature is the *'k'exel'-relationship between grandparent and grandchild (same sex- and namesake-based)* which implies the inheritance and/or care of the (probably empty) house and the family cross inside (with ritual obligations of repair or occupation). Inheritance of the house might concern both *a patrilinear and matrilinear or perhaps patri- and matrisib reckoning* (very weak evidence, if any at all, for a *matrilinear interpretation*; cf Ch. 7.4.4; but cf Ch. 6.6 and 6.6.1 <Comm 13> and case #31A translated in Hinz 1991/I:199)⁶⁷. Diagram 1 (Kinship relations)

⁶⁷ From # 31A (Hinz 1991/I:198ff): The diviner receives a message in the divination ("speaking day" = 1 B'atz'; B'atz' = 'day of the house / birthplace / hometown / land of one's own') that the client's place of birth, or terrain, is deserted. The client reports a rather complicated situation concerning the house of his father-in-law. The two daughters of the father-in-law lived with the client. The father-in-law has a brother. Translation (Hinz 1991/I:199):

Diviner: But how about the land, how about this other subject matter?

Client: Yes, indeed, there is the house of my father-in-law which was left deserted when he died. He only had two daughters (incl. or in addition to the client's wife?), and his daughters stayed with me. And he, moreover, had a brother who survived him. And—, and I, then, built, of course, my own hut on the terrain; and the [other?] house remained locked. Well then, I perhaps saw after it (the house) for two or three years. Therefore, the house stayed locked. Well, the *milpa* (the field), the *milpa* is our own which is always cropped on the land around the house. For I have sons, for there are my sons who are already grown up. They will be those who will rebuild the house. They will change the roof as they say. As soon as he, the replacement (*k'exel*), will have a spouse, he will then own the house forever. This is probably what he says: 'But I will put into order my terrain under any circumstances, indeed.' (...) Of course, we will rebuild it, bit for bit we will rebuild it. But it only means that my son must have a spouse. Then I will still make him live in the house, and he will rebuild it. Well, there is still a daughter of his (i.e. of the father-in-law), and she tells us: 'My sons do not want to rebuild it. If you want to let it decay, let it decay. But you should rather rebuild it,' she said. It was my son to whom it was simply given by the brethren (=the sons of the father-in-law's daughter, or the cousins). When my father (-in-law?) died, the brethren transferred the house [to him]."

below summarizes the data as contained in case #31A quoted in Note 67. Note that 1/4 of the houses in the township of San Juan Ixcoy were unoccupied according to the census of 1981. See App. VI.



(4) My hypothesis: Divination and the traditional belief and ritual system serve an accommodation-keeping social mechanism (*k'exel*) which seeks to preserve the local land tenure rights. This normative mechanism is probably a response to legislation against communal landholding. It can also “stabilize” the local population presence (vs. migration), the survivals of a patrilinear system (as a name-giving, landholding and land-transferring unit) and, indirectly, the parent-child relationship (if affected by bride service): Autonomy (a house of one’s own) and sentiment (giving and caring) shape the social bond between grandparent and grandchild (e.g., the patri-

This seems to be a case of a *matrilateral* arrangement: inheritance of the client’s son goes via the mother’s father (the client’s father-in-law). But note that the members of that branch of the family seem to be given the preference normally: the client’s wife’s father’s brother (WiFaBr) is mentioned. The client’s father-in-law’s daughters obviously have land with their husbands. Their sons do not want to inherit the plot in question. No WiBrSo existing? The normative hierarchy seems to be: (1) The Earth, (2) the patrilinear obligation towards the house (a *preferential* cultural norm), (3) the concrete arrangement (deviation from the norm); (4) in the present case, the role of the *k'exel* relationship [= *namesake*, of mother’s father?; or *k'exel* to be translated as ‘*replacement appointed*’ = ‘*simply instead of-*’ = “the brethren (=cousins) *transferred* the house to him”?] remains open.

sib). Cf Ch. D.6.3 and D.6.1. Thus, social identity, including the aspect of limited ancestor worship (*[family] cross*), is reinforced.

(5) Following M. Nash (Ch. B.4) we consider the *institutional* relationship between the religious and communal office system, incl. the position of the *Alcalde Rezador* (religious mayor), and *divination* and the 260-day *calendar*. A diviner assists the religious mayor. Cf Ch. E.10 [Functions].

10.4 Belief systems and folk theories of behavior

Folk ('naive') theories of behavior and their underlying beliefs *explain* or *predict* behaviors or actions, or *guide* their execution – from an inner perspective – procedurally. I.e., behaviors can be derived from action knowledge or beliefs (Aebli 1980/81). Cf Laucken 1973 and Heider 1958. Inclusive of belief systems, such folk theories address the following *aspects*:

Conceptual classification / Ontology [the interrelations with other human and non-human agents] / **Chaining or implications** [causal or simply sequential] / **Procedural or action knowledge** [i.e. action-relatedness].

We need a *system of "primitives" (basic structures)* which is semantically and pragmatically differentiated enough to *represent* beliefs, or knowledge of action, and the actions themselves formally.

I refer the interested reader to Schank's and Abelson's representational system of *human knowledge structures* (Schank & Abelson 1977, including Schank's *conceptual dependency theory* therein), as developed in cognitive science. See also Abelson 1973 (in: Schank & Colby 1973). Cf also Bobrow, D. G. & A. Collins (Eds.) 1975; Minsky, Marvin, 1975; Norman & Rumelhart 1975; Aebli 1980/1981, summarizing and comparing the different approaches.

I consider the analysis of *emic* folk theories of behavior in terms of the theories of schemata, cognitive (and, possibly, neuronal) maps and semantic networks a major contribution benefiting the *explanation of many aspects of cultural behavior and its details*. Cf D'Andrade 1995.

(1) Beliefs about 'right and wrong actions' and 'existential domains': These beliefs focus on correct behavior towards the supernatural beings, towards close kin, and other fellow human beings, as well as on normative transgressions. I have tried to specify 'existential domains' and their problems in terms of human needs, thoughts and behavior. Cf Point (5).

(2) Beliefs about causality (and localities as spheres of control or responsibility): I found that, with the Q'anjob'al persons participating in the divinations and consultations, beliefs center around aspects of causality (cause-and-effect relationships) and localities as spheres of control, support or patronage or responsibility. Localities structured that way might involve the idea of 'agency', with a causal 'connotation'.

(a) Considerations of causality (and localities) can focus on **agents** = ‘God’; calendar days; patron saint of the town or village; illness (‘Judgement’), parents, ancestors, ego-family, (independent) children, and prototypical **localities** = church, current place of the ‘*Ordenanza*’ (holy bundle), cemetery, places and altars of individual worship or praying (altars in the house and in the courtyard, the birth house with the family cross), the “five places” (Q’anj. “*oyeb’ konob*’”, special places for rituals); hometown vs. other, e.g. foreign, place(s).

(b) Causality can, furthermore, focus on **behaviors and attitudes (or sentiments and affects)**: negligence / faults / transgressions, obligations; reconciliation, asking forgiveness, aversion, mistrust or worries, etc. These behaviors and attitudes can again be associated with certain localities of the type just mentioned.

(c) *Social causality* or causation has an **axial direction, i.e., is unidirectional** in Q’anjob’al thinking: cause is descendant ([grandparents], parents, children; parents (and grandparents) are responsible for the children, i.e. their behavior might affect the children of their family, especially the non-adult ones), offerings of reconciliation can be ascendant, i.e. directed towards the grandparents and ancestors, or more exactly, in reconciliation of problems caused by them in crucial events and localities.

(3) Modeling the conceptual structure of procedures or “thought processes” in divination: See Ch. 3.7 for the “dimensions of questions and answers” and for the “problem statement frame”. In 4.10, Table 3 (and 4), I presented a theoretical model of the **matching process** involved in divination and interpretation. Cf Ch. 10.1(7) for an outline.

COMPARISON = MATCHING (between meanings of day names and problems)

▼ (go to)

SELECTION (of day-name meanings) = READ OUT (as interpretation)

‘Intervention’ (or ‘decision’) normally accompanies ‘identification’, ‘explanation’ or ‘forecast’ as a second variable in the **interpretation**. ‘Intervention’ and ‘decision’ are normally *translated into prescriptive sentences* (= ‘must be done’ or ‘must not be done’). ‘Identification’, ‘explanation’ and ‘forecast’ are normally *translated into descriptive sentences*.

(4) Modeling the structure of the underlying belief system: Action can be derived procedurally from beliefs or (cultural) knowledge. The following Fig.1 (below) represents the psychosomatic beliefs and actions of intervention of the traditional Q’anjob’al Maya in Guatemala. It exemplifies cultural schemata as semantic networks or cognitive maps (see Ch. 6.7). (The model is idealized or simplified; cf also Ch. 1.2, Fig. 1).

The *associated belief structure* in words: Breaking the norm, or negligence, “causes” (1) mistrust. [Concealed] mistrust “causes” (2) illness. “Without intervention”, illness “leads” (3) to death. An open declaration (or confession) between the persons concerned “leads to an ending” (4) of mistrust, and “leads to an ending” (5) of illness. An open declaration “prevents” (6) death. An open declaration “repairs or restores” (7) the breaking of the norm. The patient – and this is true for every traditional Q’anjob’al in a similar situation – is aware of the illness so that he or she visits the diviner. This is an *entry condition* for, and a part of, *Script 1*. Actually, the details of *Script 1* are specified in Chs. 3 (and 2), 4 and 5. The diviner or healer determines the detailed cause-and-effect relationships and proposes the action of intervention which can be *formally derived* from the representation of the context of beliefs (= *Script 2*). We are dealing with the representation of an action routine (custom) in the sense of a law-like statement [“is true for all traditional Q’anjob’al”; quasi-invariance according to Hans Albert] by means of which the culture-specific behavior or action described is *explained*. The breaking of norms, the illnesses, the persons participating in the mistrust and the possible forms of therapy are classified.

Entry conditions for the action *Script 1* (and 2):

- a) The client (or a family member) is ill.
- b) The client holds the underlying beliefs to be true.
- c) He visits the diviner (*action rule*).

Exit conditions for *Script 1* (and 2):

- a) The counseling has been completed by the diviner. [A therapy has been prescribed].
- b) The therapy – e.g., an open declaration – has been completed by the client(s).

Script 1: Client’s visit → Diviner’s divination → Diviner’s therapeutic counseling

Script 2: (Additional entry conditions depend on the outcome of *Script 1*; **roles:** couple or parent-child; **locality:** at home or parents’ house) Client’s confession & ritual

Belief structure associated with, or underlying, the scripts:

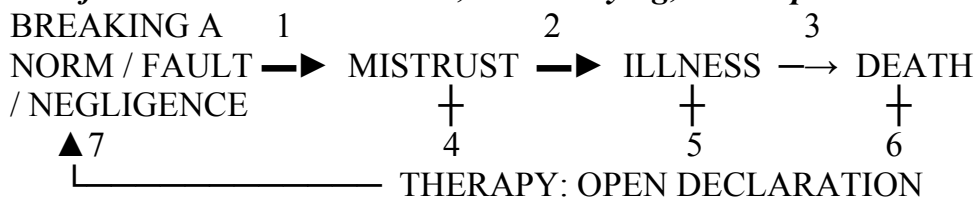


Figure 1: *Integrated semantic network of beliefs and action routines (customs or scripts) of traditional Q’anjob’al Maya (Hinze 2006:21; cf Hinze 1991/I:XXXIII)*

Some more details of ***Script 1*** (**roles:** diviner, client(s); **locality:** diviner’s house) look like this:

1. *VISIT*: Going to the diviner and asking for a consultation.
2. *EXPOSITION OF THE PROBLEM*:
 - a) Short description by the client.
 - b) Diviner's (and possibly client's) questions and information exchange (optional).
 - c) Formal recasting of the client's problem by the diviner (optional).
3. *DIVINATION AND INTERPRETATION*:
 - a) Layout of the seeds of the coral tree & count (for details, see Ch. 4.1).
 - b) Matching process between "speaking days" and problem features (for details see Ch. 4.10/Fig. 3 & 4, Ch. 10.1(7) and Point (3) above):
 - * Focussing on the *problem statement frame* and on other problem features.
 - c) Therapeutic proposals: e.g. praying (different localities; different addressees; different offerings) or "open declaration" (as procedure = *Script 2* below).

Figure 2: Script of a consultation session

The details of *Script 2* look like this (roles as specified in Fig. 1 above):

1. *PREPARATION*: Assuming a spirit of reconciliation; preparing paraphernalia (paraffin wax candles).
2. *MOTOR BEHAVIOR*: Kneeling down (younger person); sitting down in chair (elder person).
3. *GOAL-MOTOR AND SPEECH BEHAVIOR*:
 - a) Grasping hands and –the younger person– holding a bowl with small candles.
 - b) Starting to talk (person 1) and looking aside respectively (both persons).
 - * Focussing on salient stages of life and corresponding episodes.
 - * Outlining salient events, acts and sentiments.
 - c) Turn-taking of person 2 (same as (b)). Etc.

Figure 3: Script of the open declaration ('confession')

We can characterize the analytical ('etic') concepts in Figure 1 in terms of Q'anjob'al terms and concepts ('emic'):

Transgression ('fault') [Ch. 1.3], *'mistrust / aversion'* [Ch. 1.4], *illness ('judgement')* [Ch. 1.5], *death* [App. I], *therapy ('open declaration')* [Ch. 5.3-5.8], *restoration ('reconciliation')* [Ch. 5.5; 5.11], *('supernatural') agents / systems of support* [Ch. 5.2.2; Ch. 1.1.1; Ch. 9.1]. See Ch. 6.7.

Script theory provides us with a step-by-step procedure or algorithm. See in general theoretical terms: Schank & Abelson 1977 [Human knowledge structures; for example, conditions of entry into a script as a rule of action], Aebli 1980/I ['Action knowledge']; cf Hinz 2006, A.18; C.2.4, A.10ff, A.22C. For an *explanation* of intended, purposeful human action within the relevant context of beliefs or knowledge *in causalistic terms* cf Hinz 2006, ch. A.18 (incl. Note 14).

(5) Dimensional analysis of the folk ('naive') concepts of existence and identity: This refers to the analysis of folk beliefs, acts and episodes.

'Existence' has been defined by us in terms of (1) maintenance which refers to cognitive and physiological dimensions; (2) development which refers to the life cycle, to personal growth, learning, acquisition and accomplishment; (3) life as satisfying, and even enjoyable, basic needs which are cognitive, physiological and health-related; (4) meaningfulness which refers to cognitive, especially coherent interpretation.

'Identity' has been defined by us (1) as dependency vs. independence, or, rather hierarchical vs. egalitarian or equality-oriented, and (2) as individual biography, self-realization or development, and (3) affiliation.

The statements by the Q'anjob'al clients and the diviner can be reanalyzed and reconstructed as a *folk theory of existence and identity*. This theory focuses on events, problems, or themes [cf Schank/Abelson 1977]) such as:

- having one's own **plot**, having one's own **house**,
- being required to pay a **bride price** and of providing one's **bride service**,
- one's participation in the **choice** of the partner,
- having a **family** of one's own,
- **quarrels** and corresponding **sentiments**,
- one's relationship to the **locality** (e.g., being out of town),
- one's (paid) **work**, one's **business plans**,
- personal **faults** or **transgressions**,
- having an **illness**, possibly within the family, or being in **danger**.

10.5 A theory of the emergence of ideas

I have considered the cognitive and "rational" aspect of Q'anjob'al divination relative to the rule character of divinatory conclusions or inferences, especially from "day-name associations". The following theoretical outline is based upon a draft of mine on "*search schema and ideas produced or generated by its use*", characterized as a cognitive-neurobiological process (Hinz, nd [2000], "*Notizen zur Kognitiven Neurobiologie*", unpublished manuscript). I try to elucidate and to explain the processes of inference and interpretation in terms of that theory. I begin with the explication of some basic theoretical concepts necessary for such a theory. Presuppositions of a search-schema include:

(1) *Preset*: Thought accumulated so far on a topic, a problem, a domain of knowledge can be addressed, or becomes available, in working-memory. This "is" the accomplished state of work up to the present point in time. The addressability (accessability) of this information depends upon the frequency of its use in the past, upon the achieved degree of ordering and the time elapsed since its last usage (factor "*recency*").

(2) *Search-space*: The search-space includes:

(a) The preset as defined.

(b) New perceptual data.

(c) All the long-term memory with the following conditions:

- Goal-directed addressability, that is, no search in irrelevant domains of knowledge.
- The anatomical structures of addressing are *topographically and/or semantically* specialized and interconnected, e.g. the thalamus and cortical areas, via the limbic system. Regional cerebral blood flow (rCBF) and regional cerebral glucose metabolism (rCGM) constitute (components of) the search-space depending on a corresponding addressing. Components of addressing are the formation and use of synchronizing electrical field potentials (alpha-, gamma-waves; the precentral standing wave potential, etc.).
- A semantic hypothesis: Addressing memory can be *verbal* in terms of silent thinking. Such verbal addressing is biophysically effective. It probably co-defines search space in conjunction with rCBF and rCGM.

(3) *Search and developmental direction*: Thought, reflection and problem-solving are not one-slot searches but require repeated search and processing of ideas generated. There is a development of work and problem resolution which shows a developmental direction, in the unfavorable case only after some time of trying: the pathway between starting point and goal or subgoal.

This developmental direction can be understood in terms of Artificial Intelligence search procedures such as “breadth-before-depth” (for example, categorical or contextual [or systemic] search) vs. “depth-before-breadth” (for example, sequential [or processual] and/or episodic search) within the models of semantic memory space (cf K.M. Colby’s “data base model”).

(4) *Goal precisization*: Keyword-like and/or written “phrasings of goals” are revised by means of repeated working processes: that is, frequently copied and/or rendered more precisely in silent thought (successively more precise phrasings). These phrasings of goals are then consciously wanted, and they underlie further mental working processes neuronally. These neurons become activated if information processing concerns the problem field topically (hypothesis 1). In this context, the hormone dopamine is co-activated in terms of an informational schema of goal phrasings and cognitively anticipated success: dopamine receptors saturated (hypothesis 2).

(5) *Verbal phrasing as a neurobiotic addressing*: The search-schema can be conceptualized as a verbal label which is “thought silently” or is voiced in interactive communication. This is, thus, a neurobiotic addressing of the CNS (central nervous system), i.e. memory. This fact forms part of an integrated neuropsychological theory of thinking. The goal-motor and visual addressing (via the perception of outside space) is analogous.

(6) *The question as a proto-form of the search schema*: The object or fact sought for is characterized schematically by means of a question. A ques-

tion has a semantic (deep) structure. For example, the object or fact sought has a relation to the question and to the answer in categorical terms. Similar ideas can be found, for example, with Wendy Lehnert in cognitive science, Duane Metzger, Charles Fraake in cognitive anthropology; or Charles Fillmore with regard to case grammar in linguistics. The formation of questions is extended to an analysis of logical or real presuppositions of objects, events or other facts. For example, the question “Where does N.N. live?” presupposes the assumption that N.N. is living, at least.

Schank’s theory of conceptual dependency is of basic theoretical importance with regard to the specification of intended or implied meaning. Example: “Was event E1 an act of reprisal?” is explicated in the following way: Is it true – at least relative to the belief system of the person concerned – that actor X has previously attacked actor Y in a sensible way (=E0)? E1 would be caused thereby and would represent the reaction of actor Y against actor X. The question is not to be confused with a simple, free stimulus (with a free association as a response to it: superficially as usual in psychoanalysis, i.e. without focussed or goal-oriented effort of reflection). Making the deep structure of the search schema conscious and explicit contributes, as a rule, to precision and fertility and, thus, to an increasing sharpness of the recognition of the problem.

(7) *Biophysical assumption:* The (acoustical) pitch of the question – in contrast to the response – suggests a biophysical property of the search-schema: a different wave pattern, frequency, amplitude, phase or the like, in contrast to the idea generated (hypothesis 3). Cf mental or cognitive blocking by acoustically dominant persons (and their person schema transmitted: aggressive, unobjective, confused or the like). Contrast this with the free production of theta-waves.

(8) *Types of search schemata and how to use them:*

(a) What is part of the task, of planning, or problem development? (pragmatic dimensions);

(b) What does the “whole or conjunct” consist of? What do the “units” and “details” consist of which make up for the “whole”? (components of context or empirical structure).

We are then dealing with search schemata which *serve* the following *function*:

- Detailing (specification of properties; their enumeration; further details).
- Connecting (units, structures, relations, functions, causes).

We *use* search schemata in the following way:

- Schemata of ordering are applied successively to ideas generated: lists of ideas are produced; the ideas are ordered according to unity (and taxonomic level); a system or several systems are elaborated in terms of contents; verbal arguments are built up.
- After each evaluation-free brain-storming: the elimination of unfit ideas.

(9) *Protoforms of ideas generated:* The characteristics of ideas generated as “response” in categorical terms include “keywords” (normally not com-

plete sentences). Normally, 1 to 5 keywords are produced at once. Psychologically, the keywords are ‘chunks’, i.e. the relational connections of the keyword are not named. They have to be made explicit as implicit relations or presuppositions. Thus, the production of new ideas and systematic connections are made easier.

The keyword “schema” may serve as an example. The following presuppositions may come to our mind: A schema is the *representation of persons*, of their *actions of exchange*, of *objects* involved; of *goals* of these persons; of *traits* of persons, or objects, etc.; of *contexts* of interactions or action sequences. The schema as representing an *episode* is marked by the relations of *place* and *time*. The *focus* of the schema is marked by *contextual binding* and/or *position within the context* (this can consist in a single event marked within a context or chain of events, for instance, an accident). Furthermore, a schema can represent an entire or partial *routine* (*‘script’*), a goal-oriented *action* and *interaction*, a production of an *artifact* or a *skill* (active aspect); or an *event befalling someone*, e.g. an accident (passive, unintended aspect).

(10) *Verbal form of the idea generated*: Normally, the idea is verbalized and silent; it can also be produced in a goal-motor and/or visual modality, perhaps in combination with a verbal utterance, e.g. as a movement or gesture (within a scene).

(11) *The idea generated neurobiologically*: The search corresponds to a “marked or categorized problem”. To generate the idea means to build up a structure from memory which is identical or similar in marking or categorization and which corresponds to the search schema. The answer (the idea produced) is brought about by synchronization with the search schema and represents a change in frequency (in comparison to the search schema). The difference between a near-match and a perfect match of question (search schema) and answer (idea generated) can be hypothesized to be expressed in the action potential (“peaks only”) and the feedback with the subiculum, the functional comparator (via the ammonic-subicular tract), possibly involving the processing of disinhibitory or inhibitory signals.

I hypothesize that F. Crick’s and C. Koch’s discovery may fit this interaction of search schema and idea generated (quoted in Revonsuo & Newman, in “Editorial”, *Consciousness and Cognition*, vol. 8/1999:124, as the original article was unobtainable for me): “...an *intentional mechanism* [= *the search schema, E.H.*] that temporarily binds the relevant neurons together by synchronizing their spikes in 40 Hz oscillations... objects for which the binding problem has been solved are placed into working memory [= *ideas generated, E.H.*].” (Cf Hinz 2006:63. The ‘binding problem’ seems to disappear in the light of the *semantic and electrophysiological character* of both the search and answering processes). Binding is brought about through the semantics of the search schema.

(12) *Preconscious orientation*: Even without an explicit question (search schema), an intended task one turns to can represent a preconscious or half-conscious structural outline which work is based upon. The preset prestructures working memory. The task

and/or the conceptual structure of the search schema can facilitate resonances or reflexes by means of silent thought or speech in discussions.

(13) *Goodness-of-fit [between search and result]*: The connection of question and answer involves another phenomenon, the “goodness-of-fit” as a structural and heuristic criterion. This is probably the place for qualitative considerations of centrality or focality of questions. Synchrony and height of the action potential are to be assumed as neurobiotic correspondence.

(14) *The elaboration of ideas – state of work and direction of work*: The successive generation of ideas under a common goal – e.g. a topic, or, more precisely, a problem – are included in the “preset” which is up-dated to the most recent form. Continuing work is thus based upon schemata of elaboration: The search schema becomes complemented by a project schema or work schema. We are dealing with a level of planning on which the search schemata become accumulated, coordinated and composed to form a macro-schema (a work plan). This work plan or schedule has a rigorous goal direction: a resolved problem is strived at as a result, or, for example, a project carried out (the report) [cf Hinz 2006]. We are dealing with a work heuristics or rather with a heuristics of the development of thoughts which is learned individually and is provided or transmitted socioculturally and which is empirical.

(15) *More on the elaboration of ideas*: In Hinz 2006:182ff [Philosophical Anthropology], I described the construction of a poem in terms of ‘*priming*’, i.e. in terms of the selection of “keywords” (or “poetic words”). These were considered to be *focal expressions guiding the construction process*. I would like to argue that this theoretical statement holds for thinking in general, and, thus, for the analysis of divinations and consultations. Let us re-examine Chapter 3 [Problems] and 4 [Diagnosis/Interpretation]. The translated texts which are to be considered as a protocol of thought processes can easily be translated into terms of priming the problem, the search, and the matching process. The problem, its pragmatic-epistemic structure and the names of “speaking days” offered, initiate and / or stimulate the process of generating a diagnosis or interpretation, and a therapy. In terms of priming the day name(s) and the statement(s) derived from it or them, a matching process between problem (or, rather, question) and day-name meaning is involved (“How meaningful is the day name with regard to the problem or question and what message, or answer, can be derived from this comparison?”). This process, if continued, might correspond to a condensation or crystallization of thought, for instance, the elaboration of an argument (implying the aspect of coherence [e.g., system], truth or centrality).

10.6 A discussion of Maroney’s “Theory of Divination”

Abstract: I tend to look at the issues raised by Maroney (1990) in the following way: (a) the ‘*unconscious mind*’ as being chaos (structurelessness in one’s mind), or rather unclarified conceptualization, intention and planning, as well as (inactivated) memory with stored patterns, (b) ‘*synchronicity*’ as being a pattern-matching based on the com-

parison between the problem and meaningful signs, (c) ‘*order from chaos*’ as being the result of such a pattern-matching which clarifies oneself. The (d) ‘*spirits of wisdom*’ are redefined as physiological (and/or cognitive) instruments of addressing and search, including sign-and-message-producing phenomena (e.g. the “speaking of the blood”). In Q’anjob’al Maya divination, the Calendar Days themselves are considered to be deities or rulers with whom one can interact and who convey messages. They form part of the *belief system*.

I look at divination in terms of the following *theoretical dimensions* (cf Ch. 10.1, Table 1, and the characterization of Q’anjob’al Maya divination):

(1) With regard to the personal situation of the client, the *task is critically reconstructed as one of “clarifying oneself”*. This includes, for instance, the resolution of an impasse of how to phrase a problem, or in which direction to go, or how to start and how to continue.

(2) With regard to symptoms, the *task is critically reconstructed as one of determining and ordering cause-and-effect relationships*. This can include the unearthing of relevant biographical episodes and their contextualization. Such episodes are often remembered as being isolated and syncopated but emotionally provoking items.

Divination and counseling are processes based on the following *mechanisms*:

(3) I do assume that the semantic network of cultural topics or basic needs is *catalytic* in the modification and *shaping* of the problem and its resolution. Divination and counseling is interactive (between diviner and client) – to a large degree at least.

(4) Also in human beings, basic needs are mostly regulated by means of homeostatic or developmental bio-clocks. Levels of *deprivation or saturation* are, thus, important with regard to certain basic needs. It makes sense to look for such potentially *salient* levels or states of the client within the divination and counseling process. States of *alarm* can be considered as acute deprivation and are included here.

(5) Divination and finding an interpretation consist in a process of a *search* based on *scanning* semantic-pragmatic categories (in the case of the Q’anjob’al Maya, of day-name meanings) *and matching* them with problems or episodic features of the client’s personality or social web. As an example, see Ch. 1.3 [Procedural concept of fault]. The social process of interaction between diviner (proposal) and client (acceptance) assures and conveys the relevance of this matching. *Divination is thus considered to be a pattern-matching of two frame systems, i.e. of day-name meanings and problem features*, implying “order from chaos” or “synchronicity”. No appeal to higher forms of wisdom or to the unconscious is necessary. Cf 4.10.

(6) This search may include the following *characteristics*:

(a) It is a search in frames of semantic-categorical features and localities or episodes.

(b) With regard to biographical episodes, the *client's memory* can be conceptualized as 'leveled or *inactivated*' or 'highlighted and *activated*'. The contents of memory may be labeled 'preconscious'.

(7) As *neural mechanisms* for carrying out these processes of assessment, I have considered the **40 Hz oscillation** as described by Crick and Koch (Ch. 10.5(11)), the **auto-association matrix** of the hippocampus as modeled by Rolls (1990, 1998 with Treves; functions of 'completion' or 'generalization' of once learned information), as well as Gray's model of the subiculum as a **comparator** (see Hinz 2006, ch. C.2.2, C.4A/B). *Divination is a prototype for the study of search and matching in thought.*

(8) Divination and interpretation lead to the *creation* of *constructive* personal scripts (e.g., Ch. 5.6) or rather, in reality, to the *use* of culturally and socially standardized scripts of intervention or therapy.

10.7 On reconciliation: an anthropological statement

Reconciliation is a *regulatory* principle, descriptively – or prescriptively – involving norms. An anthropology of reconciliation involves a comparative overview of procedures, encountered in different cultures or societies. Designing *new* optimized procedures, on the basis of conceptual clarification and empirical comparison, may become a goal and involves value judgements.

Reconciliation concerns a *relationship*, involving *hurt*, *injustice* or *enmity*, including *aversion* or *mistrust* between private persons, between segments of society (in terms of aggression or civil war), between different societies or nations and their political, economic, cultural, religious or military leadership (in terms of conflicts or wars). It concerns a situation in which negative emotion and destructive behavior has to be replaced by *constructive concepts*. There is a difference between *private* and *public* or political reconciliation in terms of formal procedures and *marked acts*. I enumerate some procedural and normative ideas which may be relevant for private as well as public reconciliation.

I have summarized the Q'anjob'al data in Ch. 5.11. Here I look at some comparative data from Africa. I then go on to outline some ideas for a procedurally oriented anthropology of reconciliation.

10.7.1 Comparative data from Africa: “A social technology of shared and recognised humanity (ubuntu)” (van Binsbergen)

Wim van Binsbergen (1999) mentions the following features of reconciliation in his review of African data which form a basis of his anthropology of reconciliation:

- a) Explicit recognition of the conflict by the conflict partners
- b) Reconciliation is an act of re-interpretation
 - Recognition of a shared humanity
 - Recognition of the need to terminate the conflict
 - Recognition of a shared identity and responsibility vis-a-vis the supernatural
- c) Reconciliation accompanied by the (shared) consumption of food and drink.
- d) Cyclical festivals or feasts: “informal marriage markets”, sexual union and love.
- e) Explicit verbalization of the termination of the conflict.
- f) Reconciliation depends on the intercession of a third party as an intermediary. In Africa, this is prototypically a *diviner*.
- g) Reconciliation – in Africa – is frequently based upon a collective oath.
- h) Reconciliation includes a repertoire of ritual, music, dance, verbal expression.
- j) Black magic runs counter to reconciliation.–

Van Binsbergen points out the problem that the weaker party frequently gives in to reconciliation, without really resolving the conflict.

10.7.2 Some further ideas on the anthropology of reconciliation

Reconciliation can be viewed as *acts* which *mark* or highlight the transition from conflict to peace. Alternatively, reconciliation can be conceived of as a *permanent state* of peace anchored in historic memory and social consciousness.

I consider ‘internal peace’ (see Ch. 5.11.2) as a reconciliation between different segments of society and refer to some notions from political science and history:

- a) Mutual respect (an empirical basis in non-despotic societies) with the different partners in the conflict.
- b) Reciprocity and its recognition as the biosocial, social and cultural or mental basis of social behavior (an empirical basis, probably implying different concepts of reciprocity which might be translatable into each other; cf Gallese’s findings in primate neurobiology [‘mirror and immediate reso-

nance neurons’], and the social anthropology of reciprocity and exchange, e.g. Marcel Mauss or Claude Lévi-Strauss).

c) The ideas of **‘Liberté, égalité, fraternité’** which became a program after long despotic devolution and bloody wars, by means of revolutionary combat (and even after revolutionary excesses). These ideas generate *society, political decision-making (i.e. government), and justice*, i.e. social order as mutual respect and interaction, exchange or reasonable expectancy (a higher degree of well-being to be expected statistically and comparatively, in contrast to despotic societies and concomitant despair). ‘Fraternité’ might be translated as ‘critical social solidarity’, avoiding, for example, personal identification and stressing social support, even as a right, over extended fraternal sentiment. Nevertheless, extended fraternal sentiment in itself may be a valuable instrument in the process of reconciliation. Without these ideas there is probably no reconciliation possible.

d) The idea of the **‘Contrat social’** (social contract). Conscious agreement is an aspect of reciprocity (the idea of moral and social and/or socio-economic rights and obligations translated into a formalized treaty). The view of the *contrat social* is the counterpart to theories of the origin of the state based on coercion which definitely have their place in considering the evolution of complex societies empirically. In empirical reality, the *contrat social* makes up for modern constitutional states or nations, especially for democracies. The *contrat social* as reconciliation (often accomplished after much warfare) is a *legal* principle and a system of *rules (laws)* which one can appeal to and which one can rely upon in conflict regulation, or peace.

e) Reconciliation is concept-oriented and is based on consciousness and analysis; a permanent sober attitude, without euphoria, based on sincerity, is desirable. No deception of the other or of self, no illusion. Reconciliation seems to be incompatible with acting on the basis of *the unconscious* or with an *unconscious attitude*. Symbols must not replace conceptual consciousness. Consciousness is, in general, incompatible with the continuous abuse of drugs and murderous, or otherwise violent (rape), sex. These aspects may require an extended learning phase. The reflexes of memory are a precondition for lasting reconciliation.

g) Intentional framework: Reconciliation *is* an intention, an attitude, a disposition. Without the acceptance of “want or intent to reconcile”, “historic or episodic consciousness of what to reconcile”, “a newly acquired feature of identity (peacefulness or reconciliation as part of one’s identity)”, there will be no reconciliation.

h) Institutional framework: “a permanent societal and institutionalized organization for the reconciliation process and its questions” (involving, for example, a ‘clearing house’). Moreover, an institutionalized socialization

or education towards peace and reconciliation, i.e. what they mean and how they can be enacted in daily life, is desirable. This implies a respect for *human rights* and for shared societal values and the *foundations of social association* (i.e., of living together, zest for life, etc.). Thus, reconciliation becomes participation.

10.7.3 A note on public reconciliation

In addition to the ideas developed above, I point out the following features which mark acts as reconciliation:

a) Organizations and their members who continue to reject the idea of human rights for everybody are deemed unfit for reconciliation.

b) Reconciliation, in the face of crimes, implies verification and the taking of a protocol of the transgression. Verifying or confirming the agency or authorship of transgressions or aggressions or war crimes: the agent as a causer, the recipient / 'patient' as a victim. This normally involves both sides. A commission establishing the facts may be optimal for this task. The prototype is the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

c) Concerning the state of consciousness and the attitudinal prerequisites: (a) acknowledging personal guilt and fault (e.g., crime) by an open declaration or 'confession'; (b) asking for pardon / forgiveness; (c) there may be no right to pardon; (d) in the particular case, it is not recommended to the wrongdoer to expect pardon, thus an open quest or plea for pardon by the wrongdoer.

d) In the particular case, a mediator may limit himself/herself to essentials in terms of human rights in order to start a reconciliation process; e.g., insisting on, and pressuring for, the mutual recognition of the right to live in dignity and non-violence.

e) Reconciliation is not only performance, but memorial, actualization and vigilance. I.e., the relevance of the following difference is emphasized: between (1) reconciliation as 'a show of performance and then forgetting, i.e. terminating memory' and (2) 'social memory' (Maurice Halbwachs) as a permanent historic function and as a permanent focus for reconciliation.

10.7.4 The perspective of a therapy of mistrust (or aversion)

The concept of mistrust (or aversion, or, mental reservation), i.e. *kab'-k'ulal*, is at the basis of Q'anjob'al Maya consultation and healing. This means overcoming the reluctance to talk, and to conclude ('bind') or dissipate the *unbound resonances* of negative emotions by conceptual and/or episodic verbalization. These *resonances* are supposed to be *based on syn-*

copation and magnification preventing electrophysiological habituation or decay. The therapy seems to involve a sociopsychological regularity: either reaching re-convergence, synergy and problem-orientation, or else dissolution of the social bond with the person concerned.

I have tried to re-analyze the Q'anjob'al procedures for healing mistrust – the *open declaration* or 'confession' – in terms of Tomkins's Dynamic Psychology. The component of *aversion* in Q'anjob'al concept formation can lead us to a closer look into *cognitive-behavioral therapy*. The Q'anjob'al system of conceptualizing interpersonal problems and of proceeding to resolve them shows peculiar features of its own. Reconciliation is viewed as an alternative to mistrust or double thought, aversion and hostility or unforgiveness.

I see some potential in the Q'anjob'al Maya 'open declaration' as a social technique to be used among individuals, especially in terms of the very short time needed. At least, its value remains to be explored transculturally. It might be very difficult to generalize that procedure beyond the face-to-face relationship of a family, to transcend the context of Q'anjob'al culture and to hope for a *new peace technology*. It is a big step from private face-to-face misunderstandings or misbehaviors and their reconciliation to massive injustice, prejudice and learned hate. See Hinz 2006:35:

“Trust as a legal or normative reduction of mistrust to solidarity and reciprocity defined as expectancies, rights and obligations creates social association.”

Expectancies are based upon social rules which entail prediction, reliability, support and hope. Rights and obligations presuppose membership in a social or legal community, and the institutional enforceability of equality and liberty.

III. DATA APPENDICES

Appendix I

Life cycle and *rites de passage* in San Juan Ixcay: Normative data from Mateo Raymundo Velásquez

<*Note: This little ethnographic monograph by Mateo Raymundo Velásquez contains the following themes: Sex and age role stereotypes in terms of socialization (1-4); life cycle events (especially rites de passage) such as marriage (5-7, 9), bride price (8) and bride service (11-12); land and house of one's own (10); pregnancy (13-14) and child-birth (15); naming ceremony (16-17); illness (18); death and burial (19); customs given up (6, 17) A generalized outline, especially of the first half, of his life is contained in the first paragraph of Don Mateo's autobiography [App. II]>*

[1. Sex role stereotypes: work of young men and women]

What is done or what kind of costumbres (customs and rituals) are there with the young men when they are still young? What can they do and what should they do?

Nothing. If he is already old enough, the son works with his father. If it is a daughter, it is the case that she cleans out the dirt with a broom. She goes and brings back water, or whatsoever the daughter does together with her mother, when she starts to grow up, when she starts to grow up.

When she grows up, she uses the grinding stone, she grinds maize, she grinds *nixtamal* (maize dough); in the same way the young boy, if he already has strength, he goes and collects firewood together with his father, he goes to work with his father, he goes to work with his father. This is what the small children are doing who grow up in that way. (...)

[2. Advanced adult age]

What does a person do when he (or she) becomes old? Does he (or she) has a preoccupation?

The old persons, for they work on the land, on the piece of land, in their house. There the old men work.

[3. Social age role stereotypes]

[#1A-5] [Eike H. asks a question about the role or usual activities of the old men]

There are no thoughts of ours with all the old men. For it is our thought that we are (staying) together with our town, it is our thought that we are (staying) with San Juan, it is our idea that we (continue to) live here. We think it, we exclusively, we, the old men. We do not think to go to another place. And it will be God who thinks what we will eat, and it will be God who thinks how it will happen that we live on. And therefore, we stay with our town. In such a way we speak with all the old men, (with) all the old women, we do not like the disobedience, we do not like the arrogance (*Q'anj. jun ek'naqil*), we do not like to go to another place. We will rest and settle always together with our people. (...)

[Eike H. asks a question about the role or usual activities of the old women]

The old women are those who rest in their houses. For they prepare our food, the old women, they prepare our food, they sit down on the soil, they watch for our houses, the old women. For they are staying in our houses, they go and look a little bit after

our sheep, they look a little bit after our chickens, or after our *milpa*, our beans, or whatsoever the women may look after. And with regard to us, we go and work, our task is to go and carry a little bit of firewood. And so we do it, we, the old men, we, the old women. Actually, all the old women rest, they sweep away our waste. One has to clean out. Actually, they clean our houses. This is the task of the women, of the old women. (...)

[Eike H. asks a question about the role or usual activities of the children or youngsters]

Ah, well, the youngster. It is the case that he works. It is the case that our sons work so that we can eat. We teach them where our boundary stones [of our terrain] are. When we teach our sons, they do not go to the property of another neighbor. If they go to work and they go to another place to work, to the domain of another neighbor, then there is quarrel, there is imprisonment. Depending on where our boundary stones are, there our son works so that we can eat together with our son, together with our children, with our family. We eat, but it always depends where it is that we do our work. We fertilize our land, we fertilize our *milpa*, we use fertilizer for our beans, our potatoes, our wheat, and we use fertilizer for all the crops we want, for all the herbs we want, we use fertilizer. It is the case that we work. So it is that we do it together with our sons, our children. So it is that we do it together with our wives, that is what we do together with our whole family.

4. [Age Terminology] Cf 'Grados de edad en Kanjobal', Santa Eulalia, in Nicolás de Nicolás [Pedro] 1990: 50.

[5. 'Concierto': Traditional marriage contract and celebration]

[#8B-2] I would like to talk (...) with you (...) about how the people here are born, what they put into order with the *costumbres*, what the people here do when a child is born, (or) when a marriage [takes place] or when they marry each other or when a person dies. I would like to know what takes place and what *costumbres* are made when people marry?

What happens when people marry according to the *costumbres* (traditional customs), what do they do or what happens when they arrange it?

Formerly, in old times, we asked for our wife with her father, with her mother.

Well, we arrange our marriage contract (*concierto*), rituals (*costumbres*) take place for the marriage contract.

Well, but when a child of ours was born with the spouse, then rituals (*costumbres*) took place for our child which was born, in former times. But now one does not ask anymore for the woman. Now she herself makes the arrangements together with the man. And then they 'flee' and go to the plantation (*finca*), maybe 'Alquidones' or 'Máquina' or who knows where he takes the woman along to.

Now there are no customs (rituals) anymore because people are doing it already differently.

It is already the Bible, it is already the Gospel. It is already the case that the [men] arrange it with the woman. There are no *costumbres* anymore for a marriage contract (*concierto*).

The same holds for the boy who is born. Now there are no *costumbres* anymore for the boy who is born. Likewise it is already with the domestic animals, it is the same with the domestic animal, it is the same with the domestic animal. It is the same what the men do with their wives, with their children. But it was in olden times, in olden

times, when I was born and my wife. For now I am 70 years old that I have been born. Therefore, there were *costumbres* from the side of my father, there were *costumbres* from the side of my mother so that one could put oneself into order with [each other], when the marriage contract took place. Sheep die, there is maize *atole*, *atole* made of *zapote* <certain types of beverages>, in former times, but now not. The *costumbres* have terminated. For the men flee with their wives, there are no *costumbres* anymore, not anymore, it came to an end.

Please, tell me the costumbres and what those do who get married? (...)

In former times a marriage contract (*concierto*) was arranged [when] Christians got married. But today there is nothing anymore.

[6. “There are no *costumbres* anymore”]

There are no *costumbres* anymore, there is nothing arranged. Time passed by, time passed by, the Bible came to us, the Gospel. There were suddenly no *costumbres* anymore. We are few who practice the *costumbres*. We are few who celebrate God, our Lord. We are few who make use of *copal*, who make use of candles, we all, not anymore, in the town of San Juan (Ixcoy), we all, not anymore, and at night they want to become noisy, they want to sing the Bible, they start to sing the word of God. It says, it is true or it is not⁶⁸ true. We do not know what the town is doing. There are no *costumbres* anymore, nothing can be done anymore, one tells us nothing anymore, who of us is praying.

With regard to me⁶⁹, Sir, I (will) never give up my *costumbres*, I (will) never give up my *costumbres*, as far as I am concerned⁷⁰. I will always follow the *costumbres*, because the *costumbres* are very old. It was not a short time ago that this *costumbre* started, but since olden times [do] these *costumbres* exist. How should I change them? I don't change them.

[In] olden [times] when a man took his wife, when [she] took her husband, then they married. But they practiced the *costumbres*. They should not throw out their [family] crosses when they marry, in olden times, they still had crosses [in their houses] as when they married. A ring is placed around the hand, a ring is placed around the hand of the woman here, then (...) I did not see it anymore⁷¹ and the man and the woman grasp their hands, in that way, in the church in San Juan (Ixcoy), in olden times, everything was fine, there was nothing, nor anything bad. Well, there was maize, there was money, there were domestic animals, there were many things, many herbs, many *chilacayotes*, many *calabazas* (gourds), many cultivated things, many peaches, many-, many-, all-, because times were good. And there were many who prayed. There was the old *Alcalde* (mayor), who just relaxed in his power (office), with his *vara* (baton of office), with the *Ordenanza* (i.e. the holy bundle). There was he who prays, the old *Regidor* (councilor), the second *Regidor*, the third *Regidor*, the *Ajtz'ib'* (scribe), the *Mayor* (messenger), [8B-3] the *Maxhtol* (master), the *Principal* (dignitary), yes, it is the *Principal*, the *Principal*, all the town (...) it was in the past that they had prayed.

...[?].a long prayer, a long one, the town prayed, in such a way, the town prayed, all the officials, all those who passed [an office], one year ago, two years ago, three years ago, four years ago. ...[?]...it was some great *costumbre* which they made in the

⁶⁸ *Corr.* xhi, ma yel, ma [man] yel-oq.

⁶⁹ *Ms.* w-et honti = w-et ay-in-ti

⁷⁰ *Ms.* w-et h-en-ti (= [ay]in-ti)

⁷¹ *Ms.* henti = [ay-]in-ti

church, in all the houses of this town. But now, that is not the case anymore, not anymore, once and for all it has ended. But so it was in olden times, but so it was formerly, so to speak, but so have been the *costumbres*.

[7. ‘Concierto’: Marriage contract]

And what do the fathers do?

The father of him, the mother of him do nothing, and the father of her, the mother of her do nothing, [with the exception] that they talk to each other in good terms (in peace), that they put themselves into order, that they become *compadres* (‘godfathers’) to each other, for the marriage contract (*concierto*), for the son, for the daughter, no quarrel [takes place], nothing. This is what the father of the man puts into order, this is what the father, the mother of the woman puts into order. So it was in former times, formerly, in the past. But now, that is not the case any longer, quarrels, only quarrels, only quarrels are what the town is doing now, criticizing unjustly, stealing. Who knows what kind of faults the people are committing now. Therefore, we are poor, therefore, we have no herbs (vegetables) anymore, we have no cabbage, no beans, no *calabazas* anymore, there is nothing at all, because the town has destroyed it, the town has messed up itself. And now the town marries, so to speak, but it is the Gospel. The town already goes into the water [for baptism], already into the water, in a lagoon, there the town is baptized on a name (lit.: there the name comes out). That is [the way] how the people get married. So it says. Nowadays it is like that. But in former times, beliefs were very good, in times different [from today], well, formerly, as there were all types of food and drink, life and health, no sickness, no death. But today, who knows what will happen, what kind of sickness will already come to us, what kind of headache, or fever, or cold fever, or cramp, or pus, or something because of whomsoever, because of the evangelists. Those are the ones who provoke us, those are the ones who mess us up.

[8. Bride price]

And in old times, there was money that was paid for the women. There was food which was given for the women. In former times there was money paid. It was the case that the women were paid for. Well, and then there was health (life) for the women and their husbands, and then there was health (life) for the women and their children, and for their parents-in-law, and everybody, in former times. That was in ancient times. But now, there is nothing left, now all is gone. (...)

But what happens if the young man or the young woman does not want [to do it] the same way as the parents do?

No, they do not want it nowadays anymore, they do not want it anymore. Not that way, no.

[9. Negotiations for the bride]

When the father of the son comes to the father of the woman, of the young woman [i.e. the future daughter-in-law], then he [the son’s father] speaks: ‘Now, pardon me, I have a son who is grown up, a son who has become an adult (lit.: whose soul has entered). Therefore, I have now thought of you (*or*: I now remember you) and your daughter, therefore, may you accept yourself in the role of my father, my mother for my son, for my child⁷². It is already true that you take out (*or*: select) and let free⁷³,

⁷² *Q’anj.*: nani cha a7 b’a hin mamooq, hin txutxoq yetoq naq hin k’ajol, naq wuninal.

that you give [me] a daughter-of-law.’ [Thus] speaks the father of the young man to the father of the young woman. Thus, the marriage contract (*concierto*) is arranged, for the first time, for the second time, for the third time, for the fourth time. And then the marriage contract (*concierto*) becomes definitely negotiated, the marriage contract (*concierto*) is arranged, four times, four times does the father of the young man go to the father of the woman, and then the marriage contract (*concierto*) is finally arranged. This was in former times, but now it does not exist anymore. (...)

Therefore, I would like to talk to you about the costumbres as to what is done in a wedding. Please, can you tell me what is done or what the persons do in a wedding when the celebration takes place? [8B-4].

Certainly, *costumbres* take place when the marriage contract is arranged. He whose son it is makes *costumbres*, and he whose daughter it is makes *costumbres*, too, when the marriage contract is made ready. They make *costumbres*, when they marry, when they—, when the *costumbres* are made— He whose son it is, makes *costumbres*. He whose daughter it is, makes *costumbres*.

Well, and then talks the calendar day which comes up (*or*: completes). For there is a calendar day, it is on (the day) *Ajaw*. As we have said yesterday, on the day *Ajaw*, then they arrange the marriage contract (*concierto*), on the day *Ajaw*, on *Ajaw* the marriage contract gets arranged.

On an *Ajaw* day, the money will be paid, the money will be there. It (the money) is called *xaq an te* (‘tree of leaves or elder leaves’). There was a type of money, *xaq an te*, there was a type of money which was spent, *b’an b’otzb’en* (‘a large handful of *b’en*’). That was formerly.

But now it does not exist any more. Here they arrange it. It was the case that they counted the money for him whose daughter it is.

25 centavos are placed (offered) the first time. The money is called *an xaq teal* (‘elder leaves’). The 25 [centavos] are called ‘big money’, *ch’en b’otz b’en bentisinko* (‘big handful of money, 25 [centavos]’). It is the case that the money is placed on the table, on the table. There it is in front of the *costumbres*, there are the 25 [centavos]. It is the price for the young woman. When the 260 days are completed, the money *b’otz b’en* is paid. This *xaq an te* money, and then this ‘big money’, as it is called, is also paid. Likewise it is also 25. Likewise it is placed on the table. (When) the nine months (*nueve meses*) are completed, the money is paid, and then the young woman goes away to her husband, to her father-in-law, in former times, formerly, but now, Sir, not anymore, Sir (*speaking to Eike H.*). That *costumbre* does not exist anymore, it has already ended.

There is a celebration (*fiesta*) when one marries in the church, there is a *fiesta* in their house, in their house. There is a *fiesta* when they marry, the young men, the young women, so to speak. There are all kinds of food, there is food, there is what is prepared with the woman’s father, with the woman’s mother. It was my father who still talked about it: “There was the guitar,” he said, “there was the violin,” he said in the same way. That is what they played. But no marimba. Perhaps they danced. Formerly, they

⁷³ *Q’anj.*: tax yel tol ch-a sik’ b’e kalab’, tol ch’an ch-aq’ jun w-alib’. *Unchecked ms. has* b’e kalab’, *translated by A.M. as* “que escoges el camino (‘b’e’)”. “kalab’” *remains untranslated. I propose as an alternative:* b’eq al-ab’; b’eq-a = soltar, dejar libre; al-ab’ = so to speak; listen! (?).

had marimba music, in olden times. But the marimba, of course there was marimba, but formerly, the guitar was what they played, as he said.

There was a celebration when the daughter-in-law came, there was a celebration when she went off to her husband, in ancient times. But now, Sir, it does not exist anymore, not anymore. Nothing is done nowadays.

[10. Transfer of a plot of land by the husband's father and postnuptial residence]

And where do they go to live, and for how long?

It depends on how much land he has whose son it is, and he divides it up (distributes it). He concedes one plot to the son, to his daughter-in-law. And their hut can be built definitely on the terrain. The son, as a party [in the property claim]⁷⁴, can take away no other piece of land. But it always depends on how much [land] it is, and how many sons he has. And accordingly the terrain is divided up in plots. A plot is given to the son, to the daughter-in-law.

The daughter-in-law goes and stays with the father of him (i.e. of her husband).

After that, the son and his wife are “sown out” outside (i.e., their own household is founded with the appropriate ceremonies) and his house gets constructed outside. As one says, the father receives his daughter-in-law. After that, the hut of the son and his wife starts to be built. And he leaves as the other⁷⁵ house is built now. There is the plot of the son where the land of him, whose son it is, is. There he (the son) settles. They do not go to another place.

No, regularly it is that way.

[11. Bride service, family, upbringing of siblings]

[#8A-2] The husband's wife becomes 18 years old. The wife's husband becomes 18 years old. He grows up with his sister, she grows up with her brother on good terms.

He [the man] completes 18 years and then his wife⁷⁶ is asked for.

[12. Bride service: sentimental problems]

Depending, if he whose daughter it is, is of good character, it is for one year, it is for two years, it is for three years. Then, she follows her husband. One year, two years, three years he is in the service of his father-in-law. Then his wife follows him. If he whose daughter it is, is of good character, it is one year, only one year, and then his daughter follows her husband. If he whose daughter it is has bad thoughts, it is for two years, and then his daughter leaves, once and for all she leaves.

He helps his father-in-law in his work when the sowing (of the *milpa*) starts, in everything he does whose daughter it is. There the young man works, he who marries his wife. He serves his father-in-law. One sows the *milpa* (maize), one does the work, he does all kinds of work. One year, two years, or three years he serves his father-in-law so that the maize is sown, so that he does the work for his father-in-law as one says at least.

[13. Pregnancy: cf Hinz 1991/I:14, II:16]. See also Ch. 7.3.2.

⁷⁴ Cf Ch. 7.3.1, Note 46. Adalberto Martinez has “no puede quitar el una parte de otro terreno” (‘No part of another piece of land can he take away’); ‘naq parte’ = *probably*: ‘as far as he is concerned’]. See here in this App. I, Note 76, below.

⁷⁵ Ms. has ‘jun-tzan’ (=‘unos’), a form not used by the diviner nor in San Juan Ixcoy, but only in Santa Eulalia. Probably ‘junxa’ (‘otro’) is intended. The transcript is by F.P. from Sta. Eulalia).

⁷⁶ Ka chi toj q’an-lay y-ixal naq jun parte [naq jun parte = el por su parte (A.M.) = (as) for him].

I would like to talk with you about what happens with a pregnant woman.

A pregnant woman, if she is already pregnant, then *costumbres* are made for her, so that she might deliver, when a child of hers is born, *costumbres* are made. She arranges prayers and orations, she arranges her problems.

*What does the woman do, what does her husband do? What are the *costumbres* and what is thought about a woman whose child is already coming or is already born?*

She puts into order all her preoccupations, at least all she thinks about her husband, or all her mistrust about her husband. This is what she puts into order when the son (child) is born, and she tells her pain to her father, to her mother, he tells (or gives) his pain to his father-in-law. He kneels in front of his father-in-law, his father-in-law, just as she kneels in front of her mother-in-law so that the son (child) [can] be born⁷⁷. These are the *costumbres* which they make, before the child is born. [When] the child is born, one starts the (ceremonial) arrangement, one starts with the oration, one starts with the prayer so that the child can thus grow up.

Could you please speak about all that one can do when the child arrives with the women? Is there something else which is thought about, such as, for instance, an animal which yowls, is there something the animal says, is there an omen? [.....]

[14. Divination for the still unborn child]

They come to ask for their way (i.e. a divination), if her child will be born well. Here is the diviner (*Ajb'e*: 'Master of the way'), who will speak. "Yes, it is good," he says. "Put it into order, yes, there is an illness," he says. Here is the diviner (the Master of the way) who will say if the child of the woman will be born well. The child of the woman is born well as the diviner said. After the child was born, they go to the Master of the way once again, one goes to the diviner and asks if the child will grow up or if the child will not grow up. Here is the master of the way who will speak: "But put yourselves into order, put into order your problems with regard to the child so that the child will grow up (*h-unen-al?* = 'so that all your children grow up?')," so speaks the diviner. This is the *costumbre* in this town, this is what we put into order here."

[15. Childbirth: cf Ch. 7.3.2.]

[16. 'Godfather' for the child's baptism and name-giving]

[#8B-5] When the child is born, then the *compadre* is sought, the *padrino* of the child is sought.

It is the child's *padrino* who seeks out the child's name which the child will bear, the name of a day, or the name of a saint, or the name of a father, the name of a mother which the child will bear, which ideas he whose child it is has, if it is the day on which the child is born, in which month, on which date. This is what the child will bear (as a name). But it is the *compadre*, it is he who is *padrino* for the child. It is he who takes care of the name which the child should bear, in front of the *padre*, in the church. There the name is given to the children [involving baptism], to all who are *costumbristas* (traditionalists), to all who stand up for traditional prayer. But the others, not anymore. Who knows from where the names of the children come, maybe the names come from different places (...)

In former times, within eight days after the child was born, the name was given to the child (i.e. it was baptized). Nowadays much time has to pass. It is already 20 days after the child was born that the name is given in the church. 20 days after the child is born,

⁷⁷ Read 'chi alji' instead of 'chi'.

then the name is given to the child, it is the case that they get the papers for it in the *alcaldía*.

When the child is born then it is given a name. Eight days after the child is born then the name is given to the child. If not, it is within 20 days that the name is given to the child. There will be a *padrino*. Here are they. No, it is he who is called 'Maestro', all the men have ended. But the *Alcalde Rezador*, he has nothing to do with the child's name, he has nothing to do with it.

[A list of traditional religious items (book [?], dance) and corresponding offices of people in charge of them follows. Neither the items nor the corresponding offices exist anymore.]

[17. Costumbres which do not exist anymore; 'Maestro del Misal', 'Baile del Tilux']

This man, he is in charge of the prayers. In charge of the prayers is the *Alkal Tiohx* (lit.: 'the *Alcalde* of God'; = *Alcalde Rezador*). There are all the *Maestros* (Q.: *Maxhtol*), there are all the *Maestros* who have died. There was another [second] *Ordenanza* which has ended. 'Misal' (missal) was the name of it. 'Misal' was the name of that *Maestro*. 'Misal' was the name of that *Ordenanza* which has ceased to exist, it has ceased to exist the *Misal*. There is now no *Maestro* anymore. It is now only with the *Padre*, he is [the person] who gives the name for the child (i.e. baptizes). For the [other] *Ordenanza* (or: the office of the 'Maestro in charge of the [other] *Ordenanza*') has ceased to exist. Many *costumbres* have already ceased to exist. The other *Ordenanza* has ceased to exist, a *fiesta* has ceased to exist; there is a *fiesta* which has been given up (has ceased to exist). There was a *fiesta* in former times, it was called 'tulixh'. 'Baile de Tulixh' (*Don Mateo's* expression; the correct form seems to be: *Tilux*) is called another *fiesta* which has been abandoned. Another one, a miracle (*milagre*), another *fiesta*, has been abandoned (...)

Nine years ago by now, the *Baile de(l) Tulixh* (correct: *del Tilux*) was discontinued, this dance, nine years ago it ended.

[18. Illness]

[From: #9B; Hinz 1991/I:12, II:15] "And now we pray for our sick person, if one of us is sick, has pain, we offer our candles, we offer our *copal* and we calm the Judgment above the heart of our sick person. Well, and then he will recover, our sick person. That it is, within one week we calm the headache, if it is cured within one week. If the headache is grave then it takes 15 days till the headache calms down, till the illness calms down in us. And then our illness does not enter (or: develop further), this is, because we pray, because we make our prayer, because we offer our candles, because we offer our *copal*, because we offer some food, because we give a chicken to the sick person to eat so that he recovers.

And we offer our *costumbres*, but we make our *costumbres* for all our thoughts, for everything we think about in our interiors, in our hearts. That is what we put into order for our sick person. And in the same way, also the sick person puts into order his problems, all his thoughts, all his mistrust (inner reservations), all his sorrows. Well, and then he will be freed from his headache. Here, it will be put into order. And all our thoughts, our sorrows will be put into order completely. And then we also put into order all the tears, all the sadness from our grandfather, from our grandmother, and the cross of them, the house of them, before we pay the equivalent for the pain of our house, for his (the sick person's) life and health so that what has pain calms down in us. Such are customs to act, such are our *costumbres*.

We put it into order in our house, and we put it into order in the church, with father, mother, ancestor. That is what we put into order so that we free ourselves from the headache. Such are our *costumbres* (...)

First we make our *costumbres*, we put into order our problems, all our faults; after that, we drink the medicine (...).

[19. Death and burial]

[#8A-3] *Is there a preoccupation when the husband of a woman dies or the wife of a man?*

Ah, there is a preoccupation, there is a preoccupation. He (or she) cries, mourns. If a man's wife dies, he cries because of his wife. If a woman's husband dies, she cries because of her husband. There is a preoccupation, there they put it into order, if there is some sickness, if there is a case of death.

And who looks after an old woman whose husband is already dead, or after an old man whose wife is already dead?

If the husband of the old woman dies, her child(ren) care(s) for her, she has her child, she has a daughter-in-law. Then they sustain her, the old woman, if her husband has died, in their house. And if it is the old man whose wife has died, if it is the old woman who has died, then it is his son who looks after him, who sustains him. It is his daughter-in-law who sustains him. If his wife dies, it is his daughter-in-law and his son who sustain him, who wash his [clothing], who sew his clothing. If it is the old woman whose husband dies, it is her son, it is her daughter-in-law. They care in their (her?) house [for the surviving parent], if the old man is dead or if the old woman dies. But here is another commentary. But the old man cries, he cries very much, he cries very much because of his wife, because his wife has died. The old woman cries because of the man, if her husband dies. This is a further commentary.

[#8A-4:] *Could you please tell me all the costumbres which are made by the people?*

Nothing is done because one cries. [When] there dies a Christian (i.e. a person), one cries, his daughter cries or his son-in-law cries or his daughter-in-law cries or his wife cries, be it the man, be it the woman when one dies. And one day, one night pass by, [then] the coffin enters the cemetery. For example, if it was in the morning that one died, then it is the present day that the coffin enters⁷⁸ here [i.e. from the carpenter]. Well, if the coffin arrives, then [the dead person] will be placed into his coffin and comes to rest in front of the *costumbres*. We keep vigil at night, the candle of vigil is put up, the candle for five *centavos* is put up, any type of candle is put up. A crown is made, one of paper is made. It rests with him. Thus, a cross is made, for the dead one. The night passes, it becomes morning and it is carried to be buried in the cemetery. There is much crying and much grief. Many people drink rum, rum is consumed by all those who are of good health, because they mourn for the dead one who has died.

This is some more information.

Morning breaks and they enter the cemetery. He gets buried. They place the cross on top [of the tomb], they place the crown on top.

This is another piece of information.

Accordeon is the name of the instrument. It is played. It is played for the dead. Thus, there is music at least, as we would like to say, an instrument like the accordeon is played. If the accordeon is played, then there is a case of death. That is the meaning.

⁷⁸ *Read:* ap[n]oq.

Accordingly, this is some more information on how a case of death [is taken care of].

Is there food and drink?

Yes, all those who stay awake for a vigil at night eat. All those eat who guard the dead one. When the dead one is buried, the town comes. Only the house owners (the household heads) stay in their house.

There are nine days, nine days after they went to leave [the dead] in the cemetery. And then the crown is made, a table is made, flowers are arranged as we said a little bit of time ago, flowers, flowers are arranged, the table (altar) is prepared. So are the nine days. Also night vigil starts on the nine days. It dawns (becomes dusk) on the nine days. The cross is left in the cemetery, with the buried one. And there, the cross is placed.

That means sickness, death there.

[*Fragment*: There is food, there is drink, when somebody dies, and there is food, there is drink when the nine days are there.]

What does one think, what are one's thoughts as, for instance, omens when a person dies?

As we said yesterday that we are, for example, in good health now, and perhaps we have a dream at night which will happen [to us]. Perhaps it will be tomorrow that the bird *tonton* will call, perhaps the bird *tuquy* will call, perhaps the bird *pop* will call at us, perhaps we will see a snake, perhaps we will see a toad, perhaps we will see a white lizard, perhaps we will see the bird *xul*. Then it is the case that there will be an illness which is going to approach us. This is the meaning. Therefore there is an omen for us. And it is better now that we go to ask for the way (a divination), they ask us for the way that the omen says. Is it for you or for whom is the omen? Well, we will go to ask for our way with the diviner. And the diviner will say: 'No, it (the omen) is for you. Put into order your problems, your transgressions (faults),' says the diviner. And thus will speak the diviner to [the people]. 'We put into order our problem, our fault. But if our luck comes, how much luck do we have that we live on thanks to God, our Lord. If our time has come, it does not count how many prayers, how many orations, how much you might do, it is already your fate. And it is counted, maybe one year, maybe two years, maybe nine, maybe thirteen years, maybe twenty years or how many years you will have to live on thanks to God, our Lord, thanks to our Mistress, Maria, in this town, it doesn't count how many *costumbres* we have, we will not recover any-more, because it is already certainly our fate, our fate'.

Appendix II

Fragment of Mateo Raymundo Velásquez's autobiography

The autobiography (#13A) starts with a generalized outline of life cycle events. A fairly succinct curriculum vitae, with typical activities, follows. Don Mateo talks about his parents, the landholding, his offices or ritual career, his participation in communal work, and his alternative to the forced labor as enforced by President Ubico. Cf the second autobiographical fragment #9A (Don Mateo's call to office) published in Hinz 1991/I:5ff. Note the indirect way a topic is introduced (cf Datz 1980).

They spoke in such a way when our (my) father asked her father, her mother for our (my) mother. Well, then they made their *costumbres* with the father, with the mother

of our (my) mother, well, after the *costumbres* had ended, they came and stayed in the house of our (my) father. They came to the house of our (my) father, they ate, they drank, they asked that it [their future child] might grow, their children are born, they ask that the child or the daughter might grow up, or the son who is born, they ask that it might grow up with God. And thus the child starts to grow up, and thus the child starts to grow up, and thus it grows up (...)

When completing 18 years of age, any girl or any boy, 18, then the wife for the son is asked for. Also, the owner of the daughter who grows up intervenes. This is another *costumbre* of our town here.

After the man and his wife have married each other, then their children are born. And it starts that one prays that their children might grow, that their children grow, that their children grow (...)

As we said yesterday, if there is a sickness, *costumbres* are made for the child or for the girl or for the boy. And then *costumbres* are made, and then this headache (*or*: illness) leaves [him] who grows up, in his hut, in his house. And he grows very much, the wife of one who is already a man comes (i.e., he marries her⁷⁹). So it was formerly, formerly that was the *costumbre* (...)

[Eike H. asks a question about Mateo Raymundo's parents]

My mother, a young woman was my mother when I was born, a young woman. And also a young man was my father when I was born. But now my mother is already dead, now also my father is already dead. They are not anymore. I am already left alone in this place. But, thanks to God, I grew up by means of my father, by means of my mother, and I stayed with their house. But my mother was a young woman when she died, my father was still a young man when he died. Thanks to God, I lived on, listen, and I stayed on the land, in the house of my father, in the house of my mother.

40 years after I was born, my father died, my mother died, after 40 years that I was born. And as to my age, I am now 70 years old, 70 years. [At age] 40 [they died], it is already 30 years ago that they died. But now, thanks to God, (...) I keep on living. I stayed in the place, I stayed with the place (land). It is the place (land), the house which my grandfather had left before, my grandfather, my grandmother, the house of my father, the property of my grandfather before, the property of my grandmother before, this house, this place (land). But my mother, well, she came from another place when they asked for her because of my father, from elsewhere was the father, from elsewhere was the mother of my mother. Well, she came from a village⁸⁰, for it is *Jolomhuitz*, from there came my mother, and my mother came here (to this place). This here is the property of my father, but it is the house, it is the place (land) of my father's mother, it was the property of my father before, it was the property of my grandfather, of my grandmother before, this is [their] place, this is [their] place (land).

It is the former property of my grandfather, it is the former property of my grandmother, this house, this place. When the straw rots, I am the one who certainly changes the roof so that the adobes will not perish, all the wooden pieces, so that they might not rot because of rain. Here, my father used to work, here, my grandfather, my grandmother used to work. Here, my father and my mother used to work. We, we did not go

⁷⁹ *Junoqxa* = *jun naq xa*.

⁸⁰ *Read*: tik'(a) ix. *A.M. translates*: mi madre proviene de la aldea Tik'ix (possibly in Soloma).

to a plantation (*finca*), not us. Once and for all we worked here since there is the place of my father, there is the land of my father. He had land, he had a place (plot). Once and for all there, he worked for his food. My father did not go to a plantation (*finca*), my grandfather did not go (there), my grandmother did not go (there), my father did not go (there), (my) mother did not go (there), me neither, I did not go anywhere to a plantation (*finca*). Therefore, I have this official function. I do not go to a plantation, I do not go there. It is not my task. I grew up by means of my father. I became a young man and I worked for the *milpa*, I worked for the potatoes, the beans. That was my work when I began to grow up. And I became an adult person, I became a mature man, because I worked with a hoe, I worked with a machete, I worked with an axe. I became an adult person, I had maize, I had my *milpa*, I had my things. Well, and then I had my office.

I went and carried the candles from Quetzaltenango. I went and carried the costumes from San Cristóbal Totonicapán. I was *Alcalde [Rezador]* for the first time, I was *Alcalde [Rezador]* for the second time, I was *Alcalde [Rezador]*, for the third time [I have been] already *Alcalde [Rezador]*. Three times already has been the *Ordenanza* (the holy bundle) [with me].

But [it is] with my work, I work with my hoe, I work with my machete, I work with my axe. There is no money which I earn in the office, with regard to the *Ordenanza*. It is no money from plantation [work] which I spend for *pom* (copal), for candles. With my work, by means of that, I exert [the role of] my office. For I would like to get some health for us (=me) from God, our Lord. For I would like to get some more work for us (=me). For I would like to get some more money for us (=me). I would like to get some more things. Therefore, I exert the role of *Alcalde Rezador*⁸¹. This is my office. There is no other office of mine. I have not attended school, I have not gone to school. It was no school I have been in. It was only work with my machete, hoe, with the axe. I only sowed the *milpa*, only potatoes, only beans, only *chilacayote*, only apples, only peaches. And therefore I did not go to school, at least, I did not pass school. For I worked, therefore I have food, therefore I exert [the role of] my office. This is my office here, [that] of mine.

Directly from my grandfather is the land, from former times because he was poor. It was left as a former property of my grandfather, that poor land. From (?) the dignitary, the *principal*, the dignitary of the office⁸². I agreed to go and fetch the candles for the feast of June 24 (Saint John). And it was 50 years ago when I went as *Principal* (dignitary), 50 years ago. And when the [candles] were put down, when they were put down, the Dance of the Deer here, the *Baile del Venado* was performed here. First, [I] was *Principal*, I became *Principal*, and after that– (...) I was 21 years old (?) when the dance took place, when the *Baile del Venado* was performed.

20 years ago⁸³ I became *Alcalde [Rezador]*, and I served as *Alcalde Rezador* (*Alkal Txaj*). I served as *Alcalde Rezador* the second time, 8 years ago from now. *Alcalde Rezador* for a third time, the last year we (=I) served [in that function].

⁸¹ *Ms. has*: alkal choxhal, alka[I] txajil. Choxh-al (<Dios) = ‘ordenanza’; txaj-il = ‘prayer’.

⁸² *Ms. has*: ...tx’otx’ pobre lugar. Desde el principal, watx’onaq, principale el opiso. (= ... ‘the poor land which derives from (?) the dignitary, the *principal*, the dignitary of the office’).

⁸³ In interview #1A-9, Don Mateo says ‘22 years ago’.

I was already 15 years old⁸⁴, and then I started with the office of the diviner. But I was a young man, and then I started, I followed up my work, I myself, I exerted my work, I myself, I made the *costumbres*, I myself, I made the divinations, in all these functions I worked, I myself, I worked. Nobody else worked with me. No, there is a diviner [elsewhere], but perhaps he is far away in his house. But I, I myself, am the [person] who does the *costumbres* here, I also make the divinations, I also make the *costumbres*. 50 years [is it that I serve] as “master of the road” (*Ajb'e*), as diviner.

Eike H.: And was there an old diviner who taught (instructed) you?

No, there was perhaps a diviner. But how much time ago that he has died! There was no old diviner anymore. There are diviners. But all are young men, there are no old men anymore.

It was only me who pulled it into my head, my interpretation. There was nobody with whom I studied. There was nobody who taught me [how to divine].

[Question about things which happened in the diviner's youth]

There was nothing which happened.

When I grew up that way, then I heard as they said: “There [will] be a road, there [will] be work, it is called ‘telegraph line’,” as they said, “and there is [forced] labor, ‘*mandamiento*’,” it was obviously in the responsibility of Ubico <*the dictatorial president in the thirties who pushed through the ‘Ley de Vagancia’ which enforced 150 days of forced labor on Maya Indians owning less than 10 cuerdas of land; see Ch. D.2*>.

That, I did not experience, I only heard it to be said, when I was young, of course, in such a way, I heard that this work was called quite hard. But when the new road of modern days came, I went to work in Pateobola <*above Chiantla*>, I went to work in Kulix, in Chemal <*in the area of mount Torre, between Todos Santos and San Juan Ixcay*>. There I went to work for what nowadays is the road. But it was in former times that I only heard that there would be a road, that there would be forced labor (*mandamiento*), that there would be a telegraph line, as it was said, there was hard labor. But I did not experience it, I only experienced this new one. And I went to work in Pateobola, I went to work in Kulix, I went to work in Chemal, only there I went to work. But I did not earn money when I went. In no way did I experience hardship, because it was the office I cared for, because it was prayer I cared for. Therefore, I did not undergo painful work. In no way did I experience this painful work, not at all.

Only when I was a young man, when I completed 18 years of age, I went for(...) three travels, I went to Pateobola, to Kulix, to Chemal, there it is where I went to. And I started to enter the office, it was only prayer I made, it was only *costumbre* I made. The (*Alcalde*) *Auxiliar* did not bother me anymore, the *Regidor* did not touch me anymore, the *Alcalde del Juzgado* did not touch me, he did not say anything about it because my office was different, because I made prayers. The *Regidor del Juzgado*, he went in commission if there was somebody quarrelling, if there were some people who hit each other. These are the different functions, this is the office of the *Regidor del Juzgado*, this is the office of the *Regidor*. This was years ago. It was already then that I started my service. There was already the *Regidor* when I grew up, there was the *Alcalde del Despacho* (*i.e. del Juzgado*). But a different role had these people there, there

⁸⁴ In a different autobiographical fragment (#9A; Hinz 1991/I:5; II:9), Don Mateo states that he ‘was 10 years old’ at that time.

they were in the *municipalidad* (i.e. town hall). But that [role] of ours, we who are prayermakers, we have a separate role, in our house here, different is the *Regidor* [and his role], different are all the places where they go to, separated is the *Alcalde del Juzgado*, different (separate) is the *Regidor del Juzgado*, different is the *Alkal Tioxh* (*Alcalde Rezador*), different is the [role of the] *Lexhtol Tioxh* (*Regidor Rezador*), different is [his role]. When I was 18 years old, I went for the road as I have just said. At age 20 I started with the *costumbres*, I started with the prayers. It was not possible anymore to bother me. But I was only making prayers for the town. The road, I did not go for it anymore, as the road came down here, at least. I did not go to work anymore. No, not anymore. It is only that I work here.

<Commentary: According to the data and their internal consistency, Don Mateo was born around 1910. Around 1928-30 he was working on the road in the Chiantla area. His mother and his father died around 1950. Around 1958 he was *Alcalde Rezador* for the first time, 1972/73 for the second time, 1980 for the third time, and in the year of his death, 1984, for the fourth time. Between 1920-1925 he became recruited as a diviner ('Ajtum', 'Ajb'e') and around 1930 he was a formal prayermaker. At that time, he became 'Principal del 24 de Junio', fetching the big candles ('cera') from Quetzaltenango. One year later (?), he was in charge of the "Baile del Venado" (Dance of the Deer). Cf the data quoted in Ch. C.5.1: Don Mateo was possibly born in 1907 or 1902.>

Appendix III

Communicating about *kab'k'ulal*, i.e. mistrust or aversion

The following interview (#15A) introduces us to the use of the word and concept of mistrust in terms of a simulated dialog (between diviner and fictitious client) which serves to clarify mistrust: (1) The concept is introduced within the context of a divination which addresses a problem or some pain. (2) The problems are exemplified as marriage (contract), health, a case of death, a dream. (3) The clients direct the diviner's attention to their possible faults. (4) The diviner introduces the concept of mistrust (or: mental reservation, hidden aversion). (5) The diviner does not dwell on the specifics of mistrust, but simply characterizes the concept in **procedural terms** (in abbreviated form): 'You guys know what it is.' This corresponds to the pragmatics of how to handle mistrust: The procedure is exclusively confined to the couple or to the child-parent relationship, without the presence of any other person, specialist, etc., the diviner included. (6) In the fictitious dialog the diviner introduces the concept of '**putting the problem into order**'. This expression refers to the very formalized procedure of a mutual confession or mutual open declaration of the events in question. (7) The diviner mentions only two possible behaviors causing mistrust or aversion: **beating up each other, scratching each other**. The behavior represents physical aggression. (8) The diviner specifies ritual measures: **offering costumbres and copal (resin)**. These measures would need further clarification. (9) A general belief is referred to: Putting the problem into order implies to **become free**; otherwise there will be **sickness and death**. (10) Some addressees or agents, witnessing the mistrust (or aversion), are introduced in the fictitious dialog: God, the Calendar Days.

Client: ‘Make a divination for us,’ so they say.

Diviner: ‘Alright,’ I say, ‘what is your pain?’, so I say.

But I ask them what their pain is.

Client: ‘There is no [other] problem, Sir, we [only] want a divination for us for a marriage contract of us or for our health and life or for a case of death, of an end, or for a sad dream, just that. And what is our fault, what is our problem?’

Diviner: ‘But look, you have a mistrust, so it says [in the divination], your wife has a mistrust, your husband has a mistrust, you (guys) know what that is, you know what your mistrust consists in, in front of God, in front of the Calendar Days. But why shouldn’t you put it into order? If you put it into order, then you are free. But if you do not put it into order, then it is in Santiago [Guatemala] <*i.e. in front of a higher power*>.’

Thus we speak together with our Lord (our father), our Mistress (our mother)⁸⁵, our calendar days, our *copal*.

Client: ‘And thank you, Sir, thank you, Sir, we come to put it into order, we obey⁸⁶. We will put into order all our faults. Because we, we do not want sickness, death.’

Diviner: ‘As your illness, death is already about to come, therefore put it into order and, at least, never do it again, once more, and, anyway, do not say it again. And do not say an evil word. If you say an evil word, then you already know that it will be you who will pass away, you will go to the cemetery in the coffin, how many counsels there might have been. And how many things have we talked about, but you didn’t listen! Just as if it is an ear of the animal, and an ear of a male [animal] and a mule, one has to sell it⁸⁷, [and] how much more is it when we know it. Why have you messed up things, why shouldn’t you understand what the laws of God say? Why do you beat up each other, scratch each other, what sickness is that? It doesn’t matter where you (guys) go to now, the *Alcalde*, to the *Alcalde*, to the *Alcalde del Despacho (i.e. del Juzgado)*. As for this place, he puts it into order in his holy office where the respected *Alcalde Rezador* is, and here the *Alcalde Rezador* puts it into order on his holy altar, where we will offer our *costumbres*, where we will offer our *copal* (resin), where we will offer our *costumbres*, for our health and our life. Why will you only try it (*or: pretend to do so*)? For God doesn’t want it to be like that (...)

[*A further attempt to elicit a definition: ‘Mistrust leads to death’*]

Diviner: If you have a mistrust, then you go to the cemetery, you will die, and you disappear in the coffin and you will put on the clothing of a dead person. What, however, will you do, or who knows what [it is] (...) you (guys) do not obey what the commandments of God’s law say, it will *not* be left *my* law with God. There are ten, there are ten commandments, if you do not obey the ten commandments of God’s law, then you will perish, you will go into the coffin, you will be placed into the coffin, up there (...)

⁸⁵ *Komam, kotxutx*: honorific noun classifiers for male and female non-human supernatural beings, e.g., the Sun, God; the Moon, the Virgin Mary, etc.

⁸⁶ *Ms. has*: y-uj wal Dyos s-mam xin, y-u wal Dyos, s-mam, chi-ul hon– ha ch-on jatne7 ko-yiqe7 = y-uj wal Dyos, mam, xin, y-uj wal Dyos, mam, chi ul ko-jatne7 ko-yiqe7.

⁸⁷ One must sell the animal because it does not listen and does not obey and is, thus, of no use.

Appendix IV Beliefs, rituals and calendrical cycles

IV.a Names of the twenty-day months

[# 6B-5ff] *Eike H.*: Y cómo se llaman los meses de veinte días? [*And what are the twenty-day months called?*]

Mateo: Cuál? [*What?*]

Eike H.: Algo como *tap*, *saqmol*, o algo como así? [*Something like tap, saqmol, or something like that?*]

Mateo: Haa, yin juntaq k'al k'u. [*Ah, referring to the units of twenty days.*]

Eike H.: Sí, así, ha, ha, ha. [*Yes, exactly, ha, ha, ha.*] (...)

First list

Mateo: Sí, *tzetaq sb'i naq juntaq k'al k'u yul ab'il, xhi, ma naq, naq unin, xhi, naq mak xhi, naq siwil, xhi, naq tap, xhi, naq—, naq nab'ich, xhi, naq saqil, naq q'anil, naq q'eq sijom, yalan santo ch'ek' jun q'eq sijom, yet, yet tol q'eqb'i yaq'on naq nab', naq kaq sijom, naq saq sijom, ay heb' naq juntaq k'al k'u tu yul ab'il b'ay chon txajli* [*Yes, what are (all) the names of the units of twenty days in the year, as one says, maybe the unin, as one says, the mak, as one says, the siwil, as one says, the tap, as one says, the—, the nab'ich, as one says, the saqil, the q'anil, the q'eq sijom, under All Saints' Day (=around November 1) the q'eq sijom passes by, when—, when it becomes dark in order to start the nab' ("rain" = a 20-day month, or simply the meteorological phenomenon?), the kaq sijom, the saq sijom; these are (all) the units of twenty days in the year on which (when) we pray.*]

Second list (*naq* = noun classifier for male human beings):

Mateo: *Naq ulew, naq nab', naq siwil, naq tap, naq saqil, naq q'eqil, naq kaq sijom, naq saq sijom, naq q'an sijom, he naq—, naq saqil otra vez [once again].*

Eike H.: *Haaja, y los otros ocho, dónde están? [Aha, and the other eight, where are they?]*

Mateo: *Pues no hay, solo eso. [But they don't exist, just that.]*

Third list:

Mateo: *unej/unin; mak; siwil; tap; saqil; ulew; tap; saq sijom; q'an sijom; q'eq sijom; [saqil]; q'anil.*

Eike H.: *Haja, i nab'ich. [Aha, and nab'ich.]*

Fourth list:

(*Mateo*.) *Mak (enero); siwil (febrero); unin, mak, siwil, tap (...)* nab'ich.

Fifth list:

(*Mateo*.) *Unin, mak, siwil, tap, saq sijom, q'an sijom, kaq sijom, q'eq sijom, saqil, s-q'anil, nab'ich.*

Integrated list (my reconstruction, not chronologically ordered):

1. Unin, 2. Mak, 3. Siwil, 4. Tap, 5. Saq sijom, 6. Q'an sijom, 7. Kaq sijom, 8. Q'eq sijom, 9. Saqil, 10. S-q'anil, 11. Nab'ich. 12. Ulew, 13. Q'eqil; 14. Nab' (?; = Nab'-ich = 'beginning of rain?').

<Commentary: I elicited the different lists in one interview session. Sijom is differentiated in terms of colors (saq = 'white'; q'an = 'yellow'; kaq = 'red'; q'eq = 'black'). Cf

saq-il (*'the white'*), q'an-il (*'the yellow'*), q'eq-il (*'the black'*). juntaq k'al k'u = *general term for the 20-day period*>. Cf Thompson (1950[1st ed]:106/Table 8).

IV.b Cycle of feasts

[#2A-10f] Mateo: ...(1.) New year, then there are *costumbres*. (2.) *Semana santa* (Easter week), then there are *costumbres*. (3.) Maize is sown, and then there are *costumbres*. (4.) On June 24, there are *costumbres*. (5.) On August 29, there are *costumbres*. (6.) *Nueve meses* ('9 months'), the turn of the (260-day) year, there are *costumbres*... and (7.) *Todos Santos* ('All Saints' Day'), there are *costumbres*, when we gather the ears of maize, when we harvest the ears of maize, on All Saints' Day, there are *costumbres* by the old men, the men working here, here are the *Alcaldes* who give the order. Well, All Saints' Day, (and) on (8.) *K'exwal* ('when the year changes'), when the year ends, there are *costumbres* when the year ends, there are also *costumbres* when the *Alcaldes* ('Religious Mayors') change, when the old man leaves (office), when the other one will enter (office), when the other *Alcalde* stays for another year, when the beginning of the year takes place, there are *costumbres*, too (...) four, five, six, seven, there are eight (*costumbres*) (...) There are eight *costumbres* during the year (...) in the course of the twelve months...

<Commentary: 'Sowing the Maize' is obviously different from *Semana Santa*; otherwise the number of eight *costumbres* remains unexplained. Similarly, 'Nueve meses' should be identical with 'turn of the 260-day year'. The same expression, *k'exwal*, is used for the turn of the 365-day year which would be counted twice here. This is the date to hand over the staff of office to the new *Alcalde Rezador* (Religious Mayor).>

IV.c The concept of *costumbres*, related beliefs and the agricultural cycle

[#1B-6] We make our *costumbres* so that our maize grows, we make our *costumbres* so that our beans grow, our *chilacayotes*, our apples. We make our *costumbres* so that our peaches grow, so that our prunes grow, so that our herbs grow. We make our *costumbres* so that the rain comes (...) We offer our candles to God, our Lord, to our earth, to our home mountain and valley, to our place. There, we make our *costumbres* so that our maize grows, so that our wheat grows, so that our potatoes grow, our apples, our peaches, cherries, everything. If there is no rain, then there is the time of fasting. It does not grow until we make our *costumbres*. And then comes the rain, and then we make it grow here. Here grows our *milpa*. We make our *costumbres* so that the rain comes, so that the clouds come on top of the mountains, on top of the valleys. There comes the rain. And now, if there are no *costumbres* there comes no rain, there come no clouds (...) There come the clouds, there comes the rain, there comes the rain to the terrain (*Ms. has: 'alaguna'; corr.: 'al lugar'*), but with our *costumbres*, with our candles, with our *copal*, with our *ocote*. And then come our *costumbres*, in front of our Lord, the *Ordenanza*. There we make our *costumbres*, to our Lord, the *Ordenanza*. For it is our Lord, the *Ordenanza*, there is our health, of all people of us, in front of the *Ordenanza*. Just there, there is life and health for our food, for our drink, for our chickens, for our domestic animals, for our money, for everything. And it is in front of our Lord, the *Ordenanza*, there it is, there we go and ask for rain with our *costumbres*. And then comes the rain, the rain comes down. Well, and then our beans grow, our food grows, it grows our *milpa*, everything grows. And then our work gets done. We

clear the sown field with our hoe, we clear the sown field with our hoe, we clear it with our machete, we clear our *milpa*. And now it grows. It starts to take it out from the interior of the maize, the maize plants start to break apart (come out), the *elote* (cob) is formed inside, the maize cob is formed. Well, the rain, when the maize cob is formed, well, then we speak to the rain, because of it, to it, its place (...) And when the year ends there is our crop of maize, at the end [of the year] there is our crop of maize, our work is being done, [i.e.] we make loose [the soil of] our land with the hoe, we make loose [the soil of] our place with our hoe, we put in already our maize, [for] another crop, [of] another year (...) And now, likewise we are, likewise we make our *costumbres*, likewise we do our work, likewise we sow our maize, likewise we sow everything of ours, our wheat, and potatoes, large beans, and beans, and all the *chilacayote*. And likewise we sow them out by means of our work. Here speak our *costumbres* in our town, with our Lord, San Juan, in San Juan Ixcay.

Appendix V Q'anjob'al texts

V.a Model divination (Q'anjob'al version)

[Transcribed by Francisco Pascual]

[#2B] *Question by Eike H. concerning a divination in case of illness. The count of calendar days is abbreviated (–), i.e. the missing dates can be filled in without loss of information. See Ch. 4.5 for a translation and an analysis.*

Mateo: [1] Ta ay jun k(r)ixhti(a)ni ya7 jolom ma ya7 ay ma tzet chi oni, entonse tix hoq yallel tinani.

[2] o k'ana7, ta ay jun ya7 ay xhi, o k'ana, waq ab'ak – kab' ix , ox tz'ikin,

[3] tinani xhi [*xin?*] heb' cham ora ti:

[4] kab' ix, ox tz'ikin,

cha jatne jun hakab'k'ulal, porke hay jun hakab'k'ulal, por eso yuj tu ya7 ach ay, yuj tu ka ay junoq enpermo,

[5] kab' ix, ox tz'ikin,

tix chi yal heb' cham tu, tix chi jatne7 heb' cham tu

kab' ix, ox tz'ikin, kan tx'ab'in – kab' chej.

Puro akab'k'ulal chach oni xhi,

kab' chej, ox lamb'at – jun kaq.

Tzet yuj ay jun hakab'k'ulal tu, tzet yuj cha jun owal tu xhi, ay jun owal cha jatne7,

por eso yuj tu ka ya7 ach ay, xhi, yuj tu ka enpermo eyji,

ox kaq, kan ajaw – lajkaw lamb'at. Ta cha jatne7 entonse liwre ach xhi,

lajkaw lamb'at, oxlajun mulu7,

hamul yeji, tzet yuj xan cha jun owal, tzet yuj xan cha jun kab'k'ulal,

oxlajun mulu7, jun elab', kab' b'atz', ati yopiso heb' cham xhi.

Eike Hinz: Ay mi junoq q'anleb'al yet chi b'ab'ji jun tzanoqxa (*correct in San Juan Ixcay: janoqxa*) k'u?

Mateo (*Fictive dialog with a client*): Jayeb' xa k'u yok hayab'il xhi.

(*Fictive client*) Oh (...) ayxa jun semana, ma jun kinseno ma veinte dia, ma jun mes, ma tres mes o nanxa ab'il, ma junxa ab'il yok hinyab'il.

(*Diviner*) A (...) weno tay xin.

Tzet pax chi ul haq'anle7 nani?
 (*Fict. client*) Chi ul hinq'anle7 ta hoq hinwatx'joq, ma man hoq hinwatx'joq, yuj tu chi
 ul hinq'anle7 jun hinb'e, jun hintxum.
 (*Diviner*) Weno pues, hoq jil xin.
 Y tzet pax hab'i, ta xhi.
 (*Fict. client*) K'am tzet hinb'i, Xhinik hin, ta xhi, ma Xhuwin hin, ta xhi.
 (*Diviner*) Hoq jil xin tzet yuj xan ay hayab'il.
 O k'ana7, waq ab'ak – o kixkab':
 Ay jun ab'ilk'ulal yin atrabajo,
 o kixkab',
 ay jun ab'ilk'ulal yin amulnajil, ay jun hab'ilk'ulal yin alowi, ay jun hab'ilk'ulal yin
 jun hatumin, o kixkab',
 waq chinax – kan mulu7.
 Amul yeji tzet yuj cha jun b'ilk'ulal, kan mulu7, amul yeji tzet yuj cha jun b'ilk'ulal,
 kan mulu7.
 O elab', waq b'atz':
 Ay jun hab'ilk'ulal b'ay hakonob', b'ay hana, waq b'atz'.
 Maj hajatne7 kanoq, maj hawatx'ne7 yej jun hab'ilk'ulal ka xach toj pinka, kax xach
 toj b'ay xach toji, por eso yuj tu max b'et hachateq jun hayab'il b'ay junxa lugar tu,
 [waq] b'atz',
 [uq] eub', waxaq b'en – o watan:
 Yujtu xan ay jun naq ya7 jolom ay ok hin, o watan,
 waq k'ana7,
 yuj tu xan ay jun tx'itaq xa cha ab'e7, ta k'amaq–,
 uq ab'ak – waxaq kaq,
 i jatne7 xin, cha jatne7, ta manchaq hajatne xin, waxaq kaq.
 Waxaq kaq, b'alon ajaw – lajon ix:
 Jatne7 hab'a yetoq ixal, cha jatne7 hab'a yetoq ixal tu,
 tatol manchaq hajatne7 hab'a yetoq ixal tu entonse hoq hila7 (*Ms. has S.E. „ela7“*),
 waxaq ix, b'alon tz'ikin – lajun mulu7,
 Heyeji, tzet yuj xan maj tik' ejatne7 [*ajatne7?*] ka xach toj b'ay pinka, ma b'ay kach
 toj junelxa,
 b'alon elab', lajon b'atz' – lajkaw tox:
 Pero ha jan ch'en tumin perseguito (*correct: perdido*) heyuj,
 lajon tox – lajon kaq:
 X-el heyowal yin jan ch'en tumin,
 lajon kaq, usluk' ajaw, lajkaw imox:
 yujtu ay jun kamich, ay jun oq'il kusil heyin,
 oxlajun iq':
 yuj xan ya7 ach ay, ma oq ach watx'joq, ma man oq ach watx'joq. Jatne7 ok ch'en
 tumin, cheyila janta(q) ch'en tumin chi el heyowal yin.
 Ay jan ch'en tumin mal gastado,
 chi yalon heb' cham ora ti, chi yal cham aj txum ti, cham aj b'e ti.

**V.b Prayer to the *Ordenanza* (Holy Bundle) in S. J. Ixcoy
(Q'anjob'al version)**

[Transcribed by Fernando Eustaquio Fernández]

Note: This is a computerized version of a prayer by Mateo Raymundo Velásquez directed to the *Ordenanza*, the Holy Bundle, in San Juan Ixcoy. The printout has been checked, but not the transcription itself. I reprint the computerized transcription of cassette #25A in the form it has been “recoded for me” by computer scientists in Hamburg. The *Ordenanza* ceremony which this prayer forms part of took place early in the morning on 9/VII/1981 = 8 *Ewub'* according to the 260-day Maya year. This day is to be considered as the vespers of the following Alcalde day 9 *B'en*.

This prayer by the diviner and ritual advisor to the then *Alcalde Rezador* (1981) forms part of the sacred heritage of the Q'anjob'al Maya Indians. It deserves similar respect as, for instance, Ifa divination in West Africa which was officialized as forming part of the UNESCO cultural world heritage. See Ch. E.3 for the different versions of the *Ordenanza* prayer taped by me.

[*S:* = *zahori(n)* = ‘diviner’, i.e. Mateo Raymundo Velásquez.]

REVISE.17 1987-06-15 Revised: 1987-07-07 [= Cassette # 25 A]

S: b`alay yet witz, b`alay yet witz ak`al, ta waxaq wan mamej, ta waxaq wan txutxej chon lotzeni yin skawil yikisal, b`alon`eb, oxlajuneb` ora yalan sataq yintaq komam Dios, ti nani xin hex mam alkalte, hex mam watx`onaq, chi jal yuj komatan, kokalnel, kochej tom ayb`ay kokawil, tom ayb`ay chi ko b`iseq, yet yayk`ualil yet sq`eq b`intaqil, chi q`inib` yet k`u yekal, k`am mak b`ay komam Dios yin kokawil, yikisal, xal ay pax xin ay k`al ta7 ok yin kopixan, hoq hal hamantar, hoq hal k`al jantaq, xal ta manchaq hala7, sk`ul hayal unin, jun yal unin ay smay yuj cham justicia, k`am k`ax tzet chal tet, cha b`aja7, yetoq k`ax jun alom jun asiento, skab` k`ulne ta jun sq`anej ko mam Dios, man axka hoq ti nani xin, hex mam alkalte, hex mam watx`onaq, huqub`ix, ti chi jal ch`an pax b`ay heb` ka ay skawil yikisal yib`an heb` juxhtaq yetoq heb` hoq yion pax heb` tu skuenta maktxel ch`etnen hapixan yin jun hab`il, kab` hab`il, yib`an santos amigo, b`ay b`atxan, b`ay chelan komam ordenansa, b`ay b`atxan, b`ay chelan heb` komam hoyeb` konob`, poj chaji, hoyeb`oq k`u, kaneb`oq aq`wal, b`ay b`atxan, b`ay chelan kowitzalil, jak`alilti7, b`ay b`atxan, b`ay chelan kokawil jikisal hon kajan hon ti7, hon k`ajolej honti7, hon cheqb`ej hon ti7, b`ay b`atxan, b`ay chelan kawil yikisal kolob`ej juk`a7, awal, inat, awtz`un, aymi chi kochi7 yul jun b`alon winaq ti7, oxlajun winaq, k`u, aq`wal ti7, ti ch`an k`amk`al jalon yib`an pax naq, sat komam waxaq iq`, sat komam b`alon b`en, chi techaji, chi nupchaji, haxta heb` komam watx`onaq, heb` manto yun xin, hex mam alkalte, hex mam hex, che q`an k`al yin skawil yikisal, yib`an

spixan komam watx`onaq, yetoq smoj spixan, yetoq hetb`i, yay k`u, sq`inib`aj spixan, yet heb` unin ti7 ta liwre ay spixan sataq komam sen~or San Lucas, haxka komam watx`onaq, yamta b`eqanej, oxej xin txutx, yet huqub`ix, xkankan yin yikisal, yib`an spixan yuninal sti7, yet komam yajaw b`ay pixanej, yetoq jay jun stel, yet hoq yip spixan, yamta tz`aqan heb` yalon, ma yib`an yet ti7, haxka spixan heb` komam ti7, heb` kotxutx ajtxaj ti7, aj wajab` ti7, yet komam santo jun tx`otx` ti7, santo jun konob` ti7, ti chi say kan skawil yikisal yib`an spixan kawan, oxwan, kamb`an, owan ti7, chin tayne k`al yalb`anil, ordenansa, jun na ti7, yet komam San Lucas, yet sresal, stxajil, jayeb` k`al ta7 kotxutx wirjena Candelaria, haton jan kab` tu7 aykan yin kopixan, axka komam ordenansa, tay skawil yikisal yib`an spixan komam ordenansa, smimanil Dios, smimanil Rey, b`atxan yetoq kopixan, seb`al, skok`al, sch`enal, sq`oqoch komam Dios, skurus komam, kaneb` wara, wandera, resetar, snan, yalon ordenansa, skankan yalan say smoj spixan, yaqan ti7, sq`ab` ti7, ta axka ta7 jaqan hon, kopixan hon, ta q`axan, ta chilan, yul sq`ab` ordenansa, b`ay b`atxan kanoq, chelan kanoq, woqan chelan, oxlajun winaq yet kab`ab`i b`ay jun nati7, hi k`ax skawil yikisal, komam witz ti7, komam sq`ab` ti7, sq`ab`il konob`, yalan sq`ab` yaqan komam San Juan, komam kurus na ti7, junelnej hatu b`atxan, hatu chelan, yul sq`ab` ordenansa, saqb`i kan skawil yikisal yet ka k`am chi yakan jun ti yul skuenta, jun na ti7, tuton skalil yuj komam, sk`alil konob`, jan waxaq wan yune7, xkon b`alon wan wune7, kinchi

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axkati, kachi axka junxa komam, axka junxa ko txutx kajan ton mi kamb`an hon, ka hoq halon ton b`an ta ay, k`am ta7 max b`et aq` lajwoq, ka hoq hal pax kawil yikisal komam txajib`al, opisial, yas, ta peligro yamb`al yet hoq jute k`al yet domingo, lajwi q`in Pasko, axka q`in pasko yet heb` jichmam b`ay skawil yikisal yib`an spixan lajkaw ix, oxlajun ix, jun tz`ikin, oxlajun tz`ikin, jun chej, oxlajun chej, kab` ab`ak, kaytu chi yun halon axkatu yet q`in pasko, b`ay chin awji, b`ay chinxub`li, b`aytaq ch`ok kanal, max tit snan jun henel tu7 ka hoq ay chotanoq, hoyeb`, waqeb` xajan angelitos, xajan santos caja, b`ay b`atxan, b`ay b`ulan, choj b`anil, San Juan Kaxk`al ay k`al b`a ay yaytu7, jun ab`ix lanan walon ti7, kaytu chi yun he yalon bay San Juan Zacarias, b`ay chotan, b`ay santoal, santos despacho, say skawil yikisal yib`an spixan, yuj komam alkalte juzgado, alkalte sindico, regidor, kaneb` aqanej, kan wan, oxlajun wan yaqan spixan komam Dios, chi kan yin spixan tx`otx`otx`, kokurus, chin cha juntu, yuj jantaq hinb`ilk`ulal kaxka yej juntu7, yamta ayto kokawil jikisal yin ko pixan, aj anej tin, ta tumin ti7, tx`otx` konob` ti7, hin ye konchi yib`an spixan sq`ab` yaqan yuninal konob`, hoyeb` konob` kopixan jun ajan, tak`al mak chi say naq, mak`al junel, mak`al man hoq yune7, b`aytaq woqan, b`aytaq tz`uqan yib`an laq witz, yib`an laq alambre yinlaq stilaq konob` ti7, ayto k`al mi jab` chi yala7, ka

chaq`on watx`joq nani7, xhi naq b`alon b`en, ti nani xin hex mam
 alkalde, hex mam watx`onaq, ek`om ix, ka maj yal komam Dios, tom
 man jun elnaq mamejal, txutxejal, tolab` ayto slajwi mulnajil,
 tolab` sb`alon winaq naq, tolab` tol yet ab`ilal, yin yail hatu chi
 yal komam ordenansa, max sik` yuninal, an ich yin kopixan, stx`ajon
 spichil, xaq an toni max b`et titoq, yet yul konob`, Santos
 Sacramento, hilab` xin mam alkalte xhi axkatila, oxlajun winaq ta
 hajunti7, ma ha junxa ti7, oxlajun iq`, ta ha jun watan, ha pax ta7
 yali, chi yal jun cham ordenansa, nani yet komam San Lucas, yin ta7
 kan yeji, kan miman, max yun yin b`aloni yetoq yin hin pixan, yetoq
 ordenansa, yin skab`k`ual, yin yox k`ual, skank`ual, sok`ual, yin
 slajun k`ual, max ajol junk`al k`u, slajun skawinaq k`u, kawinaq,
 oxwinaq, kanwinaq, howinaq, waq winaq, huq winaq, waxaq winaq, tuxa
 x7ajol komam b`alon winaq k`u, aq`b`al, yul sq`ab` yaqan komam
 sen~or San Pedro, x7ajol b`alon winaq, kaytu pax chi yoche ma komam
 ma kotxutx, jun yalan k`u, xyab`en winaq, tix hinpaxoq hab`en paxoq
 yuj komam Dios, komam ora, b`aq`ini paxoq, b`aq`in pax max kam yin
 yikisal koman Dios, k`ajolej, kutz`inej, b`aq`ini max kam yin kawil
 yikisal, enel, jun xa aq`wal ti7, yul saqil q`inal, ti wahan xa yok
 ma ch`etaxtoq komam yin slajun winaq, slajun yul aq`wal, ka pax hoq
 koq`anlen nani, yin lajun winaq, usluk` winaq, lajkaw, oxlajun
 winaq, kam chi b`atxay kanoq, kam chi chelay kanoq b`ay alkalde
 ordenansa, yet junxa naq tu7, yet junxa ix tu7, axkatu hinpixan
 nani xin, ta axka naq ti7, naq hinmam, hoq ajapnoq yin kanlajun
 winaq, holajun winaq, waq lajun winaq, huq lajun, waxaq lajun
 winaq, yalon k`al jantaq pax chi yune7 xhi pax komam San Lucas, hoq
 b`atxay kanoq, hoq chelay kanoq, junxa na ti7, junxa solar, yuj maj
 taq q`in ti7, yuj maj taq Pasko ti7, junxa wal tukan yintaq, junxa
 wal tukan sataq, junxa ab`ix ti7, junxa wal ab`il junti7, q`in
 Paska yet komam San Gasparca, Esquipula, San Sebastian, b`aq`in

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q`in Pasko, miman q`in Pasko, chi nan pojchaj yetoq k`ajol,
 kutz`inej, b`ab`el maktxel ch`ajol yin, hoq jil xin, jab`eni, haxa
 xb`et pax wab`en nani xin, kaneb` k`u, waxaqeb` k`u, kanel, slajwi
 yet awal, inat, yet ko pixan hon konob` hon, honk`ajolej yet b`alon
 winaq tu7, oxlajun aq`wal, b`atxan xin, yin xa lista ch`uji, yet
 pax q`in yet heb` jichmam tu xin, q`oqb`il xin toxa ch`ayol waqeb`
 xajaw cuarto viernes, xajaw santos bar...? skamichal Jesucristo,
 sa'bado, domingo Pasko, hoq jil xin, jab`en to ta kolan yib`an
 sataq tu7, sataq jun naq ch`ali q`in Pasko, Santa Cruz mayo, santo
 yet mayo, ka tax sk`oli skanq`inti7, lan spitz`k`oj aj komam Sen~or
 San Juan, waqk`al k`u, waqk`al aq`walil, ch`aq b`atxan hoyeb`
 lajuneb`, lexhpon xb`et jakoq, x7aj b`atxan, x7aj chelanoq
 kolob`ej, juk`a7, yet waqk`al k`u, yet hok`al k`u, aq`b`alil,
 yab`an chijikan owan ko watx`onaq, owan cheqb`eq, paqb`ej, kaq naq
 chi b`et aq`on ti7, naq chi b`et cheqon ti7, jun chulan an flores
 yalan sq`ab` yaqan komam Santo Quezaltenango haton tu b`atxan,

haton tu chelan, cheqb`ane, chi tzeqten kob`e yet chon apni b`ay komam Sen~or San Juan, Sen~or Zacarias, haton yet ka k`am cha tzunaq, kaytu chute jun ti7 ocheb`il, chi b`et ajwan naq komam lotzewom axkatu q`axan naq, q`axan asum, kaw ikis naq, ta ay yet naq najat, tzet chi jute naq xin, ti b`atxan naq, ti chelan naq yilon yet kopixan, oxlajun winaq tu7, oxlajun winaq xhi mi yet ixim kolob`ej juk`a7, chiris winaq yet kotxutx oxlajun b`en, chi schakan skual ti nani7, sb`eal ti nani7, yorail ti nani7, yet komam waxaq, b`alon b`en ti7, awal chon toj yin b`iswal, jantaq yintaq, jantaq sataq xolil ixim juk`a7, chi yaq` yet koq`ab`, yet jaqan yamta chi yilteq xin komo icham winaq xa sataq, axka naq letzewon, naq b`atx wajom, naq ajalwom ti7, naq axkati smulnaji, ti chi kan naji, tzetb`il chi kan naj ix xin, chi kan yixal, aykan yuj Dios, na an yuj ora xhi pax Sen~or San Lucas, kata7 sk`ualil skan q`in Pasko kan winaq k`u, ox winaq k`u, ka winaq k`u, jun winaq k`u, kato chi ajwan heb` komam ti7, chi ajwan heb` ko txutx ti7. junel q`in ti7, junel Pasko ti7, kab` yox k`al k`u, kab` yoxk`al aq`b`alil, x7ajol komam San Lucas, yalan janti7, chilan, spananil, yak`alil, jun ab`il, yox ab`il, jun ajalil yet ewi, kab`jui, huqub`ixi, max ajwan heb` komam ti7, max ajwan heb` kotxutx ti7, tz`aqan k`al max ajwan heb` cham komam watx`onaq, max b`et ajwan heb` cham komam mulu, heb` cham komam elab` yuj tol ch`ayol q`in pasko, ho ix, kanel xon b`en yul sementerio, b`ay santo iglesia, haxta haton hoq kaw xoq seguro yul q`in Pasko ti7, max ayol heb`, max b`et heb` komam iloj q`in yetoq smimanil Dios Rey yetoq kochem, yetoq ko lehxpon b`ay komam sen~or San Lucas, b`ay b`atxan, b`ay chelan heb` komam b`ay Dios, tom hoq kob`uch pax heb` komam yuj tol kab` pax hoq yun skawxi yin puchal yin stelanilal, tiwal k`am k`am toni, k`am yunal, mex kan jun hakutz`in tu7, k`al jun komam watx`onaq Domingo Toma's, Miguel Esteban, teqan ay jab`oq yun b`an chonyaqa` ayudar komam Dios, chi xhaok kayti chi lajwi b`ay San Francisco, ka chi lajwi yul mero veinticuatro, naq eq`an, naq ilb`al, txajanejal, txajul santa cruz, txajul santo yet aq`b`alil, kam x7okol waanoq, x7okol San Calistra, yalan q`in Pasko, kantela slo komam kan lab`, haxa yet ch`ul il-lay yuj medico, wal yul yalan santos mis para, miman q`in veinticuatro de junio hex junti7, kab` ti7, watx`onaq, yaq

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tolab` ha yet x7ek`mitx` wal xhi naq, tolab` ha yet xlajwi q`in Pasko, ti nani xin hex mam alkalte, hex mam watx`onaq, ek`om ix, toxa ch`aj ak slob`ej, toxa ch`aj ak skamchal, ti xin chin kani, ti chin pax paxoq, chach kan yetoq heb` komam ti7, kotxutx ti7, ta yin tx`an kaneb` hoyeb` k`u nani7, haxa tu skani, slajwi, haxatu hoq spaqtzen heb` komam, kotxutx, hilom q`in pasko, kaq paxtu skawil yikisal hoq kankanoq, hoq lajwoq toq q`in Pasko, b`atxan q`in Pasko yet komam Sen~or Zacari'as, sq`oqon kanoq, b`ison kan skan yet komam sen~or San Pedro, oxk`al k`u, oxk`al aq`walil, haxa yet q`in ti7, Pasko yet komam Sen~or Santiago, Santo Domingo, kajan kayti7,

kajan wetoq, ka hoq koq`anlen paxoq, jun gasto lan yuj yet komam
 Sen~or Zacarias, til ch`an kab` nani7, kab` junab`, kaqpax ti
 ch`ajkan yet heb` komam watx`onaq, jun b`en, kab` b`en, hox
 txab`in, tx`ijan hach, yet chi jay xaq an flores, yuj komam
 Zacarias, petoj b`ay tx`otx santo luwar Quezaltenango, k`apax ch`an
 yuj heb` ix cha tena7, chi yal yaj wan heb` komam watx`onaq,
 kowitzal jak`alil yuj komam Dios, kan tox, waxaq tox, toxa max
 jala7 tol k`ajolej yul konob`, hiltax maj heloq tol wal sq`in komam
 Sen~or Zacarias, yaq tolal` pax ay yoxeb`al, tolal` ay suqeb`al
 jaq`on kanoq yuj komam Sen~or Zacarias, kaytu hoq yun skan rosonal,
 watx`onal, ka kaytu hoq yun q`in Pasko yuj ko txutx natiwitas,
 yetoq masanil ordenansa yetoq komam San Mateo, San Miguel, San
 Francisco, San Lucas, Todosantos, kan ch`an hoq ok q`in Pasco yuj
 komam San Isidro, Santa Catarina, kay k`apax tu yuj komam Santo,
 San Andres, jaq` k`apax yujwal dios b`ay komam xin hila tol kaw
 ikis hon, ha pax ta7 hoq apnoq yin k`am yunal, ka hoq maqay kan yin
 anima unin, skawilal, snanlaq yatut, stxam amaq` yet k`ajolej,
 kutz`inej, ayman sch`ib`i yuj hapixan mam alkalte, kam xipax ta7
 elteq yunal, hoq ajapnoq komam Dios sq`anon b`iltial, b`ilk`ulal,
 haton mimank`ulal tu hoq okoq, jantaq ta7 chi yune7 haxkatu7 ka hoq
 yip hin pixan mam alkalte, mam watx`onaq, txutx, ek`om ix, kam tu
 max ajb`atxan komam ti, max aj chilan komam, x7aj k`itan yib`an
 q`inal, ti max ek` yul xhila, ti max ek` xol tila, x7aj b`atxan
 heb` b`aloneb`, heb` oxlajuneb`, wara, yin sk`ual, ko lowi,
 juk`ina7, yin sk`ualil awal, inat, awtz`un yin oxlajun winaq, yin
 laq komam waxaqeb`, komam b`alun b`en, xin, kaytu yalon jun cham
 ti7, ti nani xin, ti b`alon kan, ti oxlajun kan yintaq, sataq komam
 kan skaqil tx`otx`, skan saqil konob`, b`ax mi, chej mi, kotx`otx`,
 kokonob`, kowitzal, jak`alil, koDiosalil, koSantoalil, yib`an pax
 komam ti7 xin, kotxutx ti xin, yich, ox, pim, kaq, kalnel, ichjos,
 jolom jos, yich jak`al, jolom jak`al, jolom ch`en, ti max ay komam
 xin, max ay kotxutx ti xin, jun nej xowal, yuj spom, tolal` ab`ti
 max ulek` kayti mam, ab`ti max ul hex mam, hex watx`onaq, mank`al
 hoq jaq` k`ay kok`ul, yuj ay kowitz, ayok yin kopixan, xal heb`
 komam kotxutx, toq salay heb` xin, salay heb` komasanil, heb`
 kok`ajol, heb` kokutz`in, yin jawal, yin awtz`un, b`aq`in, najat
 cheqeb` komam alkalte yin txaj xin, santi`sima yuj oracio`n xam
 amaq`, sti amaq`, ach k`al xin b`ay ordenansa, k`al b`ay santos
 cementerio, San Jose', San Miguel, San Juan, San Gaspar, tz`uqan,
 chotan, kayti sataq komam, sataq jet konob`, yet komam iq` ti7,
 komam b`alon b`en ti xin, yuj chal k`ax tol kolan 7ok jin ayon aj
 konob` hon, yel chala7, ko kolb`anil, yab` b`anil ch`an ko mam
 Dios, sataq, yintaq heb` komam alkalte, mam watx`onaq, ch`ek`, pax

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yin ha q`ab` axkatila, yuj kolob`ej juk`a7, ma yali, ma pojwi, ka
 yalji, tuton ha yej spojob` yaljub` yuj heb`, tuton tx`oq xam yej
 juntu7, axka pax jan komam yajaw konob`, topax b`alonwan,

oxlajunwan yintaq sataq komam yajaw b`ay snan konob`, ta ay naq, ma
 k`am naq pojben q`anej, ta ay sna, sq`inib`, saqb`i, sataq,
 yintaq, spojon b`ay snan konob`, yorail xa ke, tuton tol, b`alon
 wan xa, b`aloned` txutx, yixam chik, ta hoq he yaq` pasar, axka tol
 ha yajaw jan hemimanil Dios, smimanil hombre, k`al yet ha
 q`ab`kayti7, axka pax yet Santo San Lucas, ha yeji, tol jun b`ulan
 no7, che b`isk`alon jantaq hex tzaqan yintiq komam San Lucas, hoq
 say komam yox ab`ak, tay komam skan lab` ti7, kaman waj b`il aj
 ti7, yul witz ti7, yul ilab` ti7, jolom witz ti7, komam, kotxutx
 ti7, hax heb`, yul maqab`, heb` ajaw, yintaq, sataq, komam San
 Lucas, tol chi chotay kanoq, tol chi telay kanoq tol cha na kanoq
 yet b`alon b`en, chakan smandamiento jun loj uk`ija ti7, awal ti7,
 inat ti7, ta haxka komam k`am ilya7, b`ay xol konob`, tolab` toqtol
 sb`ajb`anil, manab` toqtol sb`uchb`anil, tolab` q`atan xa, woqanxa
 ek` komam, b`ay jun chi jala7, yintaq, sataq komam b`ay xol konob`,
 ta ay wal maj hex ajapnoq jiloni xin, jab`on tzet che yal ayon xin
 hex komam, ta toxa7al cha kam hab`on tzet chi yal jet konob`,
 yintaq, sataq komam kan ilya7, sataq komam ho b`en, yel chi yal
 heb` ix, che jatne axka yochwan ti7, yet awal ti7, inat ti7, axka
 ix che yal tu nani7, yilal konob`, topax yalon santo, tuton lajan
 yetoq yintaq, sataq komam chilan tx`otx` konob`, t`ay komam kulus,
 b`ay jolom kusina, tzet xhi, hoq jab`e7, ta ayach ek`oq, k`am ach
 ek`oq hoq jila7 tzet xhi jolom konob`, chilan konob`, miman konob`,
 yab`an laan yajwan nani7, yaq b`alon wan yeji, chi chachaji xhi,
 kinchi ka chi jiloni, kab` waxaq wan mamej, kab` b`alon wan
 txutxej, chi chachaji chi chalay kan yul sq`ab` yet yib`an q`inal,
 axka heb` komam kaneb`, oxeb`, b`ay ch`eji, ch`uli ordenansa, k`am
 yajaw, k`am yilomal haa, ti chi jawte, ti chi jal tet, ti chi jil
 yet komam ti7, tol chi q`anjab` jab`oq xa. yuj komam ich k`axta7a,
 b`ay b`atxan, b`ay chelan, chab`il yuj wal sik`on tx`otx`, kosataq
 k`al kowitzal jak`alil, tz`aqan yej xin, tz`aqan, yin hoyeb`, yin
 lajuneb`, yin kaneb`, hin k`atan xin, hak konob`al, xin b`alon
 b`en, haxka wej ayinti7, tol palta yej konab`al, ko paqb`enteq
 ta7al k`ultaq sat ch`ib`aj, jolom tz`ib`aj, b`ay b`atxan, b`ay
 chelan naq komam yal wuxhtaq Zacari`as, saq yintaq, kab` chi yun
 sataq, yintaq, chemal, yim tx`i7, txitam, hoq xiq welixh, hoq
 hinmankan stitulo kotx`otx`, kokonob`, kowitzal jak`alil, ta
 tz`aqan jab`eni, ta tz`aqan ko lotzeni, yetoq kolob`ej juk`a7, b`ay
 b`atxan ti7, b`ay chelan ti7, haxka kowitzal jak`alil, k`a pax
 b`alon k`al oxlajun k`al yintaq sataq kowitzal jak`alil. b`ay wonan
 tz`ib`aj, kab` tzib`, jun kulus, kab` ajaw, q`an wale7, sumal,
 tz`uqan ka7, yich k`isis, yaxkalamte7, masanil janti7 yoj taq yej
 kotxutx wirjen Eulalia, sataq jan komam sataqil heb` ajb`en, komam
 yax nuqul ti7, komam chi txajli ti7, maq`b`al ti7, ochebal, ni chi
 wayi, ni chi q`eq b`i kowitzal, jak`alil, kotx`otx`, kokonob`, sat
 komam waxaq ewub`, komam b`alon b`en, yel chi yal cham, yet
 aq`walil, yuj kolob`ej, juk`a7, hon konob` hon, hon k`ajolej hon,

hon kutz`inej hon, chon ayeq jajanoq, petzanoq yin kawil jikisal,
yin komam, hon k`ajolej, kutz`inej, yahonkan pax heb` naq,

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yahonkan pax heb` ix mam alkalte7, hex mam watx`onaq, tzet chex
honi, tzet chex hon yajol k`u ti7, kay ti7, ay tzet xyal heb`,
b`isil k`al toq, koq`anej tol chi jay kan xolaq konob`al, yuj cham,
txab`in xhi axkati7, ha yeji, k`am ab`ix, ha yej xin hoq jila7 ta
hoq jaq chaj k`ax ta7 sb`eal, manaq k`al, ma yuj k`al, yuj heb` xan
ka ay kotx`otx`, kokonob`, aytzet x7ali, aytzet xkusi yuj kotx`o7,
kokonob`, yin kodiosal, kosantoal yin ordenansa, yin k`ajolej, yin
kutz`inej, hoq yal k`ax eloq, hoq yal k`ax pax yet naq komam sik
nab`, yichkanil, saqil, skaq`eal skaq xuchumal, stz`ab`il, saqinal
yib`an q`inal, x7elkan yich watan, stz`umal yalan sq`ab` yaqan
komam sti maqab`, hatu smaqaq kan naq skaq`eal ti7, naq yal solar
yin awal ti7, inat ti7, aw ti7, tz`un ti7, yin sq`ab` ti7, yaqanti7
yaq`b`alil ti7, yalan sq`ab` yaqan komam panan ak`al ti7 ch`im,
komam yasuma7, tol hoq ay kan woqan tz`uqan yasumal kan, yasumal
yib`an q`inal, tol hoq q`ax naj oq, -- tol hoq muq`chaj kan yib`an
q`inal, tol hoq jaq chaj kan hek`ul, tzet yej ch`en hoq hetzeq taj,
yintaq komam Dios, kata7 hoq q`axnaj spixan tx`o tx`o7, kokonob`,
kowitzal jak`alil, tol hoq q`axnaj spixan awal ti7, inat ti7, aw
ti7, tz`un ti7, yaxatil ti7, yax winaq axka b`alon winaq, xb`etek`
oxlajun winaq k`u, aq`ab`al ti7, manaq skaq`eal yasumal, manaq
stz`ab`il suqumal, manaq sikal kan, sikal yet ton saqb`i ti7,
kojaqb`ajoq ayta kob`iltial, ayta kob`ilk`ulalil, ayta
kotx`o7, kokonob`, kowitzal jak`alil, hoq he yaon kan pax heb` naq,
he yaon kan pax heb` naq komam justisia, naq komam kan q`a7 waxaq
q`a7, kan ojob`, waxaq owal q`a7, owal sik, mak xin, ay yanil, k`am
yanil, ayay toq naq yul sq`ab` yaqan hapixan yul tx`o7 konob`, yul
munto wisata, b`ay tal ay jun eltiaal, b`aytal ay jun kab`tial,
b`ay tal ay jun puchal ek`naqil, tzet ch`uji, tzet ch`ali, yul
tx`o7 konob`, yayti, yajti, munto wisata ayelteq naq kwenta, tol
hoq yak naq jun slus, yet ay ta7 ek` yin sq`anej komam Dios, santo
papa, Roma, Espan~a hatatu ch`elteq mantar, hon ul yaq`on kuenta
naq komam justisia ti7, tol hoq xew naq, sik b`oq naq yetoq naq
k`ajolej, kutz`inej, tx`o7 konob`, kob`e naq kopixan naq yet komam
San Lucas, ay ta b`iltial, b`ilk`ulal, yalta pax heb` naq, yalta
pax jun kan iq`, b`alon iq`, oxlajun iq`, nan chuman k`u, nan
chuman aq`wal oyb`aj ta, xalb`ajta spixan komam Dios, komam San
Juan, sat heb` ajb`ab`el, kot`inil, tx`o7 konob`, axka wal kopixan
xin hex mam alkalte, mam watx`onaq, ek`om ix, mam ajtxaj, ek`om ix
yetoq swinaqil, snumero ti7 hach`an tzet hoq yala7, ay ch`an tzet
hoq sb`isa7, yin ka yet yin kolajuneb` ti7, k`amto ch`ul hinjaq yul
sti sna ordenansa, tanoq, lajwoq yet yul sq`anej ordenansa, katon
hoq ul heq`anon kawil yikisal yib`an spixan Krus Nasareno yet komam
San Lucas, k`ol heq`anon kawil yikisal yib`an spixan enel, axub`,
witz ak`al luwar yet komam San Lucas, b`atxan yalan komam konob`

wal yajaw k`u, sat sjolom chelb`al, hatu b`atxan, chelan kawil yikisal, yin skawil yikisal, jenel tu7, jaxub` tu7, kulus pasyon tioxh witz ak`al, b`ay woqan, b`ay tz`uqan, b`ay heb` wixan, tx`al heq`anon kawil yikisal, ch`an yin kolob`ej juk`a7, awal, inat, ayaytoq ch`ib` yul sq`ab` heb` naq witz ak`al tu7, b`ay woqan heb`, b`ay tz`uqan heb`, axka ch`an jun ix ti7, jun loj ti7, na ti7, txikin na ti7, xam tx`o7 ti7, xam konob` ti7, watx` heq`anon kawil yib`an spixan, portuna ajti yip yali, smay sq`aq`al jan aw ti7,

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tz`un ti7, ka cheq`anon kawil yikisal yib`an spixan, junoqxa b`e junoqxa txoj, ch`ajapnoq ti7, ch`okomoq ti7, chi k`ol heq`anon kawil yikisal yib`an spixan ch`an jun naq pilan heb` kotz`ikin, jalom, jun naq txaj b`ay komam Dios, k`ol heq`anon kawil yikisal yib`an spixan ch`an jun pilan tz`ikin orita, kaytu hoq yun k`ax yin hepixan yin sti, kan sti, smay sq`aq`al, k`ol heq`anon skawil yikisal yib`an spixan ch`an hejatnen yaqan xin mam alkalde sk`ul, ek`ujul, jantaq ch`an jan he q`ab`, heyaqan, hek`ajol ti7, hekutz`in ti7.

V.c The diviner's prayer of reconciliation in his deserted house in Jolomhuitz (Q'anjob'al text with tentative English translation)

[Transcription by Fernando Eustaquio Fernández]

Unchecked Q'anjob'al text (#21A)	Tentative English translation
§1. Hay Dyos Cristo, padre nuestro que esta en los cielos santificado sea tu nombre, etc., etc. <La voz muy baja y no se oye claro> Bendita tu eres entre todas las mujeres, tz'.	§1. Oh God (my) Christ, our father who is in heaven, blessed be thy name, etc., etc. <Very low voice and not clearly audible> Blessed are thou among women, sss.
§2. Hay Dyos, tzet xhi hinmam ti7, tzet xhi hintxutx ti7, heb' liseniado yej ti xin, ha cham ajti7, ha cham ajtz'ib'. <Ruido y voz muy baja>	§2. Oh God, what says my father, what says my mother? They are lawyers, the honorable speaker (mediator), the honorable scribe. <Noise and very low voice>
§3.ay Dyos..... masanil walom wasiento, yin swatx'ilal, stojolal, tet haq'ab' mam, tet aqan.	§3.oh God..... all my domestic animals, with regard to their luck, to their price (value), for your hand, Sir, for your foot (=your child).
§4. Axkati nani xin ti ch'ok q'oy ⁸⁸ ti yin pas, ka ch'ay naq justisya <voz baja>	§4. Thus the young lady now enters in peace, and justice (judgement) comes <low voice>
§5. Hati nani xin ti ch'aypax ul mispera, <voz baja>.....	§5. Here it is now that the vesper (eventide) is coming <low voice>.....
§6. Ay Dyos, axkati spixan, swatx'il	§6. Oh God, such is his heart, he is a

⁸⁸ Q'oy = Noun Classifier for the classification of 'niñas' and 'señoritas' [Gramática del idioma Q'anjob'al 1996:101]; cf 'q'o' = 'gente en general', Dicc. Akat.

<p>ánima, ay Dyos, axkati nani xin [1/2] max wil pasko, <voz baja>..... ay ilya⁷, b'ay max hi⁷ yet x⁷ek' yin hapixan⁸⁹, yet max lajwi ilom q'in, max lajwi sjay ánima masanil, nani xin heyet hemasanil yet q'in pasko.</p> <p>§7. Hoq ok pax q'in pasko, usluk' mulu⁷, lajkaw– oxlajun–, kab' b'en, ox ix, kan tz'ikin, ho txab'in. Tzet yet ko santos mispera, kixkab', waq chinax, huq txab'in, waxaq, b'alon ajaw.</p> <p>§8. Ay Dyos tinani xin, txutx, tinani xin ora, a cham <u>Maltixh</u>, yetoq cham <u>Maltin</u>, icham xa.</p> <p>§9. Axka yejokoq, ayman ko pasko, kojaq kopixan, kotumin, asan yuj jun kotumin, kotxaj b'ay ordenansa, b'atxan yib'an masanil, sq'ab' yaqan konob'.</p> <p>§10. Usluk' tox, usluk' kixkab', usluk' chinax, usluk' iq', usluk' watan, usluk' tox, usluk' chej, usluk' mulu, komo b'aj-b'il naq, komo b'uchb'il naq, komo ox ix, [2 3] komo kan tz'ikin, ... txab'in, huq chinax, waxaq kaq, b'alon ajaw, lajuneb' axka swaj⁹⁰, lajkaweb'..... ix kamb'an, ix waxaqwan, ix b'alonwan, ix usluk' (<i>expect</i>: oxlajunwan).</p> <p>§11. Ax cham komam tzet xhi jun sigaro ti⁷ waan yion ti⁷, waan yuk'on ti⁷, yet jab'oq kok'ul, yet kopixan.</p>	<p>friend⁹⁶, oh God, so it is now that I attended the fiesta <low voice>..... there is an illness which you had when it happened to your heart, when the participation in the fiesta ended, it ended that all the people came (together), now that of all of you, of the fiesta.</p> <p>§7. Again (but it) will start the fiesta, 11 Mulu⁷, 12–, 13–, (1–), 2 B'en. 3 Ix, 4 Tz'ikin, 5 Txab'in. How is our holy vesper (eventide), Kixkab', 6 Chinax, 7 Txab'in, 8–, 9 Ajaw [<i>recte</i>:...4 Tz'ikin, 5 Txab'in, 6 Kixkab', 7 Chinax, 8 Kaq, 9 Ajaw].</p> <p>§8. Oh God, now, Mother, now, Calendar Day, the honorable <u>Matías</u> and the honorable <u>Martín</u>, (he is) already old.</p> <p>§9. So begins (and) here is the moment of our feast. We open our heart: (it is) our money, only because of our money is there our prayer in front of the <i>Ordenanza</i>, upright above all the hands and feet (i.e. children or inhabitants) of the town.</p> <p>§10. 11 Tox, 11 Kixkab', 11 Chinax, 11 Iq', 11 Watan, 11 Tox, 11 Chej, 11 Mulu⁷, like the mistreated (defamed) man, like the maligned man, as 3 Ix, [2 3], as 4 Tz'ikin, ... Txab'in, 7 Chinax, 8 Kaq 9 Ajaw, the Tens are assembled, the Twelves..... Ix the Fours, Ix the Eights, Ix the Nines, Ix the 11 (<i>expect</i>: the Thirteens).</p> <p>§11. So is he, our father, what says a cigar, which he is carrying, which he is smoking, for a little bit of our stomach (in-</p>
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⁸⁹ Ms. has 'hapixax'

⁹⁰ Ms has 'sway' instead of 'swaj'.

⁹¹ Ms has 'aq'in' = 'ha q'in'

⁹² Ms has 'chik'ulal' (= 'tzalok'ulal', *en Soloma*) = 'alegría (=joy)', 'feliz (=happy)', 'paz (=peace)', 'suavidad (=friendliness, agreeability, mellowness)' [APE, e-mail, 30/VIII/2007 & 7/IX/2007]

⁹³ 'mijito' = 'mi hijito'?

⁹⁴ Chi wakan = chi w-a(q') kan

⁹⁵ *Corr*: ka-pax-oq

⁹⁶ *Dicc. Akat*.

⁹⁷ This may refer to the cross representing the person in question.

⁹⁸ Ms has: "ch-oq y-aq' pawor juntila mam" = ch-oq h-aq' pawor junti la, mam.

§12. Ti pax ayek' komam, ayek' kotxutx, axka ton chi yal komam señor Jesukristo, San Juan Zacarías, k'al kotxutx wirjen, masanil santos apostel, San Pedro chi jal xin, yin skawil yikisal

§13. Axka yet sti, axka yet spixan, yet komam jichmam b'ab'el mamej, b'ab'el txutxex, b'ab'el alkalte resador, maistro prinsipales.

§14. Axka heb' hinmam, hinkristo, heb' hintxutx, hinmero ánima kristiano, paxoqoneq, xewoqoneq, xolaq kopat, santos ánima kristiano b'ay chi jatax spixan heb', Dyos santo xa heb', yin skawil yikisal.

§15. Yet pax xajaw, ka stoj yin [3/4] kab' oxeb' k'u, kab' oxeb' aq'b'alil, yetoq axkati pax xin, toq tix pax sk'ul ixti xin, yuj Dyos ka chi jaloni, chi jab'eni ka chi wiloni.

§16. Chi jion el yib'an y ch'ajol pax junk'al k'u, yet ti7, yet oxeb' aq'b'alti7 ka ch'ajol junk'al k'u, yet ti7, yet oxeb' aq'b'alti ka ch'ajol pax junk'al k'u, yuj xan oxlajuneb' ab'il.....

§17. Hatati ch'okol ayilal yuj heb' naq yuj pasko

§18. Am yuj yab'il chi jalti nani xin, chi sjatnen naq..... kaqti pax oq kanoq, oq lajwoq pax ek' pasko ka chi lajwi, ka yujtu kan paxoq, pax paxoq, a q'in⁹¹ kamoq b'ijin kamoq yin kokawil jikisal

§19. Jantaq kob'ilk'ulal jantaq k'al tzet chinjatne7, ha sataq mam, iltonab' mam, ay Dyos kinchi axla. Toxa max waq' kanoq, xin cha ta7 kanoq, kawil jikisal yib'an jenel, jaxub'.

§20. Tzet xhi komam..... yin kawil, yin yikisal, yib'an spixan yet ordenansa, yetoq ton cham, hoq toq heb' konob', b'atxan xa k'u, oxlajuneb' skawinaq k'u..... [4|5]

§21. Ay Dyos hax yin sq'ab' yaqan wirjen

terior), for our heart.

§12. And here is our father, here is our mother. So speaks our Lord Jesus Christ, St John Zacharias, and our mother, the Virgin, all the holy apostles, St Peter it is to whom we speak, for his health and life:

§13. Just as there is his mouth, just as there is his heart, of our Lord, our ancestor, the first father, the first mother, the first *Alcalde Rezador*, the *Maestros Principales* (Masters, Dignitaries).

§14. As there are my fathers, my Christ, my mothers, my purely Christian soul, let us return, let us rest, in our huts, holy Christian souls, where are put into order their hearts, God, they are already Saints, for their health and life.

§15. When the month comes (the moon returns), then (he?) goes in (for?) 2, 3 days, 2, 3 nights, and so it is then; but here is not her stomach (her want), thank God, and we talk, we listen and I see.

§16. We carry it above and a unit of 20 (days) gets completed, here, in 3 nights, and a unit of 20 days gets completed, here, in 3 nights, and a unit of 20 days gets completed, because of the 13 years.....

§17. Here it is that your misfortune comes, because of them, because of the feast.

§18. As we now talk perhaps because of the illness, that he puts it into order..... just so it will be left, it will end, the *fiesta*, and it ends, and therefore it is finished, and the *fiesta*, it is finished, a little bit (=really) finished for our health, for our life.

§19. All our sorrow, whatsoever, I put into order, it is in front of the father, it shall be the father. 'Oh God', I say, just that. And I already gave it [in the confession or prayer], I received health and life for us above our shade giver, our roof.

§20. What says our Lord..... about the health and life, above the heart of the *Ordenanza*, and him, the people of the town will go, already upright is the day, 33 (?) days..... [4|5]

§21. Oh God, so is the hand, the foot (the

<p>María xin, skawil yikisal, yin kolob'ej juk'a7, chaq' jawal, xumak ayelteq ch'ib'oq.</p> <p>§22. Ch'an junoq jajan mamin..... naq wermano, ch'an wermano, yib'an spixan heb' wanab', heb' wuxhtaq, heb' [-2] hinb'ax, skawil yikisal</p> <p>§23. Yib'an spixan ix <u>Candelaria</u>, ix ánima naq hinb'ax <u>Juan</u> yetoq wuxhtaq.</p> <p>§24. K'al ch'en kotumin [hin]mam, hin- txutx, heb' naq hiej txikinej tu7, naq <u>Pascual Jesús</u> tu7, skawil yikisal naq, xan yujtu7 max watx'ji ay slugar naq b'ay ta7 ay skawil yikisal tu7, ton skawil yikisal yib'an spixan.</p> <p>§25. Oq yaq' k'al koq'ab' jaqan ix <u>Catari- na</u> yetoq sq'ab' yaqan, smoj spixan.</p> <p>§26. Man sleyail oq hon ok b'ay jues.</p> <p>§27. Ta chon oki chi jaloni, yin skawil sq'ab' yaqan ix <u>Micaela</u>, ch'an yib'an sq'ab' yaqan naq <u>Anton</u>, naq <u>Lucas</u> ti7</p> <p>§28. Ix <u>Candelaria</u> yetoq sq'ab' yaqan xin, ay skal, ay stxolil, ay stajb'ejil [5 6] tolab' yuj naq, tolab' k'am chi low naq, chi toj naq majan tx'otx', yetoq heb' ix ix, yetoq heb' ix yanab'.</p> <p>§29. Skawil yikisal, yib'an spixan naq <u>Juan</u>, naq <u>Juan</u> yetoq sq'ab' yaqan ix wanab', naq wal naq <u>Lucas</u> skawil yikisal heb'.</p> <p>§30. Naq justisia ti7, b'atxan yib'an spixan naq <u>Juan</u>, b'atxan yib'an spixan naq,</p> <p>§31. Ha nani xin ay jun smimank'ulalil, naq kurus asan ton sk'exel naq tu7, hulaqab' yaq' kan ix tu ayin</p> <p>§32. Ka oq spojon kan el naq smam naq polisia tu(,) mam, naq polisia tu xajan, yuj tol xol ak'un chi kojatne, tuxa max bet</p>	<p>child) of the Virgin Mary, (his/her) health and life, for our food, for our drink, may he (<i>or</i>: you) give (us) our maize (<i>or</i>: milpa), [where] flowers are blossoming.</p> <p>§22. One only kneels, Sir..... my brother, my brother, above the heart of my sisters, my brethren, my brothers-in-law, (their) life and health.</p> <p>§23. Above the heart of <u>Candelaria</u>, the female soul (deceased female person?), my brother-in-law <u>Juan</u> together with my brother.</p> <p>§24. And our money, (my) father, my mo- ther, the grandsons, the <u>Pascual Jesús</u>, life and health for him, therefore it became well, there is the terrain where there is life and health for him, there is life and health for him over his heart.</p> <p>§25. She will give it (<i>or</i>: she will follow [<i>Dicc. Akat.</i> 83]), our hand, our foot (child), <u>Catarina</u> with her hand and foot (=her child), her husband.</p> <p>§26. It is not the law on behalf of her that we appear in front of the judge (<i>Alcalde</i>).</p> <p>§27. If we do appear, as we say, for the health of her hand and foot (child) <u>Micae- la</u>, above the hand and foot of <u>Antonio</u>, of <u>Lucas</u>.</p> <p>§28. <u>Candelaria</u> and her hand and foot (child), there is her water to mix, her row, her drying [of maize?] [5 6]; it says, be- cause of him, it says, he does not eat it, he divides up the rented land (?), together with the women, with his sisters.</p> <p>§29. Life and health for him, above the heart of <u>Juan</u>, <u>Juan</u> together with the hand and foot of my sister, for him, <u>Lucas</u>, for their life and health.</p> <p>§30. The judgement, put above the heart of <u>Juan</u>, put above his heart.</p> <p>§31. Well, now there is pardon for it, the cross, it is only the replacement of it, visiting she left it with me.</p> <p>§32. And he will break off (create it), the father of the policeman, father, of the policeman, the godfather, because we put</p>
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hinq'an mimank'ulal yin, yaq tol chin
q'an k'apax mimanjk'ulal yin kurus
tx'otx, yin kawil, yikisal

§33. Ka oq yion ix skuenta y yin kawil
yikisal naq Juan y yin xow jun naq jus-
tisia, jun naq ilya⁷, naq kamich yib'an
naq, mak'al, mak'al hin, jun naq q'a⁷, jun
[6/7] naq sik, jun naq.....

§34. Tzet chi low yib'an spixan naq xin,
tom yuj ka oq yilon naq sieil, sataqil,
unin naq, ya⁷ay naq maj nachaj yuj naq,
maj txumchaj yuj naq.

§35. Ka chi yaq'on joder naq kolus
chon⁷etaxi, kawil jikisal yuj cham komam
kristo ti⁷.

§36. Ti nani xin tix ch'ok jun mimank'ul-
alil, por eso yet jun lanti⁷, yuj kotxutx kax
ti xin oqxa waq' pax sk'exel yin skawil
yikisal, yin naq, yin naq ko⁷ermano
Carlos, pues kab' oxeb' chi yute sb'a naq
smulnaji.

§37. Ix Juana uniko ch'an ix, kax ix María
López, xal ix ix ti⁷, ix unin ti⁷, ix jun
n(u)ej lean ti⁷, a⁷ ix max aq'on jun conse-
jo, a⁷ ix max aq'on jun mal consejo por
eso max yaq' kortar jun kostumbre, junti
pax xin max yaq' jun koxiwk'ulal ayxa
stumin jun jab'on sq'umal.

§38. Yin skawil yikisal yib'an sk'ul
spixan ix Petrona, yetoq sq'ab' yaqan
[7/8] y spixan, txajlan b'an, txajloqon.

§39. Tzetxan isaj hon b'ay reso, tzetxan
isaj hon b'ay San Juan

§40. Ka oq jikan jay sk'exel ix, yin skawil
yikisal yib'an spixan ch'an naq Domingo
... yib'an spixan k'ax ix Lucía Nolasco ix
yet Palin.

§41. Tolab' tol cha sik'teq, uk'tawal, ka
chik'ulal ⁹², yujab' tu ka(b') pilan, ox
pilan
sq'ab' yaqan naq wamigo xpax mamin,
naq q'an(w?)al, tom yal kopuchal.

it into order (arrange it) among the plants,
I already go in order to ask forgiveness for
it, for I also ask forgiveness for the cross
of the terrain, for (its?) life and health.

§33. And she will keep account, and for
the life and health of Juan, and for the
cover(let) of a Judgement, of an illness,
case of death above him or even me, a
fever, a cold.....

§34. What nags above his heart? For he
might still see his pain, his confrontation.
A child is he, a sick man, it could not be
thought, it could not be figured out by
him.

§35. And he messed up the [family] cross
[so that] we suffered. Our life and health
by means of our Lord, Christ.

§36. But now forgiveness enters here,
therefore, on this afternoon, by our mo-
ther. And I will already give its replace-
ment for his life and health, for him, for
our brother Carlos, for two or three
[days?] he could work for himself (?).

§37. Juana, she only, and María López,
the old lady, the daughter, she, the sister,
has time, she was it who gave advice, she
was it who gave bad advice. Therefore [it]
cut down a *costumbre*, but that made us
frightened. There was already money, that
was what we heard, bad criticism.

§38. For the life and health, above the sto-
mach and heart of Petrona, and her hand
and foot and heart, praying, while praying.

§39. Why are we lazy in prayers, why are
we lazy in San Juan?

§40. And we will leave her replacement
(?)⁹⁷, for the life and health, above the
heart of him, Domingo... and above the
heart of Lucía Nolasco, belonging to
Francisco.

§41. It says that you (receive it *or*:) take it
out, you actually drink (smoke) it, and the
peace (joy, friendliness), because of the
two, three persons, hand and foot of my
friend who came back, Sir, the man who
asked for (?), it is hardly our fault (*or*:
perhaps our fault will still speak).

§42. Ma tzetyuj ka chi yion el naq koq'ab' jaloni, tzunan winaq, ix tonab'i, kamich

axta ka chi meltzoj sq'ab' yaqan naq, axta man oq ok tukan yet ix unin,

naq Edmundo, axta manchaq yab' naq Mateo, naq Beto

§43. Saqto yib'an q'inal, manchaq ach xiwi axka junab'i, kab'ab'i, jun kamich, jun oq'il jun kusil, jun b'ilk'ulal.

§44. Manaq ta ch'uj wuj yetoq jun wamigo, yetoq ch'an junxa pilan sq'ab' ti yaqan naq *mijito*⁹³ ti7 y ix ch'an junxa watx' yili k'ax [8/9] tolab' watx' yili k'ax juntu, tolab' sowre watx' yet yin chik'ulal, yin watx'k'ulal, ma oxej lan ma oxej, ma huqub'ix.

§45. Nani xin tol oq heyaq' jun ayuda, ayta jun kab'tial, jun b'ilk'ulal.

§46. Ha jet mam tol ch'an woqan tz'uqan heb' naq koq'ab' kaqtanil, tol ch'an chin tz'un hinpixon, yetzan ta7 jab'oq.

§47. Axka wet, ilab' wet tol ch'in7eli, tol chin7ok yin waj ordenansa chin7eli chin7ok yin b'ay heb' komam alkalde, chin7eli chin7ok yetoq komam ordenansa, manxak'al puchal ka chach hinb'eqon kanoq.

§48. K'amaq puch aq'eq wal puch mimank'ulal, tatol oq kolajb'ane7, ta yet jun watan yin skawil yikisal, yet koq'ab' yaqan, axkak'al smoj hinpixon, axka k'al ta7 smoj hinpixon wanima.

§49. Ha yuj juntu ka chinkol hinpixon, ojala junti chi skol hinpixon ayta naq ilya7,

§42. Or why does he carry it away, our hand, as we say? A minor male, female person, listen, a case of death finally, maybe, and his hand, his foot (his child) returns, possibly he will not watch (*or*: he will not set himself to wait for) that of the daughter secretly, he, Edmundo; finally Mateo, Beto may not listen (*or*: feel pain, suffer).

§43. The surface of the earth is still white, don't be afraid, as [it was] one, two years ago, a case of death, tears, sadness, worry.

§44. Well, it will be possible by me with a friend of mine, and another hand and foot (child) of a son of mine and she is also another one looking beautiful [8/9] it says, this one is also beautiful looking, it says better is that of [hers/his?], with regard to peace (happiness, friendliness), to good health, maybe in three days, in the afternoon, maybe in three days, maybe in seven days.

§45. Well, now, you (*pl.*) shall help, be careful that there is no uttered mistrust, no worry.

§46. With regard to our things (possessions?), Sir, our male hands (sons) are sitting and are upright in quarrel (?), it is the case that I sow my heart (found a new household for it), it is a bit calm.

§47. And that of mine, look, what concerns me, it is the case that I leave, that I enter the united *Ordenanza*, I leave, I enter the place of our Lords, the *Alcaldes*, I leave, I enter with our Lord, the *Ordenanza*, much, many, and I let you free (*or*: I leave you).

§48. No, concede much (profound) forgiveness, if we will compare (=compensate?), if it is on *I Watan*, for the life and health, for our hand and foot, and in the same way for my wife, in the same way my wife.

§49. And therefore I help (rescue, empty) my heart, hopefully it will be that which helps my heart, that there may be no illness, that there may be no death, end, that

<p>ayta naq kamich lajwi[1], ayta naq oq'il kusil, ayta naq preso, ayta naq [9/10] multa, naq b'ilk'ulal, ayta naq k'ex winaqil, ayta ab'ix xala(.) xab'e7, xaon7ok yin hapixan.</p> <p>§50. Tix ton ch'an jab' komub' ti7, jason ti7. §51. Ha heb' ch'an chi kocheq yalb'anil, sq'ab' yaqan komam usluk' mulu, lajkaw oxlajun b'atz' ti7, kamtu ch'an max yun axka ti... §52. K'am skab' ch'alon hak'ul yin skawil yikisal, yin swatx'il hak'ul.</p> <p>§53. Yaq' talaj kamich lajwi[1] kan... yin kokawil, yet uqub'ix xin la yamta yuj b'il-k'ulal, b'aytal xkocha ix §54. Yamta xin mam aq'eq jun miman-k'ulal yib'an kok'ul k'apax ta7 xin, yin skawil yikisal yuj ch'en tumin ix <u>Malin</u>... §55. Ay Dyos choq yaq' pawor junta xin mam, yamita ay max illay ta7 jab'oq, yamita ayxa hab'ilk'ulalil, hawatx'iloq, tojoloq, chik'ulaloq.</p> <p>§56. Tita7 ay, tita7 k'am, ti chi wakan⁹⁴ yul haq'ab' [10/11] k'apaxaq⁹⁵, ay mam Dyos... hinq'an hintzub' xin ha7 qin teye7eloq.</p>	<p>there may be no tears, no sadness, that there may be no prison, no punishment, worry, that there may be no change of manhood, that there may be no bad rumor which you told, which you heard, which you caused to enter your heart.</p> <p>§50. Here are then some smoke (copal) of us, clouds of us. §51. These are those whom we request, so to speak, the hands and feet of our father <i>11 Mulu7, 12, 13 B'atz'</i>, and perhaps it happened thus... §52. It is not double (twice) that your interior speaks for (his/her/its; your?) life and health, for your health (amiability). §53. Perhaps it gives death, final end... for our health, in 7 days, there, perhaps through worries where we received her. §54. Perhaps then, Sir, concede forgiveness above our interior, and for her life and health, because of <u>María's</u> money... §55. Oh God, may he (=you?) do me that (?) favor⁹⁸, Sir, perhaps there is something which had to be cared for, perhaps there was already your worry, as your goodness, as [your] value (firmness), as [your] peace (happiness, friendliness). §56. It might happen, it might not happen. And here I am leaving it in your hand, oh God, Lord... I ask, I smoke (<i>or</i>: I drink aguardiente), that is what I am asking for.</p>
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Commentary:

Note: The transcription of the cassette (#21A) has not been checked. This prayer took place on June 16, 1981, in Don Mateo's deserted house in the village of Jolomhuitz. [Tuesday, June 16, 1981 = 11 Mulu7 in the 260-day calendar].

*Comprehension suffers from the insufficient determination of the different relational references within the prayer. The **names** refer to Don Mateo's relatives, in terms of sons, daughters, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law, and grandchildren, wife and siblings.*

*There seem to be **direct and indirect addressees** in the prayer. One direct addressee is **God**, but there are others, e.g. the **Calendar Day**. Indirect addressees might be '**Don Matías**' and '**Don Martín**', **Jesus Christ**, and several **apostles** (e.g. St. John, St. Peter), the **first 'Alcalde Rezador (religious mayor)'**. The direct addressee in the 2nd person singular remains obscure ('your misfortune').*

The **benefited** persons, specified by name, involve relatives of the diviner. General or more specified **blessings** are spelled out. See, for instance, §24 or 29 (“life and health for– [name], above the heart of– [name]”). References to children or partners are possible (“her hand and foot”, “her husband”).

The **topics** are easily recognizable:

(a) **Money:** “(it is) our money, only because of our money (is there) our prayer in front of the ordenanza”; “because of María’s money...”

(b) **Bad advice:** “...she was the person who gave bad advice, therefore [it] cut down a costumbre, but that made us frightened, there was already money, that was what we heard, bad criticism”. The woman referred to is obviously the diviner’s wife.

(c) **Cross of family or terrain:** This seems to be the crucial issue. Details are not specified. Cf “And he messed up the [family] cross [so that] we suffered, our life and health by means of our Lord, Christ. §36. But now forgiveness enters here...” It seems that a replacement for the cross has been made (‘naq kurus asan ton sk’exel naq tu7’; kurus = ‘cross’, naq = noun classifier; k’exel = ‘replacement’, probably not as a kinship term but as a token).

(d) **Asking for forgiveness:** This seems to be the central goal of the prayer. The request includes the diviner’s wife.

(e) The central episode seems to be contained in the following paragraph (§30f.): “The judgement, put above the heart of Juan, put above his heart, Well, now there is pardon for it, the **cross**, it is only the **replacement** of it, **visiting** she left it with me. And he will break off, the father of the policeman, [his?] father, of the policeman, the godfather <this obviously does not refer to the illness>, because we arrange it among the plants, I already go in order to ask forgiveness for it, for I also ask forgiveness for it, the **cross of the terrain**, for its life and health. And she will keep account, and for the life and health of Juan, and for the cover(let) of a judgement, of an illness <i.e. a chamarra or poncho to cover the ‘Lord of Illness’ respectfully; cf Ch. 1.5 & Hinz 1991/I:60f>, case of death above him or even me, a fever, a cold... what does it nag above his heart? For he might still see his pain, his confrontation, the son, the sick man...” The person referred to might have been Don Mateo’s brother-in-law (§23).

The topics of money and (family) cross possibly cross-refers us to the “confession”, or rather, open declaration observed on June 11, 1981, in the diviner’s house in S. J. Ixcoy (town). Cf the keywords “quetzales” and “cruz”. The prayer or open declaration on the same day of June 16, 1981, in Jolomhuitz in the house of Don Mateo’s son, involving Don Mateo’s son and daughter-in-law, might refer to similar problems. §§25/27: cf Ch. 9.3 (Divination 4a-4d).

Appendix VI

National Census 1981: sociodemographic data

Excerpt from the “Censo de la Población de la República de Guatemala 1981” for the *municipios* of San Juan Ixcoy and San Pedro Soloma (**houses** [*Particular* = ‘private’; *Ocupado* = ‘occupied’; *Desocupado* = ‘unoccupied’; *Colectivo* = ‘collective, joint’] and their features, such as connections to water [*Agua*], drainage [*Drenaje*], electricity [*Energía eléctrica*]):

1. Locales = Houses	<i>S. J. Ixcoy</i>	<i>S. P. Soloma</i>
Total	2,272	3,829
Particulares	2,271	3,825
– Ocupados	1,674	3,284
– Desocupados	597	541
Colectivos	1	4
1.1 con instalación a red de	<i>S. J. Ixcoy</i>	<i>S. P. Soloma</i>
Agua	160	429
Drenaje	20	61
Energía eléctrica	30	322

The *trend* towards a high number of *unoccupied houses* as recorded for San Juan Ixcoy should be compared with the following statistics for Q’anjob’al- or Akateko-speaking townships (*municipios*), especially in Santa Eulalia:

Locales = Houses	<i>Santa Eulalia</i>	<i>Santa Cruz de Barillas</i>	<i>San Miguel Acatán</i>
Total	3,643	7,220	3,262
Particulares	3,639	7,216	3,260
- Ocupados	2,699	5,775	2,737
- Desocupados	940	1,441	523
Colectivos	4	4	2
Grupo étnico			
Indígena	15,061	26,107	16,174
No indígena	215	6,610	139
Ignorado	0	17	8
Pobl. Total	15,276	32,734	16,321

As for data on the ethnic groups (*Grupo étnico*) in San Juan Ixcoy and San Pedro Soloma, see 3.2 below.

The following excerpt covers **households** (defined as ‘occupied + collective houses’) and various of their features (2.1 = water, 2.2. = toilets, 2.3 = electricity, 2.4 = kitchens, 2.5. = type of property) in San Juan Ixcoy and San Pedro Soloma:

2. Hogares = Households	<i>S. J. Ixcoy</i>	<i>S. P. Soloma</i>
Total	1,675	3,311

2.1 Servicio de agua	<i>S. J. Ixcoy</i>	<i>S. P. Soloma</i>
Chorro de uso exclusivo	334	350
Chorro para varios lugares	27	83
Chorro público	53	425
Pozo	1,050	382
Río, lago o manantial	177	2,032
Otro	39	39
2.2 Servicio sanitario	<i>S. J. Ixcoy</i>	<i>S. P. Soloma</i>
Inodoro	22	95
Conectado a red de captación	20	63
– De uso exclusivo	20	56
– Para varios hogares	0	7
Conectado a pozo séptico	2	63
– De uso exclusivo	0	56
– Para varios hogares	2	7
Excusado lavable	133	53
Pozo ciego de letrina	238	660
No tiene	1,282	2,503
2.3 Servicio de alumbrado	<i>S. J. Ixcoy</i>	<i>S. P. Soloma</i>
Eléctrico de servicio público	30	325
Eléctrico de servicio privado	0	3
Gas, gasolina	1,100	2,221
Candela	54	443
Otro	491	319
2.4 Cuarto de cocina	<i>S. J. Ixcoy</i>	<i>S. P. Soloma</i>
Para uso exclusivo del hogar	123	1,834
Para uso de varios hogares	5	22
No dispone	1,547	1,455
2.5 Regimen de tenencia del local que ocupa el hogar	<i>S. J. Ixcoy</i>	<i>S. P. Soloma</i>
Propio	1,285	3,001
Pagado totalmente	1,284	2,997
Pagándose a plazos	1	4
Alquilado	10	41
Cedido	294	179
Otra forma	86	90

The **population** in San Juan Ixcoy and San Pedro Soloma is categorized as follows: the *urban* (town) vs. *rural* (villages and hamlets) populations. *Hombres* = ‘men’, *Mujeres* = ‘women’, *Total* = ‘total’.

3. Población = Population			
	Total	Urbano	Rural

	<i>Ixcoy</i>	<i>Soloma</i>	<i>Ixcoy</i>	<i>Soloma</i>	<i>Ixcoy</i>	<i>Soloma</i>
TOTAL	9,466	18,126	895	2,975	8,571	15,151
Hombres	4,786	9,068	458	1,445	4,328	7,623
Mujeres	4,680	9,058	437	1,530	4,243	7,528

	Total		Hombres	
	<i>S.P. Soloma</i>	<i>S.J. Ixcoy</i>	<i>S.P. Soloma</i>	<i>S.J. Ixcoy</i>
3.1 Estado civil	<i>S.P. Soloma</i>	<i>S.J. Ixcoy</i>	<i>S.P. Soloma</i>	<i>S.J. Ixcoy</i>
Casado	3,530	701	1,750	350
Unido	3,720	2,882	1,831	1,440
Soltero	10,302	5,508	5,384	2,915
Viudo	469	292	73	68
Divorciado o separado	72	72	10	9
Ignorado	33	11	20	4
3.2 Grupo étnico	<i>S.P. Soloma</i>	<i>S.J. Ixcoy</i>	<i>S.P. Soloma</i>	<i>S.J. Ixcoy</i>
Indígena	16,937	8,821	8,485	4,461
No indígena	1,182	645	579	325
Ignorado	7	0	4	0
3.3 Alfabetismo	<i>S.P. Soloma</i>	<i>S.J. Ixcoy</i>	<i>S.P. Soloma</i>	<i>S.J. Ixcoy</i>
Alfabeta	3,626	2,155	2,540	1,588
Analfabeta	9,410	4,659	3,986	1,865
Ignorado	101	44	42	19
3.4 Actividad económica	<i>S.P. Soloma</i>	<i>S.J. Ixcoy</i>	<i>S.P. Soloma</i>	<i>S.J. Ixcoy</i>
Económicamente activa	4,566	2,604	4,369	2,506
– Ocupada		2,604		2,506
– Desocupada	21	0	19	0
No económicamente activa	6,747	3,384	1,219	527
Ignorada	188	71	137	52
3.5 Grupos de edad	<i>S.P. Soloma</i>	<i>S.J. Ixcoy</i>	<i>S.P. Soloma</i>	<i>S.J. Ixcoy</i>
0 – 4	3,604	1,854	1,779	930
5 – 9	3,021	1,553	1,564	771
10 – 14	2,159	1,140	1,145	585
15 – 19	1,657	902	764	464
20 y más	7,685	4,017	3,815	2,036

[*Estado civil* = ‘civil status’, cf Ch. D.6.3; *Grupo étnico* = ‘ethnic group’ (*Indígena* = ‘Indigenous’ vs. *No indígena* = ‘Non-indigenous’ vs. *Ignorado* = ‘unknown’); *Alfabetismo* = ‘literacy’ (*Alfabeta* = ‘literate’ vs. *Analfabeta* = ‘illiterate’); *Actividad económica* = ‘economic activity’ (*Económicamente activa* = ‘economically active’ <*Ocupada* = ‘employed’ vs. *Desocupada* = ‘unemployed’> vs. *No económicamente activa* = ‘economically inactive’ vs. *Ignorada* = ‘unknown’; *Grupos de edad* = ‘age groups’]

The following statistics detail features of the youth (= 1st line = 10 and more yrs of age and 2nd line = 7 and more yrs of age) and of women at an age of childbearing capability (= 3rd line = 15 and more yrs of age):

Población = Population	<i>S.J. Ixcoy</i>	<i>S.P. Soloma</i>
Total de 10 años y más = 1 st line	6,059	11,501
Total de 7 años y más = 2 nd line	6,858	13,137
Femenina de 15 años y más = 3 rd line	2,419	4,763

Note: In general, Points 3.1, 3.2 and 3.5 above refer to the whole population. Point 3.3 refers to the population labeled ‘Total de 7 años y más’. Point 3.4 refers to the population labeled ‘10 años y más’; significant cases of child labor may be covered.

Demographic supplement:

tabulation of the *Births and Deaths* of San Juan Ixcoy since 1900

Note: The tabulation below is an excerpt of documents from the town archives which was burned up in 1982. *Pueblo* = Town (urban area) of S.J. Ixcoy, *Aldea* = village; *Popul.* = summed population. The ‘1950 male/female cells of *Popul.*’ represent Indians; *Sum includes 2 male, 4 female Ladinos. The leftmost column represents the years for which the data are recorded. Roman numbers mark months covered in the statistics.

Births	<i>Pueblo</i>		<i>Aldea</i>		<i>Popul.</i>		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Sum
1900 / I-IX					38	30	68
1910 / I-XII					52	49	101
1920 / I-X					42	31	73
1930 / I-XII					41	40	81
1940 / I-XII					83	65	148
1950 / I-XI					142	105	*253
1960 / I-XII	20	13	154	120			307
1970	31	26	235	235			527
1975	15	27	213	175			430
1976	31	28	220	229			508
1977	25	27	257	242			551
1978	20	15	286	273			594
1979	25	20	273	257			575
1980	24	33	299	301			657

Deaths

Sex

1900 (II-XII)				34	52	86
1910				36	35	71
1920				19	17	36
1930				36	37	73
1940				42	22	64
1950				70	55	125
1960	27	19		55	40	141
1970	24	16		92	69	201
1975				102	91	193
1976				96	78	174
1977				82	78	160
1978				74	81	155
1979				79	74	153
1980	7	13	69	54		143

Appendix VII

Territorial units of the townships of S. J. Ixcoy and S. P. Soloma

VII.a *Aldeas* and *caseríos* of the township of San Juan Ixcoy

ALDEA	CASERÍO			
<i>Quisil</i>	Tajal	El Marinero	Yaxeu	Puente Quemado
<i>Canchiku</i>	Pinú	Canjá	Xacal	Yulchecán
<i>Chanchócal</i>	Tejquiá	Ocheval	Quinini	Bella Vista
<i>Xopacal</i>	Onnil Chenguay	Yulxaclá San Francisco	Nenajab	Majbalpotz
<i>Pie de la Cuesta</i>	Pann Tzibaj	Tiochó Salchej	Yulcú	Quixtaj
<i>Yajaucú</i>	Signub Titenam	Chabilá Yejudcapé	Chebal	Conobayul
<i>La Brisa</i>	Mixlaj Captzin	Xichalé Chamchén	Poxlac	Sacchó
<i>Sacan</i>	Ichji Chitamil	Ixqu sí Candelaria	Petlac	Tichacan
<i>Jolomhuitz</i>	Tixap Xeiché	Xobilá Chujbal	Tochó Yaxcol	Yaxanil
<i>Tocal</i>	Jolotes Pepajau	Ixyojem	Yulhuitz	El Rodeo
FINCAS				
Pie de la Cuesta	Póx' lac Ya Brisa	Yulhuitz Jolotes	Jolomhuitz	Jolomxac
COMUNIDAD AGRARIA				
Yulcanjú o Muxola				

The township of S.J. Ixcoy is listed in terms of villages (*aldeas*) and corresponding hamlets (*caserío*). Source: Website S.J. Ixcoy 2005 [uncorrected].

VII.b *Aldeas* and *caseríos* of the township of San Pedro Soloma

1 Soloma (P)	14 LaFloresta(C)	26 Jolomcú (A)	(A)	50 Yinjom (A)
2 Bacaú (A)	15 Gelná (A)	27 Jolomquel (C)	38 Quekchil (C)	51 Yinxul (C)
3 Becagûich (A)	16 Gemá (A)	28 Kacpujpujá	39 Saliclac (C)	52 Yulá (A)
4 Buena Vista(A)	17 Guacamboy	(A)	40 Salitre (C)	53 Yulá Ixtiquix
5 Cantel(A)	(C)	29 Majchá (A)	41 San Felipe (C)	(C)
6 Crinolina (A)	18 Ixlahuitz (A)	30 Mimanhuitz	42 San Francisco	54 Yulasunil (A)
7 Chibal (C)	19 Ixnanconop	(A)	(A)	55 Yulchem (A)
8 Chitamil (C)	(A)	31 Moclil (C)	43 Suyil (A)	56 Yulcú (A)
9 Chochap (C)	20 Ixquep (C)	32 Najap (A)	44 Suyilito (A)	57 Yulguayul (C)
10 Chonó (C)	21 Ixtenam (A)	33 Nenajap (C)	45 Tajlac (A)	58 Yulhuitz (A)
11 Chuxjil (A)	22 Ixtiapoc (A)	34 Pajaltac (A)	46 Ucpí (A)	59 Yulichal (A)
12 Coxol (C)	23 Ixtichacán (A)	35 Poquín (A)	47 Yacxap (A)	60 Wajbal (C)
13 La Esperanza	24 Ixtiquix (A)	36 Poxlac (C)	48 Yaxanlac (A)	
(F)	25 Jolomac (C)	37 Pueblo nuevo	49 Yincú (A)	

For San Pedro Soloma, villages and hamlets are listed alphabetically: Source: Website Infopressca 2007 [uncorrected]. P = Pueblo; A = Aldea; C = Caserío; F = Finca.

Appendix VIII

Economic Microcensus, San Juan Ixcoy, 1981

The following Economic Microcensus is an opportunistic one. The sample consists in 15 household heads (in S. J. Ixcoy) who were the personal acquaintances of my Q'anjob'al consultant. These household heads were interviewed by my consultant who used a questionnaire elaborated by me in Spanish (and Q'anjob'al) and translated, or rather corrected by himself (see App. IX for the Q'anjob'al text and the English version). See *Notes* at the end of the tables.— McCreery (1994:273) refers to one of the reasons for interethnic quarrel, litigation or physical aggression between (Q'anjob'al) Maya Indians and Ladinos: "...the common tasks of cleaning and weeding [on the plantations] were undertaken by *cuerda* measurement, which could mean any one of at least half a dozen different-sized 'cuerdas' depending on the region..."

Consistency of land measure equivalents reported: McCreery 1994:418f: "*Cuerda*: Measure of land area that in Guatemala varies from 18x18 *varas* (Spanish yards) to 50x50 *varas* depending upon the region and local custom... *Manzana*: Measure of land area equal to approximately 1.7 acres; one *caballería* equals approximately 66 manzanas... *Caballería*: Area of land equal to approximately 112 acres." 1 *acre* = 4047m², in the USA & UK (Merriam-Webster). Cf Colby & van den Berghe 1968:189 ["Ixil country", University of California Press] and in contrast Colby & Colby 1981:297, for the Ixil area.

My consultant Andrés Pablo Escobar (e-mail, 30/VIII/2007) for *San Juan Ixcoy*: "*cuerda*: tiene 625 varas cuadradas (1 vara ≈ 84cm)"; 1 *cuerda* ≈ 440m². Accordingly, 20 *cuerdas* ≈ 8,800m².

ID	I	Pueblo (0/1)	II	Age	III	Grade	IV	Dependents	V	Domestic Group	VI.1	Member 1	VI.2	Member 2	VI.3	Member 3	VI.4	Member 4	1	Area	2	Use/yrs.
1	1	0	36	0	7	7	7	7	7	H(usband)	W(ife)	C(hild)	20	8								
2	0	32	0	7	7	7	7	7	7	H	W	C	20	12								
3	1	27	0	5	5	5	5	5	5	H	W	C	20	10								
4	1	36	3	7	7	7	7	7	7	H	W	C	10	10								
5	1	32	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	H	W	C	10	10								
6	1	35	0	6	6	6	6	6	6	H	W	C	20	15								
7	0	42	0	[7]8	8	8	8	8	8	H	W	C	22	10								
8	1	35	2	7	7	7	7	7	7	H	W	C	24	10								
9	0	26	0	5	5	5	5	5	5	H	W	C	20	10								
10	0	25	0	5	5	5	5	5	5	H	W	C	10	10								
11	0	27	0	[4]5	5	5	5	5	5	H	W	C	15	10								
12	1	45	3	10	10	10	10	10	10	H	W	C	30	12								
13	1	33	4	6	6	6	6	6	6	H	W	C	20	10								
14	1	45	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	H	W	C	12	10								
15	1	33	2	[7]8	8	8	8	8	8	H	W	C	20	12								

ID	Fallow/yrs.	3	4a	Crop 1	4b	Area 1	4c	Yield 1	4c'	Measure 1	4a	Crop 2	4b	Area 2	4c	Yield 2	4c'	Measure 2
1	6	Maize	20	25	quintal	Potato	12	quintal										
2	10	Maize	20	20	quintal	Potato	8	quintal										
3	Unknown ["since I till the field no fallow"]	Maize	10	30	quintal		10	quintal										
4	12	Maize	10	10	quintal			quintal										
5	12	Maize	10	20	quintal			quintal										
6	Shift between wheat & maize	Maize	20	25	quintal			quintal										
7	7	Maize	22	30	quintal	Potato		quintal										
8	12	Maize	18	25	quintal	Potato		quintal										
9	7	Maize	20	25	quintal	Potato	10	quintal										
10	8	Maize	10	10	quintal	Potato		quintal										
11	8	Maize	15	25	quintal	Potato		quintal										
12	7	Maize	20	30	quintal	Potato		quintal										
13	7	Maize	20	25	quintal	Potato		quintal										
14	10	Maize	12	20	quintal	Potato		quintal										
15	10	Maize	20	25	quintal	Potato		quintal										

4a	4c	4c'	4a	4c	4c'	4a	4b'	4c	4c'	4a
ID Crop 3	Yield 3	Measure 3	Crop 4	Yield 4	Measure 4	Crop 5	Area 5	Yield 5	Measure 5	Crop 6
1 Black beans	4	quintal	Chilacayotes	60	Fruit	Wheat				
2 Black beans	1	quintal	Chilacayotes	50	Fruit					Herbs
3 Black beans	2	quintal	Chilacayotes	60	Fruit					
4 Black beans	4	quintal								
5 Black beans	3	quintal								
6 Black beans	3	quintal				Wheat	10	10	quintal	
7 Black beans	3	quintal				Wheat	10	15	quintal	
8 Black beans	3	quintal	Chilacayotes	22	Fruit	Wheat	3	6	quintal	
9 Black beans	2	quintal	Chilacayotes	50	Fruit					
10 Black beans	2	quintal	Chilacayotes	20	Fruit					
11 Black beans	5	quintal								
12 Black beans	4	quintal	Chilacayotes	42	Fruit	Wheat	10	10	quintal	
13 Black beans	4	quintal								
14 Black beans	4	quintal				Wheat	12	10	quintal	
15 Black beans	2	quintal								
5			6a		6b		6c		6d	
Preferences	ID	PrefMaize	PrefBean	PrefChilli	PrefCalabaza	ID	6e			
All things equal	1	If rain much maize	No	Not the case	Not very much	1	Potatoes			
Depends on year	2	Better year: much maize	Better not		Better not	2	see next			
All things equal if proper care	3	PrefMaize	Not very much	Not worthwhile	Not worthwhile	3	page, last			
Maize & apples	4	PrefMaize				4	column			
Maize & apples	5	PrefMaize	Nearly nothing			5				
Depends on care	6	PrefMaize	Not very much			6				
Uncalculable	7	PrefMaize	Not very much			7				
All things equal with proper care	8	PrefMaize	More maize		Not very much	8				
Maize & potatoes	9	PrefMaize	Nearly nothing		Nearly nothing	9				
Maize	10	PrefMaize				10				
PrefMaize	11	PrefMaize if dry	No		Nearly nothing	11				
Depends on care	12	PrefMaize	No preference			12				
Maize	13	PrefMaize	No information			13				
Depends on the year	14	PrefMaize	No information			14				
Depends on the year	15	PrefMaize	No preference			15				

7	Disadvantage <i>Depends upon the year</i> Depends on the year Depends on the season, Summer/winter Depends on cultivation No disadvantage with fertilizer Depends upon possible disease Depends upon year Depends upon season, summer/winter Depends upon the year Depends upon the year Depends upon the year Depends upon the year Depends upon care Depends upon year Depends upon the year	8a DisadvMaize <i>If no rain don't sow much maize</i> If dry year, don't sow much maize Without rain to dry in the <i>pueblo</i> , reversed in the <i>aldea</i> More maize Preference: much maize Depends upon fertilizer If dry heat in the village, much maize If dry not very much Not much in the rainy season Not much with strong rain Maize no disadvantage If no rain don't sow much maize Without rain no yields Without rain disadvantage	6e Potatoes 1 With rain high yields 2 Great sowing if diligent 3 Not worthwhile 4 Potatoes 5 6 7 Not much 8 9 Great sowing if dryness 10 11 Pref for potatoes possible 12 13 14 15 No sowing		
8b	DisadvBean If dry don't sow much Better not Without rain not enough yield More beans Beans Depends upon fertilizer As 8a If rain season too late, parasites Don't sow much As 8a No disadvantage If rain season too late, parasites (Disadvantage?) beans Same as 8a	8c DisadvChilli no disadvantage as 8a as 8a ?, no chilli	8d DisadvCalab Better not to sow Better not to sow 0, not enough If dry not enough Not much as 8a Not much 0, not enough	8e DisadvPotato If dry More than others Without rain not enough yield If dry sow a little Preference for potatoes as 8a Great sowing	9 Work/days ID 180 1 180 2 120 3 180 4 165 5 210 6 225 7 210 8 180 9 180 10 180 11 180 12 210 13 150 14 150 15

9a	9b	9c	9d	9e	9f	ID
1a	2a	Desgranamiento de la semilla	Siembra	Resiembra	1a Limpieza	
Volteada de terreno con llano	Volteada					
30	30	5	5	10	30	1
30	20	1	7	2	30	2
60	20	1	1	2	15	3
30	30	2	4	7	20	4
30	30	2	3	7	20	5
30	30	0	7	7	30	6
30	30	7	7	5	30	7
15	30	2	7	14	30	8
30	20	2	10	10	30	9
30	30	2	10	12	30	10
60	20	2	3	7	20	11
30	30	5	7	30	10	12
30	30	5	4	20	30	13
30	30	2	7	7	20	14
30	30	2	7	7	20	14
30	30	2	7	7	20	15
9g	9h	9i	10a	10b	10c	11
2a Limpieza	Cosecha	Other work	Number/Helpers	H. paid (0/1)	Amount Q=\$	Served as helper himself
20	20	no	10	1	50	1
30	30	no	3	1	40	2
15	10	no	0	0	0	3
7	7	no	4	1	45	4
10	7	no	3	1	35	5
25	20	no	4	1	50	6
30	20	no	0	0	0	7
30	20	no	7	1	60 altogether	8
30	20	no	4	1	40 altogether	9
30	20	no	4	1	70	10
20	7	no	4	1	15	11
20	20	no	5	1	75 altogether	12
20	20	no	3	1	60	13
7	20	no	3	1	50	14
20	7	no	5	1	35 altogether	15

11a	11b	11c	12	13a	13b	13c	13d	13d'	ID
Help/days	Help paid (0/1)	Amount	Work with F,S (0/1)	Maize sale	Beans sale	Chilli sale	Potato sale	Earnings	
30	1	25	0	0	0	0	6	30	1
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
20	1	30	1	0	0	0	7	35	3
30	1	35	1	0	0	0	0		4
30	1	30	1	0	0	0	0		5
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	12	32	6
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		7
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		8
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	9
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	10
20	1	25	1	0	2	0	8		11
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	12
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	13
60	1	35	1	0	0	0	0		14
75	1	45	1	0	0	0	0		15

13e	13e'	13f	13f''	14a	14b	14c	14d	ID
Chilacayote	Earnings	Wheat sale	Earnings	Maize buys	Bean buys	Chilli buys	Potato buys	
30	15			0	0		0	1
0	0			13	0		0	2
40	20			4	0	0	0	3
0				3	0	0	2	4
				2	0		1	5
				4	0		0.5	6
				0	0	30	0	7
				0	0	30	1	8
0	0			5	0		0	9
0	0			5	0		0	10
				0	0		0	11
				0	0		0	12
20				0	0		0	13
		12	144	2	0		1	14
				0	0		2	15

ID	Costs	14e Chilacay buys	Costs	15 Property (0/1)	16 Rented (0/1)	17 Costs	18 Fallow/cuerda	19 Extra income	19b Duration/days		
1	0			1	0	0	30	Finca work	150		
2	0			1	0	0	30	Sheep sale	0		
3	0			1	0	0	0	Finca work	150		
4				1	0	0	0	Apple sale			
5				1	0	0	0	Finca work			
6				1			0	Sellings			
7	0		0	1	0	0	0	Finca work	60		
8	0		0	1		0	0	Shop work			
9	0		0	1	0	0	15	Finca work	120		
10	0		0	1	0	0	5	Finca work	120		
11				1	0	0	20	Finca work	150		
12	0		0	1	0	0	0	Shop work			
13	0		0	1	0	0	0	Finca work			
14				1	0	0	0	Finca work	? 0		
15	8			1	0	0	0	Finca work			
19c	Earnings	20	20a		21a	21b	21b/I	21b/II	21c	21d	ID
		Other business	Earnings		Pig (big/small)(0/1)	Chicken	Fodder	Costs	Cow	Goat/Sheep	
150		0	0		0	10	Maize	27,5	0	0	1
		0	0		0	10	Maize		0	35	2
300		0	0		0	10	Maize	20	0	20	3
		Pharmacy	150		0	0	0	0	0	0	4
		Shop	250		0	0	0	0	0	0	5
250		Shop	250		0	32	Maize	36	0	25	6
250		0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	7
425		Shop			0	10	Maize	20	0	0	8
200		0	0		0	20	Maize	36	0	20	9
200		0	0		0	10	Maize	24	0	0	10
150		0	0		0	10	Maize	20	0	35	11
300		Shop	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	12
		0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	13
150		0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	14
350	atlog.	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	15

21d/I	21d/II	21e	22a	22a/I	22a/II	22a/III	22a/IV	22b	ID
Fodder	Costs	Other animals	Apple trees	Yield	Area	Earning	Costs	Peach or other trees (0/1)	
0	0	0	1	0	5			0	1
Grass	0	0	1	0				0	2
Grass	0	0	1	0	5		200	0	3
0	0	0	1	20	10	240		0	4
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
0	0	0	1	0	4		325	0	6
Grass	0	0	1	0	2	0		0	7
0	0	0	1	0				0	8
Grass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Grass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
0	0	0	1	0				0	12
0	0	0	1	0	7	0	325	0	13
0	0	0	1	0	4	0		0	14
0	0	0	1	5	2	60		0	15

Notes: As the National Census of the Republic of Guatemala, taken in April, 1981, does not contain information on household composition, land plot size, economic income, private labor costs, yields/gains, crops and individual cropping strategies, etc., this microcensus is valuable though it is not representative.

Category numbers in the uppermost line of the census correspond, in general, to the question numbers in the questionnaire. Household members are: H = husband, W = wife, C = child; F = father, M = mother. Land is measured in *cuerdas* (20 *cuerdas* = approx. 8,800m²). Maize, beans, wheat, and probably potatoes as well as apples are counted in *quintales* (1 *quintal* = 100 *libras*; 1 *libra* = 453g). *Calabazas* and *chilacayotes*, and probably chili and *guisquiles* are counted per fruit. Earnings and costs are in *quetzales* = US-\$ (in 1981).

In some cases, income gained by finca work obviously involves several family members. ID refers to the number of the household which is repeated in each table. Category IV and V are rarely differentiated in the answers. Wheat is added to the questionnaire. For 13b (ID=11) there are no earnings recorded.

Appendix IX

Questionnaire for the Economic Microcensus, S. J. Ixcoy, 1981

1. Information about the informant

I. *Where do you live? (B'aytal kajan ach?)*

II. *How old are you? (Jantaq ab'il achi?)*

III. *How many grades did you complete in school? (Jayeb' grado max elteq xol eskwela?)*

IV. *How many persons do you support (feed)? (Jantaq ánima cha lotze?)*

V. *How many persons are living in your house? (Jantaq ánima kajan b'ay ana?)*

VI. *What kin relation do you have with each member of your household? (Maktaqtxel ánima kajan b'ay ana i tzet hej yetoq heb'?)*

2. Land used in agriculture

1. *How many cuerdas did you plant in the past year? (Jantaq tx'anil ma hatz'un yet junab'i?)*

2. *How many years have you already sown out without interruption on the land on which you had sown out last year? (Jantaq xa ab'il hatz'unon jun tx'o7 b'ay xok hatz'un junab'i i axka yet jun jun ab'il?)*

3. *How many years has the land rested (as fallow)? (Jantaq ab'il max xew tx'o7 tx'o7 ti?)*

3. Products sown

4. *What did you sow in the past year? (B'aytaq tet hatz'un x'aj junab'i?)*

4.a *Please list all your crops sown! (Al b'aytaq tet tz'umb'il hu7!)*

4.b *How many cuerdas are there for each sowing? (Jantaq tx'anil junjun atz'un?)*

4.c *How many quintales of maize, beans, potatoes, calabazas, or how many chilli pods and gourds of chilacayotes and güisquiles? (Jayeb' kintalil ixim ixim, 7an ub'al, 7an is, 7an kala-b'ases o ma jantaq b'isil 7an ich, 7an q'o7 i 7an tzoyol?)*

4. Criteria of preference

5. *What is the advantage of each sowing? (B'aytet swatx'ilal chi yaq' junjun tz'un?)*

/ Tzet chi yaq' junjun tz'un?)

6. *What are the advantages of our sowing:*

6.a *What advantages are there in sowing more maize than any other plant? (B'aytet mas watx' ko tz'unoni mimanoq ixim ixim sataq janxa?)*

6.b *What advantages are there in sowing more beans than any other plant? (B'aytet mas watx' ko tz'unoni mimanoq 7an ub'al sataq janxa?)*

6.c *What advantages are there in sowing more chillis than anything else? (B'aytet mas watx' ko tz'unoni mimanoq 7an ich sataq janxa?)*

6.d *What advantages are there in sowing more calabazas (or chilacayotes or güisquiles) than anything else? (B'aytet mas watx' ko tz'unoni mimanoq 7an kalabasas (o 7an q'o7 o ma 7an tzoyol) sataq janxa?)*

6.e *What advantages are there in sowing more potatoes than anything else? (B'aytet mas watx' ko tz'unoni mimanoq 7an is sataq janxa?)*

7. *What are the disadvantages which has each sowing? (B'aytet syob'taqil chi yaq' jun jun tz'un?)*

8. *What are the disadvantages of sowing more maize than anything else? (B'aytet mas yob' ko tz'unoni mimanoq ixim ixim sataq janxa?)*

8.a *[Maize (- ixim ixim -)]*

8.b *Beans (- 7an ub'al -)*

8.c *Chilli (- 7an ich -)*

8.d *Calabazas, chilacayotes oder güisquiles (- an calabasa o 7an q'o7 o 7an tzoyol -)*

8.e *Potatoes (- 7an is -)*

5. Worktime

9. *How many days did you work on your land in the past year? How many days did you need for the following activities:*

- 9.a [*primera volteada de terreno con llano*] (Jayeb' k'u max aq' yin txo7 yakunal?)
 9.b [*segunda volteada*] (Jayeb' k'u max aq' yin tx'o7 skayelal yakunal?)
 9.c [*desgranamiento de la semilla*] (Jayeb' k'u max aq' yin a koch'on ixim inate7?)
 9.d [*siembra de milpa*] (Jayeb' k'u max aq' yin a tz'unon ixim awal?)
 9.e [*resiembra*] (Jayeb' k'u max aq' yin kek(?)neni o awenen ixim?)
 9.f [*primera limpia*] (Jayeb' k'u max aq' yin b'ab'el aq'in?)
 9.g [*segunda limpia*] (Jayeb' k'u max aq' yin kayel aq'in?)
 9.h [*tapizca*] (Jayeb' k'u max aq' yin ha jatx'on ixim?)
 9.i *What other work do you do on your land?* (B'aytet junxa amulnajil max un sat ha tx'o7?
[in the positive case: How many days did you spend for this? / si dice que sí: Jayeb' k'u max hach mulnaji?])

6. Cooperation

10. *Did somebody help you with your work in the past year?* (Aymi maktxel max hach koloni yin hamulnajil yet junab'i?)
[in the positive case:]
 10.a *How many have there been?* (Jaywan heb'?)
 10.b *Did the person who helped you get paid?* (Tojb'irmi maktxel max hach skoloni?)
 10.c *How much did you pay to the person who helped you?* (Jantaq tumin max ha k'ay eloq yin maktxel chach koloni?)
 11. *Did you help somebody else in his work?* (Max ha kol janxa ánima yin smulnajil?)
 11.a *How many days did you help that person in his work?* (Jayeb' k'u max ha kol ánima yin smulnajil?)
 11.b *Did you get paid for it?* (Tojb'irmi ach?)
 11.c *How much money did you get for it?* (Jantaq tumin max a cha?)
 12. *Did you work together with your father or your sons in the past year?* (Xach mulnaj junej yetoq ha mam o yetoq heb' ha k'ajol yet junab'i?)

7. Sales

- 13.a *How much maize did you sell in the past year and how much money did you earn?* (Jantaq ixim ixim max ha txon junab'i i jantaq ha tumin max i?)
 13.b *How many beans did you sell last year and how much money did you earn?* (Jantaq 7an ub'al max ha txon junab'i i jantaq ha tumin max i?)
 13.c *How much chilli did you sell in the past year and how much money did you earn?* (Jantaq 7an ich max ha txon junab'i i jantaq ha tumin max i?)
 13.d *How many potatoes did you sell in the past year and how much money did you earn?* (Jantaq 7an is max ha txon junab'i i jantaq ha tumin max i?)
 13.e *How many chilacayotes and/or güisquiles did you sell in the past year and how much money did you get for them?* (Jantaq 7an q'o7 o ma 7an tzoyol max ha txon junab'i i jantaq ha tumin max i?)

8. Additional buying

- 14.a *How many [quintales off] maize did you buy in the past year and how much money did you spend for the maize?* (Jantaq ixim ixim max ha man junab'i i jantaq ha tumin xa k'ay yin ixim (ixim)?)
 14.b *How many [quintales off] beans did you buy in the past year and how much money did you spend for the beans?* (Jantaq 7an ub'al max ha man junab'i i jantaq ha tumin xa k'ay yin 7an ub'al?)
 14.c *How much chilli did you buy in the past year and how much money did you spend for chilli?* (Jantaq 7an ich max ha man junab'i i jantaq ha tumin xa k'ay yin 7an ich?)
 14.d *How many [quintales off] potatoes did you buy in the past year and how much money did you spend for the potatoes?* (Jantaq 7an is max ha man junab'i i jantaq ha tumin xa k'ay yin 7an is?)

14.e How many [gourds of] chilacayotes or güisquiles did you buy in the last year and how much money did you spend for the chilacayotes and güisquiles? (Jantaq 7an q'o7 o ma 7an tzoyol max ha man junab'i i jantaq ha tumin xa k'ay yin 7an q'o7 o ma 7an tzoyol?)

9. Land (property, rented, fallow)

15. Was the land your own property on which you worked in the past year? (Yet junab'i, hetmi tx'o7 tx'o7 b'ay max hach mulnaji?)

16. Was the land rented on which you worked in the past year? (Yet junab'i, majanmi tx'o7 b'ay max hach mulnaji?)

17. How much money did you spend for renting the land in the past year? (Jantaq ha tumin max ha k'ay yin majan tx'o7 yet junab'i?)

18. How many cuerdas of land were fallow or resting last year? (Jantaq tx'anil tx'o7 tx'o7 xewan junab'i?)

10. Paid work

19. How did you earn your money in order to pay for additional costs with your work or to make all the purchases for your additional food? (Tzet max yun hin ch'en tumin yet xa tojon ha mulnajan i yet xa manon janxa tzet cha lo?)

19.a Did you work for money in the past year? (Max hach mulnaj yin tojb'il yet junab'i?)

19.b How many days or months did you work? (Jayeb' k'u o ma xajaw max hach mulnaji?)

19.c How much did you earn altogether? (Jantaq ha tumin xi (=max i) yin masanil?)

20. Did you carry out further transactions in the past year? (Aymi janxa ha tx'on junab'i?)

20.a How much money did you gain for it altogether? (Jantaq ha tumin max i yin masanil?)

11. Useful animals

21.a Do you have any big and small pigs? (Aymi no7 txitam mimej i no7 yalixh?)

21.b How many big ones and how many small ones? (Jayk'on mimej i jayk'on no7 yalixh?)

21.c What do they eat and how much money do you need to feed them? (Tzet chi lono i jantaq ha tumin max a k'ay yin slob'e7 no7?)

21.d Do you have any chickens? (Aymi no7 a kaxhlan?)

21.e How many chickens do you have? (Jayk'on no7 (kaxhlan)?)

21.f What do they eat and how much money do you need to feed them? (Tzet chi lono i jantaq ha tumin ma a k'ay yin slob'e7 no7?)

21.g Do you have any cows? (Aymi no7 a wakaxh?)

21.h How many do you have? (Jayk'on no7?)

21.i What do they eat and how much money do you need to feed the animals? (Tzet chi lono i jantaq ha tumin max a k'ay yin slob'e7 no7?)

21.j Do you have any goats or sheep? (Aymi no7 a me7 o a kalnel?)

21.k How many animals are they? (Jayk'on no7?)

21.l What do they eat and how much money do you spend in feeding them? (Tzet chi lono i jantaq ha tumin max a k'ay yin slob'e7 no7?)

[21.m As we have talked here about your animals, are there perhaps some more animals of yours, or can we enumerate some further ones? (Axka jan he no7 max jal ti, aytom janxa he no7 ma ko k'alneloq?)]

[If there are some (further) animals of yours, what kind of animal is it and how many are they? What do they eat and how much money did you spend in feeding them? (Ta ay he no7, tzet noal i jayk'on? Tzet chi lono i jantaq ha tumin max k'ay yin slob'e7 no7?)]

12. Fruit trees

22.a Do you have any fruit trees, i.e. apple trees? (Aymi te7 ha tz'unub?)

22.b How many [units of this] fruit did you harvest last year? (Jantaq sat te7 max i junab'i?)

22.c How many cuerdas of (apple) trees do you have and how much money did you spend for the trees? (Jantaq tx'anil te7 i jantaq ha tumin max ha k'ay yin te7?)

22.d Do you have any peach trees (Aymi te7 ha turusna?)

22.e How many [units of this] fruit did you harvest in the past year? (Jantaq sat te7 max i jun-ab'i?)

22.f How many cuerdas of trees are there and how much money did you spend for the trees? (Jantaq tx'anil te7 i jantaq ha tumin max ha k'ay yin te7?)

22.g As we have talked about all these trees, are there perhaps some further trees, or can we enumerate some more? (Axka jan te7 max jal ti7, aytom janxa te7 ma ko k'alneloq?)

22.h If there are some (more) trees, what kind of tree is it and how much money did you spend for the trees? (Ta ay te7, tzet te7al te7 i jantaq ha tumin max a k'ay yin te7?)

Appendix X Phonemes in Q'anjob'al

In accord with the Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala and the Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín, the following signs are used to represent the phonemes of Q'anjob'al Maya (as in my publication Hinz 1991/I&II):

Vowels: /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/. **Consonants:** /b'/ vs. /p/; /ch/ vs. /ch'/ vs. /tx/ vs. /tx'/; /ʔ/ (= glottal stop, now written /ʔ/ according to the Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala) vs. /h/ vs. /j/; /k/ vs. /k'/ vs. /q/ vs. /q'/; /l/; /m/; /n/; /r/; /s/ vs. /x/ vs. /xh/; /t/ vs. /t'/; /w/; /y/; /tz/ vs. /tz'/. **In Spanish loanwords:** /d/, /f/, /g/, /v/ or /b/, /z/.

/x/ and /tx(ʔ)/ are retroflex; /C'/ means 'glottalized consonant'. See the "Gramática del idioma Q'anjob'al", 1996, for the phonological system of Q'anjob'al (incl. an anatomical sketch of "phoneme production"). Cf Day 1973 for the anatomical charting and distinctive feature analysis of Jakalteko phonemes.

Appendix XI An Aztecoid document read to the Prayermakers at S. P. Soloma (documented by LaFarge)

I decided to reproduce the following document contained in *LaFarge's* book on Santa Eulalia (1947:144f). The English original or the Spanish translation might not be available to the critical reader. The text which I prefer to call 'Aztecoid' (of unknown provenance) may shed light on the origin of the *Ordenanza* cult. LaFarge (1947:143) writes:

"Of great importance is information received from Father F. Francos P. Dellano of Soloma. Father Francos learned that at the time of the induction of the Prayermakers there, a document was read to them by an individual known as the *secretario de costumbre*. This individual had to be an at least mildly literate Indian and held office for an indeterminate period. The text and a translation, which was kindly furnished me by the late Mr. B. L. Whorf, follow.

Document read to the Prayermakers at Soloma	
Text of Document	Translation
<i>Jesus, Maria y Jose y el Hijo y del Espiritu Santo Dios todo poderoso</i>	(B. L. Whorf, Whethersfield, Connecticut, December 3, 1932)
Sempualis	Twentieth
He metonalis	Day of this month
Quemoquesames	<i>Quemoquesames</i> (=?)
.....
<i>de noviembre del año</i>	of November of the year
ypan y elbites Santa Lucia	on the feast of Santa Lucia

<p>y tuchibasques tu <i>cabildo</i> tebantin <i>regidores</i> ytexcupa <i>alcaldes y regidores</i> mochintin <i>oficiales tochinamil</i></p> <p>tualtepes ypan sempualis mactatis <i>madamientos</i> y metonales quemoquesames <i>de noviembre</i> upan y elbites san Silbestre hutichibasques to <i>cabildo</i> tebantin temabintin <i>alcaldes y regidores</i> y <i>quitolico Santa Iglesia</i> yban muchitin masabele <i>Dios</i> masabele <i>Rey</i> y pilxim <i>Dios y pilxim Rey</i> ypan Santa Lucia y mapa tuchibasques totatul tebantin y to <i>cabildo</i> ypan <i>año escribano</i> texcupa <i>alcaldes ordenanza</i> <<i>bold, E.H.</i>> quimaquiles hitenalitos tatacomansia <i>Santa Maria</i> y pilxin <i>Dios y pilxin Rey</i> quilpalibio quitualtepes quiconcabis hutichibasques y pilxin <i>Dios y pilxin Rey</i> quicultes muchintin melestuques tuchibasques <i> cien tostones y penas</i> <i>camaro a su majestad</i> yba chibasques y <i> cien azotes y pena y tormento y pena</i></p> <p><i>camaro a su majestad</i> yban chibasques sentalis ypan <i>Santa Iglesia catolica y postolica</i> <i>Romana – Amen</i></p>	<p>we shall make our court, we <i>Regidores</i> concerning <i>Alcaldes</i> and <i>Regidores</i> and all officials of our <i>chinamitl</i> [“inclosure” = “village”?] and our city upon the twenty and tenth [= thirtieth?] commandments [false insert?] day of the month <i>quemoquesames</i> of November on the feast of San Silvestre as we shall then make our court we the honorable <i>Alcaldes</i> and <i>Regidores</i> the holy Catholic Church and all common subjects of God, common subjects of the king nobles of God , nobles of the king on the day of Santa Lucia by this hand [= herewith?] we give [lit. “make”] our word we, our court in the year written an ordinance concerning the Alcaldes (!) giving pleading for remission of sins to Santa Maria. The nobles of God, the nobles of the king, [let them] give help to govern the cities [let them] relinquish as we may act nobles of God, nobles of the King, all who do wrong that we may inflict punishment a hundred tostones [?] and penalties council to his majesty and there may be inflicted a hundred lashes penalty and penalty of torment council to his majesty and they shall act and assemble in the holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church – Amen</p>
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“In commenting on this, Dr. Whorf says [Letter of December 5, 1932]: ‘It sounds as if it might have been a royal or viceregal decree of New Spain delegating certain powers to the local town authorities: and might have been written in two versions, an original Spanish and a probably crude translation into a local dialect. This local version is not, however, a mere corruption of official classical Nahuatl, but evidently a genuine dialect, as it shows certain constant phonetic shifts. This dialect seems to resemble the dialect of southern Vera Cruz, sometimes called Tuxtla dialect, about which little is known.... It also resembles the Nicaragua non-Pipil Nahua found in Brinton’s Güegüence.’”

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Supplement

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Appendix XIII

Bibliographical categories

MESOAMERICA

1. Q'ANJOB'AL (INCL. AKATEKO & JAKALTEKO [POPTI'])

1.a CULTURE: 5., 13., 15., 28., 29., 33., 38., 56., 57., 58., 59., 61., 69., 74, 75., 87., 94., 113.

1.b LANGUAGE: 4., 24., 27., 30., 34., 35., 36., 51., 125., 127., 132.

2. MESOAMERICA: CULTURE & CALENDARS: 3., 18., 19., 23., 39., 40., 43., 50., 53., 62., 70., 72., 78., 80., 82., 88., 93., 96., 98., 100., 110., 111., 114., 115., 122., 128.; 130, 131; 132.

3. MESOAMERICAN DIVINATION: 21., 63., 64., 79., 90., 91., 96., 106., 111., 119.

THEORETICAL LITERATURE

4. DIVINATION (THEORY & COMPARISON): 14., 20., 37., 42., 68., 83., 97.

5. NEUROBIOLOGY: 25., 44., 45., 47., 52., 66., 77., 103., 112., 123., 126.

6. PROBLEM-SOLVING: 11., 2., 65.

7. COGNITION & BEHAVIOR: FOLK, SCRIPT & SCHEMA THEORIES: 1., 2., 9., 26., 55., 67., 76., 89., 95., 104., 107., 108., 109.

8. THEORETICAL ANTHROPOLOGY / EXISTENCE & IDENTITY: 32., 49., 65., 71., 102., 105.

9. BASIC NEEDS: 6., 12., 48., 65., 129.

10. RECONCILIATION / THERAPY: 10., 22., 124.

11. METHODS: ETHNOGRAPHY / CONCEPTUAL RECONSTRUCTION: 26., 31., 117., 118., [104.].

ARCHIVES OF Q'ANJOB'AL ETHNOGRAPHY

1: W. & C. Carl (Psychology, Hamburg): *complete set of cassettes & films [probably lost by flood water]*.

2: German Embassy in Guatemala: *complete set of cassettes [probably destroyed]*.

3: University of Hamburg: *partial set of cassettes, diskettes; transcriptions ms.; index; questionnaire; all transcriptions computerized [whereabouts unknown; probably lost or destroyed]*.

4a: Prof. Eike Hinz: *some computer printouts; complete set of slides; small sample of cassettes; one index; microcensus.*

IV. PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: THE COLOR PLATES

1. GENERAL NOTE

The plates are reproduced from slides which suffered from water damage in a storage room and from a beginning decay of the chemical color components because of age.

Nevertheless, the plates represent unique documents of various aspects of life, customs and their context around 1980 to 1986, inter alia Polaroid photographs of the ceremony for the Holy Bundle (*Ordenanza*) taken by me in 1981. In 1983, I was allowed to take pictures of a real divination and consultation session. Some of the pictures reproduced here had been taken by Christa Carl, my then wife, in 1981.

In addition to these two topics, I chose scenes in public places covering topics such as a market day, socialization and everyday communication and interaction, social, especially religious, and other role identities, including the *Baile del Toro* (Dance of the Bull), and ecological or, rather, geographical settings. These photographic documents support the ethnographic information on existence and identity provided in this book.

Some additional photographs, i.e. some color slides and black and white photos have been published in Vols. I and II, respectively, of my book "*Misstrauen führt zum Tod*" [Mistrust leads to Death].

The photographs and cassettes as well as movie reels together with handwritten and computerized transcriptions, notes, protocols and inventories (partially stored at the university) which were kept in different archives are permanently lost (except the slides, a sample of cassettes and a video tape given to me by Christa Carl). Statements on the spectacular events which led to this ethnocidal loss have been published and distributed via internet and are not dealt with in this book.

2. THE CATALOG OF COLOR PLATES

<1. Cover / Dedication:>

COVER / FRONTISPIECE: The situational setting of divination and counseling. A client family from San Pedro Soloma: husband, wife and toddler. *Background*: Another client waiting. The consultation deals with several separate problems. San Juan Ixcoy 1983. See PLATES 31-38.

PLATE 1: After 20 years, the anthropologist came back to Ixcoy. The author, Eike H., is donating a copy of the book "Mistrust leads to death" (in German and Q'anjob'al) to the Public Library of San Juan Ixcoy. The *Alcalde Rezador* (religious mayor,

with a red belt as a sign of authority), Miguel Paíz, is acting as a substitute of the political mayor (*Alcalde Municipal*). Town hall. 2006.

PLATE 2: The *Alcalde Rezador* (religious mayor, with red belt) speaks, the anthropologist, among others, listens. San Juan Ixcoy 2006.

<2. Village, ecology:>

PLATE 3a: A glimpse of San Juan Ixcoy. *Right*: The Catholic church. 1981.

PLATE 3b: View from the town hall (*Alcaldía*). *Foreground*: The *Parque*. *Left background*: The church. *Right*: The market. 1981

PLATE 4a: House above the valley of San Juan Ixcoy. 1981.

PLATE 4b: Countryside in the township of San Juan Ixcoy. House with harvested and dried-up maize field. 1981.

PLATE 5: View over San Juan Ixcoy from Yajaucu. Road to Huehuetenango winding up the mountain. 1981.

<3. A traditional *costumbre* (custom): *Baile del Toro* (Dance of the Bull):>

The Dance of the Bull is part of a cycle of dances in Guatemala which refer to themes from early Spanish colonial times, e.g. the Spanish conquest. Cf Termer 1930:442ff [Classification and list of dances in Guatemala].

PLATE 6: View from the Catholic church to the Great Cross in Ixcoy. *Front*: Scenes of the *Baile del Toro* (Dance of the Bull). *Back*: Town hall. 1981.

PLATE 7: Scenes of the *Baile del Toro* (Dance of the Bull) in front of the house of the religious mayor (*Alcalde Rezador*) of 1981. The costumes are borrowed from San Cristóbal de las Casas (near Quetzaltenango). People from the village are watching. 1981.

PLATE 8: People from the village are watching the *Baile del Toro* (Dance of the Bull). Note the “bearded” dancer in the foreground. 1981.

PLATE 9: The entrance to the house of the religious mayor (*Alcalde Rezador*) is decorated with flowers [*hortensia*]. Young dancers of the *Baile del Toro* (Dance of the Bull) are joking with each other. 1981.

PLATE 10: Some *Principales* (dignitaries) of San Juan Ixcoy are leaving the house of the religious mayor (*Alcalde Rezador*). The young man with the red belt is the *Principal de la Fiesta del 24 de Junio*, i.e. the Patron’s day of San Juan Ixcoy. 1981.

<4. Traditional ritual:>

PLATE 11: A Mam-speaking couple in the costumes of Todos Santos praying and burning candles in the church of San Juan Ixcoy. *At the entrance*: Members of the *cofradía* (traditional brotherhood). *Right (background)*: Two women and a man from Ixcoy praying and burning candles. 1981.

PLATE 12: A *Costumbrista* (traditionalist), a close relative of the diviner, is praying in one of the *oyeb’ [tx’o7] konob’* (‘five settlements’). These are special roofed places of prayer in the township of San Juan Ixcoy. 1986. See Ch. E.10.

PLATE 13: Shrine with several ancestral or family crosses and incense burners in the diviner’s house in San Juan Ixcoy. The background cover is made of plastic. 1983.

<5. The Holy Bundle (*Ordenanza*) and the *Ordenanza* ceremony / Polaroid photographs:>

The Polaroid photographs had been taken in the house of the religious mayor (*Alcalde Rezador*, also called *Alcalde Ordenanza*) of San Juan Ixcoy on July 4, 1981 (= 3 Chej).

PLATE 14: The religious mayor (*Alcalde Rezador*) helps to unwrap the Holy Bundle (*Ordenanza*). Several covers of the *Ordenanza* are visible. Smoke of resin (*pom*) rises from an incense burner. A candle is burning. 1981.

PLATE 15: Unwrapping the Holy Bundle (*Ordenanza*). Several covers opened and unfolded are visible. *Left*: Note the hands of a second dignitary flattening out one of the covers. *Left foreground*: An incense burner filled. 1981.

PLATE 16: See Plate 4 and Ch. E.4 (Excerpt). *Left*: The Holy Bundle (*Ordenanza*), with candles. *Right*: The wooden panel (*tablo*). *In front*: A closed bundle, probably an almanac. 1981.

PLATE 17: *Left*: The unwrapped *Ordenanza*, a booklet or document in a leather cover, with five candles leaning against it. *Right*: The *tablo* (wooden panel). *In front*: A closed bundle (probably an almanac). Several covers of the *Ordenanza* are visible. Note the (outer) cover with v-shaped motives. 1981.

PLATE 18: The diviner and counselor (*Maestro de Costumbre*) of the religious mayor (*Alcalde Rezador*) of 1981 fills small bowls with resin (*pom*) during the ceremony for the Holy Bundle (*Ordenanza*). Note the hardly visible religious mayor (*Alcalde Rezador*) and his wife in the background. 1981.

PLATE 19: In the afternoon, the *Ordenanza* is wrapped up and put into the drawer. The print shows the different items at the end of the *Ordenanza* ceremony in the afternoon. *At the back of the altar*: A family cross decorated with white flowers. Some candles are put in front of it. *On top of the altar*: The *tablo* (a wooden panel) kept in a bag, a second bundle (an almanac?) on top of it, and a booklet and the *vara* (staff of office) lying right at the top. 1981. Cf Ch. E.4 (Edited Excerpt). See also [Added Note]: In the short version of the *Ordenanza* ceremony, the Holy Bundle (*Ordenanza*) remains closed up in the drawer and the items as seen on this plate are then placed on the altar instead of the Holy Bundle (or rather, the unwrapped *Ordenanza*).

<6. Different agents and contexts of socialization and identity expression:>

PLATE 20a: Missionary campaign. The preacher is standing on top of the bench. Note the loudspeaker. 1981.

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PLATE 27: Market day. A sister carrying a baby, interacting with her younger brother. 1981.

PLATE 28: Selling in the market of San Juan Ixcocoy. 1981.

<7. Hypothetical divinations:>

PLATE 29: This is a hypothetical divination. A handful of seeds of the coral tree [*erythrina corallodendron*] has been taken from the complete set and then has been laid out. A row with two seeds in each position has been formed. The unused part of the seeds is set aside. The number of counts is marked while counting and divining. Seeds in the end-positions are “speaking days”, i.e. divination-giving. The row has been counted three times. 1983. See Ch. 4, especially 4.1 and 4.2.

PLATE 30: The same hypothetical divination as in Plate 29. The row has been counted four times. The number of counts has been optically marked by setting aside the last positions of the seeds. The divination is spelled out and is about to come to a conclusion. 1983.

<8. Divination and interpretation:>

PLATE 31: The diviner discusses various problems, inter alia the question of opening a bakery, with the client family from Soloma. 1983.

PLATE 32: The diviner’s attention and concentration are visible while he is listening to the clients. The layout has been counted once. 25 *centavos* are placed on the table as payment. 1983.

PLATE 33: The diviner gives an explication. 1983.

PLATE 34: The diviner interprets the layout of the seeds of the coral tree for the client family from San Pedro Soloma. 1983.

PLATE 35: The diviner listens to a family from Soloma. Problem: The possible success of opening a bakery. 1983.

PLATE 36: The diviner is counting the row. 25 *centavos* are placed on the table as payment. Two + one seeds seem to be put aside (see Ch. 4.1, Point 1). 1983.

PLATE 37: This consultation for a client family from San Pedro Soloma is complex. It lasted longer than one hour. It looks as if we are dealing with two separate rows to be counted here. The rest is visible as a third set. The diviner is counting one row. Another client is waiting for his divination. 1983.

PLATE 38: The client family during a divination session in the diviner’s house. The family is from Soloma. The wife is joking with the toddler. 1983.

PLATE 39: This divination shows the diviner shortly before his death. The diviner interprets the layout of the seeds of the coral tree. The row may have been counted three times. The client was Eike H. presenting an existential problem. 1984 (Picture taken by A. Koechert).

<9. Jolomhuitz, the local context of a confession:>

See Point 4 for further ritual places.

PLATE 40a: View of Jolomhuitz. There one of the observed confessions took place. See Ch. 5.7 (June 16, 1981).

PLATE 40b: A family cross in one of the diviner’s abandoned huts in Jolomhuitz. Note the flower, the arch over the table and the incense burners. 1981. The diviner prayed in front of this cross obviously in connection with the confession mentioned above. As for the prayer, see text and tentative translation in App. V.c. The case might also imply the confession observed on June 11, 1981. See Ch. 5.7.

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GLOSSARY

Affect processing: According to Tomkins, a negative affect is *acquired* by its suppression in, or by syncopation of, an (emotionally charged) episodic sequence; similar episodic features can reactivate and *amplify* the negative affect; the affect *overrides* other considerations; not well controlled by the patient. Cf *b'ilk'ulal*, *kab'k'ulal*.

Ajb'e (Q'.): ‘Master-of-the-road’; diviner.

Ajtxum (Q'.): ‘He-who-finds-out’; diviner.

Alcalde (Span.): ‘Mayor (of the town)’; other terms: *Alcalde Municipal*; *Juez de Paz*.

Alcalde Auxiliar (Span.): ‘Assistant (to the) Mayor’. Representative of a village or hamlet.

Alcalde day: A year-bearer day (*Watan*, *Lamb'at*, *B'en*, *Chinaxh*) or the day *Ajaw*.

Alcalde Rezador (or Alcalde Ordenanza) (Span.): ‘Religious Mayor’; highest religious representative of the traditional (*costumbrista*) Maya in the Q'anjob'al area; *Alkal Txaj* (Q'.)

Aldea (Span.): ‘Village’.

Baile (Span.): ‘Dance’. E.g., *Baile del Venado* (D. of the deer), *Baile del Toro* (D. of the bull), *Baile del Tlux* (D. of the Lord of the Animals).

Beliefs: Knowledge of facts and rules and the attitude of acceptance or rejection; characteristically: conceptual classification and/or attribution, ontology, cause-and-effect relationships or simply sequences, (inter)action knowledge. A belief is a cognitive-attitudinal schema.

B'ilk'ulal (Q'.): ‘Sorrow’, ‘preoccupation’, ‘worry’. A central psychosomatic concept.

Bride price: A payment by the husband's father to the wife's father, in exchange for the marriage arrangement. Informants differ with regard to the amount.

Bride service: To be provided by the husband and wife in the household of the husband's father-in-law (and also the wife's father-in-law, <*Sta. Eul.*>).

Cargo (Span.): ‘Office held’; position.

Caserío (Span.): ‘Hamlet’.

Cofradía (Span.): ‘Brotherhood’; the body of traditional dignitaries in S. J. Ixcoy.

Compadre (Span.): ‘Co-parent’ (in marriage), ‘godfather’ (in name-giving); = *padri-no*.

Concierto (Span.-Q'.): ‘Marriage contract’.

Confession: An open declaration as a formal psychotherapeutic method among traditional Q'anjob'al Maya, e.g. among parent and (adult) child, or a couple.

Consultation (session): Consists of problem development, divination and interpretation, counsel on intervention or therapy. One session can cover several separate problem cases.

Copal (Span.-Azt.; < *copal-li* (Aztec)): ‘Pine resin (incense)’; *pom* (Q’.)

Costumbre (Span.): ‘Custom’, ‘ritual’.

Costumbrista (Span.): Member of the traditional Maya religion.

Cuerda (Span.): In Guatemala, different measures of land area; in S. J. Ixcoy probably: 1 *cuerda* ≈ 440m².

Curandero (Span.): ‘Curer’, ‘healer’.

Divination: In Q’anjob’al culture, divination is based on a *question (problem)*. Seeds of the coral tree are *grasped* and *laid out* in one row, then *counted* with the days of the 260-day calendar; the last position is a *speaking day*. With each count, speaking days are added preceding the last position(s).

Dyos (Span.-Q’.): ‘God’ (in the Christian sense); also: the Sun.

Dyos Mundo (Span.-Q’.): ‘(God or Lord of) Earth’; *ko-b’atx’om-al (mundo)* (Q’.) = “who-carries-us, (the Earth)”

EGP (*Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres*; Span.): ‘Guerrilla Army of the Poor’, one of the guerilla movements in Guatemala.

Erythrina corallodendron: Seed of the coral tree. Cf. *Tz’ité*. A handful of these seeds is laid out and counted with calendar days in divination.

Fiesta (Span.): ‘Feast’, ‘festival’; celebration of a Saint’s day; *pasko* (Span.-Q’.).

Finca (Span.): ‘Plantation’, mostly in the lowlands of Guatemala.

Indígena: A member of the Maya Indian population, speaking a Maya language and identifying with the regional Maya Indian culture and the community.

Interpretation: Salient speaking days are interpreted by matching their semantic meaning with the semantic-pragmatic meaning of the problem.

Justisya (Span.-Q’.; < *justicia* (Span.)): ‘Judgement’; Lord of Illness, a personlike being.

Kab’k’ulal (Q’.): ‘Mistrust, aversion, disgust’. A central affect in traditional Q’anjob’al Maya curing.

K’exel (Q’.): ‘Namesake, replacement’; a special relationship, mostly between grandparent and grandchild based on the same name, involving inheritance, i.e. of a house, with ritual obligations to maintaining it. Cf *Tz’umb’il*.

Ladino: A member of the Spanish-speaking community, with social identity oriented towards national culture and society.

Manzana (Span.): = 16 *cuerdas* ≈ 7,040m².

Milpa (Span.-Azt.; < *mil-li* (Aztec) = ‘field’): Maize field; the classical Mesoamerican system of joint sowings of maize, beans, chilli, and gourds such as *chilacayote*, *calabaza*, etc.

Municipio (Span.): ‘Town(ship)’.

Neolocal residence: The *preferential* residence pattern in S. J. Ixcoy, perhaps in the vicinity of the husband’s father’s land, but on a *separate plot* and in a *separate newly built house*. The clearly marked *sentimental* problems (“I already have my own thoughts [therefore I am already living apart]” <S. J. Ixcoy>; Sta. Eulalia) support the choice of the term ‘neolocal’. Cf *Tz’umb’il*. But see *Keesing et al 1998:509*.

Ocote (Span.-Azt.; < *oco-tl* (Aztec)): Pine wood, full of resin, used as kindling.

Ora (Span.-Q’.; lit. ‘hour’): ‘Day’ of the 260-day calendar, potentially a deity.

Ordenanza (Span.-Q’.; also: *Tiohx* [Span.-Q’.] < *Dios* [Span.]): Holy bundle; an old manuscript wrapped up in it; a cult.

Oyeb’konob’ (Q’.): ‘Five settlements’, special places of praying in S. J. Ixcoy.

Quintal (Span.): Measurement of weight = 45.3 kg.

Patrilineage: A unilineal descent group; descent is traced through a line of ancestors in the male line. Social organization of the inheritance of land (and/or house), from father to son(s). Wives marry into the husband's descent group. *See Keesing et al 1998:509.*

Patrilocal residence: A residence pattern of adult unmarried or even married children living in the (husband's) father's house, in S. J. Ixcoy and Sta. Eulalia. Informants report on sentimental problems. Cf *neolocal* residence. *See Keesing et al 1998:509.*

Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil (Span.): Civil self-defense patrols of Maya Indians (male population over 15 years of age), recruited by the national government to counteract the guerrilla movements.

Principal (Span.): Traditional Maya dignitary.

Pueblo (Span.): 'Town'; 'urban area'.

Reconciliation: A formal psychosociotherapeutic procedure in traditional Q'anjob'al culture ('confession'). Cf *mimank'ulal* (Q'.) = (asking for, or conceding) 'pardon', 'patience'.

Regidor (or Concejal) (Span.): 'Councilman (of the community)'; *Lexhtol* (Q'.).

Schema: A cognitive/semantic structure learned and retrievable from memory. Electrophysiologically, no decay, no habituation. Cognitively, the representation of a procedure, an episode or simply a concept, or their connections with each other, also a rule ('if- then-') or a generalization ('valid for all x'). Also called 'frame'. 'Script', a specialized schema, is the representation of routines or actions.

Self-organization: *see Ch.A, Key concepts (p.2).* Cf Hinz 2006:130: "The property of systems to learn, to appropriate the environment, or to be in exchange with it is called 'self-organization'... (In Man) self-organization implies consciousness... memory formation and the execution of action. Self-organization... is also self-regulating: crises... are buffered, or rather resolved and the maintenance of identity as a balance, harmony or principle of survival is striven for... Autonomy, joy of life, and mental peace (are among) the goals of self-organization".

Speaking day: An information-giving and (potentially) interpretation-generating day in the layout and count of the seeds of the coral tree in divination.

Tz'ité (Quiché): Seed of the coral tree (= *Txumb'al* (Q'.)). *See "Erythrina corallodendron"*.

Tz'umb'il (Q'.): 'Sown out' (< *Tz'unu7* [transitive verb] = 'to sow out'); separation from (husband's) father and mother, resulting in a new household, with due mutual rituals and respect. Neolocal residence. *Tz'umb'il* and *K'exel* seem to be the "harmonizing" instruments of the patrisib.

Vispera (Span.; *mispera* (Span.-Q'.)): 'Vespers', 'eventide'.

Witz ak'al (Q'.): 'Mountain, valley (plain)', i.e. homeland; place of birth.

Xaq an (Q'.): Elder leaves. Cf. Hinz 1991/II:8-9 [Plate V]. Identification: Anja Stiehler (Communication 1986).

Year-bearer day: One of four day names of the 260-day calendar by which a 52-year cycle (which results from the combination of the 260-day and the 365-day year) can begin: *Watan, Lamb'at, B'en, Chinaxh*. Cf *Alcalde day*.

Note: Span. = Spanish; Azt./Aztec = Náhuatl; Span.-Azt.= Spanish-Náhuatl; Q' = Q'anjob'al; Span.-Q'. = Spanish-Q'anjob'al.

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