

Appendix 1: The Gossip Corpus

In Chapter 4 I list several different types of gossip texts upon which I based most of the linguistic and thematic surveys used in this thesis. The following list shows the composition of each prefix group, in alphabetical order.

- A /7Ak'ol Hteklum/ ('Upper Zinacantan Center'). This segment contains 108 stories transcribed by /Romin Teratol/ from Zinacantan Center, concerning the people listed in the Who's Who from /7Ak'ol Hteklum/.
- E Edit. This segment contains 495 discrete stories, edited into English and Tzotzil from taped gossip sessions about the people from /Nabencauk/ listed in the Who's Who. The gossip sessions usually had four or five participants who would converse about each person named.
- G Gossip. During the course of my field stay I overheard or was told directly a large number of gossip stories occurring in more or less natural settings. In some cases I also asked about specific occurrences or individuals. I kept fairly extensive textual notes on 87 of these stories, some of which are short summaries and others extensive Tzotzil texts.
- H /Hteklum/. I transcribed 91 stories from taped conversations with /Romin Teratol/ dealing with the occupants of houses on a map I created of the central parts of Zinacantan Center. These stories are all in the form of full Tzotzil monologues.
- N /Nacih/. I elicited 6 texts from /Mol Cep Nuh/ about his nearby neighbors in Nacih, and supplemented the texts with notes taken from his oral presentation of the same stories.
- O /70lon Hteklum/. These stories are in the same form as those under the A prefix but deal with individuals from the lower part of the valley of Zinacantan. There are 48 discrete stories.
- P 'Page'. Selected stories recorded during Who's Who gossip sessions were transcribed word for word in Tzotzil. The transcriptions numbered 462 pages, and references with P prefixes refer to page numbers in this collection.

W Who's Who. W prefixes refer to story numbers out of the 175 discrete stories transcribed from Who's Who sessions.

Appendix 2: Field Schedule

June - September, 1969	In Zinacantan working on Tzotzil semantics, and doing preliminary interviewing on Zinacanteco gossip.
September - November, 1969	Preparation of thesis prospectus, in Cambridge, Mass.
December, 1969 - November, 1970	In Zinacantan carrying out field research.
December, 1970	At Stanford, California, developing indexing procedures for gossip texts.
January - April, 1971	In Cambridge, Mass., finishing analysis of texts, and completing semantic studies with visiting Zinacanteco informant.
May - July, 1971	Completing research and thesis, in San Cristóbal las Casas, Chiapas, México.

### Appendix 3: Gossip Subject Frequency List

In what follows I give a brief description of the sort of thematic material that is categorized under each of the subject headings by which the corpus of gossip stories was indexed. I also show the frequencies associated with each category.

Category	Explanation
Frequency	
10: 23	anger
	Stories including mention of great anger or fury, people who get angry when drunk, or act angry when they talk. Key roots: /-kap, -7ilin/.
3	envy
1	jealousy
	Stories which use the root /-7it'ix/, ('envy') either with respect to things or people.
11: 2	omens
	Stories involving predictions: e.g., a man predicted his own death correctly when he could not get his cigarette to light. (E 17)
31	belief
	A category including all references to /kreyensya/ (Sp: creencia, 'belief') of the old people, or having to do with the residual category of 'bizarre' notions. I have included, among other things, stories about the hot or cold properties of foods, about buried treasure, about the healing properties of certain herbs, about loss of potency through sexual mismatch (/ -lok' -con/ ('lose one's animal')), and so on.
12: 11	borrow
14	lend
	Stories which contain reference to the institutionalized lending of money.
22	debt/ repayment
	Stories which emphasize something about a person's reputation for repaying loans: bad risks, honest hardworking men who always repay, etc.
13: 57	cabildo
10	settling disputes
	Stories which include scenes of conflict settlement, either at the town hall or elsewhere.

- 5 settler of disputes  
Stories about peoples' capacities for settling disputes, especially if they are bad at it.
- 14: 38 cargo performance  
Stories dealing with such things as: incomplete or improper cargo performance, one's cargo career and its peculiarities, the requirements for success, the difference between passing religious and civil offices, full complete cargo service, etc.
- 11 cargo expenses  
Stories dealing with the costs of religious office, and the equipment necessary. (One story, for example, mocks a man for having not built himself a suitable house for his cargo.)
- 5 cargo request  
Stories dealing with the circumstances by which individuals gain or enter cargos.
- 11 cargo lost  
4 no cargo career  
Stories about people who fail and flee their cargos, or fail to enter them for some reason; or about men who grow old without ever taking religious office.
- 28 cargo helpers  
Stories about the duties and performance of various auxiliary personnel: scribes, sacristans, musicians, ritual advisors, etc.
- 15: 8 childless  
2 barren  
4 sterile  
Stories about couples without children, as well as men or women who are unable to have children.
- 10 impotent/ inadequate  
Stories about impotent men, or women who fail to have sexual satisfaction.
- 16: 19 civil office  
Stories typically about a man's performance in the civil hierarchy.
- 17: 11 clothes  
1 appearance  
Stories which mention a person's tattered, dirty, old, or otherwise peculiar dress or looks.
- 18: 15 courtship-OK  
Stories which remark on successful courtships.

- 8 bad performance  
 10 suitor rejected  
   7 abandoned  
 11 3rd person interferes  
 11 elopement  
   3 girl flees  
       Stories in which courtship fails for one of  
       the reasons indicated.
- 13 bride price  
       Stories focussing on the financial aspects of  
       courtship.
- 19: 40 curing power  
       Stories about curers and their particular  
       propensities and abilities. (For example,  
       several stories contrast the abilities of a  
       curer whose talents are God-given with those  
       who learn to cure from talking saints.)
- 15 curing practices  
       Stories which detail curing ritual.
- 3 bonesetting, midwifery  
       Self-explanatory.
- 20: 24 deceit  
       Stories involving actions describable with  
       the roots /-lo7lo/ ('trick'), or /co7/ ('betray,  
       fool'), and involving some sort of broken  
       agreement or chicanery.
- 21:  7 disrespect  
       8 disobedience  
       Stories about people who do not properly  
       /p'is ta vinik/ ('measure as a man') their  
       elders; or who do not /-c'un mantal/ ('obey  
       orders').
- 22: 132 drunken behavior
- 23: 29 factions  
       Stories which detail the factional alignments  
       of individuals on particular divisive questions.
- 11 enemies  
       Stories about particularly unfriendly relations,  
       especially long-term enmities.
- 24: 39 fighting  
       33 beating  
       Stories in which instances of violence repre-  
       sented by the verb /-mah/ ('hit') occur.
- 25: 50 fleeing  
       Stories about the causes and incidence of fleeing

Zinacantan, or a particular paraje: e.g.,  
 running away from cargo; running away to  
 avoid punishment for crimes or witchcraft;  
 running away to avoid marriage; etc.

- 26: 12 good man  
 Stories which focus on virtuous, sin-free men.  
 8 good in appearance only  
 Stories which deal with the irony of evidently  
 respected, virtuous men who have secret past  
 crimes or misadventures.
- 27: 24 gossip  
 Stories about the origins and effects of  
 gossiping.
- 28: 6 haughtiness  
 Stories about people who act uppity, who  
 /-toy -ba/ ('raise themselves') and are un-  
 cooperative.  
 4 bragging  
 Gossip instances in which a speaker uses the  
 gossip sessions as occasions for self-  
 aggrandizement.
- 29: 20 identity change  
 Stories about Indians who become ladinos,  
 Chamulas who become Zinacantecos, etc.
- 30: 30 illegitimate child  
 9 paternity problems  
 Stories about women who bear children out of  
 wedlock, and about men accused of fathering  
 them.
- 31: 83 illicit sexual relations  
 21 incest  
 6 caught in the act  
 Various kinds of sexual offenses: premarital,  
 extramarital intercourse; affairs with godchildren  
 or comadres; lovemaking with one's mother-in-law;  
 being discovered in a compromising position; etc.  
 6 age mismatch  
 Sexual relations between people of different  
 ages (leading to sickness and loss of potency,  
 usually).
- 32: 89 jail  
 12 punishment  
 Stories in which someone is jailed or sub-  
 jected to some other sort of punishment: fines,  
 forced labor, being made into low-ranking  
 /mayol/ for a year, etc.

- 33: 3 joking ability  
18 lewd joking  
Stories about the joking ability of protagonists; or gossip which is characterized by long exchanges of lewd jokes between participants.
- 34: 9 ladino ways, things  
Stories which discuss articles and institutions from the ladino world, or from gringo-land, e.g., medicine.  
15 ladino connections  
12 ladino government  
Stories in which Indians become involved with ladinos, especially with organs of the government: soldiers, Instituto Nacional Indigenista projects, etc.
- 35: 33 ladino law  
Stories involving appeals to non-Indian legal institutions.
- 36: 32 laziness  
Stories which characterize people as /c'ah/ ('lazy'), or featuring characters who /mu sna7 x7abteh/ ('won't work').
- 37: 14 luck  
Stories involving the notion of 'luck' (roots like /-ora/ or /-yaxal/), especially with respect to bad luck or loss of luck (i.e., loss of the ability to make money, to grow things.)
- 38: 20 madness  
Stories in which people are mad, feeble-minded, or epileptic. (Tzotzil: /cuvah/, /-cuhil/, /vov/.)
- 39: 4 /manya/ ('wickedness, mischievousness')  
Attributions of the concept /manya/.
- 40: 18 marriage  
2 civil marriage  
Stories of weddings, the ramifications of marriage; especially when these stories involve aberrations: forced marriage, marriage to a Chamula, marriage at a young age, etc.  
5 sexual incompatibility  
5 age incompatibility  
Stories whose interest derives from the sexual problems arising from an unfortunate marriage.



- 20 wife beating  
 4 husband scolding  
 Stories of marital difficulties of one kind or the other --- these two being the most recurrent themes.
- 41: 39 mocking  
 Stories about mocking (Tzotzil root: /-laban/, /-lo7ilta/) either between protagonists; or by participants in gossip sessions; for example, in a Who's Who session the men spent fifteen minutes making jokes about a man who lived off his wife's money.
- 42: 54 murder/ killing  
 Stories involving not only actual murder, but also murder conspiracies, attempts; also stories about highwaymen in the olden days.
- 43: 14 musician  
 Stories about musicians and their failings: typically haughtiness or lack of piety.
- 44: 46 nickname  
 11 reputation  
 Stories which detail peoples' nicknames, or which dwell on salient features of their reputations (or toss them off in short remarks).
- 45: 27 old age  
 Stories which talk about the failings of old age: old men who have spent useless (i.e., cargoless) lives; who are senile; who look older or younger than they are; who are impotent with age; etc.
- 46: 14 owner  
 Accounts of the various large items certain people own: mills, trucks, cattle, horses, etc.
- 47: 32 past times  
 Accounts of conditions in the past, and notable events: the famine (/vi7naltik/), the flood in Nabencauk, and so on.
- 48: 6 physical injury  
 21 physical abnormality  
 Accounts of accidents and disabilities, of lameness, light skin, deafness, dirtiness, heavy beards, horns...
- 49: 10 serial polygamy

- 12 polygyny  
Accounts of people with many spouses, whether all at once or one after the other.
- 50: 48 promiscuity (female)  
15 womanizing (male)  
Gossip and joking about excessive sexual appetite, whether of men or women, and the reputations for looseness accorded to different individuals.
- 51: 17 property rights  
Accounts of disputes over land, land frauds, attempts to borrow money from banks using other peoples' land as collateral, etc.
- 52: 19 /pukuh/ - ill-tempered  
6 /pukuh/ - demonic, devilish, supernaturally evil  
Stories either (a) about unpleasant people; or (b) about supernatural goats, and other demons that roam about.
- 53: 47 rape  
Stories of rapes, complete or attempted.
- 54: 11 /rason/ ('reason, correct thinking')  
Stories about lack of, the acquisition of, the nature of /rason/ --- the ability to think clearly and correctly on a subject.
- 55: 90 kin disputes --- various types  
Stories in which people can't get along with their relatives, be they near or far.
- 56: 3 religious behavior  
Stories of extraordinary piety, care of saints and churches.  
7 irreligious behavior  
Stories of such things as blasphemy and improper demeanor in churches.
- 57: 22 residence change  
Stories in which, for one reason or another, a protagonist changes his domicile: whether he goes from one paraje to another, or moves permanently to Hot Country or Tuxtla Gutiérrez.
- 58: 52 scolding  
7 quarrelling  
2 insulting  
Stories involving some sort of verbal abuse and hostility, often represented by the Tzotzil root /-ut/ ('scold, say something to someone'),

either singly (meaning 'scold'), or in reflexive (meaning 'quarrel').

- 59: 29 selling  
 Stories in which protagonists trade in some goods, typically cane liquor, hats, corn, flowers, peaches, firewood, charcoal, salt, or peanuts. Selling salt is an old Zinacanteco tradition in certain families. Selling charcoal or firewood is a mark of poverty.
- 60: 25 sex role reversal  
 Stories about unusually aggressive women, men who live off their wives, etc.
- 61: 61 sexual desire, advances  
 29 sexual perversion  
 Stories which turn on the extraordinary sexual desires of old ladies, corn re-sellers; and on such perversions as homosexuality, bestiality, looking at genital organs, etc.
- 62: 17 shame  
 Stories with occurrences of the root /k'exl--/ ('shame, embarrassment').
- 63: 45 sickness, death  
 14 VD, /xok/  
 Stories about long illnesses, strange deaths, itchiness, worms, various kinds of rot and venereal disease.
- 64: 8 soul, dreams  
 Stories in which dreams are recounted, or containing exploits of peoples' /c'ulel/ ('souls'), which are believed to roam around during dreams.
- 65: 13 /sovra/ ('leftover, worthless person')  
 Stories about such people.
- 66: 8 special skills  
 5 lawyer skills  
 Stories which display the special talents of individual Zinacantecos: house building, butchering, liquor making, water divining; and especially the good-talking abilities of Zinacanteco 'lawyers'.
- 67: 14 Spanish  
 Tales involving skills at speaking Spanish.

- 68: 14 spells, potions, medicines  
Stories containing recipes for various concoctions with healing powers, or powers to make people ill or amorous.
- 69: 3 spouseless woman  
16 wifeless man  
Stories dwelling on the curious people who live alone.
- 70: 60 stealing  
10 embezzling  
Stories of theft, whether of private goods or public funds.
- 71: 10 stupid/ smart  
Stories which characterize protagonists by such Tzotzil roots as /sonso/ ('stupid'), /p'ih/ ('clever'), or /bivo/ ('lively, smart').
- 72: 22 supernatural  
Stories in which supernatural creatures appear: witch/goats, bells in the Earth, blackmen, snakes, devil-women, jaguars, etc.
- 73: 23 talking saint  
Stories usually dealing with the fraudulent nature of most saint images which talk, predict and cure.
- 74: 11 treasure  
Stories about buried treasure and such supernatural objects as /me7tak'in/ ('lit: 'mother of money' --- a treasure which replenishes itself.)
- 75: 43 troublemaking  
Stories about people who get into, search for, and otherwise stir up disputes: /sa7 -k'op/ ('look for trouble').
- 76: 39 violence/ arrest/ weapons  
Violence characterized by grabbing people, or using weapons other than fists: usually rifles.
- 77: 92 wealth/ poverty  
Stories having to do with extremes of either wealth or poverty; also stories that deal with squandering wealth, the unnatural sources of wealth; and stories about selling children and land because of extreme poverty.

- 78: 65 witchcraft  
       Stories about actual cases of witchcraft.  
       5 belief in witchcraft  
       Gossip sessions in which participants speculate  
       about witches and their alleged powers.
- 79: 74 adultery  
       Stories of those particular illicit sexual  
       relations which are adulterous.
- 80: 87 divorce  
       9 reconciliation  
       15 child support  
       Stories about those particular marital disputes  
       which end in divorce; also stories about the  
       ramifications of divorce such as child support;  
       the problems of eventual reconciliation.

As I remark in Chapter 5, these categories are not intended as reflections of any native Zinacanteco classificatory scheme. Nor can I claim that the various similarities which cause us to group particular stories together would strike Zinacantecos as similarities at all. Instead, I intend this list of gossip subjects as a quick index of material which occurred in the gossip collected.

Laughlin (n.d.) and Colby (1963). In this thesis, we have adopted the following spelling conventions:

- ʔ for ʔ (glottal stop).
- c for č (voiceless alveo-palatal affricate).
- x for š (voiceless alveo-palatal spirant).
- z for č (voiceless alveolar affricate).
- ' to represent glottalized consonants, i.e., k', c' (= č'), p', t', and z' (= č').

The letter b may be conceived of (synchronously) as a glottalized m, hence as a voiced bilabial glottalized stop, sometimes implosive.

The allophones of Tzotzil glottalized consonants follow context:

- c' ---> Strongly glottalized / /# --- (initially).
- > ʔc' : ʔC' (strongly glottalized, slightly preglottalized, with slight lengthening and nasalization of preceding vowel) / / V --- V (intervocalically)
- > ʔc̃ : ʔC̃ (strongly preglottalized, lengthening and nasalization of preceding vowel) / / --- # --- C (before word end, or consonant.)

Hence, /k'ok'/ ('fire') occurs as [k'õ:ʔk]. Since the unglottalized form of b is m, we have

- /bot/ ('hail') = [b'ot]
- /lobol/ ('fruit') = [lo:(ʔ)b'ol]
- /ʔabtel/ ('work') = [ʔã:ʔmtel]
- /zeb/ ('girl') = [čẽ:ʔm]