The following story was produced when I asked one of my consultants to retell the story in Mayer 1969 in Tzeltal. This charming book is a story narrated entirely in pictures about a boy, his dog, and their frog. Lacking any text this engaging story makes a perfect elicitation tool especially due to the many details drawn into the illustrations, as well as the multiple participants in the story. The informant “re-producing” the story is a young man (about 18 years of age) who grew up in a mono-lingual Tzeltal-speaking household.

In this, and following appendices, wherever possible I have included Spanish glosses I obtained from my consultants. Few of the English glosses are direct translations from the Spanish glosses, however, wherever seemed perspicacious I have augmented or created English glosses from the Tzeltal utterances. Some of the Spanish glosses will be found ungrammatical by speakers of standard dialects. The sources of this are two-fold: the deficiencies in my command of Spanish, and the Tzeltal influence on the Spanish spoken in Petalcingo. As the latter can reveal aspects of Tzeltal grammar I left the Spanish glosses as they are.

(1) jich jun wits^ kerem
like.this NC:generic.1 small boy
‘one boy’

(2) nakal-Ø ta s-ts^ehl s-wab
seated-V-B:3 PREP A:3-near A:3-bed
‘sat near his bed’

(3) s-joyok-Ø j-koht y-ala ts^i7
A:3-accompany-B:3? 1-NC:animal A:3-DIM dog
‘his puppy accompanied him’

(4) te s-ts^i7-e yakal y-il-bel-Ø jun boteya
DET A:3-dog-CL PROG A:3-see-PART-B:3 NC:generic.1 bottle
‘his dog is/was looking at the bottle’

(5) binti ta y-util boteya tey ay jun j7onkonak 7a
what PREP A:3-inside bottle there EXIST NC:generic.1 G-frog DIST?
‘where, inside there was a frog’

(6) k^ax j-ts^ihn ... k^ax este...
pass/happen 1-NC:time? pass/happen this
‘pasó un rato; a while passed’
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(7) j-ts^ihn tyempo-wan  
1-NCT:time time-EVID  
’a little bit of time, I think’

(8) te wits^ kereme baht-Ø ta wayel  
DET small boy-CL go-B:3 PREP sleep-PART  
‘the little boy went to sleep’

(9) te ts^i7-e may-ix chikan 7a  
DET dog-CL NEG.EXIST-already appear DIST?  
‘the dog is not seen’

(10) i te 7onkonak-e wiwl-Ø lok^el te ta botejaje  
and DET frog-CL jump-B:3 DIR:exit DET/COMP PREP bottle-CL  
‘the frog jumped out of the bottle’

(11) ta ahk^abal, te.. ta sak-ub-el k^inal  
PREP night DET PREP white-INCH-PART sky  
‘the night... the sky grew white’

(12) ja7 te este... ts^i7-e baht s-joyin-Ø te wits^ kerem-e  
F/T DET this dog-CL go A:3-accompany-B:3? DET small boy-CL  
‘the dog went to accompany the small boy’

(13) i och, ots s-lej-ik te sapo-je  
and enter enter A:3-search-PL DET frog-CL  
‘and they began to search for the frog’

(14) pe ke may-ix chikan 7a  
but COMP NEG.EXIST-already appear DIST?  
‘but it did not turn up’

(15) te wits^ kerem-e laj s-lej-Ø ta botajil  
DET small boy-CL PFV A:3-search-B:3 PREP boot  
‘the small boy searched in the boot’

(16) i ma7 laj s-tah-Ø  
and NEG PFV A:3-find  
‘and did not find it’

(17) te ts^i7-e laj x-cha7 lej ta boteja  
DET dog-CL PFV ICMP.A:3-again search PREP bottle  
‘the dog searched again in the bottle’

(18) i may-ix ta ejuk 7a  
and NEG.EXIST-already PREP A:3-also DIST?  
‘it was not (there) either’

(19) laj s-leh-ik te ventana-je  
PFV A:3-search-PL DET window-CL  
‘they searched the window’

(20) ots s-k^ehlu-Ø ta fwera  
enter A:3-watch-B:3 PREP outside  
‘he/they began to look outside’
(21)  i mayuk binti laj y-il-Ø  
and NEG.EXIST what PFV A:3-see  
‘they didn’t see anything’

(22)  te ts^i7-e laj xoj-Ø s-jol a te ta boteya-je  
DET dog-CL PFV A:3.insert-B:3 A:3-head PT DET PREP bottle-CL  
‘the dog stuck its head into the bottle’

(23)  yahl-Ø kohel ta ventana  
fall-B:3 DIR:descending PREP window  
‘he fell (down) out the window’

(24)  te wits^ kereme koh-Ø tal\el  
DET small boy-CL descend-B:3 DIR:toward  
‘the small boy came down’

(25)  tal s-tsak-Ø te y-ala ts^i7-e  
come A:3-grab DET A:3-DIM dog-CL  
‘came to take his puppy’

(26)  laj s-lok^-es-be-Ø boteya ta s-jol-e  
PFV A:3-exit-CAUS-APPL-B:3 bottle PREP A:3-head-CL  
‘he took the bottle off its head’

(27)  i ots s-pet-Ø  
and enter A:3-hug-B:3  
‘and began to hug it (the puppy)’

(28)  patil, namij-ik bajel ta s-na  
afterwards move away-PL DIR:away PREP A:3-house  
‘later, they moved away from the house’

(29)  lok^ s-leh-ik te 7onkonak-e  
exit A:3-search-PL DET frog-CL  
‘they left to search for the frog’

(30)  te ts^i7-e.. te ala wits^ kerem-e yakal y-au-ta-bel-Ø  
DET dog-CL DET DIM small boy-CL PROG A:3-yell-TRANS-PART-B:3  
banti ay-Ø te 7onkonake  
where EXIST DET frog-CL  
‘the dog... the boy is/was yelling where is the frog’

(31)  i te este ts^i7-e och.. och s-wowo-ta-Ø  
and DET this dog-CL enter enter A:3-bark-TRANS-B:3  
‘and this dog began to bark (for it?)’

(32)  i mayuk binti chikan  
and NEG.EXIST what appear  
‘and it (the frog) did not appear’

(33)  i jich a bej-en-ik bajel  
and like.this PT walk-V-PL DIR:away  
‘and so they walked farther’
(34) k^alal a k^ot-ik ta jun te7
until PT arrive-PL PREP NC:generic.1 tree
‘until they came to a tree’

(35) tey ay s-na7 jun este baj 7a
there EXIST A:3-house NC:generic.1 this chipmunk DIST?
‘there was a chipmunk’s house there’

(36) te wits^ kerem-e ots s-k^ehlu-Ø este te s-na baj-e7
DET small boy-CL enter A:3-watch-B:3 this DET A:3-house chipmonk-CL
‘the little boy began to watch the chipmunk’s house’

(37) i tey ta te7-e te jip-il jun na xux-7a
and DET PREP tree-CL DET hanging-PRED NC:generic.1 house wasp-CL
‘and there in the tree a house of wasps was hanging’

(38) te ts^i7-e ots s-wowo-ta-Ø te na xuxe
DET dog-CL enter A:3-bark-TRANS-B:3 DET house wasp-CL
‘the dog began to bark at the wasps’ house’

(39) i te wits^ kerem-e yakal s-k^ehlu-bel-Ø te na baj-e7
and DET small boy-CL PROG A:3-watch-PART-B:3 DET house chipmunk-CL
‘and the little boy began to look at the chipmunk’s house’

(40) toj lijk-el a lo7-Ø tael te chambahlam-e
directly begin-PART PT exit-B:3 DIR:toward DET animal-CL
‘and unfortunately the animal began to come out’

(41) ti7-b-ot s-ni7
bite-APPL-PASS A:3-nose
‘le mordió su nariz; he got his nose bitten’

(42) te ts^i7-e ots s-wen-wowo-ta-Ø xchahk^ol te xux-e
DET dog-CL enter A:3-INT-bark-TRANS-B:3 again DET wasp-CL
‘the dog really began to bark at the wasps’

(43) k^ala-laj s-yahl-tes-Ø kohel
until-EVID A:3-fall-CAUS-B:3 DIR:descending
‘until he made it fall’

(44) i beh-em-Ø bajel te wits^ kerem-e
and walk-V-B:3 DIR:away DET small boy-CL
‘and the boy walked away’

(45) k^alal a k^ot-Ø ta jun te7
until PT arrive PREP NC:generic.1 tree
‘until he arrived at a tree’

(46) ta jun te7 jot-ol
PREP NC:generic.1 tree holey-PRED
‘...at a large tree that had a hole (holes) in it’

(47) pero te te7 jotol-e7 te ay te ay jun.. este..
but DET tree holey-PRED-CL DET EXIST DET EXIST NC:generic.1 this
‘nut the tree with the hole there was one.. this’
Appendix A: Frog Story

(48) tey ay jun este. lechusa 7a
   DET exist NC:generic.1 this owl DIST?
   ‘there was an owl there’

(49) toj lihk-el a lo7-Ø talel
directly begin-PART PT exit-B:3 DIR:toward
   ‘it came right out’

(50) toj lihkel a lo7 talel te lechusaj-e7
directly begin-PART PT exit DIR:toward DET noun-CL
   ‘the owl came right out’

(51) te wits^ kereme laj xi7-Ø
   DET small boy-CL PFV fear-B:3
   ‘the boy got scared’

(52) yahl-Ø kohel ta lum
   fall-B:3 DIR:descending PREP ground
   ‘he fell down to the ground’

(53) jaw-al ta lum-7a te wits^ kereme
   lying.face.up.arms.open-PRED PREP ground-CL DET small boy-CL
   ‘the boy was sprawled out on the ground’

(54) k^alal a k^ax-Ø ta ahn-cl te s-ts^i7-e nuts-im-bil a tal
   until PT pass-B:3 PREP escape-PART DET A:3-dog-CL flee-TR-PASS PT DIR:toward
   ta este xux
   PREP this wasp
   ‘until his dog passed running chased by the wasps’

(55) i tal-Ø ejuk te este te lechusaj-e
   and come also DET this DET noun-CL
   ‘and the owl came as well’

(56) te wits^ kereme laj xi
   DET small boy-CL PFV fear
   ‘the boy got scared’

(57) muh-Ø bahel ta ton
   climb DIR:away PREP rock
   ‘he climbed away onto a rock’

(58) k^ot-Ø ... k^ot-Ø ta y-ahk^ol-al te ton-e
   arrive arrive PREP A:3-top-PCHG? DET rock-CL
   ‘he got to the top of the rock’

(59) laj s-tsak-Ø jun te7...
   PFV A:3:grab NC:generic.1 tree
   ‘he grabbed a (tree) branch’

(60) laj s-tsak-Ø te7..
   PFV A:3:grab tree
   ‘he grabbed a tree’
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(61) laj s-tsak-Ø jun te7
PFV A:3-grab-B:3 NC:generic.1 tree
‘he grabbed a (tree) branch’

(62) i ma mati te7-uk
and NEG ? tree-IRR
‘and it wasn’t a tree’

(63) s-ja-mati xuhlub jun.. jun chij
A:3-?-? horn NC:generic.1 NC:generic.1 deer
‘it was an antler of a deer’

(64) te chij-e laj s-kuch-Ø bajel te wits^ kerem-e
DET deer-CL PFV A:3-carry-B:3 DIR:away DET small boy-CL.
‘the deer carried away the boy’

(65) te s-k^ech-oj bajel ta s-jol-7a
DET A:3-carry-PERF DIR:away PREP A:3-head-DIST?
‘he got carried on his head’

(66) i te ala ts^i7-e tal-Ø-to ejuk
and DET DIM dog-CL come-B:3-stil also
‘and the doggie came too’

(67) pero baht-ik ta ahn-el x-ch^eb-al-ik
but go-PL PREP escape-PART ICMP-two-MOD?-PL
‘the two went running together’

(68) k^alal a yahl-tes-ot-ik kohel ta jun ch^en
until PT fall-CAUS-PASS-PL DIR:descending PREP NC:generic.1 cliff
‘until they were made to fall down off a cliff’

(69) te chij-e tey tehk^-aj-to jil-el
DET deer-CL there standing-V-still stay-PART
‘the deer remained standing’

(70) k^alal a yahl-ik kohel ta jun ch^en-e7
until PT fall-PL DIR:descending PREP NC:generic.1 cliff-CL
‘until they fell down off a cliff?’

(71) ta ay jun ja7-a
PREP EXIST NC:generic.1 water-DIST?
‘there was a river there’

(72) i ta ja-7a k^ot-ik
and PREP water-CL arrive-PL
‘and they got in the water’

(73) te chij-e yakal laj s-k^ehlu-bel-Ø jil-el
DET deer-CL PROG PFV A:3-watch-PART-B:3 stay-PART
‘the deer is watching’

(74) yakal s-k^ehlu-bel-Ø ta toyol
PROG A:3-watch-PART-B:3 PREP high
‘watching from up high’
Appendix A: Frog Story

(75) te wits^ kerem-e lok^-Ø-to talel sok te y-ala ts^i7-e DET small boy-CL exit:B:3-still DIR:toward with DET A:3-DIM dog-CL.

(76) s-kech-oj-Ø lo7-el ta s-jol A:3-finish-PERF-B:3 exit-PART PREP A:3-head

(77) patil, k^ot-ik ta jun te7 afterwards arrive-PL PREP NC:generic.1 tree

(78) ja te j.. ja7 te te-7e wen muk^ F/T DET wits^ kerem sok te y-ala ts^i7-e DET small boy with DET A:3-DIM dog-CL

(79) i jot^-ol ta y-ohlil and holey-PRED PREP A:3-middle

(80) te7 x-tal-ik-ix a te wits^ kerem sok te y-ala ts^i7-e there ICMP:come-PL-already PT DET small boy with DET A:3-DIM dog-CL

(81) och y-al-bel-Ø ma-x k^op-oj-at x-chi-laj y-ut enter A:3-say-PART-B:3 NEG-ICMP word-V-B:2 ICMP:say-EVID A:3-say

(82) yakal-Ø ta nux-el tal ta ja7 PROG-B:3 PREP swim-PART come PREP water

(83) wits^ kereme muh-Ø a te ta te7-e small boy-CL climb PT DET PREP tree-CL

(84) i te muh-Ø bajel ejuk 7a and DET? climb DIR:away also DIST?

(85) ta yan s-pat och pakh-aj-uk ta y-abkolal te te7 PREP another A:3-back enter flat-V-IRR? PREP A:3-on.top DET tree te wits^ kerem-e DET small boy-CL

(86) laj s-k^ehlu-Ø kohel ta yan s-pat PFV A:3-watch DIR:descending PREP another A:3-back

(87) te ts^i7-e yakal s-k^ehlu-bel-Ø kohel ejuk DET dog-CL PROG A:3-watch-PART-B:3 DIR:descending also

‘the small boy still came out with his puppy’

‘he had finished leaving his head’

‘after, they came to a tree’

‘a very large tree’

‘it had a hole in the middle’

‘the little boy and his doggie come (imperfective)’

‘he began to say “Don’t talk” ’

‘he is/was swimming in the water’

‘the small boy climbed the tree’

‘and he climbed away too’

‘on the other side of the tree the boy flattened himself’

‘he looked down to the other side’

‘the dog is looking down too’
(88) laj y-il-ik te ay x-chuch^-etik 7a
PFV A:3-see-PL COMP EXIST G-toad-PL DIST?
‘they saw that there were toads there’

(89) i te wits^ kerem-e ots s-wen k^ehlu-Ø ta lek
and DET small boy-CL enter A:3-INT watch-B:3 PREP well
‘the boy began to really look’

(90) k^ax mih-ix a te x-chuch^-etik-e
very much-already PT DET G-toad-PL-CL
‘there were a ton of toads there’

(91) laj s-tsak-Ø koht
PFV A:3-grab NC:animal
‘he grabbed one’

(92) i wen tse7el-ix 7a
and INT happy-already DIST?
‘and he was very happy’

(93) ots s-tuch-Ø muhel s-k^ab
enter A:3-lift.up DIR:ascending A:3-arm
‘he began to lift it up his hand’

(94) i te ts^i7-e ejuk-e ots s-wen k^ehlu-Ø
and DET dog-CL also-CL enter A:3-INT watch-B:3
‘and the dog too began to really look’

(95) i och-Ø ta wowo-t-awan-ej
and enter-B:3 PREP bark-TRANS-APAS-PART
‘empezó a ladrar; he began to bark’

(96) pero k^ax bayel-ix 7a te x-chu7ch-etik-e
but very much PT DET G-toad-PL-CL
‘but there were a ton of toads there’

(97) tehk^-aj-tik ta y-ahk^olal te7
standing.V-PL PREP A:3-on.top tree
‘standing on top of the tree’