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STATES OF HEART

An ethnohistorical approach to Kaqchikel Maya ethnopsychology

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Abstract

This article examines early colonial Kaqchikel Maya notions of the self, souls, and the heart. By integrating ethnohistorical data and contemporary ethnographic observations, we show that Kaqchikeles viewed the self as contingent on a dynamic balance of cosmic forces acting on the individual. The ways in which these forces are seen to effect one's state of being are documented through an extensive discussion of Kaqchikel metaphors of the heart and soul. We conclude by noting the importance of understanding processes of continuity (as well as change) in cultural constructions and argue for the continued utility of such approaches in ethnohistorical research.

The present article examines Kaqchikel Maya notions of the self (and its physical and metaphysical referents) based on both ethnohistoric sources and contemporary ethnographic data. We document the semantic categories most closely associated with early Colonial-period Kaqchikel notions of the self, elucidating their significance through comparison with data from other parts of the Mesoamerican culture area and from modern Kaqchikel concepts. From texts recorded on Classic-era (A.D. 250–900) stelae and pottery and from surviving Postclassic (A.D. 900–±1550) codices, we know that the pre-Columbian Maya considered earthly existence (both individual and collective) to be closely connected to the cosmic realm; the primordial events which gave life to humankind and set the cosmos in motion were played out both on earth and in the celestial sphere. The animizing force behind Maya creation and life is in turn linked to the eternal cycles of time as measured by the movement of the sun, moon, and stars.[1] This cosmic force (often rendered in English as "god") is at once a plurality and a unity of forces; Edmonson (1993:67; see also Monaghan 2000) writes that "the Mayan idea of god was explicitly unitary. God was called the Unified God (Hunanku), an expression capturing with precision this deity's essence as singular and plural at the same time." Conceived of in its perfect unitary state, the cosmic order is one of perfect harmony and balance between natural and metaphysical forces. As Mark King (1996:5) has observed, "the fundamental problem in the Mesoamerican universe is one of balance" (see also Freidel et al. 1993; Monaghan 1995). It is seen as the duty of (Maya) humans to approximate cosmic harmony on earth. Collectively this is realized through adherence to rituals scripted to approximate cosmic equilibrium. Individually, the Kaqchikel Maya strive for equilibrium of cosmic forces acting through the self. Edmonson (1993:70) writes that,

> Like god, the human being exists in his or her self, his or her uniqueness (*t u ba, t u hunal*). The self (*ba*) or thingness (*baal*) of god and the human being lies in their relation to each other (*t u ball ba*), and this reciprocity is the inmost part (*ol*) of each. In various contexts this is identified with the heart, breath, mouth, eye or face, head, belly or womb, blood or semen, flesh and bone, but it is the center (*ol*) that is the seat of feeling, of thought, and of the soul (*pixan*).

The Kaqchikel Maya recognize three primary centers in the body through which cosmic forces worked, and the state of balance which holds between these forces is fundamental to Maya notions of self.

Below, we describe each of the three forces associated with the Kaqchikel self, *natub*, *uxla'*, and *k'u'x*. We analyze the relative influence of each on the self through an examination of their respective semantic domains and contextualized instances of usage. We employ both internal diachronic comparisons of the semantic domains of *natub*, *uxla'*, and *k'u'x* in Colonial and modern Kaqchikel Maya texts and comparative data on cognate concepts from other parts of Mesoamerica. In the maintenance of cosmic equilibrium within the confines of the self, we find the concept of *k'u'x* (often glossed as "heart") to be of particular importance to both the Colonial and modern Kaqchikel Maya.

Culturally constituted notions of the self and of how thought processes and emotions occur increasingly are becoming part of ethnographic descriptions (Cohen 1994; Reddy 1997). Much of the interest that has developed over the last twenty or so years traces its inspiration to a series of seminal articles published by Hallowell (1954a, 1954b, 1960). Though not receiving the recognition they merited at the time, these articles are today recognized as one of the charters of cognitive anthropology, generally, and ethnopsychology, in particular (White and Kirkpatrick 1985:7–9).

[1] Fischer is grateful to William Harrison for sharing his extensive knowledge on the mythological data contained in Maya iconographic representations, specifically the creation myths referred to here; see also Freidel et al. (1993) on the origin of the Maya cosmos.

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One of Hallowell's (1954a, 1954b, 1960) basic contributions was to make the distinction between self awareness, on the one hand, and concepts of the self, on the other. Self awareness refers to the normal human ability to distinguish oneself from the rest of the environment. While perhaps not present in infants, such awareness does develop quickly in young children and is considered a human universal. Certainly, an individual who could not distinguish between him/herself and the rest of their environment would be considered mentally ill in our society and would have great difficulty functioning in society. In contrast, self concepts are culturally provided. Basically, if the term "world view" refers to "the way the world appears to [a] people looking out," self concepts define the nature of the entity that does the looking (Hallowell 1955:75–110; cf. Redfield 1953:84–110). As Cohen (1994) points out, anthropologists have generally explained the self as a function of the individual's position within a social structure. Recent constructionist approaches to the study of self reject this view (and in the process often reject the unifying concept of culture), proffering instead a view of the self as more malleable, the product of individual agency which serves as a vehicle for social, economic, and political maneuvering (see Lutz and Abu-Lugod 1990). In documenting the enduring (but not static) significance of the concepts of *natub*, *uxla'*, and *k'u'x* as links between the social structure/cosmology and the self for the Kaqchikel Maya and other Mesoamerican groups, we do not deny the possibility, or even the likelihood, that such conceptions were individually manipulated for self-serving ends. At the same time, our data and the pattern of continuity that they reveal offer a corrective to what Reddy (1997) terms "strong constructionist" theories of emotion, which privilege situational change over essential continuity.

The present attempt to reconstruct aspects of traditional Kaqchikel ethnopsychology is both ethnohistorical and ethnographic in scope. The ethnohistorical data come from documents written by cultural outsiders (in this case Spanish friars) who did not fully understand the people and culture about whom they wrote. Exegesis of such documents to obtain the native perspective is nonetheless possible, especially given the availability of relevant ethnographic evidence. Both Hallowell (1946) and Wallace (1958) have produced now-classic ethnopsychological accounts for seventeenth-century native North American peoples, based on extensive prose sources; further, Bricker (1981), Farriss (1984), and Jones (1989) have all shown how native voices can be revealed through an ethnographically sensitive reading of history and archaeology from other parts of the Maya region. The present study takes as a model López Austin's (1988) analysis of traditional Nahua concepts of the self, thought, and emotion based on a wide range of both Colonial and ethnographic sources.[2]

The principal document for the present study is Thomás de Coto's late seventeenth-century Spanish–Kaqchikel *Thesaurus Verborum*.[3] The thesaurus base of the present study confines us to an essentially lexical approach, with all of the limitations such a study entails. Nonetheless, Coto's rich and lengthy entries (usually providing multiple Spanish glosses and contextual sentences in Kaqchikel—and in this he is exceptional among Colonial lexographers in Mesoamerica) allow us to better approximate the meaning of Kaqchikel words. Whereas most Colonial dictionaries from Mesoamerica provide almost no information on the actual *use* of such terms, Coto's *Thesaurus* is remarkable for the wealth of ethnographic data it provides. In the present analysis, data gleaned from Coto is complemented by ethnolinguistic research, concerning the semantic domains in question, carried out among contemporary Kaqchikel-speaking Maya.

In compiling the ethnohistorical lexical data that provide the basis for this study, Hill conducted an entry-by-entry reading of Coto's *Thesaurus*, which typically provided long explanations, examples, and multiple glosses for terms rather than one-for-one equivalences. Next came the attempt to identify and evaluate the roots used in these expressions. Important here was the seventeenth-century Kaqchikel–Spanish manuscript dictionary attributed to Francisco Varea (1699) and Edmonson's (1965) Quiché/English dictionary.[4] Finally, it was possible to posit some organization for the range of expressions in terms of broad contrasts such as hot:cold or active:inactive (see below). Using Hill's data and initial analysis, Fischer conducted field interviews in 1997 and analyzed taped interviews conducted in 1993–1994 among Kaqchikel speakers from the town of Tecpan, Guatemala.[5] Fischer's work concentrated on mapping the semantic domains occupied by *k'u'x*, *uxla'*, and *-anima* and their relationship to the Colonial concepts of *k'u'x*, *uxla'*, and *natub*.

BODILY FORCES AND THE KAQCHIKEL SELF

Like other preconquest Mesoamerican peoples, the Kaqchikel Maya of highland Guatemala viewed the self as intimately connected with cosmic forces and phenomena, primarily through what anthropologists have termed "souls," "spirits," or "animistic forces" (cf. Monaghan 2000:60). These forces indelibly link the individual to the cosmic forces that animate the world, thus blurring the very boundaries that the modern (Western) conception of self seeks to delineate. Such a view of self was often problematic for Spanish missionizing. As Klor de Alva (1993:185) writes in his review of Nahuatized Christianity, "the boundary between the individual self (the sole object of a Christian-type salvation), other selves, and what Westerners would consider nonanimate objects was completely permeable. Human beings physically and supernaturally formed part of a universal continuum linking their fortunes directly to the cosmic order." This link to the cosmic order was complex and multifaceted, and the role of the human individual and collectivity was to maintain (through mirroring) cosmic harmony and equilibrium on earth.

John Monaghan (2000) cautioned against the creation of discrete categorizations of Mesoamerican soul concepts. Following Boremanse (1993), Monaghan (2000:60) preferred to see a singu-

[2] See Klor de Alva (1993) on the impact of Christian missionizing on such concepts; and Furst (1995) for a discussion of the possible experiential bases for these beliefs.

[3] Data for this study were collected from the original Coto manuscript held by the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. In discussing specific passages, we have also provided page references for the published transcription of the dictionary (Coto 1983).

[4] The Kaqchikel language is closely related to K'iche', both being members of the K'iche'an family of Maya languages.

[5] The site of Tecpan is especially appropriate for such an ethnohistoric/ethnographic comparison given its rich history. At the time of Spanish contact the capital of the ascendent Kaqchikel kingdom was Iximche', located just outside of the present Tecpan urban area. The first Spanish capital of Guatemala was established at Tecpan/Iximche' in 1524 by Pedro de Alvarado. Tecpan's geographic position and access to means of communication has contribute to its continued importance as a locus of Indian/state relations in Guatemala.

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lar divine force (pixan in Lacandon and other Maya languages) which "takes on different aspects, depending on the context." Edmonson (1993) similarly emphasizes the essential unity of the Maya soul and divine force as seen in the soul's "inner motives," though not necessarily transparent from the "outer clues" it gives. Such a concept of the unity of souls or soul-aspects follows logically from the Maya philosophical presupposition of fundamental cosmic connectedness—just as the individual is one with the cosmic order, so too are cosmic forces, ultimately, connected. The Maya penchant for seeing unity in apparent (to us) diversity is well documented through Classic Maya epigraphy and iconography, Colonial documents, and modern ethnographic descriptions (see Bricker 1981; Edmonson 1971; Freidel et al. 1993). The present study focuses, however, not on the cosmological unity of Maya soul concepts, but on the diverse, yet conventionalized, ways sacred animizing forces (aspects of the singular divine force) act upon the Kaqchikel Maya self.

Throughout Mesoamerica, distinct aspects of a divine force are seen to occupy specific physical locations in the body. A similar view is found in the Western tradition, in which the head is portrayed as the locus of mind and thought; the heart as the seat of many emotions (an individual may be "heartbroken" or "heartsick"); and the liver as controlling disposition through its production of different kinds of bile (as a peevish or ill-natured person might be described as "bilious" or "choleric").

In his study of Nahua conceptions of the body and self, López Austin (1988) makes an important distinction between what he termed "animistic entities" and "animistic forces." As with the Kaqchikeles and other Mesoamerican peoples, the Nahuas had very specific physical referents for animistic forces, and yet the forces acting through bodily organs were, by definition, not of, nor confined to, any one place. Thus, following López Austin (1988), we believe that it is epistemologically advantageous to separate "animistic entities" from animistic—or better said, animizing—forces. Doing so permits one to separate the force from its physical manifestation (a surface feature subject to rapid change) and thus allows for a fruitful comparison of cognate concepts—essentially alike but differing in surface representation—across space and time in Mesoamerica.

López Austin (1988) documents three primary animistic forces for the Nahua of Central Mexico. Among the Kaqchikeles we also find that the self's connection to the cosmic order resulted from each individual's possession of three distinct aspects of a divine force, which animated the body, afforded consciousness, controlled cognitive functions, and accounted for emotional states. Despite the Spanish conquest and concerted efforts to convert the Kaqchikel to Christianity, traditional concepts of these bodily forces continued through the seventeenth century, when words and phrases reflecting these concepts were recorded by Coto in his thesaurus. His entries make it possible to reconstruct some of the main features of this domain of late preconquest/early Colonial-period Kaqchikel culture. Further, these concepts are salient, albeit in modified form, among contemporary Kaqchikel speakers, bespeaking their fundamental and enduring roles in Kaqchikel cosmology and conceptions of self.

Natub

One force was known by the Kaqchikel as the *natub*. Evidence concerning this force is limited but clear and direct. In glossing the term *alma* (soul) or *ánima* (spirit), Coto presented several terms including *4ux*, *gazibal*, and *gazbay kichin*.[6] All of these appear to be Spanish attempts to develop terms in Kaqchikel in order to represent the Christian concept of the soul. Thus, *4ux* denotes the heart, a traditional dwelling place of the Christian soul (as well as the home of another Kaqchikel force, see below). Coto rendered *gazibal* as "enlivener," but he used it specifically to denote "the soul which enlivens us," while *gazbay kichin* was roughly "our enlivener." Significantly for the present discussion, Coto also presented terms that he characterized as having been used "anciently" (*antiguamente*): *nino4h* and *natub*, both of which he glossed as "sombra" (shadow).

These two terms and one other, *muh*, appear elsewhere in Coto's thesaurus under his entry for "sombra." *Nino4h* was evidently a term for shadows created by nonhuman animate beings, like animals and birds. *Muh* was used to refer to the shadows cast by inanimate objects such as houses, trees, and rocks. In contrast to *nino4h* and *muh*, *natub* was used exclusively with regard to humans, referring both to a human's shadow and his/her reflection in a mirror or on the surface of water:

> Sombra, usan indifferentemente de estos tres nombres: *Muh*, *nino4h*, *natub*. Los más usados, por "la sombra de la persona," son: *natub* y *nino4h* /estos nombres se toman también, por "la phantasma," y, antiguamente, los tenían por "el ánima." También significan "la sombra" o "figura que se representa en el espejo o en el agua." Por "la sombra de animales o aves," dice el Padre Varea [author of an earlier Kaqchikel–Spanish dictionary; Varea 1699], usan más de los nombres *nino4h*, o *no4ho4h* Y por "la sombra que hacen las cosas inanimadas," como la de la casa, árbol, piedra, etc.: [*muh*]; *ru muhil hay, che, abaj* [Coto 1983:529].

The term *natub* is still used by at least some K'iche'ans to refer specifically to a human shade or shadow (Edmonson 1965:78), although it is not used by modern Kaqchikel speakers. That it referred to consciousness is indicated by the root term, *na*, which the Colonial dictionaries unanimously render as "sentir." We usually translate this into English as "to feel," but it has the wider meaning of "to perceive." In contemporary Kaqchikel *na'* retains this meaning, and it is the root of the word *na'oj* (thought or consciousness).

Revealing evidence is also found in the contemporary usage of the Q'eqchi' Maya word *muhel*, a cognate of the Kaqchikel *muh*. *Muhel* (a word derived from the Q'eqchi' term for shadow, *mu*) is one of three types of "vital principles" or "spirits" recognized by the Q'eqchi' (Cabarrús 1979) and is associated with both animate and inanimate objects, especially people and maize (Monaghan 2000:13; cf. Pacheco 1985:113–114, 163; Wilson 1995:143–144). In this sense, *muhel* encompasses key aspects of the Kaqchikel terms *nino4h*, *natub*, and *muh*. While discussing the animistic qualities of *muhel*, Pacheco (1985:164), himself a Catholic priest, noted that for the Q'eqchi' the soul (and using the Spanish *alma*, Pacheco is presumably referring to a concept of soul based on Catholic doctrine) is closely related to conceptions of shade and the heart, and that often "life, breath, and soul [*alma*] are synonymous." Pache-

[6] In presenting terms from Coto we have retained the original orthography which utilized symbols developed in the 16th century by Francisco de la Parra to represent stops present in Maya languages but unfamiliar to Spanish ears. The symbols and their standard equivalents are: *4* (called *cuartillo*) = *k'*, *k* = *q*, *4*, = *tz'*, *3* (called *trecillo*) = *q'*, *4h* = *ch'*.

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co's remarks are revealing, and point to the problems encountered in attempts to translate indigenous beliefs (be they pre-Columbian, Colonial, or modern) into the Western vocabulary of the Judeo-Christian tradition. Below, we also point out the intimate relationship in Kaqchikel ethnopsychology between shadow (*natub*), breath (*uxla'*), heart (*k'u'x*), and the sacred animizing cosmic force(s), but we focus not on their correlates in Western spirituality, rather we focus on how they are uniquely conjoined in the enduring paradigms of Kaqchikel ethnopsychology.

The Kaqchikel *natub* also seems to have a close counterpart in the Nahua *tonalli* as described by López Austin (1988) and Klor de Alva (1993). López Austin (1988:215, 221) made it clear that consciousness was the basic state afforded by the *tonalli*, and the same holds true for the Kaqchikel *natub*; it is likely that the root of *natub* is the same as that for the contemporary word *na'oj*, meaning thought or consciousness. Further, both the *tonalli* and the *natub* are equated with human shadows and human reflections. The latter is particularly significant because the brightness or dullness of one's reflection on a surface, such as water, was used by Nahua speakers to diagnose the possession or loss of his/her *tonalli* (López Austin 1988:216).

Extrapolating from the Nahua concept, then, we may hypothesize that the *natub* was believed to be a force derived from the sun and that it imparted a potential to the individual, according to the specific day (*q'ij*, or "sun") of the 260-day divinatory calendar under which one was born. Certainly, this sacred 260-day calendar (conventionally known as the *tzolkin*) was important throughout Mesoamerican populations, the Nahuas and Kaqchikel Maya included. From ethnohistorical sources such as the *Annals of the Kaqchikels*[7] we know that at least certain people were named for the *tzolkin* day on which they were born, and given the cognate usage of this same calendar throughout Mesoamerica, it would be surprising if there was not some fateful force such as the *tonalli* embodied in individuals. While necessary for life, the *natub*, like the *tonalli*, should have been able to leave the body for short periods without lasting harm. At least this was how the Nahuas interpreted dream and hallucinogenic experiences. As with the *tonalli*, we should expect that the *natub* was subject to being jarred from the body through shock or emotional episodes, through sorcery, through the impure or impious acts of others, or through an imbalance with the other bodily forces.

As mentioned above, the term *natub* is not used by contemporary Kaqchikel speakers. Its semantic domain, however, has largely been taken over by the Spanish loan word *ánima* (the same gloss Coto gave for *natub*), *-anima*[8] in its Kaqchikel form. Like the *tonalli* and *natub*, *-anima* is closely associated with a life force. Modern Kaqchikels explain that to be alive, humans must have *-anima*, which is not so far removed from the Colonial meaning of consciousness, for to be alive is really to be aware of being alive, or consciousness. Significantly *-anima* is, in contemporary usage, often found in association with the word *na'oj* (thought or consciousness, the root of which is likely related to the root of *natub*), as in the phrase "itzel ranima, rutzil runa'oj" (she or he has an ugly *-anima*, she or he has ugly thoughts). Further, as with *tonalli* and *natub*, the *-anima* is received by one at birth, or soon thereafter, and it is characteristic of humans (plants, animals, and inanimate objects do not posses *-anima*, with certain exceptions for domesticated animals). López Austin (1988) provides "soul" and "spirit" as possible glosses for *tonalli*, and Coto obviously had the Spanish–Christian concept of soul in mind when he glossed *natub* as *alma* or *ánima*. Likewise, Kaqchikel speakers today say that the Kaqchikel *-anima* is synonymous with the Spanish *ánima*, although the context of its usage suggests a wider range of connotations than for the Spanish *ánima*, connotations which overlap more with the Colonial-era domain of *natub* and the Nahua concept of *tonalli*.

As with the *tonalli*, and presumably with the Colonial Kaqchikel *natub*, contemporary conceptions of *-anima* carry a sense of destiny, but a mutable destiny, susceptible to the changing equilibrium of external (to the self) cosmic forces that act upon the self. One's *-anima* is especially vulnerable when one is frightened, described as *xb'e ranima* (the *-anima* leaving). When one's *-anima* leaves, so does one's desire to live, and very often the condition results in death. Death can be avoided through the intervention, either by a religious specialist such as an *aj q'ij* (a day keeper) or by bathing in a river, the water of which can bring back the *anima* of the afflicted. As *tonalli* was associated with water and its reflectiveness (and *natub*, documentably, with shadow and, by inference, reflection), the modern Kaqchikel *-anima* is thus also manifested in and through water. *-Anima* is closely associated with the Kaqchikel self, at least from an external vantage point, and, as such, it performs a normative function much like of the Mam concept of *naab'l* (Watanabe 1992). A normal person is described as *nik'ikot ranima* (having a content or beautiful *-anima*); an errant individual is *itzel ranima* (having an ugly *-anima*) or *yalan kow ranima* (with a very hard *-anima*, used to describe especially self-centered individuals). Unlike the *tonalli*, and here we may see distinct Spanish influence, the *-anima* survives death and lives on as a disembodied soul, living in the heavens and/or on earth.

For the Kaqchikel, one's *-anima* is closely linked to one's state of mind (*na'oj*) and state of heart (*k'u'x*, as discussed below) and, as the ultimate animizing force, to breathe (*uxla'*), the primary indicator of life.

Uxla'

A second bodily force of the Kaqchikeles was the *uxla'*. Coto lists *uxla'* as one term for breath (*aliento*, *huello*, *resuello*), and he reports that the term was used by the Kaqchikel to refer to "vital spirit." He notes that it was also a word used to refer to the odor that came from something; the light wind that lifts the mist from the earth, the vapor given off by a sweating, fevered body, as well as the odor expelled by the body upon death. Finally, the *uxla'* was something that caused fear, reverence, or respect, and an illustrious, or honored, person was said to have a "big *uxla'*" (*nim uxla'*):

> Aliento, huelgo o resuello: A o ab, o uxla. Tómanse también por el olor o baho que sale de alguna cosa [Coto 1983:24–25].

> Olor, generalmente: *Uxla*. Olorosa [cosa], Este nombre, uxla, se toma por el olor generalmente, y, así mismo, significa "el aliento," "el baho," "vapor," o "cosa que causa temor o reverencia"[Coto 1983:381].

> Huelgo. Aliento: *Uxla*. Tómanse también por el spíritu vital a *uxla* [Coto 1983:279].

[7] Our references to the *Annals of the Kaqchikels* come from consultations with the original manuscript located in the library of the University of Pennsylvania and photocopies of the original. Published translations include Brinton (1969) and Recinos (1980).

[8] In Kaqchikel *-anima* is not normally used in its non-possessive form; thus, the dash indicates the absence of a possessive prefix.

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> Baho o aliento que sale de la boca de la persona, o animal, o que sale de la tierra, del agua fría o caliente, o que sale de la olla Et. Simila: *Uxla*. Y por el vientecillo que se levanta de vapores de la tierra, dicen: *r'uxla huyu* o *uleuh*. Tómanle también por el olor bueno o malo. También le toman por cosa que causa temor o respecto; *qo r'uxla* alcalde El baho que sale del cuerpo, como cuando está sudado y calenturado, o olorsillo que despide el infirmo, llaman también *r'uxla* [Coto 1983:60].

More recently, Edmonson (1965:139) glossed *uxla'* using a similar range of terms, including "breath," "soul," and "smell," and noted that it is also the term used to describe the smell of excrement. Tedlock (1982:41) reports, ethnographically, that the term is still used by at least some K'iche'ans to refer to the disembodied "breaths" or "spirits" of the ancestors, which often act as punishers of their living descendants' sins.

A number of similarities link the *uxla'* to the Nahua concept of *ihiyotl*. Just as with the *uxla'*, the *ihiyotl* is associated with breath/vapor, an enlivening power, and a foul smell or odor. According to López Austin (1988:234–235), the *ihiyotl* was (and in some places still is) thought of as a luminous or very dense gas. It was also understood to be foul smelling, as when someone breaks wind. As a source of energy, it could be externalized through the breath to relieve headaches or bring strength.

The Kaqchikel *uxla'*, like its Nahua counterpart, was, likely, the *ihiyotl*, understood to be focused in the liver. It should have been held to account for generally strong, base feelings, such as passions, envy, lust, and so on. As noted above, the breath was one way in which the *ihiyotl/uxla'* could be externalized in a controlled way for positive purposes. On the other hand, uncontrolled emanations might occur, perhaps as a result of illicit sexual relations or intense envy. These were dangerous and could cause illness in others. It would have been this force that was externalized by a person with "transformative" powers, the *nahualli* (López Austin 1988:373–375). Finally, upon death, this force would have left the body as a noxious gas to become a malevolent ghost (since its strong, base tendencies were no longer balanced by the other bodily forces) or a dangerous night air (López Austin 1988: 323–324).

For modern Kaqchikel speakers, *uxla'* no longer holds strong spiritual connotations. In its modern usage *uxla'* overlaps with that of the Colonial period, most often meaning "breath" or "odor." But breath itself is closely linked conceptually (and physically) to life, and thus to the metaphysical life force of *-anima*. A shade of the former usage of *uxla'* is found in the context of death. When one dies it is said that "manik chik ruxla'" ("his breath is no more").

4ux/ *k'u'x*[9]

It appears, from the large number of entries that mention *4ux* in Coto's dictionary and from the centrality of the concept for Kaqchikel speakers today, that *4ux* was the third and most important force acting on the self. Entries in Coto's dictionary indicate that *4ux* had a variety of meanings, and the modern usage of *k'u'x* is likewise multifaceted. First, *4ux* clearly denoted the heart as an organ, and the metaphysical force which worked through it (thus denoting both what López Austin called the "animistic entity" and the "animistic force"). Second, the Kaqchikeles clearly attributed a range of cognitive and affective functions to the *4ux*. Third, *4ux* could also mean judgement or reason. Finally, the term also referred to the human soul as well as the "vital spirit" of all living things. Spanish friars, like Coto, probably identified the heart with the soul.

As with its Colonial-era counterpart, the contemporary meanings associated with *k'u'x* are varied. It is most often translated as "heart" or "center." In this context, it also has the connotation of a stabilizing force: *ruk'u'x che'* is the hard inner wood of a tree; ru*k'u'x ri ken* is the central rod used in backstrap weaving; and *ruk'u'x awij* is one's spine. Traditional Kaqchikel prayers normally begin by addressing the dualistic deity *ruk'u'x kaj*, *ruk'u'x ulew* (most often rendering in translation as "the heart of sky, the heart of earth" and denoting a spiritual force described as dwelling in the center of the earth and the center of the sky). An alternative, and perhaps better, translation of *k'u'x* and its metaphysical connotations, is essence. The *k'u'x* of the sky and earth is the essence of the cosmic force that animates nature. The center is, for the Kaqchikeles and other Maya, a spatial representation of the ephemeral essence of an object or force. For the ancient and modern Maya, the *axis mundi*, or cosmic navel, is a powerful place where there is a confluence of primordial animizing forces (see Vogt's 1976 discussion of the *axis mundi* in the Tzotzil Maya town of Zinacantan and Eliade's (1954) cross-cultural comparison of similar beliefs). Prayers addressed to *ruk'u'x kaj*, *ruk'u'x ulew* call on those same cosmic forces that continue to animate and often predestine life on earth, and they are an explicit acknowledgment of the need for the world to maintain equilibrium among cosmic forces. Returning to the meaning of *k'u'x* as a stabilizing force, traditional Kaqchikel cosmology views a close connection between one's *k'u'x* and one's self. To have an ugly *k'u'x* is to be out of synch with the cosmos, a state with potentially dangerous results (for the individual and the collective). *K'u'x*, in its sense as conscience, denotes a deep-seated cultural and psychological stability. The concept of *k'u'x* is further tied to cosmic animizing forces through its meaning as duplication or abundance; the *ruk'u'x nutikon* (the heart of my planting) refers to the regenerative cycle of agriculture and the cosmic harmony which predicates it.

Hearting

Coto indicates that the Kaqchikeles attributed the faculties of memory, understanding, and will to the heart. He also notes that the word *4ux* formed the root of the verb he translated as "to think," "to pay attention," or "to imagine":

> Corazón de todo viviente: *4ux* Atribúyenle todos los affectos de las potencias: memoria, entendimiento, y voluntad Toman éste nombre, *4ux*, por el alma de la persona y por el spíritu vital de todo viviente. De éste nombre, *4ux*, se forma el verbo *tin 4ux-laah*, por pensar, cuidar, imaginar, etc. [Coto 1983:113].

> Juicio o razón: *4ux* [Coto 1983:284].

Indeed, this root, *4ux*, was the basis for a variety of expressions pertaining to what we would call thought processes (see Appendix A for Spanish and Kaqchikel data from Coto).

"To heart"	To invent something
	To have something in one's care
	To attend to something

[9] In discussing Coto's data we retain his orthography (*4ux*); in reporting contemporary usage we use standard modern orthography (*k'u'x*).

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	To think about something
	To premeditate, think before acting
	To consider or examine words or actions
	To deliberate, cogitate with oneself
	To propose to oneself, determine for oneself
	To advise oneself, to consider one's own counsel
"Heart-Dream"	Memory
	Intent, purpose
	Ability to divine what another thinks

In modern K'iche', *k'uxla'xik* means "to think," whereas *k'u'x* in Kaqchikel no longer carries the explicit meaning of "memory" or "thought." We do still find expressions, such as *xb'e ruk'ux* (literally "his heart [*k'u'x*] has left," and figuratively "his attention is gone") and *nik'o ruk'u'x* (literally "his heart has passed," describing boredom), that indicate an association with thought and remembrance. It should be noted here that in contemporary usage *k'u'x* often is used synonymously with *-anima* (discussed above). Both can indicate the heart as bodily organ, and both are used interchangeably in phrases describing falling in love and boredom. In this light, then, it is interesting to note a usage of *-anima* recently brought to our attention by Judith Maxwell (personal communication 1998), *xub'ij pa ranima* (to think or say to oneself).

STATES OF HEART

The data from Coto make it clear that the Kaqchikel *4ux* was understood to be the locus for a wide range of emotions as well as the thought processes listed above, as it is today. Indeed, expressions describing the heart and its condition pervade the Coto thesaurus, appearing (with repetitions) in some 650 places. Much of the sheer quantity of these expressions can be understood in terms of a basic contrast between equilibrium and disequilibrium. Analysis of Coto's data reveals a wide range of potential conditions that unbalance the heart. These include: (1) contrasting "states" of the heart (such as hot:cold, biting:sweet, big:small); (2) a variety of heart wounds; (3) actions by the heart; and (4) actions to the heart.

Formal Contrasts

Hot versus cold. Among the contrasting states, those pertaining to hot vs. cold are abundant and frequent in the Coto thesaurus. In general, intense heating of the heart is associated with anger while a mild warming makes an individual more diligent in his/her work. Cooling is associated with the loss of anger and regaining normal composure. Intense cold, however, is associated with fright. Thus, the contrasts would be hot/anger vs. cold/fear and warm/engaged vs. cool/composed (see Appendix B for Spanish and Kaqchikel data from Coto).

Heart-State	*Meaning or Effect*
To have it warm, to warm it up	To be diligent, enthusiastic
To have it/make it boil	To be/become angry, furious, cruel
To have it blister from heat	To burn with anger
To have it burn (as with fire)	To be angry, in a rage; to be envious; to become brave
To have it singed	To loathe; to be angry; To be disgusted
To have it cool, become cool	To calm down; to become tranquil; To forgive; To become dispassionate; To be patient
To have it very cold	To be afraid; to be frightened

Biting versus sweet. Appropriately for this region, which is home to the chili pepper, another form of "burning" was used to describe generally grieving, regretful states, while sweetness referred to happy states (see Appendix C for Spanish and Kaqchikel data from Coto).

Heart-State	*Meaning or Effect*
To have it biting	To be sad
	To become passionate
	To regret; to feel remorse
To have it sweet/sweetened	To be/become happy
	To have good will towards someone
	To take delight in someone/something

Salty versus honeyed. The tastes of salt and honey seem to have constituted another contrasting set. A salty heart was associated with odium or hatred. In contrast, a honeyed heart was happy, even loving (see Appendix D for Spanish and Kaqchikel data from Coto).

Heart-State	*Meaning or Effect*
To have it salty	To be hateful; to be rancorous
To have it honeyed	To be/become extremely happy
	To be/become inflamed with love

Thick versus thin, big versus small, hard versus soft. Other formal contrasts include thick versus thin, big versus small, and hard versus soft. A big heart was associated with bravery and dependability, whereas a small heart was unreliable, timid, even cowardly. A shrinking heart was associated with intense episodes of either fear or anger. In a similar vein, a thick heart was open, honest, and faithful, whereas a thin heart was frail, fearful, and easily made despondent. Hard-hearted and soft-hearted had associations similar to those in European languages. Specifically, a hard heart was obstinate, while a soft heart was compassionate (see Appendix E for Spanish and Kaqchikel data from Coto).

Heart-State	*Meaning or Effect*
To have it thick	To be faithful; to be trustworthy
To have it thin	To be inconstant
	To be unreliable
	To be easily discouraged
	To feel anguish
To have it big	To be firm
	To be persevering
	To be valorous
To make another's big	To console
To have it small	To be unreliable
	To be a coward
	To be fearful
To have it shrink	To be/become afraid
To have it firm	To be valorous
	To be constant
	To feel encouraged
To have it like a stone	To be obstinate
	To be obdurate
	To be unmovable (through words or argument)

At rest/returning to rest versus moving. As one might expect, movements of the heart connoted changes in emotional or cognitive states. This could involve stimulating specific emotional states like love and desire, or returning to an equilibrium state like calmness or contentment after some unbalancing emotional episode, especially anger (see Appendix F for Spanish and Kaqchikel data from Coto).

Heart-State	*Meaning or Effect*
To have it seated	To be calm
	To be content
	To be dispassionate

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To have it descend/dismount	To enjoy something
	To fancy something
	To be pleased by something
To have it arise	To resolve to do something
	To premeditate, think before acting
To have it go	To fall in love
	To covet
To set it in motion	To fancy something
	To admire something

Modern Kaqchikel usage of *k'u'x* retains many of the formal contrasts recorded in the Coto dictionary. As with the Colonial Kaqchikeles (and other Native Americans and, arguably, the Colonial Spaniards), a basic hot:cold distinction is salient across a wide range of semantic domains in contemporary Kaqchikel. Illnesses, plants, animals, physiological states, and even personality types are frequently classified as either hot or cold and are treated (medically, spiritually, or socially) appropriately. The hot:cold distinction is used as a modifier of *k'u'x* to describe the *gestalt* of an individual. To have a hot *k'u'x* is to be in an emotionally volatile state. Although the force behind a hot *k'u'x* may be directed toward either productive or destructive ends, it is considered to be a risky, and generally socially inappropriate, state to be in, for a hot *k'u'x* upsets the fragile state of social and cosmic equilibrium to which Maya spirituality aspires.

To have a big *k'u'x* is to be honest, trustworthy, and reliable; to have a small *k'u'x* is to be the opposite. A person possessing a hard *k'u'x* is insensitive to the concerns of others and thoroughly self-interested; at the same time, to have too soft or malleable of a heart is a sign of moral and physical weakness. As in the Colonial era, to have one's *k'u'x* go (to another person) is to fall in love, a potentially blissful state, but one which can also threaten the equilibrium of the heart. A normal and content Kaqchikel is one with a beautiful *k'u'x* (*nik'ikot ruk'u'x*), a beauty derived from being attuned to the cosmic harmony; to have an ugly *k'u'x* (*itzel ruk'u'x*) is to be in a dangerous (socially and spiritually) state of disequilibrium.

Implied Contrasts

Another broad range of expressions involves states of the heart with *implied* contrasts. For example, a nauseated heart implicitly contrasts with one that is not, even though there is no recorded expression for a non-nauseated heart. As this example suggests, most of these implied contrasts involve some kind of disequilibrium resulting in generally uncomfortable emotions (see Appendix G for Spanish and Kaqchikel data from Coto). The implied contrast, thus, is with a state of equilibrium, of normality.

Heart-State	*Meaning or Effect*
To have it tired	To be tired; to fret
To have it sad	To be sad; to be anguished
	To have pain, compassion for another
	To be anxious
	To feel grief, sorrow
To have it hate, abhor	To abhor something
To have it disgusted	To be angry
To have it full of despair	To hate, abhor another
	To distrust another
To have it nauseated	To loathe someone/thing
To have it hungry	To hunger
	To be lazy, listless
To have it angry	To be angry
To have it diligent	To be diligent
To have it hunger	To want; to desire
To have it covetous	To be disposed towards; to fancy
	To grow fond of
	To fall in love
To *not* have it intelligent, diligent	To be a slow learner
To have it sicken	To become terrified
To have it suffer, feel pain	To feel grief
	To feel remorse, regret
	To become angry, furious
To have it paralyzed	To be obstinate, obdurate

Heart wounds. A significant number of terms referring to wounds of the heart were also used, in implied contrast with an unwounded heart. As wounds are an extreme form of disequilibrium, most of these expressions concerned some form of anxiety or regret (see Appendix H for Spanish and Kaqchikel data from Coto).

Heart-State	*Meaning or Effect*
To have it wounded, hurt	To be impatient
To have it twisted	To have sinister intention
To have it torn at	To be rushed, harried
To have it damaged	To be/become perverted
To have it impaled	To be disappointed, dismayed
	To be regretful
To have it broken, ground up	To be frustrated
To have it cut, sliced open	To grieve
	To regret
	To be angry
To have it cut like a leaf or vine	To repent, regret

Modern Kaqchikeles clearly recognize wounds to the heart, and these are considered to be especially long-lasting (often permanent) and devastating. In describing the abusive household in which he grew up, a Kaqchikel man said of his father "*xunïn chwe nuk'u'x man utz ta*" (he pushed towards my heart so that it was bad). Such formative events in early childhood have a lasting effect on one's state of heart, often permanently upsetting the state of equilibrium fostered by a "normal" socialization.

Exertions of the heart. Expressions referring to physical actions or cognitive functioning of the heart itself are grouped, here, collectively as exertions. These expressions connote a wide range of emotional and cognitive states, as well as more permanent characteristics such as avarice, reservedness, and negligence/forgetfulness (see Appendix I for Spanish and Kaqchikel data from Coto).

Heart-State	*Meaning or Effect*
To have it hunting	To imagine; to conjecture
To have it return to its place	To doubt; to be perplexed
	To change one's opinion
To have it flower, blossom	To be happy, joyful
To have it fall headlong	To doubt; to be perplexed
To have it set out boundary markers	To consider carefully
To have it following someone	To have confidence in someone
To have it wanting	To be inclined to have/to do something
	To fancy
	To apply oneself to some end
To have it speak, declare, confess	To confide in someone
To have it lie	To lie
To have it guard something	To memorize
To have it remember something	To remember
To have it know something	To know something
To have it disobey	To be angry
To have it seize something	To covet
To have it forget	To be forgetful
	To be negligent
To have it bury something	To keep something secret
To have it stuck to/in something	To love
To have it tied up	To be avaricious, greedy
To have it admire something	To marvel
	To gladden
To have it close-up	To hesitate, vacillate
To have it discomposed	To be stupefied, benumbed
To have it cease with someone	To abandon a friendship

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To have it raise partitions (as in subdividing a house)	To be reserved
To have it embrace something	To fancy someone, have affection
To have it return something	To change one's mind
To have it reject something out of anger	To distrust
To have it throw away	To pardon
To have it finish with something	To be bored, annoyed
To have it living	To desire

In contemporary usage, the *k'u'x*, likewise, is capable of a number of exertions which affect one's state of metaphysical equilibrium. "*Nik'o ruk'u'x*" (his heart has passed) means that he is bored. Similarly, use of *k'u'x* in place of a personal pronoun (i.e., "his *k'u'x*" and not "he") acts to intensify the feeling behind the exertion. For example, to say that one's *k'u'x* wants something implies a depth of desire not expressed through saying simply he wants something. Further, in contemporary usage *k'u'x* also carries an association with duplication and the abundance of production ("ri ixim yalan nik'u'*x*aj," "the corn abounds much"), attesting to the proactive power of *k'u'x* and thus its relation to the animizing forces of the cosmos.

Actions to the heart. A number of expressions also referred to the heart as the object of some action. As such, actions to the heart provoked some emotional response (see Appendix J for Spanish and Kaqchikel data from Coto).

Heart-State	*Meaning or Effect*
To have it spurred, hastened	To be harassed, harried
	To be preoccupied
To have it convinced, bribed	To be convinced, seduced
To have it squeezed or pressed (as against a wall)	To suffer greatly
To have it invited, offered	To be enticed
To have it dismantled	To become perverted
To have it brought from afar	To become incited, excited
To have it kicked, urged on	To become motivated
To have it kneaded	To be provoked to anger
To have it stirred	To doubt, be perplexed

The Kaqchikel term *4ux* clearly refers to the heart and the force which animated it. The Nahua term for this force was the *teyolia*, from the root *yollo*, or heart. Clearly then for the Nahuas, this force was focused in the heart and it was responsible for many cognitive functions and emotions (López Austin 1988:190, 231–232). As with the Colonial and modern Kaqchikel conceptions of *k'u'x*, the Nahua *teyolia* was susceptible to certain afflictions (e.g., one could have a darkened or compressed teyolia). Although he cites Molina's (1977) definition of teyolia as "soul", López Austin (1988) recognized the proactive nature of the heart force, calling the teyolia an "animizing force."

Modern Kaqchikeles, likewise, see the *k'u'x* as vulnerable to a number of external actions. As mentioned above, a fright or scare can make the *k'u'x* flee, and a beloved can take one's heart ("xb'e ru*k'u'x* chij re xtan re," "his *k'u'x* was taken by that girl"). Sustained social pressure can permanently change one's heart. A man from Tecpán, after serving several years in the Guatemalan military, returned home a changed person, abusive, alcoholic, and untrustworthy. It was said that "ruk'u'x xkijäl," "they [the army] had changed his *k'u'x*." That the state of one's *k'u'x* is at least partially contingent on external social and metaphysical forces mirrors and reinforces the unity of (Maya) humans and cosmic forces. It also points to the fact that metaphysical equilibrium is not a state that one can achieve simply through individualistic spirituality, but requires the collusion of society at large. The Kaqchikel self is thus inextricably linked to cosmic forces and social realities.

INSTANCES OF INDIGENOUS USE

While the elaborateness of the heart-state imagery is itself strong evidence of indigenous origin, one might still question whether or not Spanish friars created this terminology for their own purposes. The only available sources of information that can shed light on this question are the documents written by Maya people soon after the time of the conquest. Obvious candidates here are the *Annals of the Kaqchikeles* and the *Popol Vuh* (Edmonson 1971; Tedlock 1985).

Based on internal evidence, Francisco Hernández Arana Xahil was born around 1500 and began to set down the overtly historical part of the *Annals* in 1573. Yet his accounts of preconquest Kaqchikel history, the conquest, and subsequent events "suggests that either he or someone else had been keeping a running record during this tumultuous period so that in 1573 he could place events in an accurate relative and absolute chronological framework" (Hill 1991:286). In turn, this would suggest that some kind of indigenous, pictorial records had existed to which Don Francisco later could have referred.

More controversy exists with regard to the date when the *Popol* Vuh was first set down in European characters. Both Recinos (1947:31) and Edmonson (1971:vii) delved into this question and agree that the manuscript was written in the 1550s. More recently, in a nice piece of detective work, Himelblau (1989:14–15) has demonstrated that the manuscript could not have been written prior to 1558 and was probably set down several decades later (though a date as late as the 1590s is possible). Still, there is little argument that the *Popol Vuh* is overwhelmingly indigenous in its content and that most of it derives from an indigenous documentary tradition (Edmonson 1971:vii; Himelblau 1989:17–30). Thus, both the *Annals* and the *Popol Vuh* manuscripts were written in the later 1500s, yet both contain considerable evidence that earlier, indigenous sources had been relied upon.

Ultimately, only a few of the many heart-states gleaned from Coto appear in the *Popol Vuh* (Edmonson 1971).[10] Yet, these few are used repeatedly and consistently, indicating that they were colloquial expressions. The most frequent are:

Kikot/*quicot*/sweet

Nim x kikot ki k'ux	"Their hearts rejoiced greatly" (Edmonson 1971:line 3117)
Xa kikotem chi ki k'ux	"Their was only happiness in their hearts" (Edmonson 1971:line 7557)

Oq'/cry

K oq' ki k'ux	"Their hearts cried" (Edmonson 1971:line 6151)

Q'atat/*slice*, cut open

Nim u q'atat ki k'ux	"Great was the quaking [*sic*](slicing) of their hearts" (Edmonson 1971:line 5475)

Also present are:

Koz/tire

Xa mi x koz qa k'ux	"Our hearts just got tired" (Edmonson 1971:line 3210)
Xa q'u chi koz ki k'ux	"And their hearts just got tired (of hunting)" (Edmonson 1971:line 6419)

[10] We have retained Edmonson's orthography in this section.

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Kube/*cuke*/sit, settle
Kate q'ut x kube ki k'ux "And so their hearts settled" (Edmonson 1971:line 7061)

Rayih/covet, want
Ve q'ut chi rayin ki k'ux "And if they desire you" (Edmonson 1971:line 6350)

The *Annals* also provide some evidence of indigenous use of the heart-state imagery, though again only a small portion of the total range of images was used.[11]

4ok/impaled
Kitzih tan 4ok qui 4ux. "Truely, they were impaled in their hearts" (paragraph 31)

Cuke/sit, settle
Xa 4a ti ka çek ru xe ka 4hamey ti cuker vi ka 4ux ruma "At the base of our staff our hearts rested" (paragraph 42)

3a3al/fire, burn
Xa ruyon 3a3al chu 4ux "Only firey-ness was in his heart" (paragraph 84)

Tzayin/salty
Tok xtzayin chic ru 4ux 4eche vinak chiri tinamit chi Iximche "When the hearts of the Quiché people again were salty against the town at Iximché" (paragraph 89)

Ha chic xtzayin ru 4ux chirih Cakchiquel "Indeed, again their hearts were salty towards the Cakchiquel" (paragraph 107)

Yo3/knead, press
Ru yo3 ru 4ux ahauh 4ikab chique ru 4ahol "His heart was pressed because of his sons' [actions]" (paragraph 81)

COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

As we have shown, the early Colonial Kaqchikel ethnopsychological classification scheme of cosmic animizing forces that act upon the self distinguished three aspects of these forces, the *uxla'*, *natub*, and *4ux*. We have further shown the existence of cognate conceptual schemes among modern Kaqchikeles, central Mexican Nahua speakers, and other Mesoamerican peoples. The similarity between these concepts across space and time, both in terms of their semantic domains and their structural positions, reveals their centrality to pan-Mesoamerican cosmologies and their enduring significance over hundreds and perhaps thousands of years of dramatic social change.

In the case of the Colonial and modern Kaqchikel concept of *uxla'* and the Nahua *ihiyotl*, the relationship is straightforward. Both the Colonial and contemporary Kaqchikel concepts of *uxla'* (breath or vital spirit) are linked to the physical force behind human life; the Nahua *ihiyotl* is likewise associated with breath and an enlivening power. A more complex relationship links the Kaqchikel Colonial concept *natub* to the modern use of *-anima*. The Colonial Kaqchikel term *natub* covers approximately the same semantic domain as the Nahua *tonalli*; both are associated with shadow and the soul, and they play an important role in determining the destiny of an individual. *Natub* is no longer used in Kaqchikel, but a link to contemporary concepts is provided by the neighboring Q'eqchi' concept *muh* (shadow, spirit, and/or soul). The structural position of *muh* in Q'eqchi' worldview is occupied today by the concept *-anima* in Kaqchikel cosmological vocabulary; both concepts are clearly cognate with *natub*.

The cross-cultural diachronic continuity of these concepts is remarkable, but explainable only through reference to the third part of this cosmological trilogy, the heart (*4ux*, *k'u'x*). *uxla'* and *natub*/*-anima* are connected to a cosmically ordained destiny that can be threatened by not maintaining a content or harmonious heart, which is to say by not accepting and/or adhering to received cultural norms. This conservative force, integral to Colonial and modern Kaqchikel notions of the heart, plays a defining role in ethnopsychological constructions of self, which in turn are tied to the cosmic order. In his definition of *4ux*, Coto clearly stated that memory, understanding, and will were all attributed to the animizing force that acted through the heart. These same attributes pertain to the modern Kaqchikel concept of *k'u'x* and the Nahua concept of *teyolia*. All three concepts refer to an animizing force centered in the heart or chest, and the particular nature of one's self is attributable to the state of harmony or disequilibrium of the heart force. In this light, the state of one's heart is coequal with the essence of one's self.

Significant here is the use of the term *q'oheyik* [*koheyik*] in the *Popol Vuh*. Edmonson (1971) consistently glosses this term as "essence." It is used to refer only to the patron gods (Tohil, Avilix, and Haka Vitz) and the greatest Quiché leaders such as Q'uq' Kumatz, who is credited with beginning the Quiché expansion, as well as Kiq'ab and Cahuizamah, who continued it:

Oxib ri qitzih nimaq ki q'oheyik: Tohil, Avilix, Haka Vitz "The three had truly great spirits [elsewhere, "essences"]: Storm, Lord Jaguar, and Fire Peak" (Edmonson 1971:lines 5305–5308)

Qitzih chi naval ahau u q'oheyik "Truly that of a spirit lord was his essence" (Edmonson 1971:lines 7771–7772)

Rumal qitzih naval u q'oheyik "Because truly spirits were their essences" (Edmonson 1971:lines 7829–7830)

Ma na kehe' e' ahavab. Nim ki q'oheyik "It wasn't just that they were lords. Great was their essence" (Edmonson 1971:lines 8150–8151)

Utz tah ki q'oheyik "[Let] good be their essence" (Edmonson 1971:lines 8246–8247)

Coto (1983) glossed the Kaqchikel cognate term *k'ohlem* in several ways. It could be used to refer to one's natural condition "la condición natural que uno tiene" (Coto 1983:107). Alternate phrases suggest that "heart" (*4ux*) and "face" (*vach*) might be used interchangeably with *k'ohlem* in some circumstances. Coto (1983:216) also rendered *k'ohlem* as "state," "grade," or "dignity" (*estado*, *grado*, or *dignidad*) and as a characteristic or "property" (*propiedad*; Coto 1983:444). It would seem, then, that *k'ohlem* refers not to some specific force but to a more ineffable quality which linked individuals, particularly elites, with deities, a local variation of the Mesoamerican man–god concept (López Austin 1973). *K'ohlem*, therefore, describes the unity of self and cosmos that we have outlined above, and it points to the importance of equilibrium among cosmic animizing forces (as described by various states of heart) in determining the self.

In conclusion, we have outlined the semantic domains of three Kaqchikel Maya concepts central to their ethnopsychological construction of self. Based on the presence of cognate terms in other parts of the Mesoamerican culture area, we posit that this categorization of animizing forces likely has deep historical roots in the development of Mesoamerican cosmologies; it is hoped that the data presented herein will provide a basis for future epigraphic and iconographic research on the topic. In postulating important cosmological continuities between pre-Columbian and modern Maya cultures, our argument offers a corrective to recent constructionist approaches to the study of self and identity. Whereas

[11] Citations refer to paragraphs in the original manuscript, and we have retained the text's orthography here. We are grateful to Judith M. Maxwell for her suggestions on glossing the phrases from the *Annals*. However, we assume responsibility for their final form.

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work in what has been termed the "resistance school" of identity formation (Field 1994) stresses the role of economic and political contingencies in the ongoing construction of self identity (see Sandstrom 1991; Stephen 1991), we have documented the equal importance of conservative forces in the ongoing process of identity maintenance. These data underline the validity of archaeological and ethnohistorical extrapolation based on ethnographic observation.

RESUMEN

Este artículo examina conceptos coloniales de los Maya Kaqchikeles pertenecido al ser, al alma, y al corazón. Integrando datos etnohistóricos y etnográficos contemporaneos, mostramos que los Kaqchikeles consideraban el ser como parte de un equilibrio dinámico de fuerzas cosmicas. Las maneras en que estas fuerzas le afectan al individuo son documentados a través de una discusión extensa de metáforas kaqchikeles del corazón y del alma. Concluimos notando la importancia de una comprensión de los procesos de la continuidad (tanto como del cambio) en construcciones culturales y discutimos la utilidad continuada de tales enfoques en investigaciones etnohistóricas.

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APPENDIX A: "HEARTING"

4uxlaah/to "heart"

Tin 4uxlaah	"Cargo tener de alguna cosa" (Coto 1983:90)
	"Cuidado tener de algo" (Coto 1983:121)
	"Inventar algo" (Coto 1983:299)
	"Pensar alguna cosa" (Coto 1983:409)
	"Reparar en lo que se dice o hace" (Coto 1983:484)
Tin 4uxlaah na	"Premeditar, o pensar primero en lo que ha de hacer o decir" (Coto 1983:436)
	"Pesar o medir las palabras o acciones" (Coto 1983:416)
Tin 4uxlaah na pa nu qux	"Deliberar o proponer, aconsejarse cosigo mismo antes que ponga por obra o diga alguna cosa" (Coto 1983:140)
Qiy tan tin 4uxlaah	"Andar negociante, apresurado en hacer algo, o negociarlo, cuando son muchos negocios" (Coto 1983:368)
Qiya mul tin 4uxlaah pa nu qux	"Mirar prudentemente y con cordura algún negocio, aconsejándome conmigo mismo" (Coto 1983:351)

4uxlabal/"heart-dream"

4uxlabal	"La memoria" (Coto 1983:341–342, 433)
Quere nu 4uxlabal	"El intento" (Coto 1983:299)
Ti be chi cah nu 4uxlabal	"Contemplar" (Coto 1983:110)
Tin na a 4uxlabal	"Adivinar lo que otro piensa, 'siento lo que piensas'" (Coto 1983:15)
4uxlaanic	"Pensamiento, acción de pensar" (Coto 1983:409)

APPENDIX B: HOT VERSUS COLD CONTRASTS

Hotol/*calentar*/to warm up

Hotol ru 4ux chire	"del que es codicioso en trabajar, o diligente para lo que se le encarga o ha menester" (Coto 1983:95–96)

Me3emo/*calentar*/to warm

Me3emo nu 4ux	"enfavoriçarse en querer hacer algo" (Coto 1983:198)
Me3en nu 4ux qoh ronohel pa v'ochoch	"Estar con gusto o tener lo necesario" (Coto 1983:83)

Pulu/*hervir*/to boil

Ti pulu nu 4ux	"rebentar de cólera o enojo" (Coto 1983:467)
	"Encenderse en ira o enojo" (Coto 1983:181)
Ti puluv nu 4ux	"Encruelecerse 'hierve mi corazón'" (Coto 1983:184)
Ah pulu 4ux	"Furioso de enojo" (Coto 1983:243)
Ti pulu/*pulputiyah nu 4ux chi oyeval*	"Enojarse mucho" (Coto 1983:194)

Volovixin/*hacerse muchas vegijas por quemarse con agua o algún licor caliente*/to blister

Ti vovot nu 4ux	"Encenderse en enojo" (Coto 1983:181)

3a3/*fuego*/fire, burn

Ti 3a3an nu 4ux	"Estomagarse o enojarse" (Coto 1983:220)
3a3enem 4ux	"Saña" (Coto 1983:509)
3a3anibal 4ux	"Embidia" (Coto 1983:178)
Tan ti 3a3ar nu 4ux	"Enojarse o airiarse" (Coto 1983:194)
Qui 3a3ar nu 4ux/*Quere 3a3 nu 4ux*	"Hacerse bravo" (Coto 1983:74)

4hijl/*chamuscar*/to singe

4hijl qaal tu na nu 4ux	"Hastío o enfado" (Coto 1983:268)

Teuh/*cosa fría*/cold

Teuh nu 4ux	"Persona çufrida, paciente" (Coto 1983:415)
Tin teur nu 4ux	"Desenojarse" (Coto 1983:148)
Ti teur nu 4ux	"Aplacarse la cólera o enojo" (Coto 1983:39)

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Ti teur a 4ux	"Sosegarse, que es enfriarse" (Coto 1983:532)
	"Amanarse el que está airado" (Coto 1983:28)
X-teur nu 4ux	"Pasarse la cólera o enojo" (Coto 1983:399)
Tin teur tah a 4ux chire	"Que perdone la injuria que otro le ha hecho o el enojo que contra él tiene" (Coto 1983:46)
Tin teuriçah nu 4ux	"Desapasionarse" (Coto 1983:143)
Tin teuriçah qui 4ux	"Reconciliar a los que están reñidos" (Coto 1983:470)
	"Pacificar, hacer paz entre otros" (Coto 1983:387)

Korob/*cosa fría*/cold

Tan ti korob a 4ux	"Tu temes" (Coto 1983:543)
Ti korob nu 4ux	"Atemorizarse, turbarse, amedrentarse" (Coto 1983:52)
Tin korobiçah ru 4ux Pedro	"Poner miedo a otro" (Coto 1983:348)

Korkot/*temblar de frío*/to tremble from cold

Ti korkot nu 4ux	"Batir o latir el corazón" (Coto 1983:64)
Ti koroko nu 4ux	"Atemorizarse, turbarse, amedrentarse" (Coto 1983:52)
Ti koroko ru 4ux	"Espantar o amedrentar" (Coto 1983:210)
X-koroko nu 4ux	"Alterarse, inquietarse o alborotarse el corazón por alguna mala nueva o otro accidente" (Coto 1983:26)

APPENDIX C: SWEET VS. BITING CONTRASTS

Pokon/*picar, quemar el chile*/burning, biting

Ti pokon nu 4ux	"Estar triste y lloroso" (Coto 1983:324)
Pokon nu 4ux chave	"Mançilla de corazón, ID EST, dolor o pasión de algo, o compasión de otro" (Coto 1983:334)
	"Lástima tener de otro" (Coto 1983:307)
Pokon nu 4ux chire	"Dolerse de alguno viéndole en algún trabajo" (Coto 1983:170)
Ti pokon chic nu 4ux	"Pesarme de no haber hecho alguna cosa que quise hacer, y no la hice" (Coto 1983:416)
Ru pokonal nu 4ux	"Pasión del corazón o alma" (Coto 1983:399)
Ti pokonar nu 4ux	"Apasionarse" (Coto 1983:38)
Ti pokox nu 4ux	"Dolor o pena tener o recibir por algún accidente" (Coto 1983:170)
	"Arrepentirse uno de lo que ha hecho, o de sus pecados" (Coto 1983:45)
	"Estoy con aflicción" (Coto 1983:16)
Ru pokox nu 4ux	"Recibir pena por pérdida o muerte de alguno, o por otro accidente" (Coto 1983:472)
	"Pena de alma o del corazón" (Coto 1983:408)

APPENDIX D: SWEET VERSUS SALTY CONTRASTS

3uz3uh/*dulce*/sweet

3ux3uh nu 4ux	"Buena voluntad tener a otro 'esté dulce, esté sabroso tu corazón para mí'" (Coto 1983:76)
3ux3uh nu 4ux chire	"Tener gusto de cualquiera cosa que ven o oyen, o otra acción" (Coto 1983:260)
3uz3uz nu 4ux	"Alegrarse agradándose" (Coto 1983:24)

Tzay/*sal*/salt

Ti tzayin nu 4ux chire Pedro	"Odio o rencor tener a alguno" (Coto 1983:377)

Cab/*miel*/*honey*

Quere muul nu 4ux pa cab, pa quicotem	"por estar alegrísimo y contento 'está como remojado mi corazón en miel, en alegría'" (Coto 1983:24)
Tan ti cabcot nu 4ux	"Alegrarse" (Coto 1983:24)
Ti cabcot nu nu 4ux	"Inflamarse el corazón de amor" (Coto 1983:294)
Tan ti cabcotiriçah ru 4ux Pedro	"Recrear a otro, alegrarlo" (Coto 1983:471)

APPENDIX E: THICK VERSUS THIN, HARD VERSUS SOFT, BIG VERSUS SMALL CONTRASTS

Chohm/*grueso*/thick

chohm ru 4ux Pedro	"Fiel persona, de confianza y satisfacción" (Coto 1983:231)
Xaki chohm ru 4ux	"Llano de corazón, sencillo" (Coto 1983:322)
Mani chohm ru 4ux	"Por la intención o voluntad siniestra" (Coto 1983:524)

Yu4,/*estrecha cosa*/narrow, thin

Tin yu4, ru 4ux	"Deleznable persona, inconstante (Coto 1983:140)
	"Afligirse uno luego de cualquier cosa" (Coto 1983:16)
Yu4,ul nu 4ux	"Medroso, que luego se aflige y llora" (Coto 1983:340)
Ti yu4,utah nu 4ux	"Afligirse uno luego de cualquier cosa" (Coto 1983:16)
Ru yu4,utah nu 4ux	"La fatiga del spíritu o ánimo" (Coto 1983:229)
Tan ti yu4,utah nu 4ux	"Fatiga del spíritu o ánimo, 'estrecharse'" (Coto 1983:229)
X-yu4,utah nu 4ux	"Afligirse, angustiarse" (Coto 1983:222–223)

Nim/*grande*/big

Ah nima 4ux	"Constante ser uno en lo que dice o emprende" (Coto 1983:110)
Maqui ah nima 4ux	"Deleznable persona, inconstante" (Coto 1983:140)
Nim ru 4ux	"Magnánimo" (Coto 1983:328)
	"Grande y esforçado en valor" (Coto 1983:254)
Nim nu 4ux chirichin	"Instar en una cosa" (Coto 1983:298)
Tin nimah ru 4ux	"Consolar [a otro]" (Coto 1983:109)

4huti/*pequeño*/small

4huti ru 4ux	"Cobarde" (Coto 1983:95)

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4hutin nu 4ux	"Medroso, pusilánime" (Coto 1983:340)
	"Deleznable persona, inconstante" (Coto 1983:140)
Coxpin/—/shrink	
Ti coxpin nu 4ux	"Tener miedo" (Coto 1983:348)
Ti coxpiyah nu 4ux chi oyeval	"Enojarse mucho" (Coto 1983:194)
Ti coxpiyah nu 4ux	"Saltar el corazón sobresaltando. Tiénenlo por abusión de que les ha de suceder algo, y así dicen leugo '*ti* coxpiyah nu 4ux, nak cami 4haoh?' 'El corazón me salta, ¿qué pesadumbre o pleito me ha de suceder?'" (Coto 1983:506)
Abaj/*piedra*/stone	
Abah ru 4ux	"Duro de corazón, que por más le digan no se ablanda" (Coto 1983:173)
Abahirinak ru 4ux	"El que está endurecido y obstinado" (Coto 1983:186).
4hu4huh/*blanda cosa*/soft	
4hu4huhibal 4ux	"Ternura de corazón" (Coto 1983:547)
4hu4huh qo vi nu 4ux	"El que tiene sana voluntad" (Coto 1983:508)
Ti 4hu4huhin nu 4ux	"Enternecerse, aplacarse el enojo, ablandarse" (Coto 1983:198)
Ti 4hu4huhir nu 4ux	"Aplacarse la cólera o enojo" (Coto 1983:39)
4hu4huhiriçah ru 4ux	"Templar, aplacar al que está enojado" (Coto 1983:68)
Cov/—/firm	
Cov ru 4ux	"Grande y esforçado en valor" (Coto 1983:254)
Ru covil 4ux	"Esfuerzo de ánimo" (Coto 1983:208)
Ah covilah 4ux	"Constante ser uno en lo que dice o emprende" (Coto 1983:110)
Tin coviriçah nu 4ux	"Animarse" (Coto 1983:35)
Ta coviriçah a 4ux at Pedro	"Fortalecer a otro, animándolo o esforzándolo" (Coto 1983:237)
Man chic cov ru 4ux	"Floxo sin fuerzas" (Coto 1983:235)
yotah/—/sink into something soft	
Tan ti yotah nu 4ux	"Desatinarse" (Coto 1983:144)
Tin yotah nu 4ux	"Perder la vergüenza" (Coto 1983:410)
X-yotah a 4ux at Pedro	"Dañarse en costumbres o avellacarse" (Coto 1983:136)

APPENDIX F: AT REST/RETURNING TO REST VERSUS MOVING

cuke/*sentarse*/to sit, to settle	
Ti cuke ta a 4ux	"Consuélate, quiétate, consolar" (Coto 1983:515)
	"No tienes que tener cuidado, que seguro estás" (Coto 1983:513)
Ti cuke nu 4ux	"Quietarse el que tiene alguna inquietud de spíritu, o pesadumbre" (Coto 1983:459)
	"Consolarse" (Coto 1983:109)
Ti cuker ta a 4ux at Pedro	"Sosegarse: viene a ser lo mismo que 'quietarse'" (Coto 1983:532)
Cukerinak chic ru 4ux	"El que está así contento" (Coto 1983:111)
Tin cukeriçah ru 4ux	"Contentar a alguno, satisfaciéndole o consolándose en queja que da, o otra cosa" (Coto 1983:111)
Tin cukeriçah ru 4ux Pedro	"Asegurar a otro" (Coto 1983:513)
	"Quietar a otro que tiene alguna inquietud de spíritu, o pesadumbre" (Coto 1983:459)
Tin cukuba ru 4ux Pedro	"Asegurar a otro" (Coto 1983:513)
	"Quietar a otro que tiene alguna inquietud de spíritu, o pesadumbre" (Coto 1983:459)
	"Contentar a alguno, satisfaciéndole o consolándose en queja que da, o otra cosa" (Coto 1983:111)
Tin cukuba nu 4ux	"Desapasionarse" (Coto 1983:143)
Cukubaxic/*cukubabal 4ux*	"La quietud así [del spíritu]" (Coto 1983:459)
Mani cuklem qo vi ru 4ux	"Inquieta persona" (Coto 1983: 297)
Cukul chic nu 4ux	"Sosegada y quieta tener la conciencia, como el que se ha confesado" (Coto 1983:532)
Cukul chic ru 4ux	"El que está así contento" (Coto 1983:111)
Cukul ka 4ux chire	"Alegres y contentos estar" (Coto 1983:24)
Maki cucul [*sic*] *ru 4ux*	"Presuroso ser uno en lo que hace" (Coto 1983:439)
Mani cukul nu 4ux chirichin	"Descontentarse de algo" (Coto 1983:146)
Mani cukerinak nu 4ux chirichin	
Ka/*descender o bajar*/to descend, to dismount	
Ti ka nu 4ux	"Desenojarse" (Coto 1983:148)
	"Aficionarse o agradecerse de algo" (Coto 1983:15–16)
Be/—/go	
Ti be nu 4ux chirih	"Enamorarse" (Coto 1983:180)
X-be nu 4ux chirih/chire	"Codiciar o cuidar alguna cosa que agrada" (Coto 1983:95–96)
Maihan/—/set in motion	
Ti maihan nu 4ux	"Alegrarse admirándose de ver algo" (Coto 1983:24)

APPENDIX G: IMPLIED CONTRASTS

Bala3uh/*cansarse*/tire	
x-bala3uh nu 4ux	"Cansarse" (Coto 1983:87)
Biçon/*estar triste*/to be sad	
Ti biçon nu 4ux	"Estar lloroso y triste" (Coto 1983:324)
Ti biçon nu 4ux rumal	"Duelo o compasión tener de alguno" (Coto 1983:172)
Qui bizon/*bizor nu 4ux*	"Angustia" (Coto 1983:34)
Tan ah biz nu 4ux	"Pensativo estar con tristeza" (Coto 1983:409)
Coz/*cansarse*/to tire	
x-coz nu 4ux	"Cansarse" (Coto 1983:87)
x-coz nu 4ux chire	"Enfadarse, máxime cuando aguardan a persona o resolución de algo" (Coto 1983:188)
x-cozo/cozcoz nu 4ux rumal	
x-coz3ih nu 4ux	"Cansarse" (Coto 1983:87)
Cheerinak/—/paralyzed	
cheerinak ru 4ux	"El que está endurecido y obstinado" (Coto 1983:186)
Hi3il/*querer*/to hunger, to want	
Hi3 nu 4ux	"El deseo" (Coto 1983:147)
Hi3il nu 4ux	"Hambre sentir o tener" (Coto 1983:265)
Xa ru hi3ubal nu 4ux	"Por mi gusto y voluntad" (Coto 1983:260)
Hi3ih/—/sob, groan, choke	
Ti hi3iho nu 4ux	"Sobresaltar el corazón, cuando por si solo, lo que solemos decir 'me dió el

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	corazón que había de suceder esto, etc.’ ” (Coto 1983:526)
x-hi3iho nu 4ux	“Cuando es sobresalto de ser cogido en algún delito, o que espanta” (Coto 1983:526)
Hi3oh 4ux	“Demudamiento” (Coto 1983:140)
Ti hi3o nu 4ux	“Sollozar” (Coto 1983:529)
Ti hi3ot nu 4ux	“Sollozar” (Coto 1983:529)
Ti hi3ot nu 4ux	“Sospirar o suspirar” (Coto 1983:531)
Ilin/*inquietar, duelo, estar triste*/to be sad	
Tan t’ilin nu 4ux	“Inquieto estar por tener huéspedes, o algún negocio a que acudir” (Coto 1983:298)
	“Recibir pena por pérdida o muerte de alguno, o por otro accidente” (Coto 1983:472)
T’ilin nu 4ux	“Entristecerse con angustia y cuidado de algo” (Coto 1983:201)
Tan ah il nu 4ux	“ Pensativo estar con tristeza” (Coto 1983:409)
Ti u’iliniçah ru 4ux	“Entristecer a otro” (Coto 1983:201)
Ixovah/aborrecer, parecerme mal *algo*/to hate, to abhor	
Ti u’ixo chic nu 4ux	“Aborrescer la comida u la bebida” (Coto 1983:4–5)
Kele/*estar mustío, mal acondicionado, desabrido o como enojado*/to be sad, to be ill-disposed, to be disgusted	
x-kel nu 4ux chire	“Enfadarse” (Coto 1983:188)
x-u keleba ru 4ux Pedro chire	“Estar de mala condición o enojado” (Coto 1983:107–108)
Malih, molih/—/full of despair	
Tin malih/*molih nu 4ux*	“Despecharse o burrirse por faltarle posible para emprender lo que pretende” (Coto 1983:154)
Tin malih/*molih ru 4ux*	“Despechar a otro, aburrirlo” (Coto 1983:154)
Tin molih nu 4ux	“Cuando ya uno totalmente desconfía, como aburrido y despechado” (Coto 1983:145–146)
	“Aburrirse” (Coto 1983:7)
Muluh/*asco tener*/to be nauseated	
Ti mulu nu 4ux	“Enpalagarse” (Coto 1983:192)
	“Asco tener de algo” (Coto 1983:48)
Ti mulu3ih nu 4ux	“Sospirar o suspirar” (Coto 1983:531)
Num/*hambre*/hunger	
Ti num nu 4ux	“Hambre sentir o tener” (Coto 1983:265)
	“Descaecer de hambre” (Coto 1983:144)
Numul nu 4ux	“Cuando una persona se halla pesada, que no está para hacer cosa” (Coto 1983:416)
	“Dejativo estar por enfermedad, cansancio, o hambre” (Coto 1983:416)
Ti numum nu 4ux	“Cuando una persona está pereçosa” (Coto 1983:411)
Oyeu/—/angry	
Tan ti numum nu 4ux	“Cuando la persona está floxa y sin gana de hacer cosa alguna” (Coto 1983:235)
Oyeu ru 4ux	“El que es colérico” (Coto 1983:415)
Oyeval 4ux	“Saña” (Coto 1983:509)
R’oyeval nu 4ux	“Ira o cólera arrebatada” (Coto 1983:302)
Qo r’oyeval pa nu 4ux	“Rencilla tener en el corazón” (Coto 1983:482–483)
Tan t’oyevar nu 4ux	“Enojarse o airiarse” (Coto 1983:194)
Tiquil oyeval chi nu 4ux	“Cuando tienen odio a otro, y que les dura mucho” (Coto 1983:377)
4ibalil/*diligencia*/diligence	
Ru 4ibalil nu 4ux	“Diligencia” (Coto 1983:166)
Raih/*desear*/to covet	
Ru raibal nu 4ux	“Inclinarse, aficionándose a alguna cosa” (Coto 1983:293)
Tin raih nu 4ux chirih	“Enamorarse” (Coto 1983:180)
Tu raih nu 4ux	“Aficionarse o aplicarse a hacer algo” (Coto 1983:15–16)
Ru rayil nu 4ux	“ Pasión del corazón o alma” (Coto 1983:399)
Xa ru rayibal nu 4ux	“ Por mi gusto y voluntad” (Coto 1983:260)
Ça4al/—/intelligence, diligence	
Mani ça4al ta ru 4ux	“Tardo o rudo en aprender” (Coto 1983:542)
Mani ti ça4çot ta ru 4ux chire	
Yavah/*enfermar*/to sicken	
Ti yavah nu 4ux rumal	“Atemorizarse, turbarse, amedrentarse” (Coto 1983:52)
4humuh/*tener pena o dolor*/to suffer, to feel pain	
Tan ti 4humum nu 4ux	“Recibir pena por pérdida o muerte de alguno, o por otro accidente” (Coto 1983:472)
	“ Pasión. Cuando es por muerte de padre, madre, etc.,” (Coto 1983:399)
Ti 4humum nu 4ux	“Dolor o pena tener o recibir por algún accidente” (Coto 1983:170)
	“Descaecer de hambre” (Coto 1983:144)
	“Contrición tener o arrepentimiento de culpas” (Coto 1983:112)
	“Arrepentirse uno de lo que ha hecho, o de sus pecados” (Coto 1983:45)
	“Afligirse” (Coto 1983:16)
4humumibal 4ux	“Ternura de corazón” (Coto 1983:547)
Ru 4humumic nu 4ux	“La penitencia, dolor de pecados” (Coto 1983:409)
Ti 4humun nu 4ux	“Estomagarse o enojarse” (Coto 1983:220)

APPENDIX H: HEART WOUNDS

4hitit/*lastimarse*/to wound, to injure, to hurt	
4hitit ru 4ux	“Impaciente, mal sufrido” (Coto 1983:296)
He4h/—/twisted	
He4hel ru 4ux Pedro	“ Por la intención o voluntad siniestra” (Coto 1983:524)
Mehoh/—/tear at something	
Qiy tan ti meho vi nu 4ux	“Andar negociante, apresurado en hacer algo, o negociarlo, cuando son muchos negocios” (Coto1983:368)
Poh/—/damage	
Ti po nu 4ux	“Estragarse en costumbres” (Coto 1983:221)
Tin poiçah—4ux	“ Pervertir a otro” (Coto 1983:415)
Tin poiçah ru 4ux	“Estar estragado en costumbres” (Coto 1983:221)
Tin po/*poiçah ru 4ux*	“Dañar así a otro en costumbres, darle mal ejemplo” (Coto 1983:136)
Tan ta poiçah qui 4ux	“Cuando con el mal ejemplo que se da escandalizan o se deteriora la vecindad” (Coto 1983:226)
To poo ru 4ux rumal	“Acostumbrar a otro en ruindades” (Coto 1983:11)
4ok/—/impaled	
4ok nu 4ux chire	“Cuando reciben pena por no haber alcanzado lo que pretendían, de oficio, compra de algo, o muger a que se había aficionado” (Coto 1983:472)

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4ok chic nu 4ux "Pesarme de no haber hecho alguna cosa que quise hacer, y no lo hice" (Coto 1983:416)

Ru 4ok nu 4ux "El deseo de que uno vaya o venga a hacer algo" (Coto 1983:80)

Ti 4okon nu 4ux chire nu mac "Arrepentirse uno de lo que ha hecho, o de sus pecados" (Coto 1983:45)

3ahah/*quebrar*/to break up, to grind

Ti 3ahah ka nu 4ux "Querer o haber determinado de hacer alguna cosa, y no ponerla después en execusión por alguna ocassión" (Coto 1983:457)

3atah, 3atoh/—/slice, cut open

Ru 3atat nu 4ux "Recibir pena por pérdida o muerte de alguno, o por otro accidente" (Coto 1983:472)

Tan ti 3atat nu 4ux

Ti 3atat nu 4ux "Afligirse" (Coto 1983:16)
"Arrepentirse uno de lo que ha hecho, o de sus pecados" (Coto 1983:45)
"Contrición tener o arrepentimiento de culpas" (Coto 1983:112)
"Dolor o pena recibir por algún accidente" (Coto 1983:170)
"Estomagarse o enojarse" (Coto 1983:220)
"Pasión, cuando es por muerte de padre, madre, etc." (Coto 1983:399)

3atatibal 4ux "Ternura de corazón" (Coto 1983:547)

Ru 3atatic nu 4ux "La penitencia, dolor de pecados" (Coto 1983:409)
"Aficionarse" (Coto 1983:95–96)

APPENDIX I: EXERTIONS OF THE HEART

Aho/*querer*/to want

Ti r'aho nu 4ux "Gana o voluntad tener de una cosa, o de hacerla" (Coto 1983:245)
"Querer/quiero" (Coto 1983:457)

Mani ti r'aho nu 4ux "Desganado estar" (Coto 1983:149)

Chi r'ahoibal nu 4ux "De mi voluntad" (Coto 1983:140)

Ti u'ahouah nu 4ux "Aficionarse o aplicarse a hacer algo" (Coto 1983:15–16)

Bijh/*hablar*/to speak

Tin bijh nu 4ux "Descubrir su secreto al amigo" (Coto 1983:146)

Canoh/*buscar*/to hunt, to fish, to inquire, to conjure

Tin canoh chi nu 4ux "Imaginar" (Coto 1983:292)
"Conjeturar" (Coto 1983:109)

Ta canoh na ch'a 4ux "Pregunta, casi semejante a la que los españoles hacen de '¿Quées cosa y cosa?', o 'Adivina o acierta esto', 'Siente o busca en tu corazón'" (Coto 1983:436)

Tin canola chi nu 4ux "Silogizar discurriendo" (Coto 1983:523)

Chahih/*guardar*/to guard

Tu chahih nu 4ux "Tener en la memoria alguna cosa que han visto"

Co4,ihan/*florescer*/to flower, to blossom

Ti co4,ihan nu 4ux "Estar contento y gozoso como decir que está el corazón florído" (Coto 1983:234)
"Alegrarse admirándose de ver algo" (Coto 1983:24); oído, 'guarda mi corazón'" (Coto 1983:341–342)

Etaam/—/know

R'etaam nu 4ux "Saber o conocer una cosa" (Coto 1983:500)

R'etaam chic nu 4ux "Sentir o presumir" (Coto 1983:500)

Hequeba/—/declare, confide, confess

Tan tin hequeba nu 4ux "Confiar en otro" (Coto 1983:108)

Kel/*no hacer lo que dicen*/to disobey

X-u kel nu qux chire "Enfadarse" (Coto 1983:188)

X-u keleba ru 4ux Pedro chire "Estar de mala condición o enojado" (Coto 1983:107–108)

Kup/*tomar por fuerza*/to seize

Cu kupkuh nu 4ux chire "Cuando uno está muy aficionado a sus cosas, que no quiere venderlas ni darlas" (Coto 1983:15–16)

La3aputa/apretar a uno como a la pared con la puerta/to squeeze, to press

La3aputahinak nu 4ux "Pasión congojosa" (Coto 1983:399)

Loman/—/squeeze hard

Ti loman nu 4ux "Maravillarse o holgarse de ver algo" (Coto 1983:334–335)
"Desear algo con affecto" (Coto 1983:147)
"Admirar" (Coto 1983:13)

Meztah/*olvidar*/to forget

Xa ti metztah [*sic*] *ru 4ux* "Negligente, olvidadoso" (Coto 1983:368)

Meztahinak chic ru 4ux "Desacordado" (Coto 1983:143)

Muke/*enterrar*/to bury, to cover over

Ti muke tah vae tzih pan a 4ux "Ten en secreto estas palabras" (Coto 1983:511)

Mukul chi nu 4ux "Lo que así esta en secreto" (Coto 1983:511)

Mukul r'oyeval ch'u 4ux "El que tiene el enojo escondido y secreto" (Coto 1983:511)

Na4al/*estar algo muy pegado o asido otra cosa*/to be stuck to, to be stuck in something

Na4al nu 4ux chire "Querer a otro, estar bien con él" (Coto 1983:457)

Natah/—/remember

Ti natah chi nu 4ux "Traer a la memoria lo que se había olvidado" (Coto 1983:341–342)

Navalim/—/lie

Xa nu navalim chi nu 4ux "Fingir palabras o alguna acción, encubriendo o negando la verdad" (Coto 1983:233)

Pach3omih/*volver*/to return something to its place

Tin pach3omih nu 4ux "Volverse de otro parecer y volver la palabra" (Coto 1983:72)

Ti pach3omin nu 4ux "Dudar en algo, o estar dudoso, perplexo, sin determinar lo que hará" (Coto 1983:172)

Çihan/—/admire

Ti çihan nu 4ux "Maravillarse o holgarse de ver algo" (Coto 1983:334–335)
"Alegrarse admirándose de ver algo" (Coto 1983:24)
"Alegrarse y admirarse" (Coto 1983:13)

Tacato/*cerrar*/to close

X-tacato nu 4ux "Titubear, no acertar a decir cosa" (Coto 1983:551)

Tacutah/*turbarse de miedo o verguenza, quedar como cortado o sin memoria*/to be discomposed

X-tacutah nu 4ux "Me turbé" (Coto 1983:560)

Ti tacutah nu 4ux "Entorpecerse" (Coto 1983:199)

Tin tacutahiçah a/ru 4ux "Entorpecer a otro" (Coto 1983:199)

Tanaba/*cesar, dejar*/to cease

Tin tanaba nu 4ux ruquin/*chire* "Despedirse de la amistad de alguno, 'cesó mi corazón con él'" (Coto 1983:154)

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Taz/*atajar la casa*/to partition a house with walls
Tin taz nu 4ux "Esquiva persona, que habla poco" (Coto 1983:215)
Tazl nu 4ux chue "Cuando uno se muestra extraño o escaso con los que le piden algo prestado o dado" (Coto 1983:221)
Quere xa tazl a 4ux chue "Parece que andas esquivo conmigo" (Coto 1983:215)

Tzakah/*arrojar*/to throw away
Tin tzak el chi nu 4ux ru mac Pedro "Perdonar la injuria que otro me ha hecho" (Coto 1983:411)
Tin tzak el ch'a nu 4ux ru mac Pedro "Que perdone la injuria que otro le ha hecho o el enojo que contra él tiene" (Coto 1983:46)
Ta tzaka el ch'a 4ux ru mac Pedro "Uno que se desenoje con otro" (Coto 1983:411)
Tin tzak el v'oyeval pa nu 4ux "Enojo, hecharlo de sí, y perdonar a otro la injuria que le ha hecho" (Coto 1983:194)

Tzeke/*seguir a otro, colgar algo de algo*/to follow
Tin tzekeba nu 4ux "Confiar en otro" (Coto 1983:108)
Tzol3omih/—/return something
Tin tzol3omih nu 4ux "Volverse de otro parecer y volver la palabra" (Coto 1983:72)
Tin tzol3omih chic nu 4ux "Arrepentirse de lo que pretendía hacer, o de lo que ha dicho uno" (Coto 1983:45)

Xoconatah/*entender*/to understand
Ti xoconatah pa nu 4ux "Entender uno bien lo que le dicen" (Coto 1983:197)

Xutuh/*no querer comer o beber de enojado*/to reject out of anger
Ba xutuh a 4ux "No desconfíes" (Coto 1983:145–146)
Yacatah/*levantarse*/to rise, to get up
X-yacatah nu 4ux "Inflamarse el corazón con amor" (Coto 1983:294)
Yacatahinak chic nu 4ux "Cuando uno está ya movido y determinado de hacer algo" (Coto 1983:359)
Ti yacatah ru muluvic nu 4ux "Enpalagarse" (Coto 1983:192)

4huptah/*coger*/to cut leaves or vines
Ti 4huptah nu 4ux rumal ru mac "Arrepentirse uno de lo que ha hecho, o de sus pecados" (Coto 1983:45)

3aluh/—/embrace
Ba 3al a 4ux chue "No tener afición de alguno, y suelen decirlo las indias cuando se quejan de sus maridos" (Coto 1983:15–16)

4al/*atar algo por dos o tres partes*/to tie up something
4al nu 4ux chire puvak "Avaricia tener" (Coto 1983:56–57)
Xa tu 4al ru 4ux chuvi ru puvak "Ahorrar, no gastar, ni vestirse ni comer bien por guardar" (Coto 1983:20)

4avachih/*caer de espaldas, caer boca abajo*/to fall face down, headlong, backward
Ti 4avachin nu 4ux "Dudar en algo, o estar dudoso, perplexo, sin determinar lo que hará" (Coto 1983:172)

4aze/*vivir*/to live
Mani 4az ru 4ux lae ala "Cuando por pereza o negligencia, no aprende uno lo que se le enseña 'No está vivo el corazón de ese muchacho' " (Coto 1983:498)
Tan ti 4azbola nu 4ux chirichin "Tener deseo de pecar con alguna muger" (Coto 1983:147)
4azl chi nu 4ux "Tener continuo deseo de una cosa" (Coto 1983:111)
4azl v'oyeval chi nu 4ux "El que tiene enojo o rencor arraigado" (Coto 1983:194)
Nu 4azibal a 4ux "Pasión del corazón o alma" (Coto 1983:399)

4iz/*acabar, concluir*/to finish
Ti 4iz nu 4ux "Angustia" (Coto 1983:34)
X-in 4iz nu 4ux rumal "Estar uno despachado o aburrido por alguna cosa" (Coto 1983:9)

X-4iz nu 4ux avumal
4iznak chic nu 4ux "Hallarse sin remedio, o atajado en lo que ha de hacer" (Coto 1983:265)

4ulubeh/*pensar bien*/to set out boundaries
Tin 4ulubeh [sic] na nu 4ux "Mirar prudentemente y con cordura algún negocio, aconsejándome conmigo mismo" (Coto 1983:351)

APPENDIX J: ACTIONS TO THE HEART

Aniyah/*aguijar, darse priesa*/to spur, to hasten
Aninak nu 4ux rumal "Inquieto estar por tener huéspedes, o algún negocio a que acudir" (Coto 1983:298)
Aninak nu 4ux chire nu çamah "Solícitamente y con cuidado ir a algún negocio" (Coto 1983:528)

Bochih/*alagar con obras o palabras, sobornar*/to convince, to bribe
Tin bochih ru 4ux "Solicitar a muger para pecar, o para casamiento" (Coto 1983:528)
"Reducir con palabras" (Coto 1983:474)

La3aputa/*apretar a uno como a la pared con la puerta*/to squeeze, to press
La3aputahinak nu 4ux "Pasión congojosa" (Coto 1983:399)
Tih/*convidar a comer o beber, probar*/to invite, to offer, to test
Tin tih ru 4ux "Tentar, probando la intención de otro" (Coto 1983:546)

Tur/*descomponer*/to dismantle
Tin tur—*4ux* "Pervertir a otro" (Coto 1983:415)

Tukuh/—/stir
Ti tucuc nu 4ux "Dudar en algo, o estar dudoso, perplexo, sin determinar lo que hará" (Coto 1983:172)

Uliçah/*ir a traer de fuera del pueblo y de lejos algo a éste*/to bring something from afar
X-i v'uliçah ru 4ux Pedro "Incité a Pedro" (Coto 1983:292)
Yac/*alzar algo*/to kick, to urge on
Tin yac ru 4ux "Mover a otro a hacer algo" (Coto 1983:359)
"Inquietar a otro, incitándole para algo" (Coto 1983:298)
Tin yac r'oyeval nu 4ux "Provocar ira y enojo con malas palabras" (Coto 1983:446)

Yacbal 4ux "Incitación, provocación" (Coto 1983:292)

Yacol 4ux "El que así incita o provoca" (Coto 1983:292)

Yo3/*amasar, apretar algo*/to knead, to press something
Tin yo3 4uxlaah "Provocar a ira y enojo con malas palabras" (Coto 1983:446)

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