tek'ɔ'o

tuk'ɨl sou? = the proper song.

NICIM = beautify, life...

SNICIM ba, sat = day?

~~ʔo~~ = 'definitive completion'

~~ʔuc~~ = desiderative (also m')

biʔciʔik xa = ? life, fresh, young?

~~bi~~ = assuredly...

~~mo~~ = mozox

~~nay~~ yec. hotorcuk (hu... totil ʔuc'ʔ...

xc'a

xa.

~~ti~~ tetʔ'ton = shout.

~~ʔut~~

ta

to

kus ... Solamnoj ...

Next I went to talk with Cep, and explained that I had been beered up by the Presidente the day before and hence had missed the ceremony. Then I sat down awhile to watch the proceedings. The music started (bas'i son) ---- (this time, the same Chamula who had played violin before was playing guitar, the guy who had played violin for the martomorey during the Fiesta was playing harp, and good old Cep was playing violin.) --- and after awhile the iz'inal mexon, the mayol, andthe iz'inal martomorey came in and started to dance (after giving me pox). The music went on and on, and finally the mexon peeled off from the line and bowed in the following order: mayol, matromorey, musicians, me, moletik and scribe on near side of table, moletik and scribe on far side of table. Then he danced in front of the altar. Similarly, the other celebrants peeled off and bowed up the line. When they had all bowed around (even the 2nd martomorey was pretty sober) they went to the corner and started distributing the salt.

The salt went around to everyone (including the scribe) (who was sitting on the bankilal side of the middle table) and the evident price for salt was 20 centaves. After passing out salt there was a very long period during which the celebrants danced and prayed by the salt cache to the left of the main altar. During that time, a guitar string broke (Tuc!) which did not interrupt proceddeings very much. (I wonder what happends if a violin string breaks... I seem to remeber th-t happening; the harp and guitar carry on alone. If a harp string breaks??) I also notice that the harpist, Martin something-or-other, plays the harp left-handed, or at least backwards. Ver strange. After awhile Cep just quit playing, and it was obvious that the musicians were glad. The Chamula showed me his grooved playing fingers.

I approached Bure on the subject of getting a trio of musicians into San Cristobalt the next day. He talked with Cep and we all three tried to convince the present harp player to come. He didn't seem too anxious but finally agreed. I had luckily stopppd to buy string pox at the Chamula bar that morning, and I offered around a kwarto. It got grimaces universally from everyone in the romm, including (notably) the usually impassive mol alkalte. Then I packedup and left.

Monday, 22 August

My musicians came very late. We had to drive out to Hteklum to get a guitar and then recruit a guitarist at the market. Some youh from Nacih. We recorded until 4:30, at which time Ihad to pay the bloody guys fifteen pesos each for the long day. Then was that grand San Cristobal socialevent, the Banos party.

Tuesday, 21rd to Thursday, 25ty

Typed notes, transcribed tapes, and prepared for the paper.

Lah no7ox yepal lah	It is finshed, that's all.
Hk'antik pertonal, listnsia	We want pardon, license
Xk'ex i na li nicime, yanalte	We chaged the flowers, theyes.
C'ul Martil/ Piarol	Divine Martyr, Guarantor.
Zobelotik Oun, Lotelotik 7un	We gather together, we are together.
	This long bow is carried to the musicians, which stops the music. Afterwards all sit. Then:
Alk: Lasana kantel, hvabahometik, sk'antik pertonal.	Light candles, musicians, you want pardon.
	Tyey kneel and pray. (Who givesthem candles??)
Prayer:	
Dios Kahval	God My Lord
C'ul Martil/ Piarol	Divine Martyr, Gurantor
Lah xk'ex nicime/syanalte	The flower change (eye-change) is over
C'amantik exebal kras/ exebal bentisyon	We borrow (?) the three (??)
Tey ohhpat/hmoken	There on the back, on my side
K'elon ???/ 7lon ??	??
Hc'un o k'op mantal/	I obey your word, your advice
La mosoo/ le keleme	The servant, the rooster
La kabtele, patame	My work, my back? (?)
	When this is finished, another set of long bows is initiated by the alcalé:
Alk: K'obentik, hvabahometik, hkux ko7entik.	Bow (?) musicinas, we will rest our hearts.
	The long bow:
Mol: Oy kevokol	There is our work (?)
Zobelotik 7un/ lotolotik 7un	We join to gether, we gather togeher
Steyel, smuk'ul ta sel	We are enlarger, making large
Sk'ex li nicime/ syanalte	Chnage the flowers, his eyes
C'ul martil/ Piarol	Divine Martry, Guarantor
Kuxo svo7enik ce7e, tot kahval.	Rest your heart, then, our father, Lord.
Oc' ak'otah, Stih svab.	The dancing begins. They play music. (Normal pattern for the music and dance. I cannot understand under which conditions the extra pieces are played.)
	At end, a final long bow:
Lah li ak'otah	The dance is over.
Steyel bi, smuk'ul ta sel	Raised, enlarged
C'ul Martil/ Piarol	Divine martyr, guarantor
Laho7un, la cotlebatik	It is finished the seat (of the God: i.e. altar?)
Abulahana kuxtetik hvabahom	Please, rest your selves Musicians(?)
7Oy xiobil, sk'exobil	?
C'ul Martil/Piarol	Divine Martyr, Gurantor
	Then comes the ritual meal, elsewhere described.

Alk: Lah pok k'ebtik, hve7tik hunuk vah.	When you have finished washing your hands we'll eat a tortilla.
	Bring a dish for the hands, then a cup for washing the mouth, the beans, eggs, tortillas and coffee. Each musician gets one xalte~~k~~ with beans, one with egg.
Xak' hp'is.	They offer a cup.
Alk: Ic'o hsetuk. Abulahan capo li vobe.	Receive a little (pox). Please tune your instruments.
Hv: Kolaval ce7e, totik alkalte.	Than you, then, father alcalde.
	Drinks proceed through moletik, musicians (according to instrument rank), helpers, hp'is vo7. When the bottle is dead, it is turned on its side. As soon as this is over those who are going to change flowers go to pray.
Ba7yi sp'is satik.	
R: C'ul Martil/Piarel	Divine Martyr, Guarantor
Ta hk'ex ti na nicima, yanalte.	I will change the flowers, the eyes
Tatik ta savaro, srominko	We are here at his Saturday, his Sunday
Buc'u xk'ex ta slok' li syak'ita.	Those who are going to do the actual changing take off their black cloaks (and their headgear, using normal poketik?)
	A set of long bows, starting with the non- performing moletik, then to musicians.
	The performer says:
Totik alkalte (e.g.)	Father alcalde
Ta xk'ex nicime, yanalte	~~Tuxfix~~ I willc ahnge the flowers, the eyes
Paso vokol li rehirletik	Do the work, Regidores
k'extabik snicime/ syanalte	We will cange the flowers, the eyes.
C'ul Martil/ Piarel	Divine Martyr, Guarantor
	The ot er responds:
Paso vokolik 7un	Do the work then
K'ex ta bo snicime/syanalte	Change the flowers, the eyes
C'ul Martil/ Piarel	Divine Martyr, Guarantor
	(As soon as the bows are over, the musicians, who have already tuned their instruments, can start to play.) (The song is baz'i son only)
Syale li pop ~~k~~wenta xak'e nicim. Stitanik li nicime.	They put down a pop for the flowers. They strip(?) off the flowers. (One round of pox.)

7. What about musicians in the parajes:
Hutuk sna7,li hvabahometike: sna7 skwents mupunel, k'in krus, k'slal buc u xcam, stoy snaik. In Nevenchauk: mas sna7ik, mas stih tây ta Hteklum.

8. The origin of flutes and drums.
R: Only men make flutes and drums. (I.e., the gods did notmake the first ones.) However, these instruments are of equal age as the stringed ones.

9. Mu ko7oluk li vobe ta yan lum.
Htoso son stihik ta Camu, parte son huhum Hteklum.
Tenejapa: arpa, sci7uk menek kitara.
Ixtapa: Violin, mol kitara
Cenalho, San Miguel: arpa (played on shoulders), menek kitara.
The songs are said to be different, and lek.

10. Musicians are poor because they don't get paid to play.

11. What kind of man will not serve as a musician?
R: Ta sokol li shole, mu ak'an slo7ilah. Mu xtuhn ta vabahel. (If he has a broken head.)

12. Which are hard to play (vokol)?
R: 1. Violin, mi hal ta htihtike, xk'uxum k'obtik. (Ones hands hurt.)
2. Kitara, vucem, smakel li vobe. (One gets blisters from fretting the strings.)
3. Arpa, ha7 xos li ste7el. (It's hard when the tuning pegs are tight.)

13. To borrow instruments: kwarta hukot vob, sik.

14. The first instruments Konseres made were mas hoy, (thinner). Now they've gotten better. The problem with violins made from pinaveta is that they: mu x7ok. (???)
New instruments are usually better because, Li mole ta sok xa hutuk. (Old ones have already gotten broken a little.)

2. (falsette)
Ha7 no7ox ta zobolotik/ lotolotik
K'exina snicim bi/ syanalte
B//M

3. (falsette) Kuxo yo7on htotik be/ hme7tik bi
Kuxo yo7on smoso bi/ skelem bi
B//M

4. Ha7 no7ox ta zobolotik/ lotolotik
K'exina snicim/ syanalte
B//M

5. Bik'itik nicime/ yanalte (falsetto)
nicim/ yanalte (?)
Ha7 na (?) nicim/yanalte (?)

- Second part of music for dance

Yox kohol son

1. Zoboloh htotik/ hme7tik // smoso/ skelem
Xak'otah " "

2. Skux o yo7on htotik / " // " / "
Xmomah " " " "

Tek'ob son

1. Ha7 no me ta zobolotik/ lotolotik
K'exina xa me li snicimbi/ syanalte
B//M

2. Tek'ob son me ta vinahel/ balamil // yolon yok/ yolon sk'ob
B//M

3. Pertonal xa me li hsetuk xca/ (htabelik xca?)
K'usi no7ox yepal li xiobil/ sk'exobil
B//M (Cavic' totik ... eto eto etc)

- Third part of dance

Bik'itik.... (5th song)
1.Ha7 no me ta zobolotik/ lotolotik
K'exina o me li snicime/ syanalte
Bik'itik xa Martil/ Piarol
Martil xa me c'ul kahvaltik/ yayatot

2. Bik'itik xa Maria/ Rosario
Vinahel a li anzebi/ ala xinulan
Maria xa Rosario/ xinulan
Vinahel a li anzebi/ a la xinulan.

Baz'i son

1. Ha7 no na yec zobolotik/ lotolotik
Ha7 no nan yec i stoyel o/ smuk'ul ta se
B//M

2. Pertonal xa hsetuk xa/ (?)
Klabetik o me li xiobil/ sk'exobil
B//M

Anzon---anzon
+ Chala Mañ

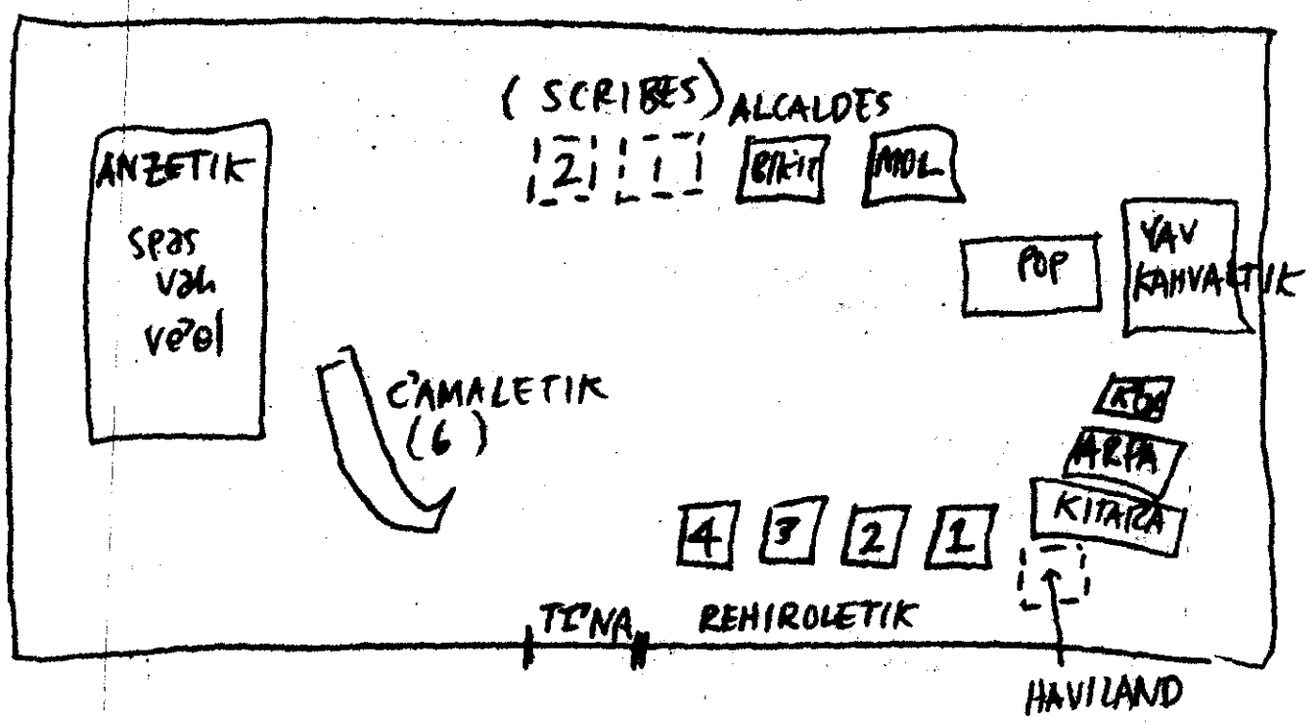
C'ul Martil/ Piarol
Ec'o li savaro/ srominko

Divine Martyr, Gurantor
Pass by his Saturday/ Sunday.

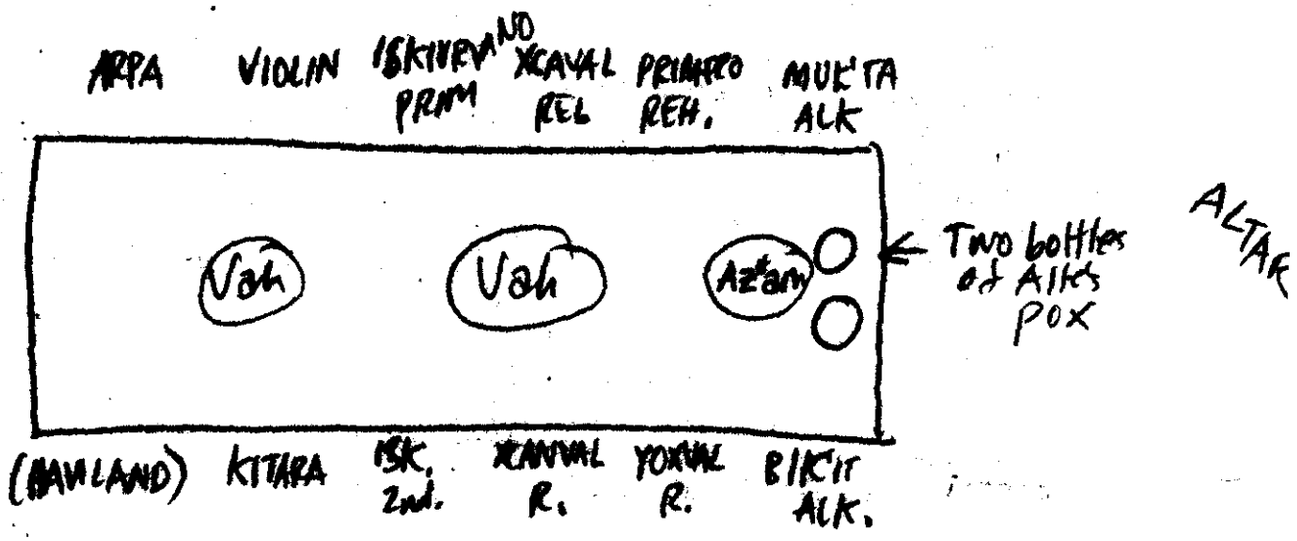
(Response to this bow given as the same...??)

All eat a ritual meal. (No special description elicited. See diagram for seating position.)

SEATING WHEN CEREMONY BEGINS



SEATING AT TABLE FOR MEAL



in front of the mol alkalte.	This is sik (weak) pox. The bottles are placed in order with the highest at the mol alkalte's left. (See diagram 1 for reported seating positions in the house at the start of the ceremony.) All bow to the alkalteetik with the following prayer, as they bring their pox:
Totik, ak'o pertonal hset tahmek.	Father, give pardon for so little.
Hzobo hbatik	We are gathering together.
Htabetik savaro/ sromingo	We are here for (his) Saturday/ Sunday
C'ul Martil/ Piarol	Divine Martyr, Guarantor
Sk'exin o sniwime/ syanalte	They change the flowers/
C'ul Martil/ Piarol	Divine Martyr, Guarantor.
Li rehireletik slakes li xakotail skwenta sk'ex i nicime.	The (first two) regidores take off their black chamarros so that they can change the flowers. (The mol alkalte gives the cue:)
ALK: Valalik li rehirol-etik. K'extetik li nicime.	(?) Changd theflowers.
Reh: Bweno.	O.K.

There's a bow here I didn't get.

(The music starts along in here somewhere as soon as the instruments are tuned. The words of songs as Zarate played them for me for this part of the ceremony will appear at the end of the description.)

The cargoholders lay out a pop, as a place to put the old flowers. They strip off the old flowers, put new ones on the arch, new boughs. All this is accompanied by music. The proceedings are interrupted for two rounds of pox, and one comes when the change is complete: once after the old flowers are taken down, once in the middle of the putting up of new ones, once at end. Each round of pox, according to Zarate, is signalled by the musicians as they sing the following verse:

Pertonal hsetuk xiobil/ sk'exobil	Pardon so little (?)
sk'exins o snicim/ syanalte	They change the flowers, the eyes
C'ul Martil/ Piarol	Divine Martyr, Guarantor.

(When the flower change is over, there is another set of long bows. The rehirols say:

R: Tot kahval.	Our Lord, father
Lisutal 7un	I have returned
Valko ta hlumal	Turn over to my earth
ta xc'ay nicime.	Leave the flowers. (??)

18. Cep first learned to play the violin, he says, because ka7i hcan. (I understood how to learn.)

19. When could, for example, I start to play?
R: Cep invited me to play with moletik on Saturday since he will be playing violin. Is this, then, the general pattern?
(Also note, in field notes for August 21, how musicians are chosen to record for me.)

20. What happens to a man's musical abilities when he gets old?
R: Xc'ay ta sk'ob 7i svobe. (His hands lose their music.)
(Note: This can never happen to a young man. ??)

21. With all three instruments, mas lek ta xal son.

22. Which instruments are hard to play?
R: Ha7 vokol li tihel li k'ox vobe. Mu stak stihel. Mu hna7tik smakel (-mak: cover, plug, push). X7ok li arpae (?) Mas lek ta tihel kitara.

23. K'uxi 7elan xatih li kitara?
R: Ta hk'ob ta htihtik: ta hmaktike. Ta htihtik ta xcibal hk'obtik.

24. One plays better when seated. Mas lek ta balamil.

25. Who owns instruments?
R: Musicians, but generally they don't have all. Ha7 z'akal yoxebal ta hpasabteletik. (The cargoholers have the complete set of three.) They cost:
$60 for a harp plus $15 for strings
$30 for a guitar plus $15 for strings
$60 for a guitar from Konseres (or $25 if you are a cargoholder...
Cep's comment: Ha7 baz'i kabren li Konseres.) plus $3 for strings.
(In Chamula, a violin costs just $30, but there they are made of pinaveta wood, whereas Konseres uses the better segre.)

26. When are there new instruments pla ed?
R: Ta k'exel. When cargoholders are new. (Thus, they aren't needed for fiestas.)

With Cep Zarate at the Ranch and at the Banos, August 18.
In t e morning I tried to get a description of the moletik flower change and to record the music. In the afternoon I asked clean-up questions from my first draft. The second half of the interview appears first.

1. Relative tunings of the large guitar and small guitar.
R:Mas sinil li mol kitara, mas pocol li bik'it kitara.
Mas sinil li violine sci7uk mol kitara.

2. The music for the various cargoholders is all : ko7ol no7ox- i.e., in rhythm and songs, just the same. As for pitch, segun sk'an stik li hvabahometik.

3/ I asked which was first (which instrument) K'usi ba7yi?
R: Ha7 ba7yi li arapa, s'akal li violine. Mas k'un-k'un ta scenik arapa. (The harp is easier to learn). Stak stukik li arapa kitara. (The harp and guitar alone work, are enough.)
(Once, according to Cep, there were no violins, only harps and guitars. Now, of course, there are lots who know how to play violin and the three instruments together are better.)
(The violin is like the flute in a band.)

4. Pero mas bankilal li violine. (The vielin is more snier.)
Mas xlok' skotol li son. (It plays all the songs better, whereas the harp can play a little, but not all the songs (the whole songs?))

5. K'uxi 7elan mk'evuhin li muc'u sna7 lek? (How does a good musician sing?)
R: Mas muk' nuptik k'alal yecol li vobe, mas bikit nuptik k'alal mas sinil. (Talking type voice is no good for singing because it doesn't match the music. mu ko7ol.)

6. Evidently musicians who are special musicians for cargoholders can have mote than one job at once if they like. Thus, for instance, Mol Pun Lopis playsharp for the moletik. After the flower-change at the house of the mol alkalte, he must rush to the house of the martomorey bankilal for their ceremony.

7. Thr words to the songs serve as cues during ceremonies in the sense that. e.g., musicians signal that a round of pox should begin at, say, a flower-change, by singing special words which the helpers hear and, after which the helpers serve. Who initiates the verses is an ambiguous point; the violinist starts singing the verses but he does it only at the appropriate moment. (What the verses are comes out in the ceremony description below.)

8. What do musicians do among themselves at these ceremonies?
R: Ta xuc' kwarta, ta xlo7ilah hlikeluk, ta xalik. (Kwarta kixin pox.)
(They drink quartos of strong pox, they converse a little, they say-
—— Mi catal li vo7ote ta velahuneb k'ak'al?
—— Mu hna7 mi liene, mu hna7 mi citel...
—— Citalnan.
Silly conversations like this.)

Something of an interview with Marian Hernandez Heronimo of Zapas Tarob, August 16, 1966

This man was martomorey banxdal the same year as Cor was ix'tnal. I wasn't really prepared to talk to him. I was hoping to get some descriptions of dancing musicians, some criteria for good musicians, and some notes on the status of musicians. (I'll have to try again with someone like this after more preparation.)

I: Ta balte, k'uxt skwerte lt vobe?
M: Ta otun skwerte yo?on kaxvaltik. Skwerte martomortik (meetik)

I: Ay xu? sosa balte k'ala c'abal lt vobe?
M: Ay xu?. Iersa ?oy vob. (I asked if they could ever try, and the idea was inconceivable. I'm not sure why, for example, the flowers themselves couldn't be changed without music; often times the music stops while musicians tune, etc., without evident trouble.)

I: (I tried to find out how a musical performance could be lacking. Here, for instance, I was interested in the fact that instrumental ensembles are sometimes short a man.) Mi xu? ?oy vob kMalal c'abal lt yoxebal, lt mi c'abal lt k'ox vob, mi lt arpa, mi kitara?
M: ?o?man, pero sea copal lt vobe. Stak sot?uk lt yoxebal.
I: Could a short group play for, e.g., a balte?
M: Xu? pero ta ma, ma xtun ta skiexik. (Why?) Persa ta skiexik, ya?an oyan ?oy krixomo ta skiexik. T a ma mas stuk. (I.e., it's more private in the house and people can't see. No doubt people are sad about it. Left short.)

I: When there is a fiesta, one has to have all three musicians. They can't be allowed to get drunk or go to sleep.

I: K'xat lasamubtabe lt bvabomotik, k'ala ?oy avaltel? (I wanted to ask how much musicians are relied upon as sources of ritual information.)
M: sosatmbtas lt k'avabe no?ox. (Only the singing.)
I: lt ko?ol lt bvabomotik sotsuk lt x totilme?iletik ?
M: ?yuk. (There followed a long discussion of what the totilme?iletik do, such things as tell how much pox, how much food to buy, when to give, what to wear, not to get varicosamatrials ready. The musicians, in the case of this man at least, had very few rescu sibilities. This, of course, in a not subtle the question of how much the musicians are in charge of the flow of events at, say, a balte.)

I: Ay do you go to visit musicians three times when you recruit them?
M: for the wife (notone). That is, the must tan express to play each time after the first. But, for the ox ?ec'el, oxib lineste yox (sot?uk bkwalan t-) mi yoh.

I: (I tried to find out what this layman knew about the origin of music. I'll be pave no was this fact, along with the names of some very old musical no.)
M: ice bstoto (lt'?ermt?) stt' mas antivo.

I: (I asked about the songs for martomorestik. My man said there were [illegible] Then he turned the [illegible] himself: that is, he hummed the chants, not [illegible] the text. He text thought he couldn't remember some (i.e., the tun[illegible]

(I tried Renato's 'act-it-out' method at the Banes and got up to the departure to the church, for the martemorey flower change in 7Apas. I tried to record everything, though I have some doubts about my mastery ofnthe method.)

Ta xk'ot li7e.	He comes to the house. (no real greeting)
Hp'is sat.	Kneels at the altar and crosses self.
Prayer:	
Dios, Jesu Kristu, Kahval	God, Jesus Christ, Our Lord
Iskipula	Esquipulas
Ta7tik ta savaro, rominko	We are here on Saturday, Sunday
Sk'exinal li nicimal, yanalte."	They cahnge the flowers, the

(The two cargoholders are already present. All the musicians have arrived together.)

(There follows this dialogue between Xun and martomorey)

X: Miliote tot martomorey?	Are you here, father mayordomo rey?
M: Lione.	I am here.
X. Hvula7antikot	We are visiting you.
M: Lek bi mi la7abulah tal.	It is good if you have done the favor to to come.
X: Lital.	I have come.
M: Cotlan ce7e ta xila.	Sit in the chair, then.
X: Cicoti.	(He sits at the head chhirm for our demonstration.)

(First long bow --- doesn't sound very long to me.)

M: Ak'o pertonal hsetuk, Xun Zobo abaik.	Recept pardon for so little, Xun. You have come together.
X:Kolaval betik, to martomorey.	Thank you, tot martomorey.
xak' pox — hu p'is	He offers pox, one cup.
M:Cotlanik, cave7ik vah.	Sit down, you're eating tortillas.
Ta ctal kafve sci7uk pan.	Bread and coffee come, they eat.

(Second long bow, equally short.)

M: Abulahan	Do me the favor
Capo la vobike.	Tune (Ready) your instrument.
Tihibekon.	Play for me.
Sk'exina snicimal ta kahvaltike	Changing flowers for our Lord.
X: Teyuk, ta xicape.	Allright, I'll tune. (lit. I'll get myself ready.)
Ta hcap vob, smelzan vob.	I get the instrument ready, put it together.
Xlok li pekoe.	The martomoreetik take down the old flowers while this happens.
Ta xic' stihel, sk'extik nicim.	The music starts, they change th floers.

(The music that belongs here is tped and appears in transcription at the end. During the music there are three rounds of pox: ox p'is, laho li baltee.) After the music:

15. Vokol li cap, k'un 7i7i li scapel, mu stak.

16. Sk'an to7ox sk'pponohot li martomorey, mi ak'an atih?
R: 7Ihk'an. (K'usi 7ora ba7yi xak'an ..? No answre) Did your father or anyone else in your family play?
R: Ha7no7ox ihk&an htih vo7one.

17. Whenyou were first learning, how was your tuning?
R:Cepol li hcap, mu smelsan kuŠun.

18. How do you know that an instrument is out of tune?
R: Ta xka7itik (xka7etik) mi mu xak (?), xvinah (tal) mu szak sba li vobe. (It appears that it doesn't sieze (grab?get?) itself.)??

19. How do you know that, e.g., just the violin <u>is</u> in tune?
R: Lek pareho ta yoxebal. Lek xhoyik yu7un son.

20. K'alal acan acap li vobe, mi xu7 xava7i?
R: Mu xka7etik. Hcan ge7ox ba7yi hcanik k'oxe.
(Note: k'ox vob, or just k'ox is violin. (lit. little instrument.)

21.(Now it turns out that the learning process began before last year.)K'alal isk'oponot li martomorey, mi xana7 xa xatih?
R: Hi7. Ha7 no7ox ta htih ta k'ine, ta hnee.

22. K Sk'an tà7ox xana7, k'u yu7un xak'an xatih?
R: Sk'an no7ox ko7on,... hcan.

23. When I described more fully the kind of dream I meant in connection with starting to play music, it turned out that Xun did not dream. He didn't know if other musicians dreamed. Nor did he know if having a dream helped you to play better.

24. Whej and where have you played:
R: 7Ihtih hun7abil ta eklexia, ta sna skwenta martomorey sk'oponohon 7Ihtih xa li scibal habile ta k'in 7elol habile tey ta 7Apas. 7Ihcan tahmeke yoxebal habil. (Also played for ac' habil.) (And for K'in Krus ceremonies.)

25. Where did the martomorey learn that you play?
R: He heard me play at my house.

26. Do you play well now? R:Hutuk hna7 lek htih. (But Xun does not consider himself able to play in Hteklum now because he doesn't meet their standards.)

27. K'uxi 7ealn xalok' ta vabahel? (Enter into playing..)
R: Ta hsob hbatiketik tey ta sna li martomorey. (He played guitar, it seems.)

28. (Again I ask:)K'u yu7un scan atih?
R: Mu to7ox sk'an li ko7one (when he was ten years old).
Oy to7ox yabtel li htote --- smol alkalte. (His father was mol alkalte)
Xka7i no7ox k'uxi 7elan li svobe. (He heard what music was like.)
(Evidently he was 13 at the time and only then did he get an urge