

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 cuando...* (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’ñik 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 säkleñ-Ø tyi toñel jiñi*
SP.but before PERF PROSP 1E-lot follow-3A PREP SP.work DET
k-papa
1E-father

‘But then I followed my father a lot to work.’



Figure B.1: Abram

- (B.8) *ta' ke k-wiñ jiñi k-wiñ ch'ul-beñ-Ø i-ty'añ jiñi*
 PERF PROSP 1E-good DET 1E-good obey-APP-3A 3E-word DET
k-papa
 1E-father
 'I began to obey my father well.' (lit.: 'I obeyed his words well.')
- (B.9) *mach y-om-Ø y-ilañ-Ø ma'añ mi k-cha'leñ-Ø toñel*
 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) *mach y-om-Ø y-ilañ-Ø ma'añ mi k-mel-Ø k-e'tyel*
 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) *mach y-om-Ø y-ilañ-Ø ma'añ mi j-kotyañ-Ø tyi*
 NEG 3E-want-3A 3E-see-3A NEG.EXT if 1E-help-3A PREP
toñel jiñi k-papa
 SP.work DET 1E-father
 'My father didn't want to see it if I didn't help him work.'
- (B.12) *jimbä ora, jimbä ora täch k-ch'ujbi-be-Ø i-ty'añ*
 that SP.time, that SP.time PERF.AFF 1E-obey-APP-3A 3E-word
jiñi k-papa
 DET 1E-father
 'In that time I paid attention to my father.'
- (B.13) *ta' k-wiñ koty-ä-Ø tyi 'e'tyel*
 PERF 1E-lot help-VT-3A PREP work
 'I helped him work a lot.'
- (B.14) *ta' k-wiñ k'el-e-Ø*
 PERF 1E-good see-VT-3A
 'I understood well.' (lit.: 'I saw it well.')
- (B.15) *tyi j-koty-ä-Ø tyi mel cholel, tyi mel*
 PERF 1E-help-VT-3A PREP make cornfield PREP make
kajpelol
 SP.coffee.field
 'I helped him a lot to make the cornfield, to make the coffee field.'
- (B.16) *chuki-y-es 'añ i-cha'añ k-papa...*
 what-EPN-SP.is EXT 3E-for 1E-father
 'Everything my father has...'

- (B.17) *'añ-äch 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 jimbä 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-ña'ty-ä-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) *tya'k'iñ, täch 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-ña'ty-ä-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 aläl-oñ-tyo...*
 SP.but SP.because 1PRON child-1A-STILL
 'But because I was still a child...'

- (B.26) *kwando wajali joñoñ wiñ k-ujil-Ø toñel tyi*
 SP.when before 1PRON good 1E-know-3A SP.work PREP
k-otyoty che' alob-oñ-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 kãñ-ä-Ø 'e'tyel*
 PERF.AFF 1E-lot know-VT-3A work
 'Yes, I really knew how to work.'
- (B.28) *k-wiñ kãñ-ä-Ø toñel*
 1E-lot know-VT-3A SP.work
 'I knew how to work well.'
- (B.29) *pero komo ma'añ ta' k-ñã'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-ubiñ-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 jimbä ora ma'añ ta' k-ñusa-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) *wen 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'añ tyi k-uch'-e-Ø lembal kwando alob-oñ-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-wiñ 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'añ 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 wiñ*
 I.think PERF begin 1E-drink DET liquor SP.when lot
alob-oñ-tyo
 child-1A-STILL
 'I think I began to drink when I was still very young.'
- (B.40) *tyi k-wiñ kãñ-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-uñ-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' kaj k-cha' kãñ 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 weñ*
 SP.but DET drink liquor NEG surprising good
 'But drinking isn't good.'
- (B.44) *kole i-meru jub-sañ-oñ 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.'

- (B.45) *che'bä ocho o dyes año tyi j-kän-ä-Ø jiñi*
 like SP.eight SP.or SP.ten SP.year PERF 1E-know-VT-3A DET
jap lembal
 drink liquor
 'For around eight or ten years I drank liquor.' (lit.: '...I knew drinking.')
- (B.46) *pero koñ ta' lujw-i-Ø i-subeñ-oñ k-papa*
 SP.but ? PERF tire-VI-3A 3E-tell-1A 1E-father
 'But my father was tired of telling me.'
- (B.47) *che' komo mach-äch ta' ba'-añ, mach-äch ta'*
 like SP.like NEG-AFF PERF where-EXT NEG-AFF PERF
ba'-añ...
 where-EXT
 'But because there's nowhere, there's nowhere...'
- (B.48) *tyi k-äk'-ä-Ø pusk'al jiñi*
 PERF 1E-give-VT-3A heart DET
 'I gave my heart.'
- (B.49) *pero 'e'tyel, muk'-oñ-äch tyi 'e'tyel*
 SP.but work, IMPF-1A-AFF PREP work
 'But work, yes I work.'
- (B.50) *ma'añ mi j-käy-Ø k-bä tyi ts'ub*
 NEG.EXT IMPF 1E-leave-3A 1E-self PREP lazy
 'I don't let myself be lazy.'
- (B.51) *ta' j-käy-ä-Ø k-bä tyi ts'ub*
 PERF 1E-leave-VT-3A 1E-self PREP lazy
 'I let myself get lazy.'
- (B.52) *ma'añ tyi j-käy-ä-Ø tyi arakan*
 NEG.EXT PERF 1E-leave-VT-3A PREP SP.arrogant
 'I didn't let myself get arrogant.'
- (B.53) *jimbä ora weñ 'añ-äch tya'k'iñ, 'añ kabäl kajpelol*
 that SP.time lot EXT-AFF money EXT lot SP.coffee.field
 '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 kãñ 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) *jiñ 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'äk-al
 NEG.EXT 3E-cure-NOM
 'If it makes us sick it's because liquor has no cure.'
- (B.61) *tsäts i-ts'äkãñ-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-äl-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-äl-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 ñoj 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 ka:lañ 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' jini '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) *solteroj-oñ-tyo*
 SP.single-1A-STILL
 'I was still single.'
- (B.74) *ta' i-sub-oñ jini jun-tyikil 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'añ-Ø jini k-tya'k'iñ*
 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-mäk'lañ-Ø k-mama*
 for IMPF 1E-feed-3A 1E-mother
 'So I could feed my mother.'
- (B.79) *porke jini-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-äch 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 jini-che' jini-äch joñoñ-äch muk'-oñ tyi*
 SP.because DET-so DET-AFF 1PRON-AFF IMPF-1A PREP
toñel
 SP.work
 'Because I do still work.'

- (B.82) *'añ derecho cha'añ mi k-mäk'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-bä ora ta' meku k-cha' 'ak'-ä-Ø*
 DET-you.see-REL SP.time PERF you.see 1E-again give-VT-3A
tyi k-pusik'al
 PREP 1E-heart
 'At this time I began to think again.' (lit.: 'I began to give my heart.')
- (B.84) *ta' meku ta' meku k-äk'-ä-Ø tyi k-pusk'al*
 PERF you.see PERF you.see 1E-give-VT-3A PREP 1E-heart
 'I began to think.'
- (B.85) *ta' meku k-wersa kãnty-ä-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-Ø k-cha' jap-Ø 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'älä 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) *yaxjaxä tyi j-käy-ä-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-Ø tsiji'-bä 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 weñ jiñi jap lembal*
 NEG good DET drink liquor
 ‘Drinking isn’t good.’
- (B.92) *i kontra jiñi dyos*
 SP.and SP.against DET SP.God
 ‘And it’s against God.’
- (B.93) *jiñ cha’añ mach weñ loloñ-jach jiñi jap lembal*
 DET for NEG good in.vain-only DET drink liquor
 ‘Drinking is good for nothing.’
- (B.94) *mach i-cha’añ dyos*
 NEG 3E-for God
 ‘It’s not for God.’
- (B.95) *melel-äch wa’le k’el-e jiñi pejtyel 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) *weñ p’ump’um-ix*
 very poor-ALR
 ‘They’re very poor indeed.’
- (B.97) *poreso jiñ-cha’añ 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) *’añ-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-cha'añ* *mi* *la-j-k'ään-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'ään-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-cha'añ...*
 SP.even.though NEG.EXT what EXT 1E-for
 'Even though I don't have anything...'
- (B.103) *pero* *mejor* *mi* *k-mään-Ø* *chuki-y-es* *k-mään-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-mään-Ø* *k-uch'-el*
 IMPF 1E-buy-3A 1E-eat-NOM
 'I buy my food.'
- (B.105) *mi* *k-mään-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'ään-Ø* *k-tya'k'in-bä*
 PL-1E use-3A 1E-money-REFL
 'We use my money.'
- (B.107) *pero* *chäch* *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'* *kонтенто* *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-äk'-Ø k-bä 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-äk'-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-äch k-papa k-mama*
 DET-AFF 1E-father 1E-mother
 'My parents.'
- (B.114) *muk'-Ø-ob tyi kisiñ asta joñoñ mi k-ch'äm-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 täch k-äk'-ä-Ø tyi*
 DET you.see for 1PRON PERF.AFF 1E-give-VT-3A PREP
k-pusk'al
 1E-heart
 'That's why I gave my heart.'
- (B.116) *täch k-ch'äm-ä-Ø jiñi tyik'ol*
 PERF.AFF 1E-take-VT-3A DET advice
 'I received advice.'
- (B.117) *weñ-äch 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-cha'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 jin̄-ix k-e'tyel woli k-ñ'a'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 ña'tyañ-Ø bakibä yambä*
 NEG.EXT-ALR IMPF-1E know-3A which other
 'I don't think about anything else.'
- (B.121) *porke jin̄i jap lembal mach weñ*
 SP.because DET drink liquor NEG good
 'Because drinking isn't good.'
- (B.122) *jin̄-äch mas mejor che' mi la-k-ñ'a'tyañ-Ø...*
 DET-AFF SP.more SP.better so IMPF PL-1E-know-3A
 'It's better to know...'
- (B.123) *yubi jin̄i weñ-bä 'uts'aty-bä*
 I.think DET good-REL nice-REL
 'To think about the good things.'
- (B.124) *porke mi ma'añ jin̄-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 jin̄-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 chubä-och*
 PREP one fall-NOM NEG-ALR possession-?
 'Plainly it isn't good for anything.'
- (B.127) *maxki mi' weñ tyaj-Ø tya'k'iñ jin̄-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 jin̄-meku cha'añ wa'le...*
 SP.but DET-you.see for now
 'But now...'

- (B.129) *ma'añ mi k-äk'-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) *mejor mi j-k'añ-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-mañ-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'-äch 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'añ-Ø-e'-loñ tyak'iñ anke ma'añ*
 PROSP?.1E use-3A-CL-PL.EXC money SP.although NEG.EXT
tyak'iñ
 money
 'We'll use money even though we don't have money.'
- (B.135) *poreso jñ-cha'añ walel-i...*
 SP.and.so DET-for now-PROX
 'So now again...'
- (B.136) *i nuevamente choñkol k-mas k-ña'tyañ-Ø pañämil*
 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.'

- (B.138) *yubil kontento 'añ-oñ tyi k-otyoty*
 I.think SP.content EXT-1A PREP 1E-house
 'I feel content in my house.'
- (B.139) *ma'añ chuki-y-es mas yambä*
 NEG.EXT what-EPN-SP.is SP.more other
 'There's nothing else.'
- (B.140) *jiñ-jach k-om weñ 'añ-oñ*
 DET-only 1E-want good EXT-1A
 'I only want to be well.'
- (B.141) *jiñ-jach k-om 'uts'aty 'añ-oñ*
 DET-only 1E-want nice EXT-1A
 'I only want to be well.'
- (B.142) *chäch bajche' tyi k-äl-ä-Ø 'ujty-el*
 so.AFF how PREP 1E-say-VT-3A finish-NOM
 'Yes, like I just said.'
- (B.143) *i nuebamente mi k-cha' mel-Ø-e' yambä ts'iji-bä*
 SP.and SP.newly IMPF 1E-again do-3A-CL other new-REL
trabajo
 SP.work
 'And I'm doing new work again.'
- (B.144) *laj k-mel-Ø trabajo*
 PROSP? 1E-do-3A SP.work
 'I'm going to do my work.'
- (B.145) *laj j-k'el-Ø-e' chuki-y-es k-om*
 PROSP? 1E-see-3A-CL what-EPN-SP.is 1E-want
 'I'm going to see what it is that I want.'
- (B.146) *laj j-k'el-Ø-e' chuki-y-es k-om tyi*
 PROSP? 1E-see-3A-CL what-EPN-SP.is 1E-want PREP
k-lum-al
 1E-land-NOM
 '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-äch mas weñ che'bä bajche' jiñi*
 SP.and.so DET-AFF SP.more good like how DET
 'And so it's good, like it is.'
- (B.151) *jiñ-äch mi' mulañ-Ø dyos che'bä 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'bä jiñ ma'añ mi' mulañ-Ø mach-bä 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-bä 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-äch 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'tyä-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) *poreso jiñ-äch 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) *jiñmeko 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 pejtyelel 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 chã'-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 joñoñ 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-alobil*
 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 wä'-añ-oñ 'ila*
 NET.EXT 1E-work SP.alone 1PRON-only here-EXT-1A this
tyi pañämil
 PREP world
 'I have no work, I'm alone in this world.'
- (B.171) *chäch 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-äch 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 jiñ-cha'añ wa'li la'-añ-oñ 'ila tyi pañämil*
 SP.that's.why DET-for now here-EXT-1A this PREP world
 'That's why I'm in this world.'
- (B.180) *tyi chok-o-y-oñ-tyel la-k-yum*
 PERF order-VT-EPN-1A-PASS PL-1E-God
 'God ordered me.'
- (B.181) *cha'añ mi k-cha'leñ-Ø toñel, cha'leñ-Ø 'e'tyel*
 for IMPF 1E-do-3A work do-3A SP.work
 'So that I work, I work.'
- (B.182) *cha'añ kontento trankilo mi-k cha'leñ-Ø toñel*
 for SP.content SP.calm IMPF-1E do-3A SP.work
 'So that I work contently, calmly.'
- (B.183) *solo jiñ-jach mi k-äl jiñi ma'añ yambä*
 SP.only DET-only IMPF 1E-say DET NEG.EXT other
 'I only say this, there's nothing else.'
- (B.184) *porke chäch k-om yubi bajche' jiñi*
 SP.because so.AFF 1E-want I.think how DET
 'Because that's how I want it.'