Appendix B

Ipapa Abram

(B.1) *bueno, vamos a empezar acá* (Spanish)

‘Good, let’s begin here.’

(B.2) *un cuento para mi papá, para mi mamá* (Spanish)

‘A story for my father, for my mother.’

(B.3) *es cuándo…* (Spanish)

‘It’s when…’

(B.4) *cuando empecé a trabajar con, con mi papá, con mi mamá* (Spanish)

‘When I began to work with, with my father, with my mother.’

(B.5) *wajali p’ump’um ta’ kol-i-y-oñ*

before poor PERF grow-VI-EPN-1A

‘Back then, I grew up poor.’

(B.6) *kwando wajali che’ňik p’ump’um-tyo k-mama y-ik’oty k-papa*

SP.when before when poor-STILL 1E-mother 3E-with 1E-father

‘Before, when my parents were still poor.’

(B.7) *pero wajali ta’ ke k-weñ sáklen-Ø tyi toñel jiñi*

SP.but before PERF PROSP 1E-lot follow-3A PREP SP.work DET 1E-father

‘But then I followed my father a lot to work.’
Figure B.1: Abram
(B.8) \textit{ta’ ke k-wiñ jiñi k-wiñ ch’ul-beñ-Ø i-ty’añ jiñi} 
\textit{PERF PROSP 1E-good DET 1E-good obey-APP-3A 3E-word DET k-papa} 
\textit{1E-father} 
‘I began to obey my father well.’ (lit.: ‘I obeyed his words well.’)

(B.9) \textit{mach y-om-Ø y-ilañ-Ø ma’añ mi k-ch’a’leñ-Ø toñel} 
\textit{NEG 3E-want-3A 3E-see-3A NEG.EXT if 1E-do-3A SP.work} 
‘He didn’t want to see it if I didn’t work.’

(B.10) \textit{mach y-om-Ø y-ilañ-Ø ma’añ mi k-mel-Ø k-e’tyel} 
\textit{NEG 3E-want-3A 3E-see-3A NEG.EXT if 1E-do-3A 1E-work} 
‘He didn’t want to see it if I didn’t do my work.’

(B.11) \textit{mach y-om-Ø y-ilañ-Ø ma’añ mi j-kotyañ-Ø tyi} 
\textit{NEG 3E-want-3A 3E-see-3A NEG.EXT if 1E-help-3A PREP toñel jiñi k-papa} 
\textit{SP.work DET 1E-father} 
‘My father didn’t want to see it if I didn’t help him work.’

(B.12) \textit{jimbä ora, jimbä ora tāch k-ch’ujbi-be-Ø i-ty’añ} 
\textit{that SP.time, that SP.time PERF.AFF 1E-obey-APP-3A 3E-word jiñi k-papa} 
\textit{DET 1E-father} 
‘In that time I paid attention to my father.’

(B.13) \textit{ta’ k-wiñ koty-ā-Ø tyi e’tyel} 
\textit{PERF 1E-lot help-VT-3A PREP work} 
‘I helped him work a lot.’

(B.14) \textit{ta’ k-wiñ k’el-e-Ø} 
\textit{PERF 1E-good see-VT-3A} 
‘I understood well.’ (lit.: ‘I saw it well.’)

(B.15) \textit{tyi j-koty-ā-Ø tyi mel cholel, tyi mel} 
\textit{PERF 1E-help-VT-3A PREP make cornfield PREP make kajpelol} 
\textit{SP.coffee.field} 
‘I helped him a lot to make the cornfield, to make the coffee field.’

(B.16) \textit{chuki-y-es ‘añ i-cha’añ k-papa…} 
\textit{what-EPN-SP.is EXT 3E-for 1E-father} 
‘Everything my father has…’
(B.17) ’añ-āch i-y-e’tyel k-papa
    EXT-AFF 3E-EPN-work 1E-father
    ‘My father has a lot of work.’

(B.18) wajali koleñ kajpelol, i-kajpelol k-papa
    before big coffee.field 3E-coffee.field 1E-father
    Back then the coffee field was big, my father’s coffee field.’

(B.19) ya’ ta’ k-wiñ cha’l-e-Ø ’e’tyel k-ik’oty jiñi k-papa
    there PERF 1E-lot do-VT-3A work 1E-with DET 1E-father
    ‘There I worked a lot with my father.’

(B.20) pero jimbā ora pero ma’añ ta’ mejl-i-Ø
    SP.but that SP.time SP.but NEG.EXT PERF be.able.to-VI-3A
    k-papa
    1E-father
    ‘But in that time my father couldn’t.’

(B.21) porke jiñ-che’ ma’añ ta’ i-ñ’a’ty-ā-Ø bajche’ yom
    SP.because 3PRON-so NEG.EXT PERF 3E-know-3A how should
    ’e’tyel
    work
    ‘Because he didn’t know how to work.’

(B.22) ty’a’k’iñ, tāch tyajl-i-Ø tya’k’iñ
    money PERF.AFF find-VI-3A money
    ‘Money, yes he found money.’

(B.23) pero ma’añ ta’ mejl-i-Ø
    SP.but NEG.EXT PERF be.able.to-VI-3A
    ‘But he couldn’t.’

(B.24) bajche’ tyi ma’añ tyi i-ñ’a’ty-ā-Ø bajche’ yom
    how PERF NEG.EXT PERF 3E-know-VT-3A how should
    ‘He didn’t know how to do it.’

(B.25) pero komo joñoñ alāl-oñ-tyo…
    SP.but SP.because 1PRON child-1A-STILL
    ‘But because I was still a child…’
(B.26) kwando wajali joño wiñ k-uñil-Ø toñel tyi
   SP.when before 1PRON good 1E-know-3A SP.work PREP
k-otyoty che’ alobo-ño-tyo
1E-house when child-1A-STILL
   ‘Back then, when I was still a boy, I knew how to work well in my house.’

(B.27) täch k-wiñ kāñ-ä-Ø ’e’tyel
   PERF.AFF 1E-lot know-VT-3A work
   ‘Yes, I really knew how to work.’

(B.28) k-wiñ kāñ-ä-Ø toñel
   1E-lot know-VT-3A SP.work
   ‘I knew how to work well.’

(B.29) pero komo ma’añ ta’ k-ña’ty-ä-Ø...
   SP.but SP.because NEG.EXT PERF 1E-know-3A
   ‘But because I didn’t know…’

(B.30) bajche’ kej k-mel-Ø y-ubiño-Ø jiñi k-e’tyel
   how PROSP 1E-do-3A 3E-feel-3A DET 1E-work
   ‘How to begin to understand my work.’

(B.31) pero jimbâ ora ma’añ ta’ k-ũusa-be-Ø i-ty’añ
   SP.but that SP.time NEG.EXT PERF 1E-pass-APP-3A 3E-word
jiñi k-papa
   DET 1E-father
   ‘This time I didn’t disobey my father.’ (lit.: ‘…didn’t pass his words.’)

(B.32) weñ ta’ k-ch’uju-be-Ø i-ty’añ
   good PERF 1E-obey-APP-3A 3E-word
   ‘I obeyed him well.’

(B.33) ta’ k-wiñ ch’uju-be-Ø i-mantar jiñi k-papa
   PERF 1E-good obey-APP-3A 3E-SP.order DET 1E-father
   ‘I obeyed my father’s orders well.’

(B.34) ta’ i-wiñ tyik’-i-y-oñ ma’añ-ik ta’
   PERF 3E-good advise-VT-EPN-1A NEG.EXT-SUB PERF
j-kap-ä-Ø lembal
1E-drink-VT-3A liquor
   ‘He advised me not to drink liquor.’
(B.35) ma'añ̃ tyi̱ k-uch'-e-Ø lembal kwando alob-oñ̃-tyo
NEG.EXT PERF 1E-consume-VT-3A liquor when boy-1A-STILL
'I didn’t drink when I was still young.'

(B.36) weñ-äch ta’ k-wiñ̃ ch’ujbi-be-Ø i-ty’añ jiñi k-papa
good-AFF PERF 1E-good obey-APP-3A 3E-word DET 1E-father
'I obeyed my father well.'

(B.37) ma’añ̃ ta’ j-kap-ä-Ø lembal k’älä...
NEG.EXT PERF 1E-drink-VT-3A liquor until
'I didn’t drink until...'

(B.38) kwando ’añ-ix che’bä bente añoj-ix k-abilel
SP.when EXT-ALR like SP.twenty SP.year-ALR 1E-age
'I was already about twenty years old.'

(B.39) yubi ta’ keji j-kap jiñi lembal kwando wiñ̃
I.think PERF begin 1E-drink DET liquor SP.when lot
alob-oñ̃-tyo
child-1A-STILL
'I think I began to drink when I was still very young.'

(B.40) tyi̱ k-wiñ̃ kañ-ä-Ø tyik’ol ya’i
PERF 1E-lot learn-VT-3A advice there-PROX
'I was convinced to try it then.' (lit.: ‘I learned the advice then.’)

(B.41) ’añ-urñ̃-ix bente año ta’ ke k-prueba
EXT-1A-ALR SP.twenty SP.year PERF PROSP 1E-SP.try
‘I was already twenty when I began to try it.’

(B.42) ta’ kañ̃ k-cha’ kañ j-kap jiñi lembal
PERF PROSP 1E-again learn 1E-drink DET liquor
‘Again I learned to drink liquor.’

(B.43) pero jiñi jap lembal mach kalaka weñ̃
SP.but DET drink liquor NEG surprising good
‘But drinking isn’t good.’

(B.44) kole i-meru jub-sañ-oñ̃ tyi wokol kabäl jap lembal
IRR 3E-a.little fall-CAUS-1A PREP problem lot drink liquor
‘Drinking a lot of liquor would have made me fall into problems.’
For around eight or ten years I drank liquor.' (lit.: ‘. . . I knew drinking.’)

But my father was tired of telling me.

‘But because there’s nowhere, there’s nowhere. . . ’

'I gave my heart.'

‘But work, yes I work.’

'I don’t let myself be lazy.’

'I let myself get lazy.’

'I didn’t let myself get arrogant.’

In this time there was money, there was a lot of coffee.'
(B.54) *weñ ta’ k-weñ cha’l-e-Ø ’e’tyel*
    lot PERF 1E-lot do-VT-3A work
    ‘I worked very well.’

(B.55) *pero jiñ ta’ kaj kāñ jiñi lembal ts’itya’-tyo*
    SP.but DET PERF PROSP know DET liquor a.little-STILL
    ‘But I still began to drink a little.’

(B.56) *jiñi lembal mach weñ mi la-j-kap*
    DET liquor NEG good IMPF PL-1E-drink
    ‘It’s not good that we drink liquor.’

(B.57) *jiñi lembal mach weñ mi la-k-uch’iñ-Ø*
    DET liquor NEG good IMPF PL-1E-consume-3A
    ‘The liquor, it’s not good to drink the liquor.’

(B.58) *eske mi’ jub-sañ-oñ-la tyi wokol*
    SP.it’s.that IMPF.3E fall-CAUS-1A-PL PREP problem
    ‘It makes us fall into problems.’

(B.59) *wego mi’ tyaj-oñ-la k’am-añ*
    SP.later IMPF.3E find-1A-PL sick-NOM
    ‘Later it makes us sick.’ (lit.: ‘. . . we find sickness.’)

(B.60) *mi tyi’ tyaj-a-y-oñ-la k’am-añ cha’añ lembal*
    if PERF.3E find-VT-EPN-1A-PL sick-NOM for liquor
    ma’añ i-ts’āk-al
    NEG.EXT 3E-cure-NOM
    ‘If it makes us sick it’s because liquor has no cure.’

(B.61) *tsēts i-ts’ākāñ-tyel. . .*
    difficult 3E-cure-PASS
    ‘Its cure is difficult.’

(B.62) *chuki-y-es mi’ tyaj-oñ-la k-cha’añ jiñi lembal*
    what-EPN-SP.is IMPF.3E find-1A-PL 1E-for DET liquor
    ‘What the liquor gives us.’

(B.63) *poreso jiñ cha’añ mi k-āñ-Ø wa’lel-i*
    SP.because.of.that DET for IMPF 1E-say-3A now-PROX
    ‘And so that’s what I say now.’
(B.64) che'-añ jiñi pensal k-ål-ä-Ø wa’lel-i cha’añ so-EXT DET SP.thought 1E-say-VT-3A now-PROX for wa’lel-i now-PROX

‘So are my thoughts until now.’

(B.65) pero täch k-cha’ lajmi-sä-Ø jiñi jap lembal SP.but PERF.AFF 1E-again finish-CAUS-3A DET drink liquor

‘But yes, I gave up drinking again.’

(B.66) porke ta’ i-sub-oñ juñ-tyikil ňoj weñ-bä SP.because PERF 3E-tell-1A one-NC.people very good-REL i-pusk’al 3E-heart

‘Because someone with a good heart told me.’

(B.67) k’aj-al-bä i-cha’añ dyos-bä kaxlañ tyi′ remember-NOM-REL 3E-for SP.God-REL mestizo PERF i-koty-ä-y-oñ 3E-help-VT-EPN-1A

‘A mestizo who remembers God helped me.’

(B.68) tyi′ tyik’-i-y-oñ... PERF.3E advise-VT-EPN-1A

‘He advised me...’

(B.69) cha’añ ma’añ mi j-kap-Ø jiñi lembal for NEG.EXT if 1E-drink-3A DET liquor

‘Not to drink liquor’

(B.70) tyi′ sub-oñ cha’añ ma’añ mi j-k’añ-Ø-e’ jiñi PERF.3E say-1A for NEG.EXT if 1E-use-3A-CL DET k-tya’k’iñ 1E-money

‘He told me not to use my money (to buy liquor).’

(B.71) pero jiñi k-tya’k’iñ che’ tyi′ sub-oñ cha’añ SP.but DET 1E-money so PERF.3E say-1A for chuki-y-es k-om what-EPN-SP.is 1E-want

‘He told me my money is for the things that I need.’
(B.72) che' jiñi 'añ-tyo k-mama, 'añ-tyo k-e'tyel
so DET EXT-STILL 1E-mother EXT-STILL 1E-work
'I still had my mother, I still had my work.'

(B.73) solteraj-oñ-tyo
SP.single-1A-STILL
'I was still single.'

(B.74) ta' i-sub-oñ jiñi jun-tikil kaxlañ...
PERF 3E-say-1A DET one-NC.person SP.mestizo
'That mestizo told me...' 

(B.75) cha'añ ma'añ mi k-mal k'áñ-Ø jiñi k-tya'k'ín
for NEG.EXT if 1E-SP.bad use-3A DET 1E-money
'So that I didn’t spend my money badly.'

(B.76) cha'añ mi k-mañ-Ø k-asukar k-xapun j-karne
for IMPF 1E-buy-3A 1E-SP.sugar 1E-SP.soap 1E-SP.meat
'So I could buy my sugar, my soap, my meat.'

(B.77) chuki mi j-k'ux-Ø i-buk'
what IMPF 1E-eat-3A 3E-carry
'Everything I eat.'

(B.78) cha'añ mi k-mák'lañ-Ø k-mama
for IMPF 1E-feed-3A 1E-mother
'So I could feed my mother.'

(B.79) porke jiñ-ix-tyo 'añ-oñ tyi i-weñta yubi
SP.because DET-ALR-STILL EXT-1A PREP 3E-SP.count I.think
'Because yes, she still counted on me.'

(B.80) 'añ-ách derecho bajche' tyi i-sub-oñ
EXT-AFF SP.right how PERF 3E-say-1A
'She has the right, he told me.'

(B.81) porke jiñ-che' jiñ-ách joñoñ-ách muk'-oñ tyi
SP.because DET-so DET-AFF 1PRON-AFF IMPF-1A PREP
 SP.work
toñel
'Because I do still work.'
(B.82) 'añ derecho cha’añ mi k-māk’lañ-3A jiñi k-mama
EXT SP.right for IMPF 1E-feed-Ø DET 1E-mother
‘Yes, it’s right that I support my mother.’

(B.83) jiñ-meku-bā ora ta’ meku k-cha’ ak’-ā-Ø
DET-you.see-REL SP.time PERF you.see 1E-again give-VT-3A
‘At this time I began to think again.’ (lit.: ‘I began to give my heart.’)

(B.84) ta’ meku ta’ meku k-āk’-ā-Ø tyi k-pusik’al
PERF you.see PERF you.see 1E-give-VT-3A PREP 1E-heart
‘I began to think.’

(B.85) ta’ meku k-wersa kānty-ā-Ø k-lum
PERF you.see 1E-SP.power care.for-VT-3A 1E-land
‘With power I took care of my land.’

(B.86) ma’añ tyi sujty-i-Ω k-cha’ jap-Ω jiñi lembal
NEG.EXT PERF return-VI-3A 1E-again drink-3A DET liquor
‘I didn’t go back to drinking liquor.’

(B.87) asta la fecha k’älā wa’lel-i ma’-ix mi
SP.until SP.the SP.date until now-PROX NEG-ALR IMPF
j-kap-Ø lembal
1E-drink-3A liquor
‘Until the day, until now, I don’t drink liquor.’

(B.88) yaxjaxā tyi j-kāy-ā-Ø
since.then PERF 1E-leave-VT-3A
‘Since then I’ve given it up.’

(B.89) jiñi otra de las kosas...
DET SP.other SP.of SP.the SP.things
‘And the other thing…’

(B.90) tax k-ub-i-Ω tsiji’-bā i-mantar la-k-yum
PERF.ALR 1E-listen-VT-3A new-REL 3E-order PL-1E-lord
‘I listened to a new order from God.’
(B.91) mach we n ji n jap lembal
    NEG good DET drink liquor
    ‘Drinking isn’t good.’

(B.92) i kontra ji n dyos
    SP.and SP.against DET SP.God
    ‘And it’s against God.’

(B.93) ji n cha’a n mach we n lolon-jach ji n jap lembal
    DET for NEG good in.vain-only DET drink liquor
    ‘Drinking is good for nothing.’

(B.94) mach i-cha’a n dyos
    NEG 3E-for God
    ‘It’s not for God.’

(B.95) melel-ach wa’le k’el-e ji n pejyel yujil-o-bä jap
    it’s.true-AFF now see-IMP DET everyone know-PL-REL drink
    lembal liquor
    ‘It’s true, look at all the people who drink liquor.’ (lit.: ‘. . .who know
    drinking.’)

(B.96) we n p’ump’um-ix
    very poor-ALR
    ‘They’re very poor indeed.’

(B.97) poreso ji n-cha’a n wa’le dyos mi k-mas ch’äm-Ø
    SP.and.so DET-for now SP.God IMPF 1E-SP.more take-3A
    en kwenta
    SP.in SP.account
    ‘And so now God takes it more into account.’

(B.98) mejor yubi trankilo kontento
    SP.better feel SP.calm SP.content
    ‘It’s better to be calm and content.’

(B.99) ’a n-oñ k-otyoty anke ts’itya’ tya’k’iñ
    EXT-1A 1E-house SP.even.though little money
    ‘I’m in my house, even though there is little money.’
(B.100) chuki-y-es 'añ k-ch'aañ mi la-j-k'añ-Ø-e'
what-EPN-SP.is EXT 1E-for IMPF PL-1E-use-3A-CL
Everything I have we use.'

(B.101) mi la-j k'añ-Ø tyi 'uch'-el
IMPF PL-1E use-3A PREP eat-NOM
We use it to eat.'

(B.102) anke ma'añ chuki 'añ k-ch'aañ...
SP.even.though NEG.EXT what EXT 1E-for
Even though I don’t have anything…'

(B.103) pero mejor mi k-mañ-Ø chuki-y-es k-mañ-Ø
SP.but SP.better IMPF 1E-buy-3A what-EPN-SP.is 1E-buy-3A
It’s better that I buy what I buy.'

(B.104) mi k-mañ-Ø k-uch'-el
IMPF 1E-buy-3A 1E-eat-NOM
I buy my food.'

(B.105) mi k-mañ-Ø chuki k-om tyi 'otyoty
IMPF 1E-buy-3A what 1E-want PREP house
I buy what I want in the house.'

(B.106) la-j k'añ-Ø k-tya'k'iñ-bä
PL-1E use-3A 1E-money-REFL
We use my money.'

(B.107) pero chách k-om bajche' jiñi jiñ-äch
SP.but so.AFF 1E-want how DET DET-AFF
But that’s how I want it.'

(B.108) k-om che' weñ 'uts'aty 'añ-oñ
1E-want so good nice EXT-1A
I want to be well.'

(B.109) jiñ k-om che' kontento trankiloj-oñ
DET 1E-want so SP.content SP.calm-1A
I want to be content, calm.'
(B.110) cha’añ mach k-om che’ p’ump’um ’añ-oñ
for NEG 1E-want so poor EXT-1A
‘Because I don’t want to be poor.’

(B.111) cha’añ ma’añ mi k-āk’-Ø k-bā tyi kisiñ
for NEG.EXT if 1E-give-3A 1E-self PREP shame
‘So I don’t give myself shame.’

(B.112) eske kisiñ tyi-jach maxki mi k-āk’-Ø tyi
SP.it’s.that shame PREP-only who IMPF 1E-give-3A PREP
kisiñ...
shame
‘It’s that it only gives shame to those I shame . . . ’

(B.113) jiñ-āch k-papa k-mama
DET-AFF 1E-father 1E-mother
‘My parents.’

(B.114) muk’-Ø-ob tyi kisiñ asta joñoñ mi k-ch’ām-Ø
IMPF-3A-PL PREP shame SP.until 1PRON IMPF 1E-take-3A
jiñi kisiñ je’e
DET shame also
‘They are ashamed until I too take on the shame.’

(B.115) jiñ meku cha’añ joñoñ tāch k-āk’-ā-Ø tyi
DET you.see for 1PRON PERF.AFF 1E-give-VT-3A PREP
k-pusk’āl
1E-heart
‘That’s why I gave my heart.’

(B.116) tāch k-ch’ām-ā-Ø jiñi tyik’ol
PERF.AFF 1E-take-VT-3A DET advice
‘I received advice.’

(B.117) weñ-āch kontento trankiloj-oñ...
good-AFF SP.content SP.calm-1A
‘I’m very content and calm . . . ’

(B.118) wu’ tyi k-otyoty pejtyel chuki-y-es ’añ k-ch’añ
here PREP 1E-house everything what-EPN-SP.is EXT 1E-for
‘Here in my house with everything that I have.’
(B.119) **puro jin-ix k-e’tyel woli k-ña’tyañ-Ø wa’li**

SP.pure DET-ALR 1E-work PROG 1E-know-3A now

‘Now I only think about my work.’

(B.120) **ma’añ-ix mi-k ŋa’tyañ-Ø bakibā yambā**

NEG.EXT-ALR IMPF-1E know-3A which other

‘I don’t think about anything else.’

(B.121) **porke jiní jap lembal mach weñ**

SP.because DET drink liquor NEG good

‘Because drinking isn’t good.’

(B.122) **jin-äch mas mejor che’ mi la-k-ña’tyañ-Ø...**

DET-AFF SP.more SP.better so IMPF PL-1E-know-3A

‘It’s better to know...’

(B.123) **yubi jiní weñ-bá ’uts’aty-bá**

I.think DET good-REL nice-REL

‘To think about the good things.’

(B.124) **porke mi ma’añ jin-äch mi ke**

SP.because IMPF NEG.EXT DET-AFF IMPF PROSP

la-k-tyaj-Ø wokol cha’añ jap lembal

PL-1E-find-3A problem for drink liquor

‘Because otherwise the liquor will give us problems.’

(B.125) **porke jin-ix jap-lembal-ob ñoj p’ump’um-ob-ix**

SP.becasue DET-ALR drink-liquor-PL very poor-PL-ALR

‘The ones who drink are very poor.’

(B.126) **tyi juñ yajl-el ma’-ix chubá-och**

PREP one fall-NOM NEG-ALR possession-?

‘Plainly it isn’t good for anything.’

(B.127) **mazki mi’ weñ tyaj-Ø tya’k’iní jin-ob-äch choñ-lembal**

who IMPF.3E lot find-3A money PRON3-PL-AFF sell-liquor

‘The ones who have money are the ones who sell liquor.’

(B.128) **pero jin-meku cha’añ wa’le...**

SP.but DET-you.see for now

‘But now...’
(B.129) ma’añ mi k-āk’-Ø k-tya’k’iñ cha’añ choñ-lembal-ob
NEG.EXT IMPF 1E-give-3A 1E-money for sell-liquor-PL
‘I don’t give my money to those who sell liquor.’

(B.130) mejoor mi j-k’ān-Ø-e’ cha’añ chuki-y-es mi
SP.better IMPF 1E-use-3A-CL for what-EPN-SP.is IMPF
j-k’ux-Ø k-buk’
1E-eat-3A 1E-carry
‘It’s better that I use it for what I eat.’

(B.131) pero ankesea chuki-y-es mi k-māñ-Ø-e’...
SP.but SP.even.though what-EPN-SP.is IMPF 1E-buy-3A-CL
‘But even though what I buy…’

(B.132) pero muk’-āch k-uch’-el
SP.but IMPF-AFF 1E-eat-NOM
‘But yes, I eat.’

(B.133) la’-tyo ’añ-ik-oñ tyi k-otyoty k-ik’oty-ob
here-STILL EXT-SUB-1A PREP 1E-house 1E-with-PL
k-alob-il
1E-child-NOM
‘I’m still here in my house with my children.’

(B.134) laj k’āñ-Ø-e’-loñ tya’k’iñ anke ma’añ
PROSP?.1E use-3A-CL-PL.EXC money SP.although NEG.EXT
tya’k’iñ
money
‘We’ll use money even though we don’t have money.’

(B.135) poreso jiñ-cha’añ walel-i...
SP.and.so DET-for now-PROX
‘So now again…’

(B.136) i nuebamente choñkol k-mas k-ña’tyañ-Ø pañāmil
SP.and SP.newly PROG 1E-SP.more 1E-know-3A world
‘I’m better understanding the world.’

(B.137) yubi tyi ’ubiñ-tyel ’uts’aty
I.think PREP feel-PASS good
‘I think about feeling well.’
I think I feel content in my house.

‘There’s nothing else.’

‘I only want to be well.’

‘I only want to be well.’

‘Yes, like I just said.’

‘And I’m doing new work again.’

‘I’m going to do my work.’

‘I’m going to see what it is that I want.’

‘I see what I need in my land.’
(B.147) *laj k-mel-Ø-e’ chuki-y-es k-om ’ila tyi*
PROSP? 1E-do-3A-CL what-EPN-SP.is 1E-want here PREP
*k-otyoty*
1E-house
‘I’m going to do what I want here in my house.’

(B.148) *laj k-mel-Ø-e’ jiñi k-trabajo*
PROSP? 1E-do-3A-CL DET 1E-work
‘I’m going to do my work.’

(B.149) *laj k-mel-Ø-e’ chuki-y-es k-om*
PROSP? 1E-do-3A-CL what-EPN-SP.is 1E-want
‘I’m going to do what I want.’

(B.150) *poreso jiñ-åch mas weñ che’bâ bajche’ jiñi*
SP.and.so DET-AFF SP.more good like how DET
‘And so it’s good, like it is.’

(B.151) *jiñ-åch mi’ mulañ-Ø dyos che’bâ weñ i-toñel*
DET-AFF IMPF.3E like-3A SP.God like good 3E-SP.work
‘This is what God likes, good work.’

(B.152) *che’bâ jiñ ma’añ mi’ mulañ-Ø mach-bâ weñ*
like DET NEG.EXT IMPF.3E like-3A NEG-REL good
‘He doesn’t like the things that aren’t good.’

(B.153) *ma’añ mi k-mel-Ø mach-bâ weñ je’e*
NEG.EXT IMPF 1E-do-3A NEG-REL good also
‘I don’t do the things that aren’t good, either.’

(B.154) *jiñ-åch k-om je’e*
DET-AFF 1E-want also
‘And that’s how I want it.’

(B.155) *poreso jiñ cha’añ ta’ k-ña’tyâ-be-Ø i-ty’a n jiñi*
SP.and.so DET for PERF 1E-know-APP-3A 3E-word DET
*la-k-yum*
PL-1E-God
‘That’s why I learned the word of God.’
(B.156) p sore o jii-ach mas mejor yubi tyi 'ubiñ-tyel
SP.and.so DET-AFF SP.more SP.better I.think PREP listen-PASS
‘That’s why it’s better to listen.’

(B.157) jiiñe ko cha’añ wa’li choñkol, choñkol k-äl-Ø...
and.so for now PROG, PROG 1E-say-3A
‘And that’s why I’m saying now…’

(B.158) wa’le ‘ili cha’añ chäch k-om yubi cha’añ mi k-cha’
now this for so.AFF 1E-want I.think for IMPF 1E-again
lok’-el tyi libre
go.out-NOM PREP SP.free
‘I want it like this now so I can leave free.’

(B.159) tyi ’uts’ kontentoj-oñ
PREP good SP.content-1A
‘To be content.’

(B.160) mi k-ña’tyañ-Ø ‘ili tyi pejyelel k’älä mi’
IMPF 1E-know-3A this PREP everything until IMPF.3E
lok’-el ‘ili ja’
go.out-NOM this year
‘Understanding everything until the year is over.’

(B.161) k’älä ba’-ora mi k-mel-Ø k-e’tyel, much
until how-SP.time IMPF 1E-do-3A 1E-work IMPF.AFF
la-k-mel-Ø
PL-1E-do-3A
‘In all this time I do my work, yes I do it.’

(B.162) ma’añ mi k-äl-Ø ma’añ mi-k mel-Ø jiñi
NEG.EXT IMPF 1E-say-3A NEG.EXT IMPF-1E do-3A DET
k-e’tyel porke k-cha’añ-äch
1E-work SP.because 1E-for-AFF
‘I don’t say that I don’t do my work because yes, it is mine.’

(B.163) mu-tyo j-k’el-Ø bajche’ mi k-cha’leñ-Ø k-bajñel
IMPF-STILL 1E-see-3A how IMPF 1E-do-3A 1E-alone
‘I’ll see how I do it alone.’

(B.164) joñoñ-jach k-ujil cha’añ mi-k mel-Ø k-trabajo
1PRON-only 1E-know for IMPF-1E do-3A 1E-SP.work
‘Only I know how to do my work.’
(B.165) *limpyo* *mi-k* *cha’leñ-Ø* *toñel*
   SP.clean IMPF-1E do-3A SP.work
   ‘I do my work well.’

(B.166) *porke* *châ’-äch* *tyi’* *chok-o-y-oñ-tyel* *dyos*
   SP.because so-AFF PERF.3E order-VT-EPN-1A-NOM SP.God
   ‘Because that’s how God ordered me.’

(B.167) *porke* *joñöñ* *che’* *p’ump’um-oñ*
   SP.because 1PRON so poor-1A
   ‘Because I’m poor.’

(B.168) *choñkol* *k-ilañ-Ø* *wokol*
   PROG 1E-see-3A problem
   ‘Because it’s difficult.’ (lit.: ‘Because I see problems.’)

(B.169) *wa’lel-i* *ma’añ* *mach* *k-ik’oty* *cha’añ* *ma’añ* *k-abil*
   now-PROX NEG.EXT NEG 1E-with for NEG.EXT 1E-child
   ‘Now I don’t have anyone because I have no children.’

Figure B.2: Morelia and Linda del Rosario
(B.170) *ma’añ  k-e’tyel, solo joñoñ-jach wā’-añ-oñ  ‘ila*
NET.EXT 1E-work SP.alone 1PRON-only here-EXT-1A this
tyi  pañámił
PREP  world
‘I have no work, I’m alone in this world.’

(B.171) *chāch  ka  tyi  chok-o-y-oñ-tyel  dyos*
so.AFF  SP.how  PERF  order-VT-EPN-1A-PASS  SP.God
‘That’s how God ordered me.’

(B.172) *solamente  dyos  y-ujil*
SP.only  SP.God  3E-know
‘Only God knows.’

(B.173) *aber  si  mi  ‘añ-tyo  majch  i-wokol*
SP.we’ll.see  SP.if  IMPF  EXT-STILL  some  3E-problem
‘We’ll see if there are problems.’

(B.174) *mi  ‘añ-tyo  majch  mi’  kotyañ-oñ*
IMPF  EXT-STILL  someone  IMPF.3E  help-1A
‘If there is someone who helps me.’

(B.175) *‘añ-āch  k-ñeto  pero  jiñ-jach  che’  parte  ‘añ*
EXT-AFF  1E-SP.grandson  SP.but  so-only  so  SP.apart  EXT
‘Yes, I have a grandson, but he’s not here.’

(B.176) *ma’añ  bajche’  k-cha’l-e-Ø*
NEG.EXT  how  1E-do-VT-3A
‘There’s no way for me to do it.’

(B.177) *pero  solo  dyos  y-ujil  mi  mu-tyo  ke*
SP.but  SP.only  SP.God  3E-know  IMPF  IMPF-STILL  PROSP
j-k’el-Ø-e’  k-e’tyel
1E-see-3A-CL  1E-work
‘But only God knows if I’ll still see my work.’

(B.178) *mi  j-k’el-Ø-e’  k-toñel*
IMPF  1E-see-3A-CL  1E-SP.work
‘I see my work.’
(B.179) *poreso*  *jiëña*’ *wa’li la’-aëña* ’ila *tyi* *pañaëmil*
SP.that’s.why DET-for now here-EXT-1A this PREP world
‘That’s why I’m in this world.’

(B.180) *tyi* *chök-o-y-oëntyel* *la-k-yum*
PERF order-VT-EPN-1A-PASS PL-1E-God
‘God ordered me.’

(B.181) *cha’aëni* *mi* *k-cha’leñ-Ø toñel*, *cha’leñ-Ø* ‘ë’tyel
for IMPF 1E-do-3A work do-3A SP.work
‘So that I work, I work.’

(B.182) *cha’aëni* *kontento trankilo mi-ka*’ *cha’leñ-Ø toñel*
for SP.content SP.calm IMPF-1E do-3A SP.work
‘So that I work contently, calmly.’

(B.183) *solo* *jiëña*’ *mi* *k-êl jiëni ma’aëni* *yambë*
SP.only DET-only IMPF 1E-say DET NEG.EXT other
‘I only say this, there’s nothing else.’

(B.184) *poremain* *chäch* *k-œm yubi bajche’ jiëni*
SP.because so.AFF 1E-want I.think how DET
‘Because that’s how I want it.’