

Appendix A

Frog Story

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'

- (7) j-ts[^]ihn tyempo-wan
1-NC: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 wihl-Ø lok[^]el te ta boteyaje
and DET frog-CL jump-B:3 DIR:exiting 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 boteya
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 talel
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 chipmunk-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 talel 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..’

- (48) tey ay jun este.. lechusa 7a
DET EXIST NC:generic.1 this owl DIST?
'there was an owl there'
- (49) toj lihkel 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-el 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'

- (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^ejlu-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'

- (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
 ‘the small boy still came out with his puppy’
- (76) s-kech-øj-Ø lo7-el ta s-jol
 A:3-finish-PERF-B:3 exit-PART PREP A:3-head
 ‘he had finished leaving his head’
- (77) patil, k[^]ot-ik ta jun te7
 afterwards arrive-PL PREP NC:generic.1 tree
 ‘after, they came to a tree’
- (78) ja te j.. ja7 te te-7e wen muk[^]
 F/T DET F/T DET tree-CL INT large
 ‘a very large tree’
- (79) i jot[^]-ol ta y-ohlil
 and holey-PRED PREP A:3-middle
 ‘it had a hole in the 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
 ‘the little boy and his doggie come (imperfective)’
- (81) och y-al-bel-Ø ma-x k[^]op-øj-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
 ‘he began to say “Don’t talk”’
- (82) yakal-Ø ta nux-el tal ta ja7
 PROG-B:3 PREP swim-PART come PREP water
 ‘he is/was swimming in the water’
- (83) wits[^] kereme muh-Ø a te ta te7-e
 small boy-CL climb PT DET PREP tree-CL
 ‘the small boy climbed the tree’
- (84) i te muh-Ø bajel ejuk 7a
 and DET? climb DIR:away also DIST?
 ‘and he climbed away too’
- (85) ta yan s-pat och pahk-aj-uk ta y-ahkolal 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
 ‘on the other side of the tree the boy flattened himself’
- (86) laj s-k[^]ehlu-Ø kohel ta yan s-pat
 PFV A:3-watch DIR:descending PREP another A:3-back
 ‘he looked down to the other side’
- (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 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'