Appendix D

Xñeck

(D.1) wajali 'añ-bi juñ-tyikil xñe
before EXT-REP one-NC.people CL-xñe
‘They say there once was a xñe.’

(D.2) pero mi' subeñ-Ø-ob xibal
SP.but IMPF.3E say-3A-PL demon
‘They call him a demon.’

(D.3) pero jiñi mi i-cha'leñ-Ø xëmbal tyempo de kwaresma
SP.but DET IMPF 3E-do-3A wander SP.time SP.of SP.Lent
‘He wanders around during the time of Lent.’

(D.4) siete semanas...
SP.seven SP.weeks
‘Seven weeks…’

(D.5) che' tyi wokol kristo jesus
when PREP problem SP.Christ SP.Jesus
‘During the problems of Jesus Christ.’

(D.6) mi i-lok'-el tyi xëmbal
IMPF 3E-go.out-NOM PREP wander
‘He goes out to wander around.’

(D.7) mi' majl-el tyi 'otyoty tyi matye'-el
IMPF.3E 3E-go-NOM PREP house PREP woods-NOM
‘He goes to houses in the woods.’
(D.8) \( mi \ i\text{-tsep-beñ-Ø} i\text{-y-ak}'\)
IMPF 3E-cut-APP-3A 3E-EPN-tongue
‘He cuts out tongues...’

(D.9) \( cha'añ mi i\text{-ch'âm-beñ-Ø} majl-el i\text{-rey} \)
for IMPF 3E-receive-APP-3A go-NOM 3E-SP.king
‘To give to his king.’

(D.10) \( pero \ jiñi x-ñe\text{-k-i} ma'añ mi i\text{-bâ'ñañ-Ø paña\text{"m}il} \)
SP.but DET CL-\( ñ\text{e}k\)-PROX NEG.EXT IMPF 3E-fear-3A world
‘That \( x\text{ñe}k\) isn’t afraid of anything.’

(D.11) \( mi i\text{-majl-el tyi 'ototy jiñ-âch chukiyes} \)
IMPF 3E-go-NOM PREP house DET-AFF what-EPN-SP.is
\( mi' tyaj-Ø \)
IMPF.3E find-3A
‘He goes to the houses to see what he can find.’

(D.12) \( mi' tyaj-Ø alâl, jiñi ches mi' tyaj-Ø mi \)
IMPF.3E find-3A child DET what.SP.is IMPF.3E find-3A IMPF
\( i\text{-pây majl-el} \)
3E-take go-NOM
‘He finds children and what he finds he takes away.’

(D.13) \( poreso jiñ cha'añ mi i\text{-subeñ-Ø-ob xibal} \)
SP.and.so DET for IMPF 3E-say-3A-PL demon
‘That’s why they call him a demon.’

(D.14) \( tyi meru semanasanta jiñ-che' châm-eñ-ix i\text{-ch'ujlel paña\text{"m}il} \)
PREP very SP.Easter DET-so die-NOM-ALR 3E-spirit world
‘In that time of Easter when the spirit of the world (Jesus) had died.’

(D.15) \( mi' lok'-el tyül-el tyi xâmbal \)
IMPF.3E go.out-NOM arrive-NOM PREP wander
‘He goes out walking.’

(D.16) \( jiñ-che' kontento che' ma'añ i\text{-ch'ujlel paña\text{"m}il} \)
DET-so SP.content so NEG.EXT 3E-spirit world
‘He is happy when the world doesn’t have a spirit.’
(D.17) **porque** sajty-i-Ø kristo jesus
   SP.because die-VI-3A SP.Christ SP.Jesus
   ‘Because Jesus died.’

(D.18) **jiñāch** mi’ ñoj mulañ-Ø bajche’ jiñ
   DET-AFF IMPF.3E very like-3A how DET
   ‘He likes that a lot.’

(D.19) **poreso** jin-che’ xibal mi’ subeñ-Ø-ob
   SP.and.so DET-so demon IMPF.3E say-3A-PL
   ‘That’s why they call him a demon.’

(D.20) **chokoch** mi’ k’ux-beñ-Ø i-y-ak’ kixtyañ-ob
       because IMPF.3E eat-APP-3A 3E-EPN-tongue SP.person-PL
       ‘That’s why he eats people’s tongues.’

(D.21) **cha’añ** mi’ ch’ām-Ø-e’ majl-el i-rey
       for IMPF.3E receive-3A-CL go-NOM 3E-SP.king
       ‘To take to his king.’

(D.22) **che’eñ** mi i-k’ux-beñ-Ø i-y-ak’ kixtyañ-ob…
       when IMPF 3E-eat-APP-3A 3E-EPN-tongue SP.person-PL
       ‘When he eats people’s tongues…’

(D.23) ñoj kontento-bi mi y-ubiñ jiñi rey
       very SP.content-REP IMPF 3E-feel DET SP.king
       ‘They say the king feels very content.’

(D.24) pero mi ma’añ mi tyaj-beñ-Ø jiñi i-y-ak’
       SP.but if NEG.EXT IMPF find-APP-3A DET 3E-EPN-tongue
       kixtyañ-ob…
       SP.person-PL
       ‘But if he doesn’t find anybody’s tongues…’

(D.25) **tienek** mi k-säklañ-Ø tyi alafwersa
       SP.must IMPF 1E-search-3A PREP SP.by.force
       ‘He has to take them by force.’

(D.26) **porke** jiñi mi’ k’ux-Ø jiñi rey
       SP.because DET.3E IMPF eat-3A DET SP.king
       ‘Because the king eats them.’
(D.27) *poreso jin cha’añ ’añ jiní x-nek*
   SP.because.of.that DET for EXT DET CL-x-nek
   ‘That’s why there is a x-nek.’

(D.28) *jiní x-nek-i wajal-ix mach la-kña’tyañ-Ø baki*
   DET CL-x-nek-PROX before-ALR NEG PL-1E-know-3A where
   *ora*
   SP.time
   ‘We don’t know when the x-nek existed.’

(D.29) *jin-tyo cha’añ kuxu-tyo jiní los awelos*
   DET-STILL for live-STILL DET SP.the SP.grandparents
   ‘When the ancestors still lived.’

(D.30) *pero wa’li tax lajm-i-Ø jiní x-nek*
   SP.but now PERF.ALR leave-VI-3A DET CL-x-nek
   ‘But now there’s no x-nek.’

(D.31) *kontentoj-ix muk’-Ø-ob tyi toñel jiní jente*
   SP.content-ALR IMPF-3A-PL PREP SP.work DET SP.people
   ‘The people work happily.’

(D.32) *wajali ma’añ*
   before NEG.EXT
   ‘Before they didn’t.’

(D.33) *kabál bæk’eñ kabál lotyiñ-tyel*
   lots fear lots lie-NOM
   ‘There was a lot of fear, and lots of lies.’

(D.34) *jin-ách mì y-ák’-Ø i-bá xibal*
   DET-AFF IMPF 3E-give-3A 3E-self demon
   ‘The devil was controlling them.’ (lit.:‘They gave themselves to the devil.’)

(D.35) *pero wa’li ma’ix tax lajm-i-Ø xibal*
   SP.but now NEG.ALR PERF.ALR leave-VI-3A demon
   ‘But now there are no more demons.’

(D.36) *tax laj majl-i-Ø*
   PERF.ALR all go-VI-3A
   ‘They all left.’
(D.37)  jiĩ-tyo  tyi’  ŋa’ty-ũ-Ø  pañũmil  kixtyaũn-ob
        DET-STILL  PERF.3E  know-VT-3A  world  person-PL
        ‘When the people of the world understood.’

(D.38)  tyi  ke  i-k’ajtyũn-Ø-ob  jiũn  dios  tax  laj
        PERF  PROSP  3E-asG-3A-PL  DET  SP.God  PERF.ALR  all
        maũl-i-Ø  xibal
        go-VI-3A  demon
        ‘When the people began to pray to God, all the demons left.’

(D.39)  pero  wεñ-ũch  mi  laj  k’ajtyũn-ũ-Ø  dyos  tyi
        SP.but  good-AFF  IMPF  PROSP.7  SP.God  PREP
        ts’ijũn  tyi  la-k-tyoũl-el
        write  PREP  PL-1E-?-NOM
        ‘It’s good to pray to God, to write our (?)’.  

(D.40)  porke  si  mi  ma’aũn  ke  i-pũseũn-ũn-la  i-bũn
        SP.because  SP.if  IMPF  NEG.EXT  PROSP.7  3E-show-1A-PL  3E-self
        ‘Because if we don’t he will begin to show himself to us.’

(D.41)  mi  lok’-el  tyũl-el  jiũn  xibal
        IMPF.3E  come.out-NOM  arrive-NOM  DET  demon
        ‘The demon will come out.’

(D.42)  poreso  jiũn  cha’aũn  wajali  tyi  wỹnl  lok’-i-Ø  tyũl-el
        SP.and.so  DET  for  before  PREP  lot  go.out-VI-3A  arrive-NOM
        ‘That’s why he came out a lot before.’

(D.43)  porke  wajali  ma’aũn  che’  mi’  k’ajtyũn-ob  i-tyũn
        SP.because  before  NEG.EXT  so  IMPF.3E  ask-PL  3E-word
        jesus
        SP.Jesus
        ‘Because before they didn’t pray to God.’

(D.44)  wa’li  ‘aũn-ix  kabũl  i-tyũn,  baki  mi  la-k-ubiũn  i-tyũn
        now  EXT-ALR  lot  3E-word  where  IMPF  PL-1E-listen  3E-word
        jesus
        3E-SP.jesus
        ‘Now there is the word of God, places where we hear the word of Jesus.’

(D.45)  pero  wa’li  ma’ix  jiũn  xibal
        SP.but  now  NEG.ALR  DET  demon
        ‘Now there are no demons.’
(D.46) *oñālix jiñi 'añ-ix tyempo*
  a.long.time.ago DET EXT-ALR SP.time
  ‘He lived a long time ago.’

(D.47) *mach la-k ūa’tya-Ø bakibā ora...*
  NEG PL-1E know-3A where-REL SP.time
  ‘We don’t know when it was...’

(D.48) *bakibā tiempo tsajñ-i-Ø tyi xāmbal jiñi*
  where-REL SP.time go.and.come.back-VI-3A PREP wander DET
  x-ñe
  CL-ñe
  ‘In what time the xñe wandered around.’

(D.49) *poreso jiñi x-ñe mi i-subeñ-Ø-ob cha’añ lu’-i’ik’*
  SP.and.so DET CL-ñe IMPF 3E-say-3A-PL for all-black
  tyi pejtyelel
  PREP everything
  ‘That’s why they call him a demon, because he is all black.’

(D.50) *'añ i-pantalon 'añ i-sapato*
  EXT 3E-SP.pants EXT 3E-SP.shoes
  ‘He has pants, he has shoes.’

(D.51) *poreso kixtyañ-āch-bi wajali*
  SP.and.so SP.person-AFF-REP before
  ‘They say before he used to be a person.’

(D.52) *pero mach la-k ūa’tya-Ø baki tyël-em*
  SP.but NEG PL-1E know-3A where arrive-NOM
  ‘We don’t know where he wound up.’

(D.53) *poreso jiñ cha’añ i-subeñ-Ø-ob x-ñe*
  SP.and.so DET for 3E-say-3A-PL CL-ñe
  ‘And so that’s why they call him xñe.’